

Chapter 5

Sinicization and Indigenization: The Emergence of the Yunnanese

Introduction

As the state began sending soldiers and their families, predominantly Han Chinese, to Yunnan, the Ming military presence there became part of a project of colonization. Soldiers were joined by land-hungry farmers, exiled officials, and profit-driven merchants so that, by the end of the Ming period, the Han Chinese had become the largest ethnic population in Yunnan. Dramatically changing local demography, and consequently economic and cultural patterns, this massive and diverse influx laid the foundations for the social makeup of contemporary Yunnan.

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The interaction of the large numbers of Han immigrants with the indigenous peoples created a new hybrid society, some members of which began to identify themselves as Yunnanese (*yunnanren*) for the first time. Previously, there had been no such concept of unity, since the indigenous peoples differentiated themselves by ethnicity or clan and tribal affiliations. This chapter will explore the process that led to this new identity and its reciprocal impact on the concept of Chineseness.

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Using primary sources, I will first introduce the indigenous peoples and their social customs during the Yuan and early Ming period before the massive influx of Chinese immigrants. Second, I will review the migration waves during the Ming Dynasty and examine interactions between Han Chinese and the indigenous population. The giant and far-reaching impact of Han migrations on local society, or the process of sinicization, that has drawn a lot of scholarly attention, will be further examined here; the influence of the indigenous culture on Chinese migrants—a process that has won little attention—will also be scrutinized. Third, the imperial education and examinations and the economic interactions that accompanied military colonization will be discussed. I argue that sinicization and indigenization are two aspects of one process that created a new culture in Yunnan and added a new dimension to the Chinese identity.

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Indigenous Peoples and Customs According to Li Jing

Yunnan Zhilue (A general record of Yunnan), compiled by Li Jing in the first decade of the fourteenth century, provides a general view of the indigenous peoples in the Yuan period.¹ Li was assigned as deputy pacification commissioner of Wusa and Wumeng circuit (administrative units below province), and was the bearer of the tiger tablet, and the commander of Wanhu (*myriarch*). His record hence serves as a first-hand observation.² The most valuable part of *Yunnan Zhilue* is a description of the indigenous groups in Yunnan. Li

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Jing provides a vivid and relatively comprehensive introduction to the social customs of ethnic groups. He introduces the Bai, Luoluo, Jinchi Baiyi (the Gold-Teeth Barbarians), Moxie, Tuliao, Yeman (literally, "the savages"), Woni, and Pu people.³

Li observes many native customs that sharply contrasted with those of the Chinese, the most striking of which is probably the role of women, in terms of their dress, social and economic roles, and marriage. In the case of the Bai people, girls and widows would freely have sex with men as and when they liked. As for the Luoluo, women let their hair down and wore cotton clothes; the wealthy wore embroidered clothes, while the commoners put on sheepskins, and the skirts of girls hardly covered their knees. Women of the Gold-Teeth Barbarians plucked their eyebrows and eyelashes and wove their hair into two coils. They wore embroidered clothes and adorned them by sewing on small shells. And it was women instead of men who worked very hard at farming. Virginity was not important, and girls had the freedom to have sex with men; virginity may even have been a barrier to marriage. If a girl died before marriage, all the men who had had relations with the girl had to hold up a banner to see her off. If the banners numbered 100 (or more), the girl was considered to have been especially beautiful. Her parents would cry and lament: "How could we have known that our daughter who is loved by so many men would have died so young?"

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The Moxie women in the Yunnan-Tibet border area wore felt wraps and black clothes. They went barefoot, and wore their hair in buns. Women wore wool yarn as a skirt, with much of the body uncovered. Even when married, they were not restrained from having sex with other men.⁴

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Native marriage rituals were distinctive, too. Unlike the Chinese, who forbade marriage within the same clan or lineage, the Gold-Teeth people did not make distinctions between lineage and clan. Before their marriages, the Luoluo women first had to have relations with the shaman, and then dance with the groom's brothers. Only after that could she be married to her husband. If one brother refused to dance, he would be considered unrighteous and could threaten the relationship among his brothers. Women played important and influential roles in tribal politics. If a Luoluo chieftain died without a male heir, his wife or daughters would take the position. The female chieftain often had a dozen male attendants, with whom she could have sex. Moxie women in northwestern Yunnan sometimes acted as mediators when a war between tribes broke out.

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Li Jing also records the different customs of birth, death burial, and food. After delivering a baby, a Gold-Teeth woman would immediately take it up in her arms, and wash it in the river. She would then give the baby to the father, and return to work as usual.⁵ As for food, the indigenous people loved to eat raw meat or fish, mixed with garlic paste.⁶ Body tattoos were prevalent.

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Some of Li Jing observations had been shared by Marco Polo, who had traveled through Yunnan to Burma about a half century before.⁷ Li Jing's vivid images of the indigenes and their social customs describe a society that varied sharply from that of the Chinese. The indigenous dress, festivals, foods, gender relations, and social hierarchy were so different that they were thought to be "barbarian," uncivilized, and savage according to Confucian ethics. To be sure, the Moxie people in northwest Yunnan were greatly influenced by Tibetan culture, and many other peoples described by Li Jing were Southeast Asian, as revealed by their funeral and marriage customs, and the role of women. 9

Chinese rituals of funerals and marriage called for the deceased to be placed in a coffin and buried, while in Yunnan, cremation seems to be the dominant funerary ritual, which violated the Confucian sense of piety. In addition, the behavior of women in Yunnan differed from their counterparts in China proper where virginity and chastity were valued. Unlike in China proper, Gold-Teeth society women played an important role in economic activities, dealing in cowries and taking care of the farming. Local women's right to inherit the position of their husbands or fathers was abolished by the Ming-Qing state. These social customs, especially the status of women, reveal the fact that Yunnan in general was more Southeast Asian than Chinese. However, the mass flow of Han Chinese immigrants gradually changed Yunnan's social and cultural landscape. 10

Chinese Immigration to Yunnan: A Historical Review

Chinese states encouraged migration to frontier areas by making it a state project and policy from early times.⁸ No sooner had the Chinese conquered Yunnan than migrations sponsored or forced by imperial states took place. Although an estimate of the Han population specifically in early Yunnan is impossible, the presence of the Chinese was often recorded in textual sources, since in keeping with Confucian moral principles, imperial authors and editors clearly distinguished the indigene (*y*) from the Chinese (*min*).⁹ 11

Chinese immigrants to Yunnan in the early period included three types: military colonists, people of war (usually captives), and spontaneous migrants. Zhuang Qiao and his army were the earliest recorded military immigrants to Yunnan. One source states that the Chu forces consisted of 20,000 soldiers, and Fang Guoyu thought it reasonable.¹⁰ Zhuang's long-distance expedition, according to Fang, possibly followed the trading route pioneered by merchants,¹¹ so there might have been merchant sojourners in Yunnan before Zhuang Qiao's settlement. 12

Large-scale immigration to Yunnan was initiated in the Western Han.¹² The first immigrants were military colonists who arrived when the Western Han established military garrisons in important passes and cities to protect administrative offices and to contain local threats. Gradually some of them were absorbed into local societies.¹³ The Han state also moved other people by force into the Southwest. In the Yuanfeng reign (110 BCE–105 BCE), Emperor Wu moved the convicted and unscrupulous wealthy (*jianhao*) to fill in Yizhou.¹⁴ Buwei County, for 13

example, was named after Lü Buwei, whose clan was exiled there.¹⁵ By doing so, the Han court not only got rid of local power elites and extended central penetration in China proper but also resettled Chinese migrants, albeit criminals or other dangerous people, to implant Chinese culture and help stabilize the frontier.

The Han period witnessed over a dozen military expeditions in the Southwest. One campaign recruited at least several thousand soldiers, and at most several hundred thousand. Based on several campaigns that were recorded with the number of troops involved, about four hundred thousand soldiers and laborers were mobilized.¹⁶ While many of them were killed or returned home, some were captured or escaped into local societies. Hence, the number of military refugees and of captives cannot be taken lightly. 14

The Nanzhao period witnessed military colonists resettled by the Tang court in the Southwest.¹⁷ Five hundred soldiers each year after 664 were recruited to garrison Yaozhou Military Prefecture.¹⁸ The Yaozhou station existed over eight decades, and the total number of soldiers stationed there in this period reached over 40,000. While many soldiers died in their service either of diseases or of battle, quite a few may have ended their serves in local societies, voluntarily or by force. 15

Wars between Nanzhao and China also brought a lot of people to Yunnan. It was recorded that over 200,000 Chinese soldiers were recruited, and most of them failed to return.¹⁹ The number probably was an exaggeration, but the scale of the military clash was confirmed by its adverse effect on the Tang Empire. Bai Juyi, the famous Tang poet, wrote a poem that spoke of a man who broke his arm in order to be exempted from military duty.²⁰ A Song story told how Guo Zhongxiang was captured and sold many times by native chieftains in Nanzhao, and was finally bought back, thanks to his faithful friend.²¹ Such a record could be true, as in 795, a Tang envoy brought back to Chang'an a couple of Tang generals who had been captured over four decades before.²² 16

Nanzhao also plundered neighboring areas and took many Han Chinese back as slaves. The battle at Chengdu Plain was probably worst of all. In 829, Nanzhao troops occupied Chengdu and took several tens of thousands of residents, including many weavers who greatly increased the textile industry in Nanzhao.²³ About 4,000 captives were released the next year, including artisans and monks.²⁴ It could be imagined that more people were probably kept by native chieftains. Guo Zhongxiang, mentioned above, in fact had been sold by native chiefs many times. Among the captives were some famous people, for example, Yong Tao, a poet who managed to return, and win a Jinshi degree in 834.²⁵ But most well known was probably Zheng Hui, who served as *qingpingguan* (prime minister) in the Nanzhao court, and played a crucial role in the Nanzhao court, as has been discussed in chapter three. 17

Nanzhao's conquests of Annam brought back a lot of Han Chinese as well. *Zi Zhi Tong Jian* states that 150,000 Chinese were either killed or captured in the Annam campaigns.²⁶ This number, again, could be an overestimate. Among the captives was Princess Li Yao from the Tang imperial household. Li's husband served in Annam. Later she was sent back.²⁷ 18

In addition to government-sponsored migrations such as military colonists or prisoners of war, other unorganized migrations took place all the time²⁸ consisting mainly of Han Chinese who were fleeing famine, war, or intolerable state exploitation, or were merchants enticed by exotic goods and remarkable profits. Zhang Jianzhi, a Tang prime minister at the end of the seventh century, mentioned that terrible exploitation drove over 2,000 Han households to Yaozhou.²⁹ 19

Many local native people indeed were descendents of Han Chinese. *Man Shu* mentions that the tribe in northeast Yunnan, called Shangren, were originally Han people (*ben hanren ye*).³⁰ *Tong Dian* mentions that local peoples either included many Han Chinese (*huaren*)³¹ or regarded themselves as descendants of the Han (*ziyun qixian ben hanren*).³² In 1074, when Yang Zuo volunteered to travel into Yunnan to purchase horses, he met an old woman who stated that she had moved from Sichuan over two decades before, fleeing famine. 20

In conclusion, numerous Han Chinese moved to Yunnan before the thirteenth century, either voluntarily or by force. While they contributed to the development of local societies, in most cases, they were also absorbed into native societies. The wave of assimilating Chinese immigrants was only reversed by the large scale of Han migrations sponsored by states of the Ming and Qing empires. 21

Han Chinese Migrations and Population in Yunnan during the Ming Period

The Mongol conquest in the mid-thirteenth century not only brought Han Chinese to Yunnan but also Muslims, who comprised the major demographic mark left by the Mongol rule. Unfortunately, there are no Mongol sources that provide the numbers, but the Ming state provided a few figures for us to sketch out the number of Chinese migrations.³³ 22

Military colonists of the Ming state in Yunnan were of a large number. The Wei-Suo system, or military garrisons protecting key cities, towns, and passes, distinguished itself by making garrisons permanent homes for soldiers. Soldiers and their wives and children were ordered to stay on their colonial farms permanently, and they were registered as hereditary military households. The number of military households in Yunnan was extremely large, because this frontier was vast in territory and diverse in topography. The first military colonization took place just after the Ming conquest. Nearly 90,000 soldiers were stationed in the nine *wei*.³⁴ However, this force was still unable to stabilize Yunnan. In the Hongwu reign (1368–1398), Zhengtong reign (1436–1449), and at the end of the sixteenth century, the Ming launched several campaigns to pacify uprisings, and more soldiers were dispatched. All these campaigns left 23

about 280,000 soldiers in Yunnan.³⁵ This figure, nonetheless, only constituted about one-third of military immigrants, in that each soldier brought his wife and children to the garrison (it is fair to estimate that each soldier was the head of a three-person family). A rough estimate of the first generation of Ming military households in Yunnan would be over 800,000.

Other immigrants included exiles, peasants, merchants, and refugees, which may have included scholar-officials, military officials, soldiers, and criminals. Some of them arrived in Yunnan with their families. Xu Xiake, a famous traveler at the end of the Ming period, was well received by many local scholars and members of the gentry, who were descendants of Chinese scholar-officials. The Ming state also encouraged peasant immigration. Some sources state that the Ming moved peasants and the rich from populous Jiangnan to Yunnan.³⁶ Frontier trade attracted Chinese merchants from Jiangnan, too, as revealed by the large number of *huiguan* (association halls for people of the same profession, business, birth place, surname, and other affiliations) in Yunnan. Finally, some Han Chinese migrated because of natural or man-made disasters. A major migration took place at the end of the Ming when the Ming loyalists followed Emperor Yongli to Yunnan and Burma. However, these forms of Han immigration did not leave enough information for us to make a rough estimate of their figures. 24

All these forms of migration indeed made up what James Lee calls the "first immigration to the Southwest." Lee has estimated that military colonization may have brought over a million settlers, which made it one of the largest and most sustained government migrations in Chinese history.³⁷ Lu Ren has estimated that by the early sixteenth century Chinese migrants and their descendants would have reached about 3 million.³⁸ It is hard to compare Han population with that of the natives, but James Lee has cautiously concluded that the population of Yunnan during the early sixteenth century was over 2 million³⁹ and that Han population probably would have reached about one-third of that in the Southwest.⁴⁰ Although native people still by far outnumbered Han Chinese, the latter was probably the largest ethnic group in Yunnan.⁴¹ 25

There is a big gap between James Lee's 1 million and Lu Ren's 3 million, but the former can be regarded as the lower end of the range and the latter as the upper. Over 1 million Han Chinese, though scattered throughout the large frontier area, initiated tremendous transformations. First of all, Chinese immigrants enhanced political ties between the Southwest and China, and they also created "a deep and long-lasting cleavage in southwestern society" by introducing Chinese culture.⁴² Before the thirteenth century, almost all Han Chinese immigrants were absorbed into the indigenous population. From the Ming period onwards, this trend was reversed. Chinese immigrants began to exert an unprecedented influence on local societies in a process of sinicization. In this sense, the large number of Chinese immigrants and their descendants in the Ming period embarked on a new era in Yunnan history. 26

Sinicization of the Indigenous Population

Sinicization had occurred in Yunnan since early times. Chinese conquest and loose rule of Yunnan, which occurred before the Mongols arrived, imposed Chinese institutions, introduced the Han agrarian economy, and spread Confucian ethics. Wen Qi, for example, completed many irrigation projects, reclaimed land, and cultivated rice paddies when he took the office of Yizhou prefecture in the early first century, which was welcomed by the local people.⁴³ Indigenous peoples borrowed many Chinese cultural elements that they thought were useful. As a result, many Chinese cultural factors can be found in Yunnan before the Mongols, and are often cited by scholars of China to exaggerate China's influence. This section will highlight the expansion of Han agricultural institutions, Confucian education projects, and the transition of social customs to exemplify the process of sinicization in the Ming period. 27

The Expansion of the Han Regime in Urban and Rural Yunnan

Before the inflow of a large number of Han immigrants, indigenous peoples had practiced agriculture for centuries, and they had developed their own ways that were in tune with local topography and climate. Most of the population lived in compact communities in *bazi*. During the Nanzhao period, they were already using oxen-drawn ploughs, and they were already planting rice (*dao*), wheat (*mai*), beans (*dou*), and millet (*su*).⁴⁴ In the largest *bazi*, such as the Erhai and Dian Lake areas, agricultural production was relatively advanced. Both Fan Chuo and Li Jing compared the Dali area with Jiangnan.⁴⁵ 28

James Lee points out that between 1250 and 1600, population in the Southwest increased from 3 to 5 million, and that this increase resulted from the agricultural expansion sponsored by the Yuan and especially the Ming state.⁴⁶ Military colonization in the Ming period was the key to population settlement and growth. To cite from a Ming source, 29

