The International Conference on Thai Studies, Kunming 1990

There was some question, in the post Tien An Men period, as to whether the conference would proceed. In January over forty members of Thammasart University faculty issued an open letter to the organizers, which in part read,

A meeting in China at present would mean a tacit acceptance of the measures taken by the state, unless there will be an open critical review.

Many north American colleagues privately expressed similar views. This Newsletter has made its views on Tien An Men quite clear, and we can sympathize with the position taken by our colleagues. Nevertheless, there seems to be some selectivity of outrage, when no word of protest was heard from some quarters about the continuing support given by the Chinese government to the murderous Khmer Rouge. This does not apply to the Thai academic community, sections of which were in the vanguard of the movement to reconsider Thai government policy on this issue.

The conference, however, did proceed, and there was more north American representation than at either Bangkok or Canberra. An assurance had been given that there would be no overt propaganda and some delegates were offended that the hotel lobby was daily adorned with glossy pamphlets detailing the official version of Tien An Men. The organizers also assured the participants that no editing of papers had taken place. But at least one paper was rejected; the reason apparently being that Sipsongpanna was referred to as a 'kingdom' in contravention of the official line. This paper is included in this number of the Newsletter.
The organizers insisted that all papers and discussions had to be in both Chinese and English. One can understand the necessity for this, but it did interfere with the flow of sustained discussion. On the positive side it did guarantee a very welcome level of Chinese participation. We must congratulate the interpreters who did a splendid job with patience and good humour.

The major benefit of the conference for the international community is that for the first time we have a general picture of the research by Chinese scholars in the field of Thai (Tai) studies. The first two volumes of Proceedings contain over thirty papers by Chinese scholars which roughly fall into two categories; the first concerning the Tai (Tai) Nationality within the PRC and the second the study of the Kingdom of Thailand.

The papers in the first category are of great interest and value to scholars who do not have a knowledge of Chinese. There is much information that has hitherto not been available to them and the conference must give a powerful impetus to international comparative Tai studies. The weakness of many of these papers, however is that they sometimes tend to treat the Tai nationality as if it were unique to the PRC, and as if the only source of information were the Chinese records. It is also clear that many scholars do not know Tai, and this is unfortunately true of younger scholars as well as their seniors.

Contents

Thai Studies Conference 1
Tai ethnicity in Sipsongpanna 2
The little world of Dehong 9
Translations
- Miao Medicine 13
- Tai wells 15
- Fire worship 17
- Preamble to Yi Annals 23
Early accounts of Mon 26
News and correspondence
- Textiles of SEAsia Exhibition 27
Book notices 28

One paper of interest, though as it happens on Bai rather than Tai, is that by Zhang Xilu which examines the genealogies of Baizu families of Nanzhao and Dali, and as his title says, 'Refuting in Passing the Theory That "Nanzhao Was a Kingdom Established by the Thai People"'. A very useful paper, because of the information it summarizes is that by Zhang Xiaohui, Xu Zhongqi and Zhang Xisheng on 'Exploration in the laws of the Tai Nationality in West Yunnan'. This paper illustrates how fundamental to scholarly thought are notions of social evolution. One is faced with the likelihood that even when Marxism as an analytical framework is abandoned, Morgan and Engels will remain.

There is not a great deal in the second category of papers that will be new to the English-speaking scholar, yet one should be wary of being over-critical on this point. These papers should be seen as
addressed to a Chinese audience and give us a vivid picture of how Chinese academia views the outside world. There is much crude Marxist characterization, but this should be balanced against a paper such as that by He Ping on 'Slaves and slavery in the history of Thailand' in which the shackles of Marxism are carefully dismantled. Certainly, "the theory of five modes of production" was first advanced by Marx and Engels. The facts, however, have provide that the theory is not a formula of the universally applicable truth. In the study of the concrete situation of many countries or nationalities, more and more people are abandoning this formula.

Two papers to which many foreign scholars were looking forward with much glee, 'The Thai stand, attitude and policy towards the Kampuchean issue: from Kriangsak to Chatichai' by Zhu Zhengming and 'On the regulation of Chatichai government's foreign policy' by Tang Nong appeared in the Proceedings, but the authors did not appear to deliver their papers. One can only hope they were overcome by shame.

The venue of the next conference is still in doubt. It is hoped London may be able to issue an invitation, but if that is not possible Bangkok appears to be the fall back position. There was strong feeling among participants that the possibility of meeting in Laos be explored. The small Lao delegation seemed keen, but others felt that 1993 might be too soon. A further issue discussed in corridors and bars throughout the conference was the possibility of changing the title from 'Thai' to 'Tai'. This conference, as previous ones, had Tai-speaking representation from Vietnam, Laos, the PRC and India, and some felt that the international community should give due recognition to this. Though many scholars from Thailand support this view, one suspects there will also be much resistance. The Newsletter invites readers' views.

We must congratulate the organizers on a job well done, and thank them for their graciousness and hospitality. The Thai-Yunnan Project and this department count colleagues in Kunming, particularly at the Institute of Southeast Asian studies, among their dearest friends.

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on the dynamic ethnicity of sipsong panna tai@ during the republican period

Hsieh Shih-Chung*

Ke Shuxun was the first Han ruler in Sipsong Panna in the earlier 20th century. As an alien ruler he probably contributed in inciting hostility towards the Han among the Tai (or Lue, Tai-Lue), including aristocrats and commoners. The anti-Han spirit among the Tai had simultaneously formed at the time of Ke's settlement and rule. The three main events of the anti-Han movement were as follows.
(1) In October 1912 Dao Zhengjing's people, who escaped to Keng Tung and Meng Yong, Burma when Dao was killed by Ke Shuxun, were spreading a song. It is said that a Tai couple wrote down the song from the 'speech' of a black hen. Its lyrics encouraged all the Tai to unite together to fight with the Han, in order to avoid another failure like the case of Meng Jie. This message passed throughout the entire Sipsong Panna. All meng looked as if they were about to do something against the Han domination (Li Foyi 1984:224-225). The Tai did not go into action because Ke kept a close watch on them.

(2) In February 1918 the Luohei of the Lan Cang area revolted against the Han because of the Han traders' longstanding exploitation. Originally, according to documents of 'the Office for Exploitation of the Frontier of Puer and Simao Area' (oefpsa), the Sipsong Panna Tai had agreed with the Luohei to join the fighting as long as the Luohei started to rise in revolt. However, owing to the fact that the Tai prince regent, Chao Mhoam Lhong Khong Gham, received an order from Ke Shuxun to lead 200 Tai soldiers to join with Ke's army to suppress the revolt, those of the Tai who were ready to go to support the Luohei did not do so. But it is very interesting that when the Tai soldiers in Ke's forces were marching toward the Luohei area, the Tai always sang loudly in order to warn the Luohei. Several Tai guides even led Ke's troops in the wrong direction on purpose (cf. Li Foyi 1984:233-236).

(3) In July 1918, a Tai aristocrat of Meng Jie named Chao Maha Bo gambled away all his money and owed a debt to Ke's subordinates. He escaped to the Lan Cang area to ask Luohei traders Zhong Shan and Zhong Si for help. Maha Bo told them, 'At present, there are not too many Han people in our areas; there are about ten in each place. People everywhere all wish to resist them...'. Afterwards, the number of resisters increased more and more, including Chao Klwang of Meng Man, Chao Sie of Meng Long, and Chao Maha Shiang of Meng Jie. Ke's troops attacked Ban Yunlong of Meng Jie, and killed 20 odd Luohei soldiers. Zhong Shan and Zhong Si were very angry. They turned back to slaughter Chao Maha Bo, then withdrew to Lan Cang. Ke's soldiers entered into Meng Jie. Both Chao Klwang and Chao Sie were caught and beheaded. Chao Meng Jie was hurt, and many Tai headmen and commoners fled from the Han troops' suppression (Dao Shuren et. al. 1984:39-40).

Although the first two plans for revolt were not actually put into practice, we can find that the anti-Han mood filled both the Tai aristocrats and commoners. The Luohei, the hill tribal people who had been despised by the Tai, went so far as to become a partner of the Tai in resistance. It symbolized an initiation of the consciousness of the 'pan-non-Han peoples'. In addition, Dao Zhengjing's people in Keng Tung and Meng Yong interpreted the failure of Dao Zhengjing as a defeat of the Tai in fighting with the Han, instead of Chao Meng Jie's failure to the king. To me, this is because the action of the Chinese ran counter to the traditional model of Tai-Han interaction, namely, the Han had never set up offices and remained in Sipsong Panna. Ke Shuxun's administration led all the Tai, including the supporters of the king and the prince of Meng Jie, to form a consciousness of the crisis of their ethnic fate.
The Tai commoners and the other non-Han/non-Tai ethnic groups in Sipsong Panna, some of them continued to revolt against the Han. In September 1941, the Yulo people rose in revolt and attacked Yi Bang area. In March of next year, the Yao responded to the Yulo's action by attacking Chinese officers and businessmen. In October of the same year, the Aka (Akha) of Meng Long claimed that an emperor of the Aka was coming to lead people against the Han and the Tai rulers. A great number of hill-tribes answered the Aka's summons, and attacked the Han communities. Except in the case of the Aka, the Tai commoners supported those hill peoples in secret (see Dao Yongming 1983:108).

Although the Tai aristocrats did not participate in those events, they had either supported Ke Xianghui, son of Ke Shuxun, or drawn close to Sun Tianlin, the new commissioner-in-chief appointed by Xu Weiguang, a political rival of Ke in Yunnan. King Chao Mhoam Lhong Khong Gham had maintained a neutral position throughout the time of conflict between Ke and Sun and Xu. He had once been a guarantor for Sun Tianlin when Ke's troops occupied the oepsa and tried to kill Sun. The king might have thought that what he did was probably the best choice for maintaining his position and restoring peace in Sipsong Panna, since it was impossible to get rid of the Han altogether. However, for the other Tai leaders such as Chao Mhoam Lha, the king's fourth younger brother, and some headmen of Meng Hun and Meng Hai, they supported Ke in public. Ordinarily, people called Ke's troop Guang ren or 'Cantonese and people from Guangxi'. But, as Chen Yeren stated in his diary, most of them were Tai. They became farmers very quickly when an attacking task was done. No one could distinguish between the rebels and farmers (Li Foyi 1984:285).

To me, on the one hand, the Tai participants might have been the residents of those of the meng whose leaders were Ke's supporters, such as Meng Hun; on the other hand, Tai support of Ke might reflect a pattern of anti-Hanism. Although Ke was also the Han, he no longer stood for the official domination. Sun and Xu, on the contrary, were the new Chinese rulers, a symbol of alien invasion. Under the premise of recognizing the fact that the Han will be in Sipsong Panna forever, the king was attempting to develop an adaptive strategy to maintain the existence of the kingdom by pleasing both sides. His brother and the other Tai aristocrats and populace chose the 'Han commoners' side to resist 'Han officials', based on the same premise as the kings.

However, the chaos brought a disadvantageous outcome for the Tai after all. In addition to the continuous fighting, the government of Yunnan reorganized Sipsong Panna as seven counties and one special administrative region after the conflict was put down in 1929 in order that Yunnan could control this area more directly. Furthermore, for 'the tranquility of the frontier', the government, from then on, stationed troops in every county in Sipsong Panna. Those soldiers induced the Tai, especially aristocrats and headmen, to gamble at the gambling dens of which they gook charge. The losers might lose all their property; while the winners still had to pay a certain percentage of their winnings to the soldiers (Dao Yongming 1984:57; Li Foyi 1984:287-288). Unexpectedly, when the government proclaimed a
gambling prohibition, the soldiers burst into the administration building of Cheli County, and occupied the government. Both the acting magistrate and the commissioner of the Bureau of Education were seriously beaten. The soldiers forced the magistrate to publicly cancel his previous proclamation. Those soldiers acting as legally armed bandits thus formed a terrible power in Sipsong Panna. The Tai debtors either became bandits to steal or rob in order to live and repay, or escaped to Burma.

The establishment of counties in place of the oefpsa was intended to bring Sipsong Panna into the regular administrative system of China. The indigenous officials thus still existed (in name only), but became a target of criticism from the Han officials. People might state that the Tai populace were in pain because they were required to pay double taxes to the government and the tusi or indigenous officials. The tusi seemed to be 'exploiters', because paying taxes to the government is an obligation of citizens. From 1927 until 1929, the Tai king and princes had presented a petition three times to the governor of Yunnan. They requested the maintenance of the original oefpsa and the positions of indigenous officials, and asked not to set up counties in Sipsong Panna (Song Enchang 1983:177-185).

