

**Reading Between Cultures:**  
**Social Anthropology and the Interpretation**  
**of Naxi (Na-khi) Religious Texts.**

Anshi Pan

Thesis Submitted to  
The Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Edinburgh  
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
October, 1995



I hereby declare that the following thesis has been written by me and it is work of my own. I have not submitted the thesis in candidature for any other degree, diploma or professional qualification.

Anshi Pan

30 Sept. 1995

---

## Contents

Acknowledgement .....	iv
Abstract .....	v
Orthography and Abbreviations .....	vi
List of Tables, Figures and Maps .....	vii
Introduction .....	1
Social anthropology .....	2
Myself and Chinese cultures .....	5
Tibeto-Burman speaking peoples and Naxi religious texts .....	6
<b>Part I. Social Anthropology and the Study of the Tibeto-Burman- speaking Peoples .....</b>	<b>14</b>
Chapter 1. The Tradition of Social Anthropology .....	15
1.1. The science of human societies and cultures .....	15
1.2. Function and structure, schools of thought in social anthropology .....	19
1.3. The conscious and the unconscious .....	21
1.4. The idea of culture in anthropology .....	24
1.5. Anthropology and colonialism a relationship of power in culture .....	26
1.6. The objectives of social anthropology .....	30
1.7. Methods and theories in traditional social anthropology .....	34
Chapter 2. History and Social Anthropology .....	41
2.1. What does the word 'history' mean? .....	41
2.2. The anthropologists' view of history .....	43
2.3. What does history mean to social anthropology? .....	53
2.4. What does history mean to a people? .....	54
2.5. Sense of time .....	55
2.6. Time and society .....	57
2.7. Spatial and Temporal Relationships .....	57
Chapter 3. Cultures and Societies in China, Self and Scholarship .....	61
3.1. The diversity and unity of the Chinese society .....	61
3.2. Anthropology and China .....	66
3.3. Studies on the non-Han peoples of China .....	69
3.4. Two traditions of scholarship—Western Europe and Han China .....	72
3.4.1 Myself — between two cultures and traditions of scholarship .....	78
Chapter 4. Tibeto-Burman Speaking Peoples in Southwest China, and the Naxi/Moso Identities .....	84
4.1. History and societies in Southwest China .....	84
4.2. The Tibeto-Burman speaking peoples in Southwest China .....	90
4.3. Naxi/Moso, a Tibeto-Burman speaking people with a distinct culture .....	91
4.4. The concepts of ethnic identity .....	96
4.5. Ethnology and Ethnicity in China .....	99
4.6. Naxi, a new identity of the Moso .....	102
4.7. Cultural differences and similarities .....	111
4.7.1 The symbolic black and white .....	111

4.7.3. Rituals and beliefs .....	113
4.7.4. The sorcerers or shamans of the Yi and the Naxi peoples .....	118
Chapter 5. Naxi, Moso and Han Chinese Kinship Compared .....	120
5.1. The study of Chinese kinship .....	121
5.2. The nature of kinship .....	123
5.3. Moso kinship terms .....	127
5.4. Lineages of the Naxi, the Moso and the Yi peoples .....	132
5.5. Lineage and descent of the Naxi, the Moso and the Han peoples compared. ....	137
5.6. The Problem of 'Cross-cousin' Marriage .....	142
5.7. The question of 'egocentric' and 'sociocentric' .....	144
5.8. The incest taboo .....	145
5.9. The myths and the incest taboo of the Naxi .....	147
5.10. Descent theory and structural transformation. ....	151
<b>Part II. Naxi Writing and the Interpretation of Naxi Religious Texts .....</b>	<b>152</b>
Chapter 6. Naxi Pictographs and the Writing of Southwest China .....	156
6.1. Studies of Naxi religious texts in China .....	158
6.2. A comparison of Chinese and European scholarship on Naxi studies .....	160
6.3. Naxi pictographs, writing and literacy in Southwest China .....	165
6.4. The writing of the Yi peoples .....	166
6.5. The written language and literacy among the Bai .....	171
6.6. Other writings of Southwest China .....	172
6.7. Naxi pictographs .....	173
6.7.1. Naxi writing .....	174
6.7.2. The relationship between pictographs and phonetic characters .....	180
Chapter 7. Naxi Authors and Naxi Religion .....	187
7.1. The dating of the manuscripts .....	188
7.2. Dto-mba, the religious specialists .....	193
7.2.1. sTon-pa gSen-rab, Dto-mba Shi-lo and the Bonpos .....	195
7.2.2. Dto-mba Shi-lo and Ä-mi Shi-lo .....	202
7.2.3. Jiu Zhi Lao and Ge Qu Ge Ba—the grand dto-mba .....	204
7.2.4. The dto-mba in the nineteenth-twentieth century .....	205
7.2.5. Summary .....	207
7.3. The authors of the manuscripts .....	209
7.3.1. A general survey of the styles of the Naxi manuscripts .....	209
7.3.2. The schools of the dto-mba .....	212
7.3.3. Identifying dto-mbas and their manuscripts .....	216
A type, the Baisha School .....	218
B type, the Taian/Ludian or Mùn-shwúá-wuâ School .....	223
C type, the Wenbi/Changsui Subschool .....	229
D type, the Zhongdian/Baoshan School .....	231
E type, other subschools of Baisha School .....	233
F type manuscripts .....	236
7.3.4. Dto-mba population according to the manuscripts .....	239
7.4. The ritual activities, some comparison .....	242
7.4.1. Pi-mu/su-nieh, llü-bu/ssan-nyi, diviners and sorcerers .....	243
7.4.2. Llü-bu and ssan-nyi of the Naxi. ....	244

7.4.3. Dto-mba—Llü-bu or ssan-nyi? .....	245
7.5. The history of Lijiang and the rise of dto-mba activities .....	247
7.6. Conclusion .....	255
Chapter 8. The Translation of Naxi Pictographic Texts .....	258
8.1. The problem of understanding the texts .....	258
8.2. Rock's translation of the Naxi texts .....	261
8.3. Computer aid .....	269
Conclusion .....	272
Bibliography .....	290
Appendix I. Examples of Naxi texts and Yi texts .....	308
Appendix II. Dates of the Naxi mss. purchased and acquired by Rock. ....	309
Appendix III. Naxi manuscripts translated by Rock .....	311
Appendix IV. Dated manuscripts. ....	314
Appendix V. Rock's classification of the Naxi pantheon .....	321

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Anthony Jackson. He has introduced me to the interesting subject of the Naxi (Na-khi) culture back in China. Through patient instructions, he has enabled me to understand not only the Naxi religious texts, especially the social meanings of these texts, but also the relationships between social anthropology and other cultures, including, especially, my own.

My gratitude also goes to my other supervisors Dr. Alan Barnard, and Dr. Nicholas Tapp, who have given me valuable suggestions to the problems I have faced, concerning both British social anthropology and the anthropology of China. Dr. Alan Barnard has helped me in aspects of theoretical issues in social anthropology. I have attended many lectures on kinship given by Dr. Anthony Good. These have helped me a lot in the methods in studying kinship in the practices of British social anthropology.

My gratitude also goes to other staff of the Department of Social Anthropology, the University of Edinburgh, with whom I have attended many seminars and lectures in the department, to the postgraduates who have shared the same problems with me but from whom I have learned about social skills in what otherwise would be an alien cultural and social environment to me. I have been benefited in my language skills as well as knowledge in social anthropology in many of the postgraduate workshops, seminars and writing groups.

I should thank the following bodies for their financial support:

University of Edinburgh Vans Dunlop Scholarship, Faculty of Social Sciences, The Overseas Research Students Awards Scheme, the United Kingdom, The Munro Lectureship Committee, University of Edinburgh, and Leverhulme Emeritus Fellowship, Leverhulme Trust, the United Kingdom.

I should also give my thanks to the British Library, the India Office Library, the John Rylands Library of the University of Manchester, the Library of the Royal Botanical Garden, Edinburgh and the Social Science Support Group, Computing Service of the Main Library, University of Edinburgh.

## **Reading between Cultures: Social Anthropology and the Interpretation of Naxi (Na-khi) Religious Texts**

### Abstract:

The main theme of the thesis is to interpret Naxi (Na-khi) religious texts from a historical and a comparative perspective in the social and cultural context in the region of south-west China. There are two parts:

- Part I. Social Anthropology and the study of the Tibeto-Burman-speaking peoples;
- Part II. Naxi writing and the interpretation of Naxi religious texts.

Part I (Chapters 1 to 5) focuses on the theoretical aspect of social anthropology and how the problems in the study of the Tibeto-Burman peoples and Naxi religious texts can best be approached.

Chapters 1 to 2 are the discussion of the theories in social anthropology, their relation with history and the meanings of history. Post-modern criticism of colonial anthropology is acknowledged. The study of Naxi religious texts is recognised as a special kind of ethnography, that is to study a culture from a distance. A textual approach is feasible where history and anthropology are combined to study a culture.

Chapters 3 to 5 on one level of comparison form some comparative examination of the scholarship of social anthropology and of the cultural elite tradition in China, as related to the study of the Tibeto-Burman peoples. On another level these chapters form a historical ethnographic survey of the Tibeto-Burman peoples and their relationship with the Han Chinese. The cases discussed are the kinship of the Naxi/Moso peoples and the Han Chinese in ideological terms, the cultural identities of the Naxi/Moso and the Tibeto-Burman peoples in the region.

Part II (Chapter 6 to 8) focuses on the interpretation of Naxi religious texts. This covers four aspects in the texts:

1. The question of Naxi pictographs and the writing in the region. The nature of the variety of writing in the region, with reference to the origin of Naxi pictographs (Chapter 6).
2. A discussion on the relation between Naxi religion and Tibetan Bon religion, through a comparison between the legendary spiritual leaders of the two religions, a brief history of Tibetan religion and
3. The authors of the texts identified through a stylistic comparison of the texts, the ritual practitioners, the *dto-mba*, the ritual activities and the dating of the texts discussed through the analysis of authorship and other sources and the problem of kinship in Naxi society in history in relation to the religious texts (Chapter 7).
4. The question of translating the pictographic texts: how to read the texts, the nature of the pictographs, interpretation and comparison in the question of translation (Chapter 8).

The main argument of the thesis is that Naxi religious texts are interpretable through anthropological-historical approaches and that textual studies can enrich the scope of ethnographic writing in social anthropology. The specific problems solved or clarified are the social and cultural identity of the Naxi/Moso peoples, the dating of the texts, the nature of the ritual activities and the translation/interpretation of the texts.

## Orthographic Conventions and Abbreviations:

### *Orthography:*

For the Naxi language, I have mainly followed Rock's orthography. I have tried to devise a set of marks to denote the tones in the Naxi language, to replace the superscript numbers, in order to facilitate typing, but these have not been consistently used throughout the study. The marks suggested for the four tones in the Naxi language are: à, â, á, a for <sup>1</sup>a, <sup>2</sup>a, <sup>3</sup>a, <sup>4</sup>a in Rock's orthography. In Naxi, only the first two tones are used frequently, the fourth are used only in certain loan words, mainly those from the Han-Chinese. Therefore, I do not use a mark for the fourth tone. These tones are 1. low falling, 2. middle level, 3. high-short, 4. from low to high rising. (Rock 1963a: XXXV).

Certain diacritics have been omitted, for example, ŭ, ū, ā, ǎ, ō, ǒ. The commonly used 'ü', 'ä' and 'ö' have been changed to u', a' and o', in order to put tones on these vowels. Therefore <sup>2</sup>ü is changed to ŭ', <sup>1</sup>ä is changed to â', etc.

For transcribing Chinese words, I have followed mainly the *Pinyin*, used now extensively in the People's Republic of China, and the Wade-Giles, depending on contexts.

### *Abbreviations:*

Hs.Or.: Na-khi manuscripts, the State Library of Berlin, Germany (formerly Marburg/Lahn collection).

Hs.or.sim. : Photocopies of Na-khi manuscripts, the State Library of Berlin, Germany (formerly Marburg/Lahn collection).

HY = The Chinese-Japanese Library, Harvard-Yenching Institute, Harvard University, Massachusetts, United States of America.

IOL = The India Office Library, London.

JRL = The John Rylands Library, the University of Manchester, Britain.

K.Or.: the Na-khi manuscripts in the State Library of Berlin, Germany (formerly Marburg/Lahn collection).

LC = The Library of Congress, Washington D.C., United States of America.

Mss., ms. = Manuscript(s).

Or11470, etc. : These are the manuscripts in the British Library, London.

R8563, etc. : These are the numbers given by J. F. Rock to the manuscripts he collected. These numbers were used in all his publications. Letter 'R' is added by me for identification.

SB = The State Library of Berlin, Germany.

### *Kinship notations:*

These are mainly the conventions adopted in Barnard and Good 1984 (Barnard and Good 1984: 4). They are as follows:

F = father      M = mother

B = brother    Z = sister

S = son        D = daughter

H = husband   W = wife

P = parent     C = child

G = sibling     E = spouse

m = man speaker      w = woman speaker

e = elder, e.g. eB = elder brother.      y = younger, e.g. yB = younger brother

In kinship diagrams, o = female, Δ = male.



List of Tables, Figures and Maps.

**Tables**

Table 1. Ethnic identities in the interactions between groups in north-west Yunnan, China.....	105
Table 2. The Yi and the Naxi ritual texts compared.....	118
Table 3. Moso kinship terms, Set 1.....	128
Table 4. Moso kinship terms, Set 2.....	129
Table 5. Terms for lineages used by the Naxi, the Moso, the other Yi peoples and the Han.....	136
Table 6. A comparison of the Naxi ggô-bàw characters and the Yi characters.....	178
Table 7. Dto-mba schools.....	214
Table 8. Type A dto-mba religious texts in Europe and U.S.A. ....	218
Table 9. Type B dto-mba religious texts in Europe and U.S.A. ....	223
Table 10. Type C dto-mba religious texts in Europe and U.S.A.....	229
Table 11. Type D dto-mba religious texts in Europe and U.S.A.....	231
Table 12. Type E dto-mba religious texts in Europe and U.S.A. ....	233
Table 13. Type F dto-mba religious texts in Europe and U.S.A. ....	236
Table 14. The famous or noted dto-mba in comparison with the types of the texts .....	236
Table 15. Dto-mba population, Rock, Chinese sources & types of manuscripts compared .....	238
Table 16. Summary of the identification of dto-mba authors .....	239
Table 17. Manuscripts identified in different libraries in Europe .....	239
Table 18. Individual dto-mbas' library according to other sources .....	240
Table 19. The dates of some famous dto-mba and their relations in the history of Naxi religion .....	277

**Figures**

Figure 1. A concept of kinship.....	125
Figure 2. A Han Chinese kinship universe .....	138
Figure 3. The sequences of reference of the four Naxi/Moso clans (Jackson 1979: 240).....	140
Figure 4. The descent and the alliance of the Naxi people in the legend.....	141
Figure 5. The elementary structures of kinship: a four-section system of generalised exchange.....	144
Figure 6. A 1a dto-mba text .....	218
Figure 7. A 1b dto-mba text .....	219
Figure 8. A 1c dto-mba text .....	219
Figure 9. A2 (Ho Ho-shou [和合寿]).....	219
Figure 10. A3 dto-mba text .....	220
Figure 11. A4 dto-mba text .....	220
Figure 12. A5 dto-mba text .....	220
Figure 13. A5b dto-mba text.....	221
Figure 14. A6 dto-mba text .....	221
Figure 15. B1 dto-mba text .....	224
Figure 16. B2 dto-mba text .....	224
Figure 17. B3 dto-mba text .....	224
Figure 18. B5 dto-mba text .....	225
Figure 19. B6 dto-mba text .....	225

Figure 20. B7 dto-mba text .....	225
Figure 21. B8 dto-mba text .....	226
Figure 22. B9 dto-mba text .....	226
Figure 23. B11 dto-mba text .....	226
Figure 24. B12 dto-mba text .....	227
Figure 25. B13 dto-mba text .....	227
Figure 26. C1 dto-mba text .....	229
Figure 27. C9 dto-mba text .....	229
Figure 28. C2 dto-mba text .....	230
Figure 29. C3 dto-mba text .....	230
Figure 30. D1 dto-mba text .....	231
Figure 31. D1a dto-mba text .....	231
Figure 32. D2 dto-mba text .....	232
Figure 33. D2 dto-mba text .....	232
Figure 34. D3 dto-mba text .....	232
Figure 35. E1 dto-mba text .....	233
Figure 36. E2 dto-mba text .....	234
Figure 37. E3 dto-mba text .....	234
Figure 38. E4 dto-mba text .....	234
Figure 39. E5 dto-mba text .....	235
Figure 40. E6 dto-mba text .....	235
Figure 41. E7 dto-mba text .....	235

### Maps.

Map 1. The Moso/Naxi people in historical times .....	93
Map 2. The area of Naxi writing .....	157
Map 3. Schools of <i>dto-mba</i> in China .....	213

## Introduction

I came from southern China to Britain to study English in 1985. This was the beginning of my experience of scholarship in Western Europe.

While studying English in Britain, books in English on the society and cultures in China began to catch my attention. That was my first interest in the subjects of anthropology, which has eventually grown into this thesis.

Examining closely, I find one 'reason' for such an interest to grow. I identify this as my feeling that previous writers had failed to convey an adequate appreciation of the reality of life in China which I knew from my own personal experience. The same may have been experienced by others in other parts of the world.

After the Renaissance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when European scholars began to revolutionise many aspects of learning, West European countries, such as Britain, had become stronger politically and economically. In the overseas expansion that followed, access to knowledge by European scholars increased. The scope of such an access to knowledge further improved the scholars' intellectual capability in the systematisation and retaining of knowledge.

The access to the knowledge of most societies and cultures of the world by West European scholars did not cease until at least the middle of this century and has gone in fact beyond. The prime was just within the last century or so. This has been long enough to bring a scholarly tradition into existence, which could not be ignored by the scholars of other societies and cultures which had been 'studied' by the scholars from Europe (cf. Said 1991[1978]: 6, 25).

Thus it is not strange that we can read that

The discoveries and writings of western scholars have contributed to the growth of the national sentiment which has been an outstanding feature of South East Asian history during the present century. They have stimulated the nationalist's pride in the past of his people and his desire for respect in the eyes of the West. (Hall 1961: 2)

This is written from a political point of view. I interpret the process which Hall discusses as an upsurge of pride in a culture heritage, 'inside out' as it were, but clearly there are also important external influences at work here, from the 'outside in'. Yet it is not always merely a stimulation of the desire for external respect and nationalism in the political sense which explains this process. The process also arises from a concern with the cultural heritage, the continuities and discontinuities, of the society and culture of the people concerned, since these shape the very existence of the societies in question.

Indeed, culture is what has been learned and practised, by 'insiders' and 'outsiders' alike. There is some difference: the 'outsiders' will take away what they want, the 'insiders' just want to throw away what they no longer need.

It is by this theme that I have organised my present study. The main content of the study is the historical cultures of the Tibeto-Burman-speaking peoples in the south-western provinces of China and the interpretation of the Naxi (Na-khi) ritual texts.

### **Social anthropology**

Social anthropology has developed into a distinct academic discipline in Britain since the beginning of this century. Its ancestor was the Scottish and English scholarship in history and philosophy of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a time when European scholars underwent an intellectual transformation by rethinking the Greek and the Roman classics, which had been the basis of European thought. This was the Renaissance in the history of Europe. From then on western Europe began to produce distinctive thinkers who surpassed those of the Orient in the scale of learning and, especially, in the scale of spreading knowledge in more innovative and competitive ways.

The fifteenth and sixteenth century European historians and philosophers were further inspired by the European overseas explorations of the time, followed by the

colonisation overseas and the Industrial Revolution in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These activities had opened up new branches of learning in man's intellectual relationships with other aspects of nature. These newly-defined branches of learning, such as physics, biology, chemistry, mathematics, were later classified by the term 'science'. The Latin root of the word is 'to know'. It is synonymous with the English 'learning', but essentially different from 'study' or 'reason'. I think the meaning of 'reason' has been indiscriminately connoted into the meaning of 'science' in the idea of 'social sciences', which includes social anthropology. But these new branches of learning had produced new ways of reasoning. It was these new ways of reasoning that gave historians and philosophers new ideas about their learning. Social anthropology was then the brain-child of these new ideas.

Social anthropology has once been defined as 'the study of man' (Mair 1972: 1; Leach 1982: 13; Lewis 1985: 16), or 'the study of man in his social aspects, in his relationship with other people in living communities' (Beattie 1964: 12). To take the cultural and social aspect of mankind together, one can well say that 'Anthropologists study people' (Ingold 1994: xiii). There is an important fact about this study: it is the study of mankind by one of the members of mankind. Although each may be different from the other, communication and understanding between us are always not impossible, if not wholly possible. The study therefore implies a relationship between those who do the study and those who are studied. This relationship is different from those relationships that exist in the studies in which the objects of study are other than human beings.

Some anthropologists have argued that we study others and in the end we know more about ourselves (for example, Lewis 1985: 27). In the anthropology of the last century in Europe, the other was looked upon as representing the past owing to the fact that they had a simpler way of life. So as we knew them, we knew our past. This

is also a version of learning about the other in order to learn more about ourselves. It is often that there is not always much more to learn from the other than from ourselves. So as we are learning about the other, the other is learning about us. This implies mutual relationships. These mutual relationships are not the by-products of learning, but the very purpose of learning. Since World War Two, especially in the last two decades, Many European anthropologists have come to realise this fact. Anthropology, therefore, is no longer seen as 'the mindless collection of the exotic, but the use of cultural richness for self-reflection and self-growth', and it is no longer a simple interest in the description of cultural others but 'a more balanced purpose of cultural critique which plays off other cultural realities against our own in order to gain a more adequate knowledge of them all' (Marcus and Fisher 1986: x).

One important historical fact about social anthropology was that it was a European bourgeois discipline closely related to the European colonisation of many parts of the world, as has been pointed out by many scholars (Asad 1973). Thus anthropological knowledge often implies a power relationship between those who do the study and those who are studied. Anthropologists have to recognise this fact which has been part of the problems in the cultures they investigate.

In Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, I am going to look through the traditions of social anthropology to validate this point that mutual relationships between peoples are the very purpose of learning in social anthropology. Chapter 2 discusses specifically the relationship between history and social anthropology. In my view history is essentially about ourselves, while social anthropology is about the other. This may be an echo of Evans-Pritchard's view of history. He said, 'History is part of the conscious tradition of a people and is operative in their social life; a representation of events in the thought of the present day' (Evans-Pritchard 1950: 21, 1961: 63). Yet this is a narrow view of history. It may be more appropriate for defining the place of history in social anthropology.

**Myself and Chinese cultures**

Although I have come from China and was largely educated within the context of Chinese cultures, I still choose cultures in China as a main topic of my study. I know this can be different from anthropologists who study cultures other than their own. In anthropology, there has been what is called the 'indigenous' anthropology, and I see my position in the following way:

First, although the idea of culture in social anthropology is drastically different from the idea of culture in the societies in which I was brought up, the basic fact is that we learn about the other and learn about ourselves at the same time. This is agreed by many social anthropologists (see above, also Chapter 1 below). My own cultural history (which I will examine further below in Chapter 4) has put this fact in a most conspicuous position. It may be said that the events of my cultural history were historical accidents, but the inevitable is that such accidents must take place where there are cultures, though the 'form' of these happenings are all different. In my view, to study cultures and societies, the relationship between self and societies has first to be addressed. Because of their cultural legacies, social anthropologists have to address problems of their own cultures equally as they address the problems of other cultures.

Second, I see my study as more of a methodological training than culturally specific investigations. In this case, methodologically speaking, there will not be great differences if I choose to study cultures in Africa or in India. British social anthropology, in its practice for a century, has accumulated distinctive methods and experiences in learning about cultures and societies. These methods and experience can readily serve as bases for future studies of cultures and societies. The discipline may constitute a culture of its own. A culture then is what is required to study another culture.

I also anticipate things such as that remarked by Maurice Freedman. He said: 'Modern sociological and anthropological analysis, carried out to a great extent by

Chinese scholars, has much altered the traditional conception of Chinese family.' (Freedman 1957: 8). The process of doing analysis of cultures is a process creating new relationships. Therefore studying one's own cultures from the perspective of another culture does not necessarily mean a complete change of one's own culture. Cultures changes both for external and internal reasons (see also Chapter 3).

### **Tibeto-Burman speaking peoples and Naxi religious texts**

Language has been one of the main components for European scholars to identify other cultures outside Western Europe. The unity of the Tibeto-Burman languages was first recognised by B. H. Hodgson in 1828 (Hale 1982: 1). Max Müller, the noted professor of languages in Western Europe last century, first classified these languages as Gangetic and Lohitic in 1854 (ibid.; Forbes 1881: 52; cf. Matisoff 1991: 472). Although the term 'Tibeto-Burman' might have been used for some time (see, for example, Lacouperie 1885: 467, 1887: 85), Stuart N. Wolfenden was credited as 'the first of the Tibeto-Burmanists' who published *Outline of Tibeto-Burman linguistic morphology* in 1929 (Hale 1982: 1; Wolfenden 1929). These languages include those of the tribes in Burma, the Nagas of eastern Bengal, and the tribes in the sub-Himalayan region, in what had been called the 'Ultra-India' or 'Further India' by the English (Forbes 1881: 52). At the same time, a vague notion of 'Indo-Chinese' family was also formed. In the 1940s, a 'Sino-Tibetan' sphere of language was identified, as more evidence had shown the relationship between Chinese and Tibetan on the one hand, and Tibetan and Burmese on the other (Benedict 1972: ix; Matisoff 1991: 469, 473). There are two points of view on this classification. One includes only the Chinese and the Tibeto-Burman languages. Another, under the 'Sinitic' heading, includes the Chinese, Tai-Kadai and Hmong-Mien (Miao-Yao) languages (Matisoff 1991: 470). The first point of view has been held by most European linguists.



Tibeto-Burman languages are highly diversified, as are the Indo-European languages. About 100 of these languages have been recorded by European linguists. These languages share some common features, such as some monosyllabic roots, the tonal systems, the object-verb order of sentences and common consonants and vowels. These have been the basis for linguists to put them into a language group (Benedict 1972: 4).

The Tibeto-Burman-speaking peoples live mainly in western and northern Burma and in the south-western provinces of China, together with other peoples, the Dai (Thai)-Zhuang-Dong-Buyi peoples. They are also found in Thailand and northern Laos and Vietnam (Lebar, et al. 1964: 3). The total population of Tibeto-Burman-speaking peoples today are about 56 million, who hold 258 separate languages (Matisoff 1991: 479-480). They are also represented by the Yi (彝) peoples in the Peoples Republic of China today (see also Chapter 4). Historically, these peoples consisted of a variety of social groups, there being a lack of political unity. Yet they had cultural relationships. It is part of the aim of my thesis to bring these relationships into perspective.

Modern cultural and social development within China has greatly reduced the cultural and social variety of these people. In this process of modernisation, the material life of the people has undoubtedly been enhanced greatly. The cultural and social construction and reconstruction of the people can similarly produce new questions and ideas, especially when facing the challenge of new cultural and social values. Cultural and social transformation is in process, as it has always been throughout history and in other parts of the world. It is for social scientists and the people to understand the nature of the change and progress. This understanding can only be formed from many angles. For intellectual purposes, problems remain as prevalent as ever concerning the histories, and even recent histories, among this variety of people. This should constitute one of the angles towards the understanding.

A historical study of the cultural and social diversity in the region of Southwest China would contribute also to our understanding of the nature of ethnicity in the region and else where.

This part of China was mentioned by Chinese historians as early as 135 BC, but histories of the societies and cultures there were not written until quite recently by modern Chinese historians. The works of historians are concerned more about historical facts than about social relations. To understand the variety of cultures and societies, there is a need to put these historical materials into a perspective.

Europeans came to Southwest China in the last century, via mainly India, Burma and countries in northern Indo-China (see also Jackson 1979: 21). There have been quite a number of travellers' and missionaries' account of the peoples there (e.g. Desgodins 1872; Gill 1880; Johnston 1908). The latter's history itself constitutes a field of study. One piece of the historical materials concerning the Tibeto-Burman-speaking peoples can be found in the religious texts of the Naxi now collected in the libraries in some European countries.

The Naxi (Na-khi) are a Tibeto-Burman-speaking people living in and around the town of Lijiang (丽江) in north-western Yunnan province, Southwest China. They were also known in Chinese history as the *Moso* (磨些、摩梭) (see also Chapter 4). Early this century, a large number of their religious texts (also known as Naxi manuscripts or Naxi ritual texts) were collected by European travellers and explorers (See Map 1 in Chapter 6 showing the distribution of the writing; discussion follows in the chapter and in Chapter 7). These texts were written and used by the religious persons among the Naxi, known as the *dto-mba* or *llü-bu* to perform different religious ceremonies (see discussion in Chapter 7). Many of these ceremonies were no longer performed by the beginning of this century. Many of these texts were collected by people who travelled to the area. There are now 5,118 of these

texts in the libraries in the United States of America, Germany and Britain and a few in other libraries in Europe.

The *dto-mba* mainly used two types of writing, one was the pictographs, another was the characters called *ggô-bàw*. The religious texts were written mostly in some unique pictographs. The *ggô-bàw* characters were similar to those used by the larger group of Tibeto-Burman-speaking people, the Yi, in Southwest China. The latter resemble Chinese characters in certain ways (see Appendix I and Table 5 in Chapter 6). The pictographs are images of human and animals, or parts of them, plants, natural environment, household utensils and artefacts, especially ritual instruments and paraphernalia used in the rituals (see also Jackson 1979: 60). They have now become some of the most interesting historical cultural material from which we can learn about the historical Southwest China.

The Naxi were written about by European scholars as early as 1913 (J. Bacot 1913 *Les Mo-so*) and mentioned in earlier traveller's accounts (Jackson 1979: 21; 1989: 135). The first person who began to translate the pictographs and the texts was Joseph Francis Rock (1884-1962) (see also Jackson 1979: 3, 23; 1989: 138). He was born in Vienna but travelled to America in 1905 and became a botanical explorer. From 1922 to 1949, he spent almost all his time travelling and living in China, especially in Lijiang and in the west and south-west of China. Most of the texts in the libraries mentioned above were collected by him. From 1935 until his death, Rock continuously translated and interpreted these ritual texts to European audiences. About 135 texts were translated and several books were published (see Bibliography and Appendix III). After Bacot and Rock's publications, some scholars in China also began to study the texts and the pictographs. Among them were Li Lin-ts'an (Li 1944) and Fang Guoyu (Fang 1981). Most of these scholars were interested in the language and its relationship to the pictographs. Rock as well as Li, Fang's translation and annotation to the pictographs and the texts have left a fairly comprehensible picture

from which we can infer the contents of the texts as well as many aspects of the historical cultural life of the Naxi. This intellectual legacy in the study of the Naxi religious texts, however, needs re-evaluation critically. The problem of Naxi religious texts as a cultural fact 'discovered' by scholars both inside and outside China in the last two centuries need to be re-examined critically not only because there are still problems which are unsolved, but also because of the manner in which this cultural material has been represented. Such an examination is significant in both the traditional Chinese scholarship and European scholarship in the matter. There are still at least four problems concerning the Naxi religious texts that are in dispute: 1) the origin and dating of the religious texts, 2) the social and cultural identity of the Naxi/Moso, 3) the problem of translating the texts, and 4) the construction of this religion. These problems have been dealt with by Jackson (1979) to some extent, but none of the questions above-mentioned have been answered satisfactorily.

In my view, the problems of these religious texts should be further reviewed in the context of the regional cultures in Southwest China within the last two centuries. I will re-examine such a context from Chapter 3 to 5. Thus the window through which Naxi religion can be understood can be enlarged. At the same time, the problems of the religion can also contribute to our understanding of the regional culture in Southwest China.

The cultural context in which Naxi religion was created is important in the understanding and translation of the texts. I will summarise this in Chapter 8. The process of translating texts is not only a linguistic process, it is at the same time a cultural and social process. Some anthropologist have seen their work as essentially the translation of cultures (e.g. Geertz 1973). In dealing with the pictographic texts such as those written by the Naxi, this kind of translation may also be seen as a process of representation of a culture, a theme of cultural and social anthropological discourse. Naxi pictographic texts have somehow frozen aspects of the religious life

of the people in the area. Therefore, a translation of these texts is no longer a question of some 'word-to-word' translation. Many pictographs have proved to be obscure in meaning as far as a direct translation is concerned, but a clue of what they have represented is often available, which I have identified as in three directions: the textual structures, the cultural items and the language used. The pictographs are also more comprehensible when reading from these directions. Most of the pictographs have been translated and annotated by previous scholars (Rock 1963a, 1972; Li, et al. 1944, 1945; Li 1971; Fang 1981; Fu 1981, 1984; Naxi 1986-1989). Their pioneer works have provide a very strong basis on which the religious texts can be read and inferred. We should be very thankful to those who have worked before.

One very important aspect from which we can approach the problem of the origin of the religion is the authorship of these religious texts. The authors of these texts have not been studied closely in all previous studies. The authors of the texts have been mentioned by Rock from time to time in his study of his collection of the texts but he had not systematically discussed about these authors, i.e. the *dto-mbas*. (Rock 1952, 1965). The *dto-mba* population has been investigated in the research in China in recent years (He and Guo 1985; Guo 1991b). A comparison can be done between the discussion of these *dto-mba* authors. The styles of the pictographic texts provide yet another source from which we can learn about the authorship of the texts. The comparison of the authorship of the texts will tell us as much about the religion as the contents of the texts. The previous scholarship has provided us with the readership of these texts so that we can learn how the religion has been represented. The religious texts and the *dto-mba* population will tell us more about how the religion has been created. I see these are the approaches anthropologists can adopt in textual studies to examine cultures critically.

Naxi religious texts contain material from several sources: Buddhism, Tibetan Bon religion, and Han Chinese cosmology, plus techniques of demon eviction and

divination. These sources are the direction of the cultural items through which we can move towards the understanding of the texts. The texts contain stories, to which we can find local parallels. Some comparison of these is done in Chapter 7.

It can be said that Naxi pictographs are unique in the world, not because they are a rare example of an ancient script that can give us clues to the origin of human writing, but because of the ways in which some hundreds of these pictographs have been ingeniously used to represent a religious practice among a group of people. Most pictographs are universal representation of people's physical environment, but idiosyncratically related to the local language used. It was the pictographs, which were easier to read, that brought homogeneity to some degree in the religious practice among the people in the area (cf. also Jackson 1979: 61-62). The 'phonetic' scripts used are related to the Yi scripts, which are in certain ways close to the construction of Han Chinese characters. These have raised a question of the origin of literacy in this part of China. Along this line, it can be said that Naxi pictographic writing can constitute one aspect of enquiry from which we can see writing in general, in China and in this particular area.

Writing has been a subject of concern for anthropologists in the recent decades (Goody 1968, 1986; Street 1984; Street & Besnier 1994). In a literate society such as China, it will be the most interesting field. Naxi and the related Yi writing have provided a case of literacy among the non-Han Chinese. This will raise a question of the cultural relationship between the Han and the non-Han peoples in the matter of literacy. It can be suggested that cultural domination and subjugation have been an reality in this matter of literacy. The idea of literacy has been a golden maxim for Chinese society for at least a thousand year. How has such an idea formed the base for the construction of Chinese societies and how has this in fact had a profound effect in the cultural relationship among peoples in different parts of China? Exploration along

this line concerning the non-Han Chinese in the matter of literacy may lead in some way to the answer of these questions.

My main concern of this thesis is then to write an ethnography of Naxi religion which possesses very rich cultural material. Yet, as I see it, conventional fieldwork in anthropology is not a must for such a study, even if it is not entirely useless. There are several points in this argument. First, Naxi religion is now mainly embodied in the large number of the religious texts stored in different libraries around the world. What we know as Naxi religion today is therefore mainly a historical issue which needs reading critically from an anthropological perspective. Secondly, even Naxi religion as an historical issue is no longer very much a cultural legacy of the ordinary Naxi people in China today. This is a problem of social change and the politics of culture. So one will not learn as much from the field as from the texts. Thirdly, in this thesis, I am going to experiment with a new approach to the writing of ethnography, that is, from texts to texts (cf. Marcus and Cushman 1982; Marcus and Fisher 1986). For certain cultural circumstances such as those surrounding Naxi religion, such an approach is both necessary and feasible. Furthermore, as I will show in the thesis, a textual approach can overcome theoretical limitations, as well as funding constraints, in the ethnography through conventional fieldwork.

## Part I

### Social Anthropology and the Study of the Tibeto-Burman-speaking peoples

Naxi religious texts first caught social anthropologists attention in 1963 (Jackson 1965, 1989: 139). What these texts could have meant to social anthropologists? First, British social anthropology at the beginning of this century had become empirical, with a change of emphasis away from theoretical preoccupations but towards field-research (Kuper 1983: 5).

Studying Naxi religious texts raises the question of the relationship between the culturally specific and the culturally general. The discipline of social anthropology has been adopting a holistic approach to study human cultures and societies. In this process, some basic problems have been identified concerning the nature of culture and society. The two key problems are: 1) the relationship between cultures and societies; 2) the relationship between history and cultures.

These two aspects of culture and society provide a frame in which Naxi religion can be looked into. On the other hand, the cultural specifics of the texts produce yet another means by which the two basic problems of culture and society can be approached. The intrinsic relationship between social anthropology and Naxi religious texts, a special case of the cultures of Tibeto-Burman-speaking peoples, lies in the fact that social anthropology has been dealing with cultures of human societies in a holistic manner. This relationship can only be beneficial when both have become mutually comprehensible in either context. Since the context of each has happened to be within the other, there then comes the question of understanding. The accommodation of each other would not be possible without such an understanding.

It is the purpose of this part to bring out this understanding.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>. The following draws out some points in the history of anthropology relevant to the study of Naxi religious texts which follow. It is not intended as a complete or exhaustive account of the origins of anthropology (for which see e.g. Harris 1968; Kuper 1983, 1988).



## Chapter 1. The Tradition of Social Anthropology

### **1.1. The science of human societies and cultures**

When asked what is social anthropology, some British social anthropologists answer: It is the study of man (Lienhardt 1964: 1; Leach 1982: 16; Lewis 1985: 16). Most answer: 'It is the study of human society', or 'comparative sociology (Radcliffe-Brown 1940: 2), 'a branch of sociology' (Mair 1972: 1), 'micro-scale empirical sociology' (Leach 1982: 122), 'the study of man in his relationship with other people in living communities' (Beattie 1964: 12), and 'Anthropologists study people' (Ingold 1994: xiii). Two elements are present in the answers: one is humanity, another is society. Indeed, the very name of the discipline involves these two facets of our beings: mankind as social beings. To see that social anthropologists are concerned with 'people' puts more emphasis on the social aspects of mankind.

Social anthropologists distinguish between 'person' and 'individual' (Radcliffe-Brown 1940: 5; Leach 1982: 149). The 'individual' is defined as the living biological animal which is born, develops to maturity, grows old and dies while the 'person' is the set of offices and roles which attach to the individual at any particular stage in his life (Leach 1982: 149). I find this distinction has not taken into account the history of an individual. If a 'person' is only identified with 'set of offices and roles' at particular stages in his or her life then this is not exactly the same as a 'man as a social being', because people as social beings normally carries with them their past experiences.

What is crucial to be clear about is whether the set of offices and roles at a particular stage of a person's life make him a 'person' or he is simply an 'individual' *with* the set of offices and roles at a particular stage of his life. Social anthropologists start from this assumption of the set of offices and roles as if they were pre-existing. Offices and roles are social relationships. An office or a role is a relationship between an individual and another individual or a group of individuals. An office exists only

because of such a relationship. A 'person', if seen as the personification of his offices or his roles in a society, is then only half of the story. The other half of the story should be found in the person as an individual, with a history, who is relational to his offices. Leach has said that one of his themes in social anthropology is 'the fact of the disunity of man as a social being' (Leach 1982: 58). I think 'disunity' here should be further defined.

'Disunity', in the strict sense of the word, can be understood as the absence of history; here I mean man's own past. Although a social individual may start a new life at any stage of his or her life, this new life normally carries his or her successful past, a past which is recognised by the new society. Therefore there is unity within disunity. Here I tend to understand Leach's 'disunity' in association with the concepts of 'continuity' and 'discontinuity'. I shall discuss these further in Chapter 2.

The main assumption of modern social anthropology has been that of a science of human societies. This was made explicit by both Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942) and Albert Reginald Radcliffe-Brown (1881-1955). It may be argued that their theories or methods in the investigations of other societies had made a new start for modern professional British social anthropology. British and Scottish scholars of human societies and cultures who preceded or were contemporary to them were mainly historians, philosophers and lawyers.

Sir James Frazer (1854-1941) called Malinowski 'the man of science' (Preface in Malinowski 1922: ix). Malinowski himself described his work as scientific, methodical inquiry which could give results of better quality (Malinowski 1922: xv). Radcliffe-Brown said: 'I conceive of social anthropology as the theoretical natural science of human society' (Radcliffe-Brown 1940: 2). Although the word 'science' here used is the same word as that used by, say, biologists, there are in fact differences in the connotation of the word, which has not been made explicit. Malinowski thought about his scientific ethnography of 'primitive races' in contrast to

those done by the amateur ethnographers (Malinowski 1921: xv). His 'science' then implies the more organised, trained ways of learning and writing about remote cultures. Even though he might have thought differently, others had read him in a different way. Frazer commented:

It is characteristic of Dr. Malinowski's method that he takes full account of the complexity of human nature. He sees man, so to say, in the round and not in the flat. He remembers that man is a creature of emotion at least as much as of reason, and he is constantly at pains to discover the emotional as well as the rational basis of human action. The man of science, like the man of letters, is too apt to view mankind only in the abstract, selecting for his consideration a single side of our complex and many-sided being. (Frazer 1922: ix).

These 'non-scientific' aspects of Malinowski's ethnography have been fully recognised by new generations of social anthropologist (for example, some summaries in Boon 1982: 11-16).

Radcliffe-Brown's 'science' of societies is also different from that of biologists or physicists. He said:

The meaning of a word, a gesture, a rite, lies in what it expresses, and this is determined by its associations within a system of ideas, sentiments and mental attitudes. (Radcliffe-Brown 1957: 43).

There is one crucial difference between the sciences of biology, zoology or physics and the science of human societies and cultures. This is the fact that those who do the science of human societies and cultures are potential members or members of these societies and cultures. This means that there is an intrinsic relationship between the science and the scientists. Such a relationship is not so evident in other sciences. This fact was not considered by Emily Durkheim (1858-1917), French sociologist, who had subsequent influence on British social anthropology. Pocock summarised Durkheim in the following way:

Durkheim and his school derived great strength from what we might call a down-to-earth approach to social facts, a kind of 'facts are facts' attitude. He tries to devise a method for social scientists which would guarantee the objectivity of their observations and save them from the preconceptions that, as members of society themselves, they were bound to have. For him introspection was not merely useless, it was dangerously non-scientific. Durkheim's method was intended to establish social facts 'out there', as solid, measurable, ponderable and predictable as rocks. (Pocock 1975:21—23)

Durkheim's contemporary, German sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920) saw the science of society in a different way. He said:

Sociology ... is a science which attempts the interpretative understanding of social action... action is social in so far as, by virtue of the subjective meaning attached to it by the acting individual or individuals, it takes account of the behaviour of others and is thereby oriented in its course. (Weber, quoted in Pocock 1975: 22)

Weber emphasised the interactions between persons or peoples. This is what he meant by the *interpretative understanding* of societies (Pocock 1975: 22). The understanding of a person or persons' social behaviour is based on a parameter of the social behaviours of a larger group within which this person in question has day-to-day social interactions. His subjective meaning then is the subjectivity excluding that of the interpreter of the society. This is still in some sense that there is something 'out there'. It follows from this that social scientists are human outsiders who did some truth-valued understanding.

I would say that there is an intrinsic relationship between an anthropologist and the societies and cultures he studies. This is not a new idea. An early English anthropologist, James Cowles Prichard had made a note of such a relationship, writing in 1843. He said:

If the Negro and Australian are not our fellow creatures and of one family with ourselves but beings of an inferior order, and if our duties towards them were not contemplated, as we may in that case presume them not to have been, in any of the positive commands on which the morality of the Christian world is founded, our relations to these tribes will appear to be not very different from those which might be imagined to subsist between us and a race of oranges. (quoted in Lienhardt 1964: 4)

At that time, social anthropology had not been established as a distinct academic discipline. Prichard's idea about the relationship between the anthropologists and the exotic peoples they studied was formulated in accordance with the philanthropy in Christianity. It had not been thought as the kind of relationship which I am thinking about today. That relationship Prichard thought about was due to the support from the anatomical studies. The anatomical studies had led to the belief that there was a basic

unity of the human species. The conclusion was then that all peoples were potentially comparable socially and psychologically, as well as zoologically (Lienhardt 1964: 5). This idea has also been the theoretical basis of the comparative methods which have developed in social anthropology within this century.

Most anthropologists have agreed that the interpretation of other cultures and societies involves the subjectivity of the persons who do the interpretation. Moreover, such subjectivity has consequences in the cultures and societies of both the interpreters (the anthropologists) and the peoples in question. Pocock said:

In our dealings with other people we are constantly interacting in terms of shared and differing models and we are often modifying our models, or should be. (Pocock 1975: 27)

If social anthropology is a science, then it is a science of the scientist and the subjects he or she studies.

## **1.2. Function and structure, schools of thought in social anthropology**

The anthropology of Malinowski is known as 'functionalism'. He compared societies and cultures to living organisms with various functions. He said:

The influence on one another of the various aspects of an institution, the study of the social and psychological mechanism on which the institution is based, are a type of theoretical studies which has been practised up till now in a tentative way only, but I venture to foretell will come into their own sooner or later. (Quoted in Kuper 1983: 4)

Malinowski carried out extensive fieldwork among the living societies in Melanesia.

Radcliffe-Brown also had this idea of societies as living organisms. Furthermore he introduced the idea of 'structures'. He said:

I conceive of social anthropology as the theoretical natural science of human society. . . . .

My view of natural science is that it is the systematic investigation of the universe as it is revealed to us through our senses. . . . .

Social phenomena constitute a distinct class of natural phenomena. They are all, in one way or another, connected with the existence of social structures, either being implied in or resulting from them. Social structures are just as real as are individual organisms. (Radcliffe-Brown 1940: 2, 3).

To summarise, Radcliffe-Brown's social anthropology was mainly that of positivism resembling the approaches of the natural sciences. It is a truism to compare human societies and cultures to a living body, as Radcliffe-Brown, following Spencer and Durkheim, had conceptualised. Societies indeed consist of living bodies whose interactions constitute harmonic wholes, but they are also conflicting and changing wholes. To me what is characteristic of Radcliffe-Brown's anthropology is his emphasis on social relationships. He said:

A social structure is an arrangement of persons in relationship defined and regulated by institutions, and an institution is an established pattern of conduct, or set of patterns, relating to some features of social life. ... The concept of function, as I employ it, is used to describe the discoverable interconnections of the social structure and the process of social life. The social life is determined by the structure, the structure is maintained in existence by the social life. (Radcliffe-Brown 1949: 51 )

*Function* may be defined as the total set of relations that a single social activity or usage or belief has to the total social system (Radcliffe-Brown 1957: 43).

Although Radcliffe-Brown emphasised social relationships as the key elements in maintaining a social structure, his aim was to build the structure itself upon these relationships, for he said 'the aim of sociological analysis is to relate the various institutions of a society to each other . . .'. This is a static way of doing things: to try to turn something moving into something stationary. But this is a common enough sense: we cannot take (understand) something which moves constantly, we see things when they are stationary. The objective of social anthropology was then to understand societies and cultures. I shall discuss this in the next section of this chapter.

Lévi-Strauss' anthropology takes a very different stand from that I have discussed above. The fundamental difference I can see between Lévi-Strauss' anthropology and that of the British tradition is the degree of emphasis on 'man as a social being'. Or I may say it bluntly, that Lévi-Strauss did not give much consideration to individuals as the agents of culture. Inspired largely by structuralist ideas in linguistics, Lévi-Strauss' idea about social structure is different from the British structuralist school initiated by Radcliffe-Brown. Radcliffe-Brown saw that

social structures were not abstract models but realities (some comment in Kuper 1983: 53). He wrote to Lévi-Strauss:

I am not sure whether by 'model' you mean the structural form itself or my description of it. The structural form itself may be discovered by observation, including statistical observation, but cannot be experimented on. (Radcliffe-Brown 1953, quoted in Kuper 1977: 42).

For most British social anthropologists a social structure means a set of social relationships. Leach said:

Social structure in practical situations (as contrasted with the sociologist's model) consists of a set of ideas about the distribution of power between persons and groups of persons. Individual can and do hold contradictory and inconsistent ideas about this system. They are able to do this without embarrassment because of the form in which their ideas are expressed. The form is cultural form, the expression is ritual expression. (Leach 1954: 4)

### 1.3. The conscious and the unconscious

Structuralism likens cultural rules to the grammar of a language. There are indeed similarities between cultural rules and grammar. In fact the grammar of a language is one of the cultural rules of the culture in which the language is used. Rules are formulated by human beings and are based on agreement among themselves. In this sense, there is no 'conscious' and 'unconscious' distinction about rules: so long as we know how to play the game according to the rules, we are conscious of them. Lévi-Strauss has said that 'secondary elaboration tend to acquire the same unconscious quality as soon as they are formulated' (Lévi-Strauss 1963: 19). This implies that the unconscious rules or models which are 'discovered' by scholars are very much new formations of rules rather than rules that are pre-existing. By admitting the unconscious models underlying our behaviours, we in fact put ourselves at the mercy of something non-existent until we design it. The importance is how rules are introduced rather than what are the rules.

Boas has touched upon the key problem in the question of the consciousness and the unconsciousness. This problem is implicit in the following passage from him:

The great advantage that linguistics offers in this respect is the fact that on the whole, the categories which are formed always remain unconscious, and that for this reason the processes which lead to their formation can be followed without misleading and disturbing factors of secondary explanations, which are so common in ethnology, so much so that they generally obscure the real history of the development of ideas entirely. (Quoted in Lévi-Strauss 1963: 19)

I would emphasise 'the categories which are formed always remain unconscious'. If the categories always remain unconscious, then there is no point to talk about the unconscious as against the conscious. Pocock said that we 'use our own preconceptions as the primary material for the construction of conscious models with which we intend to understand situations outside our own' (Pocock 1975: 25). This implies that conscious models are essentially of our own making. This philosophy about the conscious and the unconscious models is more significant than that of a distinction between conscious and unconscious models, because to assume that there are unconscious models to be discovered is equal to suggesting that models are pre-existing. Pre-determination cannot explain relationships.

All ethnographies and anthropologies are works. This is not tautological because this is a statement to define the relationship between the anthropologist, his works and the society and culture that he studies. I see a piece of anthropological work as the work the anthropologist does to define his relationship with his other, just as a bird builds a nest in order to protect itself and to lay eggs and to hatch the young.

According to Lévi-Strauss, the conscious is the specific, the unconscious, the general (Lévi-Strauss 1963: 21). If I agree with the conscious/unconscious dichotomy, I will say the other way round, that is, the unconscious is the specific, the conscious is the general. We are talking about this distinction in terms of 'models' or in fact generalisations. The specifics are not models but variables. They are the essence of our daily life, but we remain 'unconscious' about them, so to say, as far as their models are concerned. To be conscious of something is to reason something. Reasoning a social or a cultural practice is to build an appropriate relationship between the practice and the person who does the reasoning. When this appropriate relationship



cannot be established between the observer and the observed, embarrassments or conflicts result. We do not reason our daily behaviours, that is the specifics, therefore we are 'unconscious' about them.

This argument has been in fact implicit in Lévi-Strauss' idea about the conscious and the unconscious structure. He said, the structural endeavour is to discover 'a single structural scheme . . . which can be reduced to certain relationships of correlation and opposition, which undoubtedly operate unconsciously among people who possess dual organisation' (Lévi-Strauss 1963: 22). The key word here is *operate*. This word is very important. For a society to be operative, it must be specific and conceivable. Therefore to say a society is 'operated unconsciously' is contradictory.

Social and cultural phenomena can be understood as the 'stated' and the 'unstated', the 'explicit' and the 'implicit'. The main difference between 'open' societies, societies which have more social interactions, and 'isolated' societies, societies which have less social interactions, is this degree of 'explicitness' and 'implicitness'. All societies are operated through symbols, but the distribution of ideas about these symbols is different from society to society. This distribution of ideas about social symbols is in accordance with the structure of the society. The 'explicitness' and the 'implicitness' of a given society may be found structurally distributed. Sometimes social anthropologists working on the 'unconscious' models of cultures may have taken aspects of the implicitness of these cultures as their 'unconscious' models.

Many societies which are studied by social anthropologists, are seen as 'egalitarian' societies. The equality of these societies is often relative to the inequality of non-egalitarian societies, because most anthropologists come from non-egalitarian societies. When anthropological concepts have been used to analyse or just to talk about these 'egalitarian' societies, a social hierarchy is already created. It is no wonder

in structural anthropology, anthropologists feel strongly about the distinction between the 'conscious' and the 'unconscious' social structures.

#### **1.4. The idea of culture in anthropology**

The idea of culture in social anthropology is traced to Sir Edward Burnett Tylor, British anthropologist of the evolutionist school. He borrowed the word from German scholar Gustav E. Klemm, who began to define the word 'culture' in 1843. Klemm's idea of culture was 'dynasties, king lists, and battles, and what is essential in history, as it is manifest in customs, in beliefs, and in forms of government' (quoted in Kroeber 1952: 10). The original meaning of the word 'culture' in European languages is related to tending, tilling or cultivation of land. It had attained more meanings by the end of the middle ages (950 A.D.-1500 A.D.). For example, in English, it meant 'worship' by Christian authors in 1510 and 'training of the mind, faculties, manners' by other authors in 1651 (Kroeber 1952: 33). Since Tylor and Klemm, the word 'culture' began to be used by European scholars who study other peoples.

The concept of culture in anthropology can now broadly embrace all that a normal human being thinks and does. There are different emphases though in anthropologists' treatment of their material of study. These different emphases can be identified in three aspects. The first is human being's own past, handed down or not to the present. The second is human being's creativity, that is what he or she thinks and does at the present moment, and in relation to other human beings. The third is what a human being thinks and does as against activities other than what he or she thinks and does. The last is defined as 'nature' by us.

It is not surprising that first two emphases on the concept of culture also divide the schools of thought in social anthropology. Radcliffe-Brown interpreted social reality as a process and culture as 'part of that process of interaction amongst persons' (Radcliffe-Brown 1952: 7). Here his idea about culture seems to be almost identical

with the concept of 'society' in British social anthropology. Other anthropologists defined 'culture' on the first emphasis. Lewis said:

Culture is the protective shell of a community and cultural distinctions become, to some extent, an index of social identity. We assume this, of course, when we associate variations in speech or accents and life style, that is cultural differences, with variations in social class or place of origin.

. . . . culture is simply a convenient term to describe the sum of learned knowledge and skills. . . that distinguishes one community from another. . . passes on in a recognisable form from generation to generation. (Lewis 1985: 16, 17).

Since Lévi-Strauss, anthropologists have begun to define culture in terms of nature. Marilyn Strathern said:

Culture exceeds itself (Nature vanishes) and, outcultivated, Culture is manifest as style. And an excess of individualism? Does Society also vanish; will the Individual become visible only in the exercise of an agency where all is choice? Excesses of style and choice may appear an obvious process of Americanisation from an 'English' point of view. Yet holding that view is equally a process of Anglicisation. (Strathern 1992: 6)

Here nature is seen as enculturated.

Some anthropologists distinguish culture and society, as Radcliffe-Brown, in fact, did. Such a distinction may be seen in the academic practices between British social anthropologists and American cultural anthropologists. British social anthropologists treat what they think is culture as the medium for social relationships, which is society. American anthropologists see social relations as the product of cultural patterning and conditioning (Lewis 1985: 19).

Both inside and outside the discipline of anthropology, the word 'culture' has been used generally to refer to what men do. The word 'society' has been used to mean how men are related. Therefore, anything a normal person does can be attributed to 'culture'. But when a person does something, he will usually do it according to certain norms acceptable to other persons. When he does not follow the existing norms, he will have to persuade people in some way to accept his way of doing things. These give what a man does a social meaning. It is here that what men do is related to how they do it.

British social anthropologists see social relations as having priority over culture. Culture is the vehicle for social interactions rather than the end itself (Lewis 1985: 21). This view is the opposite of an American sociologist, R. M. MacIver, who made a distinction between 'civilisation' and 'culture':

By civilisation we mean the whole mechanism and organisation which man has devised in his endeavour to control the conditions of life ... Culture on the other hand is the expression of our nature in our modes of living and thinking, in our everyday intercourse, in art, in literature, in religion, in recreation and enjoyment ... The realm of culture ... is the realm of values, of styles, of emotional attachments, of intellectual adventures. Culture then is the antithesis of civilisation. (Quoted in Kroeber 1952: 14)

MacIver's distinction between 'civilisation' and 'culture' is more like the distinction between 'society' and 'culture' in British social anthropology, or more precisely, that between 'institution' and 'culture'. The difference between British social anthropology and American sociologist MacIver in terms of 'culture' depends then on how the relationship between 'society' and 'culture' is viewed. I will further discuss this relationship between 'society' and 'culture' in Chapter 2 (2.4.), Chapter 3 (3.1.) and Chapter 4 (4.4.). The word 'civilisation' is not used by social anthropologists because the sense of 'civilisation' is related to cities, to nation states. Social anthropologists tend to study 'small-scale' societies or small societies remote to the cultural centres in Europe, at least before the last three decades. That was closely related to the European colonial era. This relationship is now discussed below.

### **1.5. Anthropology and colonialism: a relationship of power in culture**

Social anthropology and the anthropology in Euro-American countries developed from a very important historical fact, that is the European colonisation of many parts of the world since the late fifteenth century. It has been argued that 'Science flourished in the eighteenth century not merely because of the intense curiosity of individuals working in Europe, but because colonial expansion both necessitated and facilitated the active exercise of the scientific imagination' (Dirks 1992: 6). In other words, colonialism has

nurtured the science in Europe. The eighteenth century anthropology in Europe was also part of such a scientific drive. By the end of the nineteenth century and the early of the twentieth century, when social anthropology became a university discipline, almost all the cultures and societies which were studied by anthropologists had been under European colonial rule in one form or another. Although anthropologists have always claimed a 'scientific' pursuit of knowledge and political neutrality, and although some renowned anthropologists made a distinction between academic anthropology and government anthropologists working for the colonial administration (Marcus and Fisher 1986: 19, n.1), their close relationship with and involvement in the colonial administration cannot be ignored (Feuchtwang 1973). In fact, the very idea of functional anthropology in the formation of British social anthropology contained elements and the logic of collaboration with the colonial administration (Asad 1973: 14, 103; James 1973: 53)

For anthropologists to recognise the fact that anthropology has been related to European colonialism is to address the theoretical limitation of classical anthropology (Forster 1973: 24). In my view, the theoretical limitation of classical anthropology may be seen in at least two aspects: one is the relationship between knowledge and power, between culture and control (Dirks 1992: 11), another is the cultural identity of the anthropologist.

On the one hand, many anthropologists after the Second World War have stated the fact that anthropological knowledge has directly or indirectly served for the colonial rule (Gough 1968: 403; James 1973: 50-51; Feuchtwang 1973). Colonial administrations had been sponsors for British social anthropology (Feuchtwang 1973: 73-88). Anthropologists tended to take the imperialist framework as given (Gough 1968: 403). Classical anthropology has either ignored or taken insufficient account of the colonial situation (Forster 1973: 25, 34). It has been argued that anthropology was part of a system of knowledge in the European consciousness in their identity as a

superior one in comparison with all the non-European peoples and cultures (Said 1991 (1978): 6-7). Anthropology is rooted in an unequal power encounter between the West and Third World which goes back to the emergence of bourgeois Europe (Asad 1973: 16). On the other hand, many Euro-American anthropologists in both the inter-war and post-war periods were often seen as the spokesmen for the people they studied. They were defensive of the rationality of the 'primitive' peoples (Gough 1968: 403; Turner 1971: 1; James 1973: 43). They were called 'apologists of colonialism' (Turner 1971: 1). Thus applied anthropology came into being as a kind of social work and community development effort for non-white peoples (Gough 1968: 403). This position of the anthropologists, however, is contradictory and ambivalent (James 1973: 49; Hastrup and Elsass 1990: 301-302; cf. also Asad 1973: 104).

This ambivalent position is the result of the dilemma facing the colonial anthropologists between their endeavour for pure scientific research and their avowal of the practical usefulness of the subject (James 1973: 50). The positivistic tendency of the anthropologists in the first half of this century may be seen in a conclusion by Raymond Firth:

. . . science today is in danger of being caught up by practical interests and made to serve them, to the neglect of its own problems. . . . The scientist gives generalizations regarding the nature of the working of institutions; it is not his duty to affix ethical values to them, not by conniving at such an ethical evaluation to pave the way for their modification. (Firth 1936 quoted in James 1973: 47).

In the same passage, the dilemma of an anthropologist is also expressed:

This is not to say that the scientist himself may not have his own personal predilections based on his upbringing and social environment, his temperamental disposition, his aesthetic values. He may regard the culture of a primitive, half-naked set of people in an island of the Solomons as a pleasant way of life . . .; he may regard it as something he would like to see endure, and he may strive to preserve it in the face of ignorance and prejudice, pointing out the probable results of interference with ancient customs. This he does as a man, his attitude is part of his personal equation to life, but it is not implicit in his scientific study. The greatest need of the social sciences today is for more refined methodology, as objective and dispassionate as possible, in which, while the assumptions due to the conditioning and personal interest of the investigator must influence his findings, that bias shall be consciously faced,

the possibility of other initial assumptions be realised and allowance be made for the implications of each in the course of the analysis.(ibid.)

I think that the dilemma and contradictory position of the anthropologist come from one problem, i.e. the social and cultural identity of the anthropologist. The problem has rarely been discussed by social anthropologists until recently. Now anthropologists and other scholars have acknowledged the fact that 'conditions of knowledge are defined not so much by what they are as by what they come after' (Marcus and Fisher 1986: 7), and that 'no anthropological monograph can hide the fact that cultures are essentially "written"' (Clifford and Marcus 1986 quoted in Hastrup 1990: 302). Lévi-Strauss identified a twentieth century consciousness as 'a critic at home but a conformist elsewhere' (Lévi-Strauss 1955). This has referred to anthropologists early this century and their political stand generally in relation to the cultures and politics in Europe. Today it is most likely that they are 'conformist at home and critics elsewhere'.

Anthropological works are then mostly representation and interpretation of cultures and societies (Geertz 1973; Clifford and Marcus 1986). This is part of the politics of culture, which explains the dilemma facing the colonial anthropologists early this century. It is right that

Even a purely academic interest in other worlds ultimately leads to a kind of 'representation' of others. . . . . 'Representation' presupposes a generalised (and largely absent) Other, while 'speaking for' involves particular (and immediately present) individuals. Theoretically, these modes differ radically in their bases of legitimation. Ethnography is legitimated by established canons of scholarship and the *creation* of knowledge, while advocacy rests on moral commitment and the *use* of knowledge. (Hastrup and Elsass 1990: 302).

The European representation of the non-European world since the Enlightenment period in Europe has been criticised as a creation of a relationship of power, of domination and of varying degrees of a complex hegemony (Said 1991[1978]: 5). One may argue that there are alternative forms for the adequate representation of other voices or points of view across cultural boundaries, and there are equally political or

cultural divisions among the peoples other than the Europeans (Marcus and Fisher 1986: 2). Although Said has not considered the complexity of such a power relationship in the politics of culture, the message conveyed in all the arguments is quite clear: culture is always a means of domination. Culture has also served as a weapon for the nationalist movements in many non-European countries since World War Two. That culture essentially serves for domination and power is further discussed in the later chapters (2.4 and 4.4.).

### **1.6. The objectives of social anthropology**

I have been working between different cultures. My initiative was to learn. But in the end, I find that I have to face the question of cultural affiliation: to which culture do I belong?

I have noticed conflicts between cultures, not simply wars for territories, for political domination, but very often in ways of life, ways of thinking and ways of expression.

Social anthropology may have been one intellectual training to think about these things, not necessary to solve them, because there are no solutions to differences in things culture. For each individual, if there is a solution at all, it is wisdom. Towards this I am planning to construct the theme of my thesis. To put it tangibly, I say that cultures work on each other, each takes a different perspective. The understanding of these different perspectives is where individual wisdom lies.

British social anthropologist I. M. Lewis finds the aims of social anthropology in the eighteenth-century French philosopher, J. J. Rousseau, who said that

One needs to look near at hand if one wants to study men: but to study man one must first observe differences in order to discover attributes. (Quoted in Lewis 1985: 16)



According to Lewis, this is the 'comprehensive perspective on the human condition that social anthropology seeks to achieve (Lewis 1985: 16). Rousseau's idea about a study of men was not different from the structuralists' idea of a science of men.

The following are some more definitions of the aim of social anthropology, apart from those quoted in the beginning of this chapter:

We study peoples rather than *people*. Our primary units of reference are 'societies', that is, distinct and relatively autonomous communities whose members' mutual social relations are embedded in, and expressed through, the medium of a common culture (Lewis 1985: 16).

In this statement, the study of social relationships is seen as the aim of social anthropology.

Anthropology to Malinowski was not simply the study of the savage, but the study through which by understanding the savage, we might come to a better understanding of ourselves. This is 'coefficient of reality' (Firth 1957: 9).

Contemporary social anthropology is centrally a study of relationships. (Beattie 1964: 14)

Social anthropologists are used to asking the 'what' questions. For example, 'What binds all the discordant currents into something that can be called a community?' (Lewis 1985: 21). 'What' questions are questions about static social relationships. But it has been generally recognised that social relationships are not static phenomena (for example, Leach's remark about social structure quoted in the section above). It seems then what anthropologists should ask is not 'what', but 'how'.

Social anthropology may be said to be everybody's discipline, not that everybody studies it but that everybody does it. The university discipline is only more specialised in the matter and with more time devoted to it, just as everybody will have to cook and eat, yet there are restaurants which do the special cooking and eating. When two persons meet for the first time or not the first time, they begin each other's anthropology. They ask each other's origin, identity and learn each other's appearance, voice, manners and so on. These are all anthropological forms of

knowledge. These pieces of knowledge become the social relationships of the two persons who meet with each other. A new society and a new culture are then established. This culture and this society are based not only on the previous group cultures and societies from which the two individuals come, but also on the individual motives and potentiality that each carries. The individual then has an equally important role to play in this social contact. He or she is also the interest of the anthropologist.

One may also argue that it is the individual who plays with culture and society, rather than culture and society which identify the individual. That is why social anthropologists' struggle to find cultural and social patterns is not the real direction towards which social anthropologists want to move. The aim to find these patterns was meant to be able to explain or interpret the individual's behaviour within that society and culture. This aim is not correct. Lewis said:

Each piece of field research aims at achieving a 'scoop' which will redound to the anthropologist's credit, and the more interesting and exciting the raw data the better. There is always the lurking fear that some hostile critic will ask the return voyager the old, but still highly relevant question: was his journey really necessary: Did he really need to go so far to learn so little? It is at this point that the anthropologist, when pressed, retreats into impenetrable jungles of ethnographic fact. And it is by the quality of these records that he brings back that he will ultimately be judged. The 'ethnographic facts' are indeed our golden fleece (Lewis 1985: 26).

The 'ethnographic facts' then are the very end of social anthropology. These 'ethnographic facts' are not the reality of the remote culture that the anthropologist has been to, but the reality of the anthropologist's relationship with that culture. Once these facts have brought before the group to which the anthropologist originally belonged or the group he will belong, these facts become the reality of the anthropologist's relationship with this group that he has daily contacts with. His facts about other cultures overlap with the facts of life of the members of this group. It is here that the anthropologist who has done the enquiry in the other culture can build certain patterns of life to communicate with his fellows. These patterns used to be learned as the principles that govern all societies. But they are indeed the social

relationship of the anthropologist who has constructed the cultural patterns (cf. Marcus and Fisher 1986: 20-21).

If social anthropology is defined as the social relationship between anthropologists and their others, then the dilemma between the past and the current, the marginal and the central that used to haunt the practices of anthropology can be resolved. Some have remarked that 'social anthropology is what social anthropologists do' (Lewis 1985: 380). This is nearly appropriate. It is appropriate when it is added that social anthropology is what social anthropologists do in their relationships to what the others do.

My study of the Naxi religious texts can be seen in this light. In a sense, my opportunity of being in Britain and my ability to read between different scholarship in Naxi studies have given me an unique position in the relationship between cultures. This position of mine can create an unequal relationship between the Naxi people, who have created the Naxi religious texts, and myself, so far as knowledge is concerned. Some scholars have pointed out that the collection of Naxi religious texts to European libraries is in effect a loss of cultural heritage on the part of the Naxi people (Bøckman 1987: 5). Despite the complication involved in matters of culture such as this (e.g. The religious activity was actually banned and the books burned in the recent history of China. cf. also my discussion in 1.5. concerning culture and power relationships), this was still part of European exploration of the other cultures, which inevitably resulted in the unequal relationship between peoples and their cultures, as has been observed by Said (Said 1991[1978]: 5).

But on the other hand, my approach to the Naxi religious texts in this thesis can also be seen as creating an equality in scholarship across cultures. My study is textual in nature. It is a critical examination of the Naxi culture as it has been represented by different scholarship, i.e. the religious texts produced by the *dto-mba* and the study of these texts by different scholars both inside and outside China, including social and

cultural anthropologists in Britain and the United States. Therefore, my position is not like the position of most anthropologists who carry out fieldwork in cultures other than their own. In their contacts with the other cultures and the other social life, these anthropologists have to face the question of the cultural relationship and the social status between themselves and the peoples they come to study. My position can be seen as set between cultures. There is no such a direct cultural and social relationship between myself and the Nazi people. I may define it as an academic practice to study a culture from a distance. If ethnographies are eventually something written and become textual in nature (Marcus and Cushman 1982), then textual studies should also produce ethnographies. This is what I see as the approach I generally follow in the writing of this thesis. I may call it 'text-as-ethnography'. It is another way of doing ethnography. This will be further discussed in Chapter 3 (3.3.). Nevertheless, I cannot deny that my study of the Nazi religious texts in Britain itself will contribute to the cultural knowledge here in Britain and therefore can be related to the kind of power relationship in culture that I mentioned above.

### **1.7. Methods or theories in traditional social anthropology**

The method of the social anthropologist is the 'narrowly based, but correspondingly more intensive, case study' (Lewis 1985: 30). But at the same time, the approaches of social anthropology are defined as 'holistic, comprehensive and catholic'. The way in which social anthropologists do their work clearly corresponds to their objectives. Social anthropologists collect case studies. The intensity of their work enables them to form a base for establishing an adequate social relationship with the people they study. The holistic approach may be understood as the manner required of anthropologists to establish this adequate social relationship. Just as a holistic manner is required of anthropologists, the people also adopt a holistic gesture in their contacts with the anthropologists. An institution of culture is thus formed.

The idea of 'methods' in social anthropology is largely taken from the empirical natural sciences. The English word 'method' has several meanings:

- 1) a special form of procedure, especially in any branch of mental activity;
- 2) the orderly arrangement of ideas;
- 3) a scheme of classification.

The Latin and Greek origin of the word is simply 'pursuit of knowledge'.

The word 'theory' has the following meanings:

- 1) a supposition or system of ideas explaining something, especially one based on general principles independent of the particular things to be explained (opposite: hypothesis);
- 2) the sphere of abstract knowledge or speculative thought;
- 3) the exposition of the principles of a science, etc.

(Joyce M. Hawkins and Robert Allan (eds.) *The Oxford Encyclopaedia English Dictionary* . Oxford, 1990).

In social anthropology, when the word 'method' is used, it is normally used in the first meaning. In that case it is also 'way of doing something', the same idea as that in the empirical natural sciences. Fieldwork has been a method in anthropology. Rivers pioneered the 'genealogical method' in kinship enquiries (*Notes and Queries in Social Anthropology* ). Comparison is another method in social anthropology. These are the 'ways of doing things' in social anthropology. 'Theory', on the other hand, is generally used by social anthropologists to refer to general principles. When social anthropology is considered as a comparative discipline, 'theory' is the principle which results from a comparison of cultures and societies. This is generally Radcliffe-Brown's meaning of theory. Furthermore he took this as something in reality, something that can be observed in social reality (Kuper 1983: 53). Lévi-Strauss' idea of 'theory' is mainly in the second meaning of the word, that is 'reasoned supposition put forward to explain facts or events'. 'Theory' then can be interpreted as the

reasoning done by an anthropologist about a culture or a society, or culture and society in the abstract.

Evans-Pritchard's famous ethnography on Zande witchcraft showed that similar events were often conceptualised differently in different cultures. Thus when certain particular abnormal events occur to specific individuals, for example, a suicide or an injury in hunting, British social scientists would explain that these might have been the result of some mental disturbances in the case of suicide and chances and probabilities in the case of injury in hunting. The Zande would use the idea of what has been translated in English as 'witchcraft' to explain these abnormal phenomena (Evans-Pritchard 1937 *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* quoted in Lewis 1985: 68—83). 'Witchcraft' in English has a quite different meaning from 'mental disturbances' or 'chances and probabilities'. If we leave the different notions in these words and put the two explanations, British social scientists' and Zande, on an imagined theoretical plane, we can say that they are theoretical equals. A simple fact is that both are explanations, hence theories. When asked who are the witches, the Zande answer is 'potentially everyone, but more particularly your neighbours, friends and acquaintances — anybody with whom you have dealings, and especially those you envy because of their success, or fear because of your good fortune'. It is evident then that the Zande witchcraft is a particular cultural conceptualisation of envy and guilt (Lewis 1985: 81). Similarly, when asked what are the 'mental disturbances', a British psychiatrist would have a list of symptoms found in mentally-ill persons to give the answer. The list would include things which have to do with those whom would have been considered as 'witches' if in the Zande situation. In other words, Zande 'witchcraft' and the British psychiatric 'mental disturbances' are really 'problems in social relationships'. Thus on the same level of abstraction, there are three different ways of saying or reasoning the problems in social relationships: 'bewitched' by the

Zande, 'mental disturbances' by British psychiatrists or 'problems in social relationships' by social anthropologists.

Of course, although the reasoning has been given the same theoretical status, each theory has a different scope of reference. It is these different scopes that make one culture different from another in absolute terms. The superiority of one culture over another is also found in them. The idea of superiority and inferiority is only defined in comparative terms. This is a basic sense. When comparing things in terms of superiority and inferiority, we adopt a standard. Such a standard is based on degrees of generalisation. Thus, Zande 'witchcraft' and British psychiatric 'mental disturbances' both demonstrate different degrees of generalisation about social events and behaviour.

Social anthropology studies other cultures and societies for social anthropologists' purposes. It is really social anthropologists' ways of reasoning about other cultures and societies. 'Ways of reasoning' in social anthropology have in effect included the idea of both 'method' and 'theory' in common social anthropological terminology. In recent years, social anthropologists have been conscientious of distinguishing between 'method' and 'theory' too strictly.

Functionalism in anthropology has at least two components. It is, first of all, a theory of how societies work. Second, since it conceives of societies working in certain ways, it prescribes a method for the study. (Jarvie 1968: 196)

Comparison is both a method and a theoretical concept. (Barnard 1991: 3)

Social structures, on the other hand, have been treated as means to an end. For example, a social structure, once grasped by anthropologists, is seen as having prediction value (Pocock 1975: 4, comment on Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown).

Comparative methods are the 'conscious' intellectual models initiated by especially American anthropologists since the end of last century. The words 'comparative method' seemed to have been first used in anthropology by Franz Boas

(Boas 1896). The use of comparative method in anthropology can be traced to the 'arm-chair' anthropologists of the eighteenth century in Britain and British social anthropology was maintained as the systematic comparative studies of the primitive societies, under especially the structural-functional school of Radcliffe-Brown (Radcliffe-Brown 1951). In other fields, notably the sciences, the idea of comparison also availed in the last century, as in the comparison of different kinds of organisms in anatomy (Sarana 1975: 12). The nineteenth century comparative methods in the sciences as well as in the humanities were mainly for classification or definition purposes. Those comparisons were rather a 'comparative point of view', which is different from the 'comparative methods' in social anthropology of this century (Sarana 1975: 12). The comparative methods in social anthropology in Britain and cultural anthropology in North America since the beginning of this century, especially after World War Two, have aimed at the generalisation and description of cultures and societies. These are known as the two 'paradigms' in the methodology of anthropology (Holy 1987: 1).

Boas' comparative method was also different from the comparative methods of the latter half of this century (Sarana 1975: vii). He was thinking about the limitation of the comparative method. This idea was mainly prompted by Francis Galton at the meeting of the Anthropological Institute in 1889. In the meeting, E. B. Tylor presented his pioneering paper introducing the cross-cultural survey method by which he was able to show correlation between certain cultural traits (Tylor 1889; Naroll 1961: 15).

Tylor's comparative method (he did not use these words) was statistical. He tried to prove cultural correlation through statistical summary, from which the cause and effect of cultural origins could be explained and understood. He said:

It is my aim to show that the development of institutions may be investigated on a basis of tabulation and classification.

The particular rules have been scheduled out into tables, so as to ascertain what may be called the 'adhesions' of each custom, showing which peoples



have the same custom, and what other customs accompany it or lie apart from it. From the recurrence or absence of these customs it will be our business to infer their dependence on causes acting over the whole range of mankind. (Tylor 1889: 245 – 246)

This way of dealing with cultural materials continued to be used by anthropologists mainly in North America until the second half of this century, for example, George Peter Murdock's huge Cross-Cultural Survey project initiated in 1937 (Murdock 1949: vii).

Galton pointed out that:

It was extremely desirable... that full information should be given as to the degree in which the customs of the tribes and races which are compared together are independent. It might be, that some of the tribes had derived them from a common source, so that they were duplicate copies of the same original. (Galton in Tylor 1889: 269)

Galton's worry is still very much the concern in the methodology in social anthropology. Only today it is no longer a question of whether certain cultural practices are duplicates or they are independent developments. It is rather the question of the relationship between what is culturally specific and what is culturally general. The two are so closely related that unless we see them dialectically, we can hardly define them separately (cf. Holy 1987: 1).

One reason that I can find why there are problems with generalisation and description is that both activities produce relationships, but the relationship produced by generalisation is a different kind from that of description. There is also a relationship between generalisation and description (Holy 1987: 1). This relationship is a hierarchical one. Just like other social hierarchies, this being a conceptual one, the hierarchical relationship between generalisation and description is forever a moral dilemma for social anthropologists if the discipline is for relationships, not just about relationships.

The relationship between description and generalisation can also be seen from the argument that 'it is not comparison that supports generalisation but the other way

round' (Lévi-Strauss 1963: 21) which has shown that categories that are to be compared in order to reach generalisation are the very product of generalisation.

## Chapter 2. History and Social Anthropology

### **2.1. What does the word 'history' mean?**

The Latin origin of the word 'history' is *historia*, which means 'to find out' or 'to investigate' (Oxford Encyclopedic English Dictionary, 1990, Water Skeat *English Etymology* 1993). It also means 'wise man'. These meanings do not differ from 'knowledge' as understood commonly. These original meanings of 'history' are also not different from what social anthropology has originally meant to do.

There have been at least 20 senses of history used by anthropologists, historians and the general public, and the list is not ended:

- 1) A particular event in the past.
- 2) What really happened in the past (Hastrup 1985: 2).
- 3) The study of what really happened in the past (Hastrup 1985: 2).
- 4) The past as the producer of the present (common knowledge, Lewis 1968: ix).
- 5) Events as part of a never-ending stream and always pointing forwards.
- 6) Events in both their inside and outside (Collingwood 1946: 213).
- 7) The past as the product of the present (Carr quoted in Lewis 1968: xi).
- 8) An unending dialogue between the present and the past (Carr 1964: 30).
- 9) A coherent relation between past and future (Carr 1964: 130).
- 10) The passage of time in terms of a series of events in which men are consciously involved and which they can consciously influence (Carr 1964: 134).
- 11) Modern history begins when people emerge into social and political consciousness (Carr 1964: 149).
- 12) The links between events (Evans-Pritchard 1961: 48).

13) Part of the conscious tradition of a people and is operative in their social life; a representation of events in the thought of the present day (Evans-Pritchard 1950: 21, 1961: 63).

14) A reconstruction from circumstantial evidences (Evans-Pritchard 1950: 21).

15) A record of events which have brought about social changes (Evans-Pritchard 1961: 63).

16) Relating to the conscious experience of social life (Lévi-Strauss 1963: 18).

17) Everything (Lévi-Strauss 1963: 12).

18) Hindsight, a view of ourselves as the inevitable continuation and culmination of everything that has gone before (Lewis 1985: 32).

19) A chain of causes and effects running back into the past (Beattie 1964: 50).

20) A body of contemporary beliefs about these events, which may be potent forces in current social attitudes and relations (Beattie 1964: 50).

These different senses in the word 'history' used by different people show that the difference between history and anthropology is really a matter of definition of how people think. This problem has been addressed implicitly by some anthropologists and historians:

The criticism of evolutionist and diffusionist interpretations has showed us that when the anthropologist believes he is doing historical research, he is doing the opposite; it is when he thinks that he is not doing historical research that he operates like a good historian, who would be limited by the same lack of documents (Lévi-Strauss 1963: 16).

The more sociological history becomes, and the more historical sociology becomes, the better for both (Carr 1964: 66, quoted in Lewis 1968: xvi).

The anthropologists' view of history since Evans-Pritchard is neo-functional. Lewis called his approach to history and social anthropology 'a functional approach' (Lewis 1968: xxii).

This functionalism is different from both Malinowski's and Radcliffe-Brown's in how they see history, though they share the same meaning as to what function is in social anthropology (see Chapter 1).

## 2.2. The anthropologists' view of history

The discussion of how anthropologists should see history is not new in anthropology.

Modern British social anthropology was in fact started with a revolution in scholarship against the historically-minded schools of thought. This revolution was started by Malinowski. That was a methodological challenge to the nineteenth and early twentieth century West European armchair scholars of human society and culture. These scholars were mainly interested in origins. They had developed the evolutionist and diffusionist schools of thought. In Britain, these scholars were Sir Edwin Burnett Tylor, Sir James George Frazer, Sir Gratton Elliot Smith and William James Perry, among others.

For Malinowski, his difference with the evolutionist school of thought was that of method rather than objective. He remained an evolutionist throughout his career (Kuper 1983: 8). He said:

I still believe in evolution, I am still interested in origins, in the process of development, only I see more and more clearly that answers to any evolutionary questions must lead directly to the empirical study of the facts and institutions, the past of which we wish to reconstruct. (Quoted in Kuper 1983: 9)

Radcliffe-Brown was generally criticised for his refusal to take history as something that anthropologists need to worry about. But his idea of history was not so much rejection as to make a sharp distinction between the subject matters of history and social anthropology. So he distinguished 'idiographic' and 'nomothetic' enquiries. He said:

History, as usually understood, is the study of records and monuments for the purpose of providing knowledge about conditions and events of the past, including those investigations that are concerned with the quite recent past. It is clear that history consists primarily of idiographic enquiries.

Social anthropology . . . (is) a branch of sociology that deals with primitive societies . . .

