If we analyze Chinese society by the two axioms of continuity and differentiation, we find there is strong continuity in Chinese houses and great varieties of differentiation among *miaos* and ancestral halls. In chapter 9 Knapp treats modern modification of household ornaments. He shows us political slogans and Disney characters as symbols used to invite fortune to households.

Knapp collected by himself various data from Qihn, Hebei, Beijing, Tianjin, Shaanxi, Shanxi, Shandong, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Sichuan, Fujian, Taiwan, Guangdong, Hong Kong, Guangxi, and Jiangxi. Almost all the photos were taken by Knapp himself during his thirty years of fieldwork. It seems quite natural that the societies of Taiwan and Hong Kong are treated on a par with the society of the mainland. And in captions he kindly provided the names of places, indicating their *cun* (village), *xiang* (district), *xian* (county), and *sheng* (province). Roughly a third of the photographs were taken in Zhejiang, more than any other province. In addition to photographs, Knapp also uses many illustrations from various written sources. On almost every page we really encounter the ornaments of "Chinese living houses." By using the book's index, we can survey the data from a particular province.

Knapp not only shows us physical ornaments but also tries to interpret their social meanings by using various social studies on Chinese society. In his bibliography more than half of the references are written in Chinese. For those who cannot understand Chinese characters and language, this book is a good guidebook for translating the mystical Chinese into a more intelligible world. Knapp convinces us that Chinese have lived with a variety of symbols and ornaments that have been thought to bring them happiness, prosperity, and longevity. However, rapid modernization and urbanization has changed Chinese society drastically. Especially in mainland China, where traditional beliefs are strictly circumscribed, how can Chinese people feel peace of mind in everyday life without *miao* and ancestral halls in communities and without ancestral tablets and Zaojun in houses? If they do not have concrete material, they need some kind of spiritual elements in their lives. It therefore does not seem odd to me that the movement Falun Gong (a healthful exercise with a religious flavor and organizational character) is flourishing and considered appealing by some Chinese.

Yūzō KAWASAKI The National Defense Academy Yokosuka, Japan

LUNAN YIZU ZIZHIXIAN MINZU ZONGJIAO SHIWUJU 路南彝族自治縣民族宗教 事務局 Editors. Lunan Yizu mizhijie yishige yiliao, Lunan Yiwen guji congshu 路南彝族密枝節儀式歌譯疏, 路南彝文古籍叢書 [Lunan Yi nationality mizhi festival ceremonial songs, translations, Lunan Yi ancient texts series]. Kunming: Yunnan Minzu Chubanshe, 1996. 525 pages, graphics and photographs (in Chinese and Sani).

SHILIN YIZU ZIZHIXIAN MINZU ZONGJIAO SHIWUJU 石林彝族自治縣民族 宗教事務局 Editors. Yizu Sani jisici yiliao, Shilin Yiwen gudian congshu 彝族撒尼祭祀詞譯疏, 石林彝文古典叢書 [Yi Nationality, Sani Sub-group, ritual offering verses, translations, Shilin ancient Yi texts series]. Kunming: Yunnan Minzu Chubanshe, 1999. 313 pages, graphics (in Chinese and Sani).

In early September 2000, the Third International Yi Studies Conference was held in Shilin 石林, the seat of the county of Lunan 路南 in the province of Yunnan 雲南, China. Located south of the provincial capital, Kunming 昆明, Shilin is not far from a well-known tourist attraction, the Stone Forest. The Yi Nationality is a diverse group of approximately seven million people who speak a Tibeto-Burman (Yipo branch) language. They traditionally have lived in the mountains of southwest China, particularly the Greater Cool Mountains of Sichuan 四川, parts of western Guizhou 貴州, various areas in Yunnan, and western Guangxi 廣西. The Sani 撒尼 are the largest Yi 彝 subgroup in the Lunan region, with a population of about 35,000. The folk heroine Ashima 阿詩瑪, promoted in tourist literature and performances, is a well-recognized icon of Sani culture, as are the appliqué and embroidery bags that fill many of the tourist outlets or are sold by traditionally clad women at venues such as the Stone Forest (now featuring laser-light shows that highlight the strange rock formations and display images of a singing Ashima). As a part of the conference proceedings, for five days foreign researchers were escorted to a number of Yi villages in the Lunan area. Among these villages were those occupied by subgroups of Sani, Black Yi (Hei Yi 黑彝), and Axi 阿細 that reflect various economic and social situations, and have different song and dance performances. In several instances, ceremonies, led by the traditional ritual specialists called bimo 畢摩, were conducted for the foreign participants. During one ceremony held at the base of a hill near the edge of the village, newly printed collections of Sani ritual texts were brought out by local researchers (among whom there were a number of bimo) to act as promptbooks. It was in this manner that my attention was drawn to these recent publications of Sani ritual

