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A PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE
HANCHOW EXCAVATION

by

DAVID C. GRAHAM

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A PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE HANCHOW EXCAVATION

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DAVID C. GRAHAM.

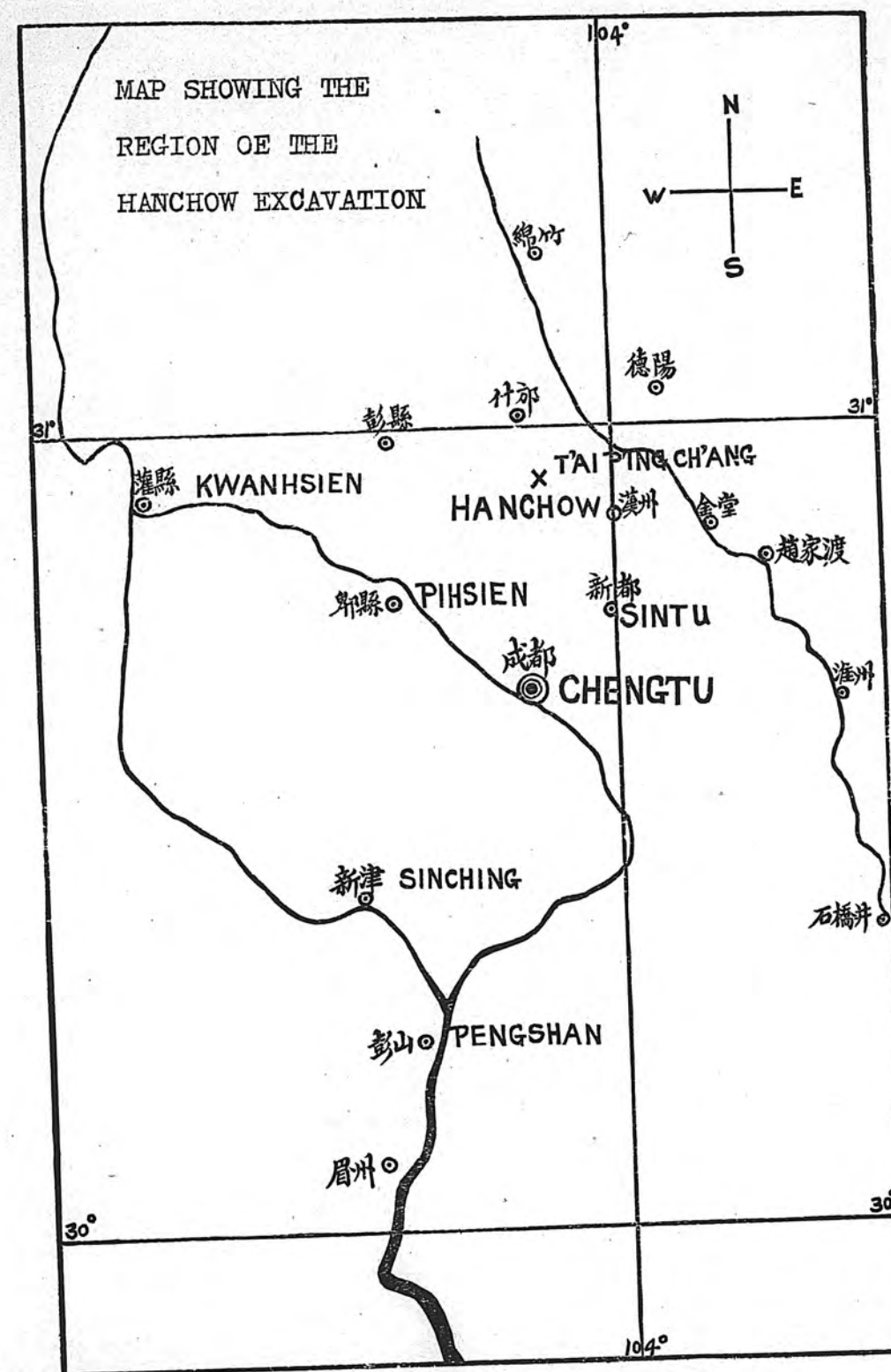
In the spring of 1931 Rev. V. H. Donnithorne, of Hanchow, Szechwan, China, heard that a well-to-do farmer, Mr. Yen, in deepening an old irrigating ditch, had found a number of stone and jade rings, squares, and knives. Realizing that they were of great scientific value, and in time might completely disappear, Mr. Donnithorne made an effort to get them permanently preserved. In the words of Mr. Donnithorne.

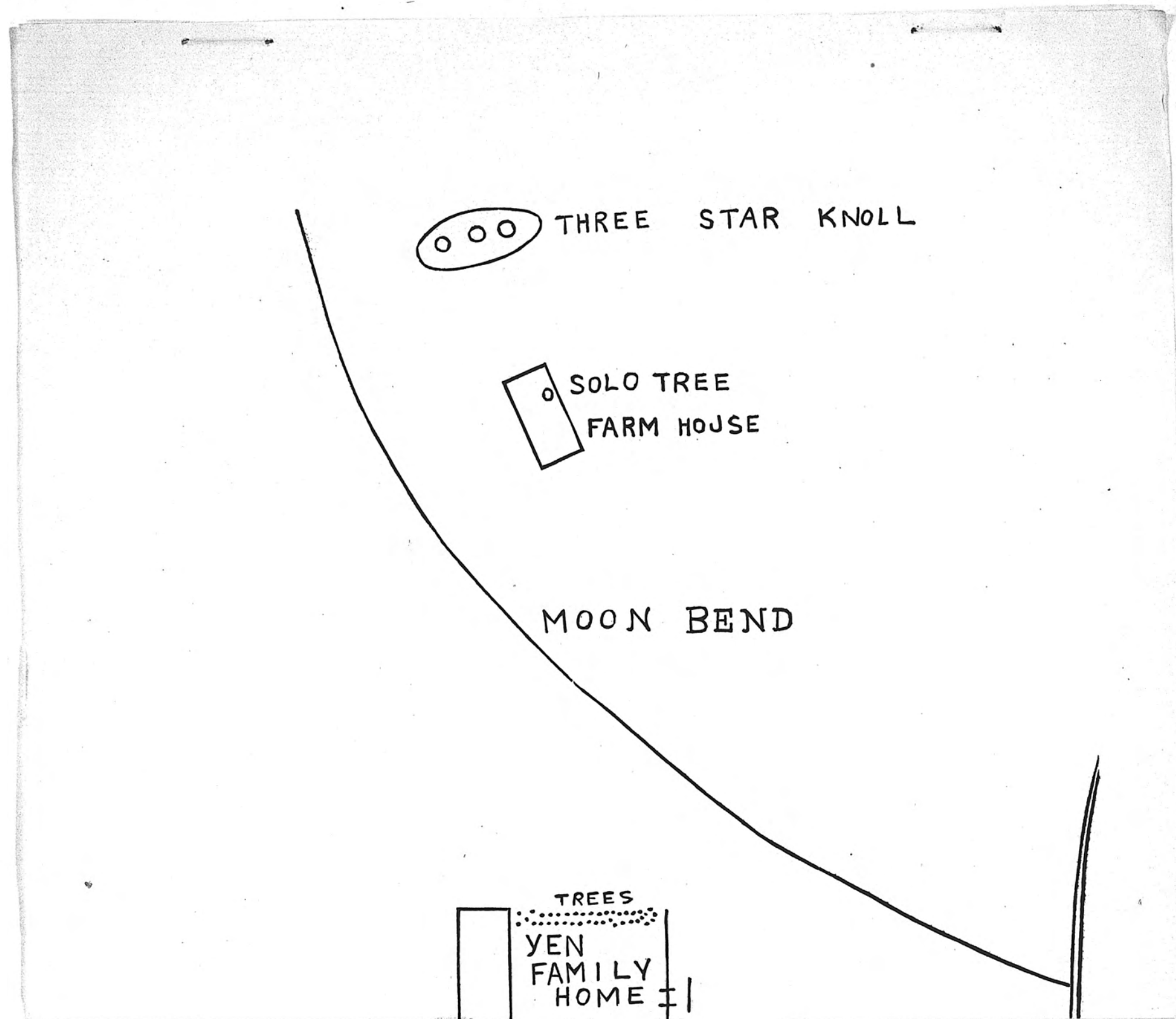
"It was in the early spring of 1931 that I first heard some gossip about some stone knives and rings having been dug up not far from here. It came to my ears that a farmer in excavating for a water-hole had come across a number of these things and had been giving them away to women and coolies and all sorts of people.

"I knew it was no good for a foreigner to put in his appearance and try to get hold of these things, but that it was necessary for him to work through a local Chinese official, so I spoke to Colonel (now General) T'ao, and urged him to make enquiries and try to get these things preserved. Colonel T'ao was at that time magistrate of the city. He promised me to make inquiries and if possible to bring some of the stones for me to see. In a few days he called again, bringing the five stones which are now in the museum. He said that the find had been made on the ground of a well-to-do gentlemen who said that he would not part with these stones, and would not sell them to me or to anyone else. The present five stones he had lent to Colonel T'ao, but wanted them returned. I received permission to keep them for a little while, and the next day went by bus to Chengtu and gave them into Mr. Dye's care. A few days after that I met Colonel T'ao again and asked him to do his best to procure these for the museum; so after a short while he called again, this time bringing with him Mr. Yen, the old gentleman on whose grounds the stones had been found. The latter was evidently suspicious, not knowing what I wanted the stones for. Colonel T'ao was by this time very interested in the find, and desirous to get the stones safely deposited in the University museum; Eventually Mr. Yen allowed Colonel T'ao to have these five stones, and Colonel T'ao allowed them to remain in the University museum as his gift."

"Later on, in June, we made an expedition to examine and photograph the site of the finds, at T'ai-p'in-ch'ang, some eighteen li from here. The party consisted of Colonel T'ao and six soldiers of his bodyguard, and Mr. Dye and myself, and the University photographer, Mr. Gin."

The five jade objects, presented by General T'ao to the University museum were purchased by him from Mr. Yen. Mr. Yen himself presented to the museum another jade knife and a large





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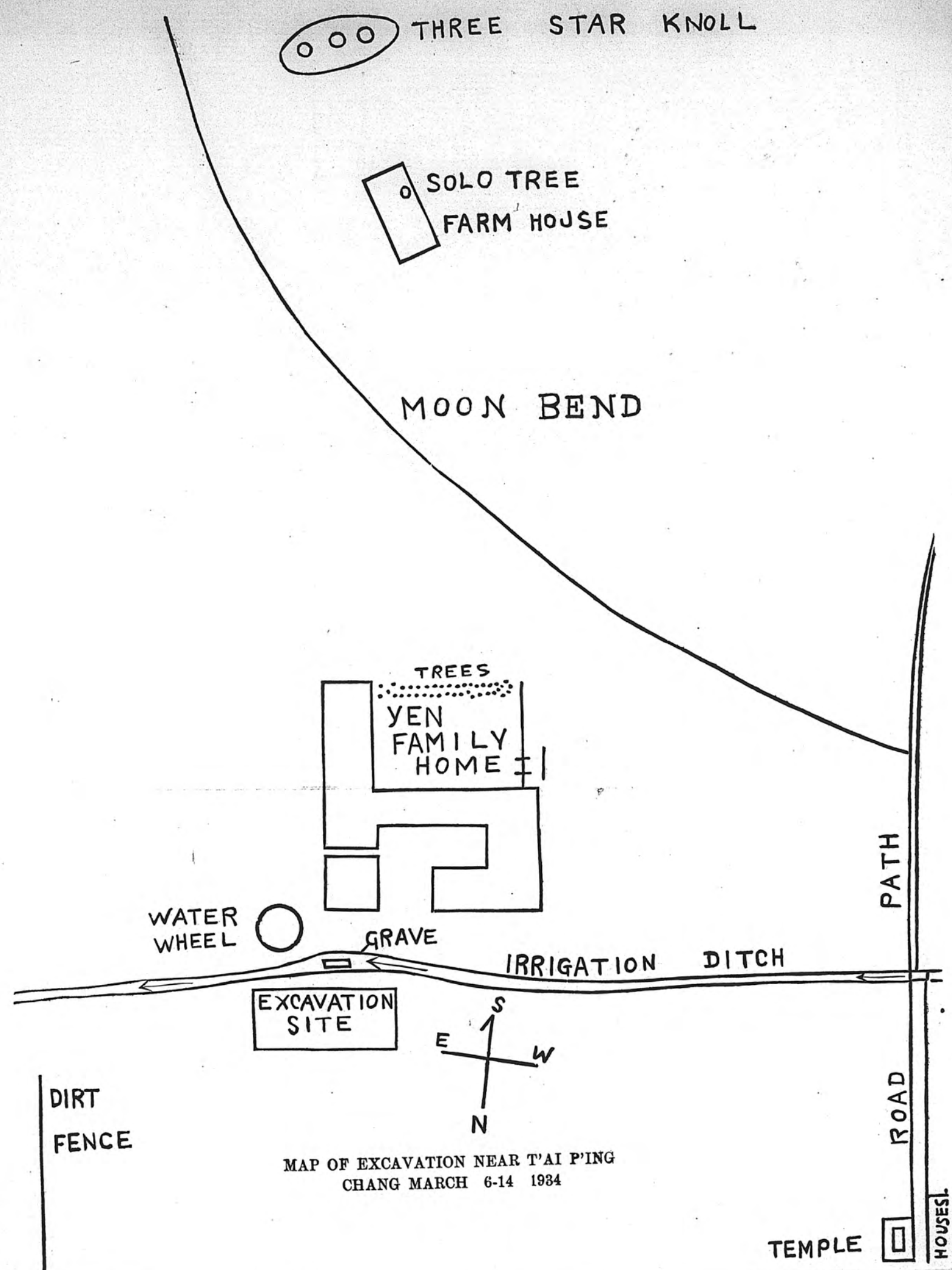
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Magistrate Lo of Hanchow, in whose name and authority the excavation was made, and who finally presented the things excavated to the Museum of the *West China Union University*, to be permanently preserved for the people of West China.



Mr. Cheo and Mr. Shia. These men were given the primary responsibility of supervising the military escort and other important details for Magistrate Lo.

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In some ways the most valuable case in the *West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art and Ethnology*. It contains only the Hanchow collection, and includes the oldest known pottery, jades and grave goods from Szechwan, pre-dating any other known collection by about 1000 years. It dates from about 1000 B. C. Aside from this, the only pottery and grave goods yet discovered in Szechwan date from the Han Dynasty.

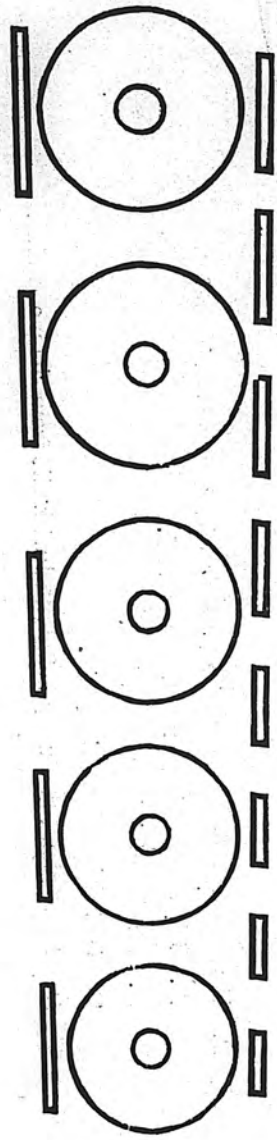


Fig. 1. Diagram showing the Ancient Grave as originally discovered.

The top was covered by stone discs gradually diminishing in size, lying in a flat or horizontal position. The sides were lined with disks in a vertical position, also gradually decreasing in size. Each of the disks has a round hole in the centre.

After a drawing by Rev. V. H. Donnithorne.

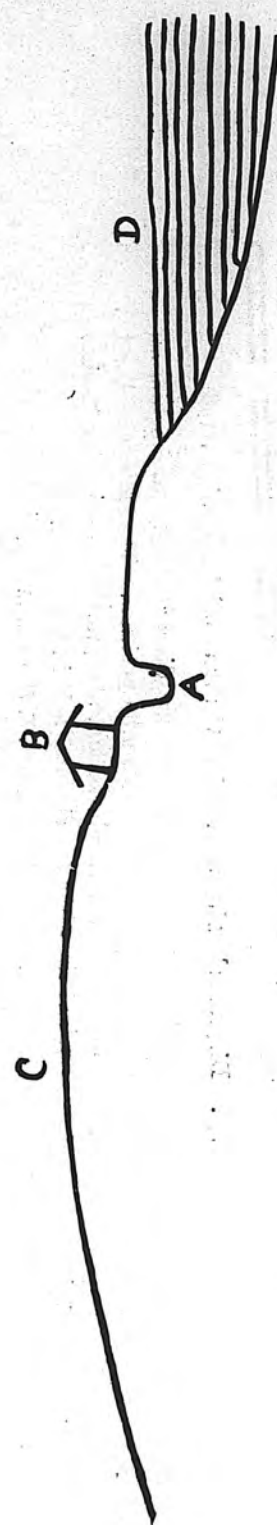


Fig. 2. Topography of excavation site from drawing by Rev. V. H. Donnithorne

- A. Ditch where implements were found.
- B. Shed containing water wheel.
- C. Hill rising above the plain.
- D. Level plain, gradually being filled with silt from the mountains.

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stone disk. In 1934 Mr. Yen gave the museum two more of the large stone rings one broken in two and the other in excellent condition.

In the fall of 1933 the writer, hoping to secure more information about the jade objects in the West China Union University museum, wrote to Mr. Donnithorne. As a result of the correspondence then begun, the plan gradually took shape to go to the site where the jade objects had been found and to excavate, with the hope of finding more similar objects, and of securing additional date that would make possible their more accurate dating, and the determination of the culture to which they belonged. The approval of the Educational Board of Szechwan was secured in due time, and also the approval of and a passport from the Civil Government of Szechwan.

On March first the writer went to Hanchow to make final arrangements with the local officials about the excavation. To his surprise he learned that on that very day a party had begun to excavate the site. When it was explained to Magistrate Lo that unscientific excavation would do irreparable harm, he ordered the digging to cease, and invited the writer to bring his excavating tools and supervise the work. The excavation was to be Magistrate Lo's, but the writer was to have complete control as to methods.

On March fifth the writer again went to Hanchow, this time fully equipped for work. That afternoon and evening he was entertained in the home of Rev. and Mrs. Donnithorne. Magistrate Lo called and discussed plans. Next morning Mr. Donnithorne, two officials appointed by Magistrate Lo, and the writer went to the site, near T'ai-p'ing-ch'ang, where the excavation was to be made. About two li from T'ai-p'ing-chang they were met by a squad of soldiers who respectfully saluted and then escorted the party into the village. Here they were given a courteous welcome, with tea and sweetmeats, and then escorted to the home of Mr. Yen.

After a sumptuous feast in the home of Mr. Yen, the baggage was moved to a clean room in a nearby temple. Then the ground was staked off as a preliminary to excavation—a task which was quite difficult because of the unevenness of the ground. Next morning the work was begun in earnest.

At the time of the excavation the country-side near T'ai-p'ing-ch'ang was not very safe. A large band of robbers was occasionally making night raids in order to carry off "fat pigs," rich men who could be held for ransom. Two such raids were reported to us while the work was going on. Knowing about this danger, Magistrate Lo appointed eighty soldiers to protect us. As an added safety measure the officer-in-charge had us sleep in a different house or temple almost every night. During the day soldiers were picketed around the site in all directions, and no strangers were allowed to come near. Including the local headman, Mr. Li, six different officials were appointed by Magistrate Lo to assume responsibility and give us help when it was needed.

The site of the excavation is T'ai p'ing-ch'ang, about eighteen li from Hanchow. It is on top of a hill which rises forty or fifty feet above the surrounding plain. The plain is quite level, and is gradually filling up, at the rate of about six feet in a thousand years, with silt brought down in the irrigating ditches from Kuanhsien. On the other hand, the hill, like several others in the vicinity, is gradually being eroded away, which explains why the ancient kiln stratum is so near the surface of the ground.

The original find of stone and jade disks, squares, and knives, was on the farm of Mr. Yen, at the bottom of an old irrigating ditch which, according to the local histories, was dug during the Ming Dynasty. Every year the ditch is cleaned out at public expense. The water has to be pumped out of this ditch onto higher ground by means of bullock wheels. Mr. Yen has such a wheel under a straw shed, and it was while deepening the ditch so that the water wheel would work more efficiently that the remarkable discovery was made.

In the bottom of the ditch, lying almost east and west, was found a pit seven feet long, three feet wide, and about three feet deep. On the top the pit was covered with stone disks lying horizontally. There were about twenty of these disks in all, diminishing gradually in size. A horizontal layer covered the top of the pit, and two smaller vertical rows lined its sides. Inside the pit, under the horizontal layer, the wonderful jade objects were found. Mr. Yen at first did not appreciate their value, and gave them away freely to his friends.

A little way from the Yen family home the side of the hill takes the form of a large, semicircular bend which looks not unlike the rim of the moon. This is called *yueh-liang-wan*, or moon bend. Near the bend is a farmhouse in the yard of which is a solo tree, which is also a *fengshui* tree. There is thought to be a solo tree on the moon, and others at various spots on the earth. They are all *fengshui* trees, surcharged with the mysterious potency, *fengshui*. Farther to the south is a small hill on which there are three smaller knolls which are regarded as stars. The knoll is called three-star-hill. This knoll, the solo tree, the moon bend, and other topographical features in this vicinity are believed to combine to make the land near the Yen farm a place remarkably strong in *fengshui*, and the *fengshui* center of Hanchow. The *fengshui* is believed to be very strong, and, if the right rules and precautions are observed, very good. For this reason this spot has probably long been the home of leading Chinese. If wrong things are done, the *fengshui* may become very injurious. One of the sons of Mr. Yen showed me a pit that had been dug about seven feet into the earth. He said that because this hole was too deep his father and he had become ill and nearly died. He also said that if a hole was dug too deep on his farm a severe pestilence would break out in Hanchow.

A short distance to the east the Yen farm, and on the same hill, there is said to be the ruins of an ancient city. Han dynasty

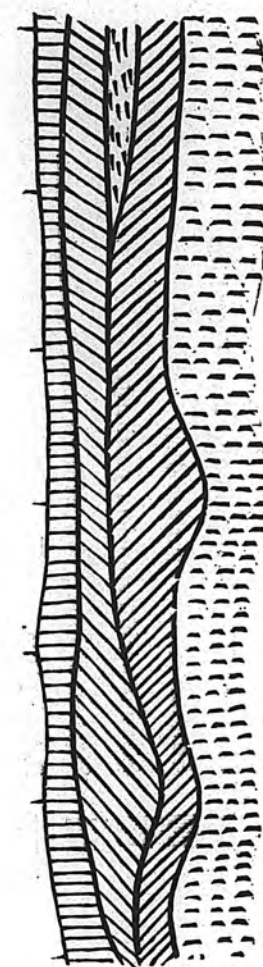


Fig. 3. Chart Showing Strata at the Zero Line

- Top layer of black soil.
- Layer of sand from ditch.
- Extra layer of sand from the ditch.
- Stratum of kiln refuse, ashes, sherds, burnt clay, etc.
- Undisturbed sterile clay.
- Zero or ideal datum plane.

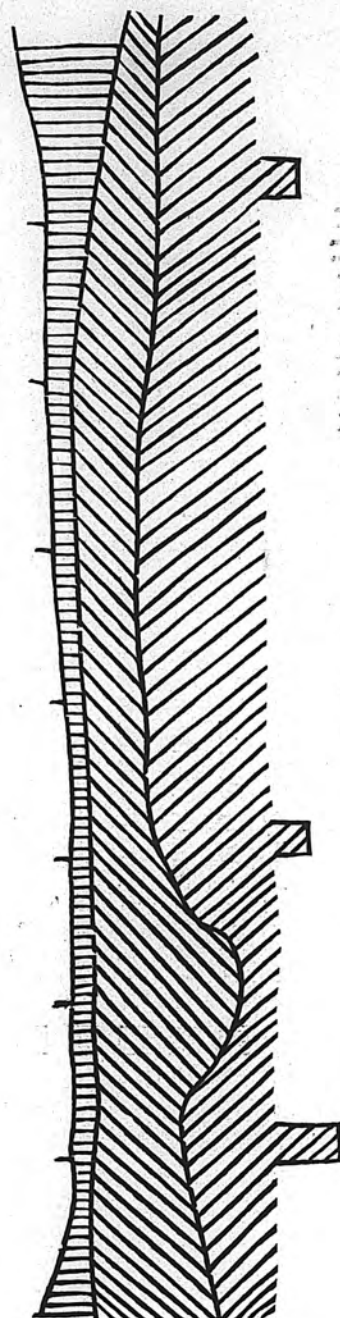


Fig. 4. Chart Showing Strata on the Five Foot Line

- ▨ Stratum of recent surface dirt.
- ▧ Stratum yielding ancient potsherds.
- ▩ Stratum of brown clay with no pottery or implements.
- Datum plane.



Mr. Lin Min-juin (left with five of the Hanchow gentry who assisted in the excavation.



Mr. Lin Min-juin, assistant curator, (left), D. C. Graham (right), with some of the Hanchow gentry who cooperated in carrying out the excavation.

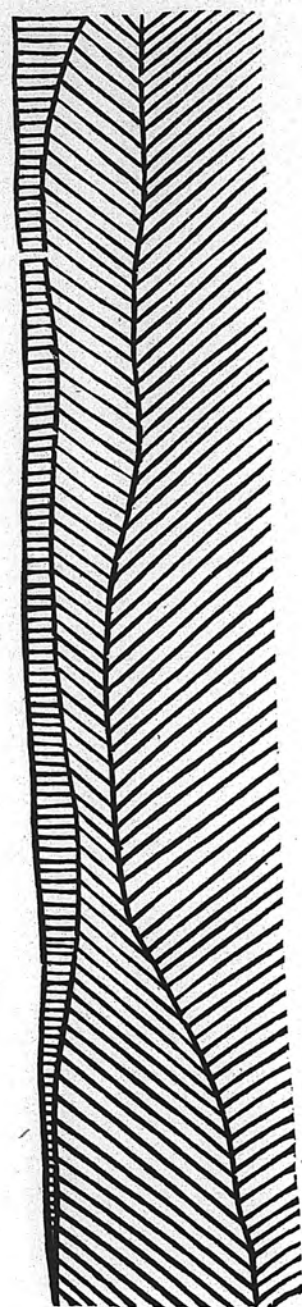


Fig. 5. Diagram Showing the Strata on the ten foot line

- ▨ Surface layer of recent black dirt.
- ▧ Stratum yielding ancient potsherds, etc.
- ▩ Stratum of sterile brown clay, containing no sherds nor any other signs of human workmanship.
- Datum plane.

bricks are to be found in some places on this hill. There is a tradition that this hill was once the home of a prime minister of China.

The instruments used in this excavation were the surveyor's level, the plane-table, foreign shovels, foreign and Chinese picks, trowels and dull knives, small sticks or punches made of bamboo in lieu of orange sticks, a post-hole digger, hard and soft brushes, steel tape, the surveyor's rod, ambroid, drawing instruments the compass, a kodak, etc. The aim was to carefully distinguish the stratification of the ground, to note the exact location and depth of every object worth preserving, and to keep a full and careful record of the operations so that through this work as much as possible of the history of the place and of the culture here hidden might be recovered.

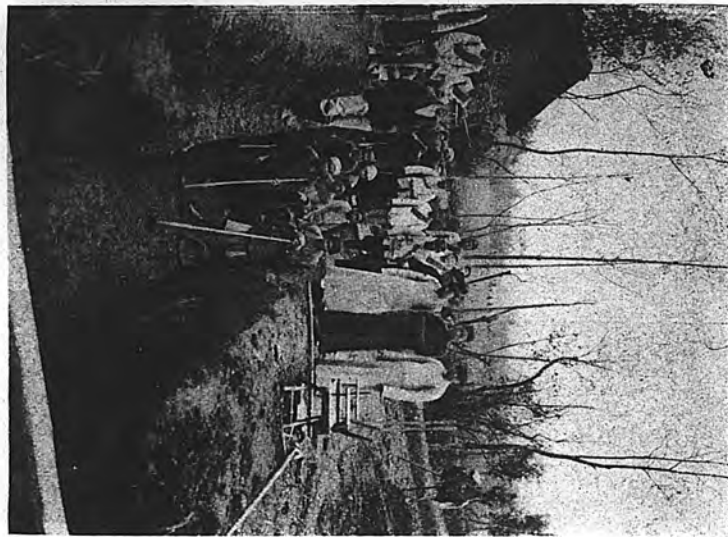
The ground to be excavated was first staked out in five-foot squares. Each stake had a number, and each square was given the number of the stake in the lower right-hand corner. Every object found was given a field number. This number was written on the object and in the field note book. In the book the depth and the square of each article were carefully noted and also any other interesting facts about the object. A ground plan and a map were drawn and a full record of the work was kept. In order to secure accuracy in measurements of depth and stratification, an ideal level or datum plane was established. The surveyor's level was placed on three wooden stakes which were driven solidly into the ground. All depth measurements were from this ideal level or plane.

The irrigating ditch approaches the Yen family home from the northwest. Just before it reaches the bullock wheel, it makes a sharp turn, and thereafter proceeds almost directly eastward. The houses and buildings of the Yen family are on the south side of the ditch. The houses are so near the ditch and the banks are so steep that excavation on the south side of the ditch and near the ancient grave is practically impossible. We therefore decided to excavate on the north side of the ditch.

We first dug a forty-foot trench five feet wide between the zero and the five-foot lines. The trench was dug down into the sterile soil several feet below the point where broken pottery or any other signs of human work could be found. Then testpits were dug several feet deeper so that there could be no possibility that we had not gone deep enough.

The place where the stone and jade and objects had been found was in the bottom of the irrigating ditch, and the ditch was full of running water. In order to solve the problem, if possible, whether the pit was a human grave or something else, we diverted the water from the ditch into our newly-dug trench, dammed up the ditch on both ends, and then, with the bullock wheel, pumped the ditch dry. After all the sand had been carefully sifted over, we dug down deeper until we were in sterile soil, then dug down test holes. We found the pit where the stone and jade objects had been

The first trench with laborers, curators, soldiers and gentry, when the trench was a little over half completed.



The first trench when nearly completed. The water from the big irrigation ditch was later turned into this trench and the ditch pumped dry.



discovered. We very carefully sifted over all the sand in the pit, hoping to find objects that had been missed by the local people. We secured nearly a hundred fragments of stone rings, and stone and jade knives, fifteen turquoise and green stone or jade beads, and over eighty small, flake-like pieces of jade, square or oblong in shape, besides a few pieces of broken pottery.

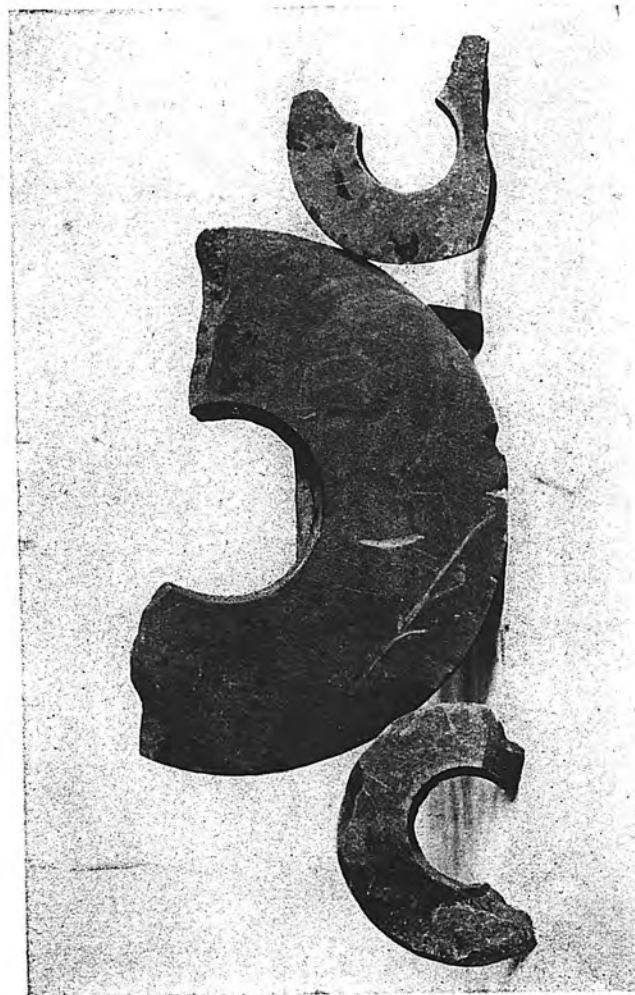
The water was now turned back into the irrigating ditch, and two new trenches dug, one on each side of the first trench, each forty feet long and five feet wide. In three trenches, beginning a little over a foot under the ground and in some places four or five feet deep, was an undisturbed stratum which was the refuse heap of an ancient pottery kiln. In this stratum were found hundreds of fragments of pottery, numerous pieces of broken stone and jade implements and circles, a few implements in good condition, three beads, and three tiny jade flakes such as were found in larger numbers in the grave.

When the digging was finished, all the dirt was put back into the trenches, and the ground was carefully smoothed over. The farmer was paid for the privilege of digging, and for the injury to his crops. We ran down test holes about fifty feet to the north of our site, about fifty feet to the west, and one hundred and two hundred feet to the south. Everywhere we found the ancient kiln layer a little way under the surface. While the finding of another grave is very doubtful, the site is far from exhausted, and thousands of fragments of pottery, and many fragments of jade and stone implements and rings can be found by future archaeologists.

The excavation was that of Magistrate Lo, and we were his agents to see that it was done scientifically. We therefore took all the objects found to the yamen and laid them out before Magistrate Lo. After he had looked them over, he said, "This collection is of scientific importance. I present it to the Archaeological Museum of the West China Union University." I replied thanking him and the Hanchow people for their kindness and courtesy, and for the gift, and accepting the gift on behalf of the Museum. Before I returned to Chengtu Mr. Li, a member of the Hanchow Educational Board, gave a feast in the Chamber of Commerce to Mr. Donni-thorne and me, and Magistrate Lo gave us a feast in one of the buildings of the Hanchow city park.

There are at least three ways in which this collection is of interest to the student of ancient oriental culture and history. First, the grave objects throw light on ancient burial practices, and social and religious customs. Second, the stone and jade implements and ornaments are of special interest to the archaeologist; and, third, there are the many potsberds, which make possible a study of very ancient Szechwan pottery.

We have referred to the fact that the pit in which the remarkable find was made was seven feet long and three feet high, which is about the size of an average grave. The jade ceremonial knives.

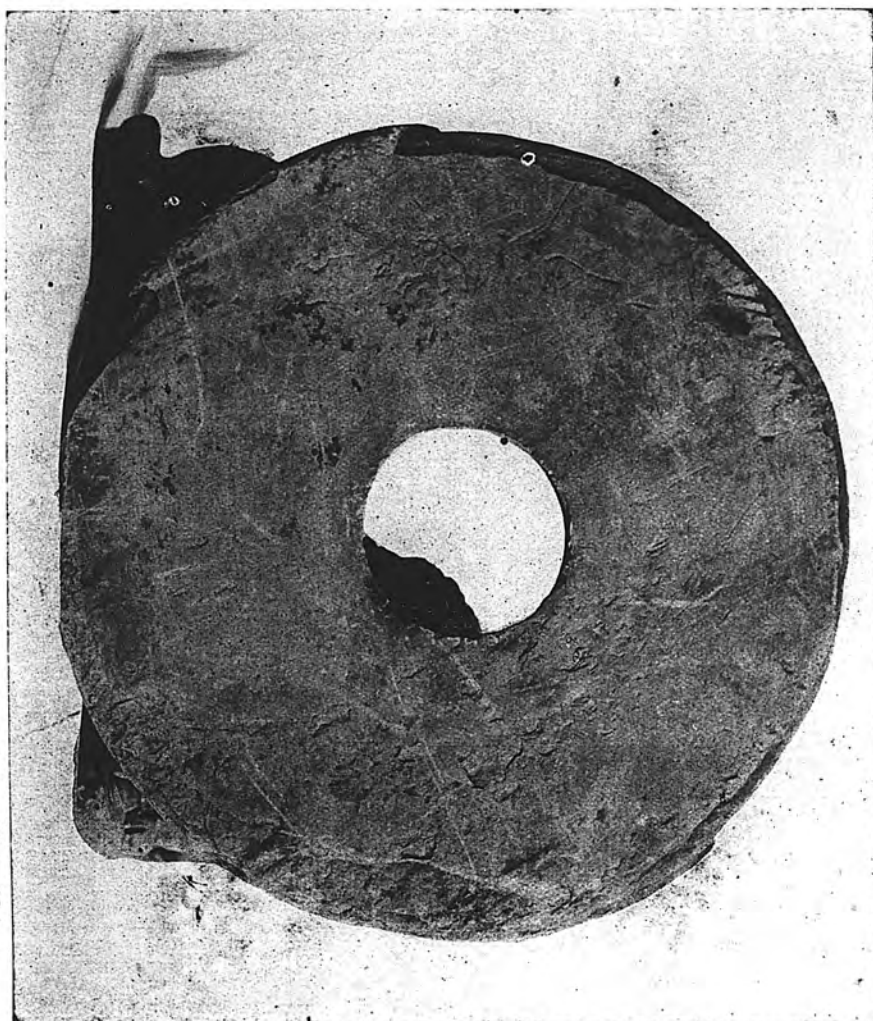


Broken Stone Disks, symbols of Heaven, from the Chao Dynasty grave at T'ai P'ing Chi'ang, excavated March, 1934. Now in the Museum of the West China Union University.

Large disk: maximum diameter, 240 mm.
diameter of hole, 77 mm.
thickness, 10 to 14 mm.

Small disk on right: maximum diameter, 110 mm.
diameter of hole, 40 mm.
thickness, 10 mm.

Large Stone Disk, found by Mr. Yen in the grave at T'ai Ping Ch'ang, and later presented by him to the West China Union University Museum. Maximum diameter, 520 mm. Diameter of the hole, 130 mm.



chisels, and swords, the jade squares, and the jade disks are such as were commonly buried with the dead in the China of the Cheo Dynasty. It is very likely that the beads were buried with a deceased person. It seems quite certain, that this is an ancient grave, and if our assumption is correct, we have in this collection the oldest grave objects that have been found *in situ* in Szechwan province by about one thousand years.

Among the objects found in the grave-pit are turquoise and green stone or jade beads with crude holes for stringing. The holes were bored in from opposited ends of the beads, and are smaller near the center. There are more than eighty small green jade flakes which must have been glued as ornaments onto wooden or leather objects, since they have no holes by which they could be sewn or strung on. The jade swords, knives, and chisels, were apparently used for ceremonial purposes. In the worship of Heaven and Earth, which was practiced during the Cheo dynasty, the jade square represented Earth, and the jade circle represented Heaven. There must have been pottery in the grave, but obviously the pots were broken and thrown away by these who originally opened the grave. The two flat jade swords with numerous notches near the handles were emblems of war. The museum has a replica of a longer jade sword that was found in the pit, but it was not possible to secure it. The two jade squares very closely resemble the jade tubes described by Laufer in his great book on jade where it is stated that they are symbols of the deity Earth. The jade circles in the Hanchow collection also resemble Cheo dynasty jade disks. Probably the stone circles or disks are also symbols of Heaven, but are too large to be made of jade.

In the undisturbed kiln-stratum, besides the three beads and the three tiny jade flakes already mentioned, there were found a large number of fragments of stone and jade knives, swords, chisels, and circles which are made of the same materials and show close similarity in shape to the stone and jade objects found in the grave. As one handles and studies these objects and those from the grave, the conclusion seems unavoidable that the kiln stratum and the grave belong to the same time and culture.

Prof. D. S. Dye, teacher of geology in the West China Union University, after a careful study of some of the jades and stone implements, made the following remarks:—

"This is a very limited study, and I have only examined the hardness and macroscopic marking under low power lenses, using calipers.

"The small green flake examined has a hardness of No. 5, and a specific gravity of 5.3. It has been filed in working, without the use of a wire saw, as the direction of filing was frequently changed and the file was allowed to "rock." A better determination of the specific gravity could be made by massing a dozen of the flakes, as the individual pieces are so small. These were probably cemented upon some surface, as there are no holes. The general width is 4 m.m.; length, 10 m.m.; and thickness $\frac{1}{2}$ m.m.

"C/8450 is a fragment of hardness No. 6. It was first, apparently, sawn into a slab thinner on one edge than on the other, then it was cross hatched with double lines into a lozenge design on one surface, with a wire saw in a guide, and after this it was sawn lengthwise with one cut on one edge and two cuts (one from above and one from below) on the other edge. The wire saw used in cross-hatching was under 0.5 mm.; but the wire for cutting one of the last cuts was 1.00 mm. in diameter. The very shallow groovings in the lozenge pattern do not cut deeper at the edges than in the middle of the pattern, so it seems safe to state that the pattern was made before the piece was cut lengthwise. The broader end has two bevels on one side and one on the other, but the other corner is broken off. It may have been used as a borer, as these bevels and the hardness suggest, but restoring the broken corner still gives an eccentric borer. (It is true that the holes are very crudely made in all examples in this excavation, as well as in practically all pieces of similar type on display in the larger museums in the world.) The narrower end is broken off. To repeat, the "saw marks" and the surfaces so made are straight and flat, the hatchings are closely parallel and even, but they are not microscopically regular, so that these were made by separate "cuts" by the "saw". The workmanship on this piece is on a par with that on the two large jade knives. The measurements of the finished piece are: length, 4.5 c.m.; width at broad end 1.53 c.m.; thickness at narrow end, 1.32 m.m.; thickness at broad edge, 5.5 mm.; thickness at narrow edge 3.2 mm. It is a most intriguing piece.

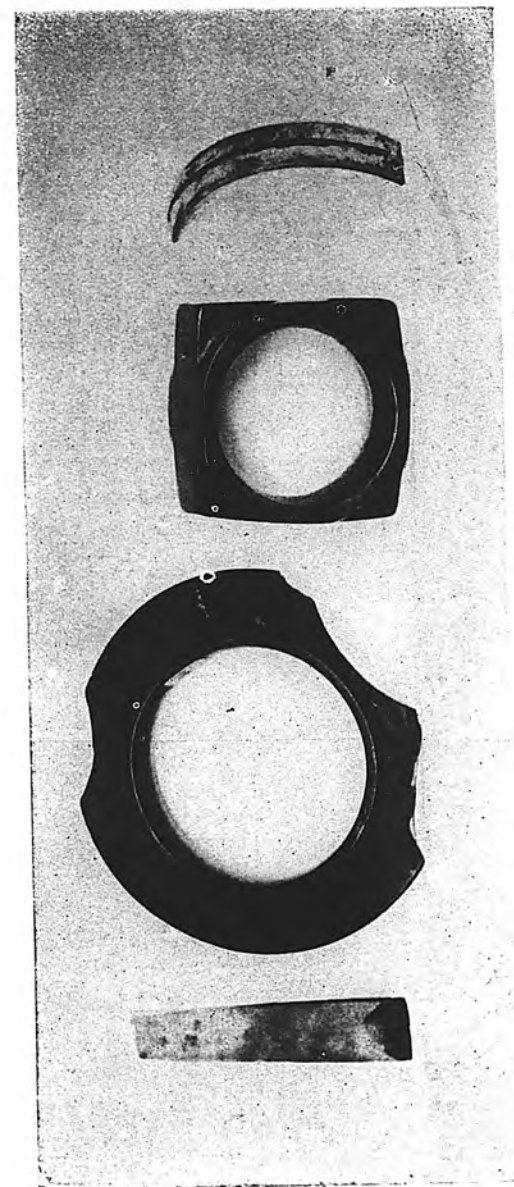
"C/8417 is a heavy tool of hardness No. 6. It is a fragment that is difficult to reconstruct. The upper and lower surfaces are somewhat like an ax. The upper and lower edges were rounded and do not show evidences of sawing as do the side and bevelled bit. Neither of these latter shows evidences of rocking. If these latter were polished by abrasion they were held in a guide or block support to insure straightness and flatness. A steel straight-edge does not reveal rocking on either of these latter surfaces. It is a fragment and it is difficult to visualize what it might have been used for.

"The large spade-knives seem to point to a handled tool, with a bevel on a certain side, and a longer point on one prong, and the handle is at an angle to the line of knife. This all suggests that these were used in sacrifice in a particular way with the "officiator" in a particular place, that he was right-handed, used both hands, etc., but this is not easy to explain. As I write this, there comes up the spade money and the knife money which are related to these shapes. The mechanics of the spade-knives is most admirable for that kind of a tool.

"The knives were sharpened at different angles or bevels. On the ceremonial knives there is a chisel bevel, done only on one side. The ornamental lines were definitely cut across with a wire for decoration and for hafting purposes so as to avoid slipping.

"The flat jade sword or knife C/4866 was sawn on both sides. Then one side was sawn from two sides and did not perfectly meet in the middle, making a depression along the side. The edges were sawn off a very little bit but not near the handle. They turned the corner for hafting. The handle is put in such a position that if used to cut, the implement will not break. There is great beauty and artistry in the lines and workmanship of the flat jade sword-knives.

"Some of the cutting was apparently done under terrific pressure—the sawing was done by a saw-wire under strong tension, else the lines sawn would have been somewhat bow-shaped. All the sawn lines are very straight with almost no curving at the edges. These are well-balanced tools, that could have been actually used, with very artistic curves and fine hafting. The artistry is astonishing for that time."



Left: reddish Jade Chisel, purchased at T'ai P'ing Ch'ang for the West China Union University Museum.

Next: broken Jade Disk, symbolic of Heaven, also purchased.

Next: Jade Square, symbolic of Earth, from the grave at T'ai P'ing Ch'ang. Presented to the West China Union University Museum by General T'ao of Hanchow.

Right: broken Jade Disk, symbol of Heaven. Purchased at T'ai P'ing Ch'ang.

Large disk: maximum diameter, 101 mm., thickness, 19 mm., diameter, of rim, 61 mm.

Chisel: length, 77 mm., width, 16 mm., thickness, 8 mm.

Broken Disk, breadth 14 mm., thickness 2 mm.

In the fourth volume of the Journal of the West China Border Research Society, Prof. D. S. Dye gave a careful description of the two jade knives or swords and the three axes or chisels that were originally presented to the museum by General T'ao and Mr. Yen. They were probably used for ceremonial purposes. Laufer, in "Archaic Chinese Jades," calls this type of an implement a sword-like weapon, and an emblem of war. He also states that the notches or "teeth" symbolized warfare during the Cheo dynasty. These two implements vary in color from a dark, green gray to a light neutral gray. The measurements of the more perfect implement, C/4866, are: length, 391 mm.; width, 103 mm.; and thickness 5 mm. Each implement has a hole in the handle that is larger on one side than on the other.

The three axes or chisels, C/4867, C/4868, and C/4869, are of coarser material. On each of them the blade is flat on one side and sloping on the other. C/4867 is concave on the sloping side of the blade. These may have been for ceremonial purposes, but they could also have been put to very practical uses.

The small beads found in the grave pit resemble those excavated at Sha Kuo T'un, in northern China, but they are more square or oblong. At least two of them are turquoise. The color of the beads varies from a blue green and a dark purple gray to a very pale blue green.

C/8452 is a large, round, much longer than the other beads of this collection. A hole has been bored in from the two ends which becomes gradually smaller near the center. The color varies from a light cool gray to a dark cool gray.

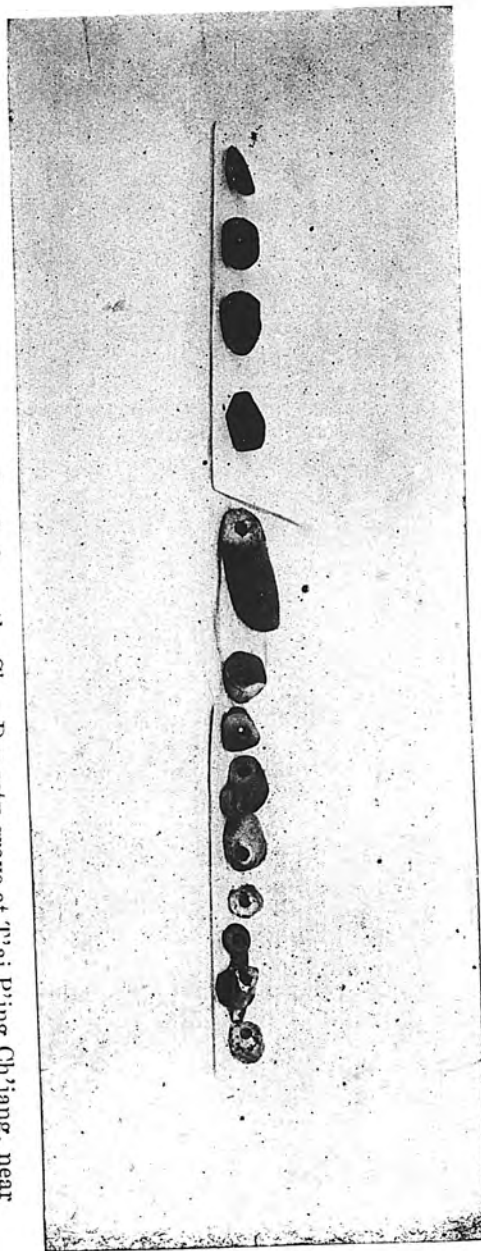
The tiny jade flakes vary in color from a deep blue-green to a light green. It is quite evident that they were glued on to leather or wooden objects as ornaments, for there are no holes with which they could be tied on.

C/2095 is a type of jade square which Laufer calls a tube, and which was symbolic of the deity Earth in those early days when the worship of Heaven and Earth played so large a part in the Chinese religion. This was presented to the museum by General T'ao.

C/8934 is a larger jade square. Its color varies from a light gray to an olive brown, with occasional patches of dull green. There are horizontal grooves on its sides, and several small circles, at least two small circles being carved on each side. In ancient China jade tubes like these were often buried with the dead. This exquisite jade formerly belonged to Rev. V. H. Donnithorne. He was offered thirty pounds for it, but he presented it to the West China Union University museum.

C/8298 is a wheel disk which was found in the grave. It is very thin, and has a rim around the main circle and at right angles to it. The width of the main circle is 16 mm., and the width of the rim is also 16 mm. Its thickness varied from three to five mm. The color is a dark yellow orange, shade number two. This type of jade disk represented the deity Heaven.

Jade, blue stone and turquoise Beads from the Cheo Dynasty grave at T'ai Ping Ch'iang, near Hanchow, Szechwan. They are mostly rough and irregular in shape. Dimensions of largest bead are: length, 40 mm., thickness, 12 mm. From the West China Union University Museum.



C/8368 is a fragment of a jade disk found *in situ* in the kiln stratum. It is flat and has a hole in the center smaller on one side than on the other. Its shape resembles closely that of the large stone disks. Its color is a dark neutral gray with a very light gray patination. It is one of the many evidences that the grave and the kiln stratum are of the same age and culture.

C/8362 is a broken jade wheel disk found in the grave, which was purchased from Mr. Yen. It is a light green-gray in color.

C/8451 is a small jadite or nephite chisel. It shows a fine, careful workmanship. It has a concave cutting edge, and its shape and function is much the same as the large chisels. Probably it was used for cutting grooves in wood. Its color varies from a deep orange to a light yellow orange. Its dimensions are: length, 71 mm.; width 16 mm.; and thickness 6 mm. This tool was purchased from a farmer who said that it was found in the grave.

C/8349 is a jade or jadeite core stone that was probably discarded because it could not be made into useful implements. It was found *in situ* in the undisturbed kiln stratum.

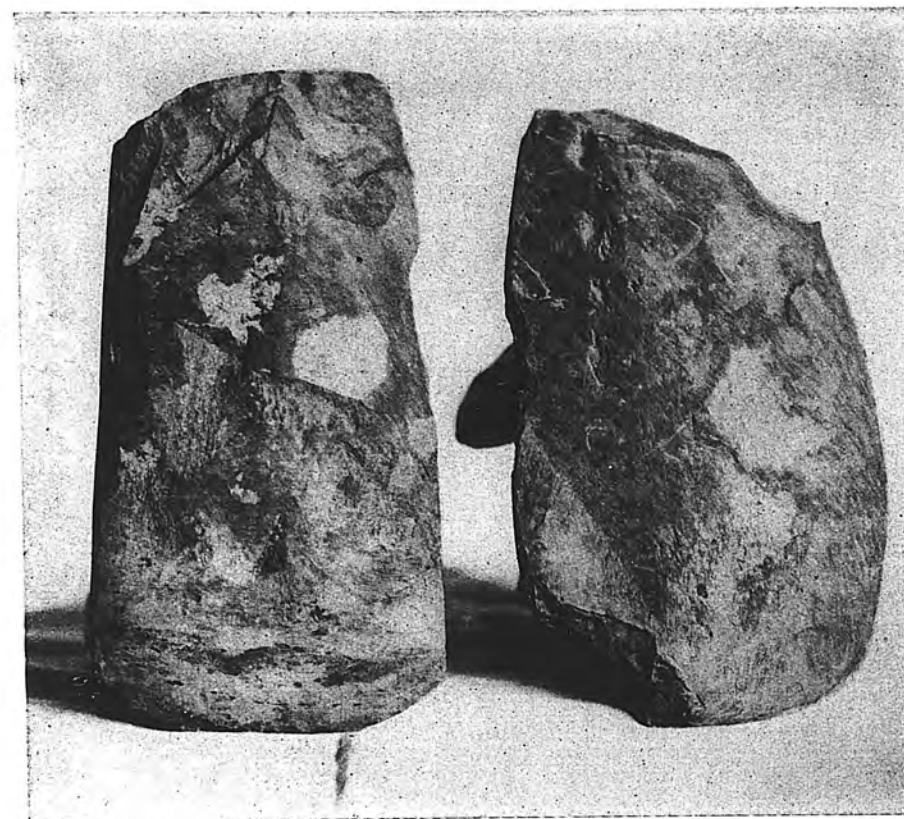
C/8292 is a large, heavy, sharp axe. There has been some chipping near the top. The two edges may have been sawed, for they are straight or flat, but the sides and blade have been finely shaped through rubbing or grinding. Numerous defects in the stone have caused the surface to be pitted. The color varies from a cool dark gray to a neutral light gray. This axe was probably used for practical rather than ceremonial purposes.

C/8367 is a jadeite fragment of a tool that was never finished. It was apparently being made into a long, sword-like implement. Several pits were chiseled in a line about an inch from one side. Probably this long strip was to be broken off preliminary to the work of sawing or grinding it into a sword or chisel. But the top cracked off, and the large fragment was thrown away. These holes appear to have been made by a metal chisel, but they may have been made by a hard stone chisel.

C/8374 is a small axe made of igneous rock. There is a depression at the top and one at the side which were made for hafting. The length is 76 mm., the width 55 mm., and the thickness 9 mm. The color is a dark cool gray.

C/8291 and C/8493 are large sledge hammers. They were found in a layer of the kiln stratum that had been thrown up from the ditch. The sides have been ground flat, and the edges squared or flattened off. They are made of igneous rock, and each of them weighs several pounds. The larger one varies in color from a dark cool gray to pale yellow gray. The smaller one is a cool dark gray, peppered with a light orange yellow.

C/8370 is a large fragment of a sledge hammer that was made of a micaite stone. It was much wider at the base than at the top. The color is a pale yellow orange with a rusty shading and its thickness is 32 mm.



Left: a stone or jadite Axe. It closely resembles a stone axe actually used for cutting, but may have been a ceremonial knife, first broken in two and then rounded at the top for use as an axe.

Length: 229 mm., Width: 118 mm., Thickness: 38 mm.

Right: broken stone or jadite ceremonial knife excavated at T'ai P'ing Ch'ang, near Hanchow, Sze., along with the axe shown at the left. Width: 132 mm., Thickness: 25 mm. Excavation in March, 1935. Now in the West China Union University Museum.

C/8463 is a small pestle that is flat on two sides and square or flat on the two edges. One end has been nicely rounded into a small semi circle, and the other end has been broken off. The length is 71 mm., the width 36 mm., and the thickness 14 mm.

C/8465 is a fragment of a stone sword or knife made of sandstone. The sides and edges have been ground smooth and flat. The stone has patinated to a brown color. Both ends have been broken off. This may be a ceremonial implement, but it seems probable that it was used for practical purposes. The width is 76 mm. and the thickness 10 mm.

C/8450 is a most interesting tool which has already been described by Prof. Dye. It is made of hard sandstone and is apparently a borer or auger. The color is a light neutral gray.

C/8430 and C/8426 are rubbing stones found in the undisturbed kiln stratum. They are igneous pebbles that have been worn to flatness in several places. They were evidently used for smoothing the surfaces of pottery. Such rubbing stones are frequently found in the old kiln-heaps of Szechwan.

C/8375 is a dark red iron nugget that has never been hammered or melted. It was found in the kiln stratum. C/8290 is a fragment of a graceful sword or knife made of unmelted and unhammered iron ore similar to C/8375. A small lump of copper ore was found in the kiln heap, but no copper, bronze, or iron implements.

C/3547 and C/8477 are two large sandstone disks which were presented to the museum by Mr. Yen. They are flat on both sides, and each has a large hole in the center that is smaller on one side than on the other. The color is a neutral light gray with patinated patches that are a warm dark gray. They are made of a fine grade of sandstone. The measurements of the large disk are diameter, 705 mm., thickness, 68 mm., and maximum diameter of the hole 190 mm. The measurements of the smaller disk are, diameter, 511 mm., thickness, 43 mm., and maximum diameter of the hole, 140 mm.

There are many fragments of stone knives, chisels, and swords not here described, and a number of broken disks similar in shape and material to C/3547 and C/8477. The many stone implements and fragments of stone implements found in both the grave and the kiln stratum at Hanchow indicate that the culture found in this excavation flourished at a time when real stone implements were quite generally being used for practical purposes, that metals were still very scarce, and that the Chinese culture of north and central China had already exerted a vital force in Szechwan province.

The pottery is of great interest. In the undisturbed kiln stratum not one piece of porcelain was found. Yet the pottery is well made, and is remarkable for its interesting shapes and colors.

There are two general types. One is coarse, sand or grit-tempered, often with cord markings, often is burnt to a brick red



Fragments of three Earthenware Vessels excavated at T'ai Ping Chi ang. of the West China Union University.

Left: apparently a flat plate, gray in color and sand-tempered.

Center: part of a large bowl of coarse, dull, brick-colored material.

Right: a small and very fine bowl, colored black outside; incomplete.

Now in the Museum

on the outer surfaces, and is generally a dark gray inside. The other is generally made of finer clay, and is often a light gray in color. The inner layer is sometimes darkened by the addition of charcoal, and the outer surfaces are sometimes colored by brushing on colored clay or other coloring. There is evidence that a clay vessel was dipped into a clay of another color until the outer surfaces were covered with a layer of the colored clay, after which the pot was baked in the sun or in a kiln of moderate temperature.

Apparently the potter's wheel was employed, although some of the vessels were made by hand and are irregular in shape. The surfaces of some of the vessels were smoothed by means of rubbing stones. The legs or stems remarkably long—much longer sometimes than is found in Han dynasty pottery. One stem is almost exactly a foot in length. These long, hollow legs or stems were very common in the kiln stratum. Several of those which were collected show very plainly, both on the inner and on the outer surfaces, the colored layers caused by dipping the vessel in colored clay.

Some of the pottery is decorated by means of incisions made by scratching the surface with combs having from one to four teeth. All of it is monochrome—On no surface is there more than one color, and there are no painted flowers or other colored ornaments.

Prof. H. B. Collier, Ph.D., instructor of chemistry in the West China Union University, made a very careful analysis of the Hanchow potsherds, and his report is as follows:—

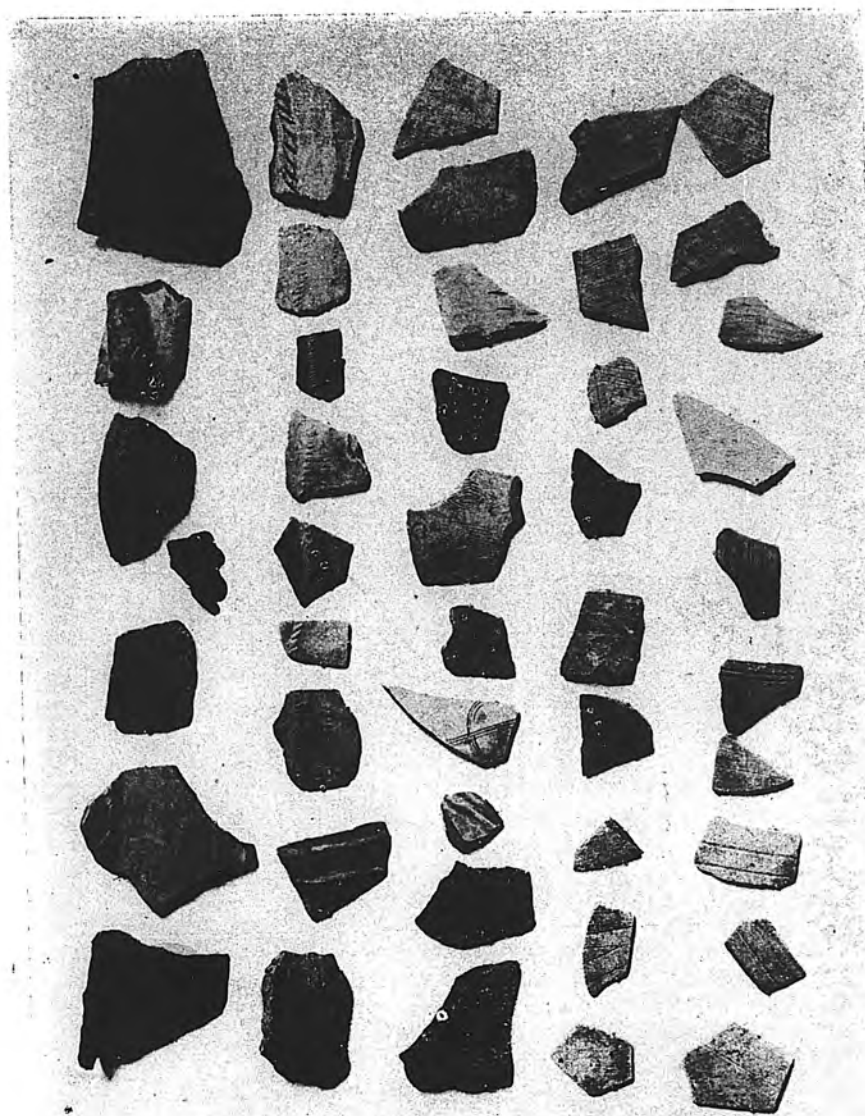
"The Hanchow potsherds are unusual, in that the colorings of the pottery are not uniform throughout the samples. Most of them exhibit a definite layering of colors; it is important to decide whether this feature was produced purposely by the potters, or was an accidental result of firing and weathering. The following study was made to obtain evidence on this point.

"The sherds could be divided roughly into two groups, based on macroscopic appearance. One group is a thick, coarse pottery, with incorporated sand. These sherds are mostly brick-red on the outer surfaces, with yellow or gray interior layer. The second type of pottery is mostly of gray or black inside layers, with yellow outer coats. The stratification is very distinct in these samples.

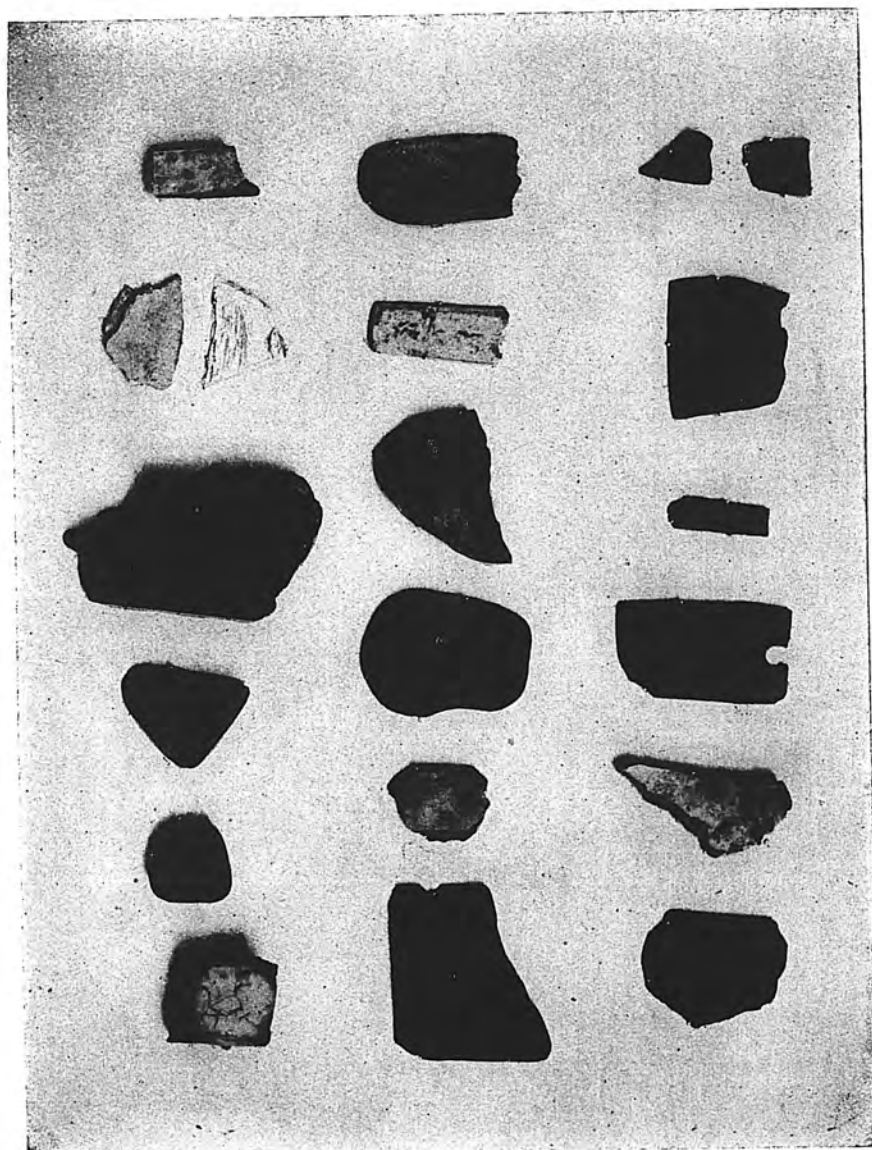
"Heating. A possibility is that the color variation of the pottery is due to the firing of the kiln. To study the effect of further heating, small fragments were heated to redness in the open (oxidizing) Bunsen flame.

"Sample I. A coarse sand tempered sherd. The outer layers were brick-red, of about 2 mm. thickness; in the center was a thinner gray layer. The red color seemed to penetrate a definite distance from the surface, and where the piece was thin, the red strata met. Weathered edges were a uniform brown, but freshly broken edges showed the stratification. On heating the layering lost its original distinctness, and the gray color changed to brown, merging with the red. It would therefore seem probable that the original layering was due to the original firing of the piece, and the oxidation of the iron compounds from the surface.

"Sample VI. A cord-marked sand-tempered sherd. Its total thickness was 6.7 mm., with a gray inner layer. The outer layers



Pieces of Pottery excavated near T'ai P'ing Ch'ang, Hanchow, Szechwan, March 6-14, 1934. They were all found in an ancient, undisturbed stratum of refuse from a kiln. They show a variety of markings and color. Now in the West China Union University Museum.



Fragments of Stone Implements excavated at T'ai P'ing Ch'ang, near Hanchow, Szechwan, March 6-14, 1934. These were all found in the undisturbed ancient kiln stratum, and furnish evidence, because of likeness of workmanship and materials, that the kiln is of the same age as the ancient grave where the knives, squares and disks were originally found. The objects are now in the *Museum of the West China Union University*.

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were red and thin, about 1-18 mm. The stratification of color was visible even on a weathered edge, and was very distinct on a fresh edge. On heating, the red layers become narrower, and the distinction almost disappeared. Since the position of the layers changed on heating, one might conclude that it was due to the firing. But the layering in the original piece was very uniform and distinct; the effect of the firing must have been very uniform in the piece. The effect was not due to the weathering, or effect of the soil, for an exposed edge exhibited the layers distinctly.

"Sample III. This sherd was of the second type, a gray body with outer yellow coatings. The total thickness is about 6 mm., but the yellow layers were very thin. The gray layer shows through on exposed edges; on fracture the interior was seen to be black. On heating, the outer layers became brown, probably due to oxidation of iron. Heating did not affect the stratification, in fact, a partial separation of the layers, visible to the naked eye, was produced. This type of layering was almost certainly artificial. The black clay article may have been dipped in a wash of yellow clay, and dried at a comparatively low temperature, for the color of oxidation of iron had not been produced.

"Sample V. This sherd was of the same type as III, but the outer yellow layers were much thicker. On microscopic examination, the structures of the two kinds of layers showed no difference; fine structure, not vitrified. There was a thick black film over the outer layers. This disappeared on heating. It was probably, therefore, organic matter; either carbon applied purposely, or soot acquired in use, or dirt absorbed from the soil. The layering was not affected by heating, except that the yellow layer became red. This type of layering was also probably produced purposely.

"Sample IV. This sherd was pure gray, a fine hard pottery, with no evidence of layering. On heating, the outer surfaces acquired a thin yellow film. This would mean that the pottery was not fired at an exceptionally high temperature when made.

"Sample C/8754. This sherd was of the black-yellow layered type, with the thin black film on the exterior. The latter could be burned off, indicating organic matter.

"Sample C/8645. This was a gray clay, with outer reddish-brown layers. There was very little change on heating, the stratification remaining distinct. This piece must have been fired at a higher temperature, for the iron was already oxidized. This would also indicate that other pieces of lighter color had probably not been subjected to reducing action in the soil. The red color of this piece had persisted.

"Sample C/8814. A light gray clay, with brown outer layers. The latter were very soft and indistinct, easily rubbed off. On heating there occurred a partial separation of the layers.

"Sample C/8565. This very interesting sherd had a center layer of coarse porous gray, very irregular in thickness. The outer layers were dark red, and actually met in places. The red was not similar to any of the other oxidized red colors. On the outer surfaces, on top of the red, was another thin gray film, which appeared to have been brushed on. There was no definite change on heating. This layering was certainly artificial, there being five layers in all, three gray and two red, alternating.

"*Chemical Analysis.* It was expected that a chemical analysis of the various layers of these potsherds would indicate whether or not the layering was artificial. Since many of the samples had yellow or red layers, iron determinations were made. However, the results of these determinations were inconclusive. No significant differences in the iron content of various layers were found. The value averaged roughly 3% of iron for various samples.

"However, one interesting fact was discovered. Preparatory to the iron determinations, the powdered samples were digested with hydrofluoric and sulphuric acids. After this treatment, two of the black clay samples had insoluble residues of a black substance. This was filtered off, and proven to be carbon. Under the microscope it was similar in appearance to a sample of animal charcoal. One sample contained about 13% of carbon. Apparently the gray clay was blackened by admixture of charcoal in some form. It may have been coal powder, or charcoal, or soot.

"*Conclusion.* The sherds studied were of two distinct kinds. The first kind was a thick coarse pottery containing sand. It was yellow or red on the surfaces, and gray in the interior. This clay was probably iron-containing, and the red color produced in the firing. Conditions of firing were not uniform, for colors and thicknesses of layers were not uniform. However it is possible, that an iron-rich coat was applied on the gray clay, and the layers partially blended.

"The second kind of pottery had a gray or black interior, with yellow outer layers. The black was probably produced by admixture of carbon, and the yellow layers applied afterward. The yellow may be simply a yellow clay, or a definite pigment may have been used. It was probably baked on at a relatively low temperature, for the color of oxidized iron was not present.

"A fairly high degree of technical skill must have been required for the manufacture of this pottery. Different colored clays and pigments were used to produce a multi-layered pottery."

Mr. L. C. Walmsley, Principal of the Canadian School at Chengtu, who is a student of art and himself an artist, very kindly studied with the writer the Hanchow collection with special reference to the colors of the jades, stones, and pottery, and also lent the writer Bradley's standard color chart. The colors of the pottery as given below were determined by Mr. Walmsley and the writer by means of Bradley's color chart.

C/8440 is a fragment of a plate the color of which on the outside is a uniform light neutral gray. While the light gray pottery is not generally sand tempered, this piece is tempered with what seems to be white sand.

C/8690 is a leg of a three-legged earthenware pot or incense urn. It is conical in shape, hollow inside, and ends a dull point. It is sand tempered, and has been burnt to a light brick red.

C/8672 is larger than C/8690, but very similar in shape. It is made of sand tempered clay, and the point has been broken off. The interior layer is a dark gray, while the surfaces have been burnt to a brick red. The outside surface has been rubbed very smooth and blackened with charcoal or smoke. These two fragments, especially C/8690, are possibly the same type as the clay li, the pot with three pointed legs, of the Yang Shao culture, found in Honan province.

C/8624 is apparently an ornament pasted on a larger vessel, almost round and curving up at the point. It is burnt to a brick red in some places.

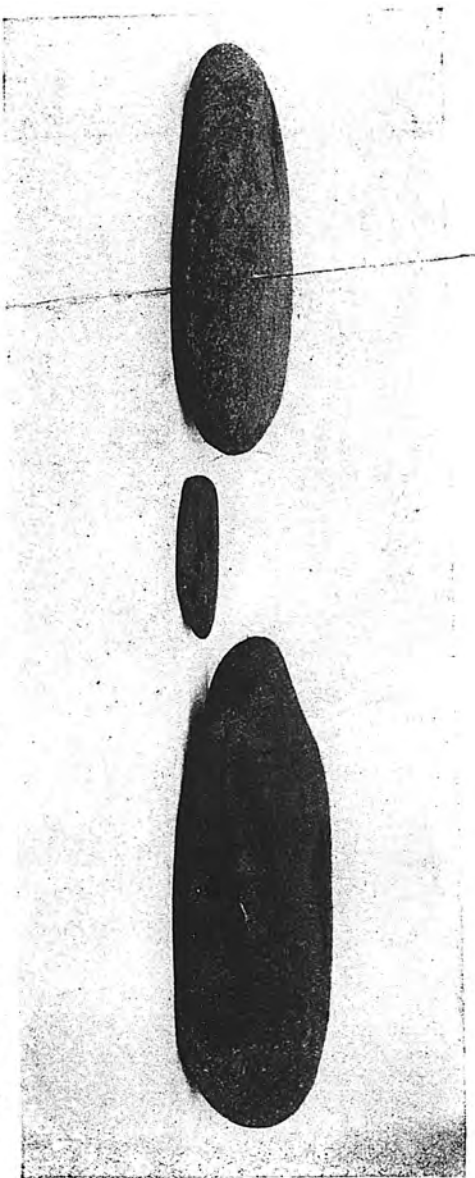
C/8449 is a clay spindle whorl. The color is a light neutral gray, but in the depressions there is a reddish color due either to burning or to artificial coloring.

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Side view of the same stones. Large stone: length, 233 mm., width, 130 mm., thickness 58 mm., Small stone: length, 190 mm., width, 133 mm., thickness, 42 mm.



Two large Stone Hammers excavated at T'ai Ping Ch'ang. They were found in a disturbed stratum containing recent and early Cheo Dynasty materials. Their date is, therefore, uncertain, but are either early or late Cheo Dynasty.

C/8665 is a fragment of dark gray clay outside of which is a thick layer with an orange-yellow color. It consists of a large hollow piece, roundish in shape, on which there is another smaller hollow tube that has been ornamented with straight incised lines. This smaller tube decoration is probably an imitation of a rope.

C/8520 is a fragment of the curved base of a bowl or plate. The interior of the pottery is a yellow orange, tint no. 2, but the inside surfaces are a light neutral gray, which coloring was probably stroked on with a brush.

C/8447 is a sherd with an inside layer that is a dark neutral gray and outside layers that are a very light gray.

C/8506 is a sherd whose interior is a light neutral gray, and whose outside surfaces are a deep brick orange. Either the outside color was made by firing, or the pot was dipped into clay which had previously been burnt red.

C/8569 is a sherd whose inside layer is a dark, almost black gray. The outside surface has been colored to a yellow orange, tint no. 2, and the inside surface is a yellow orange, tint no. 1.

C/8488 is a hollow clay tube that was probably the leg or stem of a bowl. It is larger in the center than on the two ends. There is an inner layer that is a light neutral gray, and an inner and an outer surface layer that is a light orange, tint no. 2. It is quite certain that the outside layers are due to dipping the vessel into fine, moist clay.

C/8441 is a bowl that is almost completely restored. It is made of a fine clay, and the color is a light neutral gray.

C/8456 is a partially restored bowl. It is coarse and sand tempered, and has been colored through burning to a light brick red.

C/8459 is a small bowl, only partially restored. It is thin, and made of fine clay. The thickness varies from $1\frac{1}{2}$ mm. to 4 mm. There is an inner layer which is very dark, almost black. This has been covered on both surfaces by thin layers of yellowish brown, which in turn have been colored black by the use of charcoal, smoke, or some similar material. The outside surfaces have been rubbed very smooth.

C/8442 is a long, round, hollow earthenware stem of a bowl. It is enlarged at both ends, but the base and the bowl have been broken off. The central layer is dark gray, while the inner and outer surfaces are each covered with a layer that is a light yellowish gray. This has been made by means of the potter's wheel.

C/9263 is a round earthenware vessel that is pointed at the bottom, a dull brick-red in color and with a contracted neck. There are mat or cord or cloth marks all over the outside of the vessel, although the marks are not very distinct. This vessel was found in fragments, and was completely reconstructed by Mr. Lin Min-Guin and the writer. It is the oldest complete earthenware vessel from Szechwan in the world. It closely resembles a type of vessel

found in the Yang Shao site in Honan province, although it is a little wider in proportion to its length.

