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The Search for the Golden Deer

We had hardly gone to press with the previous issue which drew attention to the lack of an extended version of the LÝ myth of the 'Golden Deer" when one of the translators (Narramore) discovered the document here presented as 'The legend of Ba Alawu (Balaiwu)' [the spelling 'Bayalawu' was that given by Zheng Lan]. Not long afterwards
another work was brought to our attention (The Xishuangbanna Chronicle published in 'modern Thai' by Tawee Swangpanyangkoon 1986). The Golden Deer and Phaya Alawo (phaya: a:lawo:) are here too, though there are major differences in the stories1. A short note immediately following the translation draws some preliminary parallels with the Kham MÝang texts, but here we would like to draw attention to some more general issues.

From the point of view of the student of Khon MÝang culture the most striking feature of these texts is that it echoes themes in a number of different chronicles, none of the stories, however, are substantively similar. At one level we need to consider the recurrent themes of Southeast Asian mythology, but that is not the concern here. We are here dealing with two very similar cultures and languages, and there can be no doubt of contact, borrowing and a variety of mutual influences. Yet, if not for the Golden Deer itself, the two sets of versions would not immediately compel comparison.

There are, from time to time, attempts to read the chronicles of this region as history, an endeavour which has drawn criticism even with the most overtly 'historical' of these. Recently Amphay DorŽ has made a much bolder suggestion ('Jalons pour une histoire du Lanna avant le 13e Siecle: une approche ethnohistorique' ICTS Proceedings 1987 Vol. 3:71-76). Selectively citing from his conclusions, he has Milieu du 5e s. Avnement des Pu Sae-Ya Sae Chiangmai Fin 7e s. Installation de Khamdaeng ^ Chiangmai

This paper has great fascination and should be subject to close, informed scrutiny. One of the first questions that should be asked is how much historical credence can be given to the two chronicles, Luang Kham Daeng and Mahathera Fa Bot (among the others use by the author)? To even begin to answer this question satisfactorily one must consider the provenance of these documents. The two chronicles mentioned here appear in Notton's Annales du Siam and the Thai version of the former seems to have been transliterated from a similar, if not the same, manuscript. The major Western access to the Tai manuscripts of our (project) region has, until very recently, been through the Notton collection and the CÏds collection in BEFEO 1925. These versions have acquired something like a canonical status. Not only does a similar state of affairs seem to have been transliterated from a similar, if not the same, manuscript. The major Western access to the Tai manuscripts of our (project) region has, until very recently, been through the Notton collection and the CÏds collection in BEFEO 1925. These versions have acquired something like a canonical status. Not only does a similar state of affairs seem to have been the case with Thai versions, the compilation of the Pongsawadarn Yonok by Phraya Prachakitcakorncakr created an 'authorized version'. Until quite recently there seem to have been no LÝ texts easily available.

It seems to be the case that the most well-known versions of these stories come to us from collections in monasteries. We know that the copying of manuscripts (most often religious texts) was one of the duties of monks - not necessarily concerned in any way with the dissemination of the information in the texts. Presumably the versions available to us have been selected because of the coherence of the stories they tell - not because any 'authenticity' may be attributed to them. Such may also have been the situation in mediaeval Europe, when Brutus, son of Aeneas, was thought to be the ancestor of all the Britons. There was, however, another dimension to this. The royal
courts of Europe employed chroniclers to record the doings of their kings and to justify their claims to divine right. Though this was also clearly the case in other parts of Southeast Asia to what extent was this the case in Lanna, Sipsongpanna and Lan Chang? Our approach to a text would have to be different in the two situations. Even more important is that we now have records of oral versions. These appear to be rather different from the written texts. [For example, compare the versions of the Pu Sae-Ja Sae story in Notton Annales du Siam, Kraisri Nimmanmaeminda JSS 1967 and Wijeyewardene Place and Emotion 1986.] One would imagine that over time there has been a two way influence from tales told by mediums and story tellers to scholarly monks, and vice versa. The moral of the story is that before this texts can be culled for 'history', a great deal needs to be known about the texts themselves, more texts need to be examined and above all we need to confront our own ideas about them. [This number also contains an extract from a LŸ legal text, probably the first available in a language other than LŸ or Chinese. This will allow comparison with the legal codes for the region available in modern Thai and English.]

In 1976 David Chandler published a paper in JSS (64[2]: 170-87) entitled 'Maps for the Ancestors: Sacralized Topography and Echoes of Angkor in two Cambodian Texts'. The lists of place names, Chandler writes 'are in some senses an inventory of the kingdom, a map of and for the use of ancestral spirits'. Douglas Lewis, among other scholars who have worked in Eastern Indonesia from this department, has drawn attention to comparable phenomena on Flores. Reading the Luang (or Suwan) Kham Daeng Chronicle one could claim that here was a similar phenomenon, where the boundaries of a territory were being demarcated, but with all the names dropped out. There is some satisfaction in contemplating the place names which proliferate in 'The Legend of Ba Alawu'. Hopefully they will repay some analysis.

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Vegetation History of Yunnan

D. Walker

Pollen analysis is a method which has thrown useful light on the origins and development of agriculture in places as different as Europe and Papua New Guinea. It depends on reconstructing vegetation changes from pollen assemblages extracted from dated sediments of lakes and swamps, ideally in close proximity to similarly dated archaeological sites. In southwest China there are now records of sufficient detail and quality from four places; unfortunately none of then shows features which can be attributed unequivocally to agriculture. In the cases of Mt. Luoji (Li and Liu 1988) and Menghai (Lui, Tang, Qiao, Head and Walker 1986) this is hardly surprising for in the first the investigated sites are in native spruce-fir forest at 3660m a.s.l. whilst in the second the record is not more recent than 20,000 years ago. For the other two sites, however, the absence of agricultural indications is more puzzling.

Dian Chi is the large lake near Kumming. From it Sun, Wu, Qiao and
Walker (1986) obtained detailed and well-dated pollen diagrams spanning the period from 15,000 years ago to the present. The site is set in a currently intensely cultivated landscape and close to archaeological sites attributed to as early as 10,000 BP and later, including some of the Dong-song culture. Changes in lake sedimentation at about 1,500 BP are best attributed to the effects of historically documented increase in human settlement at that time, and did have some impact on the littoral vegetation, but it is striking that other vegetation changes have less necessarily anthropogenic interpretations. Although dangerous to argue from negative evidence, it seems important now to study other records from very close to archaeological sites and, of course, from other kinds of data, to test a hypothesis that the Neolithic in Yunnan was not accompanied by wholesale forest destruction and that later agricultural developments were at first restricted to river valleys.

At Xi Hu in Er Yuan County, northwest from Tali, pollen and stratigraphic records cover the time from 18,000 years ago to the present day (Sun, Wu, Qiao and Walker, 1986). The landscape in this valley, with its bottom at 2,000m a.s.l. and ranges rising above 30,000m a.s.l. nearby, has been conspicuously moulded by agriculturally-related activities, notably the re-organization of its drainage system in the Ming and later times. Neolithic remains from the edge of this basin are culturally similar to those from Baier dated to 3,770 BP. Although providing an important source of information about landscape alterations attributable to major climatic changes before about 7,000 BP, events following that time are not easily reconstructed except for major redistribution of former lake sediments consequent on the hydro-engineering works of the Ming period. The most likely explanation of this is that the particular sites of the pollen analysis cores were not sufficiently sensitive to the effects of agricultural settlement on vegetation as distinct from geomorphology and hydrology.

These investigations, backed by an account of the vegetation of Yunnan (Li and Walker 1986) and summarised by Walker (1986), expose a pattern of vegetation change in Yunnan with several unexpected features, some of them alluded to above. In respect of further investigation of agricultural development, the time is now ripe for the pollen analytical study of smaller basins, specifically chosen for their juxtaposition with archaeological sites.

References


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A Passage to Yunnan

Cholthira Satyawadhna

In the Hmannan Yazawin Dawgyi or Royal Burmese Chronicle, Prince Nawratza, in A.D.1579, before leaving Hongsawadi to rule Chiangmai, at that time a tributary state under Burmese control, was advised by his Burmese king "not to be too free in speech in presence of the Chiangmai nobles, thinking they were only Lawa by race and thereby hurting their feelings;" this led Seidenfaden (1923: 47) to the view that the "Chiangmai Lao" or "Lao Yuan" were probably strongly mixed with the "Lawa"; at least the Burmese thought them to be so.

Though this view may be rejected by modern Yuan or Khon-muang, whose "Lao" identity is unacceptable, the reputed connection between the Lawa and the royal family in Chiangmai has been often confirmed by senior generations. The Abbot Phra Maha Meun, of the temple adjoining Chedi Luang, said that when he was young, in Chao Inthawong's time, the Lawa came to Chiangmai every year in the fourth month to present offerings, particularly ginger, to the Chief. H.R.H. Chao Dararasmi recalled that her people, the Lao(Yuan), respected the Lawa as being their predecessors in Siam, and often invited the Lawa to their houses on the occasion of weddings, regarding such a visit as of good augury (Hutchinson 1934: 170).

Numerous reference to the Lawa in the Northern Thai Annals, though fantastic and legendary, deserve notice. According to the chronicle of Mahathera Fa Bot, the Lawa founded a city at Nopburi (Pali: Navapura) or Chiangmai before the coming of the Tai (Notton 1926: 38). It was believed that this ancient city was founded by the chieftains of 9 Lawa clans (settii lua kao trakuul) and it was also during this period that the city pillar, Sao Indakhiil, was given by Indra and has since been the most sacred object in Northern Thai ideology.

On the other hand, there were periods during which the Lawa have been hostile to some Thai groups. In Hmannan Yazawin Dawgyi, the Lawa are said to have played an antagonistic role against the Thai in the wars between Burma and Siam, one taking place in A.D.1613, and the other in the year after (Seidenfaden 1923: 101). Other important evidence is an inscription made by the pious King Sri Dharmasokaraja, A.D.1510, it was announced to Thai citizens that selling any cattle to the Lawa was forbidden and against the Law. This implied not only political but also economic conflict between Lawa and Thai (Cholthira 1987: 189).
Peter Kunstadter had little hesitation in declaring "Thailand's gentle Lua" are "descendants of the original inhabitants and rulers of northern Thailand." (Kunstadter 1966: 122) However, he also concludes that his "gentle Lua" were mistaken for Wild Head-hunters:

"But now that I was actually in those mountains, I kept remembering a letter I had received from a French missionary informing me (mistakenly, I soon learned) that the Lua were identical to the Wild Wa, a head-hunting people of northern Burma and southwestern China." (Ibid., opcit.)

More than 20 years passed, and I was now actually in the mountainous range inhabited by the "Wild Wa", a former head-hunting ethnic group of Yunnan. Foreign researchers have not been allowed to spend the night in villages of "closed areas". But, it could be either the intervention of the "Lawa spirit," or the kind hearts of the local authorities and the Wa-Palaung cadres, or my own efforts and enthusiasm coupled with the full support of my Chinese interpreters, the researchers from the SEA Studies Institute of Kunming, I was finally given permission to do my field work by spending nights in several villages of both Palaung san of Meng Hai and A-Wa San of Lanchang.

China, with her great diversity of cultural heritage, has fifty-six nationalities including the Han (Chinese). The minority nationalities numbered 67 million -about 6.7 per cent of the country's population of a billion (1984). Over thirty minorities totalling 34 million people live in compact communities in China's south and southwest. Twenty-four minorities of 31.74 million inhabit Yunnan, the province with the most minorities in China; these include the Wa, the Palaung, and the Tai, three ethnic groups which are my subject of comparative studies.

The wealth of palaeontological, archaeological, historical and cultural variety in Yunnan is increasingly attracting foreign researchers. My passage to Yunnan, through many interesting sites, focussed on Lanchang (in my view, the same historical term we know in Thai and Laos), a large district habitated mostly by the Lahu (Musor), the Dai Nueu, and the Wa.

Together with my companion, Ay Ga - the Wa driver from Xi-meng and Mr Wang Wen Ta - my Chinese interpreter from SEASI of Kunming, we drove along the Lanchang River (Mekhong) Highway through the A-Wa San area where about 260,000 Wa lived. A steep and rugged area sandwiched between the Lanchang and Nujiang rivers in south-western Yunnan, straddling the Burmese border, a "barren and savage land" - the ancient Wa homeland.

Lanchang is a huge county (xian) with twenty-three townships(xiang) and towns(zhen). Among them, 1 zhen and 3 xiangs are of the Wa (Table 1). Ankhang Xiang is the particular township which I was allowed to visit. With its 5 villages, 2,199 households and
population of 11,604, the Wa are the largest group (Table 2). Among 5 villages of Ankhang Xiang, Nancha is a mixed village of three ethnic groups, the Wa, the Lahu and the Han; while four other villages, i.e. Ankhang, Sanjai, Nawpo and Siao Panpa, are inhabited mostly by the Wa (Table 3). There are about 200 households of 2,199 who are Christian; apart from this, some claim to be Mahayana Buddhist, but most may be characterized as animist.

On my first day in Ankhang, while the Wa women and children gathered around me as if I was the strangest creature they had ever seen in their life, one middle-aged woman in her customary black Wa suit topped by a huge black turban stepped forward towards me and touched my hands as if shaking hands in western style. She stepped back, and said sharply and loudly: "tee ngum! tee ngum!"

Although I flushed with embarrassment, I was extremely glad! The role of both Chinese interpreter and Tai guide seemed unnecessary to me as I grasped the meaning of that Wa expression immediately: "tee" recalled to me of the word "thii" of the Lua of Nan which means "hand" and "ngum" could not be any other than "num" which in Thai means "soft".

The material for study was rich indeed, the Wa here, no matter whether they claimed to be Marxist, Maoist, Buddhist or Christian, still preserved ancient lore and ritual which recalled the belief system of the Lua of Northern Thailand. They called their house-spirit as phi miang (meng ?), village spirit as phi moj (mod?), forest spirit as phi khao; and the title of the Wa shamman was cao phi. In the past, they owned a drumhouse for each clan at the front of the village where they performed their yearly ritual, including human-head sacrifice in some villages.

The Wa divided themselves into two categories in Chinese: the Siao Wa and the Ta Wa. The Siao Wa in Lanchang believed themselves to be the civilized Wa and usually called the Ta Wa "Lua", who, in their eyes, were uncivilized, i.e., the Wa of Xi-meng in the central area of A-Wa San. To my astonishment, the Ta Wa usually called themselves laveue or aveue; which was very similar to the word the Lua in Chiangmai and Maehongsorn usually called themselves. While the Lua of Nan in Thailand were matrilineal and matrifocal, the Lua of Chiangmai-Maehongsorn and the Wa of Yunnan shared similar patrilineal and patrifocal aspects. However, Wa scholars interpreted the Sikangli, their most sacred myth, as providing evidence that their institutions were matriarchal and matrilineal in the past. Their adoption of patrilineal form had taken place within the last twenty generations. Blood feuds, head hunting and the display of enemies' heads on the post, Khao Sikang, to propitiate the earth spirit, were some of the ancient Wa customs practised until 1958 among most of the Ta Wa and some of the Siao Wa.