Military colonies in Yunnan were the most important, because there the Indigenous outnumbered the Han, and mountains outnumbered fields, so that military forces in Yunnan were unable to be fed. . . . Now these guards like stars are stationed throughout departments and counties, and military colonies stand in the plains. The rich harvest, on the one hand, is able to meet the demand of troops; the military companies, on the other hand, are able to defend against bandits.⁴⁷

By the late fifteenth century, the pattern of military presence in Yunnan was fixed. Under the Regional Military Commission of Yunnan were seventeen *wei*, three military-civilian commanders (*junmin zhihuishis*), and six defense battalions (*shouyu qianhusuo*).⁴⁸ Figures of military guards (*wei*), battalions (*qianhusuo*), and military villages (*tun*) that appeared in *Yunnan Zhi*, a provincial gazetteer compiled in 1510, reveal the scale of the military colonies. *Yunnan Zhi* listed over 300 *tuns* in Yunnan, and for most of which he provided names, locations, and in some cases distances to the nearest major city.⁴⁹ In addition, several dozen *tuns* were mentioned not by name but by general location, for example, *tuns* in Beishengzhou and Lancangwei. There were even some areas where military colonies were supposed to exist but 30

had no records, for example, in Xinhua Zhou and Jinchi. Each *tun* was indeed a military farm, providing provisions for the troops. Military granaries (*tuncang*) served as complementary evidence to highlight the achievements of military farms. *Yunnan Tongzhi* (Comprehensive record of Yunnan), compiled in the 1570s, listed about 165 military granaries by name.⁵⁰

Although the *wei*, battalion (*qianhusuo*), and company (*baihusuo*) were the basic units of the military system, even smaller units were created to meet the demands of defense and geographical conditions. General banners (*zongqi*) that consisted of fifty soldiers as well as small banners (*xiaoqi*) that consisted of ten soldiers were put in some places. 31

Military colonization first changed the urban population pattern when the Wei-Suo system accompanied and defended the administrative hierarchy. In each major city or town troops were stationed and lands were occupied or cultivated to support them. In some cases, walled cities were strengthened or rebuilt. In other cases, where there originally were no walled cities, new ones were built. In total, the Ming state built nearly seventy cities of department/county level.⁵¹ Consequently, many Han immigrants lived either in or around cities. Kunming, the major city in Yunnan, once saw six *wei* inside the city.⁵² During that time, the Han population in Kunming may have reached 100,000.⁵³ Dali, Qujing, Chuxiong, Jingdong, Yongchang, Lin'an, Heqing, Menghua, and Yaoan all saw the *wei* and the prefect in the same city. The Han population in those cities varied from several thousands to tens of thousands. Wei was also set up in the department or county seats, for example, in Beisheng (Yongsheng), Binchuan, Yongping, Yiliang, Anning, Malong, Luoxiong, Ningyuan, and Dayao. Troops were stationed in large numbers in towns or frontier key posts to aid in military defense, for example, in Tengchong, a frontier walled city in western Yunnan. As a result, the military and administrative presence in cities and towns facilitated urbanization, and began the pattern of urban demography in Yunnan. Consequently, the Han population began to dominate urban Yunnan. 32

After 1386, when major campaigns were over, Ming troops devoted much energy to agricultural colonies. About 70 percent of the soldiers in each unit were expected to be farming while the remaining 30 percent performed duties of a military nature.⁵⁴ When arable lands near cities ran out, they began to penetrate areas far from urban areas. As described by a contemporary witness: guards like stars in the sky decorated the prefectures and counties while military villages (*tun*) lined the plains.⁵⁵ 33

Other semimilitary infrastructures contributed to agricultural expansion as well, including the postal network (*yi*). The Yuan Dynasty imposed the *zhanchi* (postal stations) system in Yunnan. There were seventy-eight *zhanchi* in Yunnan, providing horses, carts, boats, housing, and provisions. When the Ming state resumed the postal networks, it also added *bao* in major communication routes, a supplement to the postal service. For example, in 1387 one *bao* for every sixty *li* was established between Yongning and Dali.⁵⁶ While *yi* in the Ming Dynasty replicated the Yuan counterparts, *bao* was a Ming invention. There were thirty-nine *bao* in Yunnan, twenty-seven of which were seated with *yi*, while the rest twelve in the new place.⁵⁷ 34

Each *bao* was a company (*baihusuo*) of soldiers.⁵⁸ Like in the Wei-Suo system, these positions were hereditary and were provided with land.⁵⁹ The number of soldiers in each varied from several dozens up to a couple of hundred. In Anning Bao, for example, about 200 soldiers were assigned, which meant that 200 households lived there. Certainly it was a village of a fairly large scale.⁶⁰ Consequently, land assigned to each *bao* varied, based on the scale of the *bao* and the access to land. Lühe Bao in Chuxiong, for example, held 430 *mu* with 52 soldiers, while Shezi Bao in Guangtong had 480 *mu* with 50 soldiers.⁶¹ Since *bao* was set up on major communication routes, quite naturally some of them developed into market towns as more and more people settled in them.

In addition to *yi* and *bao*, there were *pu* and *shao*, similar posts but on a smaller scale. *Pu* were postal stations set in the branches of communication routes. Based on incomplete statistics, there seem to have been about 300 *pu* in Yunnan, although many of them were apparently stationed in the same place as *yi* or *bao*.⁶² Unlike in China proper where *pu* were staffed by civilians, both civilians and hereditary soldiers were assigned to *pu* in Yunnan, along with land.⁶³ *Shao* was military garrisons designed to protect communications and local security simultaneously. It did not appear until the mid-Ming.⁶⁴ *Yunnan Zhi* records that the

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... Han and the Yi are living mixed together and bandits appear randomly, so that *shao* were built each ten, twenty, or thirty *li* along each route with soldiers to guard them. The large *shao* contain fifty people, while the small *shao* twenty to thirty people, directed by commanders. Both officials and soldiers brought their families with them.⁶⁵

While a few of them were served by local civilians, most *shao* were military in nature.⁶⁶ *Yunnan Zhi* records about 190 *shao* throughout Yunnan. With land provided by the state, these garrisons became self-sufficient and exempt from taxation. For example, in the Zhengde reign (1506–1521), 11 *shao* in the Mile Department, with 550 soldiers, were given 11,000 *mu* of dry land, an average of 20 *mu* per person.

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Shao symbolized the furthest reach of Chinese presence, as it was located in remote and mountainous areas where minority peoples were overwhelmingly outnumbered. Some *shao* reached far beyond the Wei-Suo system, entering native chieftain areas where no Han people had been before. According to Xu Xiake, the Weimo Department, where neither military guards nor any Han community had existed, once held at least five *shao* at the end of the Ming, each with fifteen soldiers and fifteen militias.⁶⁹ Being military and cultural frontier posts, *shao* proved to be a force to control native peoples and a base to expand the Han cultural regime. Some *shao* took roots in the new, sometimes, harsh environment, and reproduced Han culture, while in most cases they were incorporated into the native societies.

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All these military and postal farms became a sort of agricultural pioneering venture, and gradually turned into civilian villages, as the Wei-Suo system became corrupted from the mid-Ming period on. So it is not an exaggeration to conclude that Ming military farms set the

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foundation of rural Yunnan that yielded tremendous impact in the Qing period and onward. A quick look at the names of villages in Yunnan illuminates the legacy of the Ming military colonization. Many villages and market towns were named after *bao* (fort), *suo* (station), *shao* (post), *ying* (camp, battalion), *zhuang* (military farm), and *tun* (military village). Some villages were even named after military officials' surnames or military households. Xu Xiake, during his Yunnan travels, recorded many villages with such names. County gazetteers compiled in the Qing period contained many records, too.⁷⁰ In Xundian during the Ming period, for example, the ratio of military to civilian villages was 1 to 2.⁷¹ Luliang, the largest *bazi* in Yunnan since the establishment of Luliangwei, was swarmed with military migrants, while the indigenes had been the majority until the early Ming. With the dramatic increase of villages, ethnic patterns were transformed. The gazetteer compiled in the Daoguang reign (1821–1850) listed over 220 villages in Luliang, among which nearly half were named after the above military terms.⁷²

The Ming colonization greatly increased agricultural expansion, as revealed by arable land. By 1605, Yunnan had over 10 million *mu* of cultivated land.⁷³ But what were the sources of farmland? First, the Ming military authority confiscated cultivated lands, either from the Yuan government or officials, or from local owners. When the Ming army conquered Yunnan, the Yuan government properties were confiscated and much land was devoted to the military colonies. When guard posts were set up, lands nearby were confiscated from their owners who were relocated. In some cases, native chieftains presented land to military guards. For example, Atao, a native chieftain in Jingdong, presented his house as a guard post and his land as a military farm when Jingdong Wei was established.⁷⁴ *Jingdongfu Zhi* confirmed this fact, as it pointed out that paddies were originally called *yitian* (barbarian paddies) and *tumi* (native rice).⁷⁵

Expropriation of arable land was a common phenomenon. Most arable land in Yunnan was located in *bazi* that had been inhabited by the indigenous populations. The Bai, Yi, and Tai peoples in the valleys and basins had already practiced agriculture. When their land was confiscated, they either moved out to the hilly or mountainous areas, or were forced to change their vocation. In fact, the Ming colonization initiated a new demographic geographic pattern as Han population began to dominate urban Yunnan and spread to the rural areas. Here emerged a kind of ethnic territory. Urban areas and suburb areas were called Han territory (*hanjie*), while rural and especially hilly and mountainous areas were dominated by indigenous peoples, as was the case in southern Sichuan of the Song period.⁷⁶ When Wu Daxun served in Yunnan between 1772 and 1782, he was astonished to see that "inside cities are all the Han people, while the indigenous live in valleys and wide fields. [The Han people], originally guests of Yunnan, now are masters, making [Yunnan] a happy land."⁷⁷ Wu was remarking on an eighteenth-century picture, which had its origins in the fifteenth century.

The other way to gain arable land was reclamation. The Ming state encouraged soldiers to open up new lands. Mu Ying had reclaimed over 1 million *mu* before his death in 1393.⁷⁸ His son Mu Chun continued to reclaim over 300,000 *mu*.⁷⁹ Although some land might have been taken from local owners, the effect of reclamation was phenomenal. 41

In response to military colonies, peasants strived to reclaim land, although their achievements cannot be measured. But a comparison of land figures between the Yuan and Ming will be helpful to illustrate the scale of the Ming reclamation. The Yuan government made an effort to enlarge agricultural production and to build military colonies in Yunnan. In Zhongqing (Kunming), there were about 22,500 *shuang*, or 112,500 *mu*, in 1290.⁸⁰ In 1510, the state land (*guantian*) and civilian land (*mintian*) in Kunming amounted to over three times that number, amounting to 367,186 *mu*, which did not include military farms and the Mu farms.⁸¹ In the case of Lin'an prefect, it is recorded that during the Yuan Dynasty the Lin'an circuit had arable land of 25,760 *mu*,⁸² but in the Ming the number increased sevenfold.⁸³ These figures suggest that the Ming reclamation was of a large scale. 42

At the end of the fifteenth century, the reclamation effort reached a climax. In 1510, 1,727,912 *mu* were under the control of the Yunnan Civilian Commission; and 1,276,631 *mu* under the Yunnan Regional Military Commission.⁸⁴ In 1575, there were 1,788,450 *mu* under the Civilian Commission, 1,107,880 *mu* under the Military Commission.⁸⁵ At the same time, the Mu farms amounted to nearly 1 million *mu*.⁸⁶ 43

Underlying the expansion of arable land was irrigation projects, since the Han agricultural regime required water control and irrigation. The indigenes had a lot of experience with rivers and lakes. Many irrigation channels had been built before the arrival of the Mongols. Sayyid' Ajall Shams Al-Din launched a large-scale irrigation project at Dian Lake, not only reducing the flooding but also making available over 10,000 *qing* of fertile fields.⁸⁷ Many other relatively small projects were completed in the Yuan period to increase agricultural production. 44

Likewise, the Ming government spent a lot of energy on irrigation projects. In the Dian Lake and Erhai Lake areas, the original irrigation infrastructures were either repaired or improved, while new channels and dams were built to meet the demand of rice production in new fields.⁸⁸ In 1396, Mu Chun mobilized 15,000 soldiers to build the Tangchi Channel in Yiliang, which was 36 *li* long and 12 *chi* wide.⁸⁹ In the Jingtai reign (1450–1456) a large project was launched to make use of Dian Lake.⁹⁰ In the Hongzhi reign (1488–1505) soldiers and laborers worked together to drain Dian Lake, and its level was lowered several *zhang*. As a result, several thousand *qing* of fields were created.⁹¹ All these efforts not only created fertile fields; they also improved the quality of cultivated land where drought and flooding were reduced. 45

Similar irrigation projects were launched in other areas. Many dams, channels, and man-made reservoirs were built, and many rivers, lakes, ponds, and fields were improved. These water systems created many mini-Han agricultural regimes in Yunnan. For example, in the Luliang 46

Bazi originally only desert plants could grow, with low output. As soon as military farms were established, an irrigation system was gradually completed, making Luliang into a storehouse of rice.⁹²

The reclamation of land and the improvement of irrigation greatly increased the number of agricultural products. In the early Ming period Yunnan could not produce enough grain for itself. In 1431, over four decades after military colonization, Yunnan almost reached self-sufficiency, according to Mu Cheng, the regional commander, who reported that grain produced by the Military Commission could support troops for eleven months.⁹³ It was, however, only during the Zhengtong reign (1436–1449) that Yunnan achieved self-sufficiency.⁹⁴ 47

Taxation helped to confirm the achievement of agricultural expansion. In 1393, the grain tax of Yunnan by the Provincial Administration Commission was as follows: wheat (summer tax) 18,730 *shi*, and rice (autumn tax) 58,349 *shi*.⁹⁵ In 1502, both figures were nearly doubled (wheat 33,708 *shi*; rice 106,913 *shi*).⁹⁶ The 1502 tax figures seemed to be maintained in the following years, as those of 1575 suggest (wheat: 36,019 *shi*; rice: 106,990 *shi*),⁹⁷ indicating that agricultural production reached its limit at the time. 48

Confucian Education: Imperial Schools and Degree Holders

While the Chinese agricultural regime dramatically transformed demographic, economic, and ecological patterns, education, another tool for transformation sought to "civilize" the minds, ideas, and social rituals of the indigenes.⁹⁸ Confucianism had already been introduced to Yunnan long before the Ming period. During its reign, the Tang Empire (618-906) had established a school in Chengdu for the royal youth of Nanzhao and later the merchants of the Dali Kingdom who traveled to Yongzhou brought back not only Buddhist sutras but also Confucian texts. It was the Yuan state, however, that launched a comprehensive education project in Yunnan by creating education officials (*tixue*) in each circuit,⁹⁹ establishing schools, building Confucian temples, and advocating Confucian rituals and ethics. Sayyid'Ajall Shams Al-Din pioneered the education effort. He pointed out that education was the only way to civilize native "barbarians," and so he donated his salary to build a school in Kunming.¹⁰⁰ Scholars in Sichuan were invited to teach, youth were encouraged to study, and officials led these students to perform Confucian rituals during ceremonies.¹⁰¹ Other circuits followed Kunming, and it was ordered that Confucian schools be established in each circuit.¹⁰² To sustain schools, education farmland (*xuetian*) was also provided. For example, in the beginning eight *shuang* were bought as education field in the Zhongqing Circuit (Kunming); later its number was increased up to 592 *shuang*.¹⁰³ In 1356, when the Yuan rule was fundamentally shaken, Pu Ji, a commissioner to examine governance in Yunnan, paid primary attention to schools and their farmlands.¹⁰⁴ 49

The establishment of schools eventually led to imperial examinations, a key symbol of imperial rule. It was unclear when Yunnan initiated these examinations. In 1313, the Yuan court stated that among the seventy-five Mongol candidates for the imperial examination (*huishi*), one should come from Yunnan; among the seventy-five Semu (non-Han people originating in 50

northern China) candidates, two from Yunnan; among the seventy-five Han candidates (Han people originating in northern China), two from Yunnan; as to the seventy-five southerners (*nanren*, Han people originating in southern China), Yunnan was not mentioned, probably because in the Yuan rulers' eyes, there were no Han people in Yunnan before the Yuan Dynasty.¹⁰⁵ Although the quota given to Yunnan was quite small, it was a milestone in Yunnan's Confucian education course. During the Yuan period, five *jinshi* degree holders were produced in Yunnan.¹⁰⁶

The Ming rulers were concerned with the establishment of schools in Yunnan as much as they were with military colonies. With a series of measures, they pushed education in Yunnan into a new epoch. Education commissions were first established in the administrative hierarchy to promote schooling; then a systematic school infrastructure was created in most areas of Yunnan; and finally, students and scholars as a social group emerged, a product of the above efforts. No sooner had the Ming authority come to Yunnan than state schools (*guanxue*) were resumed or established. State schools in Yunnan consisted of two kinds, one under the regular administrative units, namely, prefecture (*fu*), department (*zhou*), and county (*xian*) for the imperial subjects, and the other under the Wei-Suo system, called *guard school* (*weixue*), exclusively for military households.

