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# THE CUSTOMS AND RELIGION OF THE CH'ANG

(WITH 16 PLATES)

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## PREFACE

In the summer of 1925 the writer went on a collecting expedition for the Smithsonian Institution to Sung-p'an 松潘 and the Yellow Dragon Gorge. On the way to and from Sung-p'an he passed through Wen-ch'uan 汶川, Wei-chou 威州, Mao-chou 茂州, and Tieh-ch'i 疊溪, which are in the Ch'iang region, and on the return trip he also visited Kuan-chai 官寨, which is the center of the Wa-ssü 瓦司 people. He met a few of the Ch'iang people 羌人, and took pictures of them.

During the summer of 1933 the writer spent his summer vacation among the Ch'iang people, collecting natural history specimens for the Smithsonian Institution. Among the Ch'iang villages that he visited were K'a-ku, O-erh, Lung-ch'i-chai 龍溪寨, Tung-men-wai 東門外, T'ao-tzŭ-p'ing 桃子坪, and also Tsa-ku-nao 雜谷腦 in the country of the Chia-jung 嘉戎, and T'ung-lin-shan, the home of the hereditary ruler of the Wa-ssü. He witnessed the Ch'iang social dances at Chiu-tzŭ-t'eng, visited many Ch'iang homes, temples, sacred groves, and shrines, took notes and pictures, and collected their artifacts for the West China Union University Museum.

In the summer of 1941 the National Ministry of Education of China and the Border Service Bureau of the Church of Christ in China sent a group of 70 university students and professors to the borderland for social service and research. It was the good fortune of the writer to be included. With Mr. Ch'in Hsüeh-sheng 秦學聖, a student of the West China Union University, he was sent to the Min River valley to study the Miao who were supposed to be there. Finding that there were no Miao in that region, he turned to the study of the Ch'iang, visiting Mao-chou, Li-fan 理番, Wei-chou, Wen-ch'uan, K'a-ku, Mu-shang-chi, Lung-ch'i-chai, Tung-men-wai, T'ao-tzŭ-p'ing, Ta-ho-p'ing-chai 大和平寨, Ts'a-to, Ts'a-to-kou, and T'ung-lin-shan.

The following summer the writer was sent for further research among the Ch'iang by the Border Service Bureau of the Church of Christ in China. In addition to the places already mentioned he visited P'u-wa, P'u-ch'i-kou, P'u-ch'i-chai, Chia-shan-chai, Hsi-shan-chai, and Lo-pu-chai. Between 1933 and 1948 he made a number of shorter trips to the Ch'iang region, and in addition brought several Ch'iang men to Chengtu, where for weeks at a time they

assisted him in his study. It was his privilege several times to witness the Ch'iang ceremonies of exorcism, and twice by special arrangement the great ceremonies performed in the sacred groves. Ch'iang folksongs, incantations, vocabularies, and the sacred chants that are regarded as sacred books were first written down in Chinese or in the International Phonetic Script and later translated into English. In China and in the United States old Chinese histories have been searched for references to the Ch'iang, and recent publications for descriptions of these people and their customs by modern Chinese scholars.

There is no information available as to the changes that may have taken place among the Ch'iang since China was "liberated" by the Communists. In this publication the customs and religion of the Ch'iang are described in the present tense, which means that these conditions prevailed up to the summer of 1948 when the writer last had contacts with the Ch'iang people.

The writer is indebted to Lin Min-chün, formerly assistant curator of the West China Union University Museum; to Dr. Cheng Teh-k'un, who succeeded the writer as curator of that museum; to Prof. Wen Yu, noted linguist and author, and in the United States to T. C. Hu and to Fred C. Hung, post-graduate students in the University of Washington, and W. S. Kow, a graduate of the University of Denver. He is especially indebted to the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation for the fellowship that made possible the final completion of these studies, and for a generous financial grant which made possible this publication. Prof. George A. Kennedy, of Yale University, and the editors of the Smithsonian Institution have also given helpful suggestions and made needed corrections.

## PHONETIC TABLE

### CONSONANTS

b	as in bite.
d	as in dig.
dʒ	as in judge, but without aspiration.
f	as in fat.
g	as in go.
ŋ	is an uvular g.
ŋ	is ng as in King.
h	as in hat.
X	is rough h as in the Scotch word <i>loch</i> and the German word <i>nach</i> .
j	is y as in young.
k	as in kind.
l	as in law.
ll	is the Welsh double l plus l.
m	as in man.
n	as in new.
ɲ	as ni in onion.
ɱ	is m pronounced similar to the n above.
p	as in pin.
r	is the ordinary fricative untrilled r, the initial r of southern English and American speech.
s	as in sit.
ʃ	as in shut.
T	is dental t.
t	as in tin.
ts	as in hats.
tʃ	as in child, weakly aspirated.
tʃ'	as in child, strongly aspirated.
v	as in vow.
ʒ	is the French j bordering on the English fricative r. Sometimes there is a slight uvular r sound following this ʒ.
ʒ̃	is the strong palatalized French j.
w	as in wit.
'	is used to indicate a strong aspirate.
Ɂ	is a rare sound designated here by the inverted question mark. For this consonant, the mouth is opened wide, and the same sound is made as when gargling deep in the throat. It is generally followed by the vowels a·, ε, and ʌ.
ð	is a consonant closely resembling the internal sound in bird.

### VOWELS

a·	as in shah or ah.
ae	as in hat.
ā	is nasal a.

- i as in pique.  
i· as in imp.  
ε as in end.  
○ as in hot. The mouth is opened slightly wider than in a.  
○· as in haul.  
u as in put.  
u· as in pool.  
o· as pure close long o.  
Λ as in nut.  
y is umlaut u (ü) as in the German language.  
ə is inverted e, and very slightly resembles the French mute e. It is sometimes written ĩ in the romanization of Chinese sounds.  
ō is nasal o.  
ai is like i in bite.  
ao is like ow in how with a pure o ending.  
au is like ow in how with an open u ending.  
ei as in eight.  
ou is o in go with a u ending.  
au is like the Chinese ou (Wade) or eo in the romanization of the China Inland Mission.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

### I. THE COUNTRY

The Ch'iang people of western Szechwan inhabit the region along the T'o or Tsa-ku-nao and the Min Rivers, between Tieh-ch'i on the north and So-ch'iao on the south, and from points just to the east of Mao-chou, Wei-chou, and Wen-ch'uan to P'u-ch'i-kou, which is 20 *li* west of Li-fan. This country lies between the 31st and 32d degrees latitude and the 103d and 104th degrees longitude. Formerly the Ch'iang extended southward as far as Yüeh-sui 越嶲 and northward into Kansu and Shensi. The principal cities are Li-fan, Mao-chou, Wei-chou, and Wen-ch'uan, and these and the numerous villages along the highways in the valleys are inhabited by the Chinese.

The valleys of the rivers and streams are narrow, and the mountains high and steep. Altitudes vary from less than 5,000 to over 18,000 feet above sea level. There are extensive loess deposits, and these and other kinds of soil have been terraced for convenience in farming. Maize is the main crop up to 8,000 feet, and above that up to 10,000 feet buckwheat can be raised. Forests begin at 9,000 feet, and from 10,000 to 12,000 feet is the realm of the great forests. Above that are the grasslands and the sources of medicinal herbs. The snow line begins at 18,000 feet, and above that is perpetual snow.<sup>1</sup>

Among the Ch'iang there are few trees and little underbrush below the altitude of 9,000 feet, owing to the activities of woodgatherers and to the pasturing of sheep and goats. The forests on the high mountains are the sources of fuel and of lumber. There is no coal in this region, and the coal of Kuan-hsien is considered too far away to be carried by men or pack animals over the mountainous roads.

<sup>1</sup> Report on research in western Szechwan, The Chinese Ministry of Education, p. 56, 1943.

The Ch'iang live in the Temperate Zone, and it is estimated that there is a variation of 3 degrees Fahrenheit for every 1,000 feet in altitude. While the rainfall in central Szechwan is abundant, even as far west as Ya-chou and Kuan-hsien, the climate in the Ch'iang region is semiarid, with occasional droughts. This is because the high mountains serve as watersheds. It is reported that there is more rainfall in the higher altitudes where the mountains are covered with forests than in the lower altitudes that are under cultivation.

The sides of the mountains are generally steep, with plenty of rocks and cliffs. The rivers and streams are so swift that ferryboats are not used. Even in the smaller streams men or women are sometimes drowned when trying to wade across. There are droughts and floods. In the forests are wild animals that sometimes attack human beings, the domestic animals, and the crops. People fall over the steep cliffs. Thunder reverberates through the mountains and valleys, and lightning strikes and kills man or beast. Earthquakes shake down houses and cliffs. In 1933 the writer witnessed an earthquake that sent innumerable rocks rolling down mountainsides, shook down many cliffs, and completely destroyed the city of Tieh-ch'i, killing all the people who were in it at the time. Rolling rocks are an almost constant danger, and at Tung-men-wai in 1941 the writer saw a stone house the upper wall of which had been smashed in by a large rolling stone. Pestilences decimate the domestic animals and cause sickness and death among the people. Life is a hard struggle against an adverse natural environment.

To the northwest are the Lu-hua and the Hei-shui people. To the west and the southwest are the powerful Chia-jung. To the north and the east, and in the cities and villages in the valleys, are the Chinese, and to the south are the Wa-ssü tribespeople who have cooperated with the Chinese in the subjugation of the Ch'iang.

## 2. HISTORY

References to the Ch'iang on the oracle bones and in Chinese histories are almost innumerable, and they cover, apparently, over 4,000 years of human history. A full account of these would require a large volume, but the writer will mention only such facts and events as he regards as most important and most interesting. The writer can say confidently that he has not found or heard of one reference on the oracle bones or in any Chinese history that would indicate that the ancestors of the Ch'iang of western Szechwan migrated eastward from western Asia, or that they are descendants of the Israelites. On

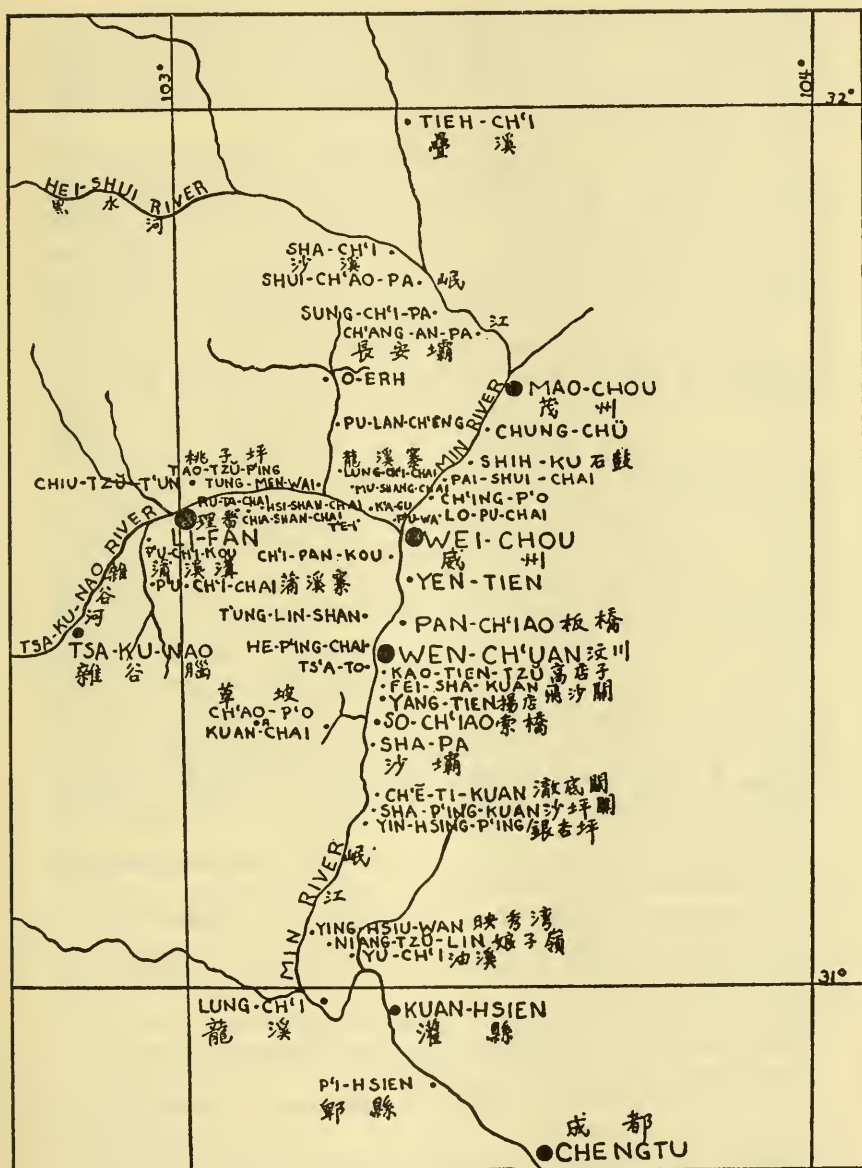


FIG. 1.—Map of the Ch'iang region. It extends from T'ieh-ch'i on the north to So-ch'iao on the south, and up the Tsa-ku-nao River to P'u-ch'i-kou. The main roads are along the Min and the Tsa-ku-nao Rivers. These roads have evidently been great trade routes and roads for migration for thousands of years. Sherds of neolithic painted pottery have been found near Wei-chou.

The Wade system has been used in the spelling of the names of cities, towns, and rivers, excepting Chengtu and Szechwan. Elsewhere in this manuscript the gu of K'a-gu is spelled ku, the he of He-p'ing-chai is spelled ho, and the t'un of Chiu-tzu-t'un is spelled t'eng, in accordance with the Wade system.

the contrary there is strong evidence that in ancient times they lived in northeast China, and that they migrated westward, some proceeding on into Kansu, and others turning southward into northern and western Szechwan.<sup>2</sup>

In the Shu King, or Book of Historical Documents, it is stated that Shun "drove (the chief of) San-miao (and his people) into San-wei, and kept them there." In a note James Legge explains that "San-miao was the name of a territory embracing the present departments of Wu-khang in Hu-pei, Yo-kau in Hunan, and Kiu-kiang in Kiang-hsi. San-wei was a tract of country around a mountain of the same name in the present department of An-hsi, Kan-su.<sup>3</sup> The Chronological Handbook of the History of China dates this event as 3387 B. C.<sup>4</sup> Chinese histories state that the San-miao were Ch'iang.<sup>5</sup>

During the Shang dynasty the Ch'iang lived west of the Chinese, whose capital was at An-yang. There are many references to the Ch'iang on the oracle bones. The Chinese made military expeditions against them, captured them, used them as slaves, and even sacrificed them to the ancestors and the gods of the Shang people.<sup>6</sup> On the oracle bones the upper part of the character meaning Ch'iang is the horns of a sheep or goat, and means sheep or goat 𦍋, and the lower part is man 亻. It means people who raise sheep or goats. Today the Chinese word for Ch'iang 羌 consists of the character for sheep or goats above, and that for man below. A third character meaning magic 巫 is sometimes added 羗. The Ch'iang of West China are all farmers, and they depend much on their flocks of sheep and goats.

<sup>2</sup> Creel, Herrlee Glessner, *The birth of China*, pp. 213-216. New York, 1937. Ssü-ma Ch'ien, *Shih Chi*. ch. 116, No. 56.

Liu Ch'ao-yang, *The conquering of the Ch'iang by the Emperor Hsiao I*. *Studia Serica*, vol. 5, 1946.

<sup>3</sup> *Sacred Books of the East*, edited by Max Müller, vol. 3, *The Shu King*, book 1, sect. 3, p. 41.

*Hou Han Shu*, by Fan Yeh, ch. 77, Commercial Press, 1932.

<sup>4</sup> Faber, Rev. Ernst, *Chronological handbook of the history of China*, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Hou Han Shu*, Hsi Ch'iang chüan, ch. 77.

Tung Tso-pin, *The Ch'iang and Shu of the Yin dynasty*, *Shuo-wen Monthly*, ch. 3, No. 5, Aug. 15, 1942.

董作賓殷代的羌與蜀.

*K'ang Hsi Dictionary*, A. D. 1716.

Sung-p'an Hsien Chih, ch. 3, *Frontier Defence*, 1927.

松潘縣志卷三邊防.

T'ung Tien ch. 189, p. 1013.

通典.

Liu Ch'ao-yang, *The conquering of the Ch'iang*, *Studia Serica*, vol. 5, p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> Creel, *ibid.*, pp. 213-210. Ssü-ma Ch'ien, *Shih Chi*, ch. 116, No. 56.

At the end of the Shang dynasty the Ch'iang united with the Chou people in a war under Wu Wang 武王, or King Wu, against the Shang people, which resulted in the overthrow of the Shang and the establishment of the Chou dynasty. The Ch'iang took a leading part in this war, a fact that is stated in many Chinese histories.<sup>7</sup> The dramatic and eloquent speech of the Chou leader to his allies at Muh is one of the bits of evidence that the Ch'iang were active participants in that great war. The opening words of that speech are: "And ye, O men of Yung, Shun, K'ang, Maou, Wei, Loo, P'ang and Po;—lift up your lances, join your shields, raise your spears:—I have a speech to make."<sup>8</sup> A note on the next page of the same book says, "The country of Shuh was the present dep. of Shingtoo (新都) in Szechwan. West and north from this was the country of the K'ang; while that of Maou and Wei was to the east."<sup>9</sup>

The grandmother of the Chou leader who overthrew the Shang dynasty was a Ch'iang woman. After the fall of the Shangs, the Ch'iang leaders were made feudal lords over four states including Ch'i. In 679 B. C., after the power of the Chou kings had greatly weakened, Duke Huan of Ch'i became president of the feudal lords with the power of King. "Thus the descendants of these people, who a few centuries earlier had been hunted down, enslaved, and sacrificed like cattle, came for a time to be rulers of the whole Chinese world."<sup>10</sup>

According to the Hsi-ts'ang T'ung-lan or History of Tibet, in 700 B. C. the western Ch'iang had trade and other relations with the Chinese. They lived in Lung Shan, 龍山, in the valleys of the I and the Lu Rivers, in the present provinces of Shensi and Kansu, and the northern part of Szechwan. The Great Wall was built about 241 B. C. Han Wu Ti, about 130 B. C., caused the western Ch'iang to dwell around the fortresses of the Great Wall. At the time of the Emperor Huai of the Chin dynasty (about A. D. 310) Yao Ch'ang, the son of Yao I Chung of the Ch'ih T'ing Ch'iang, vanquished the Fu Ch'in dynasty and became king. He lived at

<sup>7</sup> Creel, *ibid.*, chap. 4, sect 2, pp. 215-216.

Li-fan T'ing Chih *ch.* 4, sect. 2, History of the Border.

理番廳志.

Shih Chi, *ch.* 4, sect. 2, Annals of the Chou.

Chung Kuo Min Tsu Shih, chap. 11, The Ch'iang race.

中國民族史 第十章 羌族 呂思勉著 世界書局出版.

Tung Tso-pin, Shuo-wen Monthly, *ch.* 3, No. 7, Aug. 15, 1942.

<sup>8</sup> Legge, James, D.D., The Chinese Classics, vol. 3, pt. 2, pp. 301-302.

Shih Chi, *ch.* 4, Annals of the Chou.

<sup>9</sup> Legge, James, D.D., *ibid.*, p. 302.

<sup>10</sup> Creel, *ibid.*, p. 215.

Ch'ang-an, now Sian of Shensi. After two generations his kingdom was destroyed by Liu Yü.<sup>11</sup>

The histories of Yüeh-sui, and of the Ya-chou prefecture state that formerly some of the Ch'iang lived in the Ya-chou prefecture and southward toward Yüeh-sui.<sup>12</sup> Other histories tell us that they have lived northward in the region of Wen-ch'uan, Wei-chou, Sung-p'an, and northward in Kansu. The history of Yüeh-sui tells of a bloody battle in which thousands of Ch'iang were killed and captured.<sup>13</sup> Numerous were the wars with the Chinese. During the Western Chin dynasty, A. D. 265-313, the Ch'iang became powerful, and Li Hsiung became emperor of Shu or Szechwan.<sup>14</sup> Later Fu Ch'in became emperor of more than half of China, including Chengtu.<sup>14</sup> In A. D. 1441 a Tibetan tribe that assisted the Chinese against the Ch'iang was given lands near Wen-ch'uan, and since these people have been called the Wa-ssü tribe.<sup>15</sup> A war near Yüeh-sui in A. D. 1574 was caused by a Chinese official stealing the wife of a Ch'iang leader, but the Ch'iang were defeated and severely punished.<sup>16</sup> Near Tieh-ch'i in 1576 a number of Ch'iang leaders were buried alive.<sup>17</sup> Finally, in the reign of Ch'ien Lung, 乾隆, the Ch'iang took part in a great rebellion, but they were defeated, and have since been unable to dispute the power of the Chinese.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Hsi-ts'ang T'ung-lan, History of Tibet, vol. 3, sect. 2, ch. 1.

西藏通覽.

<sup>12</sup> Ya-chou-fu Chih, vol. 1, Directions to Readers.

雅州府志.

Yüeh-sui T'ing Ch'üan Chih, vol. 6, ch. 2.

越嶲廳全志.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, vol. 6, ch. 2.

<sup>14</sup> Hwa Yang Kuo Chih, ch. 9, p. 1.

華陽國志.

Chin Shu ch. 121, Records, No. 21, p. 1.

晉書.

<sup>15</sup> Wen-ch'uan Hsien Chih.

汶川縣志.

<sup>16</sup> Yüeh-sui T'ing Ch'üan Chih, vol. 6, sect. 2.

越嶲廳全志.

<sup>17</sup> Mao-chou chih, ch. 3.

茂州志.

Sung-p'an Hsien Chih, ch. 3.

松潘縣志.

<sup>18</sup> Li-fan T'ing Ch'üan Chih, ch. 4, p. 40.

理番廳全志.

In the Ch'iang region there have been unearthed in the sides of the loess terraces many tombs that were lined on all sides by slate slabs. They have been named the slate tombs, and at first it was assumed that they were graves of ancient Ch'iang people. In these there have been found, besides the skeletons, ancient bronzes and pottery, and sometimes Chinese coins. The Ch'iang tradition is that until very recent times the Ch'iang buried only by cremation, and that these are the graves of the Koh people, who at first disputed the possession of the land with the Ch'iang. Archeological evidence supports this tradition and dates the tombs at between 500 and 100 B. C.<sup>19</sup>

The following tradition was related to the writer by several Ch'iang men, one of whom was Kou P'in-shan, a Christian leader who was killed by the Communists. Some Ch'iang give the length of the migration as 3 years and 6 months, others as 1 year and 6 months, and still others as 1 year and several months. It was told the writer as given below by Ch'en Chen-shu, who lived above the village of K'a-ku.

Far away and long ago there were two nations, Tzū La and Gu La. In a war between them Gu La (the Ch'iang people—Tzū La is an old name for China still used by the Japanese) was defeated, and the Ch'iang migrated a long distance, traveling a year and several months before they reached the place where they now live. On the way they crossed a river, using round boats covered on the sides and below with cowskins. One of the boats leaked, and the sacred books got wet. While the books were being dried in the sun, some goats came and ate them. The Ch'iang therefore have no written language, and the contents of the lost books are handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation.

When the Ch'iang reached West China, the Chinese and the *Jung* were at war. The *Jung* were defeated and retreated to Tsa-gu-nao. The Chinese retired to Kuan-hsien, leaving the country between Kuan-hsien and Tsa-gu-nao vacant, and the Ch'iang came in and occupied it. At that time the Ch'iang had sheep and goats and planted wheat but did not have corn. In the reign of Ch'ien Lung (A. D. 1737-1793) the Wa-ssü tribe came from Wu Ssü Ch'ang in Tibet and helped the Chinese in a war with the Ch'iang that lasted 12 years. There was a great battle at Wei Kwan, where a person can walk from the top of the mountain to the river without being seen by the enemy. The Ch'iang were defeated, and the Wa-ssü were given the

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<sup>19</sup> Graham, David C., An archaeological find in the Ch'iang region. Journ. West China Border Res. Soc., vol. 15, ser. A, pp. 34-39.

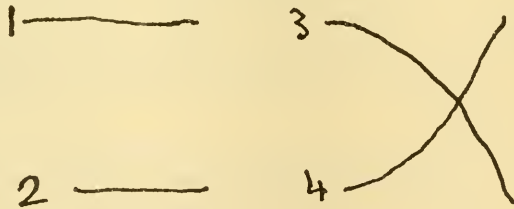
land which they now occupy, between the Ch'iang and the Chinese.<sup>20</sup>

Since there are a number of tribes in Burma that have a similar tradition of the lost sacred books, we seem safe in assuming that this part of the tradition is legendary.

In an article, "The Conquering of the Ch'iang" in *Studia Serica*, the author states his conclusion that in earlier times the Ch'iang lived farther east, and that they were pushed westward by the Yin Court and later Chinese governments, and that as they were forced westward one branch migrated in Kansu and another turned southward into Szechwan.<sup>21</sup> This seems to agree with historic facts and traditions, and indicates that the Ch'iang of western Szechwan, and probably several other ethnic groups, are descendants of the Ch'iang of ancient times.

### 3. THE LANGUAGE

The language is monosyllabic and tonal. The number of tones is generally four. According to the numbering of the writer, tone 1 is the high level tone, tone 2 is the low level tone, tone 3 begins high and the voice is lowered as the word is being pronounced, and tone 4 begins low and ascends upward. Tones 3 and 4 occur much less frequently than tones 1 and 2. These tones correspond rather closely to tones 1, 2, 3, and 4 as they occur in the Western Mandarin as spoken by the Chinese of Szechwan Province. Thus:



There is about an octave's difference between the high level tone and the low level tone as pronounced by the Chinese of Szechwan. Among the Ch'iang this difference is not so great. Tone 1 is slightly lower than that of the Chinese, and tone 2 is a trifle higher than the

<sup>20</sup> Graham, David C., *Journ. West China Border Res. Soc.*, vol. 14, ser. A, pp. 70-71, 1942.

<sup>21</sup> Liu Ch'ao-yang, *The conquering of the Ch'iang by the Emperor Hsiao I. Studia Serica*, vol. V, 1946. Published by the Chinese Cultural Studies Research Institute, West China Union University, Chengtu, Szechwan, China.



Chinese. Tones 3 and 4 as spoken by the Ch'iang and the West China Chinese are about the same.

Prof. Wen Yu, formerly on the staff of the West China Union University, has made an extensive study of the Ch'iang language and dialects, with the hope of writing a grammar and dictionary of the Ch'iang. This will be very difficult if not impossible to accomplish because of the great variations in different localities. The writer once hoped to compile at least a vocabulary of the Ch'iang, but was foiled by the differences and variations that he found, much greater than in any other ethnic group with which he has been in contact. There are rare and strange sounds such as the rough h, the uvular g, the Welsh double l, the dental t, the French j, and a consonant made deep in the throat with the mouth opened wide as when gargling, which the writer has indicated by the inverted question mark.

Prof. Wen Yu has stated that the Ch'iang language may be divided into five or six different branches, "between which there are morphological, philological and chronological differences perceptible, but not very considerable." In some branches he has found case distinctions, a feature which he has not found in any other Sino-Tibetan language.<sup>22</sup> He found in the Hou-erh-k'u dialect certain affricative consonants pronounced with considerable force. The word *ts'i* means "to replace" as ordinarily pronounced, but means "three" when pronounced emphatically. He calls these two pronunciations ordinary and emphatic.<sup>23</sup>

Prof. Wen Yu and others have compared the vocabularies of the Ch'iang with those of the Lolos, the Nashi, and others in the Burma-Tibetan language group, and in some cases they have found striking resemblances. Professor Wen regards the Ch'iang as an ancient form of the Burma-Tibetan.

#### 4. THE PEOPLE

The Ch'iang people are dark yellow or brown in color, with eyes varying from dark brown to black, and hair coarse, straight, and black. Dr. W. R. Morse published anthropometrical measurements and observations of the Ch'iang.<sup>24</sup> In this publication only the bare measurements were included, none of the indices or conclusions being worked

<sup>22</sup> Wen Yu, On the languages of Li-fan. Journ. West China Border Res. Soc., vol. 14, ser. A, pp. 31-34, 1942.

<sup>23</sup> Wen Yu, On the origin of certain emphatic consonants in Ch'iang dialects. *Studia Serica*, vol. 6, pp. 209-215, Chengtu, 1947.

<sup>24</sup> Morse, W. R., Schedule of physical anthropological measurements and observations on ten ethnic groups of Szechwan Province, West China. Journ. West China Border Res. Soc., Supplement to vol. 8, 1937.

out. Later Dr. Yen Yin published an article in which the indices were included. Some of the main results are as follows:<sup>25</sup>

	Range	Mean
Stature .....	149-182	159.51 ± 0.42
Span .....	150-181	165.25 ± 0.48
Cephalic index .....	72-88	79.48 ± 1.22
Nasal index .....	53-91	66.85 ± 0.58

In an article by William R. Morse and Anthony Yoh,<sup>26</sup> "Measurements and observations on certain aboriginal tribes of Szech'uan Province," the Ch'iang were included, with measurements of 98 men. Some of the facts and measurements are as follows:

	Range	Mean
Stature .....	144-176	161.2
Sitting height .....	79-96	87.8
Span .....	145-187	166.6
Head length .....	15-21	18.5
Head breadth .....	12-17	15.1
Head height .....	9-14	11.5
Hair color .....	Black, 90.68%; black-brown, 8.15%; brown, 1.16%	
Hair form .....	Straight, 48.20%; long waves, 39.40%, short waves, 2.25%.	
Hair texture .....	Coarse, 74.30%; medium, 17.95%; fine, 7.70%.	
Eye color of iris .....	Brown, dark, 27.70%; brown, medium, 43.60%; brown light, 28.70%.	
Epicanthic fold .....	Absent, 90.00%; trace, 6.90%; medium, .99%.	
Hair on body .....	Absent, 44.50%; trace, 55.50%.	
Shoveling of incisors....	Absent, 4.76%; trace, 21.40%; medium, 28.67% (medial). marked, 45.20%.	

An official publication of the Li-fan government in 1942, during a time of drought, estimated the Ch'iang population at about 28,000.<sup>27</sup> Some Chinese might possibly have been included in this estimate, and the Ch'iang in the districts of Mao-chou and Wen-ch'uan were not included. It seems safe, therefore, to estimate the number of Ch'iang in western Szechwan at between 50,000 and 100,000. Estimating the Ch'iang population is difficult because in some localities people of Ch'iang descent speak the Chinese language and call themselves Chinese.

<sup>25</sup> Yen Yin, The anthropometry of Ch'iang. *Studia Serica*, vol. 5, pp. 3-6, 1946.

<sup>26</sup> Morse, William R. and Anthony Yoh, Measurements and observations on certain aboriginal tribes of Szech'uan Province. *Chinese Med. Journ.*, vol. 48, pp. 1267-81, 1934.

<sup>27</sup> Report of the Drought-famine in Li-fan Hsien Li-fan government publication, 1942.

## II. ECONOMIC LIFE

To most of the Ch'iang people, the economic problem, that of earning a livelihood, with plenty to eat and to wear, and of keeping out of debt, is a difficult one, and the results are sometimes in doubt. Once a family is in debt, it is nearly impossible to get out again. As stated under the previous heading, "The country," the climate is semiarid, and droughts are not uncommon. Pestilences take the lives of human beings and also of domestic animals. By earthquakes, floods, fire, lightning, rolling stones, and in other ways, nature often strikes a hard if not a deadly blow. Wild animals attack human beings and domestic animals, and raid the growing crops. The poorer of the Ch'iang people are generally underclothed and underfed. On the other hand, the Ch'iang are an industrious and hard-working people, and men, women, and children join in the work of supporting the family.

## I. COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION

The Ch'iang have no written language. There are therefore no newspapers, magazines, or books, excepting those published in the Chinese language for the Chinese, and few Ch'iang are able to possess or to read them. There is no radio or television, and no telephone or telegraph lines, for those connecting the Chinese towns and cities are for the use of the Chinese.

Chinese-built roads connect the cities and towns inhabited by the Chinese in the valleys. These are generally narrow and paved with stones or stone slabs which are arranged in ascending and descending stairlike steps. Some, however, are unpaved, and some are paved with rough, uneven and unhewn rocks. In many places the roads are steep and crooked. On these roads wheeled vehicles cannot be used, and the writer has not seen or heard of such vehicles being used anywhere in the Ch'iang region, not even a wheelbarrow. One travels on foot, in a sedan chair, or on horseback, or even on the back of a human being.

There are two main trade routes meeting at an almost right angle at Wei-chou. One comes from Kuan-hsien, crosses the Yang-tzŭ-lin pass and drops to the east bank of the Min River, which it follows northward all the way to Sung-p'an. Above Mao-chou a branch road turns westward up the Hei-shui River into the land of the Hei-shui and the Luh Hwa people. At Sung-p'an one road goes westward through the Po-lo-tzŭ country, one goes northward through the grasslands, and one turns eastward through the northern Szech-

wan. A second main artery of trade is a road that crosses the Min River at Wei-chou, follows the T'o or Tsa-ku-nao valley west to Li-fan, turns southwest to Tsa-ku-nao, then goes westward through the Chia-jung country into the marshes of Sikong and Tibet. These two main trade routes and their branches have been sources of migration, trade, and cultural diffusion for thousands of years.

The roads between Ch'iang villages are narrow, unpaved footpaths, often very steep. Sometimes they wind around the side of a mountain over the edge of a precipice. In some places they are built by skillfully cementing stones together and to the sides of perpendicular cliffs. There are places where the traveler is in danger of falling over a cliff or of being hit by rolling rocks.

Loads are sometimes carried by pack animals—horses, mules, or cattle—but more commonly by human beings. Chinese coolies generally use carrying poles or wooden racks, but Ch'iang men and women generally carry their loads on their backs by means of wooden carrying-racks, wicker baskets, or simply by ropes or straps tied around their loads. On account of the swiftness of the streams, there are practically no boats in the Ch'iang region.

A small stream may be waded or crossed by means of large stones conveniently arranged. Sometimes a log or a board is laid across a stream. A bridge sometimes consists of a single large bamboo cable hanging across a stream or river, with two hollow wooden half-cylinders tied securely around the cable and often greased inside. A person wraps his arms around this arrangement, or he and his baggage may be tied to it, and man and baggage slide on the cable more than halfway across. Then the man pulls himself hand-over-hand up the other side, or he or his baggage or both at once may be pulled the rest of the way across by means of a rope.

Large rope bridges have 9 or 10 bamboo cables on the bottom, on which boards are laid crosswise, and four or more cables on each side. The longest bamboo cables of this kind are held up and supported by several wooden trestles, the bridges sagging down between them. As a person walks over such a bridge, the whole bridge sways.

One type of bridge is the false or corbelled arch. From both sides large timbers reach out, each higher one beyond the one below it, toward the middle of the stream, where the space between the two sides is spanned by long timbers.

A very interesting type of bridge is called in Chinese a *p'ien Ch'iao*, or slanting bridge. This is used where a road must pass along the perpendicular side of a rock cliff over a swift mountain stream. Deep, round holes are chiseled horizontally into the perpendicular cliff about

3 feet apart, and wooden poles are inserted into these holes. Boards are laid on these poles parallel to the cliff and are sometimes tied to the poles by means of vine ropes. These bridges jiggle as people or animals walk over them, causing the poles gradually to slip out of the holes and allowing the bridge to become more and more slanting until finally part or all of the bridge falls into the roaring torrent below, and with it any people, baggage, or animals that happen to be on the bridge at the time. After a catastrophe like this, the bridge is, of course, repaired.

## 2. MONEY, MARKETING, BARTERING, AND BORROWING

For centuries Chinese money has been the currency of the Ch'iang. Even in the slate tombs, which have been dated between 500 and 100 B. C., only Chinese coins have been found. During the latter half of the Manchu dynasty, the money used was lump silver and brass cash. One ounce of silver was called a tael, and 10 ounces was a shoe or ingot of silver. The cash was a small, round brass coin with inscriptions giving the date and the value, and with a square hole in the center so that the coins could be strung on strings. One string was supposed to be 1,000 cash, but generally the count was from 10 to 100 cash short. Near the end of the Manchu dynasty, silver dollars and brass or copper coins without the holes in the center appeared.

The first silver dollars were Spanish or Mexican coins, but later the Chinese minted their own. The new brass and copper coins varied in value from 1 cash to 500. Early in the days of the Chinese Republic, paper notes appeared, with values of 5, 10, 20, and 50 cents, and values of 1, 2, 5, and 10 dollars and up. During the second world war the Chinese National Government "called in" all silver money and other silver objects, making it illegal to possess silver money, and some nickel coins were issued, but finally only paper money was minted and used. There appeared paper notes valued at \$100, \$200, \$500, \$1,000, \$10,000, \$50,000, and \$100,000. In 1948 the writer paid one million dollars for a cheap straw hat.

There is some marketing in small villages, generally in temples, in homes, or on the streets. Bartering is still very common. If two objects of unequal value are traded, the difference may be paid in cash, or another object may be thrown in to make things even.

The principal market places are the Chinese cities and towns. Here the Ch'iang bring their products—firewood, hides, corn, beans, wheat, buckwheat, pepper, vegetables, chickens, beef, mutton, eggs, medi-

cines, and other commodities, and with the money received for them they purchase salt, sugar, cotton cloth, vegetable oil, tea, tobacco, and other necessities.

The interest paid on loans is very high. It varies from 60 to 300 percent a year. This is one of the greatest hardships endured by the Ch'iang. If the borrower does not pay (as often he cannot), the lender may send a poor person to live with the borrower. This person stays in the borrower's home, eats his food, smokes his tobacco, drinks his tea, and sleeps in his bed. This costs the borrower a great deal, but in the end the borrower must pay all he owes, both interest and principal. He is not credited with what the poor man has cost him. Sometimes the lender comes and takes away a pig, sheep, goat, cow, or some other valuable object. The contract may stipulate that the interest is from 2 to 6 pecks of corn, so that the rate of interest depends on the market value of the corn.

### 3. HOUSES, TOWERS, AND VILLAGES

Ch'iang houses are made of stone, wood, and clay. The walls are built of unhewn stone plastered together with clay, and the doors, ladders, floors, roofs, and sometimes windows are made of wood. Before building the walls, trenches are dug 2 or 3 meters deep, and these are filled with stones cemented together with clay. On these foundations the walls are built. Advantage is taken of the flat and smooth sides of the stones, so that the sides of the walls appear to be flat and the corners square. The clay used is generally the loess dirt which is abundant in the Ch'iang region. It is merely mixed with water before using. The walls are thicker at the bottom than near the top, so that the walls slope inward very gradually toward the tops of the houses.

When building a house, saws, planes, chisels, and hatchets are used to shape the wood, and hammers to drive in the nails. A heavy wooden pounder with a handle through the top and a wide, flat bottom is used to pound the dirt on the roof level and firm, and an iron hammer, a wooden hammer or sledge, and a trowel are used in constructing the walls. Hoes and shovels are used to dig the trenches for the foundations.

