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### Introduction

After the indigenous chieftains had been overthrown in the early eighteenth century, the Qing government immediately made plans to build its own cities and to reshape the landscape surrounding the walled city of Dongchuan. The outstanding landscape of Black Dragon Mountain was selected by local officials and scholars as one of the ten best views of Dongchuan. Besides its beautiful view, Black Dragon Temple attracted many local people for other reasons. One of the favoured types of Chinese landscapes is a combination of mountain and temple that are close together and that influence each other. A mountain can be famous because an important temple was built on it, or a temple can be famous because of its location on an important mountain. The Zhenwu shrine and the dragon pool cult at Black Dragon Temple are analysed in this chapter as a case study. Besides discussing the deities and ritual practice, I focus on the space and surrounding landscape of local ritual activities. The new Qing landscape seems to have overlapped the territory where indigenous chieftains had previously reigned. Most of the sites where indigenous groups had lived vanished in the process of institutional reform, especially their religious and political space in the mountains. However, multiple images of the same religious landscape are seen to coexist in local society, contrary to the official version.

### 1. Black Dragon Mountain, Black Dragon Temple and Zhenwu shrine

Straight to the north of the new walled prefectural capital built by local officials of the Qing state, a mountain named Black Dragon (Qinglong 青龍) caught people's attention at the time for its beautiful landscape. Apart from local officials such as Cui Naiyong and Zu Chengyou mentioned in Chapter 3, one of the early explorers was Zhao Chun 趙淳, a scholar in Dongchuan, who wrote down his adventures on Black Dragon Mountain in 1731.<sup>1</sup>

Zhao Chun's first impression was the dramatic landscape of Black Dragon Mountain. Full of superb natural stone columns dominating the mountain with a magnificent appearance like many layers of lotus, the stones created for him the illusion of a group of human beings and animals such as lions, tigers and goats. An underground stream flowed through the caves halfway up the mountain and reappeared as a spring dropping down to the foot of the mountain, where the water was used for irrigation. It was like another world for Zhao Chun when, holding a torch, he went inside those caves. A beam of light appeared from a hole at the top of the cave, as if it were a reflection of heaven coming. The underground stream had shaped the rocks into distinctive and memorable forms, resembling beautiful clouds that looked as if they had been created by an unknown immortal.<sup>2</sup>

Besides having these fascinating stone forms, Black Dragon Mountain was also one of the critical sites of geomancy that surrounded the city. In geomancy theory, every auspicious site is connected with a range of hills that shelter and protect the site. One of the basic steps of geomantic practice is to observe the mountain range, the interaction of the hills surrounding the site, and the quality and course of nearby rivers.<sup>3</sup> Ideally, at the back stands a lofty peak, called the 'rear barrier', or 'back rest'; on the left and right are spurs of rock called 'the attendants'; and the front of the site must be left open and clear. However, a hill which should be called Chao'an 朝案 or An'shan 案山 is also

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<sup>1</sup> DCFZ, 1761, juan 20b: pp. 2a -2b.

<sup>2</sup> All these descriptions such as spring, cave and limestone characterized the karst landscape. It is in eastern Yunnan and most of Guizhou that the most typical and diverse karst landforms developed. See *Karst Rock Feature: Karren Sculpturing*, ed. by Angel Gines and others (Carsologica: ZRC Publishing, 2009).

<sup>3</sup> Stephan, Feuchtwang, D.R. *An anthropological analysis of Chinese geomancy* (San Marino: Oriental Book Store, 1985), pp. 16-18.

required because it can force or keep the water flowing backward (see Fig. 4.1). Since this hill forces the river to change the direction of its flow, the auspicious influence carried by the water is able to surround the site instead of flowing away and being lost.<sup>4</sup> *Chao'an* means court altar or table, especially a flat table situated in front of a shrine in the court hall for ritual purposes.<sup>5</sup> Use of the term 'table' or 'altar' does not mean that this hill resembles the shape of a table, but that the location of the hill is imbued with ritually symbolic meaning. Actually, the shape of a table hill has usually been described as a sycee (*yuanbao* 元寶, a gold or silver ingot resembling a boat-shaped bowl) which symbolizes wealth and fortune, and has been variously described as having the shape of a brush rest (*bijia* 筆架), a saddle (*ma'an* 馬鞍), and an officer's hat (*guanmao* 官帽), implying military achievement or an official career. In Zhao Chun's narrative and also on the map of Dongchuan prefecture, Black Dragon Mountain is acknowledged as the first high mountain north of the walled city, and so it was considered to be the 'table hill' for protecting the walled city<sup>6</sup> (see Fig 4.2). Meanwhile, Zhao Chun pointed out Black Dragon Mountain, one of the tallest mountains near the walled town, as the best place for local officials to overlook the entire town in different seasons, and observe farming and irrigation work in spring and autumn. So, in addition to being a nice place for hiking and visiting, Black Dragon Mountain provided the best position for local authorities to observe Dongchuan town and the people living in it.

Apart from the natural landscape of Black Dragon Mountain, Black Dragon Temple on the mountain was visited frequently by the local elite. It was first built by a local officer Huang Shijie 黃士傑 in 1728, who believed it would be a blessing for the country and would enlighten local people. Besides the mention of the abbot of this Buddhist temple being a Buddhist monk named Rushen 如湛, there are no other details known about this temple. Still, we can learn something from records made by another local

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<sup>4</sup> KangLiang 亢亮 and KangYu 亢羽, *Fengshui yǔ jianzhu* 風水與建築 (Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 1999), pp. 75-136.

<sup>5</sup> Feuchtwang, p. 125.

<sup>6</sup> DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 1: pp. 1a,b.

literati visitor named Liu Cong 劉棕. When he visited Black Dragon Mountain to enjoy the view of the harvest in the autumn of 1756, he noticed a statue of Zhenwu had been put in the Buddhist temple on Black Dragon Mountain. During the feast he heard from a monk that the Zhenwu deity had helped the Qing officials protect Dongchuan city against the rebelling indigenous people. Thereafter, the statue of Zhenwu was erected in this temple based on the results of divination.<sup>7</sup> Liu Cong's story about the Zhenwu god was retold and embellished in the late Qing dynasty:

When Dongchuan's army marched to Yongbei [a prefecture with a settlement of indigenous groups, now in northwestern Yunnan and southern Sichuan] during Qianlong's reign [1736-1795], they noticed a beam of red light constantly shining underground at night and traced the light to an ancient well springing up out of the ground. Some of them went into this well and discovered a very decent bronze statue that was recognized as the Xuan tian deity [玄天: another name for the Zhenwu god]. After they placed the statue in their military camp they immediately won a great victory. On returning to Dongchuan in glory, they worshipped the statue in the Temple of the Warring God [Wu miao 武廟]. Afterwards, the spirit of Zhenwu flew up to Black Dragon Temple. Therefore, a shrine to the Ancestral Teacher [Zushi miao 祖師廟] was built in Black Dragon Temple for worshipping Zhenwu. Now the spirit of that Zhenwu deity has shown his presence and gives his blessings frequently.<sup>8</sup>

Both stories tell about the origin of the worship of the Zhenwu deity in Dongchuan. As one of the higher-ranking Taoist deities, the Zhenwu god (True Warrior Grand Emperor Zhenwu DaDi 真武大帝) was also known as the Dark/Mysterious Heavenly Upper Emperor (Xuantian ShangDi 玄天上帝), as well as Xuanwu 玄武. The Zhenwu deity was first known as Xuanwu. Xuanwu is one of the four symbols in Chinese constellations, governing part of the 28 celestial mansions. Xuanwu is portrayed as the Black Tortoise, located in the north, and is usually depicted as a snake twisting around a tortoise. During

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<sup>7</sup> DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 20: pp. 12a-13a.

