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Typological Transformation of Courtyard House in Lijiang
Area: Women and Nuclear Space of Naxi Dwelling

Li Pingping

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Abstract of thesis

**Typological Transformation of Courtyard House in Lijiang Area:
Women and Nuclear Space of Naxi Dwelling**

Submitted by

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Although many traditional Han courtyards were destroyed during the upheavals in the first half of the twentieth century, an important and diverse group of courtyard types can still survive in the Lijiang area in northwest Yunnan Province. The diversity of the surviving forms reflects a period of dynamic change, apparently closely related to changes in the mode of production and in the status of women in this district. Most previous studies of Naxi dwellings focus on describing and classifying courtyard dwellings in Lijiang Old City, or on exploring the cultural influence of the Han courtyard. As a matter of fact, the formal changes of Naxi dwellings have not yet become an awareness that they deserve.

This study, based on extensive field surveys, explores both the development of vernacular Naxi dwellings and the changing status of Naxi women. In contrast to the prevailing orthodox view, this study considers that the courtyard form of Naxi's wood frame dwelling is not always the result of Han style influence, but is rather derived from an intrinsic Naxi characteristic, which is very much related to their social and



gender conditions. The study focuses on Naxi women's role in family life and production, and how this role is reflected in the physical arrangement of space in Naxi dwellings. The study analyzes different modes of production and women status in three different parts of the Lijiang district, and classifies Naxi dwellings observed and documented in field surveys into three categories in a geographical mode, arranging their variations in a chronological frame.

The analysis shows a trend of typological evolution, which basically is a multilinear evolution process with three categories of Naxi courtyard form evolving individually. Geographically, the Naxi dwelling form varies from maternal log courtyards in Yongning to patrilineal log courtyards in Baidi, and to wood frame paternity courtyards in Lijiang (Dayan). For one region in a temporal frame, the intrinsic space (considered as nuclear space in this study) and external form of the Naxi dwelling do not show such neat changes. There is nearly always a nuclear space acting as the steady core of the courtyard space, but externals, such as the structure form, layout, layer, and roof form tend to change more easily and frequently. This study posits a chain of causal links between the variables of mode of production, women status, nuclear space, and house form changes. Women status in Yongning Naxi families is determined by a non-industrialized production mode, and this status has a significant influence on local Naxi dwellings, both in the nuclear space and the external form. Whereas in Baidi and Lijiang (Dayan), women status gradually declines, the nuclear space and the external form evolve to reflect the transfer of dominance from women



to men. This thesis illustrates these relations by using a conceptual model of context/form link, and discusses how the model should be adjusted to interpret formal changes at different evolutionary stages.

This study focuses on women' status, and uses typological analysis to explore how changes of women status has influenced the formal development of Naxi dwellings. Its findings elucidate the formal development of Naxi courtyard houses, and contribute to the broader study of vernacular architecture in China.



Typological Transformation of Courtyard House in Lijiang Area: Women and Nuclear Space of Naxi Dwelling

by

Li Pingping

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Philosophy
at the University of Hong Kong

October 2005



Declaration

I declare that this thesis represents my own work, except where due acknowledgement is made, and that it has not been previously included in a thesis, dissertation or report submitted to this university or any other institution for a degree, diploma or other qualifications.

Signed.....

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Glossary of Chinese Site Names

<i>Baidi</i>	白地
<i>BH(Baihua) village</i>	白华村
<i>Baisha Country</i>	白沙乡
<i>BM(Beimen) Street</i>	北门街
<i>CW(Cuiwen) Part</i>	翠文段
<i>Dn Part, WY(Wuyi) Street</i>	五一街下段
<i>GB(Guangbi) Lane</i>	光碧巷
<i>Guangyi Street</i>	光义街
<i>GY(Guanyuan) Lane</i>	官院巷
<i>Hetao village</i>	核桃村
<i>Huangshan Country</i>	黄山乡
<i>JL(Jiale) village</i>	嘉乐村
<i>JH(Jinhong) Lane</i>	金虹巷
<i>JX(Jinxing) Lane</i>	金星巷
<i>JZ(Jinzhen) Lane</i>	金贞巷
<i>Lijiang</i>	丽江
<i>Longquan Country</i>	龙泉乡
<i>Mid Part, WY(Wuyi) Street</i>	五一街中段
<i>NZ(Nuzhen) Lane</i>	女贞巷
<i>QY(Qiyi) Street</i>	七一街
<i>RL(Renli) village</i>	仁里村
<i>SY(Sanyuan) village</i>	三元村