With a number of arguments for my thesis and my new book battling in my mind, I waved good-bye cheerfully and gratefully to my gentle Wa of Yunnan whose ancestors were head-hunters. I had found at least one of my dreams.
Table 1: Wa Population in Lanchang (1988)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shang-yuan</td>
<td>11,277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zia-ling</td>
<td>12,064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wen-Tung</td>
<td>7,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Ankhang</td>
<td>9,260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>9,785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>49,686</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Nationalities of Ankhang Xiang (1988)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wa</td>
<td>9,260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lahu</td>
<td>1,985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Han</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palaung</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pai</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lolo</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>11,604</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Population in villages of Ankhang (1987)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Wa</th>
<th>Pal.</th>
<th>Han</th>
<th>Lahu</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ankhang</td>
<td>2,006</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2,006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanjai</td>
<td>2,458</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2,466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawpo</td>
<td>2,728</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2,773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siao Panpa</td>
<td>1,198</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nancha</td>
<td>723</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>9,113</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>1,939</td>
<td>11,319</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1918 'Hmannan Yazawin Dawgyi' (Royal Burmese Chronicle), Journal of Siam Society Vol.XII.
Access to Laos is still limited. A tourist official in Vientiane proudly told me that the tourist intake had almost doubled in 1988 - to 300 people! Even most of these turn out to be diplomats and others able to reach Vientiane for some purpose and there classified as tourists for their visit to Luang Prabang, the only tourist destination open to foreigners. Nevertheless it is becoming easier for scholars to work in Laos, under the auspices of a new Social Science Committee.

This Committee was created in June 1988 with the status of a ministry, to coordinate a number of functions previously scattered. Its President is Sisana Sisane, who was Minister of Culture until 1983 and continues to have considerable influence. The Committee includes the following sections (among others):

- History of the Party - a standard book is a high priority.
- Marxism-Leninism.
- Archeology - they admitted to virtually no expertise, and no current projects.
- History and Geography, headed by Boun Heng, who is writing a history of Laos.
- Ethnology/anthropology.
- Art and Culture, headed by Houmphanh Rattanavong.

The Committee has already established relations with the USSR Academy of Sciences and is eager to have relations with analogous bodies in the non-socialist world. At least in this early stage, Sisana is eager to build whatever connections he can, and in particular to attract foreign scholars who can help to train his own people. It is recommended that scholars write, preferably in Lao or French, to:

M. Sisana Sisane, Président,
Comité des Sciences Sociales,
Nahaidiao, Vientiane;

with copies also sent through the relevant embassies.

The economy has opened remarkably in the last five years. Most consumer goods are provided by the private sector, in busy markets, and manufactures from Thailand are readily available. In contrast to Vietnam there is little black market, since the official rate for the kip is now a realistic one. Vientiane and (if approval given) Luang Prabang are the only places open to foreigners, and river traffic on the Mekong is very tightly controlled because of the border tension with Thailand. Nevertheless trade with Thailand is booming through the officially-regulated channel, and Thai contractors operate in Laos - one leases the major supermarket in Vientiane. Russian oil is the major item to come in through Vietnam (Danang-Savannahket), along a still difficult land route. Vietnam itself has little to offer Laos economically. Bangkok-Vientiane air traffic is far busier than
The political situation is at a fascinating turning point. Most Vietnamese troops were quietly withdrawn from Laos in the middle of 1988, and diplomats say only 5,000 remain. Perestroika, greater flexibility in relations with China, and especially the economic relaxation, are popular among the urban population, but there remains great uncertainty about the means way ahead. The real problems of national unity and identity remain intractable. National identity is officially expressed largely in terms of resistance to Thailand, notably in the impressive but deserted Museum of the Revolution. The glories of the Lao kingdom of Lan Xang in the 16th and 17th centuries, its victories against the Thai and Burmese, and its cruel destruction by the Thais in 1827, are there given as much prominence as the anti-colonial struggle and the victory of communism. Yet Thai TV, Thai novels and music, and especially the booming Thai economy are irresistible magnets.

Higher education and research are rudimentary. The educated class largely fled in 1975, so that there are deficiencies in almost every field. The major tertiary institution is the Teachers' Training College at Dongduk, near Vientiane, which has a number of Russian and east European staff. Lao language is taught there to foreign students, mainly Russian and Vietnamese. Research activity in the social sciences is largely concentrated on the pursuit of national unity and identity, and the problems of minorities, coordinated by the Social Science Committee. The National Library has numerous palm-leaf manuscripts, and books donated by many embassies, but is in a sad state of disorganization.

Buddhism appears much too strong to be suppressed by regime, even in the relatively harsh days after 1975. It is rather a question of attempting to manipulate the sangha in the interests of the state - not for the first time in Lao history. The biggest change has been to take the basic educational function away from the temples. There are in the larger towns now state-run "buddhist schools" at secondary level where the young novices go to study a syllabus approved by the state. There are still several thousand Buddhist monks in Laos, fewer than before 1975 but still very visible. The principal means by which the state attempts to manipulate the sangha is through the Association of Buddhist Clergy, with an elected head in replace of the Mahasangkhorat of royal days. One of the strong emphases of the communist government is that monks should work, not beg, for their living. This is evident both in public propaganda and in the streets, where young monks are to be seen hauling logs or constructing buildings. The small Catholic community has been treated in the same way, more harshly in the period 1975-85. Most churches and all schools were closed, and the clergy and religious were obliged to labour for a living. As in most other respects there has been significant liberalisation since 1985.

Luang Prabang has a splendid site, on a headland between the Mekong and the Nam Khan, dominated by the stupa-topped hill of Phousi. It has dozens of temples dating from the 15th to the 18th century.
These fell into disrepair for the most part in the nineteenth century. The splendid gilt and ceramic decoration which now embellish the major temples dates from the period since the 1930s, when King Sisavong Vong became king of all Laos and was made the focus of a new sense of national identity. In reaction against the assertiveness of Thai nationalism in the 1930s, a grander court was built, with a Ramakien ballet, and much elaborate ritual and decoration after the fashion of the Thai court. The royal palace (built in 1904) is now a museum, apparently little changed since it was inhabited by the last king Savang Vatthana (1959-75).

It was not clear to me whether the Chinese-built road from Yunnan to Luang Prabang was now open, but the fact that there were Chinese batteries and other goods in the market in Luang Prabang suggested that trade was flowing somehow.

**TRANSLATIONS**

**COMMERCIAL IN THE TAI AUTONOMOUS REGION OF SIPSONG PANNA**

Compiled by the Work Inspection Unit, People's Central Committee on the People of the South-west

In the past few years there have been great achievements in trade, despite a few shortcomings.... The overall situation has seen a gradual increase in the state sector of the economy, a continuous broadening of relations with the minority peoples, and increasingly close economic relations between Sipsong Panna and the inland [of China]. The private sector has also developed, but has declined in proportional terms. The working situation of the past few years is outlined below.

(1) Basic Conditions

The organisational structures of the state economy were put in place in December 1950 with the establishment of one branch corporation in Fohai. By 1951 this had grown to 10 organisations (1 branch corporation, 4 fixed groups and 5 mobile groups). In 1952 there were 8 trading company structures (the number of mobile groups is not known). A tea processing factory was also established in Fohai, along with 4 purchasing stations. In 1953 the Sipsong Panna Autonomous Region Trading Corporation exercised leadership over 9 organisations in Cheli, Meng Hai, Meng Zhe, Yiwu, etc. In addition, in Meng Peng, Meng Man, and the like, 5 groups were established, giving a total of 14 organisations. There were fixed organisations for the tea industry in 11 places, and mobile organisations in 4 places. By the first quarter of 1954 there were already 23 trading corporations, a 64.2% increase over 1953, with organisations in basically all the central Panna and plains, and mobile groups going to the highland regions to carry out purchasing work. The number of tea industry corporations had grown to 20, and all tea growing regions had established organisational structures. There was also a general merchandise company [department store] and a salt retail store in Yun Jinghong. This made a total of 45 state sector organisations.
As for the situation with cadres, their numbers have gradually
two in along with the expansion in the workload. In 1950 there
were 12 personnel in the trading corporation; in 1952 there were 33
(cadres from the minority peoples making up 25%); in 1952 there were
60, more than 30 of these cadres being in the tea industry in which
there was a total of 90 personnel; in 1953 there were 112 cadres, more
than 70 being in the tea industry in which there was a total of 182
personnel. At the moment [1954], there are 168 cadres in the trading
corporation (with another 6 miscellaneous workers), an increase of
61.5% over 1951. Of these, 43 cadres are from minority nationalities
(19 Tai, and 24 from other minority nationalities), making up 25% of
the total. 7.4% of the cadres are Communist Party members, while
14.7% are members of the Communist Youth League.

(2) Management of the Economy

Supply work: In 1952 the Ministry of Trade recorded aggregate
sales to the value of 2,961,780 yuan (in old currency), of which the
principal commodity supplies were:

- Cotton Cloth 1,067 chi [1chi = 0.3333 metre]
- Handwoven Cloth 1,705 chi
- Salt 579,309 jin [1jin = 0.5 kg]
- Farm Implements 102,460,000 yuan (old currency)
- Iron 1,290 jin
- Soap 570 xiang [containers]
- Course Calico 595 da [dozen rolls]

In 1953 the aggregate sales value was 12,428,810,000 yuan, which
exceeded the planned quota by 104%. The principal commodity supplies
were:

- Cotton Cloth 7,093 chi
- Handwoven Cloth 10,132 pi [bolts]
- Felt [Bedding] 2,282 chuang [sets]
- Iron Cauldrons 3,349
- Hoe 9,298
- Towelling 1,422 da
- Matches 45,298 feng [packages]
- Salt 991,461 jin
- Iron 10,183 jin

The aggregate sales in 1953 were 3.16 times greater than in 1952.

In the first quarter of 1954 aggregate sales (excluding sales
of the department store) came to 53.4% of the aggregate for the whole
of 1953, an increase of 60% over the first quarter of 1953. Of the
principal commodity supplies, there has been a six-fold increase over
1952 in the supply of cotton cloth, about a six-fold increase over
1952 in the supply of handwoven cloth, and an increase over 1952 in
the supply of salt by a factor of 1.72. Other commodity supplies have
also been greatly increased and the variety of commodities has grown
each year.

As for the purchase of special local products, in 1952
purchases amounted to 1,577,730,000 yuan, excluding tea. In 1953 this
grew to 2,813,560,000 yuan and, except for 9,278 hoes, all of this
figure represents local products. Purchases by the Tea Bureau came to
a total of 1,350,440,000 yuan. Thorough statistical surveys of all
the local products in this region are still unavailable, and though the Trading Corporation runs twenty [local product operations] they do not have a statistical breakdown for each one.

From what has been shown above, there have been considerable achievements in the state sector of the economy. However, if we look at the work summary of the 1953 Finance Committee, it can be seen that there have been the following shortcomings in management: 1) There is not a sufficiently clear understanding of the concept of production service in management thinking. For example, in 1953 the supply of production materials only met 19.6% of the prescribed target, about 8% of the total sales value. The purchase of special local products, apart from a relatively large amount of cotton, has been in small quantities. 2) Doing business in the style of "waiting for customers to come to us," where many traders never go to the countryside and wait for the masses to come to market to purchase goods, shows insufficient consideration for the ethnic minorities in the highlands. In the entire region there is only one small trading group at Nannuo Mountain, serviced by one cadre. Thus the supply of goods and materials is relatively small, and reform of the situation was only begun following the November meeting of the Finance Committee. Small circulating groups have been sent to the highland and lowland areas to conduct buying and selling work, and there has been a good response from the various ethnic minorities (because it requires a two day round trip to come down from the mountains to trade).

(3) Market Conditions

The situation in the Sipsong Panna Autonomous Region is very complex. Struggles on the trade front have been particularly arduous and intense, and the struggles of 1953 have appeared to be even more conspicuous. Before September 1953 the markets were in turmoil: prices went up as profiteers and opportunists stirred things up, and the black market went wild. Mr. Du, the manager of the department store, related the following details: prior to June 1953 there was a difference of 60%-100% between the sales price of public and private goods, and in some cases a difference of 200%. Between June and August the price difference was 40%-80%, with a difference of 100% in a few commodities. For example, the state price of lan bu (blue cloth) was 6,000 yuan per chi (all prices in old currency) while the price at the markets was 9,000 yuan; the state price of a container of matches was 400 yuan while the market price was 700-800 yuan; the state price for a pack of cigarettes was 3,500-3,800 yuan while the market price was 8,000-10,000 yuan; the state price of felt bedding was 80,000-90,000 yuan per set while the market price was 120,000-150,000 yuan; the state price of bronze pots was 14,000 yuan while the market price was 30,000-40,000 yuan; the state price of hoes was 10,000 yuan each while the market price was 60,000-80,000 yuan. The 1953 final annual report of the Financial Committee states: the price of pork rose from 5,000 to 12,000 yuan per jin; the price of sesame oil rose from 12,000 to 25,000 yuan per jin; the price of kerosene rose from 10,000 to 35,000 yuan per jin. The listed [state] price of rice was 1,040 yuan per jin while the market price was 2,500 yuan. The exchange rate of the [local currency, or, "ban kai"] to Renminbi [currency of the People's Republic] lept from 8,000 yuan:1 yuan to 15,000, then 20,000:1, and 25,000:1 in a few areas.
According to the 1953 annual report of the Finance Committee, the main reasons for inflation and the chaotic market were: 1) The state's trade department has not had sufficient control of the supply of goods and materials, and has lacked the strength to lead and control the market. For example, in September 1953 the private sector accounted for more than 80% of the entire market. 2) On the few occasions when the sales price of grains were adjusted upwards, it directly stimulated inflation in staple and non-staple foodstuffs. 3) Profiteers, opportunists and speculators have pushed up the prices of goods, upset the market and engaged in illegal trading of currency in an attempt to gain windfall profits, and this has caused price fluctuations in the market.

At the beginning of September [1953] the Support Group to the Kunluo Highway Committee was established and it sent specialists to a few important markets in a management capacity. As a result management committees were set up in each important market one after another. Based upon what Mr Du has told us and some incomplete statistics, throughout the entire region there have been established about 14 market management committees which are supervising all the markets in the area. When the rainy season passes and transportation becomes easier to mobilise, at the same time upper level companies issue mules and horses and transport capacity increases, so the supply in goods and materials increases. Add to this the fact that the Kunluo Highway is about to become open to traffic, then all of these factors will have a significant influence on each of the ethnic minorities. [The ethnic minorities] will come to know that they can use Renminbi to buy goods, and thus the situation where the sale of sideline agricultural products causes havoc and tightening in the market will undergo fundamental reform, the price of goods will stabilise, market prices will settle down, the reputation of the Renminbi will be raised and our position will improve day by day.

Over the past few years great effort has been put into developing trade. The state sector has gradually increased its share of the market while the private sector has been declining. According to incomplete statistics for the three counties of Cheli, Fohai and Nanqiao [the main administrative regions of Sipsong Panna], the total value of turnover came to 10.088680 billion yuan (all these figures are in old currency). Of this total the state sector accounted for 5.294430 billion yuan or 52.8%, while the private sector accounted for 4.724250 billion yuan or 47.2%. Looking at the first quarter of 1952 we see that total turnover was 1.332880 billion yuan, of which .403780 billion yuan, or 30.3% was taken up by the state sector, while the private sector accounted for 69.7%. When we compare this to the 1952 annual percentage for the size of the state sector, that is 52.8%, then it can be seen that there has been rapid development in the state sector of the economy. Looking at the first quarter of 1953, the total market turnover was valued at 3.627180 billion yuan of which the state sector accounted for 2.376270 billion yuan, or 65.5%, and the private sector accounted for 1.250910 billion yuan, or 34.5%. This is a twofold increase in the size of the state sector in the first quarter of 1952. (Because there was a period during 1953 when commodity stocks were sold out, the annual figure for the proportion of the state sector was only 43.6% of the total). In April of this year [1954] a meeting on the flow of goods and materials held at Yun
Jinghong concluded that the proportion of state sector trade had climbed to 76% of the total. However, in terms of absolute volume of turnover in the economy the private sector was still developing. For example, in the first quarter of 1952 private sector turnover was .920910 billion yuan, while in the first quarter of 1953 it was 1.25910 billion yuan, an increase of 130.6%.

