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**FERTILITY, KINGSHIP AND ETHNICITY: THE GWER
SA LA FESTIVAL OF THE BAI IN SOUTHWEST CHINA***

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Fertility, Kingship and Ethnicity: the Gwer Sa La Festival of the Bai in Southwest China*

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INTRODUCTION

In the few ethnographies of the Bai, a minority nationality of southwest China, the Gwer Sa La festival immediately draws readers' attention for its "unseemly" customs. It is "unseemly" because men and women will meet in the wild, singing love songs and performing "eccentric" dances. However, the general picture of this festival remains quite vague, as does its meaning. C. P. Fitzgerald claimed Gwer Sa La is a distinctive Min Chia (the old designation of the Bai) festival, and, "for the Min Chia one of the most important festivals of the year, a kind of country carnival...The participants are Min Chia peasants from the villages, no Chinese taking any part in it" (Fitzgerald 1941: 122). Based on this distinction, he regards the festival as "a day of carnival, [and] a rare spectacle breaking the monotony of village life" (ibid: 130). The Min Chia--Chinese distinction is thus attributed with some sort of essential significance:

"To some extent the Gwer Sa La is felt by Min Chia peasants to be especially their own rite, one in which the city folk, and therefore the Chinese and half Chinese, have no part. They do not mind the spectators from the city coming out to look, but they do feel that the rites are in some way bound up with the country and its farmers, and are not a matter for regulation by city people and government officials." (Fitzgerald 1941: 131)

The assertion was drawn from his very incomplete knowledge of the festival proper. Moreover, he failed to provide an explanation why it could be felt by the Min Chia (Bai) as "their own rite", and for what reason the Chinese were reluctant to participate. This is an important question because only three years after Fitzgerald finished his fieldwork, Francis Hsu studied in exactly the same locality¹ but in his account did not mention this "carnival" at all (Hsu 1948). Hsu even denied the people are Min Chia, though he admitted that they spoke Min Chia language as their mother tongue (ibid: 17-8). Why is it the case that although both were students of anthropology² who studied in the same place at approximately the same time, Fitzgerald devoted pages to Gwer Sa La while Hsu did not mention it? What is in Gwer Sa La that contributed to such a radical discrepancy?

Edmund Leach shed some light on the issue by raising the question of otherness. Arguing that an anthropologist should study the "other" rather than his own people, he asserted that Hsu was wrong to take Min

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¹ Fitzgerald was based in Dali City, the prefecture seat of Dali, while Francis Hsu spent most of his time in Hsichow, a town 16 kilometers north from Dali.

² Both of them were trained by B. Malinowski.

Chia as Chinese. In addition, "Hsu was so anxious that 'West Town'¹ should typify China as a whole that the Min Chia peculiarities of the local culture are hardly ever mentioned. This is a palpable distortion but the resulting stereotype picture is curiously static" (Leach 1982: 126). Leach was right because it was impossible that Hsu, by living in West Town for fourteen months, had never heard of Gwer Sa La. After all, the stone tablet of Gwer Sa La suggests that during the time Hsu stayed in the region, the major sponsors of the event were the rich businessmen from West Town, the landlords of Hsu and his colleagues. It is quite certain that Hsu deliberately ignored Gwer Sa La. Then, why did Hsu have to ignore Gwer Sa La in order to prove that the people are Chinese? What cultural, political, and ethnic implications might be found in Gwer Sa La?

Beth Notar (1999) makes a step forward by offering two explanations with regard to the festival: time-space politics and bodily narrations of history in place. She argued that as an indigenous ritual practice, Gwer Sa La has suffered from suppression by the government, because it follows the lunar calendar disfavoured by Chinese governments, be it run by the Nationalist Party (KMT) or by the Communist Party, who tend to treat the lunar calendar as a trope of Chinese "backwardness". This argument appears rather far-fetched because there are many non-western festivals including the Spring Festival that follow the lunar calendar but seldom met with suppression. There must have been other reasons for governmental suppression of Gwer Sa La. The second explanation, concerning the bodily narrations of history in place, for which she coined the word 'toposomes', elegantly epitomizes the ethnic nature of the festival. She argues that Gwer Sa La, revived after Maoist destruction of the "Four Olds", seeks "to ensure community continuity through history and fertility. For Dali villagers, history is both embodied and emplaced." (Notar 1999: 242) On the other hand, she expressed a deep worry about the continuity of the festival itself, based on her observation that only the old people seem to care about it, while the young are more concerned with their "modernity". Therefore, though there are "potentially counter-hegemonic practices" in Gwer Sa La, "the mode of this potential traps pilgrimage participants in a conundrum of modernity." (ibid: 234)

Notar's qualification of Gwer Sa La as a form of "bodily narrations of history in place" makes sense because it partly and indirectly explains the discrepancy between Fitzgerald and Hsu: both Fitzgerald and Hsu understood the ethnic nature of Gwer Sa La, so that one tried to explain while the other simply excluded it from consideration. However, Beth Notar's version of explanation remains unsatisfactory for two reasons. Firstly, her emphasis on the pilgrimage aspects causes her to overlook the lover relations of the participants, leading to an understatement of the aspect of bodily narration of the theme of fertility. After all, the fertility of people is about sexual relations. Secondly, the history Notar has explored is not long enough to reveal the meaning of Gwer Sa La. If we take the legend of Gwer Sa La into due consideration, Maoist suppression in the 1970s and the KMT suppression in the 1930s may appear just a small part of a long history of suppression, or, to put it mildly, a long history of disfavour. Prior to suppression by the nation-state, this disapproval of Gwer Sa La had already been

¹ The alias Francis Hsu gave to Hsichow.