What a pitiful phenomenon it is that in those petitions the Tai aristocrats, on the one hand, used many phrases such as 'We "Baiyi" are stupid', 'We tusi never looked after the populace', 'We are barbarians', and 'We don't know li yi or sacred virtues', to portray themselves as lowly in order to receive sympathy; on the other hand, they complained of the bad behaviour of the corrupt and cruel Han officials in Sipsong Panna. The Han officials were as ruthless and ignorant as before. Although some Han intellectuals knew that the Han officials were bad, and suggested that the government select careful officials (Jiang Ying-liang 1947 & 1950), they had universally and long stereotyped the tusi as bad or even worse (see Li Foyi 1984:223; She Yizhe 1936:404; Huang Xiaoping 1977:118). All the higher officials or special representatives from the provincial government to Sipsong Panna always kept the stereotype in mind. They thus showed strong hostility to the indigenous officials. Some ridiculous cases therefore occurred. For example, when Li Welin went to Jing Hung as a superintendent for education, instead of visiting teachers, principals, or the Bureau of Education, he asked the Tai king to see him first. Li, as the other Han officials did, enjoyed that the king bowed to him and called him 'Mr Commissioner'. Li then asked, 'Do you maltreat the populace?' Li continued to enjoy one more bow from and a frightened appearance of the king. In Li's diary he wrote that, 'I saw that Dao Dongliang (the Chinese name of the king) needed someone to support him, he looked like an emperor in the opera. It's really funny and pitiful' (Li Wen-lin 1933:195-196).

I have discussed, in my doctoral dissertation (1989), that the Tai-Lue identified themselves as 'Tai when interacting with the tribal peoples within Sipsong Panna. Only the Tai had Chao. Chao, instead of Buddhism (the Bulang also believed in Buddhism) or language (almost all the hill peoples could speak Tai language), became the significant symbol of traditional Tai identification. When the Sipsong Panna Tai
tried to distinguish themselves from the other Tai-speaking groups, the
title of their king, Chao Phaendin was the important symbolic marker. Significant ethnic interaction with the Han began very late with the arrival of Ke Shuxun in the 1910s. From this time until the early 1930s was the period of the formation of a new Tai identity. During these three decades, the Han were almost the only ethnic group with which the Tai intensively interacted. The groups with close interrelationship before were at this time either under the British or French empires, as with various Tai-speaking groups, or fell down to secondary roles in ethnic interaction, as with the hill tribes. In other words, Tai ethnicity had begun to be reshaped by the Tai themselves in the new ethnic situation of Sipsong Panna.

The domination of the Han in Sipsong Panna, to me, at least produced several consequences that related to Tai ethnicity.

(1) The image of China had changed from a powerful and sacred but harmless kingdom to a terrible regime full of corrupt and cruel civil officials and military officers. Besides the soldiers behaving as organized bandits, some illiterate butchers and tailors were appointed as county magistrates. The Tai people under those fatuous Han rulers were weighed down with gambling debts, hundreds of exorbitant taxes, and levies, and with corvée.

(2) The Han traders and businessmen bought a great amount of land everywhere in Sipsong Panna. They then charged a high land rent and managed usury. The Tai, who had no knowledge or experiences of capital application, were usually deceived or exploited until they owed an astonishing amount of debt. The Han merchants gathered in urban areas and conspired with the politicians and soldiers to become an ethnic-class.

(3) The Han civil servants in Sipsong Panna still called the non-Han peoples Man-Yi or Yi-man or 'barbarians'. They assumed that both the indigenous officials and the commoners were stupid and uncivilized. However, they did not devote themselves to improving the 'uncivilized' phenomenon. Ke Shuxun had proposed a plan to establish schools in Sipsong Panna in 1912. Yet in 1927 when Li Wenlin went to Cheli (Jing Hung) to inspect education, he could not find even one Tai who knew Chinese (Li Wenlin 1933:120-121). Most taxes were thus abused by those muddle-headed officials. None who worked for the government there had ever thought about the matter of respecting the native people and culture.

In response to the first two treatments, the Tai initiated anti-Han movements in the 1920s discussed above. However, after the rebellions had been suppressed, the anti-Han mood among the Tai was kept covert. The third treatment made the Tai, on the one hand, angry, but on the other hand somewhat stigmatized. But owing to the fact that claiming anti-Hanism became a sort of taboo, the inferiority complex and feeling of indignation were internalized into the daily lives of the Tai people. From that time there originated a spirit of fearing the Han. From an active strategy, i.e., resistance, to a passive one, the Tai adopted the most traditional way to cope with the
Han, that is to escape. Whenever one saw the Han, one ran immediately. Those of the Tai who still remained in Sipsong Panna might prepare to move out again because the Han officials, landlords, and businessmen were everywhere and might invade or insult their family anytime. As for those who followed the ordinary strategy of trying to hide in Keng Tung, Laos or Lan Na, they might find that Chiang Mai (Lan Na) was the only member of the previous tacit alliance which was not under the domination of the Western rulers. However, the Tai-Lue who decided to reside in northern Thailand also received uncomfortable treatment from the Siamese who saw the Lue as backward and poor (Moerman 1967). The Tai-Lue thus acted as nomads in their homeland.

Chao Phaendin was still the major symbol for ethnic identification among the Tai. Yet for those Tai residents in northern Thailand namely the Thai-Lue, Chao Phaendin and the kingdom might be an imaginative existence. In other words, they cherished the memory of their own king and peaceful lives before the Han invasion. These Lue refugees had the kingdom in their mind. On the contrary, the Tai in Sipsong Panna personally saw the bitter experiences of their Chao Phaendin. The Tai sympathized with the king because they appreciated his sharing their universal pain. The more the Han invaded and conquered the Tai, the stronger the Tai identity became.

The Tai kingdom seemed to transfer its position from visible existence into an invisible aspect. That is to say, Sipsong Panna was occupied by China, but the Tai kingdom now was established as an inner part of the Tai people. A Tai aristocrat said, 'we called this place Meng Jing Hung in the past. When the ebfpsa was set up, we still called it Meng Jing Hung. Today, after Cheli County was established here, we call it Meng Jing Hung in the same old way. Someday, they may found Cheli Province here, and we will call it Meng Jing Hung as before' (see Li Foyi 1984:270-271). Except for material exploitation, the Han in Sipsong Panna and the Tai looked like two unconnected spatial dimensions. Chinese continuously came and settled down here. The Tai, without resistance any more, seemed as if they enjoyed their traditional ways of life as before, no matter how the Han dealt with the Chao Phaendin, because the perpetual Chao had found a place in a Tai's mythical world. Besides the formative process of the new Tai ethnic adaptation and ethnicity during the 1920s, in the 1930s and the 1940s, Sipsong Panna became an area where two nation-states, Thailand and China, competed with each other to acquire the Tai's identification.

In 1938, Siam had begun to advocate pan-Thaism. The government of Siam sent lots of propaganda materials to the king and the other leaders of Sipsong Panna to summon all the Tai peoples to unite together to form a great Tai empire. 'Thailand', which the Siamese chose to be the new name of their country, became a major symbol of pan-Thaism after 1939. According to Li Foyi, the Tai at that time were under the influence of pan-Thaism, though some people also expressed a kind of uncertain hesitation toward the Thai political propaganda (Li Foyi 1984:304). Although Li did not describe details about the uncertainty, we may be able to infer that it was a
reaction of the ongoing anti-Han spirit. However, the uncertain condition seemed to be released before long. In my interpretation, this is because of the following factors.

(1) The Tai-Lue and Siamese traditionally had very little interrelationship. The Tai states which had relation to the Sipsong Panna Tai were Lan Na Tai, Tai-Lao, and Tai-Keng Tung (what I called the 'tacit alliance', see Hsieh 1989:82-131) whose languages are mutually intelligible. To the Tai-Lue, Siamese were similar to the Han as an alien group of people. It is not merely that the Siamese did not exist in the mind of the Tai, but also that the concept of the 'Thai Nation' had been very unfamiliar to the Tai-Lue.

(2) During World War II, especially the year 1942, Japanese bombers crazily bombed Jing Hung, Meng Hai, Meng Jie, Da Luo, and Meng Long, because there was a division of Chinese troops stationed in Sipsong Panna. Many Tai people were killed (Zheng Peng and Ai Feng 1986:48). Pan-Thaism, unfortunately, to the Tai, was the same thing that went along lethal bombs, because the Tai discovered that the airplanes dropped the bombs and leaflets at the same time. The Tai felt that the Siamese and Japanese altogether were fiercer invaders than the Han. The Han were disgusting rulers and exploiters, but the Siamese were terrible and bloody enemies.

(3) Siamese claimed that Siamese are ttai yay or the great Thai, and the Tai-Lue are tai noy or the small Thai#. The tai yay are the main body of the Thai Nation, and the tai noy are the sub-groups which should come back to the main body (Zheng Peng and Ai Feng 1986:49). This theory was not acceptable in the Tai-Lue world. The Tai-Lue had been vassals of China and Burma. Both China and Burma were non-Tai speaking powers. The Tai in the context of Burma-Sipsong Panna-China had developed and skillfully applied their adaptive strategies to maintain their own state. However, to classify the various Tai-speaking groups was inconceivable to the Tai-Lue, because, traditionally, all Tai states with which Sipsong Panna had contact were in an equal position (see Hsieh 1989). Moreover, to abandon the Tai's Chao Phaendin and transfer loyalty to the Siamese king was also unimaginable, since Chao Phaendin had been the important symbol of Tai identity for a very long time.

(4) Quite a few reports reflected bad behaviour among Siamese soldiers. When Siamese soldiers occupied some villages of Tai Luo along the border of Sipsong Panna, they treated the Tai villagers as the conquered. They casually captured men to be labourers. Every household had to register the number of members and domestic animals. If they found someone who possessed more animals than previously reported, his property might be confiscated. The Siamese soldiers insisted on paying only half price when buying things from the Tai (n.n. 1983:115).

The pan-Thaism therefore did not cause ethnic change among the Tai-Lue at that time. Chinese, French, Japanese, and Siamese, to the Tai, were aliens from different directions. Those invading powers caused the Tai to wander, homeless, but the intensive experiences of
being insulted or attacked made the Tai strengthen their identity more firmly. The kingdom had nearly collapsed. But, isolated, facing the incursive or surrounding evil aliens, the only choice for the Tai was to look for a more comfortable way of life as well as they could. To establish an illusive kingdom in their heart, as I mentioned above, was the immediate choice for adaptation.

However, pan-Thaism did stimulate China to think about the matter of controlling Sipsong Panna more effectively. From 1939 to the present, Chinese scholars under the kmt and ccp governments have written a great quantity of works criticizing the basic theory of pan-Thaism, which believes that the Nan Zhao kingdom, a Thai state in Yunnan, had been destroyed by Chinese in the 13th century, and the people of the Thai kingdom could not help moving to Southeast Asia. The very sensitive reaction to Chinese to pan-Thaism represents a complicated but typical psychology of the Han people toward the non-Han peoples. The Tai to the Han are certainly different from the Han. But, the Tai are living in China too. To the Han, in the kmt period, the Tai (or Baiyi) might find room for pan-Thaism. Yet, it is not comfortable for the Han to accept the Tai (or Baiyi) as Zhong Guo Ren or 'Chinese people', because the Tai were 'a stupid and uncivilized barbarian people'. Nevertheless, the Chinese under the kmt ideology considered all non-Han peoples as ethnic lineages of the China Nation. It is, in my term, a direct model of Chinese nation-state. In other words, the Han pretended that the other non-Han cultural or language groups did not exist. In the period of the prc, Chinese scholars continue to criticize pan-Thaism. However, China under the ccp proposes an indirect model of the nation-state, i.e., the unitary multinational country. How the new model works in manipulating the Tai people and in shaping Tai-Lue ethnicity are subjects for study in the future.

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The Little World of Dehong

Gehan Wijeyewardene
It appears a 'little world' to the foreigner winging his or her way westwards over mountain ranges from Kunming and fifty minutes later setting down at a small airport with a garish new, apparently, Tai-style building in the process of construction. The prefecture of Dehong is still a restricted area for foreigners, but everywhere there are signs that the tourists will soon be flowing. There were dancers at the airport shortly after we arrived, but they were not there to welcome us. The Deputy Governor of Chiangrai Province had been visiting and was to leave on the plane by which we had arrived. the dancers wore Tai, Jingpo and, presumably, Achang costume, but one suspects they were all Tai. The Thai connection in Dehong is strong as, of course, is the Burmese.