(4) Small-scale Trade

Before Liberation, almost all of the Sipsong Panna market was taken up by foreign trade. At that time a relatively large amount of barter in tea, camphor, etc. was done with Thailand, and most of the commodities coming into the region, with the exception of hoes and steel, were consumer goods. Apart from trading in salt, tea and cigarettes, in the latter half of 1950 90% of the remaining trade of the Fohai Branch Trading Corporation (which included the three small group organisations of Cheli, Daluo and Menglong) was made up of imported commodities such as cloth, western medicine, indigo dye, matches, soap, tooth brushes, paper, stationery, etc., which came to a total value of .248120 billion yuan. In 1951 the principal purchases of the import section of the department of trade were of goods required by the ethnic minorities, for example, cotton cloth, indigo dye, western medicine, etc. In 1952 the Fohai Branch Trading Corporation exported 948 dan of tea [1 dan=50kg] with a value equivalent to approximately .250 billion yuan ... Barter in goods and materials such as hoes, steel, cloth, indigo dye, cotton, etc. took up 60% of the total annual purchases of 1.577769746 billion yuan (i.e. approximately .950 billion yuan). In 1953 the Sipsong Panna Trading Corporation's export of 2,000 dan of salt and some local products came to a total of .510 billion yuan, while the import of hoes, western medicine, aluminium pots, steel, dye, etc. came to .820 billion yuan. For the first quarter of this year the Trading Corporation's imports of hoes, cotton, cotton blankets, steel plate, dye, kerosine, etc. came to a total of .681290 billion yuan.

Before 1952 the Trading Corporation paid for most of its purchases of foreign goods with bankai [the local currency used before 1949]. After 1953 most trade gradually came to be carried out through barter and according to an understanding of which products needed to be imported, so that the principal imports became hoes, steel, etc.

(5) Privately Operated Commerce

In 1953 there were 640 households in Sipsong Panna engaged in private commerce, involving a total of 778 people, capital of 1.383200 billion yuan and a turnover of 1.883090 billion yuan. Private commerce can be broken down in the following way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.Hh</th>
<th>Pers.</th>
<th>Capital*</th>
<th>Turnover*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shop Traders</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>1.07220 6.91026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intinerant Trad</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>.19685 10.33423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street Pedlars</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>.11415 1.58857</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*In billions of yuan (old currency).

The intinerant traders come from counties such as Nanhua, Midu, Xuanwei, Xiangyun, Qujing, Yuxi, Hexi, Zhenyuan, Jingdong, Jinggu, Shibing, Yuanjiang, Mojiang, Puer and so on. There are also some from
Guangxi and Sichuan. Most of them come from Midu, Xiangyun and Shibing. In the first quarter of this year 246 private commercial traders passed through Yun Jinghong, along with their 267 horses.... The fixed, shop traders are mostly found in Menghai. Chinese merchants make up about 50% of shop traders, 30% of itinerant traders and 10% of the pedlars, while the remaining merchants are all from among the ethnic minorities. After Liberation there was a gradual increase in commercial activity in the villages. According to investigations of April this year into conditions at the village of Manpei in Menghai, there were 24 households involved in commerce, or 52.5% of the total number of households. Total capital converted to an equivalent of 226.5 loads (tiao; 1 tiao=25kg) of rice. There was one quasi-landlord type household with capital which converted to 35 loads of rice, as well as 14 households of prosperous peasants with total capital of 170 loads of rice, 5 prosperous middle-peasants whose capital came to 55 loads of rice, and 4 middle-peasants whose capital came to 6 loads of rice.

Last year, before Yun Jinghong became open to highway traffic, there were times when the Trading Corporation ran out of commodity supplies. Private commercial sources filled this gap and in doing so took the chance to engage in profiteering. Commodities which the Trading Corporation lacked were sold by private merchants at 50-200% above the listed price, and even in January this year private merchants sold tonic medicine at nine times the listed price and sold cigarettes at more than twice the listed price.

In summary, after Yun Jinghong was opened to highway traffic, the supply of commodities to the region was basically guaranteed because of the vigorous support given by the upper levels of the department of commerce. Structures of the state sector have gradually been put in place and the work of purchasing has been steadily developed throughout the region. Thus the place occupied by the state sector in the market has been enlarged and become more stable day by day while the rampant private sector is tending to desist from its bad habits.

The present management of the market has led to a relatively sound outcome. The market price of commodities have steadily drawn closer to the listed prices at state-run stores. But attention must still be given to the private sector in markets of the highland regions where management is relatively weak. After December last year, as private sector commerce in Yun Jinghong steadily declined, the majority of private merchants moved to Mengzhe, Menghai and the like.

From: Daizu Shehui Lishi Diaocha: Xishuang Banna [Investigations of Tai Society and History: Sipsong Panna], vol. 1, pp. 94-98. Translated by Terry Narramore

* * *

RELIGION AND FOLKLORE IN BRIEF

By the Editorial Committee

(1) Content of the Classic Texts

There are 84,000 volumes of classic texts remaining today.
These can be divided into three categories:

1. Religious stories: 21,000 volumes in total which the Tai people refer to as "Sudiandabidajia" [Suttantapitaka2].
2. Religious canons and doctrine, etc.: 21,000 volumes called "Weinai" [Vinaya].
3. Physiology and pathology: 42,000 volumes called "Abitamabidajia" [Abhidhammapitaka].

A Buddhist elder at Menglong said that the true classics are those recorded using the Buddhist calendar, that is, those written down based upon the sayings of Buddha when he was alive. Texts that use the Tai calendar were composed by later generations.

(2) An Inscription on the Bronze Spire Pagoda in Manbeng Village, Mengla

In the year 1102 of the Tai calendar (1740) a book was discovered which included notes on 16,000 pagodas throughout the world. There was one pagoda in Jinghong, called Wenteli, which was said to contain one strand of the Buddha's hair and three of his bones. There was also a bronze-spire pagoda in Mengla...which was said to contain three strands of the Buddha's hair and three of his bones. The two people who were said to have built this pagoda (it has been said that they were Burmese)...were very pious in their worship of the Buddha. They hired six Chinese and used large amounts of money to build a pagoda and god came to place the spire on the pagoda. This pagoda became a place where all the people would worship and make offerings to the Buddha. If a ba or zhao [local leaders] came to govern in the area, they all sincerely worshiped, and made offerings to, the Buddha. Thus the area became very peaceful and the people were content and happy. These conditions were said to have lasted five thousand years.

This story was originally inscribed on shells and stored in a temple at Maizangou village in Jinghong. Later, a certain zhao noticed these shell inscriptions and he also began to fervently worship the Buddha. He took some of these inscriptions to Mengla....

In the year 1121 of the Tai calendar the religious leader Mahaweiyabanya, leader of all the monks and Buddhist elders, as well as the tu si [Chinese term for local lord] of Mengla, the Great Phya: [local-level minister] Mengshexie, the Great Phya: Mengpan and leaders, officials and people from all over the region helped to rebuild the pagoda. They covered the pagoda in bronze, made a bronze statue of Buddha and constructed a large temple the columns of which they also covered in bronze. This cost thirty thousand silver pieces and took three years to complete. In the sixth month in the year 1125 of the Tai calendar the people and the Buddhist monks gathered together at this place for a great ceremony of worship. [Mahaweiyabanya] made an inscription in his own hand which recorded these events so that future generations of people and Buddhist monks could come to worship in a similar way. This shining glory has thus been carried on for five thousand years.

(3) The Origins and Creation of Buddhist Statues

At the time when the Buddha entered nirvana temples could only
be found in the forests. In the Buddhist year of 800 (eight hundred years after Buddha entered nirvana) there was a person from Jingmai [Chiangmai in present day Thailand] called Bonanlaocai who went to a village to build a Buddhist statue inside his family pavilion for worshipping Buddha. This marked the beginning of building of statues to the Buddha.

The large Buddhist statues inside temples were all made from clay. They were fashioned with wooden cudgels and varieties of iron implements, and these came in many shapes and sizes. The golden powder used to cover the body of the statues was bought from Burma. Other, smaller kinds of statues were carved from wood, ox horns, elephant teeth, or clay blocks. A Buddhist elder in Menglong said that [some statues are made from] a certain wood that lasts for five thousand years. This wood can be found in Sipsong Panna, but it is mostly found in Thailand. Tools used in carving the statues included small blades, long-handle knives, large blades and axes. Some statues were made from cast bronze, and these were made in other countries.

There is a rather famous sculptor in Menglong by the name of Hubaba. He is forty two or forty three years of age and lives in Manxiu. He can carve, sculpt clay and paint. There is also a Buddhist leader in Rongmang, on the Ganlan plain, called Hubalong, who, it is said, can carve and sculpt statues. He is about fifty years of age. In addition, Yanjiaoguangjing of the great Menglong temple can paint and carve small statues of the Buddha.

(4) Legends of the Relationship between the Sun, the Moon and the Earth

Both the sun and the moon are said to emit their own light, with the light of the sun being strong and that of the moon being weak. The full moon is said to occur when the earth moves between the sun and the moon and blocks the light of the sun. But when the earth is far away from the sun and the moon and the sun and the moon are close together, the sunlight takes away the moonlight and it is only possible to see half of the moonlight or none at all.

The sun, the moon and the stars remain motionless over the long-term, while the earth is constantly spinning as it floats on water.

Translated by Terry Narramore

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INSTRUCTING WIVES IN THE ETIQUETTE OF BEING A DAUGHTER-IN-LAW

Translated from a text kept by the chief of Manfeilong

How a married woman ought to act:

A wife faces many difficulties and so she must hold to reason and carefully administer to the affairs of the household.

As a woman you should not think yourself able to live independently. You must marry. When you enter the man's house you should be skilled in all matters great and small, you should sweep the
upper and lower floors daily, tidy all the rooms with patience and forbearance and refrain from frolicking like a little girl. You should love and protect your husband and desist from playing around with youths to avoid raising his suspicions. Settle yourself and take up your household duties, guard the gate, weave clothes and a few squares of red-thread head-scarves, sew new shirts and a few long skirts with colourful waist-bands. Do all these tasks well. Hold in mind the benevolent up-bringing given by your parents. Care for your husband with patience, cook rice and vegetables with suitable salting and speak softly.

When the men enter the mountains to cut kindling, you should hurry to complete your tasks and offer a timely welcome; inquire from whence they came, commend their labours and request them to rest! When your husband enters the room you should hurry to lay the meal before him and entreat him to eat. Bring forth tea, pour water and attend to his every need. After the meal, wash the dishes, sweep the floor and go directly to feed the pigs and chickens. Rest awhile before taking up your spinning, then work on it till night-fall. Set aside the spindle and carry the fire-wood to prepare the evening meal. When this is ready, invite your husband and his parents by kneeling down and raising your hands. When your husband rises follow after him and sit after he is settled. Wait for your husband to take three servings before taking one yourself, only thereby will good fortune adhere to your house.

After dinner, clear away the dishes and take up your sewing once more. When you have worked two or three liang (a unit of weight equal to 50 grams) and the hens are cackling, the moon is in the tree-tops and the whole family is resting peacefully, then walk quietly to the foot of the bed and kow-tow to your husband three times. Unloose your hair and sweep it thrice across the soles of his feet. Your pillow should be four inches lower than that of your husband and you should not sleep with your head at the same level as his.

Arise before day-break and revive the ashes gently to avoid getting cinders in your eyes. Cook the meal on the re-kindled flame, only adding the left-over rice when the new grain is half-cooked. Boil a kettle of hot water on the hob, ready for the man when he arises. When it is day-light, sweep the court-yard and the rice will be cooked by the time you have finished. Turn the rice out onto the bamboo mat and allow the cool breeze to waft away the steam. Take a little of the rice and present it on the spirit shrine then return the rice to its container. Husk more rice and carry the water. By then, the man will have arisen so you should quickly bring him water to wash his face and offer him an opened towel with your out-stretched hands. Go immediately to stir-fry the dishes and, after laying out all the bowls, invite your husband to come and eat. Clear away the dishes and bind to your waist the square-bottomed bamboo basket in which you carry your knife before joining with several sisters and friends to collect fire-wood in the mountains. Do not tarry, but gather a large quantity of wood and bear it home happily. Check whether the water vat is empty.

Household affairs are a matter of careful daily concern. Firstly, you should be worthy of the exhortations made by the elderly and secondly, the neighbours will praise you as a good daughter-in-law. If you have
the good fortune to become a daughter-in-law of the headman then you can step out with pride, but bear in mind; do not be haughty or conceited, be congenial with the servants, do not venture out alone before dawn or after dark, divide the items given to you by the common people among your friends and speak with gravity; only thereby can you be the daughter-in-law of a (Zhaonan) chief. The servants will love you and the common people support you.

Of the bad, you should also be informed; those women who treat their men-folk poorly and who cannot manage household affairs will be un-loved and divorce is the only solution. You are all urged to abstain from laziness lest rumours arise that you are unscrupulous. No-one will want you then. If your ears are blocked to edification and you retort to your husbands with curses, you will henceforth be regarded as a devil-widow by all. Another type of woman is she who does not go to the home of her husband and, when he comes to her home, leaves him and refuses to prepare his rice and vegetables. No one would dare to want this sort of woman.


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SOME ASPECTS OF FUNERAL ETIQUETTE

Translated from the book of Napianmai.

1. Funerals for adults and minors:

i. If two people from the same family or village have died, the more recent corpse should receive funeral rites first and the earlier death be attended to afterward.

ii. Monks should not be summoned to recite scriptures at the grave of a child aged between seven and fifteen years.

iii. Mourning can be held following the death of a person aged between fifteen and twenty and the monks may recite scriptures but they must not read the "Gushana" Sutra.

vi. Mourning and recitation of scriptures, including the "Gushana" Sutra can be undertaken for those who died after attaining the age of thirty.