The houses generally have two stories—sometimes three—besides the shed on the roof. The first story consists of an open court inside the front door, a latrine, and inner rooms or pens for the domestic animals. All the animals are shut inside these rooms or pens at night. The floors of the open court and the small rooms or pens are covered

with straw, coarse grass, and twigs, and the animals tread on this for weeks or months, adding their urine and night soil. Of course, there is a bad smell. On this floor garden tools, hay, and fuel are stored.

People live on the second floor, where there are usually one or two bedrooms, a kitchen, and a large room used for entertaining guests, as a dining room, and for other purposes. On this floor dogs, cats,

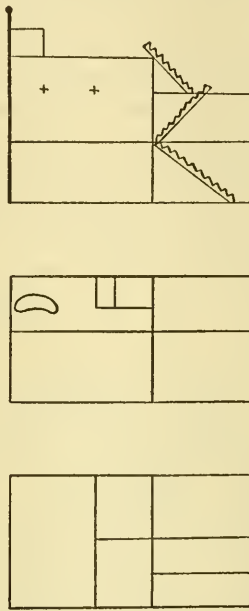


FIG. 2—Drawings showing the first floor of a Ch'iang house, on which are the latrine and the pens for domestic animals; the second story showing the main hall, a bedroom, a kitchen and a kitchen stove resembling Chinese kitchen stoves; and the side view of the same house. Ch'iang homes are made of unhewn stone, are generally two stories high, and have flat roofs. At the rear of the roof is a shed for storing grain and vegetables. On top of this shed, in the center at the rear, is a shrine, capped by a sacred white stone, at which the 5 great gods and the 12 lesser gods are worshiped.

chickens, and sometimes goats are allowed to range, which does not make for cleanliness. On this floor people sit around the fire, smoke tobacco, visit, eat, and sleep.

On the top of the house is a flat roof surrounded by a wall about 2 feet high. At the rear of the roof is an open shed in which grain and vegetables are stored, and where women sometimes do their weaving. Here clothes are dried, and grain is dried, flailed, and winnowed. Here in fair weather children play, and the inmates of the house visit with each other and friends and relatives on the same roof, or with

neighbors on the roofs of other houses, or people enjoy simply gazing at the scenery.

The rear wall projects higher than the shed, and at the middle is a shrine with an opening in front in which incense is burnt. The incense is sometimes incense sticks purchased in the Chinese market, but generally it is cedar twigs. On the top of the shrine is a sacred white stone, and just back of this is a small hole in which a green cedar twig is inserted upright at the time of worship. In front of the shrine the family worships the 5 great gods and the 12 lesser gods.

To build this roof, large timbers are placed on top of or rather in the wall, parallel and a few feet apart. Thick boards are placed cross-wise on these timbers. On the boards are placed brushwood, mountain bamboo, and twigs. Dirt is thrown onto the twigs, bamboo, and brushwood, and beaten hard. Thorns are mixed with the dirt and twigs to discourage the rats. There is a slight slope to the roof, so that the rain runs off instead of leaking into the house.

In the villages the houses are close together, often wall-to-wall, and the streets are narrow, generally about 3 feet wide and seldom over 10 feet in width. This gives a village the appearance of a fortification with high stone walls. The impression is heightened by the fact that nearly every village has one or more watch towers which are 17 or 18 feet square at the bottom and often over 100 feet high. The village of P'u-wa has seven watch towers.

The Ch'iang watch towers are always near villages, their location depending on the position of the villages, the lay of the land, and the need for defense. They are square and eight stories high. Each story or floor above the first floor is reached by inside ladders. The entrance to the first floor is reached by a ladder which can be drawn inside and the door closed. Each story has a wooden floor. On each side of a tower are eight small holes or windows, generally in the form of narrow crosses, one on each floor, for air, light, and formerly for shooting arrows at enemies. On the top, on the side of the higher land, the wall is built higher as a protection from enemies. In time of war women and children and the most valuable possessions are taken inside the towers for safety.

Many Ch'iang villages are on cliffs or promontories that make defense easier, and nearly all are called *Chai Tzu* or fortified places. They are always located near creeks or springs and near fertile fields that are good for farming.

Ch'iang houses often contain typical Chinese stoves made generally of stones and clay, with a fireplace underneath and two or three holes



for cooking vessels, the largest being for the Chinese *kuo* 鍋 in which most of the food is cooked.

Many Ch'iang homes have on the second story an oblong fireplace filled with ashes so as to protect the wooden floor from the fire and sparks. In this oblong space there is an iron band or circle with three equidistant iron legs and with three pieces of iron reaching almost horizontally toward the center from the places where the three iron legs are joined to the iron circle. These three horizontal pieces of iron support a cooking vessel over the fire. The diameter of this iron stove is nearly 3 feet, and in homes where there is no Chinese cooking stove, it is used for the cooking. Where there is a Chinese cooking stove, the iron stove is used less for cooking and more for warmth, and during cold weather fires are built here daily and kept burning most of the time. Members of the family and relatives and friends often sit around the fireplace and visit. People must not put their feet on the iron circle or the legs, because the entire stove is sacred and the legs are gods.

#### 4. OCCUPATIONS

All Ch'iang are farmers. Even the priests and rulers or headmen, generally the most highly honored people in their communities, have fields which they farm or rent to others. Land, houses, and tools are generally owned by families and not by individuals. Every able-bodied member of the family is supposed to work. Men do the plowing, for there is a taboo against this being done by women, and women do the weaving. Women and girls generally do the sewing, spinning, and cooking, but in such work as farming, herding the domestic animals, and carrying loads, all the members of the family generally cooperate and do their share of the work.

There are men, though few, who are blacksmiths, carpenters, painters, or masons, but these men are also farmers. There are no silversmiths or goldsmiths, for silver and gold ornaments are bought readymade from, or made to order by, Chinese silversmiths. Members of several families often cooperate in herding cattle, sheep, goats, and horses on the mountains. Few if any of the Ch'iang are merchants, although there are homes in which matches, vegetable oil, wine, salt, and a few other commodities are sold.

Wood is used for fuel, although this is supplemented by corn stalks or husks, and wheat, barley, and buckwheat straw. The wood is gathered in the forests on the mountains, where it is tied into bundles and carried home on the backs of men or women. Sometimes the

bundles are thrown or rolled down precipices or steep hillsides to save labor. Most of the winter supply is gathered in the fall after the crops have been harvested. All loads are carried on the backs of men or women unless the family is fortunate enough to own one or two pack animals. Poor people often supplement the family income by carrying loads for other Ch'iang or for the Chinese.

During the winter months some of the Ch'iang go to the Chengtu plain and dig or clean wells for the Chinese. It is believed that they are experts at this work.

Most of the men enjoy hunting, which they generally do in the fall or winter months after the crops have been harvested. Several men with dogs cooperate and share the spoils. They kill leopards, pandas, monkeys, wild boars, deer, bears, wild mountain goats, pheasants, and other game, eating the meat and using or selling the skins of the animals.

Most of the farms have been tilled for centuries, and their fertility is preserved and prolonged by fertilization. Much of the soil is terraced. New land is sometimes secured by cutting down trees and bushes, then burning them after they have become dry. Such land is very fertile for a few years, after which it is abandoned and allowed to grow bushes and trees. Later the process may be repeated. This custom is widespread among the highlands of West China and is very destructive to the forests. Sometimes the freshly tilled soil is washed away by the heavy rains, leaving the place unfit for forests or for cultivation.

While the Ch'iang are farmers, they depend very much on their flocks, and especially their sheep and goats. Their flocks are the chief source of meat for food and for ceremonial offerings, and the wool and hides are used for bedding and for clothing.

##### 5. TOOLS, IMPLEMENTS, AND FURNITURE

Most of the Ch'iang tools and implements are the same as those of the Chinese. In fact, they are made by Chinese for the Chinese, and are bought by the Ch'iang in the Chinese markets. The hoe is long and thick, and the handle is about 4 feet long. The ax and the hatchet are heavier and clumsier than those of foreign lands. The short, curved iron sickle is used to cut wood, wheat, barley, buckwheat, corn, and grass. The loom has a wooden frame, and the spindle is often a stick of wood around which the thread or yarn has been wound. The plow differs from that of the Chinese in that there is a short upright stick pierced at right angles by a small wooden

handle. The plowman has to stoop when he plows, and when he turns the plow around he lifts it out of the ground. The long beam is tied to the yoke, and the yoke is tied to the shoulders of the horses, cows, or oxen. The plowman sings as he plows, and it is asserted that if he stops singing the animal stops pulling.

We have already described the Ch'iang stove which consists of an iron hoop with three legs. A variation of this is found in some homes and in many temples in the form of three pieces of stone skillfully chipped so that legs extend downward and the tops extend inward toward the center. The cooking vessel can rest on the extended tips of the stones in the center, and a fire can be built underneath.

The beds of the Ch'iang are made of wood and resemble those of the Chinese. Some families have round wooden tables, but poorer families merely use planks between two long, four-legged stools. Some families have wooden or bamboo chairs bought from the Chinese, but many use only the typical long, four-legged wooden *pan-teng* 板凳 or bench. Water is stored in stone vats or small tanks or in wooden barrels, and is carried in wooden barrels or tubs on people's backs. In the bedrooms are wooden chests or boxes to contain quilts or clothing. Among the kitchen utensils are a thick, wide iron chopper with a wooden handle, knives, spoons, and ladles, iron and wooden dippers, teapots, tea kettles, and a large iron *kuo* or cooking vessel with a round wooden lid.

The wooden rack or frame used for carrying loads on the back is widely used on the China-Tibetan border. A Ch'iang substitute for this is a wicker basket with straps that go over the shoulders and back under the arms. The basket is often filled up, and long objects like rolls of cloth or pieces of wood are laid horizontally across the top. Hunters carry daggers or short swords in their belts and generally use muzzle-loading guns. The Ch'iang eat with chopsticks out of small bowls, and food is placed on the table on plates or in large bowls.

## 6. FOOD AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

On the farms the Ch'iang raise hemp, wheat, barley, buckwheat, corn, beans, peas, squashes, cucumbers, turnips, Chinese cabbage, cabbage, walnuts, tree pepper, apples, pears, peaches, and apricots. In the forests and on the mountainsides they gather wild fruits, berries, and vegetables. During a summer trip in the mountains above Mu-p'ing we counted 22 kinds of wild vegetables that were being used. Corn is the main product of the soil, and rice is almost never planted, even in the valleys. Bees are raised, but sometimes they are robbed

of their honey so late in the season that they die of starvation during the winter.

Their domestic animals and fowls are dogs, cats, cattle, horses, donkeys, mules, pigs, sheep, goats, chickens, ducks, pigeons, and geese. In the forests and on the mountains are deer, takin, pandas, monkeys, wild boars, mountain goats, bears, leopards, pheasants, and wild pigeons. The above paragraphs summarize the food of the Ch'iang people. Tea is bought from the Chinese and drunk by people of all ages. Practically everybody drinks wine when he can get it. Dog meat is sometimes eaten, and leopards and monkeys are considered to be both delicious and nutritious. Few of the Ch'iang can afford to buy rice, and when they do, it is generally for feasts and banquets. Wheat, barley, buckwheat, and corn are made into biscuits which are unleavened, for the Ch'iang do not leaven their bread. Corn is often ground and then boiled until it is nearly dry, then eaten with chopsticks from bowls as the Chinese eat their rice.

Among some of the Ch'iang there is a taboo against killing cattle and eating them, probably a Chinese influence, because cattle are used for plowing. This custom, however, is not universal. Eggs are eaten only on special occasions, and meat is a luxury not generally available for ordinary Ch'iang families.

#### 7. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

The clothing generally worn by the Ch'iang is made of undyed hemp cloth, white or nearly white because that is the natural color. They raise their own hemp, and the cloth is woven by the women. Warmer clothing made of dark wool is often worn in cold weather. A third kind of clothing, generally without sleeves, is made of animal skins with the hair left on. Some of the Ch'iang wear clothing made of cotton cloth bought from the Chinese. Both men and women wear trousers. Instead of stockings, which are seldom worn, woolen puttees are wrapped first around the feet, then around the legs up to the knees.

Straw sandals are seldom used, as the women make cloth shoes which are more comfortable and more durable. Those worn on special dress-up occasions are beautifully ornamented by flowers and butterflies which are embroidered or sewn on the shoes by the women. Both men and women wear cotton turbans wrapped around their heads.

The typical upper garment is a gown made of undyed white hemp cloth, which reaches a little below the knees. Those worn by the

women are a little longer than those worn by the men, and are longer behind than in front, reaching in the back almost to the ankles. Those worn by the men are the same length in front and behind. The dark-brown woolen gown worn in winter is a little longer than the white hemp gown. In cold weather the sleeveless skin coat is worn with the hair turned inside, but in rainy weather it is worn with the hair turned outside.

In some localities the best hemp gowns of both men and women have borders of blue cloth around the neck and down to the waist. On this blue cloth border simple ornamental stars, flowers, and geometrical patterns are embroidered in white.

Both men and women wear cloth belts. Generally these are of white hemp cloth, but at Wen-ch'uan and at Li-fan there are many-colored woven belts of elaborate patterns. It seems evident that the Ch'iang at Wen-ch'uan have borrowed them from the Wa-ssü, and the Ch'iang at Li-fan, from the Chia-jung, their near neighbors, since the Ch'iang in other localities do not make and wear such belts, and they are extensively used by the Wa-ssü and the Chia-jung.

Many of the poor people do not have sufficient clothing to keep them warm in winter time, and they often catch colds and sometimes pneumonia.

The ornamented belts are believed to have power to protect their wearers from demons that poison people. Women's belts have parallel lines on both sides, the ornamental designs being in between the lines. The belts of the men have the ornamental patterns, but not the parallel lines. All belts are woven by women. It is believed by the Chia-jung that women have something dangerous about them, and that these ornamental belts, when worn by the women, have power to keep them under control.

Women and girls 12 years old and older wear earrings. Finger rings and wristlets may or may not be worn by men or women. Chinese silver hairpins are bought in Chinese silver shops and proudly worn by the Ch'iang women.

Chinese embroidery patterns are sometimes learned by Ch'iang women and embroidered on their sleeves or aprons. Beautiful Chinese lattice patterns are sometimes seen, although rarely, on the windows of important Ch'iang buildings. These have been done by Chinese carpenters who were accustomed to put lattice patterns on the windows of Chinese buildings.

Interesting patterns are carved on the handles of Ch'iang ceremonial drums and on the sheaths of ceremonial swords. These seem to be distinctly Ch'iang designs.

## III. FOLKTALES AND "MOUNTAIN SONGS"

## I. FOLKTALES

Folktales do not seem to have so large a place among the Ch'iang as among some other ethnic groups in West China, certainly not so much as among the Ch'uan Miao. The writer has heard only four among the Ch'iang, and at least two of these would be regarded as historical and etiological traditions, for they are considered to be real history by the Ch'iang.

The first of these is the story of the great migration estimated by some as requiring 1 year and several months and by others as 3 years and 6 months, during which migration the sacred books were lost through being eaten by goats. The second concerns the *koh* people, who, according to the tradition, disputed the possession of the land with the Ch'iang when the latter first arrived in this region. The tradition is that the Ch'iang were unable to win the struggle until they used the white stone as a weapon, after which they were victorious and the white stone became sacred.

The story of a daughter of a god who came to earth and married a mere man is widespread among the tribespeople of West China. The writer has found this story among the Ch'uan Miao, among the Lolos, and among the Ch'iang. What seems amazing to the writer is that the Ch'iang have included this story among their sacred books. At both Lo-pu-chai and Ho-p'ing-chai at least one section or sacred book consists of the relating of this story. According to the priest at Lo-pu-chai the name of the god's daughter was Mu Tseh and the name of the man who married her was Stu Ha. Both were unhappy and lonesome, and Mu Tseh suggested to Stu Ha that he speak to her father Mo-bi-da about the possibility of their getting married. The god asked Stu Ha what he had come for, and Stu Ha replied that he had come seeking a wife. The god told Stu Ha that he, a mere man, was no match for the god, and gave Stu Ha two almost impossible tasks to perform. One was to cut down and burn the trees in three great canyons, a method very common in the western highlands of China of preparing forest land for cultivation. "Cut with a knife (or axe) and burn with fire," is the expression used for this procedure. Then he must plant 30 bushels of rape seed and later reap the harvest. These tasks Stu Ha succeeded in performing and so was given Mu Tseh in marriage. The god told Stu Ha to bring, driving them in front, 100 domestic animals, apparently as a wedding gift to her parents. When Stu Ha returned home there would be 1,000 domestic animals following him, as a gift of the god to Mu

Tseh and Stu Ha. Stu Ha was exhorted to comb his hair beautifully and wear his silver rings properly, and to await a lucky day.

Mu Tseh gave birth to a son and a daughter. She was unhappy, for the Ch'iang home was dirty, the food was poor, and she was lonesome for her friends and the palace above. Out of sympathy for her Stu Ha advised her to return to her former home. Apparently she regretted leaving him, and asked what he would give her if she returned during the first lunar month. He replied, the jasmine flower, a yellow flower that blooms during the first moon in Szechwan, and is called "the welcome spring flower." To her question as to what he would give her if she returned during the second moon, he replied, the *shui tang* flower, a beautiful flower that blossoms on the edges of pools. If she should return during the third moon, he would give her roses, which blossom on the edges of terraces. If she returned during the fourth moon he would give her buckwheat blossoms, and during the fifth moon wheat and barley which appear to blossom at that time in the fields.

The following folktale is a translation by the writer from "Research in Western Szechwan," published in 1943 by the Department of Education of China.

In ancient times there were two shepherds, one named Ga and the other named Tsī Gai Bao. The former was strong, powerful, and wealthy, while the latter was poor and weak and was always oppressed by the former. One day Ga stole a cow, and Ga and Tsī quarreled and went to the Jade (Pearly) Emperor to settle the affair. The Emperor asked Tsī about it, but he dared not tell the truth for fear of Ga. The Jade Emperor therefore thought of a way to find out. He ordered them to open their mouths. A piece of meat was found between Ga's teeth, so that the facts were finally known. But because of this Ga hated Tsī, and asked him to return the money he had borrowed, together with a heavy interest of 500 percent. Tsī was poor and could not pay the money, so they again brought the case to the Jade Emperor.

The Jade Emperor urged Ga to reduce the interest, but Ga refused. The Jade Emperor realized the ambitious intentions of Ga, and decided to use a trick to punish him. The Jade Emperor took two sticks, one of flax and the other of willow, with the outer skin (or bark) peeled off so that one could not be distinguished from the other. He gave Tsī the willow stick and Ga the flax stick and ordered them to beat each other, saying to them, "The one who breaks the stick first will get the interest." Ga broke the flax stick with the first blow, and was pleased, but Tsī could not break the stick for quite a

while. Ga, being greedy for the interest, endured the beating, and finally the willow stick also broke.

The two quarreled again, and the Jade Emperor thought of another trick. He gave them two stones, one of snow and the other of white-cloud stone (the white quartz of the sacred white stone), and ordered them to throw at each other, saying that the one who broke his stone first would win the case. He gave the white-cloud stone to Tsī and the snowball to Ga. Ga broke the snowball on the first throw and was very much delighted. Tsī threw the white stone and broke Ga's backbone. Ga, being hurt badly, ran away, and Tsī pursued him.

Later Tsī did not know where Ga was. He met a crow and asked the whereabouts of Ga. The crow was unwilling to tell him, although it had seen him. Tsī became angry and cursed the crow, saying that it had a black heart, a black skin, and black bones. It is said that from that time the crow has been black. Later Tsī met a magpie and asked him. The magpie had seen Ga and told Tsī that Ga admitted his wrongdoing and would not come back again. He was willing to give up all the principal and interest. Tsī was pleased and called the magpie the lucky bird. He asked it to take word to Ga that he should live in the places where snow does not melt even during the summer, and the places where good crops grow all four seasons would be the territory of Tsī. Thus the land was divided. Later Tsī and his descendants lived happily and peacefully and prospered. Today it is believed that the ancestor of all human beings is Tsī. The Ch'iang believe that Ga still lives in the snow mountains, where there is snow throughout the whole year.<sup>23</sup>

## 2. "MOUNTAIN SONGS"

The Ch'iang seem to be a cheerful people. As they carry heavy loads over the mountain paths or the main-traveled roads, or tend their flocks on the mountains, or work in their homes or in the fields, they often sing songs which they call "mountain songs." Some are in the Chinese and some in the Ch'iang language. The following were obtained in the Chinese and translated into the English language. They were obtained in the region of Li-fan and Wei-chou.

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<sup>23</sup> Report on research in western Szechwan, The Chinese Ministry of Education, p. 1, 1943.



## 1.

茂州下來九條街      十樹梅花九樹開  
 心想摘朵梅花戴      人生面熟口難開  
 只准摘來頭上戴      不准拿來懷內揣

Below Mao-chou is Chiu-t'iao-kiai.

Of 10 *mei hua* trees, 9 have blossomed.

I think of plucking one of the flowers (to wear in my hair).

I am unacquainted, so do not dare to speak.

We will only permit you to pick one and wear it on your head.

We will not permit you to conceal it in your breast.

(Sung by boys or young men to girls or young women.)

## 2.

茂州下來一朵雲      端端對着威州城  
 威州城來不算城      還有龍山太子坟  
 好吃不過龍山水      好耍不過牟瓦人

Below Mao-chou is a cloud

Just in front of Wei-chou.

Wei Chou cannot be reckoned as a city.

There is the Heir-apparent tomb on Dragon Mountain.

There is no water better to drink than on Dragon Mountain.

There are no people better to visit with than the

P'u-wa people.

(Sung by girls or women.)

## 3.

清早起來不新鮮      打開窗子望青天  
 好個青天不下雨      好個賢妹不團圓  
 月亮團圓十四五      賢妹團圓那一年

I rise early and am not refreshed.

I open the window and see the clear sky.

A good clear sky does not rain.

A fine girl and I are not together.

The moon is round on the fourteenth and the fifteenth

(of the lunar month).

In what year will the fine girl and I be together?

(Sung by men and boys. Roundness symbolizes the completeness of a family; therefore this is a hint at marriage.)

4.

芋麥包包黃又黃      勞煩親戚來幫忙  
 啾子吃的都沒有      蕎麵糖糖蘸蜂糖

The ears of corn are very yellow.  
 I'll trouble my relatives to come and help.  
 We have nothing for you to eat.  
 We will put honey on buckwheat biscuits.  
 (This implies that the girl has grown up and suggests  
 that the boy seek her.)

5.

對門山上一株槐      槐枝槐桠掉下來  
 風不吹來槐不動      你不招手我不來

On the opposite mountain is a *huai* tree.  
 The twigs and shoots will fall down.  
 If the wind does not blow, the *huai* tree does not move.  
 If you do not beckon your hand, I will not come.  
 (Sung by a young man suggesting that the girl motion  
 him to come.)

6.

我在唱來你在聽      你的耳朵生毛疔  
 你的毛疔還未好      老子山歌又來了

I am singing and you are listening.  
 Your ear will develop a boil.  
 While the sore on your ear is still uncured,  
 The mountain song of the old person will come again.

7.

一根樹兒九枝桠      又結葡萄又結瓜  
 又結河南姜豆子      又結四川牡丹花

One tree has nine twigs.  
 They bear both grapes and melons.  
 They also bear long beans from Honan Province,  
 and also bear peonies from Szechwan.  
 (Sung by a girl or young woman suggesting that she  
 could bear him fine sons like *chiang tou*, a very long  
 bean, and fine daughters like Szechwan peonies.)

8.

一窩樹兒九枝桠 賣了樹兒接你媽  
你媽嫌我鬍子長 剃了鬍子來拜堂

One tree has nine twigs.  
When I have sold the tree I will marry your mother.  
If your mother does not like me because my beard is long,  
After I have shaved my beard we will worship the family god.  
(Sung by a young man ridiculing a girl. The last  
phrase implies marriage.)

9.

青天悠悠打大雷 郎到山西永不回  
山西有個望郎弟 四川有個望郎回

On a clear day it thunders loudly.  
My husband has gone to Shansi and never returns.  
In Shansi there is a younger brother who wants my husband.  
In Szechwan is a woman who hopes her husband will return.  
(Sung by a woman or girl.)

10.

松潘下來一朵雲 端端對倒茂州城  
茂州城來修的好 四門都是鐵皮包  
只有西門修的好 端端對着正西橋  
正西橋上好跑馬 鐘鼓樓上好吹簫

Below Sung-p'an is a cloud  
Just in front of Mao-chou  
The city of Mao-chou is built very well.  
The four gates are well covered with iron plates.  
Only the west gate is finely built.  
It is just opposite the directly-west bridge.  
On this bridge it is fine for horse racing.  
On the bell-and-drum tower it is fine for playing flutes.  
(Sung by a young man. Playing flutes is a good way  
to attract the girls. The character used implies that  
this kind of a flute is held at right angles to the face.)

## 11.

白銅煙袋黑桿桿      情嫂梳個長纒纒  
人又抽條又好看      走起路來打閃閃

A white brass pipe has a black handle.  
My sweetheart has a long lock of hair.  
You are both straight and beautiful.  
When you walk on the road you go swaying along.  
(Sung by a young man.)

## 12.

白銅煙袋點翠藍      成都買成二百錢  
你要煙袋拿上去      二回玩耍不要錢

A white brass pipe is dotted with blue.  
In Chengtu it was bought for two hundred cash.  
If you want the pipe, take it along.  
When we visit again, do not desire money.  
(Sung by a young man. The last phrase means, do not  
desire gifts that cost too much money.)

## 13.

我與賢妹隔條河      樹葉遮倒看不出  
要想二人同相會      除非河乾樹葉落

I am separated by a stream from the fine maiden.  
The leaves of trees hide us so we are invisible.  
If we two desire to meet, it is necessary for the creek  
to dry up and the leaves to fall.  
(Sung by young men and boys.)

## 14.

對門坡來對門坡      對門坡上好洋柃  
扯把洋柃來墊坐      二人唱個分手歌

You are on top of the opposite hill.  
On the opposite hill is a *yang ling* tree  
(possibly *Eurya Japonica*).  
I'll pluck a handful of leaves and sit on them.  
We two will sing a farewell song.

15.

我與賢妹隔條河 過來過去把溜索  
只要賢妹心腸好 二人牽根鴛鴦索

I am across the river from the fine maiden.  
When going or coming across we grasp the rope bridge  
(slide-rope, or a single bamboo cable for crossing streams.)  
If only the fine girl has a fine heart,  
We two will pull a mating-rope.  
(Sung by young men. The mating-rope implies marriage.)

16.

茂州下來九條河 新修磨子打絲羅  
隔壁么妹來磨麵 口口聲聲要絲羅  
你要絲羅拿上去 輕輕巧巧打幾羅

Below Mau-chou are nine streams.  
There are new grinding-mills and sifters moved by the water.  
The little sister in the next house comes to use the grinder.  
Her voice asks for the sifter.  
If you want the sifter, take it away  
and use it very carefully.  
(Often sung by young men or boys in a building where  
grinding and sifting is done. It implies that his heart  
is favorable to her.)

17.

喊你唱來你不唱 把你拉在殺凳上  
三根連環高吊起 半斤四兩都不讓

When I ask you to sing, you do not sing.  
I will take you to the slaughter bench (where pigs are  
killed).  
I will use three chain hooks and hang you up high.  
A half a pound or four ounces will not be left.  
(Sung by girls or women. Implies that she will cut off  
all his flesh.)

18.

唱歌哇哇洞咚洞      背上揸個吹火筒  
 那邊喊你打油匠      這邊喊你活讀蟲

The singing boy sounds "dong, dong, dong."  
 On his back he carries a tube for blowing fires.  
 I call you over there a beater of oil.  
 Over here I will call you a stupid insect.  
 (Sung by a girl jeering at a boy.)

19.

油煎豆腐二面黃      兒罵老子沒心腸  
 今年送你讀書去      明年送你坐班房

Fry the beancurd in oil, cook both sides brown,  
 For the boy jeers at me, saying I have no heart.  
 This year I will take you to school.  
 Next year I will take you to prison.  
 (Sung by a girl or a young woman jeering at a young man.)

20.

白楊葉子圓又圓      你把山歌唱不完  
 你把山歌唱完了      把你送給濫桿桿

The leaves of the poplar tree are very round.  
 You cannot sing all the mountain songs.  
 When you have sung all the mountain songs,  
 I will take you and marry you to a rotten stick.  
 (Sung by boys or young men, The rotten stick  
 implies a worthless man or rascal.)

21.

岩上砍柴岩下梭      一梭梭在猴兒窩  
 猴公猴母都走完      留倒猴兒唱山歌

When you cut wood on the cliff, you slide down the cliff.  
 When you slide you slide into a monkey's nest.  
 The male and the female monkeys have all gone.  
 There is left a small monkey who is singing mountain  
 songs.  
 (Sung by girls or women jeering at boys or men.)

22.

遠看賢妹一丁丁      抱在懷中不忍心  
叫聲情哥膽大點      稱錘雖小稱千斤

From the distance I see the fine maiden as a small speck.

I can not bear to think of embracing her to my bosom.

I call to my lover, have more courage.

Although the scale weight is small, it can weigh  
a thousand catties.

(The first two lines are sung by a man, the last two  
by a woman encouraging him.)

23.

郎是天上紫微星      妹是後園樹滕心  
二人都在虛空坐      來來往往把細些

The groom is the north star in the sky.

The sister (the girl singing) is the heart of the wood-vine  
in the back garden.

The two are sitting in the (vacant) air.

When we meet we must be careful lest people see.

(Sung by a girl or young woman. It implies that it is  
dangerous for them because they may be found out.)

#### IV. SOCIAL CUSTOMS

##### I. SOCIAL LIFE

The social life of the Ch'iang is very simple. There are no theaters or movies, excepting those of the Chinese in the Chinese cities and towns. There are practically no games. The children's playthings are often broken pieces of tile or pebbles, and they are seldom seen playing. Play is regarded as a means of idling away time that should be used in the serious business of earning a livelihood. Even children have important tasks to perform and burdens to bear.

There is very little gambling among the Ch'iang. When at leisure, the men sit and gossip, smoke, or drink tea, and the women chat as they spin yarn or hemp thread, make shoes or embroideries, or sew clothing. Practically everybody smokes and drinks wine when he can get it.

Hunting is sometimes a serious business, and sometimes a pastime. The work in the fields is shared by men and women of all ages, and the workers generally sing "mountain songs" as they work. To all appearances they are happy. Sometimes they sing as they husk corn

or do other work in their homes. Talking and singing are main pastimes of those who tend the flocks on the mountains.

While gathering wood in the forests, people from different homes often work together, chatting and singing songs. When carrying loads several people are likely to stop at a convenient place to rest, chat, and smoke.

During the first lunar month families invite friends and relatives to feasts where they eat, talk, smoke, and drink tea and wine. A popular amusement at such times is "playing lion." Two men, covered with an imitation lion's skin, pretend to be a lion and dance about and fight with a man, who is always victorious over the lion.

At funerals and weddings there are feasts, and people of all ages meet, eat, drink tea and wine, smoke, and talk. People often go to market together, visiting as they walk or stop to rest. Neighbors often visit each other on the housetops or in their homes.

The writer has heard of no social dances except those near Li-fan. There is a taboo against using the funeral dance on any other occasion. In 1933 the writer witnessed an evening of dancing at Chiu-tzŭ-t'eng. The dance lasted several hours. There was a line of 12 women on the right and 6 men on the left. First the men would sing a line or sentence of a song, dancing as they sang, then the women would dance and sing the same line. Then the second line would be sung, and so on. As the men or the women danced rhythmically together, they swayed their arms and bodies from side to side, making graceful steps in unison, stamping the feet, quickly lowering the body, and turning completely around together while singing one sentence. There was a large jug of wine from which the dancers drank frequently through small bamboo tubes. When the wine became low, water was poured into the jug, so that the wine became weaker and weaker. Since this dance is common among the Chia-jung, whose boundary is only about 7 miles from Li-fan, and it is not practiced in most of the Ch'iang region, it seems safe to assume that the Ch'iang near Li-fan learned this dance from the Chia-jung. It should be emphasized that dancing among the Ch'iang is never two by two, a man with a woman. The men and women are opposite each other, and first the men, then the women, dance in unison. Some of the songs have been learned from previous dancers, and others are improvised. It is believed by the Chinese that such singing and dancing has been learned from the Chia-jung and the Hsi-fan 西番 within the last 40 years.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Report on research in western Szechwan, The Chinese Ministry of Education, p. 24, 1943.



When people quarrel and fight, friends exhort them and try to make peace. If they are not successful, they may go to the local Ch'iang leader or headman, who is appointed by the Chinese government. If again they are not successful, the case may be tried in the Chinese yamen or court.

## 2. ENGAGEMENTS

Among the Ch'iang, engagements are family affairs. The family of the man chooses the girl or the woman whom he is to marry, and the engagements are made through middlemen or go-betweens. When the two families have agreed, a refusal by either of the young people is not expected. The main consideration is the value of the girl or woman as a worker to the family of the groom. The writer heard of a 12-year-old boy who was married to a girl of 26. She was an excellent worker. Engagements and marriages are very expensive to the families of the grooms, and often they have to borrow money. Every Ch'iang man or woman gets married sooner or later.

There is considerable flirting and lovemaking among the young people. Many of the "mountain songs" are songs in which love-making is encouraged.

If a young man and a young woman fall in love and want to get married, it is necessary to get the consent of their families, who will endeavor to make the engagement through go-betweens.

Sometimes, but not always, the horoscope is consulted. If it indicates that the marriage will be unlucky, the engagement is not consummated.

Always, when an engagement is made, the family of the groom must agree to give valuable presents to the family of the bride. These vary in different places, and with different families in the same locality. In 1933 the writer was told that near Tung-men-wai and Mu-shang-chai the family of the groom must give the family of the bride a pig's head, a couple of jugs of wine, pork, shoes, stockings, and other things. At Ts'a-to in 1941 he was told that the gift should include a piece of pork, 3 jugs of wine, 2 large pieces of bread, incense, candles, etc. At Ta-ho-p'ing-chai he was told that the gift should include 8 rolls of cloth, black or blue but not white, 24 catties of pork, 2 large wheat biscuits, 3 jars of wine, 1 large wheat cake called in Chinese a *kuo k'wei*, 1 pair of earrings, 1 piece of brass wire, and 1 pair of puttees. The objects, the amount, and the value vary according to the ability of the groom's family to give.

Men and women mingle freely, talk, and sing "mountain songs" when working in the fields. At night in the homes they sometimes

husk corn and sing songs and talk until the wee hours of the morning. Sometimes in the songs they ridicule each other, and sometimes they make love. A man and woman may secretly give each other presents such as cookies, cloth, shoes, or embroidery. When two lovers cannot marry in this life, one may give the other a lock of hair as an expression of the hope that they may be married during a future incarnation. The woman's husband does not object unless they commit fornication.

The following notes on Ch'iang engagement customs are taken from a publication of the Chinese Ministry of Education:<sup>30</sup>

Engagements are made by parents through go-betweens, usually while those becoming engaged are very young. Sometimes parents make engagements for children while their mothers are pregnant and the children still unborn. If both children born are males, they will be regarded as brothers; if both females, as sisters; and if one is a girl and the other a boy, they will be engaged to be married.

Go-betweens do not give presents to the family of the girl until after they become engaged. When they go to try to make an engagement, they take money with them. If the girl becomes engaged to the young man in question, then the go-betweens buy wine and give it to her family. After a half a month, the groom's family buys more wine and gives it to the girl's family. This wine is called engagement wine. The amount of wine given varies with the size of the girl's family. The number of containers of wine also varies, but it must be an even number, for even numbers are lucky and odd numbers are unlucky. Among other things that are given are pork, sugar, rock candy, and money. The girl's family gives a feast to friends and relatives, and the engagement is regarded as completed.

### 3. MARRIAGE

Marriage customs vary in almost every village, and in different families. A lucky day is chosen for the wedding. Generally a man cannot marry a woman who has the same family name. Sometimes people are married when very young—before they have reached teen-age.

A family that has daughters but no sons to continue the family often adopts a son who marries a daughter, taking the family name. Of course the children have the same family name and belong to the

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<sup>30</sup> Report on research in western Szechwan, The Chinese Ministry of Education, pp. 21-23, 1943.

same family. The writer heard of one family in which this had been practiced for three generations.

If an older brother dies, leaving a widow, a younger brother marries the widow, and the children that are born to them belong to the deceased brother. An older brother cannot marry the widow of a younger brother, at least in some villages. If there is no younger brother to marry the widow, she may be married to a cousin of her husband, and the children born belong to her first deceased husband.

A Ch'iang who has attained to official rank under the Chinese government prefers not to marry a Ch'iang woman of lower rank, and often marries a woman of another ethnic group who is in a family of similar official rank. The headman at Chiu-tzū-t'eng in 1933 had married a Chia-jung woman, and in 1942 the official at P'u-wa had married a Chinese woman who could not speak the Ch'iang language and did not understand Ch'iang customs.

During a wedding at Ho-p'ing-chai the bride and the groom are each given a cup of wine. Each drinks half of his or her cup of wine, then gives the cup to the other, who drinks the remainder of the wine.

In 1933 the writer was told that near Ho-p'ing-chai and Lung-ch'i-chai the bride was taken to the home of the groom in a "flowery sedan chair," or a much decorated bridal sedan chair. On arrival two persons helped the bride into the house, where she and the groom kowtowed to the house gods, the parents and grandparents of the groom, and to other relatives and friends. At Ho-p'ing-chai in 1941 it was stated that the bride rode to the groom's home in an ordinary sedan chair, escorted by her brothers and sisters, but not by her paternal uncles; that the groom's family sent two boys and two girls 10-odd years old to help escort the bride. On their arrival at the home of the groom, the bride and the groom bowed to the house gods, the parents and grandparents of the groom, to the groom's uncles, then to other friends, relatives, and guests.

Of course there are always wedding gifts and at least one wedding feast.

Divorce is almost nonexistent among the Ch'iang. In rare cases when a man and his wife are not harmonious he sells her to another man, who takes her as his wife. An agreement is written in Chinese and sealed by the imprint of the husband's palm. In the agreement he promises not to make any trouble with the new husband or his former wife, and not to require the new husband to pay him more money in the future.

Sometimes a priest is invited to perform a religious ceremony as part of the wedding. He burns cedar twigs and possibly incense sticks

as incense, chants his liturgies, and worships the gods at the shrines on the housetops. He informs the gods about the marriage, and invokes their blessings on the young couple.

The following information about Ch'iang marriages, apparently true in one or more Ch'iang localities, is from the previously mentioned publication of The Chinese Ministry of Education:<sup>31</sup>

When the young people are regarded as grown up, the man's family sends to the family of the woman a gift of wine, and notifies them that the time has come for them to prepare for the marriage. This is generally done during the sixth or seventh lunar months. From this time on the young people must not speak to each other, even if they happen to meet. The marriage usually takes place during the winter or near the end of the lunar year.