This belies the first impression of 'a little world'. Dehong traders connect with the world through Burma and Thailand; and Ruili, on the Burmese border, is said to be the entry point for the heroin trail across China to Hong Kong. The problems of this heroin trail appear to be the main reason for the 'closed' status of the prefecture. The Bangkok Post shortly before the Thai conference, had given publicity to Ruili and Kunming as heroin distribution centres - particularly mentioning the Silver Spring Hotel in Kunming. This hotel bar has its interest, but if dealers depended on this clientele, they must have very slim pickings indeed.

The Tai-Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture of Dehong lies about 23-25° N and 97-99° E and forms the most western extension of Yunnan Province. It has an area of more than 11,000 sq. km. and a border with Burma of 500 km. This border is marked by natural features on only a very small part of it. According to official figures it has a total population of 887,000. Though it is an autonomous prefecture, the majority population is Han, 426,000, about 48%. More about this in a moment. The Tai (Tai) are about 128,000, Jingpo 111,000 (this is about 95% of Chinese Jingpo), Achang 20,000, Lisu 18,000, De-ang about 10,000 and small numbers of other groups such as Hmong, Yao, Hui and Wa together numbering about 8,000. These figures do not quite add up, but the general picture is perhaps reasonably accurate.

Dehong is divided into five counties and a city (Wanding). It is not at all clear why Wanding has a special status it is not the largest city of the prefecture. The major city is Mangshi which is in Luxi county. This is sometimes confusing on maps which mark the city with the name of the county. The others are Ruili, Longchuan, Yingjiang and Lianghe. The plains of all counties are largely inhabited by Tai. Of the 10,000 population of Wanding, Tai and Han have about equal numbers. Most of the Han in the cities and plains are migrants from elsewhere. The bulk of the han population is a mountain population, and until the early 1950s were opium cultivators. Officially they now are farmers mainly growing tea, but also rice, maize, potatoes and beans. These crops are also planted by the other mountain peoples and they all keep livestock and engage in forestry.

Rice and sugar cane are the main crops of the plains and it is claimed that Dehong rice production is greater than that of Sipsongpanna. Most
rice farmers are Tai. Official figures indicate a eleven year 
continuing improvement in the Dehong economy, and superficial 
observer does suggest that the Tai are indeed quite prosperous. 
Official figures claim that the Tai have an annual rice income of 
800-1,000 kg. and cash 6-800 yuan per capita. This is claimed to be a 
low estimate. The figures for Han are 600 kg. rice and 5-600 yuan; for 
the Jingpo, 5-600 kg. rice and 4-500 yuan - most of them being under 
300 yuan.

As an indication of the rising prosperity of the prefecture, the 
following figures of agricultural production were given:11

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<td>1979</td>
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<td>1980</td>
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<td>368,467</td>
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<td>1988</td>
<td>374,792</td>
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<td>1989</td>
<td>406,201</td>
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Other signs of economic prosperity are the extent of private building 
in progress and the numbers of transport-tractors (thoraji) to be 
seen. Around Mangshi it seems nearly every Tai household owns one. 
This contrasts with a small Han market town outside Kunming where most 
of the transport was done with horse carts.

It is the pride of Dehong, particularly of the western part including 
Ruili, that it was the site of the ancient kingdom of Kosambi (various 
spellings). There seems to be a fundamental confusion in the 
literature which should not be there. We know it was a common 
practice throughout Southeast Asian history to appropriate names from 
an ancient Indian sources - Cambodia and Ayutthia are probably the best 
known. The ancient city of Kosambi in Central India should not be 
confused with the Tai kingdom of Kosambi, probably situated near 
modern Ruili, or to give it its Tai name, Meng (Muang) Mao, which 
existed during the Tang Dynasty (618-907). Professor Huang Huikun 
sorts out this confusion in his paper presented to the Kunming 
conference ('A research on ancient "Siam-Tai" kingdoms'). So even in 
history it was not 'a little world'. The major meng (muang) of the 
prefecture appear to have been Meng Khorn and Meng Mao, with Zhefang 
(= Thai 'Chiang Fang') between them. Many of the place names in this 
region appear to refer to stories concerning visits of the Buddha. 
Thus Meng Mao, 'the muang of the stillness of dawn', Wanding = wan 
thiang, 'noon', and Meng Khorn (Mangshi) 'the muang of the crowing of 
the cock' - all referring to times when the Buddha arrived. Similar 
names appear in Northern Tai (tai nya) areas further south. I am 
uncertain as to whether this is a more widespread Tai feature.

According to Xie (1989: 5-7) The term tai nya applies to the Tai of 
Dehong, and populations who have moved southward towards Tai LÝ 
territory have affiliations with Dehong and speak a similar language.
Dehong Tai illustrate the old 'water/land' division very nicely within the range of a single prefecture and language group. The Tai of Meng Khorn are also known as 'Han Tai' of 'Chinese Tai', also translated as 'Land Tai' (see Xie loc. cit.), while the Meng Mao people are 'Shui Tai', 'Water Tai'. The major difference is that the traditional Meng Mao house is built on stilts and the Meng Khorn house is more like the Chinese, built on the ground, in Dehong often of sun-dried brick. It is also said that while in Meng Khorn it is compulsory for married women to wear turbans, it is optional in Meng Mao. Nevertheless, the languages are said to be identical and inter-marriage takes place.

There is not a great deal available on the Dehong language to those who do not read Chinese. Professor Wu Lingyun has published in Chinese and he has a paper in the Proceedings of the Kunming conference. The most accessible work is a recent work in Thai by Thawi Swangpanyangkun, with the English title Dehong Tai First Reader. Thawi does not appear to be correct in interpreting Dehong as meaning 'south of the Salween'. Tai Khorn or Tai Khwan is probably more correct. The sounds /¹/ and /ua/ appear to be allophonic in this language. It would be helpful to have linguistic elucidation on the vowel system of this language - particular on the problem of long/short vowel contrast. Derhong writing system does not admit of such a contrast, whereas for instance Kam M¥ang and L¥ do. Yet, Li Fang Kuei writes, In such dialects as Shan, L¥, White Tai, Wu-ming etc., the distinction of the short and long vowel a ... may be due to the quality of the vowel, as no other vowels show a contrastive length distinction (1977: 259).

There are three official scripts in Dehong; Han, Tai and romanized Jingpo. The Tai script is quite distinctive and said to be like Ahom. The script was reformed in the 1950s and it is said that those who left the country at the time of the revolution can no longer read the modern script. One of the major publications in Dehong Tai is a magazine edited by Mr. Gong Suzheng (Tai name, Wen Nian), Jung Kham (Golden Peacock) which appears twice a year and sells, according to the editor, 3500 copies an issue. The magazine sell to the De-ang and Achang, who, he says, particularly like the short stories. The magazine publishes short stories, traditional and modern, poems, a section on customs - in the first issue of 1988 were a short article on the chants used at a house warming and another on tattooing in Thailand. The same number had a review on 'An investigation of the development of Tai custom in Dehong from the magazine Jung Kham and a report on a meeting on modern Tai literature held ion Sipsongpanna.

There is another Tai script used in the prefecture and this is based on the Burmese, and therefore in appearance is like L¥ and tua m¥ang Chiangmai, though I am told they are not mutually comprehensible. A young monk in Mangshi said that if one knew one Dehong script the other was very easy to learn.

These are not the only signs that there is a healthy intellectual life thriving in the little world of Dehong. While I was there a Burmese-Tai artist was having an exhibition at the town cultural centre and there was no doubt it was being well patronized, it seemed
mostly by students. The artist, Sai Kyaw Htin, from a small Tai town in upper Burma, had exhibited all over that country, but, he told me, Mangshi was his first exhibition abroad. It seemed that the Chief of Publications in Mangshi, a Han, but himself an artistic recorder of Tai life had made the visit possible. Sai Kyaw Htin was preoccupied with nuclear weapons and one of his ambitions was to exhibit his anti-nuclear paintings in Japan. He had plans to continue his exhibition across China, then hopefully Hong Kong, and maybe Japan.

There is also a Tai opera company in Mangshi, and they had just made arrangements to perform in Burma. It is of course, above all, the friendliness of the people, but also the evidence of thriving activity of all kinds which gives the visitor to Dehong a warm feeling of satisfaction.

In 1940 T’ien Ju-K’ang went to Mangshi on a grant from the Yenching-Yunnan Station for Sociological Research. His research was written up as a PhD thesis for the London School of Economics in 1948. In 1986 Cornell published this thesis (T’ien 1986). His book is mainly an account of the festivals known from Chinese sources as pai. It is not yet clear to me as to whether this is the best romanization of this word. The Chiangmai pronunciation is p¹i. However, given the ambiguity of this vowel in Dehong I think we should accept T’ien's romanization for the time being. One interesting aspect of these ceremonies is the bestowal of titles on feast-givers by the senior monks. The basic titles given by T’ien are tamn, paga, luan, tsuantiang, tsuamtin and he. Some of these may be modified by addition of words meaning silver, gold and jewels. It is not always easy to elucidate T’ien's romanization, but there is no doubt that this system of titles is alive and well in Dehong. A black and white photograph of unknown date from one of the processions accompanies this paper. The titles as I understand them are than, paga, luoi and thi (or thin). T’ien says tamn is a title associated with a joint ceremony; the information I have is that it is an individual ceremony, but only flags are taken in procession. The second rank of paka requires models of animals, elephant and horse, to be offered to the temple. Such animals are to be seen in temples in der Hong. The term paka is said to be Burmese, and in Sipsongpanna is applied to a phakhaw, a layman who takes the eight precepts. The rank of luoi, which means 'mountain', is a higher rank, and no specific feast need be given The senior monk decides when the person concerned is worthy of the rank. The final rank of thi (or thin) is conferred in a similar manner. T’ien says tsuamtin means 'clouds'. It would appear that these feasts, processions and titles are connected with generosity and public display, but are primarily means of making donations to monasteries and should be compared to the Thai institutions of tham bun. In north Thailand p¹i is of two kinds, luang which involves a major offering, by an individual or community, to a monastery, and n¹i which refers to the ordination of a novice.
Our first event in Dehong was the colourful dancing to farewell the Deputy Governor of Chiangrai. The influence of Thailand goes much deeper. Thai goods and goods that have made their way through Thailand are everywhere. Traders from Dehong, for instance, buy buffaloes in Burma and drive them through Maehongsorn to Chiangmai, where they are sold. They then buy such things as sewing machines and bicycles which are carried through Burma, duty being paid to the Muang Tai Army of Khun Sa, and into China for sale. The story, however, which made most impact concerned the visit of H.R.H. Princess Galyani Vadhana in 1987. She was taken to the main temple in Mangshi, Kyaung Siang, for her to perform religious obeisances. The principal image at this temple was a Buddha image known as Caw Hang Khoeng, an armoured Buddha. The Princess refused to pay obeisances on the grounds that it was not a proper image. On her departure, the offending image was removed and destroyed. The most skilled maker of images in Dehong was the brother of the Abbot, who, unfortunately had fled to Burma during the Cultural revolution. He was persuaded to return to make the new image. The principal image at Kyaung Siang is now respectably Thai.
The present principal image of Kyaung Siang

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TRANSLATIONS

A FURTHER DISCUSSION OF MIAO MEDICINE

Yang Chang-wen

[Part 2]

Miao medicine is especially effective in setting broken-bones, treating injury, rheumatism, childhood illnesses, hepitus and
stomach disorders. There are some secret folk prescriptions which are highly efficacious in treating difficult diseases. The following prescriptions were collected by the author from his own studies and those undertaken by other researchers.

1) Prescriptions for the stomach: Miao medicine considers the stomach to be the most important internal organ since a good stomach is the best guarantee against illness. Consequently, there are many Miao prescriptions for treating stomach disease:

a) Tian-pao-guo mixed with dry, cooked rice and taken with water or first soaked in wine.

b) The root of red-needled lao-bao soaked in wine and taken three times daily. If the patient does not respond, then use the resin of the oriental water plantain soaked in wine.

c) Ba-jiao bananas [Musa basjoo Sieb] and Chinese dates are dried in the shade and then steamed with pig's heart. This dish should be prepared and eaten two or three times to cure the stomach ailment.

d) A pig's liver is wrapped in orange-peel and steamed. The patient should continue taking this medicine until fully recovered.

e) Miao doctors in Fu-quan have devised a prescription for treating stomach cancer which uses ginger and the webbed feet from a type of small duck as its major ingredients. They have treated one patient with evident improvement. Patients taking this medicine must avoid eating red bryophyte, sow meat, beancurd or fish as these foods affect the treatment.