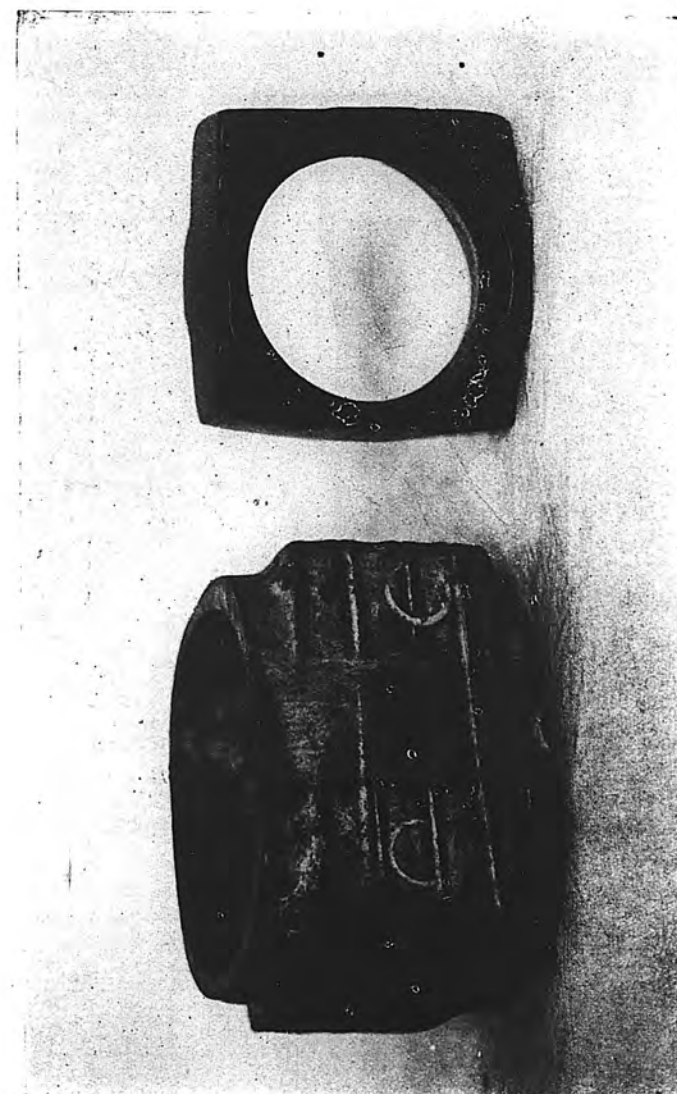
C/8504 is a piece of a long, slender, one legged bowl, or a vase. There is an inner black layer which has been covered on both the inner and the outer surfaces with a layer of light yellow or gray clay, which has been colored black on the outside by means of charcoal or some similar substance. This piece shows fine workmanship, and has been made by means of the potter's wheel.

C/8598 is a finely made sherd which is brick-red inside and a light warm gray on the two surfaces. There is an ornamentation that looks like an attempt to reproduce in clay a chain of transparent beads with the inside thread visible. In the Preliminary Reports of the Excavations at Anyang, part 1. is a three-legged earthenware vessel having exactly the same kind of an ornamentation, which Dr. Li Chi, the great Chinese archaeologist, describes as an imitation of a silk ribbon or band. Dr. Li's interpretation is probably the correct one, but the remarkable thing is that exactly the same ornamentation has been found in both the Anyang and the Hanchow cultures, and the Anyang culture is definitely dated from 1400 to 1122 B.C., during the Yin dynasty.

There are strong resemblances between the Hanchow collection and the Yang Shao collection from Honan as described by Dr. J. G. Andersson. Both have large and small stone axes, chisels, knives, pestles or hammers, and flat disks, and in pottery three legged urns, cord-marked round vessels with contracted necks, pointed at the bottom, and brick-red in color, spindle whorls, and both cord-marked and incised bowls and pots. In both cultures the potter's wheel is found. In neither site were there metal objects or any signs of writing. An important difference is that there is painted pottery in the Yang Shao collection but none in the Hanchow collection.

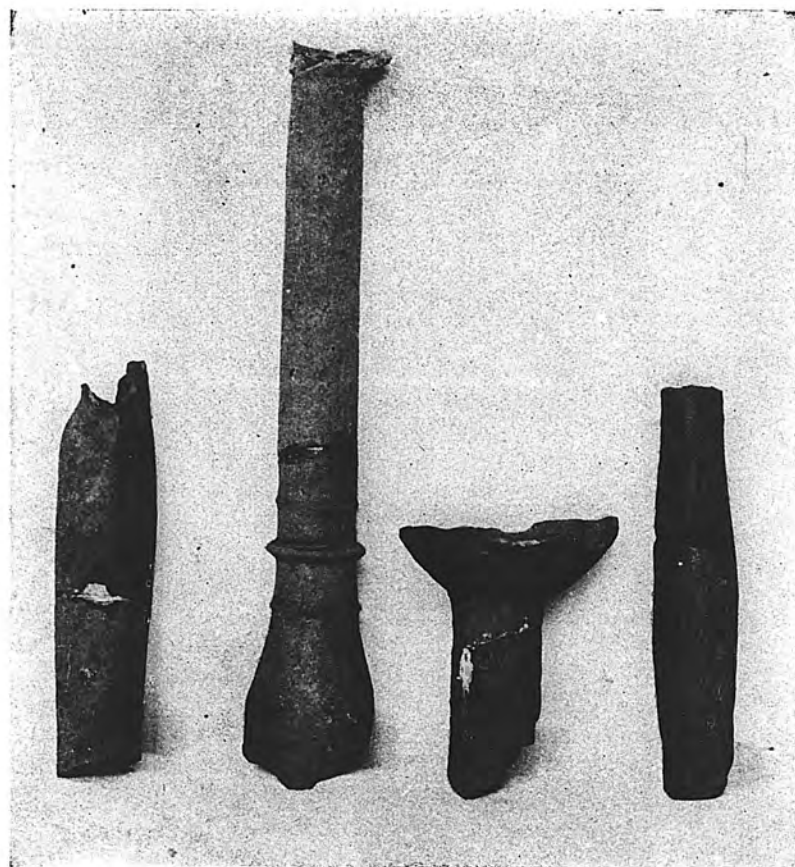
There are some striking resemblances as well as differences between the collection from Sha Kuo T'un, in Fengtien, which Dr. Andersson has identified as neolithic, and the collection from Hanchow. Both have stone axes, and chisels. Both have cord-marked and incised pottery. Both have large and small stone beads that are much alike in form and make, although those from Sha Kuo T'un are more rounded at the edges. Both have round flat stone disks. Both have cord-marked and incised pottery, and black, monochrome pottery.

The Anyang collection from Honan shows very striking differences from the Hanchow collection. Naturally there are some resemblances, such as the stone axes, knives, and chisels, and incised and cord-marked pottery. But the differences are far more striking. In the Anyang collection there is an abundance of bronze implements, bones on which there is a primitive kind of Chinese writing, bone implements, and painted colored pottery, not even a trace which was found in the site near Hanchow.



Left: large Jade Square, symbolic of earth, found originally in the Cheo Dynasty grave by Mr. Yen, and presented to the *West China Union University Museum* by Rev. V. H. Donnithorne, M.A., M.C. Maximum diameter 75 mm. Height 55 mm.

Right: Jade Square presented by General T'ao of Hanchow, Sze. Height, 30 mm. Diameter 57 mm.



Long stems of Stem Bowls, or of earthenware vessels standing on one leg. The frequency of these hollow earthenware tubes in the excavation, and their length, indicate that the early Cheo Dynasty people of Szechwan made many stem bowls with long or high legs. Length of longest is 228 mm., diameter, 32. mm.

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The two things in the Hanchow collection that seem to compel us to give it a date later than the aeneolithic are the evidence of sawing with wire saws that is found on jade knives, swords and chisels and the close resemblance of the jade squares, disks, swords, and chisels, to those used by the Chinese during the Cheo dynasty. Even here there is an important difference. On the jades of the Cheo dynasty are often seen carved symbolic images of birds and animals, but there is nothing of the kind in the Hanchow collection.

The West China Union University Museum of Archaeology has collections of Szechwan Chinese pottery dating from the early Han dynasty to the late Manchu, but the Hanchow pottery is so different from even the Han dynasty pottery that it seems necessary to allow centuries for one to develop into the other. On the other hand, evidences can clearly be seen of cultural contacts and diffusion between the Hanchow culture and the known neolithic and aeneolithic cultures in central and northern China. Either the people who lived in Hanchow were non-Chinese whose culture had been greatly influenced by the early Chinese cultures of central and northern China, or Chinese people and Chinese culture have been in Szechwan much earlier than has formerly been supposed.

Any dating at present must be in the form of a tentative hypothesis, which may be altered in the future or confirmed by the securing of more archaeological evidence, and the more careful first-hand comparing of the Hanchow collection with the earliest collections in other parts of China. We believe that the latest date that should be given to the Hanchow culture is the beginning of the Cheo dynasty, or about 1100 B.C., but that further evidence may make it necessary to date it at a much earlier period, and that its earliest dating would be aeneolithic. In this collection we have the oldest grave goods, the oldest jades, and the oldest pottery that have been found *in situ* in Szechwan province.

Soon after the Hanchow collection was completed, a letter was received from Mr. Ko Mo Jo, 郭沫若, who is one of China's greatest scholars and authors, asking for pictures and diagrams of the artifacts secured in the Hanchow excavation. These were gladly sent to him. Later the following letter was received by Mr. Lin Min Guin, assistant curator of the museum, and two copies of Mr. Ko Mo Jo's latest book on Chinese archaeology;—

"Mr. Lin Min Guin;—I was truly glad to receive your letter and that of Mr. Graham. I thank you very much for your kindness in sending me so many photographs, drawings, and the reprint of Mr. Dye's article in the Journal of the West China Border Research Society, and writing to me so fully about the excavation. You are really the pioneers in (scientific) archaeology in West China. I hope that in the future you may make even greater progress in this work, studying the visible monuments and ancient structures, carvings, graves, aborigines caves, etc. This work will yield very valuable fruits. Then, that there will very quickly follow excavations in search of the pre-history of Szechwan, including races, customs, and a know-

ledge of their contacts with other parts of China. These are very important problems. I regret very much that I am unable to return to China and help you excavate.

"The artifacts that you secured at Hanchow, such as jade squares, jade disks, jade knives, etc., are in general similar to those excavated in northern and central China. This is evidence that Western Shuh (Szechwan) had previously had cultural contacts with northern and central China. The name Shuh is found among the inscriptions on the bone tablets of the Yin dynasty. When the Cheo people fought the Yins, the people of Shuh (Szechwan) went and assisted the Cheo armies. In addition, the kinds of pottery found at Hanchow are among the earliest types. Your decision that the date is somewhere about the beginning of the Cheo dynasty is probably dependable. That is all I can say now. When in the future there are excavations elsewhere in Szechwan, they will show how widely this culture spread, and certainly more dependable evidence will appear.

"I am very glad to comply with your request to send you copies of my books on Chinese archaeology, and have instructed the publishers to send one of my recent books to the museum and one to Mr. Graham. Whenever I have anything published in the future I will send you copies.

"I am very busy now, and this is all I have time to write,

"I hope you will do your best.

MO JO.

July 9, 1934."

The writer wishes to express his deep appreciation and sincere thanks to Rev. V. H. Donnithorne, without whose assistance the excavation would probably never have been made; to Magistrate Lo, Hanchow, for providing ample protection, sharing the expenses of the excavation (which was done in his name as his excavation under the supervision of the museum curators), for his very courteous and considerate treatment, and for finally presenting the entire collection to the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology to be permanently preserved there for people of China; to the officials and gentry of Hanchow, many of whom rendered valuable assistance; to Mr. Lin Min Guin, assistant curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, who shared the responsibilities and labors of excavating, and assisted in the repair of the pottery and in the writing of this preliminary report; to the officials of the Civil Government, the military governments, and the Educational Bureau of Szechwan for issuing the necessary passports and giving necessary approval and protection; to Mr. L. C. Walmsley for lending his color chart and assisting in the determining of colors; to Prof. D. S. Dye for help in the study of the stone implements, and to Prof. H. B. Collier for making a careful chemical analysis of the pottery. Thanks are also due the Harvard-Yenching Institute, which provides the funds which make possible the development of the West China Union Museum of University Archaeology and the carrying on of its program.



Two partially restored gray, unglazed, Earthenware Pots from T'ai P'ing Ch'ang near Hanchow, Sze. These date from the early Cheo Dynasty, about 1000 B.C. Before the excavation of March, 1934, no pottery from Szechwan of pre-Han Dynasty date was known to exist. Diameter at rim of the left hand vessel is 255 mm. Now in the West China Union University Museum.

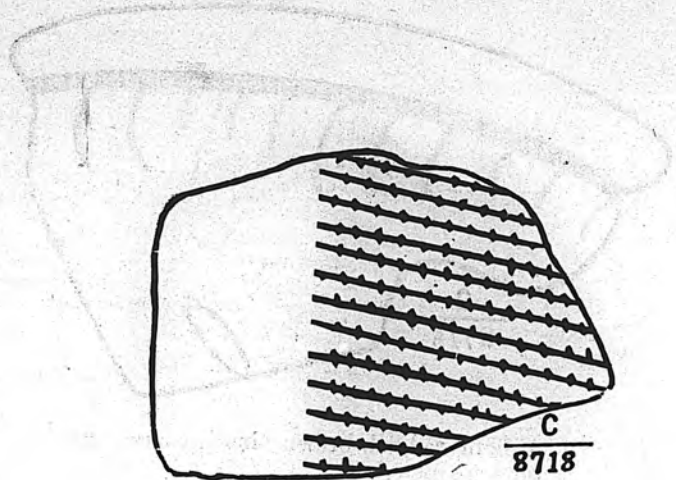


Fig. 6. Brownish gray sherd, 5 mm. thick, grit tempered, cord marked.

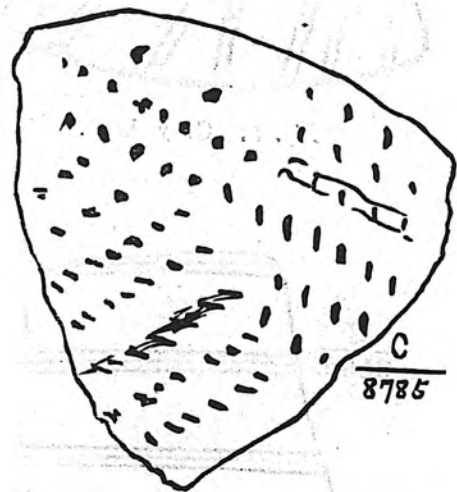
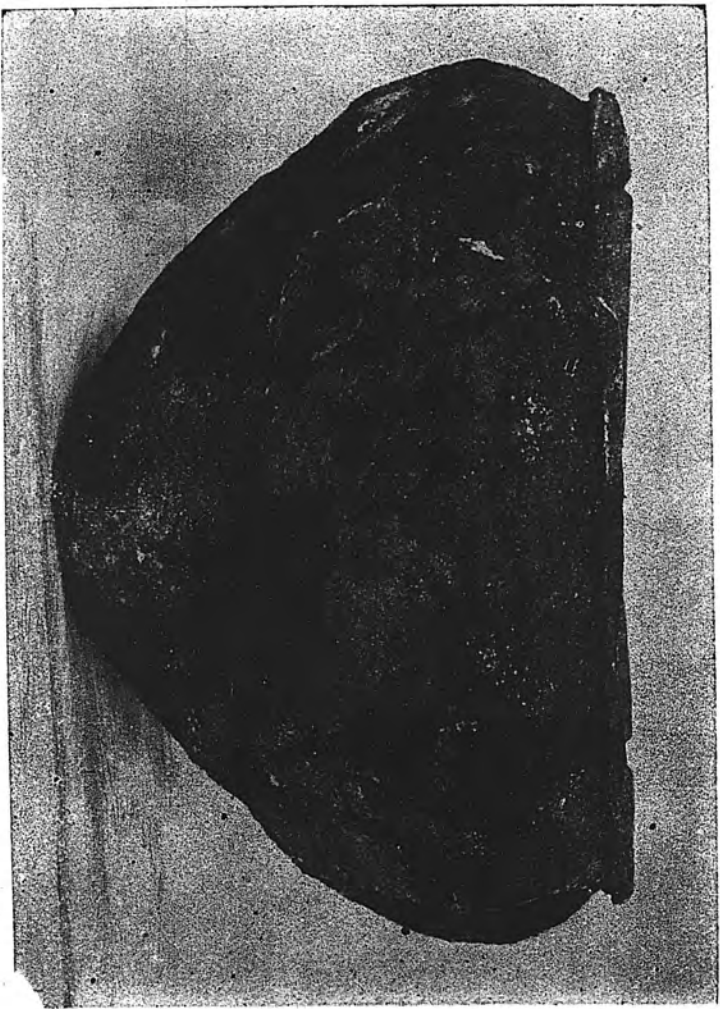


Fig. 7. Coarse, sand-tempered sherd, dull, reddish brown color. Cord-marked. Thickness 5 m.m.



The oldest complete Clay Bowl or earthen vessel from Szechwan province preserved in any museum. Its date is probably the beginning of the Chao Dynasty, about 1000 B.C. It was broken into many fragments, of which a few were lost, but was restored by Dr. D. C. Graham and Mr. Lin Min-jin. The vessel is colored a dull brown. Depth 110 mm. Width 184 mm. West China Union University Museum.

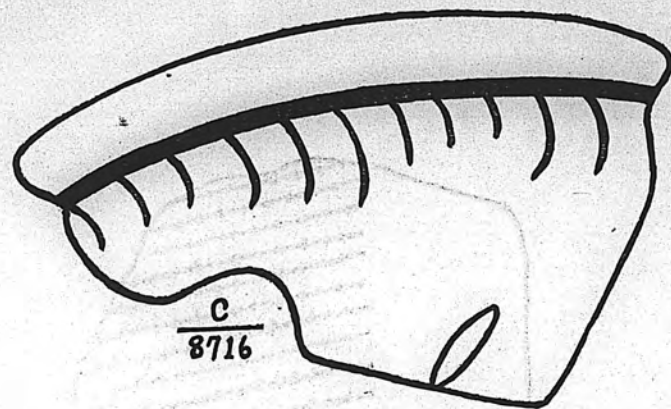


Fig. 8. A light reddish-brown sherd, coarse, grit or sand tempered.



Fig. 9. Gray sherd.

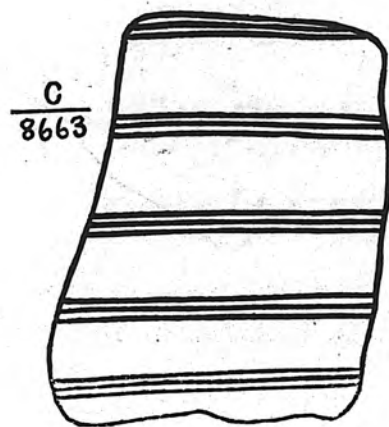


Fig. 10. Light brown sherd.

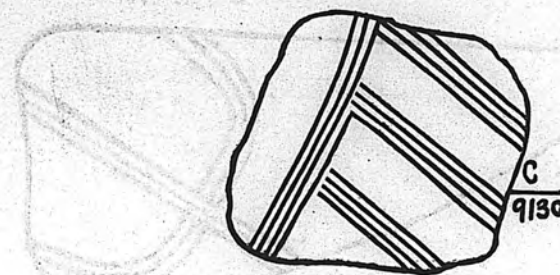


Fig. 11. Brown sherd, colored gray on the outer surface. The ornaments are lines scratched on the surface with a four-toothed comb.

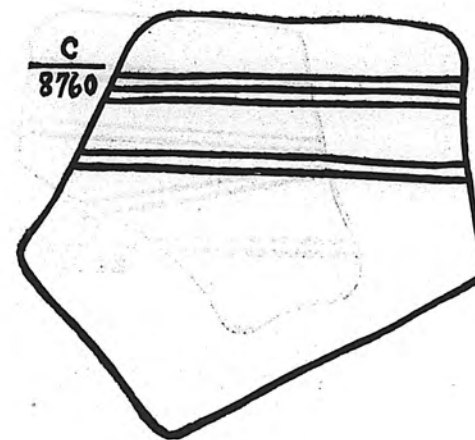


Fig. 12. Gray sherd.

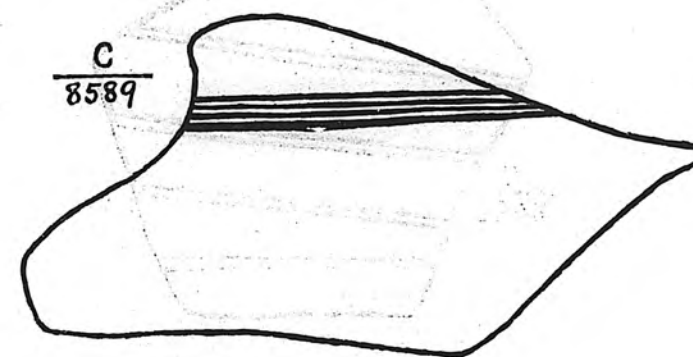
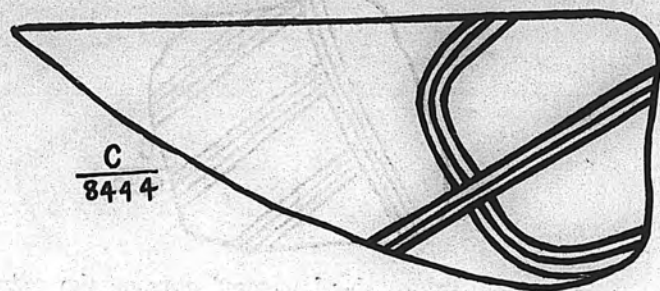
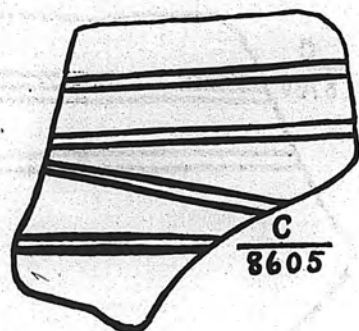


Fig. 13. Brownish gray sherd.



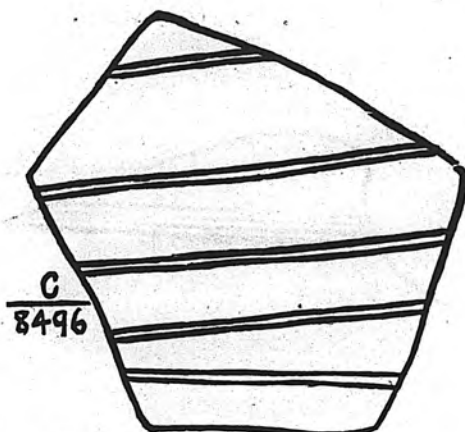
C
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Fig. 14. Gray sherd, outside light brown.



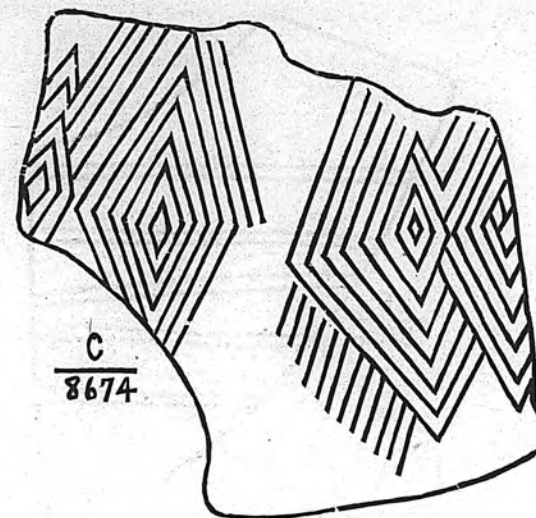
C
8605

Fig. 15. Gray sherd, colored light brown outside.



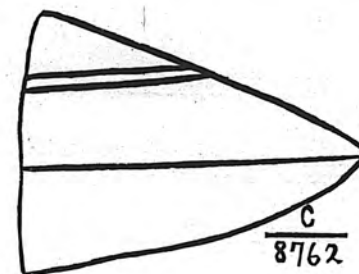
C
8496

Fig. 16. Thin gray or dull-brown sherd.



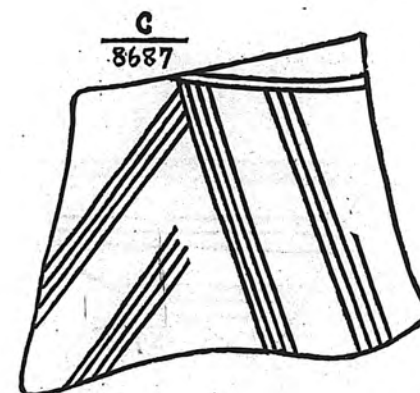
C
8674

Fig. 17. Sherd, light brown outside, light gray inside.



C
8762

Fig. 18. Gray sherd, colored light brown outside.



C
8687

Fig. 19. Sherd, outside surface brown, inside surface gray.

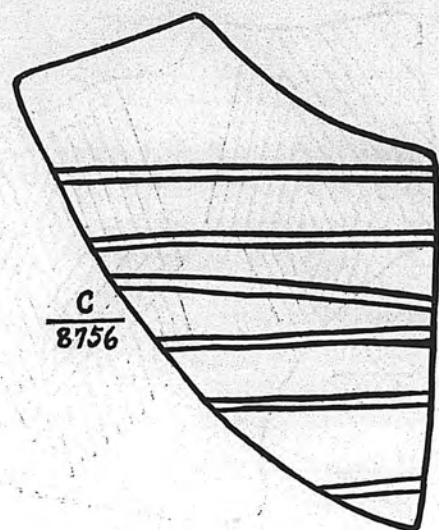


Fig. 20. Gray sherd.

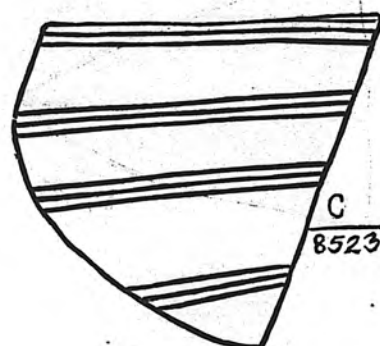


Fig. 21. Gray sherd.

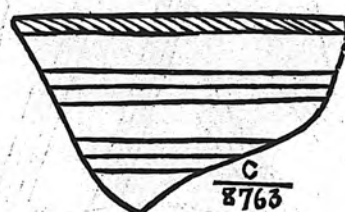


Fig. 22. Gray sherd colored light brown on the outer and inner sides, and ornamented by triple lines.

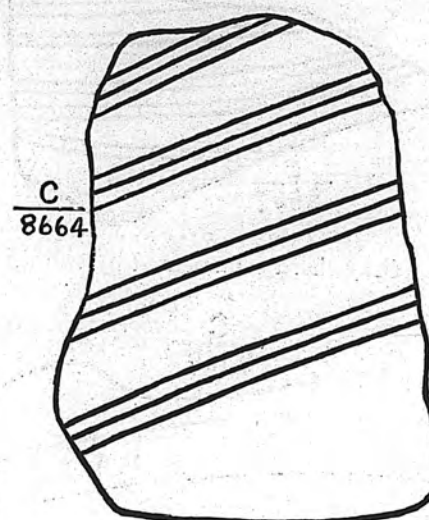


Fig. 23. Light brown sherd with triple-line ornamentation.

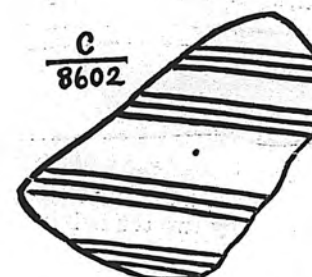


Fig. 24. Small sherd, gray inside, outside light brown, ornamented by triple line.

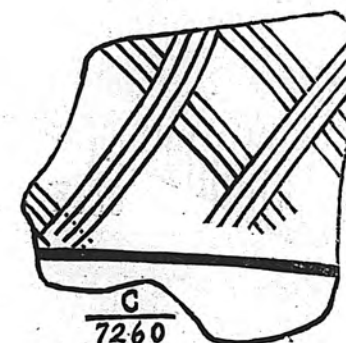


Fig. 25. Dark gray sherd, ornamented by four-lined bands.

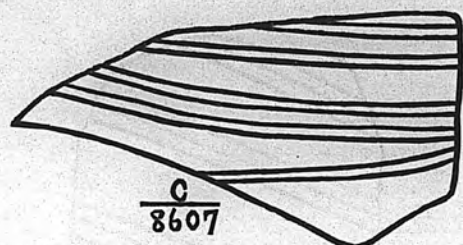


Fig. 26. Gray sherd ornamented by two-line bands.

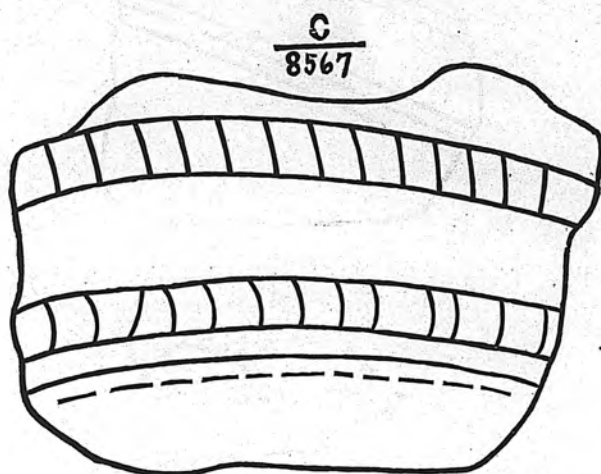


Fig. 27. A coarse, thick, sand-tempered sherd, dull, grayish brown in color, burnt to a reddish brown outside; ornamented by two crude imitations of ropes.

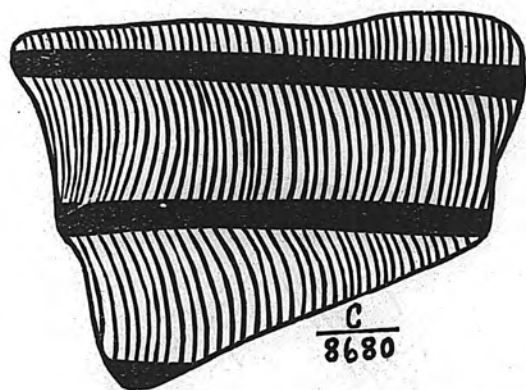


Fig. 28. Sherd decorated with ridges and depressions, made by pressing the fingers on the plastic clay. Gray, with inside and outside coated yellow. The inside shows the coating of light yellow. On the outside the yellow coating has been colored black.

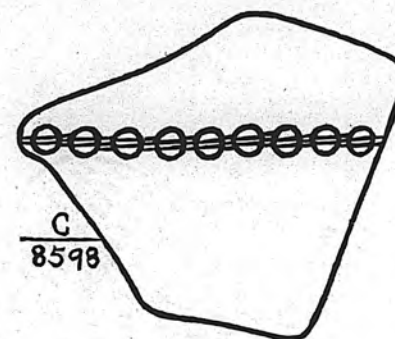


Fig. 29. Red sherd, with the inside and the outside surfaces painted gray, ornamented by a fine decoration, which is either an imitation, of a metal chain or of a string of transparent, round beads.

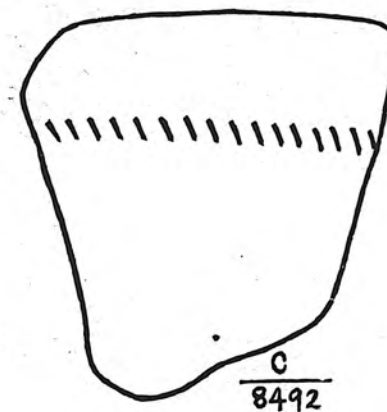


Fig. 30. Gray sherd, coated yellow on the outside, with a twisted-cord decoration.

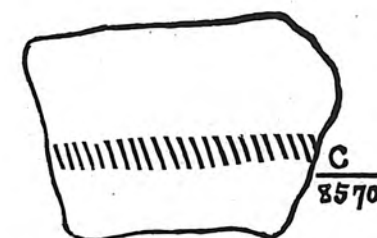


Fig. 31. Reddish sherd with a twisted cord-like decoration.

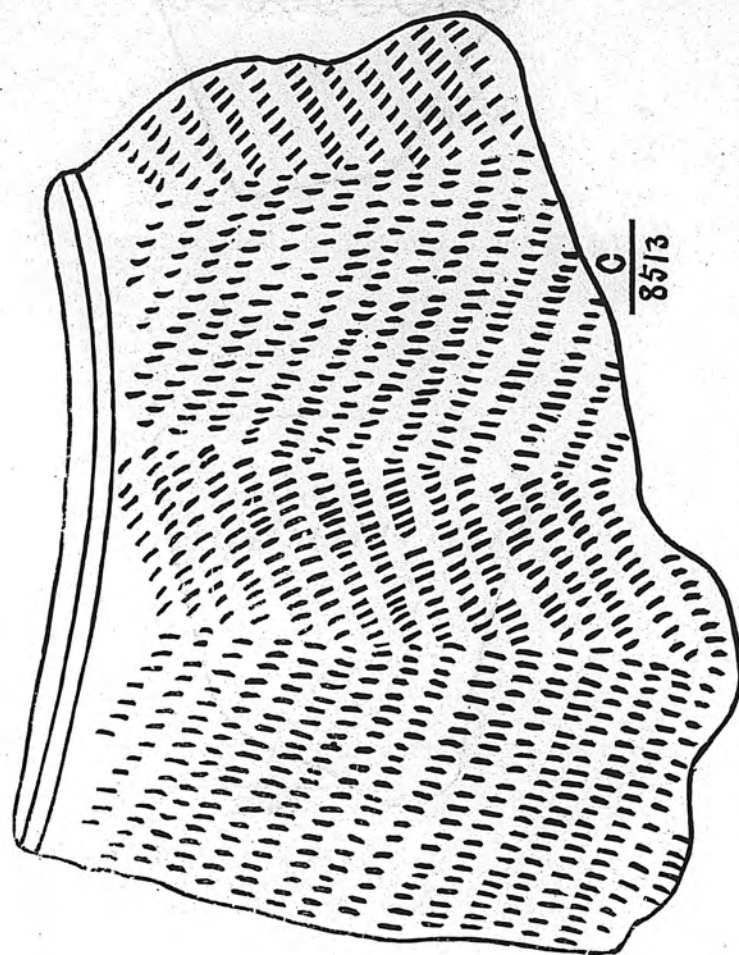


Fig. 32. Coarse, sand-tempered rim sherd, cord marked.

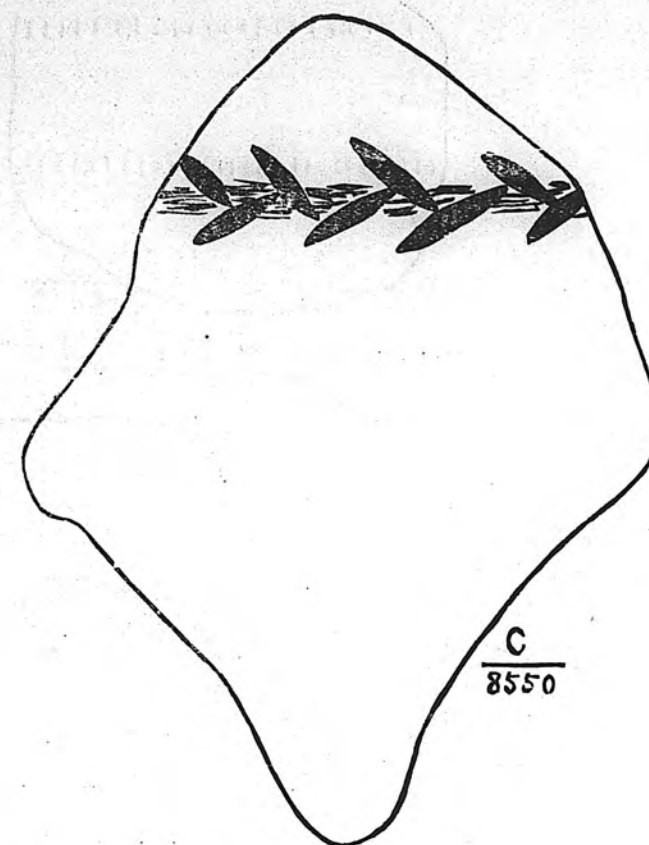


Fig. 33. Sherd, burnt brown inside and outside, with ornamentation of twig and leaves.

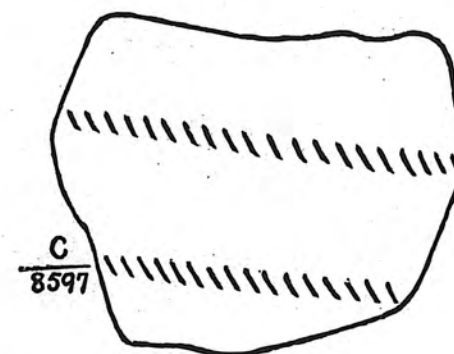


Fig. 34. Dull yellow sherd, with two imitations of twisted cords.

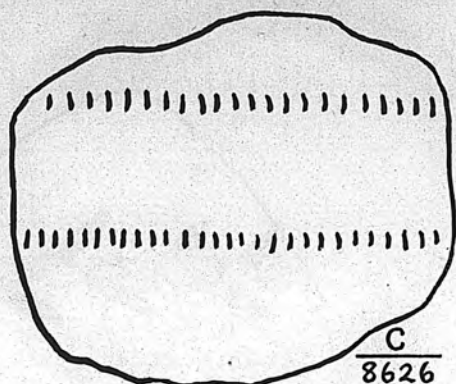


Fig. 35. Red sherd ornamented by two imitations of twisted cord.

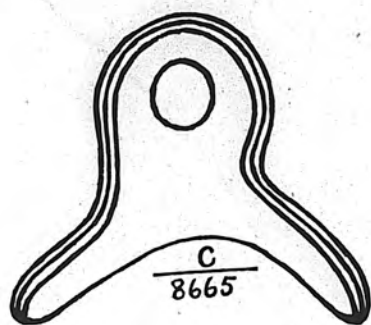


Fig. 36. Left, edge view of sherd, inside is gray, the outside has a thick coating of reddish brown, and a final thin coating of yellow. Right, side view of same sherd showing the decorations on the high ridge.

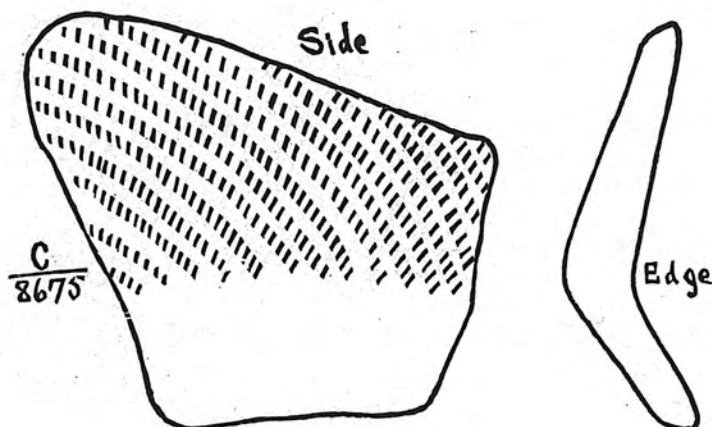
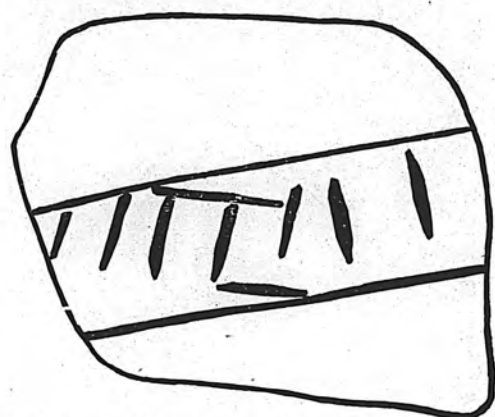


Fig. 37. Brownish gray fragment of the bottom and side of a cord-marked pot. The cords are slightly less regular than shown in the drawing.

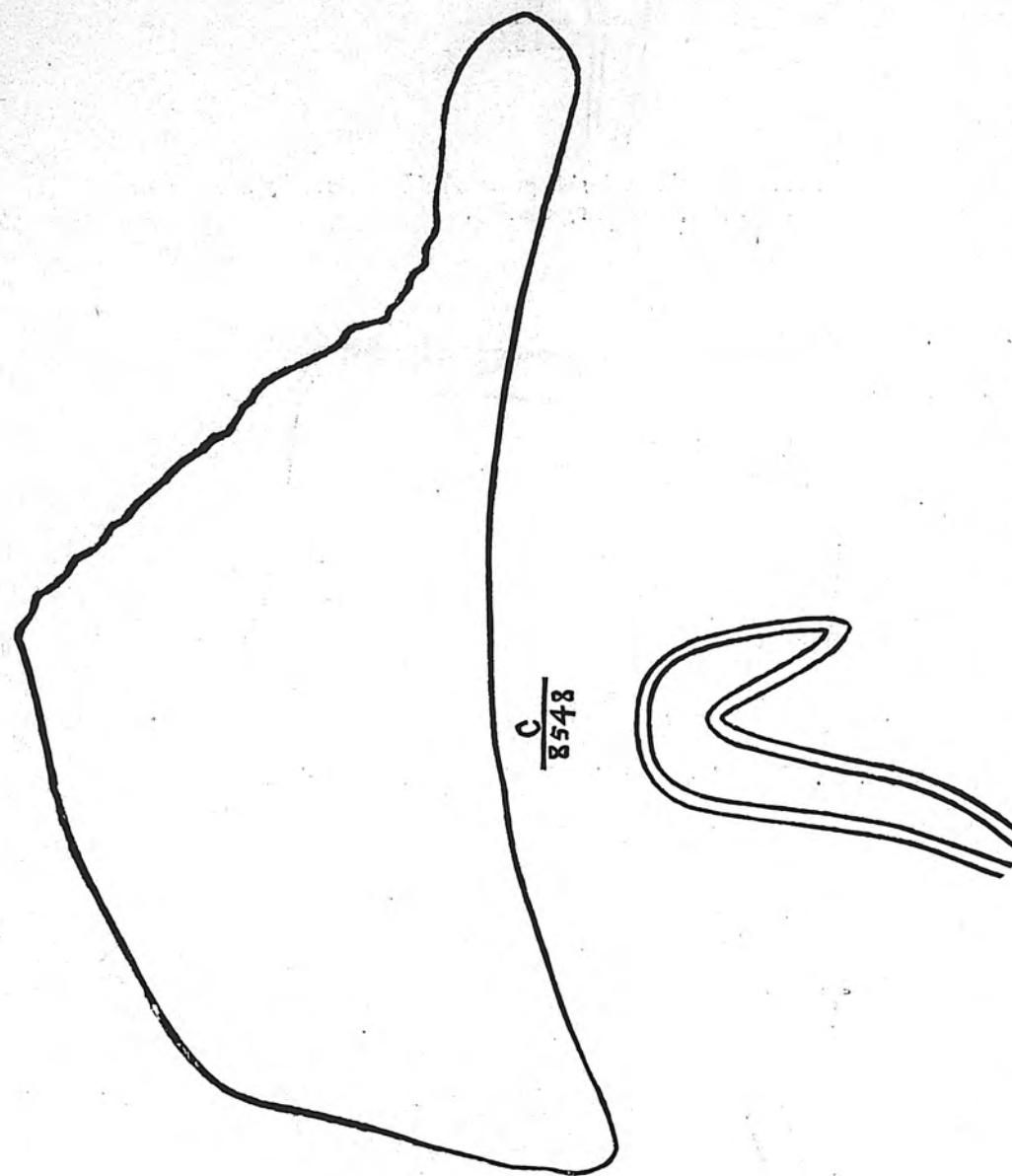


Fig. 38. Side and edge views of a large rim sherd. There is a dark gray interior, with a light yellow coating, which has finally been colored black. The pot has been well smoothed.

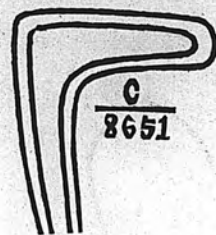


Fig. 39. Rim sherd, inside gray, outside covered by a light yellow clay coating.

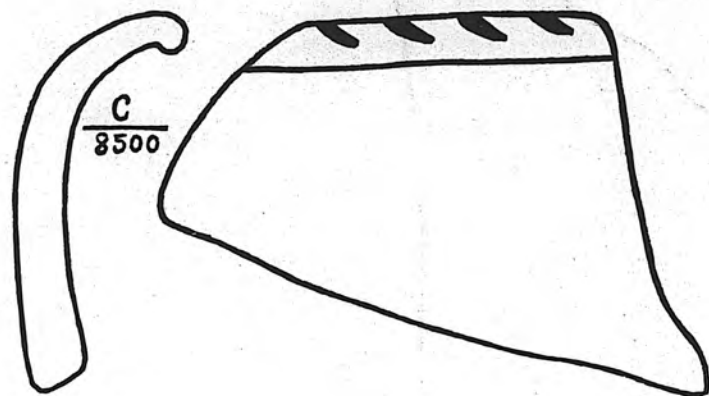


Fig. 40. Two views of a rim sherd made of brown clay, but colored inside and out by a thick layer of gray clay.

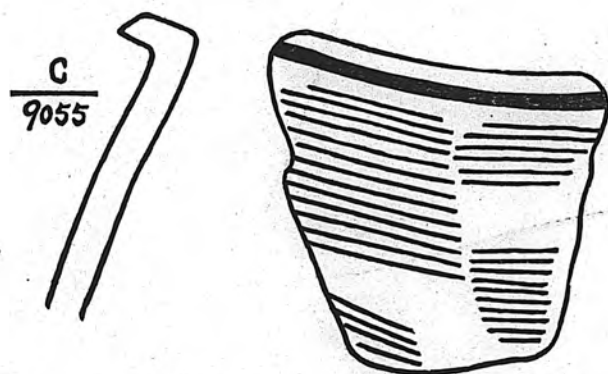


Fig. 41. Rim sherd, 5 mm. thick, coarse, dark-brown and sand-tempered.

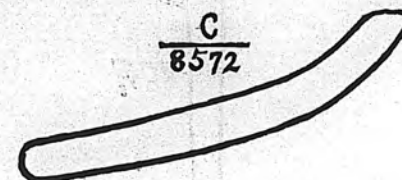


Fig. 42. Rim sherd, probably of a lid or a plate or shallow bowl, coarse, brown, sand-tempered, colored black outside. Width 5 to 6 m.m.



Fig. 43. Rim sherd of gray clay, thickness 6 m.m



Fig. 44. Rim sherd of dark gray clay, covered on the outside surfaces with yellow clay, well smoothed, and finally colored black. Thickness 3 m.m.



Fig. 45. Coarse, sand-tempered rim sherd.

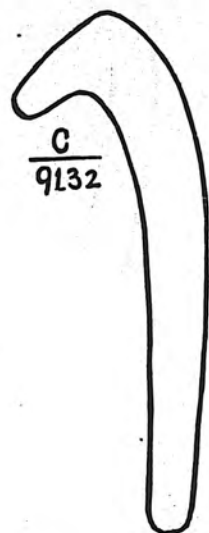


Fig. 46. A coarse, sand-tempered rim sherd. Inside is a dull brownish-gray; outside colored black; cord marked.

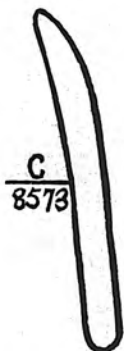


Fig. 47. Simple, light brown rim sherd.



Fig. 48. Sand-tempered rim sherd, baked to a dull brick red.



Fig. 49. Rim sherd, light gray with a heavy brown coating outside. 4 to 5 m.m. thick.

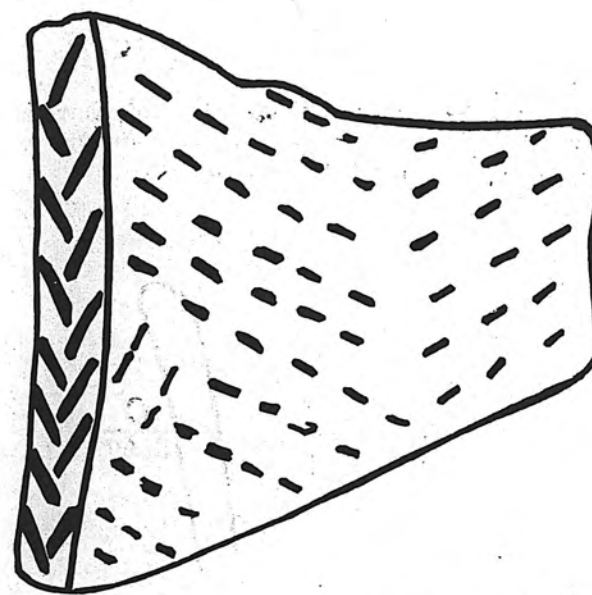


Fig. 50. Rim sherd of dark brown, sand-tempered clay, outside cord-marked.

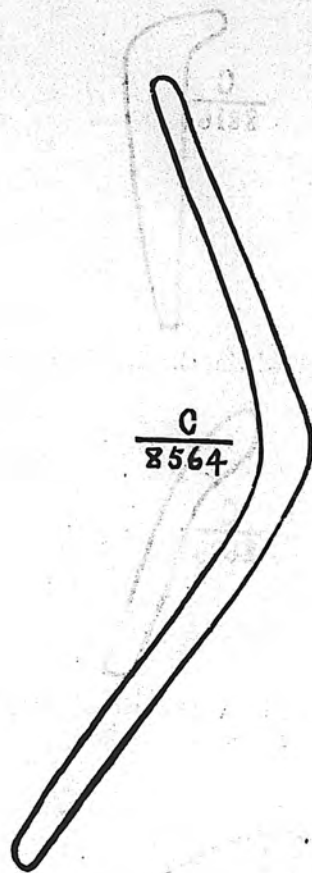


Fig. 51. A wide-rimmed sherd of a large jar made of sand-tempered clay, colored a dull red by baking. Thickness 3 to 6 m.m.



Fig. 52. Simple rim of light gray clay, colored a light brownish yellow on the exposed surfaces.

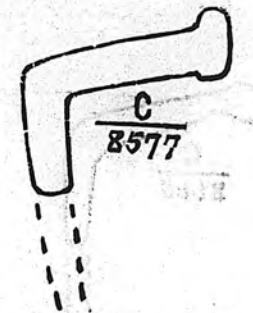


Fig. 53. Rim sherd of sand-tempered clay, dark inside, light red outside.

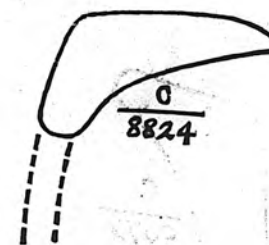


Fig. 54. Rim sherd, dark gray inside, outside of which is a dull brick-red clay layer, which has been colored black. The red color was probably caused by burning.

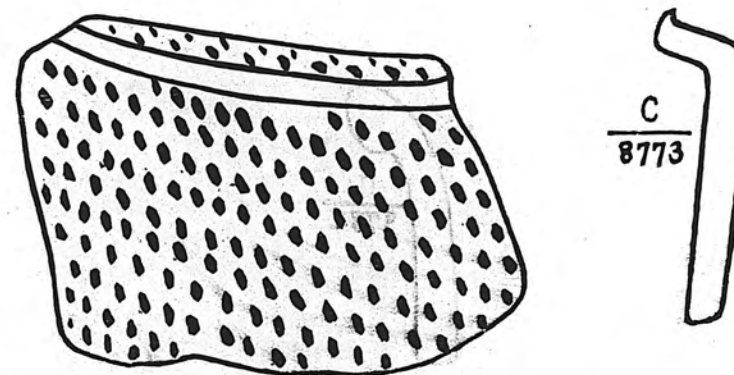


Fig. 55. A light brick colored sherd of coarse, sand-tempered clay, cord marked.

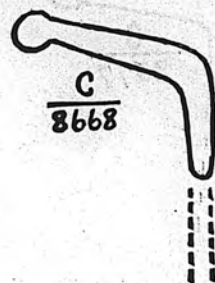


Fig. 56. Rim sherd, width, 27 m.m.; thickn ss 5 m.m. gray inside, with light yellow surfaces.

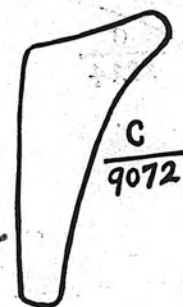


Fig. 57. Rim sherd of sand-tempered clay, burnt to a brick-red.



Fig. 58. Light gray rim sherd. Thickness 5 to 6 m.m.

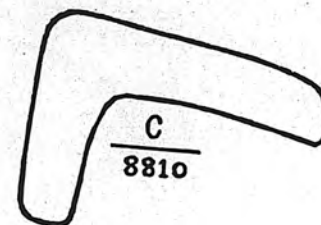


Fig. 59. Edge of coarse, sand-tempered rim sherd. The material is gray inside, and a dull, reddish brown outside.



Fig. 60. Rough, coarse, sand-tempered rim sherd, dark brown color, cord marked.

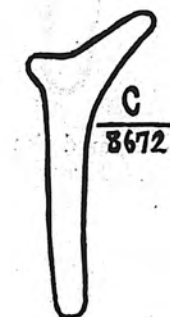


Fig. 61. Gray and light brown rim sherd.



Fig. 62. Coarse, sand-tempered rim sherd. The outside is cord-marked. The edge of the rim has a fern or vine design.

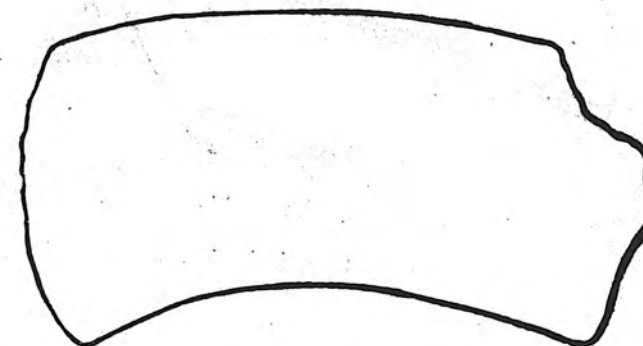
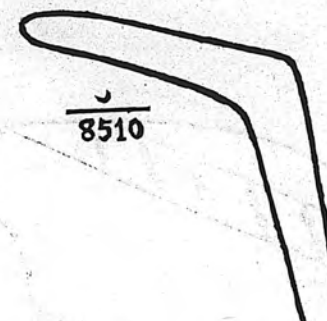


Fig. 63. Top and edge views of a light gray rim sherd.

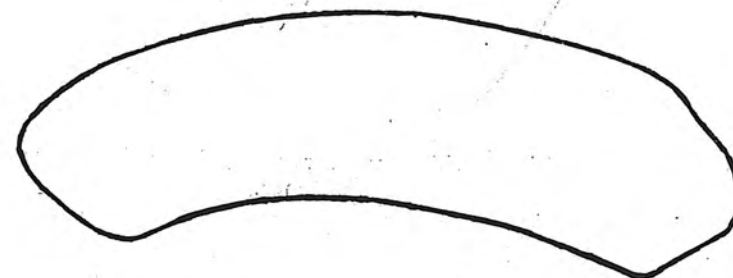
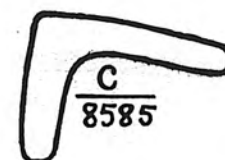


Fig. 64. Top and edge views of a light brown rim sherd.

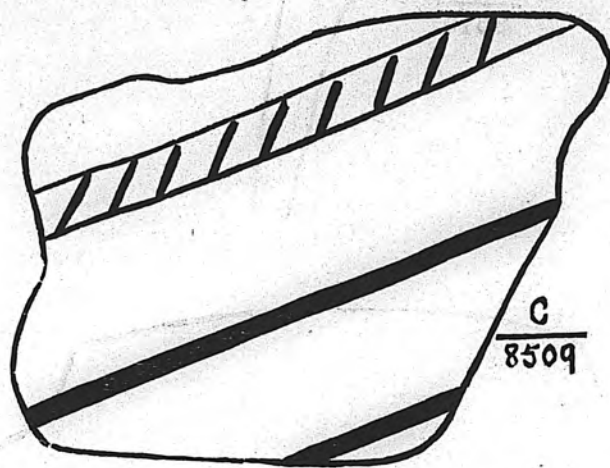


Fig. 65. Gray sherd coated yellow inside and outside. Two depressions and two ridges made by the human finger, and one ridge imitating a twisted cord.

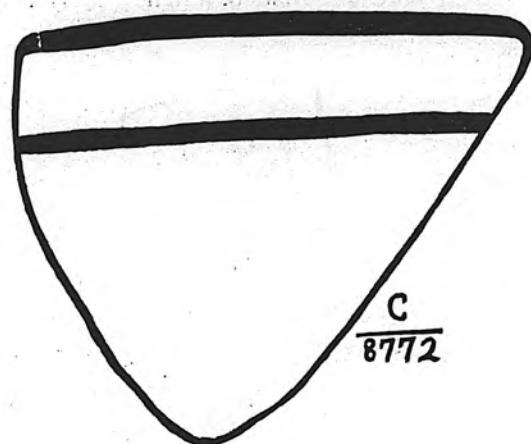


Fig. 66 Sherd with two ridges and a rounded depression made by the imprint of a human finger.

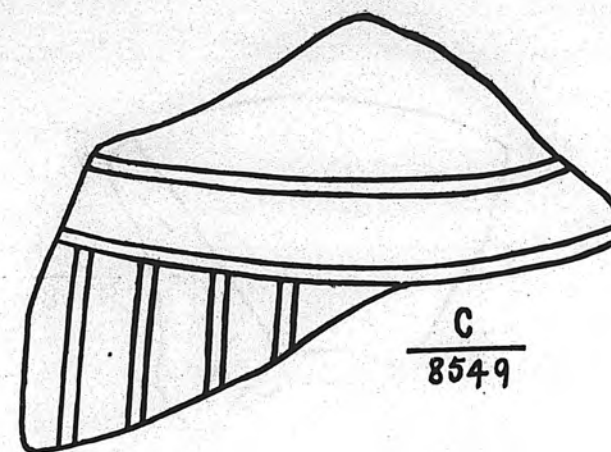


Fig. 67. Gray sherd with outside surfaces colored brown.

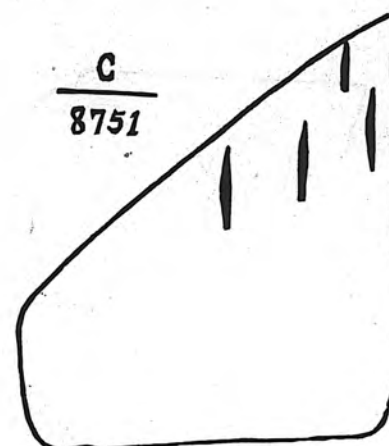


Fig. 68. A light gray sherd, decorated by incisions made by a sharp pointed instrument.

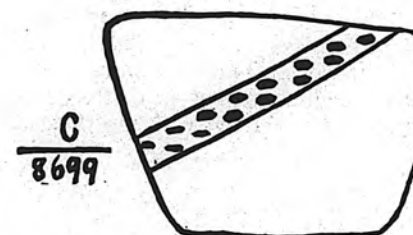


Fig. 69. Gray sherd ornamented with an imitation cord or rope.

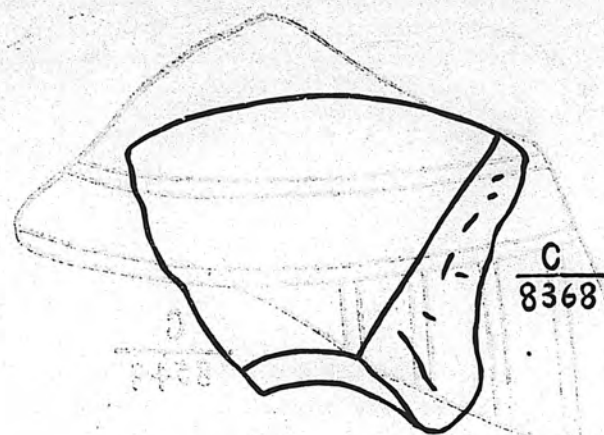


Fig. 70. Fragment of a dark neutral gray jade disk, with a very light gray patination; found in the undisturbed ancient kiln stratum.

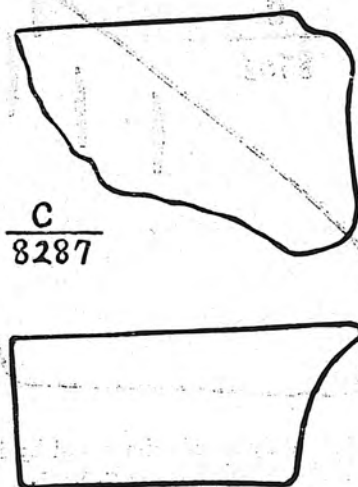


Fig. 71. Fragments of a thick jade implement, ground flat on the sides, with a smooth square edge. One end is concave-circular. It has a light gray patination. This was found in the undisturbed stratum ancient kiln stratum; color, a very pale green yellow, with mottled cool light gray.

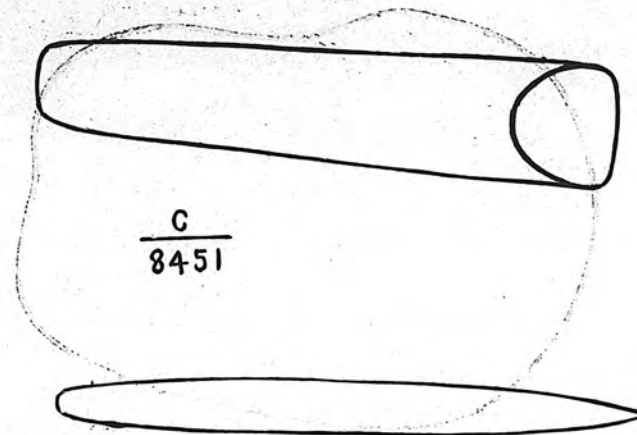


Fig. 72. A fine red jade chisel, said to have been found in the ancient grave.

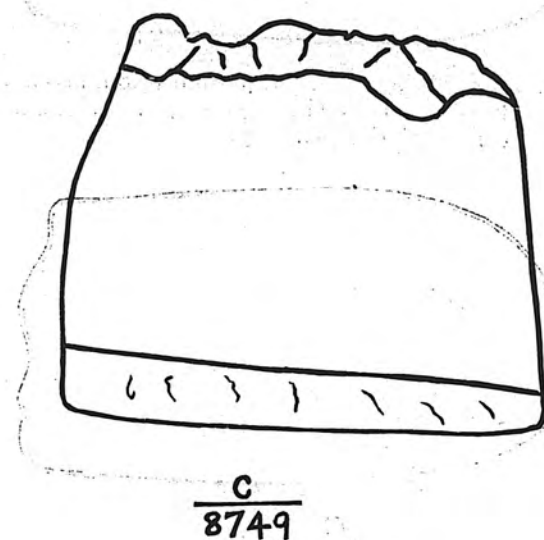
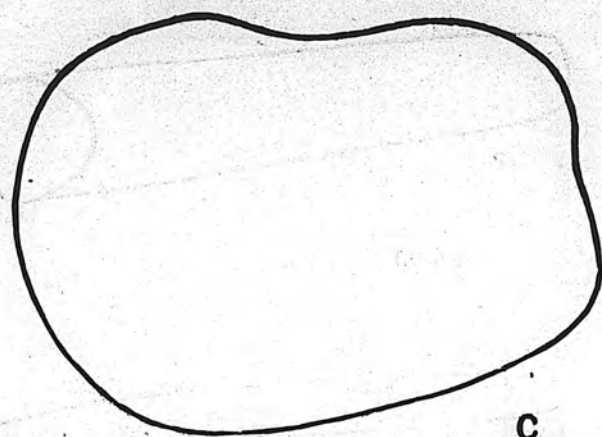


Fig. 73. Sandstone knife from the ancient kiln stratum flat on both sides, edge ground straight and smooth; color, a warm dark gray.



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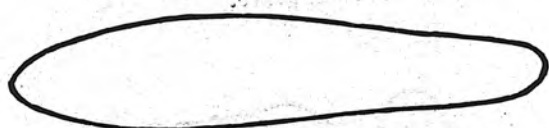
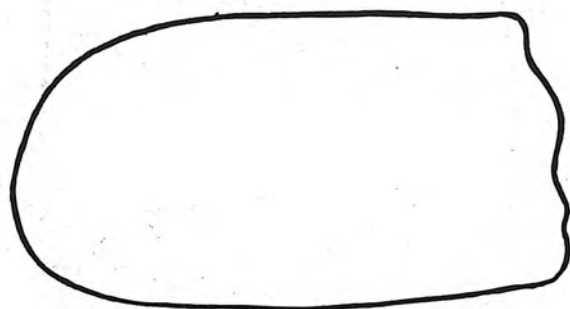


Fig. 74. A small igneous rock, ground into a hatchet for hafting. Found in the grave-pit. A foundation color of dark green gray.



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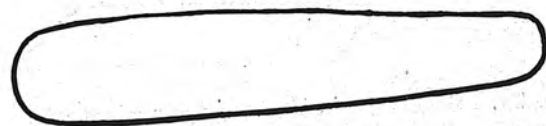
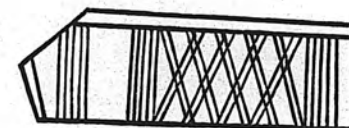
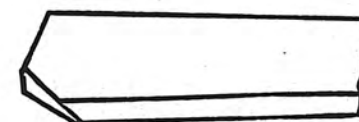


Fig. 75. Small, gray igneous stone implement, probably a pestle. Sides ground flat, and edges squared off. Found in the ancient kiln-stratum. Dominant color is a pale gray, mixed with a darker neutral gray.

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Front

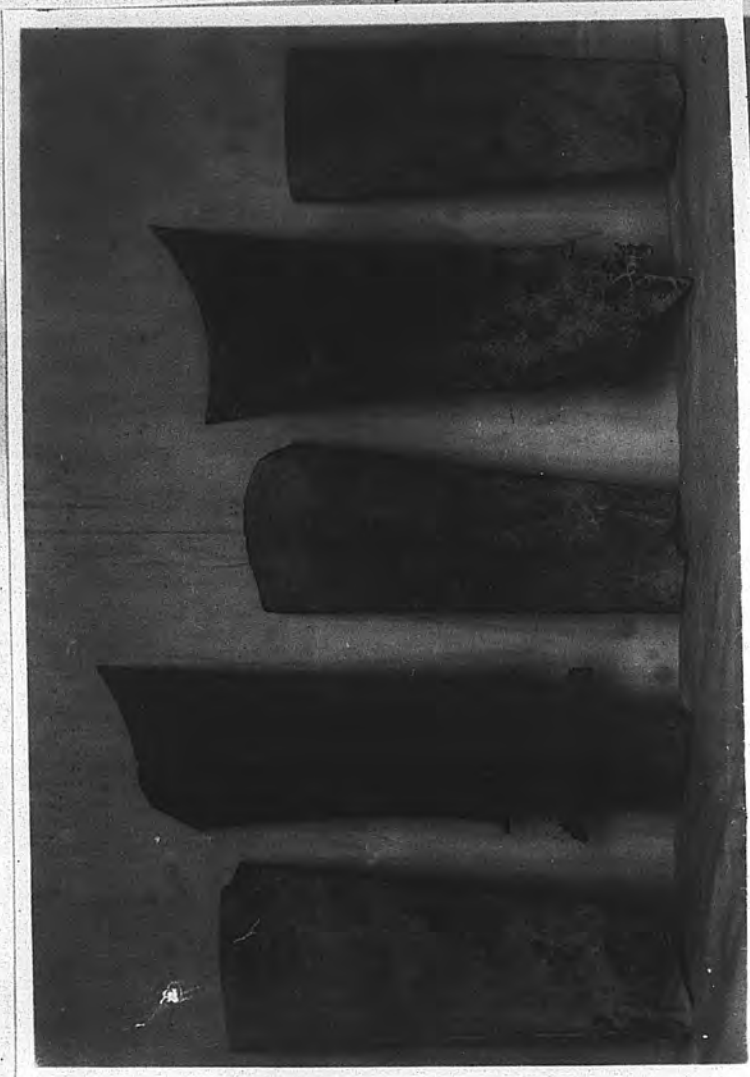


Back

Fig. 76. A stone boring implement excavated near T'ai P'ing Ch'ang. It was found in the ancient kiln refuse stratum. Length 44 mm.; width 15 mm.; thickness 5+ mm.

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JADE SWORDS AND CHISELS FOUND IN THE ANCIENT GRAVE NEAR HANCHOW

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EDGE VIEW, JADE SWORDS AND CHISELS FROM ANCIENT GRAVE NEAR HANCHOW

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BOARDS

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A LATE NEOLITHIC CULTURE IN
SZECHWAN PROVINCE

by

DAVID C. GRAHAM

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A LATE NEOLITHIC CULTURE IN SZECHWAN PROVINCE

WILLIAM G. DEAN

In 1932 a Chinese field worker reported to me a number of stone axes that had been found in the western part of Szechwan Province. It was a very small number, and the axes were of a type that I had never seen before. I was interested in them, and I decided to go to the place where they had been found. I went there in the summer of 1933, and I found that the axes were of a type that I had never seen before. I was interested in them, and I decided to go to the place where they had been found. I went there in the summer of 1933, and I found that the axes were of a type that I had never seen before.

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A LATE NEOLITHIC CULTURE IN SZECHWAN PROVINCE

DAVID CROCKETT GRAHAM

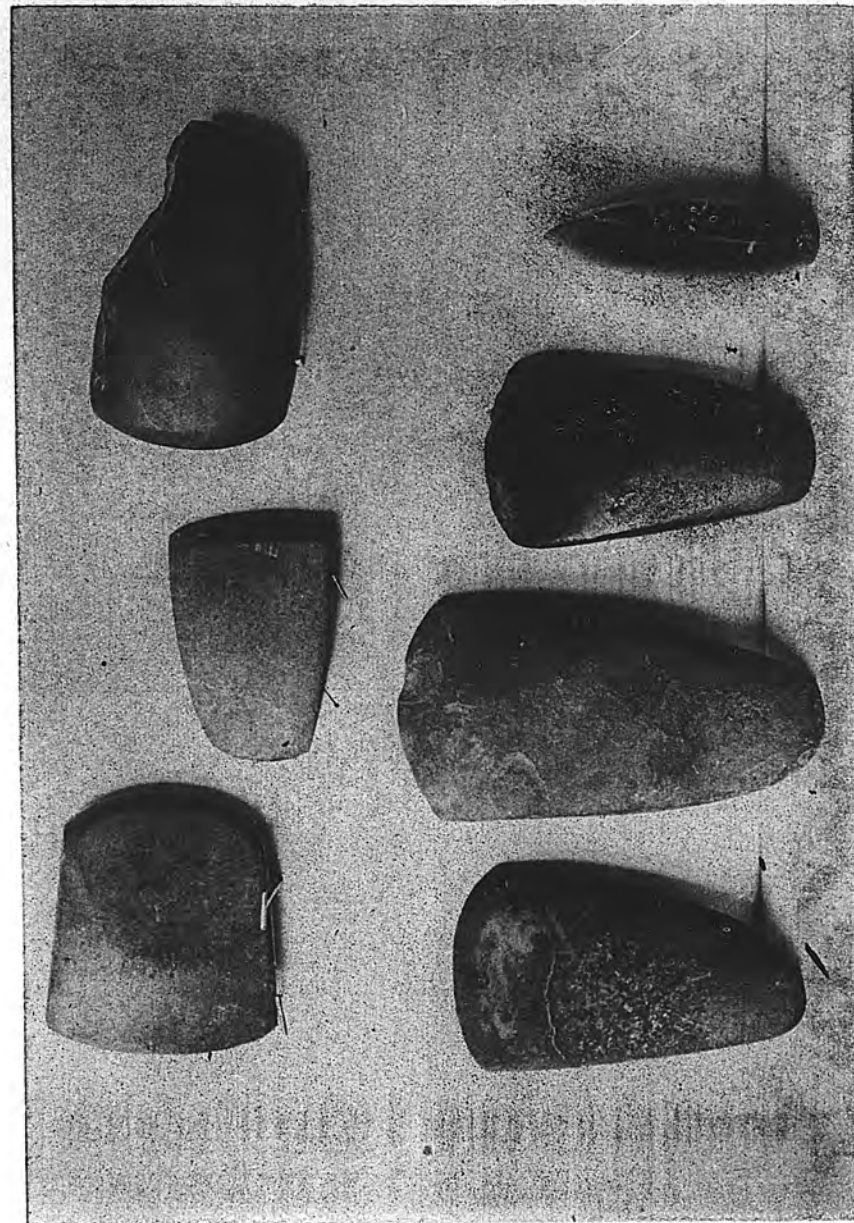
In 1933 a Chuan Miao friend brought to me a neolithic stone axe that had been found in the southern part of Szechwan Province. It was a well-shaped implement, ground out of hard igneous rock. Unfortunately the cutting edge had been rubbed off for use as medicine, for unsophisticated people in Szechwan believe that such stone implements have been deposited by thunder and lightning, and that when they are ground to powder they make excellent medicine. Doubtless many fine neoliths have been destroyed in this way.

In the summer of 1934 I went into the Kongshien district to collect curios or artifacts of the Chuan Miao aborigines for the West China Union University Museum. I did not expect to find stone implements. On the day that I reached Kongshien, on the top of a ridge, I was examining the limestone rocks near the road for fossils, when I saw a stone that looked like a sickle such as a farmer might use to cut grass. It looked too good to be true, and I thought that stone implements could not have been made of such soft material as limestone, so I was inclined to throw the "tool" away. However, I kept it to show how nearly like a tool a natural stone might be.

A few days later I asked a Chuan Miao friend if he had seen any of the stone objects called "thunder-stones." He replied that they were frequently found in that vicinity. I told him to send word around that I would like to buy them.

The stone implements soon began to come in. They were made of hard igneous rock, and were wider near the blade than near the butt. They varied in color from a light yellow or brown to a dark brown or black. Some of them were of fine workmanship. In all there were forty-nine implements, of which one is a chisel, several are hand hammers or rubbing stones, and the rest axes.

Meanwhile I had found several limestones that looked like neolithic knives or scrapers. I still did not believe that pieces of limestone could have been used as implements, but before long I found several that were probable stone implements, and finally picked up C/9971, (see fig 3) which was certainly a limestone knife or scraper that had been carefully ground in several places. After this I ceased to doubt the existence of limestone neoliths.



Neolithic stone axes from the borders of Szechwan, Kweichow and Yunnan provinces. There are now over two hundred neolithic axes, knives and scrapers from this region in the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology.

Most of the limestone implements have been found between Lo Biao and Kongshien, but about twenty-five are from near Shin K'ai Shi on Mt. Omei. So far all of them have been less than five thousand feet above sea level, and in places that are under cultivation. Some spots were richer than others. For instance, two were found at one place near Shiao Tien Tsi, at the foot of Mt. Omei. Near Kongshien, in a radius of about twenty square feet, I found three fine but irregularly shaped axes, C/9935, C/9936, and C/9937.

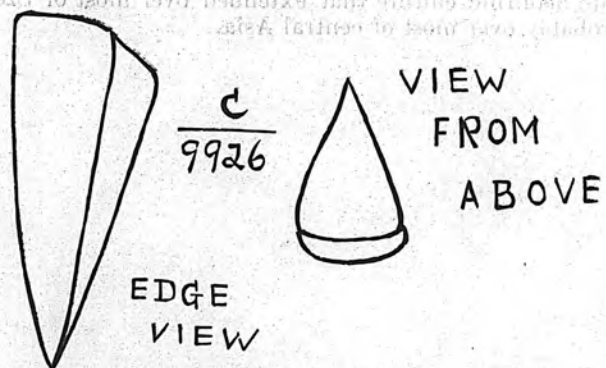
Some of the limestone implements are large and heavy, but most of them are small knives and scrapers. There is a far greater variety of shapes and sizes among the limestone implements than among those made of igneous rock.

While many of the limestones are certainly neoliths, there are others that are more or less doubtful. It must be remembered that erosion occurs much more rapidly in limestone than in hard igneous rock. A few centuries would make it impossible to recognize many of the limestone implements. The fact that the people in this region have no conception of using such stones as tools, the finding of some that are certainly stone implements, and the finding of the limestone tools in the region where fine axes made of igneous rock are constantly being dug up, constitute strong evidence that neolithic man in West China used not only the fine hard tools made of igneous rocks, but also a large number and a great variety of implements made of limestone, which were easy to make, easy to break, and, when broken, also lightly to be discarded.

In September, 1934, Mr. Chu Huan Chang brought from Kweichow province a hard neolithic axe similar to those I found near Kongshien. Rev. J. Huston Edgar has found a few similar neolithic axes on the Yangtse and the Min Rivers, and near Kwanshien, Wen Chuan, and Wei Chow. It is evident that in these limestone and igneous stone implements we have found traces of a late neolithic culture that extended over most of Szechwan, and probably over most of central Asia.

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Fig. 3. Diagram of side and edge of a neolithic limestone knife or scraper: the first unmistakable limestone neolith found by D. C. Graham. Length 106 mm, width 80 mm, thickness 12 mm.

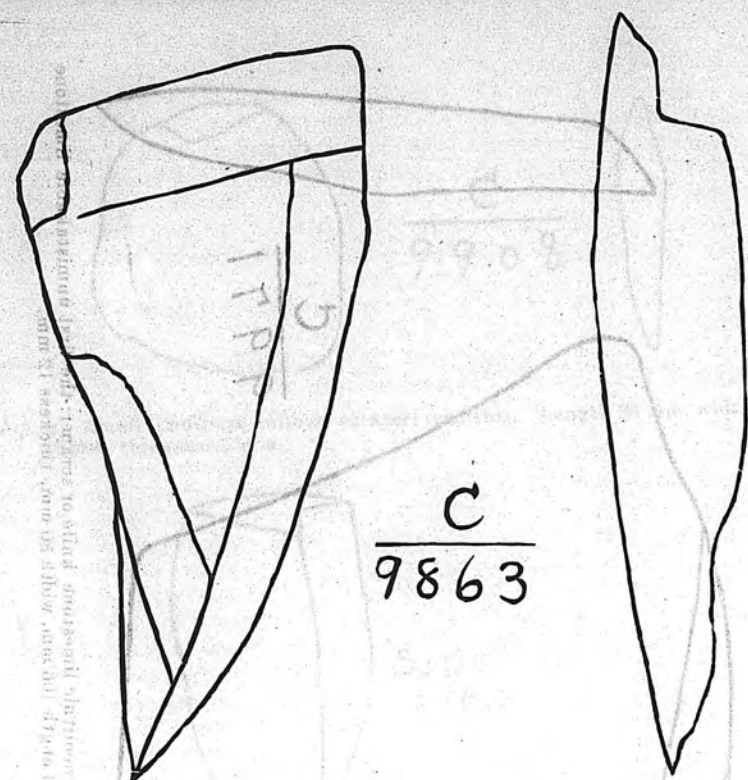


Fig. 4. Side and edge of a neolithic punch made of limestone. The top has been shaped for hafting. Length 98 mm, width 44 mm, thickness 18 mm.