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The Ming state assigned education commissioners (*jiaoshou*) and instructors (*xundao*) in the prefectures, departments, and counties. They were based in Confucian temples (*wenmiao* or *xuegong*); they were in charge of state schools and students and promoted local education. As for the Wei-Suo unit, the situation varied. If it shared the same seat city as the prefecture or department, no guard school was thought necessary, but if the Wei unit had its own seat city, a guard school was built and assigned one commissioner (*jiaoshou*) and two instructors (*xundao*).¹⁰⁷ The hierarchy of education posts was accompanied by a quota of students in state schools. Each prefecture school allowed forty students each year; each department school, thirty; and each county school, twenty. School fields were provided to pay teachers and support students financially. As for guard schools, the quota varied from forty to eighty, according to the rank of the host guard unit.

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By the end of the fourteenth century, state schools ruined during the Yuan-Ming transition had been restored, and new ones began to spread to other areas under regular administrative rule. During the Jingtai reign (1450–1456), nine prefectural schools (in Yunnan, Qujing, Lin'an, Chuxiong, Yaoan, Dali, Menghua, Heqing, Chengjiang, and Jinchi), eleven county schools (in Jianshui, Ningzhou, Zhennan, Nan'an, Beisheng, Zhaozhou, Jianchuan, Chuxiong, Taihe, Yunnan County, and Liangqiong), and one guard school (in Jingdong) appeared.¹⁰⁸ Schools were also established in the native chieftain territory. During the 1410s, several reports proposing that schools be built for indigenous peoples in Wuding, Xundian, Guangxi, Lin'an, Heqing, and Lijiang were approved,¹⁰⁹ leaving only about twenty native prefectures and departments without schools.¹¹⁰ State schools were required to select outstanding students to study at the Imperial University (*guozijian*). These students were called *jiansheng*. From 1389

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to 1416, it is recorded in *Ming Shi Lu* that almost every year emperors distributed gifts to Yunnan *jiansheng*, and these sources also showed the increasing number of Yunnan *jiansheng* at the Imperial University.¹¹¹

State schools had their quotas, and could not meet the increasing student figure. The Ming state realized the limit of government resources, and encouraged local resources to be used in education. Supplemental community schools (*shexue*) appeared like mushrooms after rainy days. Community schools were usually built in towns below county level to prepare students for higher study in state schools. They did not begin until the Chenghua reign (1465–1487), after almost one century of Ming rule. They emerged first in urban areas where Han people were relatively populous and where the economy was relatively developed. In Kunming County, there were thirty-one community schools, which meant that education penetrated the very basic unit of local society; Heqing prefecture had thirty-five, and Yaoan prefecture had twenty-eight community schools.¹¹² These three cases were certainly exceptional, since Yunnan had about 165 community schools in total.¹¹³ Obviously, community schools rarely existed in the native chieftain territories. 54

To make students more competitive in imperial examinations, private academies (*shuyuan*) sponsored by the state were built and prospered in Yunnan and elsewhere.¹¹⁴ *Shuyuan* appeared at the end of fifteenth century, a bit later than community schools. By the early sixteenth century, Yunnan had fifty-six *shuyuan*.¹¹⁵ 55

Native chieftains were encouraged to send their children to school. In the beginning of the Ming their children were encouraged (in part because there were no quotas) to go to Imperial University. In the Hongwu reign (1368–1398), many native chieftains did send their children to school.¹¹⁶ Later, many schools were created in the native chieftain territories: Xie Zhaozhe in the early seventeenth century noticed that occasionally there were some "barbarian" students in schools.¹¹⁷ 56

Throughout the Ming period, education institutes in Yunnan numbered about 300. During the Tianqi reign (1621–1627), more than 12,000 students were already studying in schools.¹¹⁸ As a result, Confucian students and scholars as a social group emerged. One key sign was the increasing number of *jinshi* in Yunnan. 57

Yunnan did not launch its own provincial examination (*xiangshi*) until 1411, which was a symbol of the relative underdevelopment of Confucian education. Before 1411, Yunnanese students had to go to Nanjing for their exams. In 1389, when Yunnan was first given a quota of two to attend the imperial exam, nobody was selected.¹¹⁹ The breakthrough came with the 1393 examination when Li Zhong and Yang Song, two Kunming residents, passed the Nanjing *xiangshi*, becoming *juren* (graduates). Li Zhong then passed the metropolitan examination, becoming the first *jinshi* from Yunnan during the Ming period. With the progress of education, from 1411 onward Yunnan was permitted to hold its own provincial examination, with a quota of 58

ten for the metropolitan exam. Twenty-eight scholars passed, and two of them later won the *jinshi* degree. However, the quota was too small for the quickly expanding student group. The state had to increase the quota again and again, from fifteen in 1429, to twenty-five in 1453, to thirty in 1473, to forty in 1535, to forty-five in 1573, and finally leveling off at forty-seven.¹²⁰ Still, this number hardly met the need. In 1621, Fan Liangshu, vice education commissioner (*tixue fushi*), proposed that the quota be increased to fifty.¹²¹ During the Ming Dynasty, Yunnan produced over 2,000 *juren* and 236 *jinshi*.

Such a remarkable achievement could not have been made without the many Confucian scholars who immigrated to Yunnan from China proper. Although the Yuan Dynasty launched successful education projects, Yunnan had a huge shortage of well-trained scholars to teach students. During the Ming period, many scholar-officials came to Yunnan; some came for their imperial posts, while many other were exiles. Their presence contributed a great deal to the spread of Confucian knowledge and ethics. Officials spent a lot of resources in creating schools, instructing students, and encouraging study. The exiles quite often served as professors, teaching either in state schools or private academies. Their literary works as well as their oral teachings, seminars, and cultural activities, created and improved the academic atmosphere and inspired local students.

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The most well known official-scholar exile was Yang Shen, a Sichuanese master of Confucianism, *zhuangyuan* (judged to be number 1 in the court exam) of 1508, and a most productive writer. He spent his last twenty-three years in Yunnan. He traveled throughout Yunnan, delivering lectures, teaching, writing, and making friends with local scholars. Seven scholars were called the Yang's seven disciples (*yangmen qizi*), including Li Yuanyang, the well-known Bai scholar and *jinshi*. Yang's influence on Yunnan was long lasting, not only because he was regarded as the most knowledgeable and productive scholar in the Ming Dynasty but also because he was regarded as part of Yunnan, as most gazetteers suggest.¹²²

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Impact of Confucianism on the Indigenes

The education projects not only affected the immigrants but also greatly transformed the indigenes. The Yuan Dynasty began to advocate changing native customs. The introduction and intensification of Han agricultural production and Confucian education marked the beginning of many significant changes in Yunnan society. Confucian ideas, dress, rituals, ceremonies such as weddings and funerals, and festivals were sponsored by the imperial state and gradually took root. For instance, Sayyid'Ajall Shams Al-Din taught indigenous peoples to perform the Confucian rituals of kneeling (*kowtow*), match-making for marriage, marriage ceremonies, funerals, and ancestral worship. He also presented native chieftains with clothes, hats, socks, and shoes to replace their "barbarian" dress.¹²³ As a result of state efforts, not only the Mongols, Muslims, and Han people but also indigenous people went to school.¹²⁴ Native elites started to send their children to school, pursuing political interests for the family. The Wang family seemed to be such a case.

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Wang Hui was born in a Bo (Bai) elite family. His ancestor surrendered to the Yuan and was awarded with an official post. Wang Hui himself served in many posts in Yunnan. Before his death, he instructed his sons and grandsons to observe loyalty and piety (*zhong xiao*), and ordered that his funeral conform to "ancient ceremony, instead of the Bo custom" (*sangli yi ze gu, wu cong bosu*), revealing that Wang had accepted Confucianism.¹²⁵ One of his sons, Wang Sheng, studied *jing* (classics), *shi* (poetry), and *wen* (literature) with different teachers, and was selected as a Confucian instructor (*ruxue jiaoshou*) to guide students. His most important achievement was in the field of education, as his epitaph reveals.¹²⁶ The Wangs demonstrated the impact of Confucianism on native elites, especially the Bo people who had the most contacts with Han culture. As a result, in the Yuan period people in Yunnan "studied rituals, and customs were changed little by little" (*ren xi lirang, fengsu shaobian*).¹²⁷

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Demographic, economic, and educational changes continued into the Ming Dynasty and naturally led to observable transitions of social customs in native societies. In the mid-fourteenth century, it was quite common to see Han immigrants and the indigenes, particularly the Bai, living together. *Yunnan Tujingzhishu*, the earliest provincial gazetteer compiled in 1455, noticed that in urban and suburban areas, Han and Bo usually mixed (*han-bo zachu*), or the "barbarians" and Han mixed (*yi-han zachu*). For example, about Qujing prefecture, it stated, "The barbarians and Han people mingled in this prefecture. Housed near the seats of prefecture, guard, department, and county mainly were Han and Bo people" (*Junzhong yi yi han zachu, lie wu yu fu, wei, zhou, xian zhi jinzhe, dadi duo han bo*).¹²⁸ Such a description vividly illustrates the situation of the mid-Ming when Han people settled down in urban Yunnan and fertile *bazi* and competed for advantageous living spaces with the indigenous population. In the Hongzhi reign (1488–1505), Yang Nanjin, a Bai scholar, wrote a poem about the loss of land by the Bo people to the Han military officials and merchants.¹²⁹ As a result of this shift, a dramatic demographic change occurred in urban Yunnan by the second half of the sixteenth century. *Yunnan Tongzhi* compiled in the 1570s records that, in Yunnan prefecture (Kunming), "The native people are the minority; officials and soldiers are mainly from areas east and south of the Yangzi River."¹³⁰

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By the early sixteenth century, native customs had been largely transformed, as revealed by *Yunnan Zhi*, which indicates that "of the Han-Bo people in [Dali] prefecture, a relatively small number has careers in artisan and business while more people are scholars; they enjoy Confucian classics, respect teachers and friends; many more candidates [from this prefecture] than in any other prefecture passed exams."¹³¹ This paragraph explains how Confucianism affected the Bo (Bai) people. They now studied Confucian classics, followed Confucian ethics, and took an active part in imperial civil examinations. Indeed, many native families, especially elites, sent their children to school, encouraging them to pass their exams with an eye on the government positions that the state promised them. They began to see education as an

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investment in their children's future. For example, in Ejia county (Chuxiong Prefecture) in 1551, Yang Jiangyong, the magistrate, rebuilt schools and hired scholars to teach "barbarian youth" (*yifang zidi*).¹³²

Changes of social custom also took place in remote areas. In Qujing, although "the mountains, rivers, and the barbarians were vast, the scholarly atmosphere began to prosper" (*shanchuan yi guang shifeng jiansheng*), and candidates taking civil exams could be compared with inland prefectures.¹³³ In Chuxiong, where the Yi dominated, the "lands are fertile and scholars were devoted to study" (*turang feirao, shiren wuxue*).¹³⁴ In the Yaoan Prefecture, since the establishment of schools, "the customs have been gradually transformed. Scholars focus on literature, and the number of degree holders is rising" (*qixi jianqian, shiren wuwen, kedi riqi*).¹³⁵ *Dian Zhi*, the last Ming gazetteer, compiled in 1632, recorded the changes of the Bai people: "The Bai people lived throughout most of western prefectures; their customs were not far from those of the Han people, and their elite members can read" (*Bairen, yixi zhujun qiangban youzhi; xisu yu huaren bu shenyuan, shangzhe neng dushu*). Because they mingled with Han Chinese, many ethnic peoples became bilingual. They spoke their own language among themselves, and they spoke Chinese to the Han people. The Bai people certainly were the most sinicized ethnic group in Yunnan. Several reasons account for this fact. First, historically, the Bai had the most frequent contacts with Han people, and adapted many Han cultural elements; second, the Bai people were the most urbanized people in Yunnan. They either lived in cities and towns or fertile *bazi*. Hence, they had daily contact with the Han immigrants, and had more access to Chinese educational institutes. Francis L. K. Hsu on a field trip noticed that the Bai people observed Han customs with local variations.

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Other ethnic peoples were also influenced by Chinese culture. *Dian Zhi* recorded that the White Luoluo (*bai luoluo*) in Chengjiang gradually became accustomed to civilization (*jianxi wanghua*) and were similar to common imperial subjects (*tongyu bianmang*).¹³⁹ The native Luoluo and the Woni people in southern Lin'an originally did not have names, or, they followed the patronymic system (*fuzilianmingzhi*). In the Hongzhi reign (1488–1505), Cheng Cheng, the new prefect, gave them family names after *Baijixing* (A hundred surnames), a book of Chinese last names.¹⁴⁰

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Compared with the common people, native elites seemed to borrow more Han cultural practices and hence were more "civilized," partially due to the fact that the Ming court required native chieftains to send their children to school. One could assume that these Confucian-educated elites would enjoy some exotic Chinese cultural practices. The most well-known were the Mus in Lijiang. As the chieftain of the Moxie people on the Tibet-Yunnan-Sichuan border, the Mus surrendered first to the Mongols, and then to the Ming. Zhu Yuanzhang awarded them a family name of Mu. Although there were no Confucian schools in Lijiang native prefecture, the Mus seemed to be well educated according to the Confucian way. Several Mu chieftains were famous because of their Chinese cultural achievements. For instance, they were able to write fine Chinese poetry and essays, a few of them even produced their own collections of works,

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and a family library was built. Mu Gong produced *Xueshan Shiyuan* (Selected poems of Snow Mountain); Mu Zeng not only had his own works but also exchanged works with major contemporary scholars such as Li Yuanyang;¹⁴¹ Mu Zeng invited Xu Xiake, the famous traveler, to instruct his son.¹⁴² Hence, *Ming Shi* (History of the Ming Dynasty) commented that the Mus had been the best among native chieftains in Yunnan to perform Confucian culture.¹⁴³ The Mus exemplified other native elites who "over three hundred years, had gradually taken Chinese customs; especially those native chieftains who lived in cities seemed no different from Han Chinese" (*sanbai nian lai, jianran huafeng, Tusi zhi ju chengguo zhe, yu Hanren wuyi*).¹⁴⁴ Native chieftains in Yaoan and Menghua, for instance, like the Mus, tended to show off their achievements by producing Chinese poetry and other literary writings.¹⁴⁵

Essential Confucian ideology such as loyalty (*zhong*), filial piety (*xiao*), and chastity (*jie*) were accepted by some native elites. The case of the Gaos, native chieftains in Yaozhou, is quite revealing. Gao Dong was killed in the suppression of a rebellion in 1503, and Gao Hu died in an attempt to save Xu Yue, the civilian commissioner, in the rebellion of 1541.¹⁴⁶ The A clan in Dengchuan was comparable to the Gaos. A Yu, the native prefect (*zhizhou*), helped to put down the Yue Feng rebellion and contain the Burmese invasion.¹⁴⁷ A Tianqi died in the fight against rebels in his post in Guizhou in the Wanli reign (1573–1619).¹⁴⁸ Na Song, the native prefect of Yuanjiang, for example, refused to surrender to Wu Sangui, the commander of the Qing forces, and burned himself in resistance.¹⁴⁹ The idea of loyalty seems to have been accepted by this native chieftain, as he satirized Wu Sangui's betrayal of the Ming court by referring to Wu's Ming post, general commander of Shanghai Pass. The loyalty of native women (usually elites) was also recorded in *Dian Zhi*. For instance, A'nang, the grandmother of Tao Zang, the native prefect of Jingdong, instructed Tao Zang to suppress the Luchuan invasion.¹⁵⁰ And Madame Luo, the wife of Mu Qing, native prefect of Lijiang, led a campaign and drove the enemy away from the border when Mu Qing was ill in bed.¹⁵¹ Native women (wives or mothers of native chieftains) were similarly loyal in Tengyue during the Ming period.¹⁵²

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Filial piety was also practiced in the indigenous society. Gao Zitongci, a Yaozhou native chieftain, was commended by the imperial court in the Chenghua reign (1465–1487) for his filial piety.¹⁵³ A Chaofan, A Tianqi's father, was well known for honorable behavior toward his stepmother and for his charitable activities in the community as well.¹⁵⁴ So were the Mus in Lijiang.¹⁵⁵

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The chastity of native women also emerged during the Ming.¹⁵⁶ They refused to remarry, even under great pressure from their parents, after the deaths of their husbands, and occasionally committed suicide to avoid remarriage. In some cases, they raised children alone.¹⁵⁷ Sometimes a chaste woman helped to change local ethnic customs, as demonstrated by an Achang widow. The native customs of the Achang people declared that a new widow be made wife of her husband's son or brother. However, Zaozheng's wife, who was a daughter of the native head, refused to follow the tradition and committed suicide by starving herself; her self-

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sacrifice ended this remarriage practice.¹⁵⁸ It should be noted that these were not isolated cases, rather, that they represented a new trend. That is why in his collection of poems on Yunnan, Zhang Lucheng, an eighteenth-century scholar, titled a chapter *bian yifeng* (changing barbarian customs) on chaste native women.¹⁵⁹

In addition to Confucian culture, Chinese customs such as festivals became practiced. *Dian Lue* recorded that festivals in Yunnan were celebrated in a similar way to those in China proper. Important festivals included New Year's Day, the Lantern Festival, the Qingming Festival, the Duanwu Festival, the Moon Festival, and New Year's Eve.¹⁶⁰ In some places, because of the large number of immigrants, Chinese practices dominated. For example, Yongchang, the frontier city, saw a large number of Han soldiers and immigrants during the Ming period, and most of them were from Jiangnan. These immigrants brought their Nanjing customs, and in the Qing time Yongchang won the nickname "Little Nanjing" (*xiao nanjing*).¹⁶¹ In fact, the Bai people in the Dali area invented a legend that their ancestors were from central provinces, and that most of these were from Nanjing.¹⁶²

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When Western explorers arrived in Yunnan in the end of the nineteenth century, they were surprised to find that many ethnic peoples were heavily influenced by Chinese culture. For example, Major Davies, who traveled through Yunnan at the turn of the nineteenth century, described the process of sinicization:

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As the influence and civilization of the Chinese have spread, the neighboring tribes have found it convenient to learn to speak the Chinese language, and to adopt to some extent Chinese customs. A time eventually comes when some of them began to despise their own language, customs, and dress, and to take a pride in adopting Chinese ways. When this idea once got hold of them, the time is not far distant when they will call themselves Chinamen. A race of Chinese thus grows who have really no Chinese blood in them.