2) Prescriptions for arthritis:

a) New leaves from the Tong-oil tree are mashed with wine and applied to the afflicted part. A patient from Hei-long-jiang Province was introduced to a Miao doctor in Fu-quan by a friend and, after receiving this treatment, has been free from arthritis for several years.

b) Buttercups are mashed and placed on the arthritic joints. This treatment should be applied for less than 15 minutes because the preparation is highly toxic. If the skin blisters, the area should be sterilised with alcohol and the blister burst to remove the liquid.

3) Prescriptions for treating rabies:
Many people die from rabies but Miao medicine has a number of cures:

a) After a patient has been bitten, quickly kill the rabid dog and extract its bile.

The patient should drink this with boiled water.
b) Collect the insects which are parasites on a particular type of bean plant and dry over a fire, then crush and administer to the patient with wine or boiled water. This medication should never be given to a patient more than three times because the insects are extremely poisonous. Only insects which climb from the top of the plant toward its base should be used because they excrete poison from their anus. Those advancing upward excrete their poison orally. Some years ago, a girl from Bi-bo village, Ma-jiang County was bitten by a rabid dog and treated in this manner. Her illness never recurred.

4) Prescriptions for treating hepatitis: Wo-jiu-da (a Miao term meaning nine-leaved) is decocted in boiling water and taken three times daily until the patient is fully recovered.

5) Prescriptions for treating broken bones: Miao medicine is renowned for its ability to treat broken bones, particularly dislocations. Most patients recover rapidly after only a short period of treatment. The principles for setting dislocations are: life before limb, restoration of function and aesthetic appearance. Miao doctors first use their hands to align the pieces of broken bone, then apply a special medicine and stabilise the limb by wrapping it in the outer skin of a ba-jiao banana palm or in cedar bark. The doctor will also administer medication to reduce pain and stimulate the circulatory system. The patient is requested to consume nourishing foods to facilitate bone repair. There are many prescriptions and some are listed below:

a) Crabs, jiu-ceng-pi, jie-gu-mu, di-xing-xiu, shui-dong-gua and pa-yan-jiang are mashed together and applied to the dislocation.

b) Ma-bian cao is mashed and applied to the dislocation.

c) Meadow pine, huo-tan mu, wild grape vine and jiu-ceng-pi are mashed together, mixed with white wine and applied to the dislocation.

d) Fresh jiu-jie-cha, wild grape vine, palownia bark and si-kuai-wa are mashed together with white wine and applied to the dislocation.

e) Fresh ji-duan, jiu-jie-cha, jiu-ceng-pi and si-kuai-wa are mashed with white wine and applied to the dislocation.

f) Fresh asiatic plantain, ma-bian cao, xue-teng, xue-san-qi [Polygonum paleaceum Wall.] and the skin and roots of shui-dong-gua [Ampelopsis delavayana Planch.] and wild grape vine are mashed with white wine and applied to the dislocation.

g) Shui-dong-gua, jiu-jie-cha, zhu-gen-qi and the root of wild grape vine are mashed and cooked then mixed with white wine and applied to the dislocation.

h) Jie-gu-dan and jin-pi-pa are mashed with wine and applied to the dislocation.
The addition of feng-xian-hua to all the prescriptions mentioned above can improve the circulation and reduce pain.

6) Prescriptions for staunching bleeding: The root of ... [the name has been deleted] plant is decocted in water to cure the bleeding caused by bronchiectasis. The results are highly efficacious. For example, in early 1984, a middle-level cadre from a Provincial administration who suffered from bronchiectasis and uncontrolled bleeding was treated unsuccessfully in a famous Provincial hospital and classed as critical. After taking this Miao medicine the patient made a full recovery.

7) Prescriptions for family planning: Some Miao medicines are very successful at controlling fertility, for example;

a) One or two days after the woman's period commences, she should take ... plant [the name has been deleted] soaked in wine each evening before retiring to prevent unwanted pregnancy.

b) If a woman appears unable to become pregnant she can decoct ... seed [the name has been deleted] which has been stored for several years and first dried in the fire. The resulting solution is taken with boiled water.

c) If a man who has been sterilised by vasoligation wishes to sire a child he should take ... plant soaked in wine and wait until the tube is functional. The magazine Zhong-guo Fu-nu [Chinese Women] records that it is indeed scientifically possible for such restoration of function to occur.

Only a small portion of the prescriptions contained in Miao medicine have been listed above, but it is apparent that Miao medicine has some unique characteristics and effects.

It is traditional that Miao medical knowledge can only be transmitted to certain individuals and not to 'outsiders'; and only at a specific time and only to sons. Generally such knowledge is retained within a family through each generation by individual instruction which stresses the principles of simplicity, convenience and effectiveness. Most doctors transfer their skills through oral instruction since the level of education is low. This has limited the wider dissemination and improvement of Miao medicine. This has resulted in some famous prescriptions being lost. The author suggests that resources be allocated for the collection of famous Miao prescriptions, the development of links between Han Chinese and Miao medicine and application of modern technology to improve the state of Miao medicine in the interests of the people.

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Translated by Irene Bain

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Beauty of the Tai-Jia-Jing (the Wells of the Tai Villages) - Clear Water and Elegant Design

Wang Guoxiang

Have you ever noticed the wells build at the Tai villages when you are roaming about the splendid Tai Buddhist temples or attracted by the spacious and bright Tai 'gan-lans' (This is the ancient Chinese term used for the bamboo houses of the Tai people)? The Tai people build every well with a pavilion-shaped hood (called 'well-pavilion' hereinafter). These well-pavilions are in hundreds of designs which vary from one to another. Every one is exquisite and enjoyable.

Well-pavilions in the Dehong Prefecture, usually as high as 3-5 metres, are carved out of big rocks. The lintel of the pavilion is decorated with carved wave patterns, with a dragon's head stretching out from each end of the lintel. The roof of the pavilion usually has
four upturned corners and a seven-storey Buddhist pagoda on top. Relief sculpture of animals and birds surround the pedestal of the pagoda. Two small, but exquisitely-made, stone lions squat down at the front of the pavilion.

These well-pavilions are usually situated beside trees and bamboo groves. The big green trees, like giant umbrellas, shade the pavilions. Sifting through the leaves is sunshine, which is broken up into countless shining pieces, dropping as bright as gold on the well's terrace. Young girls come to the well with buckets on their shoulders. They fill their buckets with clean water ladled out with a bamboo dipper which is a public facility always available in the pavilion, and then return to the village with their colourful dresses fluttering softly all the way. All these, the green bush, the white well-pavilion, the elegant 'gan-lans' and the slim young girls, make up a beautiful and delightful picture and a wordless lyric poem full of vitality and life.

This type of well-pavilion, because its top is a pagoda, is called 'pagoda-well' by the Tai people. However, people who are familiar with the Tai literature prefer to call it 'Aluan's Pagoda-Shaped Hat'. Aluan is a heroic figure in the Tai literature. It is said that he, though born as a poor child, became king, and wore a pagoda-shaped crown.

In recent years, the Tai people in Xishuangbanna have built their well-pavilions with cement. For example, there is a hexagon-shaped well-pavilion in Manlang which has every side of it decorated with relief sculptures and paintings. On its three-storey roof, pottery geese are arranged in order, from big to small. A lozenge-shaped metal object is set up in the middle of the geese, and on top of it is a metal rod with some rings, which is used both as a lighting rod and a decoration. The well-pavilion in Manzhen which is situated at the bank of the Liusha River has a unique style. Standing on the hexagon-shaped pedestal is one main pagoda surrounded by six small pagodas, with fourty-seven mirrors inserted. Each represents one household. A pair of green peacocks which symbolize propitiousness are carved at the gate of the well-pavilion. The insertion of mirrors is a special feature of well-pavilions in Xishuangbanna. The richness of the colour of clouds and sunshine in that subtropical region is doubled when it is reflected from the mirrors. The Tai people, who have an ardent nature, love the strong flavour of the reflection in the mirrors which looks like many golden snakes dancing enthusiastically. Usually, they will hang a big mirror at the front of the pavilion so as to enable women to dress their hair when they come to wash it. Young girls, in colourful dresses and with fresh flowers in their hair, also like to admire their own beautiful figures in the mirror, while filling their buckets.

Tai people are creative and beauty-loving. Even for a well, they try to make it an exquisite combination of art and utility. They show their talent and love of life with the design of these well-pavilions.

Translated from Tourist's Horizon (Luyou Tiandi) No.5, 1982
A Supplementary Introduction to Tai-Jia-Jing

Wang Guoxiang

Wells in the Tai region are usually composed of four parts: shaft, terrace, rail and pavilion-shaped well-hood. In Dehong region, the shaft is made of bricks or rocks. The terrace is paved with stones, which stretch as wide as several square metres. The rail is built where the terrace joints the shaft for the purpose of protecting the water inside the shaft from being polluted by any outside dirty water. The public dipper that is made of bamboo is put on the rail. The most striking part of the well is the hood which is build to keep off dirt. It is build with rocks, usually composed of four storeys arranged in the shape of a tower, and standing on the top storey is a pagoda.

These well-hoods were built in ancient times. It is believed that they were built at least 900 hundred years ago, at the time of the Mengmao Kingdom. Only very few ancient well-hoods are left in Dehong Prefecture today, and these remaining ones are gradually falling into disrepair. About ten such hoods remain in Ruili County's Nongdao and Jiexiang townships. Ten years ago I saw two well-hoods in Guangla Village. One has been damaged recently. Only three well-hoods are left in Longchuan County, and among them only one is still in use.

Recently, people in Dehong Prefecture, like people in Xishuangbanna, have begun to build well-hoods with cement. The most famous cement well-hood in Ruili County is the 'Sino-Burmese Friendship Well' at the Jiemo Village of Nongdao Town, Ruili County. The water of the well is shared by the villagers of Jiemo on the Chinese side and the villagers of Gunmei Village in Burma (now Myanmar). The hood is made of cement but in traditional style. At the gate of the pavilion, an antithetic couplet is carved, which says: 'Clean water entertains our guests; Brotherly affection is deeply rooted'.

Guangla village, Dehong
A woman singer whom I know, in Jiemao Village, once wrote a song for this well: 'In the heart of the people from both countries, the beauty of this pagoda-well will last for ever, and the sweetness of its clean water will ever remain. The water is full of the brotherly affection between the two peoples, and its taste is as sweet as "banbao" flowers'.

Wells in Xishuangbanna are similar to that of Dehong wells, except that some materials and designs are different. They are also composed of those four parts. Even the dipper is made of the same material.

Nowadays it is hard to find any traditional stone-built well-hoods in Xishuangbanna. All the well-hoods I have seen in the area are made of cement. Therefore more varieties of design of hoods can be found. The well-hoods of Dehong and the well-hoods of Xishuangbanna, have their own distinct features. The Tai people in Xishuangbanna have a tradition of inserting mirrors into the walls of well-pavilions. At the time of construction, each household contributes one round mirror. It indicates the belief that the water in the Tai people's well is as clean and bright as a mirror as are the souls of Tai people.

The Tai people are so particular with the design and construction of pagoda-wells and water protection, not only because they think water is the life-spring of human beings and animals, but also because they believe that water is the symbol of holiness and purity, brightness and happiness.

Every village in Xishuangbanna has a day of well-worship which is the day when the construction of the well is completed. On that day each year, all the villagers, the young and the old, gather by the side of the well. They clean up the surroundings, dredge the well to remove the accumulated dirt, and re-paint the hood. After working on the well, they sing and dance accompanied by the beating of gongs and 'klong yao' (long) drums, entreating the water remain ever clean and
never dried up. With this ceremony, they express their affection to their well and water.