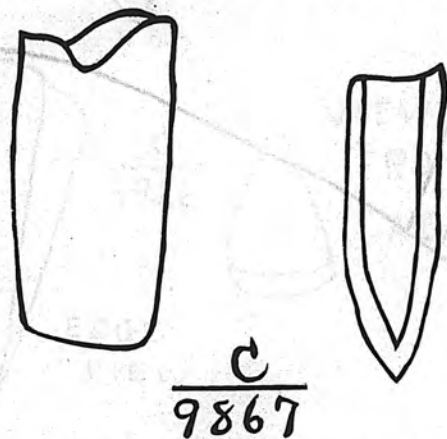


Fig. 5. A chisel made of igneous rock, the top broken off. Length 42 mm, width 20 mm, thickness 12 mm.

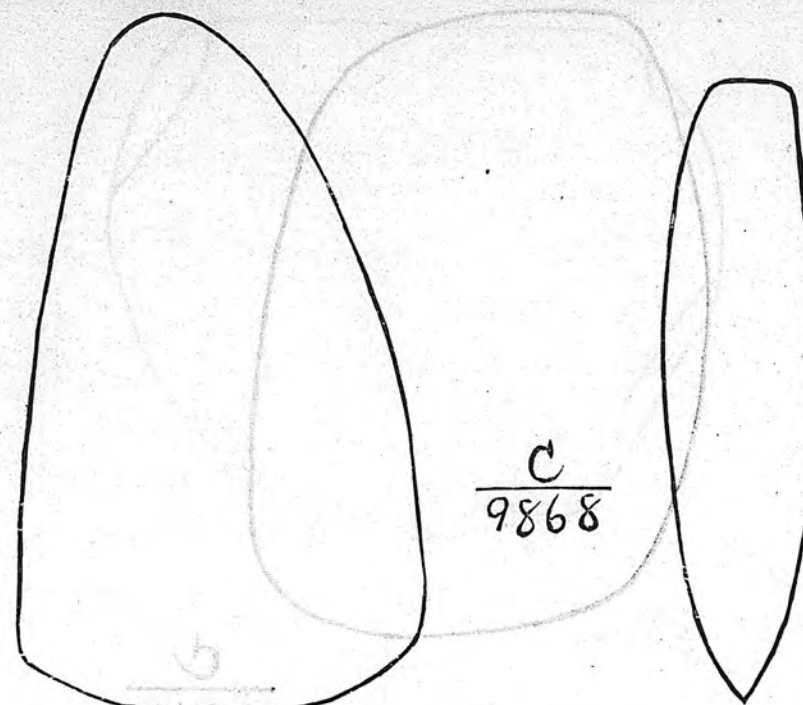


Fig. 6. A late neolithic stone axe made of hard igneous rock. Colour: a dull, dark brown. Length 88 mm, width 50 mm, thickness 17 mm.

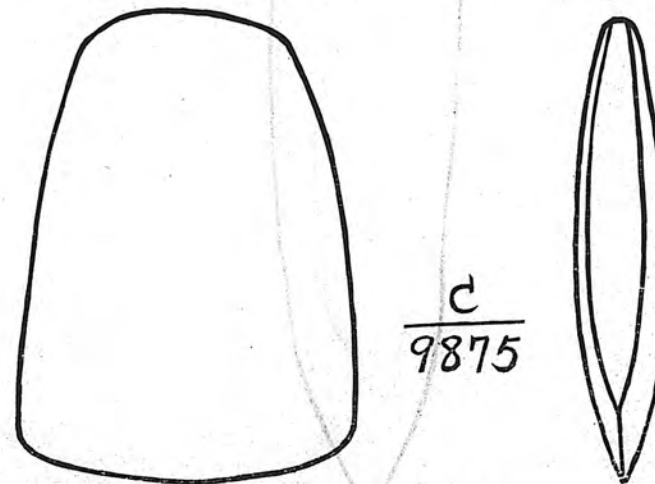


Fig. 7. Side and edge view of a small neolithic axe; finely carved; colour: a light yellowish brown. Length 61 mm, width 42 mm, thickness 12 mm.

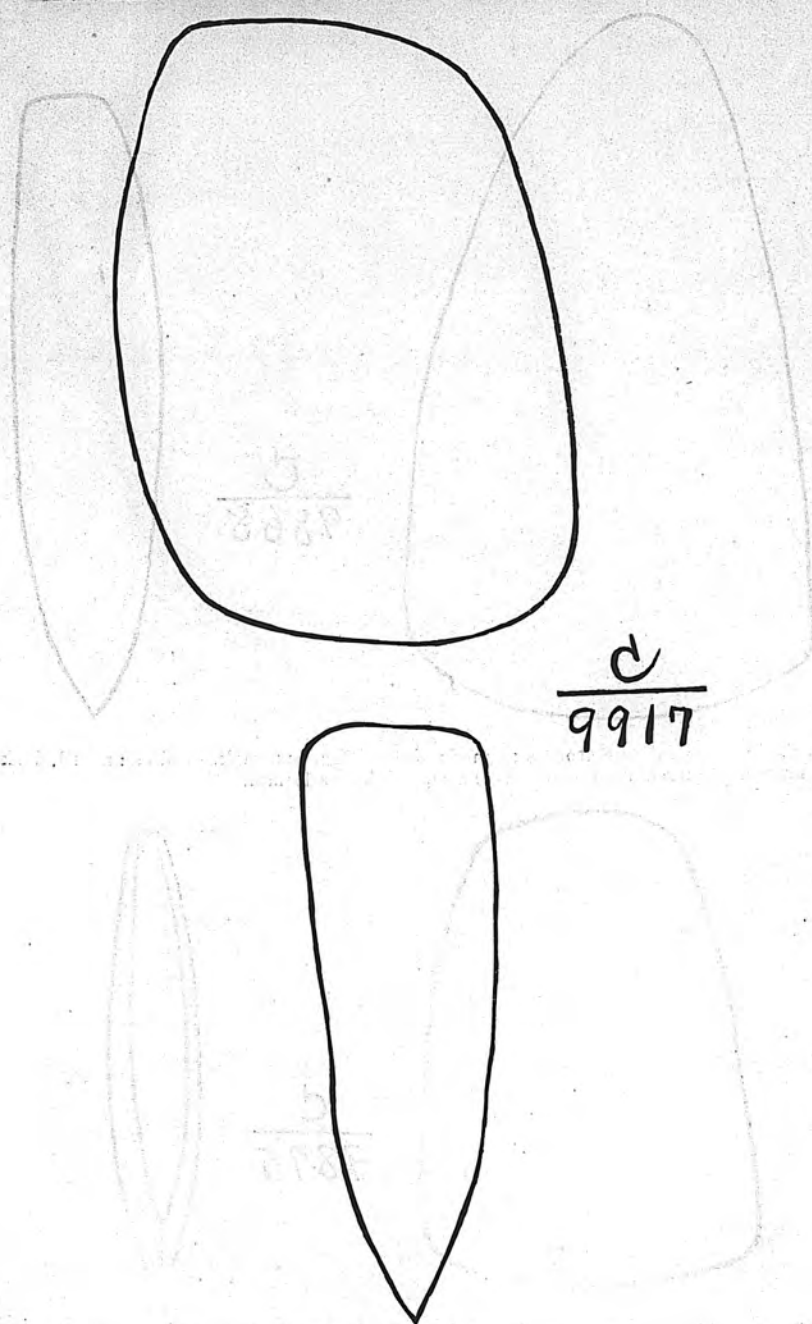


Fig. 8. A limestone stone axe, found nearKongshien. Length 83 mm, width 58 mm, thickness 26 mm.

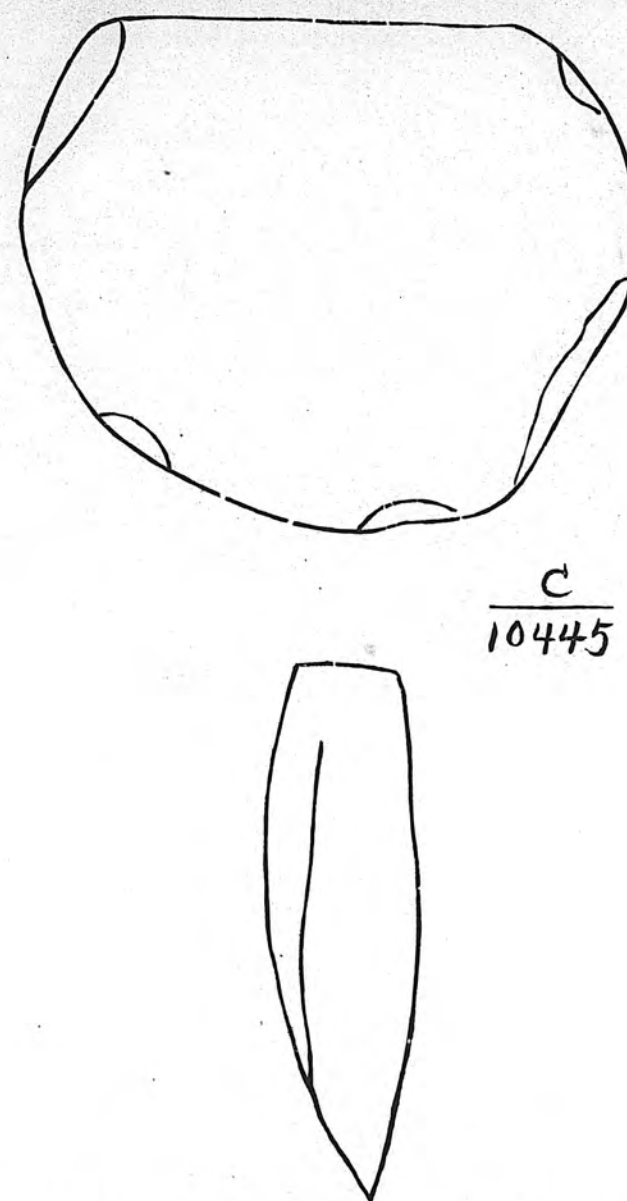


Fig. 9. Side and edge view of a neolithic limestone knife or scraper. This type occurs frequently among the paleoliths of West China, and resembles iron knives still in use. Length 80 mm, width 68 mm, thickness 19 mm.

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IMPLEMENTS OF PREHISTORIC MAN IN
THE WEST CHINA UNION UNIVERSITY
MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY

by

DAVID C. GRAHAM

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IMPLEMENTS OF PREHISTORIC MAN IN THE WEST CHINA UNION UNIVERSITY MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY

DAVID CROCKETT GRAHAM

In the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology there is a collection of paleolithic and neolithic stone implements from Szechwan Province and the China-Tibetan border. They include some of the types that have been found in Europe, and seem to bridge, at least partly, the gap that apparently exists in east China between the cultural implements of Peking Man and the upper Paleolithic. Some of the types have not been found in Europe, and may be peculiar to this part of the world. A few of the specimens may be older than Peking Man.

The discoverer of stone implements in West China is Rev. J. Huston Edgar. He formerly lived in Tasmania, in Australia, and in New Zealand, where he gathered and examined stone implements; he also visited New Guinea and the Chatham Islands. He came to West China with a mind that was interested in stone implements, and with an experience that enabled him to recognize them when he saw them.

Mr. Edgar began gathering stone implements in 1913. He first sent a few to the museum of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, which have seemingly been lost. All the rest are in the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology. He has found them all the way from Ichang to Li Tang. Many of them have been found *in situ*, and others have been found in places where they have been exposed by erosion, on or near the original sites. All have been carefully numbered and catalogued, and such data as the place, whether or not found *in situ*, the date when found and under what circumstances, have been carefully recorded in the museum records. An article by Mr. Edgar in Volume VI of this Journal (page 56) describes and gives a map of the important sites on the China-Tibetan border.

In Volume II of this Journal there are drawings of some of the stone implements collected by Mr. Edgar. In 1930 Dr. Arnold Heim visited Sharatang with Mr. Edgar, and saw the latter find two stone artifacts (*see plate I*) *in situ* deep down in a loess bed. He later reported this find in European scientific journals and in his own book, *Minya Gonkar*. In the summer of 1931 Mr. Edgar escorted Dr. Gordon Bowles to this region, and together they made a large collection which was given to the museum of the West

Plate I. Implement found *in situ* under loess at Sharatang. The small one was found in 1930 by J. H. Edgar in the presence of Dr. Heim.



China Union University. Dr. Bowles wrote an account of the journey and a description of the collection in the *Bulletin of the Geological Society of China*. The significance of this collection and of this report is due to the fact that Dr. Bowles is a university-trained archaeologist, and that he verified the genuineness of Mr. Edgar's work and of his stone implements.

The writer has read with a great deal of interest two articles written by Amadeus Grabau, Dean of the Peking Laboratory of Natural History. One is *Did Man Originate in Asia*, in the January issue of *Asia*, 1935, and the other is in the 1934 *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The essence of the theory advanced by Dr. Grabau is that the rising of the Himalaya Mountains, in the later part of the Tertiary age, and the consequent deforestation of the Tibetan-Mongolian area, compelled man's anthropoid ancestor, *Protanthropus*, to live on the ground instead of in the trees, and started the developments that have finally resulted in present-day man.

An interesting fact is that before the writer had read Dr. Grabau's articles he had heard Mr. Edgar express the belief that man's origin may have been in Tibet. When, later, the writer showed Dr. Grabau's articles to Mr. Edgar, they were to him a confirmation of a belief that he had already held.

A part of Dr. Grabau's theory is that during the pleistocene age, when the great glaciers and ice-fields covered much of Europe, man did not and could not live in China. When he did return he brought with him an Upper Paleolithic culture. Man fully established himself in China after he had attained the late Neolithic culture.

Five paleoliths have been found by Mr. Edgar between Ichang and Chungking. Two were in conglomerate rock where they were exposed by erosion. This rock consists of pebbles that have been deposited by the river. They have been solidly cemented together by lime and other mineral substances that abound in the water of West China. This fact, the crude chipping and the patination indicate that the implements are of great age. Another implement has the typical flat top and curved edges which is found frequently in the museum collection. Still another implement is a fine, well-patinated fist-axe that in Europe would be classed as Acheulean. (see Plate II.)

A well-made neolithic axe was found at Chungking, and a large number of neoliths and paleoliths were found between Chungking and Kiating. Mr. Edgar said that practically all were above the high-water mark along the Yangtse and the Min rivers. There is a fine neolithic axe from Suifu, C/5012, that shows both rubbing and chipping. Several of the implements are large, Mousterian-like knives or scrapers. That is, a chip was broken off a big stone, and not always rechipped along the cutting edges. Two large chips have been made into hafted hoes or axes, and Mr. Edgar said that he saw a similar stone implement in a Korean museum.

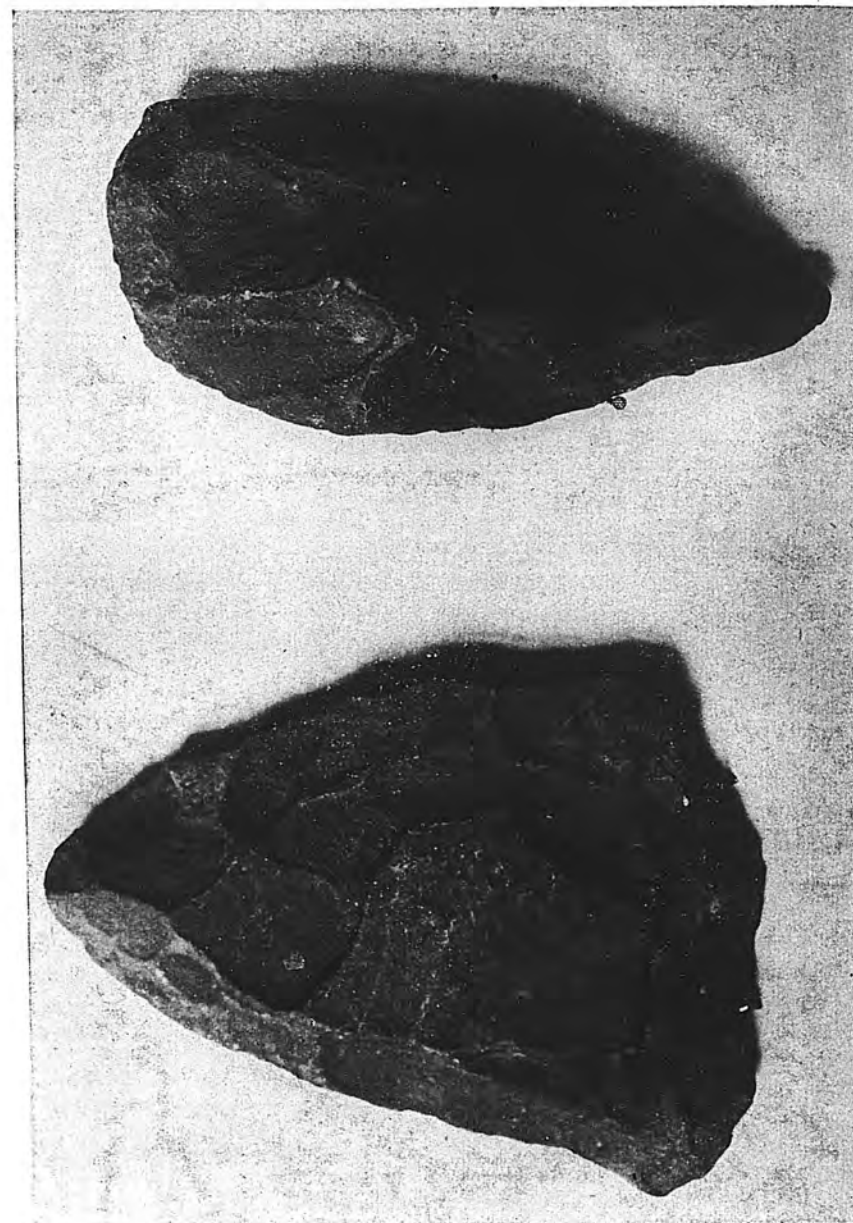


Plate II. Left: a pick, hoe or fist-axe from Yin Kuan Tsai. Right: an implement like the Acheulean fist-axe of Europe.

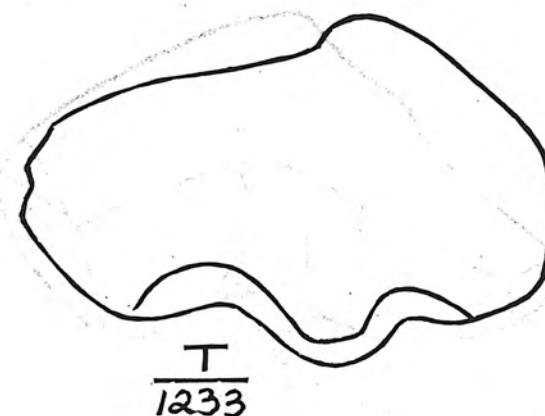


Fig. 1. "Saw-toothed" stone implement from the Zhu-Ri-Ha-Ka site. Shows very old patination. Length 67 mm, width 41 mm, thickness 13 mm.



Fig. 2. A small stone implement from the same site, showing a flat top and a rounded, chipped cutting edge. Length 41 mm, width 32 mm, thickness 10 mm. This type of implement occurs frequently in the collection.

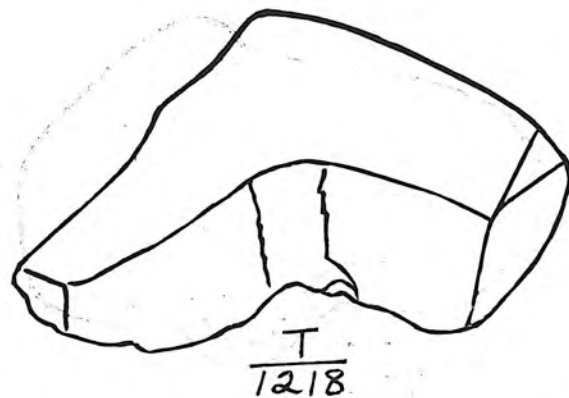


Fig. 3. A stone implement from the Zhu-Ri-Ha-Ka site. Length 75 mm, width 38 mm, thickness 11 mm.

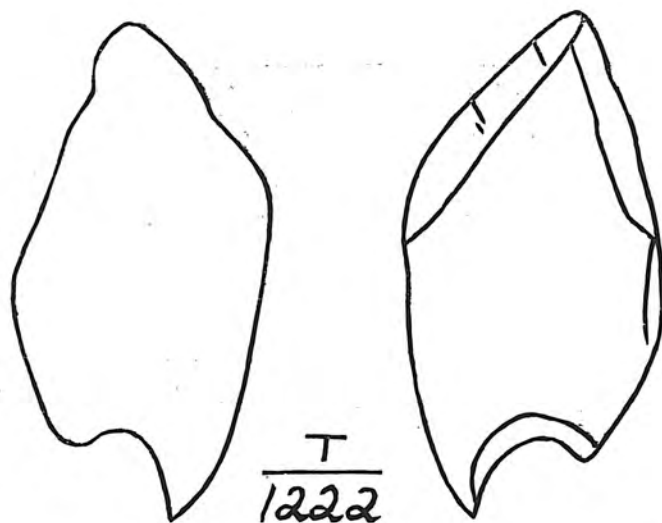


Fig. 4. A gongge or punch from the same site. Length 16 mm, width 31 mm, thickness 12 mm.

In 1916, just after a flood, Mr. Edgar came upon an ancient camp site near Suifu that had been exposed by the freshet. There are seven stone implements from this camp site. One is a well made thumb scraper. Another is a hammer or sledge hammer with a groove chipped around the middle for hafting. Five might be called Mousterian: they are large chips knocked off river boulders. Two have been sharpened by rubbing, so we must class the implements as neolithic.

C/4732 is a crude fist-axe with secondary chipping from the region between Kiating and Yachow. The patination is very old. Mr. Edgar has seen other implements in this region, but he did not pick them up.

A few implements have been found near Chengtu, among which is a neolithic sandstone axe that Mr. Edgar picked up while taking a walk with the writer.

Kwanshien, Wen Chuan, Wei Cheo, and Li Fan are on the banks of the Min river and one of its branches. The altitude is between 2500 and 4000 feet above the sea level. The collection from this region includes some fine paleoliths and neoliths. There is a hard, well-shaped neolithic axe, and a stone chisel. There is one white quartz fist-axe. T/749 is an implement made by knocking two long chips off one side of a river pebble. It was a skilful hand that knocked off these chips. There are several picks, hafted hammers, fist-axes, and scrapers, and one small thumb scraper. There are fewer neoliths than paleoliths.

The Mongkong region has yielded over sixty paleoliths. One seems at first sight to be a paleolith, but it is a soft slate that might have been worn into shape by water action. The largest specimen is either a core or a coarse heavy pick. One is a pestle or hammer made from a large pebble. At least two show adaptation for hafting. There are fist axes, picks, and coarsely-chipped scrapers. Seven are made of mica schist. The material is so soft that they would not have persisted until today if they had not been in dry places. Mr. Edgar affirms that he found them in dry and protected spots. There are nine white quartz implements, all of which seem to be fist-axes. T/1258 is a finely shaped fist-axe, and T/1186 shows remarkably fine chipping on both sides of the cutting edge.

From Li Tang there is only one specimen, T/1398. It is a coarsely-chipped scraper, made of igneous rock.

From Jedo, near Tatsienlu, there are four stone implements and one bone punch or awl. The two larger paleoliths, T/1329 and T/1338, are flat on top, and pointed. T/1329 is a well-made implement of a type that often occurs in the collection. It is flat or straight on top, and is chipped around the curved edges. T/1356 is a small thumb scraper on which the chipping is remarkably good. T/779 is a bone punch. It was found *in situ* in a glacial deposit, and is well fossilized.

There are two stone implements from Fu Bien, both of which were found *in situ* in a loess deposit. One is the typically flat-

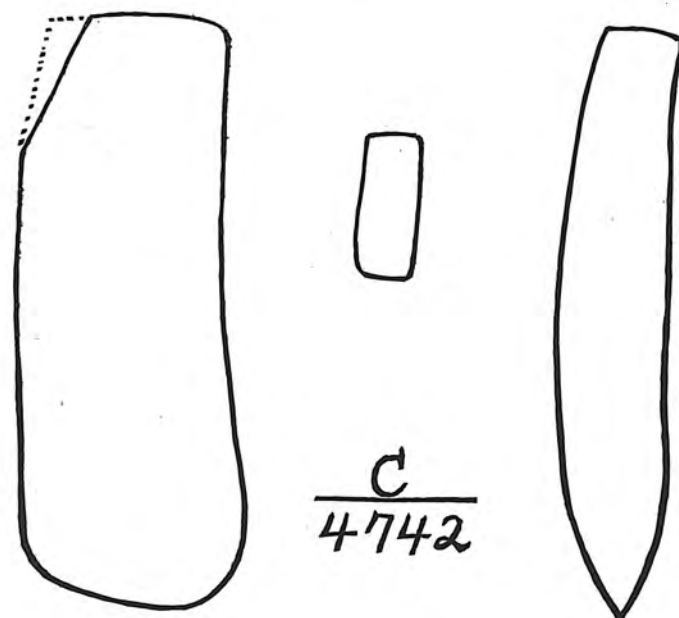


Fig 5. (Half size) An axe or hoe of a typical megalithic type, found at Wei Chow. Length 156 mm, width 61 mm, thickness 33 mm.

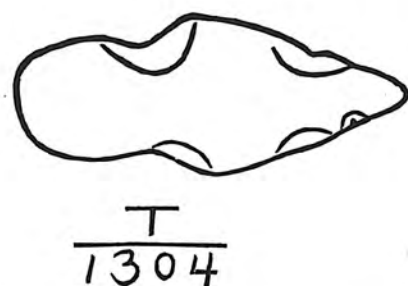


Fig 6. Stone arrow point from the Zhu-Ri-Ha-Ka site.

topped axe or scraper, of igneous rock, and has a very old patination. The other is sandstone, and has finger-hold depressions.

There is a meteorite from Taining that has been made into a fist-axe, and also a finely shaped and well chipped white quartz *coup de poing*. The meteorite was unearthed by gold diggers. It is patinated, and contains a high percentage of iron.

The collection from Ate includes only black igneous rocks, with the exception of a small scraper made of quartz crystal, and another of flint. There are four implements with circular edges, one about a foot long and resembling a sickle. There are several of the typical knives or scrapers with flat tops and rounded and chipped edges.

The collection from Zhu-Ri-Ha-Ka is very interesting and thought-provoking. There are about sixty small and ten large paleoliths. Some of them are so crude that they seem to be neolithic. Three are of white quartz, one of flint, and one of a black stone that may be porphyry. There are several specimens that show fine workmanship. Two, T/1233 and T/1327, have what might be called saw teeth, a style that appeared rather late in Europe. T/1187 is the typical flat-topped, round-edged knife or scraper. T/1350 (Fig 2) is a very small sample of the same type—being only 1.5 inches long and 1.25 inches wide. T/1222 (Fig 4) has a rather sharp point, and is apparently a gouge. There are three that seem to be arrow heads or spear points. T/1218 (Fig 3) is a small, sickle-shape, well-made tool.

There are several stone implements that closely or remotely resemble megalithic tools from Europe. C/4742, (Fig 5) found at Wei Chow, shows the typical curves of European megalithic axes both along the sides and along the edges.

C/4764 (Fig 7) resembles the Asturian pick. It was collected between Kiating and Chungking.

One of the first questions asked by an archaeologist is: were the artifacts found *in situ*? Mr. Edgar has pointed out a large number of stone implements that he found *in situ*. There are the two stone artifacts found *in situ* at Sharatang in the presence of Dr. Heim. Some of the Edgar-Bowles collection were found *in situ* either by Mr. Edgar or by Dr. Bowles. Most of the objects found at Dan Ba were found in the loess, undisturbed and *in situ*. Others were found embedded in loess at Sharatang, and still others at the Zhu-Ri-Ha-Ka site. The fine Acheulean fist-axe T/727, was found deep down in a water-worn hollow, in undisturbed material where it had been exposed by water. A large number of the stone implements were found *in situ*, and a large number were in the vicinities of those *in situ*, and are of similar cultural types.

No neolithic or smooth-stone implements have yet been found above 7000 feet in the China-Tibetan border—at least, none that Mr. Edgar or the writer knows about. But pottery has been found, and this constitutes one of the puzzling problems. Cultures with pottery are generally neolithic.

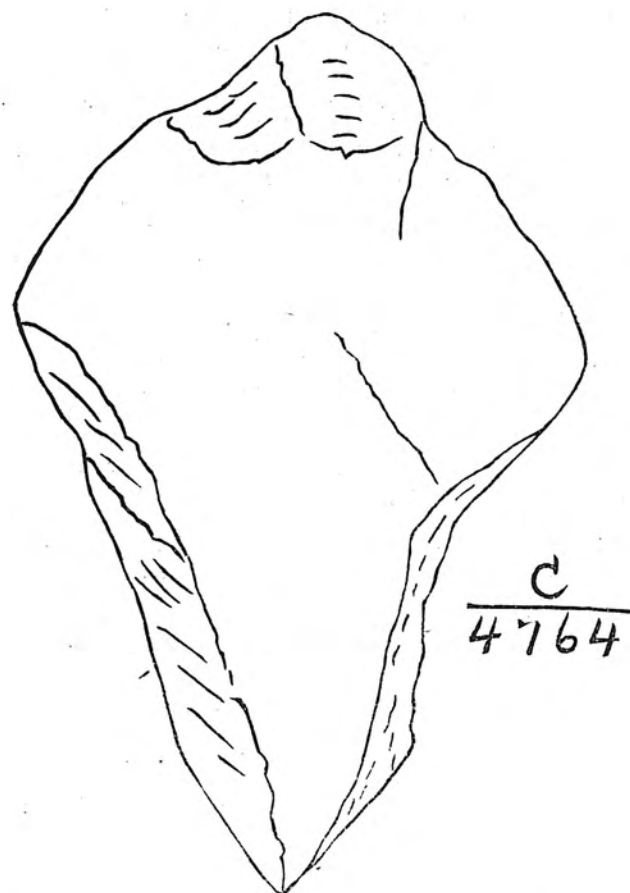


Fig 7. Asturian-like pick or fist-axe from between Chungking and Kiating.

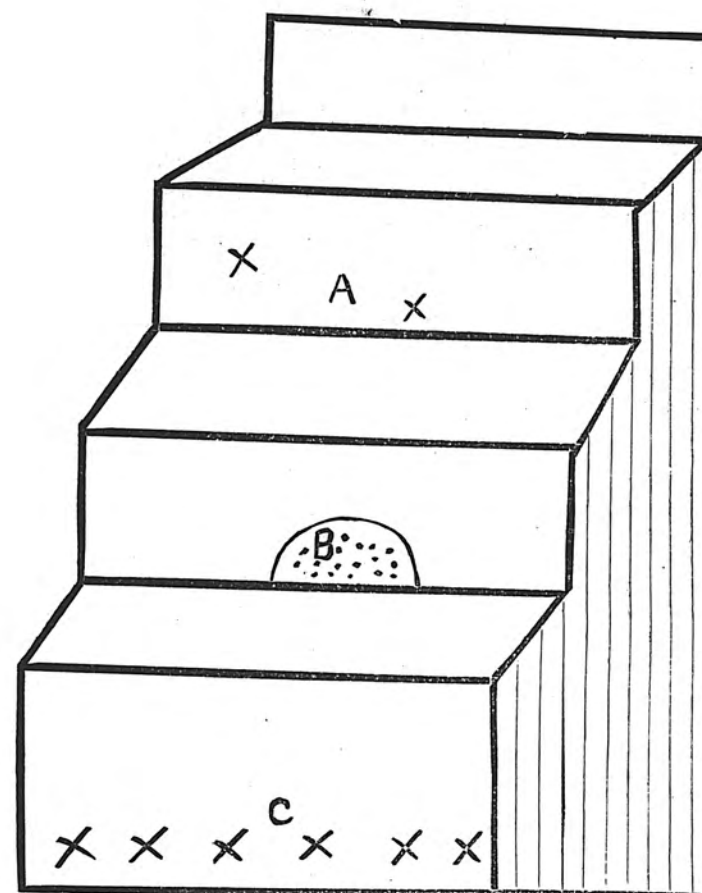


Fig 8. Diagram of loess terraces at Sharatang by J. Huston Edgar.
Total altitude more than 100 feet. A: Fine Aurignacian stone implements with chipping on both sides. B: Human and animal bones with charcoal. C: Cores and very rough stone implements.

In the article mentioned above, Dr. Bowles tells of finding pottery in the loess deposits, but he states that it was always found near the surface. The lowest depth he mentions is six feet. Laying aside the possibility of the pottery being the result of later intrusions, which Dr. Bowles would probably have noticed, it seems safe to assume that the pottery is later than the stone implements found imbedded deep down in the loess (probably a very late paleolithic or mesolithic culture) or possibly in the early neolithic age before smooth-stone implements came into use.

Let us now turn our attention to the diagram of the loess terraces at Sharatang (See Fig 5). This is not the result of careful measurements, but was drawn from memory by Mr. Edgar while he was in Chengtu. Mr. Edgar has visited the scene many times. Cores and very rough stone implements were found in the lowest terrace, marked C. Near the centre, at B, there was a human skeleton, charcoal, and bones of animals. This has recently disappeared, probably the result of farming. At A there were found fine stone implements with chipping on both sides, which Mr. Edgar calls Aurignacian.

Hasty deductions would not be scientific, but it seems safe to draw the following tentative conclusions:—

1. Because of the different climatic conditions on the China-Tibetan highlands, it is very likely that ancient man lived and hunted there during long periods when he was not to be found in eastern China. He may sometimes have made excursions down the Yangtse and the Min rivers.

2. Traces of man during late neolithic times are lacking in the highest altitudes, but become very plain below the altitude of 7000 feet, especially in the rich lowlands of Szechwan.

West China is a rich field for archaeological work. It should only be investigated by trained archaeologists, with the approval of the Chinese government. But when it is done, it will reveal unknown chapters in the history of man, and both skeletons and implements of prehistoric man will be found.

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THE "WHITE MEN'S GRAVES" OF
SOUTHERN SZECHWAN

by

DAVID C. GRAHAM

Reprinted from
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1935—Vol. VII, pp. 84-89

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THE "WHITE MEN'S GRAVES" OF SOUTHERN SZECHWAN

DAVID CROCKETT GRAHAM

In a previous issue of the Journal the writer has a note *Ancient White Men's Graves in Szechwan Province*.^{*} The information in that short article was secured from Chinese and aborigines who had actually seen the "White men's graves." Since then the writer has visited the graves himself, and has gathered additional information that will be of interest to others.

In the previous note it was stated that there are numerous wooden coffins on the sides of perpendicular or overhanging cliffs, each coffin held in place by iron bars stuck horizontally into the sides of the cliff, and that the tradition is that they are coffins of an extinct race called beh ren or white men.

Subsequent investigation has revealed the fact that the term beh ren (焚人) does not mean white people (白人), but is the name of aborigines who lived in Szechwan in the Cheo and the Han dynasties, during the time of the Three Kingdoms, and possibly a few centuries later. The Kiating histories state that these people were in the Kiating district with the Liao people near the end of the Cheo dynasty, B.C. 255. Apparently they and the Liao disappeared from the Kiating area during the Ch'in and the Han dynasties. The Suifu history states that the Beh Ren inhabited the Suifu Prefecture during the Han dynasty and the Three Kingdoms, and possibly later, and that the Suifu Prefecture was called the Beh Dao (焚道) or the Beh region. Afterwards, and possibly at some earlier period, they probably inhabited the region of Lo Biao and Kong Shien, south of Suifu on the Szechwan-Yunnan border. Near Lo Biao there is a locality that still bears the name Beh Ch'uan Keo (焚川溝) or Beh Creek Gulch, and near Lo Shin Tu there is a place called Beh Ren Chai (焚人寨) or Beh People Fortress. The Suifu history contains two remarkable quotations about these Beh Ren, namely: "The Beh Ren are the most benevolent among the aborigines. They have human principles" (焚夷中最仁. 有人道), and "None of the aboriginal officials are equal to the Beh nobles." (諸夷君長, 不及焚侯). It is these Beh Ren to whom tradition traces the wooden coffins on the cliffs near Kongshien and Lo Biao.

^{*}This Journal, Vol. V, Page 78.



Plate I. Wooden coffins on the side of a perpendicular cliff near Lo Biao. They are held up by wooden stakes. Holes show where formerly there were coffins.

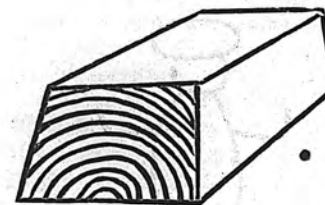


Fig. 1. Drawing of a typical wooden coffin, without the cover, carved out of a solid tree or log. There are many of these on the sides of cliffs near Lo Biao.



Fig. 2. The end of a typical wooden coffin. The lid and the box are each carved out of a single tree. The ends are sawn off smooth.

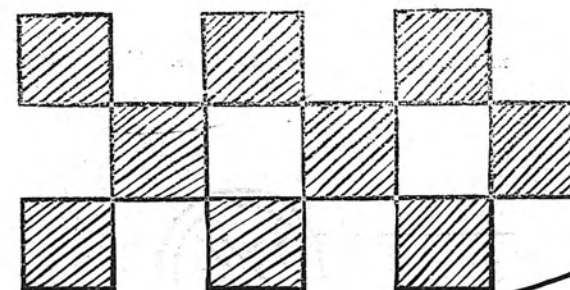


Fig. 3. Checkered pattern painted in red on a cliff near Lo Biao, about 100 feet above the ground.

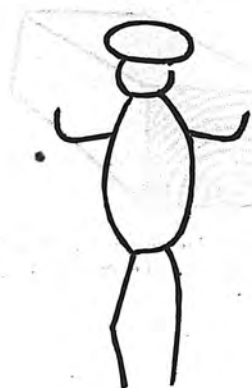


Fig. 4. Painting of a man. (Near Lo Biao. 100 feet above the ground.)



Fig. 5. Painting in red of a man or woman. (Near Lo Biao. About 120 feet above the ground.)

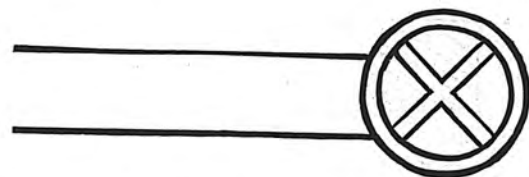


Fig. 6. Painting on the roof of an overhanging cliff near Lo Biao, about 100 feet above the ground. The rim and the spokes of the wheel are white, and the spaces between them are red.

The writer visited the region of the Beh Ren graves in the summer of 1934, used a telescope, and made extensive enquiries. He found that the wooden coffins on perpendicular cliffs extend over a wide range of territory. They are found in considerable numbers near Shin Wen Shien (興文縣). There are some near Cheo Kia Keo (周家溝), and they are to be seen in large numbers and on many cliffs near Shang Lo (上羅), Lo Shin Tu (羅星渡), and Lo Piao (洛表), the last-mentioned place being the center where the largest numbers are found. (See Plate 1) They extend southward into Yunnan Province as far as 豆沙關, where similar wooden coffins can be seen in a sheltered place on a cliff.

Many of these coffins are still in position where they were placed centuries ago, but others have fallen to the ground and disappeared. There are many cliffs where not a coffin is left, but on which the square holes into which the posts or stakes were driven are plainly visible.

It is the common belief that the coffins are held in place by iron pegs or stakes driven horizontally into the sides of the cliffs. By use of field glasses, by persistent enquiry, and by actually getting hold of some of the pegs that had fallen, the writer was able to prove that the stakes or pegs are made of wood instead of iron. They were generally made of a very hard wood that would last centuries in a sheltered place.

The coffins, unlike Chinese coffins today, are not made by nailing several boards together. Each coffin and each lid has been carved out of a solid tree trunk. The ends are smooth and flat, and evidently have been sawn off with a metal saw. (See figs 1 and 2).

The stakes on which the coffins rested were driven into square holes that were chiseled into the sides of the cliffs. These holes are generally four or five inches square.

Not all the coffins were hung up on wooden pegs. Occasionally advantage was taken of natural depressions, such as caves or ledges, but always where the coffin was protected from rain by an overhanging rock, and in places which are very difficult to reach. On one large sheltered ledge there are nearly twenty coffins laid side by side. Near Cheo Jia Geo several coffins were placed in cavities that were neatly chiseled out of the rock. The wooden coffins in the Yangtse Gorges may belong to the same culture as that near Lo Biao, which we may call tentatively the Beh Ren culture, for they have been deposited in natural depressions on perpendicular cliffs.

The bottoms of a few of the coffins have rotted away so that bones can be seen through the holes. From one coffin a femur or a humerus was seen hanging down.

There is dependable information that silver and jade rings, bracelets, and other ornaments have fallen down from some of these coffins. (It is believed that great harm may come to any person

who picks up and uses one of these objects). This, and the fact that it requires a great deal of skill to put up graves on such high, inaccessible cliffs, indicates that the Beh Ren fen are probably graves of a people of a comparatively high culture.

One of the great surprises to the writer was to find cliff paintings in very close proximity to the Beh Ren graves. (See Figs 3-9). They do not seem to be works of art, and may have been done by the workmen who put the coffins in place. One painting seems to be a wheel with six spokes. The checkered pattern may possibly have been copied from checkered bamboo mats. One picture is that of a rider on a horse, and another seems to be a horse in a shed.

Who, then, were the people who buried their dead in wooden coffins on these perpendicular or overhanging cliffs? All that we can affirm so far is that tradition says that they were placed there by relatives of the Beh Ren who were in Kiating at the end of the Cheo dynasty, and at Suifu during the Han and dynasty the Three Kingdoms and that another tradition states that they were in the Kongsien or Lo Biao region at the end of the Han dynasty, when Chu Ko Liang came into contact with them, and advised them to bury their dead in this way, saying that if they did their descendants would prosper. That they were a group of Caucasians is possible but improbable. It may be that they were Chinese who used this method to protect their dead from the surrounding aborigines. It is even possible that they were the Liao. Probably they were a non-Chinese people of a metal age, and probably they were the Beh Ren. The solution of the problem awaits the work of the scientifically trained archaeologist.



Fig. 7. Painting in red of a horse and its rider. These cliff paintings at Lo Biao are near wooden coffins.



Fig. 8. Cliff painting, Lo Biao, on the rock at the top of an overhanging cliff. The small central circle, the spokes and the outer circle are red.

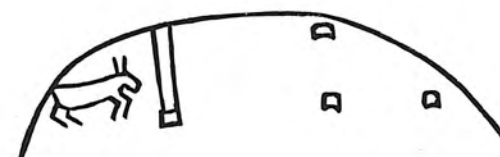


Fig. 9. Cliff painting, Lo Biao. There are four sockets for wooden posts. The animal and the curved and straight lines are red.

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TREE GODS IN SZECHWAN PROVINCE

by

DAVID CROCKETT GRAHAM

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David Crockett Graham

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West China Union University Harvard-Yenching Institute

PLATE I. The large banyan tree at Huang Lung Ch'i, Szechwan, which is worshipped as a tree god.



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PLATE II. The stone tablet at the foot of the tree. The inscription as well as the testimony of the villagers implies that the tree is a deity.

TREE GODS IN SZECHWAN PROVINCE¹

DAVID CROCKETT GRAHAM

Unsophisticated people in West China regard many inanimate things as living and intelligent. The sun, the moon, the stars, mountains, rivers, rapids, rocks, and trees, all are or may be living, intelligent beings. With such an outlook as this, when it is also believed that almost any living thing may be or may become a divinity, it is not strange that sometimes trees are regarded as gods.

The worship of trees is often seen in Szechwan, especially in sacred places such as Mt. Omei, Wa Shan, and the Yellow Dragon Gorge. The writer would not affirm that in all cases, or even in most cases, the trees are worshipped as gods, but in the following instances the worshippers and others definitely affirmed that the trees were gods, and denied that worship was rendered because some spirits or gods were living in the trees.²

In the village of Huang Lung Ch'i (黄龙溪), near Kiang-kow (江口), in the middle of one of the main streets, is a large banyan tree that is worshipped as a god. (See Plate I.) The villagers assured the writer that it is not that a spirit or a deity is living in the tree, but that the tree itself is a god. At the base of the tree is a stone tablet (See Plate II.) on which is the inscription 黄葛大仙神位 (Huang Ko Ta Hsien Shên Wei), or *The Divine Throne of the Great Immortal Banyan*. Red cloth has been hung above the stone tablet, as is often done in the worship of deities in Szechwan. In the inscription the tree is called a great immortal, a word that in Szechwan denotes a person, creature, or object that has become an immortal deity, especially used in that sense by the Taoists. The term *shên hsien* (神仙) is used in the sense of immortal gods, or gods and immortals, denoting divine beings. The inscription therefore seems definitely to imply that the tree is a deity, which agrees with the statements of the villagers that the tree is a *shu shên* (樹神) or tree god and is worshipped as a god.

1. Research article and publication of the West China Union University Harvard-Yenching Institute.

2. The person who believes that there are trees in some parts of the world that are worshipped because they are regarded as living deities, and not because spirits, demons, or gods are dwelling in them, will probably be considered an inferior student by some, and mistaken by others. Indeed, an American scholar of world-wide fame, when the writer stated that he had seen trees that were worshipped as gods, told the writer frankly that he considered him hopeless as a student of religions.

In the Ta O Ssü (大峨寺) temple on Mt. Omei, there is a large pine tree that is the *jeng shui* tree of the Lin family, whose home is at the foot of the mountain near Omeishien. The tree is also a *shu shên*, or tree divinity, and is worshipped along with the other gods in the temple. Careful enquiries in 1924 and 1925, and again in 1935, resulted in the same answer, namely, that this is a tree divinity, and not merely a habitation of a spirit or god.

At Suifu, on Chên Wu Shan (真武山), a nearby mountain, there were formerly two old cypress trees that were worshipped as gods. They were probably planted during the Ming dynasty. There is a legend that they once made a pilgrimage to Mt. Omei. Two men who gave their names as Pai (白), or White, visited and worshipped at the different shrines and temples on the great sacred mountain, and promised contributions. They said that they were brothers from Suifu. Later, when a priest came to Suifu to collect the money, he could not find any brothers named Pai, but when he heard of the two cypress trees, *pai shu* (柏樹), he knew at once that the two pilgrims were the two cypress trees. About 1924 one of the trees crashed down on a nearby temple. It was left there two or three years because people were afraid to disturb or injure the divinity. Finally three gods were made out of part of the wood of this tree, and placed on an altar in a small Taoist temple. The rest of the tree was cut up into small pieces and sold as medicine. The other tree is still standing, and is still regarded as a god. A brick wall has been erected around it so that people cannot shorten the life of the tree by cutting off bits of the wood to be used as medicine.

Two other banyan trees that were worshipped as gods have been seen by the writer. One is west of Suifu, beside a country road, near Ping Shan (平山), on the north side of the Yangtse River. Another is outside the West gate at Kiating. Both are called Huang Ko Chiang Chün (黃葛將軍), or General Banyan. The word *chiang chün* does not determine whether or not the tree is a deity. It implies that the tree has special power that may be used to conquer demons or evil spirits. On the tree at Kiating several sign-boards were nailed. On each of these boards, two of which are in the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, there are statements indicating what roads should be taken to go to certain places, and also there is a request for the protection of a son for whose safety the family was much concerned. The placing of a sign board of this kind beside a road, which removes the danger that travellers will lose their way, is regarded as a virtuous act by which a person may obtain merit which will make the god more willing to grant a request or prayer.

The writer has made careful enquiries for a number of years, and has been informed by priests and others, who were regarded as the best authorities in the ancient beliefs of the Chinese in Szechwan, that aged trees sometimes naturally develop into divinities. The trees that most commonly develop into gods are cedar trees and banyan trees, but other varieties of trees may also become gods. There are signs that such beliefs and practices as are described above are weakening in Szechwan, but that they have been and are existent there seems to the writer to be no doubt.

HISTORIC NOTES ON THE P'O JÊN
(BEH REN)'

The Last Group of the Pre-Chinese Thai
People to remain in Szechwan

by

DAVID CROCKETT GRAHAM

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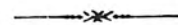
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HISTORIC NOTES ON THE P'O JÊN
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HISTORIC NOTES ON THE P'O JÊN (BEH REN)¹ The Last Group of the Pre-Chinese Thai People to remain in Szechwan

DAVID CROCKETT GRAHAM

I. FURTHER NOTES ON THE "WHITE MEN'S GRAVES"

In previous issues of this Journal there have been occasional notes by the writer on "White Men's Graves"; in Volume VII it is stated that according to local tradition the graves were those of a race of people called locally *beh ren*² but written with the character (焚) that does not mean white³ but designates a racial group that lived in the Suifu prefecture for many centuries. That note left more or less unsolved the problem of the identity of the *p'o jên* and left a doubt as to whether the coffins were those of the *p'o jên* or of another cultural group.

In 1928 and 1929 the city of Suifu underwent a great transformation. The streets were widened and instead of the flagstones underfoot *san-ho-t'u* or concrete was used. During the process a very large stone tablet was found, so large that it took over a hundred coolies to pull it, on wooden rollers, to the city park where it now stands. (See plate V.) Most of the characters are illegible but they tell of a bit of history that is most interesting in relation to our problem. In the Hsing Wên Hsien history (興文縣志) and also in the Suifu History (叙州府志) there is a copy of the record formerly on a similar stone tablet at Hsing Wên-Hsien, which tablet apparently no longer exists. (See the next Section of this article).

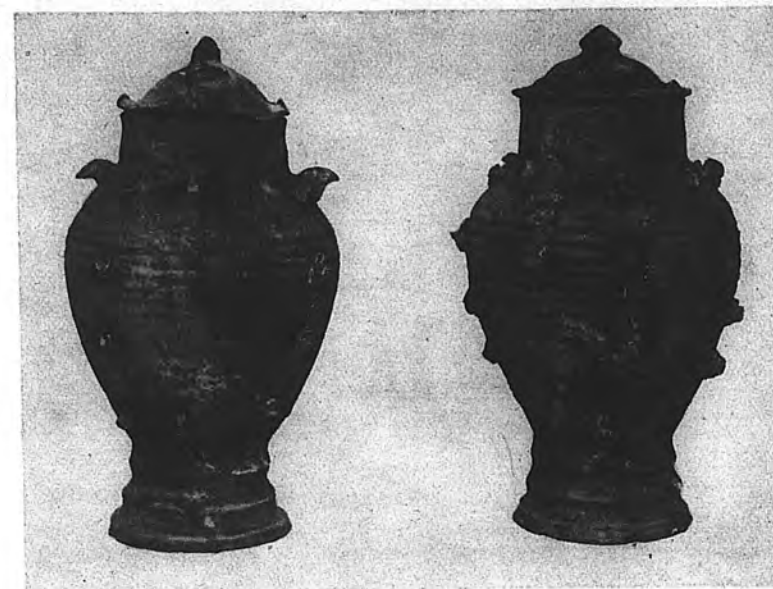
Both these tablets told of the final overthrow of the P'o Jên by the Chinese in the year 1573, late in the Ming Dynasty and their greatest stronghold was Chiu Ssü Ch'eng, near Hsing Wên Hsien (興文縣九絲城).

We therefore have, through the Suifu and the Hsing Wên Hsien histories, the following information. The P'o Jên were in the Suifu region before the Chou Dynasty (周朝) when the

1. Research article and publication of the West China Union University Harvard-Yenching Institute.

2. In previous issues of the Journal "P'o Jên" has always been written as "Beh Ren," which approximates to the local pronunciation. However, in conformity with the policy of the Society, Wade's system of romanization is now adopted.

3. Also pronounced locally as *beh*.



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PLATE I. Pottery that was buried with their dead by the P'o Jên, a branch of the Thai race, living on the Szechwan-Yunnan border between five hundred and fifteen hundred years ago.



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PLATE II. P'o Jên pottery from the Szechwan-Yunnan border.



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PLATE III. P'o Jên or Thai pottery from the Szechwan-Yunnan border.



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PLATE IV. P'o Jên or Thai pottery from the Szechwan-Yunnan border.

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district was called the country of the P'o Dukes. (夔侯國) During the Han Dynasty it was called the district of the P'o (棘道縣). During the Sung Dynasty it had a similar meaning and was called the P'o Tao (焚道). The P'o Jên were finally expelled by the Chinese in the year 1573 (萬曆元年).

This indicates that the region of the cliff burials was precisely the region of the P'o Jên cultural center up to almost the close of the Ming Dynasty, less than three hundred and seventy years ago, and only seventy-one years before the beginning of the Manchu Dynasty. The fact that both the Ch'uan Miao, who now inhabit the region, and the Chinese attribute the coffins on the cliffs to the P'o Jên (焚人) is fairly good proof that the tradition is correct.

But who were the P'o Jên? History is quite clear that before the coming of the Chinese to Szechwan, the eastern part of Szechwan was Pa (巴) with the capital at Chungking, now sometimes called Pa-hsien. The Shu lived in western Szechwan. The Shu and the Pa assisted the Chou in conquering the Shang. They were part of the Thai or Shan race. The P'o Jên were a branch of the Thai race.

On an expedition into the district in 1935 the natives sold the writer some T'ang, Sung and Ming Dynasty pottery that is certainly P'o Jên pottery. The pictures will show what they are like. (See Plates I-IV) The pottery varies slightly from that of the Chinese of central Szechwan at the same period. The graves from which this pottery was taken are very well made, and indicate that the P'o Jên were a people of comparatively high culture.

In Yunnan Province there is a racial group commonly called the Pai I (擺夷), but the characters 焚夷 are also used to designate these people. They call themselves Koun Thai or Thai People.¹ They are evidently the descendents of the P'o Jên who buried their dead in those wooden coffins on perpendicular or overhanging cliffs before the year 1573 A.D., and the variations in the pronunciation of the name have resulted in the use of different characters to designate them.

We therefore conclude that the wooden coffins are those of a branch of the Thai race who were and are called P'o Jên (焚人) in southern Szechwan, and whose descendents in Yunnan province are called the Pai I or the Beh I (also romanized P'o I or P'é I).

1. Alfred Liétard, *Les Lo-Lo P'o*, pages 9-10.
West China Missionary News, December, 1935, page 11.

II. A TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE STONE TABLET AT HSING WEN HSIEN COMMEMORATING THE SUBJUGATION OF THE P'O JEN.¹

The Tablet of Li Ch'ang Ch'un (李長春) of the Government Department of History, written during the reign of Wan Li of the Ming Dynasty concerning the subjugation of the Mantzu.

In the beginning of the Ming dynasty, in the twenty-seventh year of Hung Wu (洪武 A.D. 1394), a report was sent to the emperor from the Ch'ien Wei (健為) official because the P'o Jên or Jung P'o (戎 焚) were in rebellion. Then the emperor issued an order to prepare defences and fill them with soldiers, and commanded Ch'ien Wei to protect itself. At that time a beginning was made as to the south-west barbarians. Afterwards there were several such reports (as to the insubordination of the P'o Jên). Then the emperor gave orders to attack them. But he only appointed an officer from the palace to manage these affairs. He did not send a brigadier-general with eight generals against them, as was done in the Han dynasty. If the exalted emperor with his majesty and military power had attempted to vanquish them it would have been very easy. But the emperor delayed to show the greatness of China, and did not according to law control the people of the borderland.

Later, after Yung Lo (永樂) and Hsüan Tê (宣德 A.D. 1405-1435), the aborigines (tillers of the soil with cones of hair above their foreheads) became more numerous, and there were hundreds of their officials; their cattle and horses were seen all over the mountains, and they were very powerful. They constantly stole and robbed on the borderland, and the (Chinese) officials on the border were helpless.

The matter was discussed. Sometimes they gave them things or money, sometimes they exhorted them, and sometimes they brought a brigadier-general with troops and fought them. But they would be obedient for awhile, then rebel again, and they could not be pacified.

At the time of Lung Ch'ing (隆慶 A.D. 1567-72), there was civil war among the aborigines, and they had a false emperor who went about at will in the P'o Tao (焚道) with a red flag, and it was very dangerous even in the interior (of Chinese territory). Then the emperor consulted the officials

1. Note:—On the stone tablet which is in the Suifu public park many of the characters are missing. The copy of the inscription on the stone tablet at Hsing Wên Hsien is in the sixth volume of the Hsing Wên Hsien History, in the section about stone tablets. This was found by Mr. Lin Min Guin, who has kindly assisted in the translation. This is a free and not a strictly literal translation.

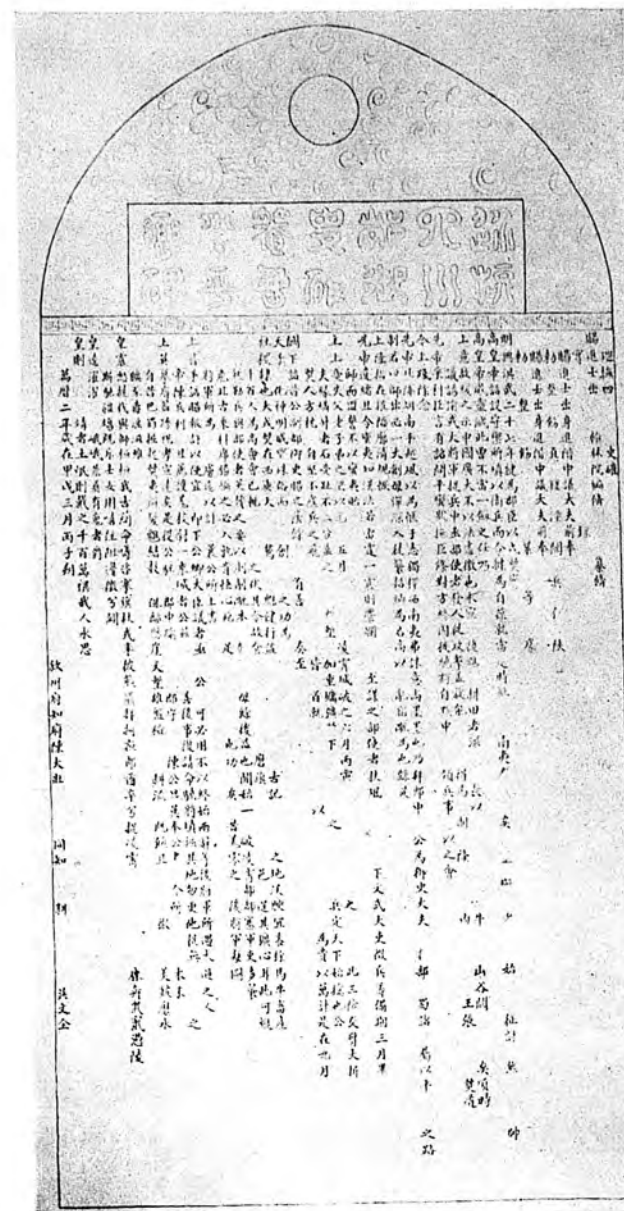


PLATE V. A copy, made by Mr. Wen Tsai Tsi, of the stone tablet at Suifu which tells of the final defeat of the P'o Jên in 1573. The dimensions of the stone, in Chinese measure, are: height 17 feet 1.1 inches; breadth 11 feet 4.5 inches; thickness 1 foot 7.5 inches.

in the palace as to how the Mantzū could be subjugated. The military officers discussed the plans in detail.

The brave military leaders of Kweichow were brought to Szechwan. Before long the present emperor ascended the throne. He recalled that the former emperor had caused the aborigines of the north to come and be his subjects, and that Yüeh (越) in the south had been subjugated, so that he was pleased; but the barbarians of the south had not been conquered, and so he was not satisfied.

He ordered the Duke Tsêng (曾公) to be Censor of all the districts of Pa and Shu (巴蜀), and ordered him to subjugate the aborigines. He commanded him to attack them vigorously and without fear to go far into their territory, not as formerly merely to call upon them to be obedient and thus obtain great glory but to cultivate future rebellions and calamities. Thus it can be seen that the purpose of the emperor was to vanquish and subjugate them, and so carry out the will of the former emperor, and cause the barbarians to comprehend the punishment of the Chinese, which is like destruction caused by lightning.

When the duke arrived, he, together with Duke Sun (孫公), made plans and ordered the civil and military officials to bring soldiers from everywhere and fetch provisions, and set a limit of three months in which to complete the work. He also sent word to the aboriginal leaders of Jan P'ang (冉駹) that each should bring his soldiers and be ready. These things were done as directed, when he assembled the soldiers, himself reverently holding up his weapon, and made a solemn declaration before the gods, swearing an oath not to permit the emperor to be grieved because of the barbarians, nor to permit the hopes of the common people to come to naught.

In the fifth lunar month of the first year of the present emperor (萬曆元年 A.D. 1573), a battle was fought at Ling Hsiao Ch'eng (凌霄城), and the city was captured. In the sixth moon they again attacked Tu Tu Chai (都都寨) and conquered it.

When the P'o Jên had lost these two important places, they were like a person with his two arms lost, and were badly frightened. They brought together their allies to protect Chiu Ssü Ch'eng (九絲城). This place is a high steep cliff as high as the sky. If one tried to climb it, the rocks protruded less than two tenths of an inch and above they had erected wooden defences, and dug trenches and wells, and made plaster walls in order, and there were bows and crossbows so that the arrows fell down thicker than rain.

The Chinese soldiers arrived as though they had fallen from the sky. It was accomplished in this way. The duke gave a financial reward to the soldiers who were not afraid

to die. During the night they used ropes, and made a way to go up; all the army climbed on their toes silently. Then they all charged with loud shouts which shook the sky and the earth. The P'o Jên were asleep, feeling safe, and the soldiers arrived before they knew it. From the false emperor down, all were beheaded in succession, and some even trampled each other to death. The Chinese captured tens of thousands of brass gongs, drums, spears, crossbows, cattle, and horses. This happened on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month.

The duke himself inspected the mountain, and saw that there was nothing left there, and made a report to the emperor. Then he was raised in office, and the others were raised in office or given a reward. When they returned in triumph to lay down their arms, there was not one who did not praise the greatness and wisdom of the emperor, whose majesty reached to the land of the aborigines. And they said that the duke had achieved unsurpassed merit and was a national hero.¹

III. THE CH'UAN MIAO LEGEND ABOUT THE P'O JÊN, OR THE FORMER INHABITANTS OF THE CH'UAN MIAO REGION CALLED THE NGAI NTZI.

The inhabitants of the present borderland of Yunnan and Szechwan were in ancient times called Ngai Ntsi. Later the Miao and the Lolo came and lived here. The nature of Ngai Ntsi was to struggle against heaven (or the sky). They were therefore also called Tu Tien (*struggle against heaven or hold a contest against the sky*). In the summer when it was hot they were accustomed to wear leather coats and warm themselves by the fire. For this some laughed at them and said, "If you wear skin clothing in the fifth and sixth moons, you will be too hot inside and outside."

In the winter they wore a single sweat garment (very thin) and carried big fans in their hands and fanned themselves. But they would not let anybody be lazy and all struggled against heaven (or the sky). They were very industrious at clearing the land and each family was very rich. Every family built a stone grave to bury the parents in. In birth they were a united group so in death they wanted to be together. (Therefore the graves were close together).

Afterwards there was a Bachelor of Arts named Lo Yin 羅因 (a Chinese). He worked out a scheme so that when a person died his descendants could not prosper. He therefore started a rumour saying: "The Ngai Ntsi can only struggle against heaven. They cannot struggle against the water of the sea. It will be well first to take our ancestors' bones and bury them in the sea. After that we can scatter the Ngai Ntsi people."

1. The rest of the inscription does not add any historic data and is omitted.

The Ngai Ntsi heard this and they took all their ancestors' bones and buried them in the water of the seas (small lakes). But although they did this, they afterwards prospered greatly and out of their midst a great official arose. Later this Lo Yin, Bachelor of Arts, again thought of a trick. He again started a rumour saying: "These Ngai Ntsi can only oppose heaven, the earth and water. There are still the great white cliffs. Probably they don't want these cliffs because the cliffs are very dry. If they bury their ancestors by hanging them on the cliffs, they will never cease to prosper and on the cliffs they will look upon us like the stars and the moon, and their descendants will prosper even more in the future and will rule all the world."

When they heard these words, they spread the news everywhere and they assembled the race all together and said: "Formerly people spoke about the sea (or lake) water and we have already accomplished things (we have buried the dead there and then prospered). To-day there are also people who say we should hang the dead up high like the stars and the moon and in the future we will control the world." Afterwards they hired masons first to paint on the cliffs the bows, arrows, swords and so on which people formerly used, with the horses they rode and their saddles and their seals; then, after death, to bury them by hanging the coffins on the cliffs.¹

1. Now these coffins can be seen at Kunghsien, Ma Tang Pa, and Miao Kou, Shan Tsai, Shih Tsai and in Yunnan at Tsen Hsiung Hsien, and Lung K'ung Pa of Yen Chin Hsien, Yen Gin Shien and Tou Sha Kuan of Ta Kuan Hsien.

AN EXCAVATION AT SUIFU

by

DAVID CROCKETT GRAHAM

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AN EXCAVATION AT SUIFU¹

DAVID CROCKETT GRAHAM

In March 1936 I was at Suifu expecting soon to leave for Chengtu. A Chinese friend told me that in enlarging the local parade ground, in preparation for an inter-school "track-meet," a deep grave had been opened, and suggested that I go and take a look at it. I soon recognized it as an old Chinese tomb, probably of the Han dynasty and of much scientific interest.

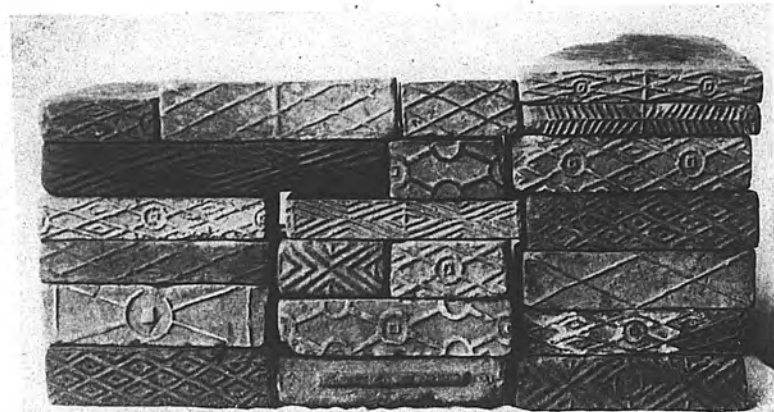
Nobody in Suifu recognized the importance of the grave, and it was quite certain that everything it contained would be destroyed by the workmen or carried away into private homes, so that in the future the objects would be of little or no scientific value. I therefore called upon the local magistrate, Lêng Chuan Yüan (冷專員), informed him of the approximate age and value of the grave, and suggested that care be taken to preserve its contents. The magistrate was somewhat sceptical, but he gave his consent to my being on hand so as to help preserve anything of importance.

I had with me no tools for excavating, and the workers were opium smokers whom the government had imprisoned in order to force them to break off the opium habit. At first I had no authority to compel or power to persuade them to use better methods, so that some valuable articles were smashed and others were carried away.

A reporter of the Suifu daily newspaper visited the grave and published an article telling its approximate age and the value of its contents. The local magistrate then turned over to the Suifu Board of Education and to the Municipal Museum full authority, and the leaders of those organizations invited me to take part in the excavation with considerable authority as to the methods used, hired special coolies to do the work, and appointed responsible men to help look after the tomb and take care of the materials excavated. After that there was a gradual improvement in the methods and the results. Some of the men in charge spent a great deal of time on the work, and showed a most commendable spirit.

There were two ancient tombs side by side, each about forty-three feet long inside, and pointing almost directly east and west (See Fig. 1). They were constructed originally on

1. Research article and publication of the West China Union University Harvard-Yenching Institute.



West China Union University

Harvard-Yenching Institute

PLATE I. Ornamented bricks, from the Suifu graves, which are now in the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology. Note the frequency of the Chinese coin design.

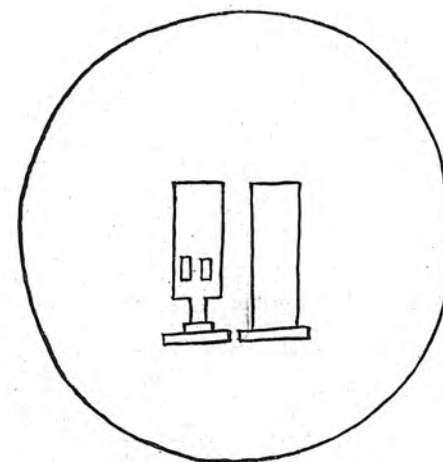
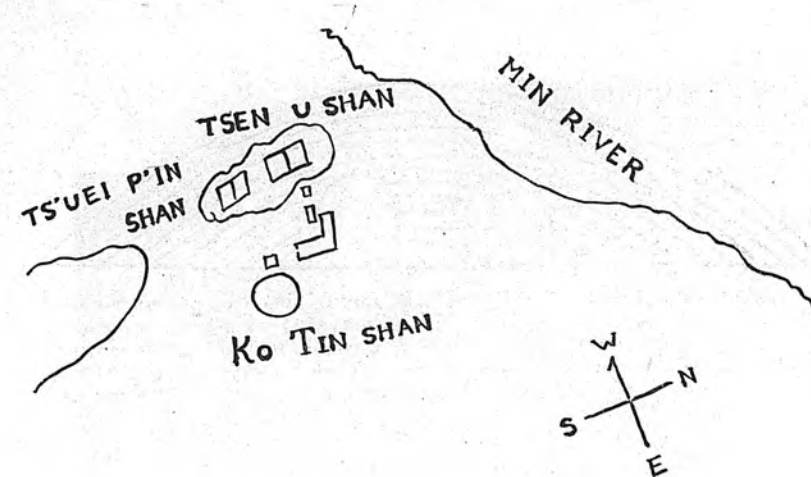


FIG. 1. Rough map showing the site of the graves at Suifu.

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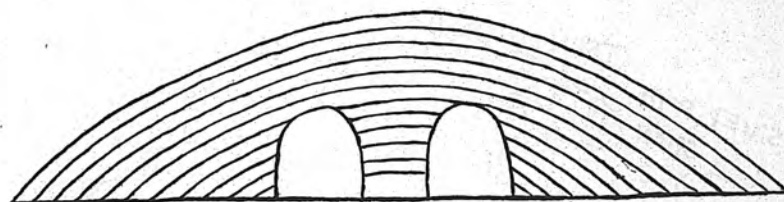


FIG. 2. Sketch of the artificial mound enclosing two ancient graves made of ornamented bricks. Excavated at Suifu, Szechwan, China, in April, 1936. The layers in the mound were quite distinct because of the broken pieces of stone that collected either at the top or bottom of each load. Diameter 85-90 feet; height 10 feet 6 inches.

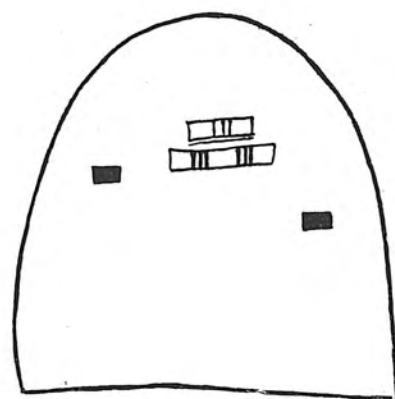


FIG. 3. The rear end of the north grave at Suifu. Five shelves were made by depressions in the wall, each shelf being separated from its neighbour by two bricks. Two other shelves were made by protruding bricks. The south grave had five 'shelves' made by depressions in the wall, but it did not have the shelves made by protruding bricks.



PLATE II. One of the graves at Suifu soon after it was discovered.



PLATE III. The south grave, showing the stone coffin, and some of the Suifu people who took part in the excavation.

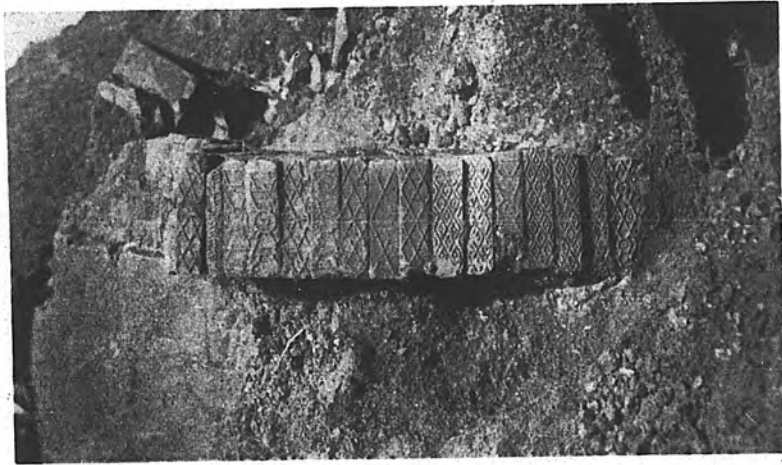


PLATE V. Ornamented bricks *in situ*. Part of the door of the south grave. Unornamented bricks can be seen covering the top of the grave.



PLATE IV. A Suifu official, holding in his hand the earthenware image of a comedian making a wry face.

level ground, with stone foundations and with stone floors covered with bricks. Above the stone foundations the tombs were made of grey bricks which were ornamented on the two ends. A very few bricks in the floor of the north tomb were ornamented not on the ends, but only on one side. The bricks at the bottom were flat, but from the height of about two and a half feet bricks were used which were smaller on one end than on the other, like the keystone of an arch. The result of the use of these bricks was a tomb that rounded towards the top like a true arch. The inside and the outside surfaces of the tombs were very beautiful because of the many patterns on the ends of the ornamented bricks. I counted twenty-seven different patterns, and others may have been overlooked or destroyed (*See Figs. 4-10*).

The upper surface of the south tomb was covered by a layer of unornamented bricks made concave on the lower surface and convex on the upper surface so that the upper surfaces of the ornamented bricks were protected.

After the brick tombs had been constructed, dirt was carried and a mound was erected over the graves. The mound was about ninety feet in diameter and about twenty feet high. The dirt was piled up in layers nearly two feet thick. Bits of stone in the dirt tended to go to the bottom or to the top of each load, so that the successive layers in the hill could easily be seen. Probably the hope and aim of the persons who originally constructed the mound was to make it look like a natural hill so that nobody would suspect the existence of graves inside (*See Fig. 2*).

Over fifteen hundred years ago the graves were looted. The thieves dug down through the tops of the graves. They made two holes through the top of the south grave and one through the top of the grave on the north. They opened the door of the north grave and apparently carried out the coffins, and threw many bowls, earthenware men, and other objects just outside the door, where they were later covered up with dirt. The thieves smashed one of the earthenware coffins and most of the earthenware bowls and images. Not one unbroken bowl was found, although three were later reconstructed.

Through the holes in the roofs tons of dirt fell into the graves, covering all the contents from two and a half to seven feet deep. Near the end of the Ming and during the Manchu dynasties the ground above was again disturbed. The Chinese had taken possession of Suifu, this spot was used as a burial ground, and dirt mixed with lime and broken pieces of porcelain fell into the graves. This layer could easily be distinguished.

One of the main difficulties during the excavation was due to the fact that crowds of people, sometimes numbering several thousands, wanted to see what was going on. They stood on the mound above the tombs or crowded around and even in front of those who were doing the excavation so that sometimes work was almost impossible. Some of the local officials and scholars cooperated in a very commendable way, and during the last part of the excavation the spectators were better controlled.

The majority of the earthenware objects were grey in color, but one in the north grave and several in the south grave were made of a fine clay which after baking was a standard orange-yellow color which might popularly be called a golden yellow. Evidently this clay was purposely chosen for its beauty. There are some such objects from Han dynasty cave-tombs in the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, but those at Suifu are more beautiful and more artistically made.

A few of the bowls from the Suifu tombs were colored black on the outside, and a few others were a bright red inside, but most of the earthenware objects were uncolored. There were no glazed objects among those originally in the graves or in the lower and earlier strata of dirt. The tombs and their contents represent a pre-glaze culture.

I took pictures of most of the objects excavated, but some of the films were spoiled and others were not well exposed. As a result I have had to depend much on the drawings which I made in the field note book. I was able to purchase pictures of some of the objects from a Suifu photographer, but these were unsatisfactory because of the use of a poor background.

Aside from what had filtered in through the top during the last four centuries there was no lime or mortar in the graves. Fine river sand had been placed between the stone and the brick, and between the layers of brick, but the persons who built the tombs apparently knew nothing about lime or mortar.

All the coins, of which there were about four hundred, were round bronze Chinese coins with square holes in the middle. They were probably all made during the Han dynasty, although some of them might be dated in the Six dynasties, about 280 A.D.

In most of the Han dynasty Chinese graves of Szechwan one can look in vain for Chinese characters or inscriptions, excepting on Chinese coins. Inscriptions on bricks or on stone walls and pillars have been found in a few of them. In the Suifu tombs some of the coins were marked Wu Chu (五銖), and two bricks were found on which there were Chinese characters. On one of them was the number seven hundred and

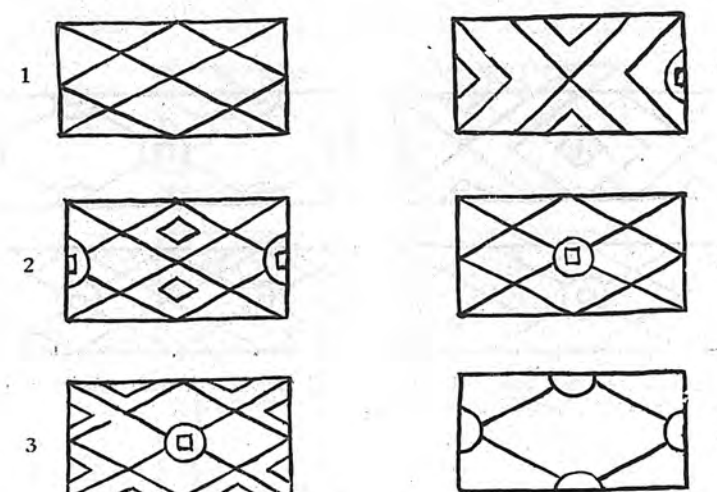


FIG. 4. Small ornamented bricks from the Suifu tombs. 1 and 2 are opposite ends of the same brick; 3 is the opposite end of 6; 5 is sometimes found as the opposite end of 6; in the case of 4 the design was the same at both ends. Length from 15.25 to 16 inches; width 4.75 to 5.25 inches.