(It is) the difference between historical explanation of institutions and the theoretical understanding. . . .

The theoretical understanding of a particular institution is its interpretation in the light of (acceptable) generalisations (Radcliffe-Brown 1952: 2-3).

In the field of religion, Radcliffe-Brown resorted to historical writings and thoughts. Some of his ideas about ritual were taken directly from those of ancient Han Chinese philosophers. For his argument on religion in Europe, he cited French historian Fustel de Coulanges (Radcliffe-Brown 1945: 159, 161).

The main reason for Radcliffe-Brown not to favour historical explanation of institutions was that many of the societies the anthropologists investigated in his time generally lacked what he said to be the 'fullness and reliability of the historical record' (Radcliffe-Brown 1952: 2). By thinking in a historical dimension, the anthropologists might 'fall back on conjecture and imagination, and invent "pseudo-historical" or "pseudo-causal" explanations'. Besides, as the aim of social sciences was to define the conditions of the forms of social life, he saw that one means of getting at this was to establish typologies for features of social life or complexes of features that were given in partial social systems (Radcliffe-Brown 1952: 3). According to him, typologies were different from the classifications of natural science in that they were not specific. Typologies, therefore, could be neglected by a historical method (*ibid.*). It is clear here that Radcliffe-Brown's sense of history is mainly that of past events which are specific. This sense of history is different from the understanding of other scholars, both British social anthropologists and historians.

Looking at the matter more closely, I find that Radcliffe-Brown, in his study of social structures, did not completely discard history, at least in his concepts of what constitute a social structure. He said: 'The concrete reality is not any sort of entity, but a process, the process of social life . . . form of social life . . . discoverable regulations' (Radcliffe-Brown 1952: 4). He formulated his idea about social adaptation in this way:

Social life and social adaptation involve the adjustment of the behaviours of individual organisms to the requirements of the process by which the social life continues.

. . . it is useful to distinguish three aspects of the total system. There is the way in which social life is adjusted to the physical environment, and we can, if we wish, speak of this as ecological adaptation. Secondly, there are the

institutional arrangements by which an orderly social life is maintained, so that what Spencer calls co-operation is provided for and conflict is restrained or regulated. This we might call, if we wished, the institutional aspect of social adaptation. Thirdly, there is the social process by which an individual acquires habits and mental characteristics that fit him for a place in the social life and enable him to participate in its activities. This, if we wish, could be called cultural adaptation. . . . .

The theory of social evolution therefore makes it a part of our scheme of interpretation of social systems to examine any given system as an adaptational system.

The continuing network of the social relationships constitute social structure. (Radcliffe-Brown 1952: 9, 10).

He also said that 'Anthropology as the study of primitive society includes both [historical and comparative] methods' (Radcliffe-Brown 1951: 22).

Evans-Pritchard was the leading opponent to Radcliffe-Brown's structural-functional ideas of anthropology. In a series of lectures, Evans-Pritchard moved to clarify what he saw as the relationship between social anthropology and history. His view of social anthropology has formed a major attack on the functionalism and structure-functionalism in British social anthropology since Malinowski, which he termed as the 'piecemeal empirical English tradition' (Evans-Pritchard 1950: 18).

Evans-Pritchard saw little theoretical difference between social anthropology and history. He said:

I conclude therefore, following Professor Kroeber, that while there are, of course, many differences between social anthropology and historiography they are differences of technique, of emphasis and of perspective, and not differences of method and aim. (Evans-Pritchard 1950: 25).

We tend to approach our data from a rather different angle and consequently write about them in a rather different manner. (Evans-Pritchard 1961: 60).

The differences of technique, of emphasis and of perspective are mainly that between the diachronic perspective and the synchronic perspective. Historians write about cultures diachronically. They see events in successions and the links between these events in time. Social anthropologists, on the other hand, generally write about cultures synchronically. Events within a given society at a particular point in time are functionally or structurally related so as to make that society as a society, that culture as a culture. Social anthropologists say that they are studying the 'living' societies, (so

historians must be studying 'dead' societies). The controversial point about the 'living' and the 'dead' is that relationships are not always absent between the living and the dead, as Evans-Pritchard has pointed out. He said:

History is part of the conscious tradition of a people and is operative in their social life. It is the collective representation of events as distinct from events themselves. (Evans-Pritchard 1950: 21)

Owing to lack of such (historical) reconstruction the impression is given that prior to European domination primitive peoples were more or less static, and while this may be true for some, it is certainly untrue for others.

A people's traditional history is important for the further reason that it forms part of the thought of living men and hence part of the social life which the anthropologist can directly observe. (Evans-Pritchard 1961: 51).

I may expand these ideas of Evans-Pritchard a little further here. Just as history casts thoughts on the present minds, cultures different in space also cast thoughts on each other. The two types of thought-exchange are different: the historical exchanges can be seen as two-way exchanges while the contemporary thought exchanges can be seen as four-way exchanges. There are some very tricky problems here. If history is seen as the main source of cultural identity, then contemporary spatial interactions are very much the battle field to establish and maintain or change such an identity. To put it in another way, an anthropologist investigating a culture by viewing it through its historical thoughts as well as contemporary social interactions is in fact doing four things at a time: 1) having a dialogue with the contemporary culture he is studying, 2) having a dialogue with the history of that culture, 3) having a dialogue with his own contemporary culture. 4) establishing a dialogue between his community and the history of the community and other communities in contact. This can be seen as the set of social relationships of the anthropologist. They are not necessary co-existent.

History is very much for the anthropologists rather than for the peoples they study. It can be said that anthropologists write about other societies more often in terms of the anthropologists' own history than in terms of the history of the people they study, though this may not always be the case. This was true at least in the first half of this century when most anthropological works were carried out among peoples



who did not have recorded history. For the evolutionist school, remote societies reflected the past of the societies in Europe. The problems of history become acute when anthropologists begin to study literate societies in, for example, Near and Far East. These societies normally have 'dialogues' more with their ancestors than with their neighbours. In other words, they are more historically-minded than peoples who do not have recorded history. Written language preserves ideologies. Therefore literate societies are often historically-minded. I may say that most British social anthropologists are equally historically-minded because they come from a literate society and have been trained in such a culture. It may be true that most students here today quote less and less Tylor, Malinowski, or Radcliffe-Brown, or even Lévi-Strauss, but their very idea of doing social anthropology in a university comes from such a cultural tradition. If there had been no Malinowski, no Radcliffe-Brown, the concepts of functionalism, structuralism could well have been formulated in the 1990s by some of the bright students anywhere in the world. With these pioneers, the students of social anthropology today can proceed to do something new. This is how human activities expand.

In 1966, the Association of Social Anthropologists of the Commonwealth held a conference here at the University of Edinburgh on the theme 'History and Anthropology'. A series of papers were presented. These papers have marked a major turning point in the theoretical thinking in British social anthropology since Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown. In an introduction to the papers given at the conference, which were published in 1968 (Lewis 1968), I. M. Lewis clarified further the position of history in social anthropology since Evans-Pritchard. By then the concern was much more oriented towards what the historians and social anthropologists could learn from each other, whether history was relevant to social anthropology or not.

Lewis distinguished between history and social anthropology, with a position different from that of Evans-Pritchard, who saw that social anthropology had a lot in common with history (Evans-Pritchard 1961: 62). The difference between history and social anthropology, according to Lewis, is that of with or without theory (Lewis 1968: x). Lewis' definition of history was mainly taken from historian E. H. Carr, who represented a new generation of theoretical historians since R. G. Collingwood and others. Carr saw history as the constant process of retrospective reinterpretation of past events (Lewis 1968: x). He said: 'History is an unending dialogue between the present and the past.' 'The past is intelligible to us only in the light of the present.' (Carr 1964: 30, 50, quoted in Lewis 1968: xxv, n.2).

As to social anthropology, Lewis said:

The social anthropologist derives most of his primary data from direct personal observation and inquiry, studying social life as and where it is lived, partly at least through the medium of a particular culture. His basic concern is with the interconnexion of events, with structure of ideas, values, and social relations, but from the perspective of the present rather than the past. although the past may be one source of the imperatives which control the shape and content of men's actions in society, its role in determining how men behave now is secondary to the interconnexions between the *current* beliefs, actions and institutional arrangements (Lewis 1968: xi).

He noted:

Historians writing on a particular period also do this. . . . it is generally true to say that they tend to emphasise the uniqueness and particularity of their subject-matter, and in their interpretation of events place greater stress on such cultural artefacts as the 'spirit of the age' than on institutional imperatives (Lewis 1968: xxv, n. 2).

Here I see a reflection of the problem of the particular as against the general in the methodological concern of social anthropology. This problem has led to the abandoning of cross-cultural comparison in favour of regional comparison in the recent history of social anthropology. In my view, social anthropologists have to resort to philosophical arguments to define what is particular and what is general, each of which is termed in terms of the other. In a general understanding of the discipline of history, the particular of the historians is often that of the contingent events, which,

when put to an extreme, are such events as 'Cleopatra's nose', 'Trotsky's feverish chill', 'Robinson's cigarette desire', etc. (Carr 1961: 92-99). What is in fact the nature of these events? Historians have concluded that these events can offer no rational explanations or generalisations about history. They have argued that contingent events have no explanatory value not because they are irrelevant, but because they are not the ultimate concern of history, because histories are value judgements (Carr 1961: 100-101).

Now let me return to social anthropologists' idea about generalisation. I take up again Lewis' view quoted above that 'the past is secondary to the interconnections between people's *current* beliefs, actions and institutional arrangements'. If the past is secondary in nature in determining man's current behaviour, are we not close, too, to the argument of 'accidental history' already objected to by historians, while trying to find something which is not accidental? Some anthropologists have criticised structuralists that they have tried to build frameworks which are static, while societies have not been static. There is a dilemma here between what is current and what is not.

There is a missing point here between what is particular and what is general. Anthropologists' preoccupation with current beliefs and actions is in constant contradiction with their commitment to generalisation and comparison. Lewis has put this quite appropriately but somehow optimistically when he said:

The monographic studies of anthropologists which present particular societies as neatly integrated, nicely balanced systems are often just as particularistic as many historians' work, that generalising, comparative trend which is by no means entirely absent in orthodox historical writing is here brought into sharper focus and correspondingly developed more fully (Lewis 1968: xi).

So far, there has not been a solution to this dilemma.

In Chapter 1, I suggested a 'texts-as-ethnography' approach to the study of the Nazi religious texts in this thesis (1.6.). Such an approach can be understood, too, as a combination of history into anthropological study. From my discussion above, one can say that historical issues, so long as they are issues, are always current in nature.

The problem of the Nazi religious texts is a historical issue of anthropological significance. It is even more significant when one, like myself, is in a position to read critically the scholarship of such an issue across cultures.

The problem of history and anthropology also arises from people's understanding of the relationship between anthropology and colonialism. So some people say that in the new circumstances of liberated Africa and Asia, the rise of new nation-states in these regions which used to be frequented by social anthropologists, social anthropology has to choose between continuing to study dead and decaying tribal cultures, thus becoming a special province of history, or marching forward to become 'sociology' (Lewis 1968: xv).

The relationship between anthropology and colonialism has been critically examined by many scholars in the last two decades (Asad 1973). I have discussed this in the last chapter. Here again one can see the importance of the critical evaluation of the relationship between anthropology and colonialism. Without such an evaluation, people would continue to see cultures and societies in isolation. To think that in the changing political maps of the world anthropologists will have to study the so-called 'dead' or 'decaying' tribal cultures is a misunderstanding of the objectives of anthropology. For example, the Nazi cannot be seen as a 'dead' or 'decaying' tribal culture in the light of the textual ethnographic approach I proposed above. As social anthropologists have explicitly expressed, they have never studied any 'dead' or 'decaying' societies or cultures. All societies and cultures which social anthropologists have studied are living societies. Lévi-Strauss defined 'cold' societies and 'hot' societies. The 'cold' or static societies had their internal environment borders on the zero of historical temperature, the 'hot' or dynamic societies differentiated between castes and classes. The 'cold' societies, however, belong to history as much as the 'hot' societies (Lévi-Strauss 1973: 29). This is also a difference between literate and non-literate societies. The idea of 'dead' and 'decaying' societies is a

misrepresentation of the concept of change in cultural contacts and contexts. Cultural contacts and change are present in all cultures, past and present.

What is a dead tradition and what is not a dead tradition? The two words 'dead' and 'tradition' are in fact not compatible. When some practices are labelled as traditions, they are obviously not dead. When they are considered dead, they are obviously not 'traditions'. It follows then that traditional tribal studies (I take it that 'culture' is meant here) are *not* on the wane. Here 'on the wane' should not be understood as 'no longer accessible', but should be understood as 'no longer within the subject matters of social anthropology'. Lewis (1968: xv) used the phrase in the first sense; I use it in the second. Tradition, in my view, should find its definition in the second half of Lewis' concessional clause that 'the significant function of institution lies in the contribution they make to the perpetuation of the established order' (Lewis 1968: xv).

In thinking about the relevance of history (in the relevant sense in specific anthropological studies) in social anthropology, Lewis had moved toward a more dynamic view of culture and society. Such a view had not been defined in either structuralist or structural-functionalist thoughts, though not entirely absent. Radcliffe-Brown's continuing network of the social relationships (Radcliffe-Brown 1952: 10) has also pointed to a dynamic aspect of his idea of social structure, only he has not defined such an aspect. Lewis has developed the thought:

This structural framework itself is supported by, embedded in a set of values and ideals of conduct, *not all of which are completely mutually compatible or perfectly integrated*. The notion that there exists only one single system of moral evaluation in even the simplest of tribal societies is surely naive in the extreme. After all, even at the level of such ideal folk-wisdom as is encapsulated in proverbs, is there not for every dictum approving one line of conduct an exact opposite? It is considerations of this elementary kind which make the study of symbolism so fraught with difficulty, and which entitle us to be sceptical of those highly simplistic exercises in analysis which purport to find a single, invariant meaning in a given symbol. In reality, as Lloyd reminds us, *all societies are sufficiently complex for some lack of adjustment to exist between their constituent parts*: individuals accordingly face role expectations which are at least to some extent discordant or even incompatible, and have to choose



between possible alternatives. Many roles are themselves poorly defined, or have wide margins of latitude.

Consequently, to understand how a given structure works, or rather how it is worked, it seems *more profitable to pose our questions in terms of the extent to which the individual's commitment to a given pattern*, or set of social relations and obligations serves his interests in a fashion which, in the circumstances, he regards as most advantageous. (Lewis 1968: xxii).

Lewis has moved toward the mystery of societies. I italicise those words that I think can be further explored. The proposition here is that social realities are changing themes, whose meanings are only defined at particular points in space and time. I identify these secrets as 'individual choice', 'symbolic rituals and 'group identification and obligation'. The mystery of societies has not been hidden in anthropologists' files, it is only under the disguise of various names. But it has been hidden in the actor's files. The access to these files may seem not possible unless we establish such files for ourselves. Of course, everybody has such files of his own.

These three aspects of things social and cultural are the fundamental issues of social anthropology. In the traditions of social anthropology, the main concern has been the group, not the individual. The individual has been left to the province of psychology. The reason may have been simple: when you talk about the group, how can you talk about the individual? Anthropological monographs and ethnographies are often full of remarks like 'this tribe does this, that tribe does that'. Even when relationships are the main topic, these relationships are often constructed in such a way that they show group features. The word 'social' in this case seems to be equivalent to 'group'. This is a wrong meaning of the word.

To be part of a system is to work with that system. A system is not a structure there to work, but it is the working of a structure. Ultimately, it is the working between the individual and the group or between individuals that anthropology is concerned about. Therefore it is not profitable to pose our questions in terms of the extent of the individual's commitment to a given pattern, even when he or she regards that commitment as most advantageous to him or her. It is the question of how his or

her relationship with a given pattern, which itself is a relationship, is established. Relationship is both the means and the end. If we think that the question is the extent of the individual's commitment to a given pattern which is most advantageous to him or her, then relationship is still seen as a means to reach an end, as if when this end was reached, the social relationship that had *served* the interest of the individual could then be discarded. This is not the case. The dictum that human is social has denied this.

'All societies are sufficiently complex for some lack of adjustment to exist between their constituent parts'; this worry has suggested that there is always something more than a social structure. This used to be treated as something subnormal or not significant. The lack of adjustment within a given social pattern is where the society has its internal problems. This is the area in which social anthropologists are interested in investigation.

### **2.3. What does history mean to social anthropology?**

Fieldwork has been the main method of study in modern professional social anthropology in Britain. Fieldwork implies the contemporary nature of the investigation. One can raise several questions about this 'contemporary' nature. First, it is often a cultural *tradition* that a field worker is concerned with, but not an instant individual behaviour that the field worker will eventually put onto paper. Even when the field worker has made records of individual behaviour, this has to be explained in terms of the behaviour of members of given social categories.

Second, anthropology started with European interests in other cultures, so it has a historical dimension.

Third, cultural influences and communication are often seen as spatial, but they are also temporal. Some aspects of the relationship between cultural centres and cultural margins involve time.

It seems then our past is so tightly bound up with our present that there can be no cut between the two. The radical idea which is challenging is that, given the capacity of human creativity, history can be completely forgotten and cut off. Such an idea was put into practice in the Cultural Revolution in mainland China from 1966 to 1976. It has been generally condemned both inside and outside China as disastrous and chaotic for the cultures in China (White 1989: 3-6; Thurston 1988, Joseph 1991). I will further discuss the consequence and the implications of the Cultural Revolution in the next Chapter (3.4.). Although such an radical idea as that advocated by the Chinese Cultural Revolution may at first seem challenging, it was in fact based on too simple an idea of history. There was still the question of how and why it could be done. In my view, this problem, the problem of the relationship between history and anthropology, between the past and the present, can be seen as on a broken but somehow bridged line. These bridges are the key points to understand the relationship between the past and the present, and between historical and anthropological ideas.

For the last decades, some anthropologists have practised and worked on the idea of 'reinventing' or 'rewriting' history and anthropology, for example, A. Macfarlane's *Reconstructing Historical Communities*, (1977), E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition* (1983). Other works are Jack Goody's *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* (1983), Marilyn Strathern's *After Nature* (1993). They are not opening up a new branch of academic practice, but are continuing along the line of anthropological practice with new meanings.

#### **2.4. What does history mean to a people?**

Evans-Pritchard said that history is 'part of the conscious tradition of a people and is operative in their social life' (Evans-Pritchard 1950: 21). It follows that the history of a people is so important to them that without it, they can no longer be called a people. In other words, history is the cultural identity of a people. We always rely on our history



for cultural interactions. History is the cultural heritage of a people. Without this heritage, a people can be very vulnerable or disadvantageous. Why is there this vulnerability or disadvantage for people who do not have a culture, or have abandoned their culture? As I have mentioned in the last chapter (1.5.) and will discuss more in the next chapter (3.1.) and Chapter 4 (4.4.), this all has to do with the relationship between culture and society and the nature of culture. As I see it, the essential purpose of culture is to dominate (cf. Said 1991[1978]: 5, 28). First it may have been against other parts of nature apart from the human group. Later it was against other human groups. The very purpose of our creativity is to say that we are the superior. This is similar to the idea of a 'source in personal greed for power', the 'social entropy', as has been identified by Pike (Headland, et al. 1990: 41; see also Bruner 1974: 255). The question of this interpretation of culture overrides some interpretation of the 'non-political' aspect of culture (Cohen 1974: xvi). For a people to give up their cultural tradition is equal to saying that they can no longer dominate and they have to learn from the beginning from other peoples. Their vulnerability is obvious. To some extent, one can argue that such a vulnerability was one aspect of the disastrous results brought about by the Cultural Revolution to the cultures and societies in China.

As I can see it, since World War Two, this logic that the essential purpose of a culture is to dominate has been well understood by the elites of many societies. The logic forms the basis for nationalism and ethnocentrism. It can be said that a cultural history provides a safe haven for the people who possess such a history. It is a safe passage beyond which there are dangers. But history is a danger itself because it provides a passage in denial of other passages.

## **2.5. Sense of time**

I am thinking of a different sense of 'time' from the normal use of the word. In the normal sense, what we take as 'time' are some units designed by us. These units

differ from culture to culture. When I think about these units from a different angle, I find that they can also be seen as units designed to measure our *activities*. Suppose that we now all stop doing things (including thinking), the concept of 'time' then will become meaningless. The measurements of 'time' are different from culture to culture. 'Time' can be seen as a cultural category. Human society's sense of history is the use of such a category. In its social and cultural sense 'time' can be seen as closely connected with activities. It is the abstract measurement of activities. To suggest that 'time' is not measurable can answer the problem of 'the chicken and the egg' in philosophy. The problem of 'the chicken and the egg' can only be interpreted in terms of activity, not in terms of 'time' as constructed in modern Western culture.

Almost all cultures of the world have Creation stories. Some of these stories are related in terms of the abstract measurement of activities termed as 'time' in English. There are cultures who do not do so. In these cultures, the Creation is related as the activity itself. For example, the Buddhist idea that things *were* created out of nothing belongs to this type of cultural mentality. In eastern Tibet and western China, an indigenous religion of the Tibeto-Burman peoples, *Bon*, holds that the coming into being of things is caused by magic. This idea has been well depicted in Naxi religious texts. This idea of Creation is a standard beginning in many of these texts (see, for example, Jackson 1979: 151; Rock 1952: 7). There is no 'time' concept similar to that of Christianity.

To understand the relationship between history and anthropology, we also have to address the question of why certain practices become traditions while others do not. The reason is the degree of generalisation of a theory or a practice, or the style of a culture.

## 2.6. Time and society

In social anthropology, non-European societies have been defined in terms of time. For example, 'primitive societies' or 'developing societies'. These words are value-laden. Essentially, societies and cultures are different not in terms of 'time', but in terms of the quantity of the *constructive* activities that each society engages in.

One sense of history which seems not to have been made clear by anthropologists is that the history of a given society is very much the concern of the people of the society, rather than the anthropologists (see also Introduction). Therefore it is not necessary for the anthropologists to go back to history in order to study that society. This is implicit in Evans-Pritchard's view of history, that history is part of the conscious tradition of a people and is operative in their social life (Evans-Pritchard 1950: 21). Following this, it can be said that for an anthropologist to learn the history of a society in order to know about its present constitution is tautological, since the present society already consists of the traditional aspects of the culture. It can also be argued that there is not very much significance for an anthropologist to learn the history of a society if that society happens to be a 'cold' society as defined by Lévi-Strauss (Lévi-Strauss 1973: 29; see also above 2.2.). For example, if a society practises uxorilocal marriage, this is part of their tradition. As to how it comes to what it is, the answer pretty much exists in the present social interactions of the society and the people have already had their own explanation. The explanation itself can be seen as an historical explanation. Only because it is historical, it is legitimated.

## 2.7. Spatial and Temporal Relationships

Each is included in the other. For example, two neighbouring tribes may have a similar but also different social norm and practice. Their similarity may be accounted for by their historical relationship as neighbouring groups. Their difference can also be accounted for by their spatial relationships in a temporal dimension.

Spatial relationships are essentially relationships between the individuals of the same generation. These relationships are normally innovative or can be destructive of the cultural tradition concerned. When these relationships become constructive, they are being transformed into temporal relationships. Marriage is one type of such a relationship. Spatial relationships are the key areas to understand social change or social transformation.

Temporal relationships are generational and constructive. A new generation of culture is normally built upon an old one. This is often termed 'continuity'.

'Continuity' is not an appropriate word because a new generation of culture is not a 'continuation', in a strict sense, of an old generation of culture. There are changes, obviously. Changes cannot be understood as total disruption or discontinuity, either. Temporal relationships concern a whole group or things between groups, therefore changes are hardly total.

Changes in temporal relationships are often a waste of time or activity. Changes in spatial relationships are beneficial. We learn much more from other cultures, which are temporally constructed, than from our own culture passed down from generations, which are already accumulative. Historical enquiry, in terms of one's own culture, is then not academically parallel to the anthropological enquiry. There is always this 'other' element in anthropological enquiries, although there is the element of the relationship between the anthropologist and the culture and society he enquires. The academic status of the two disciplines may become blurred when cross-culturally historical enquiries take place.

Societies which are seen as primitive or marginal are normally societies without much creativity. In this sense, these societies are traditional in nature. They have followed what their ancestors did with little changes. Creativity introduces new spatial relationships and upsets the old relationships. Unless something is done to accommodate the new relationship into the old system, there would be conflicts

between the new relationship and the old relationships. This is the reason why many societies around the world remain traditional. In other words, it is often 'better to copy than to create'.

Both time and space in terms of anthropology are understood in different senses from the usual uses in real societies. A temporal relationship between two or more social norms is not that between the present and the past, but that between the individual and the group. A spatial relationship between two or more social norms is not that between here and there, but that between the individual and the individual, the group and the group. I take the individual as representing the 'present', the group representing the 'past'. These concepts are what have been connoted in social and cultural analysis.

Some social anthropologists do not take the individual as the primary concern of social anthropology. Radcliffe-Brown and Leach made a distinction between an 'individual' and a 'person'. I have discussed this in Chapter 1. Here I want to add further that 'person' in social anthropologists' terms is very much the personification of a social and a cultural group, because this has been a primary concern of anthropologists. According to the distinction, we see somebody as a 'person' because we see a group culture in this person. This person's idiosyncrasy is considered as abnormal and is not the concern of the anthropologists. This conclusion, when coming to the discussion of relationships, is not very useful. Relationships are something between individuals, an individual and a group, and between groups. An idiosyncrasy is often an result of an individual's social relationship within the group or between this individual and other individuals. A 'person' in an anthropologist's mind's eye is a social or cultural model he constructs from a group of individuals. This model can only make a 'person' a 'group being', not a 'social being'. This is a danger to begin with in understanding a culture and a society, or, in effect, in building up certain relationships with a culture and a society.

I may illustrate this point from my own experience. When I came to Scotland, my immediate impression was that the people were different from my own. They used things differently. Their social interactions were also different: manners and language, of course. This immediate impression I think is very important. It is the cultural and social sensitivity every man has as a social being in learning about a culture. The danger began when I started to interact with them. In doing so, I tended to treat every individual in the society by using the cultural model I constructed from my immediate cultural sensitivity. Then I began to feel that we were, after all, not different. Why? I think this has something to do with group relationships. Just as I used the cultural models I constructed out of the people in Scotland to treat every individual in Scotland, they, too, tended to treat me as a 'person' using the cultural model they constructed out of the people like me, from China, or from somewhere in East Asia. The relationship we felt towards each other then remained our original, own cultural relationship within our own respective groups. So we were not different! This is what I mean by the danger to treat an individual as a 'group being' not a 'social being', or as a 'person', in social anthropologist's terms, not as an individual in common social terms. By treating an individual as a 'group being', one can make misunderstandings and even mistakes in learning about a culture, because people interacting with each other do not exactly follow the group norms. If we had done so, there would not have been societies and cultures. We would then really have had what has been described as something 'solid, measurable, ponderable and predictable as rocks' 'out there' (Durkheim, summarised by Pocock 1975: 22). My argument here is based on the fact that social anthropologists are members of human species. If they were not, things could be quite different. Then we would have a 'true' science of man in the sense of a science of biology, or zoology.

## **Chapter 3. Cultures and Societies in China, Self and Scholarship.**

### **3.1. The diversity and unity of the Chinese society**

What we know as China today is a historical, multicultural, geographical and political entity of human society. Socioculturally speaking, it includes the Han Chinese and the non-Han peoples. The 'Han Chinese' have formed a cultural ethnic identity in the history of China. This cultural identity came about with the political unity of the warring states in central-northern China around the first century A.D. Thus the formation of the Han Chinese has been a long historical, cultural and political process. It was the integration of multiple cultural groups in central, northern and eastern China, which continuously expanded towards the south and the south-west, and was joined by the Mongoloid cultural groups from the north (Li 1928: 273-283; Liu 1991a: 38; cf. Wiens 1967[1954]: xiv). In this historical, cultural and political process, several cultural items became most conspicuous in identifying what are characteristic of being a 'Chinese'. These were first of all, the written language in the form of the ideographic or pictographic characters, which have managed to unify linguistic diversity within a large geographical area. Secondly, there was the literary tradition as a result of such a unifying writing. Thirdly, the cult of certain figures of such a literary tradition, such as Confucian and the cult of certain popular religions, such as Taoism.

The 'non-Han Chinese', known as the 'minority nationalities' today in mainland China, are the cultural groups peripheral to or peripheralised by the process of the cultural and political integration of the Han Chinese. The historical relationships between the Han Chinese and the non-Han peoples can be seen to be as long as the history of China, given the fact that the formation of the Chinese nation has been a continuous process of cultural and political integration and expansion. Thus the ethnic situation in China has been defined by many as 'a unity of diversity'

(中华民族多元一体) (Fei 1991), or different levels of unity and diversity (Liu 1991b: 408, 416). This ethnic situation may be comparable to that in Europe, but it is in a very different cultural and political context from that of Europe. While the European nations have managed to make distinctions between nation-states as political entities and cultures, the cultural groups in China and in the Far East in general did not develop the similar notions of nation-states and culture. Culture as a means of political domination can be most clearly discerned in the ethnic relationships in historical China.

It can sometimes be argued that a Chinese history, so termed, is mainly a history of political unity. Cultural unity has largely been defined in terms of such a political unity (cf. Liu 1991b 412, 415; Rui 1953: 32). An example of this can be found in the writing of China. In history, Chinese characters have been not only a system of the written language of the Han Chinese, but also a symbolic system, or a canon of political unity. Chinese writing has been an effective cultural weapon for political means since the third century B.C. when northern China was unified for the first time. This Han-Chinese cultural symbolic system spread across the whole Far Eastern continent and brought with it some aspects of Han-Chinese symbolic culture to the natives of the southern part of the continent, who may have migrated or been driven to the region by the military powers in central China earlier in history (Wiens 1954: 55-123; You 1985: 10). The fact that a past or disappeared Han-Chinese custom may still sometimes be found in the remote regions can be a sign of this fact (Wang 1989: 3).

While the writing system remained a symbol of political domination to the non-Han peoples in the South and the Southwest, its use nevertheless had little effect on local speech and culture. Thus, within Han Chinese culture itself, there was always a distinction between the orthodox literati culture and the unorthodox popular culture. (Guo 1987: 7). Confucianism was mainly understood and interpreted by those who had been educated by the Chinese imperial court. It may have been brought partly to



the non-Han areas by military conquests and the banished official literati. Yet these were limited in number. Taoism, although developed out of popular beliefs, was mystical in nature and it was not homogeneously distinct from Buddhism for the ordinary people (ibid.: 324). One can hardly see so among the non-Hans. It can be said that Chinese characters, as a written language of the Han and the major means of the dissemination of Han Chinese culture, have not been very efficient as a means of 'educating' the non-Han peoples. By the last quarter of this century, non-Han areas are still found to have a higher rate of illiteracy or semi-literacy at about 55% than the national average at 31.5% (Population Atlas of China 1987: 86-88).<sup>1</sup> This also points to the effective cultural and political domination of the Han-Chinese in the past. Therefore one can safely conclude that the non-Han-Chinese in south and south-western China were virtually outside of Han-Chinese civilisation for many centuries, although they were politically dominated.

Politics is often taken as part of a cultural and social system in the treatment of the subject matters in the anthropology of European tradition. For example, American anthropologists see 'culture' as an all embracing category (Leach 1954: 16, cf. also discussion in Chapter 1.4.). A 'national culture' may be understood to mean governmental, economic, religious, and other institutions which function on a national scale' (Steward 1955: 48). In the unified Chinese civilisation, however, this relationship has been reversed. This certainly has fallen squarely into the logic that culture essentially serves for political ends. Early political expansion of the Han-Chinese empire enwrapped the indigenous cultures in the south, as the Roman did in Europe in around first century A.D., but did not bring Han-Chinese culture to the region in either empirical or conceptual terms. This reversed relationship, in my view,

---

<sup>1</sup> The illiterate and semi-literate are those aged 12 and above who cannot read or can read only very little (normally those knowing less than 1500 characters, those who cannot read popular books or newspapers and those who cannot write short notes) (Population Atlas of China 1987: 86).

can be accounted for by the constant revolution in the country up to this century, and especially in this century when cultural contacts became frequent both within and outside China.

The historical and sociological problems in China have not been seen from a cultural or anthropological perspective. In the 1980s, scholars in China began to question what 'China' meant in pre-modern history. For example, a scholar has identified the problems in treating all the minorities living within the territory of the People's Republic of China as retrospectively having rights to China's historical heritage (Yahuda 1987: xvi). The historical heritage here is in fact the Han cultural heritage. The scholar wrote:

One notable article published early in 1982 is by Mo Junching. He focuses on wars and heroes in China and takes the side of those who fought bravely against national oppression without harming the integrity of China. By his definition, since Han-Chinese oppressed the minorities more than the other way round, it was natural that more national heroes came from the non-Han minorities. . . . Another article by Chen Wutong faces the question of patriotism directly. It was not patriotic to fight, however bravely, for the Han-Chinese against non-Han peoples in China who had been oppressed by a Han-Chinese government. On the other hand, patriotic heroes could also have unheroic characteristics. . . . Other less controversial heroes were the leaders of minority peoples who fought with Han-Chinese against Japanese pirates and those of various uprisings by minority forces against each imperial government. The key lies in that sense of ethnic identity which urges someone to sacrifice life and limb courageously on behalf of his own group, whether in conjunction with Han-Chinese or not. (Wang in Yahuda 1987: 9-10)

There is a need to see things from an anthropological perspective in this debate. In my view, the problem could be solved by resorting to some knowledge of the nature of the cultural as well as social diversity within the political confines of Imperial China. This has also been suggested in the quotation above. If politics is *only* part of a cultural system, then a holistic approach, favoured by European anthropologists towards the second half of this century, can be used to understand the problems. If, on the other hand, 'culture' and 'politics' are not inclusive, but complementary of each other, then there is more than a need to see the problems from a cultural perspective. I

think this is what has been implied in the historical issues, and that we need to achieve a balance of cultural and political understanding of the historical issues in China.

The Chinese imperial situation has its analogous counterparts in European colonisation. While European colonialism was overseas, Chinese expansion was inland. In these similar processes of colonisation and domination, European scholars have written more about different cultures around the world, barbaric as they were as seen by scholars before the nineteenth century. The European interest in other cultures before the twentieth century was mainly preoccupied with the question of the origin of mankind. Non-European cultures, which were simple in technology, might provide clues to such a question. Darwin's evolutionary theory for a natural history in the nineteenth century provided this quest with a theoretical foundation. Chinese scholars before the twentieth century, however, did not have a similar theoretical interest in other cultures. Although Chinese scholars were writing about cultures adjacent to central northern China as early as the second century B.C. (see also 4.1. in the next Chapter), the writing can be seen as mainly a quest for the definition of 'us' and 'them' (cf. Li 1928: 5), which was part of the process of the incorporation of the peripheral into the main stream culture of the central kingdom. Therefore, no indigenous schools of thought were ever established concerning 'other' cultures comparable to the European scholarship of the nineteenth and the twentieth century. The European schools of thought concerning 'other' cultures have influenced Chinese scholars in their treatment of the cultures outside central China since the beginning of the twentieth century. This will be further discussed in the next Chapter (4.5.).

The Chinese idea of a 'culture', past or present, may have been rightly described by French anthropologist, Jacques Lemoine:

In the Chinese studies on modernisation there is a regular confusion in the word 'culture', always intended to mean education or modern culture. It is often the hope of such writers that a development of culture (education) will put the people back on the way to development. (Lemoine 1989: 6).

This notion of culture basically privileges scholarly learning and advanced technology. The word 'culture' (*wen hua* [文化]) in Han-Chinese originally means 'to control by literary means' and to 'educate to change'. It is not surprising then for Chinese to see culture in that way. There is a difference obviously in the concept of culture between Han Chinese scholars and social anthropologists in European countries.

### 3.2. Anthropology and China

Kroeber used to say that perhaps we as anthropologists will never know more about China than sinologists (Kroeber 1952). Other scholars have anticipated the difficulty that anthropologists will encounter if they turn to the more complex cultural entities such as those of China. This has indicated a lack of a systematic understanding, not to say freelance interpretations, of the cultures there.

The 'Chinese civilisation', as we know generally, is the Han civilisation originating in the drainage areas of the Yellow River. It gradually expanded to the Yangtze River in the first century A.D., and to the South, Southwest in the seventh century. Its political domination of these parts was not complete until the seventeenth century. This was after the conquest of the region by the Mongolians in the thirteenth century.

For almost half a century, a quarter of the world population, that is the peoples in the political confines of China, have been eliminated from the cultural maps of world scholarship. This anthropological loss will have serious consequences when we enter the twenty-first century when China continues to grow economically. Although there is a literary tradition within this geographical territory, the book shelves in the libraries of the world are still empty when we look for cultural and social insights into the peoples there, either by European scholars, or by the scholars there. This is especially true when we think that there are more than a hundred million non-Han

people, not including the Tibetans and the Mongolians. Non-Han peoples in China occupy about seventy per cent of the land in the frontier areas of China in the Northeast, the South, the Southwest and the Northwest. While since World War Two, European anthropologists have continued to carry out tremendous work in studying other societies and cultures and continued to build up different schools of thought in social and cultural studies, China had virtually shut its door to such enquiries, certainly among the cultures within its political boundary, and also excluded Chinese researchers from researching culture outside China. Such a closure might have found some of its sense in the Han-Chinese scholarly tradition which did not treat the other tribes as 'cultures' proper. Because of this, the Chinese literati have not produced analytical schools of thought in comparison to European scholarship. A British anthropologist, L. H. Dudley Buxton wrote in 1925 in Oxford:

The vast mass of Chinese literature which bears on the ethnology of Eastern Asia must perforce remain unexplored by the ordinary anthropologist, and though western scholars have made a beginning of translating it into more familiar tongues, it will probably remain for Chinese scholars of the future, versed in 'barbarian' as well as their native learning to unlock the closed book (Buxton 1925: Preface).

Buxton was right in that anthropologists can make great use of the Chinese literary tradition to unlock the cultures of China. Since World War Two, some European anthropologists, in co-operation with sinologists, historians and sociologists, have made impressive attempts towards that interpretation (see for example, J. L. Watson 1983).

Maurice Freedman was the leading British anthropologist in studying the kinship and societies in China. He researched on the villages in Southeast China in the middle of this century. His model of the lineage organisation of 'Chinese society' has been accepted generally in European anthropological circles, but contended by other anthropologists recently (Watson 1983: 2).

Despite the fact that there have been rich kinship cultures within the political confine that is the People's Republic of China today, anthropological studies of these

cultures are countable and some are only started late in this century. These studies were mostly limited to the Han-Chinese cultures in the Southeast. Thus, most anthropologists notion of a 'Chinese society' has been based on the Cantonese peasant villages, and as James Watson says: 'It is a long way—in many senses—from the villages of Kwangtung to the corridors of the imperial palace' (Watson 1986: 276).

In the first half of this century, a few Chinese scholars had received training in anthropology in Britain and in America. Malinowski once commented on Fei Xiaotong (Fei Hsiao-tung), who was his student and who is now professor of sociology in the Academy of Social Sciences in China. He said that Fei's book *Peasant Life in China* had shown no national prejudice against the West or Western culture. The implication was that the book was basically by a native writing about his natives. If the book had not shown prejudice against European culture, it was then mainly written from a Chinese point of view. This might have started a scholarly tradition in China comparable in scale to that of the British and the Americans, but it never developed on its own accord. Malinowski could also have commented that it contained no prejudice against China or Chinese culture. The implication there is that to write about a culture, one needs a culture to write with.

In the beginning of this century, Han-Chinese scholars began to feel and recognise the intellectual capacity and technology of the West Europeans. Their civilisational pride began to turn inward. By this I mean that they no longer saw their cultures as culture proper. The intellectual products of West European scholarship had a destructive effect on Han-Chinese scholarship. Mao Tse-tung once said:

Many Party members are still in a fog about Chinese history, whether of the last hundred years or of ancient times. There are many Marxist-Leninist scholars who cannot open their mouths without citing ancient Greece; but as for their own ancestors — sorry, they have been forgotten. . . .

For several decades, many of the returned students from abroad have suffered from this malady. Coming home from Europe, America or Japan, they can only parrot things foreign. They become gramophones and forget their duty to understand and create new things. (Mao 1941: 19-20)

It can be noted that even those who were criticised were considered as 'Marxist scholars' rather than 'Chinese scholars'.

A similar view was aired by other scholars like Lin Yu-tang who had written a book *My Country and My People* (1934) in English and had it published in the West. These scholars were trying to turn the Chinese civilisational pride outward. One common view was that it was necessary to learn to speed up the progress of Chinese society (Fei 1992: 12). The victory of the Chinese Communist Revolution in 1949 had put such ideas into practice, incorporated in continuous political campaigns. One result of this intellectual self-asserting on the part of the Han Chinese scholars has been an inward intellectualism, though proud in outward appearance as it originally meant to be. This eventually led the scholarship in People's Republic of China into intellectual isolation for almost half a century, with an intellectual sacrifice of not less than two generations.

### **3.3. Studies on the non-Han peoples of China**

Until very recently, non-Han peoples in China were studied mainly by sociologists in English-speaking countries. They investigated mainly the ethnic relationships within the People's Republic of China from secondary sources, that is publications from PRC. The sociologists' interest is the problems of ethnic conflict and the questions of minority cultures which have been problematic in European countries.

There is a need to study the non-Han peoples in China and even the Han Chinese from an anthropological perspective. The anthropological approach I am thinking about is something different from those in the studies done by sinologists, historians or sociologists. Sociologists, as I have discussed above, mainly deal with social issues within the political confines of mainland China from the perspective of China as a nation state. Sinologists and historians, on the other hand, are concerned with the literary tradition of the Chinese civilisation. Their aims are the understanding

of such a tradition which was created by the elites of the Han people in northern China.

Social and cultural anthropology had its root in the European Enlightenment in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (see Introduction; also Boon 1982: 27). Its commitment has been to a general science of mankind. Although this objective and the methods of anthropology have suffered from serious criticism in the later half of the twentieth century, social and cultural anthropology has nevertheless become a distinct discipline in Euro-American countries and has exerted its influence on the scholarship in many other parts of the world. A distinct feature of social and cultural anthropology developed since the Enlightenment anthropology has been ethnography, as a professional practice in defining its culturally others (cf. Marcus and Fisher 1986: 18). Ethnography as a distinct form of scholarship can be seen as having several aspects (ibid.: 1, 21; Boon 1982: 27; see also my review in Chapter 1[1.6.]).

1. Ethnography is a very personal experience of the anthropologist in his or her encounter with a foreign culture in its many aspects, thus anthropology provides a broader latitude for diverse inquiry than any other discipline;

2. Such a diverse discipline becomes an imaginative vehicle through which the anthropologist can make contributions to theoretical and intellectual discussions;

3. Ethnography, including classic ethnography, is a perennial source for the raising of new conceptual and theoretical problems. It forms an internal discourse of anthropology and becomes a cognitive basis shaping the terms of anthropological debate.

4. Despite the early anthropologist's commitment to a general science of mankind, the ethnography produced by anthropologists constantly denies human homogenisation and thus enable us to face human diversity squarely.

5. The de-historicising and de-homogenisation process in the creation of ethnography enables us to see cultures critically, both for ourselves and for our



cultural others. Thus an ethnographer is no longer merely recording a culture but examining a culture in critical terms, the very process, in fact, of the creation of a culture.

Social and cultural anthropologists, having studied the peoples in other parts of the world, have built a scholarly tradition with its own cultural value. Its main value is for communication between different cultures. It is for Chinese anthropologists, as well as scholars in other places, to evaluate such a scholarly tradition critically, instead of ignoring it. This is what I see as the general approach I have adopted in my study of the Naxi religious texts from Southwest China.

It can't be denied that Chinese scholars have written about other cultures. It is only that Chinese scholars and European scholars have different interests, as was mostly the case before the present century (see also 3.1. above). Just as Euro-American scholarship has been undergoing re-evaluation, Chinese scholarship in the recording and studying of other cultures, including cultures within China, should be evaluated critically.

Naxi religious texts have been studied by both European scholars and Chinese scholars. Yet the problem is still a lack of systematic and critical representation. Previous studies have paid much attention to the texts on their own (Rock and Li, etc.). A text-as-ethnography approach such as the one I discussed above can throw more light on the problems of the texts. These texts should be seen in the round, not in the flat. The analysis of the authorship of the texts and the discussion of the historical contexts of the culture in question form the ethnographic approach which I think is useful to re-evaluate the Naxi religious texts. This ethnographic approach is also novel in reviewing the cultures within China which have a long literary tradition. Ethnography serves as an alternative literary genre through which cultures and societies are representable. In the literate culture of China, such a genre should be particularly welcomed.

### **3.4. Two traditions of scholarship—Western Europe and Han China**

Unlike Africa, India and America, China remains the largest geographical area which has not been colonised by any west European culture. Therefore anthropology in China has taken a different path.

Because of a strong literate cultural tradition, Chinese scholars quickly reacted to West European ideas in various areas of learning in early contacts with the Europeans but adapted the learning to their own needs (see, for example, Yahuda (ed.) 1987: x). They adapted Marxism but have also learned some political strategies from the Russians; there were scholars who had received anthropological training in Europe and North America in the very beginning of the profession but instead they started sociology in China. These, in my view, have created epistemological complications in thinking about an anthropology in China. They are the reasons, plus the political ones, why in West European literature or even in Chinese literature, there has never been a proper area of learning which can be entitled ‘the anthropology of Chinese cultures’ or in similar terms. One may argue that this is a matter of terminology, but there is a need to increase perspectives to understand the cultures in China, given the size of the population and space there.

European sinologists’ observations on Han literary cultures not only help European scholars to understand Han-Chinese scholarship, but also can be a mirror for Chinese scholars of this century to see the Han cultural heritage from a different perspective.

Through comparison with the major literary cultures, Max Weber was able to indicate what has been characteristic of Han-Chinese literary tradition. I have identified the following points in his observations:

1. China has made literary education the yardstick of social prestige in the most exclusive fashion (Weber 1951: 107).

This is known also to most Han-Chinese. The popular saying goes that 'There is gold in books'. One saying to encourage literary learning is 'Well-read in ten thousand books, one can write as if possessed by a god'. During the Cultural Revolution, this idea of social prestige was attacked seriously, which led to the closing down of the universities in mainland China for five or six years from 1966 to 1972. Ironically, it was during this period, perhaps, more articles were written than those of any period in Han-Chinese literary history, for it was during this period, most non-literati Chinese were encouraged to write, mostly in the form of wall-posters, to criticise the authorities. Some of these works may have revealed many aspects of Chinese social life and relationships in this century. Most were repetitive slogans catching up with the political tides of the time.

2. The stratum of literati in China, although developed from ritual training, grew out of an education for genteel *laymen*. The stratum of literati was not hereditary or exclusive—a contrast with the Brahmans in India (ibid: 108).

What Weber means here is that there was not a class structure in Han-Chinese society as strict as that of India. Social prestige was gained through literary examinations by the imperial court. There have been popular stories about scholars who, in order to pass the examinations, burnt the midnight oil or spent a life time in reading. This loose hierarchy in the total cultural and social system can also be found in the political struggles throughout the history of the country. Dynastic changes were not only changes through the conflicts between two or more political and military forces from the same social stratum but often through rebellious uprising of the non-literati class against the literati dynasty. The first Ming Emperor (1328-1398 AD) was born in a poor peasant's family.

Constant revolutions in China during this century have changed the cultural values of the country a great deal. This was especially so after the Communist

Revolution after World War Two. The situation has been complicated by the fact that within the country, cultures and societies have always been diversified.

Social and cultural changes can be accounted for by internal and external reasons. This applies, too, at this level of abstraction, to the situation in China. The internal reason for the social and cultural changes in China is the conflict between a unifying literary tradition originated in the drainage areas of the Yellow River and the social and cultural diversity of the whole country. That tradition had been able to dominate, for example, the official examination system. The conflict was mainly the result of the difficulties of applying such a literary tradition to diversified local social and cultural practices. The conflict was accelerated by the coming of West European empirical ideologies and the industrial technology in the middle of last century when trade wars ripped the gates of the Great Wall open. This is the external reason.

The two revolutions within this century, the first of which had dethroned the Emperor, came after the socialist and capitalist ideas of West European scholarship. The first Nationalist Revolution was generally led by the literary elites and the local military powers of the Han Chinese society. They relied mainly on Han Chinese gentry and adopted readily West European capitalist technology and sociological thinking of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The second, which was partly separated from the first, was the Communist Revolution. Also led by Han literate elites, this political rivalry adopted a more empirical approach and carried the socialist ideas of West European scholars such as Karl Marx to some extreme. They relied mainly on the non-literate peasantry of the Han societies. As a result, the Communists were more rooted in the rural areas of China and had the majority of the population behind them. This was one of the reasons for the military and political victory of the Communists after World War Two. The different political approaches adopted by the two political parties may sometimes be accounted for by the very fact that they were political rivalries. Here, I think, lies some of the true problems within what has been

normally known as a Chinese culture and society. This culture and society is so enormous, geographically and demographically, that it may be said that it will house another social anthropology of South Asia and Africa, which has cost the labour of British social anthropologists for a century. Of course, it has not all to go that way, but most of it is still waiting to be written, comparable in quality at least, to the said British social anthropology.

Paradoxically, it is the party who relied on the gentry and who accepted readily West European technology and capitalist economics that are seen as those who have preserved most of the traditional Han-Chinese cultures, while those who found their roots in the rural non-literary population are seen as changing most of the traditions (Freedman 1970: vii). For example, the Cultural Revolution in mainland China which had lasted for a decade was the continuation of this grassroots strategy by the Communists in order mainly to prevent the return of the political ideology of the party who relied on the gentry and capitalist economy. The result of this revolution was a further discarding of many of the traditional cultural materials which could be studied.

This paradox may be untangled from two perspectives: one is the history of China, another is the subject concern of social anthropology.

The literary domination of Han-Chinese civilisation originating from the Yellow River drainage area to the whole Far Eastern continent has been quite different from the spread of Christianity in Europe. In Europe, Christianity had been preaching and educating peoples of different cultural backgrounds through empirically organised churches. In China, literacy had once been overtly taken as the political means to dominate. Books were written to be believed. Although there had appeared some realistic literature since the eighteenth century, this was not the mainstream of literacy. Literacy was for philosophy and for history, not for contemporary cultures. This might have been true of European scholarship before the nineteenth century, but empirical science and technology ran side by side with philosophical and historical

literacy in Europe from at least the sixteenth century onwards. The Renaissance was a realistic revolution in Europe, and it laid down the foundations for the development of empirical sciences later. Thus there was a wider gap between Han Chinese literacy and the local ways of life in China than that between the European literacy and the local ways of life in Europe (cf. Needham 1956: 1-12, 1985; Temple 1991: 6-8). This gap, I think, is an area where traditional Han Chinese scholarship can be combined with new ideas from outside in the contemporary era concerning subjects in humanities.

My generation grew up in that country which had undergone such drastic social changes this century. Old social relationships that used to exist in my parents' generation and above had been drastically changed. No educational systems had been able to accommodate such changes. This was especially so at the level of interpersonal relationships, what social scientists in Europe call the micro-level of social relationships (for example, Leach 1982: 122). Revolutions in China generally, especially after World War II, in my view, have been trying to bring the micro-levels of social relationships, which were so diversified within the political boundary of what is mainland China today, under the rein of a state ideology, as may have occurred among the Naxi after 1723 (see discussion in next chapter, 4.1.).

Such is the macro background. The danger of a state ideology, as against the lower level cosmologies, applies mostly to people who talk about ideas. They are those who try to be or have been the elites. I have belonged to this group of people. We talk about ideas, but what we get are often ideals. Ideals and practices are accepted only under different social contexts. It is imperative that people who talk about ideas should understand these contexts.

The Cultural Revolution was one form of the attempt to solve multidimensional value conflicts between traditional spiritual cultures and ideologies from Europe, such as Marxism, Leninism, socialism, communism and capitalism, in power struggles between intrinsically different political groups in China, The conflicts between the

values of the Chinese cultures and those of the major cultures of the world, mainly Western Europe and North America, have been the main cultural impact on China of this century (cf. Dittmer and Chen: 1981: 2-6).

I have said that there are no solutions to differences in things cultural (1.4.). What we can have is what I would like to call a 'proper ritual structure handling social and cultural interactions'. The Cultural Revolution, if it was such an attempt to solve various cultural conflicts, could have developed such a structure. China is essentially a multi-cultural country. One disastrous aspect of the Cultural Revolution was its lack of a methodological program consistent with its aims. This led to violence rarely seen in world history and brought the whole country to a standstill in almost all aspects of social and cultural life in the country, at least macrocosmically. As a consequence, young people of my generation were left to our own devices as to things cultural. We had our responsibilities in our youthful rebelliousness and fondness of change, which were misguided.

I realise now that since the Renaissance, European scholarship has concerned itself constantly with *methods* in developing schools of thought, as in contrast to *philosophies* or *conceptions*, which characterised many oriental cultures and medieval West European cultures. This is where European scholarship, of which the English language has been the major media, has been attractive and persuasive. I have thought about these methods of presenting cultural or intellectual materials since I began to study English. To learn English was essentially not the end. It has been the means to an end. I now realise this end is culture itself.

An emphasis on methods in scholarship might have developed at some time in Han-Chinese literary history. For example, the examination system developed in 690 A.D. may belong to such a development (Weber 1951: 116). Since the fourteenth century, a thesis to pass the official examinations had to follow a fixed structure of arguments (*Ba gu wen* [八股文]). The structure was criticised this century as

setting limits to thoughts. But it could have been an attempt at developing methods of presentation. Perhaps the methodological approach in scholarship was in constant conflict with the intellectual drive for inspiration in philosophy (ethics, aesthetics, metaphysics and epistemology), just as the concept of models is in constant conflict with cultural diversity in the practices of social anthropology and other disciplines of social sciences.

### **3.4.1 Myself — between two cultures and traditions of scholarship**

When I was in China, I knew roughly that there were different cultures and societies in the world. But because of the political ideology then and there, I always thought that, in the end, there should only be one way of doing things that could be deemed right and we all worked towards finding that single way. Such a preoccupation made me tend to associate myself with cultures which were seemingly superior for various reasons, such as political, economic, technological, spiritual, or material. This logic eventually resulted in ignoring many other cultures that were in full force in many societies around. Since they were 'inferior', then there was not much to learn from them.

I grew up in the southern part of China after World War Two. This was one of the crucial points in world history when the political structure of the world was being reformulated, which brought changes in cultures and societies the world over. It is equivalent in effect to many turning points in world history, such as the Renaissance in Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, or the Industrial Revolution initiated in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to name just two. I received most of my education in that part of China and after that point in world history. China was changing. Cultures were changing there drastically, and had been doing so ever since the beginning of this century when European technology, developed since the Industrial Revolution, reached the soil of the Far East through trade and military



conflict. The inevitable social contacts increased the processes of change intrinsic to every culture. Cultures in China were no exception.

This perhaps was the underlying prompt for me to learn English, which I began seriously in 1971. My parents belonged to the first generation of change in southern China. Like many others of their generation, they had received the technology from Europe, but were not able to understand cultures in Europe comprehensively and critically enough to pass onto the next generation. The dominant Han-Chinese culture, especially its social values, continued to serve as the parameter of educating the young, modified to some degree by some ideologies from Europe, which came mainly, at the micro-level of societies in southern China, through technology and material culture.

I began to study English because I felt I did not have much to learn in Chinese at that time, largely because many books were not available for us to read and we had not learned proper and sufficient literary Chinese anyway. My mother-tongue was a dialect of Cantonese and the local language was a dialect of Mandarin Chinese, which was in many ways different from the Chinese spoken in northern China. I did not learn to speak standard Mandarin Chinese until 1974 when I was enrolled in college study. The Cultural Revolution had a destructive effect on the cultural faith of my generation in China. Culture was replaced by political theories which had little implication in local cultures. Local peoples were forced to abandon many of their ideas about their living and their communities. So there was only one culture which was deemed to be right in the whole confines of China, that is the socialist culture based on the politics and philosophy of the Chinese Communist leader, Mao Tse-tung. Although some of Mao's philosophy had been well accepted by most peasants in central Han China, most of us did not know what to do as regards our cultural identity. We did not know and did not care about our social relations with local peoples who were mainly peasants, small traders and craftsmen. Small traders and

craftsmen were mainly Han immigrants from north and east China. The peasants were a Tai-speaking people, known as the Zhuang (Chuang). They were looked down upon by the Han, who lived mainly in towns. The literate had received education in Han-Chinese culture from northern China.

There have been at least two generations, including my own, in China since World War Two who knew little about Western Europe. We did not know about the technologies here, not to say how people lived and what their ideas were, although European and American cultures had their continuous influence in mainland China after World War Two among the older generation. Some of us occasionally got trickles of information about material life in Western Europe and North America. Once I heard my sister said: 'I really want to find out what makes the Americans so advanced and rich.' Her remark left a deep impression on me that I began to feel that there were people who were superior to us. Such a perception was later to grow into a conception that we and the Europeans were human species of different make.

I had not experienced European cultures until 1985 when I came to Britain to study English. I soon decided that the Europeans were not so different. We shared many facts of our lives after all. Six years later, I began to realise that we really were different. But this time, I had begun to understand that our differences were not those between human species of different makes, but between human species of different persuasions. My generation from the PRC has been a culturally ignorant one. My research was designed partly to compensate for such a loss, not only for my own sake as an individual, but also for the cultural heritage among the peoples there, and to establish further understandings in the world community.

When I began to study English in China, the problem of culture had already become obvious to me. In September, 1978, I wrote in my diary in Chinese:

If you want to speak a native English, you have to accept certain habits. But most people would not like to do so. I think most people would like to learn the vocabulary of English and then use these words to express their own ideas, their philosophy and their ways of thinking. This will create a raw English.

Such a raw English enables people to keep to their own ideology. Therefore, to learn a foreign language is not an easy task. It implies a mastery of the politics, economics, sciences, philosophy and religious beliefs of the world (in which this language is used). (Personal diary, 16.9.1978)

At that time, I had a very strong feeling of it not being the appropriate part of the 'English' that I was learning. Sometimes, I and other students forced ourselves to talk in English. The conversation could quickly become 'dry'. By this I mean the conversation could not give us fresh feelings because we talked of what we had felt in our native culture and this could have been more appropriate if we had talked in Chinese or in the native dialects. Now, looking back, I can say that a language is so deeply ingrained in a culture that without the culture in which it is used, the language can hardly express meanings of any depth. For example, the English word 'bad' will be different when it is used by an English native and when it is used by a non-English native.

I came to Britain to study English and some linguistics in 1985 on my own initiative, prompted by post-Cultural Revolution societies in China, when West European cultural and economic models had got the upper-hand in the value conflicts in post-War mainland China. There was a cult of West European cultures among many of my generation, who I now see as 'lost' or 'alienated' in matters of cultural and social traditions, by our very own ignorant acts in many ways. English seemed to be the saviour, for some, like me, who have chosen to learn English.

But the English Language itself is no saviour. The study had to have an end and for a particular cultural interest. These had not been part of my intellectual scheme, and many others of my generation from mainland China, until quite recently. I thus wondered and found a similar alienation on where I had thought a saviour land could be found. Just as back in 1971 I discovered English as a way out of cultural alienation, in Britain, I gradually began to feel, too, the intellectual stimulation of things from the land from whose cultures I had been alienated by my own hands. I

remember when I spent some time with a community in Scotland soon after I came to Britain, I wrote back to China saying that I wished to introduce many aspects of cultures of the homeland to the peoples here. By that time, I had recognised many aspects of the mental similarities which had originated in different cultural practices in this part of the world. As I captured glimpses of thought from books and articles by intelligent English writers about things from the Far East, the interest was reinforced. Perhaps this is what has been termed the 'unconscious' models in indigenous people's thought researched by social anthropologists. One's interest and awareness of any given societies and cultures have a lot to do with what I have called the 'structural distribution of cultural and social symbols' in these societies and cultures (1.3.). The members of the House of Parliament could have equally been studied by social anthropologists just as have been Trobriand Islanders or the Kwakiutt. These studies are a redistribution of the symbols of culture.

When I first came to Edinburgh, the city was mysterious to me. It was a combination of modern technology and traditional European culture. This impression was largely based on what I had read about Europe and about Britain before I came. The reading was limited to some English novels and English language text books. My knowledge about Scotland was almost nil. Without some real life experience, many aspects of the social and cultural life of the people depicted in those texts were hard to follow. Most of my ideas about the life of the people in Britain remained at a formal and superficial level. The worse side of the English language teaching texts was that they had somehow conveyed an easy way of life in major English-speaking countries. Naturally enough, for the purpose was mainly to persuade people to learn. Once, in Glasgow, I met a student from northern China. He was surprised to find that there was equally heavy physical labour in Britain.

While I walked about one day in the streets in Leith, the old sea port area of Edinburgh, I felt it was not very different from a city in China. A barber's shop was

crowded by old people waiting for haircut. Many women took their children in prams and did shopping there. But I was conscious that it was a corner of the industrial societies in Western Europe. I did not know how these people think and interact. I then began to relate what I had learned from books about society in Britain to the living society such as this type. Western Europe, in most Chinese people's minds in recent years, is a place of prosperity, of decency, of money, of scientific thinking and of freedom in doing whatever you like. The idea that it is also a place of exploitation, of money matters, of murder, robbery and of the poor and the rich seems to have gone. But no Chinese has ever produced any anthropological works of any consequence on European societies. The people here continue to be misrepresented to the Chinese public. In the Chinese scholarly tradition, there have not been empirical studies of other human societies equivalent to the ethnography produced by British social anthropologists.

A self-portrayal is especially urgent for persons who have chosen a different cultural perspective from their original own to comprehend another culture or even his own original culture. This is what I am doing. It can be uncomfortable sometimes. If social anthropology is to be a discipline for relationships, the self is necessarily part of it.

## Chapter 4. Tibeto-Burman Speaking Peoples in Southwest China, and the Naxi/Moso Identities

### 4.1. History and societies in Southwest China

The Naxi culture was closely related to the culture of the Tibeto-Burman-speaking peoples in south-west China. To understand Naxi/Moso identities, it is necessary to study the history of the peoples in the region.

The ancient Chinese civilisation was confined to the drainage areas of the lower Yellow River and the middle Yangtze River. By the time of Confucius, the peoples outside this civilisation were mentioned as Yong (庸) Shu (蜀), Qiang (Ch'iang) (羌), Mao (髦), Wei (微), Lu (卢), Peng (彭), Pu (濮). They were in fact smaller tribes peripheral to central China. They were mentioned in *Shang Shu* ( “尚书” ).

The general terms used to refer to the peoples outside central China at that time are *yi* (夷) and *man* (蛮). The word *yi* was originally used to refer to the peoples in the east, e.g. *Lai-I*, (莱夷) *Huai-I* (淮夷) (Herrmann 1966: 5). It was later used to refer to all non-Han peoples, especially those in the Southwest. The word was originally not necessarily derogatory, but it became derogatory because it was used to refer to the peoples considered ‘uncivilised’ by the Han-Chinese. Europeans were also called *yi* by the Chinese in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when Europeans came to China. The word *man* was originally used to refer to the peoples in the south who were considered uncivilised by the Chinese. It is derogatory and means ‘rough’ ‘rude’ ‘unreasonable’ or ‘barbarian’. These two words became suffixes to add to the names of the peoples who were outside the Han Chinese civilisation.

South-western non-Han peoples were first mentioned in the *Shiji* ( “史记” ) (historical records) written by Sima Qian (司马迁) (135 B.C.-?)

in the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.). The tribes there were generally termed *xinan yi* (西南夷) (south-western yi). The two biggest tribes south-west of the ancient Chinese capital on the Yellow River were *Shu* (蜀) and *Ba(Pa)* (巴). *Shu* was in what is today the Sichuan basin in Sichuan Province. *Ba* was in between today's Sichuan and Hubei Province (Herrmann 1966: 4-12). Other ethnic groups that Sima Qian mentioned were *Yelang (Yeh-lang)* (夜郎) in what is today Guizhou Province, *Qiong* (邛) in southern Sichuan, *Zuo (Tso)* (笮) south-west of Sichuan, *Ranmang* (冉駹), north-east of *Zuo (Tso)*, *Baima* (白马), in north-east of *Ranmang*. According to Sima Qian all these peoples belong to the *Di (Ti)* stock (氏) and they were *man, yi* south-west of *Shu* and *Ba*. He then mentioned *Dian(Tien)* (滇), a lake reached by an army general Zhuangjiao (Chuang Ch'iao) (庄蹻) from the kingdom of *Chu* (楚) in what is today Hubei Province. That was about 339 B.C. The general eventually settled there and established a kingdom called *Dian*. This lake is interpreted by later scholars as identical with *Dian Chi* (滇池), the lake near Kunming, Yunnan today. The people of *Chu*, according to Sima Qian, were the ancestors of the *Miao* (苗). There were also the *Bo (Po)* (僂), *Nan Yue (Yueh)* (南越) (southern Yue) and *Dong Yue* (东越) (Eastern Yue) that Sima Qian has mentioned.

Until the Jin Dynasty (晋) (286-420 A.D.), the peoples south-west of Central China were generally known as *Pu* (濮) and *Yue (Yueh)* (越). They were mentioned as *Hundreds Pu* (百濮) and *Hundreds Yue* (百越) because they consisted of many different tribes. The peoples in the north-west were known as *Di (Ti)* (氏) and *Qiang (Ch'iang)* (羌). It is generally held today that the *Di* and the *Qiang* peoples were what is today the Tibeto-Burman linguistic group; the *Pu* were what is today the Mon-khmer group who began to move towards the Indo-China

peninsula as early as 2,000 B.C.<sup>1</sup> The *Yue* formed what is today the *Dong (T'ung)-Dai(Tai)* (侗傣) or *Dai-Zhuang(Tai-Chuang)* (傣壮) group. There was intermingling between the *Pu* and the *Yue* tribes in southern and south-eastern Yunnan so what were called *Pu* in that area in Chinese historical records could have been part of the *Yue* group. The *Miao-Yao* (苗瑶) group are the *Panhu* (盘瓠) of Chinese historical records (You 1985: 9-13). In the Chinese historical records of this period (206 B.C.-420 A.D.), the peoples of Southwest China mentioned were *Min-Pu* (闽濮), *Jiu-Liao* (鳩僚), *Piao-Yue* (僂越), *Luo-Pu* (裸濮), *Mosa* (摩沙), *Bo (P'o)* (僂), *Kunming* (昆明), *Sou* (叟) and *Shendu* (身毒) (You 1985: 39-64).<sup>2</sup>

During this period, Southwest China was the scene of conflicts between the Han Chinese from Central China and the local peoples until the Tang Dynasty (唐) (618A.D.-896 A.D.) when independent kingdoms were established by the local peoples—the six *Zhao (Chao)* (诏). *Zhao* meant 'king' (Wang 1910[1831]: 175)<sup>3</sup>. These *Zhaos* were finally conquered by one of them, the *Mengshe Zhao* (蒙舍诏). It was then called *Nan Zhao* (the southern *Zhao*) (南诏) because it was south of the other five in what is today the Dali-Weishan area (大理、巍山) (You 1985:146). In *Man Shu* (“蛮书”) (the book about the barbarians) written by Fan Chao (樊绰) of Tang Dynasty<sup>4</sup>, the 'barbarians' in Yunnan were classified into the *Bai*

<sup>1</sup> The dating here is questionable because the Chinese historical records in which the *Pu* was mentioned were written not earlier than 550 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> These are mainly found in *Huayang Guo Zhi* (annals of the southern countries) by Chang Qu of the Jin Dynasty. The word 'Shendu' is the same word used later to refer to the Hindus in India. It is not clear here who were the Shendu.

<sup>3</sup> This meaning was first mentioned in *Xin Tangshu Nanman Liezhuan* (a new Tang book: the southern barbarians) by Song Qi (998A.D.-1061 A.D.) of the Northern Song Dynasty (960A.D.-1132 A.D.).

<sup>4</sup> Fan Chou was an official of the Tang imperial court. In 862 A.D. he was sent into Nan Zhao on a reconnoitring mission and escaped from Nan Zhao attack in June the following year. The word 'Yunnan', which means 'south of Yunling Mountain' (a mountain range between the Mekong and the Yangtze), was first used in Western Han (206 B.C. — 24 A.D.) to refer to a county east of Dali in what is the Xiangyun County today. It was used as the name of a province only from the Qing Dynasty (the Manchu Dynasty).



(*Pai*) *Man* (白蛮) and the *Wu Man* (乌蛮), viz. the white barbarians and the black barbarians. The six *Zhao* were all black barbarians (You 1985: 111). The six *Zhao*, later Nan Zhao, occupied the area between what is Dali and Lijiang (丽江) today. During the Sui (隋) (589 A.D.-618 A.D.) and the Tang period, there also appeared a 'big surname' in what are eastern and western Yunnan today. This was *Cuan* (*Ts'uan*) (爨). According to *Man Shu*, the eastern *Cuan* were the black 'barbarians' and the western *Cuan* were the white 'barbarians'. This distinction between the white and the black seems to have something to do with the costumes: the women of the *Wu Man* wore black embroidered clothes while both men and women of the *Bai Man* wore white embroidered clothes. It should be noted that the Bai nationality in Yunnan today also used to 'wear white jackets, white trousers and white stockings-and-shoes' (Wu: 1990: 8)

The 'barbarians' who inhabited the Northwest of Yunnan mentioned in the books of Tang-Song (宋) period (618A.D.-1279 A.D.) were the *Shun* (顺) the *Dujing* (独锦), the *Shi* (施), the *Changkun* (长褌), (long trousers), the *Mo*, or the *Mosuo* (*Mo-hsieh*, *Mo-so*, or *Moxie*) (磨些)<sup>5</sup>. These were all *Wu Man*, the black 'barbarians' (*Man Shu*, *Xin Tang Shu*, *Nan Man Liezhuan* [新唐书, 南蛮列传] in Wang 1910[1831]: 118-121, 184, 207).

---

The original *Man Shu* has been lost, but it has been edited in a book *Yongle Dadian* (Yongle great reference book) compiled by the Ming imperial scholars in 1405 A.D.. The present reference is taken from *Yunnan Beizheng* (a collected memoir of Yunnan (history)) compiled by Wang Song in about 1831 A.D.. The book has collected most of the historical records of Yunnan from the Han until the Ming dynasty. Wang Song was a native of Yunnan but held office (a county magistrate) in Shanxi Province. (See also Xiang Da 1962).

<sup>5</sup> The Chinese character can be pronounced in two ways: 'xie' or 'suo'. The former is the usual pronunciation. The later is archaic and is an auxiliary word used at the end of an utterance, and it is (was) usually found at the end of the magic spells uttered by the Liao people (today's Zhuang, Dong, Sui, Bu-yi, Ge-lao peoples) in Sichuan, Hunan, and Guangxi.

The Tang Chinese launched several military campaigns against Nan Zhao but were totally defeated. Thousands of Han-Chinese soldiers were killed and captured in a battle near Dali in 754 A.D. (You 1985:156)

The Nan Zhao Kingdom lasted for 208 years (694A.D.-902 A.D.). According to a Chinese historical record<sup>6</sup>, its influence reached northern Burma and part of north-eastern India in the west, and northern Vietnam in the south-east. It bordered on Tibet in the north. Tibet was called *Tubo* (土番) by the Chinese at that time (You 1985: 161). Nan Zhao was a country consisted of different social groups. Its rulers were mainly the 'black people' who were the ancestors of the Yi (彝) peoples today (Li 1983: 13; You 1985:147, 173). The Yi people will be further discussed below (The Tibeto-Burman speaking peoples in Southwest China). Some scholars say that, politically and, especially, culturally, Nan Zhao was dominated by the 'white people' who were the Bai (白) of today, and who have become more centralised since the Han-Jin period (206 B.C.-420 A.D.) by drawing on Han Chinese politics and culture. This process of cultural assimilation became large scale during the Tang-Song Period (618-1279 A.D.) when many Han-Chinese soldiers were captured by Nan Zhao. These soldiers subsequently became Bai (Li 1983: 46, You 1985: 239)

The black rulers of Nan Zhao were eventually replaced by the Bai people who launched a coup within the kingdom in 902 A.D. This led to the establishment of the Dali kingdom ruled by the Bai people.

Southwest China in what is Yunnan today therefore had been independent of Han Chinese rule until 1253 A.D., when Kublai Khan came and conquered the area. Yunnan became one province of China. The Mongol Empire ruled the peoples in Yunnan by introducing the *Tu-si* (土司) system. The *Tu-si* were the hereditary native officials appointed by the imperial court. These native officials were the chiefs

---

<sup>6</sup> *Xing Tangshu, Nanman Zhuan* (a new Tang book, the southern barbarians) by Song Qi (998AD-1061AD) and Ouyang Xiu (1007AD-1072AD) of the Song dynasty.

of the local peoples. This policy was continuously adopted by the Ming (1368-1644 A.D.) and the Qing (Manchu) (1644-1911 A.D.) dynasties. During the Ming-Qing period, a new policy was invented. This is known as *gai tu gui liu* (改土归流) in Chinese history. It was to replace the native chiefs by the removable officials appointed by the imperial court. According to some Chinese historical records of the time, this usually happened in areas where the native officials became corrupted. In *Yunnan Shi Lue* ( “云南事略” ) (a brief account of Yunnan history) by Ni Tui (倪蜕) of the Qing dynasty (in Wang 1910[1831]: 1103-1230), there are reports that the policy met with very strong resistance from the native peoples. There were armed rebellions which were cruelly crushed (You 1985: 388-389). Obviously the policy was meant to tighten the central rule over the frontier peoples who would otherwise not be subjugated.

Large scale Han Chinese colonisation of Southwest China took place from the Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties. This was in the form of opening up wasteland by the stationed Han-Chinese soldiers and Han civil immigrants. In Yunnan, according to Fitzgerald:

Almost all the other non-Chinese tribes (except Min Chia (Bai)) are found in the hills, while the valleys and plateaux are in the hands of Chinese settlers or absorbed peoples now Chinese in language and custom. The exception to this rule are the Naxhi or Moso of the Li Chiang district and the Shans of the Burma border region (Fitzgerald 1941: 12-13).

In the Yuan (元) dynasty of Kublai Khan (1279-1368 A.D.), the *Wu Man*, black ‘barbarians’, began to be known as *Lo-lo* (罗罗). It appears that during this period, more literate persons who were well-versed in Han Chinese began to emerge among the Bai people. In their writing published in Han China, they called the people *Bairen* (白人) (white people). For example, Li Jing (李京) in his *Yunnan Zhi Lue* ( “云南志略” ) (a brief Yunnan history) (You 1985: 319, n.1). More names for the peoples of Yunnan have appeared in Chinese historical records since the Yuan dynasty. In *Yuan Yitong Zhi, Lijiang Lu* ( “元一统志, 丽江路” ) (a record of

the Yuan unification, Lijiang Circuit) it is said that there were eight peoples: the *Moso*, the *Bai*, the *Yi* (夷), the *Dongmen* (东门), the *Echang* (峨昌), the *Qiao* (撬), the *Tubo*, and the *Lu*. (卢). In other historical records of the Ming and the Qing dynasties, there appear at least 14 names which can be identified as referring to the Yi peoples. Many other nationalities officially recognised today in Yunnan had also many different names in Chinese historical records of the Ming and the Qing dynasties. Some of these names were given by the Han Chinese, and they were often derogatory. Some were the names the peoples called themselves. It is no wonder that after 1949 when the Chinese government began to identify the different peoples in Yunnan, more than 260 groups made a claim (Fei 1981: 64). Now only 26 groups are officially recognised (Li 1983: 1)..

To conclude, the history of Southwest China is the history of conflicts between Han-Chinese from central China and the Non-Han natives and among the natives for domination. These mainly happened in the central and in the eastern parts of what is Yunnan today. There was greater influence of Han-Chinese culture in these areas. Northwest Yunnan was largely influenced by Tibetan cultures, especially religion. Chinese historical records have provided us with some information about what Southwest China was like historically. These are the Han-Chinese perspective of the cultures peripheral to central China.

#### **4.2. The Tibeto-Burman speaking peoples in Southwest China**

They are generally the Yi (彝) people in China today. They used to be called *Lo-lo* in books by Han Chinese writers (Lin 1961), also by European writers, who obviously followed the name used by the Han Chinese (e.g. Graham 1920; Migot 1956: 17; Goullart 1959). They lived mainly in the border area between Han China and Tibet. These peoples were divided in many different groups. Most called themselves *Nosu*. Groups which were related to the Yi are the Naxi/Moso, the Nu, the

Lisu, the Hani, the Lahu, the Dulong, the Achang, the Pumi, the Jino and the Jingpo. Their population is about several million (Li 1983: 5, Ma 1989: 1).

A mixture between Han Chinese and the Tibeto-Burman speaking peoples in Southwest China are the Bai (Pai) people, who live on the plain areas in central-west Yunnan province. They were known as Min-chia (民家) in Chinese history (Wu 1990: 4). The name, which meant 'civilian', had something to do with Han Chinese migration to the area in the fourteenth century when Han-Chinese had took control of the area from the rule of Kublai Khan. Since the middle of the fourteenth century, large number of Han Chinese had come and settled in Yunnan from the east coast regions of China. They were mainly Han Chinese soldiers and were called *Junjia* (军家), which meant 'military men or households'. It is said that the natives, in order not to be identified with those used to be called the 'barbarians' by the Han Chinese, invented the name 'civilian' as something equivalent to the 'military people' of the Han Chinese soldiers (Wu 1990: 4). The Han Chinese settlers occupied mostly the valleys and plain areas where they had come to mix with the local Tibeto-Burman speaking people.

In the centuries that followed, not only Han soldiers had come, but also Han civilians had come to Yunnan to 'open up wasteland', which was encouraged and supported by the emperors of China.

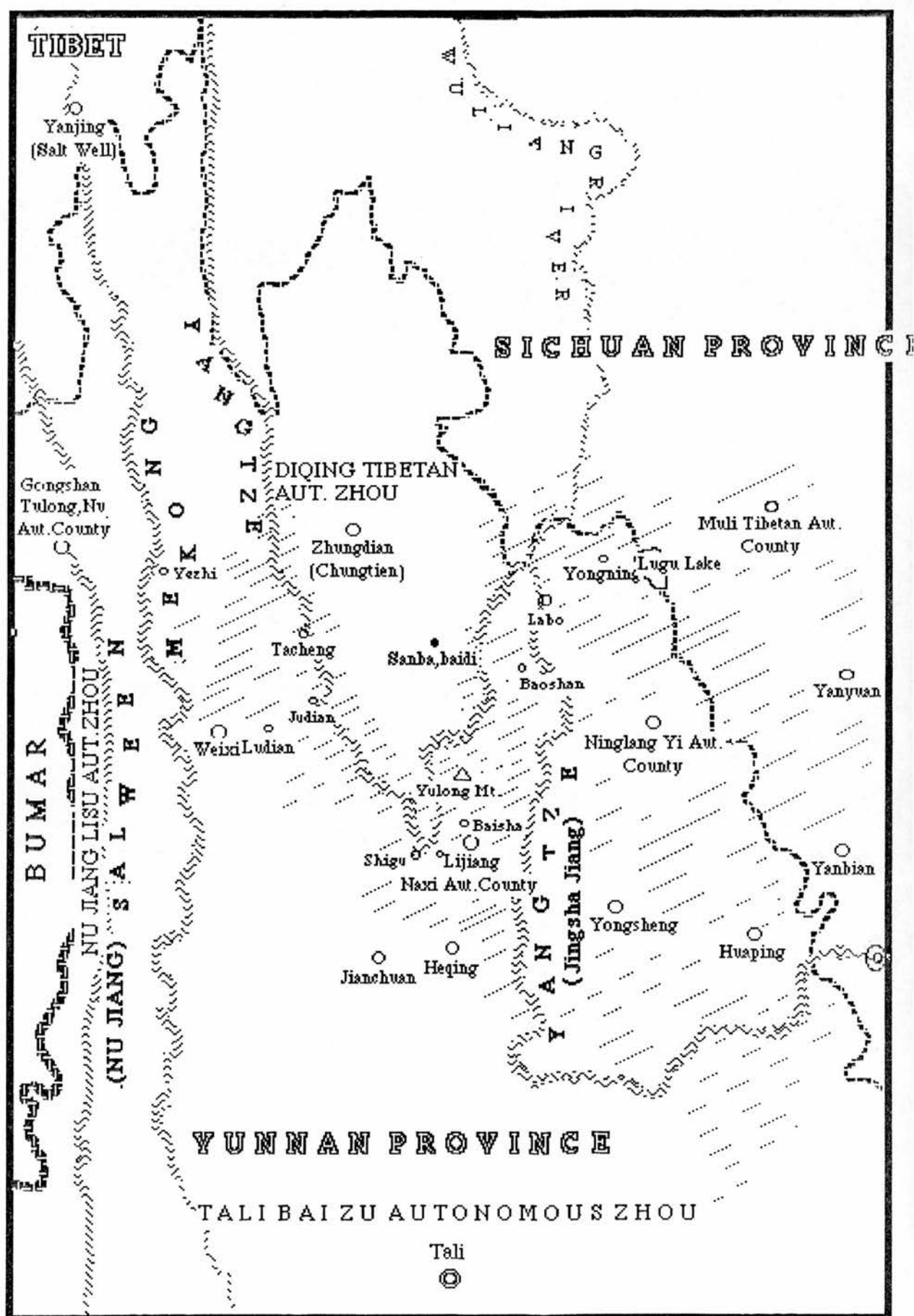
### **4.3. Naxi/Moso, a Tibeto-Burman speaking people with a distinct culture**

Europeans began to travel in south-west China in the middle of last century after the military conflicts between China and Britain. For the British, it was in the first place of commercial and military interest to explore the region, prompted by 'the lure or threat of a "Northeast passage" to India' (Jackson 1979: 21). The social and cultural diversity of the region, which was so different from that of central China, had been observed by European travellers:

My chief objective was to gratify a long-felt desire to visit those portion of the Chinese Empire which are least known to the Europeans and to acquire some knowledge of the various tribes subject to the China that inhabit the wild region of Chinese Tibet and N.W. Yunnan. . . .

From the ethnological point of view, the Chinese Far West . . . is one of the most interesting region in the world and presents problems the solution of which would settle many of the vexed questions relating to the region and inter-relations of the Asiatic peoples. (Johnston 1908: 1)

In Chinese historical records, the people who lived in and around what is the Lijiang county today were known as the Mo-so, including some of those in some parts in the Weixi (维西) Zhongdian (中甸), Ninglang (宁蒗) counties and the Muli (木里), Yenyuan (盐源) counties in south-west Sichuan (cf. Tao 1936: 121; You 1985: 271; see also Map 1 in the next page). The Europeans who came to the area in the late last century reported that the people there called themselves *Na-shi* (cf. Lacouperie 1885: 454). This name was used by Rock in his publications about the people and the ritual texts. Yet, despite the fact that the name was used extensively by Rock, Chinese scholars continued to call the people *Moso* (摩梭) until 1949, when the ethnic title *Naxi* (纳西) officially became recognised by the newly founded People's Republic. The ethnic identity of the Naxi in Lijiang was established because of Rock's publications. The name *Moso* has been accepted by some of the people. Those who live in the Yongning district (永宁) in the Ninglang county on the eastern side of the Yangtze and in south-west Sichuan, numbering about 30,000, continue to call themselves *Moso* today (Yan & Song 1983: 7). It can be concluded that the name 'Moso' was a historical appellation of the Han Chinese applied to a certain group of people in the area and was partly accepted by some of these people. The name was not defined much beyond a geographical concept in Han Chinese historical records (see also 5.3. in the next chapter). The following map (Map 1) shows the geographical location of the *Moso* in historical times.