Translated from a manuscript by Jiang Ren

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Fire Worship and Myths about Fire among Ethnic Groups in Southwest China

Yang Minyue

Fire is exceedingly important to mankind. It has consistently played no small role in human production and life. It could be said that the discovery of the use of fire was genuinely an event of epoch-making progress. When man first emerged from the animal kingdom, his activities was to a large extent still as restricted as that of an animal. It was fire that changed his life style of eating animals raw, thus brought him the first step of civilization. Fire also led the way to productive activities, as it provided the means for slash-and-burn cultivation. Fire put an end to man's passive state before the nature and finally enabled him to completely "divorce himself from an animal". Therefore, in a long period, fire worship remained a common phenomenon among many ethnic groups throughout the world. Fire worship originated very early in China. The word Yan (or Chi), used as the name of an early emperor, referred to fire. Zuo Zhuan (a classical Chinese book) recorded that 'The Yan Emperor's family originated from fire, thus it adopted fire as its family name', and there is no doubt that the Yan Emperor was a fire god. Zhu Rong was another fire god who might be worshiped by some other tribes. The intensity of ancient China's fire worship is also manifested in people's activities in Zhou Dynasty. An official position named 'Huozheng (Fire Master)' was established in the Shang Dynasty, and this was followed by the Zhou Dynasty during which the official position of a fire master (called Siquan) was maintained to 'be in charge of the instructions on the way to keep the national fire. The national fire was to be kept in different fashions in correspondence with the change of the seasons in order to keep out possible disease brought by the coming season.'(Zhou LI, Siquan).

Even up to modern times fire worship has been practised by most ethnic groups in the Southwest region and remains a truly solemn ceremony. Numerous lively myths about fire have been handed down, which are described bellow.

A. Fire Worship among the Ethnic Groups in the Southwest Region
1. Fireplace Worship. Fire worship among the ethnic groups in the Southwest is manifested around worship to the fireplace. (Huo Tang, literally means 'fire pool'). Up to 1949, most homes in that region had a fireplace built inside. People regarded the fireplace as a sacred place which is offered sacrifices on every New Year's day and other festivals. At New Year guests must pay homage to the fireplace before greeting the hosts. Among some ethnic groups it has been the custom at festivals that the head of the household must prepare wine
and meat for the fireplace. For instance, among the Yi nation of Hu County, Yunnan, on every New Year's day and 24 June the most senior woman of the household would choose a piece of the best meat (i.e., the fattest) and throw it into the roaring fire in the fireplace, praying that the fire would not burn down the house or harm the children.

The ethnic peoples in the region also popularised the fireplace as the centre for family activities. Around the fireplace, people ate, slept, entertained guests and discussed important family affairs. Among the Bulang people (also written, Pulang or Blang), weddings, and ceremonies for adulthood and adoption were all held around the fireplace. Among the Yi people of Xiaoliangshan ('Small Cool Mountain'), a ceremony called 'being dressed in trousers' would be held around the fireplace for boys who reached a certain age. A stone would first be heated in the fireplace and then sprinkled with cold water after it was taken out. The trousers then were rotated in the steam produced from the stone and were put on by the boy with the mother's help, while prayers were chanted.

Throughout the year the live cinders in the fireplace should not be allowed to be extinguished. When moving house, they must be carried to the new abode. If by any chance the cinders went out or were contaminated, a new kindling had to be obtained through the use of the primitive wood-boring method. The wood used for this purpose must be especially selected in order to preserve the fire's holiness and purity.

Among the Jinuo, Wa and Tai nationalities, the first thing to do upon the settlement of a new household is to set up a new fireplace with the performance of special ceremonies. The Tai people many restriction to do with the construction of a new fireplace: The fireplace should have four sides of equal length, four corners of equal angle, with flowers put at each corner and egg shells put on top of the flowers. (quoted from 'Ancient Tai Folksongs'). Once the fireplace was constructed, the male head of the household erected the tripod pot-holder while the female head made the fire. Relatives and friends would gather for a congratulation in which the old man expert at the ceremony would sing the 'Fireplace Song', which included the lines 'the foundation is like gold plate; the fireplace silver pit; the fence of the house will ever remain untouched by borers; and the central pillar of the house will last for ever. It can be seen from this that the Tai people regarded the fireplace as the source of their good fortune. Among the Jinuo nationals, once a new fireplace was constructed, kindling materials would be send by the village headman and headwoman. He (or she), holding a broom with the right hand and a torch with the left, swept the steps right up to the centre of the house and around the fireplace once and then proceeded to light the fire, for fire was regarded as a sacred object which required a clean surrounding. The Wa people, once they had a new house and fireplace constructed, would dance around the fireplace headed by a 'Master of Ceremonies' to express their congratulations.

In addition, many taboos regarding fireplace homage have been maintained by the ethnic groups in the region. The most common taboos
are, for instance, that it is not permissible to cross over the fireplace, or to move the tripod pot-holder at random, or to tread on it. It is not permitted to spit, to throw dirty objects or to sweep rubbish into the fireplace. It is forbidden to disturb the burning wood while a quarrel is going on by the side of the fireplace. The Jingpo people believe that fire has a spirit so flames should not be touched by a sword. The Tujia nation forbades whistling at fire.

2. Cremation. Primitive people bore the idea that every living thing had a soul and this soul was immortal. Various approaches were chosen to dispose of a dead body by different ethnic groups according to their various beliefs on the relationship between the soul and the dead body. Some people believed that the soul of a dead person did not want to leave the body just as one did not want to leave one's home. When the corpse rotted, the soul lost its home. Therefore a way had to be devised to protect the corpse from being damaged by wild animals by, for example, making it into mummy, or hanging it in a cave half-way up a mountain.

Another concept was quite contrary to this. It upheld the belief that the sooner the corpse vanished the better to enable the soul to find a new home free from the fetters of the body. Accordingly, cremation, water burial and celestial burial (by which bodies are exposed to birds of prey) were devised.

Cremation began in the Neolithic Age and was in vogue in the Bronze Age. Cremation once in prevailed among many ethnic groups in the Southwest region, including the Yi, Qiang, Lahu, Pumi and Hani.

Cremation among the Yi nation was touched upon by many historical books. The 'Annals of Xuanwei County' recorded that after a Yi person died, 'within 3/5 days cremation must take place on a mountain. Bones would be collected and placed in a container on the top of some bamboo leaves and grass roots, and then wrapped in silk and tied with colored thread by the Bimo. After which it would be placed in a bamboo container inside a bamboo basket and enshrined in a dark corner of the house.' According to The Annals of Xundian Prefecture, the Yi people 'wrapped the corpse in horse hide or silk, carried it to the field, and burned it after the performance of prescribed ceremonies. No grave was to be constructed for the dead, only trees and bamboos were planted there and the spot was called "the spirit's house". Collections of the Studies on the Yi Culture gives a more detailed account on cremation amongst the Yi nationality of Liang Shan. Following a person's death, on the day determined by the Bimo, the corpse was carried on a wooden litter to the place of cremation at the back of the house. It was strictly forbidden for an outsider or livestock to trample on this place. Wooden stakes were set up at the four corners and the litter was placed on the stakes. Fire was lighted simultaneously at the four directions. As soon as fire flamed, oxen, sheep and wine were offered as sacrifices. As a roaring fire was considered propitious, a weak fire indicated that the soul was not able to be released because of the evil demon's fetters over the body. Once the cremation was over, before sunrise, one piece of each limb from the remaining bones would be collected and sealed up in an
earthenware pot, with a small hole left for the soul to go in and out. It would then be carried by hand to the graveyard and buried. To bury it, men used their thumbs, forefingers and middle fingers, while women used their aprons, to scoop earth to cover the pot. No tomb or tombstone were set up, but merely a piece of stone left there to mark the place. After the burial, rice would be thrown around by the Bimo. It was believed that the soul of the dead rested in the tree to which the most rice stuck, thus the tree was carried home by the dutiful son and made into a memorial tablet. It was thought that if the body was not cremated, the dead would not be able to return to its original state of a tiger. As a result, it would not be able to bless and protect his offspring but would, instead, be turned into a devil which harmed people.

Historical records, which proved the practice of cremation by the Qiang nation, are also available. Lushi Chunqiu (a historical book written by a person whose surname was Lu) recorded that 'The captives from the Qiang nation, instead of being afraid of imprisonment, worried only about not being cremated after their death. Quoting from Zhuang Zi, 'it was said in "Taiping Yulan" that "Following a Qiang person's death, cremation is held and the ashes of the dead are thrown into the wind."' Among the Qiang nationality, cremation took place on the third day after death. The coffin was carried to the tribe's crematorium after incantation. Each clan had its own incinerator in which the dead body would be placed in through a small door and burned.

The Hani nationality also practised cremation for a long period. Kaihua Tongzhi Fengsurenshen, a book written during Emperor Qian Long's reign, recorded that 'The Hani nationals do not use coffins for their dead. The people who come to pay condolences would dance while drumming and ringing bells, with feathers decorating their heads. The ceremony is called "bathing the spirit" which would last for three days of sweeping and drinking from time to time. The corpse then would be set on fire on a platform made of pine tree and the remaining bones would be buried.' It was only post-Ming or Qing Dynasties that the Hani changed to burying their dead. The Nu and Lahu nationalities also practised cremation. Although they have changed to burial, the corpse would be kept by side of the fireplace for several days and a brazier or candle has to light the way when the coffin is carried to the cemetery.

Cremation was regarded as the highest ritual by a number of ethnic groups. For instance, among the Tibetans, cremation was limited to Living Buddhas and senior Lamas. Among the Tai people, cremation was only held for monks. The Bulang people were only honoured by cremation when they died of great age. The Pumi people believed that cremation could bring the deceased's soul up to the lofty realm, so people who died by violence, or were hanged, drowned, and succumbed to pestilence could not be cremated but had to be buried. It meant that, being buried under the earth, the soul was not able to transmigrate.

3. Fire Rites and Fire Divination. The words 'fire rites' here indicates the manner adopted by many
ethnic groups in ancient China to worship their gods. Jiu Ge (Nine Poems, a series of poems believed to have been written by Qu Yuan) described the fire rites used by the people of Chu: 'To worship the emperor of the Heaven we offer the smoke of fire as a sacrifice. To worship the sun, the moon and stars we burn animals with firewood. To worship the Life Master, the Wind Master and the Rain Master, we light fire as sacrifice.' Fire was used in sacrificial rites by most ethnic group in Southwest China. For instance, they would burn sacrifices so as to enable the smell to reach Heaven and be enjoyed by the deities of Heaven.

Fire Divination.
Fire divination was practised by quite a number of the ethnic groups in the region. The 'Torch Festival' of the Yi, Bai, Naxi, Lili and Hani nations, etc. originated from large-scale fire divination. This is proved by the records in Yunnan Tongzhi (The Annals of Yunnan) that 'making pine torches on June 25 and carrying the torches to the crop field, people predict the result of the harvest by the color of the torch fire'. The Yi people of Liangshan used to put mustard seeds into fire to predict the harvest. A good harvest was told when the seeds cracked in fire. The Pumi people believed that a vigorous flame with sparkle in the fireplace was a propitious sign, indicating the arrival of a rare visitor or good fortune. On the other hand, it indicated bad luck if the flame kept flickering. Fire was also used to chase away devils and to resist disasters when pestilence spread. The Jingpo nationality, when conducting fire divination, put into fire a piece of bamboo with joints at both ends. It would indicate propitiousness if the bamboo cracked with only one end bending upwards, while it would be considered a bad omen when both ends bent upwards.

All branches of Yi speakers celebrate the 'Torch Festival'. The Yi people of the Da Liangshan celebrate the Torch Festival on June 24 (the Lunar Calendar), which is also called 'the Great New Year'. A three-day celebration is usually held on this occasion. Oxen and sheep are killed to prepare the 'big-cube stew'. All people, women and men, aged and young, dressed in new cloth and gathering at the flatland, jointly conducted all sorts of activities such as sheep-fights, ox-fights, wrestling, horse-games, and the dong-ge dance with music played on yue qing (a four-string instrument with a full-moon shaped sound box). In the evenings, every one strolled in fields with a torch in hand. On the third day, the ashes and remainders of the torches would be collected and carried far away together with wine and meat.

The Bai nationals celebrate the Torch Festival on June 25 (the Lunar Calendar). On that day, people will erect a huge fire pillar at the central square of their village. The pillar is made of a pine tree of 15-20 meter high, and strips of bamboo, wheat straw and pine torches are bound around it. In addition, small torches are prepared by every household. When night falls, people will light the pillar and all the torches and run through the fields with burning torches in their hands. The Hani people celebrate the Torch Festival (called Kuzhazha Festival) every June with a grand ceremony which lasts for three days. Pigs are the usual sacrificial offerings. Prayers for a good harvest,
which is similar to that of the Yi and Bai nations, are included in the ceremony as well.