<sup>8</sup> DCFXZ, 1895, *juan* 3, 18a, b.

the Song and Yuan dynasties, Xuanwu had gradually acquired the image of an immortal warrior in imperial robes named Zhenwu, who had long hair falling over his shoulders and was depicted stepping on a snake and a tortoise.

From the Ming dynasty onwards Zhenwu became popular throughout China. The first Ming Emperor Hongwu (1368-1398) believed that he had received assistance from Zhenwu when he unified China and established the Ming dynasty. Later, the third Ming Emperor Yongle (1403-1424) claimed that he had gained the support of Zhenwu when he took over the reign of his nephew Emperor Jinwen (1399-1402). After Yongle came to power, Zhenwu temple was built in the Wudang Mountains of Hubei Province.<sup>9</sup>

In Yunnan, most stories about the Zhenwu cult trace its origins to the early Ming period. During the Ming dynasty people in most parts of Yunnan, particularly in the capital Kunming and in the cities of Zhanyi and Xuanwei, started to worship Zhenwu. The legends about the origins of the Zhenwu cult all relate to battles in Yunnan led by the Ming army.<sup>10</sup> The popularity of Zhenwu was clearly associated with the expansion of imperial power to Southwest China in the early Ming period. In Dongchuan and other areas of northeastern Yunnan, however, the story is different. Military garrisons of the Ming dynasty had never actually been set up in northeastern Yunnan, unlike other parts of Yunnan where there were temporary conquests and submissions of indigenous chieftains during the Ming dynasty.<sup>11</sup> The Ming government clearly had not established effective administration in this adjoining zone occupied by powerful indigenous

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<sup>9</sup> About the history of the Zhenwu cult, see Xu Daoling 許道齡, 'Lun Xuanwu zhi qiyuan jiqi tuibian kao' 論玄武之起源及其蛻變考, *Shixue jikan* (1947), 5: 223-240; Chen Xuelin 陳學霖, 'Zhenwu shen, yonglexiang chuanshuo' 真武神永樂像傳說, in Chen Xuelin, *Mingdai renwu yu chuanshuo* 明代人物與傳說, pp. 89-127; John Lagerwey, 'The Pilgrimage to Wu-tang Shan', in *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, ed. by Naquin, Susan and Chun-Fang Yu (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 293-332, and Pierre-Henry de Bruyn, 'Wudang Shan: The Origins of a Major Center of Modern Taoism', in *Religion and Chinese Society Volume II: Taoism and Local Religion in Modern China*, ed. by John Lagerwey (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press), pp. 553-590; Liu Zhiwei 劉志偉, 'Shenming de zhengtonghua yu difanghua: guanyu zhujiang sanjiaozhou beidi chongbai de yige jieshi' 神明的正統性與地方化－關於珠江三角洲北帝崇拜的一個解釋, *Zhongshan daue shixue jikan* (1994), 2: 107-125; Liu Zhiwei, 'Dazu yinying xia de mingjian shen jisi: shawan de beidi chongbai' 大族陰影下的民間神祭祀：沙灣的北帝崇拜, in *Simiao yu minjian wenhua yantaohui lunwenji*, ed. by Lin Ru 林如 (Taipei: Hanxue yanjiu zhongxin, 1995), pp. 707-720; Shi-yi Chao, *Daoist Ritual State Religion and Popular Practices: Zhenwu Worship from Song to Ming (960-1644)* (London: Routledge, 2011).

<sup>10</sup> Mei Li 梅莉, 'Mingdai Yunnan de zhenwu xinyang' 明代雲南的真武信仰, *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu*, (2007), 1: 41-49.

<sup>11</sup> Qin Shuca 秦樹才, 'Mingdai juntun yu Yunnan shehui jingji de fazhan' 明代軍屯與雲南社會經濟的發展 *Kunming shizhuan xuebao* (1989), 3: 113-119.

chieftains, until E'ertai started widespread military repression during Yongzheng's reign in the Qing dynasty.<sup>12</sup>

As a result, Zhenwu, being an important deity as protector of the imperial army, began to be worshipped in Dongchuan and northeastern Yunnan only after the Qing army started their battles to overthrow the indigenous chieftains. Many troops from nearby areas of Yunnan, Sichuan and Guizhou were dispatched to join forces in the northeastern area, and they were organized as garrison units and later settled in the area. It was along with these new garrison units that the Zhenwu cult arrived in Dongchuan prefecture. As related in the origin stories of the Zhenwu cult in Dongchuan mentioned above, the statue of Zhenwu was discovered in the wall during the warfare between the Qing army and indigenous tribes. Later, the Zhenwu shrine was placed on Black Dragon Mountain, which according to geomancy theory protected Chao'an in front of Dongchuan's city walls. Furthermore, both versions of the story reveal that the Zhenwu shrine was not originally located on Black Dragon Mountain. The description of the spirit of Zhenwu flying up to Black Dragon Temple does not just indicate the existence of the Zhenwu shrine in Black Dragon Temple, but also implies that the new location of the Zhenwu shrine was not a natural or spontaneous decision but a careful and intentional arrangement by local officials.

## 2. Replacing the dragon cult in northeastern Yunnan

As we have learned from the origin stories of Zhenwu in Dongchuan, the Zhenwu cult was closely related to military suppression of indigenous groups. In addition to being described in travelogues and anecdotes, ritual activities of Black Dragon Temple are officially reported in the 1761 Dongchuan gazetteer, in the chapter on 'Temples':

Black Dragon Temple was located on Black Dragon Mountain to the north of the city where people worshipped the deity of the Northern True Lord of the Blessed Saint [beiji you sheng zhen

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<sup>12</sup> See Edward L. Dreyer, *Early Ming China: A Political History (1355-1435)* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982), pp. 109-114.

jun 北極佑聖真君) and the True Lord of Dragon Gratitude [Long en zhen jun 龍恩真君) on the ninth day of the first month, the third day of the third month, and the ninth day of the ninth month.

The Northern True Lord of the Blessed Saint, who was also historically recorded as Yuanwu's seven celestial houses of the north [yuan wu qi xiu 元武七宿, another name for Zhenwu], assisted the first Ming Emperor Hongwu to establish the Ming dynasty and then was worshipped in the temple of Nanjing. He also appeared at the beginning of the Yongle reign of the Ming dynasty (1403-1424). His temples were built both northeast (*geng* 艮) of the capital Beijing and in the Wudang Mountains in Hubei Province. The True Lord of Prosperous Gratitude [Long en zhen jun 隆恩真君], also named Wang Ling Guan 王靈官, is the defender of Yuanwu. Both of them protect against fire and water disasters.