The day before the wedding the parents of the groom send from four to six people to escort or to fetch the bride. They take with them gifts, such as 6 Chinese feet of red cloth, 11 Chinese feet of rope, 1 comb, a bundle of firecrackers, a pair of red candles, 2 jugs of wine, cloth, and money. All these are placed on a large wooden platter, carried to the bride's home, and presented to her family. The firecrackers are set off when they arrive at the home of the bride. When the bride and her relatives hear this, they all weep to show their regret at parting. When the people from the groom's home enter the door, the relatives of the bride fire off guns to welcome them. The people from the groom's home greet and congratulate the parents. The family of the bride light the candles and burn incense. They warm the wine, first pouring some in bowls or cups and offering it to the gods. After supper, the hosts and guests, relatives, and friends drink wine together. At the supper are those who came from the home of the groom to escort the bride, and friends and relatives of the bride.

After supper the relatives and guests are encouraged to drink the wine according to their ages, beginning with the oldest. Sometimes and in some localities there are folkdances and singing. A typical song on this occasion praises the parents who worked hard to bring the bride up to womanhood. Now that she is leaving, it is hoped that after her arrival at her husband's home, she will be respectful and live peacefully with the brothers and sisters of the groom and will not bring shame to her family. During the singing friends and relatives are likely to weep. Later the unmarried girl friends give the bride

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<sup>31</sup> Report of research in western Szechwan, The Chinese Ministry of Education, pp. 21-23, 1943.

some embroidered shoes, and these girls join in the singing. Sometimes the singing and dancing continue through the whole night.

At some time later in the night the girl friends and others sing that when a girl is grown up she has to get married, so one need not be sorry. If the bride is filial to her parents-in-law and she and her husband love each other very deeply, they will live happily together to the end. The bride sings in reply expressing regret at leaving her relatives and friends, and saying that she cannot help crying and being sorry to leave.

Next morning the bride, dressed in her wedding clothes, is carried on the back of her older brother to the family altar. If she has no older brother, some other male relative will do this. The parents sit near the altar while the bride kneels and kowtows, saying goodby to the ancestors and to the gods. After this the older brothers and sisters of the bride give her some chopsticks, and the older brother carries her on his back through the door. Before she enters her bridal chair (sedan chair), she throws the chopsticks over her shoulder behind her, and they are picked up by an older brother and his wife. This signifies that after the bride has left the family, they will always think of her while they are eating with the chopsticks.

After the bride gets into her bridal chair (in some localities the sedan chair is not used, but she rides on a horse or is carried on the back of an older brother or another male relative), six or eight older brothers and girl friends and those sent from the home of the groom escort her to her new home, most or all of them riding on horseback. At the door of the groom's home, members of his family give her some money and welcome her. No pregnant woman is allowed to be present at this time.

During the wedding there is a master of ceremonies who says, "This is a lucky day, and heaven and earth are open wide. The bride has arrived, and everything is lucky. On the east side peach blossoms are blooming, and on the west side apricot blossoms are blooming. Flowers and trees are smiling at each other to welcome the bridegroom into the hall." At this time the bridegroom enters, and soon afterward the bride also comes into the room. The groom stands to the left and the bride to the right. The master of ceremonies calls to the bride and the groom to kowtow three times, "kneel, arise, kneel, arise, kneel, arise," and the young people kowtow accordingly. Then they kowtow four times to the groom's ancestors. Then the master of ceremonies says, "The ceremony is over. Let the groom remove the bride's veil. Let the groom go to the central hall and the bride to her room." After the bride enters her room he says, "Heaven

and earth are long. Let there be long life and happiness, and a houseful of children and grandchildren for the new couple." This is the end of the ceremony.

Three days after the marriage ceremony, the bride and the groom bow or kowtow to the parents and other older relatives of the groom. Then they go to the home of the bride, carrying gifts with them. The gifts may be a black or a white sheep or goat, some lard, a pair of red candles, and other things. They remain 3 or 4 days, during which time they are feasted, and then they return to the groom's home. Later the bride returns to the home of her family, remains there until New Year, which is generally not a long time, and then returns to the groom's home.

We need to remind ourselves that these customs vary in practically every village and in each family.

The Ch'iang consider it to be shameful to be without offspring. To them it is therefore a disgrace not to be married, and there are no bachelors or old maids among the Ch'iang.

Some of the writer's informants among the Ch'iang stated, as noted above, that if an older brother dies a younger brother is under obligation to marry his widow, but that if a younger brother dies an older brother is not allowed to marry his widow. On the other hand, the report on research in western Szechwan by the Chinese Ministry of Education states that the older brother may also marry the widow of a younger brother.<sup>32</sup> This is very probably true among most of the Ch'iang people.

People who have the same family name are regarded as members of the same clan, and do not marry each other.

#### 4. BIRTH

Until very recently there were no trained physicians, midwives, or nurses in the Ch'iang region. A small hospital has been opened at Wei-chou and a dispensary at Li-fan by the Border Service Bureau of the Church of Christ in China, but they reach only a limited number of the Ch'iang people. The ordinary Ch'iang midwife cuts the umbilical cord with scissors that have been washed in cow manure and does her work with hands, scissors, cotton, cloth, and other materials and implements that have not been sterilized. The natural result is that the death rate of mothers at childbirth is high, and that of new-born babies is very high.

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<sup>32</sup> Report on research in western Szechwan, The Chinese Ministry of Education, pp. 21-23, 1943.

For 40 days after the birth of a child, the mother must not leave her home. She is given presents of food and clothing by her relatives, and the girl's relatives are invited to a feast, and the child is given a name. At Ts'a-to the writer was told that the mother might be given a peck of ordinary rice, a bowl of wine rice, 100 eggs, 10 catties of pork, clothing, shoes, and other similar presents.

When the new-born baby is 40 days old, a ceremony of initiation is performed by the priest in front of the altar on the housetop or at the altar in the sacred grove. A goat is offered for a boy baby, and a chicken for a girl. A white string is tied around the baby's neck, which in some places is cut off and placed on the altar, and in other localities is left on the neck of the baby until it falls off. Blood of the sacrificial goat or chicken and melted fat are daubed on the forehead of the child. In some districts the child is given its name at this time.

As persons grow older and have children, birthdays are often celebrated. These celebrations grow more important on the fiftieth, sixtieth, seventieth, eightieth, ninetieth and one-hundredth birthdays. More honor is shown to great-grandparents than to grandparents, and to grandparents than to parents, according to rank and age. Husbands are more highly honored than their wives, brothers than sisters, older children than younger children.

There is a feast, and numerous guests and relatives are invited. Many of these bring presents such as rice, eggs, shoes, wheat biscuits, vermicelli, sweetmeats, candles, and firecrackers. At the table and elsewhere the old person is given a seat of honor, and many kowtow to him or her, or at least bow and express their congratulations and good wishes.

##### 5. SICKNESS

While the Ch'iang are physically strong, diseases are very common among them, for they have little knowledge of the laws of health and sanitation. Many of the poorer families suffer from malnutrition.

The Ch'iang believe that all diseases are caused by demons, and when ill they seek the aid of the priest, who performs elaborate ceremonies of exorcism to remove the demon or demons that are causing the trouble. The writer has witnessed a number of these ceremonies of exorcism that were performed by priests, and some of these will be described later.

On the first floor of Ch'iang homes are uncovered latrines and pigpens, which often swarm with maggots. The remainder of this floor is covered with straw, twigs, and leaves which remain there for

weeks and become saturated with the urine and manure of the domestic animals. The unsavory air and smells rise into the rooms above, where the air is often smoky and the windows few and small. The inmates and visitors have the habit of spitting on the floor, and there is also the night soil of dogs, cats, chickens and other animals that are allowed to roam about. All this means that the floor is covered with germs. Babies playing on the floor get the germs on their fingers and then into their mouths. Sweeping stirs the germ-laden dust which gets into the lungs. Fleas, flies, lice, bedbugs, mosquitoes, and rats help spread disease. Smoke causes eye troubles, and colds easily turn into pneumonia. Epidemics of dysentery, measles, smallpox, typhoid, and other diseases spread rapidly among the people. Above O-erh, near the timber line, the writer was shown a large stone house which was unoccupied. During an epidemic every person in that house died. Believing that this was the work of demons, nobody after that was willing to live in the house.

Medicines are often misused so that they are harmful and sometimes cause death. Practitioners who call themselves doctors are sometimes worse than useless. At Mu-shang-chai the writer saw a Ch'iang priest, with an unsterilized needle, practice acupunctue on a Ch'iang woman's hand. He pounded the big needle deeply into the flesh in several places, evidently to cure rheumatism. It pained her, and she cried out "Ay-yah." There was danger of infection from the wounds. A Ch'iang friend at P'u-wa told the writer about the death of his daughter. She had a discharge in one of her ears, and the doctor cleaned it by squirting into it unboiled and unsterilized water. She died the next day with severe pains in her head.

#### 6. DEATH AND BURIAL

In spite of their apparent good health and physical strength, the death rate among the Ch'iang is very high. In 1941 the writer endeavored to conduct a survey of Ch'iang families to learn the approximate death rate. It was evident that of 1,000 births, less than 250 reached maturity. The percentage is much smaller than that, for babies that died under 2 years of age were not reported. The Ch'iang have a theory that babies that are stillborn or die at a tender age are not human beings at all, but a kind of demon that causes a woman to become pregnant, then is stillborn or dies soon after birth in order to cause troubles and hardships to the parents. Such babies are not buried in coffins or cremated. A hole is dug in the ground, and the corpse is thrown in and covered with dirt.



We have referred to the high death rate of women at childbirth and of new-born babies. There is also a high death rate from diseases and accidents such as falling over cliffs, drowning, being attacked by wild animals, snake bites, etc.

The Ch'iang believe that dreams are actual experiences. During dreams the soul is often away from the body and is in the locality where the dream is supposed to take place. During sleep, fainting, and unconsciousness, the soul wanders away, and if it does not return, the person dies. When it is feared or believed that the soul has wandered away, friends or relatives try to call the soul back. Soon after death the priest performs a ceremony of calling back the soul.

The writer once heard a mother, whose child was so sound asleep that it could not easily be wakened, calling back the soul of her child. In a loud, wailing tone she mentioned the child by name and urged it to return. Every time she called, friends and relatives who were present replied, "He has returned."

As soon as it is known that a person is dead, there is weeping. The person's newest and best clothing is put on him, and he is placed in a coffin. For 2 or 3 days he is left in the home, after which he is carried out in the coffin and cremated or buried. Generally a priest performs a ceremony to open the way of the soul to the other world.

The Ch'iang people say that formerly they did not bury in graves, but used cremation only. At present cremation is the only method in remote villages where Chinese influence is not strong. In localities where there is a strong Chinese influence, all are buried in graves excepting babies, whose burial has been described, and persons who die violent or unusual deaths—women who die at childbirth, people who are murdered, or die by drowning, falling over cliffs, from snake bites, from attacks by wild animals, from hanging, bleeding to death, etc.—all such are cremated.

Nearly every village has several crematory houses, each of which is used by people having the same family name. These houses are small roofed buildings about 10 feet square. Each house is set on a stone base that rises about a foot above the ground. The sides are not boarded up, but there are large wooden posts at the corners, and between them small wooden posts a few inches apart. Before each cremation eight or more men lift the entire building off its base and place it at one side. After the fire of the cremation has died out, the building is again put into place. The cremation is performed inside the stone foundation.

At Lung-ch'i-chai there is a large common grave which looks like

a Chinese tomb. On the outside there is one large door, and inside there are two which are openings into two inner chambers or rooms. The doors are never closed. The cremation is done in two wooden sheds or crematory houses nearby, which are in a poor state of repair. The ashes of the men are deposited in the section of the tomb on the right (on the left or place of honor when one is facing away from the tomb), and those of the women on the left. The ashes of a great many people have been deposited here.

Near the place of cremation is a flat stone. The coffin is placed on this stone while the relatives perform a funeral dance. Then the coffin is carried to the place of cremation and the cremation takes place while the priest chants the "sacred books." The relatives weep while the coffin and the corpse are burnt to ashes. A bowl or jar is broken and the fragments thrown among the ashes. Next morning, after the fire has died out, the relatives come and gather up the ashes and deposit them in the tomb nearby.

In cases of burial, sometimes a shallow hole is dug in the ground and the coffin placed inside, and sometimes the coffin is simply set down on the surface. A mound of dirt is erected over the coffin, and a tombstone placed in front. Sometimes sacred white stones are placed on the tops of the graves to help keep away demons.

Near Ho-p'ing-chai and Ts'a-to a small house of two or three stories is sometimes built for cremation, furnished much like an ordinary house, and the coffin containing the corpse placed on the first floor. The largest of these houses, used by the better-off Ch'iang families, have 3 stories with 18 wooden pillars. The priest performs his funeral ceremony by dancing and chanting his sacred books and incantations. The house is set on fire and the corpse cremated. Often here and elsewhere two wooden birds are placed on the coffin or nearby before the cremation, and these, believed to represent the soul of the dead person, are carried away to their homes by sons of the deceased and there preserved and honored, or onlookers seize them and take them to their homes, where the sons redeem them by money or by a gift, taking them home to be honored and preserved.

When relatives and guests come to a funeral, they generally bring as presents such things as money, chickens, goats or sheep, wine, or spirit money. They remain and at funeral feasts eat the food and drink the wine and tea of the family of the bereaved.

When a wife dies, generally her relatives come before the funeral and make careful inquiries and investigate to find out whether or not adequate preparations have been or are being made for the funeral. They also investigate the nature of the disease or other cause of

death, and whether or not reasonable attempts were made to prevent death. In some localities there is a taboo against using funeral clothing made of flax or wool. The relatives of the deceased woman may raise a quarrel if her funeral clothing is not good enough.

The corpse usually remains in the home for 3 days, after which the funeral is held, which must be on a lucky day. Where Chinese influence is strong, there is a ceremony to ferry the soul of the deceased across the river to Hades.

Near Wen-ch'uan, wealthy people build a funeral house of three stories, place the body of the deceased inside the house, then cremate the dead by setting fire to the house. Those less wealthy build a house of two stories, and poor families often cremate without erecting any such house at all. Still others do not cremate, but dig a hole, lower the coffin into the hole by means of leather or other straps, and cover the coffin with a mound of dirt.

## V. RELIGION

### I. THE SOUL AND THE FUTURE LIFE

The Ch'iang do not have a very definite idea of life after death, and like the language and the customs, it varies with different people and in different localities. Some say that after death the soul goes to a dark and shadowy place. Some have heard the Christian doctrine of heaven and hell, and many are acquainted with the Buddhist and Taoist beliefs concerning hell and paradise.

With many the idea of the soul does not seem to be very definite or clear, while others have adopted the belief of the Chinese in three major souls and seven lesser souls. As has already been stated, it is believed that the soul may leave the body during dreams and while fainting or unconscious and that if the soul does not return the person will die. Priests endeavor to call back the souls of persons who have recently died, and failing in this they perform a ceremony to open the way of the soul to the other world. The writer has heard mothers calling back the souls of children whose souls they believed had wandered away.

Such memorial ceremonies as the Ch'iang practice correspond to those of the Chinese, from whom they have probably borrowed them. They affirm that they love their ancestors, living and dead. Said one, "If we offer food or burn paper money, what good does it do? If we offer food or wine, they cannot eat or drink it. Spirit money when burnt turns into smoke." Some believe in reincarnation, and many believe in fate. Some, like the Chinese, commemorate their ancestors

on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month, on the fifteenth of the seventh moon, and at New Year time. Some commemorate their ancestors in their homes on the first, fifteenth, and thirtieth of each month.

## 2. THE WORLD VIEW

The Ch'iang live on the sides and tops of mountains or in narrow valleys. The climate is cool and semiarid. Near them live the Chia-jung, the Wa-ssü, the Lu-hua, the Hei-shui, and the Po-lo-tzüs, while in the main valleys and in the cities and towns are the Chinese. All these ethnic groups have at different times been dangerous enemies. Wild animals attack human beings, domestic animals, and the crops. People fall over cliffs, are struck by rolling stones, are drowned, are bitten by poisonous snakes, and are sometimes struck by lightning. While it is believed that all these and other calamities are often due to the work of demons, they also believe that nature is surcharged with a mysterious force that may do good or harm. The priests, the gods, and the sacred implements are believed to possess this mysterious power.

In the ceremonies the priests and the gods are believed to make use of this power to heal diseases, to bring good crops, to cause domestic animals to grow and to multiply, and to bring happiness and a satisfying life which includes food, sex, clothing, housing, protection from enemies and the forces of nature, prosperity, numerous descendants, social prestige, and long life.

Wherever the conception of a strange, mysterious potency—in other words, the mana concept—is found, there is also the taboo or taboos. Used in the right ways, this power is beneficial to man, but used in wrong ways it can be very harmful. The following is a partial list of Ch'iang taboos:

The funeral dance must not be used except during funeral ceremonies. Cattle, used for plowing, must not be killed and eaten or used for ceremonial purposes. Women must not plow. After childbirth, the mother must not leave her home for 40 days. During menstruation a woman must not sleep with her husband. People must avoid speaking the word demon. Trees in the sacred groves must not be cut down. The first 3 days after the ceremony in the sacred grove, strangers must not travel on the main roads near this grove. Women cannot be present during the ceremonies on the housetops or in the sacred groves, and during ceremonies inside the houses they must stand at a distance.

## 3. THE GODS

The Ch'iang are not monotheists, and there is no definite evidence that they ever have been. It is true that Rev. Thomas Torrance, in all his writings about the history, customs, and religion of the Ch'iang, has asserted that the Ch'iang are monotheists.<sup>33</sup> However, no other scholar or scientist who has made a careful first-hand study of the Ch'iang, such as Chuang Hsüeh-pen, the author and traveler, and Prof. Hu Chien-min of the National University of Szechwan, has come to this conclusion. On the contrary, they have affirmed that the Ch'iang worship many gods, and some of them have given lists of the Ch'iang gods.<sup>34</sup> The writer has interviewed a large number of Ch'iang men, both priests and laymen, and every one of them has affirmed or given evidence that the Ch'iang believe in and worship many gods, besides believing that the gods of other racial groups are real gods and worshipping them when they wish to do so. A few have admitted to the writer that they purposely deceived Mr. Torrance. Many have given the writer lists of the Ch'iang gods which, after checking and rechecking, were found to be approximately correct. Translations of the "sacred books" repeated verbally by the priests have revealed long lists of Ch'iang gods on whom the priests call for help during their ceremonies.

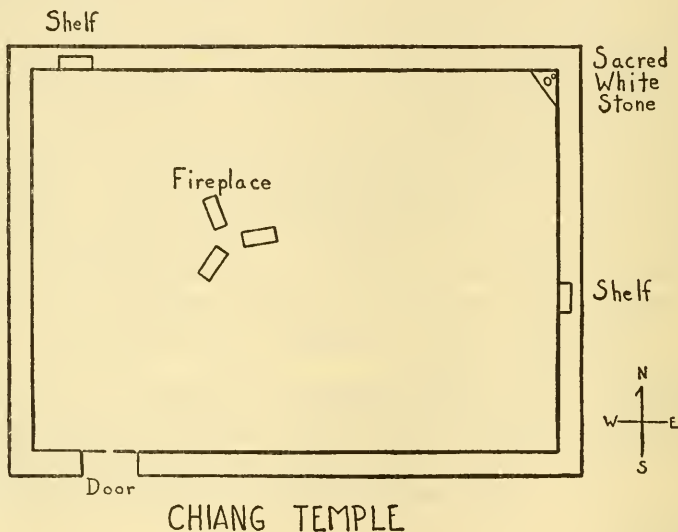
While the Chinese and the Tibetans make images of their gods, the Ch'iang gods have almost no images. The two exceptions are the god Abba Mula or Ndjei Dzu, the patron deity of the priest, and the King of Demons, whose head is sometimes carved on the top of the sacred cane.

In a very few localities the supreme god is Shan Wang 山王 or the mountain god, but in nearly all communities he is called Mu-bya-sei ma<sup>1</sup> bja<sup>2</sup> sei<sup>2</sup>), Mu-byei-sei, Mu-bya-shi, Mu-ta-be-ts'e, M-byei-sei, or Ma-byei-chi. Ch'i, sei, shi or ts'e means "god," and the other two syllables mean "sky." Literally it means sky god. At least at Mu-shang-chai, Lung-ch'i-chai, and Tung-men-wai, where Christian influence has been strong, he is called Abba Ch'i. Abba means "father," and this word, used also in the same sense among the Hebrews, is used

<sup>33</sup> Torrance, Rev. Thomas, *The history, customs and religion of the Ch'iang*, p. 28. The Shanghai Mercury Ltd., Shanghai, 1920. *The religion of the Ch'iang*. Journ. North-China Branch Roy. Asiatic Soc. vol. 54, pp. 151-152, 1923. *China's first missionaries*, London, Thynne & Co. Ltd., 1937.

<sup>34</sup> Hu Chien-min, *Beliefs and practices of the Ch'iang*, pp. 10-16. *Frontier Studies*, 1941.

with this meaning very widely in the China-Tibetan border and in many other parts of China. The writer has been informed that *abba* for "father" is used by the *Wa-ssü*, by the *Chia-jung*, by the Chinese in the *Ch'iang* region, in parts of Yunnan, in northern Szechwan, near Shanghai, in Mukden, and in Fukien, Kuangtung, and Chekiang Provinces. Some *Ch'iang* have stated that the word *abba* is applied principally to Chinese gods, but in most localities among the *Ch'iang* it may be used with any god, and is always applied to the male ancestor god, *Abba Sei*.



CHIANG TEMPLE

FIG. 3.—Drawing of a typical *Ch'iang* temple or sacred shelter in which part of the community ceremony of paying the vows is performed. The fireplace consists of three stones chipped into right angles, which are the fire god, the male ancestor, and the female ancestor.

Generally the *Ch'iang* worship, in addition to the *Ch'iang* gods, as many of the Chinese house gods, kitchen gods, and other deities as are worshiped among an equal number of Chinese. They regard Chinese gods as real deities and worship them.

The *Ch'iang* identify *Mu-bya-sei* with the Taoist supreme god, the Pearly or Jade Emperor. It seems to the writer that the conception of the *Ch'iang* in their god *Mu-bya-sei* is closely related to that of the Chinese *T'ien* or Heaven, the supreme god of the *Chou* people with whom the *Ch'iang* united against the *Shangs*, a conception which still persists among the Chinese people.

There are five great gods among the *Ch'iang*, who are worshiped

in the sacred groves and on the housetops, where there is generally only one shrine for the worship of these five gods. However, in the sacred grove at Lo-pu-chai there are five different shrines, one for each of the great gods, and between Ho-p'ing-chai and Ts'a-to the writer saw a house on which there were five shrines instead of one. At Ho-p'ing-chai they are as follows:

1. Mu-bya-sei ( $m\lambda^1 bja^{\cdot 2} sei^2$ ), the supreme god. He gives good crops and rain, controls and protects people and families from illness and other calamities, and helps people if their hearts are good.

2. Ru-be-sei ( $\int(x)\lambda^1 be^2 sei^2$ ), who controls the earth and the soil, causes rain and good crops, protects people from illness and other calamities, and helps them. At least in some localities this is a female deity.

3. Lo-lo-sei ( $lo^{\cdot 1} lo^{\cdot 2} sei^2$ ). He controls the snow mountains and the shrubs and herbs and trees that grow only a foot or two high near the snow line.

4. P'i-ru-sei ( $P'i^1 xu^2 sei^2$ ), who controls the forests and governs and protects wild animals and birds.

5. Su-mu-sei ( $Su^{\cdot 1} m\lambda^{\cdot 2} sei^2$ ), who also controls forests and protects wild animals and birds.

The five great gods of Lo-pu-chai are:

1. Mu-bya-shi ( $m\lambda^1 bja^2 ji^{\cdot 2}$ ), the supreme god. He is also called Abba Shi ( $a^{\cdot 2} ba^{\cdot 2} ji^{\cdot 2}$ ).

2. Ro-bo-shi, the earth deity ( $\int(r)o^{\cdot 2} bo^{\cdot 2} ji^{\cdot 1}$ ).

3. Ts'u-ga-shi ( $ts'\lambda^2 Ga^{\cdot 2} ji^{\cdot 1}$ ), who controls grain in the fields.

4. Shi ( $ji^{\cdot 1}$ ), the female spouse of Ts'u-ga-shi.

5. Shi-wo-shi ( $ji^{\cdot 2} wo^{\cdot 2} ji^{\cdot 1}$ ), the Chinese god Kuan Shen Ren, Lord of Szechwan. He causes it to rain.

All these five great gods are worshiped on the housetops and in the sacred groves during important ceremonies. The names of the gods and even the gods themselves vary in the different localities.

In every village there are 12 lesser deities that are worshiped and considered together. As might be expected, they vary in different localities. At Ho-p'ing-chai they are as follows:

1. Ji-gwe-sei ( $d\int i^{\cdot 1} gwe^2 sei^2$ ), the family or house god who protects the family and its inmates.

2. Stu-ja-sei ( $stu^{\cdot 2} d\int a^{\cdot 1} sei^2$ ), who controls and protects all domestic animals and fowls.

3. Ndzi-ju-sei ( $ndz\lambda^1 d\int u^{\cdot 2} sei^2$ ). He controls wealth, gold, silver, etc.

4. Yi-mu-sei ( $ji^{\cdot 2} m\lambda^2 sei^1$ ). She gives sons, protects women after they have conceived and during childbirth, and protects children.

5. Mya-wei-sei (mja<sup>·1</sup> wei<sup>2</sup> sei<sup>2</sup>), a goddess who protects men and boys.
6. Sti-per-sei (sti<sup>·1</sup> P'ar<sup>2</sup> sei<sup>2</sup>). This deity protects women and girls in matters connected with childbirth.
7. Do-dzu-sei (To<sup>·2</sup> dzu<sup>·2</sup> sei<sup>1</sup>), a door god on the right side of the door, who keeps demons out of homes.

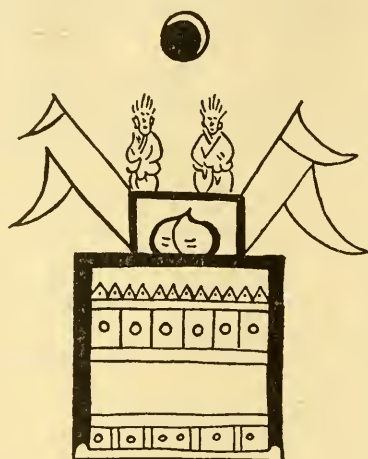


FIG. 4.—Drawing of a shrine, copied from a Ch'iang priest's sacred book used only for divination. The humanlike figures at the top are, right, the god of the sky or heaven, left, the earth goddess. The priest said that the three other great gods should have been drawn but that there was not room for their pictures. Drawing in the square beneath the figures resembling a peach is supposed to represent a large sacred white stone. (It is poorly shaped.) The 12 triangles in a row at the top represent 12 small white stones for the worship of the 12 lesser gods. The 12 small round holes represent cavities for burning incense to the 12 lesser gods. On either side at the top are four sacred white paper flags. The circles at the top may (?) represent the sun being eclipsed by the moon. Here is definite and concrete evidence that the Ch'iang are not monotheists.

8. Nu-nga-sei (nΛ<sup>2</sup> ŋa<sup>·1</sup> sei<sup>2</sup>), a door god on the left side of the door who also keeps out demons.

9. Sbe-pri-sei (sbe<sup>2</sup> Pri<sup>1</sup> sei<sup>2</sup>), who controls the five grains after they have been harvested and are in the house or bin.

10. Mo-bo-sei (mo<sup>·2</sup> bo<sup>·1</sup> sei<sup>2</sup>), a fire god who controls fire in the home and prevents it from burning the house.

11. A-ba-sei (a<sup>·1</sup> ba<sup>·2</sup> sei<sup>2</sup>), the male ancestor. He does not control anything, but is revered and worshipped.

12. A-ta-sei (a<sup>·1</sup> Ta<sup>·2</sup> sei<sup>2</sup>), the female ancestor, who also controls nothing, but is worshipped and revered.



We have mentioned the Ch'iang stoves consisting either of three stones chipped so as to form angles, or of strong iron rims or bands with three iron legs. One of these, the iron leg that has in it a small hole in which an iron ring hangs, or the corresponding stone leg, is the fire god. At Lo-pu-chai he is called Mo-go-i-shi (mo<sup>·2</sup> Go<sup>·2</sup>i<sup>·12</sup>ji<sup>·1</sup>), and at Ho-p'ing-chai Mu-bo-sei (mΛ<sup>1</sup> bo<sup>·2</sup> sei<sup>2</sup>) or Mo-bo-sei (mo<sup>·1</sup> Bo<sup>·2</sup> sei<sup>2</sup>). The other two legs are A-ba-sei, the male ancestor, and A-ta-sei, the female ancestor. This might be called the Ch'iang triad.

Generally the sacred white stones are not believed to be deities. There are, however, some white stones and other stones not white that are worshiped as living gods.

The 12 lesser gods at Lo-pu-chai, as named and explained by the local Ch'iang priest, are:

1. Mo-ts'o (mo<sup>·1</sup> ts'o<sup>2</sup>), male, regarded as the equivalent of the ancestors.

2. Tsche-shyo-gi (tʃe<sup>2</sup> ʃjo<sup>·2</sup> dʒi<sup>·1</sup>), male, who controls, helps, and protects all domestic animals.

3. Zyei-dje (ʒeĩ<sup>2</sup> dze<sup>1</sup>), male, who controls and helps men and women when cutting firewood and grass for making fertilizer (thrown on the floors of the animal pens and rooms in the homes).

4. Ü-mo (y<sup>2</sup> mo<sup>·2</sup>), male, who helps obtain numerous descendants.

5. Shi-shto (ʃi<sup>·2</sup> ʃto<sup>·1</sup>), male, who assists all who have trades—carpenters, masons, even priests, helping priests remember their ceremonies and incantations.

6. Mbje-p'er (mbje<sup>1</sup> pδ<sup>1</sup>), the male ancestor, who helps men and boys.

7. She-p'er (ʃe<sup>1</sup> pδ<sup>·1</sup>), the female ancestor, who helps women and girls.

8. Stro-je (Stro<sup>·2</sup> dʒe<sup>1</sup>), male, who controls people's souls. People worship him when they are worried lest their souls depart and they die.

9. Shi (ʃi<sup>·1</sup>), female, who controls grains in the bins or granaries.

10. Mo-go-i-shi (Mo<sup>·2</sup> Go<sup>·2</sup> i<sup>·2</sup> ʃi<sup>·1</sup>), male, the fire god who controls fire and protects from fire.

11. La-nga-du-du (la<sup>·2</sup> ŋa<sup>·2</sup> Tu<sup>·2</sup> Tu<sup>·2</sup>), male, who prevents people from coming in and quarreling.

12. Ch'ai-shen (ts'ai<sup>2</sup> sΛ<sup>2</sup>) (no Ch'iang name), male, the god of wealth.

The following is the list of 12 lesser deities as given by Mr. Kou, the priest at Mu-shang-chai, with such explanations as he was able to give.

1. Nyei-Wüi (nei<sup>2</sup> wyi<sup>2</sup>), a god on the northwest corner of the main room in the house.
2. Tzo-wü (tzo<sup>2</sup> wy<sup>1</sup>).
3. P'u (p'u<sup>2</sup>).
4. Tshu (tf'u<sup>2</sup>).
5. Ü-mu-p'i (y<sup>2</sup> mu<sup>2</sup> p'i<sup>2</sup>), who is above the wall of the house near the center.
6. Ü-du-p'e (y<sup>2</sup> Tu<sup>2</sup> p'e<sup>2</sup>), who is below Ü-mu-p'i.
7. Mu-nga-dwe-dwe-dze-swe-tshi (mu<sup>2</sup> ŋa<sup>2</sup> Twe<sup>2</sup> Twe<sup>2</sup> dzə<sup>2</sup> swe<sup>2</sup> tʃi<sup>2</sup>), who is on the central pillar of the house.
8. P'er-shi-jei-ts'e-mye (p'ɕi<sup>2</sup> ʃi<sup>2</sup> dzei<sup>2</sup> ʃi<sup>2</sup> tʃe<sup>2</sup> mɛ<sup>2</sup> (mjɛ<sup>2</sup>)).

On the west wall of the house.

9. Dzu-si-ji-go-wa-la-tshe (dzu<sup>2</sup> si<sup>1</sup> dʒi<sup>2</sup> Go<sup>2</sup> wa<sup>1</sup> la<sup>2</sup> tʃe<sup>2</sup>), the god of the big water jar.

10. Nyu-ge-ze (ny<sup>2</sup> ge<sup>2</sup> ze<sup>2</sup>), the god on the right side of the front door.

11. Su-gu-be (sɿ<sup>2</sup> gɿ<sup>2</sup> be<sup>2</sup>), the god on the left side of the front door.

12. Jei-tzu-ze-tzu-tse-mye (dʒei<sup>1</sup> tʒɿ<sup>2</sup> ze<sup>2</sup> tzu<sup>2</sup> ʃu<sup>2</sup> tse<sup>1</sup> mɛ<sup>2</sup>), the god of the four corners of the house.

There are white stones worshiped as deities at O-erh, at Ho-p'ing-chai, and at Hsiao-chai-tzu. At Chia-shan-chai in the temple is a white stone worshiped as a local deity. It is on a stone altar on the wall above a table and is called White Stone King. There is another white stone on the floor of the temple which is the fire god.<sup>35</sup> In the sacred grove at Lung-ch'i-chai is a slender black stone extending about 22 inches above the ground which is worshiped as a local deity. In the temple is a white stone that is worshiped as a mountain god. In the upper village of K'a-ku is a shrine in which is a white stone that is worshiped by some as the grain god, and by others as Ts'ang Chieh 倉額, a Chinese god of scholars. Near Hsiao-chai-tzū and Lo-pu-chai is a large rock that is not white, as big as a Ch'iang house, which is worshiped as a god that heals diseases.

On a mountain across the river from Li-fan is a temple called Pai (white)-k'ung-ssü. In it are three large white stones that are worshiped as gods. Four Chinese priests care for the temple and its gods, and Ch'iang, Chinese, and people of all other ethnic groups in this region worship these gods in order to be healed of their diseases.

<sup>35</sup> Report on research in western Szechwan, The Chinese Ministry Education, Division of Mongolia and Tibet, *chap.* 2, *Worship of the White Stone*, Division 1, 1943.

In their worship they burn incense and make offerings. Yak and sheep and cattle are sometimes released near this temple, not as sin-bearers, but as a means of gaining merit by releasing or saving life, or lives, of creatures that would otherwise in due time be slaughtered and eaten.

There are trees that are worshiped as gods. Near Ho-p'ing-chai such trees are called P'o-shya-sei (P'o· fja· sei). About 15 li from T'ao-tzū-p'ing is a tree that is worshiped as a deity. At Ru-ta-chai (IA<sup>2</sup> Ta·<sup>2</sup> t'ai<sup>1</sup>), which is near Chia-shan-chai, there is a Chinese temple in a sacred grove. Behind this temple is a great pine tree called Me-p'ok-sei or pine tree god and worshiped as the chief god of Ru-ta-chai. Incense is burned to it and offerings are made to it—on important occasions a black goat and two chickens.

Every village or locality has a special local deity, so that theoretically the gods of the Ch'iang are as numerous as there are villages and places that have names. When the priest chants his "sacred books" in his ceremonies, he mentions many localities, and with each locality its local god, calling on them to come and assist him in the ceremony. Lists of those from Lo-pu-chai and Ho-p'ing-chai will be found in the section devoted to sacred books or sacred chants. Below is the list as found in the "sacred books" of the priest at Mu-shang-chai.

- Mu-shang-chai, the god Gwe-be-ch'i (gwe<sup>2</sup> be<sup>1</sup> t'ji<sup>2</sup>) (the founder).  
 Pu-lan-ch'eng, the god Bo-o-sei (bo·<sup>2</sup> o·<sup>1</sup> sei<sup>2</sup>, or be<sup>2</sup> sɔ<sup>2</sup> o·<sup>1</sup> t'fei), (the founder).  
 Lung-chī-chai, Ge-tsu-ch'ei (ge tsu·<sup>1</sup> t'fei<sup>2</sup>) (the founder).  
 P'u-wa, the god Mu-ni-o-chi or ch'ei (mɔ<sup>2</sup> ni·<sup>2</sup> o·<sup>1</sup> t'ji·<sup>2</sup> or t'fei<sup>2</sup>).  
 Lung-chī-chai, the god Jei-t'a-ch'i (dʒei·<sup>6</sup> t'a<sup>11</sup> t'ji·<sup>2</sup>) (local deity).  
 Bu-lan-ch'eng, the god Ge-ts'u-ch'i (ge<sup>2</sup> ts'u<sup>2</sup> t'ji·<sup>2</sup>) (local god).  
 Ta-han-chai, the god Ru-wa-sei (ru·<sup>2</sup> wa·<sup>2</sup> sei<sup>2</sup>).  
 Chin-tu, the god Ch'iung-tu-sei (tʃjo<sup>2</sup> Tu·<sup>1</sup> sei<sup>2</sup>).  
 Hsin-ch'i (upper), Zu-kwe-sei (zɔ<sup>2</sup> kwe<sup>1</sup> Sei<sup>2</sup>).  
 Hsin-ch'i (lower), Gan-dzu-sei (gaen<sup>2</sup> dʒu·<sup>2</sup> Sei<sup>2</sup>).  
 Kwei-chai, T'a-bo-sei (t'a·<sup>2</sup> bo·<sup>1</sup> sei<sup>2</sup>).  
 P'a-p'o-sei (p'a<sup>2</sup> p'o·<sup>1</sup> sei<sup>2</sup>).  
 Seh-ro-chai, Ze-jo-sei (ze<sup>2</sup> dʒo·<sup>2</sup> sei<sup>2</sup>).  
 P'u-ch'i-chai, Ze-jo-sei (ze·<sup>2</sup> dʒo·<sup>1</sup> sei<sup>2</sup>).

The heads of many of the sacred canes used by the priests to exorcise demons are carved so that they resemble human heads. These represent the god who is king of demons and assists the priests in controlling the demons.

Every priest has a patron deity called Abba Mula, Mo-lo-sei, or Abba-mo-lo-sei. In a few localities he is called Ndjei Chu, or Nyei-dzu. He is the patron or guardian deity and instructor of the Ch'iang

priest, and without him the priest could do nothing. It consists of a skull of a golden-haired monkey wrapped in a round bundle of white paper. Its eyes are old cowry shells or large seeds. Inside are also dried pieces of a golden-haired monkey's lungs, intestines, lips, and fingernails. It is so wrapped that the face of the skull is visible at one end, and the other end is closed. After each ceremony in the sacred grove, the priest wraps another sheet of white paper around it, so that it gradually increases in diameter. Some priests will not allow another person to touch his Abba Mula and only the priest worships this god.