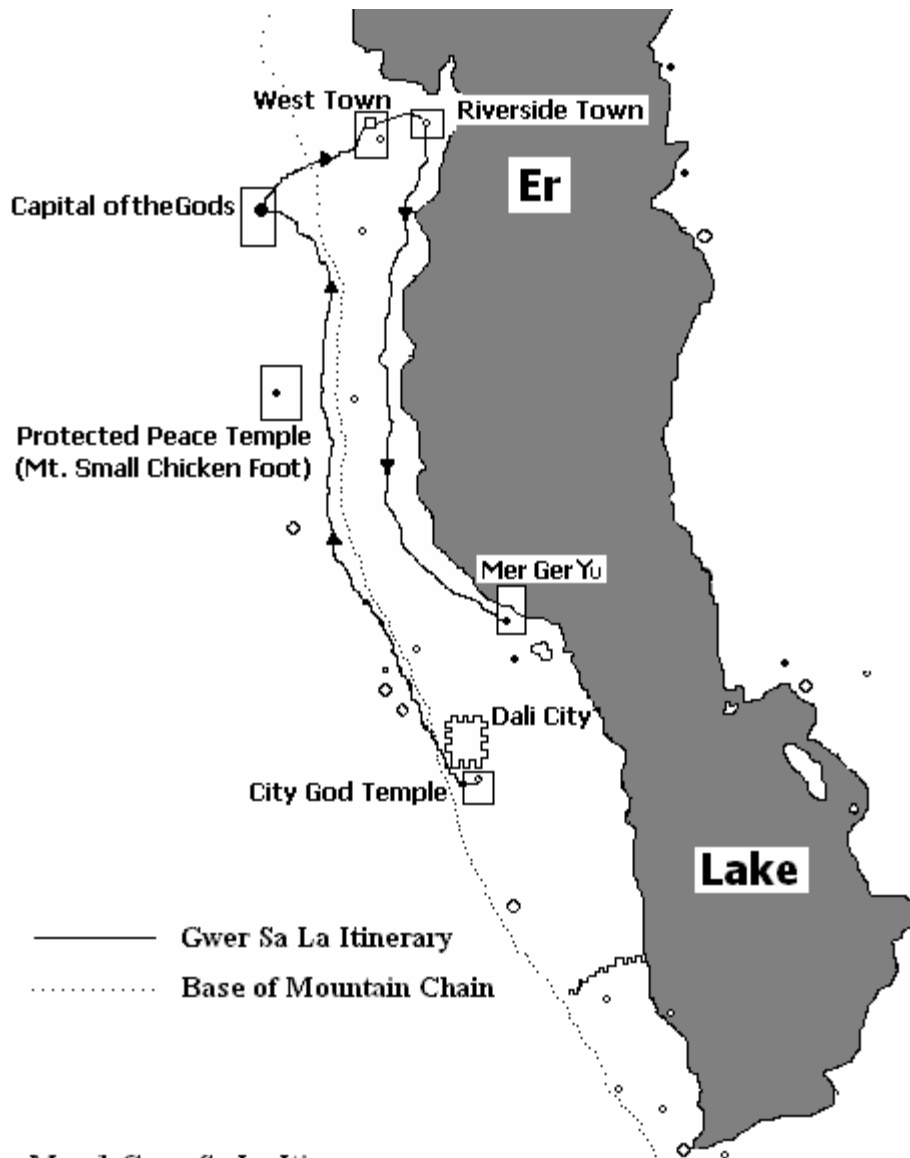
manifested in the history of late imperial China, which reveals something of sociological significance.

Actually, the role of history in Gwer Sa La poses at least two difficult questions. Firstly, whereas the festival claimed a history of over a thousand years, it made its first appearance in any known historical data as late as 1910 (Yang Q.[1910]2001: 302). Secondly, in spite of its so-called "unseemly" customs and "superstitious" beliefs, the festival successfully draws legitimacy from its ethnohistory--a popular legend of royal alliance abundantly documented for eight centuries. Why is that so? What are the Bai implying by claiming their version of history? In this paper, I will give a relatively detailed account of Gwer Sa La festival, including the legend that has been ignored by previous researchers. I will examine the legend in terms of its historical context. I will argue that a consideration of the festival legend reveals important themes of Gwer Sa La--fertility, kingship and ethnicity. These themes are structurally interdependent.

GWER SA LA FESTIVAL AND ITS LEGEND

The Bai call themselves "*sua bai*" (Bai-speaking people), while by outsiders and in written language, they were designated as Min Chia (common people) or Bai Tsu (Bai Nationality), one of the 56 officially recognized Chinese nationalities. The Bai are centred in the Dali Bai Nationality Autonomous Prefecture, in southwest China's Yunnan Province. The prefecture was set up in 1956, the year when most minorities in China were administratively incorporated into the new regime. The 2000 census indicates a total population of 1.85 million, 80% of whom dwell within Dali. They are a Tibetan-Burmese speaking people, many of whom also speak the local Chinese dialect.

They trace their past back to the Nan-chao and Dali kingdoms (consolidated in the 7th century and in 937 respectively). Both were subject to great influence from the central kingdoms of China. The influence became even more intensive after a ruthless conquest in 1382, when the troops of the newly established Ming Empire conquered Dali, captured its royalty, and burned all the books. The imperial government then attempted to homogenize the people by superimposing Confucian ideology over the indigenous Buddhism (Hou, 2002). Although this policy persisted over time and brought about tremendous change, the Bai successfully kept their own customs in many ways while embracing the Chinese influence (Liang 2005b). Gwer Sa La is one of these practices that might appear improper to the Chinese.



Map 1 Gwer Sa La Itinerary

Gwer Sa La is represented in Chinese as *rao san ling*, “winding three spirits”, or *rao shan lin*, “winding (among) mountains and woods”, or *rao san nian*, “winding for three years”. Each of them is quite unintelligible to the Bai speakers, and when pronounced in local Chinese dialect, the three versions slide into one—*rao sa li*. In the Bai language, Gwer Sa La could be roughly translated as “visiting three places”. It occurs from the night of the 22nd to 25th of the fourth month, starting with sending off the “Princess Jingu” and her husband “Prince Hsi-nu-lo” at the City God Temple in Dali. The participants visit three places in Dali basin, one after another, in the following days. These places include the Capital of the Gods, where most of the Bai in Dali join the celebration in one way or another, burning joss sticks, dancing, jostling each other in a crowd of temple-fair visitors, or encountering lovers through singing duets. The next two destinations are Riverside Town and Mer Ger Yu village, where more merry-making ensues. By the time Gwer Sa La ends, the itinerary the participants

have followed draws a circle in the Dali basin. (See Map 1)

1. The Participants

Gwer Sa La participants are the “descendants of the White King”, an utterance used to solicit love in the dark night when some of them take lovers (*ja ni*).

The nickname of Gwer Sa La is *Felu Hui*, which depicts the general concept of the festival. *Felu* is a loan from Chinese, meaning non-marital or pre-marital relations, improper to the Chinese but not uncommon to the Bai. The strangers in Gwer Sa La may “*bir sai bair vux*”, literally, “engage in furtive relations”. The partners they make or reunite with are called *ja ni*, or lovers. This furtive relation is established on one night during this three-day festival, when the sung duets are performed on the open field next to the temple of the Capital of the Gods. Far from “casual sex”, this relation involves a serious commitment to a life-long partnership. In addition, the relation is not supposed to go beyond Gwer Sa La, a rule not difficult to observe since lovers are always made among strangers from distant localities. Even if two *ja ni* come across each other during market days, one of the few occasions that bring together traders and buyers from a larger area, they should refrain from any contact, even a wave. As another rule, people from the same family, especially spouses, always avoid going to Gwer Sa La together, because what might happen will be embarrassing. However, family members usually tolerate *ja ni* relations, though it is by no means an open topic. I was told of a supportive wife whose 70-year-old husband fell ill and missed a reunion with his lover. She tried many medicines for him but did not get him better. Next year, after she made him a pair of new shoes and sent him to Gwer Sa La, her husband miraculously recovered.