Map 1. Naxi Area: the Moso in historical times, 7th century onwards (ref. Tao 1936: Map 1)

Rock was not certain whether the Naxi and the Moso were identical or not. He knew that the people were referred to as the Moso in Chinese historical records and the people called themselves 'Naxi', so they were the Naxi or the Moso. He then thought that they were two different peoples and that the Naxi were the immigrants and the Moso, the aborigines. The Naxi were originally the *Ch'iang* people on the grassland of north-west China and the marches of eastern Tibet. They came (probably two thousand years ago), absorbed by the Moso and drove away the P'u (Pumi) who were the natives of the Lijiang area. He concluded that whether the Naxi were the Moso or not could never be made clear, or because of intermarriage, they were no longer distinguishable. To add to the confusion, Rock further stated that all the non Chinese people of the Lijiang district, irrespective of family name, called themselves Naxi. On the one hand Rock said that the language of the Moso was quite different from that of the Naxi and was not understood by the latter, on the other hand he said that the phonetic script might have been the script of the Moso and the pictographs were invented by the Naxi, both types of script were read in Moso with an admixture of Naxi (Rock 1952: 3, Rock 1947: 4, 180, n.5). In some places, Rock conveyed an impression that the Moso were the more primitive, while the Naxi were the advanced and modern (Rock 1965: 60). Rock also distinguished the Naxi from the Moso according to the religious ceremonies performed by the religious persons, the *dto-mba* and *llii-bu* among the Naxi, the *nd'a-p'a* among the Moso. He maintained that the Naxi had the pictographs, but the Moso did not have, the Naxi sacrificed to Heaven but the Moso did not, the Naxi had elaborate funeral ceremonies while the Moso did not have, so they were different (Rock 1965: 60.). Generally Rock identified the people living in the town of Lijiang and adjacent villages as the Naxi. Those living in the Yongning district on the eastern side of the Yangtze and in the Ts'o-so (左所), Ch'ien-so (前所), Kua-pieh (瓜别) on the border of south-west Sichuan were



the Moso (Rock 1952: 3). Rock's picture of the Naxi/Moso distinction was mainly that people who lived in the town of Lijiang and in nearby villages and who possessed the pictographic writing were the Naxi, while people who lived in the remote areas and who had no writing were the Moso.

One can ask questions about such an identification of the Naxi, the Moso and other tribes in the Lijiang area. Firstly, Sacrifice to Heaven was not solely performed by the Naxi in Lijiang, but by all peoples living in the area as Rock himself had also indicated (Rock 1947: 180, n.5). Sacrifice to Heaven was largely a family business among the peoples there, only it was performed in different times in the first month and some other months of the lunar year. In Lijiang, the ceremony was performed by a large clan. In Yongning, the ceremony was known as *Ngâw bpò'*, instead of *Muân bpò'* in Lijiang (He 1991: 194). It was normally performed in a village or within a household. Normally it was the householder who presided over the ceremony. The *Dto-mba* priest and the books were not necessary, because the old people knew most of the prayers by heart. Indeed, there were few Naxi manuscripts of the ceremony of worshipping Heaven (*Muân bpò'*). The ceremony was performed by a *dto-mba* when he was the head of the household (Rock 1965: 47).

Secondly, the pictographic writing was not possessed by the people in the area, but by a few *dto-mba* priests among the Naxi in Lijiang. Therefore pictographic writing alone cannot tell that the Naxi were originally culturally different from the Moso. According to Rock, the original culture of the Moso was supposed to be similar to the Yi. The phonetic script of the Naxi was similar to that of the Yi and might have been the script of the Moso. This is to say that the Yi, the Naxi and the Moso were similar. What was different was then the pictographs possessed by the *dto-mba* in Lijiang.

Thirdly, Rock distinguished the Naxi from the Moso on account that the Moso did not have the elaborate funeral ceremonies of the Naxi (Rock 1955: 2). The

elaborate funeral ceremonies were the ceremonies for the suicide, the funeral for the death of a *dto-mba* and wife, and so on. In general, the *dto-mba* in Lijiang composed many elaborate texts for funerals. This led Rock to think that the Naxi must have had a very well organised society (Rock 1955: 2). Another fact was that most of these funeral ceremonies had no longer been performed for fifty years by the time Rock was in Lijiang (1922) and some ceremonies were very rare (*ibid*: 5). This can suggest that the elaborate funeral texts were some unique product of the *dto-mba* in Lijiang.

It can not be denied that there were no differences between the Naxi/Moso<sup>7</sup> peoples in the Lijiang-Yongning areas. The ethnic situation in the area will be re-examined below. But first we need to be clear how ethnicity has been defined in South and Southwest China, and the relevance of modern ideas of ethnicity to the Naxi situation.

#### 4.4. The concepts of ethnic identity

The term 'ethnic' comes from the word *ethnos* of Greek origin. It was first used in English by sociolinguists in 1953 (Tonkin, et al. 1989: 11-12). It was used later by anthropologists and sociologists to replace the English word 'tribe' which was often applied to the peoples in Africa (*ibid.*: 14), or to distinguish between the meanings of 'tribe' in the rural and urban settings in Africa, or in search for neutral analytical terminology for the 'classification of peoples' (Epstein 1978: 10). The related terminology of the word *ethnos* in anthropology can be traced back at least to the last century. For example, when the Royal Anthropological Institute was founded in 1843, it was known as the 'Ethnological Society of Britain' (Mair 1972: 5). The subjects of

---

<sup>7</sup> The name 'Moso' is still used by the people in Yongning today in their contact with the Han Chinese or other outsiders. However, the two groups of people have been officially identified as the 'Naxi' in PRC today. I chose deliberately the form 'Naxi/Moso' to reflect this situation today and the situation in history. There is a tendency today for some scholars to use 'Moso' to refer to the people in Yongning, which I sometimes also adopt in the thesis (e. g. in Chapter 5) (see Yan and Song 1983: 7, 448; Mckhann 1992: 186, n. 36).

'ethnology' was distinguished from those of social anthropology in the beginning of this century in that 'ethnography' was the descriptive accounts of non-literate peoples and ethnology, as well as prehistoric archaeology was the hypothetical reconstruction of the history of such peoples, while social anthropology, was the comparative study of the institutions of primitive societies (Radcliffe-Brown quoted in Kuper 1983: 2). 'Ethnography' was also defined as 'the science which deals with the 'cultures of human groups' (Lowie 1938: 3). In some recent argument, ethnography has been interpreted as the locus where ethnicity is created and recreated (Eriksen 1993: viii, 1)

The subject of ethnicity in social anthropological and sociological discourse can be seen as started from two perspectives: one was the concern of the 'tribe' or 'society' conceived as the basic culture-bearing unit for cross-cultural comparison (Naroll 1964: 283), another was ethnicity as the processes of group-boundary maintenance (Barth 1969: 10). This latter aspect of ethnicity has further been identified as status group domination, individual status striving and the injustice of elements in the class and status system (Rex, et al. 1986: xiii), social and political constructions (Brass 1991: 8), and the 'dynamic situation of variable contact and mutual accommodation between groups (Eriksen 1993: 9).

Ethnic groups or tribes defined as the basic culture-bearing units for cross-cultural comparison have been criticised as the ideal type definition of ethnic groups which pre-determines cultural variables (Barth 1969: 11). The main arguments of the criticism has been that there is no simple one-to-one relationship between ethnic units and cultural similarities and differences and that 'the persistence of ethnic groups in contact implies not only criteria and signals for identification, but also a structuring of interaction which allows the persistence of cultural differences (ibid.: 14, 16). One example was the Pathan in Afghanistan and West Pakistan, who selected only certain cultural traits for ascription to the ethnic group (ibid.: 119). Another example was the Lue in Thailand, who, when self-identifying, mentioned cultural traits which they

shared with other neighbouring groups (Eriksen 1993: 11). The latter obviously used cultural similarities to maintain ethnic differences.

The problem with the notion of the 'culture-bearing unit' is that it has not emphasised enough or taken into consideration enough the interaction between groups and identity change, as has also been pointed out (Barth 1969: 11). A proponent of the approach has stated that

A culture is a pattern, a set of plans, a blueprint for living. Every culture includes as an element a social system, that is, a plan for social interaction. A society is an actual system of social interaction . . . The culunit is offered as a unit of comparative statistical analysis of sets of plans — of social and cultural patterns as they exist in the minds of culture bearers. Study of actual social systems is of course relevant to the study of the plans which are supposed to govern them, but the unit of comparison is the plan, not the society (Naroll 1964: 288).

I see the 'culture-bearing unit' and the 'boundary maintenance' theories of ethnicity are really two sides of the coin. That cultural patterns exist in the minds of culture bearers is clearly illustrated in some definitions of ethnicity:

The cultural forms, values, and practices of ethnic groups become political resources for elites in competition for political power and economic advantage. They become symbols and referents for the identification of members of the group, which are called up in order to create a political identity more easily (Brass 1991: 15).

That ethnicity making is a political process has been recognised by most people (Glazer, et al. 1975: 20; Cohen 1974: xv; xvi; Tonkin, et al. 1989: 2; Brass 1991: 8, 15, 19; Wu 1991: 8; Eriksen 1993: 2, 3). Competition and mutual attempts at monopolisation of resources have been important factors in the processes of ethnicity making (Barth 1969: 126). Another aspect I can see in the processes of ethnicity making has been the motive for cultural dominance. This is linked to the questions of status group and individual status striving (Rex, et al. 1986: xiii). I have put forward this view in a discussion of the nature of culture in Chapter 2 above.

Migration as a result of competition for scarce resources applies to a considerable degree in the processes of ethnic identification and formation in the ethnic

minority areas in the south and the south-west of China, as can be seen in some studies (Wiens 1954: 55-123, 168-184; Fei 1981: 61-62).

The view that cultural dominance is intrinsic in things cultural may have been implied in the idea of culture as symbols:

How can an individuality and collectivity be expressed simultaneously without compromising each other? We suggest that the answer lies in symbolism, in people's prowess in making ordinary and unremarkable aspects of their behaviour eloquent statements of identity: of their similarity to, and differences from, other people (Cohen 1986: ix).

All of these non-technical aspects of behaviour are, of course, elusive in their meanings. To call them 'symbolic' is to use a convenient device to mask imprecision. But we take a step further still and say that it is in the nature of the symbolic to be imprecise: that if we could pin down the meanings of symbols, then the symbols would have become redundant, because we would have moved from the symbolic to the technical (ibid.: 3).

That an individuality and collectivity are expressed simultaneously without compromising each other and that symbols mask imprecision have pointed to a fact that boundaries between cultures are often maintained in an implicit way. This type of cultural maintenance is not in any way realised in material terms. I interpret this as a realisation of cultural dominance.

#### **4.5 Ethnology and Ethnicity in China**

The idea of different groups of people has long existed in Han Chinese thoughts. The earliest historical records by Han historians had mentioned different tribal states around Han China (§ 1 above). In the first and the third century A.D., some Han scholars had written that 'when a rite is lost, one can learn from those in the wild' (quoted in Wang 1989: 3). It has been pointed out that the Han perception of minority Chinese (the non-Han peoples) remained embedded in an ethnocentric framework that stresses sociocultural difference (Dikötter 1992: x). This appraisal of ethnic relationships within China fits well with the subject concern of ethnicity in anthropological discourse today.

The concept of ethnicity in historical China had not been represented as such when European colonial powers, in a sense, had brought European science, technology as well as ideology to China in the latter half of last century. If China had not been formally colonised, it was effectively colonised by European science, technology and ideology since then. The following century saw the changing of Han Chinese scholarly thought and the first scholar of humanity from Han China arrived in Germany in 1907. The German 'Beschreibende Volkerkunde', 'Vergleichende Volkerkunde' and 'Rassenkunde', the French 'Ethnographie', 'Ethnologie' and 'Anthropologie', the English 'Ethnography', 'Ethnology' and 'Anthropology' were first translated in China in 1916. Writings on ethnic states or groups outside central China by Han historians were dismissed as the by-product of Han Chinese politics and could not be treated as scientific records (Rui 1951: 1, 4; but cf. Wiens 1954: 30). A decade later, the first anthropological typology of the peoples in historical China was formulated (Li 1928). The Chinese Ethnological Society (中国民族学会) was established in 1934 (Rui 1951: 4). This was followed by anthropologists from China beginning to study social and cultural anthropology in England and in America (for example, Fei 1992; Suenari 1992: 68).

European scholars other than anthropologists have also contributed a great deal to the study of cultures and societies in both Han and non-Han China in the present century. A West China Border Research Society was founded in 1922 in Chengdu in Sichuan, China, by English-speaking scholars and missionaries. The purpose of the society was to be 'the study of the country, peoples, customs and environment of West China, especially as they affect the non-Chinese' (Morse 1923: 2). The first *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* was published in 1936 (Elisséeff & Ware 1936). Many valuable articles concerning the cultures and societies within China have since been published.

It is sometimes argued that ethnicity as a concept does not exist in China (Honig 1993: 10). This may have been a matter of terminology, rather than the concept itself. The fact that ethnicity can be readily applied to some group discrimination in the Han Chinese cosmopolitan Shanghai has shown the reality of such a concept (*ibid.*).

National politics has dominated the scene of ethnicity making in China since the founding of the People's Republic (Wu 1990: 3). To this extent, one can argue that the Han historical records, dismissed as without scientific value but reflecting the politics of the Han Chinese, can really be treated as part of the long historical processes in which the Han concept of ethnicity has itself been constructed. Some scholars outside China, nevertheless, have conceded 'the astonishing degree of reliability of Chinese historical facts' (Wiens 1954: 30).

National political involvement in the processes of ethnicity making in China is largely the result of the struggle for a nation-state in the modern world on the part of the Chinese as a whole (*cf.* Pye 1975: 494-503). From another perspective, national political involvement in the processes of ethnicity making is also a result of Marxist ideology, especially that of social evolutionary theory, on which modern revolutions in China have been based. Thus macrocosmically, this politics in ethnicity making is different from the politics of ethnicity in anthropological discourse in Europe. Although the state has been identified as an indispensable factor in ethnic identity (Harrell 1990: 516-7), state political involvement in matters of ethnicity begs problems instead of solving problems. This may have been a source of the problem in ethnic identity in China, as has been discovered (*ibid.* 515, 546). The criteria used in matters of ethnicity resulting from a state polity such as the one in the context of China, in my view, offer little analytical value in anthropological researches.

The context of China is again different from other parts of the world. To go around some of the current analytical problems, one can also start with the historical sources. This is not to say that historical studies will bring insight into today's

problems. It can nevertheless establish certain analytical devices. This has been the approach I adopt generally in this study. A 'historical approach' can often be found conjured up in contexts such as China. This has been suggested as necessary in the anthropology of China (Suenari 1992: 72). It is not that matters of China are any more 'historical' than some other societies. It is a question of how anthropology is to treat the relationship between what are elite cultures and what are popular cultures.

In recent research, locality has been further identified and proved as an important factor in the processes of ethnicity making among the Han Chinese (Honig 1992: 1, 6-8). Among the non-Han peoples, who used to have their own territorial bases and different cultural practices, the processes are more complicated. It is my hope that the analysis of the social and cultural identity of the Naxi/Moso and the Tibeto-Burman peoples in this chapter will contribute to some understanding of these problems.

#### **4.6. Naxi, a new identity of the Moso; Moso, the identity of interaction with the Han Chinese**

The Naxi and the Moso were not two distinct ethnic groups in many aspects of culture, for example their dialects are communicable (He & Jiang 1985: 4). Rock had maintained that their languages were so different that they must converse in Chinese (Rock 1955: 4). This account by Rock may simply refer to the fact that Han Chinese had become a *lingua franca* among the non-Han peoples in South and Southwest China after the region had come within the Han cultural sphere (see also Lebar, et al 1964: 3). The Naxi and the Moso were different too in other aspects of culture, for example, the Naxi had elaborate pictographs in writing ritual books, the Moso, on the other hand, practised the *A-zhu* marriage. These similarities and differences were the results of certain cultural and social processes which took place in the region in history.

It has been hypothesised that the Naxi and the Moso originally were not different. From 1382 when south-west China was finally brought into the confine of



the Han Chinese empire, there was increasing sinification among the Moso of Lijiang. By 1723, Han Chinese took direct control over the Lijiang district, introduced new funeral and marriage customs among the Moso and tried to alter the lineage system (Jackson 1979: 296). These were some of the cultural and social processes which resulted in the difference between the Moso in Lijiang, who were later known as the Naxi, and the Moso in the north-east of Lijiang.

One problem of the identities of the Naxi and the Moso resulted from the fact that in China, non-Han peoples in the south-west were often given different names by the Han. These names are the names recorded in Chinese historical records and these names were often accepted by the peoples themselves in their contact with the Han and sometimes other peoples. It is a European fashion in modern times, normally, to ask what the people would like to be called. It looks therefore as if the name *Na-shi* was what the people, known as the Moso, would like to be called since it first appeared in European publications.

However, this is still not a straightforward answer. There are several complications. In the Lijiang-Yongning area, people who lived near a river were called *zher khin* (Rock 1947: 389, n.1). Within the area, people were usually referred to as people (*khi*) of such-and-such place. The Yongning plain was called *Hli dü*, thus the people there were called *Hli (Lü) -khin*; Lijiang was called *Nosu-gv dü*, thus the people of Lijiang were called *Nosu-gv khi* (Rock 1947: 358). In a wider area which included south-east Tibet and south-west Sichuan, peoples gave different names to each other. The Na-khi were called *Nya-me* by the *P'u-mi* who were called *Boa* by the Na-khi and *Hsi-fan* by the Han. The Hli khin were called *Lä-mö* by the *P'u-mi*. The Tibetans were called *Gv-dzu* by the Na-khi as well as by the Han and *K'a-me* by the *P'u-mi*. The Tibetans called the *P'u-mi* *B'hah* and themselves *P'ö*. The Na-khi called the Han *Ha-pa*. The Lo-lo called the Han *Ha-nga*. The *P'u-mi* called the Han *Shoh*. The Hli khin called the Han *Sili-aha* and the Tibetans, *Wu-tzu*. The Lo-lo

called the Na-khi, the Tibetans and the P'u-mi *U-tzu* and called themselves *No-su*. The Min-chia called the Na-khi *Lai-chang* and called themselves *Swua-pa* or *P'er-tsu* (Rock 1963a: XXIV).

In the ritual texts, different peoples were mentioned such as the *Lä-bbu* in the south, the *Gv-dzu* in the west, the *Ggo-lo* in the north, the *P'er*, *Na*, *Boa* and *O* in the centre (Rock 1952: 772). The *Lä-bbu* were the *Min-chia*, the Bai people in the Dali area south of Lijiang. The *Ggo-lo* were a fierce people living in the mountains north of Lijiang. They were probably one group of the Tibetans (Rock 1972: XXIV). The *Na* were the Na-khi themselves and the *Boa* the P'u-mi. The *P'er* Rock first thought might be the Tibetans but later suggested that they were the Min-chia, since the Min-chia called themselves *P'er-tsu*. The *O* were the inhabitant in the district of *O-yü* along the bank of the *Zho Chhu* river (the *Wu-liang Ho* [无量河]) in the Yongning-Muli area (Rock 1952: 253, n.539). Since all people living on the river banks in the Yangtze and *Zho Chhu* valleys were called *Zher khi* by the Na-khi and the Moso, the *O* must be the *Zher khi*. The name *Na-khi*, *Lü-khi* and Moso also appear in *dto-mba* pictographic texts (Rock 1963a: 300, 241, 282).

The interrelations among these groups of people can be shown in the following table:

Table 1. Ethnic identities in the interactions between groups in north-west Yunnan, China:

(Note: Read horizontally for names each group applied to other groups, vertically for different identities. Italicised words are self-appellations; main source: Rock 1963a: XXIV; 1972: XXIV)

	Nakhi	Nosu	Tibetan	P'ömi	Hlikhi	P'ertsu	Han	Lisu
Nakhi	<i>Nakhi/Moso</i>	Nosu (Lolo)	Gvdzu	Boa	Lükhi/Moso	Läbbu	Ha-pa	
Nosu	U-tzu	<i>Nosu</i>	U-tzu	U-tzu			Hanga	
Tibetan	Ijang		<i>P'ö</i>	B'hah				
P'ömi (Pumi)	Nya-me	Lu-lu	K'a-me	<i>P'ö-me</i>	Moso/Lämö		Shoh	Minoh
Hlikhi	Yigvkhil/N'a-a		Wu-tzu		<i>Hlikhi/Moso</i>		Siliaha	
P'ertsu (Pai)	Lai-chang			Hsifan		<i>Swuapa/P'er-tsu</i>		
Han	Moso	Nosu (Lolo)	Ku-tsung	Hsifan	Moso	Pai/Minchia	<i>Han</i>	Lisu
Lisu				Lulu-p'er				<i>Lisu</i>

This table shows that identity in the Lijiang area was not a fixed phenomenon. A group's identity depended on its relation with other groups hence the change of names in different circumstances. Normally, one group has more than two names, a name which members of the group would like to be called, and other names which were given by members of other groups. It can be noted that self-appellation was normally ignored by members of other groups. In very few cases, names given by members of other groups are accepted, e.g. Moso. The table also shows the Naxi in Lijiang called other peoples in the same way as that of the Han. These data are based on Rock's account. Where no names are given, it may be due to lack of contact between the groups or lack of information.

Ethnic nomenclatures are extremely complicated in Southwest China. Among the *Nosu* (Yi) peoples, more than 100 different names are used (Li 1983: 8). These names were given either by members of other groups including the Han-Chinese, or members of the groups themselves. Most of these names, in the cases of self-appellation, show the use of the word *na* or *no*, *nu*, etc., which, in Tibeto-Burman

Loloish languages, means 'black'. The name *Naxi* resembles the name *Nosu*, which the Yi in the Daliangshan (大凉山) area in Sichuan call themselves.

Non-nasalisation is characteristic of Burmese-Loloish languages. The nasal alveolar [n] and the lateral alveolar may be undifferentiated. There are a series of ethnic names beginning with *la* or *na*, as in *Lahu*, *Lisu*, *Nu-tze*, *Lu-lu*, etc. *Nashi* was also heard as *Lashi* (Johnston 1908: 281)

Rock maintained that the Naxi were the newcomers from the north. The Moso were the aborigines of the Lijiang area. The Naxi were different from the Moso. Only the people in the north-east in the Yongning area, the *Lü-khi* or *Hli-khin* were the genuine Moso. But in Chinese history, the people in Lijiang and Yongning were all known as the Moso. Why then should the distinction be made? Rock made the distinction because the peoples in Lijiang and in Yongning were really different: they were different in dress, especially lady's dress (Rock 1963: XXVIII, Plate XXI, XXIII); the Moso were more 'primitive', they had no written language, that is no pictographs; the Moso had no elaborate funeral ceremonies and they did not worship Heaven and the languages of the Naxi and the Moso were so different that they had to converse in Chinese when they met (Rock 1955: 2).

In Rock's description, the Naxi society represented a wonderful independent civilisation. He said:

the Na-khi lived an isolated existence for nearly 2000 years and developed a culture of their own, little, or not at all, influenced by their neighbours except their northern ones—the Tibetans. ... They were isolated, but the greatest barrier was erected by the Na-khi themselves, they kept more or less aloof because of the lower cultural standards of their neighbours except those to the south of them, the Min-chia (Rock 1963b: 9, 26).

What was this culture of their own that the Naxi had developed? What were the cultural standards that the Naxi had kept in comparison to other tribes around of lower cultural standards? These have not been clearly defined.

To us, the most important feature of all about Naxi culture was their pictographs. Another important aspect of Naxi culture was the elaborate ceremonies

and myths depicted by these pictographs. They had many funeral ceremonies organised according to different social ranks, Rock said that they 'must have had a very well organised society' (Rock 1955: 2). Rock collected many manuscripts for these funeral ceremonies, but many ceremonies had not been performed for some time (Rock 1955: 5).

Other facts gathered by Rock about Naxi culture may be summarised as follows: The Naxi emerged from cave dwelling and built houses of wood at Pei-ti (Baidi) in the Chung-tien (Zhongdian) district north of Lijiang. They used mud bricks later. They migrated to the Lijiang area and drove away the aboriginal *P'u* tribe. They considered their first ancestor to be *Mùan-llü-ddu-ndzi*, a mystical being equivalent to the national god of the Mongols and the Chinese god of longevity. They are composed of several clans: *Ho*, *Mü*, *Yu* and *Ssu*. They had no family names but the ruling family was given the Chinese name *Mu* by a Chinese emperor in 1382 while the ordinary Naxi adopted the name *Ho* (Jackson 1979: 13, 53). It was during the rule of a Naxi king Mu Sheng-pai (木生白) (1598-1646 A.D.) that the Naxi culture exceeded that of all of its neighbours by complexity of organisation. This Naxi king was well-versed in Chinese and well-known for his Chinese poems and calligraphy. He was converted to Tibetan Buddhism, the Karmapa Sect. The Naxi were great warriors. They fought the Tibetans with the Chinese and attacked Burma with the Mongol troops. They had only one temple of their own built along Chinese lines in which they enshrined their patron god *Ssan-ddo*. Yet they were never near a major centre of culture. Chinese culture was a closed book to them. The great majority could not read or speak Chinese. They were isolated (Rock 1963b: 18-26).

There are several logical mistakes in Rock's theory of a Naxi culture. First, his formula that the Naxi emerged from cave dwelling, built houses of wood and then houses of mud brick, was inconsistent with what he had himself written about the history and origin of the Naxi that they were originally nomads in the grassland of

north-eastern Tibet (Rock 1963b: 19). Second, somehow in order to present the Naxi as possessing a unique culture of their own, standing above all other tribes in the area, Rock has time and again stated that the Naxi had little contact with the outside world except the Tibetans (Rock 1963b: 9, 26). This contradicts Rock's own stated facts that the ruling family of the Naxi was given a name by a Chinese emperor, that the only temple built by the Naxi follows Chinese lines and that the rulers of the Naxi were eager to receive titles from the Chinese emperors including the Manchu emperors (Rock 1963b: 24).

There is no shortage of account by other writers that the Naxi in Lijiang have been greatly assimilated to Han culture. In 1871, Thomas Thornville Cooper reported that the 'Moso are fast losing their identity and becoming merged with Ya-tsu, whose chief governs them. They use Chinese language' (Cooper 1871: 12-13). The Moso here obviously refers to the Naxi in Lijiang. Peter Goullart was the second European who had stayed in Lijiang for a long period of time during World War II. His book *Forgotten Kingdom* (Goullart 1955) has given an interesting account of the daily life of the Naxi in Lijiang. According to Goullart,

the Nakhi, since the Tang dynasty, had begun the adoption of the Chinese civilisation and culture of their own free will and the process is not yet over. In the matter of masculine dress it is practically impossible to distinguish between a Nakhi and a Chinese.... The absorption of the Chinese etiquette and ceremonial was completed long ago (Goullart 1955: 93).

Goullart normally conversed with the Naxi in Chinese. Most of the Naxi spoke a little Chinese although they might not understand a Shanghai dialect and very few of them knew Chinese really well. Old people, especially women in the countryside, seemed not to know Chinese (Goullart 1955: 66). The wine shops in Lijiang patronised by Goullart were run by women with Chinese surnames: *Yang* (杨), *Lee* (李) and *Ho* (和). In Lijiang on the one hand women were traditionally considered unclean. Local laws did little to protect women. Wives could be bought and sold. On the other hand, women were self-assured, assertive and bold. They were

the brains of the family and the only foundation of prosperity of the household. They were despised in theory but powerful and respected in practice (Goullart 1955: 94-96).

About the unmarried girls, Goullart had the following description:

On bright moonlit nights the street was jammed. Unmarried girls, locally called *pangchinmei*, in their best dresses and adornments, walked arm in arm in rows of four or five, just wide enough to block the street. In this way they charged up and down the street, giggling, singing and cracking their sunflower seeds. The unwary young man was soon engulfed by these Amazons and led away to an unknown fate. The more sophisticated boys lined the walls and doors of the shops and made comments on the marching beauties. From time to time a group of girls paused before one of them, there was a scuffle, a brief and ineffectual struggle, and off he was led, imprisoned in the ring of giggling and screaming furies. The destination of these prisoners, probably only too willing, was the park where dancing continued till midnight on the meadows by the river around the brightly burning bonfires. (Goullart 1955: 54)

*Pangchinmei* (攀亲妹) is a Chinese expression which means sisters who are looking for mates. These free and easy-going Lijiang girls could not match the women from Yongning, east of the Yangtze, land of free love. The Yongning women often came to Lijiang market:

Like the Yi (Nosu) women, they wore long, full skirts of blue colour, red sash and a black fur jacket or a peplos, and hats or turbans. With lips heavily rouged and eyes painted, they walked slowly, or rather undulated, through the streets, swaying their hips, smiling and casting an amorous eye on this man or that. That alone was enough to incense the less sophisticated Nakhi women. But when they walked slowly along hanging on the neck of a husband or a lover, and being held by the waist, this was too much for even the brazen Nakhi women, who spat or giggled nervously. (Goullart 1955: 59)

Goullart did not use the name *Moso* though he read Chinese. He was the second writer who constantly called the people in Lijiang *Nakhi*. The people from Yongning were called *Liukhi* and they called themselves *Hlihin* (Goullart 1955: 58). I notice the romanticism in Goullart's account of the Lijiang life. Furthermore, the European perspective in his writing provided a stylistic touch to the life in Lijiang and in portraying the non-Han peoples in the south-west of China (cf. Dessaint 1980: 115).

Both Rock and Goullart held that the Naxi formed one of the more dynamic societies in the area. Like the Tibetans and the Black Yi, the Naxi belonged to the

oncoming tribes, those who were aggressive and energetic in their activities. They were passionate, frank, brave and intelligent (Goullart 1955: 134-135). Rock said that in Lijiang, all people called themselves Naxi. Goullart had given a similar account. Mr. Yang was a rich Minchia merchant. He considered himself a Naxi because he had lived in Lijiang all his life. The *Boa* (Pumi) people, when they came to Lijiang and were asked who they were, almost invariably answered that they were Naxi (Goullart 1955: 34, 132). This favourable ethnic identity in Lijiang as described by Rock and Goullart was in fact not without problem. Chinese called the people in Lijiang and in Yongning Moso. Today people in Yongning still call themselves Moso when in contact with the Han or maybe with other peoples. It is doubtful then how widely the identity of Naxi was accepted and actually used in ethnic interactions in Lijiang and the adjacent areas. Rock has also recorded that in Lijiang in the 1930s, *dto-mba* activities were in fact despised in the society. The sons of *dto-mba* felt ashamed to admit that they were from a *dto-mba* family. Moreover, they even denied that they were Naxi. They would rather be called *Han jen* ( 汉人 ) the Han-Chinese (Rock 1955: X).

As shown in Table 1, in north-west Yunnan a group's self-nomenclature was normally not accepted by members of other groups. This poses a question: under what circumstances were these self-names used? If in their contacts with other groups of people, the Naxi were not called Naxi (see Table 1), it seems then this identity was created in their contacts with European travellers. What most likely has happened was that the Naxi were originally a branch of the Yi who were identified themselves as *Nosu*, a name of which *Naxi* is a variation. The *Naxi-Nosu* identities will be further discussed in terms of their cultures and social structure in the following sections. Naxi social identity was reinforced after 1961 when Lijiang officially became an autonomous county of the Naxi in the People's Republic of China. By that time, Rock had published most of his books on the Naxi and Goullart's book had also published.



#### 4.7. Cultural differences and similarities

The Naxi are Tibeto-Burman speaking. Within the same linguistic group are the other peoples in Southwest China. They are officially recognised today, apart from the Naxi, as the *Lisu*, *Pumi*, *Nu (Nu-tze)*, *Dulong (Trun)*, *Lahu*, *Hani*, and *Yi* peoples. These Yi (Loloish) speaking peoples have a population of more than 7,000,000 in Southwest China. Apart from language, these peoples share many cultural features. Yet they are also different in many aspects of culture. The Yi were divided into as many as 100 groups.

##### 4.7.1 The symbolic black and white

In Chinese historical records since the Tang dynasty (618—907 A.D.), the non-Han peoples in Southwest China were generally divided into the ‘black’ and the ‘white’ peoples. The ‘black’ are the Yi peoples of today. The appellation ‘black’ is preferred by most of these people. The names *na*, *no*, *nu* and *ne* etc., all have the meaning ‘black’. Among the Yi, there was also the black and the white distinction. The black Yi were the masters while the white Yi were the subjects.

##### 4.7.2 Clans, kinship and marriage

The Yi peoples are divided into clans. A kind of confederation may be established in time of conflict with other peoples. Each clan is further divided into branches. A clan has a common ancestor and territory. All clan members live in a village. Since the late fourteenth century when the Han Chinese had taken control of the Southwest, some chiefs of the clans were given official positions. These local chiefs were also given Chinese names as their family name (Lin 1961: 26-27), just as the chief of the Naxi in Lijiang was also given the family name *Mu* (木) in 1382 by the Chinese emperor (see also 4.6. above).

The descent system of the Yi peoples is rather complicated. A lineage is segmental which normally takes place over seven or eight generations (Liu 1980:

116). It is generally held that the lineages of the Yi are patrilineal. This is questionable. They show their matrilineal tendency in many aspects of social life. First, the relationship between ego and ego's mother's brother and his wife is very close. They are often ego's wife's parents because preferably, ego should marry one of the daughters of his mother's brothers. Such matrilineal cross cousin marriage can be found in matrilineal societies. Among the Naxi/Moso in the Yongning district, two lineages intermarry. The result is a perpetual matrilineal cross cousin marriage between the two lineages in two different villages. Furthermore, the women are not taken in but rather the men go out to visit their wives during the nights, in 'visiting marriages'. This type of 'marriage' results in a descent that can only be traced through one's mother, forming a matrilineal kin group.

Second, among the Yi peoples a person is normally named by taking the last half of his or her father or mother's name plus a given name. Such a naming system follows the form of AABB, BBCC, CCDD, or AAB, BCC, CCD, and so on. Jackson suggests that this naming system, which he calls 'binary naming', whereby the first half of a son's name is the second half of the father's name, is a device for telling a girl whom she should marry, i.e. a man who has the same name as her 'protector' — her mother's brother (Jackson 1979: 233). Here Jackson assumes that the Naxi practised patrilineal cross-cousin marriage, FZD married MBS. He further states that

In matrilineal societies the sister's son inherits from the mother's brother, but given the practice of patrilineal cross-cousin marriage whereby a man marries his father's sister's daughter and a woman marries her mother's brother's son, it is highly likely that residence after marriage will be avunculocal (Jackson 1979: 233).

In Yongning among the Moso, a man goes to his 'wives' home during the night and returns to his own lineage during the day. Children normally do not recognise who their fathers are. This is known as the 'visiting marriage' or 'walking marriage' (Yan and Song 1983: 4 ff.). This visiting marriage, in which the husband does not

live permanently with the wife, is in effect duolocal. This Moso system of marriage and kinship will be further discussed in the next Chapter.

#### 4.7.3. Rituals and beliefs

The Yi perform a Sacrifice to Heaven in the first moon of the lunar calendar. The Naxi/Moso also perform the ceremony in the first moon. The sacrifice to heaven is commonly found among the Yi speaking peoples. Rock said that other peoples apart from the Naxi in the area did not have the ceremony of Sacrifice to Heaven. Even if they did, they learned the ceremony from the Naxi (Rock 1947: 181, n.5). Obviously, Rock considered the Naxi the most advanced tribe in the area. He had not thought that the Naxi and the Yi were culturally related though he sometimes pointed out their similarities: their languages were similar and the Naxi *ggô-bàw* script resembled the scripts used by the Yi. He concluded that the Naxi in early times had no connection with the Yi because the Yi were only mentioned as such once in *dto-mba* manuscripts while other tribes were constantly mentioned (Rock 1952: 89, n.35).

Among some Yi speaking peoples in Yunnan, the 24th day of the 12th moon was taken as the new year. The 24th day of the 6th moon was also a festival. In these periods, they built an altar of three steps and a pine tree hut to pay respect to heaven. Sometimes this is interpreted as sacrifice to the ancestors (Ma 1983: 258). A pig was slaughtered as an offering. A story of how the nine sons of the god of heaven had created the world was related (Ma 1983: 206). Such practices resembled those of the Naxi, the *Muân bpò'* ceremony (Rock 1948). The Hani performed Sacrifice to Heaven in the 7th moon each year (Li 1983: 103).

There were often two types of ritual specialists among the Yi speaking peoples. Among the Nosu peoples, there were the *pi-mu* and the *su-nieh*. The *pi-mu* were normally male. The word *pi* means to chant and to perform rituals. They used a type of script similar to the Naxi 'phonetic' scripts (see Chapter 6). The office was

normally passed down from father to son as a family occupation (Lin 1961: 127). The rituals of the *pi-mu* have been classified into the following categories:

1. Sacrifice to the ancestors;
2. Funeral ceremonies;
3. To get rid of misfortunes and diseases.

(Ma 1989)

Sacrifice to the ancestors was held during the Nosu new year, which falls between the 11th and the 12th moon of the Chinese lunar calendar. The purpose of the ceremony was to propitiate the souls of the ancestors so as to ensure the increase of herds and a good harvest in the new year. Pigs and sheep were slaughtered. The liver and kidney of the animals were taken out as specialities of the offering. A saddle, on which food was loaded, was placed in front of the house. This symbolised sending off the souls of the ancestors. A pig's bladder was hung in front of the hearth to test if the soul of the ancestor had gone: if it had, a fingerprint would be left on the bladder. There were three main procedures in the sacrifice to Heaven. First, a wooden cylinder was made to house the souls of the ancestors. The Nosu thought that when someone died, his soul wandered in the house. It was the ghost of the family. Several years later, a ceremony must be performed within a lineage to collect all these souls and send them to the earlier ancestors. This cylinder, made from the wood of the peach tree, was called the 'ancestor cylinder' because according to the story of the flood of the Nosu, the first ancestor had escaped the flood in a peachwood cylinder. Next, the cylinder was taken to a mountain and placed in a cave, normally on a cliff. Finally, the water of happiness and wealth was fetched and placed on the altar. After the *pi-mu* had chanted a scripture of obtaining the water of happiness and wealth, the water was divided among the branches of the lineage for later use in the foods of offering (Ma 1989: 258-271).

The sacrifice to the ancestors of the Nosu peoples resembles the *khî n'v* ceremony of the Naxi and the *Muân bpò'* ceremony. The water of happiness and wealth resembles the *Hò* water in the Naxi ceremony of the prolongation of life (Jackson 1979: 194).

Among the Nosu peoples, when someone died the body was normally tied up with legs folded. The body was left in the house for two to nine days before it was taken to the cremation ground. Traditionally, the Nosu cremated the dead. The Han style burial custom had also been practised presumably since after the fourteenth century when the Han began to dominate the region. Traditionally, the Naxi also cremated the dead. In Lijiang, this practice was at least partly stopped in 1723 when Han officials took direct control.

Before the body was taken to the cremation ground, the *pi-mu* chanted the scripture of guiding the way for the dead—the road that leading to the ancestors. This is equivalent to the *Zhî má'* funeral ceremony of the Naxi (Rock 1955: 6). *Zhî má'* means to instruct the dead which road to travel. *Zhî* in Naxi means road (Rock 1963: 501). The Nosu call the funeral ceremony *chi* which is the Chinese word for 'worship' 'presenting offerings'. While Chinese scholars may have translated the word by finding an equivalent in Chinese, the Nosu *chi* may in fact be the same as the Naxi *zhî*.

The *pi-mu* performed divination to decide the day of the funeral. In Yongning, the *nd'a-p'a* of the Moso performed divination to decide both the date of the funeral and the site of the cremation ground (Yan and Song 1983: 172,179). The cremation ground was normally found on a hill or a clearing near the village. A wooden structure of different layers of firewood was built, for a male, nine layers, for a female, seven layers. These are symbolic numbers recognised by the Naxi as well (the 9 celestial son and the 7 earthly daughter, etc.). The body, wrapped in cloths of green, white and blue colours, was put onto the wood. Fire was started from the four corners of the

wooden structure. The *pi-mu* chanted a scripture of calling back the soul of the deceased. This resembles the *ò shér* of the *dto-mba* rituals.

The funeral ceremony of the Nosu peoples followed several procedures. The first was to fetch a bunch of grass as an effigy of the deceased. The soul of the deceased was called upon to attach itself to the grass. The *pi-mu* chanted a scripture to that effect. We may recall at this point that the Naxi made an effigy of the deceased out of a pine branch for the *Khî n'v* funerary ceremony performed on or before the third year of the death (Rock 1963a: 350).

The second was making offerings to the deceased. A horse was prepared to carry the clothing of the deceased. The horse was called 'the horse of hell' in Nosu rituals. The Han used a paper horse for the deceased whereas the Nosu used real ones. The *dto-mba* of the Naxi had two ritual texts used at the funeral ceremony, one was *N<sup>^</sup>v ngù tsá*, which was the effigy of the deceased carried away on a horse (Rock 1972: 492); another was *Ngù ffû*, which was carrying the belongings of the deceased, as well as the effigy of the deceased (Rock 1955: 148; 1972: 446). In paying tribute to the deceased, the *pi-mu* chanted a scripture of offering medicine and then related the past life of the deceased. The *dto-mba* had two books to this effect. One was *Ch'êr k'ó'*, to apply medicine, chanted at the *Khî n'v*, a ceremony performed when the person had been dead for three years, and also in many other ceremonies like the *Ssû g`v* (Rock 1952: 284-288). *Ch'êr k'ó'* was to sprinkle medicine to purify or to apply medicine to the deceased (Rock 1972: 491). Another was *Nôn-ò ssáw*, to invite or to relate the good deeds of the deceased. *Nôn ò ssáw* was chanted as part of the funeral ceremony (Rock 1955: 123, n.47, 1972: 459, 475).

The third was dancing in front of the coffin. The dance was called *tso ch'u*, which was, it was related, to beat a kind of hairy caterpillar or to drive away the crows that gathered upon the rotten body in which worms were growing. There were several versions of the story of the dance among the Yi peoples (Ma 1989: 245-247). The *dto-*

*mba* had a book entitled *Ndshèr ndzî mí*. *Ndshèr* is a hairy caterpillar which, when touched, causes skin inflammation. The book relates the experiences of travelling to the land of the ancestors (Rock 1955: 199).

The fourth was to guide the road for the deceased. This was to enable the soul of the deceased to go back to the land of the ancestors. The *pi-mu* chanted a scripture entitled 'to guide the road'. Most routes to the ancestors led to the north, a direction similar to that among the Naxi and the Moso. The Naxi *dto-mba* had the ceremony *Zhî má'* for the dead, a number of pictographic texts were chanted. The *nd'a-p'a* of the Moso had the similar scripture 'to guide the road for the dead to the ancestors'. This was apparently the most important part of the funerals of the Nosu, the Naxi and the Moso peoples.

The fifth was to make an ancestor shrine. This was done by the *pi-mu*. He used a thread of red and green colour to tie up a bamboo root and put it together with some wool into a small bag which was put into a small bamboo basket. A variation was to use a bamboo tube or simply a bundle of bamboo roots. The bamboo tube was equivalent to the afore-mentioned 'ancestor cylinder'.

The Yi peoples think that all misfortunes and diseases are caused by demons and evil spirits and that rituals should be performed to get rid of these evil forces. About 20% of the Yi ritual texts collected in southern China are rituals of exorcising demons (Ma 1989: 192). According to Rock's classification, the *dto-mba* of the Naxi had 36 different ceremonies of dealing with misfortune, viz. with demons and evil spirits. These are 27% of the ceremonies classified by Rock, 26% of the books in major collections (Jackson 1979: 24).

About 67% of the Yi texts are ritual texts and divination books (Ma 1989: 192). The following table shows the parallels between the Yi and the Naxi ritual texts:

Table 2: The Yi and the Naxi ritual texts compared:

Nosu:	Naxi:	Naxi titles:
The story of the flood.	The story of the flood.	<i>Ts'ò-mbêr t'û.</i>
To search for medicine.	To search for medicine.	<i>Ts'ò-dzê-p'êr-ddù' ch'êr shù.</i>
The story of A-shi-ma <sup>8</sup> .	The story of <i>K'â-mâ'-gyù-mí-gkyî.</i>	<i>L^v-mbêr l^v zàw ssáw.</i>
To worship the god of snow.	To worship the god of snow.	<i>Mbê bpò'.</i>
To propitiate the dragon king.	To propitiate the Naga.	<i>Ssû g`v.</i>
To worship for a good harvest of grains.	To worship the god of the grain.	<i>O-mâ'-hâ' bpò'.</i>
To sacrifice to the dragon king for rain.	Rain wanted.	<i>Khù' má'.</i>
To invite the gods.	To invite the gods.	<i>P'û-là ssáw.</i>
To call the soul of the deceased.	To redeem the soul.	<i>Ó shér.</i>
To guide the road (for the deceased).	To teach the road (for the deceased).	<i>Zhî má'.</i>
To offer or to apply medicine.	To sprinkle medicine.	<i>Ch'êr k'ó'.</i>

(Sources for Yi texts: Ma 1989: 192, 206; Naxi texts: Rock 1952: 607; 1955: 6; 1972: 346-347, 350, 353, 372, 399, 401, 423, 431, 445, 473).

The contents of these texts may not be all identical, but it is also not coincidental that so many titles should be similar. These suggest that the Yi and the Naxi have shared a common background in their beliefs.

#### 4.7.4. The sorcerers or shamans of the Yi and the Naxi peoples

Apart from the *pi-mu* who officiated at ceremonies and chanted the scriptures, the Nosu had another type of ritual specialist whose office was to perform divination and to cure illness. Unlike the *pi-mu*, they were not taught or trained by their fathers or by a master. They were normally persons who had suffered from certain diseases for a long time and had recovered. This was interpreted as being possessed by the soul of one of their deceased ancestors who had died of such diseases. Once recovering from the diseases, these people were capable of curing similar diseases among others. The

<sup>8</sup> The Yi words here are taken from Chinese translations.



experience of a disease was itself a gift that these persons was given. They might then become specialists to engage the demons and cure the diseases. These specialists, called *ssu-nieh* among the Nosu peoples and *ssân-nyí* among the Naxi, were similar to the shamans in other parts of the world.

When performing a ritual to cure a disease, the *ssu-nieh* or *ssân-nyí*, beating a drum, a gong or ringing a bell, recited the names of the ancestors of the family whose member was suffering from the disease. Then the name of one deceased ancestor was picked up which meant that this ancestor-ghost had entered the body of the shaman and was able to talk with the family directly through the mouth of the shaman. It was this ancestor-ghost who was able to give explanation to the family as to why a disease had fallen upon one member of the family and how it could be cured. This ancestor-ghost might demand more offerings from the family or that some misdeeds of the family members be corrected, etc. The shaman got his pay from these extra offerings for his performance.

The *ssu-nieh* of the Yi and the *llü-bu* of the Naxi also carried out other performances. These included taking a red-hot ploughshare using his teeth, walking over the red-hot ploughshare or taking it in the hand, dipping hands into boiling oil and playing fire with fingers, etc. That was to demonstrate that the shaman had become supernaturally powerful and was now capable of driving away the demons and evil spirits that caused the misfortune.

## **Chapter 5. Naxi, Moso and Han Chinese Kinship Compared**

One of the most important aspects of the Naxi religious texts is their serious concern about the kinship of the society. A point put forward by Jackson has been that the sudden increase of the number of Naxi religious texts in the middle of the nineteenth century was due to the disruption in the kinship practice of the society caused by the imposition of Han Chinese patrilineal and funeral customs (Jackson 1979: 28, 73, 175-176). Other scholars have also noted the fact that the prior to 1949, the Naxi had a relatively liberal attitude towards premarital sexual relations or a more relaxed relation between young people of opposite sexes (Goullart 1955: 54; Mckhann 1992: 187; see also my review of Goullart in 4.6. in the last chapter). Such an attitude was obviously in conflict with the arranged marriage favoured in the society. This will be further discussed later in this chapter (5.9.) and in Chapter 7 (7.5.). This conflict of marriage customs, according to Rock (1939), Gong (1984: 117) and He Shijie (1991: 539), led to the phenomenal 'love suicides' in the Naxi society. These love tragedies were the subject of numerous songs and legends and the reason behind one of the most elaborate and costly funerary ritual *Hâr-lâ-llù k'ó'* (ceremony for persons who committed suicide, the propitiation of the Wind Demons) (Mckhann 1992: 186). The popular legends which appeared in most rituals, were the marriage and clan story of hero ancestors (*Tsò-zá'-llú'-ghû'gh* and *Gkâw-lâ'-ts'ú'*). The cosmology constructed through hundreds of the religious texts consists of some clearly stated kinship relations in both the human and the spiritual world. Thus the making of the religious texts in the Naxi society clearly relates to their concern about the kinship of the society and their ethnic identity. Anthropologists have noted the close relationship between cosmology and kinship in many other societies. This is a fruitful source from which anthropologists can learn about the kinship of a society (Barnard and Good 1984: 154-157). My concern here, however, is that an understanding of the kinship of the Naxi

necessarily forms part of the interpretation of the Naxi religious texts. Apart from previous translations of the pictographic texts, there are other sources from which we can learn about the kinship of the Naxi/Moso society. A more detailed one is a social investigation of the kinship and marriage of the Naxi/Moso in Yongning, east of Lijiang, done by Chinese ethnologists in the 1960s (Yan and Song 1985).

The disruption or intervention in the kinship practice of the Naxi in Lijiang as discussed by Jackson and others was related to the introduction of Han Chinese kinship ideology. In the last chapter, I have shown that the Naxi in Lijiang have closely associated themselves with the Han Chinese since at least the seventeenth or eighteenth century (4.6.). In this chapter, I will make a comparison between the kinship ideology of the Naxi as reflected in their religious texts, ancient Han Chinese kinship ideology and the kinship of the Naxi/Moso in Yongning and other Yi peoples. Such a comparison will explain further how the Naxi in Lijiang, who have produced the unique pictographic religious texts, differ from the Naxi/Moso in Yongning and other Yi peoples. Their social and ethnic identity is also constructed through such differences (see also 4.7.2.).

### **5.1. The study of Chinese kinship**

China is culturally diversified, not only between the Han Chinese and non-Han Chinese, but also among the Han. Because of this, although much has been written about China by European writers since the eighteenth century, the concept of a 'Chinese society' or even 'societies' is still pretty vague in anthropological understanding. There is an urgent need for anthropological research into Chinese societies and cultures, Han and non-Han.

Writing about cultures in China has been divided between sinologists, historians, sociologists and a few anthropologists. In the past decades, efforts were made by these scholars to co-operate in their studies. But, in my view, because these

scholars have different aims, methods and even world views, the collaboration cannot yet be said to be successful. In kinship studies, for example, there is still great confusion in terminology, not to say in other aspects (see, for example, Ebrey and Watson 1986: Introduction). I would agree with Ebrey and Watson, who say:

Earlier issues in the study of kinship, such as principles of descent and methods of classifying kin, were easily translated into Chinese ideas and the Chinese had already written in detail on these subjects. But traditional Chinese scholars had not analysed kinship in terms of control and allocation of resources or the information of segmented groups. Rephrasing the questions allowed scholars to see phenomena that they had not noticed before. (Ebrey and Watson 1986: Introduction)

Some anthropologists in the mid of this century used to advocate 'micro' studies of Chinese societies. The argument was that given the fact that Chinese society is so big, a concentrated analysis on a small community within China would reveal the basic structure of Chinese society as a whole. This view can be seen as methodologically unsound today. This method resulted, I think, from the misnomer of 'a Chinese society', which has in fact never existed (cf. Feuchtwang 1991: 156, 158, 160)

European scholars have now realised the variability of Chinese society, and they have seen such variability on both the macro and micro levels. Some suggest a model of core and periphery areas within macro-regions (Ebrey and Watson 1986: Introduction). I suggest that 'micro' studies of Chinese societies as mentioned above can be methodologically unsound, but 'micro study' itself is still a sound method in social studies. This is perhaps what Lewis has said the 'golden fleece' for anthropologists (quoted in Chapter 1 above).

Sinological historians have generally believed that since at least 307 A.D. those whom were generally known as the ancient Chinese in the drainage areas of the Yellow River have begun to migrate towards the south, south-east and south-west on the Far East Asian continent (Wiens 1967[1954]: 175). The migration and integration of the Chinese people were part of the process in which the Han Chinese nationality are formed (Fei 1991). The Han Chinese cultural impact, especially politically, on the

non-Han aborigines in these regions has been much greater than European colonial culture on many African or pre-Columbian American societies. A 'Chinese society' can therefore equally be viewed from comparative studies between the Han culture and non-Han Chinese cultures. It seems to me this approach has not been explored by anthropologists who study cultures in China before.

I am not saying here that non-Han peoples in the south and south-west of China, having been under the cultural impact from the Han Chinese in the north, are no longer different from the Han Chinese. I only want to point to a line of enquiry into non-Han cultures as well as the Han culture. This perhaps is what we call perspective. Comparison reveals similarities as much as differences.

In my view, the ultimate purpose of anthropology is to understand the differences: to find similarities is to account for the differences. Differences are absolute, similarities are partial and relative.

## 5.2. The nature of kinship

In anthropology, the concept of kinship has been defined in terms of its social nature exclusive of its biological content as defined by medical science in Europe. This is a major step forward. Despite the fact that 'kinship' has been a major subject within anthropology, its nature, still remains problematic (Barnard 1994: 786). The problems may have arisen from the practice of seeking the 'meanings' of kinship in native concepts of kinship, which can only be defined according to the indigenous cognitive map of the relationship structure within a society.

The importance of kinship in many human societies is reflected in an old English adage that 'Blood is thicker than water'. Other societies may have similar sayings. Today this concept of kinship is problematic. One can say that blood may not be any thicker than Coca-cola is thicker than water. What is implied here is that kinship is something *cultural*, not purely biological.

This can be illustrated through the kinship studies by European scholars, from Morgan and McLennan to Rivers, Radcliffe-Brown, Lévi-Strauss and Needham. In these studies, we cannot miss the point that, while these scholars all struggled with the myth of kinship webs entangled with biological facts, they all produced cultural facts. That kinship in its essence is cultural seems not to have been realised until Lévi-Strauss, who discusses the prohibition of incest,

. . . the prohibition of incest touches upon nature, i.e., upon biology or psychology or both. But it is just as certain that in being a rule it is a social phenomenon, and belongs to the world of rules, hence to culture, and to sociology, whose study is culture (Lévi-Strauss 1949: 24).

But, at the same time, Lévi-Strauss thinks that the prohibition of incest is the link between nature and culture (*ibid.*). What Lévi-Strauss treats as nature here is still one aspect of a culture. What I try to argue here is that a universal concept of nature does not exist. If it does, then human beings and all their activities are part of nature.

Human nature has been termed, in fact, 'culture' by ourselves.

Fox has four principles concerning the facts of kinship:

1. The women have the children.
  2. The men impregnate the women.
  3. The men usually exercise control.
  4. Primary kin do not mate with each other.
- (Fox 1967: 31)

The first two principles are the 'rock bottom fact of physiology' (Fox 1967: 36). Principles 3 and 4 are normally taken as the cultural aspects of kinship. Definitions of kinship based on this meet with difficulty in explaining the vast differences in the kinship institutions in different societies throughout the world, especially in such institutions as incest taboos and exogamous rules which are not definable cross-culturally.

The problem with the understanding of the nature of kinship is then which is the root and which are the branches. Because the physiological facts have been taken to be the root of all kinship systems previously, to explain the nature of kinship has met

with difficulties. This shows that physiological facts are not the root. What is the root, then? The following diagram illustrates my idea about the nature of kinship (Figure 1):

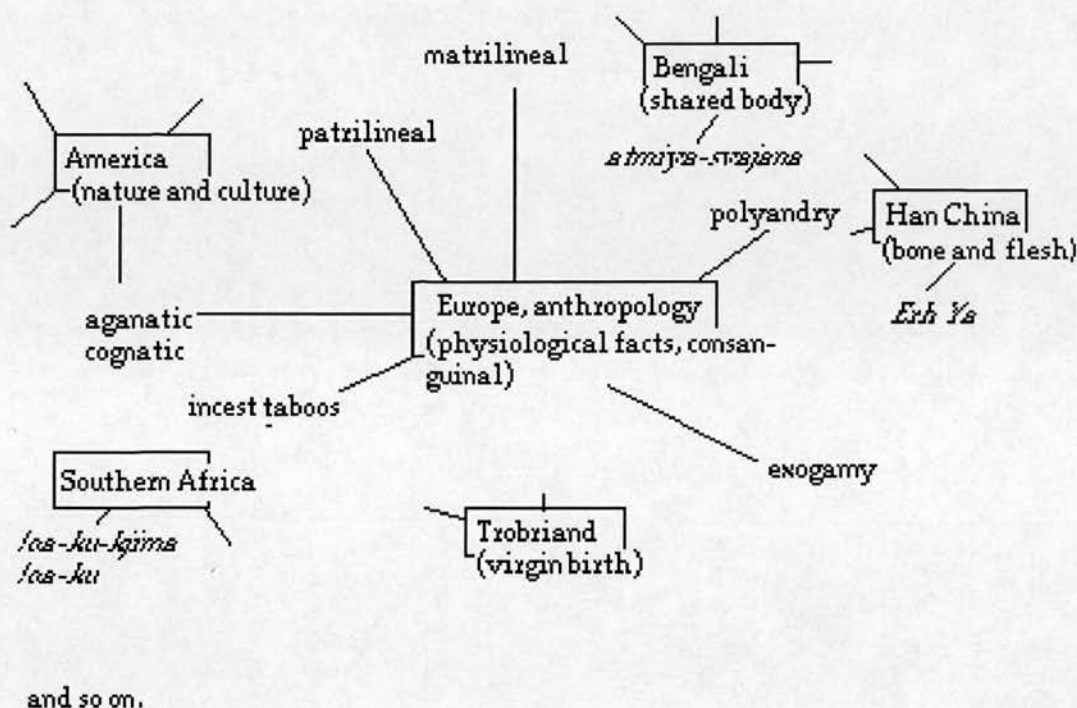


Figure 1: A concept of kinship of human societies.  
(A line indicates a concept.)

This diagram is to indicate that the concept of kinship is essentially ethnocentric.

It can be seen that the root of kinship is culture.

In understanding the nature of kinship, a distinction should be made between 'kinship' and 'procreation'. The first is a cultural term while the latter is used as a physiological term in west European biology. The understanding of what is 'kinship' in anthropological tradition is largely, or at least half, based on the latter notion of kinship. If we take physiological principles as the root of all kinship, we will end up saying that 'procreation generates kinship' which is, I will say, not true to what we know as 'kinship' in our societies.

It is also wrong to say that industrial civilisation has driven us towards an impersonal, bureaucratic, rational social-structure, while irrational sentiments belong to kinship (Fox 1967: 15). Kinship can be as impersonal and bureaucratic in non-industrial societies. Rationality, in the sense that we have a different rationality in different societies, is equally not absent from societies based on what we know as 'kinship'.

There have been two concepts developed out of the anthropologists effort in generalising human cultures and societies: the emic and the etic categories of cultures. The emic categories, loosely defined, are the native's categories of a culture, that is the native's points of view. The etic categories are the anthropologists' categories of culture. When anthropology is considered as a science of human societies, the etic categories are of course the scientific categories. The emic and etic cultural categories are in fact misnomers. What have been etic is the emic categories of the anthropologists, as is shown in the figure above. In kinship studies, British, French and American anthropologists have constructed in the past hundred years colourful pictures of the kinship practices of many societies. These have become an intellectual heritage of a culture to which these anthropologists belong. They are the emic categories of this culture in its efforts to understand other cultures. These categories have gone beyond the kinship realities of other cultures. Anthropologists can never reach or know the kinship realities of other cultures unless they themselves have belonged to these cultures. Like all other social and cultural realities, such as ways of life, even professions, kinship reality is intrinsic to the people who possess such a reality. It is part of their own being. It is true that this reality may change in different times, but the results of change still belong to the people and continue to be a part of their being. It is their own life, not the life of any other people. Kinship reality is a process limited in space, not in time. Anthropologists have their own kinship realities.



They may understand the kinship reality of a people at certain point in time, but not the whole process.

### 5.3. Moso kinship terms

The Moso here is referred to those in the Yongning district on the eastern side of the Yangtze River, who are now part of the Naxi nationality in China but who have continued to call themselves 'Moso' (see 4.3. in the last chapter). They are well-known as a matrilineal society in Southwest China (Yan and Song 1983). Their relationship as far as cultural identity is concerned with the Naxi in Lijiang has been problematic (Jackson 1979: 275-296). It is the purpose here and in the following sections to discuss the kinship practice of this community and the Naxi kinship as reflected in the religious texts in comparison with the Han Chinese ideology.

The Moso had no reciprocal sets of 'husband' and 'wife'. This is because they did not have the 'marriage' institution like that of the Han Chinese or Europeans. There is only one term for those of the 'marriageable' class, that is 'friend'. Before they considered they could have a partnership in mating, those who were potential 'friends' were addressed as 'younger brother' and 'younger sister' (*go-zz*, *go-mi*). *Mi* for younger sister resembles the Chinese term *mei* (妹). It may be argued that 'younger brother' is the 'husband' set, while 'younger sister' is the 'wife' set. Because of this, I think, the Moso or the Naxi were accused by the Han Chinese of committing incest.

In the Chinese ethnography, it has not been indicated that the Moso term 'younger brother' and 'younger sister' had their extended use in local communities. I take this as a fact also from my personal experience in south and south-west China where the terms 'brother' and 'younger sister' were generally used among the non-Han peoples in courtship.

In contemporary Moso communities, there are two sets of terms being used by different households. (Tables 3 and 4).

Table 3. Moso kinship terms, Set 1:

Gen:	Term:	Referents:	Loose translation:
3	<i>A-ssu</i>	MMM, MMB, MMMZ,	great grandmother.
	<i>A-yi</i>	MM, MMZ, MMMZD,	grandmother.
2	<i>A-p'u</i>	MMB, MMMZS,	grandfather <sup>1</sup> .
	<i>A-mi</i>	M, MZe, MMZD, MMMZDD, EM, MBW,	mother.
1	<i>A-wu</i>	MB, MMZS, MMMZDS, ME, EMB,	father <sup>2</sup> .
	<i>A-mu</i>	Ze, Be, MZDe, MZSe, MMZDDe, MMZDSe, MMMZDDDe, MMMZDDSe,	sister, brother.
	<i>Go-mi</i>	Zy, MZDy, MMZDDy, MMMZDDy,	younger sister.
	<i>Go-zz</i>	By, MZSy, MMZDSy, MMMZDDSy,	younger brother.
0	<i>A-hsia, Dzi-zo Dzi-mi</i>	E,	spouse.
	<i>Mo</i>	D(ws), ZD(ws), MZDD(ws), MMZDDD(ws), MMMZDDDD(ws),	daughter.
	<i>Zo</i>	S(ws), ZS(ws), MZDS(ws), MMZDDS(ws), MMMZDDDS(ws),	son.
	<i>Zi-mi</i>	ZD(ms), MZDD(ms), MMZDDD(ms), MMMZDDDD(ms), WD(ms),	niece.
-1	<i>Zi-wu</i>	ZS(ms), MZDS(ms), MMZDDS(ms), MMMZDDDS(ms), WS(ms)	nephew.
	<i>Zhu-mi</i>	DD(ws), DDD(ws), ZDD(ws, ms), MZDDD(ws,ms),	granddaughter.
-2	<i>Zhu-wu</i>	DS(ws), DDS(ws), ZDS(ws, ms), MZDDS(ws,ms),	grandson.

(Translated from: Yan and Song 1983: 213-216)

<sup>1</sup>. This may be categorised as 'the second ascending generation male member of one's maternal group'.

<sup>2</sup>. Or 'mother's brother'.

Table 4. Moso kinship terms, Set 2:

Gen:	Term:	Referents:	Loose translation:
3	<i>A-ssu</i>	MMM, MMF, FFF, FFM, MFM, MFF, FMF, FMM,	great grandparents.
	<i>A-p'u</i>	MF, FF,	grandfather.
2	<i>A-yi</i>	MM, FM,	grandmother.
	<i>A-da</i>	F, EF,	father, spouse's father,
	<i>A-mi</i>	M, MZ, FBW, MBW, EM,	mother, spouse's mother,
	<i>A-bo</i>	FB, FFZS, FMBS,	'uncle'.
	<i>A-ya</i>	FZe, FFZDe, FMBDe,	'aunt'.
	<i>A-nyi</i>	FZy, FFZDy, FMBDy,	'aunt'.
1	<i>A-wu</i>	MB, EMB,	maternal uncle, spouse's maternal uncle.
	<i>A-mu</i>	Be, Ze, FZSe, FBSe, MBSe, MZSe, FZDe, FBDe, MBDe, MZDe, EBe, EZe, (EFBSe, EFZSe, EMBSe, EMZSe, EFZDe, EMBDe, EMZDe, EFBDe),	brother & sister.
	<i>Go-zz</i>	By, FZSy, MBSy, EBy,	younger brother.
	<i>Go-mi</i>	Zy, FZDy, MBDy, EZy,	younger sister.
	<i>Ha-ch'u-pa</i>	H,	husband.
	<i>Ch'u-mi</i>	W,	wife.
	<i>A-mu ch'u-mi</i>	BeW, FZSeW, MBSeW,	elder brother's wife.
	<i>Go-zz ch'u-mi</i>	ByW, FZSyW, MBSyW,	younger brother's wife.
	<i>A-mu ha-ch'u-pa</i>	ZeH, FZDeH, MBDeH,	elder's sister's husband.
0	<i>Go-mi ha-ch'u-pa</i>	ZyH, FZDyH, MBDyH,	younger sister's husband.
	<i>Zo</i>	ws.: ZS, FZDS, FBDS, MZDS, MBDS, ms.: BS, FZSS, FBSS, MZSS, MBSS,	son.
	<i>Mo</i>	ws.: ZD, FZDD, FBDD, MZDD, MBDD, ms.: BD, FZSD, FBSD, MZSD, MBSD,	daughter.
	<i>Zo ch'u-mi</i>	ws.: SW, ZSW, FZDSW, FBDSW, MZDSW, MBDSW, ms.: SW, BSW, FZSSW, FBSSW, MZSSW, MBSSW,	son's wife.
	<i>Zo-ma</i>	ws.: DH, ZDH, FZDDH, FBDDH, MZDDH, MBDDH, ms.: DH, BDH, FZSDH, FBSDH, MZSDH, MBSDH,	daughter's husband.
	<i>A-mu zo</i>	(ws.): BeS, FZSeS, FBSeS, MBSeS, MBDeS,	brother's son.
	<i>A-mu mu</i>	(ws.): BeD, FZSeD, FBSeD, MBSeD, MBDeD,	brother's daughter.
	<i>Go-zz zo</i>	(ws.): ByS(ws), FZSyS, FBSyS, MBSyS, MBDyS,	younger brother's son.

	<i>Go-zz mu</i>	(ws.): ByD, FZSyD, FBSyD, MBSyD, MBDyD,	younger brother's daughter.
	<i>A-mu zo ch'u-mi</i>	(ws.): BeSW, FBSeSW, FZSeSW, MBSeSW, MZSeSW,	elder brother's son's wife.
	<i>Go-zz zo ch'u-mi</i>	(ws.): BySW, FBSySW, FZSySW, MBSySW, MZSySW,	younger brother's son's wife.
	<i>A-mu mu ha-ch'u-pa</i>	(ws.): BeDH, FBSeDH, FZSeDH, MBSeDH, MZSeDH,	elder. brother's daughter's husband.
	<i>Go-zz mu ha-ch'u-pa</i>	(ws.): ByDH, FBSyDH, FZSyDH, MBSyDH, MZSyDH,	younger brother's daughter's husband.
	<i>Zi-wu</i>	ms.: ZS, FZDS, FBDS, MBDS, MZDS,	sister's son,
	<i>Zi-mi</i>	ms.: ZD, FZDD, FBDD, MBDD, MZDD,	sister's daughter,
	<i>Zi-wu ch'u-mi</i>	ms.: ZSW, FZDSW, FBDSW, MBDSW, MZDSW,	sister's son's wife,
-1	<i>Zi-mi ha-ch'u-pa</i>	ms.: ZDH, FZDDH, FBDDH, MBDDH, MZDDH,	sister's daughter's husband,
	<i>Zhu-wu</i>	BSS, ZSS, BDS, ZDS,	grandson.
	<i>Zhu-mi</i>	BSD, ZSD, BDD, ZDD,	granddaughter.
	<i>Zhu-mu ch'u-mi</i>	BSSW, ZSSW, BDSW, ZDSW,	grandson's wife.
-2	<i>Go-zz ha-ch'u-pa</i>	BSDH, ZSDH, BDDH, ZDDH,	granddaughter's husband.

(Source: Yan and Song 1983: 372-374)

(Note: These terms are designed to help a general English reader, and are as close to the indigenous use of the term as possible.)

The first set of terms (Table 3) is markedly different from Han Chinese terms while the second set resembles in some aspects that of the Han Chinese. Terms for members of the patrilineage appear in the second set of terms. Also the second set of terms is more complicated than the first set. Obviously, the second set of terms is used when part of Han Chinese kinship ideology had been accepted.

The tables are my reconstruction according to generational structure. The original tables were not constructed in this way. They were constructed, it seems, according to 'lineages', or close/distant relationships.

The lineage grouping appears as follows: In terms Set 1 (Table 3), there are the following four groups:

1. MMM, MM, MB, D, S, DS, DD, DDS, DDD, B (e & y), Z (e & y), ZD (ws & ms), ZS (ws & ms), ZDD (ws & ms), ZSS (ws & ms).

2. MZ (e & y), and their children down to the great grandchildren level.

3. MMZ (e & y), MMB (e & y), and their children down to the great grandchildren level.

4. MMMZ (e & y), MMMB (e & y), and their children down to the great great grandchildren level.

The second set of the kinship terms of the Moso seems to be divided according to those of one's own lineages (m & w) and those of the lineages from which one's spouse comes (Table 4).

A three-level model for the analysis of the marriage institutions has been proposed: the categorical, the jural and the statistical-behavioural and there is no necessary congruence between the contents of these levels (Needham 1973: 171; Barnard and Good 1984: 12; Good 1980: 108). The incongruency is the nature of the relationship between categories, rules and behaviours in a given society. Categories, rules and behaviours in the kinship of a society are similar to the ideology, the government and the individual of the society. These relationships involve the relationship between the elites and the non-elites, the intellectual and the non-intellectual, the literate and the illiterate of a society. This may not be seen as the difference of social classes but rather as the difference between people's mind and their behaviour. While an individual's mind initially directs his or her behaviour, the behaviour may have a consequent effect on their original mind. An individual's behaviour will also have a consequent effect on other individuals' minds, hence their behaviours. A social category is then a representation of the mind which has consequent effect on the ideas of a group of people, that is their ideologies. When a social behaviour is accepted by one or more parties, a social rule is introduced. Thus rules are essentially for the convenience of social relationships. Without rules, people will not be able to interact, but in reality, people do not always behave according exactly to the rules.

In the Moso 'walking marriage' practice, there were two terms for potential spouses: 1. *Dzi-zo* (the male), *Dzi-mi* (the female), 2. *A-hsia* (both the male and the female). The first was used publicly. The second was used between those who had become partners. Using the three-level model to analyse, we may say that both terms were the jural statements concerning their 'marriageability'. In the Moso partnership, the public term could be used by friends of the same sex or different sexes (Yan and Song 1983: 81). In this case, they seemed to 'cover up' some of their true jural status. Their jural statement is then not exactly the same as the statement in other societies. The term they used privately between partners may be likened to the English 'darling', 'honey', etc. The Moso term was used both before and after they had become partners. The English words are different from the Moso term in the kinship domain and the domains of other aspects of culture, such as economy, other social relationships, etc.

#### **5.4. Lineages of the Naxi, the Moso and the Yi peoples**

The word 'lineage' in anthropology is generally used in four different senses: (1) to denote corporate descent groups, (2) to denote the chosen line of inheritance, (3) to refer to terminological structures such as 'two-line prescription' consistent with 'bilateral cross-cousin marriage', and (4) to refer to ego's ascendants and descendants (as opposed to collateral relatives), regardless of which lines are favoured for the first three purposes. Only the fourth usage is wholly unambiguous, for it refers to purely formal, relational properties which can be defined independently of particular contexts (Barnard and Good 1984: 68). As I can see it, Leach's distinction of 'local lines' and 'descent lines' is the contrast of (1) and (2) as against (3) and (4) (Leach 1951: 56).

The Naxi kinship model as a reflection of the ancient Chinese Han kinship terminology seems to have suggested another definition for the notion of 'descent' or 'lineage' groups. The aim of the structural anthropologists in the study of kinship and

social organisation is to abstract the purely formal or structural properties from the social relationships being investigated. The structure is then to serve as a heuristic device for understanding and explanation of social relationships. This structuralism is not something completely limited to West European anthropological investigation, which nevertheless has formed its comprehensive and expressive system. In other societies, pure structural properties concerning social relationships are also consciously or unconsciously construed by local intellectuals. In the case of the Naxi, the legendary four 'clans' can be seen as such a local model which follows the terminological model of the Han recorded in *Erh Ya Shih Chin* (尔雅, 释亲) (An encyclopedic dictionary, kinship explicated. 221 B.C.-420 A.D.; see also Feng 1937; Lévi-Strauss 1969: 313). I will compare these models below.

Jackson has a reconstruction of the Naxi kinship system from the ritual texts (Jackson 1979: 28-46; 212-242). This reconstruction can be supplemented by clearing up some of the confusion in the use of the kinship terms of the Naxi.

The confusion in the use of the Naxi terms for lineages is found in both Rock and Chinese scholars' translations of these terms. The confusion is often caused by the use of different Chinese characters of the same pronunciation to translate similar terms used by the non-Han peoples.

Several terms concerning lineages, clans or lineage groups turn out to be common among the Yi peoples (see Chapter 4). One is  $\hat{o}$ , which means 'bone, a clan, people of one bone, one stock' (Rock 1963: 365). Another is  $k'\hat{o}$ , which means 'an enclosure, all male paternal relatives, or the bone of the family' (Rock 1963: 199). Now  $k'\hat{o}$  was a common word for a lineage group used by other Yi (Loloish) speaking peoples, the Lisu, Lahu, Akha.  $\hat{O}$  and  $k'\hat{o}$  were sometimes used together, as in  $\hat{o}-k'\hat{o}$ . Among the Lisu,  $k'\hat{o}$  was a village consisted of several  $\hat{o}$ . Another Yi speaking people, the *Nu* on the Sino-Burmese border, had four  $\hat{o}-k'\hat{o}$  lineages, named *pi*, *ha*, *tso*, *yi*, respectively. Among the Moso in Yongning,  $\hat{o}$  were the six

legendary matrilineages from which all Moso lineages today descended. *Ô* also means the people of one bone. These six *ô* among the Moso were: *Ss, Ho, Yu, O, Per, Ts'o*. The Yi in the Liang Shan (凉山) area in Sichuan had the similar *ô* (*a, o*) and *k'ò* (*kan, kang, ko*) clans or lineages (Lin 1961: 26-27).

Another pair of terms for lineage among the Yi peoples were *t'khyû* and *ts'àw*. For the Naxi, *t'khyû* was relatives of one bone; a tribe or a clan, *ts'àw* means all the female relatives (Rock 1963: 442, 450). Both were considered as the literary terms for lineage, while *ô* and *k'ò* were the colloquial terms (Jackson 1979: 44). *T'khyû* and *ts'àw* are close to the Chinese *tsung* (宗) and *ch'i* (戚) or *chin ch'i* (亲戚). There are indications that the two words in Naxi are cognates of the Chinese words and they have been translated into Chinese as such. *T'khyû* (or *tsung*) refers to the father's lineage, *ts'àw* (or *ch'i*) refers to the mother's lineage (Fang 1981: 209, ). Since Mandarin or Han-Chinese dialects were the official languages of the non-Han peoples, naturally, words of Han origin were used in writing. In Chinese, *ch'in ch'i* means the relatives of a marriage relation, i.e. the affines. It is probable that the Naxi, having adopted the literary Chinese words for the lineage through marriage, used one for the man's (husband, hence father) lineage (*t'khyû*, which has been translated as 'father's lineage' by Chinese scholars), and another for the mother's lineage (*ts'àw*, mistranslated as 'all female relatives' by Rock). There seems to be good reason for the Naxi to use the Chinese word *ch'in* and *ch'i* separately, referring to the patrilineage and matrilineage respectively because the phrase *ch'in ch'i* in Chinese is a self-reciprocal term for affines: the wife and the husband's lineages call each other *ch'in ch'i*. The two words did not appear in the Moso terminology for 'lineage', which further shows that the Naxi had been much more adapted to Han culture. The word *t'khyû* was also used by other groups of Yi peoples for a lineage. The Yi in Liang Shan had the *chi, chü, chih* lineages (Lin 1961: 26-27).



A third set of terms used for lineages or descent groups by the Yi peoples are *ssî* or *ss-yî* and *ndû'*, sometimes *yî-ndû'*. For the Moso in Yongning, *Ndû'* referred to a lineage consisted of B and Z and ZC while *ssî* consisted of several *ndû'*, forming a ritual unit.

Apparently, the Naxi/Moso peoples had more terms for lineages than are needed. Jackson has put it that these seem oddly superfluous (Jackson 1979: 39), which I think is an important observation. The redundancy of the lineage terms seemed to occur for two reasons: one was the use of Han terms, as among the Naxi in Lijiang, another is the imprecise semantic range of these terms given by different writers. One problem with Rock's translation of these collective kin terms, as I shall call them for the time being, is his confusion over 'female relatives' with 'maternal relatives' on the one hand and 'male relatives' with 'paternal relatives' on the other. According to his translation, *k'ò* refers to 'all male paternal relatives' while *ndû'* refers to 'all female paternal and maternal relatives' (Rock 1963: 199). Both I think have been wrongly translated. If *k'ò* refers to all *male* paternal relatives, then we must have a term which refers to all *female* paternal relatives. Even if we can use *ndû'* which refers to all the *females* of both paternal and maternal relatives, we still lack a term which refers to all the *males* of maternal relatives. There is no reason why such a term did not exist in the Naxi kinship or relationship terminology. It is unlikely that it is missing in Rock's dictionary and in other accounts.

There are two further terms which are compounds, viz. *ô-k'ò* and *ná-k'ò*. The former refers to patrilineal relatives (bone relatives), the latter to matrilineal relatives (flesh relatives) (Rock 1963: 301, 371). This is a neat pair of terms which make sense. *K'ò* has the meaning of an enclosed compound which implies residence, therefore, logically, it includes both males and females. *K'ò* resembles Chinese *guo* (国) (country), which, in archaic Chinese, also means an enclosure. It should be noted that *k'ò* did not appear in the Moso's usage for lineages.

Obviously, terms which are etymological cognates had been used by the Naxi, the Moso and other Yi peoples. The semantic fields, however, of these terms must be different when used by different groups of people due to cultural and social changes among these peoples peripheral but within the Sino-Tibetan cultural sphere. These terms may be reinterpreted and differentiated in the following table:

Table 5. Terms for lineages used by the Naxi, the Moso, the other Yi peoples and the Han:

	Patrilateral	Matrilateral	Patri- & Matrilateral
Naxi:	<i>k'ò, ô-k'ò, t'khyû</i>	<i>ná-k'ò, ndû', ts'áv</i>	<i>k'ò-ndû',</i>
Moso:	?	<i>ô, ssî-yî, yî-ndû</i>	?
Other Yi peoples:	<i>ch'i, chih, k'ò, k'a, ô</i>	?	?
Han	<i>tsung chu</i>	<i>chin ch'i</i>	

It can be suggested that the words *ô, k'ò, ssî, yî* and *ndû* are the indigenous terms for lineages or descent groups among the Naxi/Moso peoples. There were no special collective terms for *males* and *females* alone as have been interpreted by Rock. So *ô, k'ò, ssî, yî, ndû*, etc. were terms for kin groups consisted of both males and females. The Naxi of Lijiang had more terms because Han terminology had been borrowed. Another observable fact is that the Han term for matrilateral relatives was used by the Naxi as well as other Yi peoples for their descent groups the definition of which need investigation. It also appears that the Han terms for a patrilineage has found their way into the Naxi-Yi terminology for ancestors. The Naxi words *ts'ò* and *dzî*, which were frequently used in Naxi ritual texts to refer to ancestors in general, resemble the Han term *tsung* (宗) and *chu* (祖) respectively. The Han phrase *chu-tsung* (祖宗) also refers to one's ancestors in general. In the genealogies of the ancient Han emperors, the first ancestor was always referred to as *shih-chu* (始祖) who was followed by *tsung*. In Naxi ritual texts, the phrase was used, pictographically represented by the head of a jackal and the crowned head of an elephant, and is presumably used phonetically, as *dzî nà' ts'ò*. The Yi in the Liang Shan area in Sichuan province had genealogical books entitled *Ts'o Dzi Tã-ghügh*

(Liu 1980: 110). *Dzî* in Naxi also means MM or MMM while *Ts'o* was a male ancestor of the Naxi—Yi peoples.

### 5.5. Lineage and descent of the Naxi, the Moso and the Han peoples compared.

One of the debates over the kinship theory in anthropology has been between 'descent' and 'alliance' theories. The essential difference between the two theories is the principle of the formation of the social groups termed 'lineages' or 'descent groups'. For 'descent' theorists, a descent group is a group of individuals with shared interests or property, both egocentrically and sociocentrically defined (Barnard and Good 1984: 68-69). It is basically a question of recruitment of group membership through either succession or marriage. In 'descent' theory, a group is really seen as a *line* or a *corporation*. For 'alliance' theorists, the kinship system of a social group is essentially an exchange-unit forming 'alliances' with other units through exchanging women by prescribed marriage rules.

The balance between the two perspectives of kinship system may be best exemplified in ancient Han Chinese kinship ideology, which I think had been incorporated into the Naxi kinship ideology as one of the ancient Han cultural deposits in Naxi/Moso society. Han kinship ideology was almost fully expressed in the terminological glossary entitled *Erh Ya Shih Chin* compiled in the historical period from the early Han dynasty to the Jin (221 B.C.-420 A.D.). To ancient Han-Chinese, the kin universe had four sections, i.e. father's group, mother's group, husband's group and wife's group. Each group was referred to in different terms. This may be illustrated in the following diagram:

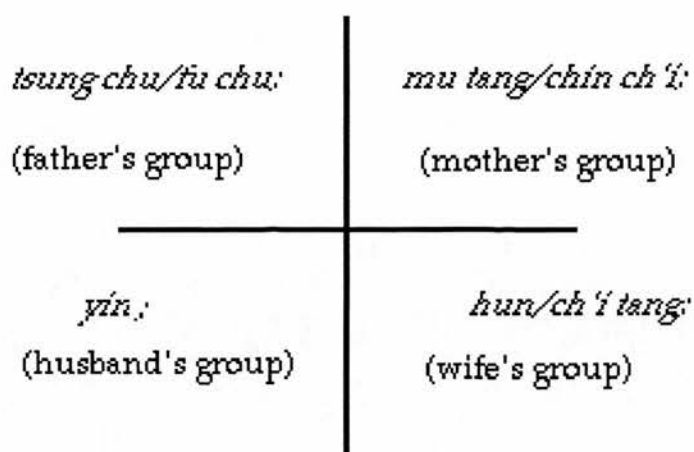


Figure 2. Han Chinese kinship universe.