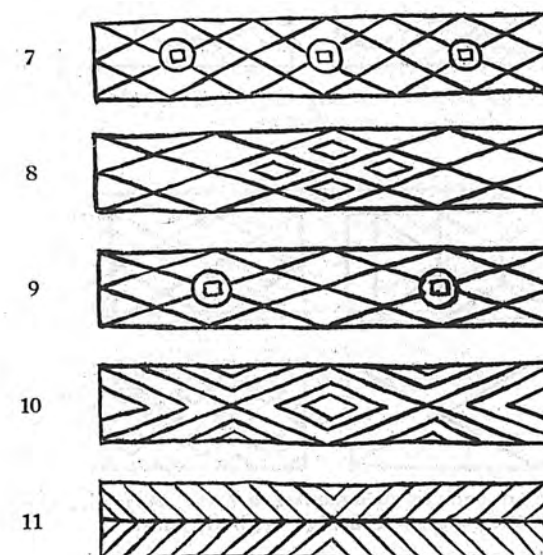


FIG. 5. Designs on the smaller ends of keystone-shaped bricks. 8 is the smaller end of 20, and 9 of 22. Thickness 1.5 to 2 inches.

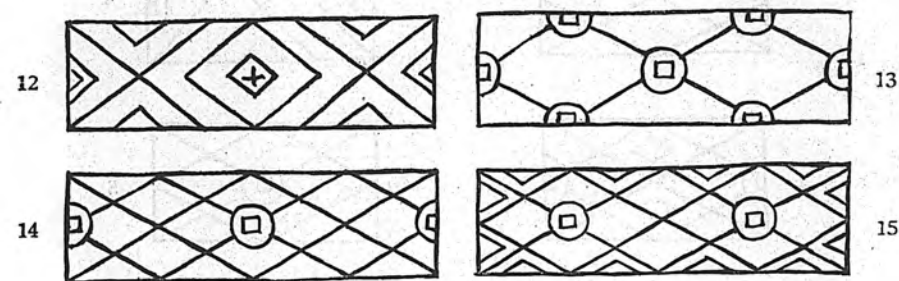


FIG. 6. Large ends of ornamented bricks. Width about ten inches; thickness about two inches.

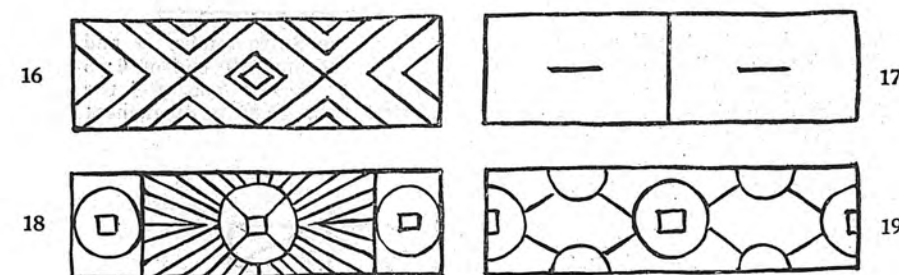


FIG. 7. Large ends of ornamented bricks. The frequency of the Chinese coin designs is noteworthy.

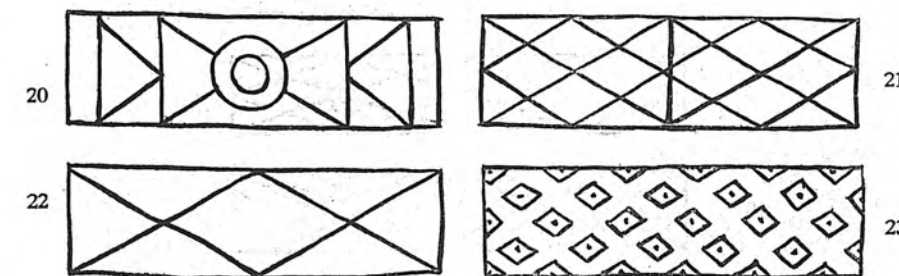


FIG. 8. Large ends of ornamented bricks. 20 is the larger end of 8; 22 of 9; 23 is the same design on both ends.

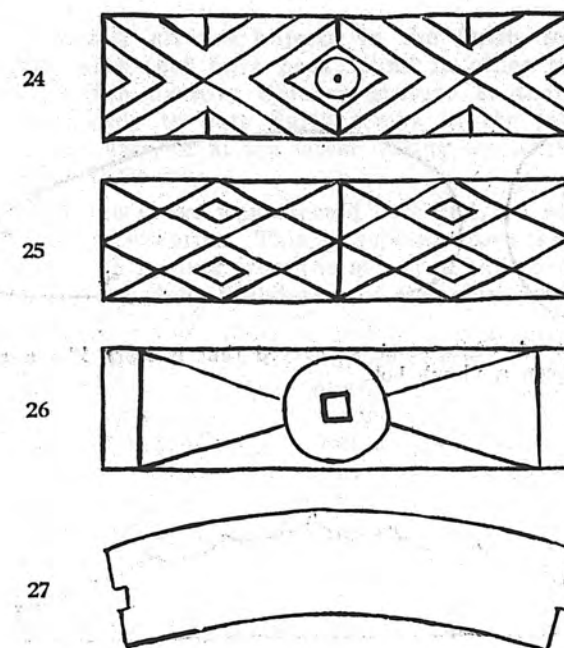


FIG. 9. Three large ends of ornamented bricks; and (27) one curved unornamented brick as was used to cover the top of the south grave. 25 is the opposite end of 19.



FIG. 10. A design found on one side only of some bricks on the floor of the north grave. Length 14.5 inches; width 9.5 inches; thickness 2.25 inches.

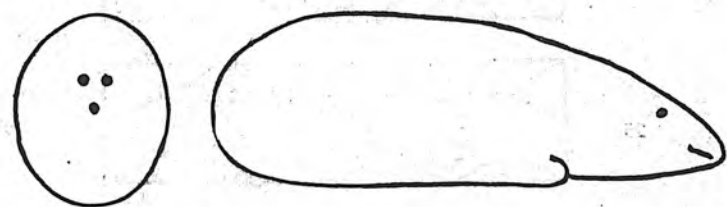


FIG. 11. A white stone so carved that it looks like a pig. It may have been a plumb bob.

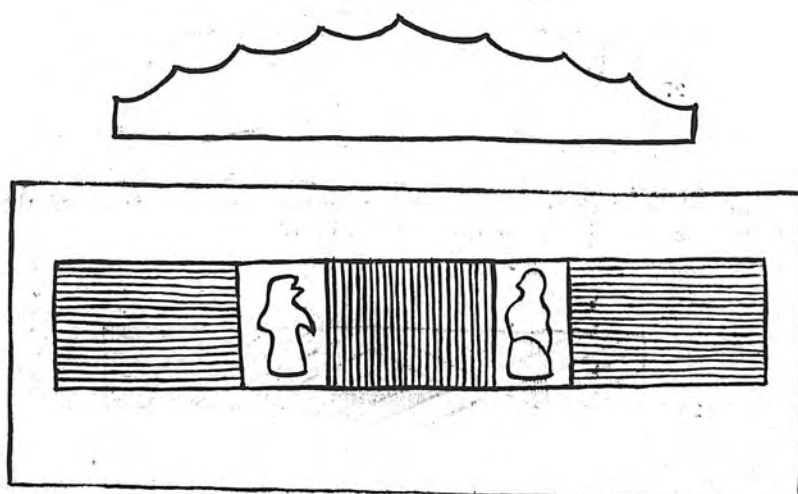


FIG. 12. Drawings of the top and one side of the stone coffin found in the south grave.

forty and on another the number one hundred and forty. The characters on these bricks were written in an ancient Chinese style.

Practically all the objects in the Suifu tombs closely resemble those that have been found in other parts of Szechwan in Han dynasty Chinese graves. It therefore seems safe tentatively to date Suifu tombs in the latter part of the Han dynasty, or at the latest during the Three Kingdoms or the Six Dynasties.

The north grave was erected first and the south grave a short time afterwards. This is evident from the fact that a drainage ditch leading from the mouth of the north grave was covered by the stone foundation of the south grave.

The graves were those of people of high culture, wealth, and social standing. This is indicated by the size of the graves and the value and artistic quality of the materials. Some gold-plated fragments of bronze were found, but it should be born in mind that what we secured was what the looters considered to be of little value. Probably the graves originally contained fine objects of bronze, jade, silver, and gold.

The following is a list of the objects secured in the Suifu tombs, practically all of which are now in the Suifu Municipal Museum.

Four hundred and nineteen whole bricks, all but a few of which are ornamented on both ends.

Four hundred and seventy-three broken bricks, each having the ornamentation originally on one end of a brick.

Two bricks on which Chinese characters, the numbers 740 and 140, have been incised.

Bones of three or four human skeletons from both tombs.

One stone coffin on which were carved the images of two men, and with a well-carved cover. The lid is intact, but the coffin broke into pieces (*See Plate III and Fig. 12*).

One broken earthenware coffin.

Hundreds of sherds, some of which were ornamented. A few were cord-marked (*See Fig. 13*).

Numerous broken bronze ornaments, including pieces of a bronze armor or garment, and ornamental bronze leaves and flowers. A few of the bronze fragments were gilded (*See Fig. 14*).

Two bronze chisels. They may have been lost by the stone masons, or by the persons who opened the tombs in order to rob them. The entire absence of iron objects is remarkable.

Two earthenware miniature fish ponds. One of them contains a boat, a bridge, a salamander, three snails and three fish (See Plate VI). The other was badly broken by the looters.

Fragments of clay houses with flat-tiled roofs.

Parts of five "stone mountains" or vases. The tops of these resemble the tops of large vases or bottles, but the sides resemble ornamental stone mountains with terraces, such as are sometimes seen in Chinese gardens. On the terraces were small clay images of human beings. One suggestion is that they may have contained large candles, and another is that they may have contained flowers.

Fragments of many large and small earthenware bowls. Many were unornamented. A few are cord-marked, and a few others are ornamented by a flower design (See Figs. 16 and 17). The color of most of them is grey, but one is made of the "golden-yellow" material. A few have been colored black, probably by means of soot or charcoal, and a smaller number have been colored red by means of a red substance that washes off easily.

One small earthenware lamp and fragments of five or six larger lamps.

Two large earthenware ducks and eight smaller ducks, probably their ducklings.

Two clay images of hens and chicks, and fragments of others.

Two earthenware images of snakes, one of which is neatly coiled.

Two large heads of dogs with pug or bull-dog-like noses, and fragments of two or more such smaller ones. There is one headless image of a large dog sitting down.

Two heads of tigers with mouths wide open.

Four small white stone images so carved that they resemble pigs. They have small holes in the rear into which strings could be inserted and tied, so that they might be plumb bobs (See Fig. 11).

A strange animal head slightly resembling the head of a horse or a donkey. No mouth or eye can be seen, and there is only one large ear(?) protruding upwards from the middle of the forehead. The "ear" is concave in front and convex behind, not round like a horn, so that one can not assert with confidence that it is an unicorn or a *kirin* (See Plate VIII).

Six earthenware heads of pretty women. The bodies had been destroyed.

One image of a cook, possibly a woman preparing a fish. The hand of the cook rests on the fish.

A fragment of a hand playing a lute. There is also a well-made earthenware lute which was broken but has been repaired (See Plate IX).

A broken image of a servant with a broom and a dustpan. It is thirty-three and a half inches long. Similar images of all sizes have been found in the Han dynasty Chinese cave-tombs.

A fragment of a hand holding a shield.

A fragment of a hand holding what is probably a whip.

A head of a comedian making a wry face. Similar comedians have been found in the cave-tombs of Kiating (See Plate IV).

Poorly-made images of six people which are about eight inches high.

About thirty images of men and women which are about four inches high. Most of them were found on or near the "stone mountains."

A broken earthenware image of a man lying on his chest.

Three images of human heads with tongues hanging down over the chins. The Chinese call them *tiao-ching-kuei* (吊頸鬼) or demons of people who hanged themselves. I have secured such images in the cave-tombs of Kiating.

A large head of a human-like creature with its tongue hanging down over the chin on to the chest, face and forehead wrinkled, tusks, and two deer-like horns which branch. There is a large knob on top of the head, and a smaller one in the middle of the forehead. This is also called a *tiao-ching-kuei* by the Chinese, and it is probably a more elaborate and better example of the *tiao-ching-kuei* mentioned above. It is by far the best head of this kind that I have seen. The length not including the horns is fourteen inches, the length of the horns is five inches, and the width from the tips of the ears is thirteen inches (See Plate VIII).

There is one complete image and a broken image of a man turning a somersault (See Plate X). They resemble the Wu Ts'ang P'usa used by the *tuan kung* or priest of the Wu Chiao (巫教), but when placed in the graves they may have been meant to be merely acrobats.

I had previously seen and heard of only three Han dynasty Chinese graves constructed, like those at Suifu, on the flat surface of the ground out of ornamented bricks. One was about ten *li* outside the North Gate of Chengtu, and was des-

troyed in 1934 when the motor road was built to Sintu (新都). It was evidently a Han dynasty Chinese tomb, but the contents were lost, and the bricks were used to build the walls of a farmer's house, excepting those which were broken up and used in making the road. The bricks were recovered from the walls of the house by General Ch'en of the Twenty-Eighth Army, and presented to the museum of the West China Union University. There is another such grave near Kiangkow (江口), where there are also hundreds of Han dynasty cave-tombs. When I saw this grave in 1933 the contents had long ago been carried away, the grave was exposed to the elements, and the ornamented bricks were rapidly disintegrating. I saw another grave of this kind on the compound of the Standard Oil Company near Wanhhsien (萬縣) in 1932, where it had accidentally been opened. It contained typical Han dynasty Chinese coins and unglazed pottery, and was lined by ornamented bricks. Some of the bricks were given to the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, but the coins and the pottery are probably now in a foreign country. Aside from a few bricks (See Plate I), coins, and unglazed images of which there were duplicates, which were given to the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, nearly all the contents of the two Suifu graves are carefully preserved and are being displayed in the Suifu Municipal Museum.

The materials excavated at Suifu closely resemble those found in the Han dynasty Chinese cave-tombs, and are evidently all Chinese. Evidently they were graves of Chinese, or, a thing which is possible but not very probable, the graves of aboriginal chieftains who used only Chinese cultural objects in the tombs.

The dating of the graves must be done tentatively with the expectation that further light will be thrown on such problems by future excavations. It is my opinion that the graves are probably those of Chinese people who were buried near the end of the Han dynasty, or between A.D.29 and A.D.220, but that it is not impossible that the burials were during the Three Kingdoms or even as late as the beginning of the Six Dynasties (六朝), or about 300 A.D.

Since the contents of the Suifu graves closely resemble those of the Han dynasty cave-tombs, popularly called "Mantzū Tung" and believed by some to be aboriginal dwellings, the Suifu graves and their contents furnish important additional evidence that the "Mantzū Tung" were not dwellings of aborigines, but Chinese tombs.

Archaeologists and others who pass through Suifu will find it worth while to visit the Suifu Municipal Museum and carefully look over this collection.

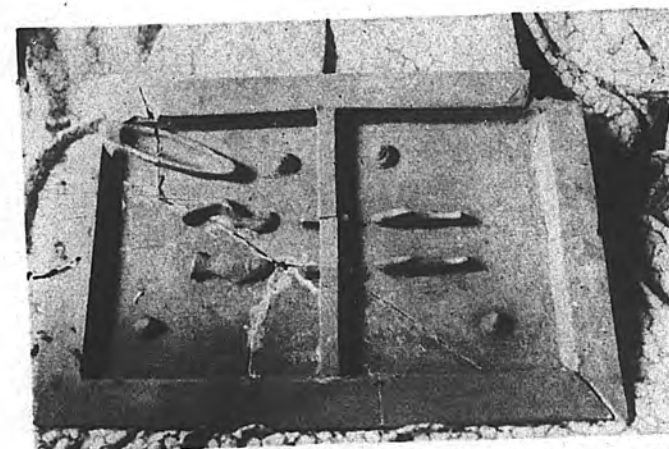


PLATE VI. An artificial fish-pond. The clay is a standard orange-yellow in colour. In the pond are a boat, a bridge, three fish, four snails and salamander. Similar ponds have been found in Chinese cave-tombs near Chengtu.



PLATE VII. Four stone images from the Suifu graves. Note the eyes with their Mongolian slant, and the hands folded in the sleeves. These are the oldest stone images of men yet found in Szechwan. Height 9.25 to 11.5 inches. The largest image found is almost three feet high.

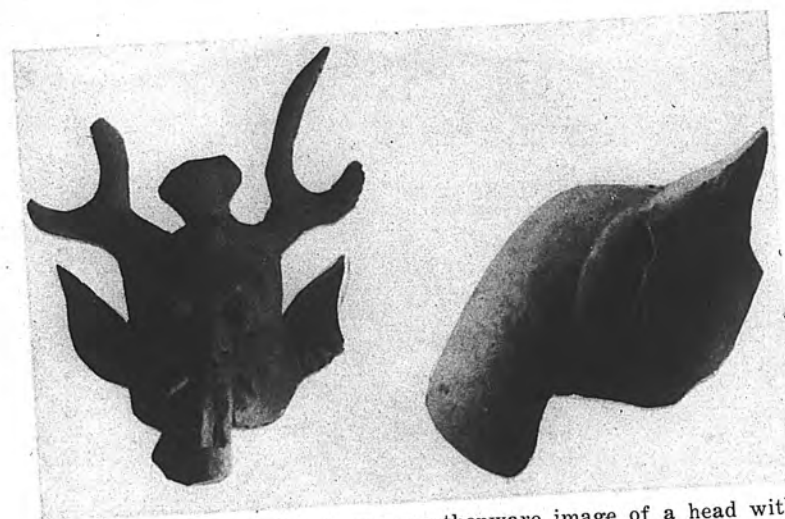


PLATE VIII. (left) A grey earthenware image of a head with the tongue hanging down on to the chest, a large knob on top of the head, large ears and two deer-like horns. Length, without horns, 14 inches; length of horns 7 inches; width from the tips of the ears 13 inches.

(right) The head of an animal with mouth indistinct and no eyes visible but with one large ear on the top of its head. This "ear" is concave in front, not round like a horn. Could it be an unicorn or a *kirin*? It is made of orange-yellow clay. Length 11.5 inches; width 5.75 inches; thickness 2.5 inches.



PLATE IX. A small clay image of a lute from the Suifu graves.



PLATE X. An acrobat, with his tongue protruding, standing on his hands. From the Suifu graves. Height 14.25 inches.

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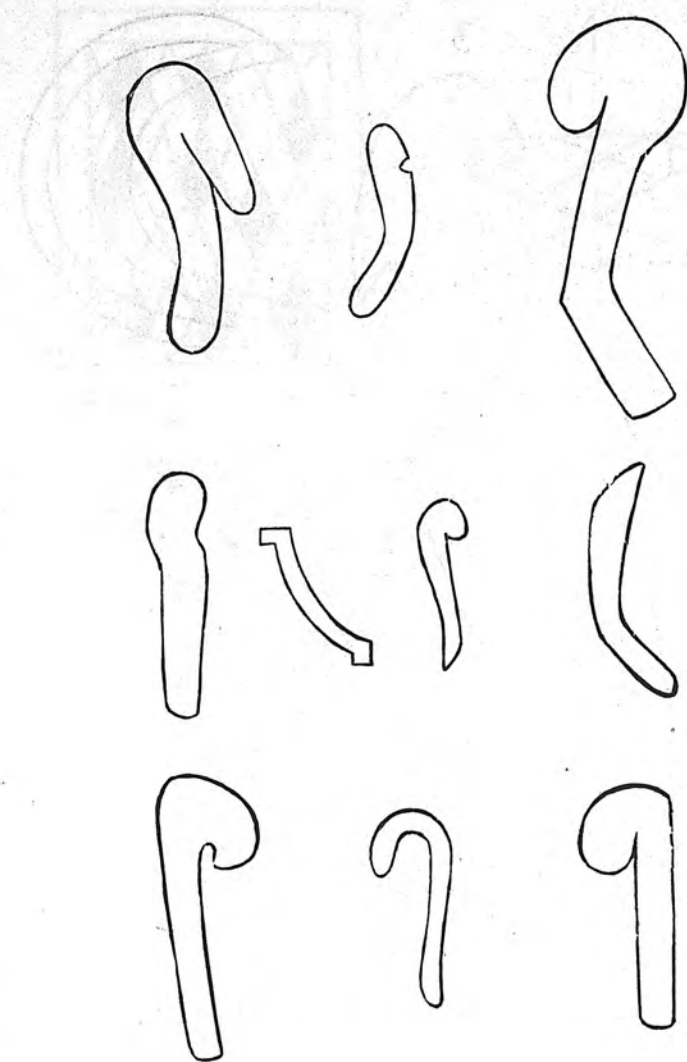


FIG. 13. Rim sherds from Suifu. About half the original size.

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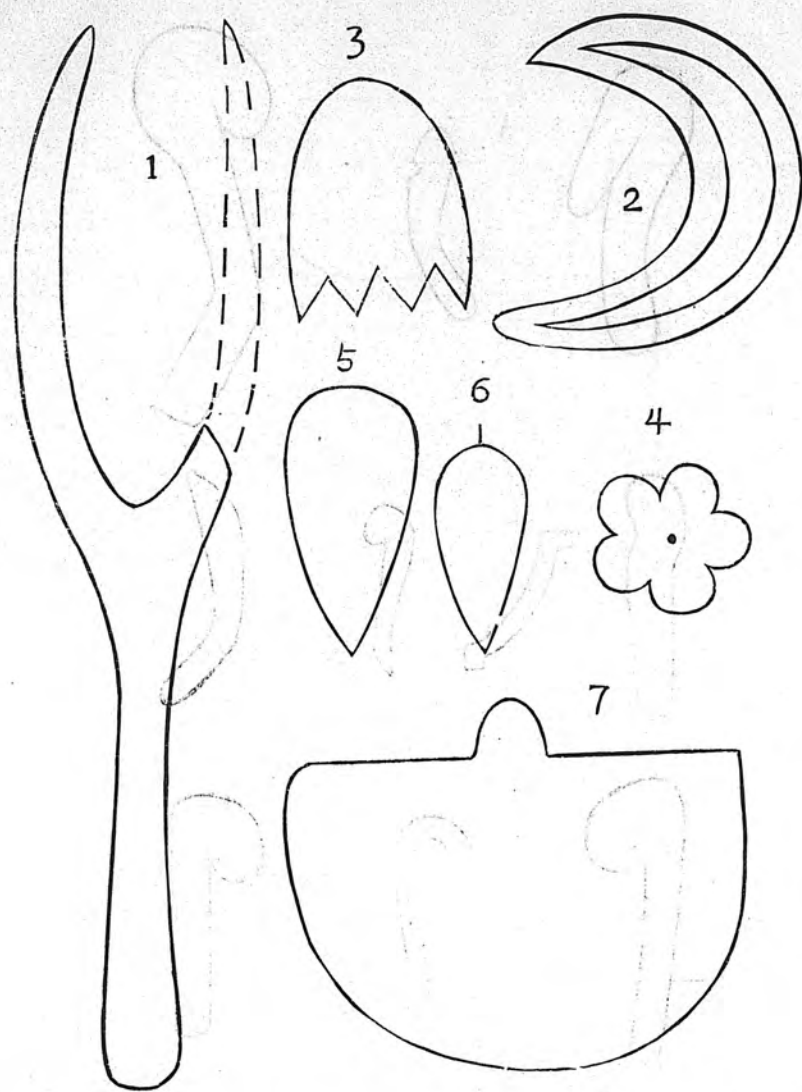


FIG. 14. Bronze objects, approximate size, found in the Suifu graves. 3 may be a back-scratcher; 4 is a flower; 5 and 6 are tree leaves used as ornaments.

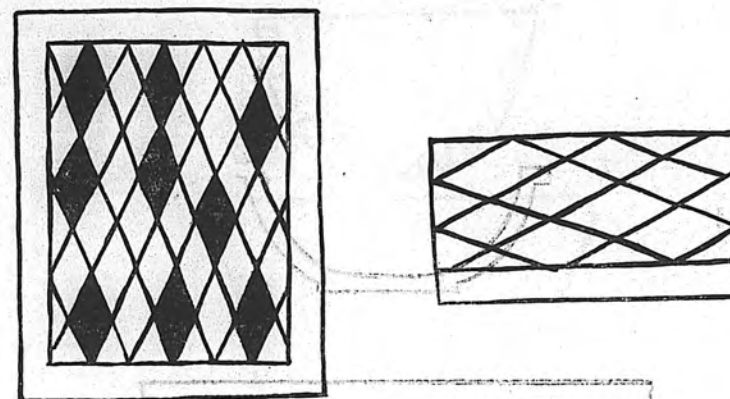


FIG. 15. Sketches of two lattice windows from earthenware houses found in the Suifu graves.



FIG. 16. Ornaments stamped on the bottoms of earthenware bowls found in the Suifu graves. Bowls with similar ornaments have been found in the cave-tombs of Kiating.

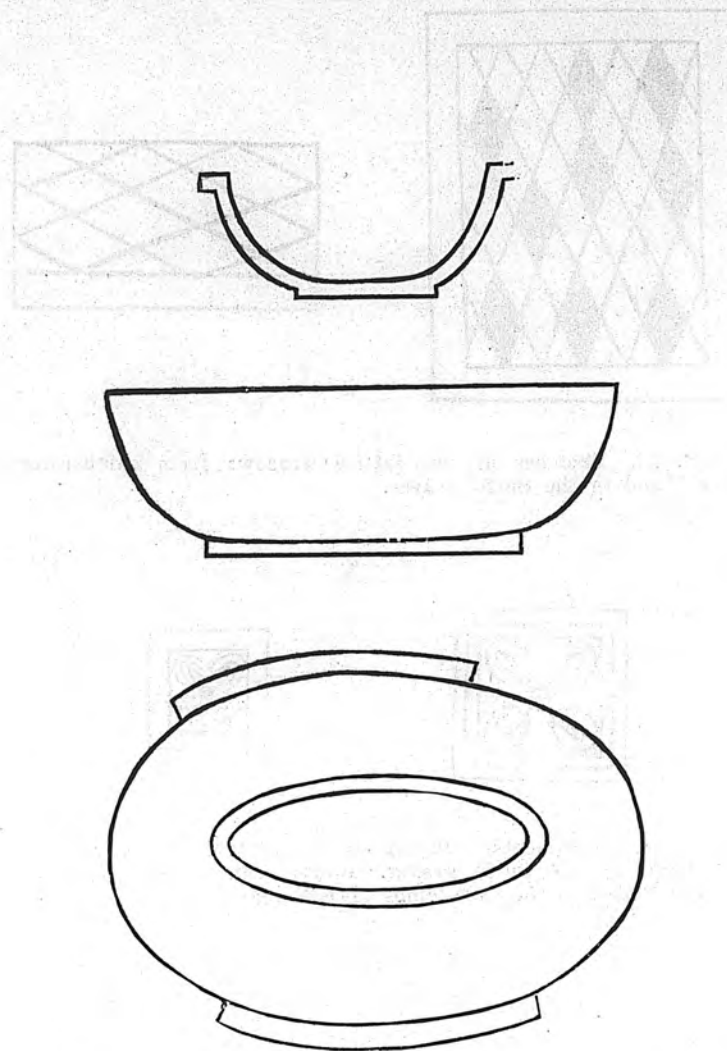


FIG. 17. End and side views and view from the top of a small well-made bowl from the Suifu graves. Several such bowls were found, all of them broken. This type of bowl is common in the Han dynasty cave-tombs.

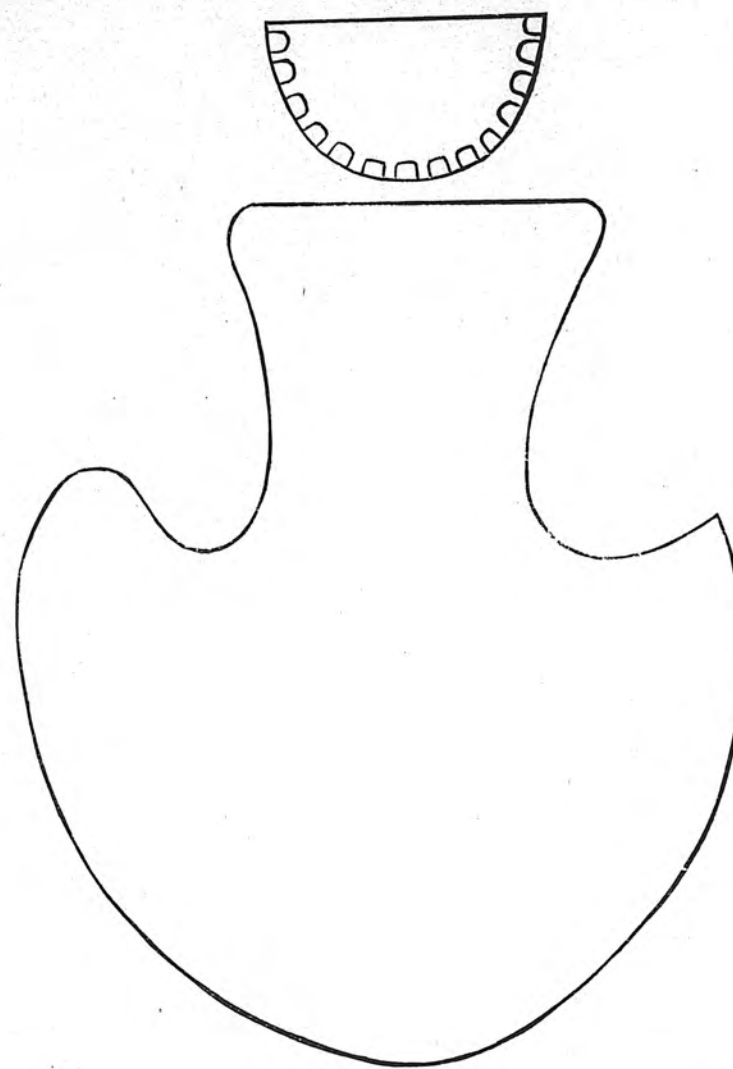


FIG. 18. The small drawing above represents a typical stone implement such as is found frequently among the paleolithic and neolithic artifacts of West China. Below is an earthenware replica of a bronze or iron descendant of this type of implement, found in the Suifu graves. Iron tools that are apparently derived from prehistoric implements are now in use in Szechwan province.

SOME STRANGE CUSTOMS IN
SZECHWAN PROVINCE

by

DAVID CROCKETT GRAHAM

Reprinted from
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West China Border Research Society
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SOME STRANGE CUSTOMS IN SZECHWAN PROVINCE

DAVID CROCKETT GRAHAM

(I) The "Human Chicken"

In Szechwan province there may occasionally be seen a rooster that is deformed in a peculiar way. Its body is wider and flatter than usual, and stands almost erect, instead of being balanced on its legs at approximately a right angle. It waddles along as it walks, and cannot move about with the ease and rapidity of motion of an ordinary fowl. Yet it crows as well as any of its fellow roosters.

Such a creature is called a *Jên chi* (人雞) or human chicken. It is believed to be the reincarnation of some human being whose *karma*, in a past existence, as a result of an unfavorable balance between good and evil deeds, was such that he was reborn as a cock instead of a man. It is thought to be unlucky to have such a chicken about one's home; that its owners may become ill or suffer other calamities if such a fowl is ill-treated or killed; and that any person who eats it will surely become very sick and possibly die.

People are therefore afraid to have such a rooster in their homes, or even to kill it. They therefore take it to a Buddhist or a Taoist temple. There it is cared for by the priests until it dies a natural death, when it is buried, or disposed of in some out-of-way place.

The writer has heard of "human chickens" in different parts of Szechwan Province, and recently saw two at Kung-hsien (珙縣) and one at Fêngtu Miao (豐都廟), near Mt. Omei.

(II) Human Sacrifices in West China

The burial of wives or concubines and slaves with wealthy and royal persons is well-known in Chinese history. It occurred frequently during the Chou dynasty, and did not cease entirely until the Manchu dynasty. The idea was not to appease the soul of the dead, or to offer human beings as food, but to send along the souls of the persons "sacrificed" to be wives, concubines, or servants to the soul of the deceased in Hades. Such sacrifices are called *hsün tsang* (殉葬) in Chinese.

Li Ung Bing, in *Outlines of Chinese History*, page 54, states that during the fifth century B. C. human sacrifices were in

vogue in the semi-Annamese States of Ch'u (楚), Wu (吳), and Yüeh (越), but were entirely unknown in "orthodox China."

The above statement overlooks the fact that in ancient times a young girl or woman was annually sacrificed in Ch'in to the god or genius of the Yellow River.¹

The following are examples of the sacrifice of human beings in Szechwan during recent years. It is evident that the idea of punishing the guilty and revenging or appeasing the dead was prominent.

Near Yachow, about the year 1924, there was offered a human sacrifice called a *ho chi* (活祭) or "living sacrifice." The details were learned from Rev. Joshua Jensen. A robber killed a soldier who was an officer. The robber was captured and taken to the soldier's grave. Three holes were made in the robber's buttocks, two to hold incense sticks, and one to hold candles. The robber was forced to lie down on the grave of the officer and was killed as an offering or sacrifice.

A similar sacrifice occurred at Kiating in 1917. A Yunnanese soldier who had been captured was offered as a "living sacrifice" to a Szechwan soldier who had been killed in battle. Rev. A. P. Quentin is the authority for this statement, and for the following.

In the spring of 1935, near Kiating, a robber killed an officer of the militia. The robber was captured, and preparation was made to offer him as a "living sacrifice" to the officer. But Mr. Quentin suggested to the official that this would be a disgrace to Kiating; the teachers and students of Kiating opposed the sacrifice, so it was not performed, although crowds had gathered to witness the ceremony.

These are recorded for their scientific and historical interest, and they should be regarded as survivals that might not occur again, which are at least no worse morally than the lynching of Negroes in the United States.

(III) Uprisings of the Boxers or Red Lantern Society

In Szechwan there have been several lesser Boxer uprisings since the great Boxer movement of 1900. The largest of this kind occurred near Kueifu (夔府), in the region of the Yangtse Gorges, in 1923. The people were mostly farmers and laborers. They were exasperated by the oppression of the soldiers, who fought battles, commandeered men, occupied homes, temples, and school buildings, collected exorbitant taxes,

1. *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, page 493.

and looted as they pleased, in total disregard of the rights and welfare of the people. The Boxers, who numbered about five thousand men, used incantations and ceremonies which they thought would make them impervious to bullets, bayonets, or swords. They attacked the soldiers, and, since they were very poorly armed, were easily defeated. It is estimated that between five hundred and one thousand Boxers were killed.

A second Boxer uprising occurred near the Yangtse river, west of Suifu, about the year 1928. Military oppression was again the cause. In addition to the grievances mentioned above, the people were compelled to plant opium, and a heavy "lazy man's tax" was collected from those who did not plant the drug. The movement was mostly among the farmers, but communists helped to fan the flame. The people believed that the use of certain incantations and ceremonies would make their bodies invulnerable. Armed with clubs, hoes, knives, and a few rifles, they attacked the soldiers at Anpien (安邊) shouting "Rifles can not penetrate, swords can not pierce (槍打不進, 刀殺不進)." They were shot down, and the rebellion soon subsided.

A third manifestation of boxerism occurred at Chüehki (蔽溪) in April, 1935. In that locality was a large band of robbers that had repeatedly defeated the government troops. There were Boxers among the robbers, and also among the soldiers. It was thought that at a certain time of day, as a result of certain ceremonies and the repeating of incantations, the Boxers became invulnerable.

Near Hanchow there was also a small Boxer outbreak in the spring of 1935. The motive was opposition to the government because of exorbitant taxes. The Boxers were armed with large knives, such as are used to cut up straw or grass for fodder, and with wooden swords. In preparation for battle they burnt paper on which charms were written, and poured the ashes into water, which they drank. They also repeated incantations. They carried yellow flags on which charms were written. They had as their *chu ssü* (主帥), or leader, a wooden peck measure, covered with cloth, which they carried with them. They thought that at a certain time of day, as a result of the charms, incantations, and ceremonies, they could not be injured. Even their enemies shared this belief.

Several hundred soldiers attacked the Boxers, of whom there were said to be less than fifty. The soldiers were very careful to attack them before the hour when they were expected to be invulnerable. All the Boxers were killed.

In April, 1936, there was a Boxer rebellion in the region of P'ing Shan 平山, and Fu Yen Ch'i, west of Suifu on the Yangtse River. There were about two hundred and forty or

fifty Boxer soldiers, of whom between forty and fifty were killed by the militia and the government troops. The Boxers worshipped idols, repeated incantations, and drank holy water over which incantations had been repeated, expecting that these things would make them invulnerable to wounds of bayonets, swords, and bullets. Afterwards the militia and government soldiers destroyed many of the idols in that region, saying that the worship of idols is superstition and likely to result in Boxer uprisings.

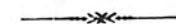
Beliefs that make Boxer uprisings possible are still commonly held in Szechwan. It should be noted that there has been nothing anti-foreign in these disturbances, and that they have occurred only in backward country districts among the least intelligent of the population, for education and enlightenment are making it more and more impossible for such things to happen in the large cities.

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THE HAWK-CUCKOO (*hierococcyx
sparveroides*) IN CHINESE TRADITION
AND BELIEF

by

LIN MIN CHUIN (林名均)
(Translated by D. C. GRAHAM)



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THE HAWK-CUCKOO (*hierococcyx sparveroides*)
IN CHINESE TRADITION AND BELIEF

LIN MIN CHUIN (林名均)

(Translated by D. C. Graham)

"In the east wind of spring you annoy the traveler to death.
For whom do you thus call until you shed blood?¹
The azure spring has not yet grown old.
The flying oriole is silent.
On my pillow I dream about like a butterfly.
On the blooming apricot tree the moonlight shines dimly.
I ask, 'Why under the heavens do you worry so?'
And I realize that I am far away from home.
When you cry, my bowels are tied into a thousand knots.
Outside of Min Ling² on the road south of the Yangtse River,
On the long banks are numerous willows
Whose kingfisher-blue branches can be plucked.
All day you command me hundreds and thousands of times,
Repeating just one phrase over and over,
Saying, 'You'd better go back, you'd better go back.'
And causing deep pain in my heart."

Every year, near the end of spring, during the third lunar month and later, the mournful and sorrowful cry of a bird can be heard in many parts of China. It depresses a person's mind and makes him conscious of the passage of time. A traveler who hears it at night will think about his home. He will often be unable to sleep, and will arise and walk about, sometimes even shedding tears.

This bird is called the *tu chüan* (杜鵑), also the *tu yü* (杜宇) and the *tzü kuei* (子規). In ancient Chinese books it is also called *kuei chou* (鵀周), *tzü kuei* (子鵀), *t'i kuei* (鶡鵀), *mai kuei* (鵀鵀), *ts'ui kuei* (催歸), *tzü chüan* (子鵀), *t'ien chüan* (田鵀), *yang ch'üeh* (陽雀) and *hsieh pao* (謝豹). In the book called *Ch'in Ching* (禽經) it says, "On the left bank of the Yangtse River it is called the *tzü kuei* (子規). In Szechwan it is called the *tu yü* (杜宇)." In Fukien it is called the *yüan niao* (怨鳥) and in Szechwan the common people call it the *mi kuei yang* because they believe that its cry sounds like that name. Foreigners call it the brain-fever bird. Many of its names have been given to the hawk-cuckoo because it was believed that its cry sounds like the names.

1. Many Chinese believe that the hawk-cuckoo shrieks so loudly that its mouth becomes bloody.

2. A mountain in South China, apparently near the home of the author of this poem.

This bird is often mentioned in Chinese poetry and such ideas of sorrow at the departure of spring and at being far away from home, which are found in the poem we have translated above, written by K'ang Pai-k'o (康伯可) of the Sung Dynasty, are often expressed. A few examples are given below.

"The hawk-cuckoo cries by day and by night, and depresses even the courageous." TU FU (杜甫) (T'ang Dynasty).

"At one time, when I left the goddess at Wu Shan, near K'uei Fu, I was afraid of hearing the hawk-cuckoo in the sad springtime." TU FU.

"In my dreams I am like a butterfly. My home is far away. The hawk-cuckoo is on the branches of a tree, and the moon comes out at the third watch." TSUI TU (崔塗).

"I feel ashamed because of the bird's crying, 'You'd better go back (home).'" SU CHE (蘇轍) (Sung Dynasty).

"The hawk-cuckoo to the last urges, 'You'd better go back home.' FAN CH'ENG TA (范成大) (Sung Dynasty).

"It is late on the spring night, and the spring is very vexatious. Among the flowering trees outside, the hawk-cuckoo calls to the moon." MAO WEN HSI (毛文錫) (Five Kingdoms).

"How can we bear, in the cool spring, to be in a lonely house and to hear the calling of the hawk-cuckoo as the sun is setting?" CH'IN KUAN (秦觀) (Sung Dynasty).

"I cannot bear to hear the cries of the hawk-cuckoo at dusk, when the rain is falling on the pear blossoms, and I close the door tightly." CH'IN KUAN.

"The hawk-cuckoo calls until he sheds blood. Alas, it is again the time when the spring is departing." LI CH'ING CHAO (李清照) (North Sung Dynasty).

"Many times I have heard the hawk-cuckoo calling, 'You'd better go back (home).'" CHANG YU T'EN (張玉田) (Sung Dynasty).

"The hawk-cuckoo calls to the moon, call after call. The spring is passing swiftly by." HUNG MAI (洪邁) (Sung Dynasty).

"Just now my soul is vanishing, and again the smoke is thin and the moon is dim. The cry of the hawk-cuckoo has ceased. (has been cut off)." CH'EN LIANG (陳亮) (Sung Dynasty).

"My thoughts are in the sound of the hawk-cuckoo on a moonlight night." CHANG CHI (張翥) (Sung Dynasty).

When we have studied these lines of poetry, even if we have not heard the bird's call, probably there arise in our minds thoughts regretting the departure of spring and sorrow because we are far away from home.

Because this bird is accustomed to hide in the trees and also flies very rapidly, many people do not know what it is like. In natural history it is classified as a vertebrate, a bird that grasps with its claws, a hawk-cuckoo, and has the scientific

name of *hierococcyx sparveroides*. The body is the size of a sparrow-hawk. The bill is oval (flat round). The upper bill is hooked down. The nostrils are near the back of the mouth. The mouth is large. The wings and tail are long. The male and female are much alike. The back is dark gray and the tail is darker. Below the wings and the tail the feathers are light. The throat is light gray, and the breast and abdomen are light, with dark bars.

There is a peculiarity about this bird. It does not make nests but lays its eggs in the nests of other birds, and allows other birds to hatch and feed its young. The newly hatched hawk-cuckoo has a fierce nature, and always drives out the birdlings that belong in the nest. The hawk-cuckoo eats caterpillars and therefore in the forests it is beneficial.

Near the end of spring the call of this bird is very sorrowful, loud and vociferous and sounds like "kuei kuei yang." The bird calls all through the night, as well as during the daytime. It is found from sea level up to the altitude of 9,000 feet. It lives in the torrid and in the temperate zones. In China it lives in Kweichow, Yunnan, Szechwan, Hupeh, Anhwei, Kwangsi, Kwangtung, and Fukien provinces. It is mentioned in the following Chinese books:—

In the *Po Wu Chih* (博物志) Chang Hua (張華) says, "The young of the hawk-cuckoo are placed in the nests of other birds and are fed by them." In the poem *Tu Ch'uan Hsing* (杜鵬行) written by Tu Fu, is the sentence; "She borrows nests in which to beget her young, and does not feed them herself, and to this day the other birds help her feed her young." Again Tu Fu says, "She begets her young in the nests of other birds, and the other birds do not object, but continue to feed her young as though serving an emperor." In the book *Erh Ya* (爾雅), in the section about birds, it says, "Kuei chou (鵓周), that is the *tzü kuei niao* (子鵓鳥) (hawk-cuckoo) which is found in Szechwan." In the book *Li Sao* (離騷) we read, "When the hawk-cuckoo first cries, it causes the herbs to grow poorly." In the *Kao T'ang Fu* (高唐賦) of Sung Yü (宋玉) it says, "The hawk-cuckoo (causes me) to think of my older sister." In the history of Ssü-ma Ch'ien, in the *Li Shu* (史記曆書), it says, "The hawk-cuckoo first cries in the spring." The T'ang Dynasty book called the *Yu Yang Tsa Tsu* (酉陽雜俎) says, "When the *yang* element first begins (in the spring), each hawk-cuckoo is unwilling to call first, so this bird is called the *yang ch'üeh*."

Why is this bird called the *Hsieh Pao* (謝豹)? There are different ways of explaining it, and there is a very interesting story about it. In the *Min Chung Chi* (閩中記) it says, "The hawk-cuckoo calls itself *Hsieh Pao*, that is, its cry sound like it." The book *Ch'in King Chu* says, "When it cries

out bitterly, it hangs upside down on the tree, and calls itself a *Hsieh Pao*." The book written by *Lu Yu* (陸游), *Lao Hsieh An Pi Chi* (老學庵筆記), says, in the third division: "The people of the Wu Kingdom (Kiangsu) call the hawk-cuckoo a *Hsieh Pao*. When it cries out at the very first, the fishermen who catch a shrimp call it a *hsieh pao hsia* (*hsieh pao* shrimp). In the market place those who buy bamboo sprouts call them *hsieh pao sun* (謝豹笋)." Ku K'uang of the T'ang Dynasty gave Wei Yu a poem in which it said, "In the green trees in the village the *hsieh pao* cries. If you are not a person of Wu, you certainly do not know what the *hsieh pao* is." P'eng Ch'ing-ch'uan's (彭耒) book, the *Shu Ku* (蜀故), records the following:—

"Formerly there was a person who was drinking wine in the home of one named Hsieh. In daytime a daughter of Mr. Hsieh saw this person and liked him. He heard a hawk-cuckoo cry, and excused himself and left. The girl was very angry. Later, when she heard the hawk-cuckoo calling, it sounded to her like a leopard's roar. She then told her maid-servant to take a bamboo club and drive it away, and said, '*Hsieh Pao*, do you dare come here and call?', so people call this bird *hsieh pao*."

Thus it can be seen that not only in the Kingdom of Wu is this bird called *hsieh pao*, but also in Szechwan.

Why is the hawk-cuckoo called the *Tu-yü* (杜宇)? The stories about this name are even more interesting, and come from Szechwan also. There is a legend that during the Chou Dynasty, in the Kingdom of Shu (Szechwan) there was a king whose name was *Tu-yü* (杜宇), and his style was Wang Ti (望帝). He taught the people to farm, and among the people he was regarded as having great merit. He married a girl named Liang who was very pretty. His minister of state was named K'ai Ming (開明), who was also called Pieh Ling (陂靈). Pieh Ling was a Hupeh man, who came up out of a well (at birth). Afterwards he died and his corpse floated upstream as far as Wen Shan (汶山) of Szechwan. Then he again came to life. The king of Shu, because K'ai Ming was efficient in controlling waters, appointed him as prime minister. Contrary to his expectations, this prime minister turned out to be an evil man. One day, when the king went on a journey, K'ai Ming committed adultery with the king's wife.

When the king returned he learned about this. K'ai Ming and the queen were afraid that the king would punish them, and they made up their minds to injure him first, and so they killed him. But after his death, his soul did not dissolve away but changed into a hawk-cuckoo which nourished the grudge but could not make it known. Therefore all night he flew about and cried out in a very sorrowful tone, until drops of

blood gradually fell from his mouth. The people remembered his merits, and when they heard him call they were very sorrowful in their hearts. Since then they have called the bird "*Tu Yu*" after the name of the king.

Other legends of Szechwan about this bird are similar to this one. But the book *Shuo Wen* (說文) written during the Han Dynasty says: "The King of Shu, Wang Ti, committed adultery with the wife of his prime minister, and was much ashamed, so he went away and changed himself into a hawk-cuckoo. So when people hear the hawk-cuckoo they say, 'This is Wang Ti'."

The *Bird Classic* commentary quotes Li Ying's (李膺) history of Shu (蜀志) as saying, "Wang Ti, because his prime minister's glory was great, resigned his position as king in favor of the prime minister, whose style was K'ai Ming. Wang Ti retired for religious meditation, concealed himself in the western mountains, and was transformed into a hawk-cuckoo."

In the *Chengtu Record* (成都記), it is said that Wang Ti died and his soul was transformed into a bird, which is called the *tu ch'uan* (杜鵑) or *tzü kuei* (子規), the hawk-cuckoo.

Although the above records differ in some ways, still they all say that the cry of the hawk-cuckoo is the soul of Wang Ti (望帝) speaking. Thus in the essay of Tso Ssu (左思) *Shu Tu Fu* (蜀都賦), it says: "The soul of Wang Ti gave birth to this bird." Tu Fu's poem, *Tu Ch'uan Hsing* (杜鵑行) says: "Have you not seen it? In ancient times the King of Shu changed into a hawk-cuckoo (*tu ch'uan* 杜鵑), like a crow." In another poem he says: "When I see him I constantly make obeisances, reverencing him because he is the soul of an ancient king." Again in the *Tu Ch'uan Hsing* (杜鵑行) it is said, "In ancient times the soul of Tu Yü, who is called Wang Ti, was transformed into a hawk-cuckoo which is very small." (Some say this poem is Tu Fu's and some say it was written by Ssu Kung-shu (司空曙). Li I-shan (李義山), in the poem *Chin Sé* (錦瑟詩), says: "Wang Ti's heart in the spring is entrusted to the hawk-cuckoo."

The following quotations speak of the hawk-cuckoo in connection with Wang Ti but in a different way. In the *Hua Yang Kuo Chih* (華陽國志) written by Ch'ang Chü (常璩) it is said: "The king of Shu, Tu Yü, whose style is Wang Ti, loved farming. He ruled the city of P'i (郫城). It happened that there was flood, and his prime minister K'ai Ming dug open Yü Lei Shan (玉壘山), and thus prevented floods. The king then resigned his throne in favor of K'ai Ming, went to a western mountain and lived in seclusion. He went away

in the second lunar month, which is the month in which the hawk-cuckoo begins calling. So the people of Szechwan are very sorrowful when they hear the bird crying." Although this does not say that the king changed into a hawk-cuckoo, yet it connects the crying of the bird with Wang Ti.

Among the common people there is the following legend which I have heard from childhood:—

In the olden days there were two half-brothers. The step-mother loved her own son but hated the older brother and planned to harm him.

One day when the father was not at home, she gave each of the boys a bag of beans and bade them plant the beans in the field. She said, "You must not come back until the beans sprout. If they do not grow, do not come home again."

The beans which the elder brother got had been cooked, but those which the younger one received were uncooked.

The elder boy knew that the step-mother was planning to harm him. He was very sad and wept as he walked along. The younger boy also knew that their mother wanted to hurt his brother, and he was willing to die for him. He asked his brother to exchange beans with him.

The elder brother at first did not wish to do this. But afterwards he thought that even if the younger brother's beans did not grow, the mother would still let the younger brother come back, for she loved him dearly. So they exchanged with each other.

When they reached the field, they planted the beans. Soon the older brother's beans began to grow. He went back to see their mother and told her. She was very angry and ordered him to bring the younger brother home at once.

He went to the field again but his brother was not to be seen. He looked and looked, but it was all in vain. He dared not go home. He wept with sorrow. Then he changed into a bird and flew everywhere seeking his brother. Day and night, all day and night, he cried, "Ti ti ya (younger brother)! Ti ti ya!" until his mouth bled. But he could not find him.

This is the bird which we call the hawk-cuckoo.

Mr. Hu Huai-ch'en (胡懷琛), who is still living, has written a book, *Study of Chinese Stories*, in which he quotes from another book. The first half of the story is the same as that above. The second half differs a little as follows:—

The younger brother, when he saw that what he traded for and planted would not grow, realized that his mother had cooked the beans in order to harm his older brother, and was very sorrowful. He then changed into the hawk-cuckoo, which is called a *tzü kuei*, and cries out sorrowfully, "My older brother is not wrong. My mother has truly done wrong." (哥哥不錯母親真錯!) He does this in order to change his mother. Because of this, it is called the *tzü kuei niao* which means that the son corrects his mother.

These two stories are evidently variations of the same legend.

There is another story in the book *T'ai Ping Yü Lan*, section 923 (太平御覽), which, quoting from another book, the *Lin Hai I Wu Chih* (臨海異物志), says: "The hawk-cuckoo, (*T'i kuei* 鵲鵲 or *t'ien chüan* 田鵲) in the spring, during the third moon, cries out day and night without ceasing, and it sounds like *t'i kuei* (鵲鵲). A proverb says, 'This bird smears its mother's blood on its mouth so that both sides are red. It flies up to heaven and begs for pardon until the early summer, when it calls no longer'."

There are many superstitions about the hawk-cuckoo which I have heard from my childhood. If you are sitting when you first hear the hawk-cuckoo in the spring, then you will enjoy peace all through the year. If you are lying down, you will be ill a great deal during the year. If you are walking, you will suffer much hardship. This differs much from what is written in ancient books, which is as follows. In the *Ching Ch'u Sui Shih Chi* (荆楚歲時記), it says that when the hawk-cuckoo first calls, the person who first hears its call will during that year be separated from loved ones. If you imitate its cry (when you first hear it), you will spit blood. To avoid this, you should answer him by barking like a dog. In the *Yu Yang Tsa Tzu* (酉陽雜俎) it says: "When the hawk-cuckoos first cry, they give in to each other and each is unwilling to call out first. The one that first calls out will spit blood and die. Once a man was walking on the mountain and saw a flock of these birds sitting noiselessly because each was unwilling to cry out first. If you imitate its cry, you will die. When this bird first calls out (in spring), if one first hears it, he will be separated from home or friends. It is unlucky to hear his cry when you are in the toilet. To avoid this bad luck, you should bark like a dog."

The above superstitions are concerned with a single person's good or ill luck. There are some that are concerned with the country's peace or disturbances. In the book *Shao Shih Wen Chien Lu* (邵氏聞見錄), it says: "My father in the time of Chih P'ing (治平) (Sung Dynasty), when walking with a guest on the Tientsin bridge, heard the call of the hawk-cuckoo, and became very sorrowful in appearance. He said, 'Loyang formerly had no hawk-cuckoos. Now for the first time one has come. It is an omen.' The guest asked 'Why?' My father said, 'Within two years the Emperor will use a southerner as prime minister. He will bring many southerners. Things will be very changeable, and there will be many troubles all over the country. As soon as the empire is in confusion, the breath of the earth will blow from the south to the north. The birds first know about such things.' From this it can be seen that the hawk-cuckoo is a very intelligent bird."

This bird, among the common people, is called a "wait" bird (候鳥) because the farmers wait until it arrives before they begin their farming. In some parts of Szechwan it is said that if this bird does not come the rice will not ripen. For this reason the common people protect it.

In Szechwan, north of P'ih sien, there are the remains of an old town called Tu Chüan Ch'eng (杜鵑城), or hawk-cuckoo city. This is because in ancient times Wang Ti moved to this place. After he died he changed into a hawk-cuckoo so they have called this town the city of Tu Chüan.

In the poem of Li Po (李白), *Hsüan Ch'eng Chien Tu Chüan Hua* (宣城見杜鵑花) there is the following statement: "In the Kingdom of Shu, I have heard the hawk-cuckoo. In the city of Hsüan I also saw the hawk-cuckoo flower. When the hawk-cuckoo cries my intestines are broken (I am moved greatly). In the spring, in the third moon, I think of Szechwan."

In Szechwan the azalea blooms at the time that the hawk-cuckoo is calling, so it is called the *tu chüan hua* (杜鵑花) or the hawk-cuckoo flower. Because the flower has the same name as the bird, when one sees it one thinks of home.

In the book *Hung Lou Mung* (紅樓夢) (*Red Chamber Dream*), one of the most loveable characters, a young woman, is called Tzū Chüan (紫鵑). This name exactly fits her character and experiences. She saw a couple of lovers who were tricked by others and so could not marry. She saw with her own eyes her mistress, Miss Lin, die of grief, and nothing could be done to help her. She herself was very sad about this, and like the hawk-cuckoo she often wept until midnight, and until she shed blood. Later she became a Buddhist nun. In this case a person was given the name of the bird.

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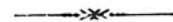
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RECENT CHANGES AMONG THE
TEMPLES OF MT. OMEI

by

D. C. GRAHAM



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RECENT CHANGES AMONG THE TEMPLES OF MT. OMEI

During the years 1924-26 the writer visited many of the temples of Mt. Omei, made diagrams of them, made lists of the idols in each temple, and took notes about what he saw and learned. In May, 1935, he again visited the Mt. Omei temples in company with Dr. Lucius C. Porter, and took special notice of the changes during the past decade.

In Szechwan, and in other parts of China, the roads and methods of travel have been very greatly improved. Formerly it took weeks of time and a great deal of work and trouble to reach Mt. Omei from the coast. Today a person can arrive at Chengtu from Shanghai within a few hours, and within another day he can be at the foot of Mt. Omei. As a result an increasing number of educated Chinese and foreign travelers are visiting Mt. Omei. Some come for religious purposes, others to see the famous temples and the wonderful scenery, and still others for scientific study. Mt. Omei priests have also visited other parts of China. The suggestions and criticisms of these people have evidently influenced the Buddhist monks on Mt. Omei, and through them the temples and images.

Another cause of change is the impoverishment of the province of Szechwan through exorbitant taxes and civil wars during the past twenty years. Few parts of the world have suffered as Szechwan has. This has lessened the ability of the pilgrims and worshippers to give money, and the anti-religious propaganda of communists and others has doubtless lessened the willingness of many to contribute. An evident result is that the temples have to depend, for maintenance, repairs, and rebuilding, more and more upon the money received for food, and for lodging, from pilgrims and other visitors.

Several of the largest and most important temples have been destroyed by fire. Some of these were radically altered when they were rebuilt, and in some of them different gods were erected than those formerly worshipped.

In the Wan Nien Ssü (萬年寺) the priests seen less willing than they used to be to display the fossil mammal tooth as the tooth of Buddha, and the other relics. It is probable that the priests have been told by Chinese and foreign scholars what the tooth really is.

Ten years ago in the Hung Ch'un P'ing (洪椿坪) and in the Chiu Lao Tung (九老洞) temples, there were Mellin's Food and Huntley and Palmer Biscuit Company advertisements that had been framed and were being worshipped as deities. They were well-colored pictures of Buddha preaching to his disciples, with, in English, the names of the companies that

had used this means of advertising. All these have now disappeared. It is probable that the priests have been enlightened as to the nature of the pictures, and possibly laughed at.

In the Ch'ien Fo Ting (千佛顶), there were formerly three different sets of shelves containing numerous small images of Buddhas. Two were situated along the opposite sides, and one was at a right angle to these along the rear of the main hall of the temple. Now those at the opposite sides have been removed, and the eighteen arhats have been installed in their place. The latter have been beautifully gilded and painted, so that they are far more attractive. Among the eighteen arhats is an image of Marco Polo—he was identified by Dr. Porter.

Some of the roads have been much improved, and in some places signposts have been erected to direct the visitors to the different temples and sacred places. In some localities most of the large old trees have been cut down to rebuild temples or parts of temples that have rotted away or have been destroyed by fire, or to make new additions to old temples.

In many of the temples the beautiful and artistic lattice windows have been replaced by cheap, square glass windows. Apparently the priests believe that the temples have gained in beauty, but the fact is that a beautiful Chinese art has been discarded for something that is both foreign and inartistic.

Several of the largest temples now have galvanized tin roofs instead of being covered by iron, pewter, or earthenware tile. Probably the galvanized tin is cheaper and lighter, but it will doubtless rust and leak within a few years. On bright, clear days, these roofs can be seen from far away on the plain below.

The entire front of the Fu Hu Ssü (伏虎寺) is now made of a kind of brick which was unknown in West China until foreign architects taught the Chinese brickmakers to make it.

One of the most noticeable changes is the addition of many bedrooms and guest rooms to accommodate the travelers and pilgrims who wish to stay overnight, or for several days. In a few cases these are well made, and improve the appearance of the temples, but generally they are poorly built, and lessen considerably the beauty and that almost indefinable something that I would call the worshipful atmosphere.

Mount Omei, with its temples, shrines, sacred objects, and images of the gods, is one of the most interesting and beautiful spots, not only in Szechwan, but in all China. It is hoped that in the future there may be more careful planning in the work of preserving and improving its temples and its forests.

D. C. GRAHAM

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THE CUSTOMS OF THE CH'UAN MIAO

川 苗

by

DAVID C. GRAHAM

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THE CUSTOMS OF THE CH'UAN MIAO 川苗

DAVID CROCKETT GRAHAM

In the following article, THE CUSTOMS OF THE CH'UAN MIAO, and in the translations of Ch'uan Miao memorial ceremonies and the ceremonies of the exorcist, I have used the International Phonetic Script for Ch'uan Miao terms and the Wade system of romanization for the Chinese. For the convenience of the reader, a phonetic table is here given.*

CONSONANTS

b	as in bit.
d	as in dig.
d ₃	as in judge but without aspiration.
d ^z	is d plus a slight z sound
f	as in fat.
g	as in go.
G	an uvular g.
ŋ	ng as in king.
h	as in hat.
X	rough h as in the Scotch word <i>loch</i> and the German word <i>nach</i> .
j	as y in young.
ʝ	is the French j, bordering toward the English fricative (for which r is used in this table of sounds).
ʑ	is a strong palatalized French j.
k	as in kind.
l	as in law.
ll	Welsh unvoiced ll plus voice l.
m	as in man.
n	as in new.

*NOTE—I gladly acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor J. E. Moncrieff of West China Union University and to Dr. Serge Elisseeff, Director of the Harvard-Yenching Institute for assistance in distinguishing the Ch'uan Miao sounds and in making out these tables.

- p as in pin.
 r which in strict phonetic script is J, the ordinary fricative.
 (untrilled) initial r of southern English and American speech.
 s as in sit.
 S as in shut.
 t as in tin.
 T a dental t sometimes written t;
 ts as ch in child, weakly aspirated.
 v as in vow.
 z as in zone.
 w as in wit, well.
 , is used to indicate an especially strong aspirate.
 - underscoring is used to indicate a weaker aspirate.

VOWELS

- i as in pique.
 i- as in imp.
 as in end.
 a as a in hat.
 a: as a in shah.
 O as o in hot.
 O- as au in haul.
 u as in put.
 u- as oo in pool.
 o- a pure close long o.
 A as u in nut.
 y is umlaut u (ü) of the German language.
 ø very slightly resembles the French mute e. It is pronounced with the teeth of the two jaws very close together to produce a feeble sibilant. The lips are not rounded but remain neutral. The tongue is more advanced than in French. It is sometimes written i in the romanization of Chinese sounds.
 ā is nasal a.
 ō is nasal o.
 ai as i in bite.
 ao as o in how with a pure o ending.
 au as o in how with an open u ending.
 ei as in eight.
 ou as o in go (with a u ending).
 ʌu as the Chinese ou (Wade) or eo (China Inland Mission).

PREFACE

This article is the result of about fifteen years of study and contact with the Ch'uan Miao 川苗 people.

I first learned of the Ch'uan Miao in 1921 through a Hua Miao 花苗 who came to Suifu 钅府 during a famine. Soon after that I visited the Ch'uan Miao near Lo Piao 洛表 and at Chou Chia Kou 周家溝 and a Ch'uan Miao boy, Yang Fêng Chang 楊奉璋, came with me to Suifu where, with my help, he studied in and graduated from the Baptist junior and senior primary schools. After that he was my almost constant companion and went with me on nearly all my expeditions on the China-Tibetan border. From him I learned something of the Ch'uan Miao language and customs.

On returning to Szechwan in 1932 as curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, I made a more determined effort to learn about the Ch'uan Miao. Yang Fêng Chang spent much time with me at Chengtu and after his tragic death, while hunting takin, I made three summer expeditions to the Ch'uan Miao region, and another in the spring of 1936 to Suifu when several Ch'uan Miao came out and assisted me in my study.

Since the summer of 1934 much help has been given me by Mr. Hsiung Ch'ao Sung 熊朝嵩, a Ch'uan Miao who formerly lived in northern Yunnan but now lives at Wang Wu Chai 王武寨 near Lo Piao. The fact that he has travelled over much of the Ch'uan Miao territory has made him a valuable assistant. The information received has been repeatedly checked, verified and often corrected through other Ch'uan Miao from Wang Wu Chai, Chou Chia Kou, Yung Ning 永寧 and from different parts of northern Yunnan.

The Ch'uan Miao generally say very little about their customs. They have informed me that in the past they have never told many of these things to anybody outside their own group but have made evasive and misinforming statements. To this day some ceremonies are performed behind closed doors, such as the worship of the door and the killing of the sow when worshipping the sky demon. The main ceremonies of commemoration are purposely confined to the Ch'uan Miao dialect so that nobody who is not a Miao can understand them. In the two ceremonies mentioned above, if one word of Chinese is spoken, the whole ceremony must be repeated.

I have made a sincere and earnest effort to understand the Ch'uan Miao people among whom I am considered a very good friend and by whom I have been given the complimentary name

of Na Kw'a Tai Lo, meaning great and kindly teacher. It is my hope that this study will contribute to a better understanding of the Ch'uan Miao.

I. INTRODUCTION

South of Suifu in Szechwan Province, on the borders of Szechwan, Kweichow and Yunnan, the mountains rise to an altitude of from three to six thousand feet. There are many high peaks, precipices, perpendicular or overhanging cliffs, forests, waterfalls, natural bridges, and streams disappearing into the mountainsides and reappearing far away. While the roads between Chinese towns and villages are generally paved with stone slabs, many of the roads are narrow footpaths, sometimes steep and dangerous, winding up the mountainsides or through the fields and forests. This is the home of the Ch'uan Miao people.

This ethnic group, which is generally called a tribe, includes about one hundred and fifty thousand people. They are found as far north as Kunghsien 拱縣 and Ch'angning 長寧, about one hundred *li* east of Yung Ning 永寧, as far south as Ta Kuan 大關 in Yunnan Province, and as far west as Sui Chiang Hsien 綏江縣. In the same region is a much larger population of Chinese, for the Ch'uan Miao do not live in a territory by themselves but are interspersed among the Chinese people.

These people resemble the Chinese in having a light, olive-brown skin and very little hair on the face, but they differ from the Chinese in West China in being slightly shorter in stature and in having a less evident epicanthic fold or Mongolian slant to the eyes; there are greater physical differences between the Ch'uan Miao and the Lolos (Nosu) and Tibetans.

Below is given a very brief comparison of vocabularies. From Samuel R. Clarke¹ I have borrowed all, with two or three slight changes, except the Ch'uan Miao. The romanization is that of Clarke and as far as possible, I have made the romanization of the Ch'uan Miao words correspond for similar sounds. A comparison of the languages and of the social and religious customs, makes it evident that the Ch'uan Miao are a branch of the Miao-Yao Group and of the Mon-Khmer Family.²

1. S. R. Clarke: *Among the Tribes of South West China*, pp. 307-315. Morgan and Scott, London, 1911.

2. H. R. Davies: *Yunnan*, pp. 331-347. Cambridge University Press, 1909.

COMPARISON OF VOCABULARIES OF SOME WEST CHINA ETHNIC GROUPS

English	Chinese	Nosu or Lolo	Heh Miao	Ya-ch'io Miao	Hua Miao	Ch'uan Miao
one	i	dai	i	i	i	i
two	er	nyi	au	o	ao	ao
three	san	se	ba, bie	bie	be	be
four	si	li	lao	bleo	bleo	bleo
five	wu	ngwu	gia	bzi	bsi	tsi, tsuei
six	lu	chio	dio	dsu	dseo	shiang
seven	ch'i	shi	siung	sau	siang	yi
eight	ba	heh	ia	yi	gia	gia
nine	gio	kó	gio	ku	ku	keo
ten	si	tsó	ba	ba	ba	ba
hundred	be	hu	s'e	chie	tsai	ts'a
thousand	chien	du	vie	ua	vang	vang
ten thousand	uan	mi	diau	ieh	iao	iao
is	si	ngo	mai	nio	ma	ma
have	yu	dso	eo	ia	ia	ia
want	iao	le	lou	lu	lo	lo
come	lai	li	mung	mu	mu	mo
go	k'ü	yó	ai	a	a	a
make, do	dso	só	s'e	fü	lo	lo
word	hua	gi	gieo, cang	a	c'o	a
speak	so	so	he	mu	siü	mo
walk	dseo	p'a	sh'i	ri	ntsai	nt'sai
fear	p'a	zwo	ll'o	lu	lliao	lo
large	da	tseh	nieu, yieo	iu	yieo	iu
small	shiao	nio	zeo	re	rung	rung
good	hao	ni	nang	ndö	nao	nao
eat rice, cooked	ts'i	ru	liao	iu	nio	nio
ox, cow	niu	nyi				
man, or human being	ren	uo tso	nai	ni		nun

The word Ch'uan 川 means river but it is also an abbreviation for the word Szechwan 四川. Szechwan means four rivers. The Szechwan people are often called Ch'uan Jen 川人 and Szechwan soldiers are called Ch'uan ping 川兵. Apparently the Ch'uan Miao have been given this name because many of them live in Szechwan.

The word Miao 苗 means sons of the soil. It is written in Chinese with the grass character above the character meaning field. The word Miao sounds like the Chinese word cat, and it is very likely that the name Miao was given to these people by the Chinese because their speech sounded to the Chinese like the mewling of cats. The name has often been indiscriminately applied to aborigine groups in West China.

The Miao call themselves Hmoᵛ and the Ch'uan Miao call themselves Hmoᵛ Bo or ancient Miao because they believe that they belong to a very ancient race. The Hua Miao are called Hmoᵛ Ndᵛ Lu or old Miao* and the Ch'ing Miao 青苗 are called Hmoᵛ Ntᵛwa or dark Miao.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

There are frequent references to the Miao in the Chinese Classics. The accounts state that failing to pacify them by peaceful methods, the emperor exiled many of the Miao to the Province of Kansu on the extreme west of China, where they have apparently disappeared.† Other groups of the Miao who refused to be absorbed have been driven south and south-west into the highlands of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Fukien, Hunan, Kweichow, Yunnan, southern Szechwan, the Island of Hainan and Tongkin. There are historic records of the forced migrations of Miao from Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces. One such migration occurred in 1733 during the reign of the Emperor Yung Chêng. 雍正.

Historians³ indicate that the Miao were living as far north as the Yellow River, nearly four thousand years ago.

*Another name for the Hua Miao is Hmoᵛ Lᵛu, which also means old Miao.

† Mr. Chuang Hsüeh Pên 莊學本, a representative of the Chinese government who has travelled extensively in the Si K'ang region, and was with the Panchan Lama at the time of his death, has studied and taken pictures of a Miao tribe in Kansu northeast of Kokonor, which is called the Pai Miao 北苗. It is very likely that the Pai Miao are the descendants of the Miao who were exiled into this region many centuries before Christ. There is a tribe or ethnic group of Miao west of Kwanhsien in the region of Mowchow 茂州.

3. Faber, E., Chronological Handbook of the History of China, Shanghai, American Presbyterian Press, p. 4.

Li Ong Bing, Outlines of Chinese History, p. 2.

Müller, E. Max, Sacred Books of the East, Vol III, The Shu King, The Shih King, The Hsiao King, pp. 41, 54.

and then, after meeting the Chinese, migrated to the south and the south-west. Abadie in *Les Races du Haut-Tonkin* states that the Miao entered the highlands of Tongkin in very recent times. The Suifu history speaks of the Miao being in the Szechwan-Yunnan border region during the Sung and the Ming Dynasties but it does not indicate what tribe or tribes of Miao were represented nor when or whence they came.

The Ch'uan Miao have a tradition that they were brought from somewhere in South China, probably from the region of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien, within the last three centuries, with their hands tied behind their backs, and released where they now live. Some of them point to peculiar wrinkles between their wrists and their elbows which they believe to be scars made by the cords that bound their ancestors. There are legends that point to a land in the north where there were camels and also Chinese, and others that speak of groves of banana trees on the hillsides. There are legends to the effect that their ancestors lived in a hot southern climate, and others that mention a race of people whose skins are black. The Ch'uan Miao embroidery resembles that of the Miao on the Island of Hainan more than it does that of the Hua Miao, their nearest neighbors on the south. Their language has nine tones, like that of some of the Chinese of the Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien region, while the Chinese language spoken in West China has only four or five tones. After studying their legends and Chinese history I am inclined to think that the ancestors of the Ch'uan Miao originally lived far south in the torrid zone, in the region of India, Burma or Tongkin or some island in the Pacific or Indian Ocean, whence they migrated northward above the Tongkin Lake and even into the Yellow River Valley where they met the Chinese over four thousand years ago. Thence they went southward into Kwangtung or Kwangsi from where they were brought as captives and released in the highlands where they now live, not over three centuries ago.

It is possible that the Ch'uan Miao are a mixture of several smaller Miao groups who have been or are being absorbed into one cultural group in one cultural area. In this area there are many lesser variations but a general similarity in language, customs, and physical appearance. In northern Yunnan there is a group of Ch'uan Miao called the Hsiao Hua Miao 小花苗 or Little Flowery Miao, that is now being absorbed. In the northern part of Kweichow there are Ch'uan Miao who are called Ya Ch'iao Miao 鴉鵲苗 or Magpie Miao who may be a small group that has been almost absorbed. Near Chên Hsiung 鎮雄 are the Hmoᵛ Glᵛ or White Miao who are also Ch'uan Miao. Near Lo Piao the Ch'uan Miao

are also called TAU TAU Miao or Basket Miao because the women wear hats that are like small bamboo baskets inside. Near Laowat'an 老鴉灘 the Ch'uan Miao are also called Ch'ing Chi Miao because their clothing resembles the plumage of a certain wild pheasant. Near Chên Hsiung the Ch'uan Miao are also called Ho Shang Miao 和尚苗 or Buddhist Priest Miao because their clothing resembles that of a Buddhist monk. The Ch'uan Miao are also called Hmo Swa or Chinese Miao because they have been much influenced by Chinese language and customs and the men dress like the Chinese.

III. ECONOMIC LIFE

The food varies slightly in different localities and corresponds closely to that of the Chinese neighbors. The legends indicate that in former days there was a greater dependance on wild game, fruit, berries and vegetables.⁴ The supply of these has lessened as the land has become more thickly populated. Even to-day in times of famine the poor avoid starvation by eating wild herbs, roots, berries and fruit. In the more favored localities there are rice fields and rice is the principal food of well-to-do people. Most of the fields are so steep that rice cannot be planted so that corn is the main staple of diet. It can be made into biscuits but very often it is ground and boiled and eaten, like rice, out of bowls with chopsticks. It is then called *pao ku fan* 包穀飯 meaning corn-rice or corn-food. Wheat, oats and buckwheat are also cultivated and made into biscuits. The garden supplies beans, peas, onions, turnips, cabbage, carrots and other vegetables. Pigs, cows, water-buffalo, sheep, goats, chickens, ducks and geese are raised and used for food, supplemented by fish and the flesh of wild birds and animals. Dog-meat is sometimes eaten by the poorest people, as among the Chinese, and also the flesh of snakes. The black snake is more often eaten than other snakes. Magpies are more often eaten than crows. House rats are seldom eaten while mountain rats are considered a delicacy by all. Hawks are seldom eaten for food but their flesh is used as medicine.

Generally only the well-to-do eat rice and the poor eat corn meal. By the wealthy, meat is eaten once in several days, by the poorer, once in several weeks and by the poorest only at feasts and festivals. Vegetables are used whenever

4. One summer I spent my vacation in the high mountains beyond Mupin 木坪. I found that the local hunters, herders and medicine gatherers were quite dependant on wild vegetables for food and that over twenty species of wild vegetables were edible either in a raw state or when cooked. There were three species of wild onions and one of wild celery, and a native counted twenty-two species that he knew of.

available but this is only for about half the year. Eggs are eaten only on special occasions.⁵

The Ch'uan Miao are an agricultural people. They are all sons of the soil and get their living from the soil. Even those who are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, hunters, priests or shamans have farms, sometimes owned but generally rented, and they depend primarily on farming for a living. Sometimes there are houses that are only a few rods apart but I have not seen or heard of a single Ch'uan Miao village or a locality that could boast of a single street.

In former days when land was plentiful and forests were abundant, a man often got his farm by cutting down the trees in a forest and later, when the wood was dry, burning off the trees and grass. This, of course, left a rich virgin soil. After a few years the land became less productive and the owner deserted it and made another clearing. Later the deserted land could again be used profitably. There are no longer such unclaimed virgin forests so that the Ch'uan Miao are obliged to keep their farms productive by means of fertilization.

The domestic animals and fowl are cattle, horses, water-buffalo, mules, donkeys, sheep, goats, dogs, cats, chickens, ducks and geese. Horses are not used for plowing but as riding and pack animals. Water-buffalo are generally used for plowing and harrowing in the rice fields while cattle are used in the dry fields and gardens. Mules and donkeys are less common than horses. There are many sheep in Yunnan Province but few in Szechwan where goats are more common. Every family has at least one watch-dog and there is a special breed of hunting-dogs. Cats are kept in families that are not too poor to afford them. Chickens are found in nearly every home but ducks and geese are less common. There are fewer water-buffalo and more horses and cattle among the Ch'uan Miao in Yunnan than in Szechwan. Cattle, horses, mules, donkeys, sheep or goats, pigs and water-buffalo are kept in barns that are near houses or are actually parts of the houses. Cats, dogs and chickens sleep inside the houses where they roam about unrestrained.