The physical engagement of the lovers makes pregnancy quite likely. However, since most of the lovers are married, the offspring will be credited as the child of the woman's married life, blessed by the White King. Some people even put “*ai*”(love) --one of the words in the title of the White King (Love People Emperor)-- in the name of the baby born in this way. Actually, taking a lover at Gwer Sa La is a remedy for a married woman's barrenness, a belief strongly held by the Bai. In the long list of gods, temples, and festivals that are held to bestow fertility on married life, Gwer Sa La is the most efficacious and thus the most encompassing one.

While some strangers are seeking for physical relations and fertility in their married life, people from the Old Women's Association assume the ritual responsibility of the festival. These people are obliged to follow the entire itinerary of Gwer Sa La, and pray for fertility for their families and their villages. In local Chinese, the association is called *liaci hui*, either “Lotus Pond Society” or “Lotus Merciful Society”. Bai speakers call them *gunaini hui*, literally, “Old Women’s Association.” The women of these associations take upon themselves the responsibility of maintaining the ritual health of their villages and the entire Dali basin. Throughout the year, they meet every first and fifteenth day of a lunar month for sutra chanting. In a dozen festivals including Gwer Sa La, the most elaborate one, they make special preparations and sometimes launch pilgrimage trips to distant

shrines. The theme of their activities is essentially to pray for the fertility of people and crops. The associations are egalitarian congregations centring their activities on temples of *benzv*, or *vuzeng* in Bai language, meaning “my master” or “our master”. Every Bai village has at least one, and sometimes two, of these temples. The deity in the centre of the shrine is a local historical figure, who has a particular legend, character, and family. The *benzv* temple is the symbol of village community as a whole, and gives identities to each household in terms of alliance, residence, and most other concerns of life. As temple caretakers, the women of the Old Women’s Association maintain the primary symbol of village community, and see themselves as community representatives.

2. The Process

On the 22nd of the fourth month, members of every Old Women’s Association in Dali basin come all the way from their villages on behalf of their communities represented in *benzv*, by minibus or on foot, and gather at the courtyard of the City God Temple outside the south gate of Dali City. Each of them carries a large basket on her back, stuffed with things needed for the following three days, including food, joss sticks, wooden fishes, pots, umbrella, blankets, and stools. During these days, they enjoy communion with the gods by cooking in and outside the temple courtyard. Before cooking, they must offer the raw food to the gods by carrying it and kneeling before the images. They must also leave the pots open during cooking so that the gods will invisibly take their shares. Before the meal, the cooked food must be offered again. These process will be repeated each time these women eat during the following days, thus creating an intensive sense of communion. After the meal, each association would form two parallel lines; one faces another chanting the sutras under the lead of *jimu* (Mother of Sutras). The monotonous repetition would carry on until dark, when they switch to entertainment by singing and/or dancing. People living nearby will come and watch with amusement in the pleasant breeze of early summer. After midnight, these old women gradually disappear for sleep either on the temple floor or into the neighbourhood inns.

Gwer Sa La is inaugurated on the morning of 23rd, when pilgrims from Old Women’s Associations come up again at the gate of the City God Temple alongside a stream, sending off the legendary Princess Jingu and Prince Hsi-nu-lo. Each association would split into two bands, burning Jingu’s dress at one side of the stream, and burning Hsi-nu-lo’s costume at the other. They do it with great reverence, chanting the sutras with small wooden fishes in their hands. They believe the two gods are now with them, watching the ritual and bestowing blessings. The gods may also send messages to some associations by possessing some people’s bodies. I saw two possessions in the 2002 festival. The possessed ones suddenly fell down on the ground twitching and began to sing farewell songs to the rest of the members, telling them how well they had behaved and how much they would be blessed. Hearing the gods’ words, the members became extremely nervous and prayed with the utmost veneration.

After the Prince and the Princess are sent off, the members set out northward to the Capital of the Gods, a temple dedicated to the White King. Most of them take minibuses again but many still keep the traditional way of walking along the old track, which connects the villages lying at the base of the mountains. Groups of Bai people throughout Dali will wind their way from the highway up the roads and paths toward the Capital of the Gods lying in the middle of Mt. Five Terraces. The Capital of the Gods is a temple dedicated to the White King. As the ancestor of all the Bai, the god is held as supreme and the ruler of all the other *benzv* in the Dali basin. The villagers will come and register the births and deaths of all family members, and, as a festival of fertility, Gwer Sa La is the occasion that parents of infants go and register with the White King. Usually parents will go for three consecutive years, which is why one of the Chinese designations of Gwer Sa La is “winding for three years”. The parents bring special offerings to the deity, including a pig’s head, or a chicken slaughtered on the spot, and a yellow paper envelope enclosing a prayer, which is then burned to him.

When people from the Old Women’s Associations reach the place and put down their baskets in a corner, they will form a line and march into the temple, dancing, through a throng of spectators so dense that it might have already made any gesture difficult. The dancers are usually equipped with coloured ribbons or drums in their hands and are led by someone who holds a willow. An alternative and elaborate procession will consist of two leaders, a group of dragon dancers, and other members of the association. The two leaders are one woman and one man (often played by a woman), wearing eccentric costumes and a pair of sunglasses, and holding a small live willow or mulberry tree-trunk, with a gourd attached. The procession, together with the instruments and dances, is held to solicit rain for crops as well as to help people multiply. After due homage is paid to the gods, including the White King and other images which symbolically made up the whole collection of *benzv*, the members may freely join the dancing in the open square outside the temple. The dancers are no longer exclusively from the Old Women’s Associations, but the performance still appears to be a kind of competition between associations. From time to time, male spectators will also join in the dance.

A variety of other people participate in the event in one way or another. There are vendors who have already rented a place along the hill road to sell their items, ranging from snacks and drinks, to local music CDs and ritual consumables. There are also local officials, led by the Municipal Bureau of Religion, who regulate the traffic, business, and security, and charge for the “service” from the vendors as well as bus drivers. There are still Buddhist monks from the neighbouring temple (Sacred Source Temple) who offer special programs for paid salvation. Finally, there are innumerable beggars lining the road, many of them disabled, asking for rice and money. Most of the visitors spend the whole day at the fair, enjoying the food, watching the dances, and buying items. All of them seem to wear their best clothes, looking cheerful. Among strangers, men and women flirt casually from time to time. At the 2002 festival, I heard an interesting conversation between a male passer-by and several women cooking a cake at the side of the road. Seeing the cake was saturated with heavy smoke, the man asked one of the women,

- "How could you eat this black thing?"
- "Black is delicious." the woman replied.
- "How could you eat it raw?"
- "Cooked is no good, in Gwer Sa La we eat raw things."

In Bai, as in Chinese, "raw" means raw food as well as strangers. And a man's penis is said to be something black (*he ququ*). We may therefore see the metaphoric implication is rather explicit.