2. Different types of funeral ceremony:

Funeral types differ between relatives, the rich and poor, for orphans and those who have died violently. A general outline is given below;

i. If an outsider dies in the house and this person is not a relative of either parent, they cannot be considered a village ghost and should not be buried within the village. Responsibility for the corpse rests with the household in which the person died. The deceased should be
carried out and interred by two persons to be paid five grams of silver which is nine-tenths pure. The village should receive ceremonial meat equivalent in value to 50 grams of silver.

ii. If a divorced person of either sex dies, they are considered to be a single person and the village should receive ceremonial meat equal to fifty-five grams of silver. They can be borne by four persons, each of whom should be paid five grams of silver.

iii. If a chief of the Ba rank dies, then the village should receive ceremonial meat equal to 330 grams of silver. A "Pasa" (a funerary house in the form of a pavilion) should not be constructed but a small funerary house can be made. If a relative of the Balong or High Commissioner for Pacification passes away then a "Pasa" may be constructed, but of three storeys only. The village should receive ceremonial meat equal to 265 grams of silver. Those who manufacture the "Pasa" should be paid 150 grams of silver per storey. Gold-leaf in the shape of two flowers can be adhered to the coffin. If the High Commissioner for Pacification or the Gubameng dies, a funerary house of five storeys can be constructed and twelve gold flowers adhered to the coffin. 750 grams of silver should be given for the "Pasa" and 1,650 grams of silver in wages. The coffin should be dragged along rather than borne aloft and a dragons-head can be mounted on the coffin. Brothers of the High Commissioner of Pacification, lesser Guba, or Buddhist Superiors who die may have a four-storey "Pasa" and those who bear the coffin should receive 250 grams of silver in wages.

iv. Those who meet death by falling, drowning, law-breaking, dysentery, dropsy, trampling by horses or oxen or mauling by wild animals cannot receive mourning or recitation of the scriptures, but only burial. If mourning or incantation is undertaken, the consequences for the entire Meng or the village will be dire.

v. Those who drown in rivers or fall from mountains or trees should not be buried but just left where they died. Those who drowned should not be dredged up and items from the corpse should not be brought home. Possessions of the departed may be donated to the Buddha.

vi. If there are stirrings after the corpse has been placed in the coffin, it is because the deceased is pining for his or her possessions and so eight banana baskets should be woven (from the trunks of banana trees) and a part of all the items in the house should be placed inside. Four monks should be invited to recite sutras and then the coffin should be sent together with the baskets to the top of the grave-hill. If this procedure is not undertaken, it will bode ill for the family concerned.

vii. If a bad burial day is chosen, the corpse will not rot and must be disenterred and cremated. If this is not done then the village will suffer.

viii. Those who have been crushed by a tree flattening their house should be buried with haste. A large bamboo scoop-shaped container should be made and filled with items made of clay such as pigs, oxen, horses and elephants, all of 100 different shapes, in addition to eight white stones, and the Momeng be requested to send them for burial. After the monks have read from the sutras, the coffin should be borne away and the scriptures read once more. The monks should be requested to divide and bury the eight white stones among the four cardinal points of the village, beginning in the east and proceeding to the north, south and west.
ix. Of those who return to life after death, a woman may not reside in the village or, if she is already a young bride, then she must depart her husband's home for a distant place. Men must become monks. If the man is already married but his wife does not recognise him as her husband, he must join the priesthood.

These are the regulations of Mengjingmai, Mahahuzhao. If they are disobeyed, annihilation will follow.

Translated by Irene Bain.

* * *

HANDICRAFT PRODUCTION IN THE VILLAGES OF XISHUANGBANNA AUTONOMOUS DISTRICT

Handicraft production is poorly developed in the villages of Xishuangbanna. There are about fifteen main types, of which iron-working, weaving and dyeing, sewing, paper-making and production of umbrellas are most common. These activities are mainly undertaken as subsidiary employment during the agricultural slack-season. Most suffer from poor management and more from lack of capital. Those few who rely solely on handicraft production are located in the vicinity of towns in Menghai and Mengzhe. Individual settlements have blacksmiths, silversmiths, shoemakers, tailors and umbrella-makers but none have ceased farming. Their manufactures are generally crude; the smiths are only skilled in making cleavers, sickles and other simple tools and some cannot even cast ploughshares or forge hammers.

Most carpenters can produce simple items, silversmiths mostly make religious paraphernalia and simple jewellery for female adornment. The umbrellas are generally well-made and manufacture of bamboo-strip scoops, mats, bamboo containers and roof-tiles is comparatively common. The women all weave, but this is for home-use and marketed only rarely. Here follows an account of those major handicrafts which are closely related to the production activities and lifestyles of the masses:

1) Iron-working; is undertaken by 210 persons in 161 households throughout Xishuangbanna. There are thirty-seven households operating in Menghai with sixty-three members engaged in the trade. Each smith forges an average 500 catties of steel per annum and each 100 catties can produce seventy-two choppers and 200 sickles Within Manao and Manban of Menghai alone, there are twenty-one groups, each comprising two to three persons (sixty-three workers in total) with an annual output of over 1,500 farm tools. In 1952 and 1953 the Banna Menghai Trading Company made a contract with local iron-workers. The forty-seven households in other areas produce 500 catties of farm tools per annum. At present, iron-workers cannot meet demand due to shortage of steel and so quality has deteriorated and it is understood that some smiths are now unemployed. Iron production is currently well below the farm tool needs of the villagers. Every autumn and winter, Han Chinese merchants from the interior speculate in farm tools.

2. Textiles; Figures for the region as a whole are lacking, but Yiwu can be taken as an example. There are sixty-five spinning machines in
Yiwu with an annual average production of two-hundred items per spindle. Each item is twenty-five chi (8.33 metres) in length and nine cun [30 cms.] wide and weighs one jin two liang [600 grams]. Each item of white cloth is valued at 90,000 yuan (old currency). The sixty-five machines require 190,000 jin [63.3 tonnes] of cotton and produce over 13,000 items per annum.

3. Dyeing; Although the area is suited to the development of dyeing, there are only three operations of a commercial nature. One dye-works, which operates as a partnership in Menghai, is large-scale by private-sector standards with over forty share-holders and 10,550,000 yuan (old currency) in capital. Over 6,000 pieces of home-spun cloth are dyed per annum. The other two factories are located in Banna Yiwu and Jinghong. In the villages, cloth is home-dyed for personal use and this is undertaken on occasion during winter.

[Here follows a two-page table of rural handicraft enterprises detailing type, location, number of households and persons employed, details of output and scale of operation and capitalisation for some cases].

(From "Xishuangbanna Daizu Zizhiqu (Chou) Nongcun Fuye, Shougong ji Jaitong, Shuili Qingkuang" [Subsidiary employment, handicrafts, transport and water management in the Dai Minority Autonomous Region (District) of Xishuangbanna] By the Central Investigation Team of the South-western Minorities], Vol 1 pp.89-90. Translated by Irene Bain.

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CUSTOMS OF THE HUAYAO TAI OF MENGYANG
Edited by Zhao Jiaqing
(1) General Conditions

Although they belong to the same ethnic group, the life and customs of the Huayao Tai and the Water Tai (Shui Tai) are different. The thing that most people immediately notice about the Huayao Tai is the brightly-coloured clothing of the women. The Huayao Tai do not follow Buddhism and have no Buddhist temples. There are not many who are literate in the Tai language, but they still learn from the Water Tai people.

Why is it that the Huayao Tai have no written script? According to their own legend, it is said that the language that Confucius gave to the Chinese and the Water Tai was written down on a form of paper, while that given to the Huayao Tai was written on leather. Later, the leather was destroyed by fire so the script was lost. There is another legend which holds that when the forefathers were studying the culture in a Buddhist temple a Buddhist monk asked them to carry some sutras on their backs. But they were unable to carry them so the monk told them not to come to the temple again. From this time they never again read anything and were sometimes known as the Dai Ya.

Before Liberation it is said that Lu Wencong notified the chieftain of Manna that there was to be a meeting at Mansai to discuss the problem of literacy. But there were some people who did not want to learn the Chinese language who said: "As cucumbers do not climb to heaven's door, so the Dai Ya do not study culture." Still there
were others who said: "Old Jia was like the Chinese (the meaning is not clear; this is based on the original--editor). Now that the Chinese have come to lead us we should change and go to study." The people were moved by this and so they sent Bai Jiabao and Dao Wenhua off to study. But they only lasted two days and others were selected in their place.

Throughout history the Huayao Tai have been looked down upon. Even to this day there are still some people who refer to them as the "ornamental barbarians of dusk," and some even say that they "did not evolve from humanity but from wood because their clothes are so gaudy they do not look like people."

The Water Tai discriminate against the Huayao Tai, and this is even reflected in [attitudes to] ghosts and spirits. [The Water Tai] say: "The spirits of all the meng belong to us not to the Huayao Tai," and, "If you stay with us you must obey us, and if you do not want to worship our spirits then you cannot live here." Given these conditions [the Huayao Tai] worshipped together with the Water Tai....

In summer, during the season for picking bamboo shoots,...[the Huayao people] on the edge of the village of Jingyang are the first to go out picking. When the [Water Tai] of Jingyang see the Huayao passing by they curse them in very vulgar language. The [Huayao] reply, saying: "We would not even let you come here to pick vegetables for pigs." The vegetables and sweet potatoes of [the Huayao] were often stolen....

Before Liberation tenancy relationships between villages were quite common:
Manna village (Huayao Tai) worked long-term rented fields in Manha (Water Tai) village; Manna village also rented fields to (the Water Tai villages of) Manjinghan, Manzhang, etc.

When autumn harvest season arrives, [the people of] Manha village come to collect their rent. If it has been a good season they collect more rent and expect to be entertained. But when the people of Manna village go to collect their rent the situation is different. [The Water Tai] stubbornly say they have had a bad year even though they obviously have had a good harvest, and they constantly put off the date of payment saying they are too busy. Only after many attempts do the [Water Tai] hand over rent, and even then they might say: "If it were not for us, you would not be alive."

(2) Religion

The Huayao Tai do not follow Buddhism, but believe in spirits and have a "zhao se" who is in charge of [matters to do with] spirits; a "zhao miao" in charge of temples, and; a "mie mu" responsible for divination.

The duties of these people are as follows:

There is a kind of hereditary "zhao se" whose position resembles that of the lao xian. When a "zhao se" dies his position passes hereditarily to his son.

There is also a person known to all the village...who may originally have been a commoner but who, after passing through a stupor that lasts several days, comes around and begins ranting and is then considered by the people to have become a "mie mu" [a kind of sorceress].
The "zhao se" and "zhao miao" are to be found in every village, but not all villages necessarily have a "mie mu." It is said that the social status and authority of these people is the same as the common people, or that they even incur personal losses when, for example, they buy chickens and wine for others at the times for worshipping the spirits.

(3) Annual Festivals

1) New Year (1st-16th of First Lunar Month)

On the 29th day of the twelfth lunar month hunchongbaba begins. On the thirtieth day everything is cleaned up, both inside and outside the houses of the people, clothes are washed, young men have their hair cut, women wash their hair, household utensils are cleaned, oxen are tethered, bells and all sorts of things are washed clean. At about nine o'clock on the evening of the thirtieth the whole village let off fireworks and those with guns shoot off a few rounds. Afterwards, one person from each family (a youth or middle-aged person) goes to the home of the "zhao se" to discuss the following matters:

1. The study of Tai language....
2. Recitation of incantations. A person was expected to understand a few incantations. Some said that "reciting an incantation can stop a bullet." If people went to the mountain forests and met trouble with ghosts they would recite incantations.
3. The procedures for new years' day; whether to kill pigs or oxen.

It is not until the first cock crow the next morning that everybody returns home. Fireworks are set off again to welcome the new year. Then the gathering of new years' water begins, and it does not matter if one is male or female, old or young, everybody can gather water. When they go to gather the water some incense is taken along and these words are spoken into the well: "the new year has come; bless us with good health, let us eat our fill, and let the water be everlasting."

On returning home chickens are slaughtered and sweet dumplings are made. Then the worship of the spirits begins. The most important spirit in a household is the "father spirit" to which offerings are made in the house. The grandfather and grandmother make offerings in the main rooms. Offerings are laid on a table with an ancestral tablet, and the father and mother place offerings on their pillows.

The spirits of the daughter-in-law's family (of her parents) are worshipped in her husband's family, but not inside the house. Outside the house, toward the right-hand corner a small triangular pavilion is built where offerings are made to the spirits of the daughter-in-law's family. When offerings are made a chicken is slaughtered; the greater the number of spirits in the daughter-in-law's family the greater the number of chickens slaughtered.

The spirits of the parents of women who are about to have their first child are also worshipped in the kind of pavilion described above. In addition, there are also "shui tong" spirits and "zhao" spirits (as described in the original [Tai] language, but the meaning is unclear--editor). The greater the number of spirits, the greater the number of chickens that are slaughtered.

On the dawn of the first day of the new year the men take up
screens in which they put a chicken, two new year cakes, a bowl of sweet dumpling soup, wine, tea, a little incense and, while carrying chopsticks in their hands, place these screens in every corner of their houses. In areas where household utensils are used, where large and small knives are used, at the front and back doors, in the ox-shed and the granary, and all sorts of appropriate sites, several bowls of sweet dumpling soup are placed as offerings. Offerings to female spirits involve spinning wheels, looms and chicken pens.

2) Offerings to Village Spirits
On new years' day offerings are also made to village spirits. After everybody has gathered to slaughter an ox (or pig), the meat is taken to the home of the lao xian to be eaten (though women do not go). All those involved take along some rice and wine, and if there is not enough to eat another animal will be slaughtered. When they have finished eating everyone apportions the expenses between them.

Offerings to the spirits include "bai wang" (pig's blood), raw meat, cooked meat, soup, tea and wine, and incense is also burnt. The village spirits are said to reside in the central pillar of the lao xian's house. On this day the feasting goes on till nightfall.

3) Offerings to the Temple
Offerings are made to the temple on the third day of the new year. The temple is located in the woods at the end of the village, although it is a small structure. On the morning of the third day everybody repairs the road to the temple and cleans the area surrounding the temple. At the time for the offering a pigs head, four legs of a pig, a pig's tail, and a chicken are used. In addition, each person takes along some wine and rice and the cost is divided among everybody. The offerings finish around mid-day and the people then return home.

4) Travelling
It is a common belief among the people that if one has not been travelling then when one leaves the village some unfortunate event might occur, such as being bitten by a snake, being stabbed or being unsuccessful on a hunting trip. Thus, sometime within the fifth and seventh day of the new year an auspicious day to go travelling is chosen.

At the time for travelling some incense is taken to a grassy field at the edge of the village and scattered about and, facing north, someone says: "On this auspicious day we will go travelling. Bless us with good health and vitality."...

5) Entertaining Guests
When the travelling is done and everyone has returned, the village slaughters another ox. Each family is given a few kilograms of meat and everybody voluntarily pools money together so that families and friends can invite each other to feasts. Guests are not required to present gifts to their hosts.

6) The Lesser New Year Festival
After the tenth day of the new year everybody goes out hunting. They hunt deer and muntjak and divide the spoils between all
the people, with the successful hunters taking double the average share, ... and some is also given to the hunting dogs. On the sixteenth day of the new year no further apportioning of the spoils occurs and all the village begins to feast together.

In this period, from the first to the sixteenth day of the new year, nobody does any serious work and the women simply do a little needlework. Every evening there is some entertainment; the young men and women would play [finding] the lost purse (in the past, whoever lost the game, male or female, would have to pay some money) and the men would play with spinning tops.

7) Offerings to the Long

On the eighth day of the second month (or 8th day of the 5th month by the Tai calendar) an ox's head is made as an offering to the "long." [The translator points out this is the same character that refers to the ministers of the traditional Sipsong Panna ruling council. It clearly here refers to a tutelary deity. ed.] On this day outsiders are forbidden to enter the village, and if they do they must pay a fine of one chicken, a bowl of wine, two sticks of incense and 3.6 yuan in local currency.

8) Offerings to the Temple in the Eleventh Month

On an auspicious day in the eleventh month an offering is made to the temple according to the same procedures set out in the previous section [on temples].

(4) Burials and Taboos

Many people believe that sickness is mainly caused by the activities of the spirits; if not the old father spirit, then the plant spirit. Because of this the people have not been able to consider the advantages of taking medicines.

When somebody falls ill the "mie mu" is called in. Using a quantity of grain, a few metres of cloth, half a kilogram of rice, a chicken and one yuan [local currency] [the mie mu ] makes offerings to the spirits and chants some sacred texts. [The people] believe that only by making offerings to the spirits and chanting some sacred texts can a spirit be chased away and sickness be cured.

When a person dies if it is an inauspicious day he/she cannot be carried up into the mountains [for burial]. Before the burial takes place, it is not permitted to do manual work outside [the village]. When the deceased is carried out [of the village] the mie mu is invited to chant some auspicious words so that the deceased can rise to heaven and his/her descendents will not fall ill.

Within two or three days of the burial ceremonial paper money is placed at the grave, in a manner similar to the burial customs of the Chinese.