The farming implements do not differ from those of the Chinese. The same plows, harrows, hoes or mattocks, sickles, flails, and so on are used. The plow consists of a naturally crooked tree to which are attached an iron point and a wooden

5. R. G. Agnew investigated the diet of the Ch'uan Miao near Lo Piao and found that malnutrition was quite noticeable in most families and is a fundamental cause of the high death-rate, especially of children. He recommended that eggs be eaten for phosphorus and albumen, milk for minerals and vitamins, fruit for vitamin C and soya beans and vegetables for minerals and vitamins.

handle. The harrow is made of thick boards or beams through which iron spikes are driven. The hoe, pick or mattock has a long wooden handle and only one point. The sickle used for reaping has a short wooden handle and a curved iron blade. Rice is threshed by holding a bunch of the rice straw in the hands and beating the heads on the inside of a large wooden box into which the grain falls until all the grain is beaten off the stalks. Wheat and oats are threshed by means of flails by men or women who strike the grain in succession. The plow can be used in the rice paddies and on other level fields but much of the land is so steep that it can be cultivated only by means of the hoe. Some of the land is so steep that it cannot be cultivated. This is a valuable source of supply for firewood, lumber and medicinal herbs and is useful as pastureland.

The houses are built like those of the Chinese. The roofs are made of straw or of reeds or more rarely of tile. The walls may be of beaten clay, of cornstalks tied together, of bamboo strips woven together and plastered with clay, and this possibly whitewashed, or of lumber. The simplest houses are oblong, consisting of one or two rooms. Sometimes there are no windows in the smallest and simplest houses and only one or two doors. As the houses vary in size and complexity, they may be oblong or triangular and consisting of two sections at right angles to each other, or of three sections with two parallel sides and a third section joining them across their ends or they may have four sides enclosing an open court or "heavenly well." There is only one story but sometimes there is a loft with or without windows.⁶

Some people live in natural caves. They are the poorest folk who cannot afford to make or to purchase homes. The legends indicate that in the past cave-dwelling was much more common than it is to-day. In times of war or when brigands approach, many families move into caves which serve as strongholds until the danger is past. Only natural caves are used in this way but many of them have been artificially improved so that they are almost impregnable.

There were formerly many fortified places called in Chinese *chai tzu* 寨子 where groups of houses were clustered together for protection. This is indicated by the names of places such as Wang Wu Chai 王武寨 and by the frequent references to fortified places in the legends. To-day there

6. People do not sleep in the loft. There they store their rice, corn, beans and other grains and baskets, rain hats and tools. In the poorer homes the windows are small square holes with vertical slats of wood or bamboo to keep out birds, animals and people. The best houses have wooden lattice windows made by Chinese carpenters.

are none to be found. One explanation given by Ch'uan Miao friends is that the danger of fire was too great so that people no longer built their houses so close together. There are two other possible reasons. One is that the Chinese destroyed the strongholds in war and to prevent future rebellions, and the other is that there is no longer danger of raids and attacks from the Lolos. Chinese histories actually mention the destruction of the strongholds.⁷

There is an old custom that is not always practised according to which when a family moves an iron cooking vessel is buried near the old home as a means of commemorating it. Another old custom now no longer practised is that when a person died in a house the house was destroyed and the family moved to another spot and built a new home.

Hunting is a pastime engaged in by the men and boys when game is plentiful, in winter when there is less farm work to do and during the New Year holidays. Sometimes one person goes hunting alone, sometimes two or three men go out into the woods together and at other times a larger number make up a hunting party. In such a party some of the men guard the paths where the animals are likely to come out and others with dogs go towards them through the woods shouting and driving the animals towards their waiting companions. Formerly traps were set, snares were used, and pits were dug, but since the coming of firearms these have fallen into disuse. Bows and arrows and crossbows have almost but not entirely disappeared. The arrows are sometimes poisoned in which case they cause death within a short time.

It has already been noted that some Ch'uan Miao, in addition to being farmers, are also when occasion requires carpenters, blacksmiths or masons. A smaller number work in brass or silver, but the best work in all these trades is done by Chinese.

Both men and women work in the fields, using the hoe and the sickle, but only men use the plow. It is believed to be sinful for a woman to plow, for a cow or a water-buffalo is a worthy beast and woman is inferior, and if she does use the plow the animal she uses will accuse her of sin after she dies and goes to heaven. Both men and women carry loads on their backs or on carrying poles. Women generally carry water, make yarn from wool, make string from hemp shreds, do most of the sewing, cooking and weaving and do all the embroidery work, leaving the larger share of the farm work to the men. It is therefore customary to speak of one's mother as the old lady inside the house and of one's father as the old man outside the house.

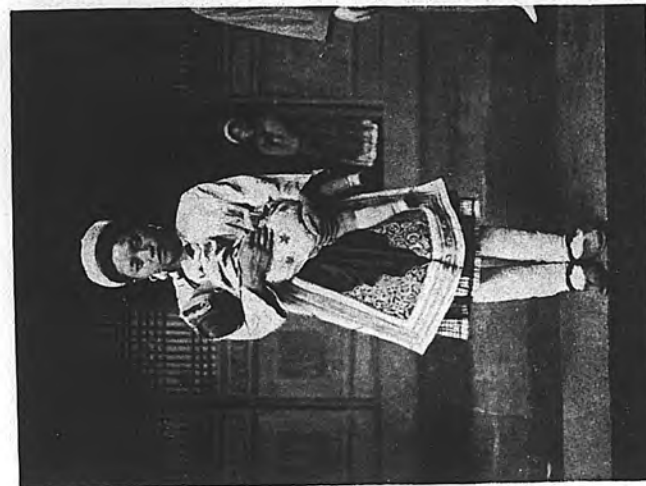
7. This is mentioned in the history of the Prefecture of Suifu, 叙州府志

The Ch'uan Miao are acquainted with and frequently use the Chinese system of measurements by which ten inches make one foot and ten feet are one *chang* 丈. But they have a variation of this system which is more commonly used by them. According to this method the distance between the first and the second joints of the middle finger is one inch. The stretch of the hand from the end of the thumb to the end of the middle finger is five inches and two of these are one foot. The arm stretch from the tip of one middle finger to the tip of the opposite middle finger is five feet and two of these are one *chang*. In some localities bamboo combs are used to measure cloth.

The method of reckoning time is that of the Chinese from whom it was evidently learned. A month is called a moon. There are twelve lunar months in one year and sometimes thirteen. Each month has thirty days and is divided into three periods of ten days each. Through the Chinese the Gregorian calendar is becoming known.

There are localities where the Ch'uan Miao barter a great deal because of the shortage of money, the differences being paid in cash. This is more common in northern Yunnan than in Szechwan where market-places and towns are more accessible. The Ch'uan Miao sell cattle, goats, sheep, horses, pigs, chickens, corn, rice, eggs and vegetables and purchase salt, cloth, silver ornaments, pottery and implements and tools made of iron.

The furniture corresponds to that in the Chinese homes. The most essential articles are the square tables and the long narrow four-legged stools called in Chinese *pan têng* 板凳. Chairs are to be found in the well-to-do homes. The cheaper kinds are made of bamboo but better chairs are made of wood by Chinese carpenters and carved with Chinese ornamental designs. A bedstead consists of a wooden frame and four legs of wood, covered with a mat of bamboo slats over which there is a layer of straw. A straw matting may or may not separate this from the bed clothing. Above the more elaborate beds are frames of wood or bamboo on which mosquito nets are hung. The stove may be a hole in the ground, which is said to be the oldest form, but it is generally like that of the Chinese, made of clay and stones or bricks, and with holes for one or more cooking vessels. The meat, rice and vegetables are cooked in the iron cooking vessel called in Chinese a *kuo* 鍋. There are usually tongs made of bamboo or of iron and small iron shovels, bamboo brushes and strainers. The lamps are usually simple, earthenware, cup-like bowls that can be hung up on posts or on the walls of the house, in which is burnt *ts'ai yu* 菜油 or rape seed oil.



A young Ch'uan Miao woman with her baby. Photo by D. C. Graham.



Ch'uan Miao girls in festive dress. Photo by D. C. Graham.

The Ch'uan Miao men formerly wore elaborately embroidered clothing on festive occasions but this custom has almost entirely disappeared. They commonly dress exactly like the Chinese so that it is impossible to distinguish a Ch'uan Miao man or boy when he is on a road or in a village. But there is no such difficulty in recognizing a Ch'uan Miao girl or woman for her attire is different from that of the women of any other tribe or race in West China. Near Lo Piao the hat consists of a bamboo basket-like frame covered over the top with cloth that resembles human hair and around which are wound beautifully embroidered bands which are often joined at the rear and allowed to hang down the person's back. The jacket or gown reaches just below the waist and is ornamented along the edges with colored embroidery. It is fastened by a button at the throat, another between the neck and the right shoulder, another under the right armpit and others going vertically down the right side. Over this garment is often worn a finely embroidered breast cover. The skirt is pleated so that it can be easily made into a complete circle when it is laid upon the ground. Designs are dyed on the skirt in blue over beeswax, after which the garment is further ornamented by varicolored embroidery designs. The skirt is fastened on by a belt consisting ordinarily of a cord or unornamented belt of cotton or hemp cloth and on festive occasions by an embroidered belt from which are hung several embroidered cloth pendants. They wear a beautifully embroidered apron and the lower legs are covered by puttees of blue or white cloth that are sometimes embroidered. The thicker the puttees the more attractive they are supposed to be. No trousers are used but sometimes they wear more than one skirt. On the feet straw sandals are generally worn, but sometimes cloth shoes that may or may not be embroidered. Two brass hatpins on which ornamental designs are carved, brass or silver earrings and hair ornaments, and silver or brass finger-rings and bracelets complete the attire of the Ch'uan Miao women who rarely use cosmetics which they do not need because of their naturally good complexions.

Carl Schuster, who has specialized in the study of embroideries, visited the West China Union University Museum in the fall of 1935. He was intensely interested in the Ch'uan Miao embroideries and found two elaborate designs that also occur in eastern Europe, one among the Ukrainians and the other among the Rumanians. These are so complex that scientists would find it difficult to believe that their existence in the three cultural groups could be explained otherwise than by diffusion. He considered the art of the Ch'uan Miao embroideries, judged by the fineness and elaborateness of the designs and the colors, to be among the best, but the collection of Ch'uan Miao embroideries that he

saw was only about one fifth as large as that now in the Museum, and some of the finest specimens were not then in the collection.

Within twenty years probably there will be no such embroideries among the Ch'uan Miao. The making of such embroideries takes a great deal of time and often the girl or woman who wears them is ridiculed by less intelligent and unfriendly Chinese who live near them. For these reasons the Ch'uan Miao women are very rapidly adopting a simple Chinese style of embroidery or merely purchasing cheap and gaudy cloth and ribbons in the Chinese markets. The change is taking place so fast that the difference between the clothing worn now and even two years ago is quite noticeable.⁸

IV. SOCIAL RELATIONS

The family is the social unit. Descent is reckoned through males and the oldest living male is the head of the family. Before a girl marries she belongs to the family of her parents but after marriage she belongs to the family of her husband. While the parents live all the descendants, except females that are married but including the wives of the male descendants, live in the same house. After the death of the parents the children separate and form new families. There is evidence in the legends that formerly the husbands lived with the relatives of their wives so that the families may have been matrilineal.

Sons are more desired than daughters because they remain in the family. Women are considered to be inferior to men but women and girls are appreciated and desired.⁹

There is a larger sense in which the family includes all blood relatives of the same name—fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, sons, grandsons, great-grandsons, uncles, cousins, and so on and their wives and unmarried daughters, but it does not include the women who have married into other families. The importance of this enlarged family can be seen when the memorial and calendar festivals and the intricate list of the ancestors and descendants are noted.

8. The Ch'uan Miao do not wear their best clothing and ornaments at funerals. They are worn at weddings, at feasts and at the memorial services and calendar festivals.

In Savina's book, *Histoire des Miao*, there are pictures of Miao wearing brass chain ornaments hanging from their necks. I have purchased chains like these from the Ch'uan Miao but they are now very rare.

9. In some localities men and women in the same family eat together but the daughter-in-law, because of a sense of shame, does not eat with the rest of the family. A daughter-in-law must not sit down on the same bench with the husband's father, brothers, or uncles but she may with her husband.

There is also the family in the largest sense, which we may call the clan. All male persons of the same name, whether or not they are related to the others by birth, their unmarried daughters, their wives and the wives of their male descendants, are regarded as related. A person can remain indefinitely in the home of a family to which he is not related by birth but having the same family name and he pays nothing for his food and does not easily wear out his welcome. It is considered a crime for two persons having the same family name to marry although there is no known relationship. There are certain memorial ceremonies in which all partipate who have the same family name, for all such are regarded as blood relatives, especially if they can trace their descent to the same legendary ancestor.

There is another way in which relationship is reckoned. Certain male relatives of a girl may have sexual relations with her without marriage and a man may enjoy sexual relations with certain female relatives as a matter of course and it is considered legitimate and proper, nobody raising any objections. It must not be with relatives of the same name. In Chinese they are called guest-wives and guest-husbands and in Ch'uan Miao the guest-wives are called ɔʒΛu Ma and the guest-husbands are called ndʒΛu la. A man's guest-wives are the daughters of his mother's brothers and of his father's sisters. A girl's guest-husbands are the sons of her father's sisters and of her mother's brothers. Copulation with guest-wives and guest-husbands takes place before marriage without opposition from the parents or relatives and often it goes on secretly after marriage. There is a Ch'uan Miao proverb,

"A woman has ten husbands,

A man has ten wives."

Recently, both among the Hua Miao and the Ch'uan Miao the Christian husbands and fathers, wives and mothers and other relatives have been opposing this custom, but many of the non-Christian guest-husbands have been unwilling to give up their inherited privileges and have raised trouble about it. There have been quarrels and fights and in some cases the persons endeavoring to bring about a reform have been obliged to secure the help of Chinese officials.

Furthermore, there is a feeling of fellowship, friendship and relatedness among all the Ch'uan Miao that results in a spirit of helpfulness and cooperation. It is said that no Ch'uan Miao need starve to death unless there is a drought or famine. If one family is destitute other Miao families will each contribute some food or other necessity and the poor family will be able to get along.

Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and one of the main duties of a child is to commemorate and make offerings to his departed ancestors. All the memorial festivals but one are for this purpose and in all the seasonal festivals or those that come on regular dates throughout the year, offerings are made to the ancestors and they are commemorated in the usual way.

All property, such as tools, weapons, furniture, domestic animals, money, houses and fields, belongs to the family and after the death of the parents, when the family is broken up, it is divided among the sons of the deceased. Such things as clothing and personal ornaments belong to individuals.

Among the Ch'uan Miao there are no written laws. The customs and habits of the group are the laws and what is customary is right. Crimes are infractions against the customs or mores of the group.

There is no tribal organization. That is, there is no political organization that extends throughout the entire ethnic group. A locality may elect a headman, called a gy lau or old club, and the headmen of several different districts may cooperate for the general good, but the headmen are not bound together by an organization affecting the entire Ch'uan Miao region. If the Ch'uan Miao are a tribe, it is because they are physically related and have a common language, common customs, common ideals, and a common culture. These bind the people together more securely than could any political organization.

Minor offences may be settled between the two persons concerned. When this cannot be accomplished, the families of the two persons endeavor to solve the difficulty. In more weighty and difficult matters, the local headmen or a number of the older people of the district are called in. It is said that only one or two per cent of the worst cases are taken to the Chinese courts. The reasons are not far to seek. Litigation in Chinese courts is expensive and a Miao, since he is a member of a different race, is likely to be discriminated against. In addition he is at a disadvantage because he cannot read Chinese characters.

An offence or a grievance may be settled or recompensed for by the gift of a chicken, a duck, a pig, a goat or sheep, a cow, or some other object. Sometimes a beating is administered and sometimes the death penalty is exacted. It may be carried out by throwing the guilty party over a cliff or down a natural pit into the earth.

Chinese histories and the Ch'uan Miao legends show that in the past the Hmoŋ have frequently made war with the Chinese and with other aboriginal groups but to-day the Ch'uan Miao and their neighbors the Hua Miao are a quiet and peace-loving people. The fact is that they are not strong enough to give battle to either the Chinese or the Lolos. But it is different when their lives or property are endangered by robbers or brigands. In such times the Ch'uan Miao blow rams' horns or the horns of water buffalo or, in case these are lacking, joints of bamboo through which, in the centers, holes have been made. Then they bring their rifles, cross-bows and poison arrows, spears, swords and knives and together they fight the enemy.

There are no secret societies among the Ch'uan Miao, but occasionally a Miao joins a Chinese secret society which gives him greater prestige both among the Chinese and among the Ch'uan Miao.

There are no theatricals and not a great deal of gambling. Children sometimes gamble by throwing three coins up and catching them in their hands and the men play cards or shake dice.

Practically the only diversions of the women and girls are to go visiting, attend feasts, marriages and ceremonies, go to market, gossip and make love. Most of them are supposed to use their spare time, even when resting, in the fields, in sewing, making hemp thread or yarn or making embroideries.

Ch'uan Miao girls and women are accustomed, in the autumn when the crops are ripe but before they are harvested, to go out together in the moonlight to play. The older women tell stories and teach the younger women to sing folksongs. Mouth harps are played. Many women take the new hemp with them and tear off the shreds so that they can later be made into string. It is a very happy time.

There are several games played by the children. At New Year time they play shuttlecock. Another game is that of a snake protecting her eggs. The one chosen to represent a snake gets down on his hands and toes. Under him is placed one stone for each other player. Then the other players endeavor to steal the "eggs" and the snake tries to kick the other players. If one is kicked, he becomes the snake. If all the stones are stolen and nobody gets kicked, the same person serves as the snake another time. Another game is blind man's buff. One is blindfolded and he tries to catch the others. When another is caught, he becomes the blind man. Another game is sham battle with wooden guns, swords, spears and bows and arrows. There is still another game in which some boys act as dogs and others as wild animals and there is a chase over the hills.

Men sometimes amuse themselves by going hunting together, generally in the winter time when there is less work to do. Both men and boys play shuttlecock at New Year time. The shuttlecock is often made by fastening feathers to a piece of bamboo. Sometimes the shuttlecock is kicked but more often it is knocked back and forth by means of wooden bats. There is a memory game in which the players use grains of corn. One is blindfolded or turns his back and the grains of corn are laid out on the table. Others pick up the grains of corn, a few at a time and say, "So many grains have been picked up. How many are left?" Sometimes, one or two cobs of corn are held in the hand and the players guess how many grains of corn there are on each cob. One game is played by nailing two planks or wooden beams together in the center at right angles to each other and balancing them on a pivot. Four men or boys balance themselves on the four ends of the beams and others rapidly turn around the cross or wheel with the four men on it. "Playing lion" is indulged in at New Year time and at weddings. Two men throw over themselves a cloth resembling a lion's skin. Then the lion fights with a man who always triumphs over the beast. Occasionally friends are invited to a feast where wine and tobacco are the principal means of entertainment. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine but few of them smoke opium.

The Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music and among their principal amusements are singing and playing the *liu shêng* 六笙 or six-tubed wind instrument accompanied with dancing. There is no written language and much of the history and legends or folklore of the group have been made into songs and are passed on from generation to generation. Some of the words in the oldest songs are not understood by the Miao at the present time and many of the young people are not learning the songs so that it is probable that they will be forgotten and lost within the next forty years.

The Ch'uan Miao rarely sing group songs or songs in which men sing one verse and women sing another in response. This is more common among the Hua Miao. Nearly all the songs are sung by one person, a man or a woman, to whom others listen. Sometimes, but rarely, men sing one verse and women sing in response alternating until the song is finished. The songs sung on such occasions are love songs. At engagement ceremonies the middle men of the bride and the middle men of the groom sing alternately, sometimes ridiculing and sometimes praising each other. These songs and their tunes have been composed and handed down to subsequent generations for hundreds and perhaps thousands of years and they

are still being made. There are sometimes contests to see who can sing the largest number of them. When anything important happens, a song may be composed and it is sung and taught to others. If some good deed is done, the person that is benefitted may write a song and thus spread the knowledge of it abroad and to future generations. If an injustice is done, this is an efficient way of punishing the offender and of securing revenge.

There is nothing that could be called band music, although at funerals and other ceremonies the jointed bugles, called in Chinese *sa la tzu*, and brass gongs are used, and the ceremonial drum is accompanied in funeral and memorial ceremonies by the *liu shêng*. The mouth harp, made of brass or of bamboo, is played by lovers when they are sitting side by side and making love to each other. Tree leaves are used for making love when the lovers are far apart, for the noise is much louder and they are thought to be very efficient in winning the feminine heart, as the following proverb shows:

bloŋ tɕə gwa·bo· tɕə Ta.
bloŋ tɕə ndʒao·bo· tɕə hnao.

which means:

If the tree leaf does not resound, the wife will not come.

If the tree leaf does not sound forth, the wife will not hear.

With both the mouth harp and the tree leaf the music is accompanied by audible words.¹⁰

Of special interest is the *liu shêng* 六笙, called by the Ch'uan Miao *gaign* or *gʌn*. It consists of a piece of wood two feet or more in length, hollow inside, and larger at the bottom than near the top. The upper portion is about an inch in diameter and the base is from two to three inches in diameter. Into holes in the larger part of this wood are inserted six bamboo tubes of unequal lengths in which there are brass reeds. The six notes made by means of these tubes are all harmonious so that two or more can be sounded at one time. The result, in the hands of a skillful musician, is beautiful music. Only men and boys play the *liu shêng* and the player always accompanies the music with dancing, so that the result is not unlike that of a Scotchman playing his bagpipes.

10. Warning of the approach of robbers is sometimes given by means of tree leaf music which can be heard ten *li* distant. The speaker does not actually pronounce words. He or she makes the same tones with the same emphasis as if speaking the words or sentences and it is easily understood by another Ch'uan Miao.

To an untrained occidental ear, the tunes of the Ch'uan Miao seem to be very much alike and to resemble those used in western countries by the liturgical churches in their religious chants.¹¹

The Ch'uan Miao distinguish at least the following different kinds of songs with appropriate tunes:—

1. Songs sung by go-betweens when making engagements.
2. Songs sung when sending the bride away from her home on her wedding day.
3. Songs sung when welcoming a bride at her wedding and at other times during a wedding.
4. Love songs, of which there are two kinds, those sung more loudly when the lovers are apart and those sung in very low tones when lovers are sitting close together.
5. War songs.
6. Hunting songs.
7. Fishing songs.
8. Songs sung by *tuan kung* 端公, while exorcising demons.
9. Songs sung at deaths and at funerals.
10. Songs sung during memorial ceremonies.

The music of the *liu shêng* is distinguished as follows:—

1. That used when sweeping the house preparatory to a memorial festival.
2. When welcoming back home the souls of the dead.
3. When presenting the sacrificial animal to the ancestor.
4. When making a sacrificial offering of food or wine to the ancestor.
5. To distinguish time limits in the memorial ceremonies.
6. Thanking the filial son after feasts in the memorial ceremonies.
7. When sending or escorting the soul of the dead to heaven.
8. Tunes played just for amusement.

The mouth harp is played only in low, soothing tones when making love and audible words are spoken.

Only love songs are played with tree leaves. The music is louder than that of the mouth harp and audible words are spoken.

With the flute can be played

1. Love-songs, but words cannot be spoken.
2. Music merely for pleasure.

11. While the tunes of the Ch'uan Miao are definite and regular, there is probably greater freedom for changes and variations than is the case in occidental music.



A Ch'uan Miao woman wearing her embroidered garments, taken in 1936. The embroideries are not nearly so elaborate as those worn by Ch'uan Miao women twenty years ago. Ch'uan Miao embroideries are rapidly disappearing.



A Ch'uan Miao woman in festive dress. This picture was taken in 1925. Since then such embroideries have been rapidly disappearing, but there is a collection of over four hundred pieces in the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

Jointed bugles and cymbals and brass gongs are more rarely used but they can be played at almost any time.

The Ch'uan Miao are very hospitable. A friend can stay in a home for a week or ten days and he will be given food and a bed and charged nothing for them. Chickens are considered especially good and appropriate for entertaining guests. Sometimes both a cock and a hen are killed and some of the meat may be left for the guest to take home with him. The greatest hospitality a Ch'uan Miao can show is to kill a young grown cow or bull and to give a feast to which other friends are invited. Next in importance to a cow is a sheep or goat, then a pig and then a chicken.

Friendship among the Ch'uan Miao is sincere and deep and they respond to friendship and kindly treatment. By the very tones of the voice it can be discerned whether the Ch'uan Miao is very friendly and familiar with the person to whom he is speaking, or only fairly so, or not at all, or is an enemy.

V. SOCIAL CUSTOMS

Friendship, fellowship, appreciation, sympathy, love and marriage between the sexes is as natural as eating, and they are craved by most people of both sexes. The sex appeal may be one of the most powerful influences for good or for evil. If satisfaction cannot be had in normal and approved ways it will often be sought in ways that are irregular and harmful.

The life of the average Ch'uan Miao, who lives in a simple hut on a high mountain, with no pictures or ornaments in the home, no schools or books, meager furniture, much hard work, few neighbors, simple food, no theatricals and little or no play, is humdrum. It is not unnatural that aside from eating sexual love and sexual intercourse are among the primary enjoyments of life.

The Ch'uan Miao customs in the past have apparently been such that affection between men and women resulted in sexual intercourse, generally illicit. Nearly all the love songs tell of love affairs between men and other men's wives or between women and men to whom they were not married but with whom they enjoyed sexual relations. Some of the legends express disapproval of parents who raised objections because young men were spending the nights in the bedrooms of their daughters and others mention with approval the fact that parents purposely had outside doors for the bedrooms of their daughters so that their lovers could easily enter and spend the night there.

On the second or third days of the second moon, at *tuan yang* 端陽, and on the sixth day of the sixth moon, men and women and boys and girls go to market. There they make advances to each other and a boy or a man goes home with a girl or a woman. On the way or in her home they are likely to enjoy sexual intercourse. They may or may not be married people. If anybody in the home of the woman or girl objects, a quarrel ensues. Generally no trouble is made by the wife or husband of either of the actors. But sometimes a woman who has irregular sexual relations with men other than her husband objects to her husband's doing likewise and in rare cases she commits suicide. It is said that among the Ch'uan Miao there are no harlots, women who habitually sell themselves for money and depend on that for a living. Sexual relations are generally the result of love affairs.

At the *tso chai* 做齋 ceremony or the *ch'ao chien* 超薦 ceremony, or at the *hua t'an* ceremony, the host may bring out a bamboo stick and hang it up on his door and near it hang up an iron chain. Then he says, "You are my guests, old and young. If a wife or a husband causes trouble because of what his mate does I will not endure it." He implies that he will beat that person and if the person does not run away or desist he will chain that person up. Then those present quietly entice each other, without speaking a word. If a man entices a woman and she consents, they enjoy each other and nothing happens. If she refuses, he desists. The same principal holds if the woman makes the advances. The act of sexual intercourse may take place in the woods, in the house where the guests are being entertained, or in another house. Nothing is done by either a husband or a wife afterwards. It is thought by some that this custom has grown out of unhappy early marriages.

Women purposely dress as well as possible so as to look pretty and attractive to the opposite sex. They do not use face powder, but most of them do not need to for Nature has given them good complexions. Women who are popular with men are pretty or ready of speech or well dressed or good singers or have bright minds or have money. These are the qualities that attract the men. Men who are popular with the women are handsome, or mentally bright or good singers or good at playing the *liu shêng* and dancing, or have money. Wealth alone is not sufficient, although it makes a great difference, and generally but not always ability to work is esteemed. It is said that the most potent music of all in making love is that made by blowing on tree leaves which has the advantage that audible words can be spoken by the musician.

Sexual attraction naturally results in love affairs and love affairs naturally result in sexual intercourse. Sometimes this results in marriage but often it does not.

Children are often married at a very early age. It is not uncommon for a child to be married when only three or four years old and most children are married by the time they are twelve. Of course these are not love matches, and serious love affairs later in life with men and women to whom they are not married are quite likely to occur.

The normal way is for engagements to be made by the parents of the boy through go-betweens. The initiative is taken by the parents of the young man. When they have decided that they wish to make an engagement between their son and a certain girl, they call two go-betweens who are invited to a meal in the boy's home. A chicken is killed for the meal and its tongue, its bones and other parts of its body are examined to ascertain whether or not the circumstances are propitious.

If the signs are propitious, the middle men proceed to the home of the girl. There they endeavor to secure a favorable reply from the girl's parents who in turn call in go-betweens. If her parents are favorable, the go-betweens are feasted and they proceed to determine the details of the gift which must be given by the boy's parents to those of the girl. The gift may include pork, domestic animals, rice, beans, corn, money, or any other commodity. When the engagement presents have been given and accepted by the girl's parents, the engagement is complete and is seldom broken. There is a second feast for the go-betweens and other friends at the time when the engagement gifts are presented. The engagement is a contract between the parents of the young people. While the bride is not actually purchased, the value of the gift often goes a long way towards securing a favorable decision by the girl's parents.

When the go-betweens arrive at the home of the girl much of the work of making the engagement is often done by means of songs. By certain songs they announce their mission to the girl's parents. Other songs carry the work along, even to the matter of approximately arranging the gift. There are songs when the gifts are presented. Sometimes these songs take the form of contests when the two sets of go-betweens ridicule or try to outwit each other or see who can keep going the longest.

When the parents are unwilling to marry off a daughter, or nobody seeks her hand in marriage, or when the parents are unable or fail to make an engagement for a son, the marriageable person endeavors to win a mate. For this purpose he or she goes to the market place on the third day of the third moon, at *tuan yang* 端陽 on the fifth day of the

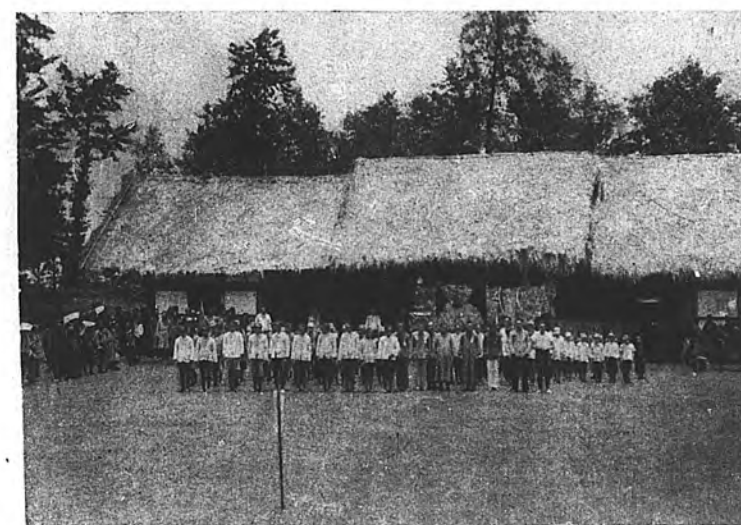
fifth moon, or at some other convenient time, or attends one of the Miao feasts or festivals, or joins those playing on the mountain-sides at New Year time. Either the boy or the girl can make the first advances. The methods are to look lovingly with the eyes, to squeeze hands and to speak loving words. This is inconvenient if there are many people about. A boy may take a girl's handkerchief or a girl take a boy's. Then the person who gets the handkerchief goes away and the other says, "That person has taken my handkerchief. Stay here and I will go after him (or her)." Then in a quiet secluded place they make love. They say loving words, squeeze each other's hands, and embrace. A very great evidence of love is when one spits and the other swallows the spittle. Copulation often follows after which a handkerchief or a ring may be given by the boy to the girl or *vice versa* and they make a vow such as, "If you do not marry me and marry another, you must take this engagement present and eat it and then I will make no trouble." It is believed by the Ch'uan Miao men that copulation is one of the surest ways to a woman's affection.

Later the parents must be informed and they must secure go-betweens and arrange engagement presents and so on. If the parents do not agree, then the young people run away together or the man carries away the girl. Then all the neighbors and friends urge the parents to consent and if they still do not agree the neighbors and friends practically compel them to do so. The gifts to the girl's parents are generally less than they would have been if the young people had been engaged and married in the usual way.

Marriage by capture is not unknown among the Ch'uan Miao. Sometimes the girls are quite willing to get married in this way, and it is said that happy marriages often result. Sometimes a man uses this method because he is in love with the girl.

Parents generally desire to marry off their daughters, for it is the custom of marrying daughters into other homes that makes possible the securing of daughters-in-law to labor in the home and to give birth to descendants. Besides, the girl's parents receive engagement gifts and these are sometimes very valuable.

The bride generally weeps before leaving her parental home. Sometimes the sorrow is pretended but at other times she is sad and unwilling to go and the parents and friends and relatives have to use persuasion and even coercion. There is an old custom by which the parents actually push the girl out of the house. It is customary for the girl and her parents to weep, either as a matter of form or because of sincere sorrow.



Picture of Ch'uan Miao pupils of four schools in parade in front of the Ch'uan Miao school house at Wang Wu Chiai.



A Ch'uan Miao family on the Szechwan-Yunnan border. The two boys are students in a Ch'uan Miao school.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

There is a strong sentiment against marrying daughters into families that live far away or in desolate places on high mountains. The common belief that the Miao love to live on the high and rugged mountains and are unwilling to live on the rich and level plains is as great a mistake as historians ever made. The Miao live on the high and rugged mountains because they are a defeated people and have been forced to do so. The Ch'uan Miao name for heaven is "Ntsə ni l ʌ u G ʌ u bi" or "the ancient level country of God." It is a land where there are no more steep mountains to climb.

Before the bride leaves her home, a meal is provided by her parents for her and for those who escort her. In the wedding procession there are generally one or more old women, relatives of the bride, a male relative or friend who manages the procession, the brothers of the bride and other friends who choose to go along. If it is a long distance to the groom's home, a meal is provided to be eaten by the way. In the bridal procession are generally carried such clothing, boxes, chests of drawers or other objects that have been given as bridal presents by her parents to the bride. The manager carries with him a bamboo tree with roots which symbolizes the large number of descendants of the couple. It is also supposed to have magic power to help the family thus to prosper. Sometimes a branch of a tea tree is also carried. Some plant the bamboo tree and others hang it up on the wall of the house. The *liu shêng* is not used at weddings for its notes are thought to be too sad for such occasions.

On arriving at the home of the groom, the brothers of the bride generally escort her into the house as a protection from demons. If she has no brothers, first cousins will do and lacking these, other male relatives may be invited to act as brothers. When entering the house the bride covers her face with a black and a white cloth. Her older brother goes in front and she holds onto his belt. Behind her an older or younger brother holds an umbrella over her as protection from demons.

Sometimes the bride and her companions enter the home and walk around in a circle three times. At other times, the Chinese custom of kowtowing three times to parents, relatives, and friends is followed. Tea is soon offered to the guests. According to an old custom that is no longer observed, the meat of a particular kind of bird and fish were provided at wedding feasts. There is always a wedding feast for the relatives and friends. One of the male relatives later counts before all the clothing, chests of drawers, and other things that have been sent along by the bride's parents. When her relatives and friends finally depart, the groom and his relatives go through a form of detaining her by force. This shows that

they really want her but it is also true that brides sometimes run away at this time. Another ceremony that is sometimes performed at a wedding is that of calling the soul of the bride. Her soul may fail to come with her and if it does not come, she will die.

After a few months have passed, the bride is permitted occasionally to visit her parents, but henceforth her husband's home is her home and his family is her family. She calls her husband's parents father and mother.

When an unmarried woman gives birth to a child, the child is made away with as secretly as possible and little is said about it. When a married woman becomes pregnant, about three or four months before the child is born a *tuan kung* 塢公 is called. He takes a bowl, fills it with water, and burns a paper charm in it. He then covers it first with a piece of paper, then with a blue cloth. He twists his hands in odd ways above the bowl of water. He calls his gods to come and protect the bowl of water and the woman. The water is supposed to be from a sea in heaven and to protect the woman from demons. The gods he has called live in the bowl of water as in a sanctuary, and they protect the pregnant woman. Therefore the bowl of water is hung up from a beam of the roof inside the house. On the first and fifteenth of each moon the head of the house pours water into the bowl to replace the water that has evaporated and burns paper money as a means of presenting money to the gods.

The *tuan kung* is paid before this ceremony and after the birth of the child if the child lives. He may be paid a dollar or two or be given clothing, pork, a chicken or some other object.

After the birth of the child the *tuan kung* is invited back to take down the bowl of water. He arranges tables, burns incense and lights candles, and burns paper or spirit money as an offering to the gods. Then he takes down the bowl of water. He repeats incantations, then pours the water out in the main hall near the end farthest from the door. He is again paid money or given presents if the child and the mother live, but not otherwise.

The mother is impure after the child is born and cannot leave the house for one month. On the third day a chicken is killed for her. The salt she eats must be burnt red in a fire before she can eat it, else she may become ill. On the seventh day the mother washes all her clothes. Then she can move about freely in the house, but she must not eat with anybody else, and she must be given good food to eat—eggs, vermicelli, cabbage and so on. But she must not eat fat meat and a few other things that are supposed to injure her. She must not eat the flesh of an animal that has been killed within the past month or two.

At the end of a month the shells of all the eggs she has eaten, most of which have been given her by her friends, are taken out and thrown away on a nearby road or path which indicates to her friends that the month of confinement is over and that she is now pure. None of the eggs given her during her confinement can be given away. They must all be eaten by the mother.¹²

Among some of the Ch'uan Miao it is customary for a woman to give birth to her child while squatting beside her bed, holding onto the sides of the bed with her two hands. Another woman stands behind her and helps hold her up, holding her about the waist. The placenta of a boy is sometimes buried deep under a pillar of the house and that of a girl under a door of the house.

Fearing that demons may harm the child, some do not cut the baby's hair for three years. Then the mother's oldest brother is invited to come and cut the child's hair. This brother sometimes gives the child clothing, a hat, a brass or silver bracelet, and a chain with a lock to hang around the child's neck. This is done in the morning after the *tuan kung* has repeated his incantations and performed his ceremonies during the whole of the previous night. Some at this time make a hole through one ear of the child and hang an ear-ring of silver or brass in it. The hole in the ear is an additional protection against demons.

When a boy is twelve, there is sometimes performed a ceremony of passing over the barrier which is called in Chinese *kuo kuan* 過關 and seems to be a sort of initiation ceremony. Twelve bowls are placed in a straight row on the floor of the house. They are covered by a piece of cloth about twelve feet long. Twelve sharp knives are placed on the floor in a direct line with the bowls and about one foot apart. The *tuan kung* first walks along, stepping on each bowl and then on each knife. The twelve-year-old boy then follows him, also stepping on each bowl and each knife. Generally neither the feet of the *tuan kung* nor those of the boy are injured, but if the feet of the boy are cut by the knives the *tuan kung* gets no money. This ceremony protects the child and afterwards he is regarded and esteemed as an adult.

If others desire special protection for a boy that is less than twelve years old, that boy can follow across under the protection of the *tuan kung*. The child will then be protected from demons and the ceremony will not be repeated at the age of twelve, but he will not be regarded as an adult until the age of twelve.

12. I have not been able to secure any evidence that the couvade was formerly practiced by the Ch'uan Miao.

The Ch'uan Miao have no so-called doctors but there are some people who are supposed to know more about healing than others. They use mutton, pork, fish, the flesh of hawks or dogs, grasses, roots, bones of leopards, tigers and bears, and fossil bones and teeth. Neolithic stone axes, when found, are ground to powder and used as medicine. Fish is used to heal many diseases, pork to heal colds, dog meat to heal rheumatism, mutton to heal stomach trouble, and there is a kind of grass that is supposed to heal broken bones. This grass is wrapped around the broken limb which is bound up tightly until the bone has grown together. A few of these medicines have healing power, but others are positively harmful.

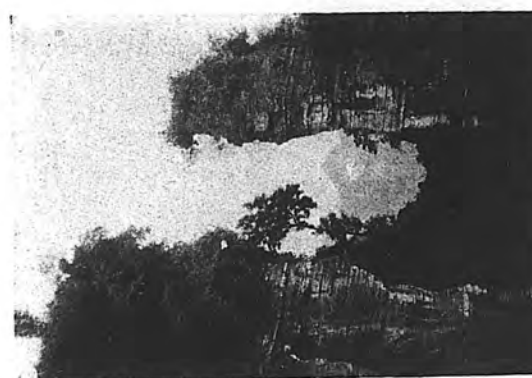
All diseases are supposed to be caused by demons. These creatures are the unhappy souls of human beings, animals and some inanimate things such as mountains and stones. The soul of a human being may become a demon if there are no descendants to provide for its needs or if the descendants are unfilial, do not show due reverence, and do not provide through offerings the necessary food, money, clothing, etc. Naturally the way to heal a disease is to get rid of the demon that is causing it and this is the work of the *tuan kung*. He knows how to find out what demon is causing the trouble and by means of charms, ceremonies and incantations he exorcises the demon and heals the disease. Of course he is paid for his services.

With such meager and inadequate provision for the healing of the sick it is not at all strange that the death-rate among the Ch'uan Miao is very high. A Ch'uan Miao friend told me that eleven children had been born to him and that only two were still living, both of whom were less than ten years old.¹³ He said that he believed that many deaths were caused by the use of the wrong medicines. It is evident that if the birth-rate were not correspondingly high the Ch'uan Miao would gradually disappear. Malaria, typhoid, and tuberculosis probably cause more deaths than other diseases.

A great many Ch'uan Miao women commit suicide, and it seems almost fashionable for them to take their own lives. The reasons are: first, that the husband and the husband's parents mistreat the wife; second, that her husband is unfaithful; and third, that she is grieved because of the death of her children.

When a person dies, people are afraid as long as the corpse is in the house, because they believe that the soul of the dead person may do harm to the living.

13. Since this was written, one of these two children and the father have died.



A view in the Ch'uan Miao region on the Szechwan-Yunnan border.

Photo by D. C. Graham.



Ch'uan Miao girls in northern Yunnan wearing embroidered clothing.



Ch'uan Miao aborigine children. Photo by David C. Graham, 1934.

After a parent dies, if he urinates it is unlucky and the children will suffer. If he has a bowel movement, the descendants will prosper and the feces must be carefully wrapped up and put away. Another custom is that the finger and toe nails must be carefully cut off and put away. Later, when the parent cannot be seen, the finger and toe nails can be looked at and this helps the descendants to remember the deceased. Still another custom is that the children must take a piece of white cloth and wash his face, then dry the cloth and burn it. When it is burning, if the shadows or shapes in the flames resemble a Chinese character, then the soul will be reborn as a male. If it is like a flower, the soul will be reborn as a female. The water that has been used to wash the face of the dead is divided among the children and drunk by them. Or the hands and the feet of the corpse may be washed and the water drunk by the children. Drinking this water is considered a very filial act and probably spreads many diseases.

Funeral ceremonies continue for two or three days in the summer time and sometimes for six or seven days if they occur in winter. The ceremonial drum, called in Chinese *kuei ku* 鬼鼓 or demon drum, is used much of the time, accompanied by the *liu shêng*. This is varied by the singing of appropriate songs by individuals and the playing of the jointed bugles, called *sa la tzu* accompanied by the beating of brass gongs.

When a person has just died, somebody plays the *liu shêng* and dances for a time. Then the officiating priest (generally there are in each family one or two who are efficient in conducting funeral or memorial ceremonies), who is called by the Ch'uan Miao *chi shih* 祭司 or priest in Chinese and *mo* in their own language, begins. The dead person has been carried in the coffin into the main room. The priest brings with him, or it is provided by others, a bow but no arrows. He cuts down a bamboo and makes of it another bow. Then he cuts down a peach branch and makes of it three or six arrows. He carries the bow he brought with him on his shoulder and a sword hangs from his belt. He takes the new bow and the arrows in his hands and a cock under his armpit. In his hands he also holds two pieces of bamboo which he uses in divination or conversation with the dead.

Three times the priest takes the dead person by the hand, saying each time, "I am helping you arise." Then, since the deceased does not arise, he takes the two pieces of bamboo and places them on the body of the corpse. Then he says, "I called you three times and I took hold of your hand three times and you would not get up. Now I will take the cock to lead you and will send a bow and an arrow to accompany you. If you hear another cock crow and yours replies, then that

person is your ancestor. If your cock does not reply, that is not your ancestor and you must not go. When you meet your ancestors, report that you were born a certain place at a certain time, lived in such and such places and died at a certain place. Then the ancestors will take you to Ntse's level country and you will meet your male and female ancestors for three generations." Then the priest,¹⁴ chokes the cock to death and the soul of the cock leads the soul of the dead to heaven. The g'a gei then takes a sharp bamboo stick about two and a half feet long, thrusts it through the cock just below the wings and leans the stick and the cock against the coffin.

Some time after this there is a ceremonial procession. In front is a man whirling a stick or baton. Then follow two men blowing water-buffalo horns, then two carrying green bamboo twigs and finally two men carrying guns. During the entire ceremony the ceremonial drum is beaten inside the house, the two men play the *liu shêng* and dance, the two buffalo horns are blown and the man in front whirls his baton.

The procession comes out of a side door, then through the front door enters the living-room, where the participants march around in a circle for some time. Sometimes the procession marches around the house, then around a square table in the front yard to one corner of which has been tied a green bamboo twig about eight feet high. At other times, they merely march around in the yard, then march around the table. Then they sit down at the table and drink the sweet wine that has been poured out for them in small bowls. The bamboo twigs are symbolic of the fact that in ancient times the ancestors of the Ch'uan Miao lived in forests. The horns were formerly used to frighten away the tigers and wolves which abounded and are now continued by way of commemoration. The *liu shêng* is used for the good music and good appearance and the guns are added to symbolize the frightening away of wild animals. The Ch'uan Miao say that in ancient times such horns were actually blown during funeral ceremonies to frighten away the wild beasts that lurked about and that out of this custom the ceremony has developed and become more and more symbolic.

After this an animal is sacrificed. It is generally a bull but is sometimes a male water-buffalo. It may be a pig, a

14. The priest is now called a g'a gei or one who opens the way. g'a means "open" and gei means "road" or "way". The priest is called a g'a gei only when he is performing this part of the funeral ceremony, opening the way of the soul of the deceased to Hades. It is feared that the saying of this word may cause people to die so that the priest will have to open the way of their souls to the level land of Ntse.

sheep or a chicken, but it may not be a duck. The animal is led outside the front door. The rope which is tied to the nose of the bull is passed through the door, over the drum which is hung up inside near the coffin, up to the coffin, and put into the hand of the deceased. Then the priest says, "Your descendants are giving you this cow. Take it to Ntse's level place. There visit your ancestors for three generations." Or he may say, "This is what your children have given to you. Take it to Ntse's level country where you will meet your ancestors, and use it." This is followed by weeping on the part of the mourners. Then the priest pours out a bowl of wine for the *liu shêng* player and requests him to play and he pours out another bowl for the one who is to kill the bull and requests him to kill the animal. After drinking the wine the person takes a large knife or a hatchet or an axe and strikes the bull with the butt of it until the bull falls down stunned. Then the throat of the animal is cut and the blood caught in a large dipper from which it is dipped out into a large bucket. The skin of the animal is taken off and the animal is cut up according to a regular custom. The oldest custom was apparently to cut it up into thirty-six pieces but now it is sometimes cut up into nine pieces. A pig, a goat or a chicken is cut up into nine pieces. The head, the feet, the tail, the intestines, the stomach, the skin, the lungs and the heart are not counted. The four legs count as four parts, the liver as one part, and the remainder of the body is divided up into four parts, making a total of nine parts.

The meat is boiled, but not cooked through, and is offered up to the ancestors. Sometimes only a small piece is cut off each of the nine parts, boiled for a short while and then offered to the ancestors in nine small bowls, while wine and rice are also offered and incense and candles burnt. Then all the meat is well boiled and the friends and relatives who are present enjoy a feast. But the sons and daughters of the deceased do not eat any of this meat at this time.

Generally the next night after the bull is killed, there is a ceremony of dancing and pushing. It is performed by the strongest young men. It takes place around the ceremonial drum and in front of the coffin, to the accompaniment of the drum and the *liu shêng*. So much strength is used that sometimes furniture is smashed, one or more of the performers pushed down and the walls of the living-room broken. Legend says that this ceremony began in a family where the parent died during the summer time. He was not buried promptly and in a few days numerous maggots crawled out of the coffin and onto the floor. The mourners performed this pushing dance and while doing so trampled the maggots to death.

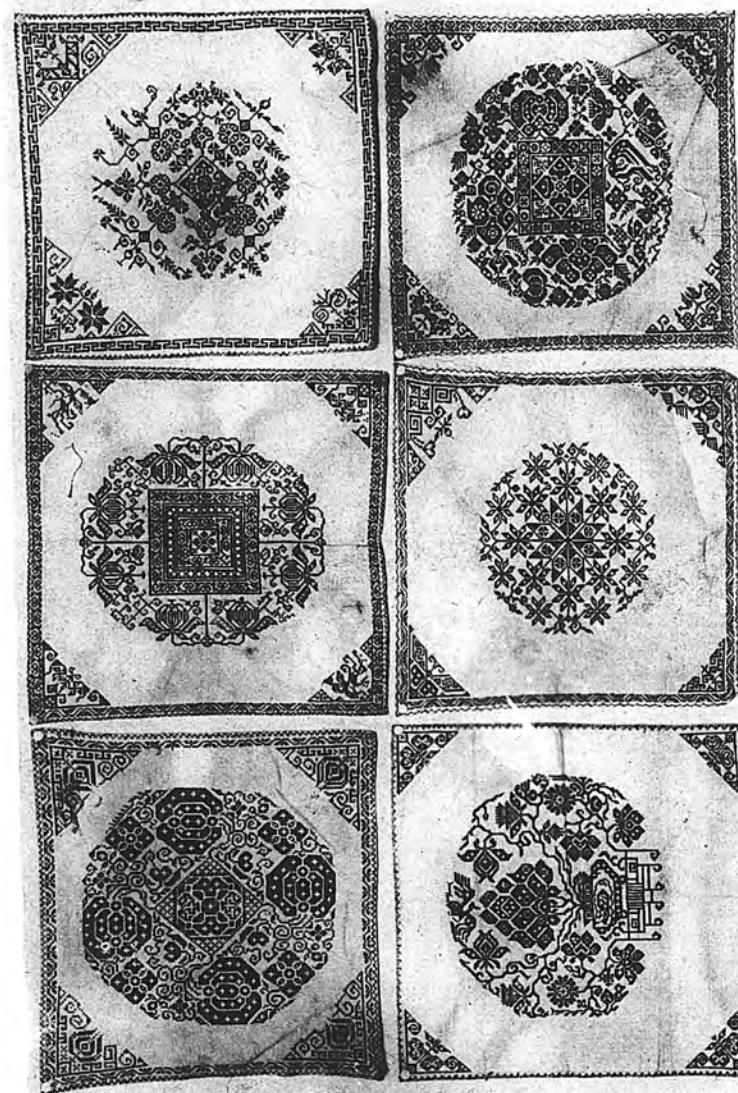
At midnight, on the last night before the burial, or after midnight, the man in charge of the ceremonies and the feast makes a report. He states the cause of the death, tells how much clothing (giving the number of each kind of garment) the descendants have prepared for the dead and how much meat, wine, rice, etc. has been consumed at the feast. He also reports, if the deceased is a male and the head of the family, how many fields, houses, beds, chairs, horses, cattle, pigs, sheep, goats, chicken, etc. and how much money the deceased has left for the children and what things are to be inherited by each child. Generally, but not always, the family divides at this time and each son becomes the head of a family.

Some of the meat of the sacrificed animal is placed on the table at this time and the near blood relatives of the deceased who are not descendants eat it. The descendants have been kneeling while the things mentioned above have been announced. They are now invited to rise. Wine is poured out for the relatives to drink. The descendants do not drink but continue weeping.

Next morning, very early, the priest throws the two pieces of bamboo used for divining unto the floor. If unfavorable, the dead is regarded as unsatisfied and then they enquire what the trouble is. The possessions may be divided wrongly, the place of burial may not be good, etc. Readjustments are made and the old relatives exhort the deceased to be contented. This is done until the cast is favorable. Then the coffin is carried out and the burial takes place.

Before the coffin is carried out, the priest puts a stool over the doorstill. Then three broken bowls are placed on the stool and burning wood or coal or charcoal is placed in the bowls. Sometimes a dry stick of wood is set on fire and used to light the way for the soul. Then the priest shoots three arrows into the house and three outside the house, standing across the doorsill as he shoots. While he is shooting the coffin is lifted up and carried out. The priest says, "I am shooting illness, pain, pestilence, quarrels, and evil things but I am not shooting living beings, domestic animals, or corn or beans. I am shooting quarrels and the places where the sun and the moon set." When he has finished speaking, he kicks over the stool. Some throw the arrows away outside the house and others carry them to the grave and stick them up on the grave to protect it.

While the corpse is being carried out the sons and daughters take the straw off the bed where the dead person slept and burn it behind the coffin to indicate that the illness has gone along to the grave with the dead. If the wind blows the smoke back into the house, people say that the illness has not yet departed and that others in the family may die.



Ch'uan Miao embroidered handkerchiefs, now in the *West China Union University Museum of Archaeology*.

An enemy who wishes to injure the descendants of a person who is being buried secretly throws tiny pieces of iron or wood onto the corpse as it lies in the coffin or into the coffin beside the corpse. If these are not removed, the descendants will suffer great injury, so just before the burial a careful search is made and all such things are carefully removed from the coffin.

Burials must be on days controlled by snakes or rabbits.

Because it is believed that the spirits of children, after death, roll hail in their hands and throw it down, making hailstorms, they tie a red cloth around the hand of a dead child before it is buried so as to prevent the child from doing such things.

Formerly the Ch'uan Miao did not take note of the *yin yang* 陰陽 and *feng shui* 風水 when arranging their graves. Now they use these principles, which they have learned from the Chinese. Chinese *feng shui* geomancers are sometimes called in to determine the place and direction of the grave, for they are considered more efficient than those of the Ch'uan Miao. Formerly the graves were parallel to the mountains but now, like those of the Chinese, they are at right angles.

For two or three nights after the burial fire is taken to the grave and on the next three mornings afterward food is taken to the grave for the newly-buried ancestor to eat.

In making the fire, twelve bamboo sticks are stuck into the ground on the road or path and six bunches of grass, called *yin pao* 陰包 are placed between the sticks. The grass is burnt but not the sticks.

On the first morning, three bamboo cups are filled with rice and some meat is wrapped up in a leaf. These are taken to the grave and left there. For the second meal, on the second day, these things are taken half-way to the grave and left on the road uncovered. On the first and second days the dead person is merely invited to eat. On the third day the food is placed on the grave and covered with thorns or twigs of bamboo and the food is left on the grave.

To understand the Ch'uan Miao memorial customs, it must be borne in mind that the Ch'uan Miao family includes not only the living but the souls of the departed ancestors for at least three generations; also that the person in Hades needs the same things that he does in this world. He must have food, clothing, money and other things, and he will find cattle, sheep, pigs and chickens useful. These must be provided by the living descendants and the dead ancestors reciprocate by protecting the living descendants and helping them to prosper. Offerings or sacrifices are simply food, money, clothing, drink, etc. given to the deceased ancestors to eat, drink, wear, and use, with the expectation that the ancestors will help the

descendants in every way. Animals are killed with the idea that a life must be given but the life of the animal becomes a living creature that can be used in the other world by the ancestor. Such sacrifices are not atonements for sin.

These memorial festivals are taken very seriously by the Ch'uan Miao. They believe that people must not imitate these festivals in play, and certainly not ridicule them. The ancestors will surely take the life of a cow or water-buffalo that is offered in pretence.

Twelve days after the funeral there is a memorial festival called in Chinese *sao ch'ieh* and in Ch'uan Miao *a'gi* or *a'si*. The ceremonial drum is not used and the bull is not sacrificed. There is no music of the *liu shêng* or beating of drums or singing of songs.

At this time, the spirit is supposed to come back and visit his former home. Ashes are sprinkled outside the front door and the friends and relatives later look in the ashes for footprints. By the footprints it can be learned whether the person is now a grown human being, or a child, or has been transformed into a fowl, a horse, a dog, or some other creature. A cock is killed and offered in a raw state to the spirit. Then it is cooked, other food is added, and the relatives and friends have a feast. This festival is observed for parents, or for brothers or sisters over three years of age.

At a later date there is a memorial service called in Chinese *tso chai* 做齋 and in Ch'uan Miao a *vang*. It must take place not less than one year after the *sao ch'ieh*, and generally takes place two or three years later, but may be delayed ten or more years if this is made necessary by poverty. Friends and relatives march in procession to the grave (some families do not go to the grave but observe the entire ceremony in the home), beating gongs and drums and playing the *liu shêng*. In this way the soul of the dead is enticed back home. Generally a cow or a water-buffalo or rarely a pig is killed and offered to the ancestor, then it is cooked and eaten by relatives and friends. This ceremony is performed for older brothers or sisters and for ancestors for three generations. The ceremonial drum and the *liu shêng* are used in this ceremony.

After death a woman carries on her back a grass mat and a man carries on his back a wide, round, shallow winnowing basket called a *po chi* 簸箕 made of bamboo and about two and half feet in diameter. These are burdensome to the souls of the dead, since they make it impossible for them to enter the palace in the level country of Ntse. The ancestors are released from these burdens during the *tso chai* ceremony and then go happily away to God's flat land where they can enter the palace and visit their ancestors.

There is a legend that in former times a Miao group or tribe called Hmo Kw'a were accustomed to kill their parents when they had become old and eat them and that their parents were glad to have them do so. It is said that the Ch'ing Miao 青苗 still call themselves Hmo Kw'a and are probably the descendants of that ancient group. It is asserted that during the *tso chai* ceremony the descendants take bread or rice cakes and with their hands mould the cakes into human form, then place them in a bamboo bowl. The *liu shêng* is played, a cow, pig, sheep or chicken is killed as an offering, and after the offering is made the image is cut up and eaten. This is thought to be a continuance of the old custom of eating the parent. It is done very secretly for a Chinese or some other person might ask for an explanation and it would be difficult to give an acceptable reply.

Later, after an indefinite period, there is a ceremony called in Chinese *ch'ao chien* 超薦 and in Chuan Miao *tso mo*. The custom is to dig up the corpse, throw away or burn up the old coffin, carefully wash the bones, place a new coffin in the old or in a new grave and new garments in the coffin, arrange the bones in their natural order on top of the clothing, carefully fold the edges of the clothing over the bones, put the lid on the coffin, and cover the coffin with dirt. This is still performed by many Ch'uan Miao. It is noteworthy that the same custom, which is rapidly disappearing, is found among the Chinese in Fukien Province.

It is thought that because the dead person cannot turn over, he or she becomes very tired and uncomfortable. After from three to ten years the corpse is dug up. The bones are washed with "fire wine" 火酒, then they are rubbed with mustard oil. If the bones are black, the burial place is not good and the corpse must be reburied in a new place else the descendants will not prosper. If the bones are yellow or white, the place is lucky and the reburial should be in the same spot, and the descendants will prosper. During this ceremony the demon drum is used, the *liu shêng* is played to the accompaniment of dancing and appropriate songs are sung. A cow or a pig is sacrificed and there are offerings to the ancestors and a feast. Sometimes the person presiding, called *mo*, places in a bamboo basket a chopstick for each deceased ancestor and during the ceremony hangs the basket on a beam of the house. The results of this ceremony are that the deceased ancestor who is reburied is comfortable and the descendants have less illness and prosper.

I have been told by a Miao living at Chou Chia Kou 周家溝 that in that locality they no longer dig up the coffin, wash the bones and provide a new coffin and clothing but that instead they make a tiny wooden coffin and garments only a few inches long and burn these with paper or spirit money in the

belief that they are transformed by burning into a real coffin, clothes and money that can be used by the dead person. This local variation is evidently due to the influence of Chinese burial customs.

Another memorial ceremony is called *hua t'an* in Chinese and a *gi bang* or a *gei bang* in Ch'uan Miao. It is performed in one of the homes and is participated in by friends and relatives having the same name. It takes place about once in three years and lasts from one day and one night to three days and three nights.

A bull is killed and its hide may be used to cover the ceremonial drum. If the old drum has been broken, a new one is made and the skin of the bull used to cover it.¹⁵ Friends with the same family name come, each man bringing with him a load of wood. The water is carried by the women. Each family contributes some rice, corn, wine, money, or some other thing that is needed. The meat of the bull and the rice, corn, wine, and other edibles are offered to the ancestors after which there is a feast.

The drum is hung up on a wooden beam on which a wooden gourd is also hung. People of the same surname beat the drum, play the *liu shêng* and sing songs. Several men put on women's clothes and impersonate women. Twelve men impersonate cows, six arranged on each side. One who acts as a cow goes into the cowpen and an old person drives him out into the main room. Girls bring bowls of sweet wine for

15. The following is a brief account of the ceremony with a few notes. The drum must be made according to a certain pattern. The relatives come together and the ancestors are first commemorated. The *yin yang kua* 陰陽卦 are washed as a means of washing the faces of the ancestors. While washing the ancestors' faces, the names of the deceased ancestors for three generations are called and they are invited to be present. The wine is offered. Then the cow is washed and offered to the ancestors. Then one person leads the cow and one carries a hatchet or axe. After this the cow is struck dead with the axe. The the cow's head is cut off, the animal is skinned and the drum is covered with the skin. The hair of the skin is outside and the hairless part of the skin is inside, next to the wood. The drum is hung up and wine is sprinkled on it from someone's mouth. Then the skin is allowed to dry, after which the hair is scraped off with knives. Then more wine is sprinkled out of the mouth onto the drum and the drum is left hanging on a beam to dry. Later one person beats the drum to the accompaniment of the *liu shêng* and the man playing the *liu shêng* dances. There is rejoicing in people's hearts because of the ancestors and because there is a new ceremonial drum. They beat the drum and play the *liu shêng* with dancing all night and in the morning, after having breakfast together, they disperse. Between the times when the drum is used it is left in the home of the local headman. After the drum is used it is returned to the local headman who is given some meat. This is the outstanding ceremonial instrument of the Ch'uan Miao and is believed to be very potent.



Ch'uan Miao embroidered pendants worn by the women suspended from the belt. In the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology.

him to drink and make horns of rice biscuits which they put on his head. Then two girls herd six cows to the left and six to the right. Then the *liu shêng* is played, and while it is being played the twelve cows fight. Some of the cows as supposed to be killed. The people pretend to offer the cows that are killed to the ancestors and then to eat them. Those who do not die are left to do farm work and to get married. Four dressed as girls pretend to get married to four of the cows. After the marriage the four men play the *liu shêng* and dance, two women play flutes, one woman makes music on a tree leaf and one woman carries an imitation baby, pretending to suckle it and to bestow affection upon it. The women rub soot upon the faces of the men until their faces are black. Then those who are playing the *liu shêng* beat the child. About daybreak, the dummy child is beaten to pieces and the ceremony soon ends. The drum is sometimes carried to a cliff and rolled down the cliff or simply laid down on the side of the mountain after which the people disperse.

It is noteworthy that all Ch'uan Miao who have the same name can participate in this ceremony, not merely those who are known to be related. It indicates that the clan idea still survives and that all having the same surname are regarded as relatives.

There is a special ceremony to make offerings to the souls of the domestic animals. It occurs on the third day of the third lunar month or on a cow day (a day controlled by the cow or the water-buffalo) during the first few days of the eleventh moon. It is generally performed on tops of hills or mountains or on mountain passes. A level place is always sought for the ceremony which is continued for from three to eight days.

The ceremony occurs once in three years. One family gives it and provides most of the food and wine although others assist. The purpose is to secure sons and daughters, to cause crops to prosper and to protect the domestic animals from wild beasts and from pestilences and to cause them to multiply.

A tree is cut off about as high as a man's head and the ceremonial drum is hung up on the stump. The tree is called in Chinese a *hua shu* 花樹 or a flower tree. Near the tree a bull is killed while the drum is being beaten and the *liu shêng* is being played and it is offered with wine to the animal spirits. Then several men playing the *liu shêng* and dancing parade three times to the left around the tree, then three times to the right. All this time the ceremonial drum is being beaten.

After the parade, playing the *lin shêng* and dancing continues and songs are sung. The singing sometimes becomes a contest to see who can remember and sing the most songs. After each song the singer ties a knot somewhere on the tree or on his person so that after the contest the knots can be counted and the winner determined. Of course during these ceremonies the animal that is sacrificed is cooked, wine, rice, corn and vegetables are added and there is a feast.

VI. THE CALENDAR AND THE CALENDAR FESTIVALS

The Ch'uan Miao use the lunar calendar like the Chinese from whom they have probably learned it. There are normally twelve months in the year but sometimes thirteen. The month has thirty days and is divided into three periods of ten days each. Through the Chinese the Ch'uan Miao are becoming acquainted with the western calendar.

As among the Chinese, there are twelve creatures with reference to whom lucky and unlucky days are determined. These are the rat, the cow or water-buffalo, the tiger, the hare, the dragon, the snake, the horse, the sheep or goat, the monkey, the cock, the dog and the pig. The hours, days, months and years are controlled by these creatures in succession. The lucky creatures are the cow or water-buffalo, the dragon, the dog, the pig, the sheep or goat, the horse, and the cock. The unlucky are the monkey, the rat, the snake, the hare and the tiger. The days, months and years controlled by the unlucky creatures are unlucky and those controlled by the lucky creatures are lucky. Important journeys should not be begun, sales made or projects started on unlucky days. But engagements should be made on dog and on dragon days, and burials on snake or on rabbit days. The souls of animals are sometimes commemorated in the eleventh moon on cow days.

The seasonal or calendar festivals are as follows:—

The first day of the first moon, or New Year's Day. New leaves of the tea tree are used to symbolize the fact that the new year has come and tea is made from these leaves. Biscuits or *pa pa* 粿粿 are made of rice, corn, or some other kind of grain and bean curd is cooked. After offering these things to the deceased ancestors, with sweetmeats, the descendants have a family meal at which they eat the same things. The ancestors must be invited to this meal.

The second day of the first moon. On this day the ancestors rest. There are no ceremonies of commemoration and no offerings, although the ancestors are regarded as present. The living play and enjoy themselves.

The third day of the first moon. The same edibles are offered to the ancestors as on the first day after which there is a family meal at which the same things are eaten. Then the ancestors are ceremoniously sent away to the level land of Ntso. That is, they are sent away with kind and respectful words and sometimes imitation paper money is burnt for the use of the ancestors in Hades.

The fifteenth day of the first moon. The wife may visit her parents on this day. Wine, cooked rice and pork or some other kind of meat are offered to the ancestors, after which the family has a meal at which the same things are eaten. At this festival the ancestors must be invited to come.

The third day of the third moon. Many visit the graves on this day and make offerings to the ancestors. It is fitting for young brides to visit their parents at this time. At this festival the deceased ancestors must be invited to come and enjoy the feast.

The fifth day of the fifth moon, the *tuan yang* 端陽 festival. Weddings are likely to occur on this day and the ancestors are commemorated as on New Year Day. Offerings are made, and the ancestors must be invited to come and to partake, after which there is the usual family meal in which the same things are eaten as have been offered to the ancestors.

The ceremony of tasting new grain. After the rice and corn have ripened and often before it is harvested, there is a ceremony called *shang hsin* 嚐新 or "taste new." Nobody will eat the new grain until this ceremony has been performed. Each home fixes the date as it pleases regardless of other families. Some of the new grain is picked and offered, with vegetables, meat and wine, to the ancestors, after which there is a family meal. Formerly a certain kind of green bird had to be killed and offered up at this festival but now it is no longer necessary. The idea seems to be that before the living can eat any of the new grain some of it must be offered to the ancestors.

The thirteenth day of the seventh moon. On this day the ancestors return without being invited. They are offered wine, rice, corn, pork, chicken and vegetables, after which there is the usual family meal. Paper or spirit money is burnt as an offering, which was not formerly done.

The fifteenth day of the eighth moon. The same offerings are made as on the thirteenth day of the seventh moon, including paper money, but the ancestors must be invited to come and to partake. This is the Chinese *chong ch'iu* 中秋 festival.

The ninth day of the ninth moon. The offerings are the same as on the fifteenth day of the eighth moon and the

tirteenth day of the seventh moon and there is a similar family meal. The ancestors must be invited to come.

The first day of the tenth moon. The ancestors must be invited to come. Biscuits, called *pa pa* in Chinese, are made of rice or some other grain. They are first offered to the ancestors and then they are eaten by the family. No other food or drink is offered or eaten.

The thirtieth day of the twelfth moon. At this time the ancestors are welcomed back home. A stone is sometimes heated red hot, then placed outside the front door and water poured on it. Biscuits and tea are offered to the ancestors then wine and later rice and meat, but no vegetables. Beef, pork, and chicken can be used. After these have been offered to the ancestors, there is the usual family meal in which the same things are eaten.

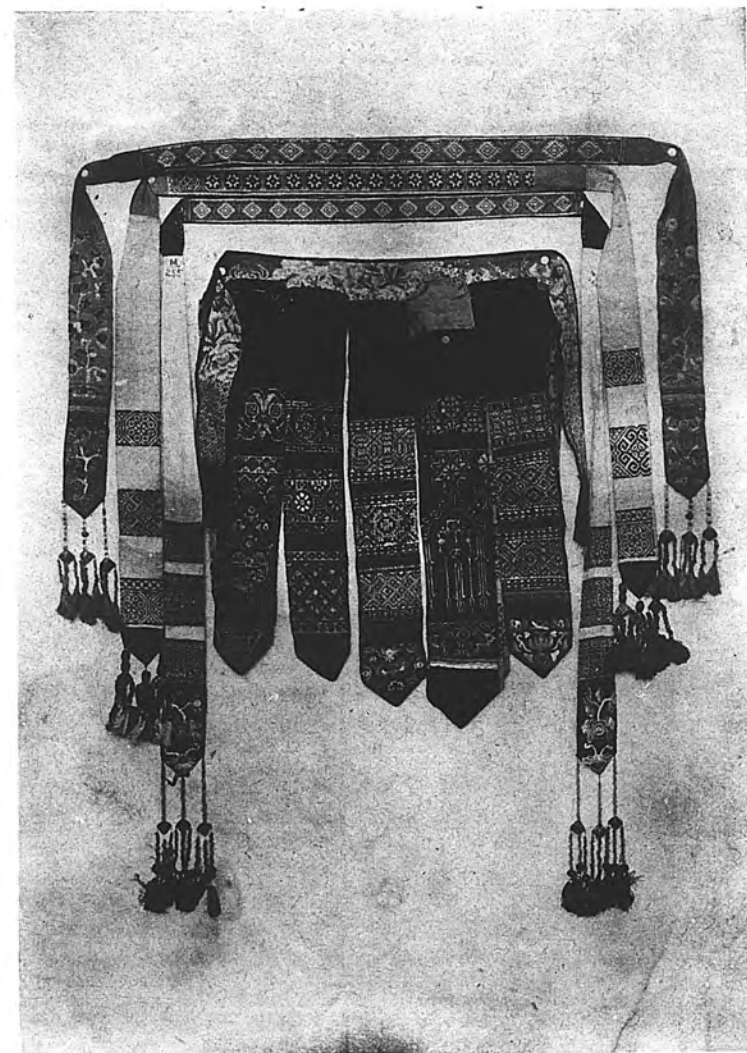
It should be noted that these calendar festivals correspond very closely to those of the Chinese in West China and that the commemorating of and making of offerings to the deceased ancestors is the primary concern in all of them.

VII. THE LANGUAGE

The language of the Ch'uan Miao is monosyllabic and tonal. The verb follows the subject and the object the verb, but the adjective follows the noun. Instead of saying the black dog it is customary to say the dog black.

Among the sounds to be distinguished are the aspirate and the nonaspirate, the French *j*, the dental *t*, the nasal *n*, the Welsh *l* and an uvular *g*. An initial *n* or *m* before other consonants is more common than in most other languages. For instance, the word *nts'ao* means grass and *mba* means pig. One distinction of sound is nothing else than a stronger emphasis in pronouncing the word or sound. For instance, the word *ma* meaning have is pronounced with the ordinary stress but the words *ma* for buy and *ma* for sell must be pronounced with a greater stress of voice.

It is commonly believed that the language has five tones. The fact is that it has nine tones. The first tone is high, and the voice is kept level. The second tone is the lowest, and is also level. Their difference in tone is about one octave. The third tone begins at one and descends almost to two. The fourth begins at the second and ascends almost to one. The fifth is half-way between one and two and corresponds to the Chinese fifth tone. The sixth begins at five and descends to two. The seventh is about half-way between five and one and is pronounced with a slightly greater stress of voice than the others. The eighth begins at five and ascends to one. The ninth is about half-way between five and two, is level,



Ch'uan Miao women's embroidered hat bands and pendants worn suspended from the belt. In the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology.

and is the most common and difficult to distinguish.¹⁶

The Chinese language in West China has four tones with five in some localities but in some parts of Fukien, Kwangtung and Kwangsi the language spoken has eight or nine tones. There are Ch'uan Miao legends which indicate that they came to Szechwan from Kwangtung or Kwangsi.

During recent centuries, the Ch'uan Miao language, like their customs, has been greatly influenced by the Chinese. Take, for instance, the comparative and the superlative of adjectives and adverbs. To make the comparative the word xau is spoken before the positive. To make the superlative the word xAn is spoken after the comparative.

Thus:

positive		comparative		superlative.
ʒo good		xao ʒo better		ʒo xAn best
ʒau poor		xao ʒau poorer		ʒau xAn poorest
ju small		xao ju smaller		ju xAn smallest
lo large		xao lo larger		lo xAn largest

The word xao is evidently the Chinese word xao 好, hao for food which may be used in Chinese in the sense of very and the word xAn is the Chinese word xAn 很, hèn for both the pronunciation and the tones are exactly the same in the Ch'uan Miao and in the Chinese languages. It is significant that the Ch'uan Miao cannot express the comparative and the superlative without the use of Chinese words.

There is a goodly nucleus of Ch'uan Miao words that are non-Chinese and which are to be found in various Miao dialects in Kweichow, Yunnan and even in Tongkin. There are also many words that are evidently of Chinese origin. The Chinese word for chair is 椅子 tzu³. The Ch'uan Miao word is i² tzu³ ʒi tsə or i tsə. The Chinese word for man in Szechwan is 人 n and the Ch'uan Miao word is nAn. A very common Ch'uan Miao word for love is nia and the Chinese is 愛 (ai). Occasionally a Chinese word that has been adopted is given a slightly different pronunciation and a different tone.

16. The following diagram may help to distinguish Ch'uan Miao tones.



VIII. LEGENDS

It has already been stated that much of the history and folklore of the Ch'uan Miao has been put into verse from and is sung or chanted by the men and women on various occasions so that they are handed down as songs from generation to generation. There are of course some legends that are not in verse form and are not sung and much of the past history of the group has been lost, but there seems to be no poetry among these people that is not sung or chanted.

It is a well-known fact that the stories spread from group to group and that some stories have spread over most of the world. No doubt some of the Ch'uan Miao legends and stories have been learned from other cultural groups, but many have originated among the Ch'uan Miao themselves. There are old men and women who know hundreds of these legends and songs and gladly teach them to younger people. It is said, however, that many of the young folk are not learning them so that in a few generations they may be forgotten. This will be a real loss for they reflect the history, experiences, customs, ideals, and presuppositions of the people.

Among the great variety of songs and legends one is historical. There are occasionally to be found in these stories bits of history that have not been recorded in any book. One story tells of the final defeat of the Miao in Kiangsi Province. According to this legend, the Chinese then had guns and cannon. I myself heard the old Ch'uan Miao sing this legend and took it down sentence by sentence as it was translated into Chinese for me by a Ch'uan Miao friend. Those who sang and translated the song knew very little about Kwangtung and Kiangsi Provinces. Another legend tells of a forced migration to Szechwan with their hands tied behind their backs. Still another tells of the settlement of the first Ch'uan Miao at Wang Wu Chai 王武寨. Going farther back into history, there are legends that indicate that their ancestors lived in a land where there were Chinese and also camels; this land surely must have been in North China. There are legends that say, "My ancestors lived in a hot southern climate," and describe conditions that point to a land in the south beyond the frontiers of China. There are stories that reflect conditions in a late neolithic age, or at least an age before metal was in common use, as for instance the story of the man who killed a bear by striking it with a stone axe. One very interesting story tells how monkeys lost their tails by sitting on them and so gradually became men.

The legend about the defeat of the Miao by the Chinese in Kwangtung is as follows:—

"The heavens are empty, the earth is small. The Chinese arose and fought us Miao. When we heard this evil news, when the Chinese reached Kwangtung, they brought cannon

and guns and we were much afraid. When they had conquered Kiangsi, the Miao T'ien Ho 天火 (fire from heaven) blew his bugle, and Earth Fire 地火 took up his sword and curved bows and mustered soldiers as far as the horizon. The Chinese in attacking the Miao towns fought rapidly, attacking quickly, and even chickens and dogs were frightened. The Miao soldiers went and fought them but the Chinese broke open the Miao cities. The Chinese soldiers, when they saw the Miao soldiers covering the surrounding hills, were unable to hold back the Miao soldiers and fled and took refuge on the cliffs. The Chinese used a trick, making boats and chariots, filling them with soldiers, and came again to fight the Miao. The Miao were then defeated. The Chinese took possession of the Miao land and ordered the Miao to make them three thousand bows and arrows. The Miao could not oppose them and took refuge in caves."

It is not impossible that the migration of the Ch'uan Miao to Szechwan occurred under Yung Cheng 雍正 about the year 1733.

There is a legend that seems to imply a blood relationship between the Chinese and the Miao. It states that originally the Chinese and the Miao were one family. They were two brothers. The Miao was the older, the more powerful and the more respected brother and the Chinese was the younger. The parents died and were buried. The brothers separated and lost all trace of each other. They both commemorated their ancestors at the same grave but at different times so that they did not meet. The younger brother, the Chinese, worshipped later in the year, so that the older brother noticed that somebody was worshipping at the grave of his parents. "Who is doing this and for what reason?" he asked. Then he began to watch and caught the younger brother. A disagreement ensued. They did not recognize each other so each blamed the other for worshipping at his ancestral grave. Instead of fighting, they went to law about it. The official asked the Miao, "What evidence have you that this is your ancestral grave?" He replied, "I have buried a millstone a certain distance to the right of the grave." He asked the younger brother the same question. He answered, "I have buried a brass gong a certain distance to the left of the grave." The official sent men to dig and found both the millstone and the gong. Then it became known that the two men were brothers. But in the centuries that followed the descendants of the two brothers grew apart and forgot their common ancestry so that the Chinese have forgotten it altogether. Moreover, the Chinese descendants have become more and more powerful and numerous so that the Miao are now the younger and weaker brothers and the Chinese are the older and stronger brothers.