When the night gradually falls, many people begin to move to another open space further away from the temple. This place is the well-known area for singing duets and meeting lovers. The duets are always between individual strangers of the opposite sex. It usually starts with a man who initiates a line, waiting for a woman around him to respond. Many a time a certain woman does respond with a line, leaving the man to compose his own rejoinder. The lyrics are love songs composed impromptu, in a competitive manner that demands wit and cleverness. Singers are expected to outwit one another through clever remarks. If a female singer fails to respond, her girl friend may come up with some help. As the lyrics are exchanged, the audience begins to draw around, commenting on the singers' skills. The songs often go from flirty to explicit, most of time becoming lewd or obscene, and take over the mood of the audience. From time to time, a woman may leave the crowd, followed by a man shortly after, disappearing in the dark. Some of the audience may give a smirk to their neighbours at this sight, but no one would follow any pair because people hold the belief that to actually see sexual intercourse inevitably brings disaster to the witness.

The following two days in the Riverside Town and the Mer Ger Yu village are spent on much the same events on a lesser scale, but are no longer proper for the taking of *ja ni*. Singing becomes more cheerful than sensual. At night, some Old Women's Associations occupy the temple floor, while others may sleep in a villager's house, where they are warmly welcomed. Actually, the ethics is that the families that fail to accommodate any Old Women's Association are regarded as not *xiahui*, or hospitable. Vendors, dancers, and visitors are still numerous, but beggars disappear. In the olden days, *Ja ni* may sleep together in a quiet place, such as on the dyke of the rice-field. The straw mats they used are precious, because it is believed that by being thrown into the rice paddy, the mat, together with the liquids of sexual intercourse, will dramatically fertilize the field and bring a high yield.

3. The Legend and Related Festivals

Three gods are significant in the Gwer Sa La festival: the White King, Princess Jingu, and Prince Hsi-nu-lo. As local mytho-historical figures, these gods appear in one popular legend, known to most of the participants of Gwer Sa La, especially the people from the Old Women's Association. The White King is held to be the common ancestor of the Bai. I was also told by a middle-aged man that several years ago, when he was

watching the singing, two soft hands touched his pants from behind. As he was trying to move away, a woman's voice uttered, "Aren't you the White King's descendant?" In addition to this verbal significance, the three deities also played important roles in two other festivals, concerning Princess Jingu and Prince Hsi-nu-lo. The legend goes as follows:

Princess Jingu was the youngest daughter of Chang-lo-chin-ch'iu, the White King, and ruler of Pai-tzu kuo Kingdom. One day, she was scolded by her father. Depressed and angry, the princess ran away. It was the ninth of the second month. In the wild, she was almost bitten by a snake at night before a hunter named Hsi-nu-lo saved her. Out of affection and gratitude, she gave her virginity to him in the dark. The next morning she found the hunter was dressed in animal skin and was unbelievably ugly. He was so ugly that she passed out at the sight of his face. Despite this, she found Hsi-nu-lo was a kind-hearted and brave young man. She decided to go with him to the hunter's home at Mt. Wei in the land of Meng-she, where they were married with a proper wedding ceremony. In a few years, Hsi-nu-lo proved himself a great leader, and was elected by the people as the chief of Meng-she.

The White King, after Jingu ran away, sent his son Tuan Ssu-p'ing south to look for her. But the son lost his way and came to another mountain and had to stay there. Since the area is backward, he had to bear the terrible food and the bitter life. The White King, though angry with his daughter when he learnt of her unapproved marriage, finally accepted the reality, admitting the marriage and permitting the princess to pay a visit in Dali. Jingu's friends, accompanied by music and dance, happily set out for Mt. Wei, on the day of Jingu's disappearance. This is the origin of "Receiving Jingu".

Although uninvited, the now-approved Prince Hsi-nu-lo was afraid of losing his wife, so he went with her to Dali. On the way, Jingu's friends could not help frowning on his ugliness, and began to worry that the White King would turn against him because his ugliness apparently proved Jingu's marriage unworthy. Prince Hsi-nu-lo also felt himself undeserving, and, since after all he had not been invited, he left the band and hid in the Protected Peace Temple a few miles before reaching the White King's palace, the Capital of the Gods. On the third of the third month, he could not wait any longer and left for his home in the south. However, when he passed the City God Temple at Dali city, he changed his mind and stayed there to wait for his wife. On the 23rd of the fourth month, Princess Jingu finished her visit, joined Prince Hsi-nu-lo, and together they set out for their home at Mt. Wei.

The legend ended with the White King's decision to pass his throne to Prince Hsi-nu-lo, thus ending the Pai-tzu kuo Kingdom, which led Prince Hsi-nu-lo to found the Nan-chao Kingdom by uniting his Meng-she chieftdom with his father-in-law's people.

The legend throws much light on Gwer Sa La's inauguration ceremony in which Princess Jingu and Prince Hsi-nu-lo are sent off on the morning of the 23rd of the fourth month. It is the date indicated in the legend that the couple finally left Dali. There are two other previous festivals marking the visit and the day Hsi-nu-lo left the Protected Peace Temple. They are the festival of "Receiving Princess Jingu" and "Sending-off Prince Hsi-nu-lo". The festivals take place respectively in the second and third months. And, again, the Old Women's Association plays important roles.

"Receiving Princess Jingu" occurs on the ninth of the third month. Each Old Women's Association leaves Dali basin heading south to Mt. Wei, paying homage to the temples of Princess Jingu and Prince Hsi-nu-lo. They carry these deities' attire back to two temples in Dali. Some of them used to walk the pilgrimage route,

a total distance of 200 kms. In the reform era, most travellers take buses.

For each association, there are two destination temples on different mountains. The first one hosts the temple for Princess Jingu and Prince Hsi-nu-lo, while the second one is dedicated to Tuan Ssu-p'ing, the Founder Emperor, who according to legend was the brother of Princess Jingu. The pilgrims offer new roses to each of the gods, replacing the older ones they brought last year, and carry the latter back to Dali, formerly on horseback, now in the *Jingmu*'s basket.

The costumes the pilgrims bring back will be sent to two temples in Dali basin. Prince Hsi-nu-lo's robe will be sent to the Groom Prince Hall at the Protected Peace Temple at the peak of Mt. Small Chicken Foot, while Princess Jingu's will end up in the temple of the Capital of the Gods, several miles north at the Groom Prince Hall.

The second pilgrimage starts from the second of the third lunar month, when pilgrims from the Old Women's Associations climb the Mountain of the Protected Peace Temple and spend the night there. On the next morning, they ceremonially burn Prince Hsi-nu-lo's attire, sending him away to the City God Temple in Dali. I failed to climb this mountain in the evening, because the old woman who promised to bring me there left for the temple without picking me up. This means a kind refusal. Therefore, I had to go there the next morning, following the people gradually gathering in the hill valley at the foot of Protected Peace Temple. Actually, I found seven temples there, stretching from the mountain foot to the peak of Mt. Small Chicken Foot, where the Protected Peace Temple overlooks the valley. The majority of the pilgrims will laboriously climb all the way to the temple.