<i>SL(Shiliu) Lane</i>	石榴巷
<i>SS(Shuangshi) Part</i>	双石段
<i>Shuijia village</i>	水甲村
<i>Tuo zhi village</i>	拖枝村
<i>Up Part, WY(Wuyi) Street</i>	五一街上段
<i>Wa-la pian village</i>	瓦拉片村
<i>WR(Wenrong) village</i>	文荣村
<i>Wushu wan village</i>	梧树湾村
<i>Xi'an Street</i>	西安街
<i>XW(Xianwen) Lane</i>	现文巷
<i>XW(Xingwen) Lane</i>	兴文巷
<i>XH(Xinhua) Street</i>	新华街
<i>XY(Xinyuan) Lane</i>	新院巷
<i>XT(Xiteng) Lane</i>	溪藤巷
<i>Yi-man wa village</i>	以满瓦村
<i>Yongning</i>	永宁
<i>Zhe bo village</i>	者波村
<i>ZH(Zhonghe) village</i>	中和村
<i>ZY(Zhongyi) Lane</i>	忠义巷
<i>ZY(Ziyun) Lane</i>	子云巷



Chapter I Introductions

1.1 Naxi women's daily lives in the Lijiang area



Fig.1-1 Map of Lijiang area

Lijiang, where the magnificent land has been inhabited by the laborious Naxi women for centuries, nestles deep in the rolling snowy mountains of the northwest Yunnan plateau. Located where the Qinghai - Tibet and Yunnan-Guizhou plateaus interlock, this land is

formed by the western wing — Lijiang County, the northern and southern parts of the central region — Ninglang County and Yongsheng County, and the eastern tip — Huaping County. Altogether the district covers 20,600 km², with a population of nearly 1,056,000. Lijiang is the base of the Naxi (also spelt Nakhi and Nahi) minority, who number about 278,000 in Yunnan and a few places in west Sichuan. (Fig. 1-1)

At 27° N latitude, the perennial snows flashing on the summits above Lijiang are the most southerly glaciers in the Eurasian landmass. Driving on the highway from Kunming, surprised at the sudden splendor of these peaks that seem to burst from rice paddies and subtropical orchards, visitors are reminded being in the presence of the greatest mountain range of all, the Himalayas. With the high altitude and relatively thin air, Lijiang receives an exceptionally large amount of solar radiation: 2540 hours of sunshine per year (Hong Kong: 1948 hours), with an intensity of 146.5 KCal/cm².

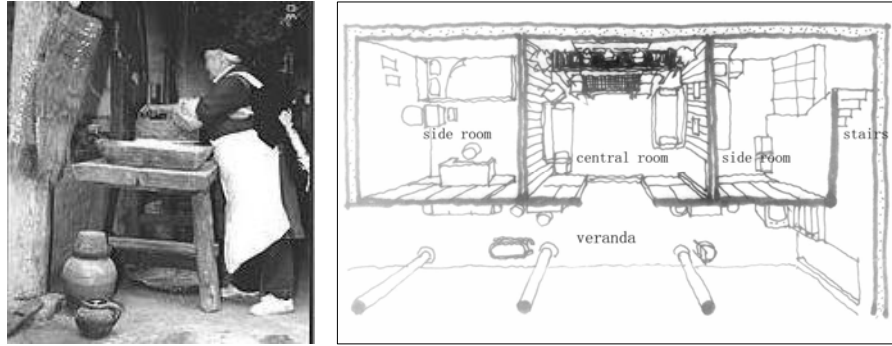


Fig.1-2 Grandma *Ho* and her territory

Lijiang Old City, with 56% population of Naxi, is where the district's government sits. The "Jade Dragon" — the snow-clad mountains, so pure and so sacred, shooting up into the clear sky – governs the ancient town. Grandma *Ho* (和) is an ordinary elderly Naxi woman who can clearly see the "Jade Dragon" from her courtyard every day. She has lived in the wood frame courtyard house for more than 60 years, since marrying her husband. The house will eventually be inherited by her youngest son. She and her husband occupy the main building, while their youngest son's family lives in the side wing. Every morning, after her husband has gone for a walk with his bird and the other family members have gone to work or to school, she begins her everyday housework in the old courtyard: washing, cleaning, cooking, and taking care of the baby. She always likes doing these works in the wide veranda of the main building, where the sun shines all day long. (Fig. 1-2) The wide veranda is a very important space for her and her family. Tonight, she must prepare an family dinner for the first visit of her husband's nephew and his fiancée. That is the tradition, she says, although tourism has changed many things.