This process can still be seen going on in Western China. One comes across tribes in all states of transformation. . . . The great majority . . . of the men of the tribes of Western China have so far come under the influence of the Chinese as to adopt their dress. With the women the case is different and the women's dress usually forms the distinctive mark by which tribes can be told apart.

After the adoption of Chinese dress by the men, their next step is the learning of the Chinese language. After a few more generations perhaps even the women will learn to speak Chinese. This stage once reached, it does not take long for the tribe to become thoroughly Chinese in their ways, and when the women take to Chinese dress and to binding their feet, the transformation is complete . . .

I have watched this process going on with Lo-Los, Shans, Las . . . and no doubt it has taken place with nearly every tribes of Western China . . .

This process of absorbing of other races by the Chinese had undoubtedly been going on all over China ever since the Chinese entered the country.¹⁶³

In conclusion, by the early seventeenth century Chinese culture had penetrated urban Yunnan and the most fertile lands in Yunnan, namely, the *bazi* areas. The most sinicized ethnic group was the Bai, and the most sinicized class was the native elites. On the other hand, native culture also affected Han immigrants, especially in the hilly areas where the native people dominated and where the Han population was scattered. Immigrants indeed took on many native practices, and in many cases, native societies absorbed isolated Han communities, a process I call "indigenization." 73

Forces of Indigenization

Paradigms of Sinicization and Barbarization

In the field of Chinese frontier studies, the giant influence of Chinese culture on the frontier "barbarians" has been overwhelmingly admired. Such a perspective ignores the fact that any interaction is essentially two-sided. While Chinese culture transformed frontier societies, indigenous cultures had a similar impact on Chinese people, therefore adding, transforming, and altering Chinese culture and Chinese identity, especially when frontier ethnic groups were incorporated into the Chinese empire. Such a process has been examined by Yu Yingshi in his study of trade and expansion in the Han Dynasty.¹⁶⁴ 74

Yu Yingshi has described the two aspects of the interaction between the Han Empire and frontier "barbarians": sinicization and barbarization. With the expansion of the Han Empire into the north, west, and south, various "barbarians" were put under Chinese political, economical, and cultural influence, which began a process of sinicization, albeit with pains and difficulties. On the other hand, the "barbarian" ways of life also transformed the Chinese, a process Yu calls "barbarization."¹⁶⁵ Chinese elites, including emperors, liked exotic things. Emperor Ling favored "barbarian" music, clothes, curtains, beds, chairs, and dances.¹⁶⁶ And it was during the Han period that Buddhism, a "barbarian" religion, was adopted by the Chinese, first by nobilities and then by the masses. 75

If borrowing some "barbarian" cultural elements in social life was not rare and so should not be surprising, the extent of the political, ethnic, and cultural shift of loyalty by some Chinese people underlines the scale and depth of barbarization. Many Han Chinese lived on frontier areas, and quite often served "barbarian" lords. Even some Han subjects in China proper ran to serve the Xiongnu. Prince Han and Prince Yan in the early Western Han period both surrendered to the Xiongnu.¹⁶⁷ A strong case was Zhonghan Yue, who betrayed the Han emperor and submitted to the Shanyu of Xiongnu. In his famous statement he declared that the Xiongnu culture was not lower than that of the Chinese, and he even justified so-called "barbarian" customs by analyzing reasons behind these practices.¹⁶⁸ 76

Yu Yingshi's study of the Han period indeed raises a crucial question for the definition of Chinese: what was the role of frontier ethnic groups in forming, developing, and transforming Chinese culture and Chinese identity/Chineseness? Barbarization took place in the Han period, 77

and certainly did not stop as Chinese empires continued to expand, extract, and expand again. Recently, in her study of the Ming migration to Yunnan, Lu Ren began an interrogation of the term *yunnanren*, and used the term *tuzhuhua* to conceptualize the settlement of immigrants.¹⁶⁹ The word *tuzhuhua* literally means "indigenization" or "indigenizing." Unfortunately, she simply explains it as "[Han migrants] attached to lands" (*fuzheyutu*), which underplays dimensions of cultural interaction that could yield rich information about the dynamics and vigor of indigenous culture and its impact on Han population.¹⁷⁰ After all, the indigenous population in Yunnan at the end of the Ming Dynasty still exceeded that of Han Chinese, and native chieftains still ruled a large part of Yunnan. Therefore, it is too simple to discuss the formation of local identity without scrutinizing the impact of the indigenes.¹⁷¹ Fang Guoyu, the eminent scholar of Yunnan, noticed indigenization, but failed to explore the phenomenon and bring more attention to it.¹⁷²

Here I will extend Yu's model of sinicization and barbarization to account for the fluid, flexible, and dynamic features of Chinese identity, only replacing the term *barbarization* with *indigenization*. I argue that in the long run sinicization and indigenization are two aspects of one process and that they added new dimensions to and thus transformed Chinese identity. In this section, I will illustrate how indigenous peoples indigenized the Han population, and as a result a complex new society began to emerge in Yunnan during the late Ming period.

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Indigenization before the Thirteenth Century

Generally speaking, all Chinese migrants before the Yuan Dynasty were absorbed into the indigenous society. Zhuang Qiao had to adopt native customs to rule. His soldiers lived within local society and married indigenous women, therefore diminishing the Chu identity of their descendants. The Han period saw the first wave of Chinese immigration to the Southwest, in which almost all were absorbed by the giant population of native peoples. It was the increasingly frequent military, political, economical interactions in the Han period that created many local chieftains and clans, the so-called *yishuai* and *daxing*. *Yishuai*, or native chieftains, were those who increased their power through their contact with Chinese authority, and *daxing* were mostly powerful immigrants who took advantage of Han authority to increase their voice in local affairs. Indeed, they were descendants of Han officials or elites but had become accustomed to local society. The case of *daxing* strongly revealed the power of native culture that forced Chinese migrants to take native ways in order to survive and to accumulate influence. Considering the vast majority of the indigenous population at the time, no wonder indigenization overcame sinicization.

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Indigenization continued to dominate in the Nanzhao period. *Tong Dian* recorded that some people near the Dali region claimed to be descendants of Han Chinese though their Chinese was rusty because of indigenization.¹⁷³ *Man Shu* made a similar statement by claiming that some local people originally were Han people. In addition, some Han people had begun to

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serve the local society and local lords, a trend of political shift. The shift of political identity pierced the heart of imperial rulers who were worried that their subjects on the frontiers might lose their ethnic consciousness, and shift their politician loyalty to serve "barbarian" lords.

In conclusion, since the Western Han period, Chinese migrants continued to move into Yunnan; however, the number did not compare with that of the indigenous population. Such a demographic pattern accounted for the overall assimilation of Chinese people into local society.¹⁷⁴ Although the Ming and Qing moved several million Han people into Yunnan and fundamentally changed the demographics, thus initiating the dominance of the forces of sinicization, indigenization still played an important role in creating post-conquest Yunnan society and therefore by no means can be underestimated.¹⁷⁵ 81

The Adoption of Native Economic Institutions

Climate, topography, mineral sources, and native economic practices all forced Chinese migrants to adopt native economic structures. While the Yuan-Ming-Qing states introduced and implanted a Chinese agrarian production regime, it was challenged by local climate and topography. The Chinese method of men plowing and women weaving (*nangeng nüzhì*) in many places was difficult to continue. One Ming scholar pointed out that the Dian people knew farming but not the cultivation of mulberry trees (*zhì nong er buzhi sang*).¹⁷⁶ Even in those areas where climate accommodated silkworms, the advocacy of magistrates to this end was often unsuccessful. For example, in Heqing prefecture women did not weave even during the late nineteenth century, hence this local tradition was criticized as a key economic and cultural illness.¹⁷⁷ 82

Due to plentiful mineral sources, many Han men worked in mining and trade. Although farmers certainly largely outnumbered miners, the proportion of miners was definitely much higher than in China proper. Yunnan was the major mining region during the late imperial period; the booming mining industry actually forged the urbanization of Yunnan.¹⁷⁸ Such a pattern of urbanization seldom occurred in China proper. 83

Local monetary institutions shaped the imperial monetary system as well. In the Yuan Dynasty paper money (*chao*) was taken as official money throughout China, a major financial effort by the Yuan Dynasty. Indeed it was the first time that a paper money system was supported by the state. While this did not end successfully, the circulation of paper money in Yunnan might have fared the worst, as cowry money had dominated in Yunnan for many centuries. As such, paper money issued by the state was not accepted in the indigenous society, which obviously resisted the function of the Yuan administrative system. Sayyid' Ajall Shams Al-Din noticed this and appealed for the continuation of cowry money in Yunnan.¹⁷⁹ As a result, cowries were not only allowed to be used in unofficial trade and other economic activities but also were taken as official money to pay tax in Yunnan and beyond. Similarly, the Ming Dynasty recognized the 84

circulation of cowries. Throughout the Yuan-Ming period cowries, instead of Chinese copper coins, served as the major form of currency in Yunnan. Such an economic practice vividly demonstrated the power of frontier societies to compel the central authority to compromise.

The local markets also demonstrate the influence of native societies. Indigenous peoples were accustomed to trading and markets that gathered regularly were popular in Yunnan. Han immigrants immediately joined local markets that were in many ways different from those in China proper. Usually people met in the daytime in the periodic marketing system, but in Xizhou (Dali), markets opened at night.¹⁸⁰ Many local festivals served as market days. During the *guanyin shi* (market of Avalokitesvara), from March 15 to 20, in Dali, various merchants came, and the government mobilized police and soldiers to ensure security and to protect the businesses.¹⁸¹ 85

The Survival of Native Cultures and Their Influence on the Chinese

Many aspects of the native lifestyle were borrowed by the Han people. Clothing was one of them. In the Dali region, the native peoples used a piece of blue cloth to cover their heads while wearing *zhanli*, a local style of hat made from a plant, which Han migrants began to wear¹⁸² to protect from the winds that blew in across the Dali region. In the Jinchi Wei (Yongchang), migrant women were found to wear the same clothes as the Bo people.¹⁸³ Sometimes even urban Han people followed the indigenous dress to get accustomed to the environment.¹⁸⁴ Angered by this adaptation, Zhou Zan, the prefect of Heqing, issued an announcement requiring that the head cloth and hat be replaced with clothes of the Chinese style.¹⁸⁵ 86

Native cuisine also affected Han migrants. The natives were fond of eating raw meat. Pork, fish, goose, and duck were cut into pieces and mixed with all kind of seasonings. During the Yongzheng reign (1722–1735), some gentry and scholars accepted it and even made it a fashion.¹⁸⁶ 87

Many native cultural activities were accepted by the central states or joined by Han people. Buddhism was the most popular religion in Yunnan. The title maharajah, meaning "great king," had been claimed by the Dali kings. When the Mongols arrived, they recognized and accepted this tradition, investing the Duans with the title maharajah. When the Qing government attempted to establish an alliance with native chieftains, sometimes a Buddhist pledge ceremony was utilized to gain the support of the natives.¹⁸⁷ Many Buddhist festivals were celebrated by Han migrants, too.¹⁸⁸ The province-wide Buddhist festival included Viskha Puja (*yufu jie*)¹⁸⁹ and the *Guanyin shi* in Dali. Other ethnic festivals were also taken up by the Han migrant society, the most well known being the flower festival, the torch festival, and water festival. 88

The existence of local shamanism was apparent in many daily activities, for example, the *tuzhu* worship that spread throughout Sichuan, Yunnan, and Guizhou. *Tuzhu*, literally meaning "local lord" or "native lord," was the relic of native shamanism from ages before. The Nanzhao people performed such a ritual. Today, both ethnic peoples and the Han people still insist on this tradition. Liu Wenzheng's early-seventeenth-century *Dian Zhi* recorded that almost all prefects had *tuzhu* temples, and that some even had two or three of them.¹⁹⁰ One local gazetteer even praised the *tuzhu* as the most efficacious (*lingyi*) god, as it was recorded that bees in the temple dispersed the Annamese invaders in the Wanli reign (1573–1619).¹⁹¹ 89

Native languages were accepted and spoken by Han migrants. The word *dian*, an indigenous term, refers to the whole of Yunnan, and has survived as the official abbreviation of Yunnan. *Dianren* (Dian people), a new Chinese word, appeared in the Ming period and referred to all people in Yunnan, including the natives and Han migrants. Other native words, such as *hai* ("sea," meaning "lake"), and *dan* (river, lake), are still widely used in the present day. Moreover, many names of local places remind us of the extensive existence of indigenous peoples. The Han people learned native languages to communicate (i.e., trade) with the indigenes, for example, in Mengzi county.¹⁹² In the case of isolated Han communities, after several generations, these Han descendants could hardly speak their original dialect or Chinese, and daily communications were by means of native languages. Some gazetteers compiled in the Ming-Qing provided room for native languages (under the category of *fangyan*, namely, dialects).¹⁹³ 90

Intermarriages were quite common and probably served as the most effective way to indigenize Chinese immigrants. Many Han soldiers married indigenous women, a result of the imbalanced sex ratio in the frontier society. The "barbarian" mother–Han father (*yiniang han laoz*) combination was quite popular, and facilitated the indigenization of the Han population, since in most cases children mainly stayed with their "barbarian" mothers.¹⁹⁴ As early as the end of the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century, many isolated military communities were indigenized. At the end of the Ming period, when Xu Xiake arrived in Lijiang, where the Naxi (Moxie) people lived, he wrote, "The other indigenes are wholly the Moxie. In the beginning of our empire Han soldiers were stationed here, but (their descendants) all followed their (Moxie) customs."¹⁹⁵ Such a case in northwestern Yunnan was not an exception. In fact, it happened more often in southern Yunnan, where native chieftains dominated. The Ming soldiers and their descendants in Tengyue, for example, were recorded already to have turned into "barbarians" during the Qianlong reign (1736–1796).¹⁹⁶ Today many groups in Yunnan (and Guizhou, too) are not different from their neighboring ethnicities, but they are regarded by the Chinese government as Han people, only because of the fact that they are descendants of Ming migrants.¹⁹⁷ 91

It should be pointed out that sex ratio was not the only reason for intermarriage. Intermarriages brought about economic benefits and created cultural and political linkages that immigrants lacked and thus strongly desired. Chinese merchants, for example, tended to take native 92

wives, just like their European counterparts in Southeast Asia or in North America. In either case, native women were known for being extremely good at trade and negotiations. Many Chinese migrants by means of intermarriages began to participate in local politics and the elite sphere (it is worth noting that native elites also needed such Han migrants to serve their interests, as these Chinese advisors adeptly used their knowledge to help native chieftains in their negotiation with imperial governments). Generation after generation, their descendants became more and more powerful—sometimes even dominant—in local societies.¹⁹⁸

Economic and cultural interactions produced a dual political and cultural identity. C. Pat Giersch has discussed how Han migrants (and their descendants) became leading miners and then powerful figures who sometimes worked both with native chieftains and Qing officials, while at other times they might have developed an autonomous authority that threatened Qing interests.¹⁹⁹ Such instances took place as early as the Ming period, and were not limited to miner communities. Many military farms were situated in hilly areas and surrounded by non-Han environments and "barbarians." Like a small boat on the waves of the indigenous ocean, these immigrants were gradually absorbed into native societies. They began to speak native languages, adopt native ways of production, and consume native cuisines. 93

More importantly, descendants of Han immigrants identified themselves multiethnically and multiculturally. They both recognized their Han ancestors and accepted local labels. In some cases, they were also glad to have Burmese names, titles, or other associations. Sometimes they identified more with their local labels than their Chinese ones.²⁰⁰ In some other cases, Han immigrants stood with native chieftains against the imperial state, as it was the native chieftains who ruled the region and controlled resources. Yue Feng, the son of a Jiangxi merchant in the southern frontier, is a good example; his story reveals the cultural and political shift of a Han immigrant and the spread of the indigenous cultural practices to the faraway Chinese Empire. 94

Yue Feng was intelligent and capable. Hence Duo Shining, the pacification commissioner (*xuanfu shi*) of Longchuan, gave his sister to Yue in marriage, and trusted Yue. But Yue was ambitious and planned to usurp Duo Shining. He communicated with other native chieftains, especially Han Ba, the pacification commissioner of Mubang. The two agreed with one on several topics and swore brotherhood to each other. They enticed Duo Shining to Baigu to pay a visit to Mangruiti (the Burmese king), poisoned Duo, and killed all his wives and sons. Then Yue Feng took the gold seal of Longchuan, bestowed by the imperial state, and offered it to Mangruiti. The latter, who was at the time expanding his territory, was eager to receive Yue Feng, and assigned Yue Duo's title. 95

When Mangyingli assumed the Burmese throne, Yue Feng and his son Nangwu trapped and defeated imperial troops, captured Duo's mother and over 600 of the remaining clan men, and presented them to Mangyingli.²⁰¹ Yue Feng then took over Duo Shining's people. Furthermore, Yue secretly allied with Diao Luocan, native chieftain of Menglian, so that Yue persuaded 96

Mangyingli to invade the Ming border. They took and burned Shunning prefecture. Nangwu led 60,000 Burmese soldiers to attack Menglian. Wu Jixun, the regional commander (*zhihu*) of the Ming Dynasty, was killed in battle. He Yu, the native prefect of Dengchuan, and the son-in-law of Yue Feng's friend sent an envoy to Yue Feng. Yue arrested and presented the envoy to Mangyingli.