The main editor of both works, Ang Ziming 昂 自明, and his associates have included useful introductions to both collections of ritual texts, and have provided in some detail introductions to Sani traditional beliefs, which involve personal, family, and village rituals pertaining to life cycle events (particularly ancestor-reverencing rites) and protection from malevolent forces. Although Christianity is followed by a small percentage of the Sani, and despite the history of government campaigns against folk religion, a number of traditional rituals are still practiced in some form, and many villages have one or more *bimo*.

The volume on the *mizhi* 密枝 festival is devoted solely to texts associated with community protection rites conducted by adult males in sacred groves located in or near certain local villages. The larger volume concerns thirty representative types from the corpus of Sani ritual. Both works provide detailed introductions to the various ritual texts, which allows readers to gain some sense of how they are enacted and situated socially. Both volumes include original texts in Sani graphs and translations in Chinese characters, although neither a romanization nor a word-for-word Chinese crib of the Sani texts are provided. Detailed line drawings are featured in both books, and six color photographs are included in the larger volume. The Sani texts were copied from handwritten texts collected or borrowed in the Lunan region (though some *bimo* are now using photocopies of printed texts). Just a few years ago, works with such content would have appeared only in the "inner circulating" press, officially off-limits to foreign scholars and privy to only a small circle of Chinese readers.

The *mizhi* ceremony is discussed within the historical context of ancient Chinese rituals involving blood sacrifices to local gods such as those found in ancient societies in the southwest of China. The authors offer several versions of the origin of the rites collected in the Lunan region. Almost all involve the motif of lovers being brutally killed or banished to the wilds, with the ceremonies made to appease their spirits. One version tells of a young man and woman—slaves of the local leader—who herd their goats into a hollow place during a snowstorm. The animals emerge fat and healthy and the leader fears the young people have supernatural power. Consequently, they are banished to the wilds. Later, the pair is tested by

a pair of gods, and become deities after dividing up the leader's animals among the local people. In another case, a young woman spurns a local village head and is dismembered by draft oxen as punishment. She later turns into a white fox, which can cause illness if disturbed in the wilds. Another version tells of a young woman in a forced marriage who finds a lover in one of the courting houses used by young people to sing and dance. When her husband retaliates, she and her lover are driven to the hills to survive by foraging and weaving clothes out of tree leaves. Years later, the now old couple, still very much in love, is discovered by hunters. After dancing and singing, the old couple passes away and their hungry spirits follow the hunters home. A ceremony with goat sacrifices was held to placate the spirits. While no direct links to the ancient practices are drawn, the references provide historical contexts to the discussions of "primitive psychology," which figure in the introductory chapter.

Although there is variation between community practices, in general, *mizhi* ceremonies are conducted by a group of qualified adult males who have retained ritual purity during the previous year. (The duties of these men in the ritual process are not unlike those among members in traditional hunting parties.) In one community, a male can be the ritual head only if there were no deaths in his family, whether human or major domesticated animals. The rituals take place over the course of seven days and include a hunting reenactment, and the sacrifice of a large goat, which entails the making of ritual offerings to the gods (involving a series of chants) and the dividing up of the meat and bones among participants. The systems of respect among the major participants, including the bimo and his assistant, are carefully conducted and involve carefully nuanced dinner invitations towards the end of the festival. In one of the Sani villages we visited, I was shown a mizhi grove and told (by my female guide) that during the ceremony the men were free to do as they please within it, saying anything they liked and carrying on in manners usually found unacceptable. Women, on the other hand, do not participate directly in the ceremonies, but refrain from work and have meals and engage in other activities among themselves. The texts presented in the book are associated with various stages of the festival ceremonies, many being invitations to various gods to participate in banquets or to come and receive offerings.