If we go northeast, 303 km from Lijiang Old City, the scene is very different. Inhabiting these log courtyards and villages for decades to even more than a century,

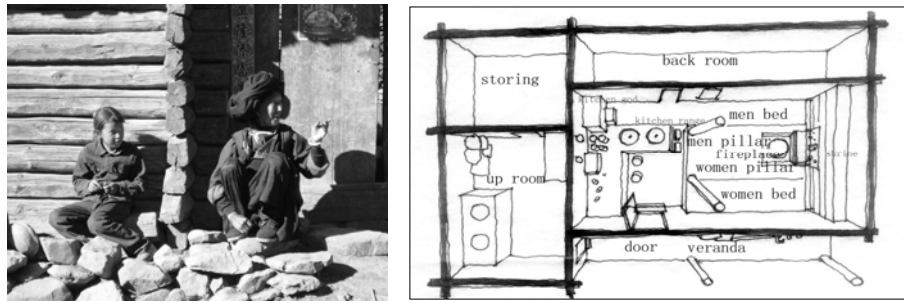


Fig.1-3 Great-grandma *Gong-zheng* and her territory

Yongning Naxi women dominate their courtyards, their principal spaces by their style. Great-grandma *Gong-zheng* (公正) is the matriarch of the oldest family in *Wa-la pian* (瓦拉片) village (Fig.1-3). Though there are five male adults in this family, they have no decision-making rights in family affairs. The big, dark, old main building — “*yimei*” — is the place where great-grandma *Gong-zheng* and her family mostly stay. Sitting on the “women bed” near the shrine, great-grandma *Gong-zheng* runs her big family (with 12 members in four generations) authoritatively, for example: distributing family labors, managing family property, and taking charge of the family sacrifice ritual. Every night after the family dinner, she sits and prays, then lights up the oil lights in the sutra hall at about 10pm. When she goes back to the main building to sleep, watching at the warm light effusing from the “flower rooms”, she feels contented and calm. She is quite proud of her big matrilineal family, which is considered as an advantage for farming and family re-production. The *Gong-zheng* family plans to renovate the old courtyard this year; however, the main building — “*yimei*” — will never be changed, says great-grandma.

The *Mi-kai* (米开) family is another Naxi family in *Shuijia* (水甲) village, Baidi — a Naxi county located between Lijiang and Yongning. Grandma *Mi-kai* tells the reason why her husband, grandpa *Mi-kai*, is the head of their household: “He has the ability”.

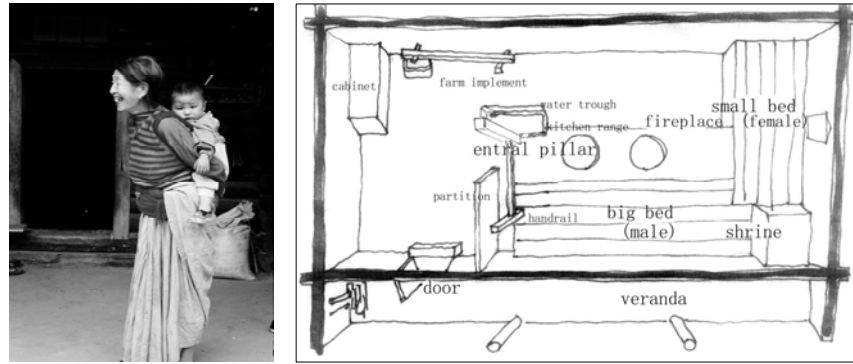


Fig.1-4 Grandma *Mi-kai* and her territory

Their son and his small family live with them in the old log courtyard house, which the son will later inherit. Grandma *Mi-kai* is also busy doing housework all day long in her courtyard (Fig.1-4), but she could never enter the space defined by the “big bed”, which is exclusively for men in the main building. When she talks about the new wing of the old courtyard, she says, “My son likes it. It is in the Lijiang style, which many families in this village like to follow when they build their new houses in recent years. However, I like the old main building more.” So, grandma *Mi-kai* still likes cooking, sleeping, sewing, taking care of her grandson, and even greeting guests in the dark old main building, on her own “small bed”.

Besides these stories on the sunny and snowy land, we can also see many other types of courtyard house as well as different living ways of Naxi women. Through observing these scenes, several questions emerge: What are the differences between these Naxi dwellings where three grandmas (or great-grandmas) and their families live? They all appear in courtyard form, however the spaces for the women’s activities are different. What makes such spaces different from each other, especially for the principal space within the main building? Does the Lijiang (Dayan) courtyard represent just a transplantation of the Han style, or are there any other factors working

behind its formation and evolution? These questions, together with the land and its laborious women, invite vernacular dwelling scholars to explore and research.