Black Dragon Temple has three levels. No matter whether they live close by or far away, the Han people and the barbarians always go to the temple festival on the third day of the third month.<sup>13</sup>

In this text it seems that the Zhenwu cult on Black Dragon Mountain dominates the understanding of this temple. In addition to the history of the Zhenwu cult in the Ming dynasty that is discussed in standard historical works, this text also reveals the dates of worshipping and the existence of another deity in Dongchuan, the True Lord of Dragon Gratitude. However, the name of the True Lord of Dragon Gratitude (Long en zhen jun 龍恩真君) is written later in the text – using a different first character – as True Lord of Prosperous Gratitude (Long en zhen jun 隆恩真君), and is said to be the protector of Zhenwu. Although both of these names share the same pronunciation, they are different. But the most special part of the description quoted above is the last part. It turns out that not just Han people but also indigenous people would come to Black Dragon Temple on the same day each year, the third day of the third month. This suggests that they all came to worship Zhenwu in a harmonious atmosphere. However, considering that the Zhenwu deity was not supportive of indigenous communities and was believed to protect the Qing army during warfare, why would indigenous people want to visit here?

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<sup>13</sup> DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 7, p. 3b.

Is it possible that Han people and indigenous communities carried out separate ritual activities at the same place on the same day of the year? If not, then why would indigenous people come to visit at the beginning of the third month? The name Black Dragon Temple and the name ‘True Lord of Dragon Gratitude’ seem to imply the existence of dragon worship. So, the emphasis of Zhenwu worship and the ambiguous name ‘True Lord of Dragon Gratitude’ suggests there was some kind of indigenous ritual that the local elite did not describe in detail. Was the compiler of the gazetteer trying to hide something behind this ambiguous title of another deity, ‘True Lord of Dragon Gratitude’ in Black Dragon Temple?

Before answering these questions, note that this spatial coexistence of Han and indigenous people at the Zhenwu shrine was not an isolated case. Similar practices also existed in other parts of northeastern Yunnan after the indigenous regimes had been overthrown in the early Qing dynasty.

A similar description can be found in the gazetteer of Zhaotong prefecture located north of Dongchuan. After the Qing government gained control of Zhaotong, a Zhenwu shrine was built on Treasure Mountain (Yuanbao shan 元寶山) in 1736.<sup>14</sup> According to the local gazetteer, on the third day of the third month there was a temple festival on Treasure Mountain, attended by both Han Chinese and indigenous people in Zhaotong, who all came to worship.<sup>15</sup>

Another example in Yanjing County, located in northern Zhaotong, shows the substitution of an original indigenous temple by a Zhenwu shrine. One of the best views of Yanjing is named ‘Xuanwu Mountain in the light of sunset’ (*xuanwu xizhao* 玄武夕照). This mountain, located at Niu Bi Zhai 牛鞞寨 in northeastern Yanjing, was important as a place to cross the Jinsha River to reach the Liang Mountain area, where the most fierce indigenous groups lived. Before the Qing fully occupied this area, it was under the control of indigenous chieftains. A temple named Vigorous Dragon (Longxing 龍興) was

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<sup>14</sup> *En'an xianzhi*, 1762(1911), *juan* 4, p. 47

<sup>15</sup> *En'an xianzhi*, 1762(1911), *juan* 5, p. 62.

built by the indigenous chieftain A Qia 阿 on the hillside of Xuanwu (Zhenwu) Mountain in 1559. After the Qing established their administration, the temple was rebuilt in 1793, and named the Zhenwu Temple.<sup>16</sup>

There is a similar situation in the case of the Zhenwu shrine in Xuanwei 宣威 sub-prefecture near the eastern edge of Dongchuan prefecture. As one of the pivotal passes between Guizhou and Yunnan provinces, Xuanwei was also a crucial frontier of the indigenous Wusa Shuixi Kingdom.<sup>17</sup> During the Ming dynasty the state had great trouble overthrowing the Shuixi regime, and only succeeded in settling a military garrison unit on the border of Shuixi in 1383, which later became the capital of Xuanwei sub-prefecture. Before E'ertai forced the indigenous chieftain to step down, Xuanwei had been under the joint administration of Han officials and indigenous chieftains for years. At almost the same time as Dongchuan, Qing officials built the new walled city of Xuanwei in 1730. Like Black Dragon Mountain near Dongchuan, the mountain named Stone Dragon (*Shilong* 石龍) was a famous landscape near the walled city of Xuanwei. Stone Dragon Mountain was located seven miles beyond the eastern side of the walled city. The shape of this mountain also resembles a sycee, with two peaks twisted around a central peak. Therefore local people also called it Treasure Mountain (*Baoshan* 寶山). At the foot of this mountain there used to be a residence belonging to the family of the indigenous chieftain An (Anshi 安氏). On the flat ground halfway up the peak, a Jade Emperor shrine and a Zhenwu shrine were built. Several springs from the Nine Dragon Pool fall to the foot of the mountain.<sup>18</sup>

Again, both the name and the shape of Stone Dragon Mountain are remarkably similar to Black Dragon Mountain. Moreover, not only was the former residence of the family of the indigenous chieftain An located at the foot of this mountain, but also An's military camp was stationed on the flat ground halfway up the peak during the late Ming

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<sup>16</sup> *Yanjing xianzhi*, 1948, p. 1685. It was also said that the story of the indigenous chieftain building a dragon temple was collected from local oral tradition. See p. 1606.

<sup>17</sup> For the history of Wusha Shuixi, see the research by John E. Herman and Wen Chunlai.

<sup>18</sup> *Xuanwei zhouzhi* 宣威州志, 1844, *juan* 1, p. 26b.

dynasty because it was a site of strategic importance.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, the ritual activities of Han and indigenous people on the third day of the third month are described in the 'Customs' chapter of the Xuanwei gazetteer.<sup>20</sup>

Another story collected by the local gentry in the early twentieth century claims that Stone Dragon Mountain used to be a den where nine dragons lived, and that they were captured in a pot by a wizard. In order to make certain that the dragons were overpowered, the wizard decided to build the Zhenwu shrine above an underground spring and then put the pot containing the dragons underneath the shrine. The Jade Emperor shrine was also said to have been at a different location at first, and later moved behind the Zhenwu shrine when the roof beam of the Jade Emperor shrine suddenly 'flew' to this place. This narrative closely resembles the one about Dongchuan, where Zhenwu's spirit 'flew' to Black Dragon Mountain in Dongchuan.<sup>21</sup>

In these examples from the eighteenth century, Zhenwu, an important deity connected with military expansion of the central empire, became popular in northeastern Yunnan in the Qing dynasty. More importantly, the mountains connected with the Zhenwu cult, considered an important space in geomancy by local Qing officials, were originally places related to indigenous chieftains and indigenous people.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, in the case of Dongchuan, the phenomenon of the coexistence of Han Chinese and indigenous people in the same space at the same time may not be as simple as the compiler says, for worshipping the Zhenwu deity. Rather, the situation may have been much more complex, if the site was related to the dragon cult.