Tiao-yue (dance under the moon-light), ta-ge (singing while dancing) and gue-zhuang-wu (dance in a circle) are all festival activities originating from fire worship. Tiao-yue is a kind of dance performed by the Axi nationality, a branch of the Yi nation, on New Year's day, the Torch Festival and other occasions. In the evenings, young men and women will gather at squares or in pine woods. Men will dance with women while playing sanxuan (a three-stringed plucked instrument), yueqin or dizi (bamboo flute). It is believed that this arose from prayers to the fire god. The Yi people of Yunnan hold, on every February 8, the glorious Ta-ge Festival. Legend tells that once when Yi soldiers were surrounded by enemies in battle, they suddenly hit upon an idea. They lighted a bonfire and danced around it. Seeing this and thinking that the reinforcements were coming from the sky, their enemies immediately retreated. From then on, the Yi people would set up bonfires and dance around them to commemorate the assistance rendered by fire. The guo-zhuang-wu (the Propitious Dance) of the Tibetan people originally was danced around the fireplace. It is held on many occasions such as weddings, sacrificial rites and the reception of guests. It is also performed at the Wangguo Festival (Festival for a Good Harvest of Fruit) in July. The dance is accompanied by songs which begin with the sentence that 'Like peacocks and phoenixes, we are gathering at the propitious place'. It is clear that the fireplace is considered a very important place.

5. Fire - The Symbol of Power and Life.
Fire worship was not only based on its utility in daily life and production, but also arose from its being taken as the source of life and power.

In matriarchal society, the fireplace was the symbol of a mother's property and power. Women often appeared by the side of the fireplace in ancient Chinese drawings on cliffs or in grottos. When people moved from one pastureland to another, it was women who would carry the kindling. In the Yi nation's fairy tales it was a woman who discovered fire. Cha-mu (a fairy tale) tells that 'When the first woman appeared on earth, she slept on a stone heap and lived on fruit. One kind of fruit was soft while the other kind was hard. She used stones to crack the fruit since her teeth were not able to do the job. The stone struck the tree trunk and flame was produced.' All these accounts prove that it was women who then held the power of using and keeping the fire. The obtainment of such power by women was caused by the superior position they held in the society and in turn the obtainment of such power further strengthened their social position. It consisted of a significant part of a female's performance and achievement to maintain the fire. Entering into the period of paternal society, the fireplace turned into the symbol of male power. Fireplace was the basis of their dominion and honour. Only when the patriarchal clan divided into several new families, the new family was eligible to obtain kindling from the original fireplace. For instance, among the families of the De-Ang Clan, a married man who could not afford to own a new house may set up another fireplace inside the old house. A
separate fireplace symbolized the establishment of the man's independent dominion. In a big family house, the number of the fireplaces told the number of the families accommodated.

Fire is not only considered the symbol of power, but also the source of life. Many ethnic groups in the southwest region have still kept perpetual fires, even after matches became available, so as to indicate the immortality of life. They believe that life is connected with fire, and life would terminate once fire dies out. Some nationalities use the expression that 'fire died' as the synonym of 'all the members of that family died'.

B. Myths and Legend in Relation to Fire

Fire is able to destroy mankind just as it is able to benefit people. Therefore, with a complex feeling combined of reverence, love and fear, human beings deified fire and developed fire worship. It was that the close relationship between fire and mankind in real life established the prominent position of fire god among various gods, and the important position of the fire god in turn enriched the myths of fire, making them conspicuously colorful.

1 Myths concerning the Origination of Fire. Among the fairy tales of the various ethnic peoples, three origins of fire are generally believed: a) Fire was stolen from gods, which reflected the confrontation between mankind and the nature; b) Fire was bestowed by gods, which revealed an expectation of harmony between the two; and c) Fire was brought to mankind by animals, which illustrated the utilitarian purpose of primitive people's totemism.

The myths of stealing fire originated in western culture. The minority peoples of southwest China interpreted the origin of fire with the last two sets of beliefs. Most branches of Yi speakers believed that fire was bestowed by the gods. The Axi nation relate in their epic, Axi's Ancestors, that 'It was thundering, and a red thing that nobody had seen before fell down. ... Girls and boys hurried to the big tree to dig it out. With sticks they dug and dug and suddenly fire was out.' In Meige, the Yi epic, it says 'there was no fire anywhere. The dragon in the Heaven came to help. He provided steel for flint. Sparks were produced by striking the steel. After they obtained fire, humans had a better life'. In Annals of the Yi Nation in the Southwest Region, the story was told about a god in a gold rain cape, and with a gold stick he dug at the South Gate of the Heaven. When a white stone was pried up, fire gushed out like black fog and sparks spurted down to the earth like shooting stars. The Lahu people thought gods hid fire inside stones, so fire could be produced by striking stones.

Among some other ethnic groups, it was believed that human beings acquired fire with the help of animals or birds. In the myths of the Bai people, Origin of Mankind and Other Creatures, the story was told about a phoenix. Standing on a cliff, it was beating by fierce wind, violent thunder and heavy rain. Then it soared as high as to reach the sky. With its long singing the rain and wind stopped and the mountain and woods blazed with colours. The phoenix then dropped one feather and it became a burning torch upon touching the earth. The Goshan
nationals had a fairy tale, which told that fire used to be maintained on the other side of the ocean. After people failed many times in their attempts to reach it, a black bird brought back the fire from across the ocean. Its bill and talons were burned as red as fire. It has been called Fire Bird and respected by people since then. In the myths of the Tai people, it was a mantis who taught mankind to obtain fire from stones.

2. Tales about the Kitchen God. Quite a number of ethnic groups believed the existence of both kindhearted fire gods and evil fire gods. The Yi people of Chuxiong Prefecture had three fire gods: a) Gebaisi, the Kitchen God; b) Kulusi, the Fireplace God; and c) Duosi, the Evil Fire God (also called the Fire Devil). Both the Kitchen God and the Fireplace God are kindhearted ones who benefit mankind by providing food and warmth. The Fire Devil on the other hand often brought disasters. Reverence to Kitchen God could be seen from very early times. Many folktales are told in which the Kitchen God was either a beautiful and charming woman or a fair-minded man. Zhuangzi Dasheng says 'There is a god of the kitchen named Ji'. According to Sima Biao's note, 'Ji is the Kitchen God, a beautiful woman in purple dress.' Similar accounts could be found from Han Shu: 'The kitchen god is named Kui, and looks like a beautiful lady'. Lahu people have called the kitchen god 'Fire Goddess', and Bulang people considered the kitchen god their God of Protection.

People of the Tujia nation believe the Kitchen God is the most upright god. It is said when submitting the annual report to the Jade Emperor, the Kitchen God would make it honestly, thus an allegorical saying is often used by the Tujia people: 'The merciful Kitchen God reports to the heaven - honest and frank.'

3. Myths Concerning the Evil Fire God. Fire is characteristically two-faced. As a force of obedience, it provides heat and light; as an alien force, it could cause calamity, destroying houses and forests. This two-faced characteristic was manifest in myths about the evil fire god, which are different from the above category. In myths of the Achang nation, the evil fire god was arrogant and imperious. He had determined to oppose the Father of the Sky and the Mother of the Earth with fierce wind and violent light he produced and superfluous suns he made. Those suns hung over the sky all day and all night. It caused drought and burned all the creatures to death. A-Pu-Du-Mo, the Yi folk tale, says that mankind had undergone nine tribulations. The first one was conflagration, and the second was flood... The conflagration was caused by the evil fire god. He produced the oil rain which lasted seven days and seven nights. As soon as the oil rain dropped upon rocks, raging flame rose, swallowing birds, animals and trees. Earth was burned into ashes. Only one man and one woman survived. In the epic of the Tai nationality, the Conflagration, the calamity which was caused by the evil fire god was described as an even more horrifying picture: 'Wind was blowing fiercely in forests with loud sound. Small trees fell to the ground while big trees were shaking. Black smoke was arising from mountains and flame arising from the smoke which was carried into forests by the wind. Fire came as mighty as flood. Flame rose as high as if to burn into the sky. Forests turned into red with
snakes and tigers burned to death, rocks cracked up and trees fell down. Adults were panic-stricken while children cried, like wild monkeys startled, like chickens stampeded in flight. Their skin melted and bones collapsed into pieces, and the dead looked like coke. The fire lasted 100 days without ceasing. Earth turned black. Mankind, poor souls, nearly became extinct.

Because of fear of the harm done by the evil fire god, the ceremony of chasing the fire devil (ie, the evil fire god) was practised by most ethnic groups of the region. Jingpo nationals would hold the ceremony at the burned ground for a new house. Once the ceremony was over, the burning wood would be extinguished with water. The person selected by divination would carry the wood to leave the village, while another person would pretend to chase him with a sword and a spear, meanwhile all the villagers shouted encouragement, until the first person threw the wood into the pond for dirty water. The Bulang people, when chasing the fire devil, put straw, bark and plant ashes into a bamboo basket. They lighted the basket after the priest chanted scriptures and then dropped it into river.

Fire worship is a common phenomenon which was essentially caused by utilitarian purpose. Because of the significance of fire in human life in both good and bad terms, human beings have a complex feeling upon fire which is composed of esteem, fear, supplication and anger. Fire worship, in the final analysis, implies people's reliance on fire. As we have noticed, however, people's ability to control fire has gradually increased, thus the degree of their reliance and worship on fire has varied at different times and in different areas. Such degree was higher at the earlier stage of human development. Along with the development of science and technology, mankind has come to understand fire and control fire. The mystique associated with fire has gradually vanished.

Translated from, Zhongyang Minzuxueyuan Xuebao (Journal of the Central Academy for Ethnic Studies), No.1 1988 by Jiang Ren

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Preamble to the [Annals of the Yi Nation in the Southwest Region] (Xinan Yizhi Xuan)

The Yi-Han Translation Workteam of Bijie Prefecture of Gui Zhou Institute for Ethnic Studies

Annals of the Yi Nation in the Southwest Region was originally named Ai Fu Sha E in Yi language. Literally it means 'image, body, and the dirty and clear airs'. The basic idea is that dirty air and clear air came into being before the emergence of the universe and mankind. The variation and evolution of these two kinds of air caused the appearance of the images of the sky, the earth, human beings and all other creatures, and finally solidified into their bodies. The above notion embodied the essential world outlook of the ancient Yi people, which was reflected as the kernel of the book.
The book, in addition to its narration of the origin of the universe and mankind, described the features of ancient Yi society as well as that of various related tribes. The description pictured their political, economic and cultural developments and recounted the family trees of the main Yi clans and their interrelations.

The book, being 370,000 words in length in Yi language and containing more than 400 subtitles, is a comprehensive narration of the history of the Yi in the Southwest. The book was therefore titled Annals of the Yi Nation in the Southwest Region when it was translated into Han Chinese. The initial translation was done in the period of 1957-1966 by Luo Guoyi and Wang Xingyou, members of the Yi-Han Translation Work-team of Bijie Prefecture for internal reference only.

The compiler of the book was a singer belonging to the family of Rewotumu living in the place called Luodianshuixi in ancient times. With his name unknown, he has usually been refered to as 'the Rewo Singer'. It is said he collected many historical records from various Yi clans and compiled them into this magnum opus. He completed the book at the age of 75. The exact year of the completion is uncertain. The time may be fixed by inference within the period between 1664 (the 3rd year of Emperor Kang Xi), after Wu Sangui's conquest in Shuixi, and 1729 (the 7th year of Emperor Yong Zheng), before the execution of 'Gaitu Guiliu'. The original copy in Yi language had been in the possession of the ancestors of Chen Chaoguang who now lives in Dafang County of Guizhou. The copy is at present kept in the Beijing Nationalities Palace as one of the precious historical documents of the nation.

After the circulation of the initial translation, the book had attracted great attention from various research institutions and scholars. However, mistakes and defects in the initail translation, caused by the lack of expertise, the tight time schedule, the lack of thorough textual reasearch and mistakes in printing, made the translation unsatisfactory.

With the purpose of saving the ethnic cultural heritage and enriching the socialist culture of our nation which consists of many ethnic peoples, we plan to finalize the Yi-Han bilingual edition of the Annals of the Yi Nation in the Southwest Region (Xinan Yizhi) and have it published by 1985. In order to meet the request of a great number of scholars, we hereby have these selected sections of the book published first.

The selected sections contained in the present book are devided into six parts: (A) Genesis of the Universe; (B) Genealogy; (C) Geography; (D)Astronomy; (E) Humanities; and (F) Economy. The arrangement and the contents of the selected sections will neither distort the original order nor divide the original arrangement of sections.