This pilgrimage is a short one, but it inaugurates the beginning of the singing season. From this date (third of the third month) to the ninth of the ninth month, the Bai can sing to each other at any time or any place, with two exceptions: first, they never sing to a person who falls within the incest category; secondly, no one dares to sing within the threshold of a house. The mountain area is one of the ideal places to make flirtations through the songs. I was later provided with an explanation that this is the reason why the old lady left without me: she probably thought it improper to let me see these old people acting explicitly in the dark.

THE LEGENDARY PAST AND THE FORGOTTEN GWER SA LA

1. The Legend: Historical Roots and Their Political Implications

It should come as no surprise that what happened in Dali's history is inconsistent with the legend, except that Hsi-nu-lo did found the Nan-chao Kingdom in Meng-she. It was not until the reign of his grandson that the kingdom finally expanded its territory to the land of Dali, not through romantic royal alliance or voluntary abdication, but through military expansion in the 8th century with the aid of the T'ang Empire (A.D. 618-907). Actually, though the White King and his Pai-tzu-ko Kingdom were mentioned in various local and national

historical records, neither of them ever existed (Backus 1981: 56; Hou 2002: Chp. 6). When the Dali area was taken over by the Nan-chao Kingdom, it was ruled by several indigenous chiefdoms who claimed allegiance to Tibet, and the control over the Dali basin "would take much longer to accomplish" (Backus 1981: 56). The legend makes another apparent "mistake" by claiming Tuan Suu-p'ing as the son of the White King. Actually, Tuan was the founder of the Dali Kingdom (938-1253), more than two hundred years later than the foundation of the Nan-chao Kingdom.

However, the historically false often reveals the sociological truth. The theme of the merging of Nan-chao and Pai-tzu-ko is very noteworthy, because in local historical records, the theme is abundantly found and constitutes the most popular version of the people's past. It often starts with a creation myth, claiming that Dali was an uninhabited lagoon before Avalokitesvara drained the water. After a series of events, he¹ caused Hsi-nu-lo to take over Dali. Just like the legend of Gwer Sa La, the historical record also claims the merging has something to do with the White King and the chief from Nan-chao. In particular, the historical record tends to claim the merging as a result of a sacrifice, in which the chief of Nan-chao is bestowed with heavenly signs as qualified to ascend the throne. The earliest record of the event was found in *Nan-chao History With Paintings*, a document of the 12th century.² It says,

According to *Record of the Iron Column*, Chang-lo-chin-ch'iu, the great general of three Bai Cities, offered sacrifice to heaven at the Iron Column, with another eight persons, including Prince Hsin-tsung. The guardian bird flew from the column and landed on Prince Hsin-tsung's shoulder, which surprised Chang-lo-chin-ch'iu. Prince Hsin-tsung recalled out of happiness that the bird was the guardian bird of his house. The bird perished after staying at the Prince's home for 11 months (You 1989: 179).

The meaning of this piece of writing is quite vague, but the theme is clear: a ritual bird chose Prince Hsin-Tsung, which indicates that he was bestowed with a kind of divine legitimacy that surprised the White King. Note that Prince Hsin-tsung is the title conferred by a T'ang emperor on Lo-sheng, son of Hsi-nu-lo.

The theme re-appeared in *Recollections of Ancient Yunnan*, dated to the 13th century. However, it was not until the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) that an important theme was added: the voluntary abdication of power. In addition, the role of Prince Hsin-tsung, the chief of Nan-chao, was replaced by his father and the founder chief Hsi-nu-lo. The new version was found in *General History of the Ancient White Kingdom*, a book that re-invented the history of the people of Dali area, including a divine genealogy of Nan-chao royal family from Asoka of India down to Hsi-nu-lo. Although the book is already lost, contemporary historians have largely re-assembled it based on quotations from other historical materials (eg. Wang 1981). Moreover, an account of this book with comments (*Account of the General History of the Ancient White Kingdom*) was also discovered in the

¹ In Dali, the gender of Avalokitesvara was male.

² There are debates over the exact date of this document, but most researchers prefer it was created before Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368), for detailed discussion, see Li Lin-ts'an (1967).

1950s, in which the voluntary abdication by the White King in favour of Prince Hsi-nu-lo was recounted in full detail:

Chang-lo-chin-ch'iu, King of the Pai-tsu-ko, King of Yunnan, lived in his capital at the White Cliff. He learnt Avalokitesvara had ordered Hsi-nu-lo to be the king. Though unhappy, he invited Hsi-nu-lo and other chiefs to offer a nine-vessel sacrifice, at the Iron Column in the White Cliff. They divined and solicited an oracle from Heaven, asking who was destined to be the next king. When the sacrifice was about to conclude, a cuckoo bird suddenly fluttered and alighted on the shoulder of Hsi-nu-lo, calling his name three times and returning to the sandalwood-tree. Deeply convinced, the rest stopped divining and knelt down before Hsi-nu-lo, asking him to ascend the throne. Chang-lo-chin-ch'iu also realized that the sign did mean Hsi-nu-lo was the king of virtue sent by Heaven, so he gave up his throne, and married his daughter to Hsi-nu-lo (You 1989: 23).

This reformulated legend has proven to be extremely popular in local historical materials, to the extent that after its invention, almost every book dealing with Dali's past took it as the standard version of Dali's origin. Therefore, it is very important to understand the theme of voluntary abdication. Hou Chong (2003) perceptively attributed it to be a response to the conquest by the Ming Emperor, Zhu Yuanzhang, who looked down upon the Dali people as uncivilized. In order to claim legitimacy for his conquest, Zhu portrayed himself as an enlightener, bringing the "superior" morality of Confucianism to the "ignorant" Dali people. By so doing, he imposed a policy of sinicization, trying to replace the local Buddhist ideology with Confucianism. The policy was met with repugnance by the local scholars because they thought themselves morally equal to the conquerors and, more importantly, they witnessed the cultural destruction done by the conquerors who slaughtered the semi-autonomous Dali royalty, pulled down their palaces, and burned all the books. It was out of this repugnance that the *General History of the Ancient White Kingdom* was secretly written by an anonymous writer in Dali. By creating a myth of voluntary abdication out of a previous version of the relation between Nan-chao and Pai-tsu-kuo, the book was intended to reveal metaphorically the illegitimacy of the Ming conquest, because according to Confucian orthodoxy, voluntary abdication to a wise man sent by Heaven is the ideal form of political system, much better than military conquest. Actually, throughout Chinese history including and especially during the Ming Dynasty, voluntary abdication was held to be true as the beginning of Chinese history. Therefore, The *General History of the Ancient White Kingdom*, by inventing the theme of voluntary abdication, created a contrast between the Dali people and the Chinese conquerors, who were attempting to enlighten a people holding a morality that the conquerors neglected. This political critique was so explicit that the writer had to write the book in an artificial language that recorded the Bai phonetics with localized Chinese characters, a system intelligible only to educated native Bai speakers.¹ The commentary notes which follow this