At the time, Han Ba and his son, Han Xiaowang, had surrendered to the Ming state. Mangyingli was angry and occupied Han Ba's city. He Yu sent yet another envoy when the imperial relief troops flowed in, and Diao Luocan was killed in battle. Yue Feng became worried and sent his nephew Yue Heng to Yongchang. General Liu Ting accepted their surrender, promising Yue Feng's exemption from imperial laws. 97

In the first month of 1585, Yue Feng, his wives, sons, brothers, nephews, and his troops, including "barbarians" and Han Chinese (*suotong yihan*), all surrendered, presenting Burmese paper credentials, Burmese silver, Burmese umbrellas, spears, horses, saddles, clothes, and the official seal (*guanfang*). Local officials of the Ming exaggerated this achievement, and presented Yue Feng to the emperor.²⁰² 98

It is what comes next that best disclosed the extent of indigenous cultural influence on Yue Feng. When Yue Feng was taken to Beijing and executed, he was found to have tattoos all over his body (a typical indigenous mark) and a kind of sex tool called *mianling* (Burmese bell) was embedded in the head of his penis. This would have been just an exotic detail had his penis not been cut off and sold by the executors to some noble household (*xunchenjia*) at a remarkable price. A Ming scholar commented, the "bell, was designed to tremble; when held, people cannot keep their arms [from trembling], can you imagine how the 'barbarian' chief could calm down?" (*buzhi ciqu heyi ningju ye*)²⁰³. So what is the point of purchasing the penis and the *mianling*? 99

Jin Ping Mei, the most famous Chinese erotic novel written in the mid-Ming Dynasty, may provide insight into the erotic culture among the Ming elites. *Jin Ping Mei* described the use of *mianling* by Ximen Qing, the novel's protagonist, who was a wealthy merchant, ladies' man, and local elite in Shandong Province, North China. The word *mian* tells us the source of this tool. When Ximen's favorite wife asked him about the "Burmese bell," he answered, "It is from the Burmese Kingdom (*miandian guo*)."²⁰⁴ And the couple had a good time that night. This is why some noble men bought Yue Feng's *mianling*. 100

The use of the so-called Burmese bell was popular in Yunnan, as observed by Xie Zhaozhe in the early seventeenth century.²⁰⁵ He pointed out that it was embedded in the penis by Burmese men (*miandian nanzhi*) for the sake of sexual pleasure; he also noticed that it was sold to the Chinese. More interestingly, he stated that it had a Chinese name, *taiji wan* (the Taiji ball), and 101

that the Chinese presented it as gift and mentioned it in both official and private letters. Xie's contemporary record suggests that the purchase of Yue Feng's penis was probably true and that the use of the Burmese bell was widely accepted.

The use of sex tools, especially the embedding of such tools in the penis, was indeed a popular Southeast Asian custom. Southeast Asian women enjoyed high status in their society, which may best be illustrated by the painstaking penis surgery to increase the sexual pleasure of women, a practice observed by contemporary Chinese and Europeans as well.²⁰⁶ The most astonishing surgery was the insertion of a metal pin, complemented by a variety of wheels, spurs, or studs. A European witness wrote:

The males, large and small, have their penis [penises] pierced from one side to the other near the head with a gold or tin bolt as large as a goose quill. In both ends of the same bolt some have what resembled a spur, with points upon the ends; other are like the head of a cart nail. I very often asked many, both old and young, to see their penis [penises], because I could not credit it. In the middle of the bolt is a hole, through which they urinate. . . . They say their women wish it so, and that if they did otherwise they would not have communication with them.²⁰⁷

Another less painful surgery was observed in Siam by Ma Huan, a mid-fifteenth century Chinese: "When a man had attained his twentieth year, they take the skin which surrounds the *membrum virile*, and with a fine knife . . . they open it up and insert a dozen tin beads inside the skin; they close it up and protect it with medical herbs. . . . The beads look like a cluster of grapes If it is the king . . . or a great chief or a wealthy man, they use gold to make hollow beads, inside which a grain of sand is placed. . . . They make a tinkling sound, and this is regarded as beautiful."²⁰⁸

The Chinese word *ling* can refer to the beads, wheels, spurs, or studs that produced sound. While Yue Feng went through an operation, Ximen Qing just used similar tools introduced from Burma that gave sexual pleasure to his women. The stories of both Yue Feng and Ximen suggest that some Southeast Asian sex practices were introduced and practiced in Chinese elite culture (a process of Southeast Asianization), and that these practices might first have spread through Yunnan, which further signifies Yunnan's role in Sino-Southeast Asian interactions.²⁰⁹

Indigenization continued in the periods following, especially in southern areas. During the Ming-Qing transition, many Ming loyalists, especially soldiers, moved to the borderlands, and they were localized into ethnic groups. Many of them accepted non-Han ethnic identities. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the mining industry prospered in the borderlands, and many Chinese peasants took jobs in the industry. Many married ethnic women and stayed there even after the end of mining activities. For example, the decedents of the Han mining migrants in Washan now accept the Wa ethnic identity.²¹⁰ A most striking case may be the Yang household on the China-Burma border that had struggled between Burmese and Chinese nationalism in the twentieth century.²¹¹ The Yangs were Han migrants, but had wholly been

incorporated and accepted into the native society. However, the pressure of modern nation-states pushed them to take either Chinese or Burmese national identity, which they fought fruitlessly; and eventually they were forced to leave their home in the 1960s and 1970s. The case of the Yangs epitomizes the dilemma and hopelessness of small ethnic groups in the peripheries of nation-states that deploy various tactics to bring them into the fold of a national identity.

The indigenization process, just like sinicization, illustrates a shared space where the Han and the indigenes clashed, understood, misunderstood, negotiated, and mediated. In some cases, cultural rituals were adopted; in others, cultural items borrowed, and sometimes an altogether new cultural dimension was added. Indeed, the mingling of different peoples incited debates about ancestry. In Wenshan, some ethnic people claimed that they were from three rivers and four seas (*sanjiang sihai*) which referred to Jiangnan. In Weishan, some Yi people, on the one hand, claimed to be the direct descendents of Xi-nu-luo, the founder of the Mengshe zhao (Nanzhao); on the other hand, they thought their ancestors were from Nanjing.²¹² Both statements may be true, as intermarriage brought Chinese immigrants and native peoples together. In fact, dual identity was common in frontier areas and this often accompanied the hybrid culture that followed.

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By the late Ming period, a hybrid, plural cultural system had evolved, inaugurating the use of Yunnanese (*yunnanren*). This is vividly illustrated by the Moso society in Ninglang and their views on sexual union. Unlike most communities in the world, the Moso did not have the marriage system before the Mongol conquest, but a system of visitation called *tisese* (to walk back and forth). The Mongol introduction of marriage to the Moso elite in the thirteenth century and the reform of the native chieftain system by the Qing state made marriage a prerequisite for the succession of chieftainship. As a result, marriage and *tisese* have both become legitimate forms of sexual union and reproduction in Moso society, with *tisese* being the most dominant practice. It is also what distinguishes the Moso people from other ethnic groups. The case of Moso hence illustrates the dynamics of native society and negotiations between local and state powers. While in many aspects sinicization seemed dominant in Yunnan, *tisese*, a symbol of native culture, remains the primary institution for the Moso people.²¹³ The dual sexual union in the Moso people serves as a vivid illustration of the process of "middle ground," a term invented in American frontier studies. Indeed, it helps to see Yunnan as a frontier process in which power balance was created and maintained, shifted, and broken, and out of which a new society emerged.

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The Middle Ground: Yunnan as a Process

In 1893, Frederick Jackson Turner in his lecture "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" contended that "the existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development."²¹⁴ To Turner, the retreat of the great frontier meant the advancement of civilization over the savage. This

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ethnocentric view was shared by the Chinese, since the frontier (*bianjiang*, *bianguan*) was seen as a gate, a line, or a boundary (symbolized by the Great Wall) demarcating Chinese civilization and "barbarian" territory.

Turner's 1893 lecture has been heartily welcomed and applied, but also interrogated, reformed, and superseded. The word *frontier* has been challenged by new terms such as *border*, *borderland*, and most recently, *middle ground*. In *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*, Richard White focuses on Native Americans in the northeast of the country, their culture, their intermarriages, and the fur trade that swept over eastern North America to penetrate the lands just east of Missouri by the early 1800s. White illustrates how Native Americans and Europeans over two centuries constructed a common, mutually comprehensible world in the region around the Great Lakes. This was sometimes done violently, but often with a series of new systems of meaning and exchange, until the breakdown of accommodation in the middle ground.²¹⁵ As a continuation and development of the middle ground theory, the world-system perspective was introduced into Chinese frontier studies by, among others, C. Pat Giersch.²¹⁶

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There is much to recommend the middle ground over the old, static binaries of "conquest and resistance." The middle ground suggests that the frontier became a place of mutual concession, adaptation, and cultural borrowing, a place where neither Indians nor Europeans held hegemony. That is why many scholars have borrowed this concept and applied it to other frontiers, for example, to the southern Yunnan frontier where neither China nor Burma nor local entities could overcome each other. However, Daniel Herman reminds us that it is dangerous to overlook the fact that the middle ground theory focuses on a specific time and place and that constructive of a space as it could be it was often a place of brutality, violence, and disease.²¹⁷

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I argue that the long-term perspective adopted in the book may help transcend the limitations of the middle ground. With a long-term perspective, the whole Yunnan-Guizhou macroregion had occupied this middle space for ages. Native ethnic groups had coexisted there, creating a kind of world-system in which they clashed, fought, adapted, and borrowed cultural elements from each another. The southern expansion of the Chinese, however, introduced a foreign culture into this middle ground. First, southern Sichuan was incorporated as early as the Song Dynasty.²¹⁸ Meanwhile, mainland Southeast Asian kingdoms such as the Ava, Tungoo, and Konbaung dynasties in modern Burma expanded northward, built their connections, exerted their influence, and sometimes clashed with both local entities and Chinese empires. Since the Yuan period, especially those of the Ming and Qing, Chinese migrants have introduced Chinese institutions into Yun-Gui. The demographic change from the mid-thirteenth century exemplified the power structure in Yunnan. Sinicization and indigenization both held the power balance in Yunnan and also eventually tilted it, where the immigrants and the indigenes learnt to coexist. Many new institutions were invented, and many old practices were kept or transformed to meet the new challenging situation. The native chieftain system was the

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administrative creation in this middle ground, which imperial Chinese states regarded as a symbol of local submission and a reach of imperial power, while native chieftains conceived of it as a new source of power, wealth, and legitimacy.

The native chieftain system as a result of power negotiations can be illustrated by a rarely acknowledged fact, that is, there were assigned officials (*liuguan*) under the supervision of native chieftains, although the number was small. For example, Shixi Department was under Siming native prefecture, and Tongan and Julin departments under Lijiang native prefecture.²¹⁹ This fact could be seen as a signal either of the flexibility of imperial policy, or of the strength of native chieftains, or both. But as long as the central power grew, the content of this administrative system correspondingly changed, as demonstrated by regulations set by the Ming and Qing empires. When the Ming state felt strong enough, many new regulations, especially concerning the succession of the post, were imposed on native chieftains, who were seduced, encouraged, and eventually forced to follow Chinese ethic and rituals. Moreover, many native chieftains lost their hereditary posts, a result of *gaitu guiliu*, an imperial effort to reproduce Chinese society in the frontier province.²²⁰

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Facing down resistance of all kinds, Chinese culture, backed by the central authority, gradually took root. The power balance was broken step by step and region by region. From a long-term perspective, it is evident that imperial power first took root in cities and then spread to rural areas, while the indigenous space became smaller and smaller. That accounts for what happened in Kunming of the Ming period, and in Sipsongpanna of the eighteenth century. By the end of the nineteenth century, native chieftains controlled only the very southern and Southwestern frontier border area where both the Kuomintang and the Communist Party had to struggle in the twentieth century.

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Mutual cultural borrowing and adaptation in the middle ground would give rise to many intriguing and important issues in Chinese frontier studies. It is going too far, perhaps, to embrace Turner's idea that the great frontier is at the heart of Americaness, but he is right to emphasize the significance of the frontier to Americanization. As the great frontier contributed much to American identity, can we claim the same for the 2,000-year frontier experience to the Chinese? Specific to this research, how did this process of constructing Yunnan contribute to Chinese identity or Chinese culture? Richard White's concept of cultural borrowing in the northeastern middle ground has been criticized for focusing on minor changes rather than on worldview, as most of the cultural, political, and economic accommodations "on the middle ground of the *pays d'en haut* were expedient, tactical, and temporary."²²¹ One wonders if Yunnan underwent similar changes or more sweeping ones.

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A concise comparison of Yunnan and the great American frontier may shed some light on these questions. First of all, the Chinese did not decimate the indigenes, although violent military campaigns took place. The large number of indigenes in Yunnan continues to make the Yunnan frontier distinct from the rest of the country, a major challenge to China's incorporation

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project. Second, a bio-ecological environment proved to be a barrier to the Chinese and a haven for the indigenes, which was not the case in the American west. Malaria and other tropical and subtropical diseases increased the difficulty of Chinese penetration. Furthermore, the Yunnan frontier lasted much longer than the American one, mainly due to the above two reasons. Taking the Western Han conquest into account, it existed for 2,000 years; or at least six to seven centuries, if we start from the vigorous changes of the Mongol period. Such a long-term process of a middle ground is unique in the world. Finally, the indigenes in Yunnan have had long-term interactions with not only the Chinese but also with other peoples, such as Tibetans and Southeast Asian peoples. These experiences enabled them to develop and utilize many connections, institutions, and resources for their resistance against Chinese colonialism. All of these factors, however, did not stop Chinese colonial efforts, nor did they succeed in driving the Chinese away.