There is a god of the great roads who is worshiped on the great roads. It is like the wayside deity of the Chinese, except that there is no image. At Ho-p'ing-chai he is called Z(or R)ei-shwa-sei (ʒei² fwa¹ sei²). A thunder god who is a lesser deity in the sky, is called at Ho-p'ing-chai, Mu-er-go (ma² δ² go¹). There is a creek god called at Ho-p'ing-chai K'we-swa-sei (K'we² swa¹ sei²). This list of the Ch'iang gods is far from complete.

The gods of the Chinese and the Tibetans are regarded by the Ch'iang to be real, living deities, and the Ch'iang seem to be very willing to worship them when they consider it to be to their advantage to do so. Moreover, some of the Chinese gods meet what the Ch'iang regard as real and important needs and are worshiped as if they were Ch'iang gods.

Among the Chinese gods that the Ch'iang worship in their homes, in wayside shrines, and in Chinese temples are Wu Ch'ang and Mei Shan, the two gods of hunters; Lu Pan 魯班, the god of carpenters; the two Chinese door gods; the kitchen god; T'ai Shan Shih Kan Tang 泰山石敢當; the t'u-ti 土地; Kwanyin, the goddess of mercy; the goddess who heals measles and smallpox; the goddess who gives sons; Shan Wang 山王 the mountain god; the river god Wang I who also helps lumberman in the forests; Lin Kuan 靈官 the efficacious god of the Taoists; Lao Tzŭ the founder of Taoism; Iang Miao P'u-sa 秧苗菩薩 or Iang Miao T'u-ti, the god of growing grain; Shui Kuan the water god; the earth mother; the horse god; the god of cows and buffaloes; the god of sheep and goats; Ch'uan Chu 川主, the lord of Szechwan; Kuan Shen Jen 關聖人, Yü Huang the Pearly Emperor; Yao Wang the medicine god; Ti Chang 地藏 and Tung Yüeh Wang 東嶽王, the two gods of hell; Ku Wang, the grain god; the military and civil gods of wealth, and the Buddhist gods Wei T'o and Amitabha.

## 4. THE PRIESTHOOD

The Ch'iang are a reverent and devout people. They consider their religious ceremonies and rituals to be very important, and these must be conducted with exactness, reverence, and decorum. Since they have no written language, their sacred chants, which are their equivalents of "sacred books," are taught by word of mouth, memorized, and passed on from generation to generation, from father to son or from teacher to pupil. Since there must be no incorrectness in the performances and repetitions, there is a special priesthood. The priests, however, are also farmers and have wives and children. They are regarded as very important people and are highly respected by all. They do not have a distinctive dress.

In some places the priest is called a *bi bo*. At Mu-shang-chai he is called a *bi bu*. At P'u-wa he is called a *bi mu*. At Hsi-shan-chai he is called a *bi to*.

One reason that the priests hold a very large place in the lives of the Ch'iang people is the belief that by controlling and exorcising demons he can prevent and heal diseases. He is constantly sought by those who are sick. Moreover, the mysteries in his chants and incantations which others do not understand and the priest himself is often unable to explain, increase the reverence and respect for him and his ceremonies. Add to all this the fact that he is believed to have contact with and the help of the gods, and that he possesses a mysterious, marvelous power that enables him to do very important and unusual things for the good of his fellow men, and it is not difficult to understand why the Ch'iang priest is held in high esteem by the Ch'iang people.

At P'u-ch'i-kou it was affirmed that the red and the white priests wear the same kind of clothing, but that the red priests specialize in the exorcism of demons and also perform the great ceremonies of paying the vows. They asserted that the white priests perform ceremonies to pray for sons and good crops and for rain, ordain priests, and dedicate or initiate infants. The priests, they said, eat any kind of meat and drink wine, but the eating of pepper and pickles is taboo. The white priests perform the great ceremonies of paying the vows to the great gods for families on the housetops and for communities in the sacred groves. The red and the white priests, they said, worship different patron dieties. The patron dieties of the red priests are Sen Hou Tzu (a deified monkey), Sa Ho Sang, and Tsu Sa Chin. The white priests, they said, worship as a patron diety Hsi T'ien Fuh Chu, or Lord Buddha of the western paradise. They said that

the red priests use more of the demon language that cannot be understood, and the white priests use more of the Ch'iang language that can be understood. At Hsi-shan-chai it was asserted that red priests primarily emphasize the exorcism of demons and the white priests the performing of the great ceremonies of paying the vows on the housetops and in the sacred groves. In most Ch'iang localities there is no distinction between red, white, or black priests, who are simply Ch'iang priests and who perform all the functions of priests as practiced by the Ch'iang. At Lo-pu-chai, however, the priest said that he belonged to the *Wu Chiao*, or religion of black magic, although he did about the same things and in the same way as the priests do elsewhere.

One who wishes to become a priest must study under another priest from 3 to 15 years, paying well for his privileges, the length of time depending on his ability to memorize. When he has finished his studies, there is a ceremony of ordination. In the sacred grove the old priest repeats his sacred books or rather chants them, until day-break. At midnight a goat or a rooster is killed. The new priest is ceremonially washed around his eyes with water from a certain waterfall to enable him to see demons. This also purifies him and causes his head not to become confused and his hands not to fumble. The sheep, goat, or cockerel is offered to the gods, then boiled and eaten by those who are present. Each person present also eats a wheat biscuit. All is eaten up on the spot, and the family of the new priest pays for the meat and the wheat biscuits. Thereafter he is a priest, and all know about it and call on him when a priest is needed.

The following are some of the functions of a Ch'iang priest:

1. In the spring he performs a ceremony in which he prays for a good harvest and a prosperous year, promising or vowing in return to perform the great ceremony in the sacred grove in which the vow is paid, generally by the offering or sacrificing of one or more goats, but sometimes of chickens or a yak.

2. On the first day of the fifth, eighth, or the tenth lunar month he performs the great ceremonies in the sacred grove in which he pays the vows. He dances, beats his drum, and chants his "sacred books."

3. He ordains new priests.

4. He performs ceremonies of cremation.

5. He exorcises demons. To accomplish this, he has many different ceremonies and incantations.

6. He conducts funerals, either by burial or by cremation.

7. He performs a ceremony to open the way of the newly deceased soul to the other world.

8. He performs ceremonies at weddings in which he informs the gods that the young couple are married and invokes the blessings of the gods upon them.

9. He performs the ceremonies of setting up new gods in homes.

10. He divines to determine lucky and unlucky days — for funerals, for weddings, to begin a journey, to begin to build a house, and many other things. Sometimes he tells people where a missing person or a lost object can be found. In divining he sometimes uses split bamboo roots, sometimes a book in which there is no writing, but which contains pictures of the 12 creatures of the zodiac and other objects, people, and deities.

11. He makes arrangements with the Earth Mother and the Earth Dragon so that they will permit the deceased to be buried and protect him.

12. Formerly the clothing and some other objects belonging to the deceased were burned, but now they are purified by a ceremony performed by the priest in which he smokes the clothing and other objects over a fire.

13. He informs the gods including the 12 lesser gods that the person has died.

As we have already stated, the priest is one of the most highly respected men in Ch'iang society, and he is always given money or food or other useful objects for his services.

## 5. THE SACRED IMPLEMENTS

The implements used by the priest in his ceremonies are holy and are therefore treated with reverence and respect. They are believed to be surchargd with supernatural power, so that they add to the efficiency and power of the priest. Their sacredness and potency are believed to increase with age.

1. The hat. This is made of a golden-haired monkey skin and is believed to be very efficacious, greatly adding to the dignity and potency of the priest and his ceremonies. The eyes and ears of the monkey are left on, and the tail is sewed on at the back. The eyes enable the hat to see and the ears to hear, and add to the efficiency of the hat. The tail also adds to its efficiency. The front of the hat is ornamented with old cowry shells arranged in ornamental designs, one or two polished white bones that are said to be the kneecaps of tigers, and sometimes with carved sea shells. These ornaments im-

prove the looks of the hat and also add to its efficiency. Other ornaments believed to add efficiency when used are two cloth pennants, one or two small circular brass mirrors, and one or two small brass horse bells much like sleigh bells, on which the Chinese character *wang* 王 meaning king is carved. Near Wen-ch'uan the priests some-

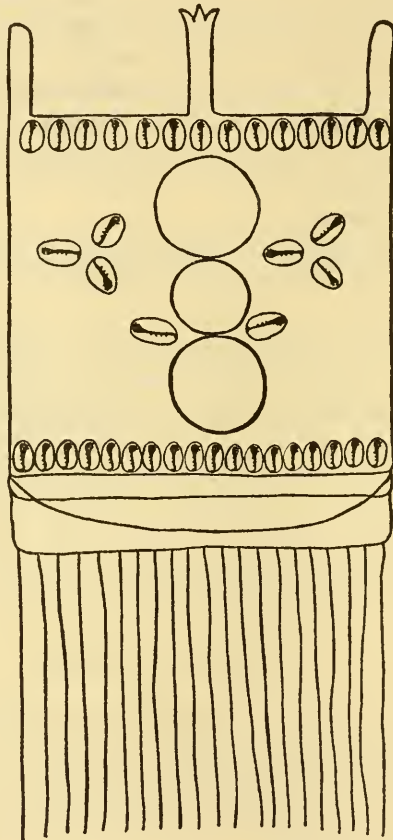


FIG. 5.—Drawing of the ceremonial hat worn by the Ch'iang priest at Mu-shang-chai. It is ornamented by round white bone disks and cowry shells.

times assist the magistrate in praying for rain and in turn are presented with a small, thin silver plaque to be worn on the hat, on which is stamped the Chinese word *shang* 賞, or "reward." This plaque also adds dignity and efficiency.

2. The drum, called at Mu-shang-chai *bo* (bo·) or *mbo* (mbo·<sup>2</sup>) and at Hsi-shan-chai, Ho-p'ing-chai, and Ts'a-to, *bu* (bu·) or *r bu* (r bu·<sup>2</sup>). One side only is covered with goatskin, and inside is a



wooden handle on which there is generally some simple carving. On one edge strips of paper are fastened to represent hair, and inside there is sometimes a small brass bell which jingles as the priest dances and beats his drum. There is only one drumstick.

3. The sacred cane, which has a sharp iron tip at the bottom enabling the priest to stick the cane into the ground, and sometimes at the top a humanlike head carved to represent the king of demons. The sacred cane must be knotted or rugged in appearance. Sometimes on the side of the cane is the imprint of a wild vine that grew around the limb while the limb and the vine were alive, and at the top a snake head is carved so that the imprint of the vine and the carved snake head give the appearance of a snake coiled around the cane. The snake and the king of demons make the cane more efficacious in exorcising demons, which is the only use made of the sacred cane by the Ch'iang priest. The king of demons controls and commands the demons, and the snake frightens them. This sacred implement closely resembles the sacred cane of the Taoist priests, which is used for the same purpose, and it is very likely that the Ch'iang priests borrowed it from the Taoists, making some adaptations of their own.

4. A circular brass gong, 6 to 8 inches in diameter, concave on one side and convex on the other, with a tapper on the inside and a leather handle on the outside. This is very similar to the ceremonial brass gong used by the Nashi or Moshi and by the black lamas in Tibet and on the China-Tibetan border.

5. A short sword or dagger used to kill the sacrificial goat or cockerel by cutting its throat. It also inspires fear in the demons.

6. An iron or brass seal, on which are elaborate Chinese characters, used to print charms on paper. It is exactly like the seals used to make charms by Chinese Buddhist and Taoist priests and by the Chinese *tuan kungs* or magicians.

7. Carved boards for printing charms on paper. The charms consist of Chinese characters.

8. A leather bag in which the priest puts meat and other things given him for his services.

9. A sacred bundle. It includes horns of wild mountain goats, halves of sea shells, scapulas and other bones of small animals and birds, shoulder blades, feet and claws of hawks and eagles, Chinese brass or bronze coinlike charms, small, round brass horse bells, and tusks of musk deer, wild boars, bear, leopards, tigers, and musk deer.

10. A long, naturally-notched antelope horn which is used in the exorcism of demons. It was identified by Dr. Dolin of the Philadelphia Museum as *Panthrolops hodgsoni*, a Tibetan antelope ranging

from the borders of Kashmir to Chinghai. If a person has a pain in his hand, eye, back, or leg, the priest sticks the point of the horn into the ground, repeats his incantations, pours water into the disturbed ground, and the patient is healed.

11. A brass hollow circle on the outside of which is carved the eight trigrams of the Chinese, and inside of which is a metal object so that the implement jingles when it is shaken during the ceremonies.

Sometimes the Abba Mula or Ndjei Chu of the priest, his patron deity, is thought of as one of the sacred implements of the priest, probably because it is carried about by the priest or his helpers when he performs the great ceremony of paying the vows in the sacred groves.

The sacred ceremonial implements are not destroyed or buried with their owner after the death of a priest. They are either given or sold to another Ch'iang priest who desires to own and use them. Some priests have more than one set of ceremonial implements. Thus these objects, becoming more and more holy and efficacious with age, are passed on from priest to priest, from generation to generation.

#### 6. THE SACRED CEREMONIES

In every home there are ceremonies of various kinds. In some homes there is the worship of the family gods on the first, the fifteenth, and the thirtieth of the month. There are also special occasions of worship and the payment of vows, and weddings and funerals. In these a member of the family officiates, except that on more important occasions the priest is called in. Friends and relatives may attend, but women are regarded as impure and unworthy and are not allowed to attend or witness the ceremonies on the housetops. They can witness the ceremonies inside the house, but must stand respectfully at a distance and cannot participate.

In the spring of the year the priest conducts a ceremony in which he prays for good crops and a prosperous year and promises or vows in return to sacrifice to the gods goats or cockerels, or yak or *p'ien niu*. The date of this ceremony varies in different localities.

The most common sacrifices to the gods are full-grown goats—never a lamb. Very poor people offer chickens. Cattle are not offered, for they are used to plow the soil and should not be killed. More rarely yak or *p'ien niu* (half yak and half cattle) from the highlands are killed and offered. While the "sacrifices" are offered to the gods, only a very little of them is burned. The flesh and the blood are boiled and eaten by the worshipers at the end of the ceremony. What cannot be

eaten at this feast is divided up between the families represented, taken to their homes and eaten there.

The great ceremony of paying the vows in the sacred grove is one in which the whole community participates. There are one or more representatives from every family. It is regarded as the most important religious ceremony. The writer persuaded the priest and his assistants in two different villages to perform this great ceremony in his presence, and to permit him to take pictures, ask questions, and make observations. In addition, several priests have given rather complete detailed descriptions of these ceremonies as conducted by them in their sacred groves. The following is an account of this ceremony as performed at Ho-p'ing-chai:

This, the most important ceremony of the year, occurs in different localities on the first day of the sixth lunar month, or the first day of the eighth moon, or the first day of the tenth moon. It is believed that formerly the ceremony was observed in many localities on all three dates, but that in recent years it is observed in each community only once a year. At Ho-p'ing-chai, Ts'a-to, Mu-shang-chai, and Lung-ch'i-chai it is observed on the first day of the eighth moon. At Lo-pu-chai it is observed on the first day of the tenth moon. The ceremony lasts all night, the five great gods are worshiped, and the vows made earlier in the year are paid by killing and offering goats, chickens, yak, *p'ien niu*, and rarely, pigs.

At Ho-p'ing-chai, on the morning of the thirtieth day of the seventh moon, the priest, and the goats to be sacrificed, are purified by being bathed in the smoke of cedar twigs. While this is being done the priest rings the ceremonial instrument called *Gga r si*. Toward evening the priest again bathes in pure water as a means of purification. The goats, which must be all black or all white, not black and white, are tied in the temple or shelter in the sacred grove. They must be watched and cared for by two men, who feed them grass and leaves. The goats must be male, full-grown, without blemish, and preferably 5 or 6 years old.

About dark or just after dark the procession starts from the village toward the temple. Only men and boys are allowed, and women cannot even witness the ceremony from a distance. The men are dressed in white homespun hemp clothing, which is undyed. The first master of ceremonies goes in front, and others follow in single file. He carries the Abba Mula, or patron deity of the priest, on a wooden platter. Before the Abba Mula is taken down, the priest worships it, chanting some of his "sacred books" and burning incense to it. Then follows the second master of ceremonies, carrying three flags made of white

paper. These flags are stuck up on the way at important points, and at the altar where the goat is offered. The third master of ceremonies follows, leading the goat. The fourth carries sacred water. The fifth is the *bi bu*, or the priest himself. He carries the goatskin drum, which he beats as he chants and dances. All the others follow. They proceed to the simple, unornamented building called a temple, where a fire is built under the three triangular stones that constitute the fireplace. Incense is burned before the sacred white stone, and the priest continues to beat his sacred drum, dance, and chant his sacred books until daylight. In the temple is a large jug of wine from which the worshippers sip wine through small bamboo tubes. As the wine disappears, they add cold water and continue to drink. At daylight the goat and one cockerel for each family are killed. The throat of the goat is cut, and the blood is caught in a vessel. A little of the blood is sprinkled on the white flags, and the remainder is boiled and later eaten. The horns of the goat are cut off and deposited in front of the sacred white stone in the temple.

This great ceremony is called in the Chinese language *huan yuen*, or paying the vows. The priest at Ho-p'ing-chai, on the fifteenth day of the first moon, goes to the sacred grove and prays to the sky god, Mu-bya-sei, and the earth god, Ru-bya-sei, for rain, good crops, protection, and a prosperous year, and promises or vows in return to offer goats and chickens to the gods on the first day of the eighth moon.

The rope by which the goat is led to the sacrifice must be new and clean. The goats must be full-grown and without blemish—that is, there must be no imperfections, out of respect for the gods.

On the wooden platter on which the Abba Mula is carried, there is some barley and rice. Near the end of the ceremony the people kneel and the priest scatters this grain. Each person catches as much as he can. This grain is carried home and scattered into the granaries, which brings good luck and makes it more likely that all will go well in the homes during the year.

White paper flags pasted or tied to small bamboo sticks are used in the ceremony of paying the vows. They have definite, accepted shapes and sizes, but vary in size and shape in different villages. One of the larger flags is stuck up by the roadside on the way to the sacred grove, and one or more on the altar near the white stone in the sacred grove. Smaller flags are carried to the homes and stuck up on the walls. At one ceremony witnessed by the writer, paper flags were stuck into the ground, and one large flag behind the patron deity of the priest and one smaller one on each side of the patron deity.

The following notes were taken by the writer as he witnessed the

ceremony of paying the vows to the five great gods in the sacred grove at Mu-shang-chai.

The priest ceremonially washed his face and hands before beginning. He heated the sacred drum over a fire, beating the drum as he chanted. This makes the drum more resonant. Then he beat his drum with rhythmical beats as he continued to chant. After this had continued for about an hour, he hung up a small bundle of wheat straw on the wall of the building outside the door. (This building was a small Chinese temple which was also used for a schoolhouse in the village of Mu-shang-chai.) Near its top the small bundle of straw

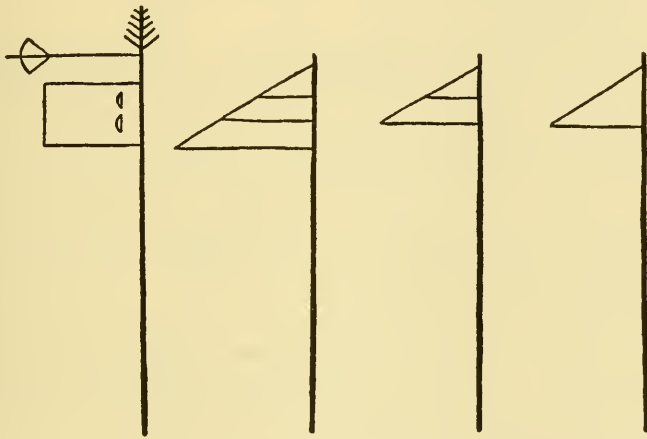


FIG. 6.—Drawing of white paper ceremonial flags used at Lung-ch'i-chai. On the largest and most important flag, which is square, are a miniature bow and arrow, a tiny fir or cedar twig, and two holes representing eyes.

was divided into three branches, on the three ends of which he stuck three small, round pieces of unleavened and uncooked dough made of wheat flour.

Following this the priest continued to chant or repeat his "sacred books" and to beat the drum. He burned incense to the wheat-straw bundle that he had hung up. At this time he was wearing his ceremonial hat and near him was his Ndjei Chu, or patron deity.

Before leaving the temple he chanted six sections of his "sacred books." Then the procession began. On the way he continued to beat the drum and to dance as he chanted his liturgies.

In the parade were, first, the master of ceremonies, called the *gwε<sup>2</sup> sɔ<sup>1</sup>-mu<sup>2</sup>*. He carried the Ndjei Chu, the patron deity of the priest, and the largest paper flag, and led the goat, which was entirely black,

for it must be without blemish and of only one color. The second person (they walk in single file) is called the *gwe<sup>3</sup>-t'ai<sup>2</sup>-mu<sup>3</sup>*. He carried on his back a large basket in which were paper flags, wine, pork, the unleavened bread, the executing knife, wheat straw, and cedar twigs. This is the second master of ceremonies. The third person is merely a helper of the other masters of ceremonies.

The fourth person was the priest, who continued to beat his drum and to repeat his sacred chants. He carried the sacred drum and the drumstick, wore his ceremonial hat, and carried the skin bag, the sacred bundle, and a ceremonial sword.

All wore or preferred to wear undyed hemp clothing. The priest had no ceremonial gown.

At a designated place, before reaching the shrine where the ceremony was to be performed and the goat killed, water was poured into the ears and onto the neck and shoulders of the goat. In such circumstances, if the goat shakes, shivers, or trembles, it is regarded as evidence that he is acceptable to the gods. If he does not, he must be changed for another goat that is acceptable. While this was being done, the priest knelt, repeated his sacred books, and beat his drum. Here one of the paper flags was stuck upright in the ground. The goat did shake himself vigorously.

After his arrival in the temple or sacred shelter, the priest chanted 14 sections of his sacred books, dancing and beating his drum. All this took a long time, as the priest added trills and sometimes merely beat his drum. He often spoke too rapidly to be understood.

Later they again poured water into the ears of the goat, to make very sure that he was acceptable to the gods. The priest pulled out some of the goat's hairs and put them in a crack at the top of the stick that formed the handle of the largest flag, tying them on with a string. Water was splashed on the flag. Then this flag was stuck up on the wall of the temple. The writer was told that the flag now would keep away demons and help avoid calamities that might come.

The priest chanted six of his sacred books in the schoolhouse (Chinese temple), then started for the Ch'iang temple and the sacred grove. In the Ch'iang temple he chanted 14 sections of his sacred books. He chanted the final sacred book while the goat was being killed and the ceremony was being finished.

On the big round cake of unleavened bread used in the ceremony, the priest placed a small goat made of dough, a lamp made of dough, and a small lump of dough.

When the procession first arrived at the temple, the priest chanted and danced, burned cedar twigs as incense before the sacred white stone, and lighted a fire. Later they marched to the shrine near the

temple where there was a sacred white stone standing upright like a tombstone. In the procession as they marched to this shrine, the person walking in front carried a flat, circular stone on which were placed the dough image of a goat, the dough lamp, and the small lump of dough. The second man led the goat, carried the large flag, and also carried the patron deity of the priest, Ndjei Chu. A third person carried the large round piece of unleavened bread on which was a knife for killing the goat, and some cedar twigs. The fourth man carried a dipper with which to catch the blood of the sacrificial goat.

The stone circle with the dough objects on it was placed in front of the sacred white stone on the shrine. Here were also placed the round cake of unleavened bread, lighted candles, and incense. The priest remained in the temple and continued his chanting. At a signal a man cut the goat's throat so that the goat soon bled to death, and firecrackers were set off. The blood of the goat was caught in a large dipper. The right ear, the testicles, and the penis of the goat were cut off. The penis and testicles were offered to the gods by being burned on cedar twigs on the circular stone. The ear was stuck on the top of the largest paper flag.

They skinned the goat while the priest, before the shrine in the temple, continued to chant the last section of his sacred books, beat his drum, and dance. When the animal was partly skinned, the sheet of fat around the abdomen and whatever other fat could be found was cut off and placed on a fresh twig.

Then, while the priest continued to chant, dance, and beat his drum, the four men encircled the shrine in the sacred grove four times. The first man carried the circular stone, the second man carried flags and the large wheat cake, and the third carried cedar twigs on which the tallow had been placed, and the fourth carried on his back the dead goat. The intestines of the goat had been removed and washed in the creek. They were brought back and cooked and later eaten.

The procession, followed by the priest, went back into the temple, the priest meanwhile chanting, dancing, and beating his drum. In the temple they finished cutting up the goat, and one front leg and the skin, one ear of which had been cut off, were given to the priest.

At the time that the goat was killed, the largest flag was splashed with blood, the left ear was cut off and stuck on top of the large paper flag, and the horns and the flag were placed on the shrine in the temple, which was supposed to have, but did not, a sacred white stone on it. The meat and blood were cooked, and there was a feast in which all present shared. Before beginning to eat, the brain and the kidneys of the goat were placed in a separate bowl, cooked, then offered to the gods before the shrine in the temple.

The Ch'iang custom is that the meat and blood that cannot be eaten at the feast is divided up among the families represented, taken home, and there eaten by the people in their homes. This time the meat and the cooked blood were taken to the school-temple, where next morning the men came together for a feast to which the writer was invited.

At the end of the feast in the Ch'iang temple, when all were through eating, the priest began to chant and beat his drum, and the masters of ceremonies burned some cedar twigs as incense. The Ndjei Chu was placed beside the priest, with the skin and the meat which the priest was given as his reward. The priest gave a little of the fat of the goat to each worshiper, to be taken home and there offered to the gods.

#### 7. THE SACRED GROVES

Every village or community has a sacred grove. Its trees, some of which are oaks, are sacred and must not be cut down. In or near it is an altar capped by a sacred white stone, and near the altar are one or more trees that are more sacred than the others.

In front of this altar the sacrificial animal is killed. In or near the grove is a very simple building called a temple, the walls of which are made of beaten clay or unhewn stones plastered together with clay. In the floor is a three-legged stove and in one corner is an altar and a sacred white stone.

Most of the great ceremonies are performed at night and very early in the morning. The sky and the mountains above, the darkness and the silence, the sacred trees and bushes and the altar below, the priest and the worshipers, give an atmosphere of awe and wonder so that the worshiper believes that he meets his gods and feels their very presence. He experiences an emotional thrill that is realized through the belief that he has had actual communion with his gods.

In recent years many of the trees in the sacred groves have been cut down, some by Chinese soldiers, some by Communists, and some by the Ch'iang themselves. In one village a number of the sacred trees were cut down, with general approval, in order to build a schoolhouse. The Ch'iang people of this village who wanted to cut down the trees obtained the moral support and approval of the magistrate of Li-fan as a guarantee that nobody would be able to make trouble.

#### 8. THE "SACRED BOOKS"

It is well-known that the Ch'iang have no written language. How, then, can they have sacred books?

A Ch'iang priest sometimes has a book which contains many pic-



tures, but not a word in writing or printing, which is used for divination. This book is called in Chinese *t'ieh suan p'an* 鐵算盤, or "iron abacus." It is used for divination of all kinds, including the determination of lucky days for weddings, for beginning a journey, to begin to build a house, to plant crops, and many other things.

On one of these books there are pictures of the sun and other heavenly bodies, of trees, of priests, of the 12 creatures of the zodiac, of manlike beings said to represent diseases, and on one page a picture of the sky god, the earth god, of 12 shrines for the worship of the 12 lesser gods, and of 4 ceremonial flags. The writer has not seen any two of these books that are alike.

The pictures in another book were as follows: On the first page a solo tree on which a bell hangs, and under it a deer; on succeeding pages are a blacksmith and a forge and a man for whom the blacksmith is working, making an ax to cut wood, and above the blacksmith smoke; a priest and a demon of one who died from loss of blood; a man covering up the ashes after cremation; the picture of a priest with a drum, and near him a cremation grave or heap of ashes and a temple in which is a Taoist priest; a priest burning spirit money and performing a ceremony to exorcise demons; a demon of a person killed by a knife, sword, or spear; a priest and a tree with roots—on this page priests divine to determine lucky days to begin journeys and other important undertakings; a silversmith and a forge, and a man digging for gold, indicating a lucky day; a gold digger's house, and a man with an umbrella; a priest and a pavilion; a man and two objects representing ingots of silver and indicating good luck; a man, and a tree without roots; next, the demon of a man who died from drowning; a priest and a design representing a jug, and a man; a man and another person with a ferryboat, indicating good luck; and on the next few pages are a grave, a shed or house for cremating, an oblong object that indicated that several will die, a flowery mountain, and a worship shed or shrine.

Priests who possess these books claim that they are indispensable for divination. With them they tell the future and solve many difficult problems.

The other kind of "sacred book" is not written, but memorized by the priests and repeated from memory during their ceremonies. They are the equivalents of the sacred books chanted by Buddhist and Taoist priests in China and by Tibetan lamas. Some of them are in the ordinary Ch'iang language and easily understood, some are at least in part not understood by any but the Ch'iang priests, and at least parts of some are not understood even by the priests themselves. Some

sacred books or parts of them are said to be in an archaic form of the Ch'iang language. All this increases the sense of mystery, sacredness, and potency. The number of sections or "books" varies in different places and with different priests. At Ho-p'ing-chai the priest gave the number as 12, at Lo-pu-chai as 18, and at Mu-shang-chai as 21.

All the sacred books are chanted or repeated in the great ceremonies in the sacred groves, and in some of the ceremonies by the priests on the housetops, but fewer at weddings, funerals, when enthroning new gods in the homes, and when exorcising demons.

The sacred books are committed to memory by the Ch'iang priests, and only the priests know them. If paid enough, one priest will teach another, and so these books are handed down from father to son or from teacher to pupil, from generation to generation. In recent years some Ch'iang priests have died without teaching any successors, so that in some villages, including P'u-wa and Tung-men-wai, the line has ceased and there are no Ch'iang priests.

Believing that valuable light might be thrown on the religion of the Ch'iang by the translation of these sacred chants, the writer persuaded several priests to repeat their sacred books to him and to help translate as much as possible. All priests regard these chants as very important, and to be remembered and repeated accurately and with due reverence and respect, whether they are understood or not.

The lists of gods as found in these "sacred books" is not complete, for the Ch'iang have many other gods, including stones and trees that are worshiped as deities. These lists ought to convince any person with an open mind that the Ch'iang are not monotheists, for every priest calls on many gods to help him in his ceremonies. The attitude expressed in the "sacred books" of Lo-pu-chai toward these sacred books reminds us of that of the Sikhs of India toward their granth or sacred book, which they worship as a living god.

The following translations of the sacred books of the priests at Ho-p'ing-chai and at Lo-pu-chai were published in an article by the writer in the *Journal of the West China Border Research Society*, vol. 14, series A, 1944, and are reprinted here because they are the best that the writer has been able to obtain. The sacred books of the priest at Mu-shang-chai were carefully written down in the International Phonetic Script, but the priest understood and could explain so little that they are omitted here.

The following are the sacred books or chants of the priest at Ho-p'ing-chai. The words and phrases were taken down in the International Phonetic Script, and the translations and interpretations are those given by the Ch'iang priest. The place names were taken down as pronounced by the priest.

## THE SACRED BOOKS OF CHANTS OF THE PRIEST AT HO-p'ING-CHAI IN THE CEREMONIES TO PAY THE GREAT VOWS

SECTION I, ER BO OR BO ( $\delta^2$  bo<sup>1</sup> or bo<sup>1</sup>)

ma<sup>2</sup> Ti.<sup>2</sup> zwe<sup>2</sup> (or ʒe<sup>2</sup>) Ti.<sup>2</sup>,  
 zwe<sup>2</sup> To.<sup>1</sup> jo.<sup>2</sup> Ti.<sup>2</sup>  
 Ti.<sup>2</sup> jo.<sup>1</sup> Ti.<sup>2</sup> je<sup>2</sup>, Ti.<sup>2</sup> Ti.<sup>1</sup> jo.<sup>2</sup> Ti.<sup>2</sup>  
 se<sup>1</sup> jo.<sup>2</sup> Ti.<sup>2</sup> je<sup>2</sup>, se<sup>1</sup> Ti.<sup>2</sup> jo.<sup>2</sup> Ti.<sup>2</sup>  
 o.<sup>2</sup> jo.<sup>1</sup> Ti.<sup>2</sup> je<sup>2</sup>, mi.<sup>2</sup> tzə<sup>1</sup> be<sup>2</sup> be<sup>2</sup>  
 ntzə<sup>2</sup> na.<sup>1</sup> lə<sup>2</sup> je<sup>2</sup>, so.<sup>2</sup> la.<sup>1</sup> be<sup>2</sup> be<sup>2</sup>,  
 nTe<sup>2</sup> p'i.<sup>1</sup> nTe<sup>2</sup> je<sup>2</sup>,  
 me<sup>2</sup> ʒe<sup>1</sup> (or ɹe<sup>1</sup> or zwe<sup>1</sup>) dʒjei<sup>2</sup> Ti.<sup>2</sup>  
 be<sup>2</sup> ʒe<sup>1</sup> nTe<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup>  
 be<sup>2</sup> k'o.<sup>1</sup> nTe<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup>  
 Ti.<sup>1</sup> bja.<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>1</sup> bja.<sup>2</sup> a.<sup>1</sup> no.<sup>2</sup> sei<sup>2</sup>  
 p'i<sup>1</sup> ɹu.<sup>1</sup> (sei<sup>2</sup>) lo.<sup>1</sup> lo.<sup>2</sup> a.<sup>1</sup> no.<sup>2</sup> sei<sup>2</sup>  
 su.<sup>1</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> sei<sup>2</sup>, su.<sup>1</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> jei<sup>2</sup> se<sup>1</sup> na.<sup>2</sup> ja.<sup>2</sup>  
 gwe<sup>2</sup> Ta.<sup>1</sup> stu.<sup>2</sup> Ta.<sup>2</sup> sei<sup>2</sup> zə<sup>2</sup> nTa<sup>1</sup> fja.<sup>2</sup>  
 a.<sup>2</sup> ba.<sup>2</sup> sei<sup>2</sup> TΛ<sup>2</sup> ɹ<sup>2</sup> wei<sup>2</sup> fa.<sup>2</sup>  
 tʃi.<sup>2</sup> gwei<sup>2</sup> sei<sup>2</sup> nTe<sup>2</sup> wei<sup>2</sup> fa.<sup>2</sup>  
 ʃtu.<sup>2</sup> dʒa.<sup>1</sup> sei<sup>2</sup> nTe<sup>2</sup> wei<sup>2</sup> fa.<sup>2</sup>  
 ntzə<sup>2</sup> ndʒu.<sup>2</sup> sei<sup>2</sup> nTe<sup>2</sup> wei<sup>2</sup> fa.<sup>2</sup>  
 ji.<sup>2</sup> mu.<sup>2</sup> sei<sup>2</sup> nTe<sup>2</sup> wei<sup>2</sup> fa.<sup>2</sup>  
 ma<sup>2</sup> bu.<sup>2</sup> sei<sup>2</sup> nTe<sup>2</sup> wei<sup>2</sup> fa.<sup>2</sup>  
 mbja.<sup>1</sup> we<sup>2</sup> sei<sup>2</sup>, nTe<sup>2</sup> wei<sup>2</sup> fa.<sup>2</sup>  
 ʃti.<sup>2</sup> pə<sup>2</sup> sei<sup>2</sup> nTe<sup>2</sup> wei<sup>2</sup> fa.<sup>2</sup>  
 sbe<sup>2</sup> pɹi.<sup>1</sup> (or pi.<sup>1</sup>) sei<sup>2</sup> nTe<sup>2</sup> wei<sup>2</sup> fa.<sup>2</sup>  
 To.<sup>2</sup> ndzu.<sup>2</sup> sei<sup>2</sup> nTe<sup>2</sup> wei<sup>2</sup> fa.<sup>2</sup>  
 ʒa.<sup>2</sup> ʒa.<sup>1</sup> sei<sup>2</sup> nTe<sup>2</sup> wei<sup>2</sup> fa.<sup>2</sup>  
 a.<sup>2</sup> Ta.<sup>2</sup> sei<sup>2</sup> nTe<sup>2</sup> wei<sup>2</sup> fa.<sup>2</sup>  
 bi.<sup>1</sup> bu.<sup>2</sup> dʒu.<sup>2</sup> pi.<sup>2</sup> fa.<sup>1</sup> la.<sup>2</sup> nTe<sup>2</sup> fwa.<sup>1</sup> fa.<sup>2</sup>  
 p'o.<sup>2</sup> pa.<sup>2</sup> To.<sup>2</sup> t'u.<sup>2</sup> nTe<sup>2</sup> sta<sup>2</sup> fa.<sup>1</sup>  
 ji.<sup>2</sup> ʃn̄ɿ<sup>1</sup> i.<sup>2</sup> ste<sup>2</sup> i.<sup>2</sup> t'u.<sup>2</sup> i.<sup>2</sup> se<sup>2</sup>  
 hu.<sup>2</sup> be<sup>1</sup> dʒo.<sup>2</sup> ʃtja.<sup>2</sup> lju.<sup>1</sup> se<sup>2</sup> ʒi.<sup>1</sup> ʒi<sup>2</sup>

SECTION 2, ER ( $\delta$ )

$\delta^2$  bi.<sup>1</sup> Ti.<sup>1</sup> mu.<sup>2</sup>, mi.<sup>2</sup> je<sup>1</sup>  $\delta^2$  mja<sup>1</sup>; swa.<sup>2</sup> swa.<sup>1</sup> mi.<sup>2</sup> je<sup>2</sup>  
 $\delta^2$  sə<sup>2</sup> me<sup>2</sup> ʒa<sup>2</sup>,  $\delta^2$  mi.<sup>1</sup> ʃi.<sup>2</sup>  
 $\delta^2$  sə<sup>1</sup> ʒa.<sup>1</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup>,  $\delta^2$  le<sup>1</sup> ʃje<sup>2</sup>

SECTION 3, K'U (K'u.<sup>2</sup>)

k'u.<sup>2</sup> sə<sup>2</sup> me<sup>2</sup> ʒa.<sup>2</sup>, k'u.<sup>2</sup> mi.<sup>1</sup> ʃi.<sup>2</sup> ɹa.<sup>2</sup>,  
 k'u.<sup>2</sup> sə<sup>2</sup> ʒa.<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup>, k'u.<sup>2</sup> le<sup>2</sup> ʃi.<sup>2</sup> ɹa.<sup>2</sup>,  
 ma<sup>1</sup> Ta.<sup>2</sup> mae<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>, a.<sup>2</sup> bu.<sup>1</sup> dʒi.<sup>2</sup>  
 bu.<sup>1</sup> dʒi.<sup>2</sup> ɹo.<sup>2</sup>  $\delta^2$  bo.<sup>1</sup> dʒo.<sup>2</sup>  
 ma<sup>1</sup> ɹo.<sup>2</sup> sə<sup>1</sup> fwa.<sup>2</sup>  $\delta^2$  go.<sup>1</sup> dʒo.<sup>2</sup>  
 ma<sup>1</sup> ɹo.<sup>2</sup> dʒae<sup>2</sup> bae<sup>2</sup>,  $\delta^2$  go.<sup>1</sup> dʒo.<sup>2</sup>  
 sei<sup>1</sup> mi.<sup>2</sup> Te<sup>2</sup>  $\delta^2$  go.<sup>1</sup> dʒo.<sup>2</sup>