Part one, Genesis of the Universe, narrates the ancient Yi people's understanding of the source of the universe and the origin of mankind, including some legend. The ancient people believed the variation and
The evolution of the dirty air and the clear air caused the appearance of the image of the sky, the earth and the people, which was called ai fu in the Yi language. The clear air rose up, formed the sky, while the dirty air fell down, solidified into the earth. The same theory applied to the formation of human bodies. The human bodies as well as the circulation of blood and energy were formed and controlled by the two airs.

In the section of 'Evolution of the World', the story about primitive men told by the ancient Yi people is narrated as 'At the very beginning, wild animals appeared everywhere. Human beings lived in trees. They kept company with animals. They went along with animals. ... Later, distinction and demarcation were made. Human beings came down to live on the ground. Without grains, they fed themselves with fruit and grass seeds; without clothes, they covered themselves with pelt.' and 'There was nothing known as marriage. Children knew their mothers only.' Life of the primitive people is pictured vividly by such descriptions. It conforms to the true state of the birth of human society. In the narration of the knowledge of primitive people on the seasons and weather, it is written as 'It was called Spring when trees and plants blossomed. It was called Summer when flowers faded. Autumn came when fruits were ripe. Winter came when leaves fell.' This observation which reflected their naive materialism conforms well to the regular pattern of the development of primitive people's thinking and understanding. Reflecting their limited knowledge about nature, folklore was included in the book, for example 'nine women made the sky and eight men made the earth', and the spider knitted the sky and the earth with the help of fast wind, blue fog, the eagle, the tiger, the fly, and the spirit snake. These stories may indicate the people's belief in their collective ability in the conquest of nature.

The legend of 'Breaking-off the Bridge Connecting the Sky and the Earth' is also included in this Part. The ancient Yi people believed that once a bridge existed to connect the sky and the earth, and celestial beings and ordinary people were able to marry each other. A conflict caused the breaking of that bridge at the time when the Wu and Zha families had each passed 10 generations, the No family 7 generations, the Heng family 8 generations, the Bu family 9, and the Mo family 11. The six families from then on had to marry each other. The story told of the natural trends of human development. After a long period of development since the time of the 'six Ancestors' of the Yi - the six brothers who were named Wu Zha, No, Heng, Bu, Mo - the six families multiplied and developed into six clans. The inter-clan matrimonial relationship became unavoidable. However, being afraid that such relationship might be considered improper because of the families' origin in remote antiquity, they might feel the necessity to find a special explanation. The story served such a purpose. The boundless imagination and intelligence of the Yi people is also reflected by this beautifully imagined fairy tale.

'Genealogy', the second part, originally made up a considerable proportion of the Book. It narrated the genealogy of the prominent families of the Yi nation, containing the 31 generations during the period from Ximuzhe to Dumu as well as the generations during the
period of the 'Six Ancestors' after Dumu. The narration extended to
the description of the interrelations, the main figures and the
historical events of these families as well. Though limited to the
history of the upper-strata of the Yi community, it covered the
continuing pedigrees of various families passed by fuzi lianming (ie,
the first character of the son's name was the last character of the
father's name) over more than 100 generations during a period of more
than 1000 years. It proved that the Yi nation had a civilization of
long standing which is not inferior to any other civilization of early
times. The gap between the Yi nation and some others in terms of
social and political structure and economic and cultural developments
has been caused only by the geographical isolation and other
environmental disadvantages after it migrated to the remote Southwest.

The period covered in this Part is from Ximuzhe to Dumu,
simultaneously to the end of the West Zhou Dynasty (ie. the Time of
the Great Sichuan Flood). Dumu lived at Dongchuan (today's Huize,
literally it means 'the place where the waters meet'), Yunnan after he
migrated from Sichuan due to the Great Flood. Dumu had six sons from
his marriage with three wives. Muyaqie and Murakao, the sons of the
first wife, 'moved to the south to Chutu' and developed into Wu and
Zha clans which were the remote ancestors of the Yi people and other
Yi speakers in south and west of Yunnan. Muyare and Muyawo, the sons
of the second wife, spread to the north of Luobo' and developed into
No and Heng clans which lived in Zhaotong of Yunan and the south and
west of Sichuan. They are the remote ancestors of the Yi people who
now live in Zhaotong, Yanyuan, Liangshan (the Cool Mountain), and
Gulan. Mukeke and Muqiqi, the sons of the third wife, 'got their
development in Shiye' into Bu and Mo clans who were the ancestors of
the Yi people today living in Huize, Xuanwei, Qujing of Yunnan and
Bijie, Xingyi, Anshun and Liupanshui of Guizhou.and Longlin of
Guangxi. The narration of the book involved as well the pedigrees of
some clans in remote antiquity such as Nineng, Shishuo, Xixian, Xiti,
Cepa, Genge and legends about Wusetun, Wugudu, Wudebu, Wuqiong,
Wupushuo and Zuoluoju. They might be the ancestors of some families of
Yi, or Yi speakers or Han nations.

As the compiler of the book was the singer of Rewo Family which
belonged to the Mo clan based in Lodianshuixi, the description in the
book devoted more detail to the activities of the Mo and Bu clans,
while there is less detail about those of the No and Heng and the
least space to the Wu and Zha clans. Therefore, the picture which
could embrace the history of all the Yi nationals in the Southwest is
to be completed upon further translation of other ancient Yi books
discovered in Sichuan, Yunnan, Guizhong and Guangxi and the collection
of historical relics.

The third part, 'Geography', includes some historical records about
the geographical coverage of the Yi people. The Yi people believed
their birthplace was 'Nizhi Shieryu' (the twelve areas in Nizhi),
which may indicate somewhere on the north bank of the upper reaches of
the Changjiang River (Yangtze). The record about 'the Naye' (ie. The
Changjiang River) appeared in this part. It sets out the territories
of some small Yi kingdoms, such as Luodian, Musa, Dongchuan, Wumeng,
Mangbu and Chele. It appears again in this part that the description was mainly focused on the geographical aspects of the Bu and Mo clans. This may also reflect the limitations put on the compiler by the availability of materials and information.

The fourth part, 'Astronomy', tells of the understanding of the ancient Yi people on the origin and evolution of the universe. It is similar to the Yi book On the Universe and Humanities, with differences of emphasis. It explained the conception of eight paths through which the clear and dirty airs moved and the seven orbits for the sun and the moon. The clear air and the dirty air were continuously in motion, while the sun and the moon moved all the time but varied the route from one orbit to another at different times of the year which was divided into divisions of January and September, February and August, March and July, April, June, May, and November, and October and December. These movements cause the variation of the angles from which the sun shines upon the earth, thus making the existence of the four seasons and the 24 solar terms and the division of time into months and years. The ancient Yi people, upon their long-standing observation and practice, determined that the time of one year should be the time our Planet takes to rotate 365" 4' and that a month contained either 30 days or 29 days. They worked out their own calendar upon the above basis.

The book narrates also how the ancient Yi comprehended the directions. The ancient Yi named the four directions and the eight corners ai, fu, qie, she, heng, ha, lu duo., which resembles the Eight Diagrams in the Han conception. The terms of tian gan and di zhi (ie, the Ten Heavenly Stems and the Twelve Earthly Branches) were employed to designate time and to mark the directions and positions. The Book described the variation and evolution of the universe and the creatures and interpreted the cause of such variation and evolution upon the Yi concept of bian, (ie, a state of inertia).

As far as the astronomical phenomena are concerned, in addition to the description of the movement of the sun and the moon, the book embraced the observation on wind, cloud, thunder, rain and snow. Some folk tales which reflected the naive materialism of the ancient Yi people in their understanding of nature, such as 'the gold bird', 'the jade rabbit' and 'the girl of the thunder palace', were included in the book as well.

The fifth part, 'Humanities', compiled the Yi national's historical records on the development of their classical culture in terms of their thought, ethics and religious belief. It is noteworthy that the narration which reflects the religion, philosophical thinking, and etiquette and custom of the ancient Yi people is not limited to this part, but appears in all other parts of the book, too.

The sixth part, 'Economy', is limited to a brief description of the ancient Yi people's activities in hunting, animal husbandary, cultivation and handicrafts. At the earliest times, the Yi people lived on hunting and nomadism, which was described as 'moved about in search of pasture and water'. Their life style changed into
cultivation and animal husbandry later and villages which were described as 'fields around houses' appeared. At the first period, hunting dogs and fine horses were considered the most important means of production. People were particular about the selection and improvement of the breeds of dogs and horses. Stories were told about 'searching for mates for dogs and horses'. The death of a fine dog would cause much sorrow. Sacrifices would be prepared for the dog and a ceremony held to call back its soul. This might hardly be conceivable from today's point of view, but it is understandable, taking into account the state of the economy in those days.

At a later stage, greater importance was attached to oxen. Stories relate the invention of pens to raise oxen by the Deshi family of the Mo clan. The level of agricultural production then was reflected in the accounts of 'the twelve kinds of grain', 'buckwheat' and 'the invention of barns'. The accounts of red silk and satin indicate the introduction of the Sichuan brocade to the Yi area, while the development of Yi handicraft in ancient times is shown by the description of the palaces and the silk dresses of the Yi rulers.

The Yi slave owners as a class, especially at the later stage of its development, seriously hampered the increase of social productivity. Armed contention over property occurred very often between clans or families within the same clan or between the father-in-law's and the sons-in-law's families. Narration is included to describe how oxen were robbed from others and slaughtered as sacrifices and how they expanded the boundaries of their land by occupying the land of others. They 'slaughtered one hundred oxen at one time' in order to show their might or to celebrate their victory. The slave owners, through their hack writers, flaunted their broad domain, their high prestige and their good fortune.

The Annals of the Yi Nation in the Southwest Region is a compilation of the Yi nation's historical records which embraced the various aspects of their life including production, daily activities, social custom, and local conditions covering a lengthy period in many different areas. These historical records were produced by, and kept separately by different families living in different areas at different periods of history. The Rewo Singer collected and compiled them into one book. As the result, it is inevitable that some parts repeated each other, and essence as well as dross co-existed in terms of both the contents and the style of the book. With the intention of keeping the original feature of the book, we have adopted the approach of literal translation. No repeated parts or any self-contradicting narration were deleted during the translation. Scholars and experts may employ their own approach in the comparison, analysis and appraisal they may make in their research.

The Han-Chinese version maintains the original sentence pattern of 'five characters' used in the Yi Book, as we have tried to meet the standards of 'honesty, eligibility and elegance'. However, though the current edition has involved a thorough review and collation, we still feel unable to guarantee its perfection, due to the difficulties created by the facts such as the interchanging use of different
characters with the same pronunciation in ancient Yi language, the divergence existing between the oral and the written Yi language, the difference between the ancient and the modern Yi language, the lack of working personnel and experience and the tight schedule. Errors appearing in the original copy also added confusions to our work. We should also blame ourselves for failing to achieve a complete understanding of the original book and for our limited knowledge on other relevant reference materials.

Mr. Luo Guoyi acted as the general editor on the wording of the translation. Chen Ying, Lu Yifang, Wang Ziyao and Wu Changshou worked on the the interpretation of the book. After the completion of the rough draft, a number of Bimo (or Pi-mu, ie, the male priest-exorcist of the Yi communities) and some linguists who are masters of the Yi language were invited to examine the translation. Comments of some other Bimo were also collected by the members of our Workteam. The draft was finalized by Chen Ying and Lu Yifang.

We would like to register here our acknowledgement to all the people and institutions who gave support and assistance to our work.

Published by Guizhou People's Publishing House, 1982
Translated by Jiang Ren.

* * *

some early accounts on mon demography and bilingualism

Christian Bauer

In my contribution to the Project publication Ethnic Groups Across National Boundaries in Mainland Southeast Asia (Singapore, iseas, 1990) I discussed problems relating to Mon demography and bilingualism in Burma and Thailand. A recent visit to Europe enabled me to check some further material there.

The earliest account so far is J.W. Helfer's 'Third Report on Tenasserim', published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Bengal Branch), 1839, pp.973-1005, where he states (p.982):
The new settlement of Maulmein opposite to Martaban, now the capital of the Tenasserim provinces, was at first almost entirely peopled by Taliants, and to this day it is computed that the number of Burmese to that of the Taliants is in the proportion of one to twenty.

H.L. Shorto confirmed to me (2 June 1990, in conversation) that during his residence in the former Amherst district in 1950-1952 the language predominantly used in Moulmein was Mon; similarly, Bilugyun was still predominantly Mon speaking at the time, with 27 villages (out of a total of 51) being Mon, 21 Burman, and 3 Karen.