¹ There are debates on this written language. Bai native scholars today argue it is written in Bai (Xu 2002), while some non-Bai researchers think not (Hou 2002). The former is quite unlikely because in Bai history, Chinese was employed as the official language while Sanskrit was the religious one. There was never a need to create a written form of the ethnic language.

episode of voluntary abdication in the version discovered in the 1950s, which was written in Chinese in the late Qing Dynasty, carried the same spirit of such political critique:

In the ancient past, when King Wuding offered a sacrifice to King Tang, a pheasant alighted on the sacrificial vessel and crowed. King Wuding was afraid of this bad omen, and took the blame on himself. He revitalized his kingdom and he was enshrined as the dynasty's High King.¹ Now that Hsi-nu-lo received a cuckoo's call, is that an omen sent by Heaven? When Shun was living on Mt. Li, King Yao sent nine men, two women, artisans, cows and sheep, and crops to him, until Shun had no choice but to succeed Yao.² When Hsi-nu-lo was living on Mt. Wei, Heaven sent an extraordinary monk to exorcise the evil spirits and establish a kingdom. Heaven then gave the kingdom to Hsi-nu-lo, who had no choice but to accept. Although Chinese and Minorities are different in scale, both adopted to the way of voluntary abdication. We can therefore say that they share the same spirit (You 1989: 23-24).

The parallel drawn here highlights the equality of political morality between ancient China and ancient Dali. In order to reveal the illegitimacy of the conqueror, Emperor Zhu Yuanzhang, the commentary becomes even more explicit:

Chang-lo-chin-ch'iu is nothing more than a native chief, but he was able to relinquish his throne and marry his daughter to a wise man. Can we say he had followed the example of King Yao? However, when we look at that ambitious tyrant who knew nothing but conquest, isn't he as different from these exemplars as the sky is different from the earth? ... (With Hsi-nu-lo's deed) then, who dare say that Chinese and Minorities are not the same? (ibid. 24)

Who is the "tyrant who knew nothing but conquest"? The ancient commentator did not and dared not say. However, considering the context in which the book was written, it is an apparent allusion to Emperor Zhu Yuanzhang. In other words, by re-inventing the story of the White King's voluntary abdication to the wise Hsi-nu-lo, the commentator exercised a kind of political critique instead of a revolt that was destined to fail. In this light, we can say that the legend told in Gwer Sa La is a metaphor of the Bai's "invented tradition", articulating the Bai's claims to moral superiority and distinctive ethnicity.

2. The Forgotten Gwer Sa La

Compared with the legend, it is very difficult to trace the record of Gwer Sa La. As far as I know, though neither Receiving Princess Jingu nor Sending-off Hsi-nu-lo is found in any literature before the 1940s, Gwer Sa La was referred to as late as the turn of the 20th century, when an imperial title holder (Duan Wei) wrote some romantic poems about it. A definite record appeared even later, in 1910, in a book called *Notes on Inner Yunnan* written by a local scholar (Yang Q. [1910]2001):

¹ King Wuding was the offspring of King Tang, founder of the Shang Dynasty (16th century B.C.-1046 B.C.). The legend of the pheasant's crowing was recorded in the *Book of History*.

² In Chinese legend, Shun was the successor of King Yao, one of the most ancient kings of Chinese civilization, through voluntary abdication instead of inheriting. The legend was also recorded in the *Book of History*.

There is a festival named *rao shan lin* (winding [among] mountains and forests). Every year in late spring, hundreds and thousands of men and women meet together in dozens of groups, each led by a ritual specialist. Men wear paper flowers on the head, and straw shoes on their feet. Their clothes are made of fine silk, but the fronts are loosened, and the leg openings are uneven. If the person is an old woman, she will wear prayer beads round her neck and a satchel on her back. The front of her clothes are not fastened and her feet are bare. She covers her head with a bamboo hat, and holds a walking stick in her hand. Her attire differs from that of a man, except for the red paper flower on her head. A man usually carries a handkerchief or a folding fan, dancing and singing, or beating the "tyrant's whip". What is a "tyrant's whip"? It is made out of a piece of bamboo as tall as a human body, drilled with holes every three inches to its end, then attached with two or three brass coins. The holes are uneven so that when the bamboo is percussed, the coins will make a heartfelt sound. The players usually hold the bamboo instrument in the middle, thus dividing it into two parts. When it beats the hand, the shoulder is touched; when it beats the foot, the ankle is touched; when it beats the head, the neck is touched; when it beats the waist, the bottom is touched. The body moves gracefully, bending, rising, stretching, and shrinking, always on the beat. Isn't it a wonderful skill? The festival lasts for four days, the first day at the City God Temple of Dali, the second day at the Great Source Temple by passing by the Three Pagoda Temple, the third day at the Riverside Town, and the fourth day at the Mer Ger Yu village. Because the itinerary covers the foothills of Mt. Cang and the road by the lake, the festival is thus called "winding among mountains and woods".

People eat and sleep in the temples and cook in the temple courtyards, where each group has one individual pot. They venerate the gods together, officiated by a ritual specialist. They seem to be very devoted. After the veneration, they proceed to eat. They sleep on the floor on mats, lying in a disorderly fashion, until all the room is occupied. It is said the festival originated from Nan-chao Kingdom, and could not be banned since then. This is perhaps because the people are deceived by the ritual specialists' words, thinking that by so doing they could be blessed with children or healed from illness. Another explanation is that Dali is the land of Buddha, and the gods and Buddha are so mysterious that they are not easily dismissed.

Another important record by the local scholars was found in the time when Fitzgerald made his observation:

"Great Source Temple, known as Capital of Buddha, lies in the foothills of Mt. Five Terraces. A temple honouring Piao-hsin-ju¹ lies at the side of it, known as the Capital of the Gods. Note: It is the palace of the supreme god of all *benzv*, entitled as 'Kingdom Founder Emperor Guarding the Five Terraces'. Every 25th of the fourth month, *benzv* of all villages pay homage to him. It is called *rao san ling*" (Xu 1978: 273). Miao Luanhe provides further details that "there is a pageant procession in Dali called *rao san ling*, when all the scholars and common people set out for Hsichow (i.e. Capital of the Gods) and pay their homage. The pilgrims amount to tens of thousands, who proceed along the road on Mt. Cang and return along the Er Lake. The people would sing and dance for three or four days, contending in bizarrerie and beauty, pushing the pageant to its full flourish. People from all the 71 villages will carry their respective *benzv*'s image, proceeding in their own procession." (ibid.: 272)

While we find these descriptions correspond very much to what we know about Gwer Sa La of the present day, the taking of lovers (*ja ni*) was not mentioned at all, though the romantic spirit was alluded to.