This typology covers both 'descent' and 'alliance', one's lineage group and affinal group. Moreover, the notion of alliance applies not only to marriage but also to descent because sometimes father's group is referred to not in terms of a patrilineal succession as expressed in *tsung chu* (宗族) but in terms of a group as expressed in *fu chu* (父族) or sometimes even *fu tang* (父党). *Tsung chu*, as has been mentioned before, means a patrilineal descent group. *Tang* (党) means a gang, a local group. In ancient China, five *chu* (族) made a *tang*, which adequately implied alliances. Both mother's and wife's groups were termed as *tang*. Husband's group addressed wife's group as *hun* (婚) while wife's group addressed husband's group as *yin* (姻) Marriage is known as *hun-yin*.

This Han-Chinese kinship model is apparently sociocentric. The sections were neither ego-centred, nor were they ancestor-centred. An individual's behaviour in terms of this kinship model is contextualised. He or she is always sociocentralised by three groups. A HF addressed the WF as *hun*, a WF addressed the HF as *yi*. Other members of husband's group were called *yin hsiung-di* (姻兄弟) (*yin* brothers), members of wife's group were called *hun hsiung-di* (婚兄弟) (*hun* brothers). Thus ego has relations with patrilateral kin and matrilateral kin as a son or a daughter (*tsung chu, mu tang*), but at the same time s/he may have *hun* and *yin* relations with

SW and DH's groups. There is also a *hun* or *yin* relation with spouse's group. In this Han kinship classification, there seem to be really six groups one can talk about, including ego's own group. These groups may be identified as:

- (1) *Fu tang* (父党), father's group.
- (2) *Mu tang* (母党), mother's group.
- (3) *Hun* (婚) 1, son's wife's group.
- (4) *Yin* (姻) 1, daughter's husband's group.
- (5) *Hun* (婚) 2, wife's group.
- (6) *Yin* (姻) 2, husband's group.

I found this Han kinship universe structure suggestive when I was contemplating the lineage groups of the Naxi and the Moso. It has been reported, by Rock as well as by Chinese scholars, that the traditional Naxi society consisted of four 'clans': *Ssú*, *Hò*, *Mà'*, *Yù*. It is not insignificant that there were *four* such clans. These four clans were frequently mentioned in *dto-mba* ritual texts.

In his analysis of the Naxi myth about these four clans, Jackson suggests that they formed two moieties on the basis of exchanging spouses and residence (Jackson 1979: 240-241). There are several important observations in Jackson's analysis. First, certain clans *did not* exchange spouses (Jackson's emphasis, my past tense), i.e. *Ssú* and *Mà'*, *Hò* and *Yù*. Second, in the ritual texts, the four clans were symbolically located on the compass so that *Ssú* and *Yù* resided on the south-west side of the Yangtze River, *Mà'* and *Hò* resided on the north-east side of the River. Moreover, the reference to the four clans was always in a particular sequence: *Ssú*, *Hò*, *Mà'*, *Yù* or *Mà'*, *Hò*, *Ssú*, *Yù*, as can be shown by the diagram:

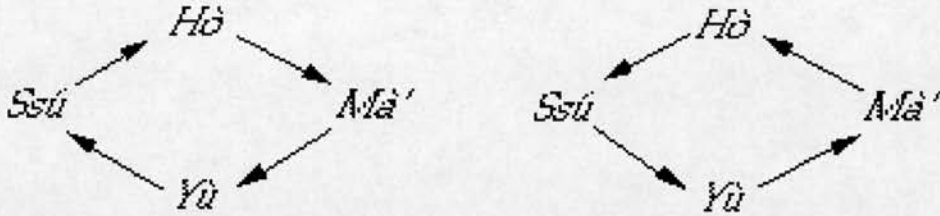


Figure 3. The sequences of reference of the four Naxi/Moso clans (Jackson 1979: 240).

These sequences of reference of the four clans fall into the exact kinship pattern termed by Lévi-Strauss as generalised asymmetrical exchange, one of the elementary kinship structures he has formulated (Lévi-Strauss 1969: 269-70). According to Lévi-Strauss, generalised exchange 'extends over a vast area of Southern Asia'. It is found among the 'Old Kuki' groups of Manipur, in a form very close to that of the Kachin (Lévi-Strauss 1969: 269-70).

What is interesting about the four clans of the Naxi is their resemblance to the four groups in the Han kinship universe as shown in the terminology of *Erh ya* demonstrated in Figure 2 above. I think that the four clans of the Naxi could be a modification of the four groups *fu* (父), *mu* (母), *hun* (婚), *yin* (姻) of the Han kinship universe. In terms of nomenclature, *Ssü*, which could be *Ssü* despite Rock's different orthography, may have meant 'father' or *Ssü-bbü* which means paternal ancestor (Rock 1963: 404, 413). *Mä*, when in the middle level tone (^), means 'mother'. *Hò* and *Yü* were the variation of *Hun* and *Yin*. In Naxi, there are no final nasals: *Hun*, *Yin* would be *Hu*, *Yi*.

A third observation given by Jackson concerning the four clans of the Naxi is that *Ssü* and *Yü* were the direct descendants of *Ts'ò* and *Ts'á'*, the mythical couple who were the ancestor and ancestress of the Naxi: *Ssü* was their SSSSSS, *Yü* was their DDDDDS while *Hò* and *Mä'* were the descents of *Ts'ò*'s sister and *Ts'á'*'s brother respectively, i.e. *Ts'ò*'s ZSSSSS (*Hò*), *Ts'á'*'s BDDDDS. This is a

form of restricted exchange in Lévi-Strauss' terms (Lévi-Strauss 1969: 146ff).

According to Naxi myth, the founder of the four clans of the Naxi were the four sons of *Ts'ò*'s SSSSS named *Gkâw-là'-ts'ú'* (Rock 1947: 85). Why then did they become descendants of two different families in Jackson's analysis? This descent story can be illustrated by the following diagram:

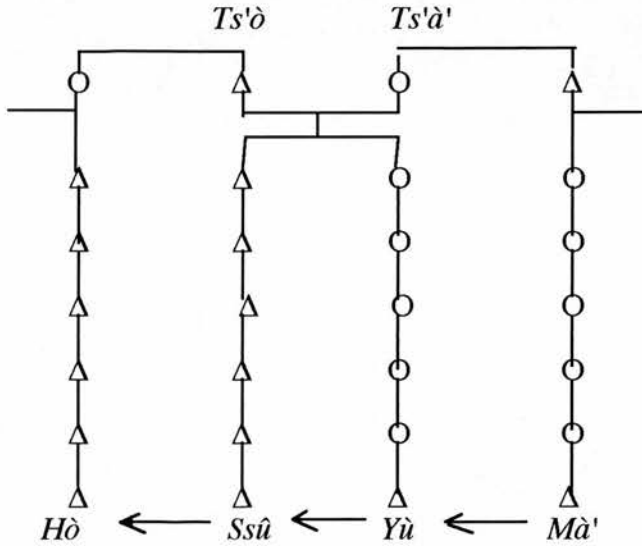


Figure 4. The descent and the alliance of the Naxi people in the legend.

Apparently, this descent story was the Naxi's idea, or their religious person, *Dto-mba's* idea about their ancestry. It looks as though in the very beginning of time, two families had exchanged sisters. This idea may have been a common way among the Tibetan-Burman Yi-speaking peoples as a whole in the south-west region of China to explain their own historical social structure. This question can also be approached through the incest story told in the ritual texts. This will be discussed shortly.

The ancient Chinese kinship categorisation forms the basis for the kinship model of the Naxi in Lijiang. The legendary four clans in the area, the *Ssu*, *Mä*, *Hu*, *Yu*, were the father, mother, wife, and husband's groups respectively in the ancient Chinese kinship system recorded in *Erh Ya.*, a literary glossary. One of the significance of such a grouping is that group identity changes over the generations. Within such a change, we can find that the kinship identity of the grandparent's group

is the same as that of grandchild's group. This feature of kinship identity has a wider significance.

An underlying feature of the kinship systems of some southern African peoples is the JOKING/AVOIDANCE relationships. One of the joking relationships in the structure is in the GRANDRELATIVE category. Persons identified within this category are marriageable relatives (Barnard 1987: 195, 1992: 47). Why grandrelatives are in the joking/marriageable relationships? I think, according to the Naxi kinship categorisation, the grandparent's group and the grandchildren's group are in an identical genealogical position. This may have been the reason why the two groups are in a joking/marriageable relationship.

From the Crow kinship terminology of North America, we may discern some similar logic in kinship grouping. One of the noticeable features of the Crow terminology is that FZS, FZD, FZDS, and FZDD are all identified as 'fathers' (Eggan 1937). Why? I may say a similar idea of a 'father's group' exists among the Crow or Choctaw in North America, although the relationship between and within the kin groups may be different from the ancient Chinese and the Naxi kin groups.

## **5.6. The Problem of 'Cross-cousin' Marriage**

Marriage should be considered as a part of a marriage alliance institution running through generations; the concept of affinity should be extended so as to include not only immediate, individual relationships (affines in the ordinary sense) but also the people who inherit such a relationship from their parents, those who share it as siblings of the individual affines, etc.; there is likely to be an affinal content in terms which are generally considered to connote consanguinity or 'genealogical' relationships (such as 'mother's brother' etc.). (Dumont 1957)

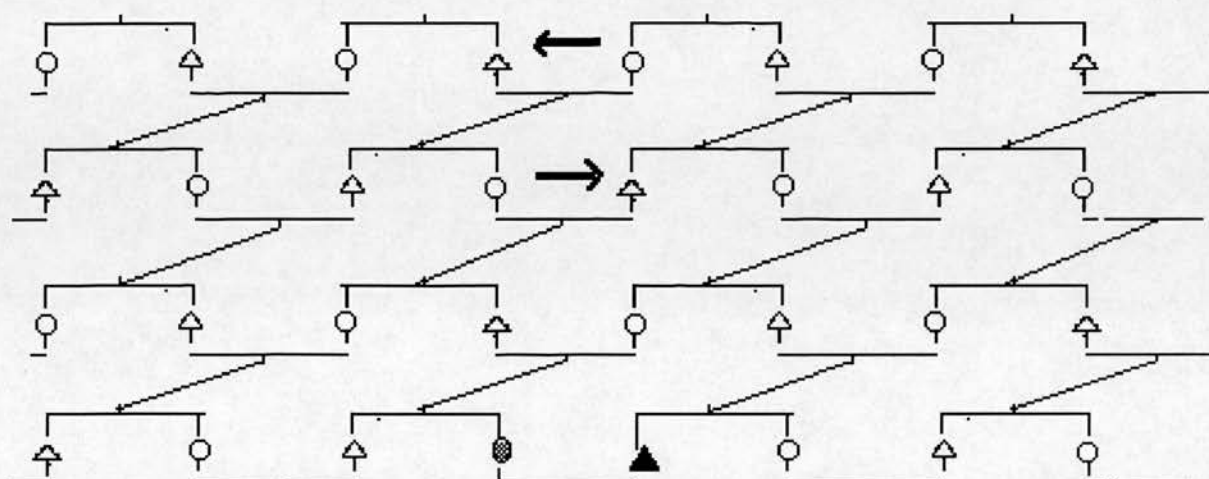
There was a heated debate in the 1960s over the structural possibility of MBD and FZD marriage, also known as matrilateral cross-cousin and patrilateral cross-cousin marriage respectively. Both types of marriage were analysed by Lévi-Strauss as forming elementary structure of kinship. In the Naxi and Moso cases, patrilateral



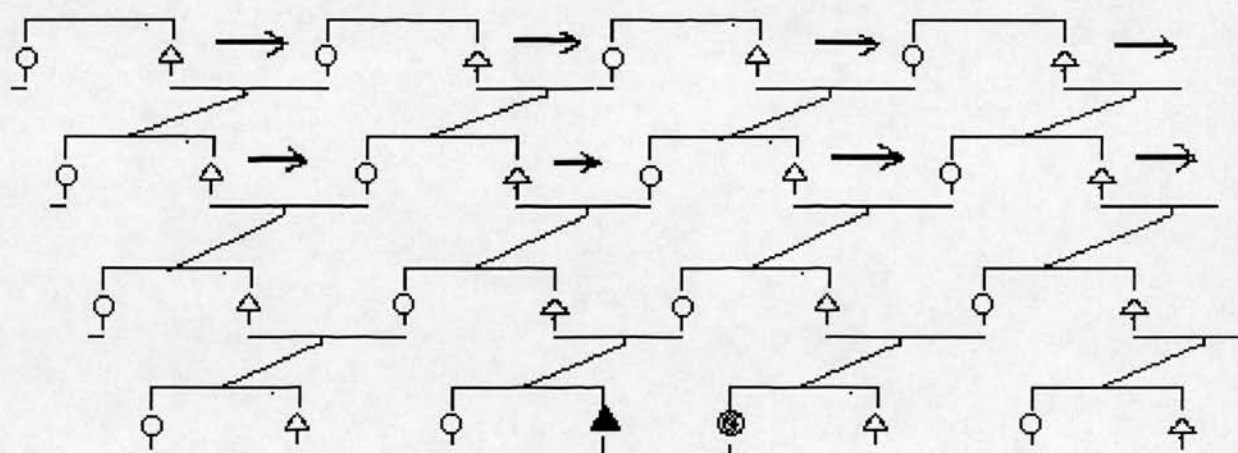
cross-cousin marriage and matrilineal cross-cousin marriage came to the same thing, depending on the depth of generations and number of sections in the marriage exchange. In a four section system in which a generalised exchange takes place,  $FZD=MMBDD$ , while  $MBD=FFZDD$ . Ego then marries a cross-cousin who is patrilineal by one generation but matrilineal by another, or vice versa. Such a kinship identity can be accounted for in the relationship terminology of both the Naxi and the Moso. So  $FZDy=MBDy=Zy=EZy$ ,  $FZSy=MBSy=By=EBy$ . Moreover, for the Moso who had matrilineal kin groups,  $Zy=MZDy=MMZDDy=MMMZDDDy$ ,  $By=MZSy=MMZDSy=MMMZDDSy$ . Basically, it is a classificatory system. It is obvious that cross-cousins formed a marriageable class. This is has been the reason why they sometimes refer to their marriage as FZD marriage, sometimes as MBD marriage. The following two diagrams may demonstrate this:

Figure 5. The elementary structures of kinship: a four-section system of generalised exchange.

a. 'patrilateral' delayed exchange:  $FZD = MMBDD = FMBSD = FFFZDDD$ .



b. 'matrilateral' asymmetrical exchange:  $MBD = MMBDD = FMBSD = FFFZDDD$ .



### 5.7. The question of 'egocentric' and 'sociocentric'

Both the Naxi and the ancient Chinese kinship grouping are egocentric. Normally, social groups such as moieties and clans are sociocentric. The egocentric/sociocentric dichotomy has been seen in the light of the evolutionary theory in anthropology. So the sociocentric application of kinship terminology is the evolution of the egocentric

kinship terminology (Service 1960: 753). I find one problem with the Naxi/Moso social groupings is that when egocentric terms applied to the sociocentric domain, they are still egocentrically used. For example, if the suggestion that the four legendary clans 'Ssú, Hò, Mâ, Yü' of the Naxi were a transformation of the father, husband, mother and wife's clans respectively was true, then there would be problems in the sociocentric and egocentric concepts of their kinship terminology. Therefore, it seems to me, the evolutionary status of this egocentric/sociocentric dichotomy is not absolute. This has something to do with group and individual social identity in marginal societies when facing social change. I think that kinship was established at the very beginning for cultural and social reasons, not for 'biological' reasons. Therefore the relation between egocentric and sociocentric terminology is not a evolutionary one.

The dichotomy of egocentric and sociocentric is problematic in terms of the nature of kinship. A kinship term such as 'father' is egocentric in most cases in the family domain, but if the word is shared by more than one offspring of the family, it is no longer egocentric. My argument is that even in the most 'primitive' societies, egocentricity and sociocentricity of terminology equally exist. Social changes are changes in the egocentricity and the sociocentricity of a society. Such changes are not evolutionary processes but are due to social contacts and influences.

### **5.8. The incest taboo**

Some anthropologists think that the incest taboo is at the heart of humanity and it is part of our cultural heritage (Fox 1967: 56, 75). Lévi-Stauss says that the incest prohibition is on the threshold of culture and it is culture itself (Lévi-Strauss: 1969: 13). There can be many reasons, in the capacity of human rationalisation, to explain the origin of incest taboo, such as authority structure, familiarity, and the problem of inbreeding, etc. These explanations do not correlate with the notion of a cultural heritage because in different societies, there are different incest taboos. What is

considered as incest in one society is acceptable in another. The incest taboo as a cultural heritage, therefore, has to be explained in terms of the social institution of the individual society. It is also true that such a cultural heritage is transmitted not only historically but cross-culturally, especially where cultural and social transformation has taken place. In the remainder of this chapter, through the discussion of the marriage and kinship of the Naxi, the Moso and other Yi peoples, I will demonstrate the case, among other things, that the present form of the incest taboo, institutionalised in the myths of these peoples, is the result of a tremendous cultural and social change that has taken place among these peoples in Southwest China over the last two centuries. New ethnic identities were established, i.e. the Naxi, the Moso and other Yi peoples.

Pre- and post- Lévi-Straussian theories of kinship and marriage are distinguished as 'perpetuation' and 'alliance'. In 'perpetuation' theory, marriage is understood as recruitment to kinship groups in order to provide for legitimate offspring to replenish the groups. In 'alliance' theory, marriage is understood as the expression of the different ways of exchange between lineages or kin groups. Both theories have their grounds in explaining marriage systems. I think that in any given marriage custom, either theory cannot be used alone. Marriage as such in essence is one form of alliance. The question seems to lie in the relation between descent, kin group and marriage. Is a form of marriage needed for a descent system or does a descent system exist because of certain type of marriage? For me, perpetuation is primary while alliance is secondary. A lineage system is normally built on a combination of the two concerns of humanity. The differences in social organisations depend on which tip of the balance has the weight.

### 5.9. The myths and the incest taboo of the Naxi

The most popular story that has been related in Naxi rituals is the story of origin. The story begins with how the universe, i.e. the heaven and the earth and everything in them, were created. In the very beginning of things, there were shadows, shadows of the heaven, the earth, mountains, rivers, trees, etc. Out of these shadows, a magic caused the appearance of the brilliant white heaven and the first being *Ô-gkò-âw-gkò*. What came forth was also *Yî-gkò-dî-ná*, the evil counterpart of *Ô-gkò-âw-gkò*. The two were represented by Tibetan letters. It was *Ô-gkò-âw-gkò* who caused the magic that produced a white egg from which a white chicken was born. The chicken laid nine pairs of white eggs. From these eggs were born gods, headmen and subordinates, priests and sorcerers and the ancestors of the Naxi *Dzî and Ts'ò*. Similarly, from *Yî-gkò-dî-ná*, came forth a black egg from which a black chicken was born. The black chicken laid 9 pairs of black eggs from which various demons were born (Rock 1948, 1952: 676-677). The cosmology is similar to that of Bon, the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet, in that eggs or crystal dew came forth from the primordial Void and from these eggs or dew, the whole universe was evolved.

The origin story of the Naxi is centred on the legendary tenth generation of the ancestors, *Ts'ò-zâ' Llu'-ghû'gh* (hereinafter *Ts'ò*), who married a lady from heaven and generated the people. The generation before *Ts'ò* was *Dzî (Dzi-zâ' Ts'ò-zâ')*. *Dzî* and *Ts'ò*, represented by the head of a jackal (*Dzî*) and a crowned head of an elephant (*Ts'ò*), which were often used to refer to the Naxi people. In some places, *Dzî* seems to be interpreted as referring to the Yi peoples and *Ts'ò*, the Moso or Naxi themselves (Rock 1935, n.4), which suggests that the Naxi/Moso are related to the Yi peoples. There are quite a number of texts telling the stories of *Ts'ò*.

There are, in fact, two different versions of the origin story. Both versions relate how *Ts'ò*, after various tests, had married the heavenly lady and begotten the young. The main difference between the two versions is that whilst one contains a story of the

flood, the other does not. There are suggestions that the version that contains no flood story is a continuation of the flood story. This I think is not true. I would rather treat them as two different versions. I will take up this point again later. Three different titles were used for the two versions: *Ts'ò-mbêr t'û*, which is translated as 'The descent of Ts'ò (man), *Ts'ò-zâ'-llû'-ghû'gh chér dzò*, which is translated as 'The story of *Ts'ò-zâ'-llû'-ghû'gh'* and *Ts'ò-mbêr ssáw*, which is translated as 'The migration of *Ts'ò'* or 'The descent of man'. *Ssáw* in Naxi means 'to invite' (Rock 1963: 398). The book *Ts'ò-mbêr t'û* contains the flood story.

The story of the flood is common among other Tibetan-Burman speaking peoples in south and Southwest China. The main idea of the flood is that of the recreation of the world after the disaster. The story generally relates about a brother and sister marriage which created the human world. Whilst in the stories of the other peoples, the brother-sister marriage took place after the flood, the Naxi brother-sister marriage happened before the flood, and it was the direct cause of the flood. In these stories, brother-sister marriage is generally considered as not proper, only in the Naxi story, marriage between brothers and sisters was most abhorred. It polluted the heaven and the earth, the sun and the moon. It caused mountains to crumble and the earth to cave in and brought about the disastrous flood upon mankind. In other words, brother-sister marriage should be abandoned, an incest taboo for the Naxi.

Of the 5,000 odd Naxi texts collected in the libraries in Europe and America, about 70-80 are the story of the flood, compared to just about 10 or 20 which are the versions without the flood story. It can be concluded then the story of the flood was the most popular and needed in the rituals of the *dto-mba* priests. Now the question is why, while there are obviously other incest taboos among the Naxi, should marriage between brothers and sisters be explicitly described as improper in the rituals of the *dto-mba*? The fact that only brother-sister marriage is condemned as incestuous in the

rituals has indicated that prohibition on brother-sister marriage was something extra but also common in the social life of the Naxi.

According to Fox, incest is not something prohibited in human societies, but rather something avoided (Fox 1967: 72). This seems to be half true in the case of the Naxi society in Lijiang. Clearly, marriage between brothers and sisters is prohibited among the Naxi since it is stated in their rituals which were to bring order and prosperity to the society. Did the Naxi really practise brother-sister marriage at all? My answer is no. A mistake made in most studies of the Naxi myth, kinship and marriage has been that the brother-sister marriage related in the flood story is taken as a social fact of the ancient Naxi society.

In the kinship terminology of the Naxi, cross-cousins are addressed in the same way as brothers and sisters. The Naxi in Lijiang have a saying that father's sister's daughter is born wife of mother's brother's son, or mother's brother grabs father's sister daughter for his son. It has been reported that such patrilineal cross-cousin marriage was common among the Naxi (Li 1983: 325). Since cross-cousins address to each other as 'brothers' and 'sisters', from an outsider's point of view, the patrilineal cross-cousin marriage is like brother-sister marriage. While patrilineal cross-cousin marriage is not the common practice of the Han, it can be assumed that after 1723 when Han administration was formally established on the Naxi territory, patrilineal cross-cousin marriage, misunderstood as brother-sister marriage by Han immigrants, may have been looked upon as barbaric and uncustomed. Such marriages were laughed at and were considered as incestuous by the religious persons, the *dto-mba*, in their relating of the origin story.

Patrilineal cross-cousin marriages were also common among the Moso in Yongning as well as the other Yi peoples. Also it has been reported that 'pre-marital' sexual relationship was common among these peoples. Houses were built in villages to provide rendezvous for unmarried boys and girls over 13 or 14 years of age. They

talked and played which often led to sexual relations (Wu 1987: 64, Li 1983: 29, 100). These were normal activities. These marriageable boys and girls addressed each other as 'brothers' and 'sisters'. Their sexual relations, without consent from their parents, were the known secret in the community. In the ethics of the Han, such relations were understood as wild.

Patrilateral cross-cousin marriage seemed to have existed side by side with some sort of polygamy in the Moso society and some other Yi societies. The polygamy, reported as commonly practised by the Moso, the Pumi and one group of the Yi in north-eastern Yunnan, is known as 'visiting' or 'walking' marriage. The people themselves call it simply 'sleeping partner', but this expression was never used publicly. After a partner relationship had been established, of the man and the woman's free choice, so it is reported, the man 'visited' the woman during the night and left the next morning. Apart from sex, the man had no other relations with the woman. He remained a member of his own lineage and the woman, of her own. The partnership was often changed over the years of their life time. The children born from the union were the members of the mother's lineage. It was similar to the marriage custom of the Nayar in south-western India. What is different is that in the Nayar case, a ceremony called *tali* -tying was performed before a girl reached menarche. The ceremony served as a marriage ritual but the man might or might not have sexual relations with the girl. The significance of the ritual was that after the ceremony the girl had become eligible to enter into sexual liaison with men approved by her lineage and that she had become an adult member of the lineage (Gough 1959: 24-32). In the case of the Moso, when a girl reached the age of 13 or 14, she was required to wear a skirt and ear rings, a ritual which recognised her as becoming an adult by her lineage. Presumably, after such a ceremony, normally held in the new year's day, the girl was eligible to have sexual relations with men of her choice, or maybe in the strict sense of the ceremony, she might now bear children for the lineage.



The Moso *A-zhu* partnership is interesting in understanding the social institution of what we call 'marriage'.

The relation between 'marriage' and kinship among the Moso can be further analysed by using the kinship terminology in Table 3 and 4 above. The kinship structures of the Moso people is basically matrilineal. But the two sets of terms used among them have suggested that their societies are being changed.

This merits attention when we talk about brother-sister relations in Moso society. Men and women who might establish *A-zhu* relationship considered each other as brother and sister. The lineage as an economic unit consisted of uterine brothers and sisters and the latter's son and daughters. As a woman could have more than one *A-zhu*, she might have sons and daughters by different partners. Were these sons and daughters, who must have been considered as brothers and sisters, in an incestuous relation to each other?

#### **5.10. Descent theory and structural transformation.**

The social systems of descent have been one of the most important aspects in the study of social groups. There are six possible forms of descent groups: patrilineal, matrilineal, double (doublineal or bilineal), cognatic (bilateral or ambilineal), parallel and cross (alternating) (Barnard and Good 1984: 70). These, however, are models constructed by anthropologists. In real societies, these models are not clear-cut. Generally, descent is understood as, in pre-industrial societies, an economic, political, and/or ritual construct in which members were recruited or regulated through reference to an ancestor or ancestress (cf. Fortes 1953, Keesing 1975: 17, Barnard and Good 1984: 68-69). Thus a descent group is essentially a kin group. There is a serious question of whether the lineage organisation of the Naxi, the Moso and other Yi peoples fits into any of the above anthropological models.

## Part II

### Naxi Writing and the Interpretation of Naxi Religious Texts

In this part, I am going to study the Naxi people in their historical contexts and to interpret their ritual texts by using these contexts. I am going to do this from two perspectives concerning the Naxi people and their culture. One perspective is a historical comparison of the culture of the Naxi with that of the Yi peoples they were related to. Another perspective is the interpretation of their ritual texts and the writing of these texts. I have two objectives in this study:

- 1) To demonstrate that Naxi culture was part of the culture of the Tibeto-Burman-speaking peoples - the Yi peoples in the People's Republic of China today;
- 2) As an exercise in how historical materials can be used to study cultures and societies.

In Part I, I have shown that theoretically and methodologically, social anthropology has been concerned with societies and cultures from two perspectives and in two ways: the historical perspective and the comparative perspective. These two perspectives on culture and society are particularly well exemplified in the regions of China. In Chapter 3, I discussed how the Han Chinese writing, the characters, had been an effective cultural and political weapon for domination and unification in Chinese history in the processes of social and cultural interaction between the Han and the non-Han peoples. Now I can add that before and around this cultural and political unification, what I would like to call 'interrelated diversities' persisted throughout. This is the basic nature of the anthropology of the region that I will deal with in this part.

There are three contexts which can reveal the nature of this diversity of the region: 1) the writing; 2) the cultures and societies of the region as expressed in history; 3) the Naxi religious texts and the ritual activities related to them. The second

point has largely been dealt with in Chapters 3 and 4. In this part, I am going to discuss points 1 and 3.

Writing in human societies as a subject of concern has been discussed by many scholars in recent years. In the Far East, writing has a more complicated background. A case in point may be found in the pictographic religious texts of the Naxi and other forms of writing in Southwest China and eastern Tibet. From a cross-cultural perspective, modern scholars have generally come to the view that the main function of writing is mnemonic and communicative. Writing can be seen as a type of technology developed in human societies (Street 1993: 5; Street and Besnier 1994: 529). As a mnemonic communicative device, writing is obviously closely related to language and thought. In this case, it is inherently diversified. The Naxi pictographs and other writing in Southwest China and eastern Tibet may demonstrate this point. In Chapter 6 below, I discuss this situation in the region which adds to our general understanding of writing in human societies.

History can generally be understood as either 1) 'a record of past events', or 2) 'the present interpretation of the past', or 3) 'the conscious tradition operating in a local life' (see discussion in Chapter 2). In my present study of the Naxi and the related cultures, the second sense of history above is much more in operation. This has also been a methodological practice for me to carry out this research. We can discover the regional cultures of Southwest China mainly from the writings of three groups of people: Han Chinese historical writers (their works known as 'historical records' or 'local gazetteers'), Chinese scholars of this century and European writers and scholars (mainly English). My attempt is not really a 'historiography' of the cultures of the peoples concerned but an anthropology of the historical culture of the region. To achieve this, I try to go by way of the authorship. Therefore, in analysing the historical cultures of the region through these texts, a concern throughout this part of research is by whom, how and why these texts were written.

Modern social theory has emphasised the importance of cultural agency (Cohen 1985), and this means that in considering Naxi religious texts, we must look carefully at their authors. We as interpreters of these texts are in the position of readers in communication with these authors, and it is this relationship of reader, author and text which is a central concern of this study. This why a comparison between different scholarships has also been important in my study. I summarise this in the 'Conclusion'.

In Chapter 5, I have shown that the kinship ideology of the Naxi as reflected in the religious texts is much more assimilated to that of the ancient Han Chinese. This point has a further significance in the understanding of the religious texts. In the discussion of the authorship of the texts later in this part, the importance of kinship in the analysis and interpretation of the Naxi text should be found in several aspects: 1) the family (a patrilineal one in Lijiang) forms the basic ritual unit (Jackson 1979: 107); 2) the father-and-son relation in the production of the religious texts; 3) the *dto-mba* priests had Han Chinese names apart from their ritual names. The Han Chinese cosmology such as the *Yin-Yang* theory, the Chinese astrology and calendar are major components of the texts, especially the divination books. These form part of the kinship ideology of the *dto-mba* expressed through their religious texts. The conflicts in kinship and marriage among the Naxi, which led to the increasing of the ritual activities, will be further discussed in Chapter 7.

In terms of writing (the pictographs), the translation of the texts has presented an enigma (Rock 1955: XI). What about the texts in terms of the authors, the cultural contexts in which these texts were written? These two aspects of a culture are equally important to the understanding of the texts, especially where the access to a culture and society in question is limited to things written. This is surely the only feasible way of undertaking such research. I can see that as human societies become more and more

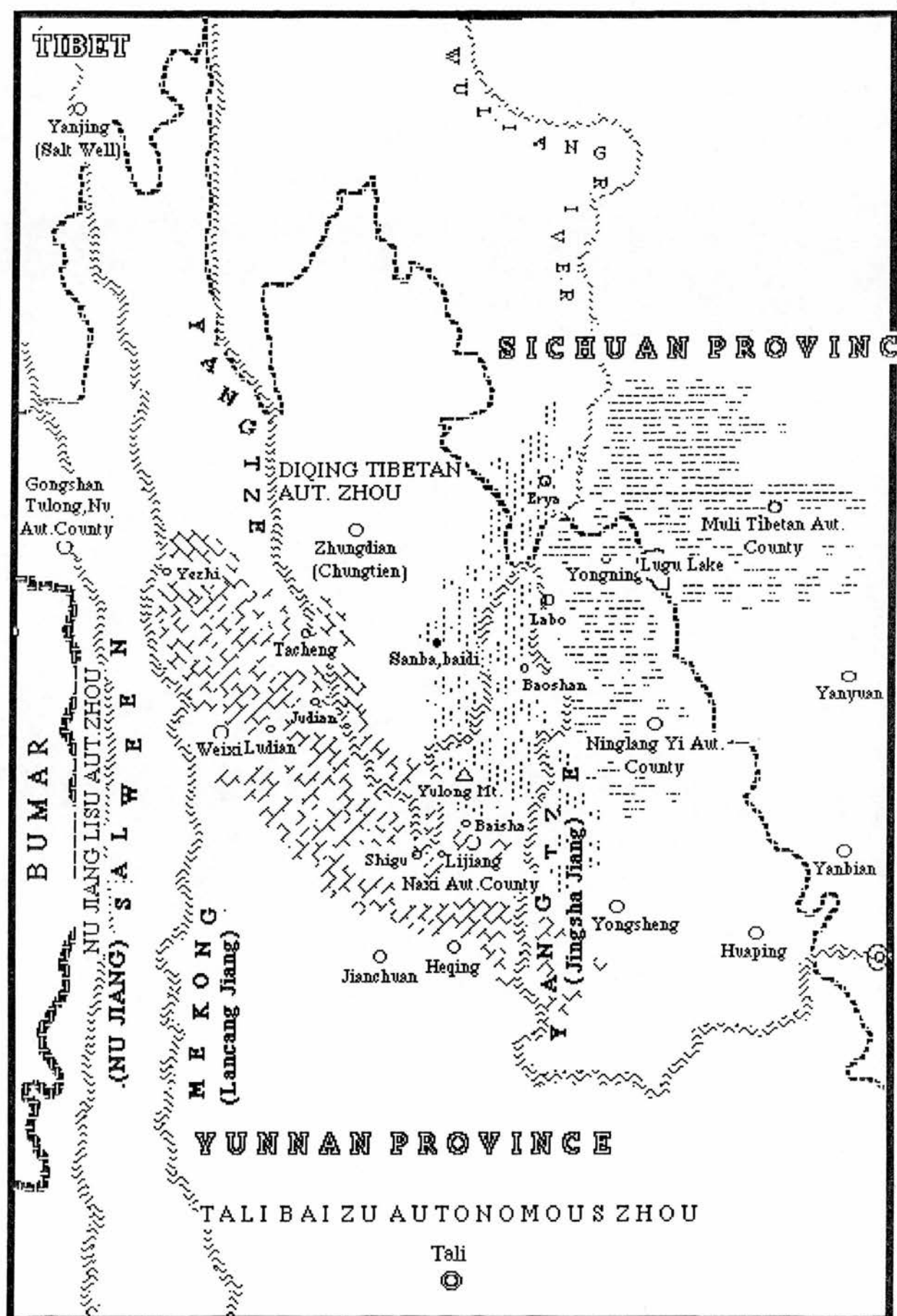
involved in writing, in addition to speaking, in the interaction between thoughts, these will be aspects of concern in future studies.

This part consists of 3 chapters (Chapter 6 to 8) dealing with the two of the three contexts in which I discuss the Naxi religious texts. Chapter 6 is a discussion of the nature of Naxi pictographic writing from the regional perspective. Chapter 7 analyses the authors and the writing of the Naxi religious texts. Chapter 8 summarises the ways in which these religious texts can be understood.








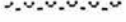

## **Chapter 6. Naxi Pictographs and the Writing of Southwest China**

The Han Chinese policy of pacification and cultural assimilation of the non-Han peoples has brought drastic social changes to the societies in Southwest China, especially since 1723 when a tougher policy of controlling non-Han peoples was introduced. The non-Han chiefs were replaced by appointed Han officials. Southwest China, which had been greatly colonised by Han Chinese migrants since the Ming dynasty (1382 A.D.), had become more assimilated to Han Chinese culture (see also 4.1.).

This period was certainly a period of political uncertainty, but it was also a period of economic expansion and increased trade. Under such circumstances, socially and culturally speaking, the non-Han peoples could either totally accept the social norms and cultural values of the Han Chinese or take refuge in their own social and cultural life. The Naxi, as noted earlier, were a branch of the Yi peoples, known by the Han Chinese as the Moso. They had tried to mediate their social life between two influential cultures, the Han Chinese and the Tibetan. Their religious specialists, later called *dto-mba*, had not only invented a large number of pictographs and produced thousands of religious texts, but also borrowed many rites of Tibetan Bon origin and greatly expanded their indigenous rites of demon exorcism. These activities, made possible when Lijiang became a trade centre, which brought local people substantial income, soothed the scars that the Naxi had received in cultural assimilation and military conquests. One may argue that such changes in the Naxi society in Lijiang, which greatly affected their kinship and other aspects of culture, were directly responsible for the invention of the pictographs and the production of the religious texts. Map 2 shows the areas of the pictographic texts and the religious activities. (Cf. also Li 1954b: 305).



Map 2. Areas of Naxi Writing (According to Guo &amp; Yang (eds.) 1985: 501; cf. also Li 1954b:305)

	Provincial Border		City		Area with pictographs		Area without writing
	International Border		Town		Area with both pictographs and phonetic scripts		
	River		Village				

### 6.1. Studies of Naxi religious texts in China

As has been shown in Chapter 4, political struggle is the dominating theme of the historical accounts by Chinese scholars. Little concerns the ordinary lives of the ordinary peoples. It is not surprising that most Chinese scholars also find it difficult to say when Naxi/Moso pictographs were invented (see, e.g. Fang 1981: 38).

It was not until 1932 when Moso writing began to draw scholars' attention in China. Liu Bannong, a Chinese linguist who had studied in France and who was a professor in Peking University, presented J. Bacot's book *Les Mo-so* (1913, Leiden) to a student of Naxi origin, Fang Guoyu, and encouraged Fang to return to his homeland to study the writing of his own people. In his childhood, Fang had seen the religious persons among his people, the *dto-mba* priests, performing religious ceremonies, but he had not learned the scripts used by the *dto-mba*. At that time, children learned to read Chinese and Chinese characters were used in the daily lives of the Naxi. Only the *dto-mba* used the pictographs to write scriptures which was considered contemptible (Fang 1981:1). Fang went back to Lijiang in 1933 and learned from one *dto-mba* about the rituals, and the contents of the religious texts. Three *dto-mbas* of different schools were later invited to make a glossary of pictographs and phonetic scripts. The draft of a dictionary was made in June, 1934, but Fang was not able to have the dictionary published until 1981 (Fang 1981: 1-7; Bøckman 1987: 9). He was one of the two Chinese scholars who began to study the Naxi pictographs after Rock.

In the early 1940s, many Chinese scholars were driven to the Southwest by the War. An art student, Li Lin-ts'an, was sponsored by the Ministry of Education of the government and hired by the National Central Museum of Nanking to collect the Moso/Naxi manuscripts and study the writing in March, 1940. He collected 1,231 manuscripts. With the help of two *dto-mbas*, compiled one dictionary, translated



nine texts and wrote several articles concerning the origin of the Moso/Naxi scripts. These were published between 1944 and 1978 (Guo 1985; Bøckman 1987: 9-10). Li has lived in Taiwan since 1949. Several other Chinese scholars also published some articles mainly on the language and the pictographic writing of the Naxi/Moso in the 1940s (Guo and Yang 1985: 493-495) These scholars were either linguists or men of letters. Some had even studied anthropology<sup>1</sup>.

The interest of the *Han Chinese* scholars as well as that of the European scholars in Naxi religious texts during the 1930s and 1940s may have added to the pride of the *dto-mba*. In the same period, a number of dictionaries were compiled by some *dto-mbas*. These dictionaries were either copied or carved on wood blocks for printing locally (Guo & Yang 1985: 4, 492). Copies of such dictionaries are also found in the collections in the India Office Library (Nos.88B, 89, 90, 91) and the John Rylands Library (No.9) in Britain. These are Pictograph-Chinese dictionaries or Pictograph-Phonetic Scripts-Chinese dictionaries. The purpose of compiling these dictionaries was obviously for Chinese scholars' reference because many of the rituals were no longer performed and *dto-mbas* were selling their books.

After 1949, the research into *dto-mba* manuscripts and the Naxi people in mainland China has followed the political patterns of different periods. In 1961, a translation office of *dto-mba* culture was established in Lijiang, and about 4,000 manuscripts were collected. By 1963, about 100 different manuscripts were translated into Chinese and 22 were later published (Bøckman 1987: 13; Jackson 1989: 139-141; Guo 1991: 673). A book on the folklore of the Naxi was published in 1959 (Yunnan 1959). All Naxi studies were stopped by the Cultural Revolution, and thousands of *dto-mba* manuscripts taken from individuals were burnt (Bøckman 1987: 13; Jackson 1989: 139-141). Also, in the 1950s, large-scale investigation into the social organisation and history of the minority nationalities was carried out in

---

<sup>1</sup> Tao Yunkui and Wen You.

mainland China. This was to prepare for the socialist reform in the minority area and for better administration in these areas. It was mainly during this period that different minority nationalities were officially identified (Fei 1981: 60-61). Books on the history, language and kinship of the Naxi and Moso were published. They proved that the Naxi in the east of the Yangtze River were different in social structure from those in the Lijiang area (Yan and Song 1983). No research was done to answer the question as to how and why they were different. Such was the situation until the 1980s.

The studies of *dto-mba* manuscripts resumed after the Cultural Revolution. A research office of *dto-mba* culture was set up in Lijiang in 1981. Five or six *dto-mbas* were recruited to the research programme. They were invited to chant the religious texts and the chanting was then transliterated and put into Chinese. It is said that 1,400 *different* texts have been transliterated into Naxi or translated into Chinese so far (He 1991: 600; Guo 1991: 673; cf. also Bøckman 1987: 14). This, however, is a very questionable figure in terms of the *dto-mba* religious textual repertoire (see Jackson 1979: 25-26, 170-171). Articles on *dto-mba* religion and Chinese translations of the religious texts by Chinese and Naxi scholars have also been published in journals in China since 1980. The research office also started to have some major rituals performed by some elderly *dto-mbas* complete with requisite artefacts and sacrificial equipment. These performances have been videoed (Bøckman 1987: 16).

## **6.2. A comparison of Chinese and European scholarship on Naxi studies**

Chinese and Naxi scholars both began to study the Moso pictographs in the 1930s when Western travellers and scholars had published books about Naxi/Moso writing. Normally, studies in China do not analyse ritual activities and texts from a social dimension. The pictographs and other scripts have been treated as rare living fossils

of pictography, the rudimentary stage of writing, which are valuable in the research for the origin of writing (for example, some points of view in Guo & Yang 1985: 95). A typical question asked by Chinese scholars is 'Of what evolutionary stage are the Naxi pictographs?' (Guo & Yang 1985: 136). Another treatment of the texts has been to extract the myths and legends from the rituals. The literature may include different fields of knowledge, for example, astronomy, calendar, geography, history, medicine, zoology, botany, weaponry, clothing, food, family, religion, ethnic relations, agriculture, animal husbandry, and so on (ibid.: 11).

Chinese scholarship after 1949 generally follows social evolutionary theory. *Dto-mba* rituals are taken as a primitive religion in contrast to other 'advanced' religions like Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and so on. *Dto-mba* rituals are still at a primitive stage of becoming an appropriate 'religion'. The study of *dto-mba* rituals and the pictographs may help us to arrive at a generalisation about the origin of the writings and to investigate cognitive development and cosmology in the early history of mankind (Fang 1985: 96; Liu 1985: 281).

Like Chinese scholars, Western scholars, at the end of the last century and the beginning of this century when Naxi/Moso manuscripts were discovered, were also interested in the origin of writing and the languages of the non-Chinese peoples (Lacouperie 1885, 1887). The American explorer Joseph Rock stayed among the Naxi/Moso continually for about 25 years from 1922 to 1949. He spent the rest of his life working on Naxi/Moso manuscripts (1962). His impressive translation and dictionaries of Naxi/Moso manuscripts have been the only first-hand knowledge in Europe about the Naxi/Moso pictographic manuscripts. His arduous work has provided clues to these texts, which were otherwise not readable.

Rock translated about 135 manuscripts (Appendix III), and made notes of many aspects of the Naxi/Moso life. He found it impossible to give a synopsis of the contents of a Naxi manuscript, because the texts do not always deal with one subject,

but contain much irrelevant matter only indirectly connected with the main theme (Rock 1965: xv). His translation was often the direct putting into words of the passages expressed in pictographs and the chanting by the *dto-mba* priests.

Rock believed in the antiquity of the Naxi/Moso pictographs. He made some comparison between these rituals and other religious activities close to the Naxi people. He had noticed similarities between some scripts used in the manuscripts (known as the phonetic scripts) and those scripts used by the Yi peoples (Rock 1963a: xxv; see also further discussion below). In many cases he compared Bon religion in Tibet with the Naxi rituals (Rock 1952: 15).

Rock had a few *dto-mba* priests as his interpreters. He also gave a historical account of Lijiang and Yongning areas (Rock 1947). Rock's presentation of the Naxi/Moso ritual texts is in many ways a detailed translation. He did not tend to hide the fact that many of these texts were about the propitiation of deities, spirits, demons, and the eviction of demons.

Anthony Jackson is the first anthropologist to study these texts. His aim is to complement Rock's work by providing the principles upon which Naxi religion is based and thereby elucidating the structure of Naxi rituals (Jackson 1979: 3). Another aim is to unravel the cosmological complexity in Naxi beliefs seemingly arising from Rock's massive translation of Naxi ritual texts and to relate such a cosmology to the social structure of the Naxi and to indicate how the Naxi writings arose and what they could have meant to the people (Jackson 1979: 77-80, 257).

Jackson's approach is a combination of both British empiricist and French structuralist approaches in dealing with rituals and beliefs, in that these rituals or beliefs may be random items arising from social and political relations or they may form a coherent system. His analysis suggests some degree of systematisation in terms of symbols in the construction of Naxi myth and ritual and then no systemic properties for the rites as a whole (*ibid.*: 78-79). Generally speaking, this was

working towards an unconscious model operating in the construction of the rituals. Like many other anthropological practices, he sees that the role of the ritual specialists(*dto-mba*) is more important than the texts.

There are three hypotheses in Jackson's analysis:

i) The Naxi were matrilineal before the Han Chinese came and the Naxi/Moso were of the same people,

ii) Han Chinese administration in 1723 in Lijiang was a crucial point when female suicides became common among the Naxi in the Lijiang area because of the imposition of Han Chinese patriarchal ideology. It was also the main driving force behind the elaboration of the ritual for unnatural deaths, the *Hâr-lâ-llù' k'ó'* ceremony, and as a result there was a large production of religious texts,

iii) The pictographic writing was invented by proscribed Bon monks, known as *dto-mba* among the Naxi. The Naxi *dto-mba* and their rituals were the transformation of Bon monks and Bon rituals. Their ideas were alien to the original beliefs of the Naxi people.

Jackson's analysis has shown that the Naxi ritual repertoire was not as enormous as Rock claimed. The *dto-mba* ritual repertoire was an uninhibited mixture of a few basic ritual forms. There were important interrelationships between ceremonies. A large portion of the subceremonies were shared (Jackson 1979: 170, 177, 268, 270). Jackson presents a diagram, which has shown that most pivotal is the ceremony for suicides or for unnatural deaths. The most interrelated ceremonies are the life-cycle ceremonies, and the ceremonies dealing with demons and death. These ceremonies shared most of their religious texts. He suggested that the production cycle ceremonies are marginal to the *dto-mba's* activities (Jackson 1979: 267). Jackson's analyses have also revealed many aspects of symbolism in Naxi rituals, for example, the symbolic use of numbers. (Jackson 1979: 179-8, 207, 211, 269).

To summarise the previous researches, I find that scholars were different mainly according to their aims of research. In China, to a large extent, scholarship has been an encouragement and representation of a local culture and religious practice. European scholars mainly had intellectual interests. For social anthropologists, research has taken the form of a social and cultural activity in marginal societies in a particular social context in time and space. It is interesting of its own accord, in its own right.

One lacuna of previous researches is that the Naxi and their culture have been treated as if they were isolated. Although scholars have indicated that Naxi rituals were connected with the Bon religion in Tibet, there has not been a systematic comparison with the neighbouring cultures. There are many things that can be compared from the ritual texts. For example, the 28 constellations, originate from Han Chinese cosmology. Many ideas of divination were of either Tibetan or Han Chinese origin. The main suspected source of Naxi ritual invention, the Bon religion of Tibet, is another large cultural 'unit', to borrow a term from the comparative method in anthropology, waiting for systematic comparison, to reveal what has really happened in the past few centuries in that part of China.

Jackson has speculated that

The existence of the Na-khi ritual texts rests primarily on two factors: the presence of two literary cultures and the influx of Bon priests from Tibet. It seems unlikely that the Mo-so would have developed their own script without the knowledge from China of paper-making and writing. The actual construction of the rites and their setting down was due to the bön-po who, in fact, created the need to remember the exact details of the rites since it was taken as a tenet that exactitude was of prime importance to the success of the ceremonies themselves. While the first factor may have allowed the development of a native ritual text as with the Lo-lo, which might have continued to expand with the help of the bön-po, it was not to be quite like this. When and if we obtain information about the ritual texts of the Lo-lo and other neighbouring tribes we will probably discover that there is a large admixture of Bön ideas in them, supplementing their shamanistic beliefs. This would be what we could have expected the Mo-so texts might have become but for a number of complicating factors: the Mo-so were matrilineal, the northern Mo-so around Hli-khin succumbed to the Yellow sect, and the Chinese pacified the southern Mo-so around Li-chiang. The interplay between these produced, as we saw in the history of the Mo-so, the

formation of the Na-khi as a separated ethnic identity and allowed, because of the disruptions in social life, the *dto-mbas* to succeed in their presentation of ritual life.(Jackson 1979: 270).

In Chapter 4 (4.7.3, 4.7.4), I have shown that some indigenous beliefs found in Naxi texts are common with the Yi peoples. This point can be further supported by the analysis of the rise of *dto-mba* religious activities in the next chapter.

### **6.3. Naxi pictographs, writing and literacy in Southwest China**

The ethnographic accounts of the peoples in Southwest China have shown that writing, in whatever forms, is not unique to the ritual specialists—the *dto-mbas* of the Naxi. This is not to deny that the large number of the pictographic manuscripts produced are characteristic of a culture that has been invented by the *dto-mba*. What I would like to point out here is that there were contemporary social grounds for such a production.

As has been pointed out by Jackson, the existence of the Naxi ritual texts rests primarily on two factors, one being the presence of two literary cultures, viz. Tibetan and Chinese. This also holds true for the whole of Southwest China, a buffer zone between the two cultures and others. The idea of books, paper making, using pens. is very likely from these two literary cultures. It has been shown in the history of Southwest China that Han Chinese cultural assimilation of the region has been going on for centuries, especially since the Ming dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.). It is unlikely that the Naxi/Moso people, with a population of about 100,000 last century and at the beginning of this century, should have created a writing system independent of their own and neighbouring cultural systems. These pictographs were invented for the purpose of a religious activity as a mnemonic device to perform particular ceremonies.

There is some tendency today for Sino-Tibetan linguists to treat the related Yi, Naxi, Moso, and Bai languages as the 'minor literary' languages in the Sino-Tibetan families (Matisoff 1991: 473). In-depth ethnographic analysis may be needed to specify the real literary situations among these languages. I hope the present chapter may throw some light on such analysis.

#### **6.4. The writing of the Yi peoples**

Besides the unique Naxi *dto-mba* pictographs, there are mainly two other types of writing or written language in the region (north-west of Yunnan and south-west of Sichuan province). One is the writing of the Yi peoples. The Yi peoples, according to Chinese ethnography, form the largest ethnic group in the Southwest with a population of more than 5 million. They are scattered over Yunnan, Sichuan, Guizhou and Guangxi provinces, but more than 3 million of the Yi are found in Yunnan (Li 1983:5, Ma 1989:1). My ethnographic analysis in Part I has suggested that the Naxi/Moso are actually one group of the Yi peoples.

The Yi characters resemble Chinese characters. Each character, formed by strokes, represents a word or a syllable in the language. There are several suggestions by both Chinese and Western scholars for the origins of these characters: pictographic, ideographic and phonetic (Ma 1989: 144). These are in some ways similar to the origins of Chinese characters. In most cases, however, the Yi characters are what can be called 'phonetic substitutes', viz. one character was chosen to represent different words with the same sound. As a consequence, the Yi characters are more like characters representing sounds, some sort of 'phonetic characters'. This is unlike the 'phonetic way' of making Chinese characters in which normally two parts, a phonetic part and an ideographic part are joined together to make a new character. Because of such substitutions plus dialectal differences between different Yi groups, there are a lot of confusion in the use of the Yi



characters. Chinese ethnologists who have studied the Yi writing have indicated that one Yi character can have as many as several dozens of different versions. In different places the different characters used amount to several thousands, for example, the Yi characters used in Guizhou and those used in Sichuan. Not only are there differences in using characters but also there are differences in the formats of writing books: the characters in Guizhou are normally read vertically while the characters in the Liangshan area of Sichuan are read horizontally, but in both cases, they are read from left to right. The Yi books in Yunnan have both formats and characters (Ma 1989:147, Li 1983:7, You 1985:555). The diversity and lack of standardisation have led to a great confusion in reading the Yi writing. Different characters were employed by different people even within the same region. Most of the Yi books were copied and re-copied. Because there are so many versions, many books are not readable (Ma 1989: 147).

This situation is exactly like that of the Naxi *dto-mba* 'phonetic characters'. as described by Fang Guoyu in his compilation of the phonetic characters used in Naxi manuscripts. He says that what he has collected is what three *dto-mbas* have written with reference to some other *dto-mbas*' texts. Because there are so many different forms for one character, he chooses those that are relatively popular (Fang 1981: 367). A similar situation is found in both Rock's and Li Lin-ts'an's dictionaries (Rock 1963a, Li 1945) and dictionaries compiled by some *dto-mbas* and local Chinese/Naxi scholars (see 4.1. above on the discovery and collection of Naxi manuscripts). These facts seem to favour the argument that the 'phonetic characters' found in Naxi *dto-mba* manuscripts were not a later development of the pictographs, as suggested by most Chinese scholars but rather they were what had existed before and were some of the characters used by different groups of the Yi to whom the Naxi themselves are related. The relationship between Yi and Naxi writing will be further

analysed later in this chapter. (See Table 6 in 6.7.1 for a comparison between the writing of the two peoples.)

The Yi books were sown or clipped between two bamboo sticks on the top. This also resembles the divination books of the Naxi. Yi writing was mentioned in some Chinese historical records as *Cuan Wen* (爨文) (the written language of Cuan [Ts'uan]), or *Wei Wen* (韃文) (Wei written language)<sup>2</sup>. *Cuan* was referred to as one of the 'big surnames' in Yunnan by the Chinese historical records of the Tang dynasty. The people there were referred to as the Cuan barbarians, divided into the eastern Cuan (the black Cuan) and the western Cuan (the white Cuan). Chinese scholars today generally think these were the peoples of the Bai (the white Cuan) and the Yi (the black Cuan). But there were also implications of Han Chinese immigration into the area (see 4.1.).

Like the creation of the Naxi pictographs, a legend also goes that a genius, the son of a Yi chief, named *A-ke* in the Tang dynasty, went to live in solitude in a mountain and created about 1,840 characters. The story first appeared in Chinese historical records in the Ming dynasty and is repeated variously in many books of the Qing dynasty. These are some of the accounts (quoted in Ma 1989: 139, You 1985: 555; see also Lacouperie 1894):

In the Han dynasty (206 BC - 220 A.D.), A-ke, the descendant of a chief Na-gou from Malong Zhou (today's Malong county east of Yunnan), resigned from his office and retreated to a mountain. There he wrote Cuan characters which looked like tadpoles. These characters were created within 2 years, numbered about 1,840 (*Dian Xu, Za Zai* [滇系, 杂载]).

An Guo-heng (a man of the Ming dynasty) translated 9 yi books<sup>3</sup>, and mentioned (in these books, it is said) that the Na-gou chief A-ke(?) of the Tang dynasty went to live in a mountain valley and created the Cuan characters which resembled tadpoles. These were the Yi characters today. They were read in reverse, from left to right. There were pictographic,

2. 'Wei' means 'be' or 'right'. It is often used with 'bu' (not). 'Bu Wei' (not right). It is not clear, however, what it is meant here.

3. 'Yi' is a word in Chinese referring to foreign peoples having derogatory connotation in recent centuries. See detailed discussion in Chapter 1 above.

ideographic, etc. meanings (*Dading Fu Zhi* vol.13, *Feng Tu Zhi*. [大定府志, 风土志]).

The sorcerers of the Lolo are called the Great 'Xipo', or 'Baima'. They get the two thigh bones from young cocks alive to predict fortune and misfortune. They have yi scriptures written in Cuan characters which look like tadpoles. The masters know how to read the sky (and stars) and tell between Yin and Yang. They are the chief's assistants to make decisions. The folk all worship the heaven, with an altar of three steps. Baima officiates at the ceremony (*Dian Zhi* vol.30 [滇志]).

Some accounts indicate that the ordinary Yi people did not read (quoted in You 1985: 555):

The Lolo do not read. When they trade, lend or loan, they make marks on a piece of wood to show dates and numbers of goods. The wood is then split into two to be retained by both parties as something by which each other are trusted. This is an ancient practice, however. They also have Cuan characters like tadpoles. These(characters) are used by the people themselves of the same sort. (*Yunnan Tu Jin Zhi Shu* vol. 2, *Malong Zhou* [云南图经志书, 马龙州]).

The last statement in the quotation above also suggests that Yi writing could not be used for communication in the society, because of lack of standardisation.

There is conflicting dating in these quotations by Chinese scholars. The dating of the origin of Yi writing is also controversial. The tendency of Chinese scholars is to date it before East Han (25-220 A.D.) (Ma 1989: 140) or in the Han and Jin dynasties (206 BC - 420 A.D.). These is very vague dating and there is only some *indirect* evidence derived from certain Chinese historical records of the Jin and Tang dynasties (618-896 A.D.). The earliest hard evidence of Yi writing appears on a bronze bell found in Luodian Suixi (罗甸水西) in Dafang (大方) county of Guizhou province. On the bell were inscribed both Chinese and Yi characters. It was dated(presumably in Chinese) 'the 21st year of Chenghua (成化) (a Ming emperor), yisi (yiissu) (乙巳) year, the 4th moon 15th day, binyin(biingyn) (丙寅) a lucky morning'. This is equivalent to April 29, 1485 A.D. (Ma 1989: 153-156). It should be noted that most early evidence of Yi writing was found in stone inscriptions (Ma 1989: 153-177). As a result, the earliest study of

Yi writing by Chinese scholars is a book entitled 'A collection of the inscriptions of Cuan characters' published in 1936 (Shanghai Commercial Press) by Chinese geologist, Ding Wenjiang (丁文江) who gave up his geological work and began his study of these inscriptions in 1931 (Ma 1989: 176). Most of these inscriptions are from Guizhou province and were translated by a Yi ritual specialist named Lo Wenbi (罗文笔), who came from Dafang county (called Dading before 1958) in Guizhou.

The fact about the dating of Yi writing is that all Yi books, inscription, etc. found so far are from the Ming and the Qing dynasty, and it is very likely most of these texts were created in the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) or late Qing dynasty. As a matter of fact, Chinese scholars today generally believe that Yi culture, or specifically, Yi writing, 'rapidly developed' during the Ming and the Qing period. This is a somewhat curious development as we are also told that since the Yuan dynasty (Kublai Khan who brought Yunnan into China proper in 1253) Han Chinese culture 'Ru Xue' (儒学) (Confucian schools) had been established among the Yi peoples. By the middle of the Qing dynasty, in most fu (府), zhou (州), and xian (县) (county) in Yunnan, Guizhou and Sichuan where the Yi lived, Han Chinese schools were built and many Yi children were enrolled<sup>4</sup>. Such cultural assimilation explains why Yi characters were not widely used but only used by a few *Bimo* (Pi-mu) (You 1985: 556). This history and the explanation contradict what has been stated about the 'development' of Yi writing.

The Naxi pictographic texts were discovered by the Europeans late last century. It is obviously not a coincidence that Yi writing was known to Europe in the same period through mostly French travellers and missionaries. The noted publications in the West about the Yi and their writing are Père Crabouillet's 'Les

---

4. 'Fu' and 'zhou' were administrative units in Chinese history with different administrative power in different dynasties. In the Yuan-Ming-Qing dynasties, 'zhou', which was above 'xian', came under the administration of 'fu'.

Lolos', in *Les Missions Catholiques* 5 in 1873, Hyde Clarke 'Lolo and Vei characters' *Athenaeum* 2 1882, and Paul Vial *Dictionnaire Francais-Lolo*, Hong Kong, Imprimerie de la Société des Missions-Etrangères 1909 (Dessaint 1980). Quite a lot of Yi books were also collected by people from Europe. It is said that most are now collected in Paris, France (Ma 1989: 190). To my knowledge, no further systematic study of these characters of any kind has been made in the West since apart from some general comments (for example, Ramsey 1987: 259).

Yi writing was generally taken as for both secular and ritual purposes (Jackson 1979: 60-61). The secular character of Yi books was greatly emphasised by some scholars in recent years as was done for Naxi *dto-mba* manuscripts. However, the facts seem to suggest otherwise. In 1981, a catalogue of Yi books collected in Beijing was published. Among the 659 titles (out of 1,000 books) which have been classified, 490 are for performing certain rituals, divination or blessing, 74 per cent of the total. The remaining 169 books are history, literature and almanacs (Ma 1989: 192). In fact some scholars have stated that most Yi books were related to religious activities and only *Bimo*(*Pi-mu*), or *Beima* (*Baima*) or *Xibo* could read and write (Ma 1989: 150). The *Bimo* (*Pi-mu*) are the ritual specialists of the Yi.

### **6.5. The written language and literacy among the Bai**

The Bai people (formerly Min-chia) are the most assimilated to Han Chinese culture among the ethnic groups in Southwest China today and in history (see Chapter 1). The so-called 'Bai language' today contains 40 to 60 per cent of Han Chinese expressions (Li 1983: 38, Wu 1990: 9). It has been recorded that 95 per cent of the terms for vegetables and other plants used by Bai villagers are Chinese and without an indigenous counterpart and the small number of Bai names for plants include words which sound like a variation of Chinese (Wu 1990: 9).

It was mentioned in some Chinese historical records as early as the Tang dynasty (618-907 A.D.) that 'Bai man' (the white barbarians) 'speak little differently from Zhongxia (中夏) (Han Chinese); they have writing and are familiar with the Ying-Yang calendar' (You 1979: 73). This writing is what is called 'Han characters read in Bai ways', Bai writing (Li 1983: 39). Some forms of distorted Chinese characters were also used (You 1985: 246). Such a writing was in fact used by a few literate men and the ruling class of Nan Zhao and Dali (a non-Han kingdom established by the Yi and Bai peoples during the Tang-Song periods. See also Chapter 4.1.). These literate men and the ruling class of Nan Zhao and Dali were versed in Chinese. They wrote books in Chinese and also books in 'Chinese characters read in Bai ways'. This is obviously some sort of bilingualism reflected in the writing among the Bai. This 'Bai writing' was no longer used in the late Qing dynasty (late nineteenth century and early this century). Some Bai folk song composers still write Bai songs in this way today (You 1985: 247).

A piece of Bai writing is in fact not very different from Han Chinese writing, apart from some Bai expressions. (cf. examples given in You 1985:274).

### 6.6. Other writings of Southwest China

The presence of two literary societies, China and Tibet, has obviously encouraged the idea of writing among the various peoples in the Southwest. People using Chinese characters or distorted Chinese characters and Tibetan script to write in their own ways was not uncommon. The Bai writing and to some extent the Yi writing are examples. Such cases are also found among the Yao, the Zhuang, the Pumi and the Lisu. There are reports that these peoples in one time or the other have borrowed Chinese characters or Tibetan script to write (Li 1983: 116, 197, 332, 434; Lacouperie 1887b: 40). The Yao and the Zhuang have learned from the Chinese and created their own versions of characters. For example, 姑娘(girl) was written as 女孃,

地 (earth) as 地, 父母 (parents) as 父母. The Pumi have used Tibetan script, which is phonetic, to write their own language. An interesting example of such borrowing and creating writing activities is some 500 Lisu characters, which were created by a peasant named Wang Sibō (汪思波) in Weixi county (Li 1983: 197). The date of the creation of these characters was likely in the nineteenth century or early this century. These characters looked like Han Chinese characters. Each character represent one syllable in Lisu language which is also monosyllabic. It should be noted that Weixi county was also one of the places besides Lijiang where Naxi *dto-mba* rituals and religious texts were found (see next chapter).

One important aspect of these various writings, borrowed or created, among the non-Han Chinese peoples in Southwest China is that most of these writings were used by ritual specialists to write their ritual texts or divination books. The writings were limited to such a circle of the societies. Like Yi writing, it can be assumed that these different types of writing were not standardised. For example, a Chinese historical record has this comment about Yao writing:

(Yao ren [Yao people]) have books which were learned from father by son. The format of the writing and the strokes of the characters look as if written by the Han (Chinese). However, such a writing was handed down from long time ago, there are differences and errors in copying so that meanings and characters are different, obscure and difficult to understand. They then cover up what they actually mean and make (their writing) secret. They do not easily show their writing to the others. (*Minguo* (1911- ) *Maguan Xian Zhi*, vol. 2 [民国马关县志], quoted in Li 1983: 332)

### 6.7. Naxi pictographs

From a sociological point of view, there are many aspects which Naxi writing holds in common with other writings in the region discussed above. First of all, generally speaking, *most* of the evidence of the writing, *the manuscripts* were from the Ming or the late Qing dynasty (the specific dating of Naxi pictographs will be further discussed in the next chapter). Secondly, these writings in one way or another were

all after either Tibetan or Chinese writing: Yi books were read from top to bottom and have characters from those of Chinese; Naxi books were after Tibetan scriptures in format and read from left to right but also from top to bottom. The Bai, the Yao, the Zhuang, the Lisu used Chinese characters or modified Chinese characters to write in their own languages; the Pumi used Tibetan script to write books. Thirdly, almost all the masters of these writings were the ritual specialists among these peoples. The books they wrote were religious texts or divination books.

### 6.7.1. Naxi writing

In almost all sources concerning Naxi pictographs, it is claimed that this type of writing is called by the Naxi themselves *ss<sup>^</sup> dgyú l<sup>v</sup> dgyú*, yet we do not know when and where such a reference has been made. This phrase has obviously passed around orally, for the purpose of those who came to learn the pictographs or else, since we do not have any reference to it in *dto-mba* ritual texts. However, Rock and Li Lin-ts'an have given its pictographic equivalent in two different versions! (Rock 1963a: xxi; Li 1944: Preface). The common translation of this phrase is either 'wood record and stone record' (Rock 1963a: xxi) or 'marks of wood and stone' (He in Guo & Yang 1985: 140) or 'the scars of wood and stone' (He and Jiang 1985: 117). Such translations fit in nicely with the idea of antiquity, according to Chinese scholars. In Naxi, *ss<sup>^</sup>* means 'wood', *l<sup>v</sup>* means 'stone', but *dgyú* does not mean 'record' or 'mark' or 'scar' in Rock's dictionary. The word *dgyú* is close to both Chinese 'zi' (字), meaning 'character' or 'script', and 'ji' (记), meaning 'record' or 'remember'. There are indications that both Chinese words have found their way into Naxi. The Naxi word for 'character' or 'script' is *t'â'-ghû'gh ndzù*, 'record' or



'remember' is *gyér-tû'-mâ* (He & Jiang 1985: 152, 162)<sup>5</sup>. Li Lin-ts'an has translated the Naxi word *dgyû* into 'zi' (character or script) in Chinese (Li 1944: Preface).

In the introduction to *Na-khi-English Encyclopedic dictionary*, Rock says that:

Each Na-khi priest trained his first-born son from childhood to memorise the stories, ritual texts, etc. and to interpret the meaning of the symbols, which acted only as cornerstones to refresh the memory since they only partially depicted the story. Thus the Na-khi hieroglyphics do not denote an actual writing but disconnectedly perpetuate, with the aid of memory, the creations of their religious tenets.

Although the writing are of a mnemonic character the main facts having been written down, it needed not much imagination to supply the non-essentials, except when it came to allegoric phrases when pictographs or ideographs were used phonetically for abstract ideas for which no symbols existed. Thus, in the strict sense of the word, they did not evolve a literature. (Rock 1963a: xix)

This is true about Naxi writing though we cannot agree that the religious tenets were the creation of the Naxi.

Most Chinese scholars generally avoid emphasising this mnemonic character of Naxi pictographs. The tendency is to explore the cases where individual pictograph or, as we can say, little pictures, represent single sounds in the language, similar to Chinese characters. The aim is to study the origin of writing and how it has been evolved and developed like Chinese characters.

But the description of Naxi pictographs given generally points towards the mnemonic nature of the pictographs. Li described Naxi pictographs as a kind of 'unorganised, scattered, shorthand writing', like 'flowers scattered about by a fairy', '*dto-mbas* would add words as they liked when they chanted' (Li 1945: Preface).

Fang Guoyu also commented:

This pictographic writing is very limited (in conveying ideas). In a text, only a few characters (pictograph) were used to aid the memory representing a sentence even a paragraph. Such texts cannot record the meaning of the scripture (Fang 1985: 94).

---

<sup>5</sup> The Naxi words Chinese sources have all been transcribed into the orthographic scripts I adopted in this thesis, which is based on Rock's transcription. See 'Orthographic Conventions and Abbreviations' at the beginning of this thesis.

Chinese scholars debate over whether Naxi pictographs should be taken as writing like Chinese pictographic and ideographic characters or as mnemonic pictures *tuhua wenzi* (图画文字), or *tuhua jishi* (图画记事) (Guo and Yang 1985: 102, 118, 153, 449; Wang 1989: 29, 51). In English, 'hieroglyph' or 'pictograph' is usually equivalent to the Chinese *xiangxin wenzi* (象形文字). 'Ideograph' is equivalent to the Chinese *Biaoyi wenzi* (表意文字) (character that expresses an idea or a meaning). Some European scholars use the term 'logographic script' (Goody 1986: 112). In recent years, Chinese scholars have also begun to apply the term *tuhua wenzi* or *tuhua jishi* (*Tuhua* means picture) to those graphic representations as records or mnemonic aids in non-literate societies. This may be equivalent to what has been called 'picture-writing' in English (Gaur 1984: 30, 33). One opinion is that Naxi pictographs are not a primitive kind of mnemonic pictures, but a pictographic or hieroglyphic writing system in its transitional stage towards the more advanced ideographic writing like Chinese characters. Another opinion is that Naxi pictographs are mnemonic pictures or there are two types of pictographs: the mnemonic pictures and those pictographs which can represent a single syllable in the language. The holders of both opinions, however, have all indicated that most texts were written in the mnemonic pictures rather than in pictographs representing syllable by syllable in a piece of the language (Guo and Yang: 102, 152).

I will have more discussion about how the writing works in Chapter 8 (8.2). Here is some brief idea as to what the pictographs are. First of all, these pictographs are not all similar to Chinese ideographic characters, they are often small pictures. Second, most pictographs do not only represent a single syllable in the language, combinations of pictographs often constitute an unanalysable, complete message. Third, not all pictographs express the ideas of the pictures themselves but serve to indicate sounds or syllables which possess other meanings, names or abstract ideas. Such sounds or syllables are also not always fully indicated, for example, a tiger

head, read *là* in Naxi, at the beginning of many manuscripts, stands for a phrase *Â lâ muân shér bâ' t'û ndzhì* which means 'in the beginning when everything was indistinguishable' (Rock 1952: 386). Fourth, the actual chanting or transliteration of the texts often consists of sentences of equal syllables, often five, with a rhyming scheme ABAB, and so on. Therefore, the pictures, the sound indicators, the rhymes may be seen as the underlying structure upon which Naxi *dto-mbas* built their memory and improvised the ritual chanting.

Another type of script used by the *dto-mba* was called *ggô-bàw* (Rock 1963a: xxiii). This is known as the 'phonetic' or 'syllabic' characters (*ibid.*) These characters greatly resemble the Yi characters. The following table shows a comparison of some of the characters of the Naxi and the Yi.

Table 6. A comparison of the Naxi *ggô-bàw* characters and the Yi characters.

Naxi pic:	Word:	Meaning:	Yi char:	Word:	Meaning:
	wuâ	yes; house.		sâw.	good, bright.
	wuâ	ibid.		vè	others, outside.
	lù; lù	protect; come.		tâw	here, there, root.
	ssî	poor, poverty.		zhî	water.
	shêr	seven; seize.		vê	buy.
	ch'ung	carnelian; quick.		du	cave,
	mî	fire.		p'u	distribute, divide.
	shî	dead, meat.		ts'î	ten.
	ts'êr	hot, fever.		ts'o	man.
	lù', lù'	center; look.		mâw	bamboo.
	zhwuâ	measure; horse.		mò, nî	horse. you.
	'à	chicken; fight.		zhî	chicken
	là	hand; strike.		ti	macerate, mortify.
	ndshî	leopard; proud.		dsi	unique.
	l'v	stone.		ts'ù	tribe, clan.
	ch'wuâ	horse		mû	horse.
	gkân	swing.		gyù'	block
	nà	black.		t'àw	time, hour.
	dzê	wheat.		zhî	shadow, slippery.
	dtù'	put on.		ts'uà	put on.

(Source: Vial 1909; Li 1945; Wen 1945; Rock 1963a; *Yi-Han* 1984; Ma 1989: 144-146).

One can find similar characters used in what is supposedly two different types of writing. Both Rock and Fang made similar comments on such resemblance. Rock said, 'the Na-khi have a second script composed of more or less simple characters which greatly resemble Lo-lo or No-su scripts. A number are identical with the latter but their sounds and meanings are different' (Rock 1963a: xxiii). Fang said, 'I have compared Yi characters with Naxi phonetic characters and found many of them are

identical. But they are pronounced differently, therefore we know that the way of writing is the same but they are not copied.' (Fang 1981: 46-7). Their differences may be justified from a linguistic point of view: they are pronounced differently and they have different meanings. However, from an anthropological point of view, these differences may be accounted for differently: the Yi are a large, diverse ethnic group who share the same linguistic background yet have dialect differences due to different social and historical reasons and lack of a unifying political force. The Naxi are a branch of the Yi group, distant or closely related to or having been separated from the main cultural group and mixed with or assimilated to more powerful cultures (Tibetan and Chinese). There is no reason why their Yi origin should be kept intact in every aspect of life. It has been shown that the so-called Yi writing in fact embraces a huge variety of scripts idiosyncratically used by different groups or even different individuals of the Yi covering a large geographical territory. These different scripts were mutually unintelligible to different groups or persons who used them.

This diversity in writing is also what characterises the Naxi phonetic characters. Rock has the least collection of the Naxi phonetic characters. Nevertheless, there are normally at least two and up to four or six versions for one entry of the Naxi phonetic characters in Rock's Na-khi-English Dictionary (Rock 1963a). In Fang Guoyu's *Glossary* the number of different versions of characters for one word or sound in the language are as many as ten while in Li Lin-ts'an's dictionary, the different versions amount to 30 and 40. These dictionaries all have their local backgrounds as has been analysed above. Li Lin-ts'an makes the following comment on Naxi phonetic characters:

What causes us headache is the non-standardisation of the writing of the phonetic characters. There are many ways to write a syllable, sometimes as many as thirty or forty. To make sense, this is unnecessary. sometimes, one phonetic script can be used for quite a few syllables therefore there were disputes as to how a script should be read in a book. We know that this is because such a writing is still in the early stage of creation. Phonetic

characters are different from pictographs in that there is no objective standard for writing them. Once such a type of characters went into use, *dto-mbas* created their own according to their will. These plus those errors made in copying and transcribing resulted in today's complicated situation... (Li 1945: Preface).

Rock said that the 'syllabic or phonetic script were used only in transcribing mantras or dharani (magic formulas)' (Rock 1963a: xxiii). This seems not entirely true. Many title-pages of those manuscripts collected in Western libraries have phonetic characters, apart from titles in pictographs, as annotation. Some titles are all written in phonetic characters. One *dto-mba*, which I have identified as A4 (see next chapter), who has about 15 manuscripts in the collection in European libraries, often annotated the pictographs in his texts with phonetic characters. Fang and Li found a similar use of the phonetic characters in Naxi manuscripts (Fang 1981: 49; Li 1945: 5). It appears that not many manuscripts were written in phonetic characters: Li gives only 5 mss in his collection of 1,221 manuscripts, 25 in the 3,038 manuscripts in the Library of Congress. (Li 1945: 5; 1958). It is said more than 200 manuscripts written in the phonetic characters have been collected in Lijiang Library in China (Fang 1981: 54; He 1985).

### **6.7.2. The relationship between pictographs and phonetic characters**

The relationship between the pictographs and phonetic characters of the Naxi has been the focus of attention in previous studies. Chinese scholars, following the evolutionary theory, generally argue that the phonetic characters were later than the pictographs, and furthermore, many phonetic characters evolved from the pictographs.

Li gave six reasons why the phonetic characters should be later:

1) The phonetic characters are only found in the manuscripts from around the town of Lijiang and Weixi in the west of Lijiang, while to the north of Lijiang, around Baidi (Ber-der) (白地), only pictographs are used in *dto-mba* manuscripts

Since the Naxi(Mo-so) originally migrated from the north, therefore, the phonetic characters were created later (Li 1954b: 305).

2) Some phonetic characters are the simplified versions of pictographs (examples above), also many phonetic characters are either Chinese characters or distorted Chinese characters. Since the Naxi(Mo-so) were assimilated to Chinese culture later, these characters must have come late (ibid.: 309).

3) Writings all over the world generally evolved from pictographic characters to phonetic characters. Naxi pictographs were only used by *dto-mbas* to record part of the texts while phonetic characters were used to record a whole sentence, this is a progress, therefore the phonetic characters must have been created later (Li 1954a: 165, 207).

4) The phonetic characters are called *ggô-bàw* in Naxi, which means 'disciple', while *dto-mba* means 'teacher', so *ggô-bàw* characters are the script of the disciples of *Dto-mba Shi-lo*, the ritual cult of the Naxi. Therefore, phonetic characters came later (Li 1954a: 207, 1954b: 305).

5) One manuscript entitle 'the origin of divination' (*Bpô' p'à gkó shú*) written in phonetic characters mentions the *Hâr-lâ-llù' k'ó'* ceremony (to propitiate the demons of suicide). This ceremony appeared very late among the Naxi around Lijiang (Li 1954b: 307).

6) The *dto-mbas* in Ludian (鲁甸) in Weixi and Changshui (长水) (known in Naxi as *Ghû'gh-k'ò*, west of Lijiang) were still trying to standardise the phonetic characters (Li 1944: Preface, 1954a: 209, 1954b: 309). The phonetic characters were diversified because they were still at the early stage of creation (Li 1954b:309).

Rock thought that phonetic characters must be older since very few *dto-mba* were able to read these signs. They must have been brought from the ancient home of the Naxi, viz. the grassland of north-east Tibet. The pictographs must have been

developed locally, viz. in the Lijiang area because the animals and plants, etc. used as characters could be found in the mountains of Lijiang. Rock's conclusion was then that the written language of the Naxi had degenerated rather than developed (Rock 1935: 66). Rock's line of argument was not far from that of Chinese scholars' only the outcome had been reversed.

Jackson also believes that pictographs are the later development in the Naxi's life since they are so uniform. Since the phonetic characters are so diverse the logic is then that they were created much earlier. Jackson has speculated on the cultural relationship between the Naxi and the Yi. He suggests a link, as far as writing is concerned, between the Yi/Naxi and the Mongols who conquered Yunnan in 1253. One of his conclusions is that during the thirteenth century a crude phonetic script was developed as a means of exchanging simple messages between local Moso chiefs, sponsored by the Mongols as a means of co-ordinating defence (Jackson 1979: 60-61). The dating of the phonetic characters, Yi as well as Naxi, falls in line roughly with what has been analysed above about the date of the Yi writing.

It is interesting to note from the above arguments by different scholars that one identical ethnographic fact may result in two completely different types of logic. The phonetic characters necessarily become diversified as time passes or they should become homogeneous as time passes. There may be different assumptions here underlying European and Chinese scholarship respectively.

There are some more accounts concerning the geographic distribution of Naxi pictographs and phonetic characters. Generally people say that Naxi writing were found in the areas within the Yangtze loop and to the west of the Yangtze on the Zhongdian side and around Weixi county between the Mekong and the Yangtze (see Map above). This is a loose description of the areas in which Naxi manuscripts are found. In fact, Rock has collected about 20 manuscripts from what he called 'the Zher Khin tribe' (Rock 1965: 41). These were the Naxi on the eastern side of the



Yangtze west of Yongning. The geographic location of Naxi writing, according to Chinese sources, does not include this area. In 1984, some pictographs on a slate were found in Erya (俄亚), north of the Yangtze, in Muli (木里) county, Sichuan Province. It was argued that the earlier conclusion that there was no writing in the Muli area was not correct. So the area of Naxi writing should include the Muli, Yongning areas. It is likely that the dissemination of Naxi writing was from the south to the north, not from the north to the south, as was originally believed, so it was argued (Zhu 1984).

Another Chinese source has mentioned what is called the 'Ma Li Ma Sa' writing used by a Naxi village in Lapu, Weixi county (He & Jiang 1985: 127-129). The villagers called themselves 'Ma Li Ma Sa' and say their ancestors moved to Weixi from Lata (拉塔) in Muli county (now in the Zuosuo [左所] district, Yanyuan [盐源] county, Sichuan) about 200 years ago. That was about 1850. 'Ma Li Ma Sa' could well be 'Mu-li Mo-so' (ibid.). It is said that they did not have writing when they moved to Weixi but learned the pictographs from the local *dto-mba*. They chose about a hundred characters to write messages or make records, each character representing one syllable. 105 characters were listed.

One may well suggest that the 'Ma li Ma Sa' people might *actually* have known some sort of writing, a variation of Yi script, before they moved to Weixi. Linguistically, they were a branch of the Yi anyway. Therefore, although Naxi *dto-mba* manuscripts written in phonetic characters, the *ggô-bàw* characters, were mainly found around Lijiang and Weixi, the supposed southern ends of the Naxi/Mo-so migrating route, it is my opinion that traces can be found to suggest some relation of Yi writing with the *ggô-bàw* characters.

Concerning the relation between the Naxi pictographs and phonetic characters, there is the belief that certain *ggô-bàw* characters 'evolved' from certain pictographs, thus proving that the former were later than the latter. The theory behind this

argument is that since all writing originated from pictures, therefore, any pictographs used must be the most primitive kind of writing. It has been observed that ‘the most rudimentary forms of communication are not always earlier in time than systematic scripts. . . such rudimentary forms have continued to spring up. . .’ (Diringer 1962). The theory ‘from pictographs to phonetic scripts’ can not be proved from the fact that there was such a variety of phonetic characters among the Naxi, Yi peoples. This is much the same with Chinese characters which are often said to have evolved from pictographs. Although many of them may have, a general theory about the making of these characters is often not inclusive. Many characters, in my view, are arbitrarily adopted signs which have been conventionally used for centuries.