### 3. The dragon cult of indigenous people

Since there seem to have been ritual activities connected to the dragon deity on Black Dragon Mountain, what was the image or figure of this dragon deity? Black Dragon

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<sup>19</sup> *Xuanwei zhouzhi*, juan 1, p. 17.

<sup>20</sup> *Xuanwei zhouzhi*, juan 2, p. 25.

<sup>21</sup> *Xuanwei xianzhi gao* 宣威縣誌稿, 1943, juan 3, 1b- 2a.

<sup>22</sup> Although not all these mountains were in the Chao'an position from the perspective of the walled city, their new names and their features still imply that they were the important surrounding mountains to meet the requirements of geomancy. See Feuchtwang, pp. 161-163, 186.

Temple was destroyed in 1965. According to local memory, before it was destroyed Black Dragon Temple had had a compound with three main halls where several statues of Buddha and the Zhenwu deity were erected. Apart from these deities, there was a location related to the dragon cult situated at the west side of the compound. There was no statue or architectural building, but a cave where a spring arose and passed through the compound.<sup>23</sup> Local people went to the temple festival each year on the third day of the third month, and worshipped different deities according to their own beliefs.<sup>24</sup> This description corresponds to the narrative of Zhao Chun and Liu Cong that I mentioned before – Black Dragon Mountain has its caves and a spring inside the mountain. And in the case of Xuanwei, the dragon cult on Stone Dragon Mountain was related to the spring arising out of a cave on the mountain. It turns out that a spring arising in a cave was a specific religious landscape named dragon pool throughout northeastern Yunnan.<sup>25</sup>

Like the Vigorous Dragon Temple built by an indigenous chieftain in Yanjing county, similar narratives can be found in the gazetteer of Zhenxiong, a sub-prefecture of Zhaotong. A site named Green Shady Pool (Lüyintang 綠蔭塘) was called a dragon pool by the indigenous people because they claimed that they had seen a dragon appearing there regularly. In the autumn of 1777, Lu Rongzong (祿榮宗, an indigenous headman of the Lu family in Zhaotong) established a Buddhist temple on Round Mountain (Yuanshan 圓山) in Green Shady Pool.<sup>26</sup> He also built a Dragon King Shrine in the front part of the temple compound and a theatre at the back, for praying for good harvests each year and repaying the god's benevolence.<sup>27</sup>

Another example comes from Songming 嵩明 sub-prefecture, south of Dongchuan. There is a pool called Black Dragon Pool, located thirty miles from the capital of Songming. Double springs join together from both sides of the pool, where indigenous

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<sup>23</sup> Bian Boze 卞伯澤, 'Qinglongsi li guo qingming' 青龍寺裡過清明, *Huize lansheng* 會澤覽勝, ed. by Bian Boze (Kunming: Yunnan meishu chubanshe, 2002), pp. 182-183.

<sup>24</sup> *Huize xianzhi*, p. 510.

<sup>25</sup> Cui Naiyong, 'Chuangjian longtan miao beiji' 創建龍潭廟碑記, *DCFZ*, 1731, pp. 51-52.

<sup>26</sup> Zhenxiong zhouzhi, 1887, *juan* 4, p. 90b.

<sup>27</sup> Zhenxiong zhouzhi, 1784, *juan* 1, p. 46b.

people built a temple for worshipping the dragon god.<sup>28</sup> Similar religious activity took place in Qiaojia 巧家 county of Dongchuan prefecture. A mountain named Medicine Mountain, for all the medicinal plants found there, had a central peak resembling a golden bell, which was another name for this mountain. The overall shape of the mountain was like a huge Buddha, whose chest cavity and belly contained hundreds of dragon pools of different sizes. The most famous of these were Big Dragon Pool and Small Dragon Pool. Big Dragon Pool was located on the east side of the mountain; Small Dragon Pool was located on the west side of the mountain. Both pools were situated at places which were dozens of feet (*zhang* 丈) higher than the surroundings. Two peaks confronted each other on both banks of the pool and a huge rock lay at the entrance of the water, which was named by the indigenous people 'two dragons fighting for the pearl'. And local people prayed here for rain on the third day of the third month of each year.<sup>29</sup> All these narratives in the gazetteers of northeastern Yunnan clearly indicate that it was the dragon pool that indigenous people were worshipping here, and that the mountains associated with the dragon deity all had either springs or woods.<sup>30</sup>

Ethnographers have also observed this phenomenon in northeastern Yunnan and throughout the Southwest.<sup>31</sup> In the Dongchuan area, dragon pool ritual activities can be observed in the Yi, Zhuang, and Miao communities during the period from the first month to the third month of the year.<sup>32</sup> From the descriptions of landscape in these observations, most of the dragon pool cult locations throughout the Southwest are on mountains near a village and near a cave where a spring arises, and the time of worship

<sup>28</sup> Songming zhouzhi 嵩明州志, 1889, in *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu* (Taipei: chengwen chubanshe, 1967), vol. 31, *juan* 3, pp. 17b-18a.

<sup>29</sup> *Qiaojia xianzhigao* 巧家縣誌稿, 1941. *juan* 8, pp. 8a, b.

<sup>30</sup> A similar scene is inscribed on the wall of the dragon pool shrine in Weishan County in western Yunnan. In this depiction 34 men and women wearing cow leather are dancing together. Yi people go to this temple to celebrate from the tenth to fifth day of the second month. This dragon temple was occupied by the god Wenchang, and was built by Qin officials in Qianlong's reign. However, the dragon statue has remained in the Wenchang temple and has been worshipped by Yi people in Weishan up till now. See Shi Yuzu 石裕祖, 'Yizu tage bihua ji tage shulun' 彝族踏歌壁畫及踏歌述論, *Minzu yishu yanjiu*, (2003), 1: 46-52.

<sup>31</sup> Many ethnographic investigations record the rituals of worshipping dragon trees and dragon pools in Yunnan. A recent article about northeastern Yunnan is Lu Gang 魯剛, 'Diandong yizu minjian jisi huodong kaocha' 滇東彝族民間祭祀活動考察, *Yunnan minzu xueyuan xuebao*, (1991), 1: 22-27. About the dragon cult throughout the southwest, see Zhang Fu 張福, 'Woguo xinan minzu de jilong yishi' 我國西南民族的祭龍儀式, *Guizhou minzu yanjiu*, (1992), 1: 86-94

<sup>32</sup> *Huize xian minzu zhi* 會澤縣民族志, ed. by Gui Junxiang 桂俊翔 and Li Mengfa 李萌發 (Kunming: Kunmingshi wuhua jiaowei yinshu chang, 2010), pp. 189, 347, 369.

is usually in the springtime. Therefore, the 'True Lord of Dragon Gratitude' on Black Dragon Mountain, mentioned by the compilers of local gazetteers in the eighteenth century, was very likely a dragon pool cult.