There is a variation of this legend which states that when the two brothers first separated they took a brass gong and broke it in two, each brother burying his piece near the grave. Later, at the official investigation, the two parts fitted together, proving their common ancestry.

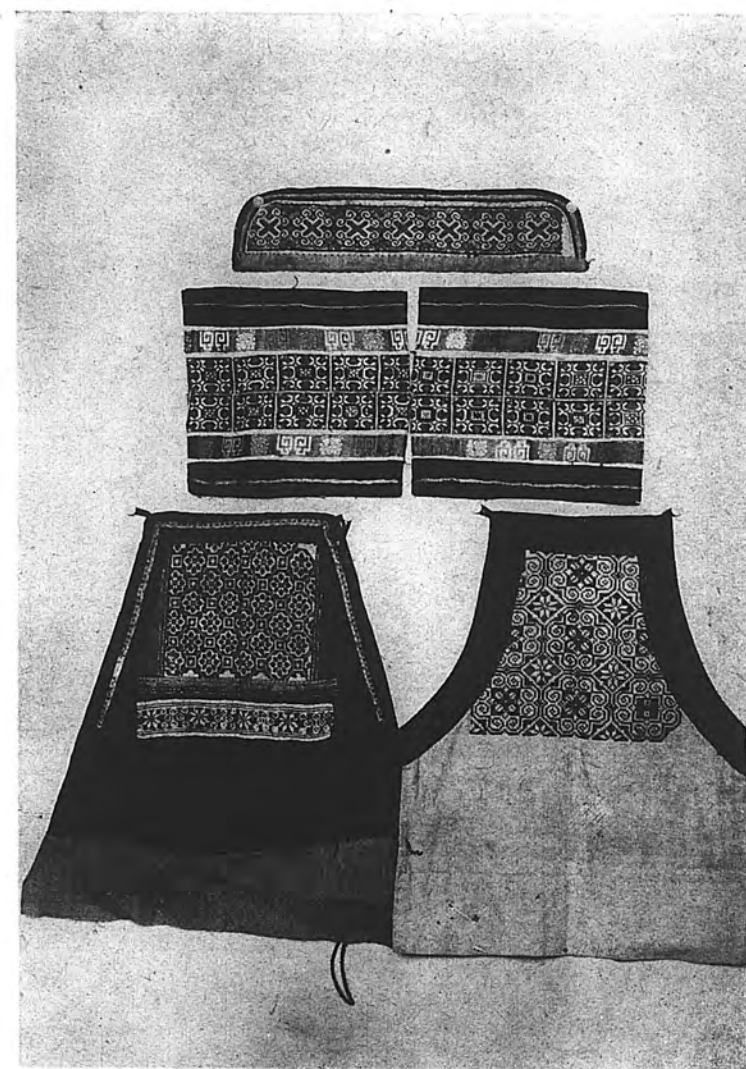
The Ch'uan Miao trace their ancestry to a female ancestor called Na Bo Hmo Ntsə or the Miao mother named Ntsə.

One legend is that of P'an Ku 盤古, a great superman who with his hammer and chisel carved out the sky and the earth. The Chinese also have this legend and it is a question whether the Miao learned it from the Chinese or the Chinese from the Miao. An interesting fact is that this was not a creation of original materials but a shaping of the sky and the earth out of substances that already existed.

Savina found among the Miao of Tongkin the Biblical story of the flood, the tower of Babylon, the confusion of tongues, and a migration across northern Asia, finally reaching Tongkin. I have always suspected that the Miao of Tongkin learned these stories in recent times from Christian sources. I have not found the slightest trace of them among the Ch'uan Miao.

The story of the flood as I have learned it from Ch'uan Miao friends is as follows. Two brothers were hoeing a piece of land in order to plant a crop. Every morning when they returned to the field they found the soil turned back as it had been before they began work. One night, they kept watch to see who was doing this and saw an old man come onto the field and begin turning the soil back. When they asked for an explanation, the old man said, "It is useless for you to plant a crop. The world will be flooded and all the crops will be ruined and all the people will be drowned." Then they went and asked ㄗㄟ sAu what to do about it. He advised each of them to make a large tub or barrel and to get into it when the flood arose. So the younger brother made a wooden tub and the older brother made one of iron. When the rains descended and the floods came, each brother got into his tub. The iron tub sank and the older brother was drowned but the wooden tub floated and so the younger brother was saved.

There is a variation of this story by which a brother and a sister were saved from the flood. There were no other people on earth, but they were brother and sister and had the same name, so it was not right for them to marry. They made three tests which finally proved to their satisfaction that it was the will of Ntsə that they should marry. One of these tests was the rolling of two round stones from opposite sides of a gulch or canyon. Their stopping together was a proof of the will of Ntsə that they should marry. Savina says that in the legend as he received it, it was not



Ch'uan Miao embroidered neckband, sleeves, and breast covers.
In the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology

clear whether the two stones were two round pieces of a stonegrinder or not. The Ch'uan Miao assured me that they were not two round pieces of a stone grinder but merely two round stones and that they rolled down from opposite hill-or mountain-sides, the opposite sides of a canyon.

Another kind of legend is that which gives an explanation for Ch'uan Miao customs. There are many of them and not a few of the customs here described were first learned about in a legend. As an illustration I will tell the story of the origin of raising chickens.

A man was walking through the woods. A pheasant flew out cackling and the man found some pheasant chicks. These he took home and fed and gradually they became very tame and grew up as pets. The family liked them so much that they did not kill them and eat them. When these chicks grew up they laid eggs and hatched out more chicks which in turn grew up. This family gave some of the fowl to other families and gradually people learned to raise chickens.

There are many love songs or songs that relate the experiences of lovers, for the Ch'uan Miao have had their share of Romeos and Juliets. Some of these songs tell of love between men and their wives or between men and women whom they love and wish to marry, but probably ninety percent of the love songs tell of love affairs between married men and women who are not their wives or between married women and men who are not their husbands, or between unmarried people who do not expect to get married, and in nearly all of these cases it is stated or implied that there was sexual intercourse between them. It seems to be assumed that love between the sexes will result in sexual intercourse and the pure love song that plays such a large part in the literature of the world is hard to find.

IX. RELIGION AND WORLD VIEW

In my opinion the Ch'uan Miao are a very religious people, but they have no religious organization, no images of gods, and no temples. Through their daily toil, by the help of their ancestors and the gods, and through their religious ceremonies, they hope to achieve a satisfying life in which the basal needs of food, sex, protection or security, and play and amusement are satisfied. Two of the fundamentals in the Ch'uan Miao religion are belief in demons which cause disease and other calamities and for whose exorcism ceremonies are required, and the ancestral cult with its ceremonial offerings and commemoration.

I can hardly affirm that the Ch'uan Miao believe that the world is flat. The untutored Miao does not know that the world is round, but he sees and climbs and farms so many hills and cliffs and mountains that he regards the world as only comparatively flat. The world has an end somewhere, but he has no conception of its size.

Above the sky, or rather on it, is a level land where the souls remain after death with the souls of their ancestors. This paradise is Ntsə ni lAu GAu bi or the level land of Ntsə. There are no hills to climb and there is neither sickness nor death. The sun shines every day. Although there are no rainstorms there is no lack of moisture. Those who live there do not farm but find in the forests such things to eat as berries and fruit, as people are supposed to have done on earth in very ancient times. They are given food, clothing and money by their descendants through the memorial and calendar festivals. It is a good place to live in but not as good as this world. There is a ladder to the sky, but ordinarily mortals cannot go up. Some have swooned away and returned and related to their friends what they saw in the level land of Ntsə.

Under this earth there is another world inhabited by dwarfs. These are called in Chinese *sao pa jên* 掃把人 or broom people, because they are as tall as small Chinese brooms or about two feet high. They farm and have their own king, soldiers and government. They live very much as people on this earth, but they have much smaller houses, farms, etc. One Miao fell into dwarfland through a hole in the floor of the emperor's palace, and later came back to the earth through a crack in the ground caused by a drought. When rain finally came, the ground swelled and closed up the crack.

In a special region dragons live or at least the king of dragons lives there. Other stories are told of fishermen who hooked the king of dragons or other dragons with fishhooks in rivers and creeks. To reach the palace of the dragon king it is always necessary to go down through pools of water. When the palace is reached, everything is normal and dry.

There is a special region where demons live where it is always dark. People rarely go there although certain legends describe it.

The Chinese idea of three principal souls or *hun* 魂 and seven lesser souls or *p'o* 魄 is accepted by these people. The *hun* are called in Ch'uan Miao *pl'ei* and the *p'o* are called *mp'o*. Of the three principal souls, one remains in the tomb, one goes to Ntsə's level country. One stays among the beams under the roof of the house. On the other hand, one is supposed to be reincarnated. The ideas of reincarnation and of the three *hun* and seven *p'o* were learned evidently from the Chinese; my impression is that they have not been well assimilated.

The soul, if we may speak of it in the singular, is about the size of a person. It is not flesh, but shadowy. It is generally invisible but not invariably so. Some say that if a person is good his soul is larger and that if he is evil his soul is smaller. The soul does not sleep when a person sleeps. It may wander away and if it does not return the person dies. All birds, animals, and many inanimate things have souls. These include trees, rocks, rivers, and mountains.

The shadow is a vital part of a human being. If a mad dog bites a man's shadow, it will kill him. It is worse for a man's shadow to be bitten or cut with a knife than for his body to be bitten or cut. Many of the Ch'uan Miao identify one's shadow with his soul. Therefore at night they place the lamps on low tables or stools so that the souls or shadows will be large and frighten away the demons. Some think the souls are small after death so that they must climb up into bowls in order to eat or drink.

The Ch'uan Miao sometimes find it difficult to say that rocks, trees, mountains, and such things have souls, and find it more natural to say that they have lives, are intelligent, have eyes, and can see. But some assert that the life and the soul are the same. In offering the sacrificial animal, a life must be given and the life becomes a living animal in the world of spirits. It seems to me that the life idea was probably held by the Ch'uan Miao before the Chinese idea of three major and seven lesser souls was absorbed.

The doctrine of transmigration, and its attendant theory of cause and effect as influencing rebirth into this world, seem to be assumed and believed. But I have been unable to find much evidence that they have any considerable influence on the thinking and living of these people. Ch'uan Miao friends have told me that cause and effect, or *yin kuo* 因果, are among the things that they regard as living and that it is generally assumed that the dead person will be reborn into this world as a human being.

Demons are the souls of people, of birds and animals, of mountains, and of other kinds of inanimate things. If a person has no descendants to care for him, or if his descendants are unfilial and do not pay proper respect to him and do not offer him the necessary food, clothing, money, etc., then he may become a demon. Demons inhabiting rivers and creeks are the souls of people who have been drowned and who try to drown others. The demons of people who have hanged themselves try to cause others to do likewise. Some demons living in caves harm people; these develop from the vapor within the caves. (Probably this idea was caused by the presence of poisonous gases in caves).

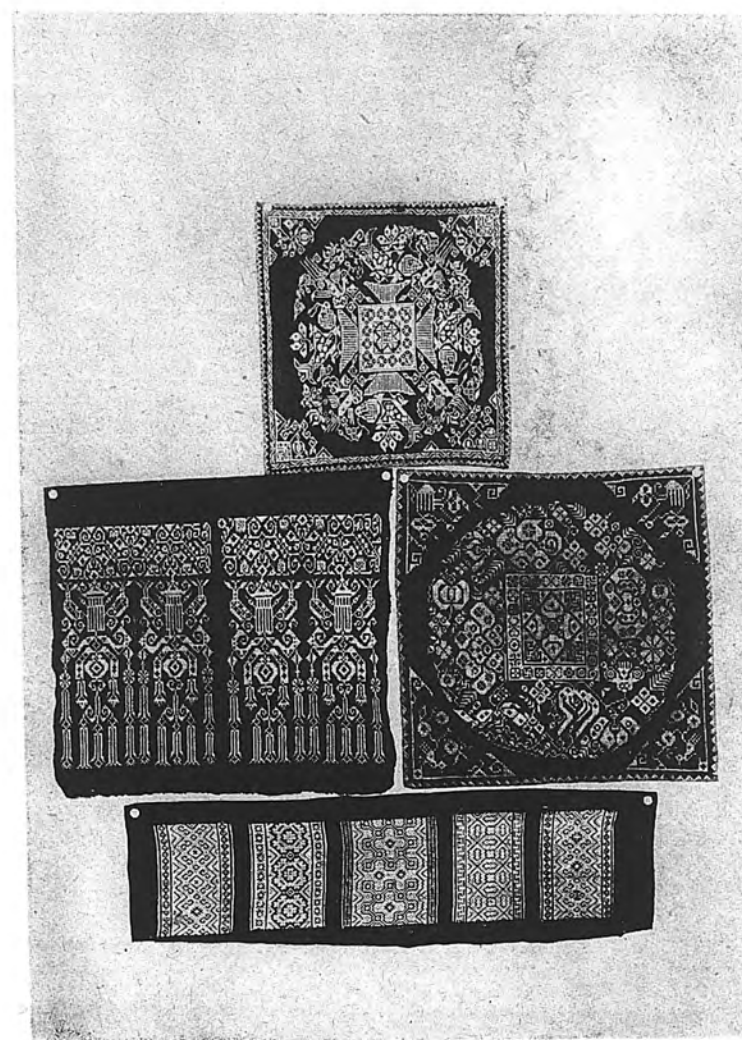
Demons that are human souls are called gla^o but the demons that are the souls of cows, water-buffalo, sheep, goats, pigs, cats, dogs, chickens and ducks are called ts'ao. These appear in the forms of the creatures whose souls they are. They injure people, often causing babies to die. There is a demon that comes out of caves that is called a bo tsao. It may change into creatures that eat people or cause pains and sickness. Mountain demons are called gla^o To or gla^o bi and sometimes cause people to die. What is called in Chinese a *yao ch'i* 妖氣 or a *chin ch'i* 精氣 is the demon of a snake, a frog, or a toad, etc.

When a person is crazy or speaks in a meaningless or a silly way, it is called gla^o lo or demon talk. It is thought that the person is possessed by a demon and that the demon is speaking through him.

The gods or idols of the Chinese are regarded as demons and are called gla^o mjao. The first word means demon but the Ch'uan Miao do not know the meaning of the second word. It seems to me that it must have come from the Chinese word for temple 廟 so that the phrase might mean "demon in the Chinese temple." Here we have a parallel to what happened in ancient times in Persia and in India. The two branches of the Aryan race became enemies and with the two hostile people the gods of one became the demons of the other.

The Ch'uan Miao believe that a person should not kill too many wild animals. If he does, their souls will become demons and will avenge themselves by killing him. There was a family of famous hunters named Hsiung. The father with the dogs was driving the game out of the woods. A son was waiting to shoot the game on a path where they were likely to come. He thought his father was a wild boar and shot him dead. It was thought that the souls of the animals they had killed had caused this to happen.

In the minds of the Ch'uan Miao, as shown by their legends and confirmed by their own statements, people may change easily into tigers, cows, fish, foxes, snakes, rats, crabs, frogs, banana trees and vines, and from these back into persons. People most commonly turn into tigers. Those whose names are Wang in Chinese and Tang in Ch'uan Miao T'ao in Chinese and glo or black in Ch'uan Miao and to some extent those whose names in Chinese are Chang, frequently change into tigers and back again into human beings, but it is less common for others to do so unless a witch, called in Ch'uan Miao bo ntsong, bewitches them. She changes men into tigers and women into witches like herself; these bewitch others in the same way. She and the women she has bewitched may look like human beings or may be inv'sible and more or less fromless.



Ch'uan Miao embroidery—a halbard, two handkerchiefs, and an apron cloth—In the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology

A tiger often changes into a good person. A woman who has changed into a tiger is called in Chinese a *lao pien p'o* 老變婆 or an old woman who changes. She looks like a dead person or is formless and invisible. Or she may look like a visible woman but when she thinks of being transformed into a demon she smiles and when she thinks of being transformed into a human being she weeps. She goes in front of a tiger to make a way for him and if a trap or a trap-gun is set to injure the tiger she removes it so the tiger will not be hurt. The first son of a family named T'ao, Wang or Chang can change easily into a tiger and the first daughter can change easily into a *lao pien p'o*. A fox can assume the form of a man and entice a woman to sexual intercourse. Afterwards the woman has pains and develops spots where the skin dries up. If she is not cured, she gradually dies and changes into a fox. A very large snake called in Chinese a *mang she* 蟒蛇 may transform itself into a man or a woman and entice a person to have sexual relations with him or her. The result is that the person pines away and dies unless a *tuan kung* 端公 can overcome the snake and save the person. The supposed snake may be killed and its liver given the patient to eat; this cures him. Imagination and suggestion probably have a great deal to do with such sicknesses and cures. Banana trees, vines, rats, frogs, and eels may also change into human form and entice a human being to sexual intercourse with the result that the person becomes ill and dies unless saved by the help of the *tuan kung*.

There are god-like beings that are believed in by the Ch'uan Miao but who are not formally worshipped. The greatest god is Ntsə. He controls the heaven and the earth but lives in the sky. The paradise to which the souls of the dead go, as we have seen, is the level land of Ntsə. A Miao told me that Ntsə is the very highest, the ultimate, and that he is everywhere, can be in the lowest place and is compassionate and most powerful.

Ntsə sometimes sends his daughter to succor poor and unfortunate men. This has been noted by Savina in his book on the Miao of Tongkin. Sometimes she becomes, at least temporarily, the man's wife.

Another name, Ntsə Njong ㄋㄣˊ ㄋㄨㄥ, means god, foundation, old. One can imagine easily that it means Ntsə the foundation of the universe. Some Ch'uan Miao identify Ntsə Njong ㄋㄣˊ ㄋㄨㄥ with Ntsə but in the minds of others it is not very clear.

Another deity-like being is Yei SΛu or ㄚㄟ ㄙㄨ. He is very intelligent, never dies, is very kindly and merciful, is just, induces people to do good deeds and helps people who are in trouble, especially the poor. He is sometimes seen among the clouds and can easily make himself invisible.

Among the Ch'iang 羌 there is a mediator between A-ba-ch'i or the Father in Heaven and the priest, called Njei Dsu or Njei Su, which is much like the Nestorian word for Jesus. Rev. J. Huston Edgar told me that among the Tibetans there is a similar name for a similar being. The Ch'uan Miao name Yei SΛu or ㄚㄟ SΛu is not a great deal different from the Chinese name for Jesus, Yeh Su 耶穌. It is not impossible that the Njei Dsu or the Njei Su of the Ch'iang and the Yei SΛu or ㄚㄟ SΛu of the Ch'uan Miao may both be a dim and not too distinct tradition of Jesus that has come down from the distant past from the Nestorians, the Manichaeans, the Buddhists, or even the early Catholics. But the Ch'uan Miao had no idea of connecting the tradition of Yei SΛu or ㄚㄟ SΛu with Jesus until I suggested it to them. A slightly different pronunciation sometimes met among the Ch'uan Miao is ㄚㄟ SΛu in which ㄚㄟ means an old man and SΛu means an immortal.

It is asserted that formerly the dragon was fierce and ate people, but that now he is regarded as harmless and benevolent. This change is probably due to Chinese influence. The dragon king is often mentioned in the legends. He lives in a palace and is reached by going down through a pool of water. He causes it to rain. He often sends a daughter to help and save an unfortunate man, especially an orphan or a person who is very poor and she generally becomes his wife, at least temporarily.

There is a young woman who lives in the sky, who is called in Ch'uan Miao, Ts'i Ma Niang Tsai. She is very compassionate and especially shows mercy to and helps unfortunate children.

The witch, Bo Ntsong, who has already been mentioned, changes men into tigers and women into witches like herself.

There is a warty toad, called in Chinese *lai ke pao* 癞格包 who causes hailstorms. People shoot off guns during hailstorms to scare the toad and cause it to cease, and this of course stops the hailstorms.

In some homes a family god symbolizes the ancestors. He is represented by some spirit money which the *tuan kung* 端公 pastes up in center of the rear of the main room, sprinkling some chicken blood on it. It is an imitation of the Chinese god or *chia shên* 家神 on which are inscribed the words *t'ien ti chün ch'in shih wei*, 天地君親師位.

The high respect in which the deceased ancestors are held has already been noted and the memorial services briefly described. The Ch'uan Miao assert that their departed ancestors are not gods but honored and loved human beings who are revered and to whom offerings are made.



Part of a Ch'uan Miao funeral ceremony. The bamboo twig is symbolic of ancient times when their ancestors lived in dense forests in which there were many wild animals.

Photo by D. C. Graham.



Ch'uan Miao men skinning the sacrificial animal to be offered to the deceased and then eaten as a part of a funeral ceremony.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

Certain trees are worshipped on the thirteenth day of the twelfth lunar month. Generally the tree is on a hill or mountain and it is always an old tree that does not shed its leaves in the winter time, such as the *nan mu* 楠木. It may not be a fir or a pine. A cock is offered in the worship of the tree which is a sort of a local deity something like the Chinese local god called a *t'u ti* 土地. It is worshipped with the belief that as a result the crops will prosper, the domestic animals will grow and increase, and hunters will be successful in the killing of wild animals. The tree is believed to heal sickness, but only when a vow is made to offer a chicken and other things if the person is healed.

The Ch'uan Miao, like the Hua Miao, have a cult of worshipping the door. At the bottom of the door is a thick wide board or sill which one must step over in order to enter the house. It is this sill and the door itself, which often has two wings, which are worshipped.

The ceremony must be performed during the tenth moon. A pig is killed inside the house and offered to the door. The hair is removed, then the pig is cut into nine pieces and offered raw with wine and rice. Then the meat is cooked. Before the people can eat, some soup must be dipped out with a gourd and offered to the door. Then the meat is divided and the guests enjoy a feast. The blood must be boiled and eaten.

The offering is made by the head of the family. He says, "Door, I am making an offering to you. Help us have a good crop and prosper financially and the domestic animals grow and increase. If people come, permit them, but if demons come do not let them enter." There is no kowtowing or bowing. No incense or candles are lighted and no spirit money burnt. During the ceremony the door must be closed. The pig must be killed and the whole ceremony performed inside. The offal and the hair must be buried in a hole in the floor of the kitchen. If one word of Chinese is accidentally used, the whole ceremony must be repeated.

During the marriage ceremonies offerings are generally made to the soil and to the ancestors who first gave grain to the Miao. These are regarded and treated practically as deities. There are two great demons or devils, and possibly three. *glag dzy* often drowns people in creeks and rivers. He seems to be related to the Chinese river demons who are the demons of people who are drowned themselves and who try to drown others so as to escape from their demon state. Some say that *dzy* means original and that *glag dzy* means original demon.

Gla ta lo, the demon who can step to the sky, is so large that he can step across from one mountain top to another. He can reach heaven at one step. He is very strong and if he strikes a person on his chest with the palm of his hand the person soon dies and the marks of the demon's palm can be seen on the person's chest. He can kill a person with one blow of his thumb.

There is a sky demon, nTo gla. The Chinese are sometimes told that this is the god *t'ai shan shih kan tang* 泰山石敢當 but the Ch'uan Miao do not really believe that the demon and the Chinese god are the same. A ceremony in which he is worshipped with offerings is as follows:—

The priest, called mo, takes a bamboo food bowl with corn and beans in it, then stands up in the house and sings a memorial chant, and at the same time shaking the bowl and walking about. This brings the demon, after which the sacrifice is offered.

An old sow which has had litters and has been fattened is sacrificed. She is first tied upon two carrying poles. Torches are lighted and carried in the hands. Small boys make bamboo whistles and blow them. The family takes a bowl of water and turns a dipper upside down on the bowl and the dipper is beaten as a drum.

The sow must be carried in a procession around the house two or three times with the torches lighted and the whistles blowing. After this is finished, all call out, "Oh! Oh! Oh!" twelve times. Each time the arms are lifted up toward the sky. This is a ceremonial fighting with a Chinese who wanted the wife of a Miao but it is also to exorcise and drive away the sky demon.

The pig is first wet with cold water, then placed over a big fire, which makes the hair easy to scrape off. After it has been scraped off, the meat is cut up and boiled. After the pork is thoroughly cooked, it is dipped out and offered to the demon, after which it is eaten with biscuits made as follows.

The blood of the pig is mixed with flour and biscuits made of them. These are first offered to the demon and then eaten.

Instead of a table the pork and the biscuits are placed on a wooden bedstead. Seven wooden knives must be made with which to cut the biscuits. The knives are placed on this bed. After the offerings have been made to the demon, he is escorted away with polite words and is supposed to depart.



A Ch'uan Miao embroidery pattern, a duplicate of which Dr. Carl Schuster has found among the Rumanians.

After the ceremony, the bed and the knives are carried away and thrown into a cave. It is meant to place them where children cannot go—on sides of cliffs, in caves, etc. It is believed that if anybody touches these objects he will become ill.

The person who conducts the memorial ceremonies is called in Chinese *chi shih* 祭司 or priest and in Ch'uan Miao *mo* or *to mo*. *To* is merely a particle like the Chinese word *ko* 個 and the English word piece in "a piece of cloth." The *mo* is given presents for his services but he is also a farmer and secures much of his livelihood by tilling the soil. He may be a member of the family which is conducting the ceremonies. At funerals he performs a special ceremony called "opening the way" by which he opens the way of the soul to Hades and at this time he is called a *k'a gei*. His ceremonies have been described elsewhere.

The *tuan kung* 端公 called in Ch'uan Miao *To³ nan⁶* is the person who exorcises demons, and thus heals diseases and wards off other calamities that are caused by demons. Like the *mo*, he is a farmer who has learned the ceremonies required and when the occasion arises he is called upon to render his services, for which he is given presents of meat, money, or some other commodity.

By means of cooked rice, or fresh eggs broken open or some other means, he ascertains which demon is causing the trouble and from what direction he came. Then he exorcises the demon.

It is asserted that a *tuan kung* can take an iron ploughshare, heat it red, then put his tongue against it. In the initiation ceremony already described he walks barefoot on twelve sharp knives which have been arranged on the ground or on the floor. He must walk quickly in order to escape injury. He hangs up some bamboo sticks, then takes hot *t'ung* oil 桐油 into his mouth and blows it onto the bamboo sticks, which have been set afire; this causes a big blaze. It is believed that this fire will not burn a house, even if the roof is made of straw or grass, although it will drive away the demons. He wears ordinary clothes, but puts white or yellowish paper on his head folded so as to resemble a crown and two animal horns. He takes a cock, strikes its comb until it bleeds, then sprinkles the blood on his knives and on his paper decorations. With a tongue-like piece of wood he strikes on the table to frighten the demons in a similar way to Buddhist and Taoist priests and Chinese *tuan kung*. A second person, called a *ma chiao* 馬脚 or horse's foot, acts as his assistant. The *ma chiao* leaps about energetically, striking the ground with an axe to kill demons and finally kills a snake, a frog, a crab, or some other reptile-like creature.

If the creature is small, it is cooked and given the patient to eat. If it is large, its liver is cooked and the patient eats it. Then the patient recovers.

In the summer of 1934 I witnessed a ceremony performed by *tuan kung* and took a moving picture of it. At the side of the yard where the performance took place there was a square table on which the *tuan kung* had arranged a quart measure full of wine in which were nine incense sticks in three bunches, a lighted candle, an iron knife, and a neolithic stone axe. He wore a sort of crown or hat which he had made of light yellow grass paper and which was bound to his head with a cloth head-band or turban. With a pair of scissors he cut some paper or spirit money and then burnt it. For some time he kept beating a brass gong and repeating incantations. For divining he used a pair of bamboo sprouts cut into halves and an iron seal and a wooden tongue-like object similar to those used by Buddhists, Taoists and Chinese *tuan kung*. He beat the brass gong with a stick wrapped in cloth.

Later he called in his assistant, the *ma chiao*, who leaped about the yard, striking the ground with his axe while the *tuan kung* occasionally struck the table with his tongue-shaped piece of wood. The *tuan kung* in his incantations ordered the demons to go to Lo Piao, Suifu, Luchow and Chungking.

The ceremony was not carried out to its natural conclusion of killing a snake, crab, frog, or other such creature. This was probably because the *tuan kung* and his *ma chiao* were sensitive of the eyes of the strange foreigner and of some Ch'uan Miao students who giggled at the performance.

In some of his ceremonies the *tuan kung* uses a wide round, flat bamboo winnowing basket called a *po chi* 簸箕 and a wooden sword. Often when exorcising demons he makes two horns of paper and wears them on his head. He uses many incantations. Some are in Chinese, some in Ch'uan Miao that can be understood and some in a supposed language that is not understood by ordinary people, which is called *gla* ㄍㄛ or demon talk because it is thought to be the language of demons. He sometimes writes charms on paper in imitation of Chinese charms. Because he cannot write Chinese characters he draws circles and curves in imitation of the Chinese characters. Some of these are hung upon doors to protect the homes from demons, some are placed on the heads of children to protect the children and some are pinned on the backs of older people or on their chests.

I witnessed another ceremony by a *tuan kung* in July, 1936. The different steps of the ceremony were explained as follows.



A Ch'uan Miao magician performing a ceremony to exorcise demons.
Photo by D. C. Graham.



Ch'uan Miao men playing the wind instrument called the gaigh or lau sheng and beating the ceremonial drum. While they do this they perform a folk dance.
Photo by D. C. Graham.

1. Charms were drawn above the water in a porcelain bowl. This was done by moving the fingers above the water in the bowl.

2. The hands were then twisted about in several ways.

3. A circular tube was made of paper and set upright in the bowl of water. Then it was lighted and allowed to burn down to the water.

4. The *tuan kung* went through a ceremony of calling his gods. As a result his gods came and assisted him in his ceremonies.

5. The *yin yang kua* 陰陽卦 were thrown until a favorable result was secured. This was a means of consulting the gods.

6. The *tuan kung* went through a ceremony of going down into Hades.

7. The demons were invited to come or were enticed or escorted into a large round winnowing basket called a *po chi*.

8. The demons were ceremonially exorcised or driven away.

9. The *ma chiao* caught and killed the demon who was causing the disease.

The implements of the *tuan kung* were,

1. A small brass circle, hollow inside. There were small metal objects inside the circle that caused it to jingle when shaken.

2. A knife.

3. An iron implement, a circle with an iron handle and with several small circles around the larger one. This jingles when used and is exactly like the one used by a Chinese *tuan kung*.

4. A wooden *ling p'ai* 令牌, tongue-shaped, with charms carved on both sides of it. This is also like the one used by the Chinese *tuan kung* and by Buddhist and Taoist priests.

5. An iron seal on which there are Chinese characters. It is also exactly like those used by Chinese *tuan kung* and priests.

6. A pair of scissors used for cutting spirit money etc.

7. A pair of *yin yang kua* made of the two halves of a bamboo root. This is used for divining and is like those used by Chinese priests.

8. A neolithic stone axe, the bottom of which has been ground away and used as medicine.

9. Three sticks of incense and two candles.

10. A *shêng* 升 or quart of rice or corn.

11. A bowl of water.

12. A bowl of wine.

The practices of the Chinese *tuan kung* are very much like those of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung*. The *tuan kung* among

the Chinese is regarded as heretical and looked down upon, but the *tuan kung* of the Ch'uan Miao is orthodox and honored. Their practices are so similar that it is natural to suppose that either the Chinese *tuan kung* and his practices were borrowed from the Miao or vice-versa. From the fact that the Chinese *tuan kung* is heretical and is looked down upon while the opposite is true of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung*, it seems probable that the Chinese was borrowed from the Miao. But there are many details in the practices of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung* that have evidently been borrowed in recent times from the Chinese *tuan kung* and possibly through him from Buddhist and Taoist priests.

There is occasionally met among the Ch'uan Miao a prophet or fortune-teller who is sometimes wrongly confused with the *tuan kung* for the *tuan kung* does sometimes divine the future by means of the two halves of a bamboo root called *yin yang kua*. This fortune-teller is called a so b^hu. So means first or previously and b^hu means to know or understand. Such people sometimes live in caves or in houses in the woods. They say their ancestors are in their homes so they will not permit anybody to enter. Inside there can often be heard voices of people talking or laughing or crying. If a person q os v s^hai^h ʌ na present of meat, a chicken, wine, biscuits, money, or something else, he will foretell. All Ch'uan Miao believe in the so b^hu and some fear them.

Divination is practiced by the *tuan kung*. He sometimes receives messages from departed ancestors and from demons. When go-betweens have been called by the boy's parents they kill a chicken to eat and also examine the tongue, the bones, etc.; and so divine whether or not the marriage will be lucky. Other methods of divination are through dreams and through lucky and unlucky omens.

Whatever is told in a dream is believed to be true. In addition many things seen in a dream are signs that certain things will happen. If in a dream one sees a person carrying wood, the next day he will see a poor person; if he sees a tiger, the next day a rich man will come to visit; if he sees a bird, he will have a quarrel; if he sees a rat or a monkey, a house will burn down; if he sees a pig, he will become ill; if he sees somebody wearing red clothes, he will probably get hurt; if he sees a fire burning, a house or something else, the weather will be fair; if he sees a heavy rain wind, his ancestors are hungry and want him to feed them; if he sees a water-buffalo, he will become rich; if he sees a horse, somebody will die; if he sees good vegetables, he will become ill and have to take medicine; if he sees a black snake, a son will be born; if he sees finger rings or bracelets, or both, or a tobacco pipe, a son will be born to him; if he sees a big tree die, or the sun or moon set, or a tree fall, or snow falling, a parent will probably die.

There are many lucky and unlucky omens. It is unlucky for a hen to crow like a rooster, for a large old snake to enter one's house, for a cat or pig belonging to another family to enter one's home, for a bird flying above to drop its offal on one's head. It is lucky for a neighbor's dog to enter one's home. If a person sees an old snake have a passage, he will certainly die. If one sees a rainbow's shadow drinking water (it is believed that when a rainbow appears, it is drinking water) he must not go there and drink that water, or he will become ill. If a dog howls in a mournful way, it is unlucky, for somebody is going to die. There are many more such beliefs.

Charms are few, yet they are considered useful. Seven wooden swords are sometimes tied together, marked in parallel lines with charcoal and hung up above the front door or on the ends of wooden beams on the roof of the house to protect it from demons. A nest of hornets or wasps is sometimes hung up above the front door or on a bed. A demon stops to count the cells, which delays him until daylight when the crow of the cock frightens him away—for the crow of a cock frightens away demons. A charm written on paper by a Chinese priest is sometimes used. A neolithic or smooth stone axe may be used as a charm. Sometimes the *tuan kung* takes a piece of paper and strikes it with his fist or with a stone (neolithic) axe, after which it is a charm.

Among the Chinese the *yin yang* 陰陽 and the *feng shui* 風水 are superhuman potencies, corresponding to the *mana* and the *wakanda* conceptions among more primitive groups. This superhuman potency is assumed rather than theorized upon by the Ch'uan Miao. It is possessed by god-like creatures such as Nt^hə, ʔei S^hu, the dragon king, the sky demon, the demon that can step to the sky, the warty toad, etc., and by such persons as the *tuan kung*, the mo, the bo ntso^h, and by the demon drum, charms, incantations, the ceremonial crossbow, the *lin p'ai* 令牌, the sword, the seal, etc. The legends indicate that such power was possessed by some fans with which it was possible to fan a person up on a cliff, by feathers which could quickly warm a person or a stroke of which might cut off his head, etc.

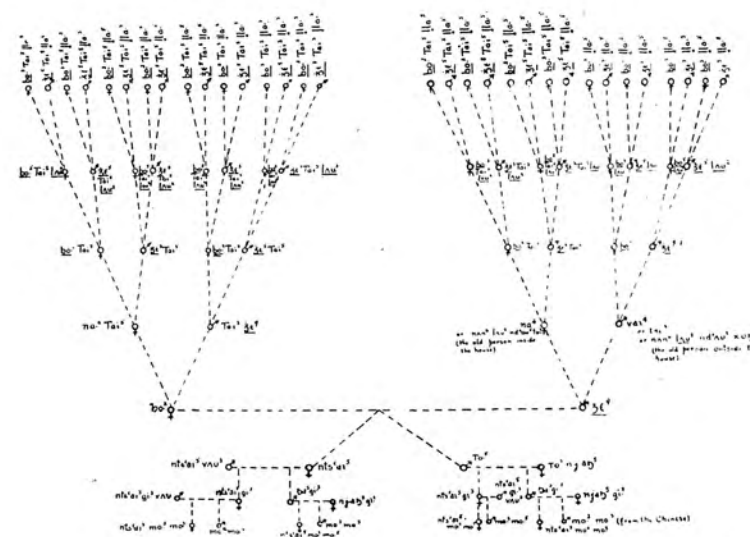
To the Ch'uan Miao all inanimate things are thought to be sensitive and alive. The sun, the moon, the stars, rivers, mountains, rocks, trees, thunder, the echo, the rainbow, homes, fields, plains, recompense or *yin kuo* 因果 beds, marriage, swords, the harvest crop, the year, the *liu sheng* 六笙, and the sound of the ceremonial drum—all these and many other things are considered to be living things. There is much evidence of this in the legends and it is confirmed by the Ch'uan Miao themselves.

A year is believed to be a living thing with a head like that of a human being. The *liu shêng* is alive and when it is played it is actually speaking. Mountains have heads, feet, hands, eyes, noses, ears, hearts, breasts, veins and arteries. A plain is male and female and has a mouth, a heart, arteries, veins, and sinews. The sun and the moon have parents. Stones are male and female, grow, have offspring and can speak. Special stones have become immortals. The echo is a living being that can speak. He has a definite character and the words he speaks are generally deceptive. Thunder is a living creature. In size and shape it is like a rooster. It is small but very powerful. Its call or cry is the noise of thunder. It has a knife of fire which it throws and this is lightning. It is this knife that causes the damage when lightning strikes a person, an animal or a tree.

The Ch'uan Miao find it natural to say that all things are alive or have lives, but they find it difficult to affirm that all inanimate things have souls, although lives are intelligent, active and have eyes. Is this animatism or animatism plus animism, or is there no one word that accurately describes it?

The greatest changes in all their history are now taking place among the Ch'uan Miao. In 1921, when I first visited these people, I was unable to find a single school or pupil among them and the attitude of the Chinese towards the Ch'uan Miao and of the Ch'uan Miao towards the Chinese was very unfriendly, as it had been for about four thousand years. Now there are under the United Methodist Mission at Chaotung sixteen junior primary Ch'uan Miao schools and one senior primary school. A Ch'uan Miao graduate of the junior middle school at Chaotung is now in the school of nursing of the United Church of Canada Hospital in Chungking and there are two students in the Goucher Junior Middle School of the West China Union University. The Chinese and the Ch'uan Miao have become very friendly and the Chinese officials and scholars are glad to help the Ch'uan Miao. Four students and one graduate of the West China Union University gave the money that makes it possible for one Ch'uan Miao student to attend the Goucher Junior Middle School. The Government of Szechwan has given the Ch'uan Miao school educational books and an organ and the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai Shek have presented to the Ch'uan Miao a fine bull, five fine cockerels, thirty apple trees and some garden seed.

The Ch'uan Miao are not only a very likeable people but they are very appreciative, are industrious, and they are eager for modern education and higher culture. With the continued help of the United Methodist Mission at Chaotung, the West China Union University, Government agencies and the Chinese people, they can become an enlightened race that will be an asset to China as the Welsh and the Scotch are an asset to the British Empire.



The above diagram gives the names of eight generations of the Ch'uan Miao. The names are those that would be used by the husband, who is called ko^3 , when speaking directly to them. When speaking about them he precedes the terms by ko^3 , meaning "my". He adds the word na^4 , "great", before each term when speaking about the relatives of another person. On the right are the names of the husband for his own ancestors, on the left his names for his wife's ancestors. The wife uses the same terms for the husband's ancestors that the husband does. If the husband wishes he may call the ancestors of his wife by the same names as he would his own. Both the husband and the wife call the descendants by the same terms or names. The wife calls her own ancestors by the same names or terms that the husband does his ancestors.

The word lla is pronounced ga in some localities.

THE CEREMONIES OF THE
CH'UAN MIAO

by

DAVID C. GRAHAM

SEEN BY
<i>D.C.G.</i>
Seen by E. B. H.
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THE CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO

DAVID C. GRAHAM

A. INTRODUCTION TO THE FOLLOWING TRANSLATIONS OF CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO.

Among primitive peoples ceremonies are exceedingly important. They enable the tribes or ethnic groups to face in unity the crises of life, and to solve their difficulties. They bind the individuals into one psychic and emotional unity, causing them to unconsciously absorb the emotions and ideas of the group.

Ceremonials generally come down from a remote past, and are uncritically received and passed on to future generations. Through them one can learn the sentiments, beliefs, and practices of the people among whom they are found.

The three translations that follow are of ceremonies of the Ch'uan Miao, one of a To³ nan⁶ or magician who exorcises demons and thus heals disease and prevents other calamities, and two of mo⁵ or priests who conduct funerals and other memorial ceremonies. They were translated into Chinese by Mr. Hsiung Ts'ao Sung 熊朝嵩, now deceased, and with his assistance, by the writer into English. In this translation an attempt has been made to get back of the Chinese to the meaning in the Ch'uan Miao language, and to render this as faithfully as possible into English.

B. THE CEREMONIES OF CH'UAN MIAO TUAN KUNG
端公 TO³ NAN⁶. THIS WAS ALL SECURED FROM MR. HSIUNG CHENG TS'AI 熊正才 A FARMER OVER SIXTY YEARS OLD WHO LIVED AT WANG WU CHAI NEAR LO PIAO 洛表王武寨. HE HAD ALWAYS LIVED THE NORMAL LIFE OF A CH'UAN MIAO.

I. ARRANGEMENTS TO EXORCISE DEMONS

First a table is placed in the room. Incense and candles are lighted. Some vegetables and meat with gravy are used. The *tuan kung* 端公 places a pint of uncooked rice on the table and places a pair of wild ox horns in it. On his head he wears two paper horns. In his left hand he carries a brass gong. In his right he carries the stick with which to beat the gong. At the same time he burns some beeswax.

A. The *tuan kung* stands up and sings, "The yellow wax burns, and the smoke arises. When the wax burns I will call. I will call Ntsc^o jin* (his helper) here to lead. I will call Ntso^o jin to come and go ahead. I will call jin tga to come and go ahead. I will call jin tga to come and lead. Ga jin held an iron fan. jin tga held a brass fan in his hand. He fanned himself with the brass fan and thus scattered the demons by the sea. He fanned with an iron fan and thus drove the demon illnesses and groans away."

When he has repeated thus far, he beats the gong loudly.

B. "When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it smokes, the *tuan kung* goes and calls. He calls na^o bo^o san jin to come to the front. He calls san jin l^o ts^o to come to the front. na^o bo^o san jin carries an iron club in his hand. san jin l^o ts^o carries a brass club in his hand. The iron club will beat the demons of illness as the water of the sea scatters. The brass club beats the demons of illness and the demons of groans so that they go to the place where people sleep and scatter."

(At this point the *tuan kung* again beats his gong awhile.)

C. "When the beeswax burns, the incense smokes. When it smokes, I again call. I call nine thousand soldiers to come to the front. He calls upon the soldiers of 900 fortified places to come forward and bring the big guns and shoot them everywhere, and bring the spears and stand them up black (and sharp) and to shoot the big guns with their black smoke. When it looks black, I will call for the soldiers to charge. They will charge against the demons in the forest and the grass of these old people's family, to charge them down to the river on the lower bend, casting them onto the roads, the cliffs and the crossroads."

The *tuan kung* now beats the gongs awhile.

D. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it smokes, we will again come and call. We will call the scholar who controls heaven to come forward. The old scholar who controls heaven to come forward. The old scholar who controls heaven comes and looks. He looks to see if the souls (living) of this family are few or not; to see if the boys of this family are crooked or not; to see if these old people's pool is full or not; to see if the lake of these old people is clean or not. Ntse's group of controllers of heaven came and looked at the earth; to see if the souls of the living of this family are here or not; to see if the souls of the

*Note.—Unfortunately the deaths of Hsiung Cheng Ts'ai and Hsiung Ts'ao Sung have made it impossible to check up the tones of the Miao names in this translation, so some of them have been omitted.

bodies of this family have returned to their right bodies or not; to see if the souls of these bodies are with their bodies or not. (The *tuan kung* at this time beats the gong awhile.)

E. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will also come (the *tuan kung* will=we). He will call na^o bo^o so^o to come to the front. He will call the thunder god to come to the front. He will call tga^o Tai^o to come to the front (the lightning). We will call ze^o so^o and tga^o Tai^o to come to the front. Bo^o so^o came with a stir. ze^o so^o came with a roar. bo^o so^o made a stir and came and beat the demons that cause sickness and those that cause groans. ze^o so^o came roaring and shouting and chased away the demons of the forest and the grassy places. Bo^o so^o then used tga^o Tai^o and cut the demons of sickness and those of groans into halves. She cut the demon of quarrels until it perished. ze^o so^o also brought tga^o Tai^o and cut. She cut the demons of sickness, of the forest and of the grassy places. Bo^o so^o separated men and the demons. ze^o so^o separated the demons so that they could not see people.

(At this point the *tuan kung* beats his gong.)

The demons must not come near people. Bo^o so^o took an iron hatchet. ze^o so^o took a big stone axe in his hand. Na^o bo^o so^o then struck the stone cliff with her axe. ze^o so^o will cut the stone terrace and the colored cliff. They will come and cut (with their stone axes) the dragon pool of these old people so that it will not spoil. They will cut the big rock and the stone cliff and will cut the old people's lake so that it is safe.

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong.)

F. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, I will call (the *tuan kung* calls and the smoke helps him). We will call the zwang tsai (the colored dragon) to bring tsa^o xau (a leader in the dragon land). We called ninety-nine colored dragons. When the ninety-nine colored dragons came, they went into the dragon pool of this family. There are also eighty-eight colored dragons who came to control the lake of these old people so that it will not dry up.

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong.)

G. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will call again. We call tgo^o tsai (the striped tiger) to come to the front. We also call tsai^o gi^o tgo^o nd^o au^o (a big lion) to come to the front. Ton u bit with his teeth. Tsai iton u bit and gnashed with his teeth. tgo^o nd^o au^o then stood up firmly and ate the demons of sickness and those of groans. tsai^o gi^o tgo^o nd^o au^o came moving

and ate the demons of sickness and the gasping demons. Then tso⁷ nd²au⁵ ate the demon of chills (cold diseases) and demons of blood diseases. Tsai shi tso ntsau also bit his teeth together firmly and ate the demon of coughs. When he has eaten it, he wants you old folks of this family clear about it (and without ills, etc.). They ate the demon of sickness and the demon of groans so that they could not harm people. They cannot harm the family of you old people. When the demon of the forest and those of the grasslands come they cannot injure your young people and cannot injure your garden.

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong).

H. When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When the smoke arises, we again call. We call the lady sun to come forward. We call to the moon young man to come to the front. When the lady sun has come out, it has shone; it has shone on the souls of you old people's farming and on the five grains. She will also shine on the souls of the domestic animals including cattle and horses. She also shone on the souls of your descendants. She has shone on enough to fill the house. She shone on enough to fill the central floor of the house. The souls in the center pushed out. Those on the two sides went out on each side, and some surged out through the middle door. The front and the rear were full and they went out slowly.

(At this point the *tuan kung* beats his gong a while).

I. When the beeswax burns, the smoke rises. When the smoke rises, then we again call. We call the Nts'ai hwa (girl cloud) to come from the sky above. We call nd²au⁵ d⁷za⁷ (male wind) to come from the land above the sky. Nts'ai hwa came and smoked the eyes of the demons of sickness and the demons of death so they could not see. She also smoked the demons of the forest and those of the grasslands. nd²au⁵ d⁷za⁷ came and blew. When he blew, the roads of sickness of this family were cut off. When he blew the sounds of the groaning and the sounds of sickness were ended. He blew the sound of the sickness into the water. They blew the demons until they were unable to grow (or live). He blew the demons of the grasslands and those of the forests and vanquished them below the white cliffs. The demons of the forests and those of the grasslands cannot come back.

(At this point the *tuan kung* again beats his gong a while).

J. When the beeswax is burning, the smoke arises. When the smoke rises, we will call again. We will call a pair of Chinese from Wu Lang Yo. (Here he beats the gong).

When the white wax is burning, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will again come and call. We will call a Chinese *Ho Lan Tsi* to come to the front. The Chinese from Wu Lang Yo lighted the lantern and lighted things. They will lighten the soul of this family as it comes and enters the room. The two Chinese from Honan brought the lantern and lighted (the room) together. They will lighten that family's living soul as it returns to the guest room. They will lighten the way for the family's souls (of the living) half way along the road and lighten its souls as they return home. They will lighten the way for the family's souls (of the living) to half way along the road. They will lighten the souls of the family as they come back and return to their garden squares, (where the gardens are divided into squares for planting different things).

(Here the *tuan kung* beats his gong as usual).

II. USING THE CHINESE LANGUAGE TO SUMMON CHINESE GODS

At this time, the paper horns must be taken off the *tuan kung's* 端公 head and he does not beat the gong but merely stands up and calls or sings.

"I call the six stars of the southern dipper (cross), the seven stars of the northern dipper. In the name of *Li Lao Güin* I speak to the Great Pearly (jade) Emperor above and below to *Kuan Shih Yin* (*Kuan-Yin*) of Nan Hai."

Now he must speak the Miao language to exorcise demons.

When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. When it arises, we will call ntso⁷ jin (a person who was once a prophet of Ntsə, a revered patron of the *tuan kung*) who lives at the foot of Ntsə's great stone called the stone bamboo sprout. Call also na⁷ bo⁷ san jin to come from Ntsə's old colored cliff. Call the ninety-nine layered cliff to come to the front. Call the mountain with eighty-eight layers to come to the front. Also call the cliff with ninety-nine layers to come and separate. Separate people into their homes and demons to the land of demons. Separate people so that they will not go near demons and demons so that they will not go near men.

III. MAKING A CONTAINER

A large bamboo container shallow and with a flat bottom is used. In it are placed bean-curd, biscuits, wine, meat, paper (spirit) money, incense and candles. (Some put water and a little rice in a rice bowl also).

A. If I am not to make this vessel (container made of bamboo), then I will not. If you make such a vessel, it is harder and harder. If I make the vessel, it is not very hard. From this time, if you make the vessel, it has a beginning. A piece of bamboo is braided back and forth. The two ends are cut off and you use the middle. A slanting weave (road) is made and a slanting edge. On the two sides are made slanting edges and in the middle is made a square. There is a slanting weave and a slanting edge. We request the Emperor Jên Tsung 仁宗 to sit in the center. The slanting weave comes, beginning with the man character (i.e., the weave, slanting in two directions resembles the character 人 "man"). We request the Emperor Jên Tsung to come and sit on a high seat.

(As he speaks these words, the demon is supposed to be driven away).

B. First I call the wood characters 甲乙 *chia i* from the east. Secondly, I invite the fire characters 丙丁. In the third place call the water character 壬癸 *jên kwei* from the west. Fourthly call the metal characters from the north 庚辛 *kêng hsin*. Fifth, call from the middle the earth character 戊己 *wu chi*. (These are on the round object used by Chinese geomancers and are here regarded as demons).

(The *tuan kung* 端公 hear shouts "t'ai" and stamps his foot to frighten the demons).

First, call Mao Ta Lang (the oldest son of the Mao family). Second, invite the second son of the Mao family. Third, call the third son of the Mao family. Fourth, invite the fourth son of the Mao family. Fifth, invite the fifth son of the Mao family. Sixth, invite the sixth son of the Mao family. Seventh, invite the seventh son of the Mao family. Also invite the flowery mountain sister. Then the pitcher of wine and the sliced meat will emit light (because the gods have come). If one's head aches and one's whole body aches, it is you (i.e., the demons mentioned above). If your stomach aches and the flesh flinches, it is you. If the heat and cold are not in harmony, and coolness and warmth are not peaceful, it is you. If one's body is feverish, it is you. To be hot and then cold, it is you. If the whole body aches, it is you emitting light. If the whole body aches as though bound, it is you emitting great light. If the whole body is bound, it is you emitting great light. Please come up on this container (flowery vessel) and go forward. There are some people killing a pig and pouring out wine on the stone-paved road who have invited you. Come, come, we will go together. This is not a place where you will stay a long time. It is not a place where you can tie up your horse. In this place there is the foul odor of urine and human ordure. Go, go, go, get on the container. Let us go together.

When he has repeated the ceremonial to this point, he puts the container on the ground. He regards the demons as having been led (invited) into the vessel and he will open a light for these demons.

IV. OPENING UP THE LIGHTS, PLACING IMAGES

A pair of candles made of beeswax shine brightly. People in the future will have no use for the candles. I (the student) will in the future open up the gods' (source of) light. When I have opened the light of the head, the head is well. When I have opened up the light of the eyes, then the two eyes are bright. When I have opened up the ear-light, the two ears will hear in all four directions. When the nose-light has been opened up, then the bridge of the nose will give good light. When the light of the mouth has been opened up, the mouth-light will hold sixteen pairs. When the hand-light has been opened up, then the hands can be doctors and go in all directions. When the stomach-light, there will be inside the abdomen several tens of intestines. When the foot-light has been opened up, the feet can be doctors and go in all four directions. (When they have opened up the light, the *tuan kung* 端公 must use incense and candles and burn them for the demons mentioned above. When the light is being opened up in the different places mentioned above, blood from a rooster's comb is used and smeared on that part of the paper figures that have been cut out and placed in the bamboo container).

V. MAKING A GRASS MAN

Grass must be taken off the roof of a straw-roofed house.

If I am not to make this straw man. I will not make it. When people make straw men, it is very hard. But when I make straw men, it is not hard. The Emperor Jên Tsung 仁宗 made a vow (to God?) to present twenty-four human heads. I will make a straw man as a substitute for the sick person's body.

(At this point the ceremony of opening the light is repeated as recorded in Section IV. In both places, exactly the same words are used).

He again says, "If I am not to make a straw man, I will not make it. If I myself make a straw man it will not be hard. I will pull off (from the roof) a bunch of straw with which to make him. (The straw man is made by placing part of the straw with heads in one direction, part in the other). I will make a man of it to substitute for your body" (as a gift to the demon of sickness who will then desist from trying to capture the patient through his death).

(At this point the ceremony for opening light is again repeated as noted above).

VI. ESCORTING OUT THE STRAW MAN

On the tree is hung out long paper (spirit) money that is white like silver. In the future, people will have no use for it (the spirit money). I will use (the spirit money to display my glory and skill by driving out demons). I will not sweep away this family's wealth or silks (and satins). I will sweep away the demons and quarrels. I will not sweep this family's wealth and happiness. I will sweep away this family's demons and quarrels. I will sweep away the sky pestilences, the earth pestilences. When I have swept them away your whole bodies will be free from sorrow and sickness. With one (uttered) sound, I will sweep away the (demons of) prize fighters and doctors who have no pupils (to worship them after death and therefore become demons), and castrators of animals who are without pupils, and men who put coal or wood on fires who are without pupils. I will sweep them upon the hua p'an (the container described in III), malarial fevers, and masons who make the foundations for the pillarstones and idols and are without pupils (to make offerings to their teachers after they have died), roaming demons of carvers, roaming demons of painters, roaming demons of actors, and I will sweep them upon the container (hua p'an) and cause them to straddle the mountains and cross the passes. (I will sweep away) the demon of a second son who calls dogs, the demons that whistle for winds, and those who whistle on their fingers (to call dogs) with their lips, and the two who assist the *tuan kung* 端公 (by leaping, called the *ma chiao* 馬脚, demons of those who were skillful in bending bows and shooting arrows, the king of demons who controls burial by cremation; I will sweep them onto the container.

VII. SENDING AWAY GODS (DEMONS)

After you have called the gods to you, you must send them away. The gongs and drums are beating loudly. If the common people beat them they will be useless. If I beat them, he can escort away those of glory and skill, to send the gods away. To send the gods to the crossings of the great roads, to send the gods back, to send the gods to the crossing of the big roads. The gong resounds, the drum resounds. A wife and a concubine had three (sons) brothers. Lo alone (among them) was taken away to be a soldier. He met (the demons) and fought a battle. The upper part of his body could fight but the lower part of his body was weak. He fought until the demon's whole body was dripping blood. It was like the hairy caterpillar meeting the stinging worm, the offended person (i.e., who has been harmed and is strong because angry) meeting his enemy. If (the demon) meets us, we will fight a battle. That side will lose and I will win.

(When he has reached this point—all has been spoken—then the knife in the *tuan kung*'s 端公 hand is circled once around the container and his foot is circled around it once. Then he carries it outside the house and the hua p'an, the straw man, the paper money, the paper net, the paper rope, and so on and the demons enticed there, are burned on the cross-roads).

VIII. PREPARING WATER

(Put a bowl of water on the table. The *tuan kung* 端公 rolls a sheet of paper into a round tube, lights it and puts it in the water. He must repeat the following incantations).

We are preparing a bowl of water which is not ordinary water. It is water from the great ocean of the dragon king. It is snow water, water of commands (command water). Common people after this will have no use for it. I will use it in the future to conceal my body and Hua T'o 華陀 water (the name of a great Chinese physician of the Three Kingdoms), water to protect the body, water of the six stars of the southern cross, of the seven stars of the northern dipper, and of Li Lao Chün 李老君 (Lao Tzu 老子), water of Kuanyin of the south sea, water of the roaring god of thunder and the drizzling rain, water to protect ones home, water to cut off the heads of the demons and the spooks and such strange creatures, water of the commanding bugle, water of the commanding Erh Lang 二郎 a Szechwan god; (he represents the originator of the Chengtu plain irrigation system), water of the commands of seven sons of the lotus flower, and water of the commands of five sons who became great officials.

IX. STRIKING WITH THE LIN P'AI

On the table is a *lin p'ai* 令牌. Will the general with sharp hairs please arise and sit in the large hall for gods? Let the lesser gods arrange themselves in rows on the two sides. Let (the general with sharp hairs) be seated in the center of the hall and (the lesser gods) arrange themselves in rows on each side. Will the general of sharp hairs please arise? Will the roaring god of thunder and the deity of drizzling rain behead unclean demons and behead spooks? Stamp once with your feet and roar once and then the unclean demons and spooks will at once start off.

(When he has spoken to this point, he must take the *lin p'ai* and circle it about on his body. When this is done, the *tuan kung* 端公 must stamp his seal on the body of the sick person).

X. DISPLAYING THE SEAL

The *tuan kung* 端公 takes a seal in his hands and displays it toward the person who is ill in order to chase away the demons and repeats the following.

One seal is displayed toward heaven. One seal is displayed toward the earth. One seal falls on the person's head. Ten demons see it and nine demons are sad.

Two seals fall on the person's body. The ten demons see it and nine demons fall. Three seals fall on the person's hand (he brings it down three times on the person's hand. The seal prints a charm probably). When the ten demons see it nine of them depart. Four seals fall on a person's breast. Ten demons see it and nine go quickly. Five seals on the (sick) person's foot, and the unclean demons and spooks fall off (the sick person). They fall off his body and off his feet and he is peaceful.

XI. DRAWING WITH A SWORD

The *tuan kung* 端公 holds his hand and circles it about to the left and to the right and he repeats the following.

I take the sword in my hand and cut off the heads of unclean demons and spooks. I will not behead wealth and silks and satins but cut off the demons of quarrels. I will not behead wealth and happiness but I will behead unclean demons and demons (of quarrels) with the mouth and the teeth. I will cut off the heads of demons of sky pestilences and demons of smallpox and measles and of the demons of stiff (paralyzed) legs diseases. I have cut off the heads of five demons and of the demons of this year's pestilences. The five demons have five heads. If ten people see it, there will be heads of nine people. The five demons have five bags. If the saints in the sky see it, they will bow themselves (from the waist). The five demons in the parlor are sitting. If there is no calamity, there must be woes. The blood of the five demons shines. If you do not become ill, you will have boils. The bird is the spirit of a white tiger. He that creeps in the forest (a snake) is a white tiger. A mourner is a white tiger. One with four feet is a white tiger. Each road has five pestilences. I will escort them onto the container *hua p'an*.

(When he has repeated to this point, the *tuan kung* takes the knife, moves it and encircles it once).

XII. GOING INTO HADES

Hades is not below but it is a dark place. The *tuan kung* 端公 wears the paper horns on his head and covers up his face with grass paper (coarse bamboo paper). In his hand he takes his ceremonial knife. On his finger he hangs his small ring bell. He sits on a stool as he would on a horse. He sets some grass paper on fire and puts the flame all over the stool to open the light so that the stool can see. Then he sits down and calls his gods and he is like a dead person (if you speak to him or punch him, he will not notice it). He merely repeats his incantations. His body bends to the right and to the left. He does this for four hours. He calls his gods using the words below.

"When the beeswax burns, the smoke arises. It arises up to Ntse's land. It goes down as far as the earth prefecture (of the demon king). Ah, go quickly, go quickly, TAV, TAV, TAV" (he makes thus the noise of a horse running; his lips resound at the end of each syllable). He says:—

"When the beeswax burns, the smoke rises up to the sky. Let ninety-nine lanterns come and go to the front. Call nine thousand (soldier) horsemen to come and go to the front. Quickly bring the saddles and saddle the horses. Bring the bridles and put them in the horses' mouths. Leap on the mules' backs. Leap onto the backs of the donkeys. Leap onto the backs of the big horses. TAV, TAV, TAV (horses running).

"The horses run quickly and well. Go up to Ntse's land. Go down to the prefecture of Hades. Hurry and bring the lanterns and lamps and lighten (up the way). The flags and the bugles go round and round. The long-handled knives (*ko* 戈) and spears with their handles shine blackly. I am going to go down to the prefecture of Hades. I am going to ascend to Ntse's land. The red flags go around and around and go up into the heavenly palace. There are numerous men and horses as rising water (of rivers and streams). I go down to the prefecture of the earth and also arrive at Ntse's land. I arrive at the great palace of the five emperors. Quickly open up widely your main door. I am going to enter the city. I have business or I would not enter the door of your precious palace. Quickly open very wide your main gate. I am going to enter and investigate people. TAV, TAV, TAV. The horses are running fast. I have entered the first gate of the palace. I have entered the second gate of the palace. I have entered the third gate of the palace. I have entered the fourth gate of the palace. I have entered the fifth gate of the palace.

"I have entered into the great palace of the five emperors. Old gentleman of the palace of the five emperors, I am going to come and investigate people. My men and horses are very numerous. The lanterns and torches shine in all directions. Shine brightly, shine brightly. Investigate carefully. Investigate carefully and come again and investigate carefully. When you have investigated, your hand above deliver the souls I want to me and I will (below) give money to you. I have money. It is not easy money to get. It is truly money to exchange for lives (souls). I have three thousand times ten thousand copper coins. With a hand above we give the money. With a hand below you give the people (to me). One hand gives the money and another hand gives (receives) the people. Let the same hand give quickly (do not change hands but act quickly.) Search well, investigate well. Give all the souls to me, one, then the second. Give me all the three *hun* 魂 and the seven *p'o* 魄. Give them up nicely. Give them up well and put them on the horses. Write with a red pen (ink) and mark it with a black pen (ink). (Then the person will not die. Officials write with black ink and mark with red ink if the person is to be executed). Mark the three *hun* and the seven *p'o* to return to the world. With the upper hand, hand over the people. With the lower hand (I) give the money. God's old gentleman of the palace of the five emperors(?) give me peoples' three souls and seven *p'o*. You who are in the world, quickly throw the divining sticks (one up and one down) and send money (burn spirit money). Ntsə's old gentleman of the palace of the five emperors, thank you. We will ride the horses and go back again. On all sides, lighten up with the lanterns and torches. We have gone out of one of the palace doors and closed the first palace door. We have gone out of the second palace door and closed the second palace door. We have gone out of the third palace door and closed the third palace door. We have gone out of the fourth palace door and closed the fourth palace door. We have gone out of the fifth palace door and closed the fifth palace door.

"On the left is a person (general) who keeps the gate. On the right side is a demon gatekeeper. Thank you, thank you. I will ride the horses back to earth."

(At this point he certainly must speak the Miao language. He might use Chinese sometimes before).

XIII. GOING INTO HADES

Xan, Xan, Xan, whip the mules. Let the big horses go very quickly. Raise the lanterns and the torches higher. Tav, Tav, Tav. We are going up to Ntsə's sky above. We will go and dance at the flower altar. The *hua t'an* 花壇 is in Ntsə's heaven above. We will see if his flowery altar has

come out or not. We will see if the time for using the flowery altar and the flowery drum has come. We are going to climb Ntsə's heavenly ladder. One section, two sections, three sections, (four sections), five sections, six sections, seven sections, eight sections, nine sections, ten sections, eleven sections, twelve sections. When we have climbed the twelve sections, then you have reached the house in heaven. We will see if Ntsə's *li tsə* flowers are blooming or not. We will see if the pears are bearing fruit. I, see, see, the pear blossoms have dried up. The insects are eating the pear trees. They do not bloom nor bear fruit. Xan, Xan, quickly take the brass fan and fan it. (The tree is the souls of my parents. Pear blossoms are daughters, pears are sons. If the tree dries up, the parents will suffer and there will be no descendants). Bring the iron fan and fan it (then the tree will prosper). Quickly release the falcons (sparrow hawks) to eat the insects. ja³, the tree is clean and leaves are growing, and it is blossoming. The blossoms are blooming all over the tree. The fruit is growing all over the tree.

We will also see if the rice field is full of water and if the lake is dry or not. Ah, we will call Ntsə's mbao To- t'ao to come and repair it. We will also call Ntsə's mbao To- t'o³ to come and help dig the ditch deeper and repair the lake and dragon pool. I will also see if the other family's flower tree has fallen or not. We also must see if that family's young fruit tree is crooked or not. We will call Ntsə's mbao To- tsai to come to help lift it straight, to lift that family's young flower tree until it stands firm. We will go quickly and we will see if the flowery altar has many people or not and the flowery drum has many people about it or not. We will call Ntsə's mbao To- jai to come and help uncover it. We will also call Ntsə's mbao To- jai to come and help unbind it, to allow (the souls in) the flowery altar to go away (in several directions), to uncover the flowery altar so that the souls can fly off. Let us light the lanterns and lamps to see if that family's souls are complete or not and to see where the *hun* 魂 and *p'o* of that family have gone. A, a, the souls of the family of those people went early. The *hun* and the *p'o* have all gone. xan, xan, lift the lanterns and the torches higher. Drive the horses and pursue quickly. We will call Ntsə's mbao To- ts'ai to follow you (god's sons who are excellent pursuers). We must look after the souls of the old people as they return home. You must look after the *hun* and the *p'o* of the old people as they return to the world. Call this family's souls to come quickly. *Hun* and *p'o* come quickly. This is not your sleeping place. This is not your dwelling. This place is rotten like chicken manure and rotten like duck manure. Come quickly, let us go. Ah, ah, they have been caught (the souls), they have been caught.

We have caught the souls of these old people (of this family). Ai, I have caught them. I have caught the *hun* and *p'o* and they are in my hands. Bring them and put them in my hands. Catch them and put them in my hands. Bring the souls and put them on the backs of the mules and bring the lanterns and lamps to make light. They must show if the souls are cleared or not (all present or not) and the *hun* and *p'o* are all here or not. Give the souls to the leaders of the troops to bring. Let the several generals catch the souls. Catch them carefully, bring them home and let them control their families. If one is missing, I will call you to account. Let us bring the lanterns and lamps and light them. We are going home. TAV, TAV, TAV, the horses come rapidly. We are going down the ladder of heaven. We go down the first section, second section, third section, fourth section, fifth section, sixth section, seventh section, eighth section, ninth section, tenth section, eleventh section, twelfth section.

"I come to thank you, Ntsə, to give thanks to you, Ntsə. Above I will inform Ntsə's heavenly palace. Below, we will inform the old people, Tε⁵ bo⁹ and Tε⁵ ẽ⁹. I have come to thank you, to express thankfulness to you. I am going to drive the horses and return home. Leap off the horses, leap off the backs of the colts, steady the horses, for we are going to go back. TAV, TAV, TAV, TAV, we have come back and are getting off the horses."

At this time the *tuan kung* 端公 must again cast the bamboo divining instrument and say: See if the three *hun* and the seven *p'o* are complete or not, if they have come or not. (Here he again casts the divining instruments. If not correct, the souls are not all present). He must once get a *yang kua* 陽卦 throw. He must also get three *yin kua* 陰卦 in order to protect the body of the sick person. When this is done, he has finished this part of the ceremonies.

XIV. SENDING BACK THE GODS AND MENTIONING THE DEMONS

(A lump of meat must be used with wine and arranged properly and the *tuan kung* 端公 repeats the following).

In the midst of sending back the gods, you must send away the demons. If I am not to mention demons, I will (nevertheless) mention demons. When mentioning demons, the demons' hair is untied and worn on the back of the head with the tongue hanging out and I call it a *tiao ching kuei* 吊頸鬼 (a demon that died by hanging). If I am not to mention demons, I will not. This demon is beneath the bed. A person sleeps on the bed. If I am to mention demons, I

will mention them. Speaking of demons, they sit on the rafters. Tonight, I know you. Ntsə jin (an ancient *tuan kung*), bo- san (a woman who talks in a tone pleasant to hear) will come and catch you. If we do not speak of demons, we will yet speak of them. Speaking of demons, they are upstairs. Tonight, in the night, I know about you. Yang Shih Güin Tzū will make things clear of you (demons). If we do not mention demons, we will then mention them. To mention the demons, they live in the cow pen. Tonight I know you. The *t'u ti* of the south gate will clear things of you. If we do not mention demons we will then mention them. To mention demons, they are in the pig pen. Tonight, I know you. The gods of the pen door will exorcise you. Not to mention demons, we then mention them. The demons live on the stove. Tonight I know you. The kitchen goddess will exorcise you. Not to mention demons, we will mention them. The demons are sleeping in the bedroom. Tonight I know you. The king of the bedcurtain will exorcise you. Not to mention demons, we will mention them. The demons are in the firepit. Tonight I know you. The fire-gods heir to the throne will exorcise you. Not to mention demons, we will mention them. The demons are sitting in the guest room. Tonight I know you. The family gods and family demons (the souls of the ancestors) will exorcise you. To mention the demons, they are sitting below the door (the cross-piece at the bottom of the door). Tonight I know you. The god of wealth and the door spirits will exorcise you. A grain of rice is sharp on both ends. Tonight I will injure you. I will not harm the family's wealth or silks or satins. I will injure the demonic mouths and tongues (of demons). I will injure the sky pestilences and the earth pestilences, annual pestilences, monthly pestilences, daily pestilences and hourly pestilences. Tonight I will take you away. I will take you away so that men will not associate with demons, and demons will not associate with men.

XV. CALLING BACK SOULS

Pl'ei⁵ lo², pl'ei⁵ lo^{2*} (souls come, souls come), come quickly. Ah, souls, come quickly. Ah souls, all come. The soul was reborn (as a babe) and came back. (It can leave the babe temporarily, or permanently and cause death). It was reborn in another person and still came back. He went into a family's flowergarden and came back. He went into the deep creek, stopped and came back. Come quickly, come quickly.

(When the *tuan kung* 端公 has repeated to this point, he uses an axe and strikes the crossbeam at the bottom of the main door).

*Pl'ei is generally pronounced blei.

The bird frightened you and you came. The rat frightened you and you came. A domestic animal frightened you and you came. You stopped on the level spot on the mountain and came back. You dropped on the big flat and came back also. You dropped on the cliff and also came. You dropped on the crossroads and also came back. If you do not come, my big knife that calls souls and fights demons will be your companion. Today is a good day and tonight is a good night. Come more quickly. Come rapidly. Come, come, come back to your bed and come back to your father and your mother. Come and follow your brothers. Live (here) 1000 years, live here 100 years. Poles cannot pierce into you and nets cannot catch you. You may live here until your hair becomes white. You may live here until you are an old man (with hair) that is gray. You can sit with your hands on your knees (as old people do) and your knees bent. Come more quickly, come, come. If I call you and you do not come, my axe will be your companion. Come quickly. You have come, you have come.

(When calling the soul, the *tuan kung* grasps an axe. He uses a person who has an egg in his hand or the *tuan kung* may hold a rooster in his arms. When the soul arrives, then the egg will fall over. Then he will take the egg and burn it in the fire-pit. When the egg is cooked, then the *tuan kung* cuts it open and looks and says whether it has a soul or not. The egg must be cooked on an even day of the month not on an odd day. One, three or five eggs may be burned).

XVI. SETTING UP THE FAMILY GODS

A pair of candles must be lighted or a sheet of grass paper, rolled up into a long thin roll. The *tuan kung* 端公 carries these in his hand and walks around and around toward the center of the house. Then he says:

If the people of a family are not free from demons (if they are ill), the family gods are not at peace. When the *hua tan* 花壇 ceremony is completed, I will open the light and I will sprinkle some chicken's blood.

When a pair of beeswax candles burn, then the smoke arises and it shines brightly in the home of you old people. If an ordinary person brings them (the candles), it is useless. I will use them to open the light of the family gods (ancestors). When I have opened up the light of the head, the head will lean in all directions. When I have opened the light of the eyes, the two eyes will be very bright. When I have opened up the light of the ears, the two ears will hear in all four directions. When I have opened up the light of the nose,

the two nostrils will emit good light. When I have opened up the light of the mouth, the mouth will contain sixteen pairs of teeth. When I have opened up the light to the hands, the hands will protect all four directions. When I open up the light to the feet, the feet will stand firmly like a rock pillar. When I have opened up the light and sprinkled chicken-blood on the image of paper, the chunk of meat and clean wine will be placed on the table and I will come and set up the gods in their places. When I have opened up the light and sprinkled blood on the paper image, we will call wealth here and if there are calamities we will exorcise them. I will protect the master of this home so that he will go out with empty hands and come back carrying wealth. One seed will fall into the ground and 10,000 will return to the granary. You will raise cows as big as mountains and pigs as big as cows. After we have opened up the light for the house-gods, you will be protected and peaceful forever.

XVII. OPENING UP THE LIGHT FOR THE FRONT DOOR

The front door has been opened three feet, three inches high. Open it during the day, close it at night. After it is opened tonight if you have wealth, I will bring wealth. If you have calamities, I will remove them and I will protect and give peace to the large and the small of the house and drive away all diseases. The cows you raise will be as big as the top (head) of a mountain and the pigs you raise will be as big as steers. I will protect the old members of this family so that they can go out with empty hands and come back carrying wealth and silks and satins in their arms. One grain will fall to the ground and 10,000 be reaped and brought home. When people come, the door-gods will open up. If demons come, the door-gods will beat them. If wealth comes, the door-gods will entice it to enter. If demons come, the door-gods will drive them away. If calamities come, the door-gods will exorcise them. If wealth and happiness come, the door-gods will welcome them either by day or by night; they will receive them every day and not cease at night. They will not cease a quarter of an hour. They look away as far as 1000 *li*. Near by, they will look in all four directions. With their eyes they will see clearly and with their mouths they will beat demons and spooks in two. They will open the door to people of this world and close the door to demons. They will only permit people of this world to come and not permit the people of Hades (demons) to go.

(After the above has been repeated, the door is opened for a time, then closed for a time and the ceremony is ended).

XVIII. REQUESTING THE DOOR GODS TO CAREFULLY REMEMBER THE NAMES OF THE DEMONS

The very thin demons without flesh are named dry, lean demons (glaŋ ntɕau). The very tall, very large demons that are able to climb mountains are called climb-mountains-cross-passes, (glaŋ⁶ Ta⁵ nTo²). The demon that nets for wild animals is called ɣan³ ɣga² (grows-flesh). The demons of women who died in childbirth are called glaŋ⁶ so⁶ (demon that sheds red blood). The demons that cause people to vomit and their hearts to be disturbed are called glaŋ⁶ Ta⁵ (vomiting demons). Demons that cause people to have malarial fever are called glaŋ⁶ nao⁵ (cold demons). Demons that cause people to die from hunger and thirst are called glaŋ⁶ ts'ai⁶ (hunger demons) or glaŋ⁶ nk'ai⁵ (thirst demons). Demons that cause people to drown are called glaŋ⁶ glei⁵ (water demons). Demons that cause people to die by hanging are called glaŋ⁶ sɿu⁵ (hanging demons). The demons in caves are called glaŋ⁶ tsao (demons that rush out of caves). Demons that cause children to cry at night are called glaŋ⁶ dza⁵ la⁵ (naked demons). Demons that cause abortion are called glaŋ⁶ ts'au⁵ (demons that throw away on the hill). Demons that cause young men and women to be sad and to make long sighs are called glaŋ⁶ ntgoŋ (enticing demons).

If such demons as these come, let the door-gods use brass clubs and beat them and they will not come.

XIX. OPENING LOCKS

The master of the house must find several sheets of yellow paper. The *tuan kung* 端公 uses a pair of scissors and cuts the paper into a net (sky-net, earth-net) and an imitation iron chain and brass lock, which he ties on the body of the sick person. (This is done when they believe that the illness is caused by a demon having locked a lock and chain around the neck of the sick person). The *tuan kung* beats a gong, carries an iron cooking-pot, heats the iron point of a plow and puts his foot on it, and he unlocks the door for the sick person. Then he says, "Water comes from the sky to grind knives with. On earth are people to cut off intercourse (contacts between men and demons), unloose the brass nets, unloose the iron nets, unloose the sky nets, unloose the earth nets, open up cages and release birds, unloose nets and release fish, unloose brass armor, unloose iron armor, unloose brass nets and iron nets, unloose brass chains and iron chains, unlock brass locks and iron locks, unloose brass threads and iron threads (that have bound people). If the head aches, release the body, if the body aches, release the feet, and when the body and the feet have been released, and

when the head aches remove the heat (of the body) and when the body aches, it becomes cool. Drink tea, peace-giving tea. Drink the peace-giving water. Do not wait until daylight. When I say it, immediately depart. If we say it at midnight, depart at midnight. If any do not depart, I will call Rong sji'n's fire from heaven to burn you away.