As has been noted by linguists, most Chinese characters can be classified into four types of origin: 1) pictographic; 2) indicative, to indicate some abstract ideas by writing in certain ways, e.g. ‘above’ as 上, ‘below’ as 下; 3) ideographic, viz. to express certain ideas by combining two or more pictographs, e.g. 日(sun) + 月(moon) is 明‘ming’ (bright); 4) pictographic + phonetic, viz. one part of the character is a pictograph and another part, a character of similar sound with the new-formed character, e.g. the square 口 means ‘mouth’ and is used with many characters used as the pictographic elements to form words expressing ideas that have things to do with ‘mouth’: to eat (吃), to sing (唱), and so on. Many Chinese characters may be analysed in these four types, but there are also signs which are not explicable in these ways, e.g. 五 (five) and 九 (nine) are symbols used by ancient Chinese philosophers in ancient Chinese cosmology.

One can ask why if the Naxi pictographs were earlier than the phonetic characters, were the latter needed to annotate the pictographic texts in many manuscripts? Among these, there are those which Rock considered as very old manuscripts (e.g. Dto-la’s manuscripts, Rock 1952: 261). Pictures must greatly have aided the *dto-mba* in memorising the gist of a text, but could not have told how a text

should be chanted. This could be the reason for the *dto-mba* to resort to the *ggô-bàw* characters in cases where they wanted a good chanting of the text. Moreover, *ggô-bàw* characters appeared to be used mostly by master *dto-mbas*. Logically speaking, we should take these master pieces as the mainstream of the tradition, and in fact they must be because the poor versions are often found to be the copies of those beautiful books. The followers obviously did not know how to write phonetic characters, the *ggô-bàw* characters. It can be argued then that the *Ggô-bàw* characters, which were part of the Yi writing, were obviously not invented for the purpose of transcribing the *dto-mba* ritual. Therefore, we have fewer manuscripts completely written in these characters. It appears that there was some development early this century as far as the Naxi writing was concerned. On the one hand, we have accounts that many *dto-mba* rituals were no longer performed this century (Rock 1952: 6), that the suicide rite had been banned by the Republic government since 1912 (Jackson 1979: 176) and that *dto-mba* writing was contemptible in the society (Li 1945: 2, Fang 1981: 1; He and Guo 1985: 53), on the other hand, there was an increased number of manuscripts written in the phonetic characters, and compilation of dictionaries by local Naxi and standardisation of the writing by *dto-mbas* (Li 1945: 2-3, 1954b: 307-308, He and Guo 1985: 45, 51). It looks as if the development took place as a result of outside influences rather than originating from Naxi *dto-mba* themselves.

It can therefore be suggested that the *ggô-bàw* characters of the *dto-mba* were one variety of the Yi writing. *Dto-mbas* were originally the religious specialists, *pi-mu*, of the Yi before they became Bon monks. The pictographs were invented to record the rites of some parts of the Bon religion, so that they were easier to remember and to spread. At that time, Lijiang and Weixi were on the Tibet-Burma-China trade route. Both towns had become prosperous from at least the 14th century onwards (see also Chapter 4.1.). It was natural that the two places became the centre

of elaboration of religious activities. The master *dto-mbas* in these two places were the knowledgeable *llü-bu* or *pi-mu* of the Naxi/Moso, who were a branch of the Yi peoples who had settled in these places. They knew a certain variety of Yi script. The best manuscripts written were found in and around Lijiang and Weixi. It should be noted that there are two 'residential caves' of *Shi-lo*: One was north of Lijiang in Zhongdian county; another was near a village, called Runanhua (汝南化) in Chinese, south of Lijiang (He and Guo 1985: 45). *Dto-mba* religious activity is further examined in the next chapter.

## Chapter 7. Naxi Authors and Naxi Religion

The most important cultural fact concerning the Naxi people is their possession of religious texts written in pictographs. This is unique among the peoples in the region who otherwise shared many cultural traits with the Naxi. The religious texts in the pictographs were created by the *dto-mba*, the priest of the Naxi religion. The writing of the texts in the unique pictographs was part of the religious activity of the *dto-mba*. Therefore, as I shall show later in the chapter, the identity of these Naxi *dto-mba* authors and their relations to the manuscripts is the key to the understanding of the origin of the religion and the texts. This, unfortunately, has never been explored in any previous study. Previous studies have paid too much attention to the pictographic writing, too much attention to the literary merit of the texts and not enough to their religious aspects. The social significance of these texts has not been fully recognised in previous studies. There was a great disjunction between the texts and the people who have written these texts. This is where an anthropological and ethnographic approach to study these texts, which I discussed in previous chapters (e.g. 1.6. and 3.3.), can be useful in the understanding of these texts. Now, for the first time in the study of Naxi religious texts by different scholars since the end of last century, I am going to give a systematic analysis of the authorship of these texts in this chapter, with discussion on the religion of the Naxi *dto-mba* and the history of the Naxi society in Lijiang in which the religion was created. This will become a great leap forward or breakthrough in the study of Naxi religious texts and towards an understanding of the religion. The analysis of the authors of these texts forms the backbone of the ethnography of Naxi religion. It is part of the interpretation of the texts and it is one of the most important contribution to the study of Naxi religion.

To identify the *dto-mba* authors through the styles of the texts has been noted by Jackson (Jackson 1965: 153). Many manuscripts have distinct styles of their own. Several *dto-mba*'s works are quite artistic even by today's standards. The first

Chinese scholar, Li Lin-ts'an, who has done extensive interpretation of the Naxi pictographs comparable to Rock's work, was a student of art. He found that the pictographs had reached certain artistic standards (Li 1954: 162, 1984: 555ff). Other Chinese scholars have made similar comments (Lan 1985: 412). My main task in this chapter is to distinguish between different *dto-mba* authors through the different styles of the texts. These are mainly judged by the title pages of the texts since these are the material available. I will then match different authors identified through the stylistic analysis of the texts with the *dto-mbas* mentioned in previous studies (Rock 1952, 1965; He and Guo 1985; Guo 1991b). In these studies, there has not been a systematic connection between the *dto-mba* and the texts they have written. Therefore we have not had a clear idea about each *dto-mba's* library. This question will be answered in my study.

The central concern in the analysis of the authorship of the texts is the origin of the religion and the practice of the religion. I will start from a discussion of the dating of the texts by different scholars, mainly Rock and the recent studies in China, followed by a discussion of the legendary founders of the Naxi religion and the famous *dto-mbas* in the history of the Naxi society as have been remembered by the existing *dto-mbas* today. I will then make a comparison between the *dto-mba* priests of the Naxi and the priests of the neighbouring peoples, notably the Yi peoples. In the end of the chapter, I will give a discussion on the social and cultural history of the Lijiang area so as to set the creation of the Naxi religion in historical contexts.

### **7.1. The dating of the manuscripts**

When Naxi texts were first found by European explorers, they were thought of as obsolete and were regarded as a survival of a very ancient ideographic system, perhaps connected with that of the Chinese in very remote times (Gill 1883: 135). It was revealed a little later that such writing was in fact not formerly current among the people but made up for the purposes of the *dto-mba*. The pictographs were still

considered as extremely important for the general theory of writing because they had no parallel of any kind (Lacouperie 1894: 46). Such was the interest in Europe and it seems to be still current in the studies done by Chinese scholars today. Rock had also thought about and treated his data that way.

Generally speaking, Rock believed that Naxi pictographs were very ancient (Rock 1963a: xxxxi). Although he did not believe the legend that the pictographs were invented by an ancestor of the Mu family, in the 13th century, as recorded in the chronicle of the Mu family, he thought that the writing of the ritual texts could be much further back in time. He said that the ceremony to sacrifice to Heaven was an ancient ceremony and could only have been passed down through writing (Rock 1963a: xxxxi). But the fact is that other Tibetan-Burmese speaking peoples in the region, such as the Hani, the Dulong also sacrifice to Heaven and they did not have writing (Li 1983: 101, 606). The Qing people in the north also sacrifice to Heaven and possessed no written texts for the ceremony.

Rock has given some accounts of the dating and origin of the manuscripts he collected (Rock 1948, 1952, 1965). These are scattered data and give no clear picture of a conclusion about the origin of these texts. These scattered accounts have added to the mystery and antiquity of the manuscripts.

Rock's dating is generally vague, with vague statements like 'very old', 'fairly old' or 'older than'. In other more concrete accounts, he produces dating given by the *dto-mba* who wrote the manuscripts. These are what he called 'colophons', statements added by some *dto-mbas* at the end of some of their manuscripts. These statements were often written in pictographs or combination of pictographs and phonetic scripts. The dating is of the Han Chinese twelve-animal year dating.<sup>1</sup> A few

---

<sup>1</sup> The 12-animal year dating was widely used throughout East Asia as well as Tibet, but it is generally believed that it was an invention of the Han Chinese in northern China. The first reference of the 12-animals combined with the 12 Earthly Branches appeared in the Eastern Han dynasty (25-220 AD) in the works of the Chinese astronomer, Wang Chong (A Chinese encyclopaedic dictionary 1979: 401).

manuscripts have the Chinese dynastic dating but in Chinese characters (Rock 1952: 339; 1965: 156).

Rock's general statements concerning the ages of Naxi manuscripts are mostly based on his own judgement of the conditions of the manuscripts. Thus a very old manuscript is one whose paper is brittle (Rock 1965: 158). Moreover, the statement 'very old' used by Rock has by no means any exact temporal references. A 'very old' manuscript may refer to a manuscript written in the eighteenth century (Rock 1965: 158) or one in the 16th century (Rock 1965: 249).

Rock's dating of Naxi manuscripts may fall into three categories according to the ways he presents the dating (cf. Jackson 1979: 54): 'very old', 'old' or 'fairly old'; 'new' or 'fairly new (recent or fairly recent)'. What dates they really refer to needs analysis. The third category is based on the actual dating of the manuscripts, translation of the pictographic animal dating or giving a corresponding Christian year.

Rock's first category of dating 'very old' mainly apply to the manuscripts that look old. These manuscripts are often not the best manuscripts in the collection. Many have lost the title page or have no title page (for example, Appendix IV: 4, 9, 13, 14, 25, 40, 42, 78, 81, 129, 167, 175). A lot of these 'very old' manuscripts came from the Labao (La-pao) ( 刺宝 ) area, further north of Lijiang, which is the rural area of the Naxi. 'Old' has basically the same temporal connotation as that of 'very old', because Dto-la manuscripts, which he has interpreted as dated in 1573 A.D., are referred to as 'very old' in one place (Rock 1965: 249, 81) but 'old' in another (Rock 1952: 487). 'Very old', as mentioned above, applies to both the 16th and the 18th century manuscripts. Several manuscripts, which are judged as 'probably several hundred years old' (Rock 1965: 47), or 'over 200 years old' (Rock 1965: 284), should fall into this 'very old/old' category in his categorisation. Although Rock stated that some manuscripts were 'much older than the Dto-la books' (Rock 1965: XVI), he provided no manuscripts to show dates that were much earlier than that he gave to the Dto-la books.



'New' or 'recent' may have applied to the manuscripts written in the later part of the nineteenth century and the beginning of this century, e.g. K.Or.452(R.8566) is said to be 'fairly new, the beginning of this century' (Rock 1965: 143). Another manuscript, K.Or.481(R.8596), is 'a recent copy of Hs.Or.1468 (Dto-la manuscript, an old one)' (Rock 1965: 85). According to style, K.Or.481 was written by Dto-li from the village *Mùn-shwuá-wuâ* in the beginning of this century. Dto-dzhi, who is dated around 1860 A.D., may have been categorised as 'recent' or at least 'not old' by Rock in comparison with the 'old' manuscripts of the Dto-la brothers (e.g. Rock 1952: 487) (see Appendix IV: 119, 121 and a list of all the dating by Rock).

There are abnormalities in certain manuscripts dated vaguely by Rock. One manuscript is said to be 'fairly recent origin, but the title-page is old' (Rock 1965: 290). Normally, the old manuscripts have lost the title-pages and new title-page were added later, e.g. Hs.Or.433, K.Or.113 (Rock 1965: 271). Why should this particular manuscript have an old cover but new text? Manuscript Hs.Or.634 is a Dto-la manuscript, dated 1573-1620 A.D., but it is 'an abridged version' of Hs.Or.1403, written by Ho Ho-shou, dated 1832 A.D., and K.Or.394, identical (in content) with Hs.Or.1403 (Rock 1965: 130-131). How had an old manuscript become the abridged version of the new manuscripts? Rock obviously did not undertake careful analysis of the authors of the manuscripts. His dating of the manuscripts becomes contradictory if we look at the manuscripts in terms of authorship. This will be further explored below in §.3.

It may be concluded here that Rock's dating of Naxi manuscripts is not at all clear-cut. He has not provided strong evidence to back up his dating. What he has conveyed is some vague idea of the antiquity of Naxi manuscripts which he had believed without doubt (Rock 1963a: xx).

Some studies have given the beginning of the pictographs in the 11th century (Fang 1981: 41; Gong, et al. 1984: 132; He 1985a: 16, 27). This dating is mainly based on an inscription on a rock which is not directly related to the manuscripts now

in various libraries of the world today. The rock is found in Baidi (白地), the sacred place where it is said *Dto-mba Shi-lo*, whom the *dto-mba* worshipped as the founder of the rituals, began to teach his doctrines. The inscription is a poem in Chinese written by Mu Gao (木高), the fifteenth generation of the Mu family, and dated in the Ming dynasty in 1554 A.D.. The poem goes that 500 years ago, a monk named *Shi Li Da* was meditating in the place. This monk, it is argued, must have been *Ä-mi Shi-lo*, a Naxi who was the pupil of *Dto-mba Shi-lo*. The pictographs must have been used to write *dto-mba* scriptures by that time. 500 years before 1554 A.D. was 1054 A.D., it was then the time when Naxi pictographs had been invented. It is further inferred that Naxi pictographs were invented, by the Naxi people, in the Tang dynasty in the 7th century when the Naxi had entered the stage of the social system of slavery.

There are several other indirect evidences of the antiquity of Naxi manuscripts. One is the legend about a Mu ancestor in the chronicle of the Mu family. According to the chronicle, written in Chinese, this ancestor of the Mu family, named *Nien-pao A-tsung*, who was the second generation in the chronicle and lived in the 13th century, knew the written language without learning and understood the books of various peoples around. He then invented the written language of his native place and even understood the languages of animals. This written language that *Nien-pao A-tsung* invented has been interpreted as the phonetic scripts and the writing he knew without learning as the pictographs (Fang 1981: 45; Gong, et al.1984: 134). Another piece of evidence is another rock inscription found near Lijiang. It is written in a combination of Naxi phonetic scripts, Chinese characters and Tibetan scripts, dated, in Chinese, 'the 40th year of Wanli'. Wanli (万历) was an emperor of the Ming dynasty, the date is equivalent to 1619 A.D. The 'Naxi phonetic scripts' could well be the Yi scripts. This rock was blown up when a road was built in the area (Fang 1981: 48, 54). A third evidence was that a person in Baidi, Zhongdian claimed that he is the 13th generation of *Ä-mi Shi-lo*. One *dto-mba* is able to name all generations of *Ä-mi*'s family. This descendant of *Ä-mi* is named *Ä-yo*, his father is named *Ä-mi Dung-chiu*.

Another *dto-mba* says that there have been only eight generations since *Ä-mi Shi-lo* (He & Guo 1985: 48). It is interesting that this claim of thirteen generations of a *dto-mba* family is also found in a *dto-mba* manuscript entitled *Ndshèr Tsá* (Invest with god's power) written by one of the *Dto-la* brothers (Rock 1948: 72, n.182).

## 7.2. *Dto-mba*, the religious specialists

The dating of the Naxi writing has relied mainly on the judgement of the condition of the manuscripts, on some sporadic animal-year dating (see Appendix IV) by the *dto-mba* themselves and on other evidence not directly related to the manuscripts, such as the rock inscription discussed above. Needless to say, it was the *dto-mba* who wrote these manuscripts, but so far as the dating is concerned, not to say in other matters, the relationship between the *dto-mba* and the manuscripts they wrote has not been fully explored previously.

In his analysis, Jackson has cast doubt on Rock's dating of the manuscripts in the 16th century (1573 A.D.). One argument he advanced is based on the relationship between two *dto-mbas*: *Dto-dzhi* and *Dto-la* (Jackson 1979: 56). This provides a direction to enquire about the *dto-mba* activities.

In his major publication about the manuscripts and the collection, Rock has provided some valuable information on the *dto-mba* authors: he bought the entire library of *dto-mba Dto-dzhi* (*Ä-dzhi*) (Rock 1952: 502); in 1949, he bought 12 beautifully illuminated set of manuscripts by *dto-mba* Ho Ho-shou (和合寿), from La-p'iao (刺縹), south-east of Li-chiang (Rock 1965: 145, 152, 156, 157, 164; see also Appendix IV), and so on. In some recent research in China, it has been revealed that the *dto-mba* as some ritual professionals or semi-professionals were not without records among the people in and around the town (He & Guo 1985: 38ff; Guo 1991: 676ff). At the same time, photographs of the manuscripts were also published (Guo & Yang 1985: photographs). The styles of the manuscripts bear similarities with some of those collected in the libraries in Europe. These will be compared shortly in 7.3.3.

Table 15. Thus it is quite possible to establish a relation between the *dto-mba* as known locally with the manuscripts collected.

From the number of the manuscripts written, one can say that a main job of the *dto-mba* was to write books, apart from performing the ceremonies and divination. Most *dto-mba* also call themselves *llü-bu* (Appendix IV: 8, 18, 48, 50, 104, 114, 153, 186, 215, 216, 233, 235, 252, 255). The *llü-bu* were formerly women diviners (Rock 1963: 231). This will be further discussed in 7.4. below. The *dto-mba* profession was usually passed from the father to a son (Rock 1963: XIX; He & Guo 1985: 45). This father-and-son relationship can be found in the manuscripts written, judged from the styles of the writing and the contents. The family library purchased by Rock consists of books of two styles different but also similar in some ways (see Figures 26, 27 in 7.3.3.: C1 and C9). Other such relationship may be found in D3 and D5 (Table 11, Figure 34 in 7.3.3.). This father-and-son relationship further suggests that the Naxi had patrilineages in kinship. The patrilineal ideology of the *dto-mba* forms a basic assumption of the social structure in their religious texts.

Another relationship between the *dto-mba* is a master-pupil relationship. To clarify this relationship, one should begin with the question: How many *different* texts have actually been written?

According to Rock, and also a recent study in China, the Naxi ritual literature consists of a thousand or more manuscripts (Rock 1952: 19; He 1985a: 28; 1985b: 162). The total manuscripts estimated are 21,842 (Jackson 1989: 136). It follows from this that ninety or ninety-five per cent or more of the manuscripts are duplicates or copies (Jackson 1973: 84; 1979: 171). The distribution of the types of ceremonies in major collections also corresponds to this percentage (Jackson 1965: 164; 1979: 24, 26). Rock's Classifying List of the Ceremonies is mainly a list of books in his collection (Rock 1965: 1-41). About 1,459 titles are listed (Jackson 1979: 173), not including the divination books, which are 92 in number listed by Rock (1965: 22-24). This figure is close to Rock's earlier statement that there were about 1,000 or more

manuscripts, but the list is not a list of the different titles (subceremonies). An average of 61% of the subceremonies are shared in the 27 largest ceremonies, which consist of 90% of the total subceremonies recorded (Jackson 1979: 170, 173, Table.6.2, but cf. also p.175). Nine of these ceremonies share at least 14 similar subceremonies between each other (ibid.: 177, Diagram. 6.3). According to this, the *dto-mba* ritual literature could have consisted of only about 400 different texts (Jackson has estimated this at 300 [ibid.: 175]).

What relationship between manuscripts can be immediately seen?

Some *dto-mba* copied exactly or duplicated from others (Jackson 1979: 56; Appendix IV: 77, 120, 122, 124, 139, 193, 194). Some did not copy exactly but made abridged versions (Rock 1952: 164; 1965: XV). Many books were rare ones (Jackson 1973: 84; Appendix IV: 2, 20, 29, 36, 38, 39, 44, 63, 64, 73, 83, 84, 92, 96, 110, 130, 151, 153, 155, 158, 161, 162, 165, 166, 168, 170, 174, 192). It can well be that the rare manuscripts were the ones only ever written once, because there is the question: why were there rare or unique manuscripts, and moreover, why were most rare manuscripts written by only one or two *dto-mba* ? (ibid.).

Obviously, a point we should always bear in mind is that the manuscripts in the collections were written by different *dto-mba* in different periods of time.

These questions are directly related to the question of dating the manuscripts, that is, who and when wrote what manuscripts. The relationships between the *dto-mbas*, between the *dto-mba* and the manuscripts can be established to provide clues to the problem of dating the manuscripts and to understand better the ritual texts, apart from the translation of the texts. These relationships are now analysed in the following sections.

### 7.2.1. sTon-pa gSen-rab, *Dto-mba Shi-lo* and the Bonpos

It has been generally suggested that *dto-mba* rituals consist of many elements of Tibetan Bon religion, the native religion of Tibet before or after the coming of Buddhism (Rock 1936b: 54; 1937b: 1; Hoffmann 1961[1956]: 96; Jackson 1979: 63-

74; He 1985a: 23-25). However, there are disputes as regards the relationship between *dto-mba* rituals and Bon religion on the one hand, and between the two and Buddhism on the other (Jackson 1970: 138; Kvaerne 1981: 140-141; Lin 1991).

Bon religion or Bon religion before its reformation after Buddhism is believed to have been the main indigenous religion of Tibet before the introduction of Buddhism in the 7th or 8th century A.D. (Li: 1948: 32; Hoffmann 1961[1956]: 15; Eliade, et al. 1987: 498). Bon religion has retained its identity in some ways to this day, but it is now almost indistinguishable from Buddhism in many aspects (Eliade 1987: 498) or it is now very difficult to see the difference between the two, *bon* and *chos* (the Buddhist doctrine) (Kvaerne 1984: 269). The relationship between the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet, mainly identified as the Bon religion, and Buddhism is still far from settled by scholars of the history of Tibetan religion (Kvaerne 1981: 139, n.2). This, I think, has been the main reason for the disputes.

Rock identified *dto-mba* rituals with 'Bon religion surviving in its purity' not long after he began to study the pictographic texts (Rock 1935: 66). In his later publications, he became more convinced that the Naxi literature was of purely Bon origin, especially the Naga literature (the *Ssù ddù' g`v`* ceremony), when he compared the literature with a Bon sutra translated by Anton Schiefner (Schiefner 1880), partly with a Bon text *gZer-myig* translated by A. H. Francke (Francke 1924-) (Rock 1952: 103, n.65; Hoffmann 1961[1956]: 85) and with the works of other Tibetologists, notably G. Tucci (Tucci 1949) and Sarat Chandra Das (Das 1902) (Rock 1952: 11). The elements in the *dto-mba* rituals which Rock has identified as of Bon origin includes all the Naga spirits (*Ssù* in Naxi, *Se* in Tibetan) (Rock 1952: 8-11), some of the ceremonies, notably *Dtô nà k'ó'* (The scapegoat ceremony), *Ssù g`v`* (Propitiate the Nagas) and *Szî-chúng bpò'* (Prolongation of life) (Rock 1952: 1, 13, 142, n.136; 1972: 497), the great gods *Hâ'-ddù'* and goddesses *Ghû'gh-ddô Lâ-mûn* (Rock 1952: 142, n.136, 153, n.169; 1972: 47), the demons *Dd`v`* and *Dsà'* (Rock 1952: 89, n.39; 1972: 323), and so on. The first important figure identified as

equivalent to that of the Bon religion is the spiritual leader *Dto-mba Shi-lo* (Rock 1937a: 3).

The life history of *Dto-mba Shi-lo* is related in two manuscripts *Shí-lô t'û-bbúe* (The origin of *Shi-lo*.) and *Shí-lô ssáw* (To invite *Shi-lo*) (Rock 1937a, b, 1952: 82, n.11). His father, *Là-bbû T'û-gkó*, was the 9th generation of the paternal ancestors and his mother, *Ssâw-zâw-lèr-dzí gyî-mûn* was the 7th generation of the maternal ancestors (Rock 1937a: 12; cf. 1952: 82, n.11). This numbering is obviously symbolic in nature (Jackson 1979: 163).

Before *Dto-mba Shi-lo* was born, the great god *Hâ'-ddù' ô-p'èr* was created out of a sound and a breath. From *Hâ'-ddù' ô-p'èr*, came the deity *Ô-gkò-âw-gkò*, who caused to appear the deity *Ssâw-yî-wuâ-dê*. From *Ssâw-yî-wuâ-dê* came *Muân-llú'-ddù-ndzî*. *Muân-llú'-ddù-ndzî* created his own wife, *Ts'û-chwuá-gyî-mûn*, with whom he had nine sons and nine daughters. They spread all over the place on the land and became the ancestors of mankind. From a spittle, *Muân-llú'-ddù-ndzî* created his *dto-mba Yi-shí-ò-zô*, his diviner *Muân-p'à-k'ô-lô*, the sun, the moon, the Five Elements, the animals, the Heaven and the Earth and the six realms of hell, the realm of human beings, and the realms of the gods (Rock 1937a: 9-14).

When the parents of *Dto-mba Shi-lo* became a family, they were protected by the five regional *dto-mba*, known as *Khyû'-zhêr Bpô'-mbò'* in the East, the South, the West, the North and the Centre. They were his maternal uncles (Rock 1952: 82, n.11; 1972: 210). He was born to be different and was able to frighten and suppress the demons. He ascended to the 18th heaven after his birth, where he meditated in a silk tent and on the gods in a temple. He began to receive the gods' power. In the 18th heaven, he sat down with three lamas from Tibet and wrote books, whereby they established the chanting custom (*dto-mba* rituals?), but he was ill-treated by the lama. In return, he played a misdeed with his magical power. The lama recognised his power. The *Ô* and *Hâ'* gods in heaven gave him power by means of 99 sets of books. He then descended from the 18th heaven and began to suppress the demons on earth

(Rock 1937a: 14-18, 22-35). *Dto-mba Shi-lo* died in the black lake of the *Dd`v* demons (Rock 1972: 203).

The spiritual leader and founder of the Tibetan Bon religion was sTon-pa gShen-rab(s) (or sTon-pa gCen-rabs mi-bo[po]) (Waddell 1934: 30, n.3; Li 1948: 31; Hoffmann 1961[1956]: 25; Kvaerne 1984: 269). The adherents or the priests of the religion are usually called 'Bon-po' (Hoffmann 1961[1956]: 15; Kvaerne 1985: 3). 'sTon-pa' means 'master, teacher' (Kvaerne 1984: 269; 1985: 4; He 1985a: 27), 'gShen' is a name or a lineage (Rock 1937a: 3; Ekvall 1964: 18, 19; He 1985a: 27). 'Rab(s)' means 'excellent, noble, supreme, enlightenment or pre-eminent' (Rock 1937a: 3; Kvaerne 1985: 4; Li 1948: 36, n.10; Hoffmann 1961[1956]: 25). sTon-pa gShen-rab then may mean 'the omniscient, supreme or enlightened gShen master' (Rock 1937a: 3; Hoffmann 1961[1956]: 25, 85; Kvaerne 1984: 269; 1985: 4). 'Mi-bo (po)' means 'human' or 'man' (Rock 1937a: 3; Hoffmann 1961[1956]: 85; Ekvall 1964: 18). The latter may have been related to his earthly birth as told in his life story now summarised briefly below.

According to the Bon text *gZer-myig*, the Bon religious leader gShen-rab was a heavenly pre-existence (Hoffmann 1961[1956]: 86). He had a teacher, Kâshyapa, who may be compared with the direct predecessor of Buddha (ibid.: 85). The teacher and the ruling world god assigned to him the task of salvation down on the earthly world. He did so and found his earthly parents in the land of Ol-mo-lung-rings (ibid.: 86). After his earthly birth, he began to preach, carried out conversions in the human world and extricated the sinners (ibid.: 87-88). He even travelled to China and had a Bon temple built by Confucius for the dissemination of religion and the suppression of all evil spirits (ibid.: 91). In his last days, when in effect he decided for himself to leave the misery of the world, he was overcome by illness. After his death, a new Bon teacher Shes-pa again looked out over the world for a place to be born as gShen-rab and continue the saviour's career (ibid.: 93, 97). According to Hoffmann, there is still



another more detailed Bon text about the life of the master: 'The sūtra of the origin of gShen-rab in the three periods' (ibid.).

The Bon text here concerning the life of the Bon master has been patterned in places after the image of Buddha, for example, his heavenly origin and earthly rebirth, his missionary journey to Tibet and his marriage imitating that of Padmasambhava who brought Buddhism from India to Tibet, his mortification from time to time and his death after being overcome by illness (ibid.: 86, 88, 90, 92, 93). He was also depicted as the enlightened Buddha in the garb of a monk, with one shoulder bare (ibid.: 92). The text *gZer-myig* was obviously created after Buddhism had come to Tibet. It represents what is known as the 'systematised Bon religion' (ibid.: 84). The religion styled itself as *bon* in the 11th century (Kvaerne 1984: 269; cf. Li 1948: 34-36, Waddell 1934: 18, 35).

The life story of *Dto-mba Shi-lo* is not at all identical with that of the Bon master. There is no reason why they should be identical. It is also not true that the two legendary religious figures are completely different. The first similarity is that both were related as being born in Ol-mo-lung-rings (Rock 1952: 82, n.11). The idea of heavenly descending is present in both stories: while *Dto-mba Shi-lo* descended from the 18th heaven to suppress the demons of the world<sup>2</sup>, sTon-pa gShen-rab was said to be born as one of the 18 masters (Li 1948: 31). Both had an earthly birth or rebirth. The word 'mi-bo', which means human (Rock 1937a: 3; Ekvall 1964: 18), may have been used to imply such a birth. While *Dto-mba Shi-lo* married a demon wife in the land of the demons (Rock 1937a: 18, 28). sTon-pa gShen-rab had married a sinful wife (Hoffmann 1961[1956]: 88). The idea of missionary journeys can be interpreted in the story about *Dto-mba Shi-lo*: he arrived in place after place to suppress the demons (Rock 1937a: 23-26). Similarly, sTon-pa gShen-rab and his disciples carried out missionary journeys in Tibet and in China (Li 1948: 33; Hoffmann 1961[1956]: 91). Buddhist images are not all absent from *Dto-mba Shi-lo*, either. He had clearly a

---

<sup>2</sup> In another book, there were 33 heavens (Rock 1937b, Part I; Jackson 1979: 101).

Buddhist sitting posture in a portrait of him by the *dto-mba* (Rock 1952: Plate XX). He is usually depicted as green in colour (ibid.). The Bonpos wore blue robes or blue fur garments (Hoffmann 1961[1956]: 25).

One of the noticeable differences between *Dto-mba Shi-lo* and sTon-pa gShen-rab concerning their religious missions may be that *Dto-mba Shi-lo* suppressed and killed the demons, but sTon-pa gShen-rab converted the demons (Lin 1991: 61). Conversion is not always described as the only function of sTon-pa gShen-rab's missions. As has been mentioned above, in the thirteenth chapter of *gZer-myig*, it is related that when gShen-rab came to China, a Bon temple was built by the King Kong-tse (obviously modelled after Confucius) for the better dissemination of religion and suppression of all evil spirits (Hoffmann 1961[1956]: 91). The difference may also be seen as that between the Buddhist model and the non-Buddhist model of sTon-pa gShen-rab.

Buddhism was introduced from India to Tibet in the seventh century and came under royal patronage in the eighth century. Sanskrit scripts was also introduced and only then Tibet began to have its own written history (Waddell 1934: 18; Li 1948: 32; Hoffmann 1961[1956]: 15; Ekvall 1964: 14; Eliade 1987: 498). The pre-Buddhist history of Tibet was fragmentary and without indigenous records (Ekvall 1964: 16; Eliade, et al. 1987: 498). 'Bon' was originally a lost word and not readily definable. It may have once referred to the conjuring of the gods by magic formulas (Hoffmann 1961[1956]: 14), or it is a name, in the compound word *Bon-Pa*, which may mean 'to murmur spells' (Ekvall 1964: 16). This is the same as the word *bpò'* in *dto-mba* rituals (Rock 1963a: 32). In *dto-mba* rituals, another word for *dto-mba* was *bpô'-mbò'*, which was said to be an ancient word for *dto-mba* (Rock 1963a: 33, 1952: 214, n.368). Bonpo and *bpô'-mbò'* are obviously cognates.

The Buddhist era of Tibet (from the seventh century onwards) was in fact not homogeneously orthodox Buddhistical. There were six schools of Buddhism in Tibet since the eleventh century, all tracing their origins to the holy land of India, but at the

same time stressing different aspects of Buddhist doctrine and practice (Kvaerne 1984: 260; cf. Waddell 1934: 54-75). Also at the same time, the Bonpos emerged. The history has been sufficient for Bonpos today to regard themselves as forming a distinct religion and they are thus regarded by the Buddhists (Kvaerne 1985: 4). They say that the true Buddha of our cosmic period was a prince called sTon-pa-gshen-rab, 'The Teacher, Supreme gShen', the Awakened One, who lived long before Sakyamuni (ibid.). These post-11th century Bonpos have a profound relationship with the Nyingmapas school of Buddhism (ibid.; also Rock 1952: 7). One should perhaps note that the Karmapa school, which had some relation with the Nyingmapas school (Waddell 1934: 68), had come to Lijiang in about 1600 A.D. (Rock 1947: 160-2; Jackson 1979: 64). Both schools were also known as the 'Red Sect' (ibid.; Waddell 1934: 72), with the Nyingmapas as the 'real red-hat sect' (ibid.).

Recent research on the Bonpos has pointed out that referring to the Bon religion as 'shamanism' is misleading (Kvaerne 1984: 269, 1985: 3). The *bon-po* priests seem to have had connections mainly with the funeral ceremonies of the kings and subsequent cult (ibid.). Moreover, the Bonpo origin can be 'found in the religious "underground" of village tantrists and errant yogins, appropriating whatever doctrines appealed to them', which also formed the basis of the Nyingmapa school. The 'Bonpo religious centres, like those of the Nyingmapas, began with modest temples supported by local family lineages neither seeking nor obtaining political power', of which the gShen lineage is one (ibid.: 4-5). These features may sometimes be read in the *dto-mba*. To determine whether there was a direct link between the Bonpos and the *dto-mba* or not, and if so, how, much comparative work still need to be done, especially on the pantheons, on the funerary rites and probably on the rites of demon eviction. The iconography of the Tibetan monasteries, which I think has been a direct source of inspiration for the creation of the Naxi pictographs, forms another key aspect of inquiry.

### 7.2.2. *Dto-mba Shi-lo and Ä-mi Shi-lo*

The Naxi who is remembered by Naxi *dto-mba* as the first promulgator of *Dto-mba Shi-lo*'s teachings among the Naxi and began to write the rituals in pictographs was *Ä-mi* or *Ä-mi Shi-lo* (Aming Shilo) (He 1985a: 27). He was a native of Baidi (Pei-ti) district, Zhongdian (Chung-tien) county, This is a county inhabited by the Tibetans. A cave at Baidi was worshipped as 'the spiritual cave of *Ä-mi*' where *Ä-mi* began to learn and teach the rituals. The cave is called *Shí-lô nê-k'ô* in Naxi, according to Rock, which means 'the residential cave of Shi-lo' (Rock 1952: 369, n.747; Plate LI). Later the *dto-mbas* in Lijiang were supposed to visit the cave on pilgrimage. It is said *Ä-mi* moved to south-west of Lijiang later where another sacred cave with the same name as that in Zhongdian was found dedicated to him. Another nearby place is remembered as the spot where he was welcomed. *Ä-mi*'s family belonged to the *Yù* clan of the Naxi. The *dto-mbas* who are still living today in Baidi generally believe that *Ä-mi* was living when the Naxi chief, Mu Tseng (木增), was in reign (Rock 1952: 369). Mu Tseng was the nineteenth generation of the Mu family according to the chronicle of the Mu family, living from 1587 to 1646 A.D., the later part of the Ming dynasty of the Han Chinese. He was the most respected and successful king of the Naxi, popularly known as 'Mu Tien Wan' (木天王) (Mu the heavenly king). He was well versed in Chinese and was the first Mu kings to accept Tibetan Karmapa Sect Buddhism (Rock 1947: plate 29, p.158-163). Chinese scholars do not normally accept this popular belief that *Ä-mi* lived at the same time as Mu Tseng.

In the Baidi district in Zhongdian county (a Tibetan autonomous county), a famous *dto-mba* was honoured as *Ä-mi Shi-lo* (He 1985a: 16). If *Shi-lo* was the name of a Tibetan ritual master, then here a Naxi disciple may have adopted the master's name. The Naxi used to have a binary naming system which seemed to distinguish between the male and the female. The male normally took the last half of his father's name as the first half of his own, the pattern was ABCD—CDEF—

EFGH. . .; however, the female used her mother's last name as her last name, the pattern was ABCD—EFGD—HIJD. . . (see Chapter 3). It seems, therefore, *Ä-mi Shi-lo* may have followed the female naming system. Moreover, he is not known as *Dto-mba Ä-mi*, which would make more sense in terms of how *Dto-mba Shi-lo* is known. *Ä-mi* is interpreted by Rock as equivalent to Tibetan 'A-mye', which means 'sorcerer'. Furthermore, *Ä-mi* was originally a *llü-bu*, the Naxi sorcerer who performed demon exorcism (Rock 1963a: 9). The *llü-bu* used to be female among the Naxi, but this role was changed to be taken by a male later. The name *Ä-mi* in Naxi sounds an address to a female, with 'Ä' a prefix of addressing like *Ä-p'u* (grandfather), *Ä-mä* (mother), and *mi* which means 'girl'. In Naxi manuscripts *Ä-mi* is depicted like a *dto-mba*, but with long hair, which is characteristic of the portrayal of a *llü-bu* (Rock 1963a: 196). The list of the names of the generations of descending from *Ä-mi* (He & Guo 1985: 48) shows a change in the naming since *Ä-mi*. Before him the family had the binary naming system. After him, the naming was more like the naming of the Han Chinese. *Ä-mi* seemed to have become the family name.

Rock did not seem to be aware of the popular belief among the *dto-mba* that *Ä-mi*, whom he knew as an ancient *dto-mba*, was the person who first began to write the ritual texts in pictographs. According to Rock, *Ä-mi* was said to have lived at La-shi (刺是, 拉市), south-west of Lijiang (Rock 1963a: 9). This coincides with another story among *dto-mbas* that *Ä-mi* had moved to Lijiang later (He & Guo 1985: 50). La-shi is a district where a famous *dto-mba*, Dto-dzhi, whose entire library was bought by Rock, lived (see below). It is also the place near where there is a second 'residential cave' of *Shi-lo*. The place is also well-known for its *dto-mba* activities. On the 2nd day of the 2nd month, Chinese lunar calendar in 1947, more than 100 *dto-mbas* took part in a ceremonial dancing in the district, worshipping *Dto-mba Shi-lo*. The date is believed by the *dto-mba* in Lijiang to be the birthday of *Shi-lo* (He & Guo 1985: 48).

Among the manuscripts collected by Rock and by others in the libraries in Europe, the manuscripts written by three *dto-mbas*, who were brothers called ‘Dto-la’ brothers, are the best. The pictographs are finely drawn. The first pages of their manuscripts are either illustrated or illuminated with carefully drawn miniatures (images of deities and ritual objects) or wavy patterns. They came from Baisha (Paisha), a prosperous market place just a few miles north of the town of Lijiang. This was also the native place of the Mu family, the ruling family of the Naxi around Lijiang since the Ming dynasty and belonged to the *Yu (Yeh)* clan. ‘Dto-la’ means good illustrator (Jackson 1979: 53). Rock seemed to have taken the name from the manuscripts because it is a ritual name of the *dto-mba* rather than a personal name. Other *dto-mbas* had similar ritual names as found written in pictographs in their mss, e.g. Dto-dzhi, Dto-li, Dto-ssu (Rock 1965: 102, 92).

The books written by the Dto-la brothers were much sought after all over the Lijiang area. According to Rock, a descendant of theirs was no longer a *dto-mba* in 1930, and the manuscripts written by the Dto-la brothers were borrowed by other *dto-mbas* in other villages to be copied and were not returned, thus the Dto-la manuscripts were scattered all over the Lijiang area (Rock 1965: XV). This is significant. Rock must have tried to collect as many Dto-la manuscripts as possible, but most Dto-la manuscripts were acquired in his later years in Lijiang, i.e. between 1944 and 1949 (Appendix II). According to Rock’s identification and judged from the style, there are about 300 manuscripts written by the Dto-la brothers (Table 8.). This is further discussed below.

### 7.2.3. *Jiu Zhi Lao and Ge Qu Ge Ba—the grand dto-mba*

The Dto-la brothers are never mentioned in Chinese sources, despite the fact that Baisha and the surrounding areas near Lijiang are recognised as the centre where *dto-mba* rituals flourished and Baisha formed an important school. The famous *dto-mba* from Baisha were Jiu Zhi Lao and Ho Chen (久知老, 和诚) (He & Guo 1985:

42). *Jiu Zhi Lao* (transliteration from Chinese) was apparently a ritual name, taken probably from the names of some legendary *dto-mba* or *bpö-mbö*, like, e.g. *Gkyi-ch'í-mbbuê Bpô'-mbò'*, or *Gkó-ngyî-ggû'-lò*, other names of *Dto-mba Shi-lo* (Rock 1972: 206, 207).

Another popularly known *dto-mba* was *Ge Qu Ge Ba* (格取格巴) (transliteration from Chinese) from Baoshan (宝山) (formerly La-pao). He was equated with *Ä-mi*. A temple in the village Qing Yun (庆云村) (Ch'ing-yün ts'un) within two miles south of Lijiang was built for him. He was said to be learned and possess certain supernatural power (He and Guo 1985: 48-49).

#### 7.2.4. The *dto-mba* in the nineteenth-twentieth century

Rock has dated the *Dto-la* manuscripts to the sixteenth century, but many other manuscripts which can match them in style and skill were written by *dto-mbas* in the nineteenth century. There is a time gap as Jackson has suggested (Jackson 1979: 56).

One *dto-mba* who closely followed the style of the *Dto-la* manuscripts was Ho Ho-shou (和合寿) (A2 in the stylistic identification of the *dto-mba* writers (see Figure 9)). Ho Ho-shou signed and dated one of his manuscripts in Chinese 'the twelfth year of Daoguang (道光)', an emperor of the Qing dynasty, which is equivalent to 1832 A.D. (Rock 1965: 139, 156). Ho Ho-shou was from a village called *Lâ-ts'û'-wuâ* in the district of La-piao Li (刺缥里) (Rock 1965: 142, 145). This is what is now the western part of Tungyuan district (东元乡) close to *Ssâ'-bpì-zhèr n^v-l^v* (Wen-pi Shan [文筆山]) where the second *Shí-lô nê-k'ò* or *A'-mì nê-k'ò* is situated. Ho Ho-shou had a very similar style of writing the pictographs to that of the *Dto-la* brothers, only not so refined.

The most prolific *dto-mbas* we can learn about from the collections are *Dto-dzhi*, or *Ä-dzhi*, and his son; both were *dto-mbas* (cf. Jackson 1979: 56), whose entire library was bought by Rock, with the exception of 55 manuscripts which were bought by the British. 'Dto-dzhi' was a ritual name the father used at the end of some of his

manuscripts. His Chinese name was ‘Mu Weiting’ (木渭庭) as written in Chinese characters on two of his manuscripts (HY526=Hs.or.sim.492, HY277=Hs.or.sim.500). The son was named Yang Fuguang (楊福光) (Rock 1952: 385), or ‘Mu Fuguang’ as sometimes appears in the manuscripts of his family (e.g.HY6). Rock says he ‘did not know very much about *dto-mba* books and no longer practised the religion, sold the books of the family to me in about 1930’ (Rock 1952: 502). In examining the titles of the manuscripts, I found Yang Fuguang has written about 400 books. The father-and-son *dto-mba* library consists of about 500 books and more (some copies of the titles are not readable). Dto-dzhi lived in *Ghû’gh-k’ò* (Changshui in Chinese), a village south-west of Lijiang in the district of La-shi or La-sha. Within this district in the south is *Ssâ’-bpì-zhèr n^v-l^v* (see above) on whose slope a lamasery, called ‘Wenfeng Si’ (文峰寺) in Chinese, but *Muân-bbù nê* in Naxi, was built in 1739 A.D. (Rock 1947: 176, 184-5). Dto-dzhi dated some of his manuscripts, in pictographs and in animal years. He was active around 1860 A.D.

The manuscripts written by Dto-li and other *dto-mbas* from the village of *Mùn-shwuá-wuâ* were another major collection by Rock, mainly in 1947. *Mùn-shwuá-wuâ* was situated just south of Baisha where Dto-la brothers lived and north of La-shi and *Ssâ’-bpì-zhèr n^v-l^v*. Dto-li wrote, in pictographs, the name of his village on most of his manuscripts which are 78 in Rock’s collection. Dto-li did not normally give dates in his manuscripts but rather his age at the time of writing (when he was 24). But Rock seemed to have an idea of when Dto-li was writing. Some of Dto-li’s manuscripts are said to be written at the beginning of this century (e.g. K.Or.449 [R8563], Hs.Or.499 [R8206]) (Rock 1965: 67). There are manuscripts of at least nine *dto-mbas* from the village of *Mùn-shwuá-wuâ* in Rock’s collection (B type, see Table 9. and Figures 15-25). There are clear indications that Dto-li had copied Dto-la manuscripts. Rock has made comments regarding some manuscripts being identical with other manuscripts. Some of these manuscripts are Dto-li’s and Dto-la’s books, e.g. K.Or.475 (Dto-li), Hs.Or.313 (Dto-la) are identical texts (Rock 1965: 92).



According to the investigations done in China, apart from the legendary *dto-mba* *Ä-mi Shi-lo*, *Ge Qu Ge Ba*, there are about 41 *dto-mbas* who were well-known (He and Guo 1985: 38, 43; Guo 1991: 676-683; see also Table 7 and 14 below), including the above-mentioned *Jiu Zhi Lao*, whose manuscripts are extant. Two of these *dto-mbas*, He Shijun and Kang Ba Cai, were popularly recognised as ‘grand *dto-mba*’. They were born in 1860 and 1882 respectively. Half of these *dto-mbas* were born in the mid or late nineteenth century, others were born early this century. The oldest was born in 1860 and the youngest was born in 1928. One *dto-mba*, who was born in 1920, descended from more than ten older generations who were *dto-mbas*. Most others had three to four generations of practice. Thirteen of these famous *dto-mbas* came from villages within one or two miles distance to *Ssâ’-bpì-zhèr n^v-l^v* (Wenbi Shan) (文筆山) where the second ‘*Shi-lo* cave’ exists, fifteen came from Ludian/Tacheng (鲁甸, 塔城), further west of Lijiang near Weixi county, four came from Zhongdian (中甸), two came from Mingying (鸣音) near Labao. Of the two popularly-recognised grand *dto-mbas*, one was a native of Runanhua, a village just below *Ssâ’-bpì-zhèr n^v-l^v* (Wen-pi Shan). This village is known as a ‘*dto-mba* village’, because there were so many *dto-mbas* in the village that it was said that everybody was a *dto-mba* (He and Guo 1985: 45). Another lived in Ludian, a district near Weixi (Wei-hsi). It is said that the Naxi in Ludian mainly came from Taian, a district south of Lijiang where *Ssâ’-bpì-zhèr n^v-l^v* (Wenbi Shan) is. One existing *dto-mba*, who is from Ludian, said that there were no *dto-mbas* in Ludian five generations ago. His ancestor five generations ago was the first to learn *dto-mba* rituals in Taian (He and Guo 1985: 45).

### 7.2.5. Summary

In recent years, information about the *dto-mba* population was gathered and published in China (He and Guo 1985; Guo 1991) (see Map 3 and Table 7 in 7.3.2.). It was estimated that there were about 1,000 *dto-mbas* practising when *dto-mba* religious

activities were most popular (He and Guo 1985: 39). This is about 0.8 per cent of the then population which was 125,000. This was the Naxi/Moso population in the mid-nineteenth century or at the beginning of this century (Population 1987). If we accept the legend that it was *Ä-mi* who was the first Naxi to preach and teach *Dto-mba Shi-lo*'s gospels, and that he taught three disciples and that it took about 10 years to train a *dto-mba*, then it would have taken only 60 years to have 1,000 *dto-mbas* among the Naxi. If we take 1860 or 1880, the period when we had the most manuscripts produced (*Dto-zhi*, *Ho Ho-shou*, *Dto-li*, *Sang Nicai*, and so on), as the highest point of *dto-mba* religious activities, the starting point of such activities may be reckoned at about 1800.

Rock's account of various *dto-mbas*, statistics of the *dto-mba* population from Chinese investigation and the *dto-mba* writers identified through the styles of the manuscripts collected in the libraries in Europe are the three sources from which we learn about *dto-mbas* and their manuscripts. When these three sources of accounts are compared, parallels in terms of dates, number of the famous *dto-mbas* and places of origin of these *dto-mbas* can be found.

Another noticeable fact is that two or three places within reach of each other around Lijiang may be identified as the centre of *dto-mba* activities. The legendary spiritual or residential cave of *Shi-lo*, *Shí-lô nê-k'ò* in Baidi, Zhongdian county is more or less symbolic. No factual *dto-mba* activities have ever been recorded as taking place there. The three places which turn out to be most conspicuous in *dto-mba* ritual activities as well as producing pictographic manuscripts are Baisha (白沙), Shuho (束河) (*Mùn-shwuá-wuá*), and Wenbi Shan (文筆山) (*Ssá'-bpì-zhèr n^v-l^v*). The three places are almost linked from northern to southern Lijiang. The best manuscripts and the famous *dto-mbas* all came from these three places.

### 7.3. The authors of the manuscripts

Myths can be created in certain written documents if we do not make a connection between the books and who wrote them. This may have happened in Naxi studies. I have noticed differences in the ideology of scholarship in this aspect. European scholarship since the Renaissance has been empirical in nature. This is not to say that in Europe, scholars no longer take the myths of traditional European cultures seriously. Myths have social and cultural values which are different from society to society. I will not be able to explore this in length. The difference lies in the notions about what is empirical and what is not. These different notions result in the differences in the treatment of myths in the respective scholarships of different cultures.

A reliable way to find out the authors of the manuscripts is to identify their style in writing the manuscripts.

#### 7.3.1. A general survey of the styles of the Naxi manuscripts

Generally speaking, Naxi manuscripts resemble Tibetan Buddhist scriptures. They are normally twelve inches wide, four inches high (see Appendix I for the page of a book). But the sizes vary between different *dto-mbas*. The ritual texts are bound on the left. The divination books are bound on the top. Each page is divided into three lines in most cases but four or more lines in divination books and some other ritual texts by some *dto-mbas*. The number of lines is increased when a book is written in *ggô-bàw* characters—the phonetic scripts, or when a *dto-mba* tried to write out all the syllables in the chanting by using single pictographs, e.g. some manuscripts written by Ho Ho-shou (A2; also see Rock 1965: 357, 424). These are in fact rare. In each line of the writing, *dto-mbas* use vertical lines to indicate a complete message which is either a sentence or a paragraph.

It is not very difficult to determine the *dto-mba* writers by looking at the different styles of their drawings and the formats of their manuscripts. Ideally, this should be done by examining the actual manuscripts in all collections. The process is time-consuming. A slightly less accurate way of analysing the styles of different writers is examining the title

pages of the manuscripts. I have been able to read the title pages of these manuscripts from libraries in Europe.

Most Naxi manuscripts have title pages on which the titles of the ceremony or rites are indicated, although many manuscripts have no title pages or have lost their title pages. Of the 5,118 manuscripts in the libraries in Europe and America (A summary of the collections has been given in Jackson 1979: 23 and 1989: 136), about 800 manuscripts have no title pages. Because of the quality of photocopying, the titles of some 200 manuscripts are illegible. About 4,000 titles can be examined. The best or good writers had a distinct and constant way of setting the titles of their book. Quite a number of *dto-mbas*, although they were not good artists, had constant styles of writing or drawing. They have produced quite a number of manuscripts, e.g., A33 and A35 (Table 8 in 7.3.3. below).

There are mainly two different styles in formatting the titles: those laid out horizontally and those set in sideways (see Figures 6-41 in 7.3.3. below). This may suggest two rival schools. From Rock's description of the manuscripts he collected, those manuscripts whose titles are set in sideways are mainly from the Zhongdian-Labao area, north of Lijiang, for example, K.Or.11, K.Or.45 (Rock 1965: 59, 57). These manuscripts were normally written with very fine hard bamboo stylus (Rock 1965: 110). This type of manuscripts are often bad in condition which make them look old. Judged from the styles of writing, many manuscripts of this type have no title pages or have lost title pages.

There are more manuscripts whose titles are set horizontally. These titles are more beautifully ornamented. In most cases, the titles are set in an oblong box with a variety of symbols on top of the box. Less frequently, a circle is drawn instead of an oblong box. Two or four draperies were drawn around the upper part of the title box. As far as drawing skill is concerned, the *dto-mba* writers of this type are more sophisticated. Manuscripts of this type are mainly from villages around Lijiang and from Ludian, a district to the west of Lijiang near Weixi.

The two types of title setting, viz. sideways and horizontal, are not exclusively used by the two different rival schools suggested above. So some *dto-mbas* in the Lijiang area may set the titles in sideways (for example, C9 ) while *dto-mbas* from the Zhongdian-Labao area may also set the titles horizontally (for example D2, Figure 32 and D1[example has not been included]).

The manuscripts from the two areas are also different in the use of symbols above the titles. Those from the Zhongdian-Labao area are almost always have a lotus or sometimes a conch shell on top of the titles, and below the titles, one normally finds two pieces of draperies and a Tibetan letter: ༄ pronounced 'gkaw' in Naxi. Those from the Lijiang area have a variety of symbols. Most of these symbols are :

*Lér-mbbû-ch'ì*, the love-knot: \_\_\_\_\_



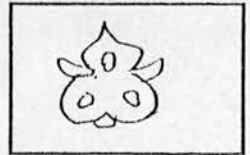
*K'ò-ló*, the wheel: \_\_\_\_\_



*Bpô'-mbà*, the Amrta vase: \_\_\_\_\_



*Nòn-bû'*, the Precious stone: \_\_\_\_\_



*Bâ'-l^v*, the hot, flaming rocks used to drive out demons: \_\_\_\_\_

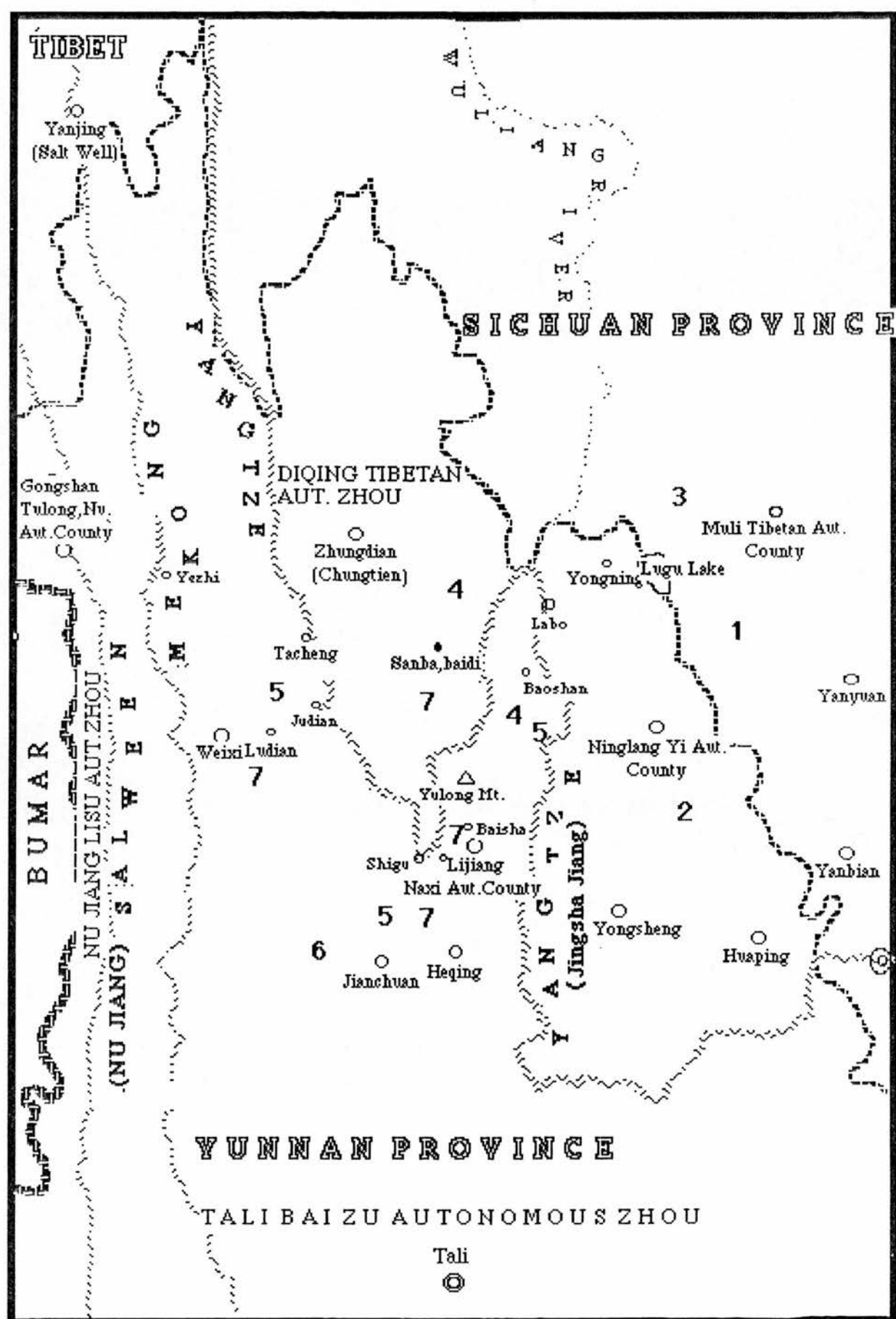


(Rock 1963a: 228, 510, 33, 347, 15).

Other symbols were also used such as a dragon (the Han Chinese dragon), two fish, the ghost dagger.

**7.3.2 The schools of the *dto-mba***

According to a study in China (He and Guo 1985: 39-43), *dto-mba* activities may be divided into seven different areas. The following map and table are a summary of the study.

Map 3. Schools of *Daw-wasin* in China. (see Table 7).

(Source: He &amp; Guo 1985: 39-43)

- |       |                      |   |         |
|-------|----------------------|---|---------|
| ----- | Provincial Border    | ⊙ | City    |
| ----- | International Border | ○ | Town    |
| ----- | River                | ○ | Village |

Table 7. *Dto-mba* schools (He & Guo 1985: 39-43; Guo 1991b):

1	'Nari' (纳日) <i>daba</i>	Ninglang County (宁蒗), E. Lijiang.	2	G*
		Muli County (木里), Sichuan.	21	
		Yenyuan County (盐源), Sichuan.	41	
2	'Nahen' (纳恒) <i>haba</i>	Ninglang County		
		Yongshen Counties (永胜).	5	
3	'Laye' (拉惹) <i>daba</i>	Muli County, Sichuan.	10	
4	'Ruanke' (阮可) <i>dto-mba</i>	Zhongdian County (中甸).		
		Dadong (大东), N. Lijiang.	8	
		Baoshan (宝山), N. Lijiang.		
5	'Laluo' (拉洛) <i>dto-mba</i>	Taian, Qihe, Lashi (太安, 七河, 拉市), S. Lijiang.	3	
		Ludian, Tacheng (鲁甸, 塔城), W. Lijiang.		
		Longshan, Mingyin (龙山, 鸣音), E. & N. Lijiang.	5	
6	'Tanglang' <i>dto-mba</i>	Hongmai (红麦) Taian, S. Lijiang.		
7	'Naxi' <i>dto-mba</i>			
	1) 'Baidi' subschool	Baidi (白地), Zhongdian County.	25	D
	2) 'Baoshan' subschool	Baoshan, Fengke, Mingyin, Daju (宝山, 奉科, 鸣音, 大具), N. Lijiang.	29	D
	3) 'Baisha' subschool	Lijiang town (大研镇).	1	B2
		Baisha (白沙), N. Lijiang.	3	A1
		Wenbi, Changshui (文笔, 长水), S. Lijiang.	4	C1, C9
		Guifeng, Liangmei (贵峰, 良美), SE. Lijiang.	2	E
		Wutai (五台), S. Lijiang.	2	E
	4) 'Taian/Ludian' subschool	Taian Runanhua (太安汝南化), S. Lijiang.	19	B
		Ludian, Tacheng, W. Lijiang.	33	B
	Total number:		<b>213</b>	

\* Code letter for the *dto-mba* authors identified through the styles of the manuscripts. See next section.

*Dto-mba* were variously known as 'Daba', or 'Haba' in these different areas. They all in fact undertook *dto-mba* activities. The first six areas were scattered in different villages or district over the Lijiang area and were found in some villages in the neighbouring counties such as Ninglang (宁蒗) and Yongshen (永胜) in the east, and Muli of Sichuan in the north. These 'schools' did not normally have the ritual texts. Only the seventh area is called 'Naxi Dongba' and covered eighty per cent of the Naxi population. This area was obviously the centre and the original place of the *dto-mba* activities (see Map 3).



The *dto-mbas* in this area (7 in the map and the table above) were divided into four different schools: Baidi, Baoshan, Baisha, and Taian/Ludian schools (He and Guo 1985: 42). The difference between these schools are as follows:

Baidi (白地) : There were texts in pictographs. There was no ceremony for the suicides (*Hâr-lâ-llù' k'ó'*), neither was there the 'sword dancing' in ritual dancing.

Baoshan (宝山) : Divination was very popular among the *dto-mbas* of this school, they did not have the *ggô-bàw* phonetic scripts.

Baisha (白沙) : Baisha is where the Mu king's family originated. They belonged to the *Yù* clan. This school includes those *dto-mba* on the Lijiang plain which was and is the economic and cultural centre of the Naxi. They had more rituals and ritual texts. *Dto-mbas* here were more skilful in painting and dancing. They had *ggô-bàw* scripts. This school may be further divided into five subschools: those at Baisha (north of Lijiang), those at Wenbi and Changshui (文笔、长水) (south-west of Lijiang), those at Guifeng and Liangmei districts (贵峰、良美) (east of Lijiang), those at Wutai district (五台) (south of Lijiang) and those at the Lijiang town. All these places are within two to three miles of the town of Lijiang;

Taian/Ludian (太安, 鲁甸) : Taian is in the southwest of Lijiang. A village here called 'Runanhua' (汝南化) was well-known for its *dto-mba* activities. Behind the village is the second 'spiritual cave of *Shi-lo*'. Ludian, including Tacheng (塔城) near the Iron Bridge (铁桥) in the further west of Lijiang near Weixi county. The Naxi there came from Taian and the *dto-mbas* there learned from the *dto-mbas* in Taian. There is a suggestion that this school was a modern school. Some famous *dto-mba* of this school practised within this century (cf. He and Guo 1985: 43, 46).

This study of *dto-mba* schools is mainly based on geographical locations. It is obvious that most *dto-mba* activities and the most important *dto-mba* activities were found on the plain around Lijiang where most of the manuscripts were collected by Rock and by others. It can be suggested that Lijiang and the adjacent areas, north to Baidi and Baoshan, were where *dto-mba* ritual activity originated. This assumption may be further

supported by a classification of the manuscripts by authors. In Table 7, I have made some matches between the *dto-mba* schools and the *dto-mba* authors identified through the styles of the manuscripts. This will be further discussed below.

### 7.3.3 Identifying *dto-mbas* and their manuscripts

Although the *dto-mbas*, who were the creators of Naxi religion and the producers of the religious texts, were discussed variously by different studies, there is still no systematic study of these *dto-mba* authors, especially in the light of the manuscripts they have written. What I have adopted here now is a complete new method in the study of Naxi religion, that is identifying the *dto-mba* and the texts they have written and then relating these texts with the known *dto-mba* population in the history of the Naxi society. It proves, as I will show in the discussion and demonstration below, to be the most realistic and convincing way to approach the question of the *dto-mba* authors. While Rock did not systematically study the *dto-mba* whose manuscripts he had collected, nor have recent studies in China provided any account even of the religious texts that each famous *dto-mba* has written, although they have given some detailed accounts of the famous *dto-mbas* known (He and Guo 1985; Guo 1991b). Needless to say, there is a connection between the *dto-mba* and the manuscripts they have written. One can further assert that the *dto-mbas* known to Rock must overlap with those *dto-mbas* isolated in the studies in China. This is the view I hold.

I have mainly access to the Xerox and photo copies of the title pages of the Naxi religious texts or Naxi manuscripts, as they were called in previous studies, collected in British libraries and the libraries in the United States. While some of the texts have no titles anymore, about 75 per cent of the copies of the titles of these texts are still identifiable. The texts which have identical execution of the pictographs are assumed to be written by one individual *dto-mba*. The texts with similar styles of the title settings or patterns are grouped together and specified as belonging to one type. Based on certain information given by Rock and the others, each type of the texts is identified as originating from a village or a district in the county of Lijiang. Each type of the texts is

summarised in a table with figures showing the titles of the major authors in each type and followed by discussion. By using scanning in computer technology, the pictographs can be stored in a computer program but very large disc space is needed. The types of the texts are then related to the *dto-mbas* known in the history of Naxi religion. Some possible dating to the texts can then be speculated according to the dating known already. These will be summarised in Table 15 at the end of this section.

The two main types of manuscripts according to the ways the titles were arranged fit squarely with the two pairs of schools suggested by the studies referred to above: the Baidi/Baoshan schools who wrote their titles sideways and the Baisha/Taian, Ludian schools who wrote their titles horizontally. I use the letter D for the Baidi/Baoshan schools, A for the Baisha School, and B for the Taian/Ludian School. According to the Chinese study, the Baisha school was subdivided into several schools. Judging from the styles of the manuscripts, two types of manuscripts can be further grouped: C and E types. C type is represented by the manuscripts written by Dto-dzhi and Yang Fuguang (杨福光), the *dto-mba* family. They were from Changshui (长水).

Identifying different schools of *dto-mbas* according to the title styles of their manuscripts is not a simple, straight forward task. This may be complicated by the fact that certain *dto-mbas* could change their style of drawing over time. This is a possibility, since as in Chinese calligraphy, the artists are capable of practising several styles. To a certain extent, the drawings of the titles of a large number of manuscripts are quite idiosyncratic. Each *dto-mba* may add and change things in their manuscripts although there is a general agreement in the use of the pictographs. Type B and Type E are the more complicated types. These may have involved other subschools of Baisha School, viz. Guifeng/Liangmei (贵峰, 良美), Wutai (五台) and the Lijiang Town. It can be suggested that such a variety of styles in Group B and Group E may have been a late upsurge of the writing of *dto-mba* manuscripts in the late last century and the first part of this century. I have some speculations on the schools of *dto-mbas* in connection with the manuscripts analysed here in the collections.

### A type, the Baisha School

This type of texts is summarised in the following table.

Table 8. Type A *dto-mba* religious texts in Europe and U.S.A.:

Type:	Date:	Libraries:							Total:	Comment:
		HY	LC	SB	JRL	IOL	BM	?		
A1	1800?	69	51	165	6	5	0	8	304	Dto-la(3 br.), Jiuzhilao
A2	1832	0	0	36	0	8	0	?	44	Ho Hoshou.
A3		6	5	11	0	18	0	?	40	?
A4	1800?	2	16	10	1	3	0	?	32	Ge Qu Ge Ba?
A5		6	13	87	0	0	0	?	106	?
A6		67	15	24	4	0	1	?	111	?
A7			3	30				?	33	?
A8-A32		31	83	46	4	6	0	?	170	
A33	1850	1	0	72	0	0	0	?	73	Near Lijiang.
A34	1933	8	4	15	0	0	0	?	27	Ho Huating.
A35		0	49	0	0	0	0	?	49	
A...		2	8	24	0	0	0	?	34	
Total:		192	247	520	15	40	1	8	1023	

The following are some examples of the title page of the A type texts:



Figure 6. A1a *dto-mba* text, HY 143, *Ddù 'à Ssù 'à, Gkyí nà bpò'*. (the fight between *Ddù* and *Ssù*, propitiate the *Gkyí* demons.)



Figure 7. A 1b *dto-mba* text, HY367, *Bpò' mán dtér, Dtó nà k'ó'*. (the closing rite, the scapegoat ceremony.)



Figure 8. A 1c *dto-mba* text, Hs.Or.371, *Gkâw-lâ'-ts'ú', Ddù-mí gkô-mûn-mí, Muân-mí-ná ssâ'-p'û-mùn mí chér, Ch'óu bpò'* (The story of *Gkâw-lâ'-ts'ú', Ddù-mí gkô-mûn-mí, Muân-mí-ná ssâ'-p'û-mùn mí*, the purification ceremony.)



Figure 9. A 2 (Ho Ho-shou [和合寿]), Hs.Or.1392, *Dd' v mûn k'ó', Shí-lô n' v.* (Sacrifice for the *Dd' v* demons, the funerary ceremony for *Dtô-mbà Shí-lô.*)

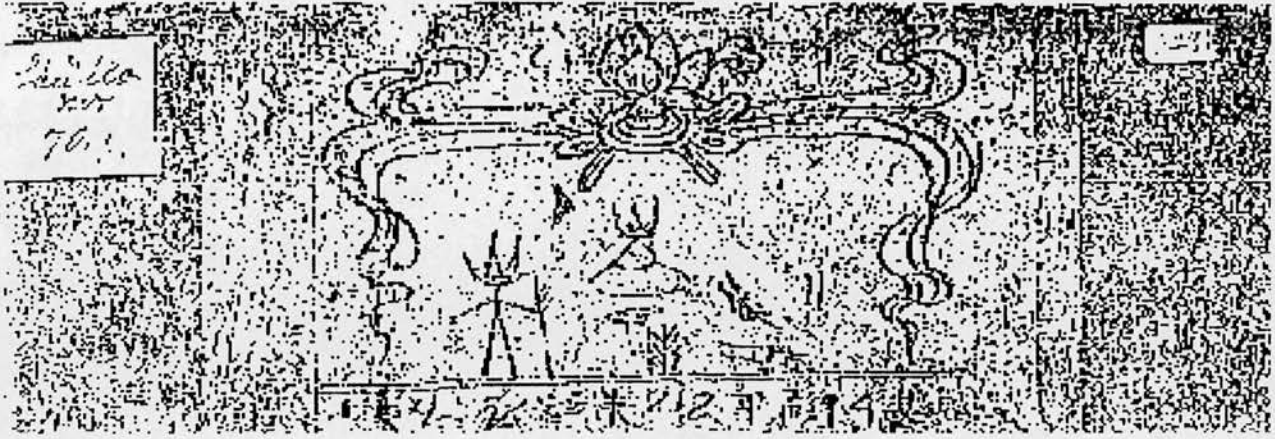


Figure 10. A3 dto-mba text, HY328, Shí-lô n'v, mán-chúng.(The funeral for Shí-lô, Last part.)



Figure 11. A4 dto-mba text, HY153, Mî-k'ò ts'ù t'û-bbué.(The origin of the Mî-k'ò demons of sin.)

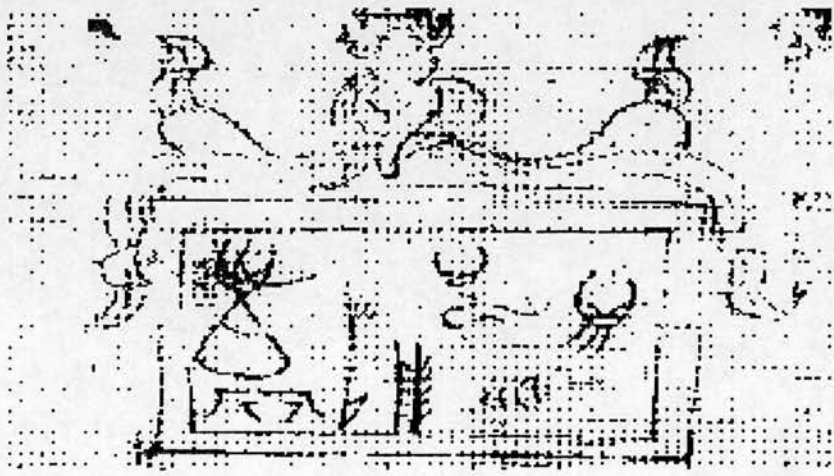


Figure 12. A5 dto-mba text, K.Or.331, K'ô p'ú, gk^v-chúng, Khî n'v.(Get rid of slander, first part, the funerary ceremony.)

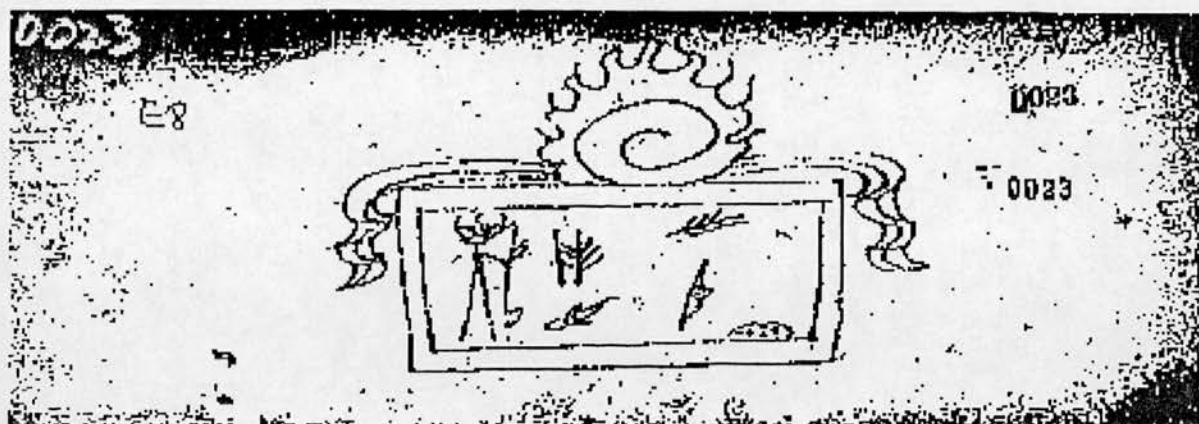


Figure 13. A5b *dto-mba* text, LC23, *N'v-chúng, n'v-ndô, Khî n'v.* (Put the effigy of the deceased into the ancestor shrine, the funerary ceremony.)



Figure 14. A6 *dto-mba* text, HY83(Hs.or.sim.782), *Ds'i-llú'-mí-ndàw, Szî-chúng bpò'.* (The bat unites the life god of the family, the ceremony of the prolongation of life.)

Generally speaking, most of the writers in A type were good drawers. The consistent and good writers in the A type are A1(a, b, c), A2, A3, A4, A5, A5b, A6, A6b, A7 and A34. Besides, A33 and A35 were also consistent though not very good in drawing. Their manuscripts in the collections range from 30 to more than 100. Other good writers were A13, A14, A15, A16, A17, A18, A20, A22, A23 (title in sideways) and A26. It may not be an coincidence that most of the writers in A group were good writers.

Rock has in many places stated that there were three *dto-mbas* who were brothers called 'Dto-la' brothers (Rock 1965: XV, 62, etc.). Artistically speaking, the manuscripts which Rock has called 'Dto-la' manuscripts are really the best of all manuscripts in the

collection. Rock has in different places indicated individual manuscripts as belonging to individual brothers (Rock 1965: 94, Rock 1952: 351, Rock 1952: 714). A close examination of the ways the pictographs were drawn on these manuscripts shows that these manuscripts were written by different individuals, but there is a general agreement in the styles of the titles of their manuscripts (Figures 7-8).

These three *dto-mba* brothers are not mentioned elsewhere. The reasons for this could be that either Rock has collected all the 'Dto-la' manuscripts as he had actually tried to do (Jackson 1979: 54) or that there were no three brothers but three *dto-mbas* who may have been ritual 'brothers'. In the above-mentioned study of *dto-mba* schools (He and Guo 1985: 45), the famous *dto-mbas* from Baisha School were named 'Jiu Zhi Lao' (久知老). The manuscripts written by Jiu Zhi Lao are close in style to those of the Dto-la brothers (as a photograph shows in Guo and Yang 1985). Was he one of the 'Dto-la' brothers?

The *dto-mba* writer in Western collections who followed most closely the 'Dto-la brothers' in both style and skill was Ho Ho-shou (A2) (p.39). Ho Ho-shou did not live at Baisha. An explanation for this may be that he was one of the disciples of the 'Dto-la brothers'. He went to Baisha to learn the *dto-mba* profession from the 'Dto-la brothers'. A significant note on the ritual texts written by the 'Dto-la' brothers and Ho Ho-shou is that among all the 304 manuscripts identified as written by the 'Dto-la' brothers, there is no such ceremony as *Shí-lô n^v*, the funerary ceremony for the death of *Dto-mba Shi-lo*, but almost all the manuscripts written by Ho Ho-shou belong to *Shí-lô n^v* ceremony. It could be that while Ho Ho-shou had inherited his teachers books for other ceremonies, he had written a set of books entitled *Shí-lô n^v* upon the death of his teacher.

A3 and A4 sometimes set the titles in sideways. The skill of A4 could match that of the 'Dto-la' brothers. He had fine, neat drawings with a character of his own. A5 was a *dto-mba* named 'Dto-dsu' according to Rock (K.Or.82, Rock 1965: 183). There seems to be yet another writer involved among the manuscripts of A5. These manuscripts are labelled as A5b (Figure 13). A6 was another consistent writer in the collections. Most of



his manuscripts are in the Library of Harvard-Yenching Institute, Mass. U.S.A., and belong to the *Szî-chúng bpò'* ceremony. There also seem to be two writers among the manuscripts identified as A6.

A34 was *dto-mba* Ho Hua-ting ( 和華亭 ) (1882-1943) who had taught Rock to read the religious texts. Ho Hua-ting had apparently drawn the pictographs for Rock's dictionary and the pictographs in Rock's other publications. There are indications that he wrote some of his manuscripts when Rock was in Lijiang and had started to study *dto-mba* texts (for example, Hs.Or.1382, Rock 1965: 174). He added titles to some of the manuscripts (for example, K.Or.113, Rock 1965: 271).

Writers of A type were not all from Baisha. Some were found south-east of Lijiang (A2, Hs.Or.1393, Rock 1965: 156), some near Lijiang (A33, Hs.Or.1438, etc. Rock 1965: 231), some east of Lijiang (A23, HY312 (R2100), Rock 1952: 270). According to Rock, many 'Dto-la' mss, the best one in A type and among all types, were scattered all over the Lijiang area (Rock 1965: XV). It is therefore not surprising that not all writers of the A type were from Baisha.

### B type, the Taian/Ludian or *Mùn-shwuá-wuá* School

Table 9. Type B *dto-mba* religious texts in Europe and U.S.A.:

Type:	Date:	Libraries:							Total:	Comment:
		HY	LC	SB	JRL	IOL	BM	?		Comment
B1	1850	4	36	23	0	0	0	?	63	Same owner as B2
B2	1850	32	61	27	0	1	0	?	121	Ho Fengshu, Lijiang.
B3	1900?	1	21	11	0	1	0	?	34	
B4	1920	6	19	20	4	4	9	?	62	
B5	1850	0	2	75	0	0	0	1	78	Dto-li, <i>Mùn-shwuá-wuá</i> .
B6		9	35	94	0	0	0	?	138	<i>Mùn-shwuá-wuá</i> .
B7		1	21	62	0	0	0	?	84	<i>Mùn-shwuá-wuá</i> .
B8		0	5	14	0	0	0	?	19	<i>Mùn-shwuá-wuá</i> .
B9		6	32	0	0	0	0	?	38	
B10		0	0	20	0	0	0	?	20	
B11		0	8	1	0	0	0	?	9	
B12		2	7	6	1	0	0	?	16	Ho Yuxian
B13		2	13	0	0	0	1	?	16	
B14		0	20	6	0	0	0	?	26	
B15		1	2	33	0	0	0	?	36	
B16-B42		8	46	24	0	0	0	?	78	
B43-B74		3	90	8	0	0	1	?	102	
B...		0	8	13	0	0	0	?	21	
Total:		75	426	437	5	6	11	1	961	

The following are some examples of the title page of the B type texts:

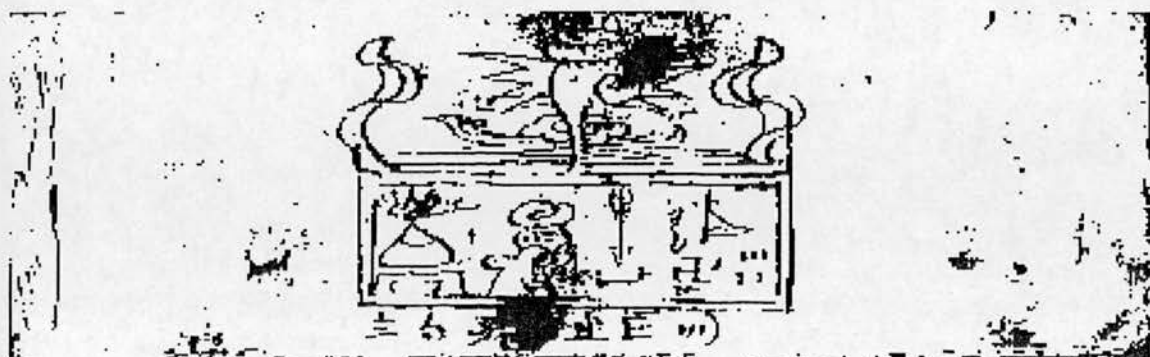


Figure 15. B1 *dto-mba* text, LC2257, *Lû'-ssî t'û, Ch'óu g`v.*(The origin of the arrow, the purification ceremony.)

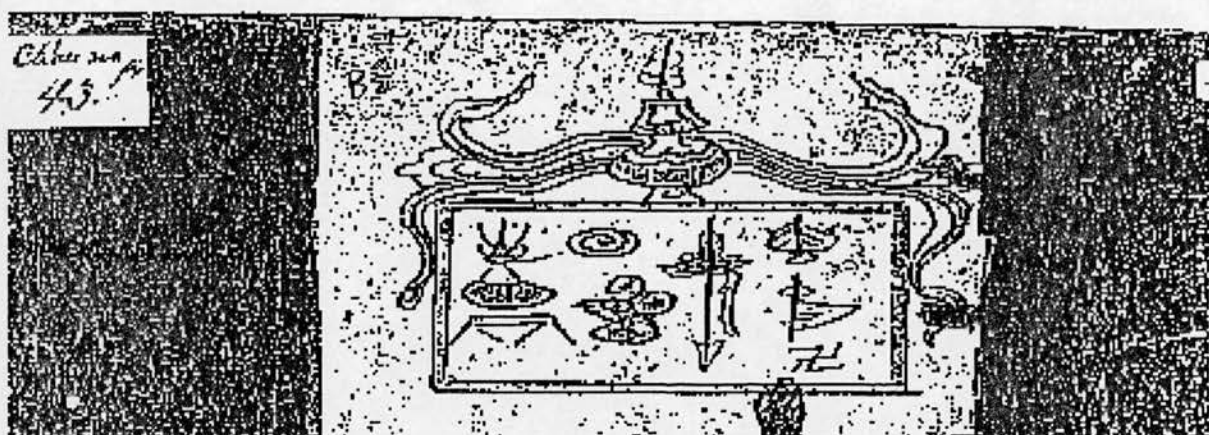


Figure 16. B2 *dto-mba* text, HY242, *Lû'-ssî t'û, Ch'óu g`v.*(The origin of the arrow, the purification ceremony.)