Taboos include: nobody, whether or not they are family members, is permitted to kill chickens inside one's family house, and; wooden tables must not be taken at random inside a house as it could bring misfortune.

(5) Marriage

Marriage customs among the Huayao Tai are the same as for the Water Tai. Some young men and women who are casual about courtship
find themselves with a child before they are married. In Man'gela there was a woman with an eight year old child who only got married this year [1955?]. The people see this as inauspicious, and some have said that this sort of person has no respect for the chieftains and village leaders, so this particular woman was fined. Her fine consisted of one pig, one dog and one chicken which were slaughtered outside the village (it is not permitted to slaughter them inside the village) and then eaten by the villagers. On the same day the "mie mu" was also sent to this woman's house to give her a dressing down.

If the father of a child born outside of marriage is discovered he must pay a fine in money. If the parents of such a child wish it, they may marry.

Young men and women must go through a period of courtship before they are allowed to marry. During courtship they come to like each other and exchange [gifts] as proof of their love. The man gives the woman 8 yuan and the woman gives the man a silver handcloth.

When they want to marry a couple first tell their fathers, and the male asks his father to go to the woman's family to seek permission to marry. If both families agree then a marriage can take place. Both sides discuss whether or not the marriage is a suitable match.

At the time of marriage arrangements are made according to a judgment about the economic standing [of the respective families]. In general the male side would give the female's family about 35 kg of meat, 15 kg of rice, 15 bowls of wine and an amount of salt.

On the day of the marriage, after the new members of the family have been accepted, the bride and bridegroom sit on a bed with a blanket covering their heads. They sit in silence for a few minutes and then go out to treat guests to a meal.

In a divorce money must be paid to relatives concerned. The amount is determined according to the economic conditions of the family involved, but at most this would be 50 yuan and at least 10 yuan. On average about 20 yuan is paid.

Is it possible to marry Water Tai? We asked about this in our visit and were told that it was possible but nobody knew of a precedent. If a male takes up with a Water Tai woman he must live with her family otherwise a match is not possible. This is because Water Tai women do not dress in the same way, do not want to live in single storey housing and are not used to [Huayao Tai ways].

Huayao Tai woman do not marry into the Water Tai either. Water Tai men do not even drop in to see the Huayao women. It has been said that "Huayoa Tai women do not dress the same as Water Tai, they do not know how to worship nor how to address other people."

From: Daizu Shehui Lishi Diaocha: Xishuang Banna, vol. 8, pp. 172-176. Translated by Terry Narramore

* * *

THE FEUDAL CIVIL-CRIMINAL CODE OF THE DAI MINORITY IN XISHUANGBANNA

1. Murder:
   i. If a Daoba (Polang) has murdered a commoner (be they adult or child) and a case is not lodged against him, the reason must be
identified and, if none is apparent, a fine of ten-and-a-half silver bankai yuan will be served against him.

ii. If one harbours resentment toward another and instructs someone to do violence to that person which results in murder, then the initiator of the crime and the assailant shall each pay half of a fine based on the price of a person (1,500 silver bankai yuan).

iii. If an evil person is caught in the act of administering poison, that person will be executed.

iv. Those who commit patricide or defile the Buddha will be exiled from the Meng.

v. Fines for murder will be waived under four circumstances:
   a) A husband, be he headman or commoner, who murders his wife after discovering her adultery.
   b) Those who kill a person of evil intent or one who is carrying fire-arms or knives with murderous intent.
   c) A household-head who kills an intruder who has run amuck in his house during the depth of the night.
   d) Those who apprehend and kill a thief engaged in the act of stealing.

vi. A person who knifes another during argument will be fined ten silver bankai yuan.

vii. If relatives (including persons who come to the home to conciliate affairs) who have been invited to your house for drinks are not escorted home and are murdered en route, the household-head will be deemed responsible. If the host requested that the guest reside in his house but the latter demurred and returned home alone, the household-head will not bear responsibility for any ensuing misfortune.

viii. If a robber who has committed murder seeks to enter a monastery as a monk and is accepted by the abbot, the High Commissioner of Pacification must first investigate and approve the matter.

ix. If a son commits patricide, his hands should be hacked off but his life spared. This is a reasonable punishment (The Chinese translator notes that this clause contradicts clause four above).

x. A wife who poisons her husband will be fined ten-and-a-half silver bankai yuan.

xi. A husband who poisons his wife will be fined sixteen-and-a-half silver bankai yuan.

xii. If a husband finds his wife to be adulterous and murders both parties this is not a crime. If the husband requests fines from both parties, the wife must pay seventeen yuan and the adulterer in accordance with his rank as follows; a commoner of the first rank seventeen-and-a-half yuan, a headman of the first rank twenty-seven yuan and a chief of the first rank, thirty-three yuan. In the case of a Lulang Daoba, no fines are incurred.

2. Bodily harm:

i. If blood is drawn during a tussle, a fine of seventeen-and-a-half yuan is incurred.

ii. A husband who beats his wife, and pursues and beats her again after she has sought shelter in the house of the headman must pay a fine of seven yuan to the headman.

iii. If the husband beats his wife and she is found and given shelter after escaping or attempting suicide, then he must repay the
benefactor for her food-costs.

3. Seizure of public or private land:
   i. Those who infringe the Meng boundary will incur a penalty of fifteen yuan.
   ii. Those who seize farmland or vegetable plots will be penalised thirteen-and-a-half yuan and must return the stolen land.

4. Damage to public property, private property and to production:
   i. Damage to public property;
      a) Demolition of road-side houses which sell goods will incur a penalty of seven-and-a-half yuan
      b) Damage to a bridge will incur a fine of seventeen-and-a-half yuan.
      c) Knocking or cutting down the trees of heaven which surround another village will incur a fine of seven yuan
      d) Cutting down the 'dragon' trees belonging to another village will incur responsibility for the ceremonial costs of the whole village. If a resident of this village dies then compensation must be made in accordance with the price of that person (1,500 yuan).
   ii. Damage to private property;
      a) Hewing down another person's house will incur a fine of ten-and-a-half yuan.
      b) Inadvertently burning down another person's house will not incur penalty if the house of the guilty party is also destroyed. This party must, however, pay for sacrifices to the ghosts; twenty-seven yuan if the person is rich and a minimum of six yuan if poor.
   iii. Damage to production;
      a) Cutting down banana trees belonging to another person; penalty three yuan.
      b) Cutting down betel-nut palms belonging to another person; penalty seven-and-a-half yuan.
      c) Hewing down the house of another person; penalty ten-and-a-half yuan.
      d) Demolishing a house located in the fields; penalty ten-and-a-half yuan.
      e) Digging a channel in the fields of another person; penalty three yuan.
      f) Riding an ox or horse through the fields of another person which have been harrowed but not yet sown; penalty three yuan.
      g) Riding an ox or horse through the fields of another person which have been sown; penalty seven yuan.
      h) Riding an ox or horse through the fields of another person in which the grain is already golden; penalty seventeen-and-a-half yuan.
      i) Using a gun to shoot grain-eating sparrows while people are threshing the crop; penalty ten-and-a-half yuan.
      j) Using a gun to shoot small birds which alight on the roofs of other people's graneries; penalty three yuan.
      k) Carelessly shooting an ox while out hunting requires compensation in accordance with the price of the ox (the meat remains the property of the hunter). If a person is also injured, the hunter must meet all medical costs.
l) If oxen or horses are grazed carelessly and consume grain belonging to another person, the ensuing fine will be in the range of nine to eighty-one tiao of grain (a unit of measure equal to the amount of rice carried in two baskets slung across either end of a carrying pole) for damage by oxen and seven-and-a-half to seventy-two tiao of grain in the case of horses. Compensation should be offered if a vegetable patch has been ravaged.

m) If oxen or horses belonging to a certain family eat vegetables from the patch belonging to family A, and are hacked to death by a person of family B but he or she cannot be found, then party A should offer compensation. If the animals are only injured and are returned to the owner, but he/she refuses to accept them, then a conciliator will sell the animals and repay the original owner who will then be fined three yuan.

n) If oxen eat vegetables and the owner fails to collect them after being notified three times, the oxen ought to be given to the chief. If the owner then requires them, he/she must buy them back from the chief, in addition to receiving a reprimand.

o) If chickens or ducks consume grain from the fields and the owner fails to respond after receiving two or three requests from the afflicted party, then the poultry may be slaughtered and half returned to the owner. If the owner refuses to accept, then the birds should be sent to the chief. If the poultry is slaughtered without prior notice, then the owner ought to be compensated and the grain losses of the afflicted party met.

iv. Death or injury of livestock;

a) Cutting off an ox-tail without cause will incur a penalty of ten-and-a-half yuan. The ox should then be sold to the culprit at a stipulated price.

b) A hunter who carelessly kills an ox must give compensation according to value (the meat will be awarded to the hunter). If a person is injured, then all medical costs should be covered.

c) If an ox or horse belonging to another person is tethered without his/her knowledge, compensation ought to be paid in accordance with value. If the animal dies, further compensation should be forthcoming, and if the animal was killed for consumption, then four oxen should be given to the owner.

d) After the fields have been sown, written notification should be given to other villages requiring them to tether their oxen and horses. If three such missives are ignored, the owner of the wasted fields can kill the marauding livestock. One leg of the carcass must be sent to the chief, and one to each headman. The field-owner can consume the remaining leg(s). Other parts of the carcass are to be divided among the butcher, the owner of the animal(s) and the field-owner.

e) If an ox is found but the owner cannot be contacted, the animal should be harnassed, led to the village centre and reported. After the owner has been found, he should redeem the animal at a cost of one-and-a-half yuan for a water buffalo and one yuan for an ox. If the owner cannot be traced and the beast remains unclaimed, it should be divided equally among the chief and the headman. Oxen and horses should be tethered some distance from the fields and pregnant cows should be kept at home. If oxen or horses escape and cannot be tethered, assistance should be sought. If even these combined efforts
fail and the animal(s) enter fields belonging to another person and are killed by him/her, no redress should be sought.

f) Fences should be erected around fields which are close to the village. Livestock should be watched carefully. If animals ravage the rice or vegetable crops and the owner ignores three notifications to take action, then the animals may be slaughtered. Half of the carcasses should be returned to the owner and the rest remain the property of the afflicted party.

5. Violation of irrigation regulations
i. Those who do not participate in repairing water channels, but still monopolise large quantities of water shall be fined three yuan.
ii. In cases where two families own adjoining fields and one is discovered stealing water, then appropriate action will be taken.

6. Public procedure and traffic regulations
i. Beating the drum in the discussion chamber without justification; penalty ninety-nine yuan.
ii. Blowing the ox-horn at night without justification; penalty ten-and-a-half yuan.
iii. If an elephant-driver fails to give right-of-way to a vehicle; a penalty of ten-and-a-half yuan will be imposed by the vehicle-driver.
iv. If a pedestrian fails to give way to an ox; a penalty of three yuan will be imposed by the ox-herd.
v. If an ox-herd meets a person leading a horse and fails to give way, then the latter may impose a fine of seven yuan.
vi. If an elephant-driver meets a person leading a horse and the latter does not give way, then a fine of ten-and-a-half yuan will be incurred.
vii. If a boatswain carelessly overturns the craft he/she must compensate losses.

7. Theft
i. Theft of one chicken; penalty ten chickens
ii. Theft of one duck; penalty nine ducks
iii. Theft of an ox; penalty four oxen
vi. Theft of a water buffalo; penalty four water buffaloes
v. Theft of a pig; penalty nine pigs
vi. Theft of a person; penalty four persons
vii. Theft of wood used for roofing; penalty ten-and-a-half yuan
viii. Theft of a fish; penalty half a yuan
ix. Theft of a tethering post; penalty three yuan
x. Theft of firewood; penalty three yuan
xi. Theft of firewood which has been stacked in the mountains but not yet carried home; penalty three yuan
xii. Theft of the posts used to fence fields; penalty ten-and-a-half yuan
xiii. Theft of unfenced trees of heaven; penalty ten-and-a-half yuan
xiv. Theft of a string of betel-nuts; penalty nine strings of betel-nuts
xv. Theft of a basket of grain; penalty nine baskets of grain
xvi. Theft of Buddha-money; penalty servitude in a monastery
xvii. Theft of a pregnant water buffalo; penalty three adult animals and one-and-a-half calves.
xviii. Theft of a pregnant cow; penalty three adult animals and one-and-a-half calves.

xix. Theft of a pregnant sow; penalty five pigs and five piglets

xx. Theft of another man's wife, in which the husband has no knowledge of the detailed circumstances; penalty ten yuan. After details are understood, a fine of thirty-one-and-a-half yuan should be paid. If the wife has been stolen for more than three days and the husband still has no detailed information, then no fine can be imposed.

xxi. Theft of slaves will not incur a fine if the slaves are returned, but the owner must be compensated one silver coin for each day of absence.

xxii. If a person gives shelter to a thief he/she will be deemed a thief; if the person assists in apprehending the criminal, no penalty will be incurred.

xxiii. Sheltering thieves or criminals will incur a penalty of ninety-nine yuan.

xxiv. If a person unwittingly provides shelter to a thief who then perpetrates a crime, the host must pay a fine of thirty-three yuan.

xxv. If oxen of another village are stolen but fellow-villagers remain unaware of the thief amongst them, they cannot be held responsible by the owner of the animals; otherwise the whole village must be held culpable.

8. False accusation of theft will incur a penalty of ten-and-a-half yuan.

9. Marriage:

i. Betrothal

   a) If betrothal does not lead to marriage within the prescribed period, then a new partner may be sought.
   
   b) If a fiancee receives engagement gifts from her betrothed but then declines to marry and elopes to the home of her beloved, she will be fined two yuan.
   
   c) If a couple agree to marry but parental consent is denied and the woman subsequently changes her mind, she will be fined seven yuan.
   
   d) If a woman is compelled to marry a man she dislikes and has left home in consequence, no fine will be incurred if the household-head returns the bride-price.

ii. Divorce and separation

   a) If marital relations are poor and the husband rejects his wife, he should pay her twelve yuan and a penalty of one-and-a-half yuan to the headman.
   
   b) If a wife mistreats her husband and wishes to be rid of him, she ought to pay him fifteen yuan.
   
   c) If a husband has provided for his wife in terms of food and clothing and they later agree to separate, the woman should not receive compensation.
   
   d) If the husband treats his in-laws poorly and they cast him out, he is entitled to take those items which he brought with him.
   
   e) If a husband has already deserted his wife for three years, the marriage can be deemed void. If he returns before three years have elapsed, a marital relationship is still considered to exist.
iii. With regard to illegitimate children;
(a translation from a text kept by the Tiao family of the Balong rank in Menglong is provided by the authors)

In the region between Manmai and Longle it is considered that an unwed mother should travel to Jingweng and offer in sacrifice a pig (weighing approximately twenty to thirty catties), four chickens and a table of "muhuan" which should all be sent to the "Nangzhaomeng" (wife of the chief).

If the father desires to wed the woman, he ought to proffer sixty-six grams of silver, four strings of betel-nuts, four pairs of candles, one chicken, two small bottles of wine, a pair of hind pig-trotters and a table of "muhuan" containing 132 grams of silver, four strings of betel-nuts, four pairs of candles, a pair of fowls, two small bottles of wine and a pair of pig's-trotters.

If the affair did not occur in Longle then the business must be settled at the home of the chief. If it transpired during the period when sacrifices were being offered to the Long, a fine of 1,165 grams of silver must be paid. At other times, a penalty of 330 grams of silver applies.