The large population of indigenes posed a crucial problem to Chinese states. How to rule them? How to define them? How did the indigenes identify themselves? Did they see themselves as Chinese? If so, when—and what forces were behind this change? If not, why not? 116

The key to these questions is that, the long-term middle ground experience in Yunnan indeed created a new local identity, that is, the Yunnanese. The emergence and acceptance of this local identity indicated the acknowledgement of Chinese identity. A look at the emergence of the local gentry during the decline of the Wei-Suo system will demonstrate the reproduction of the Chinese social structure in a frontier province. 117

The Emergence of the Yunnanese (*Yunnanren*)

Under the Wei-Suo system, all the reclaimed lands were owned by the imperial state, which were categorized as state fields (*quantian*). Each soldier was given a share of the field, the scale of which was up to the availability of land in the assigned place. A share of a field varied from 20 up to 100 *mu*. The military household was given the hereditary right to plant crops. In Yunnan, one share was around 20 *mu*.²²² In the early fourteenth century, the Wei-Suo system was gradually alienated in favor of military leaders who gradually took the land from the state and made it their own. 118

Military leaders were also invested with pieces of land that were known as "post fields" (*zhitian*). The scale of post fields varied, corresponding to the rank of the official. The head of a company (*baihu*) was assigned 48 *mu*, and the head of a battalion nearly 77 *mu*, while the regional commander (*duzhihuish*), the highest military leader in the provincial level, received almost 293 *mu*.²²³ The post fields were designed to be part of the officials' salaries and were exempt from taxation. 119

Military officials were not engaged in agricultural production themselves. Their post fields were taken care of by *sheding*, or household servants, who paid rent to military officials. During the Wanli reign (1573–1619), post fields in Yunnan numbered 155,319 *mu*, and *sheding* 18,386.²²⁴ Each *sheding* should be appropriately regarded as a family. 120

Military officials were not satisfied with their own post fields, and took every chance to expand their land, or appropriated the military farms as their own. The Mus in Yunnan were in fact accused of turning all the military farms into their private property.²²⁵ Though exaggerated, the accusation does expose the major problem in the Wei-Suo system as the embezzlement of military farms by officials.²²⁶ Many soldiers even voluntarily gave themselves and their farms to military officials, hence escaping the unbearable military taxation. For example, it is said that the approximately 20,000 *mu* military colonies in Dali cultivated at the beginning of the Ming all disappeared from the military record, evidently a sign of having been taken by the powerful.²²⁷ As a result, many military fields turned into civilian fields (*mintian*). 121

The collapse of the Wei-Suo system was thought to have ruined the foundation of the Ming system, but in fact reproduced Chinese society in Yunnan. As military officials of all levels took various amounts of lands and paddies, they turned into landlords. A large number of military families who submitted to military officials consequently became tenants. In addition, there were large numbers of peasants and civilian tenants, too. Hence, a landlord-tenant structure emerged in Yunnan. 122

The military families were also the most enthusiastic to pursue Confucian education and imperial degrees. Students of military households were at first not allowed to take imperial examinations in Yunnan. Instead they were made to go back to their original home provinces (*jiguan*). This policy was changed in 1450,²²⁸ and it immediately attracted more military children to schooling. Indeed, more than half of *jinshi* in Yunnan of the Ming period originated from military families.²²⁹ As a result, education and land ownership began to form a gentry class in Yunnan. 123

Table 5.1 Distribution of <i>Jinshi</i> in Yunnan during the Ming Period	124
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All of these elements created a plural cultural unity in Yunnan, whose political ties with China were secured during the Ming period. James Lee points out that the flow of immigrants "introduced a deep and long-lasting cleavage in southwestern society. No one would deny that they imparted a distinctly foreign flavor to the Southwest and altered the allocation of power."²³⁰ This complex unity was reflected in spatial distribution of *jinshi*, from which we can clearly discern the influence of Confucian culture, or, from another angle, the influence of indigenous culture on the immigrant culture.²³¹

Among the twenty-eight prefectures and departments of Yunnan in 1582, only the above thirteen produced *jinshi*. All of these thirteen were northeast of the Tengchong-Yuan River line. Four prefectures (Yunnan, Dali, Lin'an and Yongchang) account for over 78 percent of the total number. These four prefectures simultaneously were the first to produce *jinshi*. Hence there was a spatial and temporal overlapping line that revealed the imbalanced spread and development of Confucianism in Yunnan. By this standard, Yunnan could be divided into four areas: the core area (*hexin quyu*), the semiperipheral area (*waiwei quyu*), the peripheral area (*bianyuan quyu*), and the blank area (*kongbai quyu*). 125

The core area included Yunnan, Dali, Lin'an, and Yongchang; these prefectures cultivated the earliest and largest *jinshi*. Geographically, they consisted of two sections: eastern Yunnan (Kunming and Dali) and western Yunnan (Lin'an and Yongchang). Yunnan prefecture was the most populous and developed. It constituted 27 percent of provincial *jinshi*. Lin'an prefecture developed very quickly. As early as the Yongle reign, it began to produce *jinshi*.²³² Dali prefecture was another developed Confucian area, which was as famous as Yunnan prefecture. Yongchang, whose nickname was "Little Nanjing," was the major recipient of Han immigrants. Since the mid-Ming, Yongchang began to cultivate *jinshi*. The semiperipheral area (*waiwei quyu*) included Zhijiang, Qujing, Chuxiong, Heqing, Yaoan, Beisheng, Guangxi, and Lijiang, a total of nine prefectures with fifty-two *jinshi*. Its western section included Qujing, Zhijiang, and Guangxi, while the eastern section included Lijiang, Beisheng, Heqing, Yaoan, Chuxiong, and Menghua. The peripheral area (*bianyuan quyu*) included Xundian, Wuning, Shunning, and Jingdong. Although there were no *jinshi* in this area, it was still influenced by Confucianism. From the mid-Ming period social customs began to change and Confucian schools appeared. The blank area (*kongbai quyu*) included Yongning prefecture (northwestern Yunnan), and those west of Baoshan. In general, they were located southwest of the Tengchong-Yuan River line. Confucian influence in Shunning, Jingdong, and Yuanjiang prefectures was limited, since indigenous cultures and customs dominated there. 126

Yunnan, once a name for a county, then a prefecture, then a province, now refers to an administrative area. The establishment of the provincial administration from the Mongol period gradually inspired the idea that Yunnan was part of the Chinese Empire, and that native peoples were subjects of imperial states. By the mid-sixteenth century, some Chinese migrants had begun to identify themselves as the Yunnanese. 127

Zhao Tingrui, a student of Taihe County (Dali), left home at the end of Jiajing reign (1522–1566), and traveled throughout the empire. Zhao Zhonghua, Tingrui's son, made a decision to look for his father when his mother died. During his conversation with a monk, Zhao Zhonghua identified himself as *yunnanren*; and in 1578 or 1579, when he met his father (of whom he was not sure), introduced himself: "I (am) Yunnanese (*Wu yunnanren*)."²³³ But this was not for the first time that *yunnanren* as an identity appeared in imperial documents. As early as 1404, a 128

jinshi claimed himself as *yunnanren*, and asked to serve as a Confucian instructor back in Yunnan. Emperor Yongle was surprised and delighted that *yunnanren* (people of the recently conquered frontier province) had won the *jinshi* degree and approved this request.²³⁴

These pioneers who used *yunnanren* to identify themselves were generally scholars. In the imperial registration system (i.e., for civil exams), they labeled themselves and were labeled as *yunnanren* and when they passed their exams and served the imperial state in other provinces, they identified themselves as *yunnanren*. While the imperial registration institutions fostered the acceptance and use of *yunnanren*, the foundation and consciousness of such a new identity certainly resulted from the new Yunnan society. Their role as imperial subjects hence provided a basis for the acceptance of Chinese nationality in the twentieth century. 129

Many Yunnanese people represented Yunnan as envoys of the local and central government. They represented a population of several million involved in the imperial administration. *Ming Shi* recorded many Yunnanese scholar-officials for their outstanding Confucian ethics or achievements. Particularly at the end of the Ming Dynasty, some Yunnanese officials showed their loyalty and ability in campaigns against the peasant rebellion or the Manchu invasion. Yang Yiqing (1453–1530), a *jinshi* in 1472, acknowledged that he was originally from Yunnan (he was born in Yunnan, grew up in Hunan, and spent his last years in Jiangnan), and sent his son in 1515 to pay tribute to his ancestral tombs in Yunnan. Yang spent long time in the northwestern frontier, and won his reputation in military and frontier administration. He was put in jail because he offended Liu Jin, a powerful eunuch, and later he helped to get rid of Liu Jin. Subsequently, Yang served as minister of tax, minister of defense, and grand councilor in the cabinet. *Mingtaizong Shilu* thought highly of him, stating that Yang's ability was not matched by his contemporaries (*qicai yishi wuliang*).²³⁵ Yan Qing, a *jinshi* of 1544, served as minister of justice, of civil office, and of defense.²³⁶ Probably the most heroic was Fu Zonglong, a *jinshi* of 1610, who was a trusted military commander during the Chongzhen reign (1628–1644), the last years of the Ming Dynasty. His experience with minority rebellions in Guizhou, Yunnan, and Sichuan established his role in the military affairs. He was assigned to handle the Manchus and peasant rebels. Finally he was killed in the battle in 1641.²³⁷ The loyalty to the Ming Dynasty sharply contrasted him with his peers. For example, Hong Chengchou, another military leader trusted by Chongzhen Emperor, was captured by the Manchus and surrendered. Indeed, Fu's case challenged many Ming officials, whose betrayals partially accounted for the easy success of the Manchus. A similar case was that of Mu Tianbo, the last of the Mu family, who escorted Emperor Yongli, the last emperor of the (Southern) Ming, to Burma. Mu was killed in a trap set up by the Burmese who had planned to present the Ming court to the Manchus. Mu could have survived, since the Burmese did not want to have a slaughter on their hands, especially considering the high and long-term prestige the Mus had enjoyed in Yunnan, had Mu Tianbo not fought valiantly to protect his emperor.²³⁸ 130

The appearance of *yunnanren* modified the idea of Chineseness, or Chinese identity, in that Yunnan was regarded as an integral part of China, and *yunnanren*, as a basic regional constituent of Chinese people (*zhongguoren*). 131

Local Identity and Chinese Identity

How to understand and define Chinese identity is obviously a key issue in Chinese studies. While the Sino-Western clashes since the Opium War have ignited Chinese nationalism that symbolizes their self-awareness or self-consciousness, it is probably necessary to trace its origins back to an earlier time, since the Chinese experience with non-Chinese "barbarians" occurred a long time ago. 132

China, or the Middle Kingdom, originated in the Yellow River region, but gradually expanded into the Yangzi River and the Pearl River regions. This long-term historical process witnessed the incorporation of many geo-ethnic groups. Han people are the hybrid product of ethnic interactions, and Han people are not the only Chinese. How to coordinate Han people and other peoples has challenged rulers of imperial China, for example, the Mongols, the Manchus, and most recently, the nationalists and the Communists. Fei Xiaotong, the well-known Western-educated Chinese anthropologist, has theorized the formation of Chinese nation in terms of ethnic interactions. 133

In his theory of the "Plurality and Unity of the Chinese Nation" (*Zhonghuaminzu Duoyuanyiti Lilun*), Fei argues that ethnic interactions within the large area and throughout history have created Chineseness and the nation. The Chinese nation, consisting of fifty-six *minzu*,²³⁹ has been established through these interactions; but as a self-conscious entity, the Chinese nation was formed during the 400-year Sino-Western national clashes. Hence, all these *minzus* claim dual identification. In the first place, they identify themselves as Chinese, and within the larger Chinese nation, they identify as *minzu*.²⁴⁰ Fei's theory has been widely welcomed in China. However, while Fei emphasizes ethnic contributions of minorities to the Chinese nation, he downplays the role of local or regional identity. 134

Regional difference and distinctiveness have characterized Chinese culture.²⁴¹ Tan Qixiang has discussed different regional customs in different periods, and he points out that there was no universally accepted homogenous Chinese culture over a 2,000-year period.²⁴² Temporal and regional features were indeed keys to understanding the formation and transformation of Chinese culture. Therefore, the incorporation of Yunnan, originally a non-Chinese area, added a new dimension to Chinese culture as soon as its regional culture and identity were created after ethnic non-Han groups had been taken as Chinese imperial subjects. 135

Figure 5.1 Ethnic Identity, Provincial Identity, and Chinese Identity

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I argue that ethnic identity and regional identity are crucial to the definition and understanding of present-day Chinese people (*zhongguoren*). By regional identity, I mean the identification of their locality as part of China by the inhabitants, for example, Sichuanese (*sichuanren*), Cantonese (*guangdongren*), and Hunanese (*hunanren*). Local identification not only represents geographical location but also connects to special cultural features, and sometimes, ethnic identity (e.g., in Xinjiang, Tibet, and Yunnan). Therefore, there parallels a dual identification: in the first place, Chineseness, and then local identity. In this sense, the emergence of the Yunnanese is crucial to Chineseness, because this local identification was premised on Chinese identity. Who are the Yunnanese? This question carries the assumption that Yunnan is part of China, and that the Yunnanese are China's Yunnanese, or, that the Yunnanese are Chinese.

Yunnanren, a geo-ethnic identity or a provincial-level identity, is one of the latest neologisms (others are *dongbeiren* [Northeasterners] and, more problematically, *xizangren* [Tibetans], and *xinjiangren*), and entered the Chinese family just as China embarked on its modern era. Chinese elites for a long time identified themselves by region where their family or clan originated. Many family names were connected to some certain prefecture (*jun*) respectively during the early medieval ages. During the period of late imperial China, province replaced prefecture as the primary unit of the Middle Kingdom. Consequently, provincial identity gradually emerged on the national stage, especially as the imperial state regarded provincial units as key to its administrative, economic, and cultural projects. 137

Recently Tim Oakes has noticed increasing regionalism in China's interior, represented by provincial identity in the global context of Asian capitalism.²⁴³ To win more economic investment, each province claims itself a true traditional Chinese cultural unit. However, I cannot agree with his statement that "China has a tradition of place-based identities that have seldom, if ever, corresponded with provincial-administrative boundaries."²⁴⁴ Chinese identity displayed at the provincial level has indeed been established historically. 138

Both administrative and proto-cultural/economic, provincial units can be traced back much earlier, at least back to the Yuan Dynasty, under which the province was administratively the first category under central authority. Most provinces in today's China were created in the Yuan-Ming-Qing period.²⁴⁵ Such an administrative hierarchy facilitated the provincial label in many crucial aspects of social life, for example, taxation, relief, and civil examinations. During the period of late imperial China, each province was given a quota of candidates who were allowed to participate in the imperial examination in the capital. These candidates, labeled as students of their home provinces, not only represented their family and clan but also their home province. Binding students and imperial local subjects with their home provinces facilitated the creation and enhancement of local consciousness on a provincial scale, especially for the recently conquered frontier areas, such as Yunnan, that had previously been non-Chinese. Logically, provincial identity was used to represent Chineseness in the national context. Most Chinese people therefore classified themselves and were in turn classified with provincial tags. 139

Wei Yuan, a Han scholar of the early nineteenth century, and one of the pioneers who had some knowledge of the West, explicitly defined *zhongguo* in his time by stating that "the seventeen provinces and the three northeastern provinces are the territory of Zhongguo" (*shiqi xingsheng ji dongsansheng di wei zhongguo*).²⁴⁶ At the same time, very interestingly, Wei Yuan excluded Russia (obviously), Korea, Mongolia, the Uighur realm (Huibu), and Tibet (Weizang) from Zhongguo, though the Qing Empire held some control over Tibet, and even more over the Mongols.²⁴⁷ In contrast, Yunnan as a province was part of Wei Yuan's Zhongguo.

Wei Yuan's idea of placing Yunnan and Manchuria as part of Zhongguo revealed his multiethnic/regional conceptualization of the Chinese Empire and Chinese people, and his idea was followed by Sun Yat-sen and later the Communist Party. But Wei Yuan was certainly not the first to see the Chinese as universal and flexible, and to see Yunnan as part of China. Such a consciousness was clarified by Yang Shen, the famous Ming Sichuanese scholar who was exiled to Yunnan. It was in Yunnan during the Ming period that a drastic transformation occurred, inspiring Yang to make the following comment: "The Chinese are a truly cosmopolitan people, the heirs of all mankind, of the entire world. The Han are just one of the ethnic groups in the empire, and we include many different types of people. In Yunnan alone there are over twenty other non-Han native peoples. So long as they accept the emperor's rule, they are Chinese."²⁴⁸ 140

Xie Zhaozhe, a scholar of the early seventeenth century, also paralleled the Yunnanese (*Dianren*) with the other ten-odd local groups when discussing regional peoples and their cultural features in the Ming Empire.²⁴⁹ In so doing, he regarded Yunnan and its people as a constituent of the Chinese. 141

Interestingly, such a view was shared by the Westerners who traveled in Yunnan at the end of the nineteenth century. Major Davies, who observed that almost all ethnic groups in Yunnan had been influenced by Chinese culture, comments that when ethnic peoples "began to despise their own language, customs, and dress, and to take a pride in adopting Chinese ways," "the time is not far distant when they will call themselves Chinamen. A race of Chinese thus grows who have really Chinese blood in them."²⁵⁰ Hence, Davies points out that the Chinese must be "considered as a mixed race."²⁵¹ 142

Although Yang Shen, Xie Zhaozhe, Wei Yuan, and Major Davies used different terms under different historical contexts, they all saw the Chinese people as flexible and cosmopolitan. Their statements support my argument that the incorporation of Yunnan contributed to and exemplified the plurality of the Chinese nation/people. It is interesting that provinces, such as Shaanxi, are now struggling to claim their Chineseness either by tracing their ancient Chinese tradition, or by emphasizing their multiethnicity, such as Guizhou, as Oakes has noticed.²⁵² Indeed Yunnan is making a similar claim, by citing its multiethnic culture in its effort to attract more resources internally and internationally. 143

Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined how Chinese culture impacted native peoples, and at the same time how the indigenes impacted the Chinese immigrants. I argue that both sinicization and indigenization contributed to the process of incorporation, giving rise to a new local identity. Such a local identity at the provincial level has been the self-expression of Chineseness on the national stage since then. The incorporation of Yunnan not only increased China's territory and peoples but also contributed to the transformation and development of Chinese culture and identity as a plural unity. In essence, the incorporation of Yunnan helped build China as a multiethnic entity.