(When the *tuan kung* has spoken this far, he takes the paper chain and the paper net and the paper lock and puts them all into the winnowing basket, carries them outside the door, and burns them at the crossroads).

XX. REVIVING ONE WHO HAS FAINTED

(Reviving sha—The Miao believe, like the Chinese, that there is a poisonous air called *sha ch'i* 殺氣 that kills people. When a person swoons, he has been injured by *sha ch'i* and a *tuan kung* 端公 can revive him by chasing away the demons.)

The *tuan kung* opens and holds above him an umbrella of oiled paper. He throws a handful of mustard seed. If he has no mustard seed, he throws a handful of corn. When he throws he shouts, "t'ai, t'ai," and stamps his feet. He says, "Beat the sky demon, beat the earth demon, beat the human demon. Beat the sky demon and send back (what the sky demon has brought) the sky *sha ch'i*. Beat the earth demon and send back the earth *sha* (ch'i). Beat the dead person's demons and send away the *sha* (ch'i) of the dead people. Beat the demon of the living people and send back living people's *sha ch'i*. Beat the year demon and send away the year *sha ch'i*. Beat the month demon and send away the month *sha*. Beat the day demon and send away the day *sha*. Beat the time demon *si hou* and send away the time *sha*; beat the fierce god who wickedly kills people and turn back the great *sha ch'i* of everything. t'ai t'ai, (and he stamps with his foot), "quickly strike, quickly recede. Recede, recede, recede."

XXI. HOLDING DOWN THE FIRE STAR (MARS)

I have held (pressed) down the fire of Heaven. I have held down the fire of earth. I have pressed down the fire of the year. I have pressed down the fire of the month. I have pressed down the fire of the day. I have pressed down the fire of the moment (time). I have pressed down the fire of the central room. I have pressed down the center of the fire. I have pressed down the fire of the *yin* 陰 (the female principle). I have pressed down the fire of the *yang* 陽 (male principle). I have pressed down the fire of the sun. I have pressed down the fire that likes to kill people (without affection). I have pressed down the demon fire. I have pressed down the fire of living people. I have pressed down the drive-away-*yin* fire. I have pressed down the detain-*yang*

fire (demon's fire). Leave the *yang* fire to control the home. Drive the *yin* fire to hades (where demons live). Secure *yang* fire to control the family and make it peaceful (without demons). Drive the *yin* fire to the *yin* spirit (or soul). Leave the *yang* fire to control the family so it will be peaceful. If the fire is a foot high, let water be ten feet high. If fire is ten feet high, water will flood up to heaven and hold down the fire.

(When he has reached this point, the *tuan kung* 端公 uses a bowl of water and as walks along in the house, repeating his words, he sprinkles water with his hands. When he has finished speaking, he pours out the water from the bowl and places the bowl on the table upside down).

XXII. INCANTATION TO DIVINE BY MEANS OF UNCOOKED RICE

There is a sky pestilence and an earth pestilence so I come to report to the god. (The uncooked rice is treated and addressed as a god). If there is any unsatisfactory matter I shall come and report to the god. If the head aches and the whole body is hot, we shall come and report to the god. If there is any unworshipped demon of the *tan shen* or ruined temples, I shall come and report to the gods. If there is any fierce god that kills people, I shall come and report to the god. If there is any grass demon, wood demon, or demon of the forest, I shall come and report to the god. If there is any fierce (murderer) I shall report the fierce matter. If there is anything hard, we shall report it. Without something important, we shall not wantonly report. Without something fierce, we shall not wantonly report.

(When the divining is done by rice, use one bowl of rice and take a cloth and cover it well. The master of the house or a sick person blows his breath three times on the rice and the *tuan kung* 端公 rubs the surface of the rice with his hand. Then when he has finished speaking, he takes the cloth off and examines the rice to see if the grains are perpendicular or horizontal and thus determines the good or ill luck of the family).

XXIII. PRESSING DOWN THE DEMON THAT PUNISHES SIN BY PAIN IN THE EYES

If you bump (sin) against wood, the wood demon will enter you and harm your eyes. If you bump (sin) against wood, wood will harm you. If you bump (sin) against stone, stone will harm you. If you bump (sin) against a grave, the grave will harm you. If you bump (sin) against the stone of the cow pen, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against a stone of a stove, it will harm you. If you bump

(sin) against the dya of the stove, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against grass, wood or stone, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against all the things in a home, they will harm you. If you bump (sin) against the eastern direction, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against the western direction, it will harm you. If you bump against the north direction, it will harm you. If you bump against the west direction, it will harm you. If you bump (sin) against water it will harm you and it will immediately fade away. If you bump (sin) against wood, it will fade away. From the time we have repeated this to-day, you will be well.

(While the above is being repeated, the *tuan kung* uses grass paper to sweep. When he has finished sweeping, he takes a bowl of water and cooked rice and pours it out on the ground).

XXIV. PRESSING DOWN THE DEMONS THAT CAUSE WOMEN TO LOSE THEIR CHILDREN OR TO HAVE MISCARRIAGES

After the *tuan kung* 端公 has called the gods, then he must repeat the following and it will enable her to normally give birth to babies and to bring them up. He must actually hold or press down the demons. After he has done this, he worships the gods and the men and women of the family must worship. He says:

"The sky sinned against the sky monkey and neither the moon nor the sun shone any more. The earth sinned against the earth monkey and the grass and trees would not grow. If a person sins against the monkey that climbs the cliffs, he will dry up. To-day I will free you from this and you will immediately get well."

XXV. PREPARING SIX HORSES AND BRIDGE BEAMS FOR THE SICK

As the method of arranging the bridges, you must use 12 feet of cloth and arrange it well, and four stools, one above the other. The *tuan kung* uses a brass gong and alternately beats it and speaks. He says:

"The difficult bridge and the six horses are spoilt. I will protect the sick person. When the three *hun* 魂 and the seven *po* 魄 come upon the bridge, I will wear an iron hat on my head."

(He will put the brass gong on his head and pretend that he is wearing a hat. On his feet he is supposed to wear iron-topped boots. He brings the brass gong and pretends to put on shoes. He should wear brass armor also, and he uses the brass gong to imitate this).

"Come and lead a thousand soldiers and horses and 19,000 fortresses."

"Soldiers and horses come upon the bridge. The rest may be repeated like the first one in this book."

XXVI. CALLING WATER TO BECOME DIVINE FOR THE GODS TO DRINK

Use a bowl or a pot and put water inside. Cover it with three sheets of paper and a piece of cloth. The *tuan kung* 端公 repeats:

"Ntso's water in heaven is called the water from the river in heaven brought by the prince of heaven. The old man of the earth brought water of the earth below and from the creek he brings water of the rivers and seas. From the home he takes incense fire and beeswax fragrant water. From the rice field he brings water of the rice-plants. Ntso G jin brought water to destroy demons."

XXVII. CALLING WATER TO EXORCISE DEMONS

(Spoken in Chinese).

"Water is the source of the heaven and the earth, the foundation of all living things, widely cultivating people's happiness, used by people in heaven and on earth, inside and outside. For tao 道 learning,* you are revered and your body has marvellous light to protect our bodies so that seeing we do not see, hearing we do not hear, and you can protect us in heaven and on earth and nourish all our lives, and propagate it a thousand times. You are bright. Heaven and earth will come and wait upon and protect you. In ancient times Wu Ti 武帝 would welcome you. All gods of virtue will come and worship you. It uses the thunder and lightning. Demons and spooks will lose their courage. Your learning tao will last forever. I have also called you. Without affairs you stabilize space and control people."

(When this is finished the *tuan kung* 端公 takes water and sprinkles it in all directions and says the following in Chinese.)

"When I sprinkle this once, above it pacifies fire calamities. (Lest fire break out). When I sprinkle this a second time, below it will pacify cave demons. When I sprinkle the third time, in the center it will avoid calamities. When I sprinkle the fourth time, there will be peace among men."

*This is the Chinese word *tao* 道 and of course the meaning is far more inclusive than the English term "learning". To the Ch'uan Miao interpreter it seemed that the word "learning" came very near to what *tao* means to the Ch'uan Miao.

XXVIII. TO PREVENT BLOOD FROM FLOWING CUT WITH A KNIFE AND REPEAT THIS INCANTATION

When I go to the east, it is black. In my hand, I hold a golden knife and I ride an iron cow. I will cut in two the mouths of two creeks that flow together. I will stop the bubbles under the skin so that the blood will not flow. Above is the head of the rapids. Stop up (like a stopper) the sky river. Below is the head of a rapid. We shall stop up the yellow river. A well with two mouths, we will stop the blood of the skin so the blood will not flow. We will stab in two the water of the western river so it will not flow. The blood prince (a male deity) is named *ch'iu* 秋 (autumn). The blood woman is named *liu* 流 (flow). One road (of the blood) changes to ten roads (in veins and arteries). Ten roads change to a hundred roads. A hundred roads change to a thousand roads. All the roads have definiteness. All the roads have spirits (intelligence). First, do not deceive me. Secondly, do not deceive other people who have come. If you still bleed, I will add a golden lion cat and stop it.

(When he has reached this point, the *tuan kung* 端公 must use his two hands and twist them like a lion. Then he says:)

"At the order of *zai na zai*, like an order according to the law," (and again he repeats) "I go to the east and it is black. My hand grasps a golden knife and I ride an iron cow. I stop up the mouth of the blood stream and will stop the blood bubbles so they will not flow. In a large way, I will stop the great Yangtze. In a small way I will stop a small river. I will cut off the Yellow River's *chiu hsi* 九西江 nine west rivers. The wind enters the emptiness. Emptiness enters the wind. One wind, two winds, and the iron wire sews it together, (i.e., the bleeding skin). The left foot moves and the mountain comes and cuts off the sea. (The *tuan kung*'s eyes are closed a while and he moves his left foot around as secretly as possible.) He says, "When the right foot moves, it cuts off the gateway of the sea. (He moves his right foot as though crossing a mountain). He says: The left hand crosses over the mountain to cut (block) off the sea. The right hand crosses the mountains to block off the gateway of the sea. (When he is saying the above, he closes his eyes and moves his hands as though they were crossing a mountain.) One, two, three, four, five, metal, wood, water, fire, earth. Metal does not leave wood and wood also does not leave metal. The blood man is named *chou* the blood mother is named *hsiu*. Stop, stop, do not flow, do not flow, do not flow. When I use these words, I will stab away the power of the wind and the water will not flow. Above is the head of the rapids. Stop the sky river. Below is the

head of a rapid. Stop the Yellow River. Above, stop the Yellow River's *shuang ho ching* 雙河井 (double river well). Below, stop the two gates (mouths) of the Yellow River. He blows his breath three times and pinches the (open sore) together. The *tuan kung* opens his eyes and lifts up his head to see the clear sky. The one who has taught me (this) by word of mouth, come before my eyes. Mr. Huang, who have taught me, if I call you a thousand times, let it be efficacious (bring an answer) a thousand times and if I call you ten thousand times, answer ten thousand times.

XXIX. TO REMOVE BONES OR METAL OBJECTS
THAT HAVE BEEN SWALLOWED

I lift up my eyes and lift up my eyes to see the clear sky. The instructor who taught me with his own mouth is before my eyes. I ask my teacher for a bowl of water. The teacher has nine dragons in the bowl. The water of the throat of the nine dragons (is in the bowl). When gold, silver, copper, iron, or pewter touches this water, it is turned into dirt. I obey the command of tsai *zin* ㄗㄞ ㄗㄣ, order you to swallow a bone and transform the bone, and to swallow brass and transform the brass, and to swallow bone dust and transform it to bone pills like (as easy as) the nine dragons entering the deep rapid. My breath of virtue endures long. If there is copper, transform copper. If there is no copper, do not transform the flesh. If there is bone, iron, pewter, or nails, you must transform them. If there are none of these, do not transform the (person's) flesh. I obey this command; immediately transform.

(When the incantation has been completed, the patient must drink the water the *tuan kung* has secured.)

XXX. EXORCISING THE DEMON THAT CAUSES
PAIN IN THE NIPPLES

He repeats the incantation saying, "The baby drinks the milk laughing. Why have you come to me? I reply, The nipple is helpless. It is pitiful. I request you not to let people rub your nipples to cure you. If the pain is in the left, heal the left nipple. If the pain is in the right, cure the right. Rub the left and the pain of the left will depart. If we rub the right, (the pain in) the right will depart. If it still does not depart, I will take (the pain) away.

(The *tuan kung* uses the second and third fingers and he traces on the nipple, then she is well.* When he has taken away (the demon), he again asks the milk to come out).

*This tracing resembles the one below:



The milk must not accumulate (at one spot). The milk must not delay. When he calls you, you must come out at once.

XXXI. EXORCISING THE DEMON THAT CAUSES BOILS

I invite the thunder god, I invite the thunder goddess, I invite the Chinese medicine god, and also invite the Patriarch of the Lamas, and the teacher who removes water (out of one's body) and grows broken bones together, the upright teacher, the teacher who removes fever, the teacher who removes swellings, the teacher who stops the flow of blood and stops pains: the Patriarch among the snow mountains, the young lady among the snow mountains, the Crown Prince among the snow mountains.* At the first watch much snow falls. At the second watch a heavy frost falls. At the third watch it becomes very cold. At the fourth watch, frost is again added on top of the snow. At the fifth watch the bantam (golden) rooster will report (that) daylight (has come). This place has been transformed into a snow mountain plot. The dragons come. The dragons display their claws. The tigers come. The tigers display their bodies. When the tiger comes, the skin of the tiger will recede. When the dragon comes, the bones of the dragon will recede. The water of snow stops blood and stops pains and causes fevers to disappear and removes swellings and grows broken bones together. It sets dislocated bones (joints) so they can grow flesh, and grows together holes in the flesh. I, *zin* Ntso² ㄗㄣ ㄋㄣ, come and bear witness. If you call me a hundred times, then it is efficient a hundred times. When you have taken (the demon) away, then (the boil) will be well.

XXXII. INCANTATION TO HEAL BOILS

Black, black and bright, bright. (On one hand black, on the other bright). The sun is coming out in the east. Ntso² ㄋㄣ ㄋㄣ with Ntso² nts'ai⁵ ㄋㄣ ㄋㄣ'ㄞ came to cure boils (by taking away the demons). First, healing them so they will not swell. Secondly, healing them so they will not be painful. Thirdly, healing them so they will not discharge pus. Fourthly, healing them so they will not bleed. If there is something fierce, remove the fierce (thing). If there is swelling, remove the swelling. Do not let this time pass. (When he has spoken thus, he uses his second and fourth

*The meaning here is evidently that one snow mountain is the patriarch, another is a young lady, and a third is a Crown Prince among the other snow mountains, all of which are living beings.

†Ntso² ㄋㄣ ㄋㄣ is a golden boy or girl.

Ntso² nts'ai⁵ ㄋㄣ ㄋㄣ'ㄞ is a stone girl.

fingers and traces a circle (spiral) on the boil.[†] When he has drawn this he repeats the incantation again.)

First, we have turned around the sky and the earth. Secondly, we have turned around the sun and the moon. The third turn and pus will not come out. The fourth turn and blood will not come out. If there is something fierce, then we will remove the fierce. If there is swelling we will remove it. I will add the bugle of the gods and the bronze bells, an iron axe, a brass finger ring, and an iron finger ring to remove (the boil). (When he has finished saying this, he again traces the spiral.)

XXXIII. INCANTATION TO PURIFY THE HOUSE AFTER A DEATH DURING THE MONTH

The heaven and the earth are as a matter of course and the poisonous air. The cave is empty. Huang Lang T'ai Hsüan* the majestic god of the eight directions cause me to be (as a matter of course) unmolested, spiritual precious and charm commands to broadly report to the nine heavens. Let Kan Lo Tang Lo and Tong Kang T'ai Hsüan behead spooks and tie up the demoniacal and kill 10,000 demons. The incantations of the gods in the mountains of the Primary Literary God. I repeat one section and I will capture demons and protect one's years, and arrange the five hells and know the eight seas. The demon king's hands are tied and 1000 soldiers come and help me. The fierce and unclean will disappear and the breath of *tao* 道氣 will last long.

(While he is repeating the above the *tsuan kung* 端公 holds a broom in his hand and he holds a piece of cloth in his hand which must be white and twelve feet long, and he sweeps it around. He lights a torch and goes around the house to lighten and smoke it up to make it impossible (by the light) to see the demon and chase out the demon forms.)

XXXIV. THE WATER OF THE NINE DRAGONS (THIS WATER CAN HEAL COLDS IN THE HEAD)

Use a bowl of water and draw charms above it. Put it on a table. Use a live rooster. You must have a piece of white cloth or black or dark blue; do not use red cloth. And a knife is needed and clean wine. Get them ready, then repeat this incantation. With the finger a dragon should be traced above the water while the person is repeating the incantation. With the two hands three knots must be twisted. The incantation follows:

[†]The spiral is like this ☉.

*These are Chinese names, so they are romanized according to Chinese sounds. The Chinese characters could not be secured.

I lift up my eyes and lift up my head to see the clear sky. The teacher who taught me with his mouth is before my eyes. I want a bowl of water from Ntsə's sky. In the water are nine dragons. This water is from the throat of the nine dragons which can transform gold, silver, brass and iron. When they touch the water they will be changed to dirt. Obey the command of Ntsə in heaven, swallow and transform brass, swallow iron and transform it. (If there is a cold, I will transform the cold.) I also swallow bone dust and transform it to bone pills, as the nine dragons going down steep rapids. I have *tao* 道 and my life will endure long.

When he has repeated thus far with his left hand he lifts up the bowl of water and with his right hand he draws a large dragon on the water. Then he gives the water to the sick person to drink.

XXXV. THE NINE DRAGONS TRANSFORM BONES AND WATER THAT DRIVE AWAY COLDS OR HELP IN CHILD-BIRTH

"I lift up my eyes and look at the clear, blue sky. Before my eyes is my instructor. I call the instructor Tsang the *tsuan kung* and I also invite Ntsə's *Ta* 太 *glo* 六 in heaven. He has a bone which is a pill to cure colds. To-day will escort you to the Nine Dragon Rapid. There is another bone that is a pill to transform colds. I myself will escort you to the Nine Dragon Rapid. Brass, iron, colds and fevers will be transformed into water. Pewter things and bamboo things will be changed into dust. All illnesses will be transformed into dust. In front it is empty. Behind it is empty. It will be transformed until it is without appearance. You ferry me teacher so that I can creep into Ntsə's heaven."

The *tsuan kung* 端公 twists his hands into a nine-dragon turn over their bodies' knot. He also says,

"This water is not common water. This water is water to make peaceful births and transform demons. This water is not ordinary water. This water is water to exorcise spooks and transform strange demons. When I have finished I draw pictures (with the hands) over the water and everything will be prosperous and well.

C. MEMORIAL AND OTHER CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO.

THESE WERE SECURED FROM MR. HSIUNG TZŪ NIANG 熊子良 A CH'UAN MIAO FARMER FAMOUS AS A PRIEST OF MO WHO LIVES AT CHAO CHIA LING 趙家林 NEAR WANG WU CHAI 王武寨 AND IS OVER FIFTY YEARS OLD.

I. REPETITIONS WHILE MAKING OFFERING AT THE NEW YEAR'S TIME

The year is ended. The night of the twelfth moon and the thirtieth day has come. The dead ancestors are invited to come and eat rice biscuits. I give the rice biscuits to the ancestors with my own hands.

When the rice biscuits have been eaten, you must go and remove diseases and remove calamities and remove pains and remove quarrels and remove sins. You must leave them on the roads of the Lolo and the Chinese. You must add to the strength of your descendants so we can go and sow. You must add to their power so they can make clearings in the wilderness, so that your descendants will have food and clothing. Then you will have meat to eat and wine to drink and your descendants will sacrifice to three generations of female and male ancestors.

You come first (and eat). Now I will make the offerings with my (own) hands. Come and eat. Now I will invite my own ancestors of three generations with all the dead relatives of three generations, all to come together and eat.

(When he has spoken to this place, he must invite them to come and eat, beginning with the oldest, calling each of them by name, until he has reached his own parents (if they are dead). He must certainly mention them by name one by one and give food to each one. When he is through making the offerings, then he may eat himself. The husband is always invited first, then the wife, then another male).

II. WORDS REPEATED AT NEW YEAR'S TIME, ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE YEAR WHILE MAKING OFFERINGS

First a pot of new rice must be cooked. Fresh water and new tea leaves must be used to make tea. First tea must be offered to the ancestors. When the tea has been offered then they offer rice and meat. He repeats the following while making the offerings.

The first day of the new year has come. Your descendants have cooked new rice. The new year will become ten thousand years (for the descendants). We offer to you a wooden spoon (in which food is given) so you can eat the new year meal. xAu lo-xai (come and eat and drink). Let the female and male ancestors of three generations come together to eat the New Year feast. xAu lo-xai. When you have eaten, you must come and increase the strength of your descendants so that they can plow and sow the fields and the mountain wildernesses so that they can have food. If they have food and clothes then we will first make offerings to

the three generations of female and male ancestors. xAu lo-xai. When you have eaten, you must come and add many domestic animals and cause the crops to grow and cause the old forests and the uncultivated hills to grow (trees and grass), and cause many sons to be born and many grandsons. When the descendants have planted their crops, and made clearings in the wilderness, you must cause your descendants to get things to eat and drink and they will first make offerings to the three generations of female and male ancestors. xAu lo-xai.

(When he has repeated to this point, he calls the names of the ancestors, one by one, beginning with the oldest, inviting them to come and eat and offering them food to eat. Sometimes the offerings are thrown on the ground, sometimes they are placed in a bowl on a table. Always the male is called on first, then his wife, then another male of a nearer generation.)

III. OFFERING WINE ON NEW YEAR'S DAY TO ANCESTORS

My grandmother and my grandfather, to-day is the first day of the New Year. My three generations of female and male ancestors have come to drink New Year's wine. When you have drunk wine, you must lead your descendants forth to be scholars and civil officials and lead them to be military officials. After that you must look after your descendants so that they can raise many domestic animals. When you have drunk, you must make their descendants very numerous. You must cause the sons and grandsons to have food and drink. You must cause the descendants to accomplish so that they have meat to eat and wine to drink. Then they will first come and make offerings to you three generations of female and male ancestors so that you will all come and get (wine) to drink. When you have drunk and gone you must not nourish diseases (lest they come and injure us). You must not nourish groans, you must not nourish quarrels, you must not nourish crimes, but let the descendants farm and get food and drink. They will first make offerings to the female and male ancestors of three generations so that they may come together and drink.

(When he has spoken up to this point, then he must mention the three generations of female and male ancestors and invite them to come and make offerings to them, from the oldest even including his own sons and daughters who are dead. When he has finished these offerings the living descendants may eat breakfast.)

IV. OFFERINGS ON THE THIRD DAY OF THE NEW YEAR

My grandmother and my grandfather, the third day of the New Year has arrived. The three generations of female and male ancestors have already been here three days. The big hill is trampled down (i.e., the grass, from the people enjoying themselves on the hills). Now we invite you to come and eat the biscuits you have left over. I am going to report to you so that you may depart. You will return to your places and stand among the reeds and sit among the flowers. You go and dig up grass roots to nourish your lips (to eat). You must go still more and dig up grass roots and roots of reeds to nourish your bodies. Now you have eaten. You must go and carry away illnesses (for the descendants). You must go and carry away pains, you must go and carry away quarrels, and you must go and fill up the pits of illness and fill up the pits of groans and fill up the pits of quarrels and you must also go and collect all kinds of pain and illness. When you have collected them you must increase the strength of your descendants to farm; open clearings in the wilderness and cut down deep forests. You must cause your descendants to have food to eat, then they will make offerings to you three generations of female and male ancestors. You have eaten. You must wait the year and month when you should come and then we will invite you to come and eat meat and eat rice. You have eaten; so go. If you become hungry you can in a dream at night imitate rain and wind as a sign (and we will know that you are hungry). (This is regarded as such an omen by the Chinese.) You must not come as a sickness or a pain and injure us lest your descendants have to eat wild berries behind the house (because of hunger) and become unable to make offerings to you. Please come and drink (wine) and when you are through drinking return to your place and come back at *tuan yang* 端陽.

V. TEA MUST BE OFFERED ON THE SAME DAY (THE THIRD DAY OF THE FIRST MOON)

It is the morning of the third day of the New Year. People are through playing on both the large and the small mountains. When the remaining biscuits are all eaten up you must drink tea. When you are through drinking tea, I will inform you that you must go to your country and dig reed roots to nourish your mouths and dig up grass roots with which to nourish your bodies. When you have drunk tea, you must go and remove calamities, sickness, quarrels, and bad things. You must increase the strength of your descendants so that they can farm, so that they will have strength to climb mountains like wild pheasants running, and

go down hill like black snakes. When you have drunk it you must increase the strength of your descendants so they can go and farm. When they do their farming, do not let the grasshoppers eat it or white insects cut it off. Let your descendants have clothes and food. They will first make offerings to the female and male ancestors for three generations.

Now we want to invite the deceased ancestors all to come together and eat. When you are through eating, I will determine for you that you must wait until the fifth moon at *tuan yang* before we will again make offerings to you.

VI. OFFERINGS AT TUAN YANG 端陽 IN THE FIFTH MOON

My grandmother and my grandfather, to-day is the fifth moon feast, *tuan yang*. We invite you female and male ancestors for three generations to all come together and eat the *tuan yang* meal. xai, xai, xai.

When you have eaten it, cause your descendants to be students and civil officials. When you have drunk, go and cause them to be soldiers. When you have eaten, cause the domestic animals of your descendants to be very numerous. When you have eaten, cause your descendants to multiply and cause your descendants to have clothing and food and drink. They will then first make offerings to their female and male ancestors for three generations so they can come and drink. When you have eaten, you go. If you are thirsty, you change to wind and rain and come first and come and reveal it to us. Do not become severe illnesses and come to injure us. You must protect your descendants so they will have food and drink before they can make offerings to you. Xai, xai, xai. (We are making offerings for you to eat).

(When this has been repeated to this place, the officiator must call by name, as before described, the departed ancestors for three generations).

VII. THE OFFERINGS AT THE CEREMONY OF EATING NEW GRAIN

Xai, xai, xai. We are making offerings to our female and male ancestors of three generations. Your descendants have harvested their crops and have not yet tasted them and to-day is a propitious day. We will first come and make offerings for you female and male ancestors for three generations, to all come together and eat. When you have eaten them, you all come together and eat (the) new (grain). When you have eaten, you go and remove quarrels, add to the power of your descendants to do farming, and make clearings in the deep forests. Let your descendants have

food and drink and they will first come and make offerings to you. Let them farm and have food and drink and they will come forward again and make offerings to the female and male descendants for three generations before you can have things to drink.

(The names of the dead ancestors for three generations must be repeated and each called upon to come and eat and drink, as in previous ceremonies).

VIII. OFFERINGS TO DEPARTED ANCESTORS WHEN A GIRL IS BEING GIVEN AWAY IN MARRIAGE

Now we are giving a daughter away in marriage. The girl's family has brought meat and wine. They have prepared much meat so that it fills up a bowl. The wine is good and the bubbles stick to the cups. Much meat has been prepared and it has filled up a bowl. The bubbles of the wine float about and then stick to the sides of the cup. The descendants have not yet eaten or drunk. We will first come forward and make offerings to the female and male ancestors for three generations. When you have eaten, you must go and remove quarrels and also remove the stupid sons who are by the wayside and remove the crazy men who are by the roadside. You must increase the strength of your descendants so they can do farming and nourish their sons and daughters. In the future, your descendants will bring meat and wine and then they will first make offerings to you and then you will be able to eat and drink. Let my female and male ancestors for three generations all come together and drink. Large and small, old and young, who have formerly died, come together and drink. xAu lo xai.

(The ancestors must all be called upon by name and invited to eat and drink as described previously).

IX. OFFERINGS AT THE HOME OF THE GROOM WHEN THE BRIDE ARRIVES

xAu lo xai. To-day we are marrying a bride for our son. We have prepared the meat and the rice but we have not yet eaten. We will first come and make offerings to you. When you have eaten you must increase the strength of your descendants so they can farm. You must also add to the strength of your descendants so they can nourish their sons and daughters, and have sons and grandsons. Afterwards the sons and grandsons will also have sons and grandsons so in the future they will have great power and they will have food and drink and in the future when the marriage day arrives, they will prepare wine and meat and when they have prepared it they will not eat and drink it but will first make offerings to the female and male ancestors of three generations so they can first eat.

(As usual, the ancestors for three generations are called by name in succession according to age and invited to eat and offered the food. After this, the tables are set and the descendants and guests eat).

X. OFFERINGS AFTER A PERSON HAS DIED

You (mentions his name), you cannot come to life again as a person. You are a living demon. I have prepared wine nine times for you to drink (so you can drink nine times). Your meat is cooked. I am offering meat for you to eat. If you cannot eat it all, you must not give it to a sick demon (that causes sickness) to eat or a death demon (that causes death). You must give it to your female and male ancestors for three generations to eat. When you have eaten it, you should go and be near the clothing and belt of your grandmother and the clothing and belt of your husband's grandfather. If the Lolo are many, your grandmother will help you look after them. If the Chinese are numerous, she will also help you look after them. Now the meat is done. You cannot become alive again as a human being. You are living as a demon. Now I have prepared nine cups of wine and nine bowls of meat for you to eat. I am offering meat and rice for you to eat. If you cannot eat it all up, do not give it to the demons of death to eat. If you cannot eat it all, you must offer it to your female and male ancestors for three generations to eat. When you have eaten, you go and get near your husband's grandmother's clothing and get into your husband's grandfather's clothing. If the Lolo are numerous (in Hades) your husband's grandmother will look after them for you. If the Chinese are many, your husband's grandfather will look after them for you. Now I have already offered you nine cups of wine nine times to drink. I will now release you to go on the old road. You must go to Ntse's dwelling in heaven and live there.

(When the above has been repeated, the bamboo divining sticks are used and the name of the deceased person is called. The divining sticks indicate whether the deceased is pleased or not. If not more offerings are made until the deceased soul is satisfied.)

XI. THE OFFERINGS AT THE SAO CH'EN CEREMONY (ON THE TWELFTH DAY AFTER THE BURIAL) (THIS CEREMONY IS IN THE HOME)

Xai, xai, xai. Yesterday you (the deceased) deceived the demons. You came back to-day instead. (The burial reckons as the first day. On the 12th. (the 11th.) the dead person deceives the demons into thinking he will come back. He actually returns on the 12th. day, counted the 13th. Have you come back to find your bed and bedding? I prepared

nine cups of wine nine times for you to drink. I found a bed and covers for you to sleep on. We will cook meat and wine and rice for you to eat and drink. If you can't eat it all you must give it to your female and male ancestors for three generations. xau lo xai.

When he has repeated the above, he must make offerings to all relatives who have previously died, within three generations, including his own children, and call them all by name in succession, as described elsewhere.

XII. THE OFFERING IN THE SAO CH'EN CEREMONY.
(THE ROOSTER IS OFFERED ALIVE, THEN KILLED,
FEATHERS REMOVED, THE MEAT COOKED,
THEN CUT UP AND BROUGHT BACK
AND OFFERED AGAIN)

You have deceived the demons, coming the 13th. day (counting the day of burial as one day) instead of the 12th. (so the demons could not come along). You have come back to find a bed to sleep in. I have prepared nine cups of wine nine times for you to drink. I will also give you meat (of a rooster) to eat, and rice. If you can not eat it all up, do not give it to a demon of sickness to eat, or to a demon that causes death. You must give it to your female and male ancestors for three generations. When you have eaten, you must go and get near to their clothing (the demons of the grandparents of the groom). If the Lolo are numerous there, the grandfather (of the groom) will look after them for you. If the Chinese are numerous, he will also look after them for you.

When this point is reached, the ancestors for three generations are called by name and invited to eat as previously.

XIII. OFFERING RICE AND WINE AT THE
SAO CH'EN CEREMONY

You have deceived the demons by saying this festival is on the 12th. day when it is on the 13th. You came back to find a bed. I am going to prepare nine cups of wine nine times for you to drink. Now your meat is cooked. You are going to eat meat and rice. If you cannot eat it all do not give it to the demons that cause sickness or to the demons that cause death. You should give it to your female and male ancestors of three generations and offer it to all, old and young. When you have finished eating, you must go and stay near to your (husband's, if the deceased is the wife, his own if it is the husband) grandmother's clothing and near your (same as above) grandfather's clothing. If the Lolo get, your grandmother and your grandfather will look after you. If the Chinese get, your grandparents will look after you.

After this, the offerings are made. All the dead ancestors for three generations will be called by name and invited to eat as described before.

XIV. AFTER THE OFFERINGS HAVE BEEN MADE,
THE SOUL OF THE DEAD IS SENT BACK
TO HIS ABODE

You deceived the demons by pretending that the day for returning was the 12th. when it was the 13th. We gave you nine cups of wine to drink nine times and you have drunk it all up. Now you are dead. Human beings think of their homes and dead people think of their graves. We are sending (releasing) you back to the place you have gotten, to the grave which you have gotten, to go back to the place where your grave is.

When the leader of the ceremony has reached this place, he throws the bamboo divining sticks down on the ground. If right, the ceremony is finished. If wrong, the ceremony is repeated until things are right.

XV. THE OFFERINGS AT THE TSO CHAI CEREMONY

At the side of the house we welcome the soul of the dead. We make a bed and prepare nine cups of wine nine times for the dead person to drink, before we entice him to enter. When we repeat this once, it may count as three times. If it is repeated three times, it reckons as nine times. The uncle comes and carries the soul in a flat round bamboo basket. When he carries it to the parlor, those who play the *liu shêng* go in front and the filial children come in the rear with the soul. He carries it here and goes to the flowery shrine. He also will give you nine cups of wine for you to drink. When you have drunk, we will give you a bed. We will also boil meat and rice for you to eat and drink. When you have eaten and drunk, your children and grandchildren will change to birds and return to the forest. They will change to fish near water. We will change your *bo gi* (a sifter or container). Your body will be light. You *zê man*, i poured out nine times, nine cups of wine for you to drink. If you cannot drink it all, then you must not give it to demons of illness, or the demons of death. You must give it to the three generations of grandmothers and grandfathers. If the Lolo get near you the grandmother and grandfather will look after you. If the Chinese get you, they will look after you.

When this point has been reached, then the offerings are made and the three generations of ancestors are called as described elsewhere.

XVI. A PART OF THE TSO CHAI CEREMONY
FOLLOWING SECTION XV

Oh deceased person, the loft falls down and crushes the (lower part of the) house. The house falls down and crushes the loft. This year your soul comes back and unravels the mat. The three souls and seven *p'o* unravel the sewing basket (round and shallow, made of bamboo). Your soul has been dead one year. Your aged soul has fallen for a year. This year your aged soul has come back to loosen (take apart) the sewing basket. The souls have come back to remove money (because of sins). We are performing your memorial *tso chai* ceremony, to cause your body to be light. When you go back, then you will be near the female and male ancestors for three generations.

XVII. SENDING THE SOUL OF THE DEAD ANCESTOR
AWAY AT THE END OF THE TSO CHAI
MEMORIAL CEREMONY

Vaḡ killed his sheep. Vaḡ (the master of the ceremonies) is worshipping his demon (the souls of his dead ancestors). Vaḡ killed his pig. Vaḡ is worshipping his ancestors. Vaḡ killed his cow. Vaḡ entertains his guests. (The same word is used for entertain and worship). We can worship our ancestors but we cannot perform the ceremony of sending them away (at this time because a priest or mo must do it). To-day Vaḡ is to perform the ceremonies. He will escort the dead soul to the bank of the river. Vaḡ picked up a big stone. Vaḡ escorted the soul to the bend before Vaḡ picked up a big *su ma* biscuit. Vaḡ escorted the soul to the lower pass. Vaḡ picked up a big bamboo key. Vaḡ escorted him to another lower pass. Vaḡ picked up a brass key. Vaḡ escorted him as far as the big flat below. Vaḡ picked up a big silver bracelet. Vaḡ escorted the soul below. Vaḡ picked up a big golden bracelet. Vaḡ escorted the soul to the place where the sun rises. Vaḡ escorted the soul of the dead person to the place where he could live together with the soul of his grandparents. Vaḡ escorted him up to the sister sun. Vaḡ then saw the soul of the dead with his ancestors sitting in one place. Then Vaḡ returned home. He came to the home of those where the ceremony is being performed. He saw that their front door was closed. Vaḡ has escorted the dead ancestor's soul away and when he came back he brought the silver bracelet. The silver bracelet is as thick as your finger. He brought a golden bracelet as big around as your hand. He came to the door of the family and saw that the front door is closed. Vaḡ took the bamboo key and opened it. Will you open it? If you will open your front door the gold and

silver will come. It will come inside the house and fill it up. It has filled the big parlor. It has filled the middle hall and also the two sides.

(He opens the front door and enters and the ceremony is ended).

XVIII. CHANGING THE GRAVE. (REPEATED BY
THE MO, WHO ALONE MAY DO IT)

(In your grave) you find it hard to live and cannot sleep so you have come and want your descendants to rescue you and furnish another dwelling (grave). They have prepared clothing and a coffin and they will again pray you peacefully (so you will enjoy peace). Your descendants will also prepare for you a new house with a loft and a tile roof. You will sleep at the end of heaven. The descendants will prepare a grave for you to rescue you from the unpleasant grave into a pleasant one (by cleaning the bones, giving a new coffin, etc.). To-day you have received a very good house (coffin). You are the right size and height (for clothes and coffin). You must live nicely in there and not again want the descendants to have sickness or pain.

(The mo repeats the above and actually cleans the bones, redresses the corpse, puts it in the coffin, etc. Wine is used to wash the bones. The bones are properly placed in the clothing in the same order as when living.)

XIX. THE CEREMONY OF MAKING THE TSO CHAI
OFFERINGS TO THE DEAD

The head of the family has a manager and prepares a pipeful of tobacco for the manager who has come from the outside. The manager from the outside invited by the guests says,

"Yi" he says (the dead person), "I have released field insects (men) to control the long roads. I have released house insects (men from homes) to control the straight roads. I have released a year demon to roll into your house (a living man of one year). I have released a home insect to roll into your house. Your family has set out a big table for the large insect (manager) to sit in and have given him a pipeful of tobacco to smoke. You have arranged a stool for the manager to sit on and prepared a meal for him to eat," (The manager invited by the family itself.)

The manager called by the family says, "You have invited the big insect to come (the manager secured by the guests) to go by the long road. You have released the great insect (manager) to go on the straight road. You have released the big insect to roll into this house. The insects

in your home (people of the house) have rolled (come quickly) to our room here. We haven't a big table for the great insect to sit by. We haven't a pipeful of tobacco for the big insect to smoke or a stool for him to sit on or a meal for him to eat."

The manager secured by the guests says, "I do not know whether the great insect (the manager secured by the family) has arrived or not. We run here and look. With hands empty we come (humble). When I have arrived, he lets his hands hang down. When we come, you take a *liu shêng* and place it in your home. What affair is it?"

Then the manager for the family says, "You come and look. We will place the *liu shêng* in your house. The demon (ceremonial) drum resounds in the house. The dead ancestor has come back to take off the straw mat. (It is believed that at death a man ties one on himself to sleep in. Now it is removed so he can be more comfortable). It is the dead ancestor who has come back to take off the winnowing basket (*bo chi*). When this has been done and the old person's body is made lighter, then he (the dead ancestor) goes to see his ancestors as though the weather were very good."

Then the manager for the guests says, "I, his parent's soul has come back to remove the straw mat. His old parent's soul has come back to remove the winnowing basket, then we have run here to look. In our hands there is nothing to bring. If a person had, he would bring it and fill up a big room. Whether it is nine jars full of wine or ten jars of wine, they would bring it and fill up a big part of a room. Well, we have come empty-handed. I have said that I have to worship the demons and it is to worship the demon. People can speak. People can walk around the mountain and encircle the water and speak. I am not efficient in speaking. I point with my finger and speak. Others are efficient in speaking. They speak rapidly like the rolling of peaches and pears. I am not an able speaker. I will point with my finger at the basket for carrying things on my back and speak. Now, there is a peck of wheat, a roll of spirit money, a peck of corn, a peck of beans, ten buckets full of fiery wine, a bunch of incense and a pair of candles (given by guests to the family)."

The manager of the family says, "I, We are unwilling to accept them but probably will do so. If we do not accept them we fear you will say that we are not efficient in accepting and will say that when others come, we will accept but when you come, we will not accept. I, Probably we will accept and place them in the cesspool of the pig-pen and there will be a noise, then they cannot be seen. I am afraid that I will secretly take them away and cannot return them."

The manager chosen by the guests says, "When we come we will tread on the green grass. When we go back we will tread on tall reeds. We have come to be good friends. We are not saying that our gifts are sufficient to secure good will. It is finished. Please sit down. A, please the able ones of the family who can play the *liu shêng* and beat the drum for the dead ancestor to use when he goes and stays near his female and male ancestors for three generations and in Ntsə's flat ground."

D. MEMORIAL AND OTHER CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO.

THESE WERE SECURED FROM MR. HSIUNG CHENG TS'AI 熊正才, NOW DECEASED, OF WANG WU CHAI, WHO WAS OVER SIXTY YEARS OLD. HE WAS A SIMPLE FARMER WHO WAS SATURATED WITH THE CUSTOMS AND IDEALS OF HIS PEOPLE AND WAS SAID TO KNOW OVER A THOUSAND FOLK-SONGS.

I. THE G'A GEI OPENS THE WAY FOR THE DEPARTED SOUL TO ITS FUTURE ABODE

In the g'a gei's hands he carries a rooster. On his back he carries a bow. At his side he wears a beheading knife.

He stands beside the dead person's coffin on the west. In his hand he holds a pair of divining sticks (made of two halves of a bamboo sprout). He then repeats the following formulae.

Three times he calls out the name of the dead person saying, "Arise, arise, arise." As he calls he takes hold of the dead person's hand and pulls as though to lift the dead person up. Then he says:—

A. "I have called you three times and you are unable to reply. I pulled three times but you are unable to rise. You cannot live as a man and so you must live as a demon. Your head is bent down toward ʒaŋ nTo² na⁶ Ti⁵ (soul demon sky big hand earth). You wear the sky like a hat above your head and your head leads towards glaŋ To² na⁶ ntgaŋ (the land of dead souls or demons). I will give you nine cups of wine nine times to drink. If you cannot drink it all do not give it to demons that cause sickness for them to drink. If you cannot drink it give it to the dead demons (demons of dead persons) to drink. You give it to your ancestors for three generations. xAu⁸ lo² xA² ʒn (Drink some)."

B. "When the demons have drunk, I will lead on the road to heaven. I will offer some meat for you to eat. If you cannot eat it all you must not give it to the demons of sickness or to demons that cause death. You must give it to your ancestors for three generations.

ɣau⁵ lo² ɣau⁵. When you have finished eating you must go and stick to the corner of your grandmother's clothes. When you have finished eating, you go and stick to the bottom of grandfather's felt rug."

Then he repeats the following words:—

So, so. If I roam over all the world it stirs my mind. I will go unto the road of ɣg² ɣu² go⁶. Speaking of the earth, I have gone all over the sky. I went to ga² ɣe² k'o's residence. When ɣg² ɣu² ga² came at first, she got a flat ground. When ga² ɣe² k'o first came she got a flat in the sky.

I will lead you to ɣg² ɣu² ga's dwelling. I will also lead you to ga² ɣe² k'o's dwelling (medicine old man heal). At that time your grandmother and grandfather will also go to ɣg² ɣu² ga's dwelling. Then they will also go before you to ga² ɣe² k'o's dwelling. When you go, the rooster will go before you. The bamboo divining roots will interpret your words. When your rooster crows and the roosters of your grandmother and your grandfather reply, those are your grandmother and grandfather. If your rooster crows and no rooster answers, those are not your grandparents.

C. I will lead you to your grandparents' dwelling. Your grandparents have a well. When you arrive there, the water is fragrant, you must drink three handfuls, for at that time (when they died) your grandmother and your grandfather also drank this water.

D. Now I will lead you to Ntse's land in heaven to the dancing altar. You must go past in front of ɣwa² ɣwei's face. By the side of the road he opens his mouth wide. There is also tso² ɣwei (tiger stone) who is lying beside the road. These two want to block the road. At that time you can take a handful of firehemp (not nettles) and tear it to pieces and cover the dragon's lips. You also take some large hemp and cover up the tiger's mouth and after that you can go by (unharmd).

E. Now I will escort you up to the sky (heaven). When you have gone up the ladder to the sky, ascend to the first palace, the second palace, the third palace, the fourth palace, the fifth palace, the sixth palace, the seventh palace, the eighth palace, the ninth palace, the tenth palace, the eleventh palace and the twelfth palace. When you have reached the twelfth pavilion, you will have reached the house in the sky (heaven).

F. Now I will lead you to see the flower-altar. This flower-altar has many people (worshippers). There is a drum altar which is also wonderful. Ah, look. On this road there are very many straw sandal insects, ji. These straw sandal insects are very numerous on this road. Therefore you quickly make bamboo into sandals and wear them.

You also take shoes made of big hemp and put them on, then you go along stepping on the insects, and step on them as you go until you have trod them to death.

G. I will lead you up onto Ntse's heaven. You can look at the flowery altar and you can turn around and listen to the cuckoo calling. You also turn around and listen to the cicada singing. When you hear the cuckoo, that is the sound of your descendants below playing the *liu sheng* 六笙 and beating the drums. There is also the cicada singing and that is the weeping of your descendants.

H. Now I am going to lead you to finish dancing at the flowery altar and I will also lead you so you can be born again (as a man) on earth. We will go down the sky ladder. We will descend one pavilion, two pavilions, three pavilions, four pavilions, five pavilions, six pavilions, seven pavilions, eight pavilions, nine pavilions, ten pavilions, eleven pavilions, twelve pavilions. When we have gone past the twelfth pavilion, then we will have arrived on earth. Then you will escape from the womb and turn around on the wheel of life. (This disposes with one soul).

I. Now I will lead you to the grave (one soul). You will have a place with your father and father-in-law. That is the grave hill. You can live with them. (This disposes of a soul in the grave.)

J. Your parents-in-law will ask, "Who brought you here." You must not say that I brought you here. You may say that you came alone.

K. I will take you to the grave to be buried peacefully. You wear bamboo or hemp shoes. I will wear shoes made of vines. I will escort you to your grave and you must stay there forever, (all your life). You must send me back to life (as though his soul escorted the dead and should be sent back and not detained by the dead person's soul.) You wear shoes made of great hemp. I will wear shoes made of the bark of the dogwood tree. I will escort you into the tomb. You must escort me back to my home.

(At this time the rooster is choked to death and then a sharpened bamboo is stuck through the rooster, then it is stuck up in the ground with rooster on it or leaned against the coffin. Divining is done by means of two halves of a joint of bamboo on which there have been leaves.)

After a while, an animal is sacrificed and the ceremony proceeds as on the following pages. There are variations. Some use the bow and arrow, others do not.

II. SACRIFICING AN ANIMAL

He calls the dead person three times by name. This time he does not take hold of the dead person's hand.

"Now I call you but you do not reply. I cry to you but you do not awake. Your descendants are giving you an animal to take with you to visit your ancestors for three generations (includes ancestors by marriage.) You take one with you and send back thousands of hundreds (to your descendants.)"

When he has said this, he takes a pair of bamboo divining sticks and gives the animal to the dead person. (When he throws down the divining sticks it is regarded as having given the animal to the dead person.) After that the priest (the *g'a gei*) pours out three cups of wine then asks the man who is to kill the animal to come and kill it. Then the *g'a gei* says; "Please take this animal and quickly give it to the dead person to take to Ntse's level land to see his ancestors for three generations." After this he gives the wine to the person who is to kill the animal; he drinks it and then kills the animal. Then the *g'a gei* pours out a cup of wine for the man who plays the *liu shêng* and one for the man who beats the drum. He gives the wine to them and says, "I request you to play three roads of *liu shêng* for the dead person. (As much as can be played while going over the road three times) so the dead person can go to Ntse's land and see his departed ancestors for three generations.

III. WORSHIPPING THE SKY DEMON

First he takes a rope and ties an old sow securely. He takes a wooden water-dipper or a small bamboo cup and beats it as a drum. He has a number of children to play on bamboo flutes and they are spoken of as playing on the *liu shêng*. The priest carries a big bamboo container or basket (round and flat) in his hands in which he has placed corn, rice and beans. Then the priest speaks as he shakes about the bamboo container and its contents. This is to purify the house (to drive out the evil or unclean demons.)

The feet of the sow are bound so as to point up toward the sky so that she squeals loudly. The priest repeats his formulae. He has a companion come near him and they hold conversation. He says,

"*ŋe nts'ai ŋe lau*, (the name of the sky demon) come and take an animal from the family. You are in Ntse's heaven. You have a horse so you ride a horse. I have no horse so I will ride a wind-spirit." Then the priest takes the bamboo divining sticks and throws them into his bamboo basket. He asks, "Has it come or not." His companion then replies, "He has come." Then he says, "Since you have come, I will lead you to return to your home." At this time yellow candles made of beeswax are lighted. All are seated in the guest room. At this time it is not permitted to speak Chinese and women are not permitted to come and look. He continues to speak;

"*ŋe nts'ai ŋe lau*, you are in heaven. Come and take this pig from the old people of this family. This family will give it to you. You have a horse to ride on here. I have come but I have no horse. I will ride a wind-spirit. Are you coming."

The companion replies, "Coming". Then the bamboo divining sticks are again thrown into the basket.

IV. SPEAKING ABOUT FEEDING A PIG AND REPORTING TO THE SKY DEMON

When feeding the pig, feed one handful and then you leave for one year. We feed two handfuls and then you leave for two years. We feed three handfuls and then you leave for three years. We feed five handfuls and you leave for five years. We feed six handfuls and you leave for six years. We feed seven handfuls and you leave for seven years. We feed eight handfuls and you leave for eight years. We feed nine handfuls and you leave for nine years. When we feed him ten handfuls, you stay away a thousand hundreds of years." (Each time as he speaks of feeding a pig, he takes a handful of pigs' food and throws it upon the pig's body.) "*ŋe nts'ai ŋe lau* you are in Ntse's heaven. You come and take a pig from this family. This family will give it to you. You must make the family's illness light. You must make the family's pains light. Make their mouths and tongues light (lest they anger people), make their wrongs light and make their calamities light. Now we will end this (animal's) life and give it to you. You take it with you. Don't come back for a thousand hundreds of years (a hundred thousand years). Since you have a horse, you ride the horse. I have no horse so I will ride a wind-spirit."

"Has he come?" Then the companion of the priest answers, "He has come." At this time the pig is killed. The pig's blood is mixed with corn-meal and is rolled into biscuits. Hot water must not be poured on the pig. The hair must be

burnt off and then the skin is scraped off clean with a hoe. When this is finished the pig is cut up into small pieces so that each person gets one piece. (The size varies according to the number present.) What is left over is boiled. Tea is made of the leaves of a bush having thorns and everybody drinks some of the tea.

An offering of pork and this tea is made once. Then everybody plays on bamboo flutes. When they have finished playing, everybody eats some of the biscuits made of corn and blood (which have been cooked). When they are through eating, the priest says, "ŋe nts'ai ŋe lau, have you come?"

Then everybody replies, "He has come."

When they are about to worship the sky demon, they split the skull of the pig open and take the pig's brain and offer it to the demon. They do not tell the demon that it is pig brains but say to the demon, "This is salt." Then they offer some salt and say, "This is ashes we are using to worship you." Then the priest says, "ŋe nts'ai ŋe lau. Have you come?" Then all reply, "Come", (that is, he has come). (1) Have you come to eat pig brains, will you come? (2) They reply, "He has come." He then offers the pig's liver and says, "Have you come?" They reply, "He has come." He offers the pig's kidneys and says, "Have you come?" They reply, "He has come." He offers the intestines and says, "Have you come?" They reply, "He has come." Then in the same way the stomach, some of the bloody biscuits, then rice are offered, each time with the same question and the same answer.

When the above has been finished, they take the ropes used to tie the pig, the bamboo flutes, and the seven wooden knives used to cut the blood biscuits, and they bring them and say, "Now we are going to escort baŋ ts'ə out of doors." Then the priest sings the following song;

"The flowers will slowly fade away."

"jaŋ lau gu hnAn (Mr. Yang who is excellent at shooting arrows) came for a long time to-day. He will return to Ntsə's plain. Because the Chinese were not efficient in worshipping the sky demon, they wanted me, jaŋ lau, to go and help the Chinese worship him. At that time the pig's heart of these Chinese stuck to the cooking-vessel.

And the Chinese said that I, jaŋ lau gu hnAn ate it.

They said that I swallowed it. So the Chinese brought soldiers and surrounded my house and attacked. Ntsəu, the Chinese, with an arrow shot me dead.

He killed me dead below that stone slab
And threw me over the cliff.

Now, ŋe nts'ai ŋe lau, ah,
Now this family's pig has been killed and eaten up.
The pig pen has been split up and burnt.
You (the demon) go and you must not come back.
We have escorted you to Ntsə's sky to live.
Go, go, go, go.

Then all the ropes that tied the pig, the seven wooden knives, the sticks used in tying the pig, and the bamboo cups are all taken outside and thrown into the mouth of a cave on the side of a cliff. Then the front door of the house is closed and it is not opened again for three days.

V. SONG SUNG WHEN RECEIVING A BRIDE INTO A HOME

To-day is a lucky day. The heaven and the earth will *k'ai chang* 開張 (begin). One table has four legs. On it are set plates containing food, wine for the guests, to send the gods away (with good will). One table has four legs. A pair of phoenixes visited with the *yüan yang* 鴛鴦 (male and female geese). The Ho family called two go-betweens and the girl's parents invited two also. From to-day at dinner time, they took a brass brush to worship the gods with. Ntsə no ŋin (a Miao god) is here and all is well.

In the Miao Language Only.

xai, xau lo xai, (Drink again spirit). The flowers are blooming in the forest. The fruit develops up from the roots (of a tree). Bo Na prepared for the ceremony of receiving the bride. ŋe gi (the old father) warmed up the ears and eyes of the girl's relatives. (Making them willing to marry the girl off). The Chinese have books and they read their books. We Miao have no books but count the number of days (to determine the lucky and unlucky days, depending on memory). This day has come and we have made arrangements to receive the bride. The Chinese have books and they study their calendars. The Miao have no books. We reckoned up the weather until to-day. The children are all dressed up for a new bride. To-day we have dressed up our son and our daughter-in-law in new clothing. We have them ride mules and dress up the relatives and have them ride mules. We dress up the son and the daughter-in-law like new guests. When our sons and daughters pass along the road (on mules) they are higher than the terrace (above the road.) When the Miao people see, it thy say that probably these are Chinese. When the Chinese see it they say that we are sending a bride, a daughter of a headman.

When we were escorting the bride here, we rode mules. When we came, our daughter came also to the home of you old people here. Let the bride and the groom eat food from one bowl (to denote harmony) and drink water and wine from one cup. When our daughter comes to you here, we will commemorate the lives (souls) of her parents. xAu lo xai.

We will make offerings to the life of the house, the life (or soul) in the field, the soul (life) of our lives, the life of the earth, the lives of the bride's ancestors, the life of the ridge, the life of the bend, the life of the seed, the life of the rear of the house, and these lives will come together to eat meat, and together will drink wine.

We will make offerings to the life of the garden, of the front door, of the smaller (side) doors, of the looms, and they will all come together. xAu lo xai. We came halfway and we made offerings to the life of the half-way road. We came through nine bends and made offerings to the lives of the nine bends. We came past the ten bends and there were ten dragons' lives. We made offerings to the ten dragons' lives so they could eat meat. We made offerings to the life of the fogstreaks along the mountain-side so it would come and drink wine and drink it through its lips onto its tongue. When you have drunk, give some to the crazy people along the road (so they will not come). When you have eaten and drunk, you must go and watch the house for the bride's relatives. Come you all, xAu lo xai.

We have come to your home and have escorted the bride to see her father and mother-in-law. After three mornings we will take her back to see her father and mother. We have escorted the girl to the home of you old folks. If your meat is good, bring a bowlful. If your wine is good, bring a cupful.

The meat has come but we have not yet eaten it. Wine has come but we have not drunk it. We will turn the spoon over and offer (some wine). We will make offerings to you people here (your lives). We will make offerings to the life of your house, or the rear of the house, the rice-field, the earth, the bed, your ancestors, the front door, the side door, the yard gate, the looms, so they will all come together and eat meat and drink wine. When we have made the offering you come and live with us. Tomorrow, be companions with us, xAu lo xai.

We have come to escort the girl here. When we return, you husband and wife, drink wine out of one cup and eat rice out of the same bowl. When you two go together to farm, let the son work on the farm outside and the girl at home. When the son has worked on the farm and returns, his body will be dirty from clay and the bride will come out and speak jokingly and laugh. xAu lo xai.

May you (bride and groom) in the future have plenty to eat and when you speak have results, and when others see you, may they praise you.

Once a man and his wife made a clearing. When they did it stirred the mind of lo- ㄗㄨㄢ (a very distant family). They began to cut down the deep forest and it disturbed lo- ㄗㄨㄢ's liver. They cut down a narrow piece of land and came to climb that mountain.

In the spring the weather was hot and the place was also hot. The sky was very dry. The earth was also very dry. The man took fire and burnt the mountain. The woman also lighted a fire and went with him to burn the mountain. They burnt on both sides as far as the bottom of the mountain. Then the man and the woman came back to sleep. They slept until next morning and the man took the seed and put it into the seam of his garment. The woman also took pumpkin seeds and rice seeds and put them inside a cloth. Then the man scattered three handfuls on the edge of the field and when it grew up it was like brambles. The woman sowed three handfuls in the ground. When it grew up, it was as deep as bitter bamboo. The man also scattered three handfuls on the pass. It grew up like bamboo. The woman sowed three handfuls on the ridge. When it grew up it was like bamboo limbs. The heads of grain were like *kao liang*. Its stalks were like bamboo. A big wind blew which was not good. It blew down the grain as though a person had pushed it over in a pile. The stalks fell down near an artificial terrace. The man could carry only three sheaves. The woman could carry only three stalks. The man carried it to his home. The woman carried it only half-day. Because the woman could not carry, when she had gone half-way she began scolding. The man carried enough to fill up nine rooms. The woman carried enough to fill up nine small lofts. The husband and his wife now had enough to eat. tao ㄗㄨㄢ praised them. The two now had enough to eat and to wear. The Miao ㄗㄨㄢ praised them.

The wife was standing in the door of her bedroom. The man stood in his golden door. (Probably this is poetical). The mother had nine daughters. The husband had ten sons. The older brother was without a name and they named him ㄗㄨㄢ fu (old person happiness). The second oldest was named ㄗㄨㄢ gy. When the oldest brother grew up, he walked through the door of the heavenly well very happily. When the younger brother went through that door he carried a plow beam on his shoulders.

There was a third son who was named $\tilde{z}\epsilon$ i lau (old one left side). The next younger was named $\tilde{z}\epsilon$ i lan.

When the oldest brother went out of the heavenly well, he at once began studying how to sing. When the next older went out of the heavenly well, he at once began studying how to play the *liu shêng*. The oldest brother sang songs like the singing of orioles. The next younger brother played the *liu shêng* like the singing of the red bird.

The mother had nine daughters and could not find enough names for them. She named the second one Ma ntso (sister able at weaving). She named the oldest sister ma mba (sister silk). The second oldest sister went out of the heavenly well door and remembered to work at the loom. The oldest sister went through the door of the heavenly well and remembered to work the wheel to wind thread. When she trod the wheel it resounded. When the loom (turned) it sounded as though laughing.

The mother had nine daughters. The father had ten sons. Another daughter was named ma^5 mao² (cat). An older sister was named ma^5 mbai² (cousin). When the younger sister went out of the door (in the morning when they went out of the sleeping-rooms) of the heavenly well, she remembered and made embroidery. When the older sister went out of the door of the heavenly well, she remembered to dye flowery skirts.

The mother had nine daughters, the father ten sons. An older brother had no name. He was named $\tilde{z}\epsilon$ gau. The younger brother was named $\tilde{z}\epsilon$ gau gan. The older brother, when he went out, did not discuss people's daughters. When the younger brother went out, he did not discuss people's wives. When the older brother went out, he wanted to find money to use in engaging a wife. When the younger brother went also, he also wanted to find money with which to engage a wife.

There was another older brother who was named $\tilde{z}\epsilon$ la (happy). There was another younger brother whom they named $\tilde{z}\epsilon$ lo (big). When the older brother went out of the heavenly well, he went to sell pigs. When the younger brother went out of the heavenly well, he went to sell cattle. The older brother drove the younger brother's cows to the city Wu Chiu. The younger brother drove some pigs to Chengtu. The older brother gained enough silver to fill up a big bag. The younger brother sold the pigs and made enough gold to fill a big bag. The older brother could not

carry all his silver. The younger had silver and helped his older brother carry some silver. The older brother used his silver to buy an old rice-field. The field that the older brother bought had its boundaries on the pass. That boundary, if a Chinese came, even he could not take away.

The field that the younger brother (bought) had a boundary on the ridge. If the Lolos came, even they could not take it away. Let the sons of the Lolos come to contest the boundary and we will spank them with a board, (disrespectful joking).

A Chinese came and struggled for the field that the younger brother bought. The younger brother used bamboo slats and spanked the Chinese.

The older brother erected a house with his silver. He would not talk much. He hid his silver under the tiles of his house.

The younger erected a house with his gold. He hid his gold under some tile and covered it up.

The older brother's house (which he built) he ornamented with images on the roof, and they pointed towards Suifu.

The house the younger brother lived in had four wings (like birds) and they pointed towards Shang Ling.

When the older brother went out of his heavenly well, he was like a good official in the city. When the younger brother came out of his house (heavenly well) he was like an older son of an emperor.

The older brother had a big mother cat. Her kittens were all males.

The younger raised pigs as numerous as the sands. All the young pigs were males.

The water buffaloes came up to the pass. Their calves were all bulls. He raised dogs. The pups were all males.

If you raise chickens, you need fine sand. The chicks hatched were all males. The ducks were in the bamboo grove. The rats in the house were a big band in front of the fire-grate.

xau lo xai.

If I make offerings to the ancestors, I have no foundation. I have delayed you old people who sat and waited for things to eat to come and they (edibles) did not come. I have no foundation for offering domestic animals. I have delayed you, a band of old people, for you have seen things but you could not get them to eat. You couldn't even taste the wine. xau lo xai.

NOTES ON THE HAN DYNASTY GRAVE
COLLECTION IN THE WEST CHINA UNION
UNIVERSITY MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY

by

DAVID C. GRAHAM



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NOTES ON THE HAN DYNASTY GRAVE COLLECTION
IN THE WEST CHINA UNION UNIVERSITY
MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY

DAVID CROCKETT GRAHAM

In Volume IV of the JOURNAL OF THE WEST CHINA BORDER RESEARCH SOCIETY, Rev. Thomas Torrance published an article entitled "Notes on the Cave-tombs and Ancient Burial Mounds of Western Szechwan." This was not the first article which Mr. Torrance had written on this subject, for to him more than to any other person is due the credit of discovering that the artificial caves of West China are Chinese tombs rather than aborigine dwellings. The article mentioned above is illustrated by eleven large photographs, each picture showing from two to thirty-four objects. All the objects in the pictures are in the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology. At that time there were about three hundred such objects in the Museum, most of which were found *in situ* by Mr. Torrance.

Since then the work of collecting has been handicapped because of restrictions against excavation but in spite of difficulties the collecting has gone steadily forward until there are now in the Museum about one thousand such articles. Due to the construction of roads, the accidental opening of tombs by farmers and the purposeful work of soldiers and others who wished to sell the materials found, there has been a constant stream of valuable objects purchasable in Chengtu, and if a satisfactory sale could not be made here the objects were taken to Chungking, Harkow, Nanking or Shanghai.

The main part of the collection is pottery. There are large and small houses, and houses with flat roofs, with slate or flat tile roofs, and with curved-tile roofs. Several of the houses have roofs with upturned corners and ends indicating that such houses were common in West China during the Han Dynasty. There are round drainage pipes, burnt-clay imitations of bells ornamented by images of elephants, horses, sheep, deer and other animals, three of them having one animal standing on the back of another. There are images of scholars, warriors, musicians, comedians, cooks, blacksmiths and common servants, long-sleeved dancers, and pretty women. There are warriors with their swords and shields, cooks preparing fish, a woman carrying a baby on her back, and men or women carrying pet birds in their hands. There are clay coffins and coffin lids, jars and jugs with or without handles, bowls, vases, artificial ponds containing fish, salamanders, snails, geese, ducks and boats, imitation "stone hills" such as are seen in the flower gardens of well-to-do homes to-day, and images of horses, sheep, dogs, pigs, tigers or leopards, geese, ducks, pigeons, and chickens.

In Szechwan the Han Dynasty Chinese buried their dead in two ways. One was by placing the coffin on the surface of the ground and erecting a dirt mound over it and the other was by chiselling cave-tombs in the sandstone cliffs. In both of these ornamental bricks were sometimes used. The museum has a large collection of these, some of which have beautiful and interesting designs.

Originally there were in the tombs gold, silver, jade, and bronze articles besides numerous coins and many clay objects that were replicas of things or living creatures useful in real life, but practically all the tombs were looted many centuries ago. The looters smashed most of the clay objects and took away practically everything else. In many of the caves even the clay objects and the sherds have completely disappeared. Rarely a broken or whole bronze vessel is found.

Most of the pottery, as elsewhere in China, is gray. Very often the surface has been discoloured or covered up by the reddish sand and dirt in the caves, for practically all the cave-tombs of Szechwan are in red sandstone. A type that is rarely seen, but which has been found in different parts of Szechwan, is made of an orange-yellow clay, tint No. 1 according to the Bradley Standard Colour Chart, popularly called a light brick red or yellow. This fine clay, the colour of which is due to the presence of iron, has been purposely chosen because of the "golden" colour. Objects of this material have been found at Suifu 叙府 and at Hsin Ching 新津.

A rare type that is sometimes met is coloured black on its surface. This type has been handed down, probably, from the black-pottery period of late neolithic times.

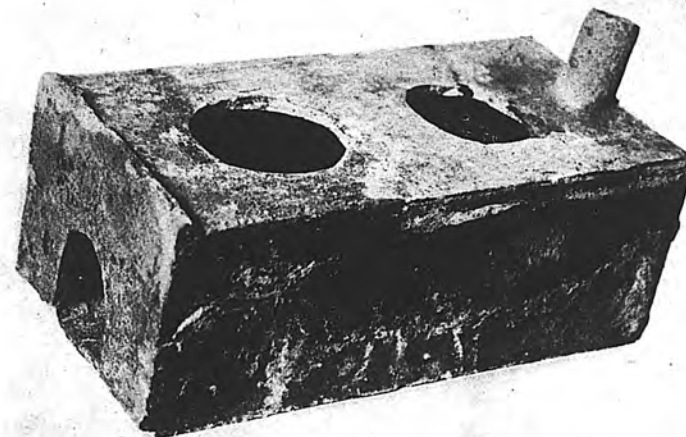
Another rare type has been painted a bright red colour. Samples of this kind have been found at Sian and in northern China. This colour resembles red ochre and water washes it away quickly. In the collection are samples of houses and vases, the insides of dishes, the garments or parts of the garments of men and women, the comb and feathers of a chicken, and other things that have been painted red.

More rare, possibly, is a white or yellow "slip" where this colour has been obtained by painting with or dipping into light clay. This reminds one of the white or light yellow slip of the neolithic black pottery and of the Hangchow cultures.

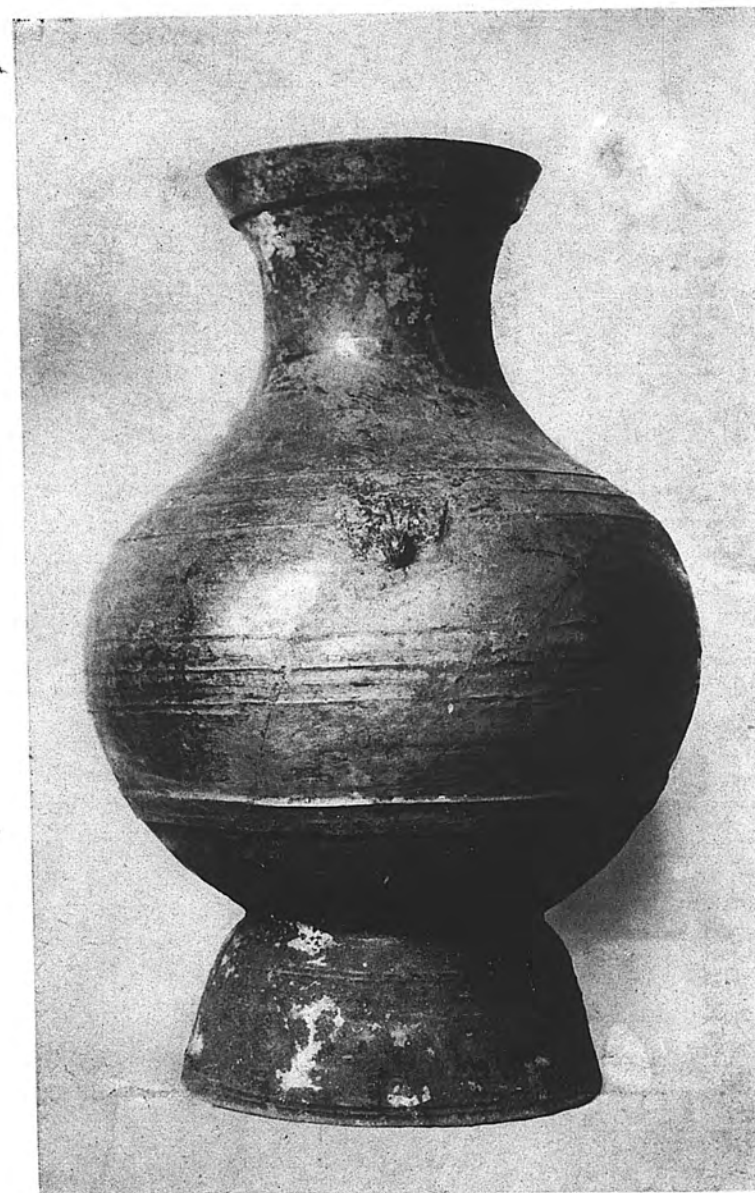
Of special interest are lead-glaze objects. Some are a deep green in colour. A good sample is a pug-nosed dog from Changsha. But this glaze is sometimes a very pale green and rarely the beautiful silvery glaze. The Museum has several large and interesting sherds, a full-sized dog, two small bowls, and a house from Honan of the beautiful silvery glaze.



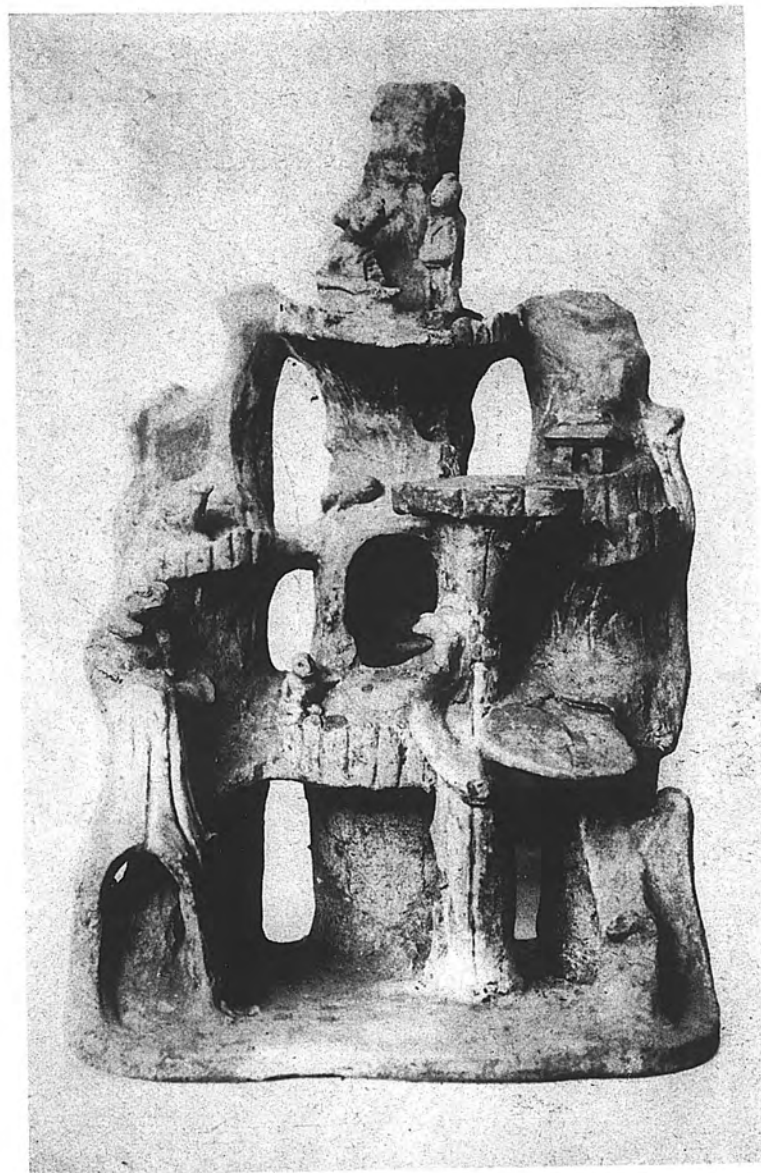
A large dog from a Han Dynasty Chinese cave-tomb. It is of gray clay, which was painted white. Note that the dog is flat nosed, tail curling over its back, and was led by a rope or chain tied to a ring at the back of the neck, which ring was fastened to a belt going around the dog's chest and another around its neck. Length 570 mm. Height 547 mm.



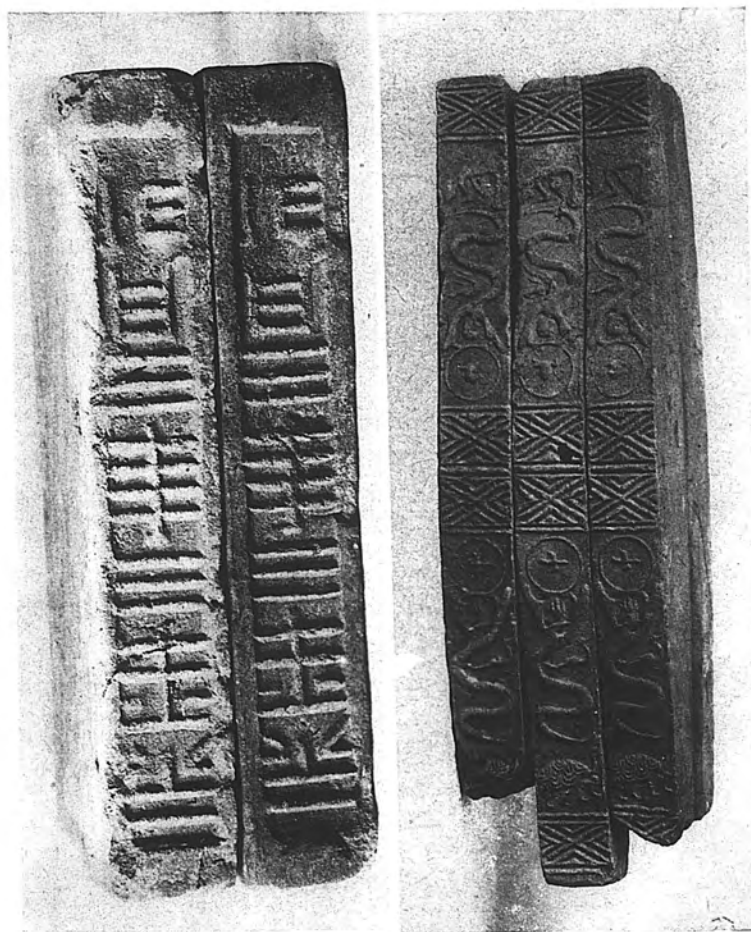
A gray clay stone from a Han Dynasty Chinese cave-tomb. Length—368 mm. With—182 mm. Height—140 mm.



A large gray earthen ware vase or jug from a Han Dynasty Chinese cave-tomb. Note the inverted bat design, or a bat hanging upside down. This vase was painted a bright red color.
Height 630 m.m.
Maximum diameter—325 m.m.



A "stone mountain" found in a Han Dynasty Chinese cave-tomb. Note the small shed, and images of people, dog, and other creatures. The top is shaped so as to hold a large candle, a flag, or other similar objects.
Height 670 m.m.



Bricks from the Han Dynasty Chinese cave-tomb, dated A.D. 60 or A.D. 70. These and the other objects described in these notes are in the *West China Union University Museum of Archaeology*. Note the images of mermaids, turtles, frogs, and flying birds. Length of bricks on right—848 millimeters.

Thickness—75 millimeters.

Rarest of all is the brown proto-porcelain jug, vase or jar. Most authorities date this between the Han and the Tang Dynasties but some of the best of recent authorities insist that it dates back into the Han.

Coming to the bronze objects, there is a peck measure and also a half-peck measure which were found when a road was built near Chengtu. There are a fine big jar with a ring on each side, resembling many of the earthenware jars, a small bronze chariot bell, a rare coin-tree described in a previous Journal, a similar bronze with small circles and several beautiful bronze mirrors. There is a small lamp from Szechwan and another from Honan or Shantung which resemble the Coptic lamps of Egypt, a cooking vessel with a handle, numerous Han Dynasty coins, spear points and two hairpins.

There is a pig about three inches long, carved out of white stone. The writer found several in the Han tombs at Suifu, saw others at Changsha and bought one at Tsinan, Shantung.

There is a beautifully carved round, flat circle that some Chinese call white jade. It is of high artistic value and the patterns are probably symbolic.

The final description of this collection should make an important contribution to the study of Chinese grave customs and of Chinese history and art.