In the chant "Mopu" 莫補, sung during the ram sacrifice to the sky god, Gezi, are the lines concerning the sacrifice:

Gezi's sheep,
Eight hoofs touch the ground
For use as a sacrificial offering
Bleating happily to be an offering.
The first offering is the first to bleat
Bleating so lively
Bleating as it raises its ears.
The last to be an offering is the last to bleat
Bleating towards the wine, tea, and rice
Bleating towards the food of the blood sacrifice. (36–37)

Reproductive imagery is also intricately tied up with images of sacrifice, as in the chant called "Pange" 盤格. The "pan" refers to a bone in the sacrificed sheep's body, while the "ge" means "bag." The placing of the bone in the bag contains coded sexual imagery:

The thrush is a mountain maiden, The *aizi* bird is a woodland flower, As one season passes, Another arrives. Master of Ceremonies Tuoluopangesi, Invites the "pan" and "ge," To wed, a, And mate, a. The moon, a, and Brightness wed. Stars, a, And the cosmos wed. Dew. a. Descended from that called ge,1 wed. Clouds, a, And rain wed. Rainwater, a, And fire engage. Heavenly things mate, Earthly things breed. The bone enters the bag, Wriggles to the bottom of Goddess Daofu, If the bottom of the bag doesn't wiggle, The bone will not be numb, But when the bottom of the bag wiggles, Then the bone will be numb, And that is where officials come from, And that is how generals are born. (42–43)

In the second volume, Yizu Sani jisici, a wider range of chants is introduced, supplying somewhat more ethnographic background to the individual chants than in the mizhi volume. Like those in the mizhi volume, the texts employ the typical five-morpheme line common to most Yi ritual scriptures. Whole series of chants for protecting persons, houses, and villages, along with a series of funeral chants, are all carefully footnoted and comprise most of the text. Village gods, protective dragons, and dozens of spirits are invoked in various ritual contexts and given carefully prepared offerings, accompanied by a panoply of symbolic objects, icons, and diagrams, many appearing in the illustrations.

On the tour of one village, our group was shown caves in the cliffs where wooden small boxes are placed in small nooks in the stone. Each box contains a lock of an ancestor's hair, a biography, and a small bamboo root, representing the soul of a deceased ancestor. These objects hang for years on the walls of Sani parlors, increasing in number as the number of deceased increases. After three to five generations they are ceremonially interred in the cliffs, the final step in a lengthy burial process lasting decades. The following lines are from a chant sung during such a burial:

The cliff cave is blocked from the wind The air in the cave is stuffy and sultry; At the cave mouth a chicken spreads its wings A three-year-old gold chicken Flapping its wings to raise a wind. The wind enters the cave Blowing out the strange, unusual smell; Now the temperature is not so high, So cool and comfortable inside. (52)

These publications of ritual texts and commentary are only a portion of the many books published in recent years in China on the Yi nationality. Immediately relevant to the ritual texts discussed here, is the appearance in the year 2000 of two substantial introductions to local Yi cultures. The first is a book edited by Yunnan Yixue Xuehui that covers various topics on the Yi of Yunnan. The other is a volume edited by He and Ang on the recent social and scholarly developments in the Shilin area. Both of these works will be further contextualized by the work of Bamo (2000), which is on traditional Yi poetry, especially the oral and oral-related aspects of the Yi poetic tradition.

Both volumes of the ritual texts reviewed here will aid readers in grasping the range of traditional ritual activity practiced by various communities in the Lunan region, and will be valuable for comparison with other Yi groups and minority societies of southwest China and Southeast Asia. As ethnopoetic representations of Sani culture, they will allow a greater understanding of traditional poetic aesthetics, expressive styles, and human experience.

## NOTE

1. The "ge" in "that called ge" is different from the ge in pange; it is an obscure term referring to a legend on the origin of dew.

## REFERENCES CITED

BAMO Qubumo 巴莫曲布嫫

2000 Yingling yu shihun: Yizu gudai jingzang shixue yanjiu 應靈與詩魂: 彝族古代經 藉詩學研究 [Golden eagle spirit and poetic soul: The study of the poetics of ancient Yi scriptures]. Beijing: Shehuikexue Yuan Chubanshe.

HE Yaohua 何 耀華 and ANG Zhiling 昂 智靈, eds.

2000 Shilin Yizu chuantong wenhua yu shehui jingji bianqian 石林彝族傳統文化與社 會經濟變遷 [Changes in the traditional society and economy of the Yi of Shilin]. Kunming: Yunnan Jiaoyu Chubanshe.

YUNNAN YIXUE XUEHUI 雲南彝學學會, ed.

2000 Yunnan Yixue yanjiu, diyiji 云南彝學研究,第一輯 [The Studies of the Yi Nationality in Yunnan, volume 1]. Kunming: Yunnan Minzu Chubanshe.

Mark BENDER Ohio State University Columbus, Ohio

## **SIBERIA**

EMELJANOV, NIKOLAJ V. Sjuzhety olongkho o zashchitnikah plemeni [Plots of olongkho about guardians of the tribe]. Novosibirsk: Nauka, 2000. 190 pages. No price.

N. V. Emeljanov took upon himself the preparation of a classification of Sakha (Yakut) oral