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Notes

Note 1: Fang Guoyu concludes that it was completed in the seventh or eighth year of the Dade reign (1297–1307). See *YNSLCK* 3: 121.

Note 2: *Yunnan Zhilue* was no longer extant in the Ming, but many books cited from it, allowing us to access part of Li Jing's works.

Note 3: For a complete translation of this section in *Yunnan Zhilue*, see Armijo-Hussein 1996, 131-149.

Note 4: Li Jing's description sometimes was biased by Confucian ethics. The Moxie people indeed did not have a concept of marriage.

Note 5: This practice is found popular in some Southeast Asian peoples.

Note 6: Such a practice was recorded as early as the Nanzhao period in *Man Shu*, and it continued in the Ming-Qing period, to the present day.

Note 7: Jacqueline Misty Armijo-Hussein (1996) has in fact made a comparison of records by Li Jing and Marco Polo.

Note 8: James Lee, "Migration and Expansion in Chinese History," in *Human Migration: Patterns and Policies*, eds. William McNeill and Ruth S. Adams (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1978), 20-47.

Note 9: For the discussion of *yi* and *min* in early texts, see Fang Guoyu 2001, 1: 316-320.

Note 10: For Zhuang Qiao's campaign, see Fang Guoyu 2001, 1: 64-71, 94-100.

Note 11: Fang Guoyu 2001, 1: 67, 99.

Note 12: For Chinese immigration to Yunnan in early times, see Fang Guoyu 2001, 1: 303-354; 2: 80-103.

Note 13: Fang Guoyu 2001, 1: 308-309.

Note 14: *HYGZ*, *juan* 4, in *YNSLCK* 1: 257.

Note 15: Lü Buwei was a wealthy merchant and a minister of the Qin state in the late Warring State period.

Note 16: Fang Guoyu 2001, 1: 311-312.

Note 17: For Chinese migrants during the Tang and Song periods, see Fang Guoyu 2001, 2: 80-103.

Note 18: *Tong Dian*, *juan* 187, in *YNSLCK* 1: 451.

Note 19: *JTS*, *juan* 106, in *YNSLCK* 1: 433.

Note 20: *YNSLCK* 2: 143-144. Quite a few poets or writers, including Li Bai, wrote about the disastrous campaigns over Nanzhao.

Note 21: *Tai Ping Guang Ji*, *juan* 166, in *YNSKCL* 2: 119-123.

Note 22: *JTS*, *juan* 197, in *YNSKCL* 1: 376.

Note 23: *Man Shu*, in *YNSLCK* 2: 62.

Note 24: *JTS*, *juan* 17, in *YNSLCK* 1: 357; *ZZTJ*, *juan* 244, in *YNSLCK* 1: 639.

Note 25: For Yong Tao, see *YNSLCK* 2: 152-156; Fang Guoyu 2001, 2: 94-95.

Note 26: *ZZTJ*, *juan* 250, in *YNSLCK* 1: 643.

Note 27: *XTS*, *juan* 222, in *YNSLCK* 1: 399.

Note 28: For private migrations in Chinese history, see James Lee 1978, 20-47.

Note 29: Zhang Jianzhi, "Qing Babingshu Yaozhou Shu," in *YNSLCK* 2: 110.

Note 30: *Man Shu*, in *YNSLCK* 2: 36.

- Note 31:** *Tong Dian*, *juan* 187, in *YNSLCK* 1: 451.
- Note 32:** *Tong Dian*, *juan* 187, in *YNSLCK* 1: 452.
- Note 33:** For the Chinese immigrations in the Ming period, see James Lee 1982, 279 -304; Jiang Yingliang, *Daizu Shi* (History of the Dai) (Chengdu: Sichuan Minzu Chubanshe, 1983), 314 -322; Lu Ren 2001.
- Note 34:** Lu Ren 2001, 13.
- Note 35:** Lu Ren 2001, 39-44. Jiang Yingliang pointed out that the Ming soldiers were not fewer than 300,000. See Jiang Yingliang 1983, 315-317.
- Note 36:** For state-sponsored migrations, see Lu Ren 2001, 69-78.
- Note 37:** James Lee 1982, 289.
- Note 38:** Lu Ren 2001, 136-137.
- Note 39:** James Lee 1982, 715.
- Note 40:** *Ibid.*, 285.
- Note 41:** The origins of the Han migrants were diverse. See James Lee 1982, 290.
- Note 42:** James Lee 1982, 290-291.
- Note 43:** *HHS*, *juan* 86, in *YNSLCK* 1: 57; *HYGZ*, *juan* 10, in *YNSLCK* 1: 276.
- Note 44:** *Tong Dian*, *juan* 187, in *YNSLCK* 1: 452.
- Note 45:** *Man Shu*, in *YNSLCK* 2: 49; Li Jing, *Yunnan Zhilue*, in *YNSLCK* 3: 128
- Note 46:** James Lee 1982, 717-720.
- Note 47:** *Yunnan Zhi*, *juan* 2, in *YNSLCK* 6: 126.
- Note 48:** *Yunnan Zhi*, *juan* 2, in *YNSLCK* 6: 108. The seventeen wei were the Left, the Right, the Middle, the Front, the Back, Guangnan, Dali, Lin'an, Qujing, Jingdong, Chuxiong, Erhai, Pingyi, Yuezhou, Menghua, Liuliang, and Daluo; the three *Junmin Zhihuishisi* were Jinchi, Lancang, and Tengchong; the six *Shouyu Qianhusuo* were Yiliang, Yimen, Anning, Malong, Yanglinbao, and Mumiguan.
- Note 49:** *Yunnan Zhi*, in *YNSLCK* 6: 122-224. *Tun* refers to military village, while *cun* refers to civilian village.
- Note 50:** *Yunnan Tongzhi*, in *YNSLCK* 6: 580-594. In total, there were 173 *tuncang* and 38 *chengcang* (literally "city granaries") located in the major cities; Fang Guoyu 2003, 3: 246-248.
- Note 51:** Chen, Qingjiang, "Mingdai Yunnan Xianji Zhengqu Zhisuo de Chengchi" (Cities of department/county level in Ming Yunnan), in *Xi'nan Bianjiang Minzu Yanjiu* (Ethnic studies of southwestern frontiers) (Kunming: Yunnan University Press, 2001), Vol. 1, 447-467.
- Note 52:** *Yunnan Tujingzhishu*, *juan* 1, in *YNSLCK* 6: 7.
- Note 53:** Lu Ren 2001, 151-152.
- Note 54:** *Yunnan Zhi*, *juan* 2, in *YNSLCK* 6: 126.
- Note 55:** *Ibid.*
- Note 56:** *Mingtaizu Shilu*, *juan* 187, in *YNSLCK* 4: 155.
- Note 57:** Lu Ren 2001, 183-184.
- Note 58:** *Yunnan Zhi*, *juan* 2, in *YNSLCK* 6: 129.
- Note 59:** *Ibid.*
- Note 60:** *Anningzhou Zhi* (Kangxi edition), *juan* 2, 12b.
- Note 61:** *Chuxiongfu Zhi* (Kangxi edition), *juan* 2, 25a, 32b.
- Note 62:** *Yunnan Zhi*, in *YNSLCK* 6: 103-516. The calculation is done by the author.

- Note 63:** *Yunnan Zhi*, *juan 2*, in *YNSLCK* 6: 130.
- Note 64:** Lu Ren 2001, 189.
- Note 65:** *Yunnan Zhi*, *juan 2*, in *YNSLCK* 6: 129-130.
- Note 66:** *Ibid.*, 130.
- Note 67:** *Ibid.*, 122-232.
- Note 68:** *He Wenjian Shuyi*, *juan 8*, "Chuzhi Difang Shu," in *YNSLCK* 5: 338.
- Note 69:** Xu Xiake, *Xu Xiake Youji* (The travelogue of Xu Xiake), annotated by Zhu Huirong (Kunming: Yunnan Renmin Chubanshe, 1985), 770. When Xu arrived, the Shao system no longer existed. Some soldiers might have been absorbed into local society.
- Note 70:** It is obvious in most Qing gazetteers. For example, see *Luliangzhou Zhi* (1844); *Dengchuanzhou Zhi* (1853), and *Malongzhou Zhi* (1723).
- Note 71:** *Xundianfu Zhi* (Jiajing edition) (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1963), 1: 5b-7a. The number of civilian villages was thirty-nine, while that of the military villages was twenty-one.
- Note 72:** *Luliangzhou Zhi* (1844), *juan 1*, 15a-18b.
- Note 73:** James Lee 1982, 715; today Yunnan has about 43 million *mu* of cultivated land. See *Yunnan*, compiled by Yunnan Nationality College (Kunming: Yunnan Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1999), 5.
- Note 74:** C.f. Fang Guoyu 2003, 3: 250.
- Note 75:** *Jingdongfu Zhi* (1732), *juan 2*; Fang Guoyu 2003: 3, 250.
- Note 76:** Von Glahn 1987.
- Note 77:** Wu Daxun, *Diannan Jianwenlu*, in *YNSLCK* 12: 17-18.
- Note 78:** *Ming Shi*, *juan 126*, in *YNSLCK* 3: 390.
- Note 79:** *Ibid.*, 391.
- Note 80:** *Yuan Shi*, *juan 100*, in *YNSLCK* 2: 643. One *shuang* was about five *mu*.
- Note 81:** *Yunnan Zhi*, *juan 2*, in *YNSLCK* 6: 126.
- Note 82:** *Yuan Shi*, *juan 100*, in *YNSLCK* 3: 644.
- Note 83:** *Yunnan Zhi*, *juan 4*, in *YNSLCK* 6: 148.
- Note 84:** *Yunnan Zhi*, *juan 1*, in *YNSLCK* 6: 109.
- Note 85:** *Yunnan Tongzhi*, *juan 6*, in *YNSLCK* 6: 559; *juan 6*, in *YNSLCK* 6: 580.
- Note 86:** Zhou Jiamo, "Qingli Zhuangtian Ceshu," in *YNSLCK* 4: 669.
- Note 87:** Zhao Ziyuan, "Sai Pingzhang Dezheng Bei," in *YNSLCK* 3: 267.
- Note 88:** For the irrigation projects and environmental impact on the Lake Erhai, for example, see Elvin, Mark, Darren Crook, Shen Li, Richard Honess, and John Dearing, "The Impact of Clearance and Irrigation on the Environment in the Lake Erhai Catchment from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century," *East Asia History* 23 (June 2002): 1-60.
- Note 89:** *Yunnan Tujingzhishu*, *juan 1*, in *YNSLCK* 6: 6. *Li*, *chi*, and *zhang* are units of length. Ten *chi* equal one *zhang*, and 150 *zhang* equals one *li*. The size of *chi* varied over time. In the Ming period, one *chi* was about 25 centimeters.
- Note 90:** Chen Wen, "Nanbazha Ji," in Liu Wenzheng (Ming), *Dian Zhi* (Kunming: Yunnan Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1991), *juan 19*, 634-635. *Dian Zhi* indeed left many essays written on irrigation projects.
- Note 91:** *Yunnan Zhi*, *juan 2*, in *YNSLCK* 6: 125.
- Note 92:** *Luliangzhou Zhi* (1844), *juan 5*.
- Note 93:** *Mingxuanzong Shilu*, *juan 84*, in *YNSLCK* 4: 115-116.
- Note 94:** Lu Ren 2001, 258-260.

Note 95: *Ming Huidian*, *juan* 24, in *YNSLCK* 3: 708. *Shi* was a unit of weight. One *shi* was 120 *jin*, and one *jin* is about 500 grams.

Note 96: *Ming Huidian*, *juan* 24, in *YNSLCK* 3: 708.

Note 97: *Yunnan Tongzhi*, *juan* 6, *YNSLCK* 6: 559. The figures of 1578 were 35,567 *shi* (wheat) and 107, 123 *shi* (rice), basically the same as before. See *Ming Huidian*, *juan* 24, in *YNSLCK* 3:708. In 1632, the figures had a slight increase (wheat: 37, 716 *shi*; rice: 111,073 *shi*). See Liu Wenzheng, *Dian Zhi*, *juan* 6, 212.

Note 98: Here I emphasize Confucian education because it could be measured and because it was a key part of the civilizing project. However, I do not think that Confucian culture is identical with the Han culture. Indeed many Chinese non-Confucian cultural institutions and customs took roots in Yunnan. For example, the worship of river or water gods was popular in some hilly areas in Yunnan; they were certainly introduced by immigrants from the Yangzi region, as James Lee points out. The spread of Chinese Buddhism during the Ming-Qing period was also a measure to "dominate" native religious infrastructures.

Note 99: Zhao Ziyuan, "Sai Pingzhang Dezheng Bei," in *YNSLCK* 3: 266-267.

Note 100: Guo Songnian, "Zhongqinglu Xuebeiji," in *YNSLCK* 3: 275-276.

Note 101: *Yuan Shi*, *juan* 167, in *YNSLCK* 2: 563.

Note 102: *Yuan Shi*, *juan* 32, in *YNSLCK* 2: 644.

Note 103: "Zhongqinglu Zengzhi Xuetian Ji," in *YNSLCK* 3: 277.

Note 104: *Ibid.*

Note 105: *Yuan Shi*, *juan* 32, in *YNSLCK* 2: 644.

Note 106: Liu Wenzheng, *Dian Zhi*, *juan* 8, 275; Nanzhao Yeshe, in *YNSLCK* 4: 771.

Note 107: Zha Jizuo (Ming), *Zui Wei Lu*, *juan* 26, 5a.

Note 108: *Yunnan Tujingzhishu*, in *YNSLCK* 6: 1-102.

Note 109: *Mingtaizong Shilu*, *juan* 126, 149, 185, and 197, in *YNSLCK* 4: 495.

Note 110: Mu Qin and Mu Jihong, *Ruxue yu Yunnan Zhengzhi Jingji de Fazhang ji Wenhua zhuanxing* (Confucianism and the political, economic, and cultural transformations in Yunnan) (Kunming: Yunnandaxue Chubanshe, 1999), 92.

Note 111: *YNSLCK* 4: 492-495.

Note 112: Liu Wenzheng, *Dian Zhi*, *juan* 8-9, 285, 323, 326.

Note 113: *Ibid.*, 275-333.

Note 114: Usually *shuyuan* was advocated by magistrates, and was provided with fields.

Note 115: Liu Wenzheng, *Dian Zhi*, *juan* 8-9, 275-333. The number was not complete. *Xinzuan Yunnan Tongzhi* lists sixty-five *shuyuan*.

Note 116: *Mingtaizu Shilu*, *juan* 203, 204, in *YNSLCK* 4: 492-493.

Note 117: Xie Zhaozhe, *Dian Lue*, *juan* 9, *YNSLCK* 6: 778.

Note 118: Liu Wenzheng, *Dian Zhi*, *juan* 23, 767.

Note 119: *Yunnan Tujingzhishu*, *juan* 1, in *YNSLCK* 6: 16.

Note 120: *Ming Huidian*, *juan* 77, in *YNSLCK* 3: 719.

Note 121: "Qing Jiagejie Shu," in Liu Wenzheng, *Dian Zhi*, *juan* 23, 767-768.

Note 122: *Ming Shi*, *juan* 192.

Note 123: *Yuan Shi*, *juan* 125, in *YNSLCK* 2: 556-557.

Note 124: "Zhongqingluxue Jiangtang Ji," in *YNSLCK* 3: 277-278.