Figure 17. B3 *dto-mba* text, LC1749, *Ddù ggò Ts'û n`v, gk^v-chúng.*(The funeral of a suicide by hanging of a member of the *Ddù* family, first part)

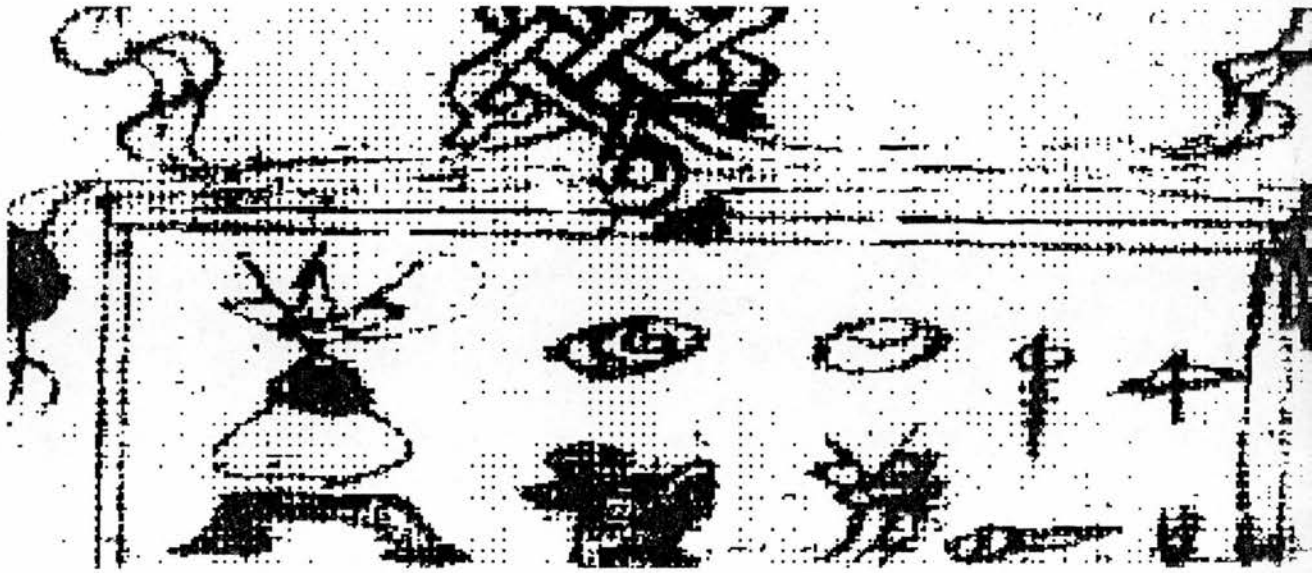


Figure 18. *B5 dto-mba* text, Hs.Or.377, *T'ú gk'v, T'ú lí' chúng, Ch'óu g`v.*(Chase out the demon guides, first and the second part, the purification ceremony.)

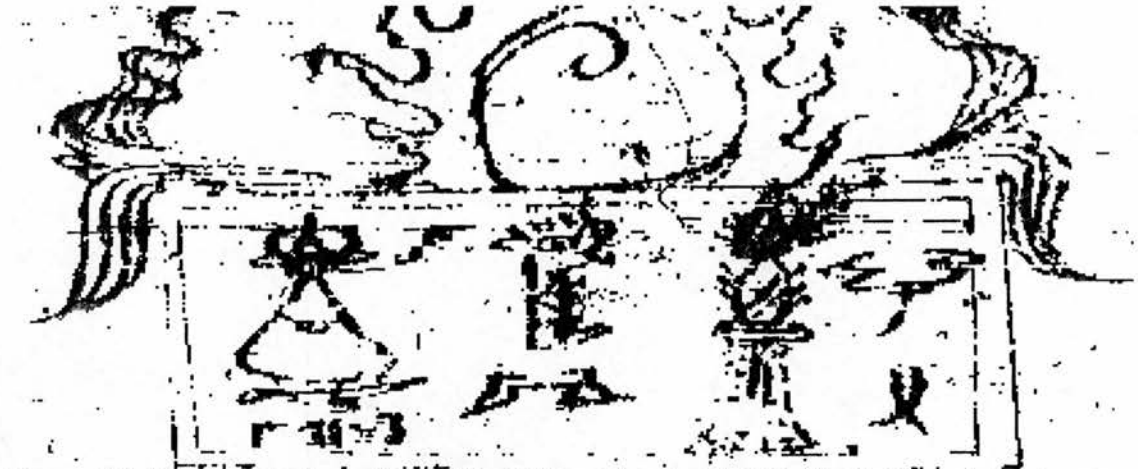


Figure 19. *B6 dto-mba* text, K.Or.52, *K'áv-ssô-mà p'ú, Shí-lô n'v.*(Escort the demon *K'áv-ssô-mà*, the funeral of *Dtô-mbà Shí-lô*.)



Figure 20. *B7 dto-mba* text, LC2379, *Ddù ggò Ts'ù n'v, mán-chúng.*(The funeral of a suicide by hanging of a member of the *Ddù* family, last part.)



Figure 21. B8 *dto-mba* text, Hs.Or.376, *P'û-là bpú.*(Escort the gods.)

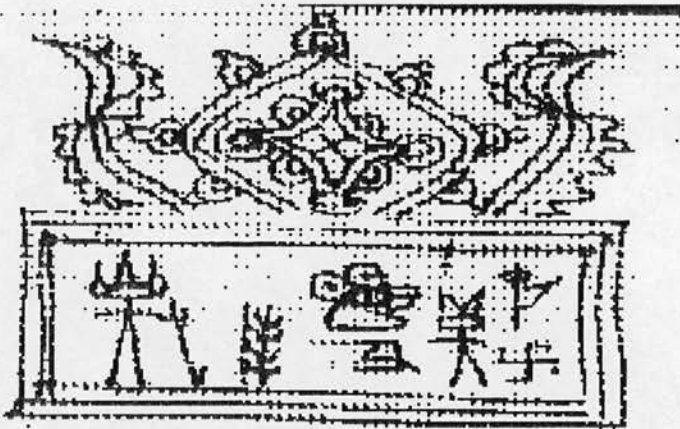


Figure 22. B9 *dto-mba* text, LC1732, *G'v shù g'v dsá, Khî n'v.*(Search for and bring together the pieces of the deceased's body, the funerary ceremony.)



Figure 23. B11 *dto-mba* text, LC1680, *Ts'ò-mbêr t'û, Ndêr ts'ù t'û.*(The descent of the ancestor, the ceremony of driving out the *Ndêr* demons.)



Figure 24. *B12 dto-mba* text, LC2322, *Ts'û Yù ngù ts'á*. (Put the *Ts'û Yù* demons onto the horse.)



Figure 25. *B13 dto-mba* text, LC516, *Ch'êr k'ó'*. (Sprinkle the medicine.)

B type manuscripts present a more complicated picture. These manuscripts may really be divided into more different types. This is again time-consuming. As far as giving some accounts of the different writers, to group the manuscripts in a more general way may serve equally well for the purpose of analysis. Another fact is that, the Taian/Ludian School is referred to as a 'modern' school (He and Guo 1985: 43). It is natural then a variety of styles may have emerged as a result of flourishing *dto-mba* activities, including those of C and E types.

B, C and E types are much more elaborated in title settings, though no one seems to have surpassed the workmanship of A1(a, b, c) and A2. More symbols were used in title decoration in these manuscripts. There are three conspicuous groups of writers in the B type:

- 1) B1, B2 and B9;
- 2) B3, B4 and B13;
- 3) B5, B6, B7 and B8.

B1 and B9 (who sometimes put the titles in sideways) used a different title setting from other manuscripts. B1 and B2 seemed to belong to the same owner because on some title pages of both sets of manuscripts there is the same Chinese-style seal.

B3 and B4 are close in the way they drew the title ornament. B3 probably came from Ludian, near Weixi. B4 copied some of the manuscripts written by C1. Some of B4's manuscripts were collected in the British Library. He was probably a writer of this century. It looks as if the pictographic titles for the Chinese translation of the set of manuscripts written by C1 in the British Library and the India Office Library were drawn by him.

An interesting group of writers among the B type are B5, B6, B7, B8, and 5 other writers. According to Rock's various descriptions, these manuscripts all came from the village *Mùn-shwuá-wuâ*. B5 is Dto-li mentioned by Rock (Rock 1965: Hs.Or.368, K.Or.213). There seems to be a certain relationship between B5 and B7 because some manuscripts identified as written by B7 were also mentioned by Rock as written by 'Dto-li' (Hs.Or.367, 365, Rock 1965: 107; Rock 1952: 656). Either B5 and B7 are identical or both were called 'Dto-li'. The style of the manuscripts from *Mùn-shwuá-wuâ* is close to the A type manuscripts

In Rock's geographical notes, the village *Mùn-shwuá-wuâ* is sometimes mentioned as situated in the north of Lijiang (K.Or.449, Rock 1965: 68), sometimes as 'west of Lijiang below the Lamasery of Wen-feng Ssu (文峰寺)' (Hs.Or.362, Rock 1965: 105). It is very likely that the village *Mùn-shwuá-wuâ* mentioned by Rock is identical with the village 'Runanhua' (汝南化) (The village is mentioned in He and Guo 1985: 43, 45). 'Runanhua' is also situated below Wen-feng Ssu (Wenfeng Si) and well-known for its *dto-mba* activities. Since many manuscripts of different *dto-mba*

writers came from *Mùn-shwuá-wuâ*, the village was apparently active in *dto-mba* activities.

### C type, the Wenbi/Changsui Subschool

Table 10. Type C *dto-mba* religious texts in Europe and U.S.A.:

Type:	Date:	Libraries:							Total:	Comment:
		HY	LC	SB	JRL	IOL	BM	?		
C1	1900	117	161	59	0	37	51	?	425	Yang Fuguang.
C9	1860	38	29	15	0	0	1	?	83	Dto-dzhi, father of Yang.
C2	1900	8	177	6	0	1	0	?	192	Sang Nyi Cai?
C3		0	9	6	0	0	0	?	15	
C4-C7		0	37	3	0	0	0	?	40	
Total		163	413	89	0	38	52		755	

The following are some examples of the title page of the C type texts:

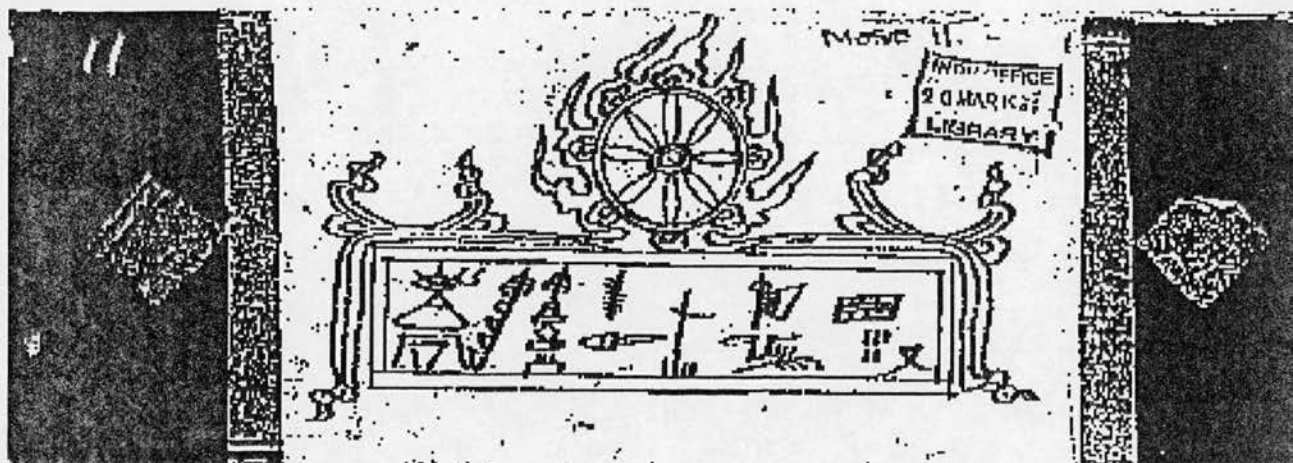


Figure 26. C1 *dto-mba* text, IOL11, *Ngâw t'û-bbué, Szî-chúng bpò'*. (The origin of the *Ngâw* spirits, the ceremony for the prolongation of life.)

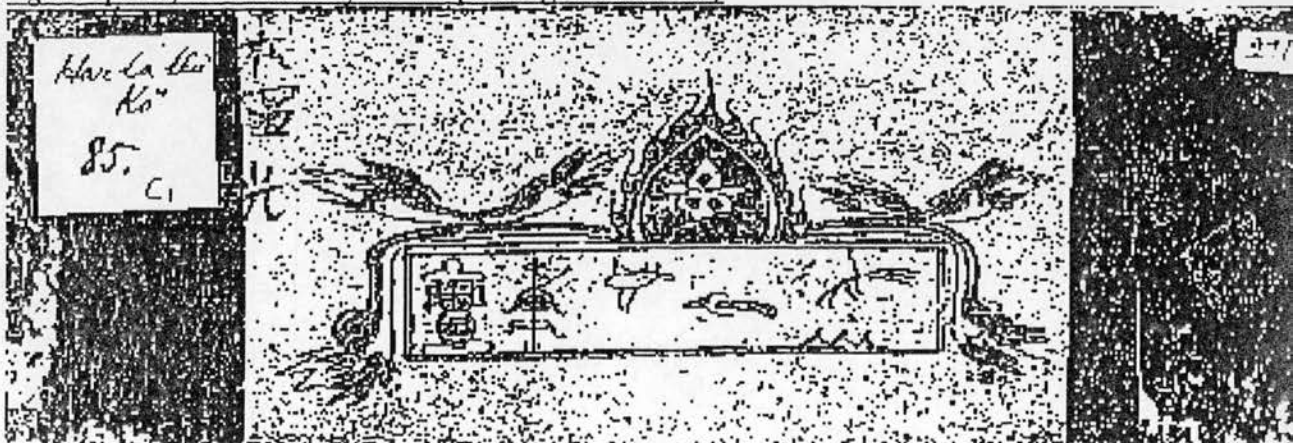


Figure 27. C9 *dto-mba* text, HY271, *Mún ndzî mí, Hâr-lâ-llù' k'ó'*. (Forget the bitterness of life, the ceremony for the suicide.)

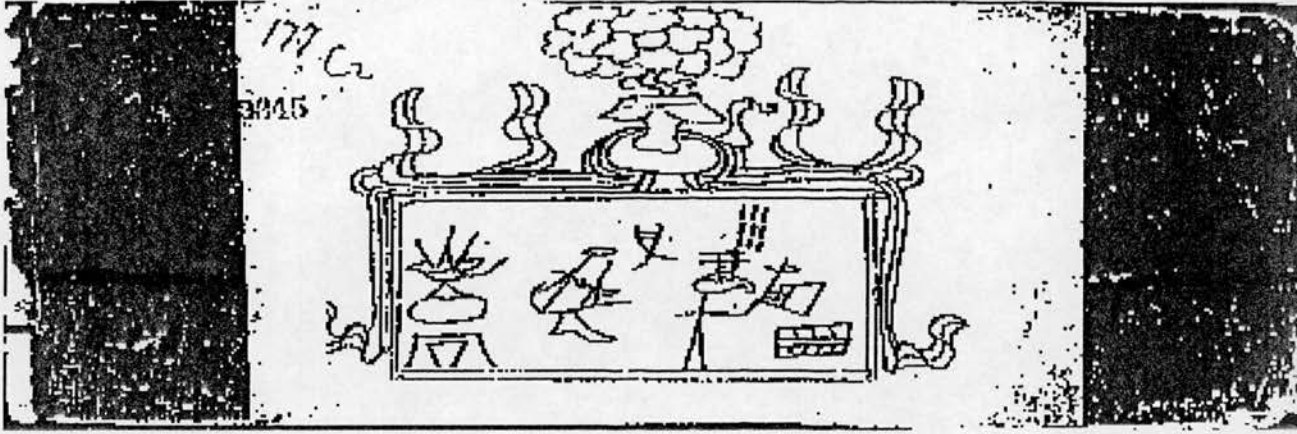


Figure 28. C2 *dto-mba* text, LC2345, *T'ô-gkô ngâw-là ng<sup>^</sup>v-gk'v, Ch'ú-bpâ ngyí, Dtó nà k'ó'*. (The 13 *T'ô-gkô* deities, burn the juniper boughs, the scapegoat ceremony.)

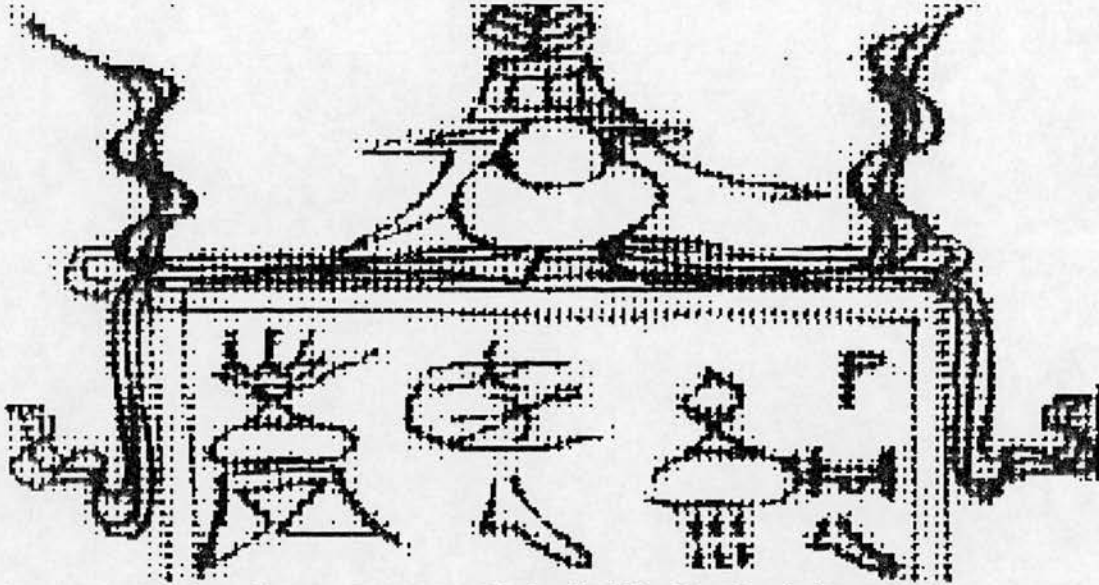


Figure 29. C3 *dto-mba* text, LC2079, *Yù-la-dî-ddô gkò-gkân k'ó'*, *Dtó nà k'ó'*. (Substitute and liberate a life offering for god *Yù-la-dî-ddô*.)

C type manuscripts are also more elaborate than A type manuscripts in their title settings. There are only 7 writers in this type. It may be assumed that they came from the same village, viz. Changsui. C1 and C9 are the *dto-mba* family Yang Fuguang and Dto-dzhi. They have most of the manuscripts in this type. Both C2 and C3 are also consistent and good writers. C2 has the most elaborated titles in the collections.



D type, the Zhongdian/Baoshan SchoolTable 11. Type D *dto-mba* religious texts in Europe and U.S.A.:

Type:	Date:	Libraries:							Total:	Comment:
		HY	LC	SB	JRL	IOL	BM	?		
D1		1	72	7	0	1	2	?	83	
D1a		5	22	15	1	4	1	?	48	Ge Qu Ge Ba?
D2		54	41	17	0	0	8	?	120	
D3, D5, D5a		14	41	8	16	24	25	?	128	Related (father & son?)
D4		0	0	20	0	0	0	?	20	
D9, D11		0	0	0	56	0	0	?	56	Not very good. ( <i>A-mi Shi-lo</i> ?)
D10		0	0	0	3	0	0	?	3	Very good.
D6-D8, D12-D118		18	167	6	2	2	5	?	200	
D...		12	49	19	12	3	1	?	96	
Total		104	392	92	90	34	42		754	

The following are some examples of the title page of the D type texts:

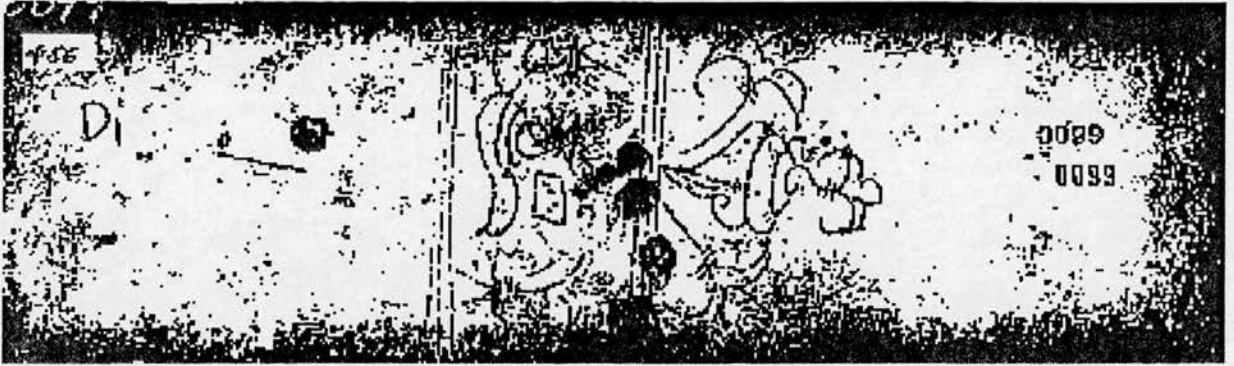


Figure 30. D1 *dto-mba* text, LC99, *Ch'êr t'û-bbué, Ssù g<sup>^</sup>v.* (The origin of medicine, the ceremony of propitiating the *Ssù* spirits.)

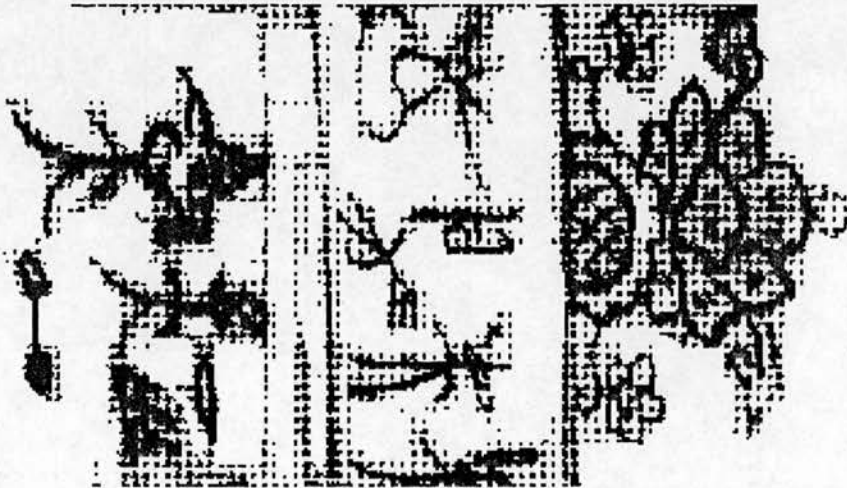


Figure 31. D1a *dto-mba* text, IOL92 Part 9, *Ts'ò-mbêr chér-dzò.* (The story of the descend of the ancestor *Ts'ò.*)

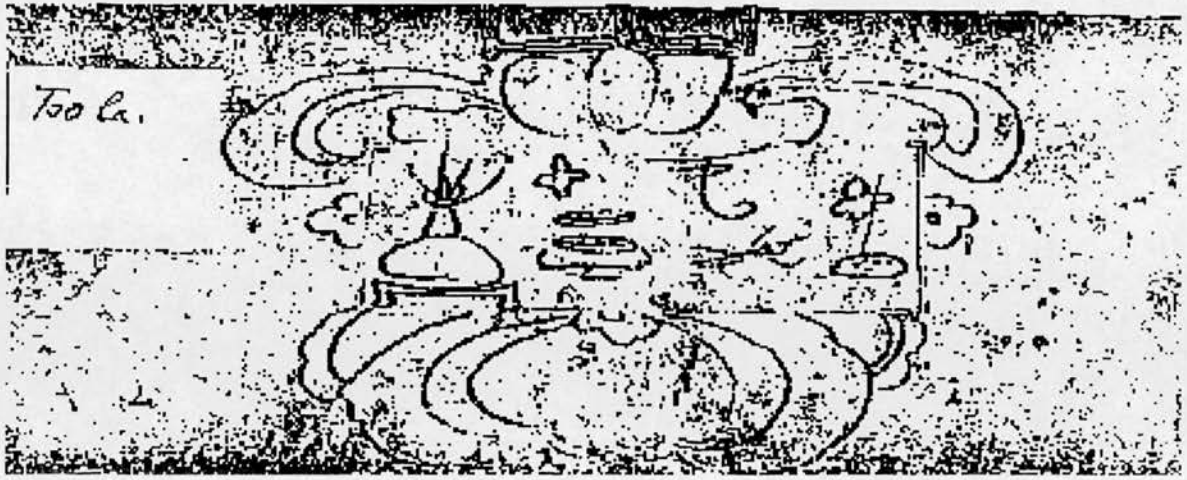


Figure 32. *D2 dto-mba* text HY483, *B'à-mân ssû lù'*. (Divine by three cowry shells.)

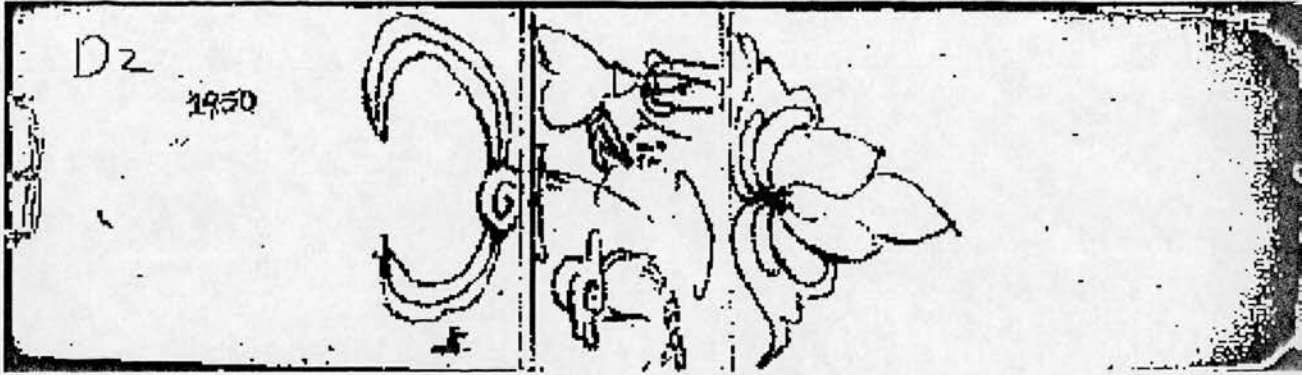


Figure 33. *D2 dto-mba* text, LC1950, *Ghû'gh gkú hó', Muân bpò'*. (Sacrifice a cow, the ceremony of sacrifice to Heaven.)

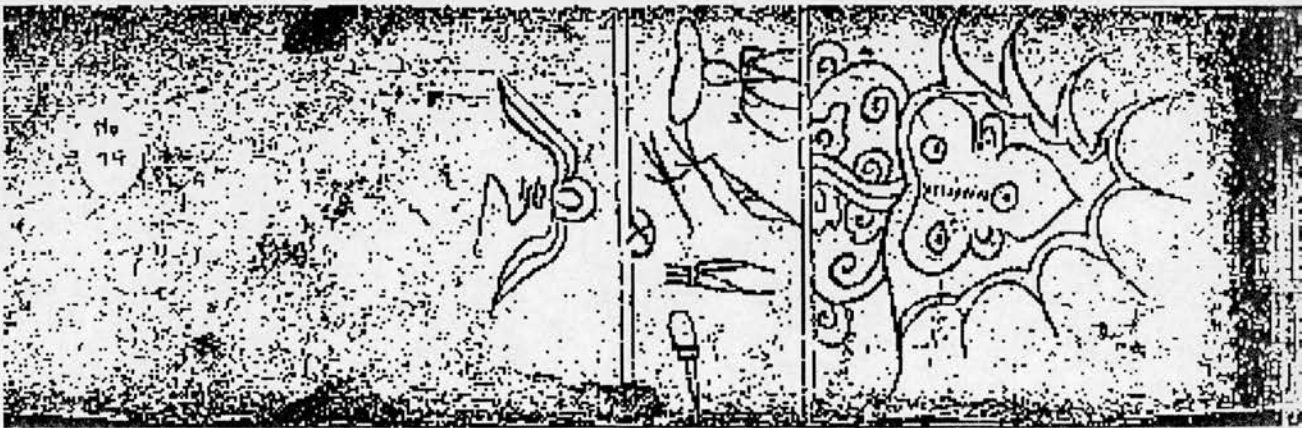


Figure 34. *D3 dto-mba* text, JRL74, *Dtó nà k'ó', gk'v-chúng*. (The scapegoat ceremony, first part.)

This school of *dto-mbas* normally wrote the titles of the manuscripts mainly in sideways. The best writer was D1a. Generally speaking, the *dto-mbas* of this school were less sophisticated in drawing than the A, B, or C types, but there were more *dto-*

*mbas* of this school (viz. who wrote in sideways) than *dto-mbas* in other schools. Most of these *dto-mbas* seemed to have had only small libraries. Each has only a couple of manuscripts in the collections. The general condition of these manuscripts is not as good as those of the A, B, C types, which makes them appear old. At least Rock had such an impression. Among the *dto-mbas* of this school, D2 seems to have had the largest library in the collections, but half of his manuscripts were divination books. There is also a certain relationship between D3, D5 and D5a. D5 wrote some of the titles for D3. Some of their manuscripts are combined into one (for example, Or11470, Or11457).

### E type, other subschools of Baisha School

Table 12. Type E *dto-mba* religious texts in Europe and U.S.A.:

Type:	Date:	Libraries:							Total:	Comment:
		HY	LC	SB	JRL	IOL	BM	?		
E1		0	65	0	0	0	0	?	65	S.E. of Lijiang?
E2		1	45	0	0	0	0	?	46	
E3	1896/ 1903	0	19	1	0	0	0	?	20	Li's dating (LC1182, 1133)
E4	1889	0	86	1	0	0	0	?	87	Li's dating (LC946).
E5		0	18	2	0	0	0	?	20	
E6		0	35	1	0	0	0	?	36	
E7		0	56	4	1	0	0	?	61	
E8—E83		2	127	27	1	0	0	?	157	
E...		0	1	7	0	0	0	?	8	
Total		3	452	43	2				500	

The following are some examples of the title page of the D type texts:



Figure 35. E1 *dto-mba* text, LC1075, *Ts'ò-mbêr t'û, Dtó nà k'ó'*. (The descend of the ancestor, the scapegoat ceremony.)



Figure 36. E2 *dto-mba* text, LC1916, *Ghû'gh-dô-ts'ú'-yì lâ-mûn ts'à'-ssú gk<sup>^</sup>v ssáw, ch'ú-bpâ bâ', Szî-chúng bpò'*. (Invite the 13 swastika goddesses, burn the juniper boughs, the ceremony for the prolongation of life.)



Figure 37. E3 *dto-mba* text, LC780, *Ddù 'à Ssù 'à, Ch'óu nà g<sup>^</sup>v*. (The fight between god *Ddù* and demon *Ssù*, the purification ceremony.)

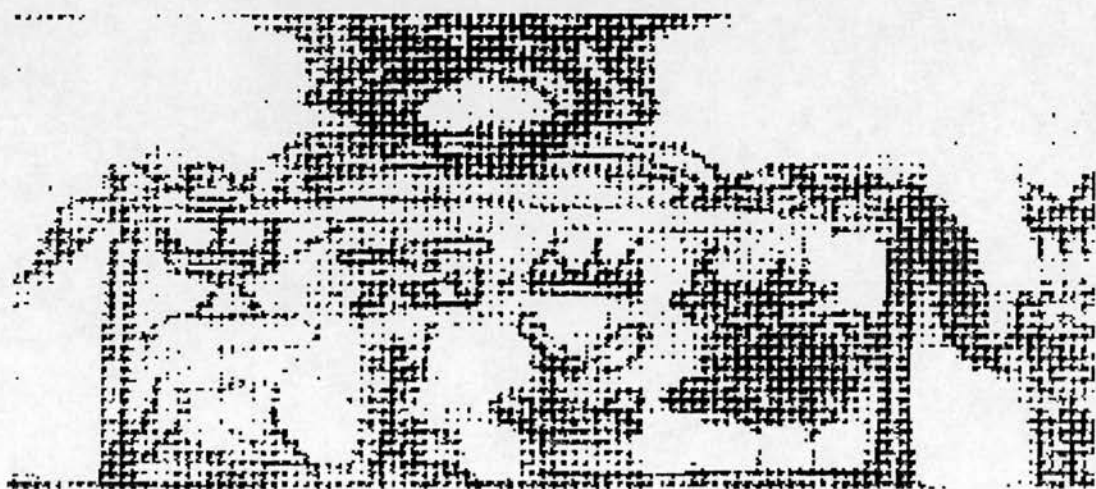


Figure 38. E4 *dto-mba* text, LC946, *Mî-k'ò p'ú, Shí-lô n'v*. (Get rid of sins, the funerary ceremony for *Dtô-mbà Shí-lô*.)

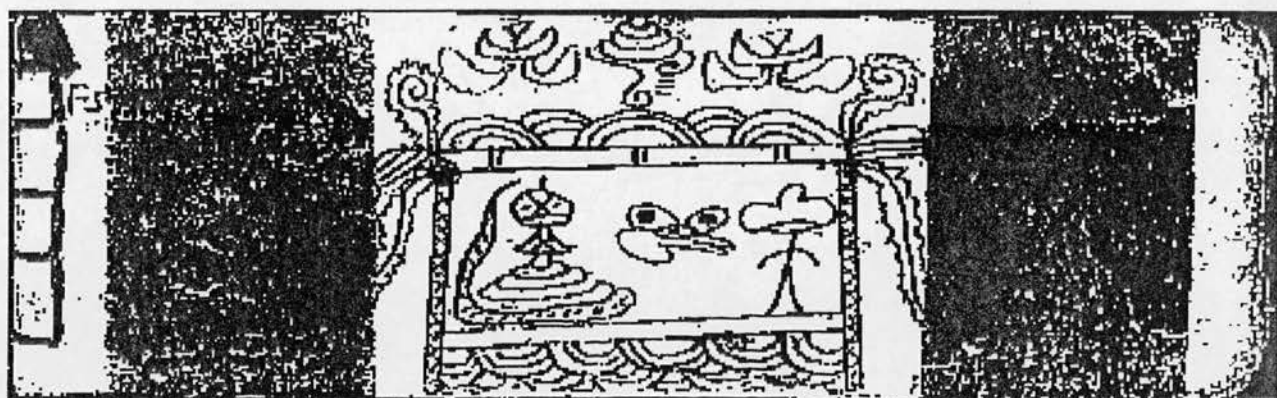


Figure 39. *E5 dto-mba* text, LC11, *Dtò-ssâw-ngó-dt<sup>h</sup>v chér dzò, Ssù g`v.* (The story of *Dtò-ssâw-ngó-dt<sup>h</sup>v*, the ceremony of propitiating the *Ssù* spirits.)

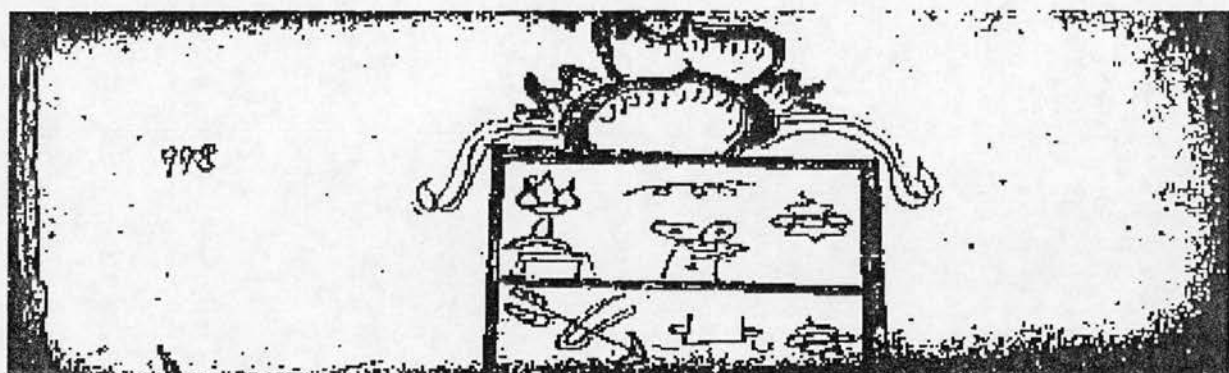


Figure 40. *E6 dto-mba* text, LC998, *Lû'-ssî ts'à'-ssú gk<sup>h</sup>v t'û, Ch'óu g`v.* (The origin of the 13 arrows, the purification ceremony.)

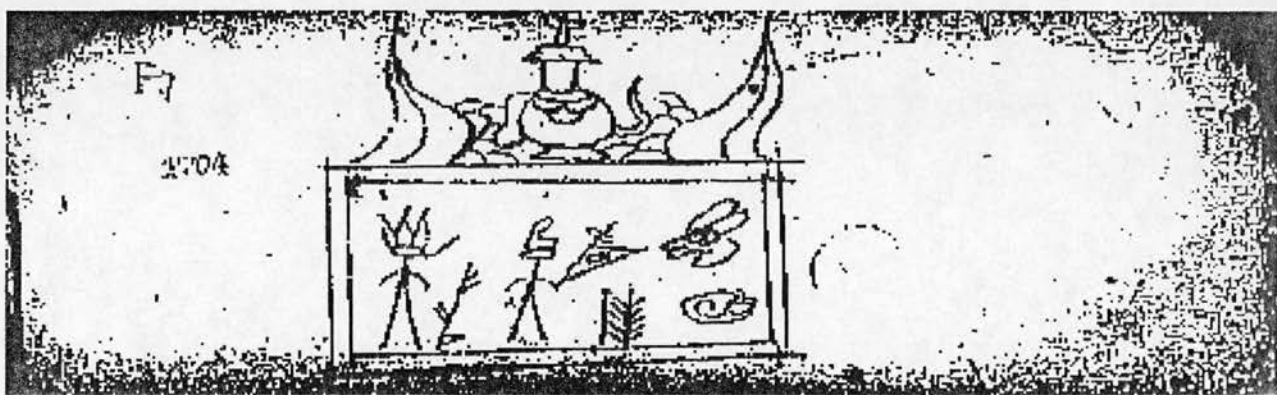


Figure 41. *E7 dto-mba* text, LC1704, *Là'-ch'óu ndshì, Mbbuê d'à n`v.* (Repay the *Là'-ch'óu* demons, the funeral for a courageous woman.)

E type manuscripts are other variations of B type manuscripts. There is no general agreement in the styles of the titles. Each *dto-mba* had some different ways of writing the titles from others.

F type manuscriptsTable 13. Type F *dto-mba* religious texts in Europe and U.S.A.:

Type:	Date:	Libraries:							Total:	Comment:
		HY	LC	SB	JRL	IOL	BM	?		
F		5	115	20	1	2	0	?	143	

These manuscripts do not have distinct styles in their title settings. These writers were obviously novices.

*Dto-mba* manuscripts seem to fall into a similar pattern of distribution as that of the *dto-mba* population revealed in some studies. Most of the famous *dto-mbas* came from the Lijiang plain and the Ludian area (in the west of Lijiang county, near Weixi, see Maps 3), about 39 (He and Guo 1985; He Zhiwu 1989: 52-66; Guo 1991b, summarised in Table 14 below). They can be compared with some 36 of the best writers identified through the manuscripts from the Lijiang/Ludian areas (Tables 8-10, 12 above). There were 18 noted *dto-mbas* in the Zhongdian/Labao area compared with about 10 good or consistent writers in the manuscripts presumably coming from these areas. The following Table (Table 14) is a list of the famous and noted *dto-mbas* in comparison with some of my categorisation of the authors through the styles of the texts and the information about some authors provided by Rock:

Table 14. The famous or noted *dto-mba* in comparison with the types of the texts (main source: He and Guo 1985; Guo 1991b).

	Mss. Type:	Rock's inform:	Name:	Other name:	Date:	Place:	Generations:	Contact scholars:
1	D9,D11			<i>A-mi Shi-lo</i>		Baidi	13 gener.	
2	A4,D1a			<i>Ge Qu Ge Ba</i>		Baoshan		
3	A1b	<i>Dto-la brothers</i>		<i>Jiu Zhi Lao</i>		Baisha	24 gener.	
4			He Yonggong	<i>Dongwu</i>	1824-1888	Tacheng		
5			He Wenyu		1853-?	Tacheng		
6	B3		He Shijun		1860-1930	Ludian		Li
7			He Shigui	<i>Dongga</i>	1866-1950	Wutai		Fang
8	C2		Sang Ni Cai		1875-1936	Wenbi	S* Dongxing	
9	B1, B2		He Fengshu		1877-1952	Dayanzhen		
10			He Minkui	<i>Dong Wencan</i>	1878-1954	Kuifeng		
11	A2	Ho Ho-shou	He Cheng		1879-1953	Baisha	FF He Hong	Rock
12	A34	He Hua-ting	He Huating		1882-1947?	Longpan		Rock.
13	B5,B7	<i>Dto-li</i>	Kang Ba Cai	<i>Dongcai</i>	1882-1958	Taian		
14	B6		Qing Ba Yan		1882?	Taian		

15	C3		He Shiquan	<i>Dongfa</i>	1885-1943	Changsui		
16	D		Jiu Jia Ji		1887-1964	Baidi		Rock/Li
17				<i>Dongniuheng</i>	1890-	Dadong	pupil He Shicheng	
18	C1	Mu Fuguang	He Xuetao	<i>Dongqing</i>	1890-1942	Changsui	F Mu Weiting	
19	B4		He Wenzhi	<i>Puzhidengsong</i>	1895-1951	Ludian	FF He Shijun	Li
20			He Zengcai		1896-1967	Ludian		Instit.
21	A3		He Fang	<i>A Kai Yu</i>	1897-1970	Wutai	FF A Pu Biao	Rock
22	D		He Nianheng		1901-1985	Baidi		
23			He Kui		1903-	Longshan	3 gener.	
24			Yang Shuxing		1905-1983	Longshan		Instit.**
25			He Shicheng	<i>Dongyucai</i>	1909-	Dadong		Instit.
26			He Zangming		1909-1982	Mingyin		
27			He Jifu		1910-	Wenhua		
28			He Xuecai		1910-	Ludian		Li
29			Yang Jixuan		1912-	Ludian		Li
30			He Yunzhang	<i>Nuobuyoudeng</i>	1914-	Ludian	7 gener.	Instit.
31	D3,D5		Yang Genggao		1918-	Baidi	3 gener.	
32			He Xuezhi		1918-	Tacheng	3 gener.	Instit.
33			He Yuncai		1920-	Ludian	10 gener.	Instit.
34			He Kaixiang	<i>Dongheng</i>	1921-	Ludian	3 gener.	Instit.
35			He Yukui		1923-	Tacheng		
36			He Cai		1925-1965	Ludian		Li
37			He Guoguang	<i>Dongcai</i>	1927-	Ludian	4 gener.	
38			He Jikui		1928-	Mingyin	3 gener.	Instit.
39			He Wencan		?	Jinshan		
40			Ye Zhi Ba		?	Ludian		
41			He Zhongdao		?	Xiangyun		Fang
42				<i>Dongjin</i>	?-1939	Shigu		
43			He Guihua	<i>Dong Yuzhao</i>	?-1943	Kuifeng	S He Minkui	
44			He Shaowen		?-1949	Tacheng		
45	D		He Dongguang		?-1960s	Xingren		
46	D			<i>Dongjia</i>	?1840-***	Baidi		
47	D			<i>Ru Zhou</i>	?1840-***	Baidi		
48	D			<i>Dongzhi</i>	?1840-***	Baidi	SS Dongta	
49	D			<i>A Di Tu</i>	?1840-***	Baidi		
50	D			<i>Dongzhang</i>	?1840-***	Baidi		
51	D			<i>Dongta</i>	?1840-***	Baidi		
52	D			<i>Meita</i>	?1840-***	Baidi		
53	D			<i>A Di Tu</i>	?1840-***	Baidi		
54	D			<i>Dongzhang</i>	?1840-***	Baidi	SS Dongyu	
55	D			<i>Cita</i>	?1910-***	Baidi	6 gener.	
56	D			<i>Donglu</i>	?1910-***	Baidi	SS Dongjia	
57	D			<i>A Zhuo A Ri</i>	?1910-***	Baidi	3 gener.	

The dates given above were birth dates and death dates.

\* F=father, FF=grandfather, S=son, SS=grandson.

\*\* Member of The *Dto-mba* Research Institute, Lijiang, 1960s and 1980s.

\*\*\* No birth or death days have been given in the source for these *dto-mbas*. They are simply referred to as the 'ancestor' (始祖) *dto-mba* of a village (Guo 1991b: 680). In the context given, they were likely the grandfathers or fathers of the *dto-mbas* who remembered them.

The findings of my comparison of the different sources about the *dto-mba* authors are further summarised below (Table 15):

Table 15. *Dto-mba* population, Rock, Chinese sources & types of manuscripts compared: (see also Table 7 in 7.3.2.; Table 14 above)

Mss.

Type	Rock's inform.	Name	Other names	Date	Area/Village
D9, D11		<i>A-mi Shi-lo</i>		1550?	Baidi, Zhongdian.
A1 (a, b, c)	<i>Dto-la.</i>	Jiu Zhi Lao, He Hong.		1700/1800- 1860(pr.)?	Baisha.
A2	Ho Ho-shou.	He Hong. He Shigui.	<i>Dongga.</i>	1832(pr.) 1866(b.)	Wutai/Lä-ts'ü-wüa. (south of Lijiang)
A3	?	A Pu Biao, Ho Fang?		1830(b.), 1897(b.)	Wutai, Yangxi (south of Lijiang)
A4	?	Ge Qu Ge Ba?		1800(pr.)	Baoshan
A5	<i>Dto-dsu.</i>	?	?	1800(pr.)?	Lijiang area.
A6	?	?	?	1860 (pr.)	Baisha.
A34	Ho Hua-ting.	He Huating.		1882-1943.	Longpan ( <i>Gv-nan-wüa</i> ).
B1, B2		He Fengshu.		1877-1952.	Tayanchen.
B3		He Shijun.		1860-1930.	Ludian.
B4		He Wenzhi.		1895-1951.	Ludian.
B5, B7	<i>Dto-li.</i>	Kang Ba Cai.	<i>Dongcai.</i>	1882-1958.	Taian, Runanhua ( <i>Mün-shwuá-wuâ</i> )
B6		Qing Ba Yan.		1882? (b.)	Taian, Runanhua ( <i>Mün-shwuá-wuâ</i> )
C1	<i>Dto-dzhi</i> /Yang (Mu)Fuguang.	He Xuedao.	<i>Dong- qing.</i>	1890-1942.	Changsui ( <i>Ghügh-k'ö</i> ).
C9	Mu Weiting.			1860 (b.)	Changsui ( <i>Ghügh-k'ö</i> ).
C2, C3		Sang Ni Cai, He Siqian.	<i>San Nyi, Dongfa.</i>	1875-1936, 1885-1943.	Wenbi, Changsui.
D1a		Ge Qu Ge Ba.		1800?	Zhongdian— Lijiang.
D2		He Nianheng.		1901-1985.	Baidi, Zhongdian.
D3, D5, D5a		Yang Genggao, (3 generations)		1850-1875- 1900-1918-	Baidi; Labao.

Note: b. = born, pr. = practising.

The above table is a hypothesis about the *dto-mba* writers. What I am looking for here is a pattern of *dto-mba* population shared by three sources of information: Rock, studies done in China, and the analysis of the manuscripts. This table is not meant to give an exact match of the individual *dto-mba*. It is meant to show that where there were the best types of manuscripts, there was a similar number of famous *dto-mba*.



### 7.3.4. *Dto-mba* population according to the manuscripts

The total number of manuscripts in Europe that can be examined is about 5,118<sup>1</sup>. As far as the titles are concerned, manuscripts that have distinguishable features are 3,852 on microfilms and photo-copies. From these identifiable manuscripts, about 319 *dto-mba* writers are identified. These are summarised in the tables below.

Table 16. Summary of the identification of *dto-mba* authors:

Types:	Persons:	Mss.:	Comment:
A	35	983	Dto-la brothers from Baisha & similar styles.
B	74	940	Dto-mbas from Mùn-shwua-wuâ or Taian, southwest of Lijiang, & from Tayan Zhen, the town of Lijiang.
C	7	755	Dto-dzhi, father & son, from Changsui, La-shi Ba, southwest of Lijiang & similar styles.
D	118	658	Dto-mbas from Zhongdian & Labao areas, north of Lijiang.
E	83	492	Dto-mbas probably from south of Lijiang.
F			
G	2	24	Da-bas of the Zher khin, east of Yangtze.
Total identified:	319	3852	
Total collection in Europe:		5118	Copies at <u>SB</u> not included because these are overlapped with those at <u>LC</u> and <u>HY</u>
Unidentified:		1266	Some of these may have belonged to the <i>dto-mbas</i> identified above.

Table 17. Manuscripts identified in different libraries in Europe:

Type	HY	LC	SB	JRL	IOL	BM	Others	Total
A	189	234	496	15	40	1	8	983
B	75	418	424	5	6	11	1	940
C	163	413	89	0	38	52	?	755
D	92	343	73	78	31	41	?	658
E	3	451	36	2	0	0	?	492
G	1	23	0	0	0	0	?	24
Total	523	1882	1118	100	115	105	9	3852
Lib.Total	598	3038	1118	135	121	108		

<sup>1</sup> This excludes 913 copies in the State Library of Berlin, Germany. The 913 copies in Berlin overlap those copies (microfilms) in the Library of Congress, U.S.A.(513 copies), The original are in the Chinese-Japanese Library of Harvard-Yenching Institute, U.S.A.(598 books).

30-40 of these *dto-mbas* were good writers. This number matches the number of well-known *dto-mba*, 15% of the total *dto-mba* population (He & Guo 1985: 44).

About 2,700 manuscripts were written by these 30-40 famous *dto-mbas*. These means that most of the manuscripts were written by some few dozens of *dto-mbas*. The largest library of one *dto-mba* or a *dto-mba* family in the libraries is about 508 (C1 and C9). If this was an average book store of a famous *dto-mba*, the total manuscripts produced by these *dto-mbas* would have been 20,000. The total manuscripts ever produced by *dto-mbas* is estimated at about 27,000. According to Li Lin-ts'an's investigation, the number of manuscripts a *dto-mba* possessed increased as one moved from Zhongdian and the north of Lijiang to the Lijiang plain (Li 1954a: 163). The individual *dto-mbas*' libraries, according to different sources, appear as follows (Table 18.):

Table 18. Individual *dto-mbas*' library according to other sources:

Name:	Books:	Location:	Date:	Source:
Xi Wenkai 習文開	80-100	Luoji, Zhongdian 洛吉, 中甸	1942	Li 1954a: 165
Jiu Jia Ji 久戛吉	352	Baidi, Zhongdian 白地, 中甸	1942	ibid.
Dto-lai 多来	370	Dalai, Lijiang, S. 大来村, 丽江, 南部	1942	ibid.
He Shijun 和世俊	620	Ludian, Lijiang, W. 鲁甸, 丽江, 西部	1942	ibid.
He Shaowen 和绍文	1,000	Tacheng, Lijiang, W. 塔城, 丽江, 西部	1949	Guo 1991b: 677
He Xuezhi * 和学智	1,000	Tacheng, Lijiang, W. 塔城, 丽江, 西部	1918-	ibid.: 682
He Nianhen 和年恒	480	Baidi, Zhongdian 白地, 中甸	1901-1985	ibid.: 680

\*He Xuezhi was the third generation of the *dto-mba* family (Guo 1991b: 682).

It has also been reported that in Baidi, Zhongdian county in the 1950s, an average of 200 books could be found in a *dto-mba* household. The largest library was 400 to 500 (Yang 1991: 94). One *dto-mba*, He Yuncai (和云彩) (1920- ) has chanted and translated as many as 400-500 books (Guo 1991b: 681). A conclusion may be drawn here that a famous *dto-mba* might have written, or a famous *dto-mba* family

might have possessed around 500 texts. It should be noted that the two *dto-mbas*, who have been reported as possessing 1,000 books each, came from the same place, viz. Tacheng, west of Lijiang and that there were three generations in one of their families.

Returning to the question of *dto-mba* population, analysis of the manuscripts in the collections has revealed the identities of 319 *dto-mba* writers among 3,852 identifiable titles of the manuscripts. About 40 of these writers were good and best writers who had written 2,700 manuscripts, an average of 70 books in the collection by each famous *dto-mba*. 280 *dto-mbas* were ordinary *dto-mbas* and had written about 1,100 manuscripts, an average of 4 manuscripts by each ordinary *dto-mba*.

If 30,000 is the estimated total number of the manuscripts ever produced (a summary of the texts collected in different libraries is in Jackson 1989: 136), then 3,852 is about seven to eight per cent of the total. This percentage coincides with the percentage of the famous *dto-mba*'s library that have been collected: an average of 70 books out of around 500 (seven per cent). This figure further confirms that 500 books may have been a typical famous *dto-mba*'s library. If an average four books are also the seven per cent of an ordinary *dto-mba*'s library, then an ordinary *dto-mba*'s library could have comprised 57 books. This gives the total manuscripts ever produced by ordinary *dto-mbas* at about 15,960, a figure nearly matching that of the books ever written by famous *dto-mbas* (20,000). If each book by the famous *dto-mbas* was copied over the generations by different ordinary *dto-mbas* for different occasions (ceremonies), then these figures can all be true! About 40,000 texts may have been ever produced.

A comparison between the manuscripts produced by famous *dto-mbas* is then very important to elucidate the extent to which *dto-mba* rituals were improvised based on or according to set formulas, and the extent of variation between different *dto-mba* genres. The comparison should reveal whether

1) Did the famous *dto-mbas* copy from each other? If so from what source?

2) If the famous *dto-mbas* did not copy from each other, where were their differences? How to account for the homogeneity in the use of the pictographs?

3) If some books are identical or similar, others are not, or partly not, how are they similar and different?

While more textual comparison is needed before all these questions can be answered, by relating the styles of the texts to the *dto-mbas* and relating the *dto-mbas* isolated to different sources, my study of the authorship of the texts above has at least answered part of the first question, i.e. the famous *dto-mbas* did copy from each other, and they so formed groups or schools. It has been said that the *dto-mba* profession at first was passed down in a family (He and Guo 1985: 45). In the manuscripts, some relations exist between certain types of manuscripts, for example, D3, D5, and D5a, C1 and C9. Quite a number of the manuscripts identified, for example, A1, A5, A6, B6, etc., may have involved two or three writers. But whether all these writers of similar styles had family relations is difficult to say, because some investigation has also indicated that some famous *dto-mbas* enrolled as many as 10 pupils at a time and some might go to learn the profession in other villages (He and Guo 1985: 45; Guo 1991b: 680). The styles of these writers sometimes are so close that it is hard to tell one from the other. It can be assumed that if the *dto-mba* profession continued in a *dto-mba* family, the books written by the older generations could have been passed down. The younger generations might have just used their fathers' books and copied some that had been damaged.

#### **7.4. The ritual activities, some comparison**

*Dto-mba* activity was closely connected with three factors: a) *pi-mu/su-nieh*, *llü-bu/ssan-nyi*, shamans and diviners of the Naxi/Yi peoples; b) Tibetan Buddhism and Bon rituals; c) Han Chinese customs in the social life of the Naxi society.

#### 7.4.1. *Pi-mu/su-nieh*, *llü-bu/ssan-nyi*, diviners and sorcerers

*Pi-mu* and *su-nieh* were the diviners and sorcerers of the Yi peoples. In many Chinese historical records, it is mentioned that the peoples of southwest China believed in *gui* (鬼) demons or ghosts. They had sorcerers called *gui zhu* (鬼主) the controller of the demons. *Gui* means 'demon' or 'ghost', *zu* means 'master' or 'chief'. They exorcised demons. We now know that *gui zu* in southwest China were the *pi-mu/su-nieh*, the sorcerers and diviners of the Yi peoples.

*Pi-mu* were normally males. The profession in most cases was passed down from father to son. *Pi-mu* were the persons who used the Yi scripts and wrote or copied the Yi ritual texts. They chanted these texts when performing a ritual. Their rituals are classified as follows (Ma 1989: 275):

- 1) Ancestor worship;
- 2) Funerals: to show the road for the dead;
- 3) To eliminate calamities;

4) Life cycle ceremonies such as the Torch Festival on the twentieth day in the sixth month of the lunar calendar, the new year celebration worship for good harvests, to worship the house god. Ancestor worship could last for 49 days.

The first two types of rituals should be performed by a grand *pi-mu*. or *pi-mus*. The last two may be performed by an ordinary *pi-mu*. Apart from these ceremonies, *pi-mu* also performed various kinds of divination, using different techniques. Divination was needed for many important events and occasions, for example, marriage, trade, hunting, starting a journey, choosing a day for a military expedition, passing a verdict on disputes. A *pi-mu* was therefore much respected in the Yi societies.

The *su-nieh* (*Su Ni*) were ordinary persons who were said to have been possessed by a *su-nieh* demon that caused sickness or loss of mind (Lin 1961: 127). If a person, male or female, suffered from certain diseases, it was interpreted as the

result of possession by the souls of their ancestors who were *su-nieh* before. Such persons therefore could become *su-nieh*. The main task of the *su-nieh* was to cure diseases by exorcising demons through possession. When possessed, they danced and answered questions, beating drums. They also used a bell. The *Su-nieh* did not know Yi scripts. Divination may have been performed by the *su-nieh* (Ma 1989: 285), but was mostly done by the *pi-mu* (Lin 1961: 128).

#### 7.4.2. *Llū-bu* and *ssan-nyi* of the Naxi.

It was generally known in the previous literature that among the Naxi, besides *dto-mba*, there were another kind of sorcerer and diviner called *llū-bu* (Jackson 1979: 57, Rock 1937a: 10, Rock 1952: 101, n.58). The following is a description of the *Llū-bu* from various sources.

They were considered as the genuine Naxi sorcerers (Rock 1952: 101). They were formerly females who had long, flowing, dishevelled hair. The role was taken over by men. They were consulted to divine the causes of misfortune, to speak to the dead, and to drive out demons while in trance. They had no books. They wore red turbans, and had perforated paper flags stuck in their girdles on the back. They beat a flat Chinese type of gong. They also used a sword, a bell and a drum. They performed all kinds of feats: licking red hot ploughshares, holding the red hot ploughshare between their teeth, washing their face in boiling oil, etc. (Rock 1952: 101). The *Llū-bu* worshipped a god named *Ssan-ddo*. *Ssan-ddo* was different from *Dto-mba Shi-lo* worshipped by the *dto-mba*. There were temples of *Ssan-ddo* all over Lijiang, even one in Lhasa, Tibet, built by the Naxi who had travelled there during the Ming and the Qing dynasties (fourteenth-nineteenth centuries). Although the last story is questionable, the point I want to emphasise here is that the general impression is that the *Llū-bu/ssan-nyi* activities were quite popular among the Naxi originally.

According to these sources, there was another term for *llü-bu* which was *ssan-nyi*. The term was felt to be disrespectful. But in some Chinese-Naxi source, the term is used as normal. Unlike the *dto-mba*, the practice of the *ssan-nyi* was not passed from father to son. Not any body could become a *ssan-nyi*. He must have been the one who could perform a ritual in a state of trance. This was similar to the *su-nieh* of the Yi. The identity of these terms and the ritual specialists among the Naxi become complicated when we consider the *dto-mba* who were also the *llü-bu* or the *ssan-nyi* (Rock 1952: 101).

Many *dto-mba* were at the same time *ssan-nyi* and called themselves *Llü-bu*. All grand *dto-mba* knew the demon exorcising techniques of a *ssan-nyi*, while ordinary *dto-mba* did not. That the *dto-mba* were the *Llü-bu* can also be proved in the manuscripts written by the *dto-mba* in which they addressed themselves as *Llü-bu* in some statements at the end of the manuscripts. The pictographs used are a tick, pronounced *llü'*, and a pig, pronounced *bù* in Naxi, for example, in manuscripts K.Or.476, Hs.Or.1411, written by A2, HY.439 (=Hs.or.sim.659), written by C1, K.Or.72, etc. As a matter of fact, the term '*dto-mba*' as a word so pronounced in pictographs seldom appears in a *dto-mba* manuscript. There are more pictographs for *shí-lô*, for *mbô'-bpò'*, not many for *dto-mba*.

#### 7.4.3. *Dto-mba—Llü-bu or ssan-nyi?*

It has been noticed before that the Naxi *ssan-nyi* closely resembles the *su-nieh* of the Yi peoples (Jackson 1979: 57). The above description has shown that there is not only resemblance in the name between these sorcerers in two allegedly different societies, but also great similarities in their activities. According to another story (Ma 1989: 284), the *su-nieh* of the Yi originated from Ninglang in Yunnan, east of Lijiang across the Yangtze where a matrilineal Naxi/Mo-so people live today (Chapter 3 & Chapter 5).

It is common to have two types of specialists among other Tibetan-Burman speaking peoples in southwest China. Apart from the Yi and the Naxi, the Hani had the *bei-ma* who could chant and officiate at funerary ceremonies, and the *ni-ma* who performed divination and cured diseases (Li 1983). These resemble the roles of the *pi-mu* and the *su-nieh*.

If we take the *pi-mu* and the *su-nieh* as originally two types of specialists among the Yi and the related peoples, then the *dto-mba* were really a new type of ritual specialists who emerged among the Naxi. Therefore the *dto-mba* could have been originally the *Llū-bu* of the Naxi or the *pi-mu* of the Yi peoples. They officiated at rituals like those of the Yi. They had Yi books and knew the Yi script which later they employed in the *dto-mba* books and referred to the Yi script as *ggô-bàw*. *Ggô-bàw*, as we have seen, means 'disciple'. It could have been therefore that some *Llū-bu* or *pi-mu* of the Yi peoples, who formerly used their own scripts for divination and other purposes, called themselves the 'disciples' of a ritual specialist from eastern Tibet, having learned the rituals and the iconography from their ritual master or from lamaseries in the area.

From another perspective, the *dto-mba* rituals could also be seen as an expansion of Yi rituals incorporated with a large number of Tibetan Bon rituals. Such an expansion of rituals may have been realised by the invention of some hundreds of pictographs by a *Llū-bu* who had learned his artistic skill in a Tibetan lamasery. He may have copied the format of the ritual texts of Tibetan Buddhism and invented the *dto-mba* books. The *ssan-nyi* of the Naxi must have been the *su-nieh* of the Yi peoples. They had a lower status in society than *Llū-bu* or *pi-mu*. Many *ssan-nyi* of the Naxi would have liked to become a *dto-mba* or *Llū-bu*. The pictographs in *dto-mba* ritual text for the *ssan-nyi* are a symbol for blood pronounced *ssân* and a penis pronounced *nyì* plus a figure with the headgear of a *dto-mba* (Rock 1963a: 397).



To see the origin of *dto-mba* rituals in this way, one has to address the questions: Why did only the Naxi, a group of the Yi peoples, create such a repertoire of rituals and why did these rituals become so popular, in especially the nineteenth century, when most of the religious texts were produced? A suggestion of the cause of the rise of the *dto-mba* has been the dissemination of Tibetan Bon rituals, plus the disruption of the kinship and marriage and the social change in the Naxi society in Lijiang since at least 1723 A.D.. This has been the main hypothesis put forward and emphasised by Jackson (Jackson 1979: 28-74). This history is now further reviewed and discussed below.

### **7.5. The history of Lijiang and the rise of *dto-mba* activities**

The general history of Southwest China has shown that since the fourteenth century, a large number of Han Chinese had migrated into the region. Han culture began to influence the non-Han cultures and had various effects on the societies in the region. Some Han Chinese schools were established and many young people were sent to study and compete in the Han capital to become officials in order to raise their social status.

There are indications that the cultural and social status of the non-Han peoples in the Southwest was seriously challenged by the large scale contacts between the minority cultures and the Han Chinese culture. Family chronicles of the minority peoples began to appear. For example, both the chief of the Naxi in Lijiang and the chief of the Moso in Yongning had their family genealogies written. These chronicles were written in Chinese. The main purpose of writing these chronicles was to claim a legitimate long history of the family so as to disassociate the family from those who had been called 'south-western barbarians' by the Han Chinese. Some aspects of these chronicles may have been created rather than a factual record of the family history. The creation of family genealogies has also been found among the Tibetans and among the

*dto-mbas* some of who have claimed up to ninety-five generations of family history (Tao: 1937: 87)

The creation of a past to associate themselves with Han Chinese culture among the minorities in southwest China was mainly done by the ruling families because these families were in the fore-front of contacts with Han Chinese culture. Han Chinese policy towards the non-Han peoples at that time was to control them through their own rulers. Such a policy was similar to the European 'Indirect Rule' in the European colonies in Africa (Asad 1973: 109). The impact of Han Chinese culture on the village level may have been relatively small.

The Lijiang area where the Naxi live occupies one of the most important final stages from inland China to Tibet. Since the fourteenth century when the area came formally under Han Chinese control, it had naturally become an important post for the Chinese, economically and militarily, against Tibet. Trade was greatly expanded after Han businessmen moved in. The ruling family of the Naxi greatly associated themselves with the Han culture. Their names were changed to follow the Han Chinese fashion, given the surname 'Mu' (木) by a Chinese emperor in 1382 A.D.. For the ordinary Naxi, the surname 'Ho' (和) was given. Such changes were in fact still superficial. There was still the problem of cultural loyalty on the part of the Naxi people.

Spiritually speaking, Han Chinese culture may not have provided great attraction for the Naxi since the Han Chinese were not homogeneous in their beliefs. The Confucian ethic was hard for the Naxi to accept partly because it imposed great restrictions upon the social practice of the ordinary Naxi, partly because it may not have been understood by the people.

The Mu ruling family at Lijiang had two family chronicles written, in Chinese and by Chinese scholars. One is illustrated and dated 1516 A.D. This chronicle traced the Mu ruling family of the Naxi back to the beginning of the 12th century. The first

ancestor of the Mu family, according to this chronicle, was a Mongol who came to Baisha in the 12th century. A popular belief goes that the first ancestor of the Mu family, called Yeh-yeh (a Chinese word for 'grandpa' in fact), was the son of Kublai Khan by a Naxi girl. Kublai Khan made the child Prince of the Naxi (Rock 1947: 72).

Another chronicle of the Mu family was discovered by Rock in 1931-1932. This chronicle, which Rock calls the first chronicle, is dated 29 years earlier than the above one which is called the second chronicle by Rock. The first chronicle discovered by Rock traced the ancestry of the Mu ruling family back to the Tang dynasty in 618 A.D. (Rock 1947: 87). All the ancestors' names in the first chronicle are native names, that is, they follow a naming system similar to the Yi peoples (see also Chapter 5) while in the second chronicle, the Chinese name 'Mu' was used from the seventh generation onwards (Mu Te [ 木得 ], 1382 A.D.). This could have been the source from which Rock took the story that the surname 'Mu' of the Naxi ruling family was given by a Chinese emperor in 1382 A.D.

There are several problems with these chronicles. First, it appears that the second chronicle was the formal one, while the first chronicle was not. Second, the two chronicles were not really written in the sixteenth century as stated, but at a much later date. The second one was probably written in 1919 A.D., because, as a book, this was when the last generation was mentioned. In this chronicle the Chinese handwriting appears different in different generations but the illustration or portraits of all generations appear to be the same. I have no access to the first chronicle and do not know how it was written. A question is: if the first chronicle has already given a complete record to the Mu family, why should there be a second one? The answer may be that the second chronicle was the right one for the Mu family because it was more closely connected with Han Chinese culture. The first chronicle may not have been officially recognised.

The two family chronicles of the Naxi ruling family show a clear political association of the Naxi with the Han Chinese rulers. This had happened since 1382 A.D. onwards. According to some Chinese historical records, among the local chiefs of Yunnan, the Mu family of Lijiang was the most civilised and well-read in Chinese.

Nominally, therefore the Naxi had been under the political control of the Han Chinese since 1368 A.D. (the beginning of a new emperor, the Ming dynasty). But such a control did not really affect the life of the ordinary Naxi until 1723 A.D. when a much tougher policy of controlling the non-Han peoples was introduced. This was the policy of replacing the hereditary minority chiefs with officials appointed by the Han central government. In Chinese history, such a change in the political and social life of the minority peoples is generally seen as a progress for the minority societies. Little is said about how such a change affected the social and cultural norms of the ordinary minority peoples. But this can be inferred as in the following account of such a change:

Since the Yuan dynasty (Kublai Khan) when the southwest minority region had brought under central control, the powers of the minority chiefs were weakened. The governments of the Yuan (1253 A.D.), the Ming (1368 A.D.) and the Qing (1644 A.D.) dynasties all encouraged the Han Chinese and other peoples from inland China to migrate to the southwest. They brought with them advanced technology of production. The old technology of production of the minorities had gradually been changed. Many communal lands of the minorities were purchased by Han landlords and businessmen. New towns and cities were established. The Han and the minority peoples mixed. Certain social institutions of the minorities were dissolved. The central government of the Ming and the Qing started *Gai Tu Gui Liu* (to replace the local chiefs with appointed officials) in southwest China. (You 1985: 369-70)

What then happened to the ordinary Naxi in 1723 when such a policy began to be introduced in Lijiang? In Chapter 4, various social and cultural institutions among the Naxi/Mo-so peoples have been discussed. It can be suggested that basically all these social and cultural norms of the Naxi were affected.

According to Jackson's study, before 1723, the Naxi in Lijiang, like the Moso, were matrilineal and they formed two clans of the four clans of the Naxi/Moso people (Jackson 1979: 28-51; 238). It follows from this argument that prior to 1723, the Naxi

in Lijiang also practised 'visiting marriage' (see Chapter 5) whereby women chose their own mates. Men went to live with their 'wives' at night but returned to their own lineages during the day. The property of a lineage was handed down from mother's brother to sister's son. They cremated the dead and buried those who died violent deaths. They had *Lli-bu* who were females, and divined the causes of misfortune by consulting some divination books like those of the *pi-mu* of the Yi. The male head of the household conducted ceremonies worshipping Heaven and the ancestors to whom they sent the souls of the dead back. They also had the *ssan-nyi* who could fall into trance to expel the demons, which caused misfortune and diseases. Some Naxi went to Tibetan lamaseries of the Red Sect Tibetan Buddhism.

After 1723, the Han administration in Lijiang supported all changes towards patrilinearity and patriarchy. 'Visiting marriage', which was considered as barbarous and uncivilised, was banned. Women who looked for their own mates were looked down upon or punished. Husbands took over the household which was run by women before 1723. They arranged the marriages of their daughters. New inheritance laws were introduced so that property went from father to son instead of from mother's brother to sister's son. Cremation was banned and inhumation began.

What could have happened was then that women, who were no longer able to choose their own men, were forced into unwanted marriages. There were frequent scenes of elopement but the punishment was also severe, but the most serious thing was the losing of face of the families of both parties. In order to save the embarrassment caused to the family, the young couples often chose to end their own lives, which was usually initiated by the girls. Such tragedies took place not only among the Naxi, but also among other Yi peoples such as the Lahu (Li 1983: 256).

Han Chinese social and cultural presence among the Naxi and in the area may be traced long before 1723 (cf. also 3.1. on the cultural unity and diversity of China). In my view, 1723 has been generally taken by sinological historians as a politically

important reference point for the beginning of the domination of the non-Han peoples by the Han Chinese in the south and south-west of China since it was then that Han officials were appointed to the county magistratures there. Han Chinese political domination and cultural presence in the Lijiang area may have brought great disruption in the social life there.

In Chapter 5, I have shown that there is a resemblance between the Naxi kinship ideology as reflected in the religious texts and archaic Chinese kinship ideology. It can be assumed that Chinese kinship ideology, along with other ideas of Han Chinese origin, as well as Tibetan Bon religion, has been incorporated into the religious texts by the *dto-mba*, who are generally considered as the intellectuals of the society (Guo and Yang 1991: 3). It has been noted and debated in previous research that unwanted marriage which led to the phenomenal 'love suicides' among the Naxi was closely related to the production of the religious texts (Jackson 1979: 46-52; cf. Mckhann 1992: 186-187). In Chapter 5 (5.9.) I have suggested that patrilineal cross-cousin marriage, which was practised among the Naxi, as well as the other Yi peoples, may have been mistakenly identified as incestuous brother-sister marriage and abhorred. This led to the phenomenal 'love suicide' in the Lijiang area and became the topic of a most popular ritual of the *dto-mba*. While this is a possible explanation for the occurrence of the 'love suicide', another explanation can be found in the type of marriage itself. Cross-cousin marriage, mainly matrilineal cross-cousin marriage (FZS and MBD), was once common in Han China, while patrilineal cross-cousin marriage (FZD and MBS) was disfavoured (Hsu 1945: 84, 91). A popular reason given in many parts of China for such a preference in marriage has been that FZS-MBD marriage induces a congenial relation between the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law so that harmony and unity within the family group are promoted, while FZD-MBS marriage does not agree with the traditional attitude about blood (that the boy has only his father's blood and girl has only her mother's blood). In FZD-

MBS marriage, a daughter and her mother are conventionalised, so far as mating is concerned, into siblings (Kulp quoted in Hsu 1945: 84; also Hsu 1945: 100). If it was the case that since especially 1723, the Naxi in Lijiang had adopted many aspects of Han Chinese way of life, then FZD-MBS marriage would also be treated as undesirable for a harmonious household.

Jackson has put forward a hypothesis that the Naxi in Lijiang shared a common background with the Naxi in Yongning (still called the 'Moso' by themselves and known as the *Hli-khin* locally) as far as kinship and marriage are concerned before 1723 (Jackson 1979: 36). This would suggest that the Naxi in Lijiang were once matrilineal and they had also the 'visiting marriage'. This view has been disputed (Mckhann 1992: 186-187). In other anthropological research, it has been suggested that the structure of generalised exchange does not depend at all on descent, but solely on the harmonic character of the regime considered (Lévi-Strauss quoted in Needham 1962: 19). Patrilineal cross-cousin marriage cannot be *only* practised in matrilineal society (cf. Jackson 1979: 40). I do not suggest here that the Naxi in Lijiang were culturally and socially unrelated to the Naxi in Yongning. In my view, the social historical experience of the Naxi in Lijiang was more complicated than the Naxi in Yongning. This complexity has been discussed in Chapter 4 (4.6.). This complexity is where the puzzle of the Naxi/Moso identity lies. What we know about the social life of the Naxi in Lijiang in history is mainly based on reconstruction from the translation of the pictographic religious texts of the *dto-mba*, who in many cases have shown their knowledge in Han Chinese culture (see also Part II Introduction). There is indication that the Naxi in Lijiang have greatly associated themselves with the Han culture in history (4.6.).

Cross-cousin marriage and the form of linearity it associates with is known in anthropological literature as an elementary form of kinship (Lévi-Strauss 1969). Its main feature is its prescriptive nature (Needham 1973). Such a prescription will show

its worst aspect in a society if this society is at the same time prevalent in arranged marriage. This was the case in historical Han China, where child-betrothal was common (Jackson 1979: 47). According to Rock, in the town of Lijiang child-betrothal was more strictly enforced (quoted in Jackson 1979: 47). This obviously had something to do with FZD-MBS marriage. Such a restriction was not without consequences among the young people who were not without knowledge of the freedom their contemporaries enjoyed in Yongning (see also Gong, et al 1984: 117). It should also be noted that such love tragedies also took place among the other Yi peoples such as the Lahu (Li 1983: 256).

In the problem surrounding the understanding of the kinship and marriage and the suicide of the Naxi is also the problem of the identity of the Naxi/Moso peoples. This is related to the making of the religious texts. As I have suggested in Chapter 4, the Naxi identity was a new identity of the Moso in their contact with the Europeans (4.3., 4.6.). This was mainly re-enforced by the creation of *dto-mba* religious texts. The *dto-mba* thus are representative of the Naxi culture, also known as the *dto-mba* culture. The kinship of the *dto-mba* and the ideology they promulgated is necessarily part of the Naxi culture. Thus the making of the religious texts is the making of a distinct culture.

Before the policy 'to replace the local chiefs with appointed officials' was introduced to the minority areas, Han Chinese education was in fact rejected by local minority chiefs because Han Chinese culture was a threat to their rule. Although it has been mentioned in some sources that Han Chinese schools began to appear in Lijiang in the middle of the seventeenth century, it was not until 1723 that Han Chinese cultural education was started on a large scale in Lijiang (Gong, et al. 1984: 50). It can be inferred that before 1723, the ordinary Naxi people in Lijiang, unlike the Mu kings who were well-versed in Chinese, had little experience of Han Chinese culture. After



1723, the ordinary Naxi found themselves facing, in real terms, the dilemma of either accepting the cultural values and ethic of the Han or adhering to those of their own.

Another dilemma for the Naxi was funerals. Cremation seems to have been the custom up to 1723 (Rock 1947). Previously, only those who had died a violent death were buried in order to prevent their ghosts harming others. The introduction of the Chinese burial custom must have been a particular dilemma for the Naxi.

These social changes caused spiritual crises among the Naxi. To bring some reassurance to the Naxi people in Lijiang in this spiritual crisis, some *Llii-bu*, the original Naxi/Moso shamans, may have sought help in the Tibetan Bon rituals which were used by the Red Lama Tibetan Buddhism. *Dto-mba Shi-lo* became the spiritual leader. Some pictographs were invented to record these Bon rituals so that the other *llii-bus* could learn easily and chant easily when performing ceremonies. The old Yi scripts were not useful because they were hard to remember. Therefore *dto-mba* rituals began to flourish and the pictographs were effectively used by many *llii-bus* to copy the rituals.

## 7.6. Conclusion

In analysing cultural activities, it is important to look at the actual people who initiate these activities. This is what I have found useful in understanding Naxi religion. Naxi ritual activities have come to present knowledge largely through the pictographic texts. If we took the content of the texts as the religion itself, we would not be able to understand completely the how and the why of the rituals.

The ritual texts are largely symbols and myths. Furthermore, these symbols and myths were often not original to the culture in which these symbols and myths were employed. They are often a mixture of ideas from other influential sources and the experiences of local life. Such was the case in Naxi religion. To understand a culture from its available texts, therefore it is extremely important to bear this in mind, that is,

the ideological gap between what has been written and what was actually practised. The identification of the *dto-mba* authors has proved that Naxi religion had its limitations in scale, both in time and in space. This narrows down considerably the scale of the task of investigation apparently presented by the large number of the texts written.

The idea of comparison is also found necessary in reading cultures from texts. Texts may be written and re-written. Texts also contain the effect of cultural dissemination. In the Naxi case, texts may have been written and used on individual occasions, by which I mean that some were written for a particular ceremony performed. But their disseminating effect was subsequent.

In this chapter, I have gone through some aspects of the *dto-mba* manuscripts discussed by Rock and by Chinese scholars. I have made distinctions between the texts written by different *dto-mbas*. My analysis has shown that the *dto-mbas* mentioned or studied by both Rock and scholars in China can be connected although they have been given different identities due to different transcription of the names. Such a connection between Rock's material and that from the recent studies in China facilitates greatly the analysis of the authorship of the manuscripts collected by Rock and others in the European libraries. I therefore have greater confidence after my study of the authors and the styles of the texts in isolating many individual *dto-mbas*. Most of the *dto-mba* and the manuscripts discussed were found in the nineteenth century. The analysis of the manuscripts according to their authors may have clarified further the number of *dto-mba* priests in the history of Naxi religion. It has confirmed that there were 'grand *dto-mbas*' or famous *dto-mbas* who wrote most of the manuscripts and that these *dto-mbas* were about 15 per cent of the *dto-mba* population. It has suggested the size of a grand *dto-mba's* as well as an ordinary *dto-mba's* library. It has also confirmed the different *dto-mba* schools in different districts of Lijiang and the types of ceremonies each school had. These perspectives on Naxi religious activity

will facilitate further study and comparison of the texts, to draw a substantial conclusion regarding the religious history in that particular area of China. I will further summarise these points in the 'Conclusion' at the end of this thesis.

## Chapter 8. The Translation of Naxi Pictographic Texts

### **8.1. The problem of understanding the texts**

A general impression which has been conveyed about the Naxi ritual texts has been that it is next to impossible to translate them without a well-versed *dto-mba* (Rock 1963: XXII; also Guo and Yang 1985: 2; Bøckman 1987: 5). Rock said:

I have come to the conclusion and conviction that it will be impossible without the help of a *Dto-mba* to give further complete translations of Naxi manuscripts especially of those of a narrative type, for less than one third of a text is usually written. Even twenty-five years ago I found that old *Dto-mbas* were then no more able to easily read manuscripts pertaining to ceremonies performed not within their memory. Thus the remaining, untranslated literature of this interesting tribe will remain an enigma.

. . . no *Dto-mba* wrote a text exactly alike, unless it was copying an ancient manuscript borrowed from another *Dto-mba*. These duplicates are especially helpful when it comes to transcribing names of gods, spirits, etc., and the names of their parents, for what syllables in their names are not written in one manuscript are written in others, and often we find that some more conscientious *Dto-mba* has written the names fully in syllabic characters on the side of the figure representing god, demon, etc.. (Rock 1955: XI)

There are four aspects which surround the problem of translating Naxi pictographic texts. The first is the oral transmission of different stories, names of gods, ancestors, ritual settings and demons. The second is the language in which these stories, names and ritual objects were related. The third is the representation of the oral versions in some forms of pictographs or pictures. The fourth is the individual author's (or *Dto-mba*) idiosyncrasy in the use of certain forms of pictographs and thoughts in the oral versions of the stories, etc.. The remark given by Rock quoted above about the translation of the texts are mainly the problems of the first and the fourth aspects. Because of this, it seems then that without a *Dto-mba* or if the memory of a *Dto-mba* fails, it is almost impossible to translate the texts.