#### 4. Worshipping at the dragon pool: praying for rain, entertainment and ancestor worship

The dragon cult was of great significance to local people primarily because it would protect local people from the disaster of flooding and drought. In Dongchuan, there was another dragon pool situated to the west of the walled city, and this was also selected to be one of the ten best views of Dongchuan. This dragon pool used to be an indigenous ritual landscape according to Cui Naiyong. When he first arrived at Dongchuan he noticed this landscape and was told that this was one of the dragon pools where indigenous people worshipped throughout Yunnan. Later, this dragon pool location was officially approved by the Qing government for the purpose of praying for rain. It is said that in the summer of 1734, Dongchuan was affected by a severe drought. Local official Zu Chengyou and his followers took off their hats and shoes and exposed themselves to the sun. Finally, their actions moved the dragon god and suddenly heavy rain poured till midnight.<sup>33</sup> A shrine was then built here by local officials and named Dragon Pool Temple (Longtan miao 龍潭廟). It became the official site in Dongchuan for praying for rain (Fig. 4.2). When the prefect Yi Ning 義甯 rebuilt Dragon Pool Temple in 1755, he did not mention the original indigenous dragon pool but only emphasized the story of local officials praying for rain in 1734, which he treated as the starting point of dragon god worship in Dragon Pool Temple.<sup>34</sup>

Praying for rain was thus the most important aspect of the dragon pool cult in the official narrative, and this aspect was also observed in early twentieth-century fieldwork. In a catalogue of indigenous peoples of Yunnan in 1914, worshipping the dragon was

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<sup>33</sup> Cui Naiyong, 'Chuangjian longtan miao bei'ji' 創建龍潭廟碑記, *DCFZ*, 1731, p. 51.

<sup>34</sup> Yi Ning, 'Chongxiu longtan shen ci ji' 重修龍潭神祠記, *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 20b, pp.8b-9b.

recorded as the most important ritual activity in praying for blessings to avoid famine.<sup>35</sup> Ma Xueliang was one of the first ethnographers to work in Yunnan starting in the 1930s. In his and others' investigation of Yi communities in northeastern Yunnan and northwestern Guizhou, Yi people gave the name 'dragon cave' to any cave with a spring, and the ritual of praying for rain was performed in the period from the first month to the third month in front of a dragon pool or dragon cave, which they called '*da lu de*' in their language.<sup>36</sup>

Moreover, beyond formal ritual activities, another factor that attracted people was various entertainment activities before or after the ritual, such as sightseeing on the mountain, eating, drinking, dancing, and singing. Dragon pool ritual activities in Dayao 大姚, southwest of Dongchuan, are presided over by Bimo (Yi ritual priests). Villagers gather at the dragon pool carrying their cooking utensils. The pig that is butchered by Bimo priests as the sacrifice is cooked and shared by all. And then they sing and dance antiphonally.<sup>37</sup> In Huize, the present-day name of the former Dongchuan prefecture, every third day of the third month the villagers are led by Bimo priests or by the village headman in sacrificing a goat at a site on a mountain covered with woods or having springs and caves. After the ritual activities they share the sacrifices and then enjoy other entertainments.<sup>38</sup> All these observations correspond to local gazetteers' descriptions of Black Dragon Mountain in Dongchuan prefecture and other mountains in northeastern Yunnan. In addition, in the 'Customs' chapter of the 1735 Dongchuan gazetteer, the special activities on the third day of the third month are described as 'local people visit Black Dragon Temple and eat and drink on the mountain'.<sup>39</sup> This description most likely refers to indigenous people's activities. The people who came to Black Dragon Mountain, whether they were Han Chinese or indigenous, most likely came

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<sup>35</sup> Dong Yidao 董一道, *Gu dian turen tuzhi* 古滇土人圖志, (Yunnan: congwen shiyin shuguan, 1914), vol. 1, 'Custom of worshipping the dragon' (no original page numbers in this book).

<sup>36</sup> Ma Xueliang 馬學良, Yü Jinxiu 於錦繡, Fan Huijuan 范惠娟, *Yizu yuanshi zongjiao diaocha baogao* 彝族原始宗教調查報告 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 1993), pp. 121-124, p. 143, pp. 161-188.

<sup>37</sup> Zhang Chunde 張純德, Long Luogui 龍保貴 and Zhu Juyuan 朱踞元, *Yizu yuanshi zongjiao yanjiu* 彝族原始宗教研究, (Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 2008), p.53.

<sup>38</sup> *Huize xian yizuzhi* 會澤縣彝族志, ed. by Feng Decong 馮德聰 (Kunming: Kunmingshi wuhua jiaowei yinshuachang, 2008), p.189.

<sup>39</sup> *DCFZ*, 1735, p. 21.

not only for worshipping the dragon pool or Zhenwu or another deity at Black Dragon Temple, but more importantly to be able to join in the fun of the various entertainment activities.

Furthermore, compared to praying for rain and entertainment activities, more important – and undiscovered until now – is the indigenous ancestor worship at the dragon pool on Black Dragon Mountain. If we take into account the surrounding landscape of Black Dragon Mountain, the old capital of the family of the indigenous chieftain Lu must have been located at the foot of Black Dragon Mountain before it was destroyed during warfare:

The Lu family's Water Capital (*shuicheng* 水城), located at the foot of Black Dragon Mountain outside of Luowu Gate 羅烏 [North Gate] of the walled city. It no longer exists today. In the earlier Dongchuan gazetteer compiled by Zhao Chun 趙淳, it is said that this capital was surrounded by water. Now only the stone foundations are left, and a few Black Cuan 爨 people live here.<sup>40</sup>

'Luowu' is another name for the north gate of the walled city, a name given by E'ertai himself, meaning 'to catch Wumeng'.<sup>41</sup> Wumeng, to the north of Dongchuan, was a place where many indigenous people lived. In the eyes of E'ertai and other officials, the region to the north of Dongchuan was considered an indigenous people's area. Besides offering a beautiful landscape for sightseeing and a strong protective barrier, Black Dragon Mountain and other places to the north of the city also are important in the history of the indigenous people, and especially the history of the family of the indigenous chieftain Lu.

In this text, 'Black Cuan' points to the Yi people according to the classification of nationalities after 1949. For the Yi people, the dragon and the tiger were considered to be two important ancestors. One of the important words of the Yi people is Luoluo (倮倮, spelled Lolo in Western languages). The different tones of the pronunciation of Lu in the

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<sup>40</sup> DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 5: p. 2a.

<sup>41</sup> DCFZ 1731, p. 37.

Yi language represent different meanings.<sup>42</sup> Lu pronounced with a falling tone means Dragon and Lu pronounced with a high level tone means Tiger.<sup>43</sup> One category of Yi ritual manuscripts kept by the Bimo priests is for worshipping the dragon, because the Yi believe that their dead ancestors live with the dragon deity in another world.<sup>44</sup> From the description of dragon pools both in pre-modern and recent records, all indicate that dragon pools in the mountains are sources of water.