Actually, from the early Republican era on, the modern government has been hostile to this "degrading"

¹ Another king of Nan-chao, 7th generation heir of Hsi-nu-lo.

and “decadent” custom. In the 1916 edition of *Dali Gazetteer*, Gwer Sa La was considered as “superstitious, forbidden and abandoned. And the images were destroyed”. It is true that the festival was forbidden under the local Republican government, which claimed Gwer Sa La to be “corrupted”. In spite of this imposed denial, villagers continued to perform Gwer Sa La, and the government stopped putting out banning notices (Fitzgerald 1941: 122). The 1947 records showed that around 700, 000 national dollars were collected during Gwer Sa La by the committee of the Capital of the Gods alone, making it a quite successful business. In 1947, a Japanese-trained local scholar explained why Gwer Sa La persists: “(the custom) was handed down over generations for more than 1200 years. How could millions of villages give up their belief for the sake of a mere government order?” (Zhao 1999[1947]: 307). This was repeated during the Cultural Revolution, when some villagers were arrested and accused of “committing disorderly man-woman relations” (Wang 1998: 77).

All this evidence shows that Gwer Sa La is a festival held by the local people as a long tradition. It was subjected to state prohibition, which failed all the time. However, if it is a very long tradition, why is it not recorded in historical literature? A conspicuous reason is that the practice is too unseemly to be shown to “outsiders”, i.e. the Chinese rulers. Moreover, as local scholars who were trained in Confucianism and thought themselves different from the ordinary people, they might have been shy to write about how the people around them were doing something against Confucian teaching. I found this to be the case when I discussed the topic with the local scholars. They would either skip the lover episode or switch to another topic. Only the uneducated people tell the truth. One of my key informants, a middle-aged man, told me the details of his experience but denounced the morality of them, saying that the participants including himself are “seeking sexual pleasure under the guise of paying homage to the gods.” On the other hand, as a people of the Chinese frontier, which had caused so much trouble to the imperial court, the Bai can not openly admit their unseemly custom, since by doing so they may put themselves into the category of barbarians, a designation that had been employed against them and neighbouring peoples. As a result in their writings, the local people have attempted very hard to justify themselves as being as civilized as the Chinese. Many of these justifications are invented traditions, including a claim of Chinese origins often found in local lineage records. The local gazetteer, the “official histories”, was always stuffed with the claim that Dali people were as virtuous as what was prescribed in Confucianism. A case in point is probably the *Dali Prefecture Gazetteer* compiled during the reign of Kangxi (1661-1722):

“Most scholars are self-respectful, ashamed of lawsuits. Retired officials are as modest as an ordinary old villager, engaging in teaching instead of seeking for fame and wealth. The custom cherishes Buddhist truth. Every house has a Buddhist shrine, and everyone has several prayer beads. On the first and fifteenth days of a month, the sound of sutra repeating is heard everywhere. A legend tells that Avalokitesvara visited the place, teaching people to abandon the sword, read the Confucian books, and understand the principle of the five virtues such as loyalty to the emperor and filial piety to one's parents.” (Huang 1937: vol 12, art. custom)

Therefore, we can conclude that Gwer Sa La is neglected by the local scholars on the basis that they thought the

custom an unseemly one, which it is improper to publicize.

OUTSIDE FERTILITY, STRANGER KINGS, AND DORMANT ETHNICITY

The importance of fertility to the Bai has already been observed by Francis Hsu (1948: 77-78) and Beth Notar (1999: 224). Actually, to the Bai, fertility is the first concern of married life. Barrenness is considered one of the most serious problems, and is often attributed to a person's disobedient life.¹ Besides the symbolic articulations of human reproduction in various rites of passage, there are ritual obligations for a newlywed woman, led by her mother or mother-in-law, in paying homage at various temples and praying for pregnancy. Indeed, fertility is the theme of most of the ritual practices in Dali. In spite of the strict moral principle prohibiting non-marital sexual relations, imposed by the Chinese and adopted at least in principle by the Bai, it is significant that chastity of neither male nor female is strictly observed. Boys and girls, after engaging in furtive meetings at well-known rendezvous, often have to marry because of an unexpected pregnancy.

Gwer Sa La is the most efficacious way of obtaining fertility for at least three reasons. Firstly, Gwer Sa La involves all members from every Old Women's Association, who pray for the fertility of the crops and reproduction of people, on behalf of their families and the villages that are represented in *benzv*. The clothes they burn, the sutras they chant, and the dances they perform are all intended to achieve these purposes. Among the *benzv*, the Capital of the Gods is the only one in Dali basin that is superior to all other egalitarian *benzv*. By seeking for fertility at the Capital of the Gods, Old Women's Associations are seeking ritual efficacy of a higher order. From the procession, registration, and competitive dances, the supra-regional authority of the Capital of the Gods, embodied in the White King, is fully recognized. Secondly, in Gwer Sa La, most of the ritual services are offered for ordinary married women to pray for pregnancy. By making offerings in the form of silk, joss sticks, and yellow envelopes, they pledge to come to Gwer Sa La for three consecutive years if their request is satisfied. As the occasion on which all the Dali villagers register the births and deaths of family members, Gwer Sa La also marks the fertility (or "population growth") of the whole Dali basin. Most important of all, there are singing duets which accommodate the *ja ni* relations, a remedy to bring fertility to a barren marriage, the last resort after all other fertility rituals have failed.

The question remains that if fertility is one of the themes of Gwer Sa La, then, how is it that Gwer Sa La possesses this encompassing power?

I suggest answering this question in the light of the Gwer Sa La legend. We notice that both fertility and kingship come from outside the ordinary social life. This observation may lead us to the classic study done by Marshall Sahlins. In his article "The Stranger-King; or, Dumézil among the Fijians", he made an astute generalization on the pattern of kingship. He noticed that, as Dumézil found in ancient Indo-European

¹ If a woman experiences difficulties in conceiving or during labour, she may be accused of having offended against custom, for instance by not respecting the elders or coming home late during her pregnancy.

civilizations, kingship among the Polynesians makes its appearance from the realm outside the society. Thus, Like Roman kingship, which begins with a homicide with Romulus killing Remus, kingship in the Sandwich Islands begins with incestuous union and Fijian kingship begins with a cannibal from the sea. Kingship comes from the stranger, but it is exactly this very reason that makes a king a king, because "power is not inherent in humanity. It can only come from elsewhere than the community and relationships of humankind, thus power is a barbarian." (Sahlins 1985: 79)

A "Stranger-king" is apparently found in the Gwer Sa La legend. Prince Hsi-nu-lo was indeed a stranger-king because he is "barbaric". His barbarity is indicated by his "illegitimate" union with Princess Jingu in the dark, as well as his extreme ugliness. Actually, his ugliness was bluntly emphasized in all the versions of the legend I know of. His ugliness made Princess Jingu pass out at first sight of him, made the Princess' friends frown upon their marriage, and made the prince himself hide away to avoid meeting his father-in-law. This ugliness is so ridiculous that it categorizes the prince as an animal. The fact is further emphasised by Hsi-nu-lo's clothing, a blanket of animal skin. Moreover, the land of Meng-she, the place Hsi-nu-lo ruled, was well-known as a "backward" place. Just as Sahlins has revealed, Hsi-nu-lo is the most suitable person to claim the throne precisely because of his barbarity.