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AN EXPEDITION TO THE CHINA-TIBETAN BORDER

DAVID CROCKETT GRAHAM

Dr. J. G. Andersson, the famous geologist and archaeologist, with his secretary, Miss Dorf, arrived in Chengtu on June 2, 1937. Later, with the help of Dr. Fu Ssü Nien 傅斯年, Director of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica, an agreement was reached with the Szechwan National University and the Szechwan Provincial Government for a geological and archaeological surveying expedition to the Si-Kang region. Szechwan University appointed as its representative Prof. Chou Hsiao-Ho 周晓和, a geologist who graduated from the University of Lyons. Dr. Fu Ssü Nien telegraphed to Nanking for Mr. Ch'i Yen-p'ei 祁延霈, a graduate of Ts'ing Hua University, Peiping, now in the Department of Archaeology in the Academia Sinica. D. C. Graham was appointed as the representative of the West China Union University. By the terms of the agreement, the party was to survey, not excavate, and all the objects collected were to be left with the Szechwan National University, duplicates to be given to the Museum of Archaeology of the West China Union University.

The writer also conducted his eleventh summer collecting expedition for the Smithsonian Institution, the United States National Museum. This was the first expedition in cooperation with Chinese Government agencies, which provided three experienced collectors while the writer provided seven Chinese collectors and secured the assistance of Rev. R. R. Holder. Mr. Holder killed a takin, a grizzly bear and a black bear. The expedition secured about 20,000 insects, about 100 birds, some mammals, and fish, snakes, and lizards.

The Geological and Archaeological Surveying Party and the Natural History Party started for Yachow in a truck and a bus on June 25th. Prof. D. S. Dye accompanied the party as far as Chiung Chou 邛州. On the 26th we arrived at Yachow where we remained two days surveying the nearby terraces.

On the 29th we started from Yachow with thirty pack animals, arriving in Tatsienlu on the 5th of July. The next few days were spent repacking for the journey to the grasslands, except the 7th on which we took a trip to Yü Lung Kung 玉龍宮. On the tenth the natural history collectors went out on the north road to spend the next few weeks collecting about Chung Ku 中古, Hai Tzu Shan 海子山, and Jedo while the Geological and Archaeological Party, with thirty yak as pack animals and ten riding horses, started out for Zurihaki, Ying Kuan Chai 營官寨. T'ai Ning 泰寧, Tao Fu 道孚, and Sharatang.

Near Tao Fu Prof. Chou, after several days of search, discovered an iron deposit that in the future may furnish much of the iron used in eastern Tibet. Dr. Andersson also discovered several glacial deposits or moraines that had not previously been noticed by geologists. The most important of these is on the Tong River about twenty li upstream from Lu Ting Ch'iao 瀘定橋. It is my opinion that these discoveries will make necessary a restudy of the glacial deposits of the Sikang region.

Some of the archaeological results were negative. We had rather high ideals for an archaeological site. If possible we hoped to find animal bones, ashes and other signs of fire, pottery, bone and stone implements, and enough material to indicate the approximate date and the main traits of a culture. We investigated some of Mr. Edgar's sites with negative results. At Jedo we found surface stones that resembled stone implements and ruins of houses, but not enough so that we considered it to be a site. At Zurihaki we concluded that the stones that might be taken as implements had been carried there by the yak drivers and were there because they had been thrown at the yak by the Tibetans. We found no evidence that it was a site or was a habitation of prehistoric man, and we did not accept the stones as implements. The fact is that our research on this expedition raised very serious problems about the chipped implements both as to their date and as to their genuineness, and the party did not collect a single stone implement that it unanimously accepted as a paleolith.

Numerous yellow clay or loess deposits were found, and in some there were sherds and bones. In all over twenty sites were discovered. A rock shelter yielding bones and sherds and giving evidence that it had long been used by man was found across the river from Ying Kuan Chai. An ancient ash-heap yielding black, matmarked sherds and animal bones was found across the river from Tao Fu. At Gu E the loess terraces contained sherds and bones and an ash-line fifty feet long was found containing a great deal of pottery. On the east side of the river near Tao Fu, in a loess deposit fifteen li long, the party located fifteen sites, a casual investigation of which resulted in the securing of quantities of pottery and some fine bone and stone implements. The bone tools were awls or punches and the stone implements were "neolithic" or finely-made smooth-stone implements.

It is unsafe to call all chipped stone implements paleolithic, as we have been inclined to do in the past, because chipping continued in Europe up into the bronze age and may have continued in West China until very recent times. It is unsafe to call all stone implements made by rubbing



Pack animals of the expedition near Tao Fu, loaded and ready to start back to Tatsienlu.



Left to right, Prof. Chou Hsien-ho of Szechwan University, Miss Dorf, secretary to Dr. Andersson, Mr. Ch'i Yen-n'ei of the Academia Sinica, Mr. Hanson-Lowe, Rev. R. Cunningham, Mrs. Cunningham, Rev. R. Holder, Dr. J. G. Andersson, and David C. Graham, on the front porch of the China Inland Mission residence, Tatsienlu.



Dr. J. G. Andersson investigating a glacial deposit near Zhurhaki, Si-Kang.



David Graham investigating a prehistoric site near Tao Fu, in the Si-Kang region.

"neolithic" because the making of such implements probably continued in West China until recent centuries. Before China passed the laws restricting excavation, the writer made an excavation in his back yard on the campus of the West China Union University. Just above the river pebbles he found early Ming pottery and early Ming coins, and he also found a piece of sandstone that had been rubbed into a knife blade which was probably being used during the Ming Dynasty in Chengtu. Most of the sites found on this expedition were prehistoric and some were very likely neolithic. But not a single paleolithic site was discovered.

Some of the types of pottery and stone implements found near Tao Fu seem to be different from any previously discovered, so that this region may have developed cultural types of its own. The main kinds of pottery were red, dark gray, and black.

The discoveries made by our expedition are of much scientific significance, and should result in the future in many fruitful excavations yielding interesting and valuable knowledge of man's past history and cultures. No doubt there are many more sites to be discovered, and the problem of paleoliths in Szechwan and in the Sikang region is still to be solved. The official report of the expedition will be published by the Academia Sinica.

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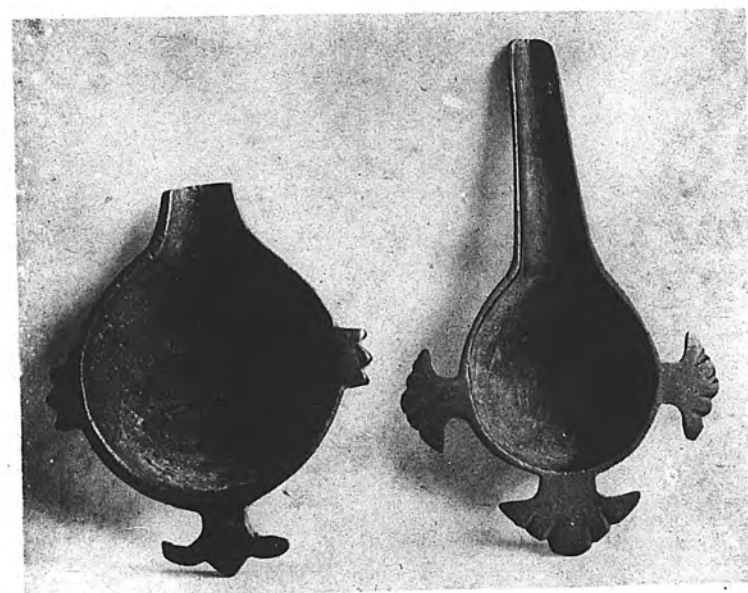
NOTES ON TWO SMALL BRONZE LAMPS IN
THE WEST CHINA UNION UNIVERSITY
MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY

DAVID CROCKETT GRAHAM

In the fall of 1935 Dr. Carl Schuster came to Chengtu and spent a few days in the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology. In the Museum he found a small bronze lamp which closely resembles the Coptic lamps that were used in Egypt during the early Christian centuries, but which was purchased in Chengtu about the year 1930. It is believed to be a Han dynasty lamp. Later Dr. Schuster very kindly sent to the Museum pictures of Egyptian Coptic lamps, and the information that there is an article about the Coptic lamps has been published by Oskar Wulff, (*Altchristliche und mittelalterliche byzantinische Bildwerke, Teil I; Altchristliche Bildwerke, Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Beschreibung der Bildwerke christlichen Epochen, dritter Band, Zweite Auflage, Berlin, Georg Reimer, 1909, plate 53, No. 1061*). He also stated that there is a similar Coptic lamp in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, accession number 13.182.11, negative number 19610.

In November, 1936, the writer was in Tsinan, Shantung Province, and in company with Prof. Drake visited the antique stores. Among the ancient bronzes in one of the stores he found a similar lamp which the dealer asserted was a Han dynasty lamp, and which he later, in Peiping, showed to Dr. Schuster. Since then Dr. Schuster has found several lamps of this kind in China.

The writer has consulted several Chinese archaeologists, and has carefully examined the Po Ku T'u 博古圖, the K'ao Ku T'u 考古圖, and the Chin Shih So 金石索, three of the largest and best old archaeological books written in Chinese. He has found no mention of such lamps in these books, and no Chinese archaeologist who knows anything about them. It seems likely that there is a relationship between the Chinese Han dynasty bronze lamps and the Coptic lamps of Egypt, but considerable research is necessary before it can be determined what the relationship is.



Two small bronze lamps in the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology. The one filed off, was collected in Chengtu. The one on the right was collected in Tsinan, Shantung Province. Length of longest—74 mm.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

by

DAVID C. GRAHAM

SEEN BY

Reprinted from
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1937—Vol. IX, pp. 225—226

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PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

DAVID CROCKETT GRAHAM

The West China Border Research Society was organized in 1922. After nearly two years had elapsed the first Journal was published, with sixty-four pages of printed matter exclusive of maps and anthropometrical statistics. The Society then had a membership of fourteen. From this small beginning the Society has steadily grown until it has published one Journal with three hundred and twenty-two pages exclusive of maps, drawings, and photographs. There are approximately two hundred and twenty members, and the exchange list includes scientific journals in China, Canada, the United States, England, Sweden, Germany, Russia, India, Belgium, Hongkong, Australia, and several South American countries.

The Society originally existed for research among the Tibetans and aborigines only and membership was open to those who could make expeditions to the borderland of China and Tibet and carry out investigations among non-Chinese people. The purpose has been enlarged to include research in Chinese customs, history, and culture, and membership is open to all who are interested in research, approve of the Society and its work, and wish to help the Society and share its benefits. It is worthy of note that among the members of the Society are some who live in East China, Canada, the United States, and Europe, who are recognized throughout the world as scholars of high rank. We think of Dr. Joseph Rock, Dr. H. Smith of Upsala University, Prof. Erich Haenisch of the University of Berlin, Sir Joseph Flavelle of Toronto, Dr. Lucius Porter, Dean Sage, Sir Eric Teichman, and others.

Among those who have made outstanding contributions to this Society either by contributing articles or by serving as officers and members of committees are J. Huston Edgar, W. R. Morse, A. J. Brace, S. C. Yang, D. S. Dye, T. E. Plewman, T. Torrance, S. H. Liljestrang, Leslie G. Kilborn, and W. G. Sewell. There is a much larger list of those who have served faithfully as officers or members of committees, but it should be emphasized that every member that has paid the membership dues and has attended the meetings has contributed to the success of the Society.

At present the West China Border Research Society is not financially embarrassed. This is due in part to the fact that we have a good number of members who pay their dues, and in part to the work of our editors. Not a little credit is due to our present treasurer, Mr. Simkin. Through the

Journal the Society has become known in many foreign countries, and during the past year the Journal has been favourably reviewed in several important Chinese scientific journals, so that it now stands high in the estimation of Chinese scholars.

The death of J. Huston Edgar was a great loss to the Society. Some of the main "standbys" of the Society have gone to their homelands never to return. There are fewer missionaries than there were a decade ago so that many who could and wish to do research work are too busy. More men and women are needed who can do worth-while research and make the results available through lectures and articles to be published in the Journal.

There is an increasing number of Chinese scholars in West China, and more of them should be welcomed as members of our Society. This will enable the Society to take on new life and to develop into an organization of greater usefulness. It would be worth while to publish some articles in Chinese with translations into English and also translations into Chinese of the most important articles that are published in English.

It is interesting to note that many literary and scientific societies are making earnest endeavours to increase their membership. This is illustrated by the following paragraph from the President's Report of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, delivered at the annual meeting, June 30, 1936.

"Our chief need at the moment is an increased membership, and, with all that the Society is now offering the Shanghai community, it is not unreasonable to assume that many residents in this great city would be only too glad to join our ranks if properly approached. I would like to make an earnest appeal to all members of the Society to put forth a special effort during the coming year to secure more members and in every way to forward the interests of the Society, which, as the oldest cultural institution in Shanghai, if not in the whole of China, should be taking a definite lead in intellectual matters in this country."*

Such an appeal I pass on to you today. Our Society is worthy of your support. Its field for research is one of the most interesting in the world, and there is a great deal to be discovered in West China that is of world-wide interest. In order that we may maintain our present efficiency and usefulness, and attain to higher standards in the future, every officer and committeeman should do his best, and every member of the Society should help secure more members, should offer friendly criticisms and suggestions, and should do everything possible to forward the interests of the Society.

*Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
Volume LXVII—1936, proceedings, iii.

ON FOOT TO FREEDOM

1939

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ON FOOT TO FREEDOM

A diary of Experiences during the Sino-Japanese War

by

Rev. Newton Chiang

with an introduction by

Rev. Douglas N. Sargent



Canadian Mission Press
Chengt'u, West China
1939

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翼振會長過難入川紀念

歷艱難作人

宋誠之敬題



二十六年五月

ON FOOT TO FREEDOM

A story of experiences during the Sino-Japanese War

Rev. Newton China

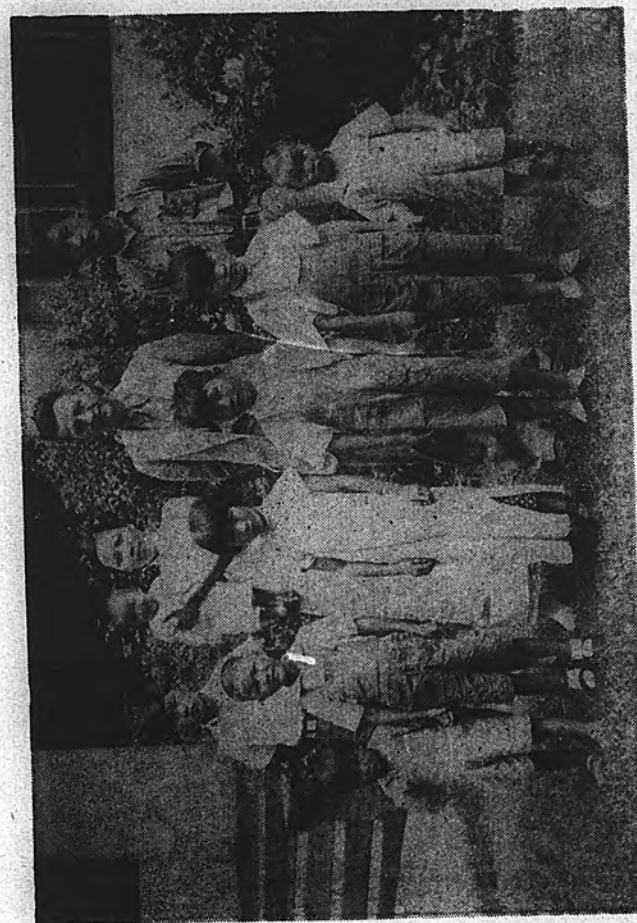
Rev. Joseph M. Rogers

DEDICATED

to the hundreds of thousands of my fellow countrymen, who have passed through similar and even worse experiences during the present hostilities.

London: Mission Press, 1937

The Chinese words overleaf, written by Bishop C. T. Song, form a most fitting introduction to this booklet. They mean that it is the experience of suffering that makes a man. The right hand column states that these words are written to commemorate the hardships of Mr. Chiang's journey, whilst on the left is Bishop Song's signature. Mr. Chiang's own signature is to be found on the cover.



REV. NEWTON CHIANG AND FAMILY

INTRODUCTION. † † † †

AS I read the original manuscript of Mr. Chiang's diary of his experiences during the early part of the Sino-Japanese war, there was one phrase of, I believe, Robert Louis Stevenson's that was constantly in my mind. "To travel hopefully is better than to arrive and the true success is labour". In one respect the thought was singularly inappropriate for few Chinese would agree with the idea behind the quotation. For the most part they dislike travelling and feel, in the words of one of their proverbs that "Home is always good. Travelling is invariably hard".

Perhaps if we combine these two sayings, they will serve as a summary of the experience described in this booklet. The travelling was hard but it was undertaken hopefully—nay, more, than hopefully, triumphantly. Patience is a strong characteristic of the Chinese and patience is a great virtue. There is, however, an even greater way of facing suffering. That is to meet it joyfully and to transform it into a means of blessing. This is the truly christian attitude and this is the triumph that God has promised to all those who will fully trust Him.

In preparing Mr. Chiang's manuscript for publication. I have added various topographical explanations and made certain references to the positions of the Japanese troops at different times, in order to make it easier for the western reader to appreciate the exact position in which Mr. Chiang and his family were placed. Beyond such necessary reshaping, I have allowed Mr. Chiang to tell his own story.

The early christians, through times of persecution proved that God's grace was sufficient, so that Paul could write "I can do all things through Christ, who strengthens me". This God of theirs they declared to

be "the same, yesterday, to-day and for ever." That this was no empty boast, the church in China is proving again to-day. This booklet is one further piece of evidence to prove that God is still alive "to show Himself strong on the behalf of them that fear Him".

—DOUGLAS N. SARGENT

August, 1939.

ON FOOT TO FREEDOM. † † † †

THE heat of a Nanking summer was slowly giving way before the cooling breezes of August as accompanied by my wife and seven sons, I made my way into the capital. I had accepted an invitation to join the faculty of the Nanking Theological Seminary and as I walked through the fine new modern streets of the famous old city, I could not but rejoice at the prospect that lay before me. I had always been most keenly interested in boys' work and now I had been invited to teach in the Seminary on the subjects concerning the religious education of children and the teaching work of the church. The coming autumn seemed full of promise with my family happily settled and surrounded by christian friends.

We had, however, but four days in which to dream our dreams for on August 13th fighting broke out in Shanghai. Two days later bombing attacks on Nanking began.

There is no need to dwell on the horror of those next few weeks—the repeated raids of the Japanese, the terror of fires caused by incendiary bombs, the anxious waiting for news from the Shanghai front. The families of the rich had left the city at almost the first news of the outbreak of fighting. Those of us, who had definite work to do, continued quietly to do it, interrupting it only to pay visits to the dug-outs as the bombing-planes droned overhead. To us those dug-outs became what the catacombs were to the early christians—houses of prayer.

As the news of the fighting grew more serious, friends in the city of Nanling insisted that my wife and children should leave Nanking and go to stay with them. Unwilling as my wife was to leave me, she felt that it was only right to accept the invitation for the sake of the children.

Despite the air-raids, we had every hope that nothing would happen to prevent our completing the term without undue interruption. We were assured that our line just west of Shanghai could be held for many months. Alas, for our hopes! With dramatic suddenness it broke and within a few days, Nanking was in a panic.

It was towards the end of November that the Theological Seminary, like all other schools in Nanking, felt it must close. By this time, most of the ordinary means of communication had ceased. There were no steamers. There were no trains. It would not be difficult, it was true, for me to rejoin my family in Nanling but what should be done after that? Would it be safe to stay and work there? Would I find means to support my family? How quickly would the Japanese advance further inland? In my perplexity I prayed for the greater part of a night. I rose from prayer next morning convinced that God would guide me step by step of the way, as I placed my life in His hands.

Early on the morning of Dec. 1st, dressed in my scout-master's uniform, I strode through the city gates in the direction of Wuhu. I was off early that morning as I had a full 35 miles to walk, if I wished to reach a good place at which to spend the night. As I walked through the city, I could not help being amused at being mistaken for some high officer in the army—a Colonel at the very least. Thousands of people streamed out with me through the South Gate to the city. Over all hung a strange sense of impending calamity. At the station there were at least 50,000 waiting in the hope of there being a refugee train to take them to Wuhu. Many of them I knew. I tried to urge them to accompany me on foot but they preferred to trust to the slender hope of getting some means of conveyance.

By noon, having completed about 20 miles, I began

to feel distinctly hungry and thirsty. However, as there seemed to be no place at which I could obtain either food or drink, there was nothing to do but to press forward. Just then I came upon a group of Szechwanese soldiers cooking their food by the wayside. They noticed my weariness and at once asked me to join them. The rice and boiled water were wonderfully welcome. For a few minutes after the meal, I sat and chatted with these kind-hearted soldiers. Then they set out courageously for Nanking and I continued my tramp westwards towards Wuhu.

About an hour later it was my turn to do a good deed. I found by the roadside there, a man struggling vainly to repair his broken bicycle. Here some of my scout's equipment came in useful and he was soon on his way again with the bicycle in good running order.

As evening came on, I drew near to some beautiful wooded hills and began to think that perhaps here was the place to spend the night—under the pine trees beside the rocks of the mighty Yangtze river—instead of pushing ahead to the next town. I was still meditating on this idea, when the gentleman with the bicycle rode back and said

"Mr Chiang, Tsai-shih, where you intend to spend the night was looted two nights ago. It is really not safe to stay there. I should strongly advise you not to do so".

I thanked him for his kindness in coming to tell me but, as I had now made up my mind to get as far forward that day as I could, I replied that I would risk the danger.

"Well" he said, after looking at me thoughtfully for a minute or two, "If you really intend to stop there, I can arrange for you to stay with a friend of mine. I can direct you to his house, though I warn you again, that I cannot guarantee your safety".

As I assured him he need not worry on the score of my safety he kindly led me along a narrow country path to his friend's house. Here an old servant, who had been left in charge of the place, welcomed us heartily. It was a bitterly cold night and we were truly glad to be inside, enjoying our supper by the fireside. After the meal, my friend mounted his bicycle once again and returned to Nanking, whilst I retired to bed with a heart full of peace and of thanksgiving for God's care and loving kindness.

The next day was fine, so, bidding farewell to the kind-hearted old servant, I set out on my journey once again. Soon I began to overtake soldiers—thousands of them, retreating, many of them badly wounded. They were in a truly pitiable condition for they seemed to have no one to take care of them. They had walked all the way from Shanghai via Soochow.

I would interrupt my story here for a moment to say that the suffering of the wounded in China has been tremendous owing to the difficulties of transportation. In helping to relieve this suffering the christian church has played a great part by organising a society for the relief of wounded soldiers in transit. Through this society christians along the main lines of communication between the various fronts and the hospitals have been organised to supply good boiled drinking water and other simple but vital necessities.

This day was hard going and when darkness came on I was still six miles from Wuhu. About two hours more walking, however, brought me to the city. There a friend entertained me and I could rejoice in a hot bath and a comfortable bed on which to sleep.

From Wuhu to Nanling was a further two days walking but as I had the company of a friend, the journey proved a pleasant one. The country road along which we travelled, was crowded with refugees. At

the end of the two days, the fourth after leaving Nanking, I reached Nanling, where I had the joy of finding my wife and family all safe and well.

A preaching tour.

After I had arrived in Nanling, it rained and snowed continuously. It was quite impossible for my family to travel in such weather, even if we had had any definite plan of where to go to. It seemed wise, at least for the time being, to settle down quietly in Nanling, where we had a good roof over our heads. Having made the friendship of three very keen christian young people, I decided to accompany them on a short preaching tour.

It is not necessary for me to describe the whole of this tour but I feel I must mention a few of the outstanding experiences. In the first place at which we stopped, we were entertained by a dear old lady, who had been a christian for about 20 years. We stayed with her for five days, talking together of the things concerning Christ and His Gospel. The result was that Mrs. Fong decided to offer her own house to be used in future as the Church's permanent preaching hall.

At the next place we visited we found the church premises occupied by soldiers. They were very unwilling to let me in and asked for my card. While one of them was taking my card to the officer inside, the church servant announced my name in such a familiar way that both officers and soldiers were convinced that I was really connected with the church. They immediately invited us in and gave us permission to stay. That night the only bed was a hard wooden one, which we had to share with the old servant. But what did that matter? We were all God's children and furthermore we were quite ready to sleep on anything, having walked over 30 miles.

Our walk next day was a truly delightful one for it

took us part the famous Nine Flowers Mountain. It is such a beautiful and inspiring scene, that it is no wonder that the Buddhists have used it for centuries as a centre of worship.

At about noon we arrived at Miao-chien, where we received a hearty welcome from two fellow clergymen. That evening we had a time of prayer and discussion. This proved so profitable and inspiring that we decided to meet together again the next morning. Hearing of our meeting, others joined us and soon we had formed quite a group. It was now only two days before Christmas, so we decided to live together as a fellowship group for the whole of the next few days.

Each morning we were up at 6 a.m. Morning prayers were followed by a few exercises in the open air. After breakfast, we cleaned up our rooms and then held a service for the wider circle of church members in the district. The rest of the morning was given to quiet study classes. For the afternoons we had no fixed programme but would usually get some outdoor exercise, wandering up the mountain or through the woods.

To most of us, I think, the high spot of this retreat was the evening meeting. Each night, with supper finished, we would gather round the blazing fire and talk together of the many problems that face young men to-day—problems of personal conduct and religious beliefs, problems of national welfare and of international relationships. We spoke frankly as real brothers and sought with deep earnestness to face each question squarely and find its solution in the light of Christ of His cross. Night by night, as I sat watching the circle of eager, glowing faces, I could not but think of the stories of the Knights of the Round Table and muse on what greater deeds these young men might do for a greater king than Arthur.

The whole family goes on trek.

For ten days the group had been meeting regularly, when suddenly the news reached us, that the Japanese were advancing westwards from Nanking with startling rapidity. There was not a moment to lose. I must return immediately to arrange for the safety of my family. I was a full three days journey away and reports, as we heard them, made it sound all too possible that the Japanese troops would reach Nanling before I could. The end of the third day, however, saw me once more safely with my family. Our evening hymns of praise were sung from the very bottoms of our hearts.

Next day it commenced to snow and rain and this kind of weather continued for several weeks. Not far away from us could be heard all too clearly the sound of machine gun fire and of heavy artillery. Hundreds of wounded soldiers and refugees poured into the city. Nanling was like a prison.

My wife urged me to take our eldest son, Hsien-ming, to Hunan, where he could go to school but this I refused to do. I wanted her and all the children to come along with me. At first she would not consent, feeling that she and the little ones would delay us unduly on the road. But I was determined. I felt I would risk death in the form of hunger, illness or accident, rather than leave any single one of them to fall into the hands of the Japanese soldiers. I realised that the journey which must lead us over snow-bound mountains and along difficult paths, often frequented by robbers, was almost too dangerous to bear thinking about but it seemed the only way out. Day by day we discussed the matter together and day by day we laid the matter before our loving Father and sought His guidance. We had little money. The road was dangerous. We had seven young children. We faced

all this and balanced it all off with the assurance of God's presence and the promise of His guidance.

We had decided to leave on February 17th and as if by a miracle the day dawned bright and sunny. But we were not to escape so easily for with the dawn came also the Japanese bombing-planes. There were only three of them, it is true, but with diabolical persistence they systematically bombed the city throughout the day. Five times they came, each time concentrating on one special section of the city—first the south gate area, then the west, the east, the heart of the city and finally the north. It was a day of terror. In one of the raids, four bombs dropped not far away from us; the nearest, which fortunately failed to explode, being only thirty-five feet away.

The last raid was at 4 p.m. and as the planes disappeared nearly the whole population fled from the city. Late that evening, instead of early in the morning, as we had planned, we too left the city. My wife had our little baby fastened on her back. I took responsibility for the next two youngest. The other boys all had to walk, each carrying a little pack of clothes on his shoulders. To complete our family, we had with us a little sister of mine.

The streets were nothing but piles of wrecked buildings and in the midst of the wreckage hundreds of dead bodies still lay half-buried. It was a terrible experience for the children to have to pick their way through such scenes of horror and desolation but we were soon out of the city and able to breathe more freely as we set out along the country road, and gazed out across the fields lying so peacefully in the light of the moon.

We could not walk very far that first evening, so had to be content to stop at a tiny village. There was no food to be procured, neither were there any beds on

which we could sleep. There was nothing to be done, despite the bitter coldness of the night air, but to spend the night sitting on the ground.

Before daybreak we were on our way once again. The road was crowded with thousands of refugees, streaming westwards. Many times my wife and some of the children got separated from me in the crowds. On one such occasion, just about noon, a Japanese plane flew over and machine-gunned the crowd. It was only after twenty minutes of the most anxious searching that I have ever done, that we were all together once more. We were travelling along the same road that I had tramped on our preaching tour but how different were my feelings now. About sunset we reached another village but every inn was packed and it seemed as if, once again, we were to have nowhere to sleep. Just at the critical moment, however, I met Mrs. Fong, the elderly christian lady, who had entertained us before. She immediately asked us to spend the night at her house. Gladly we accepted and as we lay down to sleep that night, we could not but thank God for His goodness to us on this our first full day's journey away from Nanling.

The experiences of the next day's tramp were very similar except that the road now led us up over a series of hills and through some truly beautiful woods. The village inns were again full but this time a complete stranger took pity on us and invited us into his house. It was bitterly cold and we slept on grass spread on the hard ground but we were beginning to learn that such a bed can seem comfortable as any in a King's palace, after a hard day's walking.

After four days, the crowds began to thin out a little. We were approaching the mountains now and with the sight of them our hearts rose. Their sheer beauty coupled with the music of the brooks gave me an

almost irresistible desire to write poetry. But there was no time for such an occupation and so I contented myself with singing hymns and other familiar songs to encourage the children as we climbed.

That evening it was a friendly student who gave us shelter. It was a glorious night with the stars shining brilliantly overhead. As I sat outside with the children, I tried to teach them to recognise the various constellations—the Great Bear the Little Bear and Orion, the most beautiful of them all. The children were thrilled to learn how to tell which was the north from the actual reading of the stars.

The next stage of the journey involved some really strenuous climbing and I found it necessary to think of a variety of ways of entertaining the children as they trudged slowly and sometimes painfully along the road. I suggested that they should measure distances by their steps, that they should find out the trails of different people, animals and birds, that they should look out for different trees and flowers. I was amazed how quickly they learned to recognise things—far more quickly than if they had tried to acquire the same knowledge in a class room. So we worked—or played, if you prefer it,—and climbed, the elder boys helping the younger as we mounted higher and higher.

For myself I could not but recall St. Paul's words—"Forgetting those things that are behind and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark..." The words were so perfectly applicable, not only to our immediate situation as we climbed the hill but also to life, which must be faced anew, when this particular journey was ended.

So day by day, we travelled on with Nanchang as our objective. Occasionally we would stop at places, where we had friends. Whenever this happened, we would spend a full day there in order to rest the

children. Some of our friends tried hard to dissuade us from going any further but we had no wish to stay in any place within easy distance of the Japanese lines. Some of the inns, in which we had to stop were indescribably filthy. Many of the children, especially the three youngest were badly bitten by insects. Their legs and feet were pitiful to see.

One morning—March 6th to be precise—we had just reached the foot of a huge mountain, when a high wind arose, bringing rain and snow. We could neither go forward nor retreat. The only place near that offered the possibility of shelter was a temple. To my delight and amazement, I found two friends inside, also sheltering from the storm. They were old students of mine from Wuhu and their home was in the village just close by. Their mother was a friend of my wife's and immediately invited us to stay in her house. No invitation could have been more welcome for my fourth son had just been taken seriously ill. For nine days the rain and snow continued. Throughout those days my boy, Hsien-yen, lay fighting a desperate battle for his life—in this little mountain village, far from any doctor or medicine.

As soon as the rain ceased and Hsien-yen seemed to be a little better, we set out once again—this time with Hsien-yen being carried on the back of one of the mountain men. We had one further full day of walking and then were able to get a ride in a military car and so reach the large town of Chin-Teh-Chen. There in the church reading room, I was fortunate to meet shortly after our arrival a military doctor, Dr. Young, who had been a class-mate of mine sixteen years before at St John's University, Shanghai. He at once came to our aid and it was largely due to his love and kind service, that Hsien-yen pulled through, for his illness had developed into pneumonia. It was necessary for us, of course, to stay several days in Chin-teh-chen, so

I had the opportunity of preaching several times at the church and also of helping in the school there.

As Chin-teh-chen is on a river, which runs into the Poyang Lake, it is possible to go from there to Nanchang by boat. However, it was one thing to know it could be done, it was quite another to find a boat in which to do it, as the military were commandeering them all. After much negotiating, we were finally able with the help of a friend to secure a small boat. The trip took us just four days and as in the early morning of March 26th we saw the Nanchang western hills rising in the distance across the vast Poyang lake, we lifted up our hearts to God in praise and thanksgiving.

A temporary Haven.

Old friends met us by the river side and they and new friends soon helped us to settle in comfortably at Nanchang. Never was a period of quiet rest more welcome. My wife was tired out. Hsien-yen was still very, very weak. I myself had twice recovered from influenza on the journey.

There now followed a period of three months in which I was able to devote myself to pastoral work without the necessity of making long journeys or wondering where the next meal would come from. I have said little so far about my financial situation for that is a subject on which one is naturally reticent. I may, however, mention that from the fall of Nanking we were cut off from any regular source of income and also lost most of what we had saved. On the road it was not safe to carry large amounts, so that it was largely due to small gifts from kind friends that we were able to complete our journey to Nanchang.

Once established in that city, however, I was able to get in touch once again with the Nanking Theological

Seminary. The College, which was then continuing some of its work in Shanghai, agreed to continue my salary as from April provided I was able to give regular help at Nanchang. Bishop Huntington gave me a very warm welcome into his Diocese and so I was able to become one of the regular ministers there, at least for a short period. It was a great joy to be thus settled once again and to be able to repay the loans, which had been made to us, during our trip.

It is strange how quickly one begins to feel safe, once one is away from the vicinity of the fighting line. During these spring months, the Japanese advance was checked and at Taierchuang the Chinese forces gained a great victory. Despite lurking doubts, we began to talk of how soon we should be returning to Nanking.

We were not without grim reminders, however, that the war was still going on. As spring gave way to summer, air raids increased in frequency, so that it soon became obvious that we should find some safer place for my wife and children. Quite apart from the danger, to be constantly worried by thoughts of bombing and destruction was very bad for the children's young minds.

To the north of Nanchang, between that city and the Yangtze river, there stands a famous mountain known as Kuling. It is easy of access whether by railway which runs to Kiukiang, or by steamboat, since the mountain stands on the edge of the Poyang Lake. It is here that many missionaries and Chinese go to spend the hottest period of the summer. Thus on June 15th, I once more said farewell to the rest of my family and watched them set off for Kuling.

Shortly after they had left Nanchang, I received news from the Nanking Theological Seminary, that in the autumn the College would re-open in two sections—one in Shanghai, the other in Chengtu, the capital of

the province of Szechwan. I was invited to join whichever half I preferred. I had little difficulty in making up my mind this time and immediately began to make plans to travel to the far west of China where the Nanking College was to co-operate with the recently opened West China Theological Seminary.

However, I was now faced with an unexpected difficulty. All communications between Kuling and Nanchang were suddenly cut off. There were no trains and no boats. My eldest son, Hsien-ming, did indeed succeed in returning to Nanchang but it was obviously impossible for the rest of the family to make the journey. I had to make up my mind immediately. Should I delay my departure until such time as I could take my family with me?—It might mean a wait of some weeks and the journey to West China might take a couple of months or more depending on transport facilities—Or should I set out at once for Chengtu and leave them at the mountain? Kuling seemed, as I considered the question, in all its bearings, to be as safe a place as any. It was of no strategic importance to either side and there was no likelihood of its being bombed. Further I could not expect my family to travel very well during the heat of the summer, even if the road from Kuling to Nanchang was suddenly opened.

I set out for the west

I waited till the middle of July in the hope of getting into touch with my wife or of getting them down from the hill but no way opened. So, on July 18th, I set out on my travels once again in company with my eldest son. There was no need to walk this time, however, as trains and steamboats were still working more or less smoothly, if one makes due allowance for a certain overcrowding.

Thus two days by rail brought us to Changsha and

two days by small steam launch across the great Tungting Lake to Changteh. Those last two days were hardly of the pleasantest.—It was very hot under the glaring sun during the day but correspondingly cold at night, when a strong wind and heavy dew came upon us. My heart was filled with a strange peace, however, so that such hardships could be easily endured.

Changteh was crowded with refugees from Hankow and Wuchang. On the streets I repeatedly met people from Anhwei, Kiangsi, Kiangsu and Hupeh provinces. We did not stay at Changteh, however, but moved on next day to Tao-yuan. The next stage of the journey would have to be by road as far as Ichang on the Yangtze river, where we could probably get a boat to take us up into Szechwan. It was now intensely hot and we found it very difficult to get seats on a bus or any other conveyance going west.

Faced with this difficulty, I decided to wait a little while in the hope of receiving some news from Kuling. The people at the church were all extraordinarily kind to us. Mr Yu Moh-ren welcomed us into his house and Miss Boone gave me free use of her library. What this kindness meant to me during those anxious days none can ever fully know. Days passed like years and still no news of my family reached me. I could feel no assurance in my own heart as to what was the right course of pursue.

So it came about that I spent over a month there in Tao-yuan and district. During those days I read about twenty books. I divided my time mainly between reading in the library and helping with the boys' work. Miss Boone, who is a granddaughter of that great pioneer missionary Bishop Boone, is truly imbued with his spirit. Thus I was able to ease the anxiety of my mind helping her in her work. Together we organised two troops of boys, troops which I am glad to say still continue to flourish.

The distress of my heart must have been all too apparent during those days. But they brought me rich comfort from Miss Boone, whose quiet courage and deep prayer life gave me real strength. One morning, as I sat thinking of my wife and family, she knocked at the door and handed me a sermon of Dr Fosdick's—"The Spring of Surplus Power". I read it once, twice, thrice. I cannot tell how many times. Late into the night I read and re-read it. Words from that sermon still ring in my ears to-day. "Have you personal access to reserves of power adequate for life? Isaiah said 'They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength.' This ought to be done This must be endured. We know that we can stand it That is religion not as a form but as a force."

On September 15th with a heavy heart but with a mind made up, I returned to Changteh on my way to Ichang. We began our journey from there by bus but soon had to continue it on foot. At one place on the way, we were held up for several days by torrential rains. In the dark room of a small inn, rather like an ancient prison of the Middle Ages, I spent my time teaching my son "the principle and method of boy scouts' camping"—especially for rainy days.

On the first fine day we walked thirty-three miles and so reached Shasi on the Yangtze river, from whence a boat took us by easy stages up to Ichang.

It was at Ichang that I learned from an official report that there were still two thousand people at the Kuling summer resort but that there was now an open road for them to leave at any time. I immediately sent off a telegram and an air mail letter explaining my plans to my wife and asking her to follow me to West China as the way opened.

The day after our arrival in Ichang I attended a prayer meeting and there met Captain Hanisch, whose

boat was to leave Ichang for Chungking in a few days' time. As a result of his kind assistance we were able to buy tickets immediately instead of having to wait several weeks, as seemed all too possible. The boat was crowded with people so the captain kindly invited us to live with him in his cabin.

This captain was a fine christian man. In some ways he was more a pastor than a captain. Every day he would preach to the workers and passengers on the boat. Knowing of my difficulties, he constantly comforted and strengthened me through his prayers and through appropriate passages of scripture. Whilst we were at Ichang, he led fourteen passengers to go to church with him. Thirteen of these men were non-christians but they went with him readily. I was deeply stirred and not a little ashamed of myself to see this man's quiet influence; an influence which I, a minister of the church, did not seem to possess.

For the first two days after leaving Ichang we were travelling through the mighty Yangtze Gorges. They are a truly awe-inspiring sight, magnificent in their grandeur. The mighty cliffs rise sheer from the waters edge to a height of two or three thousand feet. Between these cliffs the waters rush and the little steam-boat has to battle its way inch by inch against the force of the water.

Shortly after leaving the gorges we arrived at Wanhsien. Here I went ashore with Captain Hanisch to help him look over some property he wished to buy in order to build a church and a school for poor children.

Two days later we reached Chungking, a city built on a rock in the fork of two great rivers. In China's wartime capital, as it is now so commonly called, I received a great welcome from church and scout friends alike. I could not help being amused, and at the same time cheered, when some friends at the "National Boy

Scouts' Association" suggested that I should write a book on "Hiking for Chinese Boy Scouts". I certainly had plenty of material for not only had we had to walk such great distances but before ever we, as a family, set out, I carefully trained the boys, beginning with short walks and gradually increasing the distance each day until they could do quite long distances. I was almost overwhelmed too with the kind offers of help I received from friends here—offers of financial help, offers to find work for me, etc. As I felt the reality of the friendship of these fellow scouts, I could not but long and pray for the day when all over the world this spirit might prevail and so cause all cruelty and war to cease.

The family leave Kuling.

It is now time to leave the story of my own journey and take up that of my family During. the summer the Japanese had moved steadily up river. Kiukiang had fallen. Kuling was in danger. At any time the Japanese army might push south along the railway line and cut off Kuling. The Chinese authorities feared that in this case the mountain would be cut off from all supplies and how to feed several hundred children was a problem they could not face. Thus they urged the people to leave and finally organised them into three groups for the purposes of evacuation.

My wife was in the third group. There were no conveyances so all must walk. My wife, who had been pregnant for six months, thus had to set out with the youngest baby tied on her back and the next in age helped along by hand. We had been accustomed, on account of the existence of the railway, to consider Kuling as not far from Nanchang, but the trip this time took seven days, seven days in the month of September with the weather still distinctly hot. No wonder they all found the journey exhausting.

On one occasion our little five year old almost gave up.

"Mama" he said "I can't walk any more".

"Well, then" was the reply "we shall have to leave you here".

That was enough. All the energy in the little body was summoned to his help as he said.

"Oh, no. I'll walk some more".

So along strange paths, across mountains, and through valleys, in spite of many difficulties and dangers, they walked on. Once the Japanese planes swooped down dropping bombs and machine-gunning in all directions. Everybody rushed to find some hiding place. My second son, Hsien-teh, had no time to run. He had just sufficient time to throw himself flat under a stationary motor-car. This was naturally a special object of the Japanese attack. When the planes had gone, my wife rushed over to the car. Its engine was destroyed. Its wheels smashed. But under it all the boy was perfectly safe.

"Mother" he said, as he crawled out "God saved me. For I prayed to Him."

On another occasion several heavy bombers passed swiftly overhead. My wife and children had just crossed a long bridge over a wide and deep river. A few seconds later, they looked back to see the bridge completely destroyed by the Japanese bombs.

On the very day that my family reached Nanchang, my telegram and letter from Ichang also arrived there. Thus my wife knew immediately upon arrival there what my plans were. If she was to catch me before I got too far on my journey there was no time to be lost. That evening, a telegram telling of their return from Kuling was despatched to me.

Back to Changsha.

A marvellous working of Providence allowed that I should get that telegram before I left Chungking. The day before I was due to take the boat for the next stage of my trip up-river, I met a former student of mine and in course of conversation discovered that he was working on behalf of the post office at the Y.M.C.A. where he had special charge of the letters and telegrams for refugees. That very night my wife's telegram reached Chungking and because of my meeting with this old student of mine, he was able to deliver the telegram to me the next morning before the boat left.

As I looked at the telegram, I could hardly believe my eyes. It seemed almost too good to be true, for we had almost despaired of the road being opened from Kuling so long as the Japanese advance continued. With a full heart, I gave thanks to our gracious Lord, who had so mercifully preserved my family. As I thanked God in prayer, I distinctly heard the words "It is by grace you have been saved. It is not your doing but God's gift."

For three days I tried in vain to get a place on a boat going down river. Then Captain Hanisch came to my rescue once again, with the result that on October 6th I started on my return trip down the Yangtze. It was no slow toiling journey this time but a mad rush as the mighty waters swept the boat along past Wanhsien, through the Gorges, past Ichang, Shasi and various other places, till I finally reached Chen-ling-gih. Here I had to change into a small Chinese boat and be rowed across the lake to Yo-chow. As I reached the railway station, the fast express train came in and I had just sufficient time to buy a ticket and scramble into the carriage before it pulled out for Changsha.

The whole of the afternoon we were kept in suspense on account of air-raid alarms but as the evening

drew on we travelled rapidly southward. In good time next day—it was our Nation's Birthday—October 10th—we reached Changsha. Expecting to find my family already there, I hurried along to the church. Alas, the bitterness of the disappointment to find that they had not yet arrived. Immediately there rushed into my mind a vivid picture of all the dangers they would have had to face on the way. A visit to the telegraph office brought no satisfaction for I could get no reply from Nanchang.

Before daybreak next day, I was at the telegraph office once more. From there I was making my way to the railway station, when to my joy, I saw my wife and all the children coming along the road towards me.

Westward Ho!

And so, reunited again, we faced together the problem of how to find means of transportation to West China. It was three days before we could find any boat to take us but eventually we got as far as Hankow. We arrived at midnight on October 14th to find the whole city full of disturbing rumours of the rapid approach of the Japanese forces both by river and by land. It was almost impossible to buy tickets, for boats going up-river.

Day by day the rumours became more alarming. Day by day I visited the bund searching in vain for a boat to take us to Ichang. On October 20th in the early hours of the morning whilst it was still dark, I discovered the Kiang-sing, which was about to leave. Without loss of time, I hurried home and got my whole family on board. The Kiang-sing is not a large boat but there were about 10,000 people on board. All day we sat there with nothing to eat and with nothing to do except watch the Japanese planes as they came repeatedly to bomb the city. We did not dare to leave the boat for a

single instance lest we should never be able to get on it again.

Next morning early the captain announced that at least two thousand people must go over to the next boat, otherwise this one would sink. Nobody responded. Then, as the request was repeated, a military captain and my whole family moved across on to the Kiang-hsien, the last boat to leave. Immediately some two thousand people followed us. It was impossible to buy tickets in the ordinary way but through the kindness of one of the soldier guards, I was able to get the required number of tickets. This day and the next were but repetitions of the first one on board. We could only sit there and wait for something to happen—even though that something were but further air raids. I say we could only sit. Many of us could not even do that and for my own part I spent most of the days standing in order to protect the children.

As I look back, I cannot but marvel how little afraid we felt during those days. Even the children were full of courage, and we thanked God that they had learned to trust in Him as their Heavenly Father.

Three days of waiting, however, was beginning to tell upon our patience and we were seriously considering walking to Ichang when, early in the morning on October 23rd with some ten thousand passengers on board the Kiang-hsien set sail. One day later the Japanese entered Hankow.

Slowly, painfully slowly the valiant little boat made its way up river. Air raid alarms were almost continuous. Nor were our fears in this respect lightened when we heard that the Kiang-sing, the boat on which we had at first hoped to travel, had been sunk by the Japanese planes. Five thousand or more refugees were killed or drowned.

For a solid week we were on that boat. During those days, I read Dr. Stanley Jones's book on "Victorious Living". I also found opportunity to preach to the crowd. For the whole of the seven days I was unable to find sufficient space in which to lie down and sleep. Nevertheless the Lord preserved me in both body and soul.

At Ichang and again at Wanhhsien we had to change boats. In both places this took several days on account of the difficulty of purchasing tickets and in both cases, it was through the kindness of friends that we finally managed to obtain them. The boats were still very crowded but many compensating joys were now ours. Who really wants a bed, when he can sleep outside on deck under the moon and the stars? What children will not forget the hardships of the journey at the sight of an abundance of sweet oranges? Who is so dead to the beauties of nature, that he is not inspired at the sight of the Yangtze Gorges?

From Chungking we travelled to Chengtu by bus. It was impossible for us all to get on the same one so we divided into two groups. My wife with four children and a maid servant went one day and I followed with the rest of the family the next. The trip ordinarily takes two days but as the bus, on which my wife was travelling took three, we arrived at Chengtu together. Triumphantly and with hearts full of praise to God we walked over to the Seminary.

After Christmas, a new son was born into the family. Born during a time of trouble, he has yet brought us great happiness. My wife had already, whilst still on Kuling, offered him to God for His service.

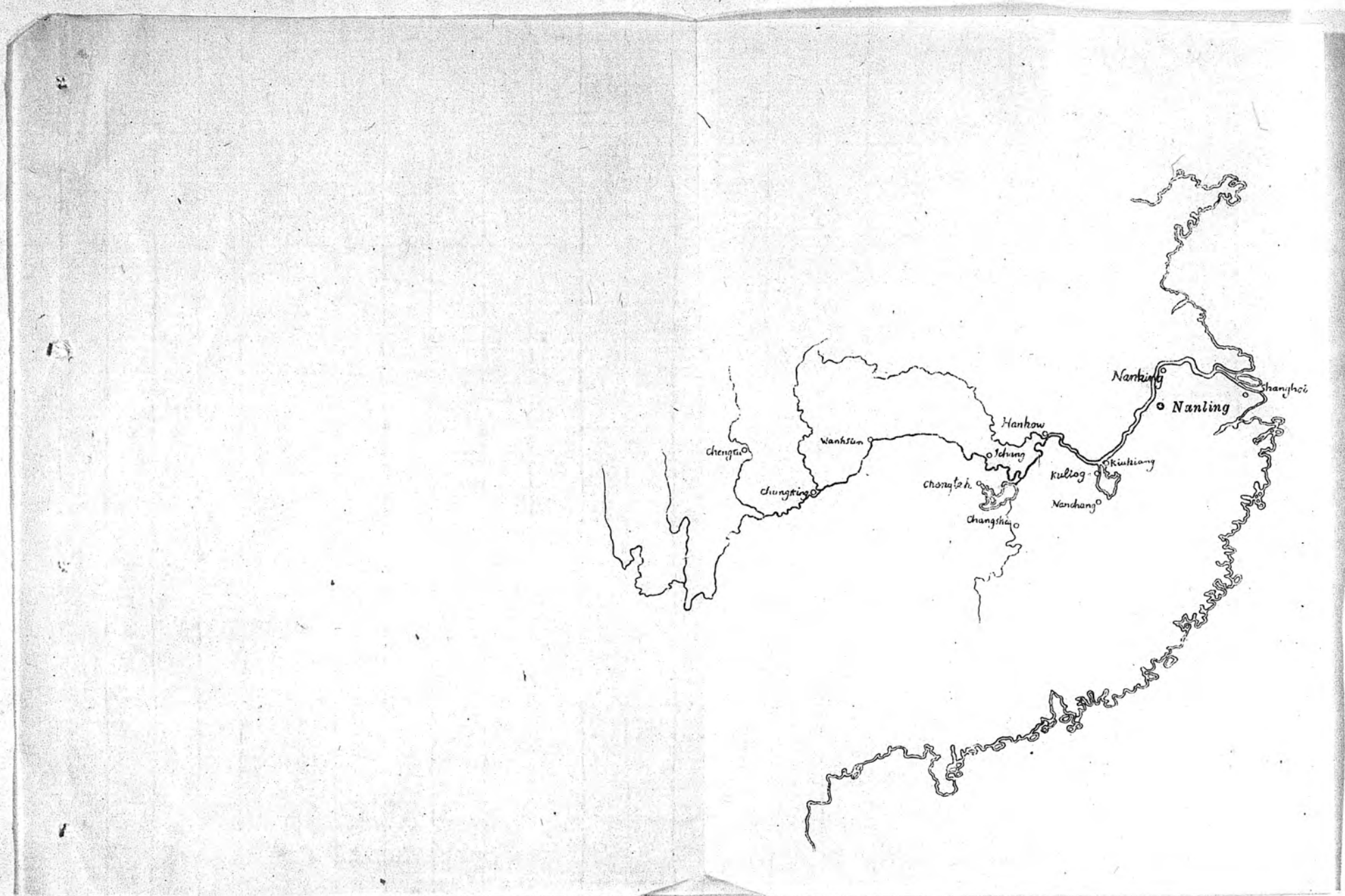
And so we reached Chengtu, propertyless, but rejoicing in a Heavenly Father, who has been with us

every step of our travels and kept our hearts at peace
in Him.

"Learn to water joy with tears,
Learn from fears to vanquish fears;
To hope for thou dar'st not despair,
Exult, for that thou dar'st not grief;
Plough thou the rock until it bear;
Know, for thou else couldst not believe;
Lose, that the lost thou may'st receive;
Die, for none other way canst live".

Francis Thompson.

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**THE POSITION OF NATIONS AND PEOPLES
IN A NEW WORLD ORDER**

Lectures delivered by Professor P.M. Roxby
under the Auspices of the Hodgkin Memorial
Fund, at West China Union University,
Chengtu, April 8th and 10th, 1946.

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The Position of Nations and Peoples in A New World Order

By Professor P.M. Roxby

I feel it to be a great privilege to be asked to give these lectures in memory of the life and work of Henry Hodgkin, whose name will always be associated with West China and with the high ideals for which this University stands. He was a true friend to China and to the cause of world brotherhood. The title of his best known book, "China in the Family of Nations", expresses one of his greatest aspirations and has influenced me in the selection of the theme which I wish to pursue in these two lectures. Henry Hodgkin did not live to see the catastrophe of the Second World War and the tragic manifestation of world anarchy and chaos which are so painfully evident to-day. These, however, are only new symptoms of the same fundamental problem which has been facing humanity since the beginning of this century and which was steadily deepening in intensity during his life-time. In the simplest terms the problem is how to effect the transition from a regime of national sovereignties to international order and control, which the progress of applied science has made essential if civilisation is to survive and if humanity is to have a tolerable future. This task, as my friend Mr. Lionel Curtis puts it in his challenging little book "Faith and Works", will, in ages to come, "rank as the Rubicon of human history". "The hope of the World", he goes on, "rests with those who address themselves to the task of creating an international government, however limited and modest in scope to begin with".

The Second World War, as I think we all now realise, was in many respects a continuation of the First and due to the same root cause of international anarchy which has been a continuing condition throughout this century - exemplifying the famous aphorism of Clausewitz that "war is the continuation of political relations by other means". There is general agreement among the best thinkers who have analysed this supreme problem that, in the words of Sir William Beveridge (in "The Price of Peace"), "International anarchy is the condition which makes war possible and, as the experience of the last 50 years shows, in the end almost certain" - and that there can be no guarantee of peace until the same rule of law is established between 'states' that governs the relations between citizens in an ordered community. But as to how this is to be attained and by what stages - especially in view of the actual distribution of power in the world to-day - there is much divergence of view.

If the Second World War was a continuation of the First the United Nations Organisation simply replaces that of the League of Nations as a new attempt to end the international anarchy which has been the cause of both. The United Nations Organisation differs from that of the League of Nations by placing power to resist aggression behind the Security Council, but has not attempted in any real sense to limit the sovereignty of its constituent members which - in the view of the late Lord Lothian - was the root defect of the League. Probably no single work on this subject better deserves study than the Burge Memorial lecture which Lord Lothian gave in 1935 and in which he explicitly states - and constantly repeated in articles and speeches - "The sovereignty of the National State has been the cause of the failure of the League and of the post-war peace movement, as it was the ultimate cause of the World War and will be the dynamic cause of the next War; unless we can mitigate it in time." This view is shared by Lord Lothian's life-long friend and fellow-worker in many notable political enterprises, Mr. Lionel Curtis. In the well-

known brochure to which I have already referred - ('Faith and Works'. Oxford University Press, 1943.) - Curtis says, 'The essential cause (of world wars) is the fragmentation of human society, now integrated by mechanisation, into more than sixty sovereign states. The relation between those states is anarchy, which leads to periodic wars. That was his (Lothian's) diagnosis, if it is correct, as I myself believe it is, we can only remove the recurring threat of World Wars if we are prepared to face a political reconstruction which corresponds to a surgical operation.'

So much by way of introduction to the particular considerations which I want to put before you. I am not so presumptuous as to imagine that I can make any new contribution to this vexed question of how much surrender of national sovereignty is essential to the success of any organisation which claims to be international and as to whether, from this point of view, the United Nations Organisation is or is not on a sounder basis than the League of Nations, which came into existence after the First World War. But entering into this question are certain considerations which have come within my own special field of study - human geography in its social and political aspects - and which I feel have an important bearing on the major issue.

This question of National Sovereignty is of course bound up with the conception of the State which developed in Europe after the break-down of the mediaeval concept of Christendom and the rise of the Great Monarchies. It has, however, passed through various phases. At first the sovereignty was associated with the monarch himself - Bourbon or Hohenzollern or Hapsburg - who often ruled over a motley collection of peoples and whose empire was often far from national. But in West Europe, as a result of geographical and historical circumstances, this idea of complete sovereignty became linked with the conception of the nation as an entity. The idea of the nation state emerged. It was of course greatly strengthened by the circumstances and consequences of the French Revolution and perhaps finds its fullest manifestation in France. In Britain the concept of the nation was more complex and the British National State, as it ultimately emerged, has been a kind of partnership of three peoples who often call themselves nations - English, Scottish and Welsh - within the higher synthesis which we call British. I often feel that the statesmanship involved in the integration of England and Scotland, while leaving to each its own system of Law and Church government and other aspects of autonomy, was a fitting prelude to the ideas subsequently embodied in the conception of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Western Europe, however, was unquestionably the cradle, the birthplace of the idea of the Nation State which, for good or evil, has had such immense significance in the Modern World. It should be noticed that here the conditions had been singularly propitious for the growth of coherent strongly-knit Nations compounded out of originally very different ethnic elements. There had been for the most part long continuity of settled life and social contact in what geographers call 'favourable areas of national characterisation' - which had allowed of the fusion of these different elements, so that national feeling had come to be based on 'place' rather than 'race' and had grown in the course of the centuries almost unconsciously within the frontiers determined, so to speak, by Nature.

Very different was the position in Eastern Europe which had been continuously exposed to devastating attacks by nomadic hordes from the Asiatic steppe whether coming, like the Huns, Alans, Avars and Tartar Mongols, by the Lowland route north of the Caspian or, like the Turks, by the plateau route to the south. The continuity of quiet settled life which makes for fusion was denied to this great region and order had been precariously secured only by the growth of great Empires like the Austro-Hungarian based on strategic centres like Vienna and ruling a multitude of different peoples. In Eastern Europe, said Mr. Ripley in his great work on 'The Races of Europe' written in 1899, 'the stratification of population is

recent and distinct; in Western Europe the different elements, originally as distinct, have been metamorphosed by the fusing heat of nationality and the pressure of civilisation!

In the nineteenth century there was then a striking contrast between the nation states of Western and the great non-national or multi-national Empires of Eastern Europe. But the ideas generated in the West, and particularly in France, had spread to the East. There was growing self-consciousness among many of the subject peoples, new cultural movements, which tended to develop political aims, new aspirations for group self-expression and autonomy, and, in some cases, for complete independence. The receding tide of Turkish power allowed of the emergence of Greek, Bulgar and Southern Slav national states, but, so long as the Austro-Hungarian Empire existed, the last-named could only be a fraction of its natural size. The position of this polyglot Empire became increasingly precarious, and the unrest within and around it, taking increasingly a national form, is generally allowed to have been a major cause of the First World War.

In the course of that War, as of that from which we have recently emerged, there was much discussion about the future political geography or - if you prefer it - the future political structure of Europe and indeed of the World. Two diametrically opposite views were put forward. The one is perhaps best expressed in a German work called 'Mittel Europa' by Friedrich Naumann, which attracted much attention in England where it was translated by Mrs. Meredith ('Central Europe'). Naumann, it should be noticed, was a German 'Liberal' and, in spite of the claims which it made for Germany, it does not bear the Nazi stamp. He argued the inevitability in the world of the future of what - in Mrs. Meredith's translation - are described as 'superstates' or 'planetary' states such as had already emerged in the United States, the Russian Empire and, in a different form, the British Empire and such as he believed would develop in Eastern Asia and in Central Europe. Here (he argued) it was in the economic interests of the smaller, weaker, less developed peoples - such as the Poles and Czechs - to share the benefits of a big territorial combine under the leadership and direction of the most numerous, most scientific and industrially developed national group, the Germans. Access to the sea, raw materials and markets would be assured. As small, weak, independent nations they could no more hope to compete successfully with a powerful, highly-organised state like Germany than could a small firm of chemical manufacturers in competition with a great chemical combine.

In direct antithesis to this was the doctrine of 'Self-Determination' as propounded by President Wilson when America entered the war - the doctrine that each considerable self-conscious national group should have the right to determine its own political destiny. In theory at any rate, this view was broadly accepted by the Allies as the guiding principle in the disposition of the lands of the dismembered Empires - particularly the Austro-Hungarian - in the Paris group of Peace Treaties. It was by no means completely carried out for various reasons. Broadly however it did remain the guiding principle, and the political geography of Eastern Europe that emerged from the Peace Treaties reflected it. These new nationality states in the East differed from the old nationality states in the West in the fact that they did not represent the slow growth of centuries, with content and frontiers shaped by geographical and economic factors and with national sentiment based on the long-continued influences of a common homeland. As territorial units they were in many cases highly artificial, on an unsound geographical basis which made the prospects of a balanced national economy very slender, awkwardly shaped with frontiers running athwart natural arteries of trade, and with the sentiment of nationality based on 'race' (as that word is popularly, though wrongly, used) and not on 'place'. Even so, if the frontiers had been drawn with no other purpose in view, it would have been quite impossible not to include considerable

'minorities' within them, such as the overlap and intermixture of the different groups in that region. In fact they were very considerable indeed - about 20 million in Eastern Europe (as compared with 60 before World War I.)

Now in no respect did the Peace Treaties and the League Machinery more completely break down than in the attempt adequately to protect these minorities against the oppression of the dominant nationality. The special clauses protecting minorities inserted in the treaties which constituted the states, e.g. Poland, were inoperative if the state in question chose to ignore them, and Poland finally repudiated them on the significant ground that they were an infringement of her sovereignty. So too Article 19 of the Covenant, which contemplated revision of treaties and boundaries in the light of experience or changing conditions remained completely a dead letter. In fact the League of Nations - for all the great ideas behind it - was a misnomer. It was not a League of Nations of peoples. It was League of Sovereign States, of Governments, with emphasis on the sovereignty, and every proposal that came up against this rock was destined to shipwreck.

The twenty years between the two World Wars was the period in which this experiment of a Europe fragmented into a great number of sovereign nation-states, large and small, was 'tried out', and I think there can be no doubt what the verdict of history on it must be. The failure was, indeed, not unrelieved. The acquisition of freedom and the power of self-expression by many hitherto suppressed and oppressed national groups such as the Finns, Esths, Letts and Czechs was signalled in many cases by a remarkable exhibition of latent energy and genuine cultural renaissance. But in very few cases did the minorities, such as the Ruthenes of Eastern Poland, share in the revival. Rather were their grievances thrown into stronger relief. The newly-liberated peoples, once they were masters in their own states, tended themselves to become guilty of the same kind of oppression of which they had themselves been the victims.

It was, however, on the economic issue that the system ultimately broke down and particularly after the world-wide financial crisis and depression which began in America in 1929. Most of the new states were weak agrarian communities, with ill-balanced national economies, and they were powerless in the face of this prolonged financial crisis and the system of economic autarchy which the Great Powers adopted in order to meet it. They fell hopeless victims to the designs of Hitlerite Germany, which itself was largely shaped and rendered possible by the crisis. Germany had acquired an economic stranglehold on most of the states of east-central and south-eastern Europe several years before the second World War broke out. She could dictate her own terms of barter. In the case of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Roumania and Hungary she took about half their total exports and supplied them with half of their total imports. This economic domination was the intentional prelude to complete cultural and political domination.

Now if one can venture to summarize the lessons of these twenty eventful years of history in this crucial region of Eastern Europe, which after all has close parallels in other parts of the world including the Middle East the Far East and South-Eastern Asia - they would seem to run something like this:

1. That the desire for autonomy, freedom from external control and for self-expression on the part of groups which have become nationally self-conscious, does correspond to something very deep and real in human society and we shall have to reckon with it increasingly in the world of the future when we think of such people as the Koreans, the Annamese, Javanese and probably also the Tibetans and Mongols, but

2. This kind of freedom and autonomy cannot be secured simply by insisting on the sovereignty and sanctity of states. - Rather does that stand in the way of its realisation. No system of states, of political geography - such as we

have understood that term in the past - can correspond to the real distribution of self-conscious national groups.

3. The satisfaction of this desire must be reconciled with and conditioned by the imperative need, under the conditions of the modern world, for a far greater degree of economic unity. The absurdities and tragedies of that grim period of economic autarchy after 1929 will surely not be repeated if mankind is capable of learning from the experience of history.

But the problem remains how to reconcile the implications of cultural diversity with the paramount need of economic unity.

II

This lecture is a direct continuation of the last, which included some discussion of the view put forward in the course of the First World War as to the basis of the future political structure of the world and concluded with a brief analysis of the experience of the fateful twenty years between the two wars and some of the lessons which it seemed to teach. This same fundamental question of the political structure of the world was again inevitably the subject of anxious examination at the outbreak of the Second World War and indeed in the years immediately preceding its actual outbreak, when it had become clear that the machinery of the League of Nations had completely broken down and was powerless to avert the new catastrophe that was about to descend on mankind. *Why had the League failed to achieve its major purpose?* To many thinkers, including as we have seen, men like Lord Lothian and Lionel Curtis, the basic cause seemed the impossibility of building a super-national authority on the basis of separate sovereign national states - because the representatives of these states on the super-national authority, being delegates of their respective governments, always tend to put the special interests of their own national states first. In 1936 Signor Graudi, the well-known Italian statesman, had given an historic description of the meetings of the League Council and Assembly:

"We are faced at Geneva with the following reality: that the Powers - large and small - carry their difficulties and their conflicts of interest to the League of Nations. These conflicts do not shrink at Geneva; they expand. The Great Powers in conflict with one another seek for allies among the lesser Powers and form hostile groups which complicate and aggravate the situation; the smaller states court the support of the Great Powers who, in order to maintain their diplomatic combinations, at once take sides During my stay at Geneva I never saw a dispute of any importance settled otherwise than by an agreement between the Great Powers. Every important problem tends to be considered as a conflict of national points of view. *The Council and the Assembly are in essence diplomatic conferences.*"

(This was a description of the old League Council and Assembly but it would not be an inapt description of the preliminary meeting of U.N.O. and the first meeting of the Security Council. The same factors are operating.) Now to remove this fundamental defect of a supernational or world authority - that it represented not peoples but the government of sovereign states - an important group of thinkers, including the names I have mentioned, passionately advocated, and those who are alive still advocate, the radically different solution of a *Federal Union of Peoples*. I do not propose to discuss this at any length. For the present at any rate, in its complete form as an alternative to the system of the United Nations Organisation, which has actually been established, it is *not* within the realm of practical politics, but I do feel that all who are interested in international affairs should know its fundamental principles and I also feel that some of these

principles may powerfully influence the future development of the new world organisation, whose birth pangs we are watching so anxiously to-day.

The governing principle of Federal Union in the full sense of the term - and as quite distinct from a Confederation of States - is that the citizens of the countries concerned should elect not only the governments of their own states but also the government of the Federal State, and that this Federal Government should be responsible to them, the citizens, the peoples of the countries concerned. The classical model is of course the United States of America, which changed over from the system of Confederation adopted in 1781 to Federal Union in 1787, the motive force being the imminence of War between the member states of the Confederation. (In varying forms the model has been adopted by three of the great self-governing Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations.)

Not even the most ardent advocates of Federal Union have imagined that so drastic a proposal could be immediately applied to all the countries of the world. They have recognised that it must be limited to states with somewhat similar economic standards, political institutions and democratic outlook and that the inclusion of authoritarian states would render it unworkable. The most far-reaching proposal, and one which attracted very considerable attention on the eve of the war and in its earlier phases, was that of Mr. Clarence Streit (the American publicist) in *"Union Now"* for the immediate federation of 15 democratic states - the U.S.A., the six self-governing states of the British Commonwealth and the eight experienced democracies of the Western border of Continental Europe: Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Belgium, Holland, France and Switzerland. Admittedly Streit's plan was a desperate eleventh hour expedient to avert an imminent world catastrophe and for that reason he proposed the transfer to the Federal Authority of many economic functions such as the making of tariffs, the control of migration and a common currency. Mr. Curtis, working out his plans in the course of the War and with his attention fixed on post-war reconstruction, would leave a much larger amount of autonomy to the constituent members of the Federal State. His proposal in *"Faith and Works"* is that the powers of the international government should be limited to defence, foreign policy, colonies, civil aviation and effective means of making the cost of these services a first charge on the Nations United, leaving all internal and social affairs, including the incidence of taxation, to the National Governments where they now rest.

The actual course of events in World War II has again thrown the idea of Federal Union - as a nucleus of World Government - on an entirely different basis from that of the League of Nations - into the background. But I think it is important to notice that the idea of federation, as a solution of regional problems, continued to be actively canvassed and in the case of that great storm-centre, East Central and South-East Europe, to have real prospect of fruition. For a long period in the war the exiled governments or provisional governments, of many of the occupied states of this region were in London and encouraged to have frequent consultation, and there was also a notable conference, lasting six months, of agrarian leaders of these essentially peasant states, all facing the same problem of chronic rural poverty and with similar economic needs, under the chairmanship of Sir Frederick Whyte, to work out a common inter-regional post-war policy. The results have been published by the R.I.I.A. in a book entitled *"Agrarian Problems from the Baltic to the Aegean"*. (Discussion of a Peasant Programme.) Chatham House.

The Peasant Programme advocated inter-state and inter-regional schemes of large-scale drainage, water-power, supplies of fertilisers, and other essentials, facilities for marketing and so forth - something almost approaching the dimensions of the Tennessee Valley Scheme in the United States, to be financed in the first instance by loans from the Western democracies. The whole emphasis is on

identity or similarity of economic interests throughout a very wide area from the Baltic to the Aegean, and not on national divergencies.

Meanwhile, on the political side, federation in various forms for the numerous states lying between Germany and Russia was under active discussion. The acting government of Greece and Yugoslavia in the South and of Poland and Czechoslovakia in the North of this zone actually entered into definite agreements and I was present and took some part in what at the time seemed a historic meeting at Liverpool, where this Polish-Czechoslovakian agreement was described by official representatives. Both were intended to be the nuclei for wider federations, so that eventually there might be two federal states for the entire region and possibly only one. The primary motives for this proposed federation were of course greater security and greater economic strength and bargaining power. Whether it would have solved the problem of reconciling the need for economic integration and regional security with the anxiety of the smaller unsatisfied national groups, like the Ruthenes, for local autonomy and cultural self-expression would have depended on the reasonableness of the major groups such as the Poles. *At its best Federation does achieve that reconciliation.*

Within the Dominion of Canada, for example, the French Canadians of Quebec Province undoubtedly feel their primary loyalty is to their own particular culture - to Quebec - but they are perfectly willing to remain as a constituent unit within the Dominion and to be loyal to it so long as they are assured of cultural autonomy in the things they value most - which they are.

A solution of this kind would seem to be the only one for such a complicated ethnic region as East Central Europe. The problem can certainly never be solved by trying to define on economic or strategic grounds the eastern limits of Poland as a sovereign state, free to do what she likes with all the peoples within her borders. The actual fact is that in this region we have several groups, such as the Ruthenes, of considerable size, very conscious of their own cultural identity - which in the Ruthenian case is centred in the Uniat Church, neither 'Orthodox' nor 'Roman', neither Polish nor Russian in sentiment - but yet too weak to stand alone as separate states.

In actual fact the hopes of building up these federal states in Eastern Europe were shattered by the quick march of events in the later stages of the War which illustrated the grim reality of power politics. As the Red Army drove the Germans back, the disputed territories in the Russo Polish borderland were gathered into the U.S.S.R. and now form nominally autonomous republics within it. In theory the U.S.S.R. is a Union of National Groups and great emphasis is laid on the Supreme Soviet of Nationalities but, without wishing to be dogmatic, I confess to grave doubts as to whether this kind of autonomy can have much reality within an essentially authoritarian and totalitarian state system where all important issues are decided by a small group in Moscow. Democracy seems to me an essential condition of true federation, whatever form it may take.

Before I conclude by trying to make certain definite points to which I am leading up I wish to refer briefly to another aspect of the same problem. In many parts of the world - in a large proportion of Africa, Central and South-East Asia - there are many peoples, tribal groups and communities which have not yet reached the stage of nationhood, as we understand the term, but are now being powerfully influenced, by what one may call the *nationalist complex* - that mysterious psychological force which has been spreading round the world. These inhabit what are usually termed the *Colonial Territories*. In their origin these territories were of course mainly acquisitions by the Great Powers for their own advantage, the greater part of Africa being carved out in that unseemly 'Scramble for Africa', which characterised the worst epoch of commercial imperialism in the closing decades of the 19th Century - when Africa seemed likely to become a sort of

economic annexe of Europe. The territories so acquired were not carved out on any coherent geographical or ethnic basis. In consequence the political geography of Africa is highly artificial and the boundaries of the political units often cut across tribal and cultural groups. In an age like this when there is so much occasion for pessimism we can, I think, take definite comfort in the fact that the whole attitude towards these colonial peoples and their future has definitely changed for the better. The famous mandatory clause (Article 22) of the Covenant of the League of Nations marked a tremendous advance in its formulation of the doctrine of trusteeship, even though that doctrine has so far been imperfectly and spasmodically applied.

"To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which have formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the wellbeing and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant."

In the new United Nations Organisation the mandatory principle is re-affirmed and extended in scope under the name of the International Trusteeship system (Chapters xI - xIII inclusive of the Charter of the United Nations.) In one important respect it advances beyond the Covenant because, whereas under the League system the mandatory principle was limited to territories which had been taken from the enemy Powers, Germany and Turkey, provision is now made for any dependent colonial territory to be voluntarily placed under the Trusteeship Council. Not only has the British Government already announced its decision of placing Tanganyika, the Cameroons and Togoland under this Council but it is understood that the question of so transferring the new Malayan Union is also under discussion.

The point, however, which I wish to make is that under the Trusteeship system - to which I think it may legitimately be claimed that Gt. Britain has made a very important contribution - the deliberate attempt is being made to build up coherent self-governing native communities, such as the Buganda kingdom, but at the same time to link them together into a wider synthesis by common inter-territorial services. Extremely interesting and significant developments of this kind are now taking place in what is usually known as British East Africa consisting of the three vast political units of Uganda, Kenya Colony and Tanganyika, containing a great variety of groups, some, like the Buganda, relatively advanced and almost ranking as nations, others still in a primitive tribal stage. They retain their separate organisations and are being encouraged to develop on their own lines, but are being linked together for purposes of economic progress and well-being and social services. The three colonial territories have now a common postal service and customs and eleven joint boards such as the East African Industrial Council, the East African Industrial Research Board and East African Anti-locust Directorate. These joint organisations have hitherto been set up by conferences of the three governors, but it is now proposed to establish an East African High Commission with a central legislature and executive organisation, the former to consist partly of native representatives. In other words the Mandatory Power accepts responsibility not only for safeguarding the interests of the particular groups, mostly small, as they now exist, but for building up much wider communities in the future.

I must now try to draw together the threads of what I have been saying in these two addresses and put certain conclusions for your consideration.

We have to recognize the realities of the international situation to-day and admit that the new United Nations Organisation, which has been established, is

still dominated by Power Politics and that upon the extent to which certain Great Powers, particularly the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., China and the British Commonwealth "play the game" during the next few years, while this organisation is in its infancy, will depend the hope of a real world order ultimately emerging. "The Rubicon", to use Lionel Curtis' phrase, has not been crossed. There has been no surrender of sovereignty. Indeed the world that has emerged from the second World War closely corresponds to what Naumann in his 'Mittel Europe' thirty years ago claimed was inevitably the next phase in political evolution the emergence of superstates, planetary states with satellites revolving round them. I think if Naumann had lived to see the world to-day he would have said, "My prediction has come true." We speak of Continental spheres of influence, of "the Orbits" of the Great Powers, - a Russian orbit, an American orbit and we rightly dread the consequences of the clashes that we already see developing on the margin of the orbits.

But at the same time I am confident that as between the outlook on the world of thoughtful men and women in 1919 - after the close of the first World War - and the outlook to-day there has been a definite widening of the horizon of men's thoughts and a significant shift of emphasis from the rights of nation - states to the rights of men as such. The nation - states as we see them to-day are the results of historical evolution and not ultimate units fixed by nature. The position is constantly changing. New national groups are emerging in South-East Asia and new communities are being formed in Africa. To attempt to define all the different groups in the world who have the right to be considered as sovereign nations and to define the respective territories which they ought to be allowed to rule is an almost impossible task, leading to endless trouble and friction. It is only within the conception of a world community and world government that justice can be ensured to them all, and to believe this is to emphasise the rights of men rather than the rights of states. In this connection I should like to commend to your notice a remarkable little book by Professor E.H. Carr, Professor of International Politics in the University of Wales, certainly one of the profoundest contemporary thinkers on international affairs. It is the third of an extremely valuable trilogy which he has written: 'The Twenty Years' Crisis', the 'Conditions of Peace' and now the one, to which I am referring, 'Nationalism and After' published last year. The keynote of this book is to be found in these two sentences - "Freedom is the prerogative of the individual man and woman, not a prerogative of nations" and "The driving force behind any future international order must be a belief in the values of human beings irrespective of national affinities."

The same note is struck by Lord Hailey, the great authority on African problems, in his important little book on "The Future of Colonial Peoples" which again I should like strongly to commend to your notice. - "It is felt," he writes, "that preservation of world order demands more than the provision of security against aggressors (i.e. between one state and another). Security requires the abolition, within the national boundaries, of the distinction between the privileged and the underprivileged sections of the population; as between the nations it demands a readjustment of the circumstances which place the weaker peoples in a marked position of inferiority to the stronger."

I conclude with these two reflections:

First, that although the formation of the United Nations Organisation does not mark "the crossing of the Rubicon" and leaves the sovereignty of the constituent nations unimpaired, it does contain the machinery for gradually giving effect to this conception of the equality of human rights and opportunities - more particularly in the UNESCO part of its activities, in the Trusteeship Council and in the International Labour Office which it takes over from the League of Nations, and

Second, that the 'driving force' behind the realisation of the great possibilities which UNO contains must be public opinion, and not least the public opinion of Universities like this, which help to orientate the thought of the rising generation of intelligentsia. And so I would like to urge that the more in our own thinking and teaching we move away from the rigid and rather paralysing conception of the world being divided into so many national states, always insisting on their sovereign rights, and instead think of it as consisting of great number of human communities, increasingly inter-dependent and capable of being linked into wider syntheses without losing their personality, the sooner shall we reach the idea of world order based on human brotherhood - of unity but *Unity in variety*. It is the obsession of the idea of the completely sovereign state which most stands in the way of progress towards that ideal.