## SECTION 4, NGO

Ti.<sup>2</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup> ge.<sup>2</sup> tza.<sup>2</sup>, na.<sup>2</sup> ɔo.<sup>1</sup> nTe.<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>1</sup>  
na.<sup>2</sup> ɔo.<sup>1</sup> Te.<sup>2</sup> tsa.<sup>2</sup>  
si.<sup>2</sup> ɔo.<sup>1</sup> ge.<sup>2</sup> tsa.<sup>2</sup>, zə.<sup>2</sup> ɔo.<sup>1</sup> Te.<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup>

## SECTION 5, SHPA (Calling the local gods)

nTjei.<sup>2</sup> Ta.<sup>2</sup>, tsan.<sup>2</sup> juen.<sup>2</sup>,  
p'i.<sup>2</sup> fjen.<sup>4</sup>, saen.<sup>2</sup> juen.<sup>2</sup>  
ntjei Ta dʒi ge, we ba. sei,  
p'i fjen dʒi. ge.<sup>2</sup>, To.<sup>2</sup> wa. sei  
Ta.<sup>2</sup> gu. dʒi. ge, To. fwa. sei  
be.<sup>2</sup> sa.<sup>1</sup> dʒi.<sup>2</sup> ge.<sup>2</sup> k'we.<sup>2</sup> ɔ.<sup>2</sup> bo.<sup>1</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
ju.<sup>2</sup> tʃi.<sup>2</sup> dʒi.<sup>1</sup> ge.<sup>2</sup>, bu.<sup>2</sup> ɔ.<sup>2</sup> Ga.<sup>2</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
jaɔ.<sup>2</sup> tʒə.<sup>1</sup> lin.<sup>2</sup>, lo.<sup>2</sup> fjo.<sup>2</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
Ta.<sup>2</sup> ɔ.<sup>1</sup> p'i.<sup>2</sup>, ze.<sup>2</sup> be.<sup>2</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
tsoɔ.<sup>1</sup> dʒi.<sup>2</sup> lo.<sup>2</sup>, su.<sup>2</sup> fti.<sup>2</sup> sei.<sup>1</sup>  
jin.<sup>2</sup> he.<sup>1</sup> p'i.<sup>2</sup>, lo.<sup>2</sup> p'ii.<sup>2</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
t'ao.<sup>2</sup> gwa.<sup>1</sup>, k'we.<sup>2</sup> bo.<sup>1</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
da.<sup>4</sup> jei.<sup>2</sup> p'in, ʒe.<sup>2</sup> be.<sup>2</sup> sei.<sup>1</sup>  
xa.<sup>2</sup> su.<sup>1</sup>, tʃe.<sup>2</sup> hwa.<sup>2</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
baɔ.<sup>2</sup> tʃjo.<sup>2</sup>, la.n.<sup>2</sup> Ga.<sup>2</sup> sei.<sup>1</sup>  
mo.<sup>2</sup> To.<sup>2</sup> tʃi.<sup>1</sup>, ɬa.<sup>2</sup> be.<sup>1</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
tʃi.<sup>2</sup> p'a.<sup>2</sup> gɬu.<sup>1</sup>, k'we.<sup>2</sup> ɔ.<sup>2</sup> bo.<sup>1</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
tʃi.<sup>2</sup> paɔ.<sup>2</sup> lo.<sup>2</sup> ɔ.<sup>2</sup>, mba.<sup>1</sup> ɔ.<sup>2</sup> ka.<sup>2</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
ts'u.<sup>1</sup> ts'a.<sup>2</sup> dʒi.<sup>2</sup> ge.<sup>2</sup>, To.<sup>2</sup> fwa.<sup>1</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
jen.<sup>4</sup> man.<sup>2</sup> dʒi.<sup>2</sup> ge.<sup>2</sup>, ɬa.<sup>2</sup> Tjo.<sup>1</sup> sei.<sup>1</sup>  
tʃi.n.<sup>1</sup> p'o.<sup>1</sup> dʒi.<sup>2</sup> ge.<sup>2</sup>, ɬe.<sup>2</sup> be.<sup>2</sup> sei.<sup>1</sup>  
wan.<sup>2</sup> tsan.<sup>4</sup>, dʒi.<sup>2</sup> ge.<sup>2</sup>, wei.<sup>2</sup> ba.<sup>1</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
be.<sup>2</sup> swei.<sup>2</sup> tsai.<sup>4</sup>, tʃwa.n.<sup>1</sup> tsu.<sup>2</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
tʃi.<sup>2</sup> ʃin.<sup>1</sup> gwa.<sup>1</sup>, ɬa.<sup>2</sup> Tju.<sup>1</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
tsoɔ.<sup>1</sup> tʃy.<sup>2</sup>, ɬe.<sup>2</sup> be.<sup>2</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
xgae.<sup>2</sup> no.<sup>1</sup>, we.<sup>2</sup> ba.<sup>1</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
t'oɔ.<sup>2</sup> ts'ao.<sup>2</sup> dʒi.<sup>1</sup> ge.<sup>2</sup>, tswan.<sup>1</sup> p'u.<sup>2</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
p'o.<sup>2</sup> ge.<sup>2</sup>, p'o.<sup>2</sup> Ti.<sup>2</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>,  
ɬa.<sup>2</sup> ge.<sup>1</sup> dʒi.<sup>2</sup> ge.<sup>2</sup>, ɬa.<sup>2</sup> Ti.<sup>2</sup> sei.<sup>1</sup>,  
bu.<sup>2</sup> dʒu.<sup>1</sup> dʒi.<sup>2</sup> ge.<sup>2</sup>, wei.<sup>2</sup> ba.<sup>1</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
gaen.<sup>4</sup> tʃi.<sup>2</sup> dʒi.<sup>2</sup> ge.<sup>2</sup>, ɬa.<sup>2</sup> be.<sup>1</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
t'oɔ.<sup>2</sup> hwa.<sup>2</sup>, ɬa.<sup>2</sup> dʒo.<sup>2</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
tʃe.<sup>2</sup> ʃe.<sup>2</sup>, ɬa.<sup>2</sup> be.<sup>1</sup> sei.<sup>1</sup>  
saen.<sup>1</sup> p'in.<sup>2</sup> dʒi.<sup>2</sup> ge.<sup>2</sup>, ɬe.<sup>2</sup> be.<sup>1</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
ʃin.<sup>1</sup> tʃjao.<sup>2</sup>, k'we.<sup>2</sup> ɔ.<sup>2</sup> bo.<sup>1</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
ge.<sup>2</sup> Te.<sup>2</sup> bo.<sup>2</sup> bji.<sup>1</sup> ʃy.<sup>2</sup> Ga.<sup>1</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
Ga.<sup>2</sup> Ta.<sup>2</sup> bo.<sup>2</sup> bji.<sup>1</sup>, ʃy.<sup>2</sup> ni.<sup>2</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
Tu.<sup>1</sup> li.<sup>2</sup>, sei.<sup>1</sup> dʒo.<sup>2</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
mbja.<sup>2</sup> p'i.<sup>2</sup> dʒi.<sup>1</sup> ge.<sup>2</sup>, we.<sup>2</sup> ba.<sup>1</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
ʒe.<sup>2</sup> ma.<sup>2</sup>, su.<sup>1</sup> na.<sup>2</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>  
xa.<sup>2</sup> p'i.<sup>2</sup> dʒi.<sup>2</sup> ge.<sup>2</sup>, ɬe.<sup>2</sup> be.<sup>2</sup> sei.<sup>1</sup>  
Ga. sa. dʒi.<sup>2</sup> ge.<sup>2</sup>, ɔ.<sup>2</sup> gwe.<sup>1</sup> na.<sup>2</sup> sei.<sup>2</sup>

k'o.<sup>2</sup> ɔo.<sup>1</sup>, bu.<sup>1</sup> dzu.<sup>2</sup> sei<sup>2</sup>  
 ts'u.<sup>1</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup>, bu.<sup>1</sup> dzu.<sup>2</sup> sei<sup>2</sup>  
 me<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> gwe<sup>1</sup> sə<sup>2</sup> gwe<sup>2</sup>, sgwe<sup>1</sup> ɛ<sup>2</sup> Tu.<sup>2</sup> fja.<sup>2</sup>  
 fi.<sup>2</sup> tzu.<sup>1</sup> Ga.<sup>2</sup> no.<sup>2</sup> dɔju.<sup>2</sup>, p'i.<sup>2</sup> fja.<sup>1</sup> na.<sup>2</sup> nTɛ<sup>2</sup>  
 fja.<sup>1</sup> fja.<sup>2</sup>, si.<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> me<sup>2</sup>, t'e<sup>2</sup> fja.<sup>1</sup>, se<sup>1</sup> tzɛ<sup>2</sup> ge<sup>2</sup> ju.<sup>2</sup>

SECTION 6, MU DJE A DYU (mɛ<sup>2</sup> dɔɛ<sup>1</sup> a.<sup>2</sup> Tju.<sup>2</sup>)

mɛ<sup>2</sup> dje<sup>1</sup> tzu.<sup>2</sup> la.<sup>2</sup> mi.<sup>2</sup> fjo.<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> gu.<sup>1</sup> mi.<sup>2</sup> fjo.<sup>2</sup>  
 zwe<sup>2</sup> zwe<sup>1</sup> ge.<sup>2</sup> go.<sup>2</sup>, sa.<sup>2</sup> xu.<sup>1</sup> lju.<sup>2</sup> wu.<sup>2</sup>  
 mɛ<sup>2</sup> Ta.<sup>1</sup> wei<sup>2</sup> go.<sup>2</sup>, se<sup>2</sup> Tjo.<sup>2</sup> bja.<sup>2</sup> ge<sup>2</sup> go.<sup>2</sup> Tju.<sup>1</sup> ɛ<sup>1</sup> dɔo.<sup>2</sup> je<sup>2</sup>  
 nTɛ<sup>2</sup> wu.<sup>1</sup> tzə<sup>2</sup> na.<sup>2</sup>, tzə<sup>2</sup> ju.<sup>1</sup> wu.<sup>2</sup> tzə<sup>2</sup> je<sup>2</sup>  
 nTɛ<sup>2</sup> wu.<sup>1</sup> tzə<sup>2</sup> na.<sup>2</sup>, tzə<sup>2</sup> ju.<sup>1</sup> wu.<sup>2</sup> tzə<sup>2</sup> je<sup>2</sup>  
 mo.<sup>2</sup> Ta.<sup>1</sup> we<sup>2</sup> go.<sup>2</sup>, Tju.<sup>2</sup> Tɛ<sup>1</sup> ɔgɛ<sup>2</sup> je<sup>2</sup>

## SECTION 7

nTɛ<sup>2</sup> Tɛ<sup>1</sup> le<sup>2</sup> bo.<sup>2</sup>, fi.<sup>2</sup> zɛi.<sup>1</sup> fji.<sup>1</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup>  
 mɛ<sup>2</sup> dzu.<sup>2</sup> nTɛ<sup>2</sup> dzu.<sup>2</sup>, ts'u.<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup> tzə<sup>2</sup> Ge<sup>1</sup> si.<sup>2</sup> tzə<sup>2</sup>  
 fi.<sup>2</sup> pɛi.<sup>1</sup> fi.<sup>2</sup> Tɛ<sup>2</sup>, ji.<sup>2</sup> Tɛ<sup>1</sup> si.<sup>2</sup> je<sup>2</sup>,  
 zi.<sup>2</sup> pɛi.<sup>1</sup> tzu.<sup>2</sup> Ta.<sup>2</sup>, Tju.<sup>2</sup> Tɛ<sup>1</sup> gei<sup>2</sup> je<sup>2</sup>,  
 mba.<sup>2</sup> bu.<sup>2</sup> tju.<sup>2</sup> Tɛ<sup>1</sup> pɛ<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup>, su.<sup>1</sup> bɛ<sup>1</sup> Tju.<sup>2</sup> Tɛ<sup>2</sup>,  
 pɛ<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup> su.<sup>1</sup> bu.<sup>1</sup> na.<sup>2</sup> Ge<sup>2</sup>, tzə<sup>2</sup> ge<sup>1</sup> si.<sup>2</sup> tzə<sup>2</sup>,  
 fi.<sup>2</sup> Tɛ<sup>2</sup> xɛ<sup>2</sup> ju.<sup>1</sup>, ste<sup>2</sup> je<sup>2</sup> ts'wei<sup>2</sup> tzə<sup>1</sup> t'wa.<sup>2</sup> tzə<sup>2</sup>  
 Tɛ<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>1</sup> sa.<sup>2</sup> je<sup>2</sup>, me<sup>1</sup> tzə<sup>2</sup> zci<sup>2</sup> so.<sup>2</sup> gwɛ<sup>1</sup> zi.<sup>2</sup> na.<sup>2</sup> je<sup>2</sup>  
 tzo.<sup>2</sup> bo.<sup>1</sup> zi.<sup>2</sup> so.<sup>2</sup>, gwɛ<sup>2</sup> zi.<sup>2</sup> na.<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup>,  
 gwɛ<sup>2</sup> Ta.<sup>1</sup> ftja.<sup>2</sup> lju.<sup>2</sup>, stu.<sup>1</sup> Tɛ<sup>1</sup> ftja.<sup>2</sup> lju.<sup>2</sup>  
 gwɛ<sup>2</sup> Ta.<sup>1</sup> stu.<sup>2</sup> Ta.<sup>2</sup>, sei<sup>1</sup> zə<sup>1</sup> zTə<sup>1</sup> fja.<sup>2</sup>

TRANSLATION OF THE SACRED CHANTS OR BOOKS USED BY THE PRIEST AT  
HO-P'ING-CHAI IN THE CEREMONIES TO PAY THE GREAT VOWS

## SECTION I

Heaven, earth, we call you from all about.  
 From afar you have come together.  
 I have called the many gods here from distant places.  
 I call them, using the stone platter and small candles and wheat  
 biscuits.  
 Twelve grains of barley, fir tree seeds (from fir tree cones),  
 Lung and heart (as offerings), all are prepared.  
 I have purified with water.  
 Rice I scatter, barley I scatter.  
 Great Heaven, I have called you here.  
 P'i-ru-sei and Lo-lo-sei, I have called you here.  
 Su-mo-sei of the forests, your throne is prepared.  
 Goats and cokerels, O gods, I offer to you.  
 Abba-sei (male ancestral god), I call you here;  
 Ch'i-gwei-sei (house god), come thou here;  
 Shtu-ja-sei (god of domestic animals), come thou here;  
 Ntzu-ndja (god of wealth), come thou here;

Yi-mu-sei (goddess who gives sons, etc.), come thou here;  
 Mu-bu-sei (fire god), come thou here;  
 Mbya-we-sei (goddess who protects men and boys), come thou here;  
 Shti-per-sei (goddess who protects women and children at  
 childbirth), come thou here;  
 Sbe-pri-sei (god of grain in the bin), come thou here;  
 Do-ndzu-sei (door god on the left), come thou here;  
 Nga-nga-sei (door god on the right), come thou here;  
 I, the priest, with three (or nine) sticks of incense and candles  
 lighted,  
 Wheat biscuits (bread), pork, set down below,  
 Chicken blood, heart, lungs, liver,  
 Cedar twigs (burning); we receive all the gods together.

## SECTION 2

Male gods, female gods,  
 If there were no gods, I would not call.  
 All that there are I will invite.

## SECTION 3

Rolled here have, all have come.  
 Sky, sun, can lighten,  
 Rolled here have arrived,  
 In the sky all have come,  
 Stars of the sky have come,  
 Gods all have come.

## SECTION 4

Cow born, two cows have,  
 Two cows, plows,  
 Three cows, four cows (for sacrifices).

## SECTION 5, CALLING THE LOCAL GODS

Chengtū, (the Chengtū god) Tsun-yuen;  
 Pi-hsien, (the god) San-yuen;  
 The (god of) the large gate of Chengtū, We-be;  
 The gates of Pi-hsien, the god Do-wa;  
 Kuan-hsien the god Do-swa;  
 Pai-sha-ch'i, the god Go-k'we-er-bo;  
 Yu-ch'i, the god Su-er-ga;  
 Yang-tzū-lin, the god Lo-shyo;  
 Ta-er-p'i, the god Ze-beh (the earth god);  
 Chung-chi-lo, the god Lo-pr'i (a white stone god).  
 T'ao-kuan 桃關, the god Kw'e-bo.  
 Ta-yeh-p'ing, the god Zre-beh (an earth god).  
 Wen-ch'uan 汶川, the god Ch'êng Huang (a city god).

- Pan-ch'iao 板橋, the god Lan Kan.  
 No-to-ch'i, the god Ra-beh (a cliff god).  
 Ch'i-p'a-u, the god Kw'e-we-bo (a creek god).  
 Ch'i-p'ang-lung, the god Mao-erka (dragon mouth).  
 Ts'u-sha Ji Geh, the god Reh-be (a small earth god).  
 Yen-men Ch'i Geh, the god Ra-dyo (cliff door).  
 Ch'ing-p'o 青坡 Ji Geh, the god Reh-be (a small earth god).  
 Wen-ch'eng 汶城 Ji Geh, the god We-ba.  
 Bai-shui-chai 白水寨, the god Ch'uan Chu  
 Ch'i-hsin-kua, the god Ra-dyu.  
 Tsung-ts'u (or Ch'u), the god Re-beh.  
 Mao-chou 茂州, the god We-ba.  
 T'ung-ch'ao Ji Ge, the god Thuan-p'u (probably a Chinese god).  
 P'o Ge, the god P'o-di (or Ti) (p'o means tree).  
 Ra Ge Ji Geh (cliffs), the god Ru-di (a cliff god).  
 Li-fan, the god We-ba.  
 Kan-ch'i 乾溪, the god Ru-beh (a cliff god)<sup>36</sup>  
 T'ung-hua, the god Ra-jo (clifflike gate god);  
 Ch'eh-yeh, the god Re-beh;  
 Ksing-ch'iao (new brige), the god K'we Erbo (gulch or creek);  
 The larger Mu-p'ing, the god Shü-ga (god of animals);  
 The small Mu-p'ing the god Shü-nji (lesser god of animals);  
 T'ung-lin-shan, the god Sai-jo (god of pointed cliffs among  
 mountains);  
 Ma-liu-p'ing, the god We-ba (god of the flat);  
 Geh-mu, the god Su-nu (or Su-mu, one of the five great gods);  
 Ho-p'ing-chai, the god Re-beh (said to be a large rock near  
 Ho-p'ing-chai, worshiped as an actual god);  
 Ga-sa Gi Geh, the god Er-gwe-nu;  
 K'o-ro (a canyon or creek), the god Bu-dzu;  
 Ts'u-yi, the god Bu-dzu.  
 I have called you all here.  
 I, the priest, have lighted incense and candles, and have  
 called the names of the gods; do not blame me.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> In the lines above in which the priest is calling his gods, the Ch'iang language was used, but the names of cities, towns, and places, and also of Chinese gods, were pronounced the same as in the Chinese language of West China, and the Ch'iang words and names as in the Ch'iang language. All cities and places (left) excepting P'o Ge and Ra Ge (which are Ch'iang) have Chinese names. All the gods excepting Ch'eng Huang, Ch'uan Chu, and probably Lan (or Nan) Kan (which are Chinese) are apparently Ch'iang gods and their names are in the Ch'iang language. Some of the places named are very small, and the Chinese characters could not be obtained. The priest could not explain all the Ch'iang words—for instance, for Gi Geh. The Wade system has been used only for the Chinese words.

<sup>37</sup> It is possible that the priest feared that the gods would blame him for mentioning their names to the inquirer, and injected this request that they should not blame him.

## SECTION 6

Daughter of the sky god came down, could not marry men,  
 people did not dare to go up;  
 earth everywhere, came down and instructed people;  
 Returned to the sky, god's door big, brother and sister came out.  
 They came down to earth, male a man and a woman then were;  
 Gods went up to the sky again.

## SECTION 7

In the beginning a sickle was made.  
 Told him to prepare a road on the old mountain,  
 Around right sent him up (to prepare the road) for the gods in  
 the great festival (or ceremony).  
 Flat make right, above must go and prepare the road on the  
 mountain. The man Tze Ge Si Tzi carried knife on his back,  
 thorny bushes, brambles, cut them off. Emperor road for paying  
 vows, officials' road. Come and receive, goat and all complete,  
 God, I give to you.<sup>38</sup>

## THE SACRED BOOKS OR CHARTS OF THE CH'IANG PRIEST AT LO-PU-CHAI

SECTION I (jε or fje) <sup>39</sup>

jε<sup>1</sup> bi.<sup>3</sup> jεδ<sup>2</sup> mΛ<sup>2</sup>, zə<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>3</sup> wε<sup>2</sup>,  
 jε<sup>2</sup> jna.<sup>2</sup> jεδ<sup>2</sup> mΛ<sup>2</sup>, g<sup>2</sup> dzu.<sup>1</sup> wε,  
 mΛ<sup>2</sup> Ge<sup>1</sup> Tε<sup>2</sup> Ge<sup>2</sup>, mΛ<sup>2</sup> Ge<sup>1</sup> jε<sup>2</sup>,  
 ji.<sup>2</sup> Ge<sup>1</sup> Tε<sup>2</sup> GA<sup>2</sup>, ji.<sup>2</sup> Ge<sup>1</sup> jε<sup>2</sup>,  
 k'a.<sup>2</sup> Ge<sup>1</sup> Tε<sup>2</sup> ge<sup>2</sup>, k'a.<sup>2</sup> Ge<sup>1</sup> fε<sup>2</sup>,  
 Twa.<sup>2</sup> Ge<sup>1</sup> Tε<sup>2</sup> GA<sup>2</sup>, Twa.<sup>2</sup> Ge<sup>1</sup> fje<sup>2</sup>,  
 k'o.<sup>2</sup> Ge<sup>1</sup> Tε<sup>2</sup> ge<sup>2</sup>, k'o.<sup>2</sup> Ge<sup>1</sup> jε<sup>2</sup>  
 δz<sup>2</sup> bu.<sup>1</sup> Ge<sup>2</sup> Tε<sup>2</sup> Ge<sup>2</sup>  
 δz<sup>2</sup> bu.<sup>1</sup> Ge<sup>2</sup> fje<sup>2</sup>,  
 fje<sup>2</sup> bi.<sup>3</sup> jεδ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup>, o.<sup>2</sup> jna<sup>1</sup> wε<sup>2</sup>,  
 fje<sup>2</sup> dʒi.<sup>3</sup> ftΛ<sup>2</sup>, fje<sup>2</sup> jne<sup>2</sup> jaδ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup>,  
 fju.<sup>2</sup> zgu.<sup>1</sup> wε<sup>2</sup>, fje<sup>2</sup> dʒi.<sup>1</sup> ftΛ<sup>2</sup>,  
 sə<sup>2</sup> ʒbi.<sup>2</sup> ʒi.<sup>1</sup> ʒbi.<sup>2</sup>, fje<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>1</sup>,  
 nΛ<sup>2</sup> ʒbi.<sup>2</sup> ho.<sup>2</sup> ʒbi.<sup>2</sup>, jε<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> jε<sup>1</sup> (or ji.)<sup>1</sup>,  
 ji.<sup>2</sup> ʒo.<sup>2</sup> Tε<sup>2</sup> t'ʒo.<sup>1</sup>, Ga.<sup>2</sup> fjae<sup>1</sup> bo.<sup>2</sup> mi.<sup>2</sup>,  
 fjei<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> jε<sup>1</sup>, ʒsgo.<sup>2</sup> ʒo.<sup>2</sup> Tε<sup>2</sup> tʒo.<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>38</sup> The sky god had three daughters. One came down and married a human, being. The name of the god's daughter was Mu Je, and the name of the man she married was Ze-bi-ge-swa. Before that time there was only this one human being on earth. After the marriage the daughter of the god gave birth to one son and one daughter. Later she returned to the sky and left her son and her daughter on earth. So it is related at Ho-p'ing-chai.

It seems certain that the sacred books from Ho-p'ing-chai, as here given, are very much abbreviated both in number and contents.

<sup>39</sup> Sections 1 and 2 have to do with the exorcism of demons.



ba.<sup>2</sup> tfa.<sup>1</sup> wε me<sup>2</sup>, fje.<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>1</sup>,  
 fje.<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>1</sup>, fje.<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> p'ε.<sup>1</sup>,  
 fje.<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>1</sup>, ji.<sup>1</sup> To.<sup>1</sup> wa.<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> fje.<sup>2</sup>,  
 fje.<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> p'ε.<sup>1</sup> To.<sup>1</sup>, na.<sup>1</sup> TΛ<sup>2</sup> tsi.<sup>2</sup>.

## SECTION 2 (Twe)

mo.<sup>2</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup> Tε<sup>2</sup>, xo.<sup>1</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup> Tε<sup>2</sup>,  
 tfa.<sup>2</sup> TΛ<sup>1</sup> tfa.<sup>2</sup> wε<sup>2</sup>, mo.<sup>2</sup> pja.<sup>1</sup> Twe<sup>2</sup>,  
 mo.<sup>2</sup> pja.<sup>1</sup> Twe<sup>2</sup> fje, Tzwe<sup>2</sup> wo.<sup>2</sup> Twe<sup>2</sup>,  
 tzwe<sup>1</sup> li.<sup>2</sup> zgo.<sup>2</sup> fja.<sup>2</sup>, Twe<sup>2</sup> o.<sup>1</sup> lTa.<sup>2</sup>  
 Twe<sup>2</sup> tza<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> ljo.<sup>2</sup>, ftu.<sup>1</sup> zsgo.<sup>1</sup> ʒi.<sup>2</sup>,  
 fi.<sup>1</sup> tza<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> ljo.<sup>2</sup>, sa.<sup>2</sup> ksii.<sup>1</sup> ʒi.<sup>2</sup>,  
 Twe<sup>2</sup> tza<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> ljo.<sup>2</sup>, a.<sup>2</sup> Go.<sup>2</sup> mi.<sup>2</sup> ʒo.<sup>2</sup>,  
 a.<sup>2</sup> dʒi.<sup>1</sup> ʒo.<sup>2</sup>, fi.<sup>1</sup> sta<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> ljo.<sup>2</sup>,  
 a.<sup>2</sup> dʒi.<sup>1</sup> mi.<sup>2</sup> ʒo.<sup>2</sup>, a.<sup>2</sup> dʒi.<sup>1</sup> ʒo.<sup>2</sup>  
 sa.<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>1</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup>, δ<sup>2</sup> a.<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>1</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup>

SECTION 3 (ma.<sup>2</sup> wi.<sup>1</sup> fi.<sup>2</sup>)

ma.<sup>2</sup> wei<sup>1</sup> fi.<sup>2</sup>, i.<sup>2</sup> ʒTi.<sup>2</sup> ts'wei<sup>1</sup> fi.<sup>2</sup>,  
 ma.<sup>2</sup> wei<sup>1</sup> ʒTi.<sup>2</sup> ts'wei<sup>2</sup>  
 fi.<sup>2</sup> zə<sup>2</sup> ftu.<sup>2</sup>, sba.<sup>2</sup> wei<sup>1</sup> y<sup>2</sup> ts'wei<sup>2</sup>  
 zə<sup>2</sup> zə<sup>1</sup> ftu.<sup>2</sup>, dʒε<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> i.<sup>1</sup> sə<sup>2</sup>,  
 dzə<sup>2</sup> zə<sup>1</sup> Ga.<sup>2</sup>, so.<sup>2</sup> bo.<sup>2</sup> p'ε.<sup>1</sup>,  
 sə<sup>2</sup> dza.<sup>2</sup> bo.<sup>2</sup> p'ε.<sup>1</sup>, be<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> ma.<sup>2</sup> be<sup>1</sup>,  
 lə<sup>2</sup> zə<sup>2</sup> tji.<sup>2</sup>, tswei<sup>2</sup> ts'wei<sup>1</sup> ma.<sup>2</sup> be<sup>1</sup>  
 gu.<sup>2</sup> zə<sup>1</sup> fja.<sup>2</sup>, tzu.<sup>2</sup> ma.<sup>1</sup> a.<sup>2</sup> k'si.<sup>2</sup>  
 TΛ<sup>2</sup> ts'u.<sup>1</sup> fju.<sup>4</sup>, bui.<sup>2</sup> ni.<sup>1</sup> a.<sup>2</sup> Twe<sup>2</sup>  
 sə<sup>2</sup> lA<sup>2</sup> fju.<sup>4</sup>  
 k'o.<sup>2</sup> ma.<sup>1</sup> a.<sup>2</sup> k'si.<sup>2</sup>, sa.<sup>2</sup> ko.<sup>2</sup> fy.<sup>4</sup>,  
 zbu.<sup>1</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> a.<sup>2</sup> k'si.<sup>2</sup>, sə<sup>2</sup> p'a.<sup>2</sup> fy.<sup>4</sup>  
 sbo.<sup>2</sup> ma.<sup>2</sup> a.<sup>2</sup> ftu.<sup>1</sup>, sə<sup>2</sup> dʒa.<sup>2</sup> fy.<sup>4</sup>  
 hwei<sup>1</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> a.<sup>2</sup> k'si.<sup>2</sup>, sə<sup>2</sup> hwei<sup>1</sup> fy.<sup>4</sup>  
 xΛ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>1</sup> a.<sup>2</sup> k'si.<sup>2</sup>, sə<sup>2</sup> p'ε.<sup>1</sup> fy.<sup>2</sup>,  
 ɔo.<sup>2</sup> ɔi.<sup>2</sup> a.<sup>2</sup> k'si.<sup>2</sup>, a.<sup>2</sup> dʒa.<sup>1</sup> fy.<sup>4</sup>  
 dʒε<sup>1</sup> ɔa.<sup>2</sup> zə<sup>2</sup> ɔa.<sup>2</sup>, TΛ<sup>2</sup> zə<sup>1</sup> fy.<sup>4</sup>  
 fi.<sup>1</sup> dʒi.<sup>2</sup> fy.<sup>4</sup>,  
 zo.<sup>2</sup> wε<sup>1</sup> li.<sup>4</sup>, gwε<sup>2</sup> dʒε<sup>1</sup> fy.<sup>4</sup>  
 ft.ɔo.<sup>2</sup> wε<sup>1</sup> li.<sup>4</sup>

SECTION 4, CALLING THE GOD RO (ɔo.<sup>2</sup> fi.<sup>2</sup>)

ɔo.<sup>2</sup> dʒi.<sup>2</sup> mi.<sup>2</sup> dji.<sup>2</sup>, dʒi.<sup>1</sup> mi.<sup>2</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup>, ɔo.<sup>2</sup> fja.<sup>1</sup> mi.<sup>2</sup> fja.<sup>2</sup>  
 fja.<sup>2</sup> mi.<sup>1</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup>, fi.<sup>1</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup>, bo.<sup>2</sup> Ge.<sup>2</sup> ɔo.<sup>1</sup>,  
 mo.<sup>2</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup> su.<sup>1</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup>,  
 Ga.<sup>2</sup> so.<sup>2</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup>, δ<sup>2</sup> sga.<sup>2</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup> spja.<sup>1</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup>, ma.<sup>2</sup> Ta.<sup>1</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup>  
 tzə<sup>2</sup> dzə<sup>2</sup> Twe<sup>2</sup> xa.<sup>2</sup>, Twe<sup>2</sup> dʒi.<sup>1</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup>, li.<sup>2</sup> ɔi.<sup>2</sup> TΛ<sup>2</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup>  
 fja.<sup>1</sup> dʒi.<sup>2</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup>, xΛ<sup>2</sup> p'ε.<sup>1</sup> TΛ<sup>2</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup>, fa.<sup>1</sup> dʒi.<sup>2</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup>  
 dʒε.<sup>2</sup> ma.<sup>2</sup> TΛ<sup>2</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup>, dʒε.<sup>2</sup> tʃε.<sup>2</sup> bi.<sup>2</sup>, y.<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> TΛ<sup>2</sup> ɔo.<sup>1</sup>,

y<sup>2</sup> sge<sup>2</sup> ɔo.<sup>1</sup>, ji.<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> TΛ<sup>2</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup>, ʒe<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup> p'ɛ<sup>1</sup>,  
 ji.<sup>1</sup> ts'u.<sup>1</sup> fy<sup>2</sup>, zu.<sup>2</sup> we<sup>1</sup> li.<sup>2</sup> gwe<sup>2</sup> d3e<sup>1</sup> fy<sup>2</sup>, sto.<sup>2</sup> we<sup>1</sup> li.<sup>2</sup>

SECTION 5 (Te<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup>)

ji.<sup>1</sup> Te<sup>1</sup> i.<sup>2</sup>, ɔo.<sup>2</sup> d3o.<sup>1</sup> ji<sup>2</sup>, ma<sup>2</sup> Te<sup>1</sup> ji<sup>2</sup>, sto.<sup>2</sup> d3o.<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup>,  
 ji.<sup>1</sup> Te<sup>2</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup> Te<sup>2</sup>, Te<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup> ʒe<sup>2</sup>, mo.<sup>2</sup> Te<sup>1</sup> sto.<sup>2</sup> Te<sup>2</sup>, Te<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup> ʒe<sup>2</sup>,  
 mo.<sup>2</sup> d3i.<sup>2</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> gu.<sup>2</sup>, d3i.<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup> ʒe<sup>1</sup>, mo.<sup>2</sup> ma.<sup>1</sup> dzi<sup>2</sup> go.<sup>2</sup>, ɔe<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>1</sup>,  
 be<sup>2</sup> sɔ<sup>1</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> go.<sup>2</sup>, ja.<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>2</sup>, zu.<sup>2</sup> be<sup>1</sup> d3i.<sup>2</sup>, gu.<sup>2</sup> k'u.<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup>,  
 tzo.<sup>2</sup> k'u.<sup>1</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> gu.<sup>2</sup>, dza.<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>1</sup>, zɔ<sup>2</sup> Te<sup>2</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> gu.<sup>2</sup>, ʒa.<sup>2</sup> zɔ<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>2</sup>,  
 sbi.<sup>1</sup> Te<sup>1</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> gu.<sup>2</sup>, bo.<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>2</sup>, ɔ<sup>1</sup> Te<sup>1</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> gu.<sup>2</sup>, dɔu.<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>1</sup>,  
 dzɔ<sup>2</sup> TΛ<sup>1</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> gu.<sup>2</sup>, ts'a.<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup> je<sup>2</sup>, d3u.<sup>2</sup> TΛ<sup>1</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> gu.<sup>2</sup> ste<sup>1</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>1</sup>,  
 ji.<sup>1</sup> ts'o.<sup>1</sup> fy<sup>2</sup>, ɔo.<sup>2</sup> we<sup>1</sup> li.<sup>2</sup>, gwe<sup>2</sup> d3i<sup>1</sup> fy<sup>2</sup>, sto.<sup>2</sup> we<sup>1</sup> li.<sup>2</sup>

SECTION 6 (ji.<sup>1</sup>)

ji.<sup>1</sup> d3i.<sup>2</sup> mi.<sup>2</sup> d3i.<sup>2</sup>, d3i.<sup>1</sup> mi.<sup>2</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup>, ji.<sup>1</sup> fja.<sup>2</sup> mi.<sup>2</sup> fja.<sup>2</sup>,  
 fja.<sup>2</sup> mi.<sup>2</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup>, dze<sup>2</sup> bi.<sup>1</sup> dze<sup>2</sup> fja.<sup>2</sup>, le<sup>2</sup> zɔ<sup>2</sup> sbi.<sup>2</sup>  
 dze<sup>2</sup> ma.<sup>2</sup> dze<sup>2</sup> fja.<sup>2</sup>, le<sup>2</sup> zɔ<sup>2</sup> ma.<sup>2</sup>, wa.<sup>2</sup> ɔ<sup>2</sup> le<sup>2</sup> za<sup>2</sup>, bu.<sup>1</sup> le<sup>2</sup> zɔ<sup>2</sup>,  
 zu.<sup>2</sup> GΛ<sup>2</sup> le<sup>2</sup> zɔ<sup>2</sup> k'wa.<sup>2</sup> le<sup>1</sup> zɔ<sup>2</sup>, d3i.<sup>2</sup> bɔΛ<sup>1</sup> le<sup>2</sup> zɔ<sup>2</sup>,  
 ɔ<sup>2</sup> nΛ<sup>1</sup> sGo.<sup>2</sup>, zdo.<sup>2</sup> nΛ<sup>1</sup> ʒΛ<sup>2</sup>, d3i.<sup>2</sup> tzu.<sup>1</sup> le<sup>2</sup> zɔ<sup>2</sup>,  
 ɔΛ<sup>2</sup> nΛ<sup>1</sup> ze<sup>2</sup>, zdo.<sup>2</sup> nΛ<sup>1</sup> sGo.<sup>2</sup>, zdo.<sup>2</sup> na.<sup>1</sup> bo.<sup>2</sup>, fjei<sup>2</sup> d3i.<sup>1</sup> zdo.<sup>2</sup>  
 fja.<sup>2</sup> na.<sup>1</sup> bo.<sup>2</sup>, fjei<sup>2</sup> d3i.<sup>1</sup> fja.<sup>2</sup>, o.<sup>2</sup> bɔΛ.<sup>1</sup> le<sup>2</sup> zɔ<sup>2</sup>,  
 sdΛ<sup>2</sup> nΛ<sup>1</sup> sk'o.<sup>2</sup>, fja.<sup>2</sup> nΛ<sup>1</sup> zi<sup>2</sup>, o.<sup>2</sup> dzu.<sup>1</sup> le<sup>2</sup> zɔ<sup>2</sup>, zdΛ<sup>2</sup> nΛ<sup>1</sup> ʒe<sup>2</sup>,  
 fja.<sup>2</sup> nΛ<sup>1</sup> sko.<sup>2</sup>, zdΛ<sup>2</sup> na.<sup>1</sup> bo.<sup>2</sup>, fjei<sup>2</sup> zgo.<sup>1</sup> zdΛ<sup>2</sup>,  
 fja.<sup>2</sup> na.<sup>1</sup> bo.<sup>2</sup> fjei<sup>2</sup> zbo.<sup>1</sup> fja.<sup>2</sup>,  
 ji.<sup>1</sup> ts'u.<sup>1</sup> (or stu.<sup>1</sup>) fy<sup>2</sup>, fɔbja.<sup>2</sup> d3i.<sup>1</sup> fy<sup>2</sup>,  
 zgΛ<sup>2</sup> ts'o.<sup>1</sup> fy<sup>2</sup>, fɔbja.<sup>2</sup> d3i.<sup>1</sup> fy<sup>2</sup>