Naming the particular source of water located near the ancestral home is important as the way for Yi people to indicate their kinship or family origins. According to Ma Xueliang's observation, an important Yi ritual practice for worshipping ancestors is to get 'good fortune water' (*fulu shui* 福祿水) from the source of water near the place of worship. After worship, people collect some water from this 'source of water' and carry it back home with them. This place where they worship and fetch water is treated as the origin or ancestral home of their kin group. The members of the kin group must remember the site where they fetch water, as proof of belonging to that kin group. It is quite common that when two indigenous people meet each other as strangers, they like to name their 'source of water' (location in their home area where they fetch water after worship) to indicate their origins.<sup>45</sup>

Thus, it seems the spring coming out of the cave in Black Dragon Mountain was closely related to the ritual activity of worshipping the Lu family ancestors. And it also corresponds with recent investigation. In the early twentieth century, the Lu 陸 family in Black Dragon Temple Village was a powerful Yi family in Huize. Therefore Black Dragon Temple Village was also called Lu Family Village (Lujiacun 陸家村) by local

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<sup>42</sup> As one of various names for Yi people before 1949, Luoluo has a controversial meaning for the indigenous people of southwestern China. In contemporary ethnography some groups admit they are Luoluo, others seem to deny this ethnic name. See Stevan Harrell, 'The History of the History of the Yi', in *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers*, ed. by Stevan Harrell (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995), pp. 63-91. For example, in Samuel R. Clarke's investigation in 1908-1910, the term Lolo is a name used for them by the Chinese. The indigenous people who lived in northeastern Yunnan called themselves Noso. And they considered being called LoLo as offensive to them. See Samuel R. Clarke, *Among the Tribes in South-west China*, 1911, London, China Inland Mission, reprinted by (Taipei: Chen wen publishing company, 1970), pp. 112-113. However, Clarke points out that LoLo also meant the 'spirit hamper', which was supposed to contain the spirit of a deceased person. Thus, even though LoLo may not be the name of this ethnic group, the term LoLo is related to their ancestor worship.

<sup>43</sup> Ma Xueliang 馬學良, *Yizu wenhua shi* 彝族文化史 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1989), pp. 223-224.

<sup>44</sup> Ma Xueliang, *Yizu wenhua shi*, pp. 222-223.

<sup>45</sup> Ma Xueliang, *Yunnan yizu lisu yanjiu wenji* 雲南彝族禮俗研究文集 (Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 1983), pp. 10, 103.

people. The surname Lu 陸 was replaced by a homophone Lu 祿, which was the surname of the indigenous chieftain Lu's family.<sup>46</sup> According to Lu Zibin 陸子斌 (91 years old), one of the descendants of the Lu family that I visited in February 2010, their family had to change their surname in order to survive, after the Qing suppressed the indigenous chieftain Lu's family. And he recalled that the ancestral hall of the Lu Family was also built on Black Dragon Mountain at a site higher than Black Dragon Temple. Although the time and site of building the ancestral hall are not necessarily based on fact, at least in this man's memory Black Dragon Mountain is a religious landscape connected to their family's ancestor worship.

Therefore, the dragon pool cult clearly had different meanings for different groups. Praying for rain was the function emphasized by local Qing elites, and the indigenous role in the dragon pool cult was ignored. In fact, the dragon pool also had meanings for indigenous groups, it could be praying for rain, entertainment or ancestor worship. The ancestor worship so important to indigenous people was not mentioned in official records. So there are strong indications that on the third day of the third month in Black Dragon Temple of Dongchuan, indigenous people actually had their own ritual activities instead of worshipping Zhenwu with Han Chinese together. The indigenous people came to Black Dragon Mountain to worship their dragon deity called the True Lord of Dragon Gratitude (Long en zhen jun), which is pronounced the same as the name of the protector deity of Zhenwu mentioned in the local gazetteer. Since the dragon pool was one of the most important ritual space of the indigenous people, the Zhenwu shrine in Black Dragon Temple can be said to have occupied the original indigenous religious space, in very much the same way as the Qing army in Dongchuan occupied the political space of the indigenous chieftains.

## 5 · Granting amnesty to indigenous people and their dragon deity

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<sup>46</sup> *Huize xian minzu zhi* 會澤縣民族志, ed. by Gui Junxiang 桂俊翔 and Li Mengfa 李萌發 (Kunming: Kunmingshi wuhua jiaowei yinshu chang, 2010), pp. 213, 339.

The symbolic meaning of the religious space on Black Dragon Mountain, as we have seen, was linked to the Qing military conquest of northeastern Yunnan. However, unlike the capital cities of the indigenous chieftains, most of the ritual activities of the dragon pool cult had not been prohibited but continued to be practised in their original places. So why and how was the dragon pool cult of the indigenous people maintained after the Qing state replaced the indigenous chieftains by Qing officials? To answer this question, the Qing state's attitude towards the indigenous people in Dongchuan and other areas of Southwest China needs to be explored further. It turns out that the classification of indigenous groups in the early Qing dynasty is the pivotal historical context of the continuation of the dragon pool cult in northeastern Yunnan.

The Qing state's understanding of the indigenous groups of Dongchuan derived from the late Ming dynasty, when Dongchuan was administered by Sichuan province. The 1541 gazetteer of Sichuan province recognizes Bo 僂 and Cuan 爨 as the two main groups living in the area. The stereotypical description of Bo people was that they were 'good at trading', and Cuan people were 'strong-minded and fierce'.<sup>47</sup> Although this description of the two groups in Dongchuan is very brief, it implies that Bo people had already come into contact with Han people. Moreover, as traders, they most likely understood the Chinese language and thus were able to communicate with them. In contrast, the 'fierce' Cuan people can be assumed to have been unfriendly and uncooperative towards Han people.<sup>48</sup> Thus, these names given by Ming officials to different indigenous groups reflected the degree of cultural contact, rather than any objective description of the people.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> *Sichuan zongzhi*, 1524, *juan* 14, p. 1b. About the generally meanings of Cuan and Bo in differently historical contexts, see Harrell, Stevan, *The History of the History of the Yi*, pp. 63-91.

<sup>48</sup> This knowledge of 'barbarians' in southwest China has also been discussed by Hostetler, Giersch and Ma Jianxiong. Hostetler notes the different image of barbarians. Giersch emphasizes that the concept of barbarians influenced Qing policies. Giersch use the term 'ambiguity' to explain the identification of different indigenous groups, which he believes helped Qing authorities have more space for negotiation and more flexible policies. (Actually, the Bo people he quotes in his book are the Bo people who lived in northeast Yunnan, rather than on the border between Yunnan and Southeast Asia which is his focus.) Ma Jianxiong emphasizes the role of the opposing social force in forming the identity of the Luo Hei (傈僳), who came to the fore as the fiercest tribe during the resistance to Qing forces. Moreover, for a discussion of the cultural construction of ethnicity on the frontier during the Qing dynasty see *Empire at the Margins*, ed. by Pamela Kyle Crossley, Helen F. Siu, and Donald S. Sutton.

<sup>49</sup> For 'labels' of the indigenous people in southwest China, see Barend ter Haar, 'A New Interpretation of the Yao Charters', in *New Developments in Asian Studies*, ed. by Paul van der Velde and Alex McKay (London: Kegan Paul International, 1998), pp. 3-19.