The legend confirms Sahlins' point by giving Hsi-nu-lo the divine characteristics that a king deserves. He was believed to be the direct heir of Asoka, the great Indian king. He was helped by Avalokitesvara, the supreme deity in Dali. He was also blessed by the ritual bird's flying onto his shoulder, indicating his entitlement to the crown. All these signs finally made the White King, instead of favoring his son Tuan Ssu-p'ing, "voluntarily relinquish his throne and marry his daughter to Hsi-nu-lo."

The idea of the stranger-king explains the encompassing power of fertility inherent in Gwer Sa La. The outside-ness of Gwer Sa La justifies its efficacy. Just as the stranger is superior, the fertility symbolized in Gwer Sa La is also efficacious. After all, the *ja ni* relations made in Gwer Sa La are strictly among strangers in the dark, like the relation between Princess Jingu and Prince Hsi-nu-lo.

Finally, attention must be paid to the issue of ethnicity in Gwer Sa La. While Fitzgerald remarked on the ethnic attributes of Gwer Sa La, he also commented that the Bai lacked a "strong national feeling" (1941: 14). Colin Mackerras thought the comment "is still valid today", and adds: "It seems that the Bai are quite happy with the strengthened acculturation of the 1980s" (1988: 78). Gwer Sa La was revived exactly in the 1980s (Notar 1999). However, far from showing contentment with acculturation, it is precisely an articulation of the Bai's ethnicity. As we have discovered, the Gwer Sa La legend is shaped as a response to the Ming conquest. In the long interaction between central Chinese dynasties and Dali, the Ming Empire was the first dynasty that successfully incorporated Yunnan as part of China, in terms of politics and culture (Hou 2002; Yang B. 2004a, 2004b). The legend, as it survived in various local and national historical documents, has successfully transmitted the criticism against centralized rule by devising the theme of voluntary abdication. At present, the

legend has been recorded in many books and documents (for example, Yang Z. 1999), as ethnic folklore. People have already forgotten the political implications and safely place it into the domain of local culture. This is easy to understand because "voluntary abdication" is no longer a Chinese political ethic in the modern context of the socialist nation-state.

However, the *ja ni* relation meets with disapproval because the modern Chinese state, just like late imperial China, never developed an ideational frame to accommodate non-marital sexual relations. As a result, like their predecessors, the Bai scholars have refrained from mentioning the *ja ni* relation (for example, Yang Z. 2000). Zhang Xilu, a Bai scholar, said to me, "We didn't want to mention it because we want to protect people's privacy" (Zhang 2002: personal communication). In fact, because many Bai are involved in *ja ni* and anonymity is very easy, we may understand that it is the privacy of the Bai as a whole that the Bai scholars are trying to protect. The reason is clear: the Bai are still selective in showing their ethnicity in negotiating with the larger political and cultural context.

In terms of space and time, the metaphoric implication of Gwer Sa La is especially interesting. In space, the itinerary covers an area corresponding to the central area of both the Nan-chao and Dali kingdoms, the glorious past of the Bai. In time, the three males in the legend-- Chang-lo-chin-ch'iu, Hsi-nu-lo, and Tuan Ssu-p'ing-- are respectively the last king of the legendary Pai-tzu kuo, the first king of Nan-chao Kingdom, and the first king of Dali Kingdom. The legend makes them consanguineal and affinal kin, though it is apparently not the case. The fact that some of them have alternative names--Tuan Tsong-pang for the White King and General Yang for Tuan Ssu-p'ing--reveals to us that there is some manipulation occurring in order to avoid historical inconsistency. All of these practices--romanticizing a legend of ancient political criticism, hiding an "unseemly" custom, and tracking a time-space scheme that involves a territorially symbolized congregation (the Old Women's Association)--sophisticatedly imply the Bai's ethnicity. This articulation of ethnicity has been dormant but is by no means extinguished.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, the Gwer Sa La festival displays three inter-related themes: fertility, kingship and ethnicity. Fertility shares structural similarities with kingship in terms of outside-ness. Both of them constitute the Bai ethnicity that involves implicit criticism, "unseemly" custom, and time-space claims.

As a minority nationality in the southwest borderlands, the Bai have been subjected to controversy over the question of to what extent they are different from the Han Tsu, the majority of the Chinese population. The Gwer Sa La festival we have studied suggests that the Bai are ingenious in articulating their ethnicity: active in practice as well as in keeping silence. In practice, they stick to the festival that is embedded in the social life with its concerns of reproduction and village health. In keeping silence, they kept their "unseemly" custom largely hidden. Whereas we found different interpretations of Bai society in various Euro-American theories, in

accordance with each pedagogical shift, the Bai have cautiously and successfully kept their own agenda in expressing their identity, either in the context of the late imperial framework or in that of the modern nation-state.

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SPECIAL TERMS

Ai	爨	Er Lake	洱海
Ai-Min-Hua-Di	爨民皇帝	Felu Hui	风流会
Bai Tzu	白族	Four Olds	四旧
benzv	本主	Founder Emperor, the	开国皇帝
Book of History	史记	General History of the Ancient White	
Chang-lo-chin-ch'iu	张乐进求	Kingdom	白(爨)古通记
City God Temple	城隍庙	General Yang	杨氏将军
Dali	大理	Great Source Temple	圣源寺
Dali Bai Nationality Autonomous Prefecture		Groom Prince Hall	驸马殿
大理白族自治州		Mer Ger Yu	马久邑

Han Tsu	汉族	Pai-tzu kuo	白子国
Hsichow	喜州	Piao-hsin-ju	驃信苴
Hsi-nu-lo	细奴罗	Protected Peace Temple	保和寺
Jimu	经母	<i>rao san ling</i>	绕三灵
Jingu	金姑	<i>rao shan lin</i>	绕山林
Kangxi	康熙	<i>rao san nian</i>	绕三年
Lo-Sheng	罗盛	<i>Recollections of Ancient Yunnan</i>	记古滇说集
Meng-she	蒙舍	Riverside City	河湟城
Midu	弥渡	Shang	商
Min Chia	民家	Shendu	神都
Mt. Cang	苍山	Shun	舜
Mt. Five Terraces	五台山 (in Dali basin)	Tang	汤
Mt. Li	历山	Tuan ssu-p'ing	段思平
Mt. Small Chicken Foot	小鸡足山	Tuan Tsong-pang	段宗膀
Mt. Wei	巍山	tyranny whip	霸王鞭
Nan-chao	南诏	the White King	白王
<i>Nan-chao History With Paintings</i>	南诏图传	Wuding	武丁
Nationalist Party, the(KMT)	国民党	Yao	尧
<i>Notes on Inner Yunnan</i>	滇中琐记	Zhu Yuanzhang	朱元璋
Old Women's Association	莲池 (慈) 会		