If a child is born within the first year of marriage, a penalty of sixteen-and-a-half grams of silver is incurred, of which between a quarter and ten grams should be offered to the Long spirit. A further 525 grams of silver should be paid, of which 150 grams passes to the discussion hall, two-and-a-half grams to the "Balonggao", two-and-a-half grams to the copy clerk, a quarter-gram to the "Zhankang", and the remainder divided into three parts, one each for the chief, the discussion hall and the Meng "purse" (the Chinese translator notes that this sum will probably be allocated to public expenditure).

10. Vilification of women:
i. Rape;
Rapists will be severely punished in accordance with their rank and position.
ii. Adultery
   a) Between those of the Hani and Dai minorities
      i) Adultery between mountain-dwelling minorities and Dai women; penalty seven-and-a-half yuan.
      ii) Adultery between Dai males and Hani women; penalty seventeen-and-a-half yuan
   b) Between commoners and head-men (trans. note; the term headman in this usage is generic and also refers to his wife, as applies in the usage of chief, below.)
      i) Sexual relations between a commoner and the wife of a headman; penalty ten-and-a-half yuan
      ii) Sexual relations between a headman and the wife of a commoner; penalty seventeen-and-a-half yuan
   c) Between head-men and chiefs
      i) Sexual relations between a headman and the wife of a chief; penalty twenty-two yuan
      ii) Sexual relations between a chief and the wife of a headman; penalty thirty-two yuan
d) Between commoners
   Sexual relations between a commoner and the wife of a commoner; penalty sixteen-and-a-half yuan

e) Between head-men
   i) Sexual relations between a headman and the wife of a headman; penalty twenty-eight yuan
   ii) Sexual relations between a chief and the wife of a chief; penalty thirty-six yuan

iii. Taking liberties with married women - embracing another man's wife;
   a) Involving a Hani and a Dai
      i) If a Dai man embraces a Hani woman; penalty ten-and-a-half yuan
      ii) If a Hani man embraces a Dai woman; penalty seven yuan
   b) Involving head-men
      If a headman embraces the wife of another headman; penalty ten-and-a-half yuan
   c) Involving chiefs
      If a chief embraces the wife of another chief; penalty twenty-two yuan

iv. Suspected misconduct
   If a man who is entertained in a house goes upstairs without reason and then departs without explanation, he need not be questioned if the house contained women. What can he have been doing? If he was not eaves-dropping or stealing he must have had an assignation (sometimes the woman will not dare to appear if she knows others are at home). If the man is not related to the woman of the house, then he must be a thief and he should be fined three yuan. If the two were indeed having an affair, then a penalty of ten-and-a-half yuan applies.

v. Regulations concerning the suitability of witnesses in cases of misconduct with women
   In cases of rape or molestation the following persons may testify; wealthy people, true adherents of Buddhism, honest labourers who hold fast to Buddhism, those of candid character who would uphold the innocent, those who have remained blameless for three generations, charitable souls who often give sacrifices to Buddha and alms to beggars, those who often listen to scripture-readings and offer Buddhist prayers and those of upright character.
   Persons unsuited to act as witnesses are; the elderly, minors, women, drunkards, gamblers, womanisers, lunatics, mutes, venal persons, forgetful persons, singers and dancers, members of beggar gangs, liars, persons with impaired senses, exiles, those who delight in the misfortunes of others, those who sell and then repossess women who were once servants, self-opinionated persons, misanthropists, relatives or enemies of the accused.

11) Inheritance and division of property

i. Assets and debts;
   a) If disputes among siblings result from confused transfer of property following the death of both parents then the assets ought to be divided into three portions; one to be used in offering prayers to the parents, the second for the siblings and the third for the High Commissioner of Pacification.
b) If the relatives of a deceased husband seek to partition his finances and property, this will be divided into two parts, one distributed in accordance with the intent of the deceased and the second part allocated by the wife.

c) If the husband desires to return home, his in-laws will allocate property to him. If both husband and wife die, the property will be cared for by the parents. If the parents are deceased then control will revert to the relatives.

ii. Debt repayment and debt-bondage

a) If a husband borrows money without the knowledge of his wife, she cannot be held responsible after his death.

b) If children repay a debt incurred by their father they need only recoup the capital, the interest should be waived.

c) If details concerning interest were not clarified at the time of borrowing, this sum cannot be requested at a much later date.

d) If a debt cannot be repaid, the parents or relatives may sell the debtor to relinquish the debt.

iii. Rent of land or oxen

a) If a landlord repossesses mountain-farmland or ponds which a tenant has created and rented for five years, the tenant must be paid a development fee

b) If a rented ox is stolen, the user must compensate the owner for the ox, in addition to paying the rental fee

c) Compensation is not required when a rented ox has died before being used for ploughing. The user must compensate half the cost of the ox if it dies from illness and according to value if death results from usage. The user is not liable if the ox dies several days after being returned to the owner.

d) When tenants return fields to the owner they should offer four pairs of candles and four strings of betel-nuts

iv. Guarantees relating to the sale of miscellaneous items;

Sellers should specify the warranty period (for instance whether the item can be used for one month, two months) before the buyer makes a purchase. If product quality suffers during the specified period, the seller will be liable for a fine in addition to providing a cash refund.

v. General procedure for restoring lost property

a) Any person picking up gold or silver which is lying on the ground must give half to the High Commissioner of Pacification as a form of punishment. No other person may lay claim to any part of the find

b) Lost property may be picked up if three inquiries do not bring forth the owner. The affair should be announced to villagers and the item placed in storage. If the owner reclaims it, he or she must apportion one-third to the finder, otherwise the repossession will be deemed a theft.

c) If livestock or poultry are found in the mountain terrace-land the owner must pay the finder half a silver bankai yuan coin. If animals are returned by a resident of another Meng, this person should receive two yuan, or two-and-a-half yuan in the case of a water-buffalo. If the animal was found on the boundary of the settlement then half of the value of the animal should be awarded to the finder.

d) If lost animals are slaughtered without giving prior
vi. Those responsible for shepherding animals belonging to the High Commissioner of Pacification or a chief must recompense half the cost of lost animals. If the father has died the debt must be borne by his sons.

vii. Method for dealing with lost animals in the Menglong region

(Translated from a book kept by the Tiao family of the Balong rank in Menglong)

Each October and November (of the Dai calendar) the "Ba" will announce to the common people "If you have found lost oxen, care for them well". If there are no claimants, the "Zhaobo" should notify the "Naijia" (Jiezhang) The "Naijia" will travel through the village calling for "the person who has lost an ox to come and reclaim it". If three such announcements elicit no response, the "Zhabo" ought to inform the Polang following completion of sacrifices to the Long. He should also lead the animal to the chief and report the matter. The chief ought to give 825 grams of silver which is nine-tenths pure for an ox, 150 grams for a water buffalo and 200 grams for a horse. The Polam will receive eight-and-a-quarter grams of silver for an ox, eleven-and-a-half grams for a water buffalo and twenty-five grams for a horse. This sum will be divided into three portions; one part will be given to the discussion hall and the remaining two-thirds will be given to the "Zhaojia" to divide between the chiefs of each "Huoxi" [ho sip]. The "huoxi" who found the lost animals will receive from the chief 150 grams of nine-tenths pure silver, a jug of wine and ten thousand betel-nuts. The recipient(s) should give the Polam sixteen-and-a-half grams of silver and one thousand betel-nuts.

LEGENDS CONCERNING "ZAN HA" AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS
Dao Changrong and Zhu Depu

(1) The Context of the Legend of "Zan Ha"

"Zan ha" means "a person good at singing," that is, a vocalist or a popular poet of the Tai people. According to legend, about 2,500 years ago there was a person by the name of "Mahajiaziyanating" who turned the Buddhist sutras into the form of a libretto. There is also a legend about Ba Alawu coming to Sipsong Panna to do some hunting. On one occasion he killed a golden deer and
divided up the deer's meat for everybody to eat with the result that they all began to dance and burst into song. Those who danced well were called "zan fan," while the good singers were known as "zan ha."

Most of the songs that the Tai youth sing are love songs. When they go to hunt, cut wood, fish or dredge for river moss they feel inspired by the scenery and begin to sing improvised mountain songs. They sing about whatever they happen to see and almost anything can form the content of their songs. The songs that "zan ha" would sing, such as those to greet a new chieftain, the new year, the building of a new home, a marriage, new Buddhist monks, etc., all have an ancient singing tradition.... There are also lengthy songs about Buddhist teachings and historical events. Many of the songs are based upon Buddhist sutras, for example, the lyric for "Xi Ta" [Western Pagoda] is based upon stories in the Sakyamuni Buddhist classics "Jiapan" and "Weixiandala." It is said that all of the important stories of the Buddhist sutras have been made into songs. In sum, there is a vast range of subjects in [Tai] songs, and even historical stories, war epics, geographic conditions and so on have become the subject for songs.

Most of the "zan ha"'s songs are solos, but "antiphonal" singing is very popular. Antiphonal singing is a form of competition, in which not only is one's singing ability tested but also one's knowledge of history, Buddhism and all forms of general knowledge. During the singing the "zan ha" raises a question which another singer must answer. If that singer cannot answer or gives an unsatisfactory answer,...then he/she loses the contest. The winning "zan ha" then hails his/her victory, their face lighting up with pleasure as they drink to their heart's content...while the loser presents a picture of shame....

A good "zan ha" can win the esteem of not only the people of the local meng, but also of people from far and wide. People often say: "A 'zan ha' who can sing well can make mothers say they feel like young girls again," and; "On hearing a good 'zan ha' sing grey-haired grandmothers feel like whistling." This simply means that a "zan ha" enables people to recapture the vigour of their youth....

All the "zan ha" have usually been literate in the Tai language and have been monks, although there have been some who have not been monks and have not been literate and such "zan ha" sometimes have even excelled [the standards] of those who had been Buddhist monks. Moreover, there have also been women "zan ha." In the past Jinghong had four famous women "zan ha." Their names were: Yu Zhuangxiang, Yu Nannuandian, Mie Xibang and Yu Yingyangmandong. At present only two of them are alive and both are rather old.

It is commonly said that the "zan ha" were respected by the average person, but from the point of view of the "zhao" (officials and leaders) "zan ha" were regarded as "ka pai" (slaves or commoners). "Zan ha" who sang well and became famous often had to answer to the will of the "zhao." If the zhao pian ling [tsao phae:n din in Lue], zhao meng [lord of the meng] or chieftains called for the "zan ha" to sing for them the "zan ha" must obey, although they were not paid for their singing. Those who gained the favour of the "zhao" were at most given nominal official titles such as "ba le," "zha le" or "xian le" [lower ranking village leaders]. They certainly did not receive an official's salary, and could only avoid some of the feudal obligations.
[of the common people]. Women "zan ha," however, did not even enjoy
this kind of nominal title. It was popular custom to use the title
"zan ha meng" for the most outstanding "zan ha." This meant "the
singer of our locality" and carried with it considerable prestige.

(2) The Tai Legend of the "Bi"

"Bi" is a bamboo musical instrument used by the Tai people
that is somewhat like a Chinese flute. It is the instrument that
a "zan ha" must use, and the only one, when singing.... The most
famous of these instruments come from Menglong. There are different
types of "bi": the "bi long" (large Bi), the "bi nan" (small Bi) and
the "gu bi," and so on, each with their own particular
characteristics.

According to legend, at one time it rained for one hundred
thousand years and the land all around was flooded. All the people
and all the wildlife died, and the plants and trees were drowned.
There was only one wise and able old man, called Basangmudi, left
alive. He floated on top of the floodwaters in a small boat and
whenever he would come across the dead creatures he would put them
into his boat. Later, after the floods subsided, Basangmudi passed a
bamboo stick over the dead creatures with the result that they all
came back to life.

Basangmudi then waved his hand and houses appeared. The
creatures that had been returned to life each made themselves into
individual houses as a mark of gratitude to Basangmudi. Thus the
houses of the Tai people today are sometimes referred to as being like
a cat's jaw, elephant's stomach and so on. When the houses had been
built and it was time to celebrate, there was a nine-tailed bamboo rat
that made its tail into a "bi" to give to Basangmudi, and it is said
that this was the origin of the "bi."

(3) The Legend of the "Ding"

The "ding" is a Tai musical instrument. Its external
appearance is like a [Chinese] huqin [two-stringed bowed instrument],
with two or sometimes three strings. At dusk in Tai villages one can
often see young men playing the "ding," gently bowing the strings,
walking toward where the young girls are spinning yarn....If a young
man fails to meet his lover in this place, then the sounds of his
strings reverberate around the girl's house as if to enquire after the
girl of his heart and pass on his longing.

The legend of the "ding" is as follows: A long time ago there
was a monk who went deep inside a remote mountain forest called
Bamaximaban to practise Buddhism, hoping to rise to the same level as
Sakyamuni Buddha and preparing to practise for three thousand years.
When he had reached the stage in his practise where he did not eat all
day, he could not tolerate it any more and he left Bamaximaban.

It was then that the god Baying noticed this weak-willed monk.
Baying shook his body and turned into a small borer and flew down to a
rock beside a road that the monk was about to pass. Soon, the monk
came by and saw the borer using its antenna to drill into a huge rock.
Perplexed, the monk said to the borer: "Your antennae are so small;
how is it that you can drill into such a large rock?" The borer
answered: "I will not stop till I drill through this rock. I could never be like you who wanted to become a Buddha but gave up when your task was only partly completed." When the monk heard this he felt ashamed and turned back down the road on which he was travelling. However, when he thought back to his original reason for giving up his quest to become a Buddha, the fact that it would take another six thousand years, he again lost heart.

On his journey back along the road the monk came upon the sea coast where he saw a yellow weasel running about. The weasel had run to the coast using its tail to soak up water and would then run back inland and shake all the water from its tail. The monk asked the weasel: "Why do you run back and forth all day like this using your tail to soak up water?" The monk did not know that this weasel was again Baying in another form, and he simply listened to him answer: "I am determined to use my tail to soak up the ocean until it is dry."....

Because the monk had reversed course twice already, he still had nine thousand years to practise before becoming a Buddha. The god Baying saw that this monk, who had twice changed his mind, had a feeble spirit. In order to lift the monk's spirits Baying gave him a three stringed "ding." [Baying] first played the thinnest string and, noticing that the sound was too sharp, the monk said: "If the sound is too sharp the string will easily break." On hearing this, Baying played the thickest string. The monk said: "The sound is too flat, not pleasant at all." So Baying played the middle string and the sound was beautifully mellow and pleasant to the ear. The monk's spirits were immediately buoyed up and he resolved to return to try to become a Buddha. This was how the Tai people came to have a "ding."

(4) The Legend of the Drum

In Tai language a drum is called a "guang"[kong]. The legend of the drum is as follows: Basuliya once asked two monks to go to seek out Buddhist sutras. One day the two monks came upon a river and on the river bank there was a pineapple plant bearing a lot of pineapples. Birds would come to eat the fruit, making a cracking sound as they ate, and the seeds let out a patter as they fell into the water. The fish would swim to the surface of the water to eat the seeds emitting a popping sound as they did so. The two monks thought these sounds were most pleasant and tried to make a drum to imitate the same sounds.

Drums are made by the Tai people themselves, with the shell of the drums being made of the finest wood and the skin being made of ox hide....

When people dance at festival celebrations "elephant feet" drums and double-sided drums would be played, and this dancing has become known as "the dance of the elephant feet drum."

The playing of drums is often related to activities in Buddhist temples. Every month on the 14th and 15th days and at the end of the month, as well as on the 7th and 8th days, the "guang long" (large drum) and the "guang sha" (double-sided drum) would be played. The "guang zhong" and "guang zai" drums would be played to greet the Buddha. The "guang bin" drum, a large temple drum, is used in the morning and evening when praying or studying. It has a very deep tone.
that can be heard from far away. The "guang hei la" (long drum) is usually used by children playing at dusk.