Furthermore, this information about the Bo and the Cuan in this remote and inaccessible area was collected by Han officials with an outsider's perspective. Since such discussions about ethnicity actually only reflected the knowledge of outside authorities, the question is how the different indigenous groups were categorized and how this division affected state policy. At least in the case of Bo and Cuan in Dongchuan, it is very clear that the standard used would have been the degree of likeness to 'Han' and the level of willingness to communicate and cooperate with outside authorities.

Qing officials also used this standard to classify the different indigenous groups in the gazetteer of Dongchuan prefecture. Cuan and Bo were also called Black Luoluo 黑猓 and White Luoluo 白猓, respectively.<sup>50</sup> Cuan or Black Luoluo lived on a less productive plateau. In contrast, Bo were known as White Luoluo, their main food consisting of rice, which implied that Bo people were highly adaptive, learning agriculture and other customs from Han settlers.

Apart from the Cuan and the Bo, who had already become acquainted with the Ming government, other ethnic groups recognized by Qing officials were Gan Luoluo 幹猓, Miao 苗, Luji 魯雞, Meng 孟, Pisha Yi 披沙夷, and Pi Yi 披夷. In the descriptions of these ethnic groups, their means of livelihood is also of primary concern. For example, Miao people who laboured for the Cuan and the Bo people were said to be obedient and good at agriculture. And as the hardest workers, most Gan Luoluo only knew slash-and-burn cultivation. During the slack season they made a living by picking up firewood and by fishing. In contrast, the Pi Yi and Pisha Yi were hostile ethnic groups. Both of them came from two branches of the Cuan. They had no fixed home and lived a nomadic life. They used to come down the mountain to rob travellers, even kidnapping Han people and turning them into slaves.<sup>51</sup>

Similar descriptions are recorded in other local gazetteers of northeastern Yunnan. In the case of northeastern Yunnan in the late Ming and early Qing dynasty, the various official names of indigenous groups not only indicate different ethnicities, but also

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<sup>50</sup> DCFZ, 1761, *juan* 8, pp. 12b - 20b.

<sup>51</sup> DCFZ, 1735, p. 21.

different levels of ‘civilization’ or ‘sinicization’ of the non-Han indigenous groups. The Cuan, Pi Yi and Pisha Yi who lived in a remote territory situated on a less productive plateau were not fully incorporated into the Qing state. Ethnic groups such as Bo and Miao, by contrast were highly adaptive, obedient and open to learning agriculture.

These descriptions also reflect the development of a new lifestyle among indigenous groups since the Ming dynasty. For example, a legend belonging to the history of the Lu family, the most powerful family in Zhaotong (Wumeng) and Dongchuan in northeastern Yunnan until the eighteenth century, reveals their going down from the mountain to occupy the narrow plains:

Old capital of the Lu family: It is said that the indigenous chieftain of the Lu family of Wumeng used to live in Liangshan 涼山 which had harsh natural conditions. They were afraid to come down from the mountain because they worried about being attacked by A di 阿底, who was head of a barbarian group from Weining 威寧 [the new name of Wusa, which was located east of Dongchuan and belonged to Guizhou province]. At that time, the place the barbarians lived was without any village and the people were dotted around like stars in the sky. In those heavily wooded areas, no one knew how many old waterways had been abandoned. Later, one of the barbarians went out to hunt. He shot an arrow and hit a deer. He released his dogs to chase it. Then he found the plain of Zhaotong at the point the deer vanished from sight. When he found the way to come back home, he reported this adventure to the head of the Lu family. According to him, this plain, named Hai ba 海壩, was open and flat and the soil was fertile and the spring was sweet. The head of the Lu family was very happy to hear this news. He consolidated the army and pretended to hunt, in order to sneak into the area. He occupied this area after he assassinated the indigenous Mahuzi people. Since then the Lu family has lived in Hai ba.<sup>52</sup>

It turns out that the leaders of the indigenous groups wanted to come down from their cold mountain area and live on the warm plain where there was fertile soil and a sweet

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<sup>52</sup> *En'an xianzhi*, 1762(1911), *juan* 3, p. 36.

spring (good drinking water), which means that they had already started to make their living from agriculture, which was carried out by their tenants such as Miao, Bo or Han, whoever knew how to farm.<sup>53</sup>

In the early Qing dynasty, indigenous chieftains in northeastern Yunnan rose up in one revolt after another against the Qing state, which was expropriating their lands.<sup>54</sup> Apparently, the military suppression of these rebels was concentrated on the rural areas of the region, where the indigenous groups were not fully incorporated into the Qing state, and was especially directed against the indigenous chieftains of the Lu family and Black Luoluo. During the battles of suppression, the Qing army recognized that there were different degrees of resistance:

Among the indigenous tribes of Dongchuan, Miao and Gan Luoluo are the obedient people and should not be disturbed. On the other hand, Black Luo are fierce and stubborn people who are the main rebellious group, but compared to the indigenous chieftain of Dongchuan, they also must be considered as a subordinate rebel group.<sup>55</sup>

Following E'ertai's military strategy, most of the battles ended after the indigenous army was forced to withdraw to the east side of Jinsha River. The Qing army did not dare to cross the river and continue the fight, but felt free to massacre thousands of people in the river valley involved in the rebellion in northeastern Yunnan.<sup>56</sup>

After the Qing state had fully occupied northeastern Yunnan, vast amounts of vacant lands were distributed among the soldiers. In 1730 E'ertai reported to the throne: 'Wumeng has many vacant lands that can be cultivated, now we should distribute the lands without owners to the soldiers. Each of them will get thirty mu 畝. If some of them have assistants (*junhu* 軍戶), they will get double lands. We should also subsidize them

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<sup>53</sup> Scott points out the constant movement back and forth between the valleys and the hills, which has happened in the whole of Southeast Asia and the southwest of China. Scott, pp. 26-35, especially p. 27.

<sup>54</sup> This understanding of indigenous people's identities in northeastern Yunnan can also be seen in E'ertai's strategy to reform the indigenous chieftain system of Southwest China, especially his concept of 'inside bank of river' (*jiang nei* 江內) and 'outside bank of river' (*jiang wai* 江外). See Chapter 1.

<sup>55</sup> YZZPZZ, vol. 19, p. 666. (YZ. 8 /12/27)

<sup>56</sup> See Chapter 1.

with a stipend and cattle to encourage cultivation.<sup>57</sup> This strategy is also recorded in the local gazetteers of Zhaotong:

There are other kinds of indigenous people in Zhaotong who are similar to the Han. The Luo people in Zhaotong do not know how to farm, so they forced other indigenous people to be their tenants and grow rice for them. These indigenous people were very hard-working farmers and had kind-hearted personalities. Now, since they do not belong to the Luo anymore, they can work for us to cultivate our fields. By doing so, they can live in peace and enjoy their work, and our government can also save energy and money.<sup>58</sup>

Similar circumstances were present in Dongchuan. After the warfare between the indigenous chieftains and the Qing government, towns and villages were in ruins. 'There are very few registered Han people here; so we need to summon more barbarian people to settle here.'<sup>59</sup>

In other words, after the Qing state took over the plains that had previously belonged to the indigenous chieftains, they needed a labour force to cultivate all the farmland.<sup>60</sup> At first, the rice paddies and cultivated farmland were distributed to soldiers and Han settlers. But the number of soldiers and Han settlers was apparently not enough to work all the vacant land.<sup>61</sup> For the purpose of cultivating more of the vacant farmland taken over by the Qing state, those indigenous groups who were more cooperative or who knew how to farm were urgently needed.