Helfer continues (ibid.):
In British Tenasserim the Burmese language is adopted as the language of the courts, of public transactions, and of general conversation,
which is but fair, as the majority of the inhabitants speak that language, and it is no grievance to the Taliens, as two-thirds of them speak Burmese besides their mother tongue.

In the introduction to the second fascicle of Epigraphica Birmanica (vol.I.2, Rangoon, Government Printing, 1920, repr. 1960) C.O. Blagden gives a more detailed breakdown of demographic figures, based on the 1911 census, than I have done (Blagden's total census figure is 320,629 ethnic Mon); his account permits the extrapolation of the following percentage figures for speaker population and residents:

In 1911 55.96% of those who registered as ethnic Mon claimed to be speakers of Mon. 43.65% of the total population (ethnic Mon) resided in Amherst district, which today comprises both Mon State and much of Karen State, 10.85% in Thaton district, and 6.19% in Pegu (Epigraphia Birmanica I.2, p.69). Between 1901 and 1911 an increase in the speaker population by 25,000 was noted.

Blagden quotes directly from the Census of India (1911, Vol.XI, Burma, Part I. - Report, p.208): The use of Mon 'was strongly discouraged (Census...) after AD 1757 and absolutely proscribed (Census...) in Pegu from 1826 to 1852' (Epigraphia Birmanica I.2, p.71).

As for literacy, Blagden quotes Sir Richard Temple (Indian Antiquary, 1893, p.333, note): 'The Talaing language, though still spoken to a considerable extent, is ceasing to be a literary medium very rapidly; so much so that it is already extremely difficult to find an educated Talaing able to read even modern documents in his native language.'

London 2 June 1990

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News and correspondence

Tradition, trade and transformation: textiles of Southeast Asia

13 July - 18 November, 1990
Australian National Gallery, Canberra

The works in this major exhibition of textiles drawn from the Gallery's own extensive collection include items from Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Burma. The rich diversity of cultures and the prominence of textiles in the arts of the Southeast Asian region ensure a spectacular display.

Although textiles from Laos and northern Thailand comprise a relatively small proportion of the items displayed, examples from the Tai Lue and Tai Nuea are particularly striking. The variety these exhibit, and the comparisons that can be drawn with the designs and techniques of textiles from other parts of the Southeast Asian region are fascinating.
An Oxford University Press publication of the same title, by the curator Robyn Maxwell, will be published to coincide with the exhibition.

[contact address, Australian National Gallery, Canberra, A.C.T. 2601]

*

W. Sailer, Bangkok writes,
Reading the Thai-Yunnan Project Newsletter is always a delight. I do offer two suggestions.
1. Some computers, especially MAC, function with so many fonts, some of the proper names could be given in the original language.
2. The names of people who work on a special project are valuable but you may want to give attention to their mailing address. Other people may want to contact them.

[We will endeavour to give contact addresses in future. As a matter of policy we have excluded all but English (occasionally phonetic) fonts to keep the Newsletter readable to as many people as possible. Also, given our limited resources, it would add a great deal of work to include non-Roman scripts. Ed.]

Nicholas Tapp, Department of Anthropology, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Shatin, NT, Hong Kong writes,
Last year through the Centre of Southeast Asian Studies at SOAS where I hold a Research Associateship I was able to conduct an 8-month research study on the Hmong of souther Sichuan, who are closely related to the Hmong of Southeast Asia. The project was titled: The Kinship System of the Chuan Miao: Culture and Development among an Ethnic Minority of the PRC, and was funded through a Larger Personal Research Grant from the British Academy. Arrangements for my stay in a Hmong village in Gongxian county was facilitated by the Department of Anthropology at The Chinese University of Hong Kong and the Sichuan Nationalities Research Institute in Chengdu. Work concentrated on the collection and analysis of genealogies and their relationships to the economic and ritual systems, so that basically a village study was done and much interesting and suggestive legendary and mythic material collected and translated. Comparisons inevitably suggest themselves between the Hmong of Sichuan and of Southeast Asia as well as in other parts of China, which will be the subject of further study.

*

Through the Tai Studies Center, 1409 Clark, #312 Des moines, IA 50314 we have information of the program for Thai Studies in Vietnam, Hanoi University. The Program will
- Collect thai studies works in Vietnam (in Universities and other Institutions)
- organize joint Thai studies in Vietnam and abroad, exchange experts, information and Thai research works.
- take part in scientific and cultural activities related to thai studies, such as conferences, workshops, festive days, tourism, etc in
Vietnam and abroad.
- Organize conferences, workshops, seminars and meetings on Thai studies in Vietnam and abroad.

The address is
B.7 Bis, Bach khoa precinct
Hai Ba Trung District
Hanoi, Vietnam.

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Book notices


Published for TRI-ORSTOM project. Papers by editors, Wanat Bhruksrasri, Chupinit Kesmanee and Yves Conrad et.al. xxvii, 507 pp. 101 plates (most in colour).

The Department of Anthropology and the Thai-Yunnan Project announce the publication of

From Lawa to Mon, from Saa' to Thai
Historical and anthropological aspects of Southeast Asian social spaces

by

GEORGES CONDOMINAS

Two essays translated from L'espace social "propos de l'Asie du sud-est.

Notes on Lawa history concerning a place named Lua' (Lawa) in Karen country
&
Essay on the evolution of Thai political systems

These two papers are indispensable for an understanding of the history of the peoples of the region and because of the extensive source material surveyed by Condominas, together form an excellent introduction to Tai and Mon-Khmer ethnography.

Order form enclosed in this Newsletter.
Enquiries to Department of Anthropology, RSPacS, ANU, Box 4 GPO, Canberra, ACT 2601, Australia.
New edition of

The Fashioning of Leviathan 
the Beginnings of British Rule in Burma

by

John S. Furnivall

@ The spelling of Tai words follows the original manuscript, except for the words 'Dai' and meeng which are rendered as 'Tai' and meng. 'Dai' is a Pinyin spelling and it is confusing to use this form in English, where the convention is to spell the name as 'Tai' (ed).

* National Taiwan University. This paper was prepared for presentation at the 4th International Conference on Thai Studies, Kunming, 11-13 May 1990, but was not presented because of a disagreement about the characterization of Sipsongpanna as a 'kingdom' (ed.).

1 The largest civil war in the history of the kingdom of Sipsong Panna happened at the end of the 19th century. It was a war between the 35th king, Chao Gham Le, and the prince of Meng Jie, and lasted 22 years (1888-1911). The king called for help from his suzerain state, China. The governor of Yunnan then ordered Ke Shuxun, a junior general who originally garrisoned He Kou, adjacent to Lao Kai in Vietnam, to march to Sipsong Panna to help the king. Ke arrived at Meeng Jie in July, 1911. Dao Zhengjing was defeated and killed by Ke without much delay. However, at this very moment, the Qing Dynasty was overthrown by Chinese revolutionaries. The governor of Yunnan thus asked Ke to stay in Sipsong Panna in order to control the entire area. From then on, unlike the previous Chinese generals who always went back after they finished a mission, such as to suppress revolt, Ke never left, and began to set up a permanent political institution in Sipsong Panna (cf. Hsieh 1989).

2 I would argue that Sipsong Panna was a kingdom under the royal house of an unbroken family line since 1180, although most Chinese scholars do not realize it, for example, Socialist ethnologists categorize this Tai state as a 'tribal union' (see, for example, Huang Huikun et al. 1985; Jiang Yingliang 1983). The ideology and behaviour pattern of a group of people under a king and under a chief or a tribal headman should be essentially different. Kingship is not only a relation that meets certain conditions discussed in political anthropology, which examine what features a king possesses and what features his state should have (cf. Gluckman 1965:155-198; Fried 1967:227-242; Lewellen 1983:29-38; Mair 1964). It is also necessary to examine and analyse in what way the people feel their highest leader is a 'king' instead of a chief, a tribal headman, or a band-leader. My argument is that people under a king are in a passive role with respect to the state. The king's people know they are living in a secure or fixed area because of the king. The king, on the one hand, determines the
survival of his populace; on the other hand, he is the emblem for the people to identify who they are and what they belong to. This basically explains the matter of strong nostalgia among the Lue of northern Thailand (Thai-Lue) (see Moerman 1965, 1967, 1968). In fact, what they really miss is their home country with its royal Chao Phaendin (the king). It was not a surprise that tens of thousands of Lue people came to 'kowtow' to Chao Meeng Gham Le, the last king of Sipsong Panna, when he visited the Lue community in Nan, northern Thailand in 1986.

3When Dao Zhenging was defeated and killed by Ke, Dao's trusty and favourite general, Praya Klang Liang, escaped to Keng Tung. Ke had once gone to catch him, but not successfully.

4Louhei is one of the various self-claimed ethnic names of the Lahuzu. The Lahu is a Tibeto-Burmese speaking people, numbering about 120,000 in China. There was a Tai-speaking group living in the area which were not under the Sipsong Panna king.

5In 1913, after receiving approval from the government of Yunnan, Ke Shuxun established a Pu Si Yan Bian Xing Zheng Zong Ju or 'Executive Bureau of the Frontiers of the Puer and Simao Area' (ebfpsa) in Cheli (Jing Hung), Ke himself becoming the commissioner-in-chief. He divided Sipsong Panna into eight qu or regions. In 1924, the bureau was reorganized to become efpsa. In 1924, the bureau was reorganized to become efpsa. Those original regions became eight 'Branches for Exploitation'.

6Pan ethnic movement in general refers to the matter that several ethnic minority groups who endure similar impact politically, economically, and ideologically, from the dominant group adopt an organizational unification to cope with the dominant power in order to pursue their common interests (cf. Hsieh Shih-Chung 1987; Trottier 1981). Although this case occurred in Sipsong Panna was not very clearly based on an organized action, it was the first record of pan-non-Han peoples movement in this area. It is of crucial significance because it reflected a changing inter-relationships of ethnic groups in Sipsong Panna.

7I have mentioned in my doctoral dissertation (Hsieh Shih-Chung 1989) that Sipsong Panna had developed a formulated processual model of coping with conflict and for survival. Let's summarize it here. 1. The king allowed the local princes to fight with each other for any reason. However, Chao meng (local prince) could not challenge the authority of the king, because he was a symbol of sovereignty of the Heavenly Dynasty (Chinese Empire). 2. Neither the king nor the Chao meng adopted ways to resist China. If one did, one should admit guilt before a punitive expedition was sent by the Chinese government. 3. Unless it was prerequisite, the king, as far as possible, tried not to cry for help from China. The king usually took advantage of powerful Chinese troops to intimidate the rebellious princes. He never wished to see Chinese actually reach Sipsong Panna. It is true that Chinese never set up offices and officially remained in Sipsong Panna before 1913.

8The Yulo now identified as Jinuo nationality are a Tibeto-Burman speaking group, whose population numbered eleven thousand in 1982. They originally were counted as a sub-group of the Yi nationality. In 1979, the government approved them as an independent minzu (Ma Huiqing 1988:89).
The slogans which both the Yulo and the Yao adopted during the period of revolt include 'Kill the Han, don't kill the Yi (non-Han)'; 'to eat chicken one must peel skin'; 'kill Han men in Yiwu one by one, get those beautiful Han women as our wives'; and 'if the Taizu don't join us, get them to cultivate our rice fields' (Dao Yongming 1983:108).

The Tai were addressed as Baiyi. With respect to the origin of Baiyi, in my interpretation, first of all, in the eyes of the Han, the most obvious feature in the Tai society was the bai. Bai, also known as bui, was the most important social activity for both the whole community and individuals of the Tai. The bai is similar to the potlatch; its central purpose is economic redistribution. 'Doing bai' in Baiyi's life is a major focus of cultural life. The sound bai cannot be pronounced and spelled by Chinese in a single word. What two phonemes Chinese received are bay and yi. The combination of bay and yi becomes bay-yi, bo-yi, or ber-yi. However, the word yi adopted by the Chinese means 'barbarian'. The Communist government, under the policy of 'ethnic equality', severely criticized the former reactionary feudalistic regimes use of the insulting name Baiyi for the Tai.

Though it is true that 'Thai jai' is now sometimes used with the meaning of 'Thai (or Siamese) hegemonism', Hsieh's interpretation here is controversial. Traditionally, the Tai jai/Tai noi distinction appears to have been a historical and linguistic contrast (ed).

These figures should be treated with extreme caution. The relative increase is the important issue.

It has not been possible to determine the correct Tai representation of the Chinese characters given here. To avoid confusion they have been omitted. Ed.

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