(5) Other Musical Instruments

Apart from "bi" and drums there are many other kinds of instruments. For example, there is what the Tai people call "guang," known to local Chinese as "mang." This looks like a gong, is made of bronze, and has an egg-shaped piece in the middle.... It is mostly used to accompany elephant feet drums and was sometimes used by village "bo ban" [a type of village godfather] to transmit instructions of the feudal chieftains. The "yang" is like the "guang" but somewhat larger. Apart from these instruments there are also cymbals and gongs.

All the instruments described above can be found in Buddhist temples. There are some instruments found only in these temples such as the "la gang," "jia dan," etc., which are used in Buddhist ceremonies.

The Tai people also have a kind of qin [stringed instrument] referred to as a "jialasha." When played it gives out sounds on different scales and operates along principles very like the piano. It is only used when the zhao pian ling goes travelling.

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Translated by Terry Narramore

THE LEGEND OF BA ALAiwU (BALAIWU)

As told by Zha Jianfeng
Transcribed by Dao Guodong and Wu Yutao

(1) The Birth of Ba Alawu

Ba Alawu was born and grew up in Mengzhanbanaguan [Campanagara?]. His grandfather was called Gusongpala. His grandmother had no name but people called her "Yazhasun," meaning, the old woman who kept watch over the garden. Ba Alawu's grandfather died rather early, so the grandmother took [her daughter], Wubadibangma, in hand and they went to be the keepers of the gardens of the lord of Mengzhanbanaguan.

In a mountain forest far away from these gardens, there was an ancient cave known as "Tangpakang." Inside the cave there was an ox-king with 11,000 oxen as his followers. One day the ox-king came out of his cave and said to his oxen subjects: "Friends, since we were born we have all lived in this remote mountain forest and have never seen anything of the outside world. Today I will lead you out into the world to see for yourselves." The oxen all wished to follow the ox-king out into the world. They went to all sorts of places, and on their way back they stayed for a time beside the gardens of the lord of Mengzhanbanaguan. The oxen saw that inside the garden there were ripe coconuts, beautiful flowers and sweet sugarcane. They entered the gardens to amuse themselves, and ate sweetgrass, sugarcane and all sorts of fruit. On eating a coconut the ox-king ate only half before letting the rest drop to the ground, feeling that he could not eat any
more. He then left with the oxen, arriving back at Tangpakang the next day.

On the morning of the next day Wubadibangma, who was looking after the gardens, noticed the half-eaten coconut and then picked it up and ate it. She felt very pleasant after eating it and soon after became pregnant. This was on the tenth day of the fourth month in the year of the rat. On the third day of the second month in the following year she gave birth.

When the child had grown to ten years of age, one day he asked his grandmother and mother: "This garden of ours has no villages and I have never seen other people in it, and who is my father after all?"

His grandmother told him: "Grandson, ten years ago your mother ate a coconut that had been partly eaten by an ox and then gave birth to you. Your father is the ox that ate that coconut." On hearing this the child wanted to look for his ox-father. His mother and grandmother tried to dissuade him, saying: "Your father is far away in a remote mountain forest. The mountain is high and the road dangerous. Child, you cannot go there." The child was determined to go and, not being able to stand in his way, his mother and grandmother simply prepared some food and simple accoutrements for his journey. Just before he set off his mother gave him the hoofprint of an ox and said: "This hoofprint is your father's," and then, pointing, said, "Your father lives in the forest south of that mountain."

The child walked for fifteen days before he came to the Tangpakang cave where lived the ox-king. The ox-king and his oxen were outside grazing. The child entered the cave where he saw a lot of manure and, in the place for sleeping, a large oxen's hoofprint. The child then took the hoofprint given to him by his mother and compared it to the one in the cave. They happened to be an exact match.... The child then swept out all the manure and made the cave spotlessly clean. Later he thought, "my ox-father does not know me; he might harm me when he returns." He then left the cave and found a high mountain peak where he could stay. On this mountain peak there was a small Buddhist temple where lived a god that had been changed into a monk. The child asked the monk if he could stay in the temple and, after he had understood the child's past and origins, the monk allowed him to stay.

When the sun was setting behind the mountains, the ox-king and his oxen returned to their cave to find it had been cleaned. They felt very strange and a little frightened. Who had done this? The next morning as the sun came up the oxen all wanted to go out to get something to eat. The ox-king said to the oxen: "Friends, today I do not feel so well; my legs and girth are painful. You go out on your own, but be alert. Everyone must stay together and take care along the way. It seems that, judging from what we discovered last night, someone else has been here." So that day the ox-king stayed inside the cave.

The next day, after the child had taken some bathing water and boiled it for the monk, he bid farewell to the monk and headed for the cave. When he saw the ox-king alone in the cave and recognized him as his father, the child ran over to the ox-king and and called out "father." The ox-king said: "Child, I am not your father, do not misunderstand." The child replied: "That's not possible. My mother has told me about how, ten years ago, a herd of oxen came to eat the
grass, sugarcane and coconuts in the garden that she and my grandmother were tending. You are my father, the one who ate the coconut that had been half eaten by my mother, and later she gave birth to me." The ox-king said: "What proof do you base this upon?"

The child then took out the hoofprint that his mother had given him and compared it with the ox-king's hoof. It happened that they were a perfect match. The ox-king then became very happy, and the child liked him very much. The child then massaged the ox-king's legs and rubbed his back and the pain went away. The child swept the cave clean as he had done the day before. As the sun was about to set behind the mountains the ox-king said to the child: "Tonight you should sleep in the same place as you did last night because your oxen uncles do not know you and I am afraid they might harm you. When they return I will explain everything to them and you can come again tomorrow." The child then retreated according to his father's instructions.

As the sun set a rosy glow was reflected in the sky; black ducks and their young were noisily returning to their nests. The oxen had brought back coconuts, bananas and some fresh grass for the ox-king. When they saw that the cave had been swept clean they felt strange and asked the ox-king what had happened. The ox-king said: "Friends, my child came to see me." The oxen really felt strange as they carefully listened to what the ox-king said. He told them about how he was the child's father. When they heard this story the oxen all became very happy, and they wanted to meet this lovely child as soon as possible. The ox-king said: "It is already too late today. He will come to look for me again tomorrow so you can see him then."

The next day, after the child had finished preparing the bathing water for the monk, he again bid farewell to the monk and headed for the ox-king's cave. The oxen had already gathered at the entrance to the cave to welcome him. From this moment the child then lived with the oxen and they brought him all kinds of fresh fruit and delicious things to eat.

The child stayed with the oxen for six years, and then thought that he should go back to visit his mother and he told this to the ox-king. The ox-king agreed to let him go. Before the child left the ox-king gave him the name "Alawu," being a combination of the word for temple, "ala," and the ox-king's own name, "Wu." On the day that he left Alawu went to say goodbye to the monk and the ox-king and his oxen escorted the child to the plains, that is, about one and a half days' journey from [his mother's home, the gardens of Mengzhanbanaguan], before they turned back.

When Alawu arrived home he told his mother and grandmother about the way he had looked for his father and how he had spent the last six years.... A few days after the child had arrived home, the lord of Mengzhanbanaguan died so that a new lord had to be selected... At the time for selecting a lord the chieftains used a resplendent horse drawn cart, on top of which were placed felt blankets and padded mattresses, as well as a silver plate with wax candles. Some of the chieftains rode on the horse's back to a place outside the city. There they lit candles and prayed to the gods, saying: "Oh gods! select for us a lord who possesses virtue and good fortune!" When the prayers were over the horse was released. The horse drawn cart lead off and the chieftains followed along behind. When the horse had
reached the garden of Mengzhanbanaguan he stood still outside Alawu's house. When the chieftains had caught up with the horse they used whips to attempt to make it move on, but the horse would not budge. The chieftains then began to whistle and dance as they welcomed Alawu as the new lord. Alawu's mother and grandmother were both very frightened. The chieftains said: "You have been chosen by the gods to be our lord, you possess virtue and good fortune; we all support you as our lord." But Alawu and his mother and grandmother said: "We are poor people and are not blessed with good fortune; nor are we good at managing things. You should choose someone else." The chieftains pleaded with them over and over until Alawu and his mother and grandmother finally agreed. The chieftains took Alawu back to the city to be their lord. When Alawu had become the lord the chieftains found a wife for him. Her name was "Badoumanataidiumi" [Padumalada Devi ?].

With Ba Alawu as the lord of Mengzhanbanaguan everything was very peaceful, rice harvests were bountiful and conditions were even better than they had been under the former lord. Later, Ba Alawu's wife became pregnant.

(2) Ba Alawu Pursues the Golden Deer

When the gods looked down upon Mengsuo, Mengjian and Mengle they saw that these three plains were unpopulated. These areas were covered with grass and the gods very much wanted to have people settle on such fertile land, so the gods thought Ba Alawu should be allowed to establish meng in these three plains.

Ba Alawu was very fond of hunting. One day he told his wife he wanted to go off hunting and he was able to get his wife to agree to join him. The next morning Ba Alawu beat the drums to call the chieftains and the people together for a meeting. Ba Alawu said: "I want to go hunting, what about you?" They replied that they too wanted to go hunting with Ba Alawu. So Ba Alawu prepared bows and arrows and all kinds of hunting weapons. On a fine day he led his wife, the great chieftains Mensan and Mengaile, the chieftain hunter Naipan, the chieftain Nuowai and other chieftains, and forty thousand people, and they all went into the mountains to go hunting.

When they reached the mountains they hunted without result for one day. At night they stayed in the forest. The next day Ba Alawu gathered together his fellow hunters and said: "We did not even catch a single animal yesterday; let us return home today."

Wishing to lure Ba Alawu to the unpopulated areas of Mengsuo, Mengjian and Mengle, the gods sent down a god that had been changed into a beautiful golden deer to attract Ba Alawu into the area. At the time when Ba Alawu had already packed up and was about to return home, he saw this beautiful golden deer. He quickly shot an arrow toward it and the arrow caught the deer's thigh, but the deer was still able to escape. Ba Alawu then gathered his fellow hunters and they set off in pursuit of the deer. They chased the deer for a great distance until the it lay down to rest. But if Ba Alawu and his chieftains approached, the deer would get up and run away again. They chased the deer to Jilawai (a vine-covered mountain) where some of the hunters found they were unable to proceed. Some of these people stayed there to rest while the others continued the chase with Ba Alawu. [Further
on into the mountain] some of the people said: "There is no pathway, it is difficult to pass through the forest and our feet are worn out through walking; we can't follow our lord any further." Thus some of these people stayed where they were. The stronger ones continued on with Ba Alawu, travelling from Nahuiwai (where two rivers meet) to Huoha (name of a river), then to Yanhuo and Pateng (places with great rock cliffs) where one night they finally stopped after they had chased the deer for four days straight. The next day after they had eaten they thought of returning home. But then they saw a golden deer that was even more beautiful than the one they had been hunting. It was walking slowly in front of where they had stopped for the night. Ba Alawu led another group of his people to chase this particular deer. They chased it to a place with a river on the south-western side of Longwu where Ba Alawu directed the people to enclose the river bank. But the golden deer simply crossed the river and lay down on the opposite side of the river as though it were dead. Ba Alawu and his people then made a bamboo raft on which they could cross the river and reach the place where the golden deer was sleeping. As soon as they had crossed the river the golden deer again escaped. Ba Alawu became very angry and ordering his people said: "We must capture that deer today." But by nightfall everyone was resting and the golden deer had also stopped running. The next day after they had finished eating Ba Alawu and his people were thinking of returning home when the deer appeared once again. The chase began again as they passed over several mountains and crossed many rivers, and at each place that they rested some of the people would who could not go on would stay behind and settle down. They passed through places such as Wuwulonge, Habanglongwai, etc. Still they could not catch the golden deer. Ba Alawu tried to encourage everyone by saying: "We surely can catch that deer." He ordered the chieftains Menle and Menjiao to lead a group of people in the chase; Naipan and a group of armed hunters were ordered to move on in front, calling out and stirring up a noise as they went. Then Ba Alawu again caught sight of the deer and he shot out an arrow. The deer fell to the ground, but as they approached the deer it again ran away. Ba Alawu again angrily said: "I must catch that deer." But the people that had followed him were tired and worn out, and they settled down on the spot. Ba Alawu surveyed the people that had followed him in the chase, and though there were less than forty thousand there were still many left. Later this place came to be known as Ruannongmenbu. [Ba Alawu and the remaining people] set off again, and by the time they arrived at Longhao they had already come to the border area between Laos and Mengle. They had been travelling for a month. They then went on further to the banks of the Suowahahuangkang River [Suvannakhom-kham?] (the lower reaches of the Mekong), where the deer swam across the river to the opposite bank. Ba Alawu ordered his people to stay temporarily at the river's edge so they could rest. They cut some bamboo to make a raft in preparation to cross the river. Yanbenghuang led some of the people out onto the plains where they settled, while Menjiao led another group of people to Huihua (the upper reaches of the river) where they crossed the river and resumed the chase. They came to a low, concave part of the forest in which there was a pool of water. They saw the deer splashing about in the pool. Later this place became known as "Nongkang" [Nomkham?] As they went further in their chase they came
to a larger forest where the soil was damp. Menjiao settled down at
the edge of this forest, and this place is now known as Mandong in
Jinghong.

Ba Alawu, Menle and Naipan led another group of people to
surround a large forest in the centre of a plain (today known as
Mannan). Ba Alawu then ordered Menle to block the way out of
the forest and told Naipan to take a bow and arrow and go in after the
deer. Naipan went in as far as a place known today as Manda, but the
god that had changed into a deer had disappeared and the only thing
remaining was a hoofprint. However, he chased another, normal deer to
a place today known as Manzang (Manzhanlao ?) and was able to kill the
deer.

Ba Alawu divided up the deer among the chieftains: Menjiao was
given the rear right leg; Kangwai was given the rear left leg; Menle
was given the front legs; Naipan received the internal meat; and Ba
Alawu took the exterior meat.

(3) Ba Alawu Establishes Villages in Mengle

After Ba Alawu had killed the deer, he had already lost the
way home so he constructed villages [where he had killed the deer].
The names given to villages at that time were: Mande, Manpan, Manmo,
Manhun, Mandonglao, Mandong, Manhai, Manjiuzheng, Mannong, Manjingdai,
Mannongmei, Mannuandian, Mannan, Manzalao, and Manlong (Manlian).
(Some people say that Mannuandian and Manjingdai were named by forest
monks).

Ba Alawu assigned his chieftains to manage these regions as
follows:
Menjiao was assigned to manage the area near the river—Longkuang, and
his title was Ba Longkuang.

Kangwai was assigned to manage the area where the deer had
been killed—Longdai (which later became known as Longsa), and he took
the title Ba Mannuandian. Another chieftain was assigned to Manda and
was called Ba Longmanda. He acted as deputy to Ba Mannuandian.

Menle was Ba Alawu's most trusted chieftain, and he was given
the title Longjingbang. Another chieftain was given the title Ba
Longmeng and acted as Longjingbang's deputy. Naipan was made the
official responsible for hunting, known as Nagang. He managed the
forest area—Longdong. There was also a Ba assigned to Longhui called
Ba Longhui. Ba Alawu took the title Ba Longban.

(4) Ba Alawu and Piya

Ba Alawu and his people established villages in Jinghong, but
the inner plains were covered with forests, thorny vines, and thick
weeds and bamboo. There were no ricefields, maize or other grains;
people found what they could in the way of grasses, plants and wild
fruits, but every day there were people starvning to death.