Consequently, these indigenous groups and their dragon pool cult rituals for agricultural purposes also served the interests of the Qing state. Multiple meanings of the dragon pool cult, as mentioned above, correspond with different groups and lifestyles. The function of the dragon pool cult of the indigenous people followed this

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<sup>57</sup> *QSL*, *juan* 96, pp. 20b-21a.

<sup>58</sup> *En'an xianzhi*, 1762(1911), *juan* 6, p.79.

<sup>59</sup> *DCFZ*, 1761, *juan* 8, p. 1b.

<sup>60</sup> As Scott notes, wet rice and other major grains need concentrated, labour-intensive production which requires a dense population, and that is the foundation of early state-making in Southeast Asia and southwest China. Therefore, the concentration of manpower becomes particularly imperative and a difficult mission for the state. See Scott, especially chapters 2 and 3.

<sup>61</sup> Fang Guoyu, *Yizu shigao*, pp. 490-495.

transition in lifestyle. For indigenous people farming in the valleys, a dragon pool served not only for irrigation but also as a deity who could be prayed to to bring rain. For indigenous people living in mountain areas, praying for rain was not so important. For indigenous chieftains or other headmen, it was ancestor worship that was important and they also wished their own farmland to be fertile so they also prayed for rain when they still occupied the lands before they were taken over by the Qing.

For Qing officials, the purpose of the dragon pool cult was now primarily to pray for rain or to prevent floods for their own benefit.<sup>62</sup> Therefore, unlike the capitals of indigenous chieftains, the religious space of the dragon pool cult on the mountain was maintained by the Qing on account of its beneficial effects on agriculture and irrigation works. But in the case of the dragon pool on Black Dragon Mountain, which was closely related to the indigenous chieftain Lu's family, the fact of the existence of the dragon pool was hidden or distorted, the landscape was reconstructed by the Qing government as an important geomantic mountain, and a Zhenwu statue which was represented as the protector of the Qing government was erected in the same space and later dominated this landscape.

## 6. Conclusion

This chapter argues for the coexistence of Zhenwu worship and the dragon pool cult in the same space, and interaction between official and indigenous ritual activities at the dragon pool during the period when the Qing authorities were building up their new territory of Dongchuan. As a protector of the Qing army, the Zhenwu deity could supervise and suppress the dragon pool cult on the mountain, which formerly had been the religious space of the indigenous people. This transformation of the religious space and landscape in Southwest China also corresponded with changes in social relations between indigenous people and the Qing government. Apparently, indigenous people had to use the same space of the Zhenwu shrine when they went to the mountain to

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<sup>62</sup> In fact, in present ethnographical research the dragon cult is not limited to the Yi. Other minority groups, such as the Miao, Bai 白, Hani 哈尼 and Shui 水 in southwestern China, nowadays all have similar ritual activities between the first and the third month, although the name and way of worshipping the dragon differ. See Zhang Fu 張福, 'Wo Guo xinan minzu de ji long yishi', *我國西南民族的祭龍儀式*, *Guizhou minzu yanjiu*, (1992), 1: 86-94.

worship their dragon pool, which might be the spatial policy of the Qing officials. From the perspective of representation, it is obvious that in the official Qing gazetteers, the narrative of Zhenwu's image on Black Dragon Mountain dominates the understanding of this temple in all kinds of written sources, thus contributing to the relative neglect of the dragon pool cult that was also worshipped there by indigenous people at the time. Therefore, landscape in local society can be seen as a metaphor of the state.<sup>63</sup> Meanwhile, the dragon pool cult could also easily be transformed into an orthodox deity in the case of northeastern Yunnan, both from the perspective of Qing policy as well as from the perspective of indigenous people because of the dragon pool cult's multiple meanings.<sup>64</sup>

Ironically, while local agents of the Qing were trying to replace the indigenous dragon cult, parallel behaviour was adopted by indigenous people during their rebellion in Yunnan in the late Qing dynasty. A local Qing official surnamed Zhang experienced a rather humiliating incident in which a group of Luoluo, led by a vicious chieftain surnamed Long 龍, ravaged his county in Chuxiong, in the centre of Yunnan. The most terrible crime, which caused Zhang to commit suicide, was not just replacing all the temples with dragon deity shrines, but also putting a dragon mask over the face of Confucius!<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> It confirms similar observations in religious studies of pre-modern China by such scholars as Watson, Szonyi, and Faure, who discuss standardization and orthopraxy in pre-modern China. James L. Watson, 'Standardizing the gods: the promotion of T'ien Hou ('Empress of Heaven') along the South China coast, 960-1960', in *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. by David Johnson, Andrew Nathan, and Evelyn Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 292-324; Michael Szonyi 'The illusion of standardizing the gods: the cult of the Five Emperors in late imperial China', *Journal of Asian Studies*, (1997), 56. 1: 113-135; Michael Szonyi, 'Making Claims about Standardization and Orthopraxy in Late Imperial China: Rituals and Cults in the Fuzhou Region in Light of Watson's Theories', *Modern China*, (2007), 33. 1: 47-70. Other reassessments of James L. Watson's ideas include works by Kenneth Pomeranz, Paul Katz, Melissa Brown, and Donald Sutton. See Donald S. Sutton, 'Reconsidering James L. Watson's ideas', *Modern China*, (2007), 33.1: 3-21.

<sup>64</sup> This supports Michael Szonyi's argument about standardization and orthopraxy in late Imperial China. Instead of the one-sided view promoted by the state, Szonyi focuses on the multiple possible outcomes of state efforts in local society. The intention of the state might be misread or re-interpreted by different groups and the new interpretation in turn. Furthermore, as David Faure and Liu Zhiwei have argued, research on standardization or orthodox deities should not be limited to indicate the contrast between the interpretation of local groups and the projection from the perspective of the state, but to show how these different practices and representations can coexist at the same place and same time through interaction and negotiation in the process of state building. Michael Szonyi, 'Making Claims about Standardization and Orthopraxy in Late Imperial China', pp. 47-71. David Faure (科大衛) and Liu Zhiwei 劉志偉, 'Biaozhuan hua' haishi 'zhengtonghua': cong minjian xinyang liyi kan zhongguo wenhua de dayitong' "標準化" 還是 "正統化" ——從民間信仰與禮儀看中國文化的大一統, *Lishi renleixue xuekan* (2008), 6.1/2: 1-21.

<sup>65</sup> *Zhenxiong zhouzhi*, 1887, juan 6, p. 1265.