SECTION 7 (la<sup>2</sup> ze<sup>2</sup>), FULFILLING THE VOWS

mo.<sup>2</sup> d3i.<sup>1</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> gu.<sup>2</sup>, d3i<sup>1</sup> le<sup>2</sup> ze<sup>2</sup>, mo.<sup>2</sup> jne<sup>1</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> gu.<sup>2</sup>, ɔe<sup>2</sup> le<sup>1</sup> zɔ<sup>2</sup>,  
 fja.<sup>2</sup> p'ɛ<sup>1</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> gu.<sup>2</sup>, so.<sup>2</sup> le<sup>1</sup> ze<sup>2</sup>, zu.<sup>2</sup> be<sup>1</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> gu.<sup>2</sup>, k'u.<sup>2</sup> le<sup>1</sup> zɔ<sup>2</sup>,  
 be<sup>2</sup> sɔ<sup>2</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> gu.<sup>2</sup>, ja.<sup>2</sup> le<sup>1</sup> zɔ<sup>2</sup>, d3u.<sup>2</sup> gu.<sup>2</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> gu.<sup>2</sup>, dza.<sup>2</sup> le<sup>1</sup> zɔ<sup>2</sup>,  
 zɔ<sup>2</sup> TΛ<sup>2</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> gu.<sup>2</sup>, ʒa.<sup>2</sup> le<sup>1</sup> zɔ<sup>2</sup>, fpi.<sup>1</sup> TΛ<sup>1</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> gu.<sup>2</sup>, zbo.<sup>2</sup> le<sup>1</sup> zɔ<sup>2</sup>,  
 ɔe<sup>1</sup> TΛ<sup>2</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> gu.<sup>2</sup>, dzu.<sup>2</sup> le<sup>1</sup> zɔ<sup>2</sup>, zɔ<sup>2</sup> TΛ<sup>1</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> gu.<sup>2</sup>, ts'a.<sup>2</sup> le<sup>1</sup> zɔ<sup>2</sup>,  
 d3u.<sup>2</sup> Te<sup>1</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> gu.<sup>2</sup>, ste<sup>2</sup> le<sup>1</sup> zɔ<sup>2</sup>,  
 ji.<sup>1</sup> ts'u.<sup>1</sup> fy<sup>4</sup>, fɔpja.<sup>2</sup> d3ɪ fy<sup>4</sup>, zgΛ<sup>2</sup> ts'u.<sup>1</sup> fy<sup>4</sup>, fɔpja.<sup>2</sup> d3ɪ fy<sup>4</sup>

SECTION 8 (K'u.<sup>2</sup>), THE MALE OWL

gwe<sup>2</sup> tzɔ<sup>1</sup> dzi.<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup>, gwe<sup>2</sup> k'u.<sup>1</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup>, fba.<sup>2</sup> tzɔ<sup>1</sup> d3i.<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup>,  
 gwe<sup>2</sup> sha.<sup>1</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup>, k'u.<sup>1</sup> ɔΛ.<sup>1</sup> t'ɛ<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>2</sup>, zɔ<sup>2</sup> gy<sup>1</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup>,  
 spa.<sup>1</sup> ɔΛ.<sup>2</sup> t'ɛ<sup>2</sup> mi.<sup>2</sup>, To.<sup>2</sup> lo.<sup>1</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup>, ji<sup>2</sup> xo.<sup>1</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup> xo.<sup>1</sup>  
 k'u.<sup>2</sup> Xo.<sup>1</sup> dzo.<sup>2</sup>; ji.<sup>2</sup> fpa.<sup>1</sup> ɔo.<sup>2</sup> fpa.<sup>2</sup>, k'u.<sup>2</sup> fpa.<sup>2</sup> twa<sup>2</sup>,  
 k'u.<sup>2</sup> gΛ<sup>2</sup> dzo.<sup>2</sup> mi.<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>1</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup> bo.<sup>2</sup> To.<sup>2</sup>, k'u.<sup>1</sup> gΛ<sup>2</sup> dɔo.<sup>2</sup>,  
 k'u.<sup>1</sup> mi.<sup>1</sup> tza.<sup>2</sup> jne<sup>2</sup>, mo.<sup>1</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup> Ga.<sup>2</sup> tza.<sup>2</sup>, k'u.<sup>1</sup> tza.<sup>1</sup> dɔo.<sup>2</sup>  
 k'u.<sup>1</sup> mi.<sup>1</sup> tza.<sup>2</sup> jne<sup>2</sup>, mo.<sup>1</sup> ji.<sup>1</sup> Ga.<sup>2</sup> tza.<sup>2</sup>, k'u.<sup>1</sup> tza.<sup>1</sup> dɔo.<sup>2</sup>  
 k'u.<sup>1</sup> so.<sup>1</sup> dɔo.<sup>2</sup> mi.<sup>2</sup>, ɔ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>1</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup> Ta.<sup>2</sup> ɔΛ.<sup>2</sup> k'u.<sup>1</sup> so.<sup>1</sup> dzwe<sup>2</sup>,  
 sɔ<sup>2</sup> la.<sup>2</sup> k'wa.<sup>2</sup>, ɔo.<sup>1</sup> la.<sup>2</sup> k'wa.<sup>2</sup>

SECTION 9 (sba<sup>2</sup>), THE FEMALE OWL

mo<sup>2</sup> .lo<sup>2</sup> d3o<sup>2</sup>, na<sup>2</sup> d3o<sup>1</sup> le<sup>2</sup>, sba<sup>2</sup> d3o<sup>1</sup> le<sup>2</sup>, mo<sup>1</sup> To<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> sba<sup>2</sup>,  
 ks'i<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>1</sup> sba<sup>2</sup>, sbe<sup>1</sup> lA<sup>1</sup> Tδ<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>, fje<sup>1</sup> Tδ<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>,  
 ts'ei<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>2</sup> wa<sup>2</sup> tza<sup>2</sup>, gei<sup>1</sup> ljo<sup>2</sup> d3y<sup>2</sup>, mei<sup>2</sup> lA<sup>1</sup> so<sup>2</sup>,  
 ʒTi<sup>2</sup> lA<sup>1</sup> swa<sup>2</sup>, k'si<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>2</sup> wa<sup>2</sup> tzo<sup>2</sup>, gu<sup>1</sup> ljo<sup>2</sup> d3y<sup>4</sup>  
 sbo<sup>2</sup> lA<sup>1</sup> so<sup>2</sup>, d3i<sup>2</sup> lA<sup>1</sup> so<sup>2</sup>, tji<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>2</sup> wa<sup>2</sup> tzo<sup>2</sup>,  
 ts'wa<sup>1</sup> ljo<sup>2</sup> gy<sup>4</sup>, tswa<sup>1</sup> ljo<sup>2</sup> so<sup>2</sup> ʒa<sup>2</sup> ljo<sup>1</sup> so<sup>2</sup>,  
 ts'a<sup>1</sup> so<sup>2</sup> ʒa<sup>2</sup> so<sup>2</sup>, lo<sup>2</sup> fji<sup>2</sup> so<sup>2</sup>, ts'a<sup>1</sup> sba<sup>1</sup> .ia<sup>2</sup> sba<sup>2</sup>,  
 lo<sup>2</sup> dze<sup>2</sup> sba<sup>2</sup>, ji<sup>1</sup> ts'u<sup>1</sup> fy<sup>4</sup>, fbja<sup>2</sup> d3i<sup>1</sup> fy<sup>4</sup>,  
 ʒA<sup>2</sup> ts'o<sup>2</sup> fy<sup>4</sup>, fbja<sup>2</sup> (or spja<sup>2</sup>) d3i<sup>1</sup> fy<sup>2</sup>,

SECTIONS 10 AND 11 (dzo<sup>2</sup> and fbja<sup>2</sup>)

gwe<sup>2</sup> tzo<sup>1</sup> dzi<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>2</sup>, gwe<sup>2</sup> ʒδ<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>2</sup>, fbja<sup>2</sup> tzo<sup>1</sup> dzi<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>2</sup>,  
 gwe<sup>2</sup> fbja<sup>1</sup> ji<sup>2</sup> li<sup>2</sup> sa<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> d3e<sup>2</sup>, ʒδ<sup>2</sup> ftA<sup>2</sup> ljo<sup>2</sup>,  
 fjo<sup>2</sup> pʒe<sup>1</sup> fji<sup>2</sup> ge<sup>2</sup>, ʒδ<sup>2</sup> .ɽwa<sup>1</sup> ljo<sup>2</sup>, sgo<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> dze<sup>2</sup> dze<sup>2</sup>,  
 ʒδ<sup>2</sup> dze<sup>2</sup> dze<sup>2</sup>, xo<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> t'e<sup>2</sup> t'e<sup>2</sup>, ʒa<sup>2</sup> t'e<sup>2</sup> t'e<sup>2</sup>,  
 ʒa<sup>2</sup> ljo<sup>1</sup> mei<sup>2</sup> wo<sup>2</sup>, ʒδ<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup> so<sup>2</sup> p'ɽe<sup>2</sup>, ʒa<sup>2</sup> wo<sup>1</sup> bo<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup>,  
 ʒa<sup>2</sup> ljo<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>2</sup>, fbja<sup>2</sup> ljo<sup>2</sup> mei<sup>2</sup> wo<sup>2</sup>, fbja<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup> so<sup>2</sup> p'ɽe<sup>2</sup>,  
 fbja<sup>2</sup> wei<sup>1</sup> bo<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup>, fbja<sup>2</sup> ljo<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>2</sup> mo<sup>2</sup>, bo<sup>1</sup> tzo<sup>2</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup>  
 dzo<sup>2</sup> zdi<sup>2</sup> tʒja<sup>2</sup>, zo<sup>2</sup> bo<sup>1</sup> tzo<sup>2</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup>, .ia<sup>2</sup> zdi<sup>2</sup> tʒA<sup>1</sup>,  
 hwa<sup>2</sup> t'u<sup>2</sup> dzu<sup>2</sup> dze<sup>2</sup>, fjei<sup>2</sup> zTi<sup>2</sup> tʒA<sup>3</sup>, fjei<sup>2</sup> bi<sup>2</sup> bo<sup>2</sup> li<sup>2</sup>,  
 su<sup>2</sup> ʒti<sup>2</sup> tʒA<sup>2</sup>, zə<sup>2</sup> .ia<sup>2</sup> mo<sup>2</sup> d3e<sup>2</sup>, d3ei<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> mo<sup>2</sup> tʒA<sup>2</sup>  
 zə<sup>2</sup> tse<sup>1</sup> mo<sup>2</sup> tse<sup>2</sup>, k'si<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup> tʒja<sup>2</sup>, lA<sup>1</sup> .ia<sup>2</sup> jnae<sup>2</sup> ʒo<sup>2</sup>  
 ji<sup>2</sup> mo<sup>1</sup> tʒA<sup>2</sup>, lA<sup>1</sup> si<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>2</sup> ʒo<sup>2</sup>, ftu<sup>1</sup> na<sup>2</sup> tʒA<sup>1</sup>,  
 ji<sup>1</sup> ts'u<sup>2</sup> fy<sup>4</sup>, fbja<sup>2</sup> d3i<sup>1</sup> fy<sup>4</sup>, zga<sup>2</sup> sto<sup>2</sup> fy<sup>4</sup>,  
 fbja<sup>2</sup> d3i<sup>1</sup> fy<sup>4</sup>.

SECTION 12, mA<sup>2</sup> tse<sup>1</sup> tzu<sup>2</sup> (or dzu<sup>2</sup>, or tzo<sup>2</sup>)

mbo<sup>1</sup> ji<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>2</sup>, mA<sup>2</sup> tse<sup>1</sup> (or tze<sup>1</sup>) wei<sup>4</sup>,  
 mbe<sup>2</sup> ʒi<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> mei<sup>2</sup>,  
 stu<sup>1</sup> xa<sup>1</sup> wei<sup>4</sup>, mA<sup>2</sup> tze<sup>1</sup> tzo<sup>2</sup> (or tzu<sup>2</sup>) sə<sup>2</sup>, zə<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>1</sup> t'ai<sup>2</sup>,  
 stu<sup>2</sup> xa<sup>2</sup> tzo<sup>2</sup> sə<sup>2</sup>, ji<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> t'ai<sup>2</sup>, mA<sup>2</sup> tse<sup>2</sup> tzu<sup>2</sup>,  
 zdo<sup>2</sup> To<sup>2</sup> Ga<sup>2</sup> fwe<sup>2</sup>, mi<sup>1</sup> Ga<sup>2</sup> fwe<sup>2</sup>, zo<sup>2</sup> lA<sup>1</sup> be<sup>2</sup>,  
 mo<sup>1</sup> To<sup>2</sup> we<sup>2</sup> gu<sup>2</sup>, Ga<sup>2</sup> ba<sup>2</sup> mo<sup>2</sup> bi<sup>1</sup> t'a<sup>2</sup> ge<sup>2</sup>, nTe<sup>2</sup> d3i<sup>1</sup> gA<sup>2</sup> nA<sup>2</sup>,  
 Ga<sup>2</sup> ba<sup>2</sup> mo<sup>2</sup> bi<sup>1</sup> t'a<sup>2</sup> sə<sup>2</sup>, stu<sup>1</sup> xa<sup>1</sup> tzu<sup>2</sup> To<sup>2</sup>,  
 Te<sup>2</sup> zə<sup>2</sup> zda<sup>1</sup>, mo<sup>1</sup> To<sup>1</sup> we<sup>2</sup> gu<sup>2</sup>, na<sup>1</sup> bo<sup>2</sup> ljo<sup>2</sup> sə<sup>2</sup>,  
 ts'wei<sup>2</sup> mo<sup>1</sup> ljo<sup>2</sup> sə, Ga<sup>2</sup> ba<sup>2</sup> mō<sup>2</sup> bi<sup>1</sup>, nTe<sup>2</sup> zə<sup>2</sup> zda<sup>2</sup>,  
 ts'wei<sup>2</sup> mo<sup>1</sup> ljo<sup>2</sup> gA<sup>2</sup>, Ga<sup>2</sup> Twei<sup>1</sup> t'u<sup>2</sup>, jne<sup>2</sup> nA<sup>2</sup> le<sup>2</sup>,  
 mo<sup>2</sup> tze<sup>1</sup> tzo<sup>2</sup> To<sup>2</sup>,  
 ndze<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>1</sup> nA<sup>2</sup> dzA<sup>2</sup>, ji<sup>2</sup> li<sup>1</sup> fjei<sup>2</sup> k'u<sup>2</sup>, sa<sup>1</sup> gA<sup>1</sup> tʒe<sup>2</sup> nA<sup>2</sup>,  
 ji<sup>2</sup> li<sup>1</sup> fjei<sup>2</sup> k'u<sup>2</sup>,  
 d3a<sup>2</sup> gA<sup>1</sup> tʒe<sup>2</sup> nA<sup>2</sup>, go<sup>2</sup> ʒi<sup>1</sup> fjei<sup>2</sup> Ta<sup>2</sup>, fjei<sup>1</sup> gu<sup>2</sup> tʒe<sup>2</sup> nA<sup>2</sup>,  
 go<sup>2</sup> ʒi<sup>1</sup> fje<sup>2</sup> Ta<sup>2</sup>,  
 Tu<sup>2</sup> gA<sup>1</sup> tʒe<sup>2</sup> nA<sup>2</sup>, stu<sup>2</sup> ha<sup>1</sup> dzo<sup>2</sup> sə<sup>2</sup>, Te<sup>2</sup> zə<sup>2</sup> zda<sup>1</sup>, go<sup>2</sup> ʒi<sup>1</sup> fje<sup>2</sup> Ta<sup>2</sup>,  
 Tu<sup>2</sup> nA<sup>1</sup> y<sup>2</sup> sa<sup>2</sup>, Ga<sup>2</sup> ba<sup>2</sup> mo<sup>2</sup> bi<sup>1</sup>, Te<sup>2</sup> zə<sup>2</sup> zda<sup>1</sup>, mo<sup>2</sup> tze<sup>1</sup> tzo<sup>2</sup> To<sup>2</sup>,  
 dze<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>1</sup> na<sup>2</sup>, dze<sup>2</sup> bja<sup>1</sup> a<sup>2</sup> lA<sup>2</sup>, gi<sup>1</sup> gA<sup>1</sup> a<sup>2</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup>, ji<sup>1</sup> sta<sup>1</sup> bei<sup>2</sup> tji<sup>2</sup>,  
 d3ei<sup>2</sup> gu<sup>1</sup> a<sup>2</sup> lA<sup>2</sup>, δ<sup>2</sup> zbu<sup>1</sup> gu<sup>1</sup> a<sup>2</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup>, zbo<sup>1</sup> sta<sup>1</sup> bi<sup>2</sup>,

d3ei<sup>2</sup> fi<sup>1</sup> a<sup>2</sup> lA<sup>2</sup>, mA<sup>2</sup> tse<sup>1</sup> tsu<sup>2</sup>, dzə<sup>2</sup> ge<sup>1</sup> a<sup>2</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup>, dzə<sup>2</sup> sa<sup>1</sup> bei<sup>2</sup>,  
 Ga<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> no<sup>1</sup>, k'si<sup>2</sup> ŋa<sup>1</sup> ny<sup>2</sup>, mo<sup>1</sup> ts'o<sup>2</sup> je<sup>2</sup> go<sup>2</sup>, stu<sup>1</sup> je<sup>2</sup> go<sup>2</sup>,  
 mo<sup>2</sup> (or mA<sup>2</sup>) tse<sup>2</sup> tzu<sup>2</sup>, Ga<sup>2</sup> To<sup>1</sup> fjei<sup>2</sup> fjei<sup>2</sup>, ɕu<sup>1</sup> fjei<sup>2</sup> fjei<sup>2</sup>, li<sup>2</sup> swa<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup>,  
 ɕu<sup>1</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup>, a<sup>2</sup> fi<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup> To<sup>2</sup>, stu<sup>2</sup> xa<sup>1</sup> dzo<sup>2</sup>, mo<sup>2</sup> Tze<sup>2</sup> tzu<sup>2</sup> To<sup>2</sup>,  
 Te<sup>2</sup> zə<sup>2</sup> zda<sup>2</sup>, dzə<sup>2</sup> mɛ<sup>1</sup> sə<sup>2</sup> tzə<sup>2</sup>, dzə<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>1</sup> go<sup>2</sup>, fɓja<sup>2</sup> mɛ<sup>2</sup> sə<sup>2</sup> tzə<sup>2</sup>  
 spja<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> go<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup>, spe<sup>2</sup> lA<sup>2</sup> dzə<sup>2</sup> Te<sup>2</sup>, ma<sup>2</sup> zɣA<sup>1</sup> wo<sup>2</sup>, t'o<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> bi<sup>2</sup> bi<sup>2</sup>,  
 ɟa<sup>1</sup> ge<sup>1</sup> be<sup>2</sup>, ni<sup>2</sup> lA<sup>2</sup> dzA<sup>2</sup> Te<sup>2</sup>, ŋA<sup>2</sup> zɣA<sup>2</sup> we<sup>2</sup>, tzu<sup>1</sup> go<sup>1</sup> bi<sup>2</sup> bi<sup>2</sup>,  
 ku<sup>2</sup> ge<sup>1</sup> be<sup>2</sup>, fje<sup>2</sup> lA<sup>2</sup> dzə<sup>2</sup> Te<sup>2</sup>, ɟa<sup>2</sup> zɣA<sup>1</sup> wo<sup>2</sup>, tsA<sup>1,2</sup> ɟwa<sup>2</sup> bi<sup>1</sup> bi<sup>1</sup>,  
 ge<sup>2</sup> Ga<sup>2</sup> be<sup>2</sup>, dzə<sup>2</sup> lA<sup>1</sup> dzə<sup>2</sup> Te<sup>2</sup>, pa<sup>2</sup> zɣA<sup>1</sup> wo<sup>2</sup>, dzə<sup>2</sup> wa<sup>1</sup> bi<sup>2</sup> bi<sup>2</sup>  
 ni<sup>2</sup> la<sup>1</sup> be<sup>2</sup>, we<sup>2</sup> lA<sup>1</sup> dzə<sup>2</sup> Te<sup>2</sup>, ɟa<sup>2</sup> gzə<sup>2</sup> wa<sup>2</sup>, dzə<sup>2</sup> ɟa<sup>2</sup> bi<sup>1</sup> bi<sup>2</sup>,  
 dze<sup>2</sup> lA<sup>2</sup> be<sup>2</sup>, dzə<sup>2</sup> xa<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>2</sup> xa<sup>2</sup>, a<sup>2</sup> xa<sup>1</sup> be<sup>2</sup>, dzə<sup>1</sup> Go<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>2</sup> Go<sup>2</sup>,  
 a<sup>2</sup> Go<sup>1</sup> bi<sup>2</sup>, zə<sup>1</sup> fji<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>2</sup> fji<sup>2</sup> a<sup>2</sup> fji<sup>2</sup> be<sup>2</sup>, a<sup>1</sup> bu<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> fji<sup>2</sup>,  
 a<sup>2</sup> nA<sup>2</sup> lA<sup>2</sup>, a<sup>2</sup> nA<sup>1</sup> zɣA<sup>2</sup>, a<sup>2</sup> lA<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>1</sup> fji<sup>2</sup>, fji<sup>2</sup> fwe<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> a<sup>2</sup>,  
 xa<sup>2</sup> fji<sup>1</sup> fɓja<sup>2</sup>, fi<sup>1</sup> ts'u<sup>1</sup> (or stu<sup>1</sup>) fɟ<sup>2</sup>, fɓja<sup>2</sup> gi<sup>1</sup> fɟ<sup>2</sup>,  
 δ<sup>2</sup> zɣA<sup>2</sup> ts'o<sup>2</sup> fɟ<sup>4</sup>, fɓja<sup>2</sup> d3i<sup>1</sup> (or gi<sup>1</sup>) sy<sup>4</sup>.

SECTION 13 (mbo<sup>2</sup>)

mo<sup>2</sup> d3e<sup>1</sup> mo<sup>2</sup> ɟa<sup>2</sup>, ɟo<sup>2</sup> d3e<sup>2</sup> tɟe, mo<sup>2</sup> dze<sup>1</sup> ɟo<sup>2</sup> d3e<sup>2</sup>,  
 Twe<sup>2</sup> ɟa<sup>1</sup> fi<sup>2</sup> ge<sup>2</sup>, gwe<sup>2</sup> d3e<sup>2</sup> Ga<sup>2</sup>, sə<sup>2</sup> la<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> ɟa<sup>2</sup>  
 nTo<sup>2</sup> la<sup>1</sup> tɟɟA<sup>2</sup>, sə la<sup>1</sup> To<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup>, ʒai<sup>2</sup> pɟe<sup>1</sup> wa<sup>2</sup> dzə<sup>2</sup>,  
 gwe<sup>2</sup> d3e<sup>2</sup> GA<sup>2</sup>, mo<sup>2</sup> d3o<sup>1</sup> so<sup>2</sup> ɟo<sup>2</sup>, mo<sup>2</sup> bi<sup>1</sup> dzo<sup>2</sup>,  
 sbo<sup>2</sup> ndzo<sup>1</sup> so<sup>2</sup> ɟo<sup>2</sup>, bo<sup>2</sup> ɟa<sup>1</sup> dzo<sup>2</sup>, pɟe<sup>1</sup> ɟo<sup>2</sup> ɟa<sup>2</sup> ge<sup>2</sup>,  
 mbo<sup>2</sup> zə<sup>1</sup> ndzu<sup>2</sup>, li<sup>1</sup> lo<sup>2</sup> ɟa<sup>2</sup> ge<sup>2</sup>, mbo<sup>2</sup> t'a<sup>2</sup> pɟi<sup>2</sup>,  
 Ga<sup>2</sup> zə<sup>1</sup> mɛ<sup>2</sup> zA<sup>2</sup>, mbo<sup>2</sup> zə<sup>1</sup> dzu<sup>2</sup>, Ga<sup>2</sup> t'a<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>2</sup> t'a<sup>2</sup>,  
 mbo<sup>2</sup> t'a<sup>1</sup> spi<sup>2</sup>, k'a<sup>1</sup> ɟa<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup> be<sup>2</sup>, mbo<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup> be<sup>2</sup>,  
 d3u<sup>2</sup> gu<sup>1</sup> la<sup>2</sup> tɟe<sup>2</sup>, mbo<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup> tɟe<sup>2</sup>, ɟu<sup>2</sup> be<sup>2</sup> dze<sup>2</sup> gu<sup>2</sup>,  
 a<sup>2</sup> be<sup>1</sup> be<sup>2</sup>, lo<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>2</sup> d3e<sup>2</sup> gu<sup>2</sup>, a<sup>2</sup> be<sup>1</sup> be<sup>2</sup>,  
 ma<sup>2</sup> zdo<sup>2</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> gu<sup>2</sup>, hwei<sup>1</sup> p'o<sup>2</sup> p'o<sup>2</sup>, fpe<sup>1</sup> ɟa<sup>2</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> go<sup>2</sup>  
 p'o<sup>1</sup> Ta<sup>2</sup> Ta<sup>2</sup>, δ<sup>2</sup> zgo<sup>2</sup> Ti<sup>1</sup> ʒi<sup>2</sup>, mbo<sup>2</sup> d3e<sup>1</sup> fta<sup>2</sup>,  
 mbo<sup>2</sup> d3e<sup>1</sup> wu<sup>2</sup> dza<sup>2</sup>, nTe<sup>2</sup> t'o<sup>2</sup> fjo<sup>2</sup>, mbo<sup>2</sup> la<sup>1</sup> ɕwo<sup>2</sup> dza<sup>2</sup>,  
 Te<sup>2</sup> ho<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup>,

SECTION 14 (K'o<sup>2</sup>)

mo<sup>2</sup> bi<sup>1</sup> fi<sup>1</sup> bi<sup>2</sup>, k'o<sup>2</sup> fi<sup>1</sup> bi<sup>2</sup>, mo<sup>2</sup> ɟa<sup>1</sup> so<sup>2</sup> ɟa<sup>2</sup>,  
 k'o<sup>2</sup> so<sup>2</sup> ɟa<sup>2</sup>, mo<sup>1</sup> To<sup>2</sup> we<sup>2</sup> gu<sup>2</sup>, ɕa<sup>2</sup> ɟa<sup>1</sup> sga<sup>2</sup> sə<sup>2</sup>,  
 k'o<sup>2</sup> sə<sup>2</sup> gi<sup>2</sup>, t'A<sup>1</sup> we<sup>1</sup> we<sup>2</sup> gu<sup>2</sup>, fi<sup>2</sup> ɟa<sup>1</sup> wo<sup>2</sup> sə<sup>2</sup>,  
 k'o<sup>2</sup> fɟ<sup>2</sup> ge<sup>1</sup>, bu<sup>2</sup> fɓu<sup>2</sup> tzu<sup>2</sup> li<sup>1</sup>, Twe<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> wo<sup>2</sup> mɛ<sup>2</sup> le<sup>2</sup>,  
 k'o<sup>2</sup> tzu<sup>2</sup> gi<sup>2</sup>, sə<sup>2</sup> zə<sup>2</sup> dzu<sup>2</sup> li<sup>2</sup>, tɟi<sup>1</sup> δwo<sup>2</sup> mɛ<sup>2</sup> le<sup>2</sup>,  
 k'o<sup>2</sup> Ti<sup>2</sup> ge<sup>1</sup>, zə<sup>2</sup> TA<sup>1</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> go<sup>2</sup> (or gu<sup>2</sup>), ʒa<sup>2</sup> sgo<sup>2</sup> t'wei<sup>2</sup>,  
 fbi<sup>1</sup> TA<sup>2</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> gu<sup>2</sup>, δ<sup>2</sup> zbo<sup>2</sup> sgo<sup>2</sup> t'wei<sup>2</sup>, δ<sup>2</sup> TA<sup>2</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> go<sup>2</sup>,  
 dzu<sup>2</sup> xo<sup>2</sup> t'wei<sup>2</sup>, dzə<sup>2</sup> TA<sup>1</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> go<sup>2</sup>, ts'a<sup>2</sup> xo<sup>2</sup> ts'wei<sup>2</sup>,  
 ndzu<sup>2</sup> TA<sup>1</sup> d3i<sup>2</sup> go<sup>2</sup>, ste<sup>2</sup> xo<sup>2</sup> t'wei<sup>2</sup>.

SECTION 15 (d3e<sup>2</sup>)

d3e<sup>2</sup> fi<sup>1</sup> fto<sup>2</sup> mA<sup>2</sup>, fi<sup>2</sup> fto<sup>2</sup> mA<sup>2</sup>, d3e<sup>2</sup> fbe<sup>1</sup> ɟa<sup>2</sup> mA<sup>2</sup>, fbe<sup>2</sup> ɟa<sup>2</sup> mA<sup>2</sup>,  
 mo<sup>2</sup> ɟo<sup>2</sup> nTe<sup>2</sup> ts'o<sup>2</sup>, zdi<sup>2</sup> ɟo<sup>1</sup> ts'o<sup>2</sup>, zdi<sup>2</sup> ɟo<sup>1</sup> nTe<sup>2</sup> ts'o<sup>2</sup>,  
 dzu<sup>2</sup> ɟo<sup>1</sup> ts'o<sup>2</sup>,



ts'wa<sup>1</sup> jo<sup>2</sup> ts'wei<sup>2</sup>, ts'wa<sup>1</sup> xo<sup>1</sup> mo<sup>2</sup> ba<sup>2</sup>, y<sup>2</sup> jo<sup>1</sup> ts'wei<sup>2</sup>  
 y<sup>2</sup> sgo<sup>2</sup> Te<sup>2</sup> ts'a<sup>1</sup>, ji<sup>1</sup> jo<sup>2</sup> ts'wei<sup>2</sup>, y<sup>2</sup> ʒa<sup>2</sup> ʒa<sup>2</sup> Te<sup>2</sup> p'u<sup>2</sup>,  
 dzə<sup>2</sup> jo<sup>1</sup> ts'wei<sup>2</sup>, ʒi<sup>2</sup> To<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> ljo<sup>2</sup>, ts'a<sup>2</sup> a<sup>1</sup> ji<sup>2</sup>,  
 nTo<sup>2</sup> Go<sup>2</sup>, ji<sup>2</sup> dʒja<sup>1</sup> ji<sup>2</sup>, gwe<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>2</sup>, p'u<sup>2</sup> bə<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>2</sup>,  
 xa<sup>2</sup> so<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> lju<sup>2</sup>, we<sup>2</sup> bja<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>3</sup>  
 ko<sup>1</sup> tzδ<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> lju<sup>2</sup>, to<sup>2</sup> dzo<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>2</sup>  
 p'u<sup>2</sup> tzΛ<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> lju<sup>2</sup>, ɹa<sup>2</sup> dzu<sup>1</sup> ji<sup>3</sup>  
 ts'a<sup>2</sup> Ge<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> lju<sup>2</sup>, swei<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup> ji<sup>2</sup>  
 wo<sup>2</sup> tzΛ<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> lju<sup>2</sup>, swei<sup>2</sup> ɹa<sup>1</sup> ji<sup>3</sup>,  
 wa<sup>2</sup> tzΛ<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> lju<sup>2</sup>, ts'a<sup>2</sup> Ga<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>3</sup>,  
 ja<sup>2</sup> ba<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> lju<sup>2</sup>, ɹo<sup>2</sup> ba<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>3</sup>,  
 p'o<sup>1</sup> so<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> lju<sup>2</sup>, we<sup>2</sup> ba<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>2</sup>  
 sə<sup>2</sup> Gu<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> lju<sup>2</sup>, To<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>3</sup>,  
 Xe<sup>2</sup> ju<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> lju<sup>2</sup>, we<sup>2</sup> bja<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>3</sup>,  
 be<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> ge<sup>2</sup>, ts'wo<sup>2</sup> dɹo<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>3</sup>,  
 so<sup>2</sup> p'a<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> lju<sup>2</sup>, zbu<sup>1</sup> ni<sup>3</sup> ji<sup>3</sup>,  
 t'e<sup>2</sup> p'e<sup>1</sup> fjei<sup>2</sup> tswa<sup>2</sup>, fjei<sup>1</sup> zdu<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>3</sup>,  
 mo<sup>2</sup> t'o<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> lju<sup>2</sup>, k'a<sup>2</sup> bja<sup>1</sup> ji<sup>2</sup>,  
 sə<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>1</sup> dʒe<sup>2</sup> ge<sup>2</sup>, ɹa<sup>2</sup> swa<sup>1</sup> ji<sup>3</sup>,  
 δ<sup>2</sup> zgδ<sup>2</sup> ɹa<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> lju<sup>2</sup>, y<sup>2</sup> fja<sup>1</sup> ji<sup>3</sup>,  
 bao<sup>2</sup> fe<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> lju<sup>2</sup>, t'o<sup>2</sup> tzo<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>3</sup>,  
 δ<sup>2</sup> ɹu<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> lju<sup>2</sup>, ts'a<sup>1</sup> k'u<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>3</sup>,  
 ftΛ<sup>1</sup> ftΛ<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> lju<sup>2</sup>, mδ<sup>2</sup> zgo<sup>1</sup> ji<sup>3</sup>,  
 ma<sup>2</sup> lo<sup>1</sup> dʒe<sup>2</sup> ge<sup>2</sup>, fjei<sup>1</sup> zdu<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>3</sup>,<sup>40</sup>  
 ɹo<sup>2</sup> mo<sup>1</sup> bu<sup>2</sup>, a<sup>2</sup> dʒo<sup>1</sup> lΛ<sup>2</sup>, zə<sup>2</sup> we<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>2</sup> δwa<sup>2</sup>,  
 dʒi<sup>2</sup> dʒo<sup>1</sup> ji<sup>2</sup>, zə<sup>2</sup> we<sup>1</sup> mɛ<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> wa<sup>2</sup>, δ<sup>2</sup> zbo<sup>1</sup> mo<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>3</sup>,  
 ji<sup>1</sup> dʒu<sup>2</sup> o<sup>2</sup> dʒu<sup>2</sup>, Te<sup>2</sup> zge<sup>2</sup> nΛ<sup>2</sup>, mu<sup>1</sup> dʒu<sup>1</sup> fgo<sup>2</sup> dʒu<sup>2</sup>,  
 Te<sup>2</sup> zge<sup>2</sup> nΛ<sup>2</sup>, ji<sup>1</sup> ku<sup>2</sup> mu<sup>2</sup> k'u<sup>2</sup>, TΛ<sup>2</sup> tzu<sup>2</sup> nΛ<sup>2</sup>,  
 ʒ(i)i<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>1</sup> zgo<sup>2</sup> Ti<sup>2</sup>, Te<sup>2</sup> zΔ<sup>2</sup> nΛ<sup>2</sup>,  
 gwe<sup>2</sup> ljo<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> stɹo<sup>2</sup> ljo<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>, dze<sup>2</sup> lΛ<sup>2</sup> dze<sup>2</sup> we<sup>2</sup> fna<sup>1</sup> dze<sup>2</sup> we<sup>2</sup>,  
 ka<sup>1</sup> ɹa<sup>2</sup> bja<sup>2</sup> Ga<sup>2</sup>, ji<sup>2</sup> GΛ<sup>1</sup> zbo<sup>2</sup> stΛ<sup>1</sup>, bo<sup>1</sup> dzΛ<sup>2</sup> bo<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>2</sup>,  
   t'a<sup>2</sup> zwei<sup>2</sup> we<sup>1</sup>,  
 dʒe<sup>2</sup> GΛ<sup>1</sup> Te<sup>2</sup> ɹe<sup>1</sup>, GΛ<sup>2</sup> Te<sup>1</sup> ɹΛ<sup>1</sup>, a<sup>2</sup> p'u<sup>2</sup> ljei<sup>2</sup> p'u<sup>2</sup>, zda<sup>1</sup> xo<sup>1</sup> p'ei<sup>2</sup>,  
 gwe<sup>2</sup> lje<sup>2</sup> p'u<sup>2</sup>, gwe<sup>2</sup> dʒi<sup>1</sup> sə<sup>3</sup>, p'ɹe<sup>1</sup> zgo<sup>2</sup> fje<sup>2</sup> dzə<sup>1</sup> ʒi<sup>1</sup> Twei<sup>2</sup> mɛ<sup>2</sup>,  
 li<sup>2</sup> sa<sup>2</sup> tzə<sup>1</sup>, gwe<sup>2</sup> Ta<sup>1</sup> t'e<sup>2</sup>, gwe<sup>2</sup> tzə<sup>1</sup> tze<sup>2</sup> ju<sup>1</sup>, fje<sup>1</sup>, fje<sup>2</sup> p'je<sup>1</sup> ftΛ<sup>2</sup>,  
 su<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> dze<sup>2</sup> dze<sup>2</sup>, sgo<sup>2</sup> bo<sup>1</sup> fji<sup>2</sup>,  
 sə<sup>2</sup> Ta<sup>1</sup> dʒy<sup>4</sup>, mi<sup>1</sup> Ta<sup>1</sup> dʒy<sup>4</sup>,  
 jie<sup>1</sup> ts'u<sup>1</sup> fy<sup>4</sup>, fbjΛ<sup>2</sup> dʒ<sup>1</sup> fy<sup>4</sup>, zgΛ<sup>2</sup> ts'u<sup>1</sup> fy<sup>4</sup>,  
   fbja<sup>2</sup> dʒe<sup>1</sup> fy<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> The priest stated that if the ceremony is performed in the sacred grove, the 5 great gods are called, but not the 12 lesser gods. If the ceremony is performed on a housetop, in addition to the 5 great gods, the 12 lesser gods are called. He stated that these must not be called unless a real ceremony is being performed. The remainder of the ceremony, the sacred books chanted, varies with each day. The following words are used on a snake, tiger, and possibly on a horse day.

TRANSLATION <sup>41</sup> OF THE SACRED BOOKS OR CHANTS OF THE CH'ANG PRIEST  
AT LO-PU-CHAI

## SECTION I

"What is your name, Mr. Wild Mountain Goat" (male demon king)? "My given name is The One With Wild Buffalo Horns." "What is your name, Mrs. Wild Mountain Goat" (the wife of the demon king)? "My given name is The Person With a Chicken's Bill." Wild Mountain Goat goes to a person's kitchen. He goes to the person's home. Wild Mountain Goat drinks warm wine in the home. He goes to the house where bitter things are sold. He eats bitter things. He goes to the lengthwise beams (of the second story). He goes to the crossbeams (across the beams mentioned above). He arrives at the crossbeams. (Fiercely spoken by the priest), "Male Wild Mountain Goat (name of the demon king), what are you doing here? You that injure people (another demon), your given name is Red Demon (demoniacal being).<sup>42</sup> You came over the road that people travel. Red Demon rides the wooden horse with head outstretched, with nine horses, their feet treading along. Take the red demon outside. Invite the white (good) demon to come in and sit down."

## SECTION 2

There is a male deity whose surname is Horse and whose given name is De. The surname of his spouse is Horse and her given name is De. The surname of his oldest son is Du and his given name is Tsha We. There is a carpenter who planes (manufactures) wooden things well. He is an exceedingly good carpenter. He also chisels rocks well, making stone grinders, tops and bottoms, with good wooden bases and snouts. When handfuls of grain are put in, it flows out when well ground to pieces. The god on his shelf, invite him to come. Put three sticks of incense in the ashes of the incense burner. Invite the deity Dwe Tzu to come. "Can you build the house for worshiping gods?" "I can build it." The god will build the temple (home for worship). Can you build it? I can build a (fine) house.