The pictographic texts are in fact a representation of oral ritual recitals and performances. But the emphasis hitherto has been on the pictographs. The oral aspect

and the performance of the rituals in association with the pictographic texts have not been given enough thought. Rock said:

Their system of writing is a mnemonic one, . . . . . their texts cannot be read with the help of a dictionary as only few syllables are written of a phrase, the rest must be supplied from memory by the Dto-mba. The reason for this type of writing being used by the Dto-mba was two fold, first to save paper. . . . ., and second to prevent the common people from learning to read the Dto-mba texts. Now this has acted as a boomerang, and few of the old Dto-mbas are left who know what must be read into the texts from memory. (Rock 1952: 18)

I believe this boomerang not to have existed. The falsity may have resulted from and been reinforced by the idea that the pictographs formed a 'system of writing'. But Rock had also said that 'the Naxi hieroglyphics do not denote an actual writing but disconnectedly perpetuate, with the aid of memory, the creations of their religious tenets.' (Rock 1963: XIX). This is a more true statement.

In 1924, Rock published his first account of the ritual activities of the Naxi.

Reading through his account of the demon-eviction ceremonies, I have noticed many places which might otherwise have been described in pictographs:

The offering to the spirits of the ancestors: A miniature pine-wood coffin was placed on the ground at the foot of the altar, while the chief Tomba produced a tiny chick, which he held firmly. Both the Tomba and the sick man knelt down, and the latter bombarded the chick with rice and small peas, some of which were forced down the bird's throat.

Finally the chick's wings were besmeared with flour and a quantity forced down its throat till it was suffocated. . . . .

Close at hand sat a blind Tomba beating a huge drum, which rested on the ground. He accompanied his drumming with a weird chant, while his fellow Tombas continued the preparation for the actual performance.

(They) bombarded the chick with rice and small peas.

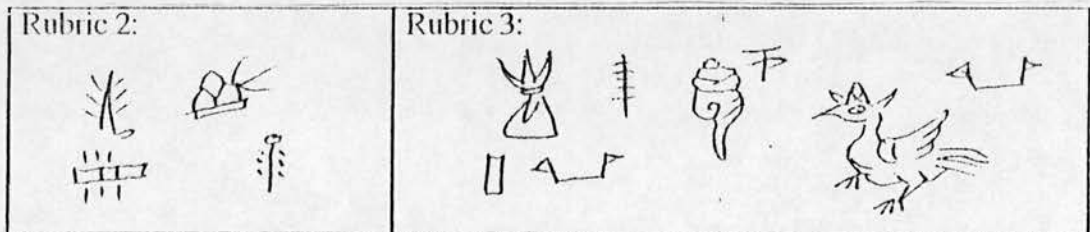
The second act was initiated by a lively tempo of the drum and gongs. A bonfire was kindled not far from the altar and into it a ploughshare was brought to a red heat. In front of the flaming altar a stick of wood was placed and across it a sword. One Tomba now appeared with small trees — one an oak, the other a pine. These he held erect on the ground, chanting continuously. First, to the accompaniment of fierce beating of drum and gongs, the little oak was executed with a stroke of the sword, after it had been gently touched nine times with the sword's edge. (Rock 1924: 481 — 483).

Drums, trees, the chicken, to bombard the sacrificial chicken with rice and peas or grains, the flaming ploughshare, flour, to cross a stick with a sword, etc. all have pictographic expressions in the ritual texts. These are the *ò-hàr ndâw-k'ò* (the hand drum), *dà ndzèr* (the oak tree), *t'ô* (the pine tree), *'à* (the chicken), *ts'û l'v* (hot ploughshare), *bô'* (flour), *ndáw* (to cut with a sword or knife) (see Rock 1963 *A<sup>1</sup>Na-2khi – English Encyclopedic Dictionary* (in alphabetical order). *Ghû'gh gkú hú'* (to present an ox alive) is the title of a text chanted when presenting a sacrificial ox or yak alive during a ceremony (Rock 1972: 344). There are also texts entitled *'À ghú hú'* (to present a chicken alive) (Rock 1972: 347). Before the bird was presented, it was usually bombarded with grains (Rock 1972: 344).

What I am suggesting here is a different perspective from which we can understand and translate the Naxi pictographic texts, without recording the actual chanting by a *Dto-mba*. In my view, the cultural specifics of local Naxi life, that is, a knowledge about the ritual activities, the religious ideology behind the rituals, local people's view of life and the environment are the more important sources. These plus some common sense and logic can help us considerably towards an interpretation of the contents of the pictographic texts. These have largely been recorded by Rock in his publications of the translation of some 135 texts from 1924 to 1955 (See Appendix III), classification and description of the ritual texts (Rock 1963a, 1965, 1972), and books concerning the Naxi and their history (Rock 1947, 1963b). The explanatory information about the religious life of the Naxi in pre-revolution Southwest China and south-east of Tibet is found mostly in about 1803 foot-notes in three of his major publications of the translation of Naxi texts (Rock 1948, 1952, 1955) and the explanations of about 219 plates, although some are repetitive (Rock 1937b, 1939, 1952, 1955, 1963, 1972) (See also Jackson 1979: 25 for a summary of the translation of Naxi texts by J. F. Rock).

## 8.2. Rock's translation of the Naxi texts

To translate all the Naxi literature composed of over a thousand or more manuscripts was a task which Rock said he had set for himself (Rock 1952: 19). This number of basic texts has now been questioned (Jackson 1979: 169-187). In his early translations, Rock gave some direct translation of the texts without presenting too much the pictographs or providing an explanation of the language used to chant (for example, Rock 1935, 1948). In his later translations, he was more aware of the need to present and explain the use of the pictographs and the language used to chant the texts. In these translations, he first transliterated the language used to chant, presumably recorded from the chanting of the *Dto-mba* who was assisting him, and then put it into English. Finally a section explaining the use of the pictographs follows (Rock 1952, vol.2; 1955). To illustrate the complication involved in Rock's translation of a text, I here quote the translation and explanation of two rubrics of a text. A rubric is a section usually divided by a vertical line in Naxi pictographic texts. It may be an equivalent to a sentence or a passage in the English language. (See a sample of a page of the pictographic texts in Appendix I)



Rubr.2: 2Ss 1dzu 2ngyi 3gkv, 2lv 2nggü 3dta 3gkv 3dzhi, 3dshi 1lv 3nyü-2yu 1dzhi,

Rubr.3: 2Dto-1mba 3Shi-2lo 2t'u 2ddü 2szi, 2Ddv-1p'er 1Khyu-3t'khyu 2t'u 2ddü 2szi.

... ..

Translation:

Rubr. 2: When the trees were born (and) were able to walk, when the rocks split (and) were able to talk, when the earth and rocks moved at that time,

Rubr. 3: In the generation when 2Dto-1mba 3Shi-2lo was born, in the generation when 2Ddv-1p'er 1Khyu-3t'khyu was born,

... ..

## Explanation and literal translation of text

Rubr.2: The first two top symbols are read first, then the two lower from left to right. The upper one left represents a tree, here read 2ss = wood, the word 1dzu = born is not written; 2ngyi = walking is indicated by the foot attached to the base of the tree, 3gkv = able is not written; the symbol to the right is 2lv = rock, 2nggü = split is not written but read, the three lines attached to the right represent: the two outer a mouth, the middle one indicates speaking and is read 3dta although there is a symbol for 2dta; below the tree is the symbol for earth, the lines extending above and below it represent movement and are read 2nyü-nyu = shake, the word 2lv = rock is not written, but the sentence reads: “the earth and rocks shook”; the last symbol read 2dzhi stands for 1dzhi = time, it originally represented a market read in the second tone. It will be noticed that there is no declension or conjugation, nor time, and thus it is like the Chinese literary language, furthermore the vocabulary here employed is not in use now in the spoken language; “to speak” in the colloquial is 3shou, and to have spoken is 3shou 1ssä, the actual verb does not change. Literally the sentence reads: wood born walk able, rock split talk able, time, earth rock move (shake) time.

Rubr.3: The first two vertical symbols, read from above down, stand for (the upper one) a 2dto-1mba or the 1Na-2khi priest the Tibetan ston-pa, a religious teacher, pronounced Tön-pa, the symbol below represents a board = 2dto and here indicates the 2Dto-1mba 3Shi-2lo the founder of the 1Na-2khi religion is meant. He is variously called 2Dto-1mba 3Shi-2lo or 2Dtü-1mba 3Shi-2lo or 3Dtü-1mba 3Shi-2lo, he is identical with Tön-pa She-rab, the founder of the Bön religion to which the 1Naxi shamanism is related.

The next symbol, a straight line with an indefinite number of cross lines, is read 2szi = generation, it represents grass = 2szi, and is here borrowed for 2szi = generation, it is possible that the crosslines indicate also a number of generations. The symbol below is read 2t'u = to come forth, the sentence is read: In the generation when 2Dto-1mba 3Shi-2lo came forth; the word 2ddü = one, is not written but read, it refers to that one generation.

The next symbols represent a conch with a phonetical symbol to the right of it read 1p'er = white; the next symbol is a picture of a bird with two horns, between which is the symbol for jewel, nor-bu in Tibetan, and 1non-2bü in 1Na-2khi.

This symbol represents the Garuda or 2Ddv-1p'er 1Khyu-2t'khyu in 1Na-2khi or the 1Khyu-3t'khyu as white as the conch. In Tibetan the Garuda is called Khyung. He is also called in hDab-chhags rgyal-po the king of birds; also hDab-chhags seng-ge the most powerful of all birds.

Of the sentence 2t'u 2ddü 2szi = come forth one generation, only the symbol for 2t'u is written.

(Rock 1952: 386-390)

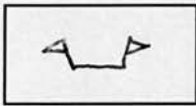
For audiences who had never used these symbols, there was a need to explain what each pictograph stood for, especially some objects or entities which were peculiar to the Naxi area and around. For example, the pictograph for ‘water’ may not correspond to the image of water in most European minds, or even Han Chinese



minds (See Appendix I for some examples of the peculiar representation of entities or objects). Many items, nevertheless, correspond to the universal idea of nature, of human beings and their activities. For example, most animals, plants and some human actions (walking, sitting, talking or fighting, etc.) are these universal items. But the most useful are the meanings attached to these symbols or pictographs.

Apart from the translation of some 135 texts, Rock had compiled the pictograph - English dictionary, Part I (Rock 1963) and Part II (Rock 1972). Both were published posthumously. Part I lists the individual pictographs and also combinations of pictographs in certain expressions or names. Part II lists and classifies the title of the ceremonies, texts, names of gods, deities, the *Ssù* Naga spirits, demons, *Dto-mba* priests and places that appear in the pictographic texts.

The value of the first dictionary is that it not only provides the literal meaning of a pictograph, but also gives the meanings of other words which this pictograph can denote. For example, a most commonly used pictograph *t'ù*, a wooden trough, has the following meanings:



- 1t'u. A wooden trough. (its literal meaning)
- 2t'u. To come forth; originate. See 2t'u-3bbue.
- 2t'u. To arrive.
- 2t'u. To perform a miracle; to cause a miracle.
- 1t'u. To pitch; erect, as a house. NNCRC, p.400.
- 3t'u. To drive out; chase; exit; go out.
- 3t'u. To entertain, as a guest.
- 3t'u. Step; to step; 2ddü 3t'u = one step.
- 3t'u. To dig, as a well.
- 3t'u. To take out; or cut out as a chip from a log. The Chinese *ch'ü*.
- 1t'u. To tally; to agree with; in connection with other words, the tone is changed to the second tone without altering the meaning.
- 3t'u. To prepare; to make; cook food.

(Rock 1963: 468)

A difficulty for a learner to use the dictionary is the arrangement in alphabetical order of romanized Naxi words. Without knowing how each pictograph is said in

Naxi in the first place, a learner is obviously unable to use the dictionary to read the pictographic texts.

The second dictionary is useful as a reference to read many of the Naxi texts. This dictionary is not wholly alphabetical. This is where the usefulness is. The dictionary is arranged in some major categories of the Naxi or *Dto-mba* pantheon and the ritual structure classified at certain levels, for example, categories of gods, demons, ceremonies, etc.. If this type of classification had continued down to the lower levels of classification of the pantheon and the ritual structure, the dictionary would have become an analytical construct of the Naxi *Dto-mba* religion. The dictionary stops at the first level of classification. For example, because of the alphabetical arrangement of the names of gods, demons, etc. within each category, the system of the pantheon is broken down. Many gods and demons which were originally associated with the five directions of the compass and the five elements, eastern-wood, western-metal, southern-fire, northern-water and central-earth, which share obviously the same origin as those in Han Chinese cosmology, could have been categories of entry in the dictionary. I copy some pages from the dictionary to illustrate my point (See Appendix V) ( Rock 1972: 1, 2, 196, 197, 255, 256).

Dictionary Part II, published in 1972, may not have been Rock's intended final version.

The alphabetical order of entries is useful for those who know the language and have learned about the pictographs.

Pictographs are intrinsically different from written language. Although there are culturally specific items as I mentioned above, they are far more easy to identify and remember than a written system such as Han Chinese characters. The problem with the pictographic texts and the difficulty to translate these texts is only that the pictographs were not systematically used, although their forms are quite homogeneous. This is also Rock's view of the use of the pictographs by the *Dto-mba* (see the quotation

below). This is the reason why I said above that the value of Rock's first dictionary lies in the many meanings that he could collect for a particular pictograph or a word in Naxi.

On the use of the pictographs by the *Dto-mba*, Rock had the following comments:

Many of the individual symbols are compounded and are read as a phrase thus forming a rebus in which verbs and other parts of speech must be supplied from memory. For example, the compound symbol 2yi-1ndaw 2ch'i-2ddü 1gyi



is read "one family"; literally translated, reads "landlord-this-one-house";. . . . .

2 It is easy to see why the phonetic values of a compound symbol must be memorised. A compound symbol, which has necessitated the memorising of the meaning and sound complex of the compound symbol used, could not be analysed grammatically as a written sentence unless additional symbols were introduced to supply those not written. However, this would destroy the edifice of the 1Na-2khi written phrase or the picture such as phrase represents. There are endless combinations and no system or rule for forming such compounds. These intricate rebuses of compound symbols were evolved by the priest. Nearly every priest formed his own compositions using, instead of the original symbols and their ideographic meaning, others with different meanings but of identical sound complexes conveying phonetically the meaning intended. Such phonetically-employed symbols are interspersed at random among other symbols or combinations of symbols expressing one and the same idea, these phonetically-used ideographs losing their original pictographic meaning. Thus unless one is thoroughly conversant with the 1Na-2khi language, it is impossible to read the ideographs.

3 While it is possible to read Chinese compositions without knowing the phonetic values of the characters — i.e. the language itself, one can readily see from the above that without the assistance of a well-versed 2Dto-1mba, it is impossible to read 1Na-2khi texts. Nor is a knowledge of the 1Na-2khi spoken language of today sufficient, for the written language is read in their ancient phonetics and not in the present day colloquial.

4 As it is difficult or impossible to write abstract ideas with pictographs, the phonetic value of symbols representing concrete ideas must be employed to express those of the same sound complex and, if possible, tone value of abstract ideas. Just as unwritten symbols or words are read into a phrase, so written symbols appear which are not read but which, by their presence, elucidate the context. The omission of symbols which must be read from memory, and the interpolation of symbols which must remain unread, plus the fact that a symbol may be read twice or even three times although only written once, make the reading of a 1Naxi manuscript well-nigh impossible unless one has a 2Dto-1mba (or priest) at hand to interpret the text. 2Dto-1mba, versed in the old traditions, are now a great rarity and by now are non-existent.

5 The compound symbols — regular picture puzzles — are however often more intelligible than the simple symbols for they tell a story even without a knowledge of their sound complexes. Such compounds have only a pictographic value and never a pure phonetic one intended to convey a meaning other than the written one. In addition there are symbols which can be read in Tibetan, Chinese and even Min-chia, representing loan words from those languages. ... ..

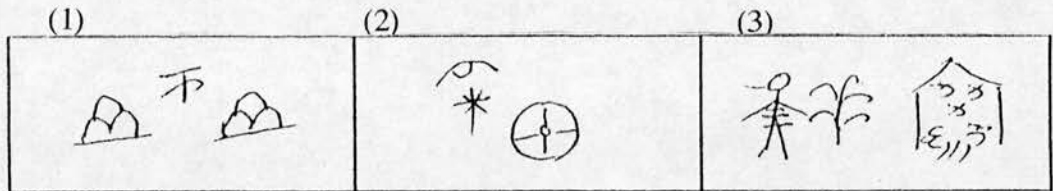
6 Naturally such a primitive written language lacks the means of expressing the tense of a verb or auxiliary verbs. The past tense is expressed by the symbol 1ssä (the head of a goral) which follows the verb; while the symbols 2ggo (a bench) and 2nnü (heart) serve for the genitive case, both being used phonetically. ... ..

(Rock 1963: XXI — XXIII)

Rock was far more serious in treating the pictographs as a system of writing of the Naxi language. In this way there were obviously difficulties because the pictographs were not systematically used and the pictographs were not all expressions of colloquial Naxi, or daily spoken Naxi, as Rock also said. I agree with Rock's idea about the compound symbols, which are more intelligible to understand a story even without a knowledge of their sound complexes. This is where I would like to explore the possibilities of designing a method of translating the pictographic texts without the aid of a well-versed *Dto-mba*.

The comment that 'it is possible to read Chinese compositions without knowing the phonetic values of the characters — i.e. the language itself' (paragraph 2 in the above quotation) equally applies to Naxi pictographs, except that the latter are not so systematic as the Chinese characters.

Going through some of Rock's translations and comparing them with the pictographic texts, I concentrate on those meaningful combinations of pictographs, the compound symbols as Rock called them. The following are some of them:



Where 1Ddo-3ssaw-1ngo-2t'u's wife 1Ddo-3dsho-1khyü-2ma dwell. (Rock 1952: 308)

One day. (Rock 1952: 308)

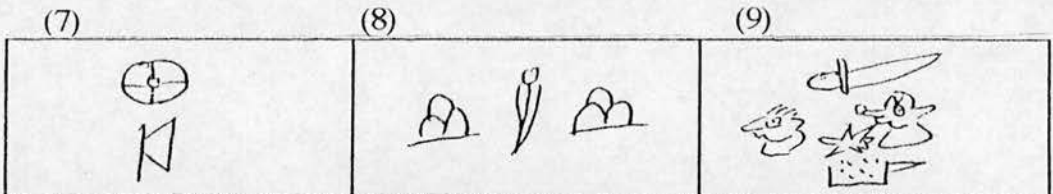
His relatives tried to prevent him from going, also his village and neighbours. (Rock 1952: 308)



Angry. (Rock 1952: 308)

She sent the tiger to herd the cattle, and not one was lost. (Rock 1952: 308)

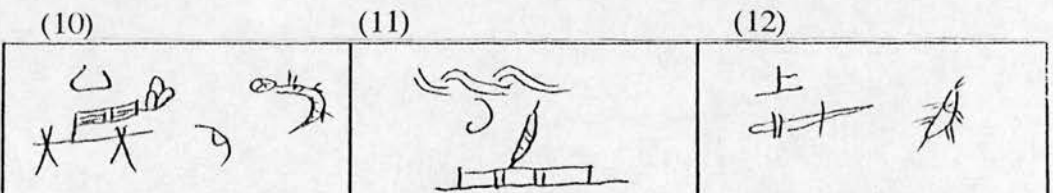
He is a celestial Naga chief who can gain victories on earth. (Rock 1952: 309)



In the day time. (Rock 1952: 309)

To act as an intermediary. (Rock 1952: 310)

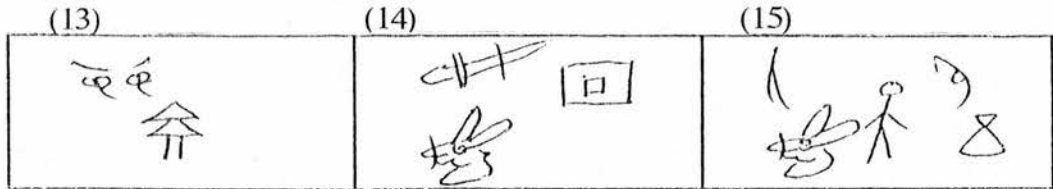
For the killing of 3Nyi-2ssä-2khyo-1lo, let him pay life money to his parents. (Rock 1952: 312)



Flint-lock guns, with bullets the size of gourds, but could not reach. (Rock 1952: 312)

(This is no more understood.) (Rock 1952: 312)

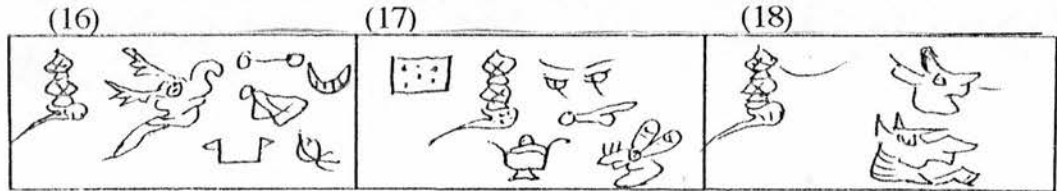
He must be killed. (Rock 1952: 312)



To see with keen eyes.  
(Rock 1952: 313)

It was so hot that the people could not speak.  
(Rock 1952: 608)

It was so cold that nobody could exist.  
(Rock 1952: 608)



The 1Ssu and 2lv are responsible for the illness.  
(Rock 1952: 191)

The Nagas must be entertained.  
(Rock 1952: 191)

The Nagas liberate their dog and horses.  
(Rock 1952: 193)

(1) needs the information about the myths in the rituals. It was a noted place in the ritual text known as 'the white rocks' (also as an entry in Rock 1972 under the geographical names but of a different pictographic combination:



rèad 3Gkaw-2dsä-2lv-1p'er-2wüa. The first pictograph in (4) represent teeth (2khü). This may have something to do with biting one's teeth when getting angry.

With some imagination, (11) can be understood. The pictograph on top represents a cloud and a drop of rain. The one in the middle is 'millet' (3t'ü), which was frequently used to mean 'to repay' (Rock 1963: 467). The pictograph at the bottom represents a piece of land. The context was about making repayments for killing a serpent spirit (Rock 1952: 312). (11) then can be translated as either 'to repay with a piece of land' or 'if the repayments are not made, there will be no rain for the land'.

There are many repetitions in the ritual texts. These repetitions can be seen in the repetitive use of a pictograph or a group of pictographs. Here one can find another technique to infer the meanings of a combination of pictographs.

What I have been presenting here is a new method, based on Rock's translation and categorisation of the pictographs, to read these pictographic texts. It seems that there were no fixed rules for writing these texts. Rock said that 'nearly every priest formed his own compositions' (in the passage quoted above). If this is the case, what we can do is to interpret rather than to translate the texts. If every *Dto-mba* made his own composition, then methodologically speaking, it will not matter very much if we 'read' the texts or the *Dto-mba* chants them. The omissions should equally well be supplied through interpretation, not necessarily through the chanting by a *Dto-mba*. By interpretation I mean a culturally constructive reasoning, which includes informed speculation, and some techniques of deduction and inference. Here cultural information plays a more important role than language, although it is with the latter that the pictographs have been presented as having close connections. But behind these symbols, oral or written, are phenomena of culture and ideas.

Clearly there can also be ambiguities or inaccuracy in the interpretation of the texts by this method that I suggest.

### **8.3 Computer aid**

In 1979, Anthony Jackson suggested a computer program to deal with the translation of the texts (Jackson 1979: 325-327). The program can quickly pick out all common phrases and store them, but first the pictographs have to be transliterated and fed into the computer.

There is still the problem of translating the pictographs into some form of written language which can be used on a computer keyboard. Now there are computer scanners which can be used. The pictographs are generally homologous, but the shape

of each is different from author to author. The computer should be able to identify variations of the same structural form. For example, a group of pictographs which express something like 'Let the family have prosperity: plenty of sheep, barnful of grains and riches' is depicted in the following two ways by two authors:



(Janert 1984: 35)



(Janert 1984: 59)

One way of dealing with these variations on computer may be to arrange the texts to be scanned according to authors. Authors can be identified through exactly such variations in the pictographic styles. The identification of Naxi authors has been discussed and clarified in the last chapter. A large disc space is needed to store pictographs by scanning into computers. One title page, which include areas of shades, may use about 10 kilobytes.

Another way of dealing with these variations on computer is to select the basic pictographs. This have been discussed in Chapter 7. These are the ones that are used most frequently. These may be the 'higher order phrases' in Jackson's analysis (Jackson 1979: 326). The problem with the basic pictographs is their variation in meaning. A muntjak head *lò* may mean 'to present' or 'to cross', depending on context. Thus combinations of pictographs or pictographic patterns are as important. But a single basic pictograph may itself be a linguistic context in which the meaning of a series of pictographs around can be inferred. If the basic pictographs are assigned to computer keyboard(s) and are used to 'read' the texts on the screen, we may first get different combinations of the syllables of the language or meanings. These then have to be further interpreted through a good knowledge of the Naxi language and the pictographs. The time taken can be shorter than a direct reading of the texts.



A third way of learning about the contents of these large number of texts, that is translation or interpretation, is through the structural analysis of the formation of the rituals and the myths. Of course there is a dialectical relationship between translation and analysis: the ritual can not be analysed without some translation in the first place. Then a good analysis of the ritual and myth structure will solve problems in translation which otherwise can be lengthy, time-consuming and unnecessary.

## Conclusion

In this thesis, I have mostly gone through three of the four major problems in the study of the Naxi religious texts which I have identified in the beginning<sup>1</sup>. There are now at least two questions which have been answered in my study: the origins of social and cultural identity of the Naxi/Moso peoples and the problem of the translation of the texts.

The question of the Naxi ethnic identity may be said to consist of three aspects of the social and cultural life of the group of people: 1) their sociocultural interaction with the people from other groups; typically including their rivalry and competition with other groups in scarce resources; 2) their kinship; 3) the history that they can subsequently constructed or reconstructed, whether by themselves or by the others. The Naxi, who were known as the Moso in the history of China, are in fact the creators of a new social and cultural identity established and re-enforced through their unique creation of a religious practice, the writing of the pictographic religious texts and the performance of a repertoire of rituals by the *dto-mba*, formerly known as the *llû-bu* among the people in the county of Lijiang. The Naxi were a diverse group of the Yi peoples in the region, the main group of whom identified themselves as the *Nosu*. The Moso were mostly a social geographic concept of the Han Chinese in their treatment of the group of the Tibetan-Burman Yi-speaking peoples in that part of the region. Like many other groups of the Yi peoples, the Moso, known in Chinese historiography, had their internal diversity, which can be seen in the differences in their kinship and marriage between those in Lijiang and those in Yongning. That the same ethnic title 'Naxi' is given to both groups in China today is mainly due to their common linguistic background and some common beliefs (the

---

<sup>1</sup> These are, namely, 1) the origin and dating of the religious texts, 2) the social and cultural identity of the Naxi/Moso, 3) the problem of translating the texts, and 4) the construction of this religion.

*dto-mba/nda-bpa* religion). A comparison between the kinship ideology in the religious texts and that of the archaic Han Chinese has shown that there is a resemblance between the kinship ideology of the *dto-mba* and the archaic Han Chinese. This has further indicated the *dto-mba*'s knowledge of the Han Chinese culture. The *dto-mba* have shown their knowledge of Han Chinese culture in many other aspects, too. These are very significant in understanding the origin of Naxi religion.

My conclusion concerning the problem of the social and cultural identity of the Naxi/Moso is that the Moso<sup>2</sup> in Chinese history, now known as the Naxi, were socially diversified. Such a diversity was part of the general social diversity of the Tibetan-Burman Yi-speaking peoples as has been investigated by quite a number of scholars recently (Lin 1961; Dessaint 1980; Li 1983; Fang 1984; Ma 1989, Harrell 1990). The social diversity of the Yi-speaking peoples in Southwest China is quite striking despite the fact that they share a common linguistic background and a common background in many aspects of culture. Thus it is not very significant, so far as social diversity is concerned, to trace a common social background of the people in Lijiang and those in Yongning (cf. Jackson 1979: 275-296), as much as it is insignificant to trace the common social origin of the Han Chinese, who are just as diversified internally and a mixture of groups of different social and cultural backgrounds from the central and northern China region (see my discussion in Chapter 3, 3.1.).

The question of the origin of Naxi religious texts, as far as the dating is concerned, has not been answered conclusively. But the study of the *dto-mba* authors

---

<sup>2</sup> The name 'Moso' is still used by the people in Yongning today in their contact with the Han Chinese or other outsiders. However, the two groups of people have been officially identified as the 'Naxi' (纳西) in PRC today. I chose deliberately the form 'Naxi/Moso' to reflect this situation today and the situation in history. There is a tendency today for some scholars to use 'Moso' to refer to the people in Yongning, which I sometimes also adopt in the thesis (e.g. in Chapter 5) (see Yan and Song 1983: 7, 448; Mckhann 1992: 186, n. 36).

made in this thesis has been a major step forward towards this end. My systematic comparison of the authorship of the religious texts by relating different sources together to the analysis of the styles of the pictographic writing has established another parameter (the others being the translation of the texts and the historical contexts) by which Naxi religious texts can be studied. Although the analysis of the styles of the texts in the collections has not been exhaustive (3,852 texts out of 5,118 in the collections in Europe and the United States), the analysis should be statistically significant. This can be seen in the following points:

1. The maximum number of books a master *dto-mba* could have written was around 500 and the novice *dto-mba*, about 50. These give about 40 master *dto-mba* and 240 novice *dto-mba*. The number of the master *dto-mba* match the number of the famous *dto-mba* isolated in recent research in China (Guo 1991b; cf. also He 1989: 61, 65). This may not be seen as a mere coincidence.

2. The number of books each master *dto-mba* could have produced raises the question of the number of the basic texts in the religion, which have been given in the previous studies at about 1,400 (He 1985c: 162), or over a thousand or more (Rock 1952: 19). It can be confirmed now that the basic texts ever written are around 500 (cf. also Jackson 1979: 26; He 1985c: 162).

3. The number of the *dto-mba* population through the study of the styles of the texts denies the claim that there were at most 1,000 *dto-mba* in practice at one time in the recent history of Lijiang (He and Guo 1985: 39). The analysis of the schools of *dto-mba* in the area has shown that most of these schools (7.3.2.), as identified by the research done in China, were not the *dto-mba* who have produced the religious texts, but the local religious or divination persons who were mostly likely *llü-bu*, the original identity of the *dto-mba* who have written the texts.

I have divided the *dto-mba* styles into A, B, C, D, E, and F types (Tables 8-13, Figures 6-41). This division is mainly based on the similarity in the execution of the title pages by different *dto-mbas*, combined with the information about the *dto-mba*

from different villages given by different sources (mainly Rock, Li and recent research in China). There are at least two groups of texts which have been distinguished as far as their places of origin are concerned. The A, B and C types of texts originate from the Baisha-Lijiang villages in the south or west of Lijiang. The D type texts originate from the Zhongdian-Labao villages in the north of Lijiang. The two groups of texts are different in the ways in which the title page was planned: the former horizontally, the latter in sideways (see Figures 6-34). The E type texts were probably from the villages east of Lijiang. It should also be noted that most of the master *dto-mbas* were from the A, B and C type, while there were few from the D type, but this does not mean that there are fewer D type texts than the other types. On the contrary, the D type consists of more authors than the other types (Table 11). The number of D type *dto-mba* is close to the *dto-mba* population in Zhongdian county (a Tibetan autonomous county today) north of Lijiang in the 1930s according to He's study (He 1989: 65).

It has been stated that *dto-mba* or Naxi religion originated in Baidi in Zhongdian county. The religion was later developed in Lijiang (He and Guo 1985: 49; He 1989: 57). That there are two groups of texts distinct in styles may give support to this argument. But another fact is that many of the elaborate ceremonies are mainly found in and around the town of Lijiang. It can be concluded from my analysis of the styles of the texts and the *dto-mba* schools that Lijiang and also Baisha, just a few miles north of Lijiang, have been the centre of Naxi religion. Most of the representative texts were produced there. More data are needed to further clarify the relationship between the texts from Baidi and those from Lijiang.

My stylistic study of the religious texts has also confirmed another fact; that almost all the types of texts in the collections were those of one school, i.e. the seventh school, which consisted of four subschools, identified by the investigation done in China (He and Guo 1985: 42-43; He 1989: 57-59; see also Map 3). Thus the other schools they identified prove not to be within the main stream in the creation of

the religious texts. I have further verified this point by matching, as far as possible, the *dto-mba* authors with the *dto-mba* individuals specified in the research done in China, which has resulted in Table 14. Some of my speculation have now become fact. The famous *dto-mba* Jiu Zhi Lao from Baisha has proved to be the author of A1b (Figure 7; He 1989: photograph in the beginning pages), one of the ‘*Dto-la*’ brothers, noted by Rock as the best and the earliest dated *dto-mba* authors at 1573 A.D. (Rock 1963b: 44). The legendary founder of Naxi religion *Ä-mi Shi-lo* may well be the author of D9 or D11 in my stylistic study of the texts (He 1989: photograph in the beginning pages).

The dating of the origin of the Naxi religious texts is still in dispute. The date given by Rock according to a dating in one of the manuscripts has been questioned by Jackson (Rock 1963b: 44; Jackson 1965: 165). The seventh cycle of a Water-Chicken year interpreted by Rock did not correlate with either the Chinese or the Tibetan cyclic dating (see Das 1915: XI). Another argument advanced by Jackson to object to the dating of the religious texts earlier than the eighteenth century was the absence of the religious texts before the eighteenth century (Jackson 1979: 54). My stylistic study of the authors of the texts seems to have supported this view that, given the number of the texts produced, the number of *dto-mba* involved and some of the relationships between the texts, the texts collected today in the libraries in Europe and the United States were most likely to have been produced within the space of one or two centuries’ time. This point can also be found through an analysis of the *dto-mba* population and their relationships (Table 14 in Chapter 7). I now summarise the analysis of some famous *dto-mbas* in terms of dates and their relationships in the following table (Table 19). The dates indicated were the dates when the *dto-mbas* were in practice judged by the birth dates and death dates of these *dto-mbas* described in the source (see also Table 14 in Chapter 7).



Table 19 has illustrated several points concerning the history of Naxi religion. First, most of the *dto-mbas* had a family tradition, involving notably F-S relationship and FF-SS relationship. Furthermore, two or three generations of the tradition appear to be the norm. Only a few had four to seven or ten generations. Thus the religion was clearly the most popular in the nineteenth century. Secondly, no famous *dto-mba* seem to have existed in the history of those *dto-mba* families who have claimed to have more than four generations (columns G, P, U, V and X). Except for *Ä-mi Shi-lo* and Jiu Zhi Lao (columns B and I), most famous *dto-mba* lived in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. Thirdly, the famous *dto-mba* Jiu Zhi Lao, who I have identified as one of the best authors in the collections, i.e. A1b, had the most descendants. Quite a number of the famous *dto-mba* in Lijiang were related to him (columns I-M). This evidence has further proved Rock's account of how the books of the 'Dto-la' brothers had been scattered all over Lijiang and were copied and recopied (Rock 1965: XV). Despite the claim that Jiu Zhi Lao had a 24th generation descendant today, he was most likely in the last generation of the ancestors of He Hong (or A2, Ho Ho-shou), who had a very similar style of writing of the texts to his.

Some *dto-mba* liked to claim that they had already been proceeded by many generations of *dto-mba*. One traced himself to be the 95th generation of *Dto-mba Shi-lo* (Tao 1938: 87). Others claimed to be the 99th generation descendant of *Dto-mba Shi-lo* (He 1989: 49-50). Such claims have been dismissed by other scholars as impossible (Fang 1981: 40; He 1989: 50). The table has also shown the problems and contradictions of some of these claims. For example, the famous *dto-mba* Jiu Zhi Lao is said to have had 24 generations of descendants until now (He Zhiwu 1991a: 44), while the founder of the religion, *Ä-mi Shi-lo* has had only 13 generations of descendants (He and Guo 1985: 48). Another *dto-mba* He Chengzhang could recite the names of the 19 generations before him



(He and Guo 1985: 45). This means both Jiu Zhi Lao and He Chengzhang's families were earlier than *Ä-mi Shi-lo*. How can we account for this? Such a confusion in the account of the generations may only suggest that these ancestors were contemporaries or just one or two generations apart. It is said that the son of *Ä-mi Shi-lo* had come to live in Baisha from Baidi (He Zhiwu 1989: 57). This would suggest that there was a relation between the 'Dto-la' brothers and *Ä-mi Shi-lo*. Such a relation would further clarify the myth surrounding the founder of Naxi religion.

There is yet good evidence to support the eighteenth century dating. This is a historical travelogue written by a family member of the Han Chinese official who had been appointed to the magistrature of Weixi county, west of Lijiang. The author observed that

The Moso had characters. They are pictographs. For a human, they draw a human, for an object, they draw an object. They thus wrote books this way. . . . . They do not use medicine when they suffer from illness, but they invite their sorcerers called the *dto-mba* to propitiate the demons. All the households pay them (the *dto-mba*) as much as they can. (Yu 1770: 1237-8; also quoted in Guo 1991a: 671).

Weixi and the adjacent area west of Lijiang was where the B type texts I identified came from.

He Zhiwu has contended that Naxi religion or *dto-mba* religion, as he has called it, was more likely created in about the seventh and the eighth century A.D. when Tibetan Bon religion was influential in Tibet. The Bonpos may have come to Lijiang in that period (He 1989: 10-11). This argument is too far fetched. First of all, the seventh century was the time when Tibet began to develop its own writing by adopting scripts from India (see a review of this history of Tibet in 7.2.1.). We learn from the Naxi religious texts that most of the *dto-mba* employed Tibetan characters. Some were well-versed in Tibetan. If the religious texts of the Naxi were created in the seventh century, it would not be conceivable that the *dto-mba* should have already known Tibetan writing at that time. Secondly, research into the Bonpo history of Tibet has shown that the Bonpos emerged as a religion

with a style of its own only after the eleventh century A.D.. I have also reviewed this history of the Bonpos in Chapter 7 (7.2.1.). The Naxi religious texts contain some very systematic ideas of the Bonpos and with clear indication of the identity of the Bonpos, which led Rock to think that Naxi religion was the Tibetan Bon in its purity (Rock 1952: 1). Such a style of the *dto-mba* in their composition of the texts would not have appeared had the Naxi religion been invented before the eleventh century. The Naxi religious texts and the Tibetan Bon religion should be further compared before their true relationship can be defined.

One aspect from which we can approach the problem of the origin of the Naxi religious texts, in my view, can be the relationship between the pictographs and another type of characters used by the *dto-mba*, the *ggô-bàw* characters. I have argued that the *ggô-bàw* characters were related to the Yi characters. My comparison in Chapter 6 has shown such a connection (Table 6). The relationship between the Yi characters and the *dto-mba ggô-bàw* characters has been noted by many scholars before (6.7.1.). In an analysis of the language of the Naxi religious texts, He Zhiwu has shown that the texts contain many archaic expressions of the Naxi, the cognates of which he is convinced can find in the language of the Yi in Liangshan in Sichuan province (He 1983: 213). This has further proved the cultural relationship between the Yi and the Naxi. It also supports the view that the *ggô-bàw* characters were very probably related to the Yi characters. Some Chinese scholars have followed an evolutionary argument that the *ggô-bàw* characters, which represent sounds other than images, must necessarily have evolved from the pictographs (e.g. He 1989: 67, 77). This argument cannot exhaustively account for the fact that one cannot find the corresponding evolutionary form of all the pictographs in the *ggô-bàw* characters. Wen You has argued for a simultaneous development of the two types of characters among the Naxi (Wen 1941: 117). This argument begs the question:

why should the *dto-mba* have deliberately developed two types of characters at the same time?

I maintain that the *ggô-bàw* characters must have been known to the *dto-mba* before the pictographs were invented. If there was such a relationship between the *ggô-bàw* characters and the Yi characters, then we can understand the common cultural origin of the Naxi and the Yi peoples. This common cultural origin of the two groups of people, who separated because of other social reasons, contradicts the idea that the pictographs could have been created before the *ggô-bàw* characters were invented.

My study of the authors of the Naxi religious texts has provided a substantial step further in our idea about the origin and dating of Naxi religion, but I still feel that to reach a definitive conclusion as far as the dating is concerned, some more good arguments should be formulated. The study of the authors should be further related to the comparison of the texts and the construction of these texts. As I have said before, my study of these authors cannot be said to be final although it is statistically significant. There are certain limits in the study due to the legibility of the Xerox and photo copies of the title pages of the texts. There is still a substantial collection of texts in China which need further comparison and analysis (see Jackson 1989: 136). These are some of the tasks lying ahead in the study of the Naxi religious texts.

The problem of translating the pictographic Naxi religious texts has been an obstacle for the would-be scholars of these texts. The problem is mainly a result of the disjunction between the pictographs and the language, hence the concept behind a single pictograph or a series of pictographs. Despite the fact that voluminous dictionaries of the pictographs have been published, almost all translations of the texts done so far have relied on the chanting and interpretation of a *dto-mba*. While this may prove to be more efficient (but the process of recording the chanting, putting it into a written form with certain

orthography and then translating it into the prose in whatever language is desired may not be. See also Jackson 1989: 142) and accurate, it is nevertheless a problematic, error-prone and time-consuming process.

It has been my view in the thesis that the study of the Naxi religious texts can provide one interpretation of a culture. The previous scholarship (or the readership) and the authorship of the texts should have provided a good ground for a critical review of this culture. These conditions provided, I have therefore argued that the Naxi religious texts should be interpretable without the aid of a trained *dto-mba*. The techniques I have designed to interpret the pictographic writing have been incorporating the known cultural contexts as well as remembering the pattern of certain combination of pictographs which represents a fixed meaning in the text. This latter technique has been noted by Jackson before (Jackson 1965: 168). Rock's Encyclopedic Naxi-English Dictionary, Part II (Rock 1972) has proved to be more useful towards this end. The entries have been arranged in the categories of the religious texts, i.e. the gods, the demons and the ceremonies, and so on. The fixed pattern of the items in these categories forms a ready-made framework to use to interpret the pictographs in different *dto-mba* texts (see Appendix V Rock's Dictionary Part II).

In a recent research program in co-operation with Dr. Anthony Jackson, I have tested the above technique of translating or interpreting the Naxi pictographic religious texts. The technique proves to be feasible. As one becomes more familiar with the patterns of the combination of pictographs, a book can be translated in one or two working days or even quicker, depending on the length of the text. In this way, I have translated a total of 42 *ddû-mùn*, the index books of the Naxi religion, and 52 divination books. The index books provide the information on the books and the ritual objects needed and the arrangement of a number of major ceremonies. The divination books tell us another

function of the *dto-mba*: as the daily diviner and medicine person of the society. The translation of these texts has revealed some important aspects of the Naxi religion. The index books have provided clues to the construction and the contents of the major rituals. The divination books have contained much cosmological concept of the Han Chinese which have further confirmed my view as to the cultural identity of the Naxi and the *dto-mba* (Chapter 5 and 7). The Naxi divination is clearly related to the rituals. Almost all the divination books have listed the rituals to be performed after a divination. These lists revealed the Naxi religion in yet another way. The translation of these texts has also revealed some of the relationships between *dto-mbas*. This has provided some answers to the questions I put forward in Chapter 7 concerning the relations of the *dto-mba* authors to the religious texts (7.3.4.).

To a large extent, my thesis has also been concerned with methods of presentation. Cultural materials are both concrete and imperceptible. They become concrete once they are placed in perspective. They tend to be imperceptible if they are presented as random pieces, even if these pieces can be seen and touched. But I also feel that the structuralist's ideas about the abstract model of cultures can be taken to the extreme so that what was originally meant to be something understandable becomes something that is hard to follow. In the whole process of writing a thesis, I feel that writing detailed bits of ethnographic information is not an unrewarding task if finally things can be seen in their proper perspective. Perspectives are both arguments and interconnections. They are also inevitably self-oriented. This is where I have found the exploration of self in studying other cultures is necessary and helpful.

To represent such concrete and imperceptible cultural materials necessitates a comparative process. Social anthropology and cultural anthropology are disciplines engaged in such a process. Units of comparison have been a major methodological

concern in social anthropology. But units are always difficult to define. They are fussy and tend to have no one-to-one correspondence. As structuralism has shown us, units exist only in relationships. When two cultural units, as imagined by social anthropologists, have been brought together for the purpose of comparison, a new relationship is established. For example, through comparing the scholarship of social anthropology with Han Chinese scholarship, I have established a new relationship between the two. I identify this relationship as the interface between social anthropology and Han Chinese scholarship. To argue from a different point of view, the reason why the Naxi and the Yi peoples are more readily to be compared than, say the British and the Yi peoples are, is because they have had close cultural and historical relationships. This is not to say that cultures which have no close relationships are not comparable or less comparable. It is that the relationship established will be different, hence it involves different ways of comparing. In this thesis, I have mainly looked at the Naxi religious texts and the society through their close relationships with the neighbouring cultures. These relationships have been helpful for us to understand the origin and development of the Naxi culture.

In the case of Naxi religion, it has been shown that history plays a very important role in a people's cultural and social identity. This has been recognised by many scholars (4.4.). One can say that to study other peoples' history can be politically dangerous because history is often the source for social identity. This, I think, has been one of the reasons why the problem of history has been so controversial in social anthropology. In Chapter 2, I examined the meanings of history for both historians and social anthropologists. I found that history has had very different connotations in the two disciplines. In this century, although most social anthropologists have been preoccupied with living societies, the history of cultures and societies has always been an issue, if not

explicitly recognised before, as has been pointed out by Evans-Pritchard (Evans-Pritchard 1961: 51).

The most important difference between the disciplines of history and social anthropology, or further, in peoples' idea about history, is perhaps in the way in which history itself is represented, a difference which can be seen immediately in the use of cultural materials. To quote the historian Carr's words, 'It is the historian who has decided for his own reason that Caesar's crossing of that pretty stream, the Rubicon, is a fact of history, whereas the crossing of the Rubicon by million of other people before or since interests nobody at all' (Carr 1964: 11). This difference is also that between the macro and micro levels of societies and cultures. What classic historians have learned about are largely the elite cultures of societies. These are recorded in writing, but the social and cultural events of the past as recorded in writings must always be reinterpreted from the present social and cultural perspective of the historians. The tradition of social anthropology started from a preoccupation with how human societies and cultures originated. This preoccupation later necessitated learning about the living societies at their grass-root level. Historians tend to look at cultures and societies downwards while social anthropologists look at cultures and societies upwards. So there is basically a methodological difference between history and social anthropology. The difference is not one that should be made, but one that can be explored to fulfil the tasks of both disciplines.

In social and cultural anthropology, how history should be understood in studying a society and a culture has always been a question for anthropologists (discussion in Chapter 2). This question becomes more important when anthropologists confront cultures with literary traditions. Such an encounter includes also two facets. One is as what Evans-Pritchard identified that history is what is operative in the social life of a

people, a representation of events in the thought of the present day. Another is the fact that traditions of culture are always being created and recreated. The Renaissance in Europe in the 16th and 15th centuries was a good example of this recreation of history. Therefore it is natural for anthropologists to be concerned with 'the unfolding and transformation of ideas through time and with people's understanding of themselves through the traditions they create' (Barnard 1992: 1).

Naxi Religion is a historical fact. This fact is embodied in the massive texts left in the libraries. In most of the previous studies, this historical fact was not approached in a systematic manner. This may be the reason for this cultural and social phenomenon of Naxi religion to be seriously misrepresented. For example, the pictographs were taken as the beginning of a form of writing and elements of Han and Tibetan cultural origin were taken as a parallel development of the local culture. My study has only constituted part of what a systematic study of the Naxi religion should undertake. A systematic approach must be based on the holistic approach adopted generally by social anthropologists. In my study, the relations between the *dto-mba* and the manuscripts have begun to take shape. This has explained, to a large extent, the dating of the manuscripts. This will I hope pave the way to a further understanding of the religion and the religious texts.

It is my view that Naxi religion must be seen in the context of the cultural region and the history of that region. This I have constantly done from Chapter 3 to Chapter 8. This context is the most important source of interpretations of the religious texts, whose meanings are otherwise obscure. Having compared the writing and the rituals of the Naxi with those of the neighbouring Yi peoples, I have come to see new points concerning the cultural and social facts about Naxi religion, for example, the nature of the diversity of the writing and of the religious texts, and the role history has played in the historical Naxi culture. Comparison can then be established as a method to interpret the Naxi religious



texts, the method adopted here, which can also illuminate the relationship between the culturally general and specific. Comparison can be made both between cultures in that particular cultural and social context and between the texts themselves. It has also been argued that Naxi religion is inevitably seen from a particular cultural point of view. This is the reason why there have been differences in scholarship. In the particular cultural context of Naxi religion, I have also tried to present Han Chinese scholarship, in both historical and contemporary dimensions, as part of the process in the reconstruction of Naxi culture.

In this thesis, I have been writing an ethnography of the Naxi culture by integrating history into an anthropological inquiry into the culture. I did this mostly through textual analysis and comparison. This is a way of studying a culture from a distance. But this practice of mine is different from that of the 'armchair' anthropologists in the nineteenth century in that I am not generalising laws from my study about religion. Rather, I am making a critical examination of a cultural legacy in the scholarship in both China and in the countries in Europe. I have called a study of this kind 'text-as-ethnography'. Ethnography is now recognised by both anthropologists and other scholars as a literary genre. Ethnography is the textual construction of a culture. This construction is usually accomplished through an anthropologist's intense encounter with a culture, mostly not of his or her own. This has been the methodology known as fieldwork in social anthropology since the beginning of the twentieth century. If ethnography is eventually textual in form, then fieldwork can be seen as the creation of a special kind of text in which an anthropologist is reading about another culture. Ethnographies as texts created by social and cultural anthropologists subsequently become a perennial source for the raising of new conceptual and theoretical problems (3.3.; also Marcus and Cushman 1982).

Rock's ethnography of the Naxi religion and the religious texts has created a cultural legacy in that part of Southwest China. The subsequent scholarship has enriched this legacy. It has been my purpose in this thesis to examine this legacy critically by reading between social anthropology, the ethnography of the Naxi and the religious texts. If ethnography is embodied in texts, then texts can equally provide rich sources to write ethnography. I therefore see fieldwork as useful but not necessarily essential in the study of the Naxi religious texts.

Naxi religion can be seen as somehow 'frozen' in the pictographic texts of the *dto-mba*. So far as ethnographic sources are concerned, they are unique. Both the ritual texts and Rock's interpretation pose the general question of the representation of cultural materials, which has been a basic concern of social anthropology and the subject of the social sciences at large. The objective of analysing the texts from the point of view of their authorship has been to materialise this concern. The study of Naxi religious texts, however, is not an end in itself in our studies, whatever subjects these texts may include: literature and art, astronomy, medicine, botany and so on, as have been identified by some researches. From a social anthropological point of view, these texts as cultural products and activities are interesting in themselves. They present the problems of literacy, cosmology, cultural and religious relationship in the region in a particular historical setting. In Chapter 4 and 6, I pose the question of literacy in this part of China in terms of the historical and political context of the country. This enables us to see some of the implications of the literate cultures of the Naxi, and other Yi Tibeto-Burman-speaking peoples in the region. These are the interest of social anthropologists. The systematic study of these texts, headed by J. F. Rock, who came from Europe, and expanded by scholars in China in subsequent years, constitutes an indispensable aspect in the appraisal and the interpretation of these texts. It sheds light in this particular context on the problem

of the cultural status of societies and the transformation of such a cultural status, which is an important aspect of cultural change. Anthropologists may be seen as those who are constructing these problems most explicitly.

## **Bibliography:**

- Asad, Talal (ed.) 1973 *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*. London: Ithaca Press.
- Barnard, Alan 1987 Khoisan kinship: regional comparison and underlying structures. In Ladislav Holy (ed.) *Comparative Anthropology*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp.189-209.
- 1991 *Hunters and Herders of Southern Africa, A Comparative Ethnography of the Khoisan Peoples*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- 1992 Through Radcliffe-Brown's spectacles: reflections on the history of anthropology. *History of the Human Sciences*, Vol.5, No.4, pp.1-20.
- 1994 Rules and prohibitions: the form and content of human kinship. In Tim Ingold (ed.) 1994 *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology*. London: Routledge and Kagan Paul, pp.783-812.
- Barnard, Alan and Anthony Good 1984 *Research Practices in the Study of Kinship* London: Academic Press (A.S.A. Research Methods 2).
- Barth, Fredrik (ed.) 1969 *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, the Social Organization of Culture Difference*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Benedict, Paul K. 1972 *Sino-Tibetan, A Conspectus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Boas, Franz 1896 The limitation of the comparative method in anthropology. *Science* (n.s.) 4, pp.901-908.
- Bøckman, H. 1987 *Naxi Studies in China*. Norway: Norway: University of Oslo. (n.d.) *Who Names Whom: Naxi and Mosuo between Free Fantasy and Historical Evidence* Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies.
- Boon, James A. 1982 *Other Tribes, Other Scribes Symbolic Anthropology in the Comparative Study of Cultures, Histories, Religions, and Texts*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Brass, Paul R. 1991 *Ethnicity and Nationalism Theory and Comparison*. New Delhi/Newbury Park/London: Sage Publications.
- Bruner, Edward M. 1974 The expression of ethnicity in Indonesia. In Abner Cohen (ed.) 1974 *Urban Ethnicity*. London: Tavistock Publications, pp.251-280.
- Buxton, L.H. Dudley 1925 *The Peoples of Asia* London: Kagan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co.Ltd.

- Carr, E. H. 1964[1961] *What is History?* (The George Macaulay Trevelyan Lectures, University of Cambridge, 1961). London: Penguin Books.
- Chen Liankai (陈连开) 1991a (in Chinese) 怎样理解中华民族及其多元一体。  
载: Fei Xiaotong (ed.) 1991 (in Chinese) 中华民族研究新探索。北京: 中国社会科学出版社, 406 - 424 页(How to understand the Chinese nation and its diversity within a unity. In Fei Xiaotong [ed.] 1991 A new direction in the research into a Chinese nation. Beijing: Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Press).
- 1991b (in Chinese) 关于中华民族起源学说的由来与发展。  
载: Fei Xiaotong (ed.) 1991 (in Chinese) 中华民族研究新探索。北京: 中国社会科学出版社, 53 - 75 页(On the origin and development of the theory of the origin of the Chinese nationalities. In Fei Xiaotong [ed.] 1991 A new direction in the research into a Chinese nation. Beijing: Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Press, pp.53-75).
- Clifford, James and George E. Marcus (eds.) 1986 *Writing Culture: the Poetics and the Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cohen, Abner (ed.) 1974: *Urban Ethnicity* London: Tavistock Publications.
- Cohen, Anthony P. 1985 *The Symbolic Construction of Community* London: Tavistock Publications.
- 1986 (ed.) *Symbolic boundaries Identity and Diversity in British Culture*. Manchester: University Press.
- Collingwood, R. G. 1946 *The Idea of History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Cooper, Thomas Thornville 1871 *Travels of a pioneer of commerce in pigtail and petticoats*. London, John Murray. (Reprint: 1967, New York, Arno Press.)
- Das, Sarat Chandra 1902 *A Tibetan-English Dictionary with Sanskrit Synonyms*. Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot.
- 1915 *Introduction to the Grammar of the Tibetan Language*. Darjeeling Branch Press.
- Desgodins, Abbé 1872 *Mission du Thibet* Paris.
- Dessaint, Alain Y 1980: *Minorities of S.W. China, an Introduction to the Yi (Lolo) and Related Peoples and an Annotated Bibliography*. New Haven: HRAF Press.
- Dikötter, Frank 1992 *The Discourse of Race in Modern China*. London: Hurst and Company.
- Diringer, David 1962 *Writing* London: Thames and Hudson.
- Dirks, Nicholas B. (ed.) 1992 *Colonialism and Culture* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

- Dittmer, Lowell and Chen Ruoxi 1981 *Ethics and Rhetoric of the Chinese Cultural Revolution*. Berkeley: Center for Chinese Studies, Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California.
- Dumont, Louis 1957 Hierarchy and marriage alliance in South India Kinship. Occasional Paper, No.12, London: Royal Anthropological Institute.
- Ebrey, Patricia B. and Watson, James L. (eds.) 1986 *Kinship Organizations in Late Imperial China 1000-1940*. Berkeley, London: University of California Press.
- Eggan, F. 1937 Historical changes in the Choctaw kinship system. *American Anthropologist*, 39, pp.34-52.
- Epstein, A. L. 1978 *Ethnos and Identity, Three Studies in Ethnicity*. London: Tavistock Publications.
- Eliade, Mircea et al. (eds.) 1987 Tibetan Religions. *The Encyclopedia of Religion*. Vol.14. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, pp.497-503.
- Elisséeff, Serge and James R. Ware 1936 Foreword. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol 1, pp.1-5.
- Eriksen, Thomas Hylland 1993: *Ethnicity and Nationalism Anthropological Perspectives*. London: Pluto Press.
- Evans-Pritchard, E. E. 1950 Social anthropology: past and present (The Marett Lecture 1950), In E. E. Evans-Pritchard (ed.) 1962 *Essays in Social Anthropology*. London: Faber and Faber, pp. 13-28.
- 1961 Anthropology and history. In E. E. Evans-Pritchard (ed.) 1962 *Essays in Social Anthropology*. London: Faber and Faber, pp. 46-65.
- Fang Guoyu (方国瑜) 1981 (in Chinese) 纳西象形文字谱, 昆明: 云南人民出版社 (A glossary of Naxi pictographs, Kunming: Yunnan People's Press).
- 1984 (in Chinese) 彝族史稿. 成都: 四川民族出版社. (A history of the Yi nationality. Chengdu: Sichuan Press for Nationalities).
- 1985 (in Chinese) “古”之本义为“苦”说。载: 郭大烈, 杨世光1985 东巴文化论集. 昆明: 云南人民出版社, 91 - 101 页 (The original meaning of the word *gu* was *ku*. In Guo Dalie and Yang Shiguang (eds.) 1985 Collected Papers on dto-mba culture. Kunming: Yunnan People's Press, pp.91-101).
- Fei Xiaotong 1981 *Towards a Peoples Anthropology*. Beijing: New World Press.
- 1991 (ed.) (in Chinese) 中华民族研究新探索. 北京: 中国社会科学出版社 (A new direction in the research into a Chinese nation. Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Press).
- 1992 Study of man in China. In Chie Nakane and Chien Chiao (eds.) *Home Bound*

- Studies in Asian Society*. Tokyo: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, pp.9-20.
- Feuchtwang, Stephan 1973 The colonial formation of British social anthropology. In Asad, Talal (ed.) 1973 *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*. London: Ithaca Press, pp.71-100.
- 1991 A Chinese religion exists. In Hugh Baker and Stephan Feuchtwang (eds.) 1991 *An Old State in New Settings*. Oxford: JASO, pp.139-161.
- Feng, Han-yi 1937 The Chinese kinship system. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol.II, pp.141-275.
- Feng, Han-yi and J. K. Shryock 1938 The historical origins of the Lolo. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol.3, pp.103-127.
- Fitzgerald, C.P. 1941 *The Tower of the Five Glories*. London: The Cresset Press.
- Forbes, Capt. C. J. F. S. 1881 *Comparative Grammar of the Languages of Further India: A Fragment and Other Essays*. London: W. H. Allen & Co.
- Forster, Peter 1973 Empiricism and imperialism: a review of the New Left Critique of social anthropology. In Asad, Talal (ed.) 1973 *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*. London: Ithaca Press, pp.23-38.
- Fox, Robin 1967 *Kinship and Marriage*. London: Penguin Books.
- Francke, A. H. (ed. and trans.) 1924 gZer-myig, a book of the Tibetan Bonpos. *Asia Major*, Vol. 1, pp.243-346.
- 1926 (ibid.) Vol. 3, pp.321-339.
- 1927 (ibid.) Vol. 4, pp.161-239.
- 1930 (ibid.) Vol. 5, pp.1-40.
- 1930 (ibid.) Vol. 6, pp. 299-314.
- Freedman, Maurice 1957 *Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore*. London: HMSO.
- 1963 A Chinese phase in social anthropology. *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.14, pp.1-19.
- (ed.) 1970 *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- 1979 *The Study of Chinese Society, Essays*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Fu, Maoji 1981, 1984 (in Chinese) 纳西族图画文字“白蝙蝠取经记”研究, 上, 下册。东京: 东京外国语大学语言文化研究所。(A Study on a Naxi Pictographic Manuscript 'White Bat's Search for Sacred Books', Part I and II. Tokyo: Project on Lexicological Analysis, National Inter-university Research Institute of Asian and African Languages and Cultures).

- Gallin, Bernard 1963 Cousin marriage in China *Ethnology* 2, pp.104-108.
- Gaur, Albertine 1984 *A History of Writing*. London: the British Library.
- Ge Zhaoguang (葛兆光) 1987 (in Chinese) 道教与中国文化。  
上海: 上海人民出版社 (Taoism and Chinese culture. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Press).
- Geertz, C. 1973 *The Interpretation of Cultures*. London: Hutchinson.
- Gill, W. J. 1880 *The River of Golden Sand*. London: John Murray.
- Glazer, Nathan and Daniel P. Moynihan (eds.) *Ethnicity Theory and Experience*.  
Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Gong Zhenchun (宫振春), et al (in Chinese) 1984 中国少数民族简史丛书: 纳西族简史. 昆明: 云南人民出版社 (A concise history of Naxi nationality, Series on the history of the Chinese minority nationality. Kunming: Yunnan People's Press ).
- Good, Anthony 1980 Prescription, preference and practice: marriage patterns among the Kondaiyankottai Maravar of South India. *Man* (N.S.) 16, pp.108-129.
- Goody, J. 1968 (ed.) *Literacy in Traditional Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.  
1986 *The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gough, E. Kathleen 1959 The Nayars and the definition of marriage. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 89, pp.23-34.  
1968 New proposals for anthropologists. *Current Anthropology* Vol.9, No.5, pp.403-435.
- Goullart, P. 1955 *Forgotten Kingdom*. London: John Murray.  
1959 *Princes of the Black Bone*. London: John Murray.
- Graham, D.C. 1920 Notes on the Lo-lo. *American Anthropologist*, 32.
- Guo Dalie (郭大烈) 1985 (in Chinese) 李霖灿与纳西族东巴文化。载: 郭大烈 杨世光 1985 东巴文化论集。昆明: 云南人民出版社, 455 - 464 页 (Li Lin-ts'an and the Naxi *dto-mba* culture. In Guo Dalie and Yang Shiguang (eds.) 1985 Collected Papers on *dto-mba* culture. Kunming: Yunnan People's Press, pp.455-464)
- 1991a (in Chinese) 东巴文化大事记。载: 郭大烈, 杨世光 1991 东巴文化论, 昆明: 云南人民出版社。671 - 675 页 (A chronology of *dto-mba* culture. In Guo Dalie and Yang Shiguang (eds.) 1991 Collected Papers on *dto-mba* culture, Kunming: Yunnan People's Press, pp.671-675).



- 1991b (in Chinese) 东巴名录, 同上, 676 - 683 页 (*Dto-mba celebrities. ibid.*, pp.676-683).
- Guo Dalie and Yang Shiguang (郭大烈, 杨世光) (eds.) 1985 (in Chinese) 东巴文化论集. 昆明: 云南人民出版社 (Collected papers on dto-mba culture. Kunming: Yunnan People's Press).
- 1991 (in Chinese) 东巴文化论. 昆明: 云南人民出版社 (Collected papers on dto-mba culture. Kunming: Yunnan People's Press).
- Hale, Austin 1982 *Research on Tibeto-Burman Languages*. Berlin. New York. Amsterdam: Mouton Publishers.
- Harrell, Stevan 1990 Ethnicity, local interest, and the state: Yi communities in Southwest China. *Comparative Study of Society and History* 32, pp.515-548.
- Harris, Marvin 1968 *The Rise of Anthropological Theory, A History of Theories of Culture*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Hastrup, Kirsten 1985 *Culture and History in Medieval Iceland: an Anthropological Analysis*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Hastrup, Kirsten & Peter Elsass 1990 Anthropological advocacy: a contradiction in terms? *Current Anthropology* Vol.31, No.3, pp.301-311.
- He Fayuan (和发源) 1991 (in Chinese) 东巴古籍的类别及其主题。载: 郭大烈, 杨世光 1991 东巴文化论. 昆明: 云南人民出版社。600 - 621 页 (A classification and the main themes of *dto-mba* scriptures. In Guo Dalie and Yang Shiguang (eds.) 1991 Collected Papers on dto-mba culture, Kunming: Yunnan People's Press, pp.600-621).
- He Jiren and Jiang Zhuyi (和即仁, 姜竹仪) 1985 (in Chinese) 中国少数民族语言丛书: 纳西语简志. 北京: 民族出版社. (A brief description of the Naxi language. Beijing: Nationality Press).
- He Shijie (和时杰) 1991 (in Chinese) “鲁般鲁饶”中爱情悲剧的实质。载: 郭大烈, 杨世光 1991 东巴文化论. 昆明: 云南人民出版社。534 - 542 页 (The nature of the love tragedy in *L<sup>h</sup>v-mbêr l<sup>h</sup>v-zâw ssáw*. In Guo Dalie and Yang Shiguang (eds.) 1991 Collected Papers on dto-mba culture, Kunming: Yunnan People's Press, pp.534-542).
- He Zhiwu and Guo Dalie (和志武, 郭大烈) 1985 (in Chinese) 东巴教的派系和现状, 载: 郭大烈, 杨世光 1985 东巴文化论集. 昆明: 云南人民出版社, 38 - 54 页 (A review of the *dto-mba* schools, In Guo Dalie and Yang Shiguang (eds.) 1985 Collected Papers on dto-mba culture, Kunming: Yunnan People's Press, pp. 38-54).

He Zhiwu (和志武) 1983 (in Chinese) 纳西东巴经语言试析。载:

“语言研究” 1983年第1期, 武汉华中工学院中国语言研究所, 210-220页。(A Tentative Analysis of the Dongba Jing Language of the Naxi Nationality. 'Language research', 1983, vol.1. Wuhan: Chinese language research institute, Central China Engineering College, pp.210-220).

1985a (in Chinese) 东巴教和东巴文化。载: 郭大烈。

杨世光1985 东巴文化论集。昆明: 云南人民出版社, 16-37页 (*Dto-mba* religion and culture, In Guo Dalie and Yang Shiguang (eds.) 1985 Collected Papers on *dto-mba* culture. Kunming: Yunnan People's Press, pp. 16-37).

1985b (in Chinese) 试论纳西象形文字的特点, (同上), 136-154页 (On the characteristics of the Naxi pictographs. *ibid.*: pp.136-154).

1985c (in Chinese)

纳西族的古文字和东巴经类别。(同上)。155-172页 (The ancient Naxi pictographs and a classification of *dto-mba* scriptures. *ibid.*: pp.155-172)

1989 (in Chinese) 纳西东巴文化。中国少数民族文库。长春: 吉林教育出版社。(The *dto-mba* culture of the Naxi. Literature of the minority nationalities of China, Changchun: Jilin Press of Education).

1991a (in Chinese) 炎黄, 古羌与纳西东巴文化。

载: 郭大烈, 杨世光1991 东巴文化论。昆明: 云南人民出版社, 30-48页。(The Chinese, the ancient Qiang culture, and Naxi *Dto-mba* culture, In Guo Dalie and Yang Shiguang (eds.) 1991 Collected Papers on *dto-mba* culture, Kunming: Yunnan People's Press, pp.30-48)

1991b (in Chinese) 论“鲁般鲁饶”。(同上)。521-533页 (On *L<sup>Λ</sup>v-mbêr l<sup>Λ</sup>v-zàw ssáw*. *ibid.* pp.521-533).

Headland, Thomas N., et al. (eds.) 1990 *Emics and Etics the Insider/Outsider Debate*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Henry, A. 1903 The Lolos and other tribes of western China. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol.33, pp.96-107.

Herrmann, Albert 1966 *An Historical Atlas of China* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Hodgson, Brian Houghton 1828 Notices of the languages, literature and religion of the Buddhas of Nepal and Bhot. *Asiatick Researches*, Calcutta 16, pp.409-449.

1874 *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*.

London: Trübner (reprinted 1971 by Bharat, Bharati, Publishers, Varanasi and Manjusri Publishing House, New Delhi, Bibliotheca Himalayica ser. II, vol.7).

- Hoffmann, Helmut 1961(1956) *The Religions of Tibet*. (trans. from the German by Edward Fitzgerald), London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.
- Holy, Ladislav 1987 Introduction: description, generalization and comparison: two paradigms. In Ladislav Holy (ed.) *Comparative Anthropology* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, pp.1-21.
- Honig, Emily 1992 *Creating Chinese Ethnicity Subei People in Shanghai, 1850-1980*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Hsu, Francis L. K. 1945 Observations on cross-cousin marriage in China. *American Anthropologist* N.S.47, pp.83-103.
- Jackson, Anthony 1965 Mo-so magical texts. *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 48: 1, pp. 141-174.
- 1970 *Elementary Structures of Na-khi Ritual* (Doctoral thesis). Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg.
- 1973 Tibetan Bön rites in China: a case of cultural diffusion. *Ethnos* Vol.38, pp.71-92 (also in James F. Fisher (ed.) 1978 *Himalayan Anthropology: the Indo-Tibetan Interface*. the Hague: Mouton, pp.309-326).
- 1979 *Na-khi Religion: An Analytical appraisal of the Na-khi Ritual Texts*. The Hague: Mouton.
- 1989 Naxi studies, past, present and future. In Chien Chiao and Nicholas Tapp (eds.) 1989 *Ethnicity and Ethnic Groups in China* Hong Kong: New Asia College, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, pp.133-147.
- James, Wendy 1973 The anthropologist as reluctant imperialist. In Asad, Talal (ed.) 1973 *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*. London: Ithaca Press, pp.41-69).
- Janert, Klaus Ludwig and Ilse Pliester 1985 *Nachtextedition* Teil 1, I,1-II, 0014. Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH.
- Johnston, R. F. 1908 *From Peking to Mandalay, A journey from North China to Burma through Tibetan Ssuch'uan and Yunnan* London, John Murray.
- Joseph, William A., C.P.W. Wong & David Zweig (eds.) 1991 *New Perspectives on the Cultural Revolution*. Harvard University Press.
- Keane, A. H. 1880 On the relation of the Indo-Chinese and inter-Oceanic races and languages. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol.9, pp.254-289.
- 1920 *Man, Past and Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Keesing, Roger M. 1975 *Kin Groups and Social Structure* London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Kroeber, A.L. and Clyde Kluckhohn 1952 *Culture, A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum.

- Kuper, Adam 1983 *Anthropology and Anthropologists*. London: Routledge and Kagan Paul.
- 1988 *The Invention of Primitive Society, Transformations of an Illusion*. London: Routledge and Kagan Paul.
- Kvaerne, Per 1981 Book review: Anthony Jackson, *Na-khi Religion, An Analytical Appraisal of the Na-khi Ritual Texts*. *Religion and Society* 8, the Hague 1979. *Temenos* 17, pp.137-142.
- 1984 Tibet: the rise and fall of a monastic tradition. In Richard Gombrich, et al.
- 1984 *The World of Buddhism: Buddhist Monks and Nuns in Society and Culture*. London: Thames & Hudson, pp.253-270.
- 1985 *Tibet Bon Religion A Death Ritual of the Tibetan Bonpos*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Lacouperie, Terrien de 1885 Beginnings of writing in and around Tibet. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (n.s.) Vol.17, pp.415-490 (reprinted in Terrien de Lacouperie 1894 *Beginings of Writing in Central and Eastern Asia*, pp.1-67).
- 1887 *The Language of China before the Chinese*. London: David Nutt, 270, Strand.
- 1894 *Beginings of Writing in Central and Eastern Asia* London: David Nutt, 270 Strand.
- Lan Wei (兰伟) 1985 (in Chinese) 东巴画的种类及其特色。载: 郭大烈, 杨世光: 1985 东巴文化论集, 4 1 2 - 4 2 3 页, 昆明: 云南人民出版社 (Types and features of Dongba drawing and painting, In Guo Dalie & Yang Shiguang 1985 Collected Papers on Dongba culture. Kunming: Yunnan People's Press, pp. 412-423).
- Leach, E.R. 1951 The structural implications of matrilineal cross-cousin marriage. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 81, pp.54-104.
- 1954 *Political Systems of Highland Burma: A Study of Kachin Social Structure*. London: G. Bell and Sons Ltd.
- Lebar, Frank M., Gerald C. Hickey and John K. Musgrave 1964 *Ethnic Groups of Mainland Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press.
- Lemoine, Jaques 1989 Ethnicity, culture and development among some minorities of the people's republic of China. In Chien Chiao and Nicholas Tapp (eds.) *Ethnicity and Ethnic Groups in China* Hong Kong: New Asia College, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, pp.1-9.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude 1955 *Tristes Tropiques*. (English trans. 1961) New York: John Russell.

- 1963 *Structural Anthropology*, Vol.1 (trans. from the French by Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf), London: Penguin Books.
- 1969 *The Elementary Structures of Kinship* (trans. from the French by James Harle Bell, John Richard von Sturmer and Rodney Needham), Boston: Beacon Press.
- 1973 *Structural Anthropology*, Vol.2 (trans. from the French by Monique Layton), London: Penguin Books.
- Lewis, I. M. 1968 Introduction In I. M. Lewis (ed.) *History and Social Anthropology* ASA Monographs 7, London: Tavistock Publications, pp. ix-xxviii.
- Lewis, I. M. 1985 *Social Anthropology in Perspective, the relevance of social anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Li, An-che 1948 Bon: the magico-religious belief of the Tibetan-speaking peoples. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol.4, pp.31-42.
- Li, Chi 1928 *The Formation of the Chinese People, an Anthropological Inquiry*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Li, Lin-ts'an, He Cai and Zhang Kun (李霖燦, 和才, 張琨) 1944 (in Chinese) 麼些象形文字字典。國立中央博物院籌備處, 四川 李庄 (A dictionary of Mo-so hieroglyphics. Central National Museum, Sichuan, Lizhuang).
- 1945 (in Chinese) 麼些標音文字字典。(同上) (A glossary of Mo-so phonetic scripts. *ibid.*).
- Li, Lin-ts'an (李霖燦) 1954a (in Chinese) 麼些族文字的發生和演變。載：台北：大陸雜誌, 第八卷 第六, 七期, 161-165, 207-211 頁。(On the origin and evolution of Moso writing, *The Continent Magazine*, Vol. 8, Nos. 6 and 7, pp. 161-165, 207-211. Taipei: *The Continent Magazine*).
- 1954b (in Chinese) 与駱克博士論麼些族形字音字之先后, 台北：大陸雜誌, 第八卷 第十期, 304-309 頁。(A discussion with Dr. Rock on whether the Moso pictographs or phonetic scripts were used first. *The Continent Magazine*, vol. 8, No. 10, pp.304-309, Taipei: *The Continent Magazine*).
- 1971 (in Chinese) 麼些族的经典研究。國立北京大學中國民俗學會民俗叢書第二輯, 四十五冊。台北：東方文化書局(Studies of Mo so Tribal Classics. Folklore and folkliterature Series of National Peking University and Chinese Association for Folklore, Vol.2, No.45. Taipei: the Orient Cultural Service).
- 1984 (in Chinese) 东巴经典艺术论, 載: 郭大烈, 杨世光1991 东巴文化论, 昆明: 云南人民出版社, 555 - 556 页。(On the art in *dto-mba* scriptures, In Guo Dalie and Yang Shiguang (eds.) 1991 *Collected Papers on dto-mba culture*, Kunming: Yunnan People's Press, pp.555-566).

- Li, Hongqi (ed.) (李鸿启) 1983 (in Chinese) 云南少数民族, 昆明: 云南人民出版社 (The minority nationalities of Yunnan. Kunming: Yunnan People's Press).
- Lienhardt, Godfrey 1964 *Social Anthropology*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Lin, Xiangxiao (林向萧) 1991 (in Chinese) “东巴教本是钵教的一支” 辩, 郭大烈, 杨世光 1991 东巴文化论, 昆明: 云南人民出版社。 59 - 81 页 ('*Dto-mba* religion was originally a branch of Bon religion' discussed, In Guo Dalie and Yang Shiguang (eds.) 1991 Collected Papers on *dto-mba* culture, Kunming: Yunnan People's Press, pp. 59-81).
- Lin, Yueh-hua 1961 *The Lolo of Liang Shan*. New Haven, Connecticut: Human Relations Area Files, Inc.
- Liu, Xianzhao (刘先照) 1991 (in Chinese) 中华各民族的个性与共性的特征及其演变。载: Fei Xiaotong (ed.) 1991 (in Chinese) 中华民族研究新探索。北京: 中国社会科学出版社, 37 - 52 页 (The individual and common features and their change of the nationalities of China. In Fei Xiaotong [ed.] 1991 A new direction in the research into a Chinese nation. Beijing: Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Press, pp.37-52).
- Liu, Wenying (刘文英) 1985 (in Chinese) 从“创世纪”看纳西族的原始宇宙观念。载: 郭大烈, 杨世光: 1985 东巴文化论集, 281 - 293 页, 昆明: 云南人民出版社 (From 'the Descending of man' to see the primitive cosmology of the Naxi, In Guo Dalie & Yang Shiguang 1985 Collected Papers on Dongba culture. Kunming: Yunnan People's Press, pp.281-293)
- Liu, Yaohan (刘尧汉) 1980 (in Chinese) 彝族社会史论集, 北京: 民族出版社 (Collected Papers on the Social History of the Yi Nationality. Beijing: Nationality Press).
- Lowie, Robert H. 1938 *The History of Ethnological Theory* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Ma, Xueliang (马学良) 1989 (in Chinese) 彝族文化史, 上海人民出版社 (A Cultural History of the Yi Nationality. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Press).
- Marcus, George E. and Michael M. J. Fisher 1986 *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: an Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Marcus, George E. and Dick Cushman 1982 Ethnographies as texts *Annual Review of Anthropology* 11, pp.25-69.

- Mair, Lucy 1972 *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw 1922 *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Mao, Tse-tung 1941 Reform our study. In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* Vol.III, Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1967, pp. 17-25.
- Matisoff, J. A. 1991 Sino-Tibetan linguistics: present state and future prospects. *Annual Review of Anthropology*. Vol.20, pp. 469-504.
- Mckhann, Charles 1992 *Fleshing Out the Bones: Kinship and Cosmology in Naqxi Religion*. PhD dissertation. Chicago: the University of Chicago.
- Migot, André 1956 *Tibetan Marches*. (Translated from the French by Peter Fleming), London: Readers Union Rupert Hart-Davis.
- Morse, William Reginald 1923 President's speech. *Journal of the West China Border Research Society*, Vol.1, pp.2-7.
- Murdock, George Peter 1949 *Social Structure* New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Nakane, Chie and Chien Chiao (eds.) 1992 *Home Bound Studies in Asian Society*. Tokyo: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies.
- Naroll, Raoul 1961 Two solutions to Galton's problems. *Philosophy of Science* 28, pp.15-39.
- 1964 On ethnic unit classification. *Current Anthropology* Vol.5, No.4, pp.283-312.
- Naxi *dto-mba* guji yi zhu 1986, 1987, 1989 (in Chinese)  
 纳西东巴古籍译注。——三。  
 云南少数民族古籍整理出版规划办公室编。昆明：云南民族出版社  
 (The translation of and annotation to the Naxi *dto-mba* classics, vols 1-3, ed. by the executive office of the publication of the classic literature of Yunnan minority nationalities. Kunming: Yunnan People's Press).
- Needham, Joseph 1954 *Science and Civilization in China* Vol.1 Introductory Orientations. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1956 *Science and Civilization in China* Vol.2 History of Scientific thought. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1985 Introduction. In Robert Temple 1991 *The Genius of China, 3,000 Years of Science, Discovery, and Invention*. London: Prion.
- Needham, Rodney 1962 *Structure and Sentiment: A Test Case in Social Anthropology*. Chicago: the University of Chicago Press.
- 1973 Prescription. *Oceania* 42, pp.166-181.