When the gods became aware of this they wanted to make these
plains into a prosperous area bustling with people. The gods ordered
all the birds of flight—vultures, peacocks, magpies... to fly to a
far away place and to look for grains, sesame and all kinds of fruit.
They were to eat the seeds and carry them back in their stomachs so
that the seeds could be spread around Mengle and it would then become
an area rich in food. From this moment on people came out of the mountains that were rich in food and onto the plains to gather food....

Ba Alawu's wife, Badumalatadiumi [Padumalada Devi] gave birth, and when the child was one month old the people came to celebrate and a sorceress placed a string around the child's wrist to bring him good fortune. Ba Alawu used a combination of his and his child's names in calling one of the meng Mengalamilong.

When Alawa Zhaogongman [probably Caokhrongban] [Ba Alawu's son] was seven years old, Ba Alawu wanted to go on a hunting trip, so he beat the drums and called the chieftains and the people together for a meeting, had all sorts of hunting baskets and weapons prepared, and set off into the mountains with some hunting dogs. At first they caught rabbits and squirrels and Ba Alawu was very pleased because he was not too concerned about what kind of animals they hunted. If they caught a yellow muntjak [a species of deer] then all the better. After a few days, Ba Alawu was leading his chieftains and his people in to the forests in pursuit of prey as usual until they entered an area not far from where Piya lived. Before they arrived Piya changed into a beautiful golden deer and appeared in front of Ba Alawu. Ba Alawu was immediately very happy and he set off on horseback in pursuit of the deer. The deer ran very fast and Ba Alawu gave chase with great speed so that soon Ba Alawu's people and chieftains were left far behind. Ba Alawu soon came to the place where Piya lived, but the deer had disappeared. Ba Alawu thought of returning but he had lost his way and his followers were nowhere to be seen. He felt miserable all alone and was also very frightened; soon he began to cry. Then Piya roundly cursed Ba Alawu, saying, "You villain. Why do you come here to disturb me? You are something I can eat." With that Piya opened his mouth as if to eat Ba Alawu. Ba Alawu cried even more pitifully; shaking all over he pleaded: "Let me go. Eating me is of no use. Let me return home and I can find more people for you to eat." Piya agreed. Finally, Piya and Ba Alawu made an agreement: Ba Alawu was to send one person every seven days for Piya to eat before Piya would set Ba Alawu free. Ba Alawu returned home feeling depressed and full of remorse.

When he arrived home Ba Alawu beat the drums to call the people together for a meeting. After everyone had arrived Ba Alawu explained the sorry situation he found himself in, and asked his people to think of a way to send people to be eaten by Piya. Everybody discussed the problem until they finally said: "How can we possibly send good people to be eaten by Piya? Let us send criminals to be eaten."

Ba Alawu had a straw shed built at Baguan (Gongmanguan) where, according to the agreement, every seven days a criminal would be sent to be eaten by Piya. Finally, when all the criminals had been eaten, Ba Alawu sent his own slaves to be eaten by Piya, and they, too, were all eaten by Piya. Ba Alawu had run out of options so he called the people together again and asked each village to send one person to be eaten by Piya. Weeping, the people said: "Old people have sons and daughters, while young people have mothers and fathers; who will be willing to send people to be eaten by Piya?" The chieftains were also very upset, and one of the chieftains with great authority said to Ba Alawu: "This all came about because of your greed in hunting that
deer. Piya has already eaten many people, we simply cannot send any more people for him to eat. You are our lord, yet you do not manage things according to the laws nor abide by the system of "fair lordship." This is your own affair, why not give your own child to Piya to eat." Ba Alawu had no alternative, so decided to send his son to be eaten by Piya....The next day, with Ba Alawu and all his people in tears, Ba Alawu's son, Alawazhaogongman, was taken to "Shanaguanya" (the straw shed)....

Every seven days Piya would go to worship the gods. Once when he went up to Heaven to worship...Pa Zhao [legendary figure; see below] was leading a Buddhist elder, a monk and Mengtai's Ba Ashao to Mengalamilong. When they had reached Jingliang daylight was just breaking. Later this village became known as Jinglian. When they had reached Manjingdai they found some people still sleeping....It was only later that this village was known as Manjingdai. When they had reached Mannuanlan, the local people prepared some food as offerings to Pa Zhao. It was only later that this village became known as Mannuanlan. When they came to Baguan they saw child crying. Pa Zhao went over to the child and asked him why he was crying. The child told Pa Zhao about his father's encounter with Piya and how Piya had been eating people, and related how he was to be eaten by Piya that very day. He asked Pa Zhao to save him, so Pa Zhao let him go and went to look for Piya.

This happened to be August, the time for sowing the crops. Alawa Zhaogongman walked to a place where he saw a person called Zaibana sowing seeds. When Alawa Zhaogongman asked Zaibana what he was doing so up early, Zaibana replied [in the local language] "sowing". That is how a village known as Manjià [the local word for 'swing'] came to be built in this place. Alawa Zhaogongman wanted Zaibana to go together with him to tell the story of his release to [Ba Alawu]. When Ba Alawu heard of what had happened he was very happy and called all his people together. He told them: "Pa Zhao has saved my child. Quickly, get elephants and horses ready so we can greet him." Thus over one hundred thousand people from all the villages prepared some elephants and horses to greet Pa Zhao. Alawa Zhaogongman told the people of how he was saved by Pa Zhao, and the people began to dance and sing in celebration of Alawazhaogongman's rescue. Ba Alawu told everyone that today was the day that Pa Zhao and Piya would fight each other, and that they should guard against some unforeseen event.

When Piya returned from heaven he saw Pa Zhao sitting on his bed....With a great roar he rushed over to Pa Zhao saying: "Who might you be, sitting on my bed like that? You are outrageous!" Pa Zhao said: "I am the Saviour; I am leading humanity to paradise [Sukhavati ?]. My name is Pa Zhao Gotama." Piya listened but still wanted to get rid of Pa Zhao. Pa Zhao sat motionless. Piya then brought out his first magic weapon. He motioned toward the heavens and immediately great buckets of rain fell from the sky. Pa Zhao gently raised his begging bowl toward the sky and suddenly the rain stopped. Piya brought out his second magic weapon as he flung a great boulder toward Pa Zhao. But as the boulder approached Pa Zhao it turned into a lotus flower. Piya was livid, and he then changed into a giant bull hoping to gore Pa Zhao to death. But he was afraid to even go near Pa Zhao. Finally, Piya brought out his only remaining weapon; he hurled a blanket of fire at Pa Zhao. But this also turned into a lotus
Piya became so furious he could not contain himself and he ran toward Pa Zhao hoping to seize him. Pa Zhao said: "You will not move." In an instant Piya was standing still like a piece of wood, unable to move. Pa Zhao chanted a few incantations which caused Piya to recall that Pa Zhao was good and, looking as though he had become conscious, Piya recited a few words: "there is no need to fear, Shabanadenghugugei, Tangmopashatang-zhaogaizhai, Sanghuopasanghapalohengdazhao-geti." (Ceremonial proclamation of loyalty to Buddha, to the sutras, to all Khuba, to Buddhist elders and to Buddhist monks).[The chant appears to have been garbled when rendered into Chinese characters. If it is what it purports to be, it should read Buddham saranam gacchami, Dhammam saranam gacchami, Sangham saranam gacchami] When he had finished reciting Piya could move his body again. Piya immediately became prostrate before Pa Zhao and asked Pa Zhao to forgive his sins. Piya expressed his desire to follow Buddhist ways and respectfully worship Buddhism. Pa Zhao instructed him on the five precepts of Buddhism: Mona [Pana], Adingna [Adinna], Gangmi [Kame], Musha [Musa], and Shuna [Sura] (never kill living creatures; do not steal; do not take liberties with women; do not lie; and do not drink wine)....Piya obeyed everything to the letter and memorized the three loyalties, the five precepts and some incantations. He lifted up Pa Zhao's begging bowl and other things and returned to the plains with Pa Zhao. When they came upon a bustling, busy place Piya lead the way with Pa Zhao following behind. The people saw Piya and ran away in fright. Pa Zhao said: "He cannot eat people; you can come out." Some game people came closer, but were afraid to get too close to Piya....Later this place became known as Jiasa.

When Ba Alawu discovered that Pa Zhao had defeated Piya and had brought Piya back with him, he beat the drums to call the people and his chieftains together to welcome Pa Zhao's return. The people from all the meng came; so many that they looked like ants....Ba Alawu kowtowed to Pa Zhao and presented him with many offerings. Pa Zhao instructed Ba Alawu and Piya to make a pact: Piya was never again to eat people and Ba Alawu was to build a temple for Piya and send offerings once every year to him....From this time on Piya was known as Anawa Jiazhida Pimeng (the spirit master of all the meng). To this day offerings are made to him every year.

In Tuozhuangdong Pa Zhao [where he now lived] told his disciples: "This is a very nice place. In future it can serve as a place for the people to worship the dragon spirit. When I die take the bone on the crown of my head and you can begin to build a pagoda." Later this [is exactly what his disciples did]. Later generations called this pagoda Zhuangmeng.

After Alawa Zhaogongman had been saved by Pa Zhao he changed his name to Bendaha Alawa Zhaogongman. His father died when he was twelve years old; he then took his father's place as lord, responsible for Mengalamilong. At the same time he also got married. Twelve years later, at the age of twenty four, he already had four sons. On thinking back to how Pa Zhao had saved his life, he felt that to repay his debt he should go to become a monk while concurrently acting as lord. His name was then changed to Songling Pabingzhao. After another three years he passed on his position to his son.

From: Daizu Shehui Lishi Diacha: Xishuang Banna [Investigations of Tai
Ba Alawu - some preliminary comparisons

Gehan Wijeyewardene

The major point that needs to be made in a comparison of the versions of the Ba Alawu (Phaya Alawo) stories (this one, and that in the Xishuangbanna Chronicle) and the Kham MÝang chronicles is that the LÝ versions seem to incorporate two myths which are separate in the latter. The two relevant chronicles in the first volume of Annales du Siam (Suwan Kham Daeng and Mahathera Fa Bot) collect together a number of stories, of concern here are the legend of the golden deer and the story of Pu Sae-Ja Sae. The golden deer occupies a significant section of the former, and the story of the demons is tagged on to the latter. The latter story has to do with two man-eating demons, who are forced into a pact with the Buddha-to-be to refrain from this practice in exchange for an annual buffalo sacrifice. Amphay DorŽ draws a possible historical connection with similar legends and rituals in Luang Phrabang - Pu „e-„a „e. In Ba Alawu the appearance of the golden deer alternates with a mysterious man-eating creature Piya. In the Chronicle the man-eating creature (Thikha) itself becomes a golden deer and is killed by the hero Bun Pan who rescues the last of Ba Alawu's daughters. Thikha/golden deer alternates with a man-eating giant dog (maa khwaai luang).

Two, of many other possible, points may be made. First the Suwan Kham Daeng Chronicle begins with the strange statement that 'In the beginning there were four bands of pigs each with a thousand followers' from one of which descended Suwan Kham Daeng. In Ba Alawu the father of the king-to-be is the leader of a band of eleven thousand oxen. The Xishuangbanna Chronicle gives no indication of the antecedents of Alawo, though the suggestion is that the dog, first eats the men, then is reborn in human form to initiate a new line. Ba Alawu is conceived by his mother when she eats the half-eaten coconut discarded by the ox-king.

Finally, Ba Alawu does seem to act as a kind of map for the territory, a feature hinted at in Suwan Kham Daeng, but with the names dropped out. On the other hand, Suwan Kham Daeng is concerned with the installation of the Inthakhin (Indakhila) the city pillar which is the symbol of centralized rule. Neither Ba Alawu or the Xishuanbanna Chronicle have any equivalent theme. The equivalent, in at least some aspects of the Inthakhin in Sipsongpanna was probably the cai mÝang, but not much is know about this.

There is clearly much work to be done in the comparison of chronicles and similar narratives.

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News

The ANU Library, in association with the Research School of Pacific Studies, has acquired a collection of maps and atlases from China. A complete list is available from the editor.
from Drew University, Madison, New Jersey, USA

Profesor Leedom Lefferts writes:
'My near-term work is concerned with T'ai textiles, in a cooperative
effort with Dr. Mattiebelle Gittinger. I expect to be in Isan, with
"forays" into Laos and northern Vietnam beginning this coming Summer
and continuing possibly through August 1991. I expect that my/our work
will result in a more comprehensive treatment of T'ai material culture
than has been undertaken before this.

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Disasters

November saw two major natural disasters hit the mainland Southeast
Asia/Yunnan region. The tragedy of the devastating floods in southern
Thailand appears to have been compounded by illegal and unrestrained
logging which, nationwide, has assumed crisis proportions. In recent
years there has been a tendency to, unfairly, place the major
responsibility on swiddening mountain peoples. It is to be hoped the
governments of Southeast Asia will move to contain practices which not
only endanger the global environment but has been shown to bring death
and destruction to their own citizens. Governments may with impunity
ignore the former, but the latter will bring retribution, even within
their limited lifespans.

Nothing could have prevented the earthquake that ravaged
Lanchang and Menglian counties of southwestern Yunnan. This is
reputedly one of the most economically impoverished regions of the
PRC. The South China Morning Post reported the quake measured 7.6 on
the Richter scale and first reports put deaths at over 1,000. Beijing
Radio reported that the town of Zhanmapo reached by rescuers two days
after the quake, 'had been wiped out'.

Cholthira Satyawadhna, who describes her research elsewhere in
this issue, writes, 'Lanchang District gets its name from one of the
main rivers in western Yunnan ... it becomes the Mekhong ... when it
flows south of China at Xishuangbanna ... Present day Lanchang is a
huge district with 23 counties (xiang) and sub-districts (jeng)... the
largest ethnic groups ... are the Lahu (Musor), the Dai (Tai), and the
Wa (Lawa) ... It seems that though most peasants ... accept socialist
ideology, spiritually they are still animist and practise their
traditional ritual in their everyday lives. All three groups share a
belief in ancestral spirits. The Lahu, who claim to have originated
irrigation rice cultivation, worship the "Water Spirit" as their
Supreme Lord. The Wa, who are accepted as the experts of swidden
cultivation, worship their "Forest Spirit". The Dai, who practise wet
rice cultivation, worship their "Land Spirit"'.(Ed.)

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Mapping in Yunnan

The Editor regrets that the final paragraph of the article by Larry
Sternstein & Irene Bain was inadvertently omitted, and apologizes to
the authors and readers. The missing section appears below.

Each of the scholars from the Institute of Geography in the
Chinese Academy of Science who contributed to the 'Comprehensive Agricultural Map Series' merits commendation: indeed, even to contemplate such an undertaking in the formidable terrain of north Yunnan is praiseworthy. Can we hope to produce a similar series of maps at once descriptive and of fundamental importance to research and development in south Yunnan? Certainly, south Yunnan offers more of a logistical challenge than north Yunnan, but now we have an experienced group of scholars who might be induced to apply and elaborate their techniques in an environment not wholly dissimilar.

The Arawi Chronicle is a Lã project known to Thai scholars. The names are probably equivalent. Cholthira Satyawadha suggests that the final vowels are Tai attempts to reproduce Pali inflections - of which there are other examples.

Pali glosses used in this NEWSLETTER omit diacriticals.

A silver coin worth half a yuan. This was referred to locally as bankai. yuan.

Dao Guodong is now (1988) Deputy Governor of Yunnan Province and is a member of one of the families which were part of the court of Wiang Pha Khrang, the capital of the kingdom of Sipsongpanna (ed.).