## SECTION 3, CALLING THE GOD MA

Call the god Ma here. We will erect a new god-house for worship. Call Ma to erect a building. (Arrange) for the god a seat to sit on. Call the servants, for it is dawn (the rooster has crowed). Call the apprentices to bring tools,

<sup>41</sup> In making the following translation, every word and every phrase was written down in the International Phonetic Script, the meanings studied and written down in English, and the final translation made in consultation with and the approval of the Ch'iang priest.

The phrase translated "he repeats three words" in section 6 probably refers to a magic formula, incantation, or chant.

The sickle with nine teeth mentioned in section 17 reminds one of the neolithic sickle with a number of small, sharp teeth to do the cutting.

<sup>42</sup> This section is really an incantation. When asked why he spoke so fiercely near the end of the section, the priest replied that you must act gruffly toward the demons or they will act overbearingly toward you.

efficient masons, efficient plasterers. White walls, opposite walls alike white. A man Beh, his given name Ma Beh, a scholar to divine the lucky days of the month. The worker, Ma Beh, with his hammer shapes stones, digs a ditch, and takes out the dirt with a basket. A hundred upright (wooden) pillars are erected firmly and perpendicularly. The main horizontal beams, a pair, erected level and parallel. The hundred crossbeams are fixed soundly, the hundred poles are nailed firmly, one thousand bamboo sticks woven together firmly, a hundred small-leafed bamboo twigs compactly laid down in order, a hundred loads of clay made smooth and firm with a hoe, one hundred black stones securely laid into place, the outer walls of the roof made firm above and below. The shrine (god-house) is built firmly, awaiting the time when sacrifice is provided properly. The house for the sacrificial goat is ready for the goat, and the soul of the goat is provided for.

#### SECTION 4, CALLING THE GOD RO

(God)Ro, will you chant the sacred books or not? If you do not chant the sacred books, how will you be able to perform the ceremony of paying the vows? If you do not pay the vows you should perform the vows for both the sky god and the earth god (goddess?). Perform the ceremony of paying the vows to the gods in the house. When people perform the ceremony of paying the vows, it should be with sincere hearts. We will certainly pay the vows. Chinese pay their vows, Ch'iang also pay their vows. Both (ceremonially) pay their vows. Eat the (sacrificial) meat properly. Let the paying of the vows be correctly performed. At dawn finish the vow ceremony. Complete it when it is bright (daylight). When the sun is white, finish the vows, lead the male goat. The leader who carries the rooster shares in the ceremony. The cock and the goat will both be sacrificed. Wood will be used for the ceremony, the split ginko wood white. The god flag is arranged properly. To the string we have tied the three hairs (from the goat's ear). The horns are placed securely at the opening of the shrine. The ear of the goat is fastened onto the drum.

#### SECTION 5, THE GODS RECEIVE

The gods having received the offerings have returned home. They have seen the vows performed. The gods have accepted the offerings. The people have received the hide and the hairs from the necks of the goats. The gods have received these offerings. The people are inside the house. The sacred books have been (or are being) chanted. The women are in the house. The ceremonial objects have been set down. The Taoist priest is in the house. The brass gongs are set down. The starlike (lamps or candles) are in the house. They have been blown out. The water ditch beside the house is dammed up. The magistrate has arrived in the house. The magistrate's seal has been set down. The Ch'iang priest is in the house. His drum has been set down. The wealthy guests and relatives are in the house. Their ceremonial gifts have been laid down. The servants are in the house. Their tools have been laid down. The inner home is inside the open front door, where the household utensils are laid down. The gods have finished properly. We have completed the payment of vows. The goats have been rightly received by the gods, and they have the hairs from the goats' necks.



## SECTION 6, SHI

Shall we repeat the divine book or not? If not, how can we fulfill the vows? Shall we chant the words of the sacred books? If not, we cannot perform the vows. The divine ancient priest will repeat the words one by one. He is a very able priest. The (divine) woman priest will chant the words one by one. She is very efficient in working in the fields and in carrying loads on her back. It is difficult to write large characters, hard to write, but easy to chant. It is easy to write small characters. They are easy to write, hard to chant. The person chants the words, he repeats three words. Large stones can be easily brought. They are hard to push along, easy to build with. Small stones are easy to fetch. They are easy to push along, but hard to build with. The stones are plastered with clay firmly. The laborers have put into place three stones. The masons have built into the wall three stones. The house of the god is erected well. The house is plastered well with clay. The workers have built it correctly. They have plastered it with clay.

## SECTION 7

The god Gi is in his house. A message is sent up to him. The goddess is in her house. A message is sent up to her. The cypress tree near the house—a letter is hung up on it. The stars (regarded as deities) are in their houses. Flying up, the message is delivered. The scholar who chants the sacred books is in his house. The words are delivered to him. The deity named water is in his house. Smilingly the message is presented. The magistrate is in his house. The seal is presented. The priest Stu is in his house. The ceremonial drum is delivered to him. The house of the sky-lamp-post. The incense has been lighted and sent up. The simple (common) man is in his house, which is built and given. The house of the door braced with pillars is finished properly for the god. The goats and the flags are in order, the sacred books have been chanted correctly, the goats and the flags are arranged correctly.

## SECTION 8, THE MALE OWL

A male goat is necessary to perform the vows. The goat is at hand, the owl bears the message. Flags of bamboo and paper are necessary to perform the vows. The goat and the ceremonial platter are ready. Who speaks for the skin of the owl (with the idea of eating the flesh)? It is the pine squirrel that speaks for it. A lonely traveler on the road speaks for it. The leopard with the hairy mouth wants to eat the male owl. The male owl measures his head in a peck measure. The owl's head is so big that he measures it in an imperial peck measure. The eyes of the male owl are measured with a ruler. The eyes of the owl are as big as the imperial tea bowl. The tail of the owl is as big as the emperor's broom. You could sweep the floor with the tail of the male owl. It sweeps the seats of the gods. We will sweep the place (before the gods) where the priest performs his ceremonies.

## SECTION 9, THE FEMALE OWL

Feathers and claws on the feet, there are four feet, the female owl has four feet. In the sky are birdlets, offspring of the female owl, one hundred children

of the female owl. During the first lunar month draw a picture, a pretty picture. (There is) a vine-circled sacred stick, walking correctly in front. A rolling-pin is called (to make bread). A good encircled stick came (or was brought) properly inside the house which they call an upright bamboo stick, a vine-encircled cane.<sup>43</sup> They say, "Since this has come we will (ceremonially) sweep the village (free of demons), and the grass plot (near the village)." The village and the grassy plot are important. Fir twigs and their butts are needed (as a ceremonial broom). The female owl whose nest is at the village, with a handful of fir twigs chase this mother owl away. The sacred books have been chanted properly, the goats and the flags have been arranged properly, incense and candles and the divine horse have been arranged properly. The goats and the flags are properly arranged.

#### SECTIONS 10 AND 11

The selling price has been fixed by the owner of the goats. The leader has paid the earnest money.<sup>44</sup> The shepherd herds the goats on the mountains. The thirsty goats are led to water. The arm of the caretaker is very long. The keeper leads the goats to graze. Their white teeth chew the grass. When they have eaten enough, the keeper leads them home. The mouth of the owner asks, "Why do you come back so early?" The caretaker replies, "They have finished eating." They tend the goats with white cords. The leader has come. Has the unleavened bread been prepared? The cake of unleavened bread has not been prepared. When the cake of bread is ready, tie it with a white cord. When the cake of bread is cooked, place it in front of the god's shrine. The cake of bread has come. A person fills the peck measure with grain. Buckwheat and peas are wanted. Pure water should be poured from the bowl onto the (red-hot) plowshare. We must pick up the plowshare with tongs. A good-looking round stick is used for the spindlewhorl. Join the threads together with your teeth. The three hairs from the neck of the goat are tied to the string of the bow. We must have the ceremonial sword. The bow is held ready in the

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<sup>43</sup> Some of the sacred canes used by the Ch'iang priests are sticks around which a vine grew and wrapped itself so as to leave a deep impression around the stick. Some of them have on top what looks like a carved human head. This is regarded as the head of the demon king. Sometimes at the top of the encircling vine mark a snake's head is carved. It then looks as though a snake were encircling the cane. The king of demons helps the priest control and exorcise demons, and the snake helps frighten the demons. The one purpose of this sacred cane is to control or exorcise demons. Sometimes the sides of the cane are ornamented by knots that grew there naturally when the cane was a live limb or small tree. This sacred cane reminds one of the sacred cane used by the Taoist priest in China, which is also used exclusively for the exorcism of demons. It is very likely that the Ch'iang priest has borrowed this from the Taoist priest, and made some adaptations.

<sup>44</sup> When two people make a bargain as to the price of some object, the purchaser often pays a part of the purchase price as "earnest money." This is regarded as a guarantee that he will complete the payment, and the acceptance of this earnest money is a guarantee on the part of the owner that he will not fail to sell at the price agreed upon.

hands (to shoot). One hundred bows are needed. Unless the quivers are leather, they are not desirable. All the bows and all the arrows in the quivers are needed. Without spear points the spears are undesirable. One thousand spears are needed.

The gods have been finished (worshiped) properly, the goats and the flags are arranged properly.

#### SECTION 12, THE GODDESS MU-TSEH-TSU

Above there was one who was sorrowful, called Mu Tseh. Below was one who was sorrowful, called Stu Ha. Mu Tseh considered in her mind, and called from above the person below. Stu Ha considered in his mind, and called to the goddess above. Mu-tseh-tsu combed the hair of her head. After it is combed, she can get married. (She said), "In the sky is a house. Speak to my father Mo-bi-da about it, to see if he is willing or not." Her father, Mo-bi-da, replied, "You child Stu Ha, what have you come here to do? In the sky we have a house. What have you come here for?" "I have come to seek a wife." Father Mo Bi answered, "You have come to seek a wife. You are not a match for me. My daughter, Mu-tseh-tsu, if you want to get her, the mountain trees in three gulches (or canyons) you must go and cut down. The mountain trees in three gulches, you must go and burn them. Thirty bushels of rape (mustard) you must sow in the fields. Thirty bushels of rape, you must go and reap." Stu Ha replied and said to him, "Thirty bushels of rape I have sowed and brought home." "My daughter Mu Tseh I will marry to you. One oldest daughter is married to a god and cares for the house of the god. The second daughter is married to the Dragon King and cares for his home. The third one, Mu-tseh-tsu, is to be married to a common man. In front drive a hundred domestic animals. Behind a thousand will go back home. The hair of the head should be combed beautifully, the finger rings worn properly, beaten of silver. Await a lucky day."

Stu Ha, the groom said to the daughter, Mu-tseh-tsu, "My home is not good." He told her to return home. "Thirsty and without food, go back home to eat." "If I go back," she said, "during the first moon (lunar month), what things have you to give me?" "The (jasmine) flower that welcomes the spring." "If I return during the second moon, what have you to give me?" "The Shui Tang (water pool) flower that blossoms on the edges of wells." "If I return during the third moon, what have you to give me?" "Roses which bloom on the edges of terraced fields." "If I return during the fourth moon, what have you to give me?" "Buckwheat flowers that blossom in the fields." "If I return during the fifth moon, what have you to give me?" "Wheat and barley which bloom in the fields." "Has the barley ripened?" "All has turned yellow and ripened." "Has the barley been reaped with a sickle?" "All has been reaped." "Has the beard grown on the wheat?" "All (the wheat) has blossomed beards." "One complete year, 1 month, 12 months, 12 flowers. One month, 30 days." Three wheat biscuits have been cooked, the sacred books have been chanted properly, the goats and flags have been arranged properly, incense and candles have been arranged properly, the goats and flags have been properly arranged.

## SECTION 13

A person has no house. He wants a house. He wants a house and land. He wants tools, firewood, and water. Goats and dogs are mine, and chickens and cats. I want also geese and ducks. Using a cane covered with white pewter, drive the goat ahead. The person sits down and winds yarn on the spindle. The aged father, yes, a woman sewing. The aged mother, yes, white mountains and cliffs. The sacred book is like a magistrate in his chair. On a low mountain is a perpendicular cliff. The sacred book (or chant) is like a priest. There is a pass over a mountain. A flower blooms on a cliff on a mountain pass. The sacred book has bloomed like a flower. A fir tree in full blossom has been brought here. It is brought home. I brought it. Lights in the home are like stars. They blossom like a flower. A fir tree in full blossom has been brought here. Cedar twigs from the high mountains have been brought home. A dull white, the stone is here. The sacred book has been put down in the home. This house belongs to the sacred book, Ceremonially sweep (free of demons) the house. The sacred book can fly. We will chant the sacred book that has flown here. (Sacred book), you seem to me to be alive.

## SECTION 14

An old person named Wood (or an old god?), a parent of this sacred book. A person makes a straw image and binds it with a cord. The sacred book binds the straw image. In the sky there is a house. There is a phoenix with feathers bright as silver. The phoenix went and saw the sacrificial goat. They have a home. A dog and a person went to look at it. They released the goat in the field. A cord of cotton. A weak cord that will break is undesirable. Tie the goat with a rope made of palm fiber. One circle and one knot are not enough. Lead the goat over here. The magistrate has a house. He takes the seal in his hand and presses down. The priest has a house. The ceremonial drum is in his hand ready to be beaten. The wealthy man has a house. Cedar twigs from the high mountains are taken in the hand and burned. The common people have houses. The red-hot plowshare is in the basin (for the leaders to purify themselves by the steam). The second (inner) door has a house. The leaders are holding the goats and the white paper flags.

## SECTION 15

There is a goddess whose name is Sto Mu. A priestess named Ra Mu. The priestess is efficient in chanting the sacred books. A hairy horse was lost. The horse fell off a cliff and was killed. The horse was lost by falling to death over a cliff. The knife cuts up the horse flesh (to eat). With a knife skin the horse and cut off its flesh. Carry water on the back and bring firewood. The fire ignites and heats the cooking vessel. One white person (there is). Drive the wild goat out of the woods. The wild goat could not be driven out. The (wild) man was driven out. (There was) one man with a rifle and a spear grasped in his hands. There was a palm tree. One stabbed the (wild) man with the spear. One prod, two prods. He prodded the palm tree. Three prods—again he prods. The wild man sat on the white pavement slab. He hacks the wild man with an ax, and prods (with his spear). He opens the main door of

his house. (In the door) he was good to see (to those inside). The lights in the house were like stars in the sky shining down. The second watch in the night. (By and by) the mountains and the clouds were lightened with the break of dawn. When it is broad daylight we will return home. He is the sacred book *Je Ji*. Drive out the demons, go. The sacred book makes the demons fly away. Fly very quickly.<sup>45</sup>

## SECTION 16

In the sky in a circle are a black and a white stone. There are three stones there. The white stone is not wanted. One white chicken. With the chicken cleanse the throne of the god. Cleanse the lower places so the people will be happy. The yellow stone is not wanted. The yellow chicken is wanted, a yellow hen. Cleanse the sacrificial goat from head to foot. Cut off the three hairs from the goat's neck and tie them to the large flag. The black stone is not wanted. We need a black chicken. One black chicken. Purify it from head to foot with the smoke of cedar twigs. Cleanse the cedar twigs while cleansing the sacred books. This is the stone that can fly. Quickly fly away.

## SECTION 17

The priest's apprentice teaches (or is taught). The aged father, the priest, is very good. Climb up eight mountain ridges. Take cedar twigs in the hands and scatter them. Climb up nine mountain ridges. The cedar twigs grow up. There is a golden yellow sickle. In all it has nine teeth (like a saw). Twigs of the crow bush, purify the goat's mouth. Eighteen skin bags, purify with the smoke of cedar twigs the goat's mouth. Eighteen skin bags, purify with the smoke of cedar twigs the barley and wheat. There are skin bags to hold buckwheat. Purify with smoke the peck measure and the pint measure. Call the apprentice to ceremonially sweep the thrones of the gods. Let the apprentice take burning cedar twigs in his hands and with the smoke cleanse the thrones of the gods. The apprentice makes the demons fly away more quickly. Fly away quickly.

## SECTION 18, THE GOD SO

"God So,<sup>46</sup> what is your name?" "My name is Mr. Sifter." "What is the name of So's wife?" "It is Mrs. Sifter." There came out of the sky, a light came forth. Behind the light in the road a tiger came. Into the pool of water a stone fell (displaced by the tiger?). With its lips the rock blew a wind, and the wind awakened the mountain. The mountain with its lips blew a wind, and the wind awakened the clouds. The clouds with their lips blew a wind, and the wind awakened the trees. The trees with their lips blew a wind, and the wind awakened the leaves. The leaves with their lips blew a wind, and the wind awakened the road. The road with its lips blew a wind, which awakened the resting place beside the road. The resting place beside the road with its lips blew a wind, which awakened the terraces. The terraces blew a wind which awakened the village. The village with its lips blew a wind, which awakened

<sup>45</sup> This section has the flavor of an incantation to exorcise demons.

<sup>46</sup> The word *so* means sifter.

the chickens. The chickens flapped with their wings (before crowing), and the people were awakened.

(Calling to the local gods)

- Come, God of Chengtu, Ts'ang-a-shi (Liu Pi);  
 God of Kuan-hsien, Hsi-jia-shi (Kuan Shen Yen);  
 God of Yang-tzŭ-lin, P'u-ber-shi, big tree god;  
 God of Wen-ch'uan, We-bra-shi, city wall god;  
 Come God of Wei-chou, T'o-dzo-shi (Tu-ti);  
 Come God of Yen-men, Ra-dzu-shi, or god of the pointed cliff;  
 Come God of So-ch'iao ruler of water (Shui Kuan);  
 Come God of Hsiao-chai-tzŭ, Shui-ga-shi;  
 Come God of Lo-pu-chai, god of the mountains;  
 Come God of Ch'ing-p'o, the lord of earth;  
 Come God of Wen-ch'eng, big city wall god;  
 Come God of Sugoo, Tong-nyi-shi;  
 Come God of Hong-(Mung)-hsien (Mou Chow), big city wall god;  
 Come God of T'u-ti-lin, the lord of the earth;  
 Come God of Sung-P'an, the black yak god;  
 Come God of Three Villages, the god of the three cliffs;  
 Come God of Mo-t'o, the big cliff god;  
 Come God of P'u-wa, the white cliff god;  
 Come God of Mu-shang-chai, the phoenix god;  
 Come God of Li-fan, the lord of earth;  
 Come God of Er-go-mi, the thorn tree god;  
 Come God of T'ung-hua, the thunder god;  
 Come God of T'ung-li-shan, the god of the three mountain peaks.<sup>47</sup>

This is the horse year and the tenth moon. Is it or not the first day of the month? It is the day of the Dragon God. Open the front door and the inner door, the silver door, the golden door. They are opened. The male and the female dogs are tied up. Push away the stones in the roads. The goat has come, and the three hairs are ready. Any sins the goats have (are that) the hills and ranges are used as pastures, and they eat all kinds of bushes, biting and chewing them—they have this sin. With the dipper pour water on the goat's head. One tremble, two trembles, the goat has trembled. The gods have accepted the goat. The three leaders dressed in white take the flags and hold them in their hands and fingers. They pick up the goat and kill it with the knife. There are three (knives, or leaders who do the killing?). The time has come for killing the goat. The *huen* and the *p'e* souls of the goat have been led away correctly, the ears are properly stuck upon the flags, the gods have returned properly, the incense and the candles are rightly arranged, the doors are properly closed, the incense and the candles are properly arranged.

<sup>47</sup> At Lo-pu-chai barley seeds are burned after calling each god. If this ceremony is performed in a sacred grove, the 5 great gods are called. If this ceremony is performed on a housetop, the 5 great gods and the 12 lesser gods are called. This can be done only in an actual ceremony, so it was omitted here. The remainder of the chant varies with each day.

The romanization of the names of the gods and of the places of which the Chinese characters were not known are according to the pronunciations in Szechwan Province.

The Ch'iang regard each section of the sacred chants as a sacred book. It is evident that the division between sacred books and incantations is not very distinct, for some of the sections of the sacred chants that are regarded as sacred books are definitely incantations.

#### 9. INCANTATIONS AND EXORCISM OF DEMONS

Belief in and fear of demons as the source of diseases and other calamities and simple or elaborate methods of exorcising them are widespread in central Asia. The writer does not know of one ethnic group among whom they are not to be found. It is also assumed that priests or shamans who have the right techniques can control and exorcise demons.

The minds of the Ch'iang are simply saturated with belief in and fear of demons. Diseases and all other calamities are caused or may be caused by demons. Priests, by their ceremonies, control, protect from, and exorcise demons. People avoid traveling at night as much as possible, for demons are regarded as more likely to be about at night than in the daytime. Demons fear and avoid light, and love dark places.

There are many methods of controlling, protecting from, and exorcising demons, and some of these methods are so widespread in West China that they are found among the Miao and the Lolos of Kueichow, Yunnan, and Szechwan Provinces, as well as among Tibetans, the *Jung*, and the Ch'iang. There are charms and incantations for practically every purpose, from the healing of a boil to the curing of a stomachache.

Among the Ch'uan Miao the *tusn kung* or *do nun* exorcises demons, and the *mo* or priest conducts funerals and performs memorial ceremonies. Among the Ch'iang the same priest generally performs both kinds of ceremonies.

The ceremonies of exorcism among the Ch'iang are sometimes long and elaborate and must be performed solemnly, reverently, and correctly. To perform these ceremonies special priests or shamans are required. The writer has witnessed a number of the ceremonies of exorcism among the Ch'iang, and has been requested by the priest not to laugh, for that would spoil the spirit of reverence appropriate for such ceremonies.

The following ceremony, witnessed by the writer at Mu-shang-chai, was performed by the local priest, Mr. Kou. A man had had bowel trouble for more than 20 days and requested the priest to exorcise the demon that was causing it.

A fire was made of corn cobs and cedar twigs, and a plowshare was placed on the fire. The priest began repeating incantations under his breath. Then he picked up some cedar twigs and moved them around above the plowshare. He then burned some paper or spirit money, repeating more incantations and occasionally saying loudly "phit." Often the incantations were repeated under the breath so that they could not be heard. Repeating more incantations, he threw some grains of barley onto the plowshare. Still repeating incantations, he picked up the red-hot plowshare with a pair of tongs and put his tongue against it so that one could hear a frying sound. He moved the plowshare over and around near the abdomen of the patient but without touching the abdomen, then placed the plowshare back into the fire. Then he trod on the plowshare with his bare foot, brushed the sparks off his bare foot, then trod with this bare foot on the man's abdomen and chest. Again he lifted the red-hot plowshare out of the fire with the tongs, waved it back and forth over the man's back, and put it back into the fire. With his bare foot he again trod on the red-hot plowshare and then on the man's back. All this time he was repeating incantations. He then put the plowshare into water, and the man leaned over so that the steam rose onto his abdomen, chest, and face. Then the priest gave the man some of the water and he drank it.

The priest would not tell the meanings of his incantations, saying that if he did they would not be efficacious. He told the writer that he had been paid one dollar for performing this ceremony. Next day the sick man admitted that he had not been cured.

On August 16, 1942, a similar ceremony was performed at Lo-pu-chai by the priest, Mr. Chang. The ceremony was called *sung mien ren* in Chinese and *nga mi shi* in the Ch'iang language. The ceremony was performed to heal a woman who had a pain in the abdomen.

After smoking some tobacco, the priest burned some paper spirit money. Then he poured two small cups of wine and lighted two candles and three sticks of incense. At this point he requested the writer not to laugh during the ceremony. He began chanting incantations which continued through most of the ceremony. First he chanted under his breath, then audibly, in phrases of three or four syllables, which later grew longer. He now held his sacred cane upright in his right hand, the bottom or point of the cane resting on the ground. There was on this cane the imprint of a vine which had grown around it, and at the top a snake head had been carved, so that the cane looked as though a snake were coiled around it. The priest said that this made the cane more efficacious in frightening away demons.

The chanting continued—now in a low talking tone, now very rap-



idly. On the table is a peck measure full of buckwheat. Stuck upright in this buckwheat are the two lighted candles and the three lighted sticks of incense. On the table in front of the peck measure are two small cups of wine, some paper spirit money, and a wheat biscuit on which there is some pork. The priest goes to another room, where he burns incense to and worships the family gods. Then he sits down, chats with the spectators, and takes a long smoke.

Again the priest begins to chant his sacred books and incantations, at first in three-syllable phrases. It is evident that the efficacy of the ceremony depends very much on these incantations.

The priest pauses and drinks some tea, then he and all the spectators drink some wine. Then he takes the iron plowshare and places it in the fire. Then he continues the incantations—*teh tzu do, he tzu bo*, three syllable phrases followed by longer phrases. In this ceremony the priest does not wear his ceremonial hat or beat his drum, but he uses his sacred cane. After some time he again stops to rest and smoke. A man now kneads some dough, and the priest in his incantations changes to a scolding tone. The priest now kneads the dough into five objects, a man, an incense vessel, a chicken, an object with one point, and an object with three points. He puts these inside a bamboo husk which he has made into the shape of a plowshare.

After another pause and a smoke, the priest puts some incense twigs and three sticks of lighted incense on the edge of the fireplace as an offering to the fire god. A live chicken is brought, later to be sacrificed. On the uncooked buckwheat is placed five dollars from the family of the patient for his services. The priest puts lighted cedar twigs in the dough incense burner. Before the fire as an offering to the fire god he pours out two cups of wine and lights two candles. He burns spirit money before the fire and waves the chicken as an offering. He pours some wine on the fire and throws some buckwheat into the fire. He continues to chant, waves the hen toward the fire, and burns more paper or spirit money.

The patient, a woman, now comes into the room and sits down. The priest continues his incantations as they cut off the lower part of her long gown, and she puts on the upper part. Always chanting, the priest waves the dough objects and later the chicken around her head and body. She blows her breath on the face of the chicken, which is a hen. The hen is taken out toward the front of the house. The priest waves a dagger over and around the woman's head and body. She takes off her upper gown and her shoes. The priest waves a coal of fire around the dagger, and sticks the dagger into the buckwheat. He lights more incense, then brings a bowl of water and a bowl of tea

and places them on the table. The priest prepares a long string, burns cedar twigs, chants under his breath, waves the cedar twigs over the water, puts the string on the back of the table, burns spirit money, waves burning incense sticks over the water, stamps his foot several times, claps his hands, blows on the water, then takes iron tongs and picks up the red-hot plowshare. He picks up the bowl of water with one hand and waves the plowshare over it with the other. He yells "phit" and spurts water from his mouth on her abdomen and feet—water from the bowl.

Now, speaking in Chinese, he treads with his bare foot on the red-hot plowshare, then on her naked abdomen—this he does several times, pressing down with his foot on her abdomen as if pressing something out—they said it was the demon. Then he spurts water, and with his hands presses down on her abdomen to press out the demon. He scolds the demon and orders him to go. He continues this procedure for some time, now shouting "phit" and spurting water on her, now treading downward on her abdomen. He places the plowshare in the water, and she bends over, allowing the stream to cover her head and body. Then she inhales some of the steam. The priest then puts the plowshare on the ground and burns spirit money by placing it on the red-hot plowshare. The lips of the priest move, but there is no sound as he repeats his incantations; then he stamps with his feet and claps his hands. Then he waves his finger over the bowl of water, apparently to write charms on it, and gives the bowl of water to the woman, who drinks it all. He puts a little dough on the dagger and again burns incense. He picks up the string. Repeating incantations, he sits down on a stool beside her. She holds three sticks of lighted incense in her hands. Repeating incantations over the string which he holds in his hands, he ties the string around her neck, then cuts the string. He ties part of the string around her right wrist, then around her right ankle. Then, he touches her forehead, her hands, knees, and feet. When he arises, all express their thanks to him.

The priest goes outside the house, and before the front door he burns incense to his patron deity. Then there is a sumptuous feast, with wine and pork and other edibles. After the feast he again lights candles and incense, burns spirit money, and continues to chant, swaying back and forth. At the corner of the house he lights and sticks into the ground candles and incense, calling loudly to his patron deity. They bring to him the woman's cloth turban and the piece of her garment that was cut off. He now waves burning spirit money over her face and hands and acts as if he were taking something out of her (the demon) and putting it in the flat, round sifting basket called in Chi-

nese a *bo gi*. In Chinese he calls upon the Pearly Emperor, then loudly commands the demon to depart one thousand, two thousand, and three thousand *li*, then calls out "gone." "Yes," reply the spectators. He throws a broom out of the door. In respect for the fire god, four men march around the fire carrying the dough objects, the chicken, a torch, incense, candles, and spirit money.

They and others pass outside the door to the road and march on to the crossroads, where they put down beside the road the candles, incense, sifting basket, the woman's clothing and shoes, the chicken, and the dough objects. The chicken's throat is cut, its blood is splashed on the dough objects, and the chicken's feet and the ends of its wings are cut off and tied to a string over the front door of the patient's home. The chicken is placed on the ground, and the sifting basket, the clothing and shoes of the woman, the dough objects, and the candles and incense are burned to the god of the crossroads. For a time the sacred cane is stuck into the ground. The priest picks up the hen, and they all depart. The priest takes the chicken home as part of his reward, which includes money, pork, two candles, three sticks of incense, and spirit money to his gods.

This was a long ceremony beginning at about 8:30 p. m. and ending finally in the home of the priest at 3:15 a. m. After that the priest took a long smoke before going to bed.

Another method of exorcising demons is to tread on a red-hot *ko* or iron cooking vessel with ceremonies and incantations similar to those we have just described. A manlike image is made of straw. This is stabbed with small bamboo knives or daggers, which are left sticking into the straw image. A cockerel is killed and offered to the gods and spirits, and the straw image is escorted outside the village and left beside the road.

The sacred cane is used exclusively for the exorcism of demons. The priest at Ho-p'ing-chai told the writer that if, when traveling at night he met a demon, he would prod the cane into the ground so that it stood upright, and repeat an incantation, the demon would certainly depart. The priest at Lo-pu-chai said that if when traveling at night he met a demon, he would prod the sacred cane into the ground in the same way, but would not repeat an incantation. The following is the incantation used by the priest at Ho-p'ing-chai with the sacred cane at night to exorcise demons, as given to the writer and translated by the priest:

a.<sup>2</sup> ba.<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> la.<sup>2</sup> bi.<sup>2</sup> bu.<sup>2</sup> ntze<sup>2</sup> mi.<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> la.<sup>2</sup>  
 mbu.<sup>2</sup> tzu.<sup>2</sup> la.<sup>2</sup> sa.<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> la.<sup>2</sup>  
 sti.<sup>1</sup> To.<sup>2</sup> be<sup>2</sup> k'wei<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> la.<sup>2</sup>

mΛ<sup>1</sup> Ta.<sup>2</sup> Ɖa.<sup>1</sup> tju.<sup>2</sup> mΛ<sup>2</sup> la.<sup>2</sup>  
 t'a<sup>1</sup> Ti.<sup>5</sup> si.<sup>2</sup> dju.<sup>1</sup> mΛ<sup>2</sup> la.<sup>2</sup>  
 ze<sup>2</sup> dju.<sup>2</sup> bi.<sup>1</sup> dju.<sup>2</sup> mΛ<sup>2</sup> la.<sup>2</sup>  
 o.<sup>1</sup> ge<sup>2</sup> fta.<sup>2</sup> bi.<sup>2</sup> mΛ<sup>2</sup> la.<sup>2</sup>  
 o.<sup>1</sup> Ti.<sup>2</sup> sta.<sup>2</sup> mja.<sup>2</sup> mΛ<sup>2</sup> la.<sup>2</sup>

## TRANSLATION

Abba Mula (the patron deity of the priest), I, the priest,  
 invite you to come (and eat and drink), O god Mula.  
 I carry the drum and ceremonial objects, Mula.  
 The master of ceremonies and all the people have come, Mula.  
 My eyes see, all the ceremonial objects are here, Mula.  
 The aged leaders and the priest have come, Mula.  
 The leaders among the men have come, Mula.  
 We call the women, Mula.

One method of exorcism is to *hua shui*, or to transform water. The priest repeats incantations and with his fingers draws charms above the water. Then the water is drunk by the patient. This method may be a part of a longer ceremony of exorcism such as that of treading the red-hot plowshare.

Another method is to entice the demon into a jug, cover the jug with red paper, tie the paper on the jug with silk thread, and bury the jug upside down at the crossroads where many passers-by will walk over it. It is said that after the demon is imprisoned in the jug, he moves about so that he causes the red paper to move.

Sometimes the demons are "swept" out of the house. A fire is built in one corner of the room, and the priest, after repeating incantations, takes hot oil into his mouth and spurts it onto the fire, causing the fire to blaze up. It is asserted that the fire never sets the house afire, even if the house has a straw roof.

Sometimes a straw image of the mysterious nine-headed bird is made, incantations are repeated, a cockerel is killed, and the straw image is ceremonially carried out and deposited by the roadside.

The following explanation of the ceremony of using the straw image of a nine-headed bird to exorcise demons was given the writer by the Ch'iang priest at Lo-pu-chai:

If you see two snakes hooked together (copulating), or a bird flies over you and his droppings fall on you, or a hen crows, or a hen lays a very small egg, or a rat chews your clothes, or you dream that your teeth are falling out, or you dream that you are getting wood on the mountains, or a crow lights on your house and caws, or a frog or a toad gets into your house and croaks, or a female goat gives birth to three kids, all these are unlucky. You may become ill, or somebody may die, or you may get into a quarrel.

To exorcise the demon that is troubling you, the priest makes a straw image, called an *erga*, of a nine-headed bird. A rooster is killed and skinned, and his skin is used as a garment of the straw image. A five-colored (many-colored) paper flag is made and hung up on top of the house. The drum is beaten, the sacred books are chanted in the Chinese language. During the ceremony small, sharp pieces of bamboo are stabbed into the body of the straw image. The image is left with the flag on top of the house, on the wall. A fir branch is also stuck up on the wall near the straw image and the flag. They are left on the houses for at least half a year. If the image falls off, it is left there, but if it does not, it is thrown anywhere away from the house. Sections 1 to 5 of the sacred books are chanted during this ceremony.

Chinese door gods pasted on the front door prevent demons from entering a house. Sometimes a wall is built in front of this door, and a sacred white stone placed on top of it for the same purpose. A sacred white stone on top of a grave keeps demons away.

Charms are used to protect from demons. A red cross or a red cloth image of a monkey is sometimes sewn onto the shoulder of a child's garment as a charm. Small brass mirrors, old cowry shells, and Chinese coin charms are sewn onto the hats of children or onto their garments to protect them from demons. Most priests have stamps or seals by which they stamp charms on paper. These charms consist of Chinese characters formed in strange shapes. The priest at Ho-p'ing-chai had four such charms. One used the name and power of Kwan-yin, the goddess of mercy, one the god of thunder, one the efficacious Taoist god Lin Kuan, and one Li Lao Chün, the founder of Taoism.

Incantations are often secret, and sometimes are pronounced under the breath. They should not be taught or explained to anybody who is not a priest or a geomancer. They should be used only in solemn sacred ceremonies, which are often of exorcism. They may be in the Ch'iang or in any other language, and the priest and the bystanders may or may not understand them. They may have an apparent and definite relation in their wording to the exorcism of a particular demon, or to demons in general, or they may be merely the relating of a legend or story. They are believed to be efficacious, some of them very much so, in producing desired results, including the exorcism of demons.

The following incantations are given as illustrations. The first two are in the Chinese language and are so used by the Ch'iang priests. The third is used in the Ch'iang language. The International Phonetic Script and the explanations are such as were given the writer by the Ch'iang priest.

## 化水咒

雪花開 雪花長 雪花童子下房來  
 一根下來冷如雪 二根下來冷如霜  
 冷冷如霜 冷冷如雪  
 太上老君勅勅如律令

## TRANSLATION

Snow flowers bloom (it snows), snow flowers grow  
 (the snow becomes thicker on the ground).  
 The snow baby comes down (it snows).  
 One comes down cold like snow, the second comes down  
 cold like frost.  
 Cold, cold like frost, cold, cold like snow.  
 The orders of the most high Lao Chün are like law.