- Pye, Lucian W. 1975 China: ethnic minorities and national security. In Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan (eds.) *Ethnicity Theory and Experience*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Pocock, David 1975 *Understanding Social Anthropology*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Population Atlas of China, The* 1987, Oxford University Press.
- Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. 1940 On social structure. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. vol. LXX, 1940, pp. 1-12.
- 1945 Religion and society. In Radcliffe-Brown 1952 *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*. London (the Henry Myers Lecture), pp.153-177.
- 1951 The comparative method in social anthropology. (Huxley Memorial Lecture). *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. LXXXI, 1951, pp.15-22.
- 1953 Letter to Lévi-Strauss. In Adam Kuper (ed.) 1977 *The Social Anthropology of Radcliffe-Brown*. London: Routledge and Kagan Paul, p.42.
- 1957 'Function', 'meaning' and 'functional consistency' In Adam Kuper (ed.) 1977 *The Social Anthropology of Radcliffe-Brown*. London: Routledge and Kagan Paul, pp.43-48.
- Ramsey, S. Robert 1987 *The Languages of China* Princeton University Press, U.S.A.
- Rex, John and David Mason (eds.) 1986 *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rock, J.F. 1924 Banishing the devil of disease among the Na-khi. *National Geographic Society Magazine*, vol. xlvi, no. 5, pp. 473-499.
- 1928 Life among the Lamas of Cho-ni. *National Geographic Society Magazine*, vol. liv, no.8, pp.569-619.
- 1930 The glories of Minya Konka. *National Geographic Society Magazine*, vol. lviii, no.5, pp.383-437.
- 1935 The story of the flood in the literature of the Na-khi tribe. *Journal of the West China Border Research Society*, vol. 7, pp.64-82.
- 1936a The origin of the Tso-la books of divination of the Na-khi sorcerers. *Journal of the West China Border Research Society*, vol. 8, pp.39-54.
- 1936b Hä-la or the killing of the soul as practised by Na-khi sorcerers. *Journal of the West China Border Research Society*, vol. 8, pp.55-58.
- 1937a 'The birth and origin of Dto-mba Shi-lo, the founder of Mo-so shamanism' *Artibus Asiae*, vol.7, pp.1-39, with Plates I-XV.
- 1937b Studies in Na-khi Literature: Part I, The birth and origin of Dto-mba Shi-lo;



- Part II, The Na-khi Hä-zhi-p'i. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*, vol xxxvii.
- 1937c The Nichols Mo-so manuscript of the American Geographical Society' *Geographical Review*, vol. 7.
- 1938 The Zher-khin tribe and their religious literature. *Monumenta Serica*, vol. iii, f.l., pp.171-188
- 1939 The romance of K'a-ma-gyu-mi-gkyi' *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*, vol. xxxix,
- 1947 *The Ancient Na-khi Kingdom of S. W. China* . 2 vols.. Harvard University Press.
- 1948 The Muan-bpo ceremony or the sacrifice to heaven as practised by the Na-khi. *Monumenta Serica*, vol. xiii.
- 1952 The Na-khi Naga Cult and related ceremonies *Serie Oriental Roma*, iv. Parts I and II, Rome
- 1955a The Zhi ma funeral ceremony of the Na-khi of S.W. China *Studia Instituti Anthropos*. Vol. 9. St. Gabriel's Mission Press, Vienna- Modling.
- 1955b The Na-khi D'a Nv funeral ceremony with special reference to the origin of Na-khi weapons. *Anthropos* 50.
- 1956 The Amnye Ma-chhen Range and adjacent regions *Serie Oriental Roma*, xii. Rome
- 1959 Contribution to the shamanism of the Tibetan-Chinese borderland *Anthropos* 54.
- 1963a A <sup>1</sup>Na-<sup>2</sup>khi-English Encyclopedic Dictionary Part I, *Serie Orientale Roma* XXVIII, Roma: Istituto Italiano per Il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
- 1963b The life and culture of the Na-khi tribe of the China-Tibet borderland' *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Suppl. 2*. Wiesbaden.
- 1965 (and Janert, K.(ed.))Na-khi Manuscripts. Part I and II, *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band vii* . Wiesbaden.
- 1972 A <sup>1</sup>Na-<sup>2</sup>khi-English Encyclopedic Dictionary, Part II Gods, Priests, Ceremonies, Stars, Geographical Names. *Serie Orientale Roma* XXVIII, Roma: Istituto Italiano per Il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
- Rui Yifu (芮逸夫) 1951 (in Chinese) 民族學在中國。載：台北：大陸雜誌 第三卷第七，第八期，一至四頁，十七至二十一頁 (Ethnology in China, Taipei: The Continent Magazine, Vol. 3, nos.7 and 8, pp.1-4, 17-21).
- 1953 (in Chinese) 中华民族的构成。載：台北：大陸雜誌，第七卷第一期，

- 25 - 34 頁(The formation of the Chinese nation. Taipei: The Continent Magazine, Vol.7, no.1, pp.25-34).
- Said, Edward W. 1991, 1995 (1978) *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books.
- Sarana, Gopala 1975 *The Methodology of Anthropological Comparisons — an analysis of comparative methods in social and cultural anthropology* The University of Arizona Press.
- Schiefner, Anton 1880 The White Naga Hundred Thousand (trans. from the German: Ueber das Bonpo-Sutra: Das Weisse Haha-Hunderthausend.), *Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of Science of St. Petersburg*, VIIth Series, Vol. XXVIII, no.1.
- Service, Elman 1960 Kinship terminology and evolution. *American Anthropologist* 62, pp.747-753.
- Seymour-Smith, Charlotte 1986 *Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology* London: Macmillan Reference Books.
- Steward, Julian H. 1955 *Theory of Culture Change: the Methodology of Multilinear Evolution*. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press.
- Strathern, Marilyn 1992 *After Nature*. Cambridge University Press.
- Street, Brian V. 1984 (ed.) *Cross-Cultural Approaches to Literacy*. (Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Cultures), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Street, Brian V. and Niko Besnier 1994 Aspects of Literacy. In Tim Ingold (ed.) 1994 *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp.527-562.
- Suenari, Michio 1992 Anthropology of one's own society in East Asia. In Chie Nakane and Chien Chiao (eds.) 1992 *Home Bound Studies in Asian Society*. Tokyo: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, pp.59-79.
- Tao Yun-kwei (陶雲逵) 1936 (in Chinese) 關於麼些之名稱分佈與遷移。南京國立中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊，第七本第二分冊，一二一至一三五頁 (On the distribution and migration of the Moso. Nanking: *Bulletin of the Academia Sinica*, Institute of History and Philology, pp.121-135).
- 1938 (in Chinese) 麼些族之羊骨卜及蚘卜。南京：國立中央研究院歷史語言研究所 人類學集刊。第一卷，八十七至一五三頁 (On the scapulimancy and cowry-shell divination of the Moso. Nanking: Academia Sinica, Institute of History and Philology, *The Journal of Anthropology*, pp.87-153).
- Thurston, Anne F. 1988 *Enemies of the People, the Ordeal of the Intellectuals in China's Great Cultural Revolution*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

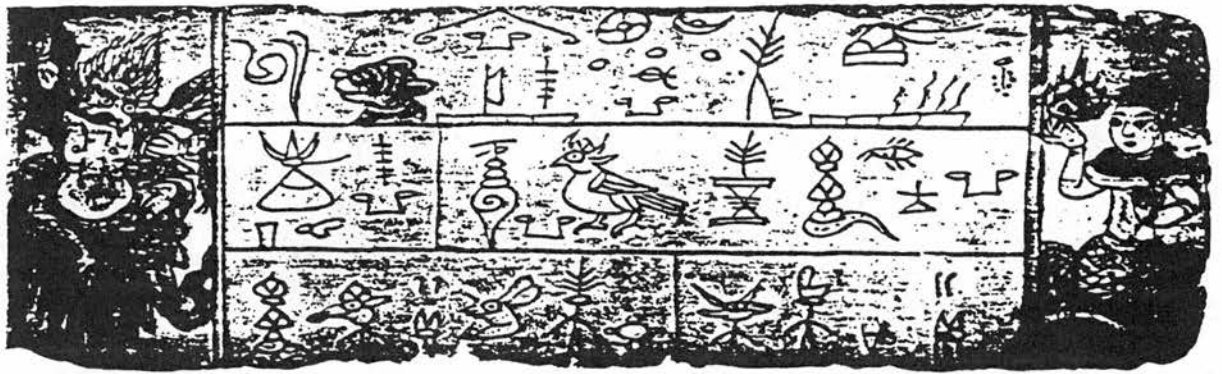
- Tonkin, Elizabeth, Maryon Macdonald and Malcolm Chapman (eds.) 1989 *History and Ethnicity* ASA Monographs 27. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Tucci, G. 1949 *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*. 2 vols. Rome: La Libreria dello Stato.
- Turner, Victor (ed.) 1971 *Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960, Vol. 3: Profiles of Change: African Society and Colonial Rule*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tylor, Edward B. 1889 On a method of investigating the development of institution applied to the laws of marriage and descend. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 18, pp.245-272.
- Vial, Paul 1909 *Dictionnaire français-lolo, dialecte gni...* Hongkong: Société des missions étrangères. Paris: Bibliothèque.
- Waddell, L. Austine 1967 (1934) *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd.
- Wang, Leshan (王樂山) 1910(1831) (ed., in Chinese) 雲南備徵志。台北：成文出版社，1967 (Comprehensive reference essays on Yunnan. Taipei: Chengwen Press, 1967).
- Wang, Ning Sheng (汪宁生) 1989 (in Chinese) 民族考古学论集。北京：文物出版社(*Essays on Ethnoarchaeology* Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House.)
- Watson, James L. 1986 Anthropological overview: the development of Chinese descent groups. In Ebrey, Patricia Buckley and James L. Watson (eds.) *Kinship Organization in Late Imperial China 1000-1940* Berkeley: University of California Press, pp.274-292.
- Weber, Max 1951 *The Religion of China* New York: the Free Press.
- Wen, You (闻宥) 1941 (in Chinese) 麽些象形文之初步研究。国立中央研究院历史语言研究所人类学集刊，第二卷。南京，97 - 124 页(A preliminary study of the Moso pictographs, Anthropology, vol.2. the Research Institute of Historical Philology, Academia Sinica. Nanking, pp.97-124).
- 1945 A study of the Lolo script with special reference to Yunnan varieties and a comparison of four varieties of the Lolo scripts in Yunnan. *West China Border Research Society Journal* 16, pp.95-106.
- White, Lynn T. 1989 *Policies of Chaos: the Organizational Causes of Violence in China's Cultural Revolution*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Wiens, Herold J. 1967(1954) *Han Chinese Expansion in South China (China's March toward the Tropics)*. The Shoe String Press, Inc.

- Wolfenden, Stuart N. 1929 *Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistics Morphology* with special reference to the prefixes, infixes and suffixes of classical Tibetan, and the languages of the Kachin, Bodo, Naga, Kuki Chin, and Burma groups (Royal Asiatic Society prize publication no.12). London: Royal Asiatic Society.
- Wu, David Y. H. 1990 Chinese minority policy and the meaning of minority culture: the example of Bai in Yunnan, China. *Human Organization* Vol.49, No.1, pp.1-13.
- Wu, Ze and Yang Yixiang (吴泽、杨翼骧) (eds.) 1983 (in Chinese) 中国历史大辞典, 史学史. 上海: 上海辞书出版社. (An encyclopedia of Chinese history: history of the historiography. Shanghai encyclopedic publishing house).
- Xiang Da (向达) 1962 (in Chinese) 唐樊绰蛮书校注. 北京: 中华书局(Annotation to the book about barbarians by Fan Chao of the Tang Dynasty. Beijing: China Press.)
- Yahuda, Michael B. (ed.) 1987 *New Directions in the Social Sciences and Humanities in China* London: Macmillan Press.
- Yan, Ruxian and Song, Zhaolin (严汝娴, 宋兆麟) 1983 (in Chinese) 永宁纳西族的母系制, 昆明: 云南人民出版社(The matrilinearity of the Yongning Naxi nationality. Kunming: Yunnan People's Press).
- Yang, Zhenwen (杨正文) 1991 (in Chinese) 白地东巴圣境的形成和发展, 载: 郭大烈, 杨世光1991 东巴文化论, 昆明: 云南人民出版社. 92 - 103 页(The construction and development of Baidi *dto-mba* holy land. In Guo Dalie and Yang Shiguang (eds.) 1991 Collected Papers on *dto-mba* culture, Kunming: Yunnan People's Press, pp.92-103).
- Yi-Han Jianming Cidian* 1984 彝汉简明词典. 云南省路南彝族自治县文史研究室编. 昆明: 云南民族出版社. (A concise Yi-Chinese dictionary. ed. by the cultural-historical research office of the Lunan Yi autonomous county, Yunnan province. Kunming: Yunnan Press for Nationalities.)
- You, Zhong (尤中) 1985 (in Chinese) 中国西南民族史, 昆明: 云南人民出版社 (A history of the nationalities in south-west China. Kunming: Yunnan People's Press).
- Yu, Qingyuan (余庆远) 1770 (in Chinese) 维西闻见录. 载: 王乐山 1910 (1831) (ed., in Chinese) 云南备徵志. 台北: 成文出版社, 1967, 1231-1252页 (Weixi learned in a visit. In Wang Leshan [ed.] 1910 [1831] Comprehensive reference essays on Yunnan. Taipei: Chengwen Press, 1967, pp.1231-1252).

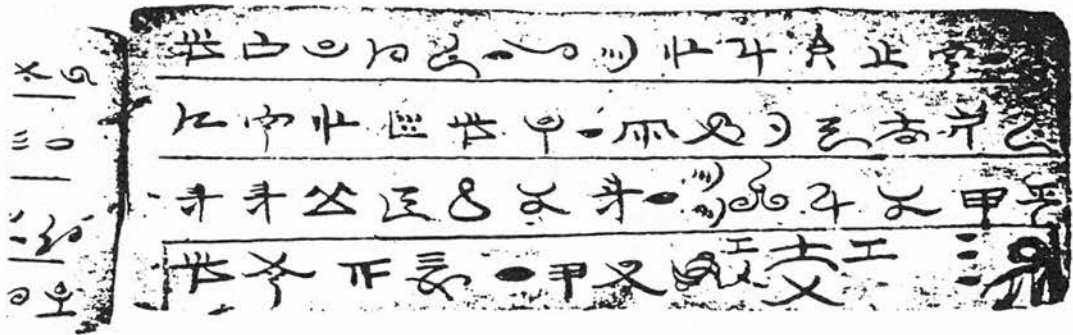
Yunnan Folklore Study Lijiang Team 1959 (in Chinese) 纳西族文学史。

云南省民族民间文学丽江调查队编著, 昆明: 云南人民出版社 (A history of Naxi literature (first draft), Yunnan People's Press).

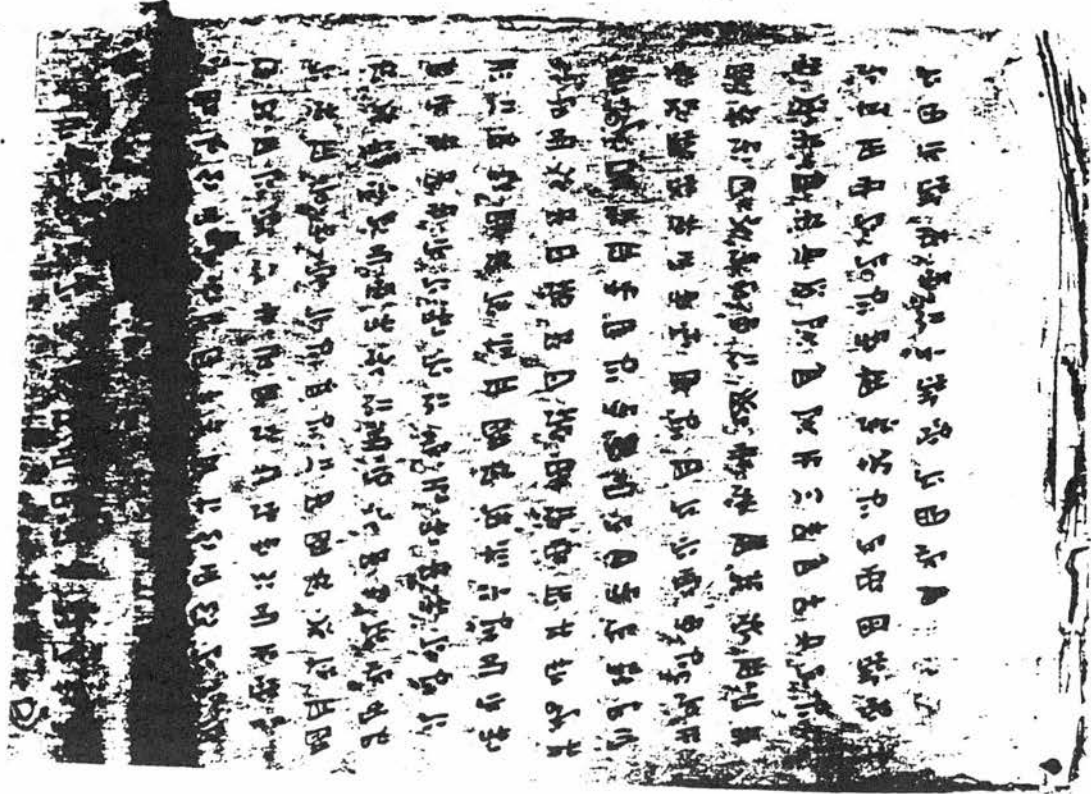
Zhu, Baotien (朱宝田) 1984 (in Chinese) 纳西族象形文字的分布与传播问题新探  
云南社会科学, 第3期, 74 - 79页 (A new research into the distribution  
and dissemination of Naxi pictographs. Yunnan social sciences, No.3, 1984).



(1)



(2)



(3)

1. The first page of a Naxi religious text in pictographs, written by famous *dto-mba* Jiu Zhi Lao (one of the 'Dto-la' brothers, A1b) (Rock 1952: Plate G).
2. A Naxi religious text written in *ggô-bàw* characters (Rock 1963a: Plate II).
3. A text of the Yi characters (Rock 1963a: Plate V).

Note: Ceremony numbers in brackets means the original title does not indicate which ceremony.

Number in brackets after a title means there are two or more titles in a book.

HOS = Hs.or.sim. and other abbreviations see 'Orthographic Conventions and Abbreviations'.

Library:	R's No	Auth.	Cerem	Title of the text:	Year acquired:
LC.	1 —			<i>About 1,000.</i>	1922 (Rock 1965: XVI)
HY?=HOS450	933	A1	(30)	Ds'i p'er yü-p'er 'A p'er dzhu-zhwua.	1924 (Some 25 yrs ago) (Rock 1952: 548)
LC2566=HOS850	1044	C1	(93)	Dto ggo Ssaw-la-ä-bpa Nv.	1924.
HOS424	1294	C1	35	Ds'i-na bpö, Ch'ou gkü, Ch'ou shu t'u-bbue	1924.
LC3010=HOS432	1310	C1	35	Ts'o-zä-llü-ghügh, lv-mä-mun-ghügh cher dzo. Nd'a t'u gkv?	1924.(Rock 1952: 708)
LC3024=HOS419	618	D1	(36)	Ndu Ssä cher dzo.(2)	1924.(Rock 1952: 708)
HY306=HOS689	1400	B2	29	Bpö-lü-k'u.	1928 (23 yrs ago) (Rock 1952: 190)
HY93=HOS682	1386	B2	(29)	Ssu ssaw(k'v), gkv-chung.	1930 (Many years ago) (Rock 1952: 179).
HY94=HOS684	1392	B2	(29)	Ssu ssaw(k'v), man-chung.	1930 (Many years ago) (Rock 1952: 179).
		C1+C9		<i>A-dzhi's library.</i>	1930 (Some 20 yrs ago) (Rock 1952: 502)
HY? =HOS444	584	D?	(36)	Ndu Ssä cher dzo. 5,000.	1930 (Some 20 yrs ago). 1930-38.
HY242=HOS456	1620	B2	35	Llu-ssi ts'er-ssu t'u.	1930.
	?	A1		<i>A good many.</i>	1944 sunk in the sea. (Rock 1952: 208)
IIMFER	6014	A1	(29)	Nyi-mbu-la-ddo ssaw.	1946.(Rock 1952: 262)
K.Or.466	8580	?	29	La-nder-la-dsä, Wüa-na nyi-bä-gu cher dzo.(2)	1946. (Rock 1952: 359)
Hs.Or.364	6058	E1	35	Bpö-lü k'u.	1947
Hs.Or.367	6073a	E1/4	35	Ddu 'a Ssu 'a.(ph)	1947
Hs.Or.373	6081a	A1	35	Ds'i-na bpö, Ch'ou gkü, Ch'ou shu t'u-bbue	1947
Hs.Or.374	6081b	E1?	35	Bpa-ler-ngo-ssu(sso) t'u, lü-chung.	1947
Hs.Or.356	6015b	E4	(29)	Ch'ung-bpa ngyi.	1947 (Newly acquired) (Rock 1952: 232)
?	?	A1	(29)	Khyu-t'khyu Ssu 'a.	1947 (Rock 1952: 385)
Hs.Or.1498	8424	A1	29	Ngu t'khi llü-ssi ssu.	1947 (Rock 1952: 487)
?	6096	A1	(30)	Ssu k'u p'u. (2)	1947 (Recent).
IIMFER	6102	A1	(30)	Dtü-zaw-t'a-mun, K'ö-dgyu-ssu-zo-yi.	1947 (Recently) (Rock 1952: 329)
K.Or.457	8571	E4	29	Dtü-zaw-t'a-mun, K'ö-dgyu-ssu-zo-yi.	1947 (Recently) (Rock 1952: 329)
R's Lib.?	?	A1	(30)	Nv-lv-ch'er-dtü-zo, Ch'er-dgyu-zo, Ch'er-bbue-zo cher.	1947 (Recently) (Rock 1952: 332)
IIMFER	5070	A1	(30)	Dta-tsan-ts'o-zaw, T'o-gko-ngv-gkv, T'o-ma-ngv-gkv cher dzo.	1947 (Recently) (Rock 1952: 339)
K.Or.459	8573	A1	30	Ddu-mi gko-mun mi (R: Ssä-chwua-gko-mun).	1947.
K.Or.494	8609	A49	29	Na-dta-la-o-gko.	1947.
Hs.Or.376	6084	E4		P'u-la bpu.	1947.
K.Or.119	6073b	E1	33	Zhi ts'u bpu.	1947.
Hs.Or.1447	6052	E4a	(93)	Zhi-lv dtü.	1947.

Hs.Or.360	6054	A1	35	Ch'ou-ndzi mi (R). (Mi ggo gyi hoa)	1947.
Hs.Or.361	6055	?	35	Ch'ou-ndzi mi.	1947.
Hs.Or.362	6056	E4	35	Ch'ou-ndzi mi.	1947.
Hs.Or.363	6057	E1	35	Ch'ou-ndzi mi.	1947.
Hs.Or.365	6070	E4	35	Bpö-p'a-gko-shu.	1947.
K.Or.118	6069	A1	35	Bpö-p'a-gko-shu.	1947.
Hs.Or.358	6051	E1/4	35	Ndu dtü	1947.
Hs.Or.1448	6071	A1	35	Ts'o-mber ts'o dzo.	1947.
Hs.Or.366	6072	A1	35	Ts'o-mber ts'o dzo.	1947.
Hs.Or.368	6074	E1	35	Müan-llü-ddu-ndzi cher dzo gkv-chung	1947.
Hs.Or.368	6075	E1	35	Müan-llü-ddu-ndzi cher dzo, man-chung	1947.
Hs.Or.369	6077	E4	35	T'o-gko ngv-gkv cher dzo. (3)	1947.
Hs.Or.1449	6076	A1	35	T'o-gko ngv-gkv cher dzo. (3)	1947.
Hs.Or.370	6078	E1	35	T'o-gko ngv-gkv cher dzo. (2)	1947.
Hs.Or.371	6079	A1	35	Gkaw-lä-ts'ü cher dzo. (3) (Rock 1952: 714: the 2nd Dto- la brother)	1947.
Hs.Or.372	6080	E1	35	Nyi-ssaw-t'a-mun cher dzo.	1947.
Hs.Or.375	6083	E1a	(35)	Yu-ma ssaw (Dso-t'u-ggo-szu).	1947.
Hs.Or.1450	6082	A1	35	Yu-ma ssaw (Dso-t'u-ggo-szu).	1947.
Hs.Or.377	6085	E1	35	T'u gkv, lü chung.	1947.
Hs.Or.378	6086	E1	35	T'u man nd'a k'o.	1947.
Hs.Or.379	6087	B2	35	T'u lü, man nd'a k'o.	1947.
K.Or.120	6088	E4	35	Llu-ssi ts'er-ssu t'u.	1947.
?	6089	?	(36)	Llu-ssi ts'er-ssu t'u.	1947.
Hs.Or.499	8206/ 6092	E1	35	Bpö man dter.	1947.
MEPHR	?	?	(35)	Bpö man dter.	1947.
MVVA	?	?	(35)	Bpö man dter.	1947.
Hs.Or.499	8206/ 6092	E1	35	Bpö man dter.	1947.
Hs.Or.357	6017	B1	29	Mun Ghügh ssü.	1947.
?	6016	E1		Mun Ghügh ssü.	1947.
LC839?		E2	29	Ssaw-ndaw Yü dsu/Ssu yü dsu.	1947. (Rock 1952: 511)
HY 500?		G?	29	Ssaw-ndaw Yü dsu.	1947. (Rock 1952: 511)
?	6094	A1	29	'A nnü ssu dzhu-zhwua.	1947. (Rock 1952: 531)
RL.	6095	A1?	(30)	K'v-mbö szi-mbö, nnü-mä o- mä, gyi dsu.	1947. (Rock 1952: 565)
HY 118 =HOS677	1376	A1a	29	Na-dta-la-o-gko.(ph)	1947. (Rock 1952: 573)
Hs.Or.657	8646	?	29	Ssu k'u, K'u dter.	1948.
Hs.Or.1501	8426b	A1	29	T'i-ts'an p'i, gkv-chung.	1948.(Rock 1952: 364)
Hs.Or.1528	8622	A1	29	T'i-ts'an p'i, gkv-chung.	1948.(Rock 1952: 364)
K.Or.476	8590	?	29	T'i-ts'an p'i, lü-chung.	1948.(Rock 1952: 364)
Hs.Or.1593—1601	5077, 4210, 4096- 4010	A2	75, 42	Yü ndzi mi, O sher, Hä zhi p'i, etc. (a beautifully illuminated set).	1949.(9 mss.)
Hs.Or.1419—1431	5058- 5069, 5075	A2	75	T'u man Nd'a k'o, etc. (a beautifully illuminated set by Ho Ho-shou, from <u>La-p'iao</u> , southeast of Li-chiang.	1949. (12 mss.)



Note:

Ceremony numbers in brackets means the original title does not indicate which ceremony.

Number in brackets after a title means there are two or more titles in a book.

HOS = Hs.or.sim. and other abbreviations see 'Orthographic Conventions and Abbreviations'.

Gnw: a manuscript from the village of *G'v-nà-wuâ* in the Yangtze Valley, west of the Li-chiang snow range.

IIMFER: Library of the Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East of Rome.

ph — The text is in phonetic scripts.

ph — The title has phonetic scripts or in phonetic scripts.

1924\*: One page of a text has been translated and the description of two ceremonies of driving away demons.

Text title:	Library No.	R's No.	Auth.	Cere.	Date transl.
Tsù t'û; Ndèr ts'ù t'û; Ndù Ssà' chér dzò*.	HY238*	1251*	C1	69	1924*
Ts'ò mbêr t'û (tsò dzò).	HOS43=HY303	1357	C1	75	1935: 64
Bpò' p'à-gkó shù.	LC107?	117/6	A1		1936: 39
Hà' lâ, Dtù-dtù khî-khî ggò Hoá-lû' ch'ûng.	?	2653?			1936: 53
Shí-lô t'û bbuè. (2)	HOS315=HY55	1713	C1	42	1937a: 1
Shí-lô ssáw.	HOS524	5082b	C1	97	1937a: 36
Hà' zhî p'ì, Là'-ch'óu ndshì.	HOS260	1706	C9		1937b: 45
Hà' zhî p'ì, Mbû nà ng <sup>^</sup> v mbù p'í.	HOS308=HY338	1103	C1	42	1937b: 55
Hà' zhî p'ì, Ts'ú-ssí ndâw ndzèr t'û.	HOS78=HY428	1743	C1		1937b: 65
Hà' zhî p'ì, gk <sup>^</sup> v-chúng.	HOS299=HY341	907	A18	42	1937b: 74
Hà' zhî p'ì, mán-chúng.	HOS305=HY133	1079	C1	42	1937b: 74, 1955: 215
Nyí-wuâ dù' or Shí-ddó dù.	HY?	1724	C1?		1937b: 80?
Yí-ndáw dù' or Ndù'-ch'óu dù'.	HY123	1741	C1?		1937b: 82
Khyù'-dsò (ssò) dù' or Dtí-mún dù'.	HY122	1718	C1	42	1937b: 85
Bâ'-ds'ì-szí dù' or P'á-ddò dù'.	HY121	1723	C1	42	1937b: 88
Hâw-mâ-yí dù' or Ngâ-gyâ dù'.	HY?	1722?	C1		1937b: 91
Hà' dù' or Bbuê-ddò dù'.	HY426	1728	C1		1937b: 97
Hà' zhî p'ì, Tsân-ng <sup>^</sup> v k'û p'û.	HOS76=HY427	1727	C1		1937b: 112
Hà' zhî p'ì, K'ò-ló t'û.	HOS75=HY431	1726	C1		1937b: 115
L <sup>^</sup> v-mbêr l <sup>^</sup> v-zàw ssáw, gk <sup>^</sup> v-chúng.	HOS560?	1114	C1	97	1939
L <sup>^</sup> v-mbêr l <sup>^</sup> v-zàw ssáw, mán-chúng.	HY518	1136?	C2	97	1939
Ch'óu shú, 'A gkú hú'.	K.Or.3	807	?	1	1948: 22
Ch'óu ch'èr. (2)	Hs.Or.380	6090	E1	(1)	1948: 27
K'âw ch'èr ssáw, Zhí-ssáw ch'úng.	Hs.Or.1381	2681	Gnw	(1)	1948: 31
Gkó ó, (Zhí l <sup>^</sup> v dtù', Ndù Ssà' ch'óu shú, Mb'â-mí dshí).	HOS831	966	C1	93/1	1948: 49
Bù mún dzí.	K.Or.25	1219	C1/9	(1)	1948: 67
Ts'ò mbêr ssáw. (and Bù mún dzí)	K.Or.116	5134	B2	1	1948: 73
Ch'óu k'ò. (2)	K.Or.116	5134	A37	1	1948: 88
Hâw shì, Nôn-ò yú.	K.Or.21	889	B4	1	1948: 90
Muân ndér ssú. (2)	K.Or.271	833	?	(1)	1948: 98
Ghù' gh gkú' hú'. (B4)	K.Or.8?	812	D3?	1	1948: 100
Gyí bbuê k'ò' bpò'. (2)	Hs.Or.1366	1146	C1	(1)	1948: 141
Dzù Wuâ bpò'.	?	5392	?	(9)	1948: 146
Muân mbù k'ò' bpò'. (= Muân ndér ssú.)	Hs.Or.1445	5630	E4	1	1948: 158
Ssù-ndò ng <sup>^</sup> v-gù bpú, Hâw-khî dtò-mâ p'í.	HOS688=HY85	1399	B2	29	1952: 73
Khyù-t'khyú ssáw.	HOS656=HY165	1004	C1	29	1952: 97
K'û ng'â lâ bpú. (ph)	HOS705=HY88	3155	A1	29	1952: 107
Mún Ghù' gh ssú'. (2)	HOS691=HY90	1403	B2	29	1952: 116
Gkó ó, (Zhí l <sup>^</sup> v dtù', Ndù Ssà' ch'óu shú). (acquired in Li-chiang in 1947)	Hs.Or.1447?	6052	B8	(93)	1952: 124
P'û-là ssáw, mb'â-mí dshí.	HOS666=HY95	1016	C1	29	1952: 160
Mb'â mí dshí, Ggò-bàw ssù-khî ch'wuá-ts'èr tsù. (2)	HOS766=HY258	1952	A3	63	1952: 164
Ssù k'v, gk <sup>^</sup> v-chúng.	HOS682=HY93	1386	B2	(29)	1952: 172
Ssù k'v, mán-chúng.	HOS684=HY94	1392	B2	(29)	1952: 179
Hà-yí-dzì-boà Ssù k'v.	HOS657=HY297	1005	C1	29	1952: 187
Bpò-lû' k'û, Ssù t'û-bbué.	HOS689=HY306	1400	B2	29	1952: 190
Ssù hâw L <sup>^</sup> v hâw.	No ms.			(29)	1952: 198
Ndù dtù'.	HOS711=HY91	5051	A1	29	1952: 208

P'èr Ssân ndshèr tsá.	HOS712=HY98	5052	A1	29	1952: 218
Ch'ú-bpâ ngýí.	Hs.Or.356	6015b	E4	(29)	1952: 232
P'û-lâ-ssáw, Yù-ló t'û-bbué.	HOS659=HY96	1007	C1	29/35	1952: 254
Nyí-mbù-lâ-ddô ssáw.	HOS715=HY307	5055	A1	29	1952: 261
Ch'èr t'û-bbué.	HOS700=HY312	2100	A3	(30)	1952: 270
Ch'èr t'û-bbué, ch'èr k'ó'. (identical with Ts'ò-dzê-p'èr-ddù' ch'èr shù.).	HOS679=HY308	1382	B2	29	1952: 279
Ch'èr k'ó'.	HOS674=HY309	1035	C9	29	1952: 284
Ts'ò-zâ-llú'-ghú' gh Ssù' à. (2)	HOS660=HY102	1008	C9	29	1952: 289
K'ò'-dt'v-g <sup>^</sup> v-ssù-má'.	HOS708=HY105	3163	A1	29	1952: 296
Hà'-mí-ssù-shòu, Ss <sup>^</sup> -szí-nyí-mà chér.	HOS690=HY108	1402	B2	29	1952: 302
Dtò-ssáw-ngó-t'û chér dzò.	HOS714=HY113	5054	A1	29	1952: 307
P'û-shí-wuá-lú chér.	HOS707=HY110	3160	A1	29	1952: 318
Mbè(Má')-ssá'-dt'v-ch'í, Llú'-mùn-ng <sup>^</sup> v-hò(Ng <sup>^</sup> v-l'v-ng <sup>^</sup> v-dgyú) chér.	HOS680=HY106	1384	B2	(30)	1952: 322
Dtú'-zàw-t'á-mùn, K'ò'-dgyù-ssù-zò-yí.(3)	HOS649=HY104	921	A1	29	1952: 329
N <sup>^</sup> v-l <sup>^</sup> v-ch'èr-dtú'-zò, Ch'èr-dgyù-zò, Ch'èr-bbué-zò chér.(3)	HOS649=HY104	921	A1	29	1952: 332
Dtá-tsán-ts'ò-zàw, T'ò-gkò-ng <sup>^</sup> v-gk'v, T'ò-mâ-ng <sup>^</sup> v-gk'v chér dzò.	IIMFER	5070	A1	(30)	1952: 339
Dsá'-szí-miù-hò' chér.(2)	HOS683=HY107	1390	B2	29	1952: 346
Ò-gkàw-yí-k'wuá-ddù, Ts'ò-zâ'-llú'-ghú' gh nyí chér.	IIMFER	6015a	A1	(30)	1952: 351
Lâ-ndêr-lâ-dsá', Wuá-nà nyí-bá'-gù chér dzò.(2)	HOS710=HY305	5050a	A1	29	1952: 359
T'í-ts'án p'í, gk <sup>^</sup> v-chúng.	Hs.Or.1501	8426b	A1	29	1952: 364
T'í-ts'án p'í, lú'-chúng.	HOS718	6093	A1	29	1952: 372
T'í-ts'án p'í, mán-chúng.	HOS654=HY185	997	C1	29	1952: 378
Khyù-t' khyù Ssù' à.	HOS652=HY115	994	C9	29	1952: 385
Ngù t' khí llú'-ssí ssù.	HOS665=HY117	1014	C9	29	1952: 487
Dsò-mâ-yù-dsù, gk <sup>^</sup> v-chúng.	HOS698=HY314	1903	C9	29	1952: 497
Dsò-mâ-yù-dsù, lú'-chúng.	HOS655=HY313	999	C9	(29)	1952: 503
Dsò-mâ-yù-dsù, mán-chúng.	HOS699=HY437	1904	C9	(29)	1952: 507
Ssàw-ndáw-yù dsù. (ph)	HOS659=HY439	1020	C1	29	1952: 511
Khyú'-t'á ts'ú.	HOS696=HY311	1532	B2	29	1952: 519
'A nnú' ssù dzhù-zhwà.	IIMFER?	6094	A1	29	1952: 531
Nâ-dsàw ts'ú, hoá-p'èr dzhù-zhwà.	HOS694=HY423	1529	B2	29	1952: 535
'A gkú hù'.	HOS692=HY174	1404	B2	29	1952: 543
Ds'í-p'èr Y'ù'-p'èr, 'A-p'èr dzhù-zhwà.	HOS650	933a	A1	29	1952: 548
Lù'-nyí ssáw-ndàw.(2)	HOS678=HY310	1377	A1/A18	29	1952: 550
Nôn-ò yú.(2)	HOS678=HY310	1377	A1/A18	29	1952: 556
Ssàw-ndáw lú'-dtò p'í.	HOS675=HY99	1116	C9	97/30	1952: 560
K'v-mbò' szí-mbò', nnú'-mâ' ô-mâ', gyí dsù.	Rock's Library	6095	A1?	(30)	1952: 565
Nâ-dtá-lâ-ò-gkò. (ph)	HOS677=HY118	1376	A1a	29	1952: 573
Ssù' à Ssù dù'.	HOS716=HY435	5057	A1	29	1952: 577
Gkâw-lâ'-ts'ú' ò shér.	HOS709=HY434	3164	A1	29	1952: 581
Ssù dshì l'v dshì. (2)	HOS646=HY176	914	D145	(29)	1952: 587
K'ó-byù t'û bbué.(2)	HOS653=HY178	995	C9	(29)	1952: 590
Ssù k'ú p'û. (2)	?	6096	A1	(30)	1952: 595
Ssù ts'ú t'khí.(2)	?	6096	A1	(30)	1952: 598
P'û-lâ bpú.	Hs.Or.376	6084	E4		1952: 601
Khù' má'.	HOS697=HY137	1782	C1?		1952: 607
Zhì ts'ù bpú.	K.Or.119	6073b	E1	33	1952: 620
Zhì-dtú', gkó ó, Ndù Ssà' ch'óu shù.	HOS441=LC3007	1517	C1	(35)	1952: 634
Ch'óu-ndzí mí. (ph)	HOS468=HY259	5043	A1	35	1952: 643
Bpó'-lú k'ú.	HOS458=HY197	1677	F	35	1952: 648
Bpó' p' à gkó shù.	HOS457=HY269	1624	A1	35	1952: 656
Ch'óu t'û-bbué.	HOS464=HY263	3170	A37	35	1952: 670
Ts'ò mbèr ts'ò dzò.	Hs.Or.1448	6071	A1	35	1952: 676
Ndù Ssà' chér dzò, Ts'ò nyí chér? (2)	HOS419=LC3024	618	D1	(36)	1952: 691
Muân-llú'-ddù-ndzí chér dzò, gk <sup>^</sup> v-chúng	Hs.Or.368	6074	E1	35	1952: 694

Muân-llú'-ddù-ndzî chér dzò, mán-chúng.	Hs.Or.501	6075=8207a	B5	35	1952: 699
T'ò-gkô ng <sup>^</sup> v-gk <sup>^</sup> v chér dzò. (3)	Hs.Or.1449	6076	A1	35	1952: 703
Bpâ-wû-ts'ò-bpò' chér dzò. (3)	Hs.Or.1449	6076	A1	35	1952: 705
Ts'ò-zá'-llú'-ghù' gh, l'v-mâ'-mûn-ghù' gh chér dzò. Nd' à t' ù gk <sup>^</sup> v?	HOS432=LC3010	1310	C1	35	1952: 708
Ghù' gh-khù'-nyî-szî chér dzò. (3)	Hs.Or.1449	6076	A1	35	1952: 711
Gkâw-là'-ts'ú' chér dzò. (3) ( <i>the 2nd Dto-la brother</i> ).	Hs.Or.371	6079	A1	35	1952: 714
Ddù-mí Gkô-mûn mí chér dzò (Muân-mí Ná-ssá'-p'ú-mûn mí). (3)	Hs.Or.371	6079	A1	35	1952: 716
Dtô-mbâ Shí-lô K'âw-ssô-mà ssú'; (ph)(2)	HOS470=HY206	5045	A1	35	1952: 723
Dzî-khù'-l <sup>^</sup> v-zá'-gkyî, Dzû-gkyî-muân-nd <sup>^</sup> v ssú chér dzò. (ph) (2)	HOS470=HY206	5045	A1	35	1952: 726
Ddù 'à Ssù 'à. ( <i>less voluminous</i> )	HOS461=HY265	3165	A1	35	1952: 729
Ddù-mí Gkô-mûn mí chér dzò. (3)	Hs.Or.371	6079	A1	35	1952: 735
Nyî-ssâw-t'á-mûn chér dzò.	Hs.Or.372	6080	E1	35	1952: 739
Ds'i-na bpô, Ch'ou gkü, Ch'ou shu t'u-bbue	Hs.Or.373	6081a	A1	35	1952: 743
Là'-ch'ôu dtô-mâ p'í.	HOS467	3190	A35?	(36)	1952: 747
Bpâ-lêr-ngô-ssô t'ù, gk <sup>^</sup> v-chúng. (ph)	HOS453=HY247	1328	C1	36	1952: 755
Bpâ-lêr-ngô-ssô t'ù, lú'-chúng.	HOS472=HY262	5046a	A1	35	1952: 760
Bpâ-lêr-ngô-ssô t'ù, mán-chúng. ( <i>a very brief translation</i> )	HOS452=HY246	1326	C1	35	1952: 763
Ch'ôu dt'v bpò'.	HOS451=HY245	1325	C1	36	1952: 764
Yû-mâ ssâw (Ts'ò-t'ù-ggò-ssù Yû-mâ).	HOS448=HY344	1311	C1	35	1952: 767
T'ù gk <sup>^</sup> v.	HOS471=HY244	5046b	A1	35	1952: 774
T'ù k'ò, mán-chúng.	HOS473=HY267	5047	A1	35	1952: 781
Lû-ssî ts'á'-ssù t'ù.	HOS456=HY242	1620	B2	35	1952: 788
Bpò'-mbâ t'ù, gk <sup>^</sup> v-chúng. ( <i>in part</i> )	HOS474=HY260	5048	A1	35	1952: 792
Bpò'-mbâ t'ù. ( <i>in part</i> )	Hs.Or.380	6090	E1		1952: 792
Bpò'-mbâ t'ù. ( <i>in part, with a long Dharani absent from the other books</i> ).	HOS449=HY249	1315	C1	35	1952: 792
Bpò' mán dtér.	HOS475=HY261	5049	A1	35	1952: 797
D'à N'v.	LoC2727	1601	B2	48	1955b.
D'à bù, D'à ch'êr k'ó', ò shér.	Hs.Or.419	8102	A5	48	1955b.
D'à t'ù gk <sup>^</sup> v Ndzêr-ssù t'ù.	Hs.Or.412	8095			1955b.
Là'-ch'ôu ndshì.	HY12=HOS36	1283	C9	48	1955a: 211
Mb'â-mí Là Dtâ.	HOS161	2010	D	43	1955a: 24
Mb'â-mí Là Dtâ.	HOS287	2012		43	1955a: 24
Mûn ndzêr á là' dzhù.	Hs.Or.1453	7020	B7	50	1955a: 49
Dt'v Ts'ú. (2)	HOS326	1825	B9	42	1955a: 104
Ts'ù yî gk <sup>^</sup> v-shú Lá, mûn-gkü'.	HOS150	1078	C1	43	1955a: 107
Ts'ù yî.	HOS148	1043	C1	50	1955a: 125
Mûn Gkü.	HOS153	1608	C1?	43	1955a: 133
Mûn Mû Ffû.	HOS246	1552	B2	42	1955a: 138
Ts'ò mbêr t'ù, mán-chúng.	K.Or.140	8033	B7	43	1955a: 145
Ngù ffû; Ngù t'ù-bbué.	K.Or.146	8039	B1		1955a: 148
Yû' Ndzî Mí, Hâw Shì.	HOS167	3204		43	1955a: 152
Ô Ndzî Mí, gk <sup>^</sup> v-chúng.	HOS364?	1881	C1	43	1955a: 161
Ô Ndzî Mí, mán-chúng.	K.Or.131	8023	B7	43	1955a: 168
Mûn ndzî mí, gk <sup>^</sup> v-chung and mán-chúng.	K.Or.147	8042	E13		1955a: 172
Ts'ù yî mb'â-mí dshí.	HOS155	1721	C1	43	1955a: 174
Ô Mûn Ddaw Ggù', Mb'â-mí Dshí.	HOS273	1763	C1	(42)	1955a: 179
Shí-lô N'v, K'âw-ch'î Gyù Khyù.	HOS288	2820		42	1955a: 182
Ssâ K'ó' Dtó Ts'ân.	HOS152	1230		42	1955a: 184
Muên-t'ù ò szû, gk <sup>^</sup> v-chúng.	?	1050	?	43	1955a: 188
Muên-t'ù ò szû, mán-chúng.	?	2076	?	43	1955a: 193
Ndshêr Ndzî Mí, gk <sup>^</sup> v-chúng.	HOS395	1430		50	1955a: 199
Dt'v khí.	HOS304	1074	C1	42	1955a: 224

Total texts translated: 135.6

A: Dated mss. and the origin of the mss. according to Rock:

(Unless stated where reference to Rock's works is given, the data are from Rock 1965.

illus = 1st page illustrated, illm = 1st page illuminated, s. = title in sideways, n.t. = no title page).

	Auth:	Library No.:	R's No:	Cerem.:	Dating & Origin:	Note:
1	?	?	6089	36	Origin unknown, purch. 1947, Li-chiang. (1952: 788)	
2	?	Hs.Or.343	5092	(53)	The only ms. observed bearing that title ( <i>Wua-ggo-lv-dgyu t'u bbue, ch'ou shu</i> )	
3	?	Hs.Or.361	6055	35	Origin unknown. (1952: 643)	
4	?	Hs.Or.391	8040	43	Snake year, 8th month, 26th day when the Dto-mba was 26, Very old, from <i>Gkan-k'ö</i> , south of Li-chiang in <i>Ch'i-ho Hisang</i> , dated on back cover(recto).	n.t.
5	?	Hs.Or.433	8119	93	Very old, but a new cover.	
6	?	Hs.Or.476	8171	(93)	18th century, in all probability.	s.
7	?	Hs.Or.478	8173	(93)	May be even older than Hs.Or.433(?).	
8	?	Hs.Or.481	8193	(93)	Very old, from <i>Ndso-dtodzhi</i> by a dto-mba who was also a <i>llü-bu</i> .	n.c.
9	?	Hs.Or.487	8197	(93)	Very old, no colophon.	n.t.
10	?	Hs.Or.638	8626	(42)	Very old, part of a set.	
11	?	K.Or.103	5071	(75)	19th century, probably.	illm
12	?	K.Or.145	8038	(42)	Much older than K.Or.144(E8).	
13	?	K.Or.17	832	1	Probably several hundred years old.	n.t.
14	?	K.Or.177	8112	(93)	Very old, written with broad stylus.	n.t.
15	?	K.Or.226	8236	(29)	9th moon, 13th day, by <i>Dto-ta</i> from <i>Ndaw-lä</i> in <i>Tung-yüan li</i> , east of Li-chiang. (on the last page)	illm
16	?	K.Or.463	8577	29	Not from the area of Li-chiang as the symbols are very different.	illus
17	?	K.Or.469	8583	29	Dog year, 9th moon, 27th day, from <i>Müan-dsä-dü</i> . (on last page)	
18	?	K.Or.476	8590	29	Horse year(Wood & Water), 10th moon, 28th day of Snake at <i>Ndaw-ly</i> by <i>Lli-bu Dto-ssu</i> (on last page).	
19	?	K.Or.73	4216	50	Oldest of K.Or.317(G/E8b?), 320(E27), Hs.Or.1396(A2), cover is of later date.	illm
20	A1	?	6094	29	Only book seen (' <i>A nnü ssu dzhu-zhwua</i> ). (1952: 531)	
21	A1	Hs.Or.1383	3044	93	Oldest of Hs.Or.1384(A1), Hs.Or.455(A48?), Hs.Or.454(A1?), Hs.Or.445(B5), K.Or.175(G3).	illm
22	A1	Hs.Or.1391	4051	(75)	Very old, one of the <i>Dto-la</i> brothers.	illm
23	A1	Hs.Or.1410	4226	42	Dog year, 5th moon, 6th day of Monkey, early part of 16th century, at lake Lu-khu of snow mt. (Nv-lv), village of <i>Shwua-khü</i> (now village of <i>Shwua wüa</i> near that small lake west of Li-chiang).	illm
24	A1	Hs.Or.1449	6076	35	Rat year, 1st day when star <i>Zü-lu-gkv</i> (13th star of 28 constellations) was in control.	illm
25	A1	Hs.Or.1468	8269	29	A <i>Dto-la</i> ms.	n.t./illus
26	A1	Hs.Or.184	8146	93	Oldest of Hs.Or.458(B28, newest), 467(B6), 471(A35).	illus
27	A1	Hs.Or.312	3144	29	By one of the three <i>Dto-la</i> brothers who wrote in a broader style. (NM: 94)	illm
28	A1	Hs.Or.371	6079	35	The <b>2nd Dto-la brother</b> , (1952: 714)	illm
29	A1	Hs.Or.373	6081a	35	From a village on Li-chiang plain, only two mss. known ( <i>Ds'i-na bpö</i> , <i>Ch'ou gkü</i> , <i>Ch'ou shu t'u-bbue</i> ).	
30	A1	Hs.Or.404	8083	48	Date back to time of Dto-la brothers, text identical with Hs.Or.403(E8), 402(F?), K.Or.397(B7).	illm
31	A1	Hs.Or.404	8083	48	Date back to time of Dto-la brothers, Ming dynasty.	illm
32	A1	Hs.Or.627	8425	29	From <i>Gkv-na-wüa</i> when dtom-ba was 22. (on page before last).	
33	A1	HY100=HOS706	3158	29	A <i>Dto-la</i> but <b>not</b> who could illuminate <b>best</b> . (1952: 351)	illm
34	A1	HY265=HOS461	3165	35	From <i>Na-ngyu nv-lv-k'ö</i> , last village at foot of snow range (on inside cover). (1952: 733).	illm

35	A1	HY269=HOS457	1624	35	Dog year, 5th month, 24th day of Pig, when bpö-gkv star was in heaven (on last page). ( <i>Bpö-p'a-gko-shu</i> )	illm
36	A1	HY305=HOS710	5050a	29	Rare, only two mss ( <i>La-nder-la-dsä, Wüa-nanyi-bä-gu cherdzo</i> ). (1952: 359)	illm
37	A1	IIMFER	6015a	(30)	<b>A Dto-la the fine illuminator.</b> (1952: 351)	
38	A1/A18	HY?=HOS450	933	(30)	Only ms., a <b>Dto-la</b> ms. purchased some 25 years ago at <u>Pai-sha</u> . ( <i>Ds'i p'er yü-p'er 'a p'er dzhu-zhwua.</i> )	illm
39	A1/A18	HY310?=HOS678	1377	29	Only ms. ever come across, very rare ( <i>Lü-nyi ssaw-ndaw, Non-o yu</i> ).	
40	A18	K.Or.434	8549	(42)	Very old, same text as Hs.Or.1536(A2).	n.t./illm
41	A1: <b>Dto-la</b>	Hs.Or.1390	4015	26	Hare year, 12th month, 28th day of Snake, the first day controlled by Zü-hä, 15th star of 28 constellation.(on page before last)	illm
42	A1?	Hs.Or.1381	2681	1	From village <u>Gkv-na-wüa</u> , west of Li-chiang Snow-range.	n.t.
43	A1?	K.Or.388	8496	42	Old; same text as K.Or.373(B5)	illm
44	A1?	Rock's Library	6095	(30)	Only book bearing this title, acquired in 1947 ( <i>K'v-mbö szi-mbö, nnü-mä o-mä, gyi dsu</i> ).	
45	A1a	K.Or.394	8503	42	Idetical with Hs.Or.1403(A2).	
46	A2	Hs.Or.1393	4083	42	The 12th year of Tao-kuang, 8th month(7/1832) by <b>Ho Ho-shou</b> .(in Chinese), from <u>Chung ts'un, La-p'iao Li</u> (S.E. of Li-chiang).	illm
47	A2	Hs.Or.1409	4223	42	1832, from <u>La-ts'ü wüa</u> by <b>Ho Ho-shou</b> .	illm
48	A2	Hs.Or.1411	4233	42	From Llü-bu of <u>La-ts'ü wüa</u> , 5 m. N. of Li-chiang (on inside cover).	illm
49	A2	Hs.Or.1431	5075	75	Pig year(wood fire), 1st moon, 29th day (on last page).	illm
50	A2	Hs.Or.1533	8646	42	From foot of Mt. Mun-gkv-ssö-p'er ngyu, by a llü-bu (on inside cover).	illm
51	A2	Hs.Or.1536	8672	42	Dated in 1832, in a Chinese inscription (on one of the back covers).	illm
52	A2	K.Or.66	4204	42	Rat year, 2nd month, 15th day in village of <u>La-ts'ü-wüa</u> when Dtomba was 24.	
53	A2	K.Or.83	4232	42	Very old, 18th century judging from the brittle condition of paper.	
54	A23	HY312=HOS700	2100	(30)	From <u>Tung-shan hsiang</u> , east of Li-chiang. (1952: 270).	
55	A34	Hs.Or.1418	5055	75	1932, 20th year of the Republic, by <b>Ho Ju-hsien</b> from <u>Ho-chien ts'un</u> .	
56	A34?	HY?=HOS467	3190	(36)	From village of <u>Mi-zher</u> , S of Li-chiang, and SE of spur on which white pagoda stands on the road to <u>Ch'i ho</u> ( <u>Tung-yüan hsiang</u> , see 1952: 564)	illm.
57	A35	Hs.Or.1434-1438	5084	51	Belong to one dto-mba who lived in a villge near Li-chiang, poorly written on poor paper. (NM: 231)	illus
58	A35	Hs.Or.1517	8466	42	Fairly old, but no colophon.	illm.
59	A35	Hs.Or.443	8131	93	Comparatively new	
60	A35	Hs.Or.471	8165	93	Middle of last century.	
61	A35	Hs.Or.504	8209	35	Ch'ing dynasty.	seal.
62	A35	Hs.Or.517	8220	(36)	Very old, by two dto-mbas.	seal.
63	A35	K.Or.108	5078	75	Very rare, the only one ever encountered.	illus.
64	A35	K.Or.178	8113	93	Two mss. are known bearing this title( <i>Hä mi Ts'u mi cher</i> ), another is R.2507=HY? (LoC2068(F2)).	
65	A35	K.Or.99/102	5057/ 5070	75	Same text as Hs.Or.1419(A2)	
66	A35a	Hs.Or.507	8211	(93)	From <u>Dtan-shi Bpä-mber-ndso</u> .	illus
67	A36	Hs.Or.1382	2772	43	1933 by <b>Ho Hua-ting</b> from his memory who was Rock's Dto-mba from <u>Gkv-na-wüa</u> in Yangtze Valley, W of Li-chiang Snow-range.	
68	A36	K.Or.113	5125	(93)	Old, cover is of foreign paper.	illus
69	A37	Hs.Or.519	8222	35	Older than K.Or.120(B7).	s.

70	A37	HY263=HOS464	3170	35	From <u>Pai-sha</u> , 15 li N of Li-chiang (1952: 670)	
71	A37	K.Or.406	8520	49	Rat year, 8th moon, 27th day, by Dto-mba <b>K'aw-ngaw</b> when he was 33.	
72	A3?	Hs.Or.606	8387	46	From <u>La-'ts'ü-wüa</u> (cf.K.Or.66), <u>Nan-k'ou-hsin ts'un</u> in Chinese. (on inside cover).	
73	A4	Hs.Or.1497	8424	56	Very rare (another is R.2596).	illm
74	A4	Hs.Or.397	8060	(43)	Very old.	
75	A4	K.Or.432	8547	97 (42)	Oldest of K.Or.163(B2), K.Or.161(A1), K.Or.78(A47?).	
76	A47	Hs.Or.657	8646	29	Very old, acquired in 1948.	illm
77	A47	Hs.Or.663	8654	29	Very old, content identical with K.Or.456(B5); <u>Mun-shwua wüa ggo t'ä-ghügh o-mä</u> ; <u>Lä-ts'ü wüa ggo sso-ts'u mä</u> . (on the last page)	illm
78	A47	K.Or.436	8550	(42)	Old, same text as Hs.Or.1536(A2).	n.t.
79	A48	Hs.Or.422	8105	93	Close of 19th century, probably.	
80	A4?	Hs.Or.399	8065	(43)	Very old.	s.
81	A4?	Hs.Or.658	8649	(42)	Very old.	n.t.
82	A?	Hs.Or.505	8210	35	Oldest of Hs.Or.498(B3), 499(B5).	
83	B1	Hs.Or.421	8104	93	Rare ( <i>Haw-la-ngv-mbu Hä Ss-ts'ä-hua-mun cher</i> )	
84	B10	Hs.Or.1522	8615	53	Never before been encountered. ( <i>Müan-llu-ddu-ndzi Ts'u chwua-gyi-mun mi lv ddu dzu Nv</i> )	
85	B11	K.Or.48	3033	93	18th century, in all probability.	
86	B14	K.Or.54	4082	42	Horse year, when the dto-ma was 29.	illm
87	B1?	K.Or.173	8075	(93)	Oldest of K.Or.182(B6), Hs.Or.1456(A1, comes next), K.Or.174(B5/4, newest), Hs.Or.462(A17?)	
88	B1?	K.Or.181	8137	93	Over 200 years old, probably.	illm
89	B2	Hs.Or.379	6087	35	Very old, first part missing, no clue as to when and where it was written; from dtomba of <u>Mun-shwua wüa (T'u lü, man nd'a k'o)</u> . (1952: 781)	
90	B2	HY101=HOS693	1406	29	1870, from a dtomba of <u>Li-chiang</u> district (1952: 351)	
91	B2	HY106=HOS680	1384	(30)	Unknown whence it came from, but of course from the Li-chiang district. (1952: 322)	
92	B2	HY107=HOS683	1390	29	From a dto-mba from <u>Mun-shwua wüa</u> , SW of Li-chiang, near small lake called <u>Ssä-bpi Khü</u> , only ms. containing story of <u>Dsä-szi-miu-hö</u> . (1952: 296, 346)	
93	B2	HY112=HOS685	1395	30	1877, 3rd year of Guangxu.(on inside cover in Chinese).	
94	B2	HY242=HOS456	1620	35	From a dto-mba in Li-chiang in 1930.	illus
95	B2	HY308=HOS679	1382	(29)	From a village near Li-chiang, dto-mba unknown (1952: 279).	
96	B2	HY423=HOS694	1529	29	Rare ms. (1952: 535).	
97	B2	HY94=HOS684	1392	(29)	From a dto-mba of the Li-chiang district.	
98	B2	K.Or.163	8064	42	Horse year(water), 5th moon.	
99	B28	Hs.Or.448	8136	93	Fairly recent origin, though title-page is old.	illm
100	B28	Hs.Or.459	8152	93	Beginning of this century, probably.	illm
101	B28	Hs.Or.479	8185	93	1st month of lunar year, from <u>MSW</u> .	illm
102	B28	K.Or.196	8185	93	Horse year, the 12th moon.	illm
103	B3	Hs.Or.671	8662	29	Recent origin and coarsely written.	
104	B3	K.Or.106	5074	75	Dragon year, Metal & Earth year, 22nd day of 7th moon.By a lü-bu when he was 20.(on last page)	
105	B3?	Hs.Or.498	8205	36	Beginning of this century.	illm
106	B4	Hs.Or.561	8270	29	Beginning of this century.	
107	B4	K.Or.7	811	1	Oldest of K.Or.6, K.Or.17, K.Or.21, etc.	
108	B4	K.Or.8	812	1	Very old, from a village N of Lijiang.	
109	B5	Hs.Or.368	6074	35	From <u>Mun-shwua wüa</u> , by <u>Dto-li</u> when he was 24 years old. (also Hs.Or.372, 378)	
110	B5	Hs.Or.372	6080	35	Only ms.extant( <i>Nyi-ssaw-t'a-mun cher dzo</i> ), from <u>Mun-shwua wüa</u> at foot of <u>Ssä-bpi zher nv-lv</u> or <u>Wen-pi Shan</u> , when he was 24. (1952: 741)	

111	B5	Hs.Or.378	6086	35	From <u>Mun-shwua wua</u> , Ox year when dto-mba was 24.	
112	B5	Hs.Or.499	8206	35	Beginning of this century.	illus
113	B5	Hs.Or.672	8663	(29)	8th moon, 6th day, from county of <u>Mu-pao-li</u> , <u>Shu-ho ts'un</u> , from <u>Mun-shwua wua</u> , <u>Lä-ts'ü-wua</u> , first is in <u>Shu-ho li</u> NW Li-chiang, second is S of Li-chiang in <u>Tung-yüan hsiang</u> .	
114	B5	K.Or.213	8215	36	From <u>Mun-shwua wua</u> by a lliü-bu called <b>Dto-la(li?)</b> .	
115	B5	K.Or.371	8478	42	Newer, text identical with Hs.Or.1533(A2).	
116	B5	K.Or.374	8481	42	From <u>Mun-shwua wua</u> . (last page)	
117	B5	K.Or.449	8563	29	This century from <u>Mun-shwua wua</u> , NW Li-chiang (colophon in Ggo-baw phonetics).	
118	B5	K.Or.451	8565	42	Text identical with K.Or.66(A2).	
119	B5	K.Or.452	8566	42	From <u>Mun-shwua wua</u> , fairly new, the beginning of this century.	
120	B5	K.Or.475	8589	29	Identical with Hs.Or.313(A1).	
121	B5	K.Or.481	8596	29	Recent copy of Hs.Or.1468(A1).	illus
122	B5	K.Or.493	8608	29	Duplicate of Hs.Or.564(A1).	
123	B5/4	Hs.Or.358	6051	35	From <u>Mun-shwua wua</u> .	
124	B5?	Hs.Or.374	6081b	35	From a village on <u>Li-chiang</u> plain; identical with K.Or.216(B1) which seem to be of earlier date.	illus
125	B5?	IIMFER	6102	(30)	From <u>Mun-shwua wua</u> .	
126	B5?	K.Or.59	4150	42	Older than K.Or.166(B5)	
127	B6	Hs.Or.427	8114	(93)	Older than K.Or.194(E10).	
128	B6	Hs.Or.467	8160	93	Middle of last century.	
129	B6	K.Or.188	8176	(93)	Probably beginning of last century.	n.t.
130	B6	K.Or.53	4081	42	Only ms. encountered with that title.	
131	B6	K.Or.64	4202	(42)	Monkey year, last century.	
132	B6	K.Or.70	4209	42	Not very old, but rare.	
133	B6	K.Or.81	4230	42	Older than K.Or.374(B5)	
134	B6?	Hs.Or.323	4300	46	Very old, cover fairly new, from <u>La-shih li</u> . (in Chinese on last page)	illm
135	B7	Hs.Or.362	6056	35	Origin unknown.(1952: 643). From <u>Mun-shwua wua</u> . W of Li-chiang below the Lamasery of Wen-feng Ssu.	
136	B7	Hs.Or.362	6056	35	Origin unknown.(1952: 643)	
137	B7	Hs.Or.365	6070	35	From <u>Mun-shwua wua</u> by a dto-mba called <b>Dto-li</b> . (1952: 656)	
138	B7	Hs.Or.367	6073	35	<b>Dto-li</b> from <u>Mun-shwu wua</u> .	
139	B7	Hs.Or.369	6077	35	Identical with Hs.Or.370(B5), both from <u>Mun-shwua wua</u> .	
140	B7	Hs.Or.375	6083	(36)	Newer, from <u>Mun-shwua wua</u> .	illm
141	B7	Hs.Or.440	8128	93	7th moon, 16th day.	
142	B7	K.Or.138	8032	(43)	Fairly old, from <u>Mun-shwua wua</u> .	
143	B7	K.Or.140	8033	50	Composed of two mss., an earlier one and a very old one.	illm
144	B7	K.Or.162	8063	50	Older than Hs.Or.314(A1)	
145	B7	K.Or.396	8509	48	Tiger year?	
146	B7	K.Or.480	8594	(29)	From <u>Mun-shwua wua</u> (in a brief colophon).	
147	B7/1	Hs.Or.356	6015b	(30)	From <u>MSW</u> . southeast of lake <u>Ssä-bpi (khü)</u> . (NM, & 1952: 232).	
148	B7/6	K.Or.437	8551	42	Monkey year, 5th moon.	
149	B8	Hs.Or.432	8118	93	Newer, but no colophon.	illus
150	B?	K.Or.321	8391	(43)	Very old.	
151	C1	HY165=HOS656	1004	29	Rare, the only one ever encountered ( <i>Khyu-t'khyu ssaw</i> ).	
152	C1	HY297=HOS657	1005	29	Rare, only one come across; by <b>Yang Fu-kuang's father</b> ( <i>Ha-yi-dzi-boa Ssu k'v</i> ). (1952: 187)	

153	C1	HY439=HOS659	1020	29	Tiger year(1866), 6th moon, 6th day, a Sheep day from <b>Ghügh-k'o A-na-ngyu</b> by Lü-bu <b>Dto-dzhi</b> , Yang Fu-kuang's father; very rare, only 2 other mss. were found. (1952:511)	illm
154	C1	HY97=HOS671	1027	29	Ox year(1865), 11th moon, 22nd day the time when Yü-yi-k'u captured Lā-bbu dü from Mohammedans at 11th m., 2nd d. (on page before last) (1952: 225).	
155	C1	LoC3010=HOS432	1310	35	Dog year(1874) when he was 49; rare, no other mss. known ( <i>Ts'o-zä-llü-ghügh, lv-mä-mun-ghügh cher dzo. Nd'a t'u gkv</i> ?). (1952: 710).	illus
156	C13	Hs.Or.451	8141	93	Oldest of Hs.Or.444(B6), K.Or.195(B5/4).	
157	C13	K.Or.200	8189	93	Place names <b>Yung-ning</b> , <b>Dtü-ghügh</b> <b>La-ts'ü wüa</b> , <b>Gkan-gkv-k'ö</b> , <b>Ghügh-k'o</b> are mentioned.	illus
158	C2	Hs.Or.1453	7020	50	Not very old, yet extremely rare, acquired in 1947	
159	C2	K.Or.470	8584	1	Fairly new	
160	C3	Hs.Or.357	6017	29	From <b>Ts'u-k'o-ndv</b> .(on the last page)	
161	C9	HY102=HOS660	1008	29	Horse year(1870), 1st moon, 25th day, a Sheep day, by <b>Dto-dzhi</b> (late dto-mba <b>Yang Fu-kuang</b> ) very rare, the only ms. known to many dto-mbas ( <i>Ts'o-zä-llü-ghügh Ssu 'a</i> ) (1952: 289, 293).	illm
162	C9	HY117=HOS665	1014	29	Very rare, only ms. acquired in all years in Li-chiang until 1947 when an old vol. was bought ( <i>Ngu t'khi llü-ssi ssu</i> ). (1952: 487)	illus
163	C9	HY166=HOS667	1017	29	80 years old, belonged to the <b>father</b> of Dto-mba <b>Yang Fu-guang</b> (C1)	illm
164	C9	HY175=HOS663	1011	29	1860 (1952: 577)	illm
165	C9	HY314=HOS698	1903	29	Exceedingly rare, only one ever come across ( <i>Dso-ma yü dsu</i> , 1,2,3). (1952:497)	illm
166	C9	HY99=HOS675	1116	97/ (30)	Very rare, only one in the collection ( <i>Ssaw-ndaw lü-dö p'i</i> ). (1952: 560)	illm
167	D	Hs.Or.1363	836	1	Very old, from a village north of Li-chiang.	n.t.
168	D	K.Or.3	807	1	Very old and very rare.	
169	D1	Hs.Or.435	8123	93	Oldest of K.Or.196(B28), K.Or.201(B5), Hs.Or.472(A47)	
170	D1	Hs.Or.480	8192	93	Rare( <i>Dto ggo Ssaw-la-ä-bpa Nv</i> ), another ms. R.1044= HOS850(C1).	
171	D145	HY173=HOS648	917	29	From <b>La-pao</b> region.	
172	D145	HY?=HOS646	914	(29)	From <b>La-pao</b> , NE Li-chiang.	
173	D3	HOS815	750	(93)	Very old, from <b>La-pao</b> , four days N of Li-chiang	
174	D3?	Hs.Or.1373	2173	43	Long before 1723, oldest and rarest in collection.	
175	D3?	Hs.Or.302	624	(36)	Very old, from <b>La-pao</b> , 3 days N of Li-chiang.	n.t.
176	D3?	Hs.Or.424	8109	(93)	Turn of last century.	
177	D?	Hs.Or.381	6091	35	Very old, Wood Snake year, on 13th day, 1st moon, at age of 45 (on inside back cover).	illm
178	D?	Hs.Or.426	8111	93	Very old and voluminous.	
179	D?	Hs.Or.441	8129	(93)	Pig year, by <b>Dto-ddü</b> of <b>Mbbu-k'v</b> ( <b>Ch'i-ho</b> in Chinese), S of Li-chiang.	
180	D?	Hs.Or.531	8230	35	Very old.	s.
181	D?	HY?=HOS445	611	(35)	Old; from <b>La-pao</b> .	
182	D?	HY?=HOS444	584	(36)	From <b>La-pao</b> .	
183	D?	K.Or.395	8508	48	Tiger year, 8th month, from <b>Shwua wüa gkv</b> (head of <b>Shwua wüa</b> , a long village W of Li-chiang, near town, Chinese <b>Shu-ho</b> ).	
184	E14?	K.Or.167	8069	42	New, not illuminated set of six mss.	
185	E1a	K.Or.488	8603	(29)	Much older than B5(Dto-li).	
186	E27	K.Or.72	4215	42	By <b>Dto-tsa</b> , a llü-bu.(on the verso of cover)	
187	E8	Hs.Or.400	8079	(42)	Fairly old, origin unknown.	
188	E8	Hs.Or.403	8082	48	Date back to time of Dto-la brothers, Ming dynasty.	



189	E8	K.Or.144	8037	(43)	Same age as K.Or.139(B7), has a long colophon in Ggo-baw characters.	
190	E8	K.Or.82	4231	42	By Dto-dsu, hastily and poorly written, 7th book.	
191	E8?	K.Or.156	8054	(43)	Oldest of K.Or.158(E8), K.Or.157(B7, last century).	
192	E8b	Hs.Or.401	8080	50	Very rare, 19th year of Republic of China (in inside cover which was added to the seemingly old ms.).	
193	E8b	Hs.Or.412	8091	48	Best written of Hs.Or.413(B6), 414(B7), 415(B7), 416(?) all of which have same text.	illum
194	F191	K.Or.60	4155	42	Old; same text as K.Or.388(A1?), K.Or.373(B5)	
195	F?	Hs.Or.660	8651	(29)	Much older than B5(Dto-li from MSW); well written.	
196	F?	Hs.Or.665	8656	(29)	Very old, hails from a village at foot of Li-chiang Snow-range where it was secured.	
197	F?	K.Or.130	8022	50	From <u>Mun-shwua wua</u> .	
198	F?	K.Or.132	8024	(43)	Older than K.Or.131(B7).	
199	F?	K.Or.143	8036	(42)	Much older than K.Or.144(E8).	
200	F?	K.Or.214	8216	(93)	Oldest of K.Or.182(B6), Hs.Or.1456(A1, comes next), K.Or.174(B5/4, newest), Hs.Or.462(A17?).	

## B. More Dating and Colophons in Naxi manuscripts:

	Auth:	Library No:	R's No:	Dating and Colophon:	Note:
201	A2	Hs.Or.1411	4233	Lä-tsi wua (in the inside of the cover).	illum.
202	A33	Hs.Or.1435	5085	Year of Rat, 10th moon, 24th day.	
203	A1c	Hs.Or.1449	6076	Year of Rat, Gkū' lū' l'v ddū' nyi, Dtō-zhī.	
204	A1a	Hs.Or.1451	6100	Year of Sheep, 5th moon, 25th day, day of Rat, Khū'-gkū' ddū' nyi.	
205	A1b	Hs.Or.1464	8235	Year of Sheep, 5th moon, 17th day, day of Dragon.	
206	A1b	Hs.Or.1480	8398a	Lä-ts'ü Wua, Dto-nnü wrote.	
207	A1b	Hs.Or.1485	8406	Year of Water Chicken, 7th moon, 13th day, day of Snake, written by Dto-bu, by K'ö shi ddü Dto-la; Lä wua ddü Dto-zhi yu-ssä; Lä-ts'ü wua Dto-gkyi. Year of Chicken, 12 moon, 22nd day, day of Chicken.	
208	A1b	Hs.Or.1487	8408	Dto-gkyi of Lä-ts'ü wua.	
209	A1b	Hs.Or.1493	8415	K'ö shi Dto-la khi dta.	
210	A1d	Hs.Or.1505	8438	Dto-ssaw wua t'u ä-ssi, Dto-ssä-mi-nyu shi ä-mä ngi.	
211	A1d	Hs.Or.1506	8439	Gkv-na wua.	
212	A1d	Hs.Or.1508	8441	Gkv-na wua Dto-tsa.	
213	A1d	Hs.Or.1509	8442	Gkv-na wua.	illum.
214	A1d	Hs.Or.1509	8442	Gkv-na wua ggo mun.	
215	A2	Hs.Or.1533	8648	Llü-bu from the foot of Mt. Mun-gkv-sso-p'er ngyu.(The colophon, in the inside cover, was written by somebody else.)	illum.
216	B14	Hs.Or.329	5013	Year of Dog, 8th moon, 28th day, day of Ox, by llü-bu Dto-p'u from Ndaw-lv.	illus.
217	D1a	Hs.Or.337	5036	3rd day, a day of Monkey, 12th moon, Dto-pue Yu-ssä from Ngyu nv-lv k'o.	illus.
218	A1	Hs.Or.366	6072	Dto-li (lü).	illum.
219	B8	Hs.Or.375	6083	Bpö-mbö Dto-k'o from Gko-shwua wua.	illum.
220	A10	Hs.Or.381	6091	Year of Snake, 3rd moon, 4th day, day of Sheep, by Dto-gko, 45 year old. (some Tibetan on the back cover)	illum.
221	E13	Hs.Or.391	8040	26th year of Emperor Ch'ien-lung (Tsä-lu k'aw-ngaw), year of Snake, 8th moon, 26th day (in the back cover(recto)). (= 1761 A.D.)	
222	A1a	Hs.Or.404	8083	Year of Monkey, 4th moon, 13th day, day of Dragon.	
223	B10	Hs.Or.431	8117a	1st moon, by Nyi-ds ssu-mä.	illum.
224	B10	Hs.Or.442	8130	2nd moon, 17th day.	illum.
225	B10	Hs.Or.446	8134	6th moon, 12th day.	illum.
226	B10	Hs.Or.458	8151	12th moon.	illum.
227	B10	Hs.Or.479	8185	1st moon, from Mun-shwua wua.	illum.
228	B5	Hs.Or.499	8206a/ 6092	Some Tibetan words.	illus.

229	B33	Hs.Or.520	8223a	Year of Rat, 7th moon, 15th day.	
230	B6	Hs.Or.521	8223b	Dto-zä	illum.
231	A12	Hs.Or.637	8625	Mun-shwua wüa.	illum.
232	B5	Hs.Or.664	8655	Dto-ngo from Mun-shwua wüa.	iilus.
233	C1	HOS109	1192	Year of Rat, by llü-bu Dto-dzhi.	
234	?	HOS331	1993	Dto-tsa from Mûan zhi.	illus.
235	C1	HOS432	1310	Year of Dog, A-na k'ö t'u ggo Llü-bu Dto-dzhi, 49 years old.	
236	A1a	HOS457	1624	Year of Dog, 5th moon, 24th day, day of Pig.	illum.
237	A1b	HOS461	3165	A book from Ngyu-na nv lv.	illum.
238	C3	HOS515	3197	Dto-fa from Gyi k'o baw; llü-bbu Dto-p'i yu ssä from Wüa-lü k'ö.	illum.
239	C9	HOS560	1114	Mu Weiting.	
240	C9	HOS589	1181	Mu Fuguang ä yü ssi Mu Weiting.	
241	A1b	HOS614	2066	Year of Ox, 7th moon, 14th day, day of Sheep, written by Dto-yi of Ghügh-k'o, A-na ngyu k'o t'u, 42 years of age.	illus.
242	C9	HOS618	2117	Mu Siting, Mu Fuguang.	
243	C1	HOS736	1870	Year of Chicken, 2nd moon, 14th day, day of Monkey.	
244	C1	HOS843	983	Some Tibetan scripts.	
245	B7	K.Or.140	8033	Mun-shwua wüa	illum.
246	B10	K.Or.196	8185	Year of Horse, 5th moon.	illum.
247	B10	K.Or.201	8191	Mun-shwua wüa	illum.
248	E13	K.Or.226	8236	Dtô-lâ, Dtô-tâ; 6th moon, 13th day.	
249	B6	K.Or.329	8398	Year of Hare, 4th moon, 20th day.	illus.
250	A23	K.Or.411	8525	15th year of Tsä-lu, year of Horse, 9th moon. 1st day, day of Dog. (= 1750 A.D.)	illum.
251	B5	K.Or.452	8566	From Mun Shwua Wüa	
252	A24	K.Or.476	8590	Year of Horse, 10th moon, 28th day, day of Snake, Ndaw-lv llü-bu Dto-ssü.	
253	A1b	K.Or.54	4082	Year of Hare, Zo-yü 28 (years) wrote.	
254	A2	K.Or.66	4002	Year of Rat, 2nd moon, 15th day, Lâ ts'ü'-wuâ, Dtô-shû. My son reincarnated. He succeeded me at the age of 24, at Yi-g'v dù', all llü'-bù (were present).	
255	B15	K.Or.72	4215	Llü-bu Dto-tsa, father of Sso-lü, from Mûan-dzi.	
256	A1b	K.Or.73	4216	Colophon by somebody else.	illus.
257	B2?	K.Or.92	5024	Ho Feng-shu.	illum.



'ESU 'GYI-'BRU  
or  
NAGA KINGS



'Dpa-'ma 'gyi-'bbó. The Naga king 'Dpa-'ma. The Tibetan pad-ma 259. See *NNCRC*, p. 610.



'Chin-'pa 'gyi-'bbó. The northern or water-element Naga king. He rides an elephant. See *NNCRC*, p. 516.



'Dawa-'bpa. See alternate under 'Ssu-'gyi-'bbó 'Dawa-'bpa.



'Dro-'khyu. A Naga king, probably identical with the Tibetan dang-skyong ངང་སྐྱོང་.



'Gho-'gyi-'bbó. The western or metal-element Naga king. He rides a frog. See *NNCRC*, p. 526.



'Gyi-'bpa 'Dde-'nd. A southeastern Naga king. He reposes on a lotus mandala. His body is green and scintillating, and he holds a green branch in his hand. See ms. 1020, 'Ssu-'ndaw 'yá 'dau, pp. 22-24, rubrics 10, 11 and 1 respectively; *NNCRC*, pp. 518, 519 note 002.

— 100 —



'Gyi-'bpa 'Ma-'ayya. A southern Naga king. His body is green and he reposes on an ox throne. In his hand, he holds a flag. See ms. 1020, 'Ssu-'ndaw 'yá 'dau, p. 12, rubrics 8-9; *NNCRC*, p. 514.



'Gyi-'bpa 'S-'bpa-'ndde. A terrestrial, northern Naga king. His body is yellow, scintillating. He reposes on a golden throne and holds a 'bpa-'mba in his hand. See ms. 1020, 'Ssu-'ndaw 'yá 'dau, p. 24, rubrics 3-7; *NNCRC*, p. 516.



'Gyi-'bpa 'Soe-'nde. A western Naga king. He reposes on a lotus mandala. His body is red and scintillating. He holds a 'Dro-'mba-'khi' in his hand. See ms. 1020, 'Ssu-'ndaw 'yá 'dau, p. 25, rubrics 3-5; *NNCRC*, p. 516.



'Khyá-'khe 'Ssu-'ndaw 'ngaw-'ta 'wuk-'ghe. The five 'Khyá-'khe' 'Ssu-'ndaw (terrestrial Naga) spirits of victory. See ms. 1958, 'Khyá-'khe' 'pa-'ta 'khe' of the 'Sat-'kung 'bpa' ceremony, p. 3, rubr. 2.



'Lá-'nyu 'gyi-'bbó. A Naga king. See 'Lá-'nyu 'gyi-'bbó.



'Lá-'nyu 'gyi-'bbó. A Naga king of the 'Lá-'nyu-'ndaw. See ms. 6094 of the 'Ssu-'ndaw 'gye' ceremony, p. 1, rubr. 10; *NNCRC*, pp. 532, 534 note 811.



'Lá-'nyu 'gyi-'bbó. A Naga king who dwells on the top of Mount Sumera. See 'Kha-'khe' ms. 6052, of the 'Ssu-'ndaw 'gye' ceremony, p. 21, rubr. 9; *NNCRC*, p. 128 where it is written 'Bá' instead of 'Lá'. Also called 'Lá-'nyu 'gyi-'bpa' see *NNCRC*, p. 529.



'Lá-'ndakhuwa 'gyi-'bbó. A Naga king who dwelt and died on Mount Sumera. See his 'Dro-'mba, 'Ta-'u-'ghe-'khe' 'khe'. The symbols in the right indicate 'gyi' = water, 'bbó' = a pot; both are used phonetically for 'gyi-'bbó' = king. See *NNCRC*, pp. 516, 519 note 002.

## DEMONS



'A-'ma 'Kaw-'de-'dte-'maw. The mother of the 'Zá' demons. Her name occurs in ms. 5017, 'Zá 'ta-'bbó of the 'Há-'ta-'Há 'K' ceremony. She gave birth to the chicken-headed 'Zá' the female Garuda-headed 'Zá, the owl-headed, stag, deer, rabbit, horse, and ox-headed 'Zá; also to all the many varicolored 'Zá of the white sun, etc., ending with the East-as-the-wind 'Zá.



'A-'má-'tomp-'ghe-'abde. A 'Mag' demon; he became the husband of 'O-'yu-'má-'ng-'nd, q.v. The last symbol represents the 'Mag' demon; the first five are employed phonetically. See *ZMF:NNRC*, p. 163.



'Báde-'ndde 'Zaw. A 'Zaw' demon. See ms. 5100, 'Zaw 'deho of the 'Há-'ta-'Há 'K' ceremony, p. 6, rubr. 5; *NNCRC*, p. 88 note 34.



Written phonetically in plographs.



'Dá-'ta-'ta-'pa. The father of the 'Má' and 'Ghgh' q.v. See ms. 1310, 618, 'Ta-'nd-'Há 'ghgh 'ta-'má-'má-'ghgh 'khe' 'má' of the 'K' 'ta-'ta-'ta' ceremony, *NNCRC*, pp. 300-310, 13 note 92.



'Dá-'de-'má-'he-'abde. A demoness; the mother of the 'Zá' and 'Má' demons q.v. See ms. 1671 of the 'K' 'ta-'ta-'ta' ceremony, p. 11, rubr. 1; *NNCRC*, pp. 650, 652 note 954.

— 254 —



'Bpa-'khe-'ta-'de-'de' 'ta-'pa' 'dau, 'Bpa-'khe' born with 10 arms. She was the mother of the 'Eda' demon, and the daughter of 'Dá-'de-'má-'he-'abde-'ghe-'ghe' q.v. See ms. 981 of the 'Dá-'ta-'ta' ceremony, p. 1, rubr. 8; *NNCRC*, p. 199, fig. 1, also p. 119 note 73.



'Bpa-'khe-'ta-'de-'de' 'ta-'pa' 'dau, 'Bpa-'khe' born with 10 arms. She was the mother of the 'Eda' demon, and the daughter of 'Dá-'de-'má-'he-'abde-'ghe-'ghe' q.v. See ms. 981 of the 'Dá-'ta-'ta' ceremony, p. 1, rubr. 8; *NNCRC*, p. 199, fig. 1, also p. 119 note 73.



'Bpa-'khe-'ta-'de-'de' 'ta-'pa' 'dau, 'Bpa-'khe' born with 10 arms. She was the mother of the 'Eda' demon, and the daughter of 'Dá-'de-'má-'he-'abde-'ghe-'ghe' q.v. See ms. 981 of the 'Dá-'ta-'ta' ceremony, p. 1, rubr. 8; *NNCRC*, p. 199, fig. 1, also p. 119 note 73.



'Bpa-'khe-'ta-'de-'de' 'ta-'pa' 'dau, 'Bpa-'khe' born with 10 arms. She was the mother of the 'Eda' demon, and the daughter of 'Dá-'de-'má-'he-'abde-'ghe-'ghe' q.v. See ms. 981 of the 'Dá-'ta-'ta' ceremony, p. 1, rubr. 8; *NNCRC*, p. 199, fig. 1, also p. 119 note 73.



'Bpa-'khe-'ta-'de-'de' 'ta-'pa' 'dau, 'Bpa-'khe' born with 10 arms. She was the mother of the 'Eda' demon, and the daughter of 'Dá-'de-'má-'he-'abde-'ghe-'ghe' q.v. See ms. 981 of the 'Dá-'ta-'ta' ceremony, p. 1, rubr. 8; *NNCRC*, p. 199, fig. 1, also p. 119 note 73.



'Bpa-'khe-'ta-'de-'de' 'ta-'pa' 'dau, 'Bpa-'khe' born with 10 arms. She was the mother of the 'Eda' demon, and the daughter of 'Dá-'de-'má-'he-'abde-'ghe-'ghe' q.v. See ms. 981 of the 'Dá-'ta-'ta' ceremony, p. 1, rubr. 8; *NNCRC*, p. 199, fig. 1, also p. 119 note 73.



'Bpa-'khe-'ta-'de-'de' 'ta-'pa' 'dau, 'Bpa-'khe' born with 10 arms. She was the mother of the 'Eda' demon, and the daughter of 'Dá-'de-'má-'he-'abde-'ghe-'ghe' q.v. See ms. 981 of the 'Dá-'ta-'ta' ceremony, p. 1, rubr. 8; *NNCRC*, p. 199, fig. 1, also p. 119 note 73.