- Note 125:** "Wei Meixianyin Wangjun Muzhiming," in *YNSLCK* 3: 331.
- Note 126:** "Yuan Xuanweishi Zhian Wangong Muzhiming," in *YNSLCK* 3: 331-332.
- Note 127:** *Yuan Shi*, *juan* 167, in *YNSLCK* 2: 563.
- Note 128:** *Yunnan Tujingzhishu*, *juan* 2, in *YNSLCK* 6: 36.
- Note 129:** *Dengchunzhou Zhi* (1853 edition), *juan* 15, "yiwenzhi."
- Note 130:** *Yunnan Tongzhi*, *juan* 2.
- Note 131:** *Yunnan Zhi*, *juan* 3, in *YNSLCK* 6: 138
- Note 132:** *Chuxiongfu Zhi* (Gazetteer of Chuxiong Prefecture; 1568 edition), in *Riben cang Zhongguo Hanjian Difangzhi Congkan* (Beijing Shumu Wenxian Cubanshe, 1992), 42. According to this gazetteer, in Eija County, the magistrate most likely did not have a walled city. This showed that the magistrate paid primary attention to education.
- Note 133:** *Yunnan Tongzhi*, *juan* 3.
- Note 134:** Ibid.
- Note 135:** Ibid.
- Note 136:** Liu Wenzheng, *Dian Zhi*, *juan* 30, 998.
- Note 137:** *Mengzixian Zhi* (1791 edition), *juan* 5, 37a.
- Note 138:** Francis L. K. Hsu, *Under the Ancestors's Shadow* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1971).
- Note 139:** Liu Wenzheng, *Dian Zhi*, *juan* 30, 995.
- Note 140:** Ibid., 977.
- Note 141:** Fang Guoyu, *Yunnan Shiliaomulu Gaishuo* (A general introduction to imperial sources on Yunnan) (Beijing: Zhonghuashuju, 1984), 1162.
- Note 142:** Xu Xiake, 964-966.
- Note 143:** *Ming Shi*, *juan* 314, in *YNSLCK* 3: 454.
- Note 144:** Liu Kun, *Nanzhong Zashuo* (Essays on Nanzhong), in *YNSLCK* 11: 355.
- Note 145:** Liu Kun, *Nanzhong Zashuo*, in *YNSLCK* 11: 355.
- Note 146:** Liu Wenzheng, *Dian Zhi*, *juan* 15, 520; for Gao Hu, also see *Dian Lue*, in *YNSLCK* 6: 713.
- Note 147:** *Dengchuanzhou Zhi*, *juan* 12, 15a-b. The original given name of A Yu was Rongzong, literally meaning "Glorify Ancestors," which reveals the influence of Confucian value.
- Note 148:** *Dengchuanzhou Zhi*, *juan* 12, 15b-16a.
- Note 149:** Liu Jian, *Tingwenlu*, in *YNSLCK* 8: 392-393.
- Note 150:** Liu Wenzheng, *Dian Zhi*, *juan* 15, 538.
- Note 151:** Ibid. In the two above cases, the native women indeed defended their own land more than the Ming's, but in the Ming Confucian view, they were images of loyalty to the imperial state and were rewarded by the court.
- Note 152:** *Tengyuezhou Zhi* (1790 edition), *Zhongguo Fangzhi Congshu* (Series of Chinese Gazetteers) (Taipei: Chengwen Chubanshe, 1967) 41: 50a-56.
- Note 153:** Liu Wenzheng, *Dian Zhi*, *juan* 15, 520.
- Note 154:** *Dengchuanzhou Zhi*, *juan* 12, 5a-b.
- Note 155:** Liu Wenzheng, *Dian Zhi*, *juan* 15, 538.
- Note 156:** For the general introduction of ethnic chastity women during the Ming-Qing period, see Shen Haimei, *Mingqing Yunnan Funushenghuo Yanjiu* (A study of Yunnan women during the Ming-Qing period), (Kunming: Yunnan Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2001), 245-262.

Note 157: Liu Wenzheng, *Dian Zhi*, *juan* 15, 528, 529, 536, 538, 539. The above cases were obviously not the Bai people, considering their locations. Indeed it seems that there were more Bai chastity women in *Dian Zhi*, considering their last names with their locations, which should not be surprising since the Bai people were the most influenced by Han culture.

Note 158: *Yongchangfu Zhi* (1885 edition) 1-6, *juan* 57, 2a.

Note 159: Zhang Lucheng, *Caiyun Baiyong* (One hundred poems on colorful clouds), in *YNSLCK* 8: 46-47.

Note 160: *Dian Lue*, *juan* 4, in *YNSLCK* 6: 695-696.

Note 161: *Yongchangfu Zhi* (1885 edition), reprinted in 1936 by Baoshan Fuwenguan, *juan* 8, 1a.

Note 162: Francis L. K. Hsu 1971, 17.

Note 163: H. R. Davies. *Yunnan, the Link between India and the Yangtze* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 367-369.

Note 164: Yu 1967, 202-215. Ho Ping-Ti in his recent article "In Defense of Sinicization: A Rebuttal of Evelyn Rawski's 'Reenvisioning the Qing'" has also scrutinized this hotly debated issue with a long-term approach and has vividly illustrated the cultural interactions throughout Chinese history. For the debate of Sinicization, see Rawski, "Reenvisioning the Qing: The Significance of the Qing Period in Chinese History," *Journal of Asian Studies* 55.4 (1996): 829-850; Ho, "In Defense of Sinicization: A Rebuttal of Evelyn Rawski's 'Reenvisioning the Qing'," *Journal of Asian Studies* 57.1 (1998), 123-155.

Note 165: Ho Ping-Ti instead prefers terms such as "Central-Asianization" or "Western-Asianization," as his discussions mainly focus on the northern frontiers. Ho 1998, 134.

Note 166: Yu 1967, 212-213.

Note 167: *HS*, *juan* 94, 1226-1227.

Note 168: For Zhonghan Yue, see *HS*, *juan* 94, 1228-1229; Yu, 1967, 37-38.

Note 169: Lu Ren 2001.

Note 170: *Ibid.*, 145.

Note 171: *Ibid.*, 145-146.

Note 172: Fang Guoyu 2003, 3: 318-319. Fang points out that many indigenous customs had spread and that many Han people were absorbed into the indigenous society.

Note 173: *Tong Dian*, *juan* 187, in *YNSLCK* 1: 452.

Note 174: Fang Guoyu 1987, Vol. 2, 1132.

Note 175: In the following sections, I will employ Ming and Qing sources to reveal the process of indigenization. One key reason is that only a few Ming sources are available. Moreover, if evidence of indigenous customs existed during the Qing period, they certainly would have been present during the Ming period.

Note 176: *Dian Lue*, *juan* 4, in *YNSLCK* 6: 698.

Note 177: *Heqingzhou Zhi* (1894 edition) (Taipei: Taiwan Xuesheng Shuju, 1969), *juan* 5, 153.

Note 178: James Lee 1982, 711-746.

Note 179: *Yuan Shi*, *juan* 125, in *YNSLCK* 2: 557.

Note 180: *Dian Lue*, *juan* 4, in *YNSLCK* 6: 695.

Note 181: *Ibid.*, 697.

Note 182: *Dalifu Zhi* (Gazetteer of the Dali Prefecture), Kangxi edition, 1b.

Note 183: *Yunnan Tujingzhishu*, *juan* 6, in *YNSLCK* 6: 93.

Note 184: *Menghua fu Zhi* (Kangxi edition), *juan* 1, cf. Fang Guoyu, 2003, 3: 318. Urban Han wore green turbans and sheepskin, like hill "barbarians."

Note 185: Xie Zhaozhe, *Dian Lue*, in *YNSLCK* 6: 700.

Note 186: *Mengzixian Zhi* (1791 edition), *juan* 2, 39b. It reads that eating raw foods was thought by ancient people to be healthy (*yi guren xianzhi zhi dao ye*), so it was not regarded as barbarian or savage, but rather it was justified by its ancient origins.

Note 187: C. Pat Giersch 112. Interestingly, when the Communists arrived in the 1950s, they had to use similar ways to win the trust of local villagers.

Note 188: *Dian Lue*, in *YNSLCK* 6:697-698.

Note 189: Viskha Puja (*Yufo jie*) is the holiest day of all Buddhist days, marking the birth, enlightenment, and nirvana of Buddha. The water festival of the Tai people is another version of Viskha Puja.

Note 190: Liu Wenzheng, *Dian Zhi*, *juan* 16, 549-554.

Note 191: *Mengzixian Zhi* (1791 edition), *juan* 3, 2a-2b.

Note 192: *Mengzixian Zhi* (1791 edition), *juan* 5, 37a.

Note 193: For example, Xie Zhaozhe's *Dian Lue*, and *Yongchangfu Zhi*, 1-6, 1885 edition. The latter indeed made it *juan* 58, recording many native words and classifying them into nineteen categories.

Note 194: This saying is often mentioned in many villages in Yunnan and Guizhou today, where villagers state that they are descendents of the Ming soldiers. Mao Zedong's ancestor, for example, served as military colonist in Yunnan from Jiangxi during the Ming period, and married with an ethnic woman. Later, part of the Maos moved to Hunan and settled.

Note 195: Xu Xiake, 938.

Note 196: *Tengyuezhou Zhi* (1791 edition), *juan* 2, 18a.

Note 197: Some groups of these people are called "old Han people" (*lao hanren*) by neighbors, since they have preserved the Ming style, which is not seen in other parts of China.

Note 198: If nationalist passion has blinded scholars of China from seeing this fact, they do not deny that many early Chinese migrants and their descendants in Southeast Asia had been assimilated into local societies.

Note 199: Giersch 217.

Note 200: Giersch 2001, 36; 52; Davies 1970, 28.

Note 201: Chinese sources state he was the son of Mangruti, but Yao Dan argued that he was instead the brother-in-law of Mangruti. Yao Dan and Xu Yu, eds., "Mianwang Mang Ruiti Mang Yingli Bian" (The Burmese kings Mang-rui-ti and Mang-Ying-li), in *Gudai Nanyang Shidi Congkao* (Essays on the ancient history and geography of Nanyang) (Hong Kong: Shangwuyinshuguan, 1958), 3-47.

Note 202: For Yue Feng, see *Ming Shi*, *juan* 247, in *YNSLCK* 3: 415-417; *juan* 314-315, in *YNSLCK* 3: 467, 470-471; *Wanli Yehuobian*, *juan* 30, in *YNSLCK* 5: 181-182.

Note 203: *Wanli Yehuobian*, *juan* 30, in *YNSLCK* 5: 181-182.

Note 204: Lanling Xiaoxiaosheng (Ming), *Jin Ping Mei Cihua Jiaoshi*, annotated by Bai Weiguo and Bo Jian, (Changsha: Yuelu Shushe, 1995), Vol. 1, *juan* 16, 447.

Note 205: Xie Zhaozhe (Ming), *Wu Za Zu* (Essays on the five elements), annotated by Guo Xitu (Shenyang: Liaoning Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2001), Vol. 2, *juan* 12, 256.

Note 206: The following is a summary of Anthony Reid 1988, 146-151.

Note 207: Cf. Reid 1988, 149.

Note 208: Cf. Reid 1988, 149-150.

Note 209: Such tools now are modernized, and could be bought in Taiwan, and Hong Kong.

Note 210: Wang Ningsheng, "Washan Hanzu Kuanggong Zuqun Rentong de Gaibian" (The change of ethnic identification of the Han mining migrants in Washan," in *Zhongguo Minzuxue Zongheng* (Essays on Chinese ethnic studies) (Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe, 2003), 189-200.

Note 211: Yang Li, *The House of Yang: Guardians of an Unknown Frontier* (Sydney, NSW: Bookpress, 1997).

Note 212: Cf. Fang Guoyu 2001, Vol. 3, 588.

Note 213: The above is a summary of Chuan-Kang Shih 2001. Chuan-Kang Shih, "Genesis of Marriage among the Moso and Empire-Building in Late Imperial China," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60, no.2 (May 2001): 381-412.

Note 214: Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Turner Thesis: Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History*, 3rd edition, Edited and with an introduction by George Rogers Taylor (Lexington, Mass., Toronto, and London: D. C. Heath, 1972), 3.

Note 215: Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Note 216: Giersch 1998. For the discussion of the world-system perspective, see introduction and chapter six.

Note 217: Daniel Herman, "Romance on the Middle Ground," *Journal of the Early Republic* (1999): 279-291.

Note 218: Von Glahn 1987.

Note 219: *Wanli Yehuobian*, in *YNSLCK* 5: 181.

Note 220: It is interesting to notice that as aggressive as O'rtai was he disagreed with the more radical proposal to move all native chieftains to China proper and to confiscate their weapons. O'rtai herein realized that the social roots of native society could not be easily removed or changed. And while he removed so many native chieftains in his governorship, O'rtai also created small native chieftains at the very borders. Hence, both the creation and the removal of native chieftains were measures to serve the imperial control and penetration.

Note 221: Daniel Herman 1999, 288.

Note 222: Lu Ren 2001, 238.

Note 223: *Yunnan Zhi*, *juan* 2, in *YNSLCK* 6: 127.

Note 224: *Yunnan Tongzhi*, *juan* 7, in *YNSLCK* 6: 579-594.

Note 225: *Mingshizong Shilu*, *juan* 98, in *YNSLCK* 4: 81.

Note 226: For Ming sources, see *YNSLCK* 4: 116-118.

Note 227: Li Yuanyang (Ming), *Li Zhongxi Quanji* (Comprehensive works of Li Yuanyang), Vol. 5 (Yunnan Provincial Library, 1913), 25a.

Note 228: *Mingyingzong Shilu*, *juan* 192, in *YNSLCK* 4: 498.

Note 229: Lu Ren 2001, 309.

Note 230: James Lee 1982, 292.

Note 231: The following section is a summary of Zhou Zhenhe 1997, 324-348. Zhou Zhenhe, "Mingdai Yunnan Quyuwenhuadili" (Local cultural geography of Yunnan in the Ming Dynasty), in *Zhongguo Lishi Wenhuaquyu Yanjiu* (Studies of Chinese historical regional cultures), ed. Zhou Zhenhe (Shanghai: Fudan Daxue Chubanshe, 1997), 324-359.

Note 232: During the Qing period, Lin'an was further sinicized. Xu Duo in the end of the eighteenth century described in Lin'an thus: "Abo [the native people] of three thousand are all farmers, and *tusi* [native chieftains] of twelve are all well dressed" (*Abo sanqian jie jiase, Tusi shier jin yiguan*). See Jiang Ruiyuan, ed., *Lin'anfu Zhi* (Gazetteer of Lin'an Prefecture), 1799 edition, *juan* 19, "Yiwen" 6, "Qiyangu."

Note 233: Zhang Xuan, *Xiyuan Wenjianlu*, in *YNSLCK* 5: 210-211.

Note 234: *Mingtaizong Shilu*, *juan* 32, in *YNSLCK* 4: 494.

Note 235: *Ming Shi*, *juan* 198. For Yang Yiqing, also see *YNSLCK* 7: 271-277.

Note 236: *Ming Shi*, *juan* 224.

Note 237: *Ming Shi*, *juan* 262.

Note 238: Deng Kai, *Yeshilu*, in *YNSLCK* 4: 725.

Note 239: *Minzu* is a state-acknowledged ethnic group in People's Republic of China. For further discussion, see chapter seven.

Note 240: Fei Xiaotong 1989 and 1999.

Note 241: Tan Qixiang, "Zhongguo Wenhua de Shidai Chayi yu Diqu Chayi" (Temporal and regional differences of the Chinese culture), in *Zhongguo Chuantong Wenhua de Zaipinggu* (Re-evaluation of the Chinese traditional culture), edited by Fudandaxue Lishixi (Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, 1987), 23-42.

Note 242: Tan Qixiang 1987.

Note 243: Tim Oakes, "China's Provincial Identities: Reviving Regionalism and Reinventing 'Chineseness,'" *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59, no.3 (August 2000): 667-692.

Note 244: Tim Oakes 2000, 684.

Note 245: In the Yuan Dynasty, there were eleven provinces (Lingbei, Liaoyang, He'nan, Shaanxi, Sichuan, Gansu, Yunnan, Zhejiang, Jiangxi, Huangguang, Zhengdong) plus Fuli (mainly Shandong, Shanxi, and Hebei) under the Zhongshu Sheng; the Ming Dynasty made a slight change, with thirteen provinces (Shandong, Shanxi, He'nan, Shaanxi, Sichuan, Huguang, Zhejiang, Jiangxi, Fujian, Guangdong, Guangxi, Yunnan, and Guizhou) plus two capitals (Nan Zhili and Bei Zhili). The Qing basically followed the Ming, but eventually established the modern provincial structure. While keeping the thirteen provinces, the Qing made Bei Zhili as to Zhili province, Nan Zhili to Jiangnan Province (later into two provinces, Jiangsu and Anhui), divided Gansu from Shaanxi, and separated Huguang into Hunan and Hubei. Hence, in total, there were eighteen provinces, in addition to Military Governorship (*Jiangjun*) set up in the frontier areas (Heilongjiang, Jilin, Fengtian, and Yili), plus Taiwan (1885), twenty-three provincial-level units.

Note 246: Wei Yuan, *Sheng Wu Ji*, Vol. 1 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1984), 93.

Note 247: *Ibid.*

Note 248: Yang Shen, "Lun Min" (On people), in *Sheng'an Quanji* (Complete works of Yang Shen) (1795 edition.), 48, 6b-9a, Cf. James Lee 1982, 292.

Note 249: Xie Zhaozhe (Ming) 2001, Vol.1, *juan* 4, 77.

Note 250: Davies 1909, 368.

Note 251: *Ibid.*, 369.

Note 252: Tim Oakes 2000.