東方土地，南方土地，西方土地，北方土地，橋樑土地，廟門土地，燈桿土地，廿四個路旁土地。死得不名的陰死鬼，踢死鬼，挨打樹不鬼，抹頸跳河鬼，兇死血光鬼，端公遊尸，道士遊尸，木匠遊尸鬼，鐵匠遊尸鬼，某人，撞住你的碼頭，靠住你的馬尾，實送金帛銀錢，實送花盤，水窄錢飯，東方來，東方去，南方來，南方去，西方來，西方去，北方來，北方去，一來不要誤弟子，二來不要誤來染，吾奉太上老君，勅勅如律令巫師弟子，口含三十六牙，手提二十八劍，遠看三千里，近看八百里，閻王老爺看着我黑頭堂，判官小鬼看着眼溜溜，巫司弟子，手頭拿攬千根白玉棍，一不打天，二不打地，端端打你邪魔妖鬼，天煞歸天，地煞歸地，年煞月煞，日煞時煞，一百二十個兇神惡煞，姜太公到此，諸神會備，一送一千里，二送二千里，三送三千里，四送四千里，五送五千里，一送送在天羅地網，再也不得翻身，吾奉太上老君，勅勅如律令。

## TRANSLATION

The T'u-ti in the east, the T'u-ti in the south, the T'u-ti in the west, the T'u-ti in the north, the T'u-ti of the bridge beams, the T'u-tis at the gate of the temple, the T'u-ti of the sky lamp post, the twenty-four T'u-tis beside the roads, the demons of the people who have died at night, the demons of the people who have died in daytime, the demons of the tree stumps, the demons of people who have committed suicide by cutting their throats, the demons of people who have drowned in rivers, the demons of those who have died violent deaths or have bled to death, the demons of exorcists whose souls are wandering, the wandering demons of carpenters, the wandering demons of blacksmiths; Sir, I have bumped against the head of the horse you are riding, and against the tail of the horse you are riding (to prevent your departure). I will give you money of gold, silver, and brass (or bronze). I will present you a tray of flowers. There is little water, but the money and the rice are plentiful. Come from the east and return to the east, come from the south and return to the south, come from the west and return to the west, come from the north and return to the north. When you come, do not deceive me, this apprentice magician, or the others who have come (to look on). I have received the strict orders of the Most High Lao Chün, like a legal command. I the apprentice magician, having in my mouth thirty-six teeth, carrying twenty-eight swords in my hands, can see three thousand *li* distant and eight hundred *li* near. Master Nien Wang and the official recorder in hell, the small demons in hell, you see that my eyes are large and bright (with fierceness); I, the apprentice magician, holding in my hands one thousand clubs as white as jade:—first, I will not strike the sky, second, I will not strike the earth. I will strike straight at you demoniacal spooks and demons. Let the poisonous breath of the sky return to the sky, and the poisonous air of the earth return to the earth, also the poisonous year air, the poisonous month air, the poisonous day air, and the poisonous hour air, and the evil breath of one hundred and twenty fierce gods. Kiang T'ai Kung has arrived here. All the gods have assembled here. First, I will escort you one thousand *li*; second, I will escort you two thousand *li*; third, I will escort you three thousand *li*; fourth, I will escort you four thousand *li*; fifth, I will escort you five thousand *li*. Escorting you once, I will escort you to the nets of the sky and of the earth (where you will be caught) so you cannot return again. I am acting in accordance with the orders of the Most High Lao Chün, which are like law.

sa<sup>2</sup> ga<sup>2</sup> ga<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup>, xo.<sup>1</sup> mi.<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>  
 xo.<sup>1</sup> ga<sup>1</sup> ga<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup>, sδ<sup>2</sup> mi.<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>  
 sa<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>4</sup> la.<sup>2</sup> zo.<sup>2</sup>, na.<sup>2</sup> ljo.<sup>1</sup> zo.<sup>2</sup> (or 3o.<sup>2</sup>)  
 δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> lji.<sup>1</sup> zo.<sup>2</sup>, δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> mi.<sup>1</sup> le<sup>2</sup>  
 δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> dzə<sup>1</sup> dzo.<sup>2</sup>, δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> mi.<sup>1</sup> le<sup>2</sup>  
 δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> ku.<sup>1</sup> kwe<sup>1</sup>, δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> bi.<sup>1</sup> nae<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup>  
 xa.<sup>2</sup> o.<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup>, δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> na.<sup>1</sup> nae<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup>  
 we<sup>2</sup> kwa.<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup>, δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup> nae<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup>  
 Tu.<sup>2</sup> lju.<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup>, δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> tsei<sup>1</sup> nae<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup>  
 sa.<sup>1</sup> ts'ə<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup>, dʒi.<sup>3</sup> ji.<sup>3</sup> zda.<sup>2</sup> tsei<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup>  
 3o.<sup>2</sup> ni.<sup>2</sup> dʒa.<sup>2</sup> tfei<sup>1</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup>; lo.<sup>2</sup> ju.<sup>2</sup> ka.<sup>2</sup> zdδ<sup>1</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup>  
 xa.<sup>2</sup> dʒi.<sup>1</sup> ha.<sup>2</sup> lja.<sup>2</sup>, ha.<sup>2</sup> tsei<sup>1</sup> tso.<sup>2</sup>, δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> tsei<sup>1</sup> tso.<sup>2</sup>,  
 xa.<sup>2</sup> dʒi.<sup>1</sup> ha.<sup>2</sup> lja.<sup>2</sup>, ha.<sup>2</sup> tsei<sup>1</sup> bja.<sup>2</sup>, δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> tsei<sup>1</sup> bja.<sup>2</sup>,

so.<sup>3</sup> dʒi.<sup>3</sup> To.<sup>2</sup> sə<sup>2</sup> dzu.<sup>1</sup> To.<sup>2</sup> sə<sup>2</sup>, δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> To.<sup>1</sup> zə<sup>2</sup>  
 mo.<sup>2</sup> ma.<sup>1</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup> tso.<sup>2</sup>, dzu.<sup>1</sup> sə<sup>1</sup> bo.<sup>2</sup>, mo.<sup>2</sup> gɛ<sup>1</sup> zə<sup>2</sup>,  
 sə<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>1</sup> jo.<sup>2</sup>, δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>1</sup> jo.<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>1</sup> wei<sup>3</sup> ji.<sup>3</sup>  
 δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>1</sup> jo.<sup>2</sup>,  
 mba.<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>1</sup> wei<sup>2</sup> ji.<sup>2</sup>, δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>1</sup> jo.<sup>2</sup>, dze<sup>2</sup> wo.<sup>2</sup> wɛ<sup>1</sup> ji.<sup>3</sup>,  
 δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>1</sup> ts'a.<sup>2</sup>, Twa.<sup>1</sup> tʃu.<sup>3</sup> wei<sup>3</sup> ji.<sup>3</sup>, δ<sup>2</sup> mo.<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>1</sup> tʃwi.<sup>3</sup>  
 sə<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>1</sup> jo.<sup>2</sup>, δ<sup>2</sup> ʒa.<sup>2</sup> δ<sup>1</sup> jo.<sup>2</sup>, a.<sup>2</sup> dze<sup>1</sup> dze<sup>1</sup> zsgo.<sup>1</sup> jo.<sup>2</sup>,  
 a.<sup>2</sup> wɛ<sup>2</sup> wɛ<sup>2</sup> zsgo.<sup>1</sup> jo.<sup>2</sup>, a.<sup>2</sup> ts'wa.<sup>1</sup> ts'wa.<sup>1</sup> zsgo.<sup>2</sup> jo.<sup>2</sup>

TRANSLATION (as approved by the Ch'iang priest)

"I have not forgotten you, Er Mo, nor have you forgotten me, Er Mo. Since the demons injure people, for whom shall we wait to help us? Wait for Er Mo, the King of Demons. Er Mo has not arrived. It is necessary to wait for Er Mo. Er Mo has arrived." "What is your name, King of demons?" "My name is Er Mo." "What is the name of your wife?" "Her name is We Kwa Er Mo." "What is your oldest son's name, Er Mo?" "His name is Du Lyu Er Mo." "What is the name of your oldest daughter, Er Mo?" "Her name is Sa Tzu Er Mo." "How many sons and daughters have you, Er Mo? How many fields have you, Er Mo? How many fir trees have you, Er Mo?" "My home is very large, my implements are many, I have many pigs. They go to the mountains to get my wood. With iron hook and rope they drag to the home of Er Mo. Women gathering good roll it down, then carry it on their backs to my home."

"I will drive the demons away, I will even drive away Er Mo. I'll escort Er Mo to the crossroads, to the level resting place I will drive Er Mo. At the grindingstone I will press Er Mo down into the mortar. I will shut Er Mo in it. I will drive you quickly away. Paper (spirit) money I will give you as road money (to pay the expenses of travel). Do not injure this family. Injure nobody in this region. Injure nobody in this fortified village."<sup>48</sup>

IO. THE TRADITION OF HEBREW ORIGIN

Before the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1911, there was no tradition of a Hebrew origin of the Ch'iang people. It was approximately 1915 when Rev. Thomas Torrance began to work among the Ch'iang. He sincerely loved them and tried to help them by teaching them the Christian religion, by opening schools (which he was prevented from doing), and by giving them good bulls and cockerels with which to improve their stock. The Ch'iang also loved and respected Mr. Torrance. They told him that they were monotheists,

<sup>48</sup> This incantation is repeated in the Ch'iang language, after which another incantation is repeated in Chinese. It is used to exorcise the Hsueh Kuang Kuei, a demon of a person who is beaten to death, or fell off a cliff and was killed, or was stabbed or shot to death so that there was much bleeding. The demon is escorted to the crossroads, where a *bo chi* or bamboo sifter or winnower and spirit money are burned and water is poured out onto the ground. Er Mo is the king of demons, who is also a deity. Here he seems to be identified with the Hsueh Kuang Kuei.



and he believed them. This deception was comparatively easy because the Ch'iang do not make images of their gods.

Mr. Torrance thought that he saw physical resemblances between the Ch'iang and the Hebrews, and also that he found numerous parallels in their social and religious customs. Both Mr. Torrance and Mr. Kou P'in-shan, his leading convert and probably his best friend among the Ch'iang, became convinced that the Ch'iang of western Szechwan are of Jewish descent. Mr. Kou wrote and published a pamphlet in which he stated this belief. Mr. Torrance stated in every one of his writings about the Ch'iang<sup>49</sup> that they are monotheists and finally in his book, "China's First Missionaries," he asserted that the Ch'iang are descendants of the ancient Israelites. They found some real parallels such as the flat-roofed house and the marriage of a widow to her deceased husband's brother, but some of their parallels are far-fetched.

For instance, Mr. Torrance mentions the sacrifice of a lamb among the Ch'iang.<sup>50</sup> The Ch'iang never sacrifice a lamb, but always a full-grown goat. Among the ancient Hebrews the lamb was often sacrificed as a sin offering, a propitiation for sins. Among the Ch'iang the goat is sacrificed or offered in payment of vows or promises made when praying to the gods for favors. Mr. Torrance mentions the sacred cane of the Ch'iang as evidence that the Ch'iang are Israelites.<sup>51</sup> It is more likely that the Ch'iang have borrowed the sacred cane from the Taoists, who are very strong in the vicinity of Kwanhsien and in the Ch'iang region, for both the Taoist and the Ch'iang priests use the sacred cane for the same purpose, the exorcism of demons. Incidentally, the cane shown opposite page 98 in "China's First Missionaries" is not a Ch'iang sacred cane at all, but a Mount Omei pilgrim's walking stick, made on Mount Omei and used by Chinese and other pilgrims to Mount Omei, but not used at all among the Ch'iang. Mr. Kou P'in-shan mentioned the fact that the Chinese history of Li-fan calls the Ch'iang in that region Pai (pronounced bei) Lan Ch'iang

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<sup>49</sup> Rev. Thomas Torrance was a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. His mastery of the Chinese written and spoken language was excellent. He was recognized by his fellow missionaries as an authority on some phases of Chinese art and archeology, including pottery, porcelain, and bronzes. He sent a number of valuable objects to the British Museum and collected a goodly number for the West China Union University Museum. He was the first Westerner to discover and to prove that the so-called Mantzu caves of Szechwan are not, as everybody had believed, ancient dwellings of pre-Chinese aborigines, but Chinese Han dynasty cave-tombs.

<sup>50</sup> Torrance, Thomas, *China's first missionaries*, pp. 35, 87. London, 1937.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 96-102.

and insists that this is a transliteration of the word Abram.<sup>52</sup> The Chinese word for Abraham is pronounced in Szechwan Ya Bei (or Beh) La Han (亞伯拉罕), and shortened to Ya Bei (or Beh) Lun, but never to Bei (or Beh) Lun. The Chinese word for Orchid Ch'iang, the term in question, in Szechwan is pronounced bei lan 白蘭. In an article published in *The Southwestern Frontier* 西南邊疆 in 1944, Mr. Ting Su discusses this name and shows that there is an Orchid Mountain north of the Ch'iang region, and that the Ch'iang living near that mountain were given the name Orchid Ch'iang.<sup>53</sup> Mr. Torrance mentions a Ch'iang cry of distress, "ya-wei," believing that it means Yaweh or Jehovah. "Ai-yah" and "ai-o-wei" are cries of distress widely used in Szechwan and the China-Tibetan border, which in this case is shortened to "ya-wei."<sup>54</sup> *Aba* or *Abba* for "father" is used by the Ch'iang, but it is also used by the Chinese in the Ch'iang region, by the Wa-ssü just south of the Ch'iang, by the Chia-jung just west of the Ch'iang, by the Chinese in northern Szechwan and in parts of Yunnan, and in several other provinces of China. The flat-roofed house and the high stone watch tower are widespread among the peoples of the China-Tibetan border. The sacred grove, similar even in the fact that the oak is one of the most common sacred trees, has existed in past ages in regions as far apart as Germany and eastern Asia.

The writer reiterates that in all his contacts with the Ch'iang, not one of them ever told him that they are monotheists. Many of them willingly gave him lists of the gods they worship and explained their functions. Some of the Ch'iang, however, through the influence of Mr. Torrance and of Kou P'in-shan, became convinced that the Ch'iang are descendants of the ancient Israelites. The following is the writer's translation of Mr. Kou's tract in which he expresses his belief that the Ch'iang are descendants of the Hebrews.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE TA CH'IANG PEOPLE CONCERNING  
THE ORIGIN AND END OF PAYING VOWS

By Kou P'in-shan, of Mu-shang-chai

Ch'iang brothers and friends of every place and fortified village, we live in between the borders of the Chinese and the Tibetans, adjacent to the Rung on the west, and bordering on the Chinese territory on the east. If we wish to

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>53</sup> Ting Su, *The Orchid Ch'iang and the Orchid Mountain*, in *The Southwestern Frontier*, published by the Chengtu Southwest Border Research Society, pp. 6-7, 1942.

丁騷 白蘭羌與白蘭山 西南邊疆 第十四期.

<sup>54</sup> Torrance, Thomas, *ibid.*, p. 122.

communicate with the Jung, the language is different. We cannot read the Tibetan literature, and we do not believe in the religion of the Lamas. Although we have intercourse with the Chinese, there are inconveniences. There are two reasons. First, our religious customs are different. We have to offer sacrifices and pay our vows in forests. Second, our place is very cold and our products not abundant. We wear linen (hemp) clothing. Few of our children can read. Therefore they do not understand the good points of the Ch'iang, and we live generation after generation in our locality. We converse with and help each other, do our duties, and let it go at that. There is no place where the source of our sacrifices can be investigated. We only know that they have been inherited from our ancestors. Now, Mr. Torrance of the American Bible Society has toured Wen-ch'uan, Li-fan, and Mao-chou, and found out that the sacrifices of every fortified village correspond to those of the Book of Exodus in the Bible, and he sent especially the preacher Ch'en Pin-Ling of the Bible Society to sell books in every village, and to preach and exhort people.

I got a copy of Genesis, Exodus, and the Four Gospels, and studied them, then understood that our sacrifices which worship the God of Heaven have the same roots as those methods of sacrifice of ancient Israel. Israel had a sacrificial altar on which to sacrifice lambs which must be without blemish. While killing the lamb, they scattered the blood with straw for remission of sins and the paying of vows, and to pray to the God of Heaven, and they prepared unleavened bread and mutton, which they all divided and ate, which corresponds to our custom of paying vows. Generation after generation the Israelites had this ceremony. Then Jesus Christ came to earth to be the Lamb of God, and to bear the sins for the people of all nations. This was because the blood of the sheep could not remove sins, and it was necessary for Jesus Christ to do the work of redemption on the cross before people could be truly saved. He died for sinners and after three days became alive again, to cause all who believe in Him to be free from sin and to be saved. According to this, the sacrifices of our Ch'iang ancestors were really excellent, but could not completely save people. Alas, at that time they had not heard about the coming of Jesus Christ, fulfilling the ancient ceremonies. Jesus' way of redemption is certainly dependable. Because he was human, he could do the work of redemption for men. Because he was divine, he could bear the sins of all men, and become the Savior of the people of all nations.

From ancient times we have regarded white as righteous, black as evil. We set up a white stone to symbolize the holiness and purity of the God of Heaven. We took a sheet of white paper and before it stuck a white flag to indicate our good purpose of worshiping God. If we study the Christian Bible, we know that God is most holy and pure, and exceedingly just, and most kind and righteous. If we wish to worship Him, we must deeply repent of our former sins, and depending on His redeeming merit, sincerely pray before we can be well-pleasing to Him. In ancient times our ancestors observed the custom of sacrificing and killing sheep. Now on the flats by the rivers many have forgotten and have deserted the old religion of our ancestors, and worship idols of clay and wood. Those images of dead people certainly cannot save people. The only real god is the Father of Heaven, who is the Ma-bei-ch'i that we worship. The coming to earth of Jesus Christ fulfilled our ancient ceremonies of sacrifice. We must trust Him for salvation.

This life is the living forever of the soul, which enjoys this happiness of heaven. Therefore the Bible says, "The wages of sin is death, but the gift of

God through our Lord Jesus Christ is everlasting life." All who are led by God's Holy Spirit are children of God. The Gospel (Christian) church, when it worships God, often calls God Heavenly Father, and calls heaven the kingdom of God. As a human father loves his sons and daughters, the Heavenly Father even more loves us as His sons and daughters, and prepares the paradise of His kingdom to reward our sufferings on earth. My Ch'iang friends, please think carefully. We understand that the fact that Jesus fulfilled our ancient sacrificial ceremonies is a matter of great joy. I urge you all to quickly study the Bible and understand clearly the doctrine. We live in a bitterly cold land and wear hemp clothing, regard white as superior and do not dye them; in all these ways the former generations imitated the kingdom of heaven and regarded white as pure. From this you can see that we are their descendants and ought to follow the high and pure teaching, sincerely repenting, trusting in the saving grace of Christ, and with pure white hearts worshiping God, forever becoming His sons and enjoying happiness. Let those who wish to understand this doctrine please talk about it with Mr. Ch'en Pin-ling and me.

The following are important facts:

1. The Ch'iang are not monotheists. They worship 5 great gods, 12 lesser gods, many local gods, and even some trees and rocks as living deities. Moreover, they regard the Chinese gods as real gods, and gladly worship any that they consider to be important and advantageous for them.

2. While there are parallels in their cultural traits to those of the Hebrews, there is none that cannot be very satisfactorily explained without reference to Jewish customs.

3. The Ch'iang have no taboo against the eating of pork.

4. There is no evidence of Hebrew origin in the Ch'iang tradition. Mr. Kou P'in-shan and others have told the writer that Gula is the Ch'iang people, and Chila the Chinese. Many have said that the Ch'iang have probably come from eastern China.

5. The Chinese are a very historically-minded people. They have written hundreds if not thousands of histories and gazetteers, and several of these historians are among the greatest the world has known. It would be practically impossible for a large group of Israelites to migrate into China without this being noted in Chinese histories. There is no such reference in Chinese histories, but many that indicate that the Ch'iang migrated westward from their early home in northeast China.

6. There is not one physical characteristic of the Ch'iang that would convince a physical anthropologist that they are of Jewish descent. They are a dark-eyed, dark-haired, and dark-skinned race, with hair that is generally straight or with long waves.

7. The evidence of history, language, customs, and physical char-

acteristics indicates that these people are members of the Burma-Tibetan branch of the yellow race.

The writer had intimate contacts with the Ch'iang, including Mr. Kou P'in-shan, and with Mr. Torrance in the summer of 1933. At that time none of the Ch'iang had any idea that they were descendants of the ancient Hebrews and had migrated from the west. Indeed, Mr. Kou suggested to the writer that the war with the Chinese probably occurred in the northeast of China. Mr. Torrance then believed that the Ch'iang were monotheists and had begun to suspect that they had migrated from the west. Later Mr. Torrance came to believe that the Ch'iang are descendants of the ancient Israelites and convinced his Ch'iang friends and followers. Thus the tradition was born and developed. A Ch'iang Christian at T'ao-tzŭ-p'ing told the writer that the Ch'iang purposely deceived Mr. Torrance into the belief that the Ch'iang were monotheists because of Mr. Torrance's very strong disapproval of polytheism and idolatry.

## VI. CONCLUSION

This book is the result of several years of first-hand contact with and study of the Ch'iang people, and of research in Chinese histories and the writings of Chinese and Oriental scholars.

The task of studying and interpreting as accurately as possible the lives and customs of these people is not an easy one. The natural reticence of the people, their willingness to give illusive and inaccurate answers that they believe will satisfy the inquirer, and the great variation in different localities in language and customs, make the work a very difficult one. The researcher cannot always tell when he is being deceived, and he needs to be extremely careful, checking and rechecking the information he is given.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>55</sup> In the summer of 1942 the writer spent a few days in P'u-ch'i-chai. The night before, he stayed in the home of a farmer near P'u-ch'i-kou, a few miles away. The farmer was very friendly and gave much valuable and interesting information. At P'u-ch'i-chai the writer mentioned the information the farmer had given. "Who gave you such accurate information?" they asked in astonishment. The writer gave the farmer's name. On the way back to Li-fan, the writer again stayed overnight in the home of the farmer. Apparently our host had been rebuked for giving us so much accurate information, for he was much less friendly and refused to tell us anything more.

The same summer the writer stayed a few days in Lung-ch'i-chai. The aged priest repeated some of his sacred chants, which the writer wrote down in the International Phonetic Script, with such explanations as the priest chose to give. By-and-by the priest came to the phrase, "*ha nu ch'i.*" *Ha nu* means 12, and *ch'i* means god or gods. The phrase refers to the 12 lesser gods. With a cunning look in his eyes, the priest said that it meant the 12 tribes of Israel.

The Ch'iang are being gradually absorbed by the Chinese. There is cultural absorption by social and commercial contacts, and there is intermarriage. In recent years Chinese schools have been established by the Chinese Government in the Ch'iang villages. In these schools the Chinese language and culture are taught. A normal school has been established in Wei-chou, to which both Chinese and Ch'iang students are admitted.

There are families of Ch'iang descent that no longer call themselves Ch'iang. There are localities where the people are Ch'iang but speak the Chinese language and have adopted Chinese dress and customs. At P'u-wa the headman is a Ch'iang who has married a Chinese wife, and in 1942 only two or three of the oldest people could speak the Ch'iang language.

The Ch'iang are not monotheists, but worship many Ch'iang gods and many Chinese gods. The Ch'iang gods have no images, with the exception of Abba Mula, the patron deity of the priest, and the King of Demons, whose head is carved on some of the sacred canes. There are 5 great gods, among which the supreme god is generally Mu-byasei, the sky god. He seems to closely resemble T'ien 天, or Heaven, the supreme god of the Chou people with whom the Ch'iang united in 1121 B. C. to overthrow the Shang dynasty. There are 12 lesser deities, many local and special gods, and some trees and stones are actually worshiped as gods. Chinese gods with or without images are regarded and worshiped as real and living deities. Mu-byasei is identified by many with the Taoist Jade Emperor, and in recent years he has been identified with the god of the Jews and Christians.

Sacrifices are gifts or offerings to the gods to secure their favors, in payment of vows or fulfilment of promises. In the spring there is a ceremony in which the gods are asked for good crops, rain, and a prosperous year, and promised that in return there will be gifts or offerings later in the year, generally in the fall. These offerings are on the housetops or in the sacred groves. Worship on the housetops is a family affair, but that in the sacred grove is participated in by the whole community, there being one or more representatives from every family. Only men can participate in or witness the ceremonies on the housetops or in the sacred groves, for women are believed to be impure and unworthy. In the homes the ceremonies may be conducted by members of the family, but on important occasions the priest is called in to officiate. The ceremonies in the sacred groves are always conducted by the priest, assisted by laymen who are called masters of ceremonies. The priest has the sacred implements and knows the

sacred chants, the incantations, and the methods of performing the ceremonies.

In the sacred groves one of the most common sacred trees is the oak, but there are other kinds also. The sacred white stone is considered to be holy, and a likely and appropriate object or place near which one can worship his gods and enjoy actual communion with them. These white stones generally cap the shrines in the sacred groves, in the Ch'iang temples, and on the housetops. They are also placed on the tops of graves and on walls built before the main doors of houses to keep away demons.

Formerly cremation was the only way to dispose of the dead. Increasingly this method is being reserved for those who have died violent or unusual deaths and might become demons; people who die normal deaths are buried in graves.

There is no written language. The "sacred books" include a kind of book consisting entirely of pictures and used only in divination, and religious chants that are memorized by priests and taught by one priest to another. The priesthood seems to be gradually dying out.

There are many ceremonies to exorcise demons, who are believed to be the cause of sickness, death, and many other calamities. These ceremonies include "sweeping the house," treading a red-hot plowshare, transforming water, and shutting a demon in a jug which is buried upside down at the crossroads. These ceremonies are performed by the priests.

The priest is highly respected. He, his ceremonies, his sacred implements, and the gods are believed to possess a mysterious potency so that he can perform wonders for the benefit of the people. There are also taboos, for this strange power is dangerous if it is wrongly used.

The Ch'iang are a comparatively primitive people, and in their religious ceremonies they seek food, rain, good crops, long life, numerous descendants, increase of domestic animals, protection, social prestige or honor, and a successful and satisfying life. There is evidence that many of them regard the sacred books as living beings and believe that the ceremonial hat is able to see and to hear. Even trees and stones are worshiped as deities. To understand and interpret these people as correctly as possible, the student should learn as much as he can about the cultures and history of the Chinese, the Tibetans, and other ethnic groups in central Asia. He should also have a knowledge of primitive religion and of primitive peoples. He should study what others have written about the Ch'iang and should have an intimate and first-hand knowledge of the Ch'iang people.

There is no evidence that the Ch'iang are descendants of the He-

brews. All the evidence is to the contrary. Their language, customs, and physical characteristics indicate that they belong to the Burma-Tibetan branch of the yellow race. According to Chinese history, they came centuries ago from northeast China and were pushed westward by the Chinese. Some of them went into Kansu and possibly farther west, and others turned southward into Szechwan. Formerly they extended beyond Sungpan into Kansu in the north and into the Ya-chou Prefecture and near Yüeh-sui in the south, but now they extend only from Tieh-ch'i on the north to So-ch'iao on the south, and from a few miles east of Wen-ch'uan, Wei-chou, and Mao-chou on the east to the village and creek called P'u-ch'i-kou and about 20 *li* up T'o or Tsa-ku-nao River from Li-fan, on the west.

As to the future of the Ch'iang of western Szechwan, one can only conjecture. Will they be completely absorbed by the Chinese, or will a goodly number of them cling to their old customs, traditions, and religion? Only time can tell.

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### EXPLANATION OF PLATE 3

1. A small wooden jug or vial. It is apparently an imitation in wood of the bronze vial shown in figure 3.
2. Bronze bell. Length 47 mm., width 45 mm., thickness 27 mm.
3. Small bronze vial or jug. Smooth and bright except where patinated. Length 53 mm., maximum diameter of body 28 mm.
4. Bronze ornament with holes through sides for sewing onto shields or armor. They vary in size. Length of this one 74 mm., maximum width 34 mm.
5. Bronze pendant. Length 61 mm., width 33 mm.
6. Bronze handle of sword or dagger, about one-fifth natural size.
7. Hollow circular bronze pendant.
8. Hollow rectangular bronze pendant.
9. Brass cooking vessel. Height 138 mm., maximum diameter 160 mm.
10. Two-handled earthenware jug with ornamental circles on the sides and two rows of vertical lines around the neck. They are made of gray clay and sometimes polished black. We know of no specimens of this kind found in ancient tombs anywhere else in the world, although some slightly resembling them have been found with neolithic painted pottery in Kansu. They vary greatly in size. There is a simpler kind without the ornamental circles on the sides.
- 11, 12, 13. Ornamental bronze bars with two, three, and four bulbs.
14. A *pan liang* or half-tael coin. About nine-tenths of the coins in the slate-slab tombs are Chinese *pan liang*, the remainder being *wu chu*. This is one evidence that the tombs were made near the end of the Chou or during the early Han dynasty.
- 15, 16. Disklike bronze buttons or ornaments.
17. Small bronze button or ornament.
18. A bronze ring ornamented with birds. Diameter of the ring 41 mm.

Aside from the two-handled jug shown in figure 10, the pottery of the slate tombs corresponds to that found in Chinese Han dynasty tombs. The slate-tomb culture is dated by archeologists between 500 and 100 B.C.

Illustrations and information are reprinted from an article by the writer in the *Journal of the West China Border Research Society*, vol. XV, Ser. A.

PLATES





# 軍用證明書

發給證明書事 茲有軍委會參事邊慶發等因研究黃鐘等因

赴漢山第一等火車連號 經過灌縣 汶川 理番 茂州 等地

大北鐵路行李車 經核准自七月十七日起至八月十五日止為

有效期間特此證明書為證

右給葛維 漢收執

中華民國三十一年七月十六日

委員長蔣中正

## 軍用證明書條例

- 一、本條例除適用軍政部發給證明書規則外尚遵照本條例辦理之
- 一、請領證明書者限於左列事項
  - 甲、行營官兵奉命出差及攜有個人佩帶用以自衛之軍用器具物品者
  - 乙、行營官兵奉命做傷帶分內行李物件出廠行營者
  - 丙、凡行營各處職員領發軍用物品因時間急促不及請領發單者
  - 丁、凡行營各處職員因公務關係經核准由行營發給此項證明書者
- 一、持有證明書者必須穿著軍裝或佩帶皮帶及符號否則無效
- 一、乘坐火車輪船須遵守軍人乘坐車規則
- 一、如違反本條例時應交懲處
- 一、如違不遵守本條例或銷毀證明書私運反叛帶違禁物品等情一經查出嚴懲不貸
- 一、全文無效改頒作廢

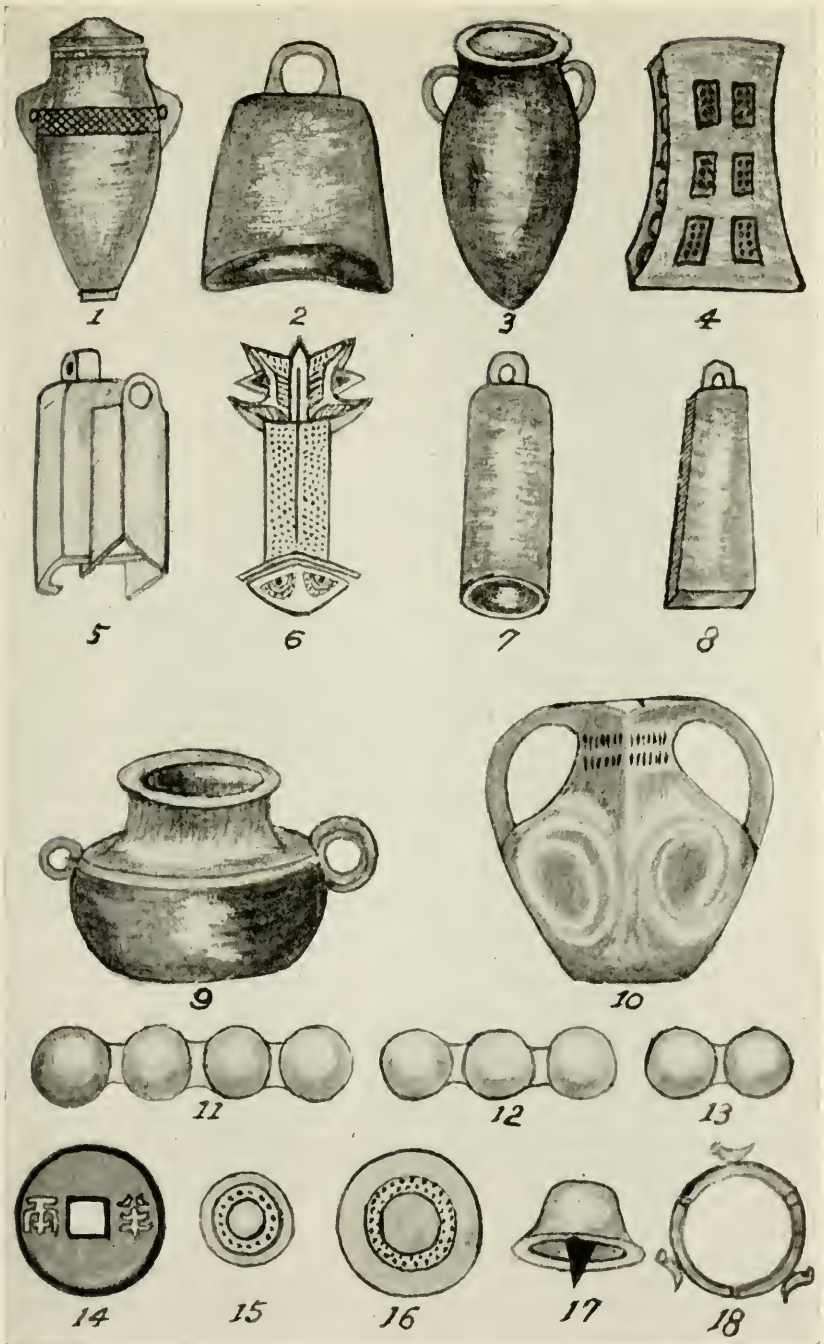


Upper, Picture of a passport issued to the writer by Generalissimo Chiang K'ai-shek in the summer of 1941 for research among the Ch'iang. Lower, Governors of four Chinese provinces looking at a white panda. D. C. Graham second from the right. Pandas are found in the Ch'iang region.



*Upper.* A slate-slab tomb on the side of a terrace in the Chi'ang region.

*Lower.* A Chi'ang farmer at Tung-men-wai 羌民老農.



Objects found in slate-slab tombs in the Ch'iang region near Li-fan, Wei-chou, and Wen-ch'uan. (For explanation, see p. 110.)



*Upper*, Mr. Kou, a Ch'iang of Mu-shang-chai, with his wife and child. *Lower*, A Ch'iang headman and family near Wen-ch'uan. Note the belts worn by the women.



*Upper*, Chi'ang woman and girl wearing woven belts. *Lower*, The rope bridge consisting of bamboo cables and boards across the Min River at So-ch'iao. The weight of this bridge sometimes breaks the bamboo cables.



*Upper*, A perilous bridge called a *p'ien ch'iao* in western Szechwan. It is built on the side of a perpendicular cliff over a swift mountain stream. Holes are chiseled into the side of the cliff and poles are stuck horizontally into the holes. Such bridges are dangerous because the poles gradually slip out of the holes and the bridge finally falls into the stream. *Lower*, A man with baggage crossing a bridge consisting of a single bamboo cable over a turbulent mountain stream.



*Upper*, A cobalt bridge near Wei-kuan in the Ch'iang region.  
*Lower*, Ch'iang road built over a cliff.



*Upper*, The village of Ts'a-to-kou showing flat-roofed Ch'iang houses and Chinese temple and house with sloping roof. *Lower*, A village showing flat-roofed stone houses and watch towers.





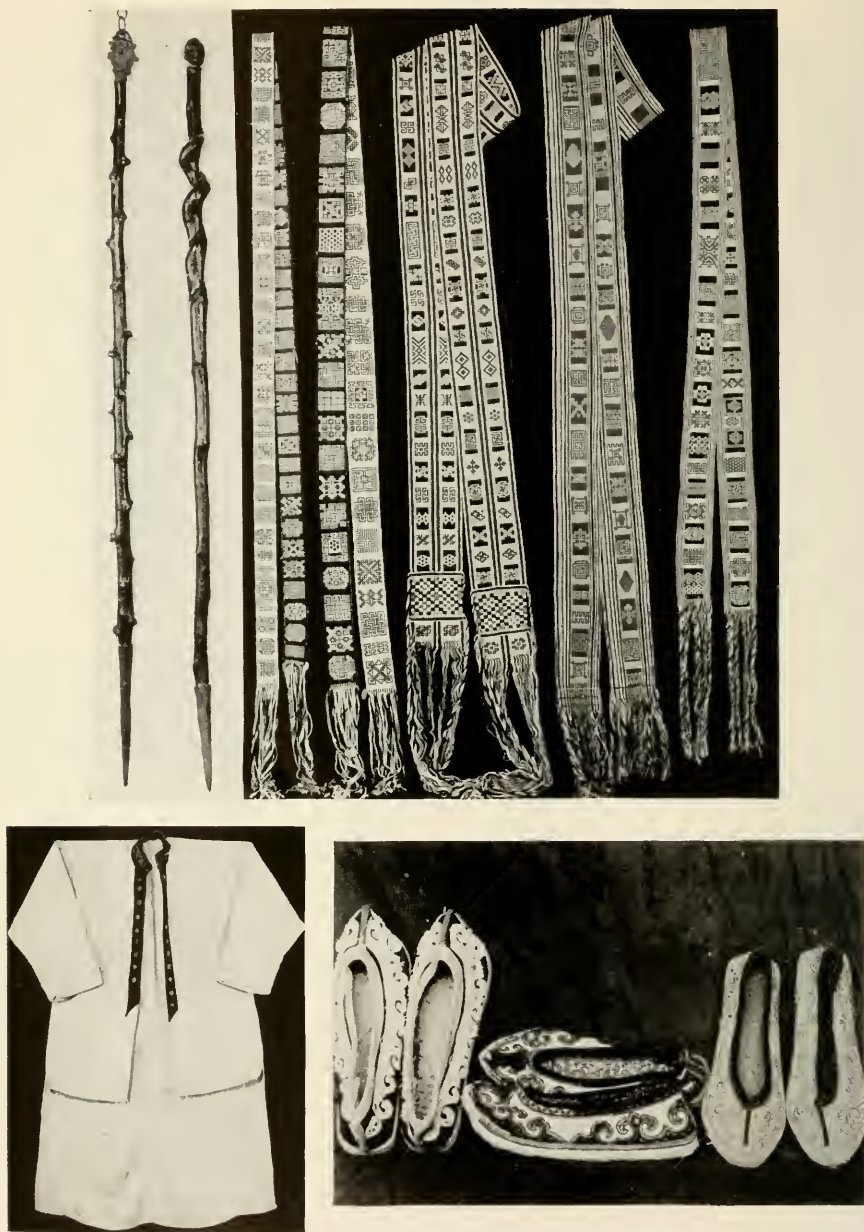
*Upper*, The village of Mu-shang-chai, showing the tower and houses beyond. Note the terraced hillside in the background. *Lower*, A street between two stone houses, with a tall stone tower beyond the houses.



*Upper*, Stone towers at P'u-wa, with tops broken off.  
*Lower*, A Ch'iang woman weaving cloth.



Ch'iangs: *Upper, left*, Man carrying home a basket of ripe corn; *right*, woman carrying wood. *Lower, left*, Woman carrying water in a wooden tub; *right*, hunter holding his gun and powder horn. The gun is a muzzle loader.



*Upper, Two sacred canes (on the left), and embroidered belts. Lower, left, Woman's homespun gown or cloak made of undyed hemp; right, Woman's embroidered shoes. (Canes, belts, and gown, courtesy of American Museum of Natural History.)*



*Upper, left*, A house with five shrines, one for each of the five great gods; *right*, temple or sacred shelter near a sacred grove. *Center*, The Ch'iang priest at Lung-ch'i-chai, standing in front of the shrine on his housetop. The shrine has a hole for burning incense, and is capped by a sacred white stone. There are twelve small stones around the base of the large one for the twelve lesser gods. *Lower*, A house used in cremating the dead.



*Upper, left*, A sacred grove near Wei-chou; *right*, a shrine in a sacred grove near Lo-pu-chai, with five places to burn incense to each of the five great gods. The usual sacred white stone is missing, its place marked by the writer's white hat. *Lower, left*, Priest dressed in white hemp cloth with ceremonial hat, drum and drumstick, and a farmer dressed in dark blue cotton cloth and wearing a white cotton turban; *right*, the priest at Mu-shang-chai, wearing his ceremonial hat and sword and holding his ceremonial drum, with a lay helper dressed in white hemp cloth.



*Upper*, A boy sitting by a fireplace in a Ch'iang temple. The fireplace is composed of three stones chipped to form right angles. Each stone is a god—the fire god, the female ancestor, the male ancestor. *Center*, A stove consisting of an iron circle and three iron legs which are worshiped as gods. *Lower*, Men walking to the sacred grove to pay vows by offering sacrifices to the five great gods. As usual they are dressed in homespun white garments and are walking in single file. The man in front is carrying a white rooster to be offered.



*Upper, left*, The patron deity of a Ch'iang priest, called abba mula or ndjei chu. It consists of the skull and other parts of a golden-haired monkey wrapped in white rice paper; *right*, a priest's sacred drum with ornamented handle. *Center*, Ceremonial brass gong used by priests. *Lower*, Antelope horns used by priests to exorcise demons. (Gong and horns courtesy of American Museum of Natural History.)



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