1.2 Diversity of courtyard dwellings in Lijiang area, temporal and spatial

Courtyard houses and building groups are among the most ubiquitous in the world, and occur in various cultures and climates. As early as the Ming Dynasty, the courtyard form was recorded in this area, usually appearing as low and log building groups. A famous Chinese geographer and traveler of the Ming Dynasty named Xu Xiake (1587-1641) first described this house form in his diary (1637: p871-877) —

“Standing in close order, those log building groups are spread along the west hillside and over the whole valley. They are so low that people must bend down to enter, which is called ‘see wood lower head’ (见木低头). ... However the residence for ‘tusi’ is quite different, so magnificent as to be comparable to those at the king’s palace.”

Nowadays people can imagine what the local dwelling forms looked like in 1639’s Dayan town (viz. today’s Lijiang Old City) by reading Xu’s diary. The building groups of log houses recorded by Xu have been constructed constantly in other



remote mountain or lake areas of Lijiang. In today’s

Fig.1-5 Naxi courtyard house in Dayan

Lijiang Old City and surrounding area, numerous distinct courtyard houses are inherited from the Qing dynasty. (Fig. 1-5) They are constructed in wood frames,

similar to the Han style¹ courtyard houses of inland China. As an architecture scholar, Liu Dunzhen described Dayan's courtyard houses in his 1957 work (p334) —

“Courtyard houses in Lijiang usually appear in the main building with an overhanging roof higher in the middle, and in the side buildings with a lower overhanging roof Several small and exquisite windows are opened on the south wall for ventilation and view. So, this dwelling form gains an upper hand over other forms in its applicability and artistic style.”



Fig.1-6 New courtyard neighborhood

After rapid social changes in past decades, besides those traditional courtyard dwellings that have been constantly well-protected and built, thousands of new courtyard houses are being erected in the new city. (Table1-1) The statistics show that whether in

every decade or in total in the past 50 years, the number of self-constructed courtyard houses is much greater than the amount of new public housing construction. Especially in the last two decades of the 20th century, the number of self-constructed houses grew very rapidly, usually more than 10 times the number of public-operated houses. This situation is quite different from the massive destruction of courtyard houses in inland China.² Thousands of new style courtyard houses constructed in new materials and using new technologies have started to emerge in this city since the

¹ Han style courtyard house form, represented by Beijing *Siheyuan*, is the most adopted dwelling form by Chinese Han people in inland China. Wood frame structure, 3-bay units, south orientation, closed courtyard and strict space organization are its characters, which are strongly effected by the feudal moral code which known as "Rite".

² In big cities such as Beijing, Xi'an, and Suzhou, large quantities of courtyard houses have been razed, abandoned, or renovated for alternative uses (Deng, 1990 and Jiang, 1999). In Beijing, since the 1950s, 100,000m² of floor space of courtyard houses have been demolished every year (Lu and Wang, 2001). In Xi'an, there were 2,315,000m² floor space of courtyard houses at the end of 1949. By the end of the 1980s, nearly half had been deemed as objects that would be pulled down and then redeveloped (Kou, 2001). In Henan Province, 30,000m² of floor space of courtyard houses were demolished to widen the North Street in Anyang, 1988. In 1984, in Kaifeng, 22,000m² of traditional dwellings were razed in order to renovate Zhongshan Road (Hu and Zhang, 1997). In Chongqing, a city in western China, the proportion of traditional dwellings among all residential buildings changed from 84.42% to 10.3% from the 1950s ~ 1980s (Lu, 1997).

1980s (Fig. 1-6). Thus we can observe several forms of courtyard dwelling co-existing in Lijiang City and its surrounding rural area today — big courtyard houses fit for farming production in the suburbs; small but exquisite courtyards shaped by Old City fabric, well-served for old handicrafts and commerce; and new concrete courtyard houses arrayed in the new city, smaller in size however signaling an industrialized era of the old city. All these styles show us that Naxi courtyard dwellings have a more powerful vitality during their development.

Table 1-1 New courtyard constructions in Lijiang city

	Public Housing (m ²)	Self-construction (m ²)
1950s	5794	15824
1960s	18658	50891
1970s	40933	185589
1980s	66594	443055
1990 ~ 97	87040	1053589
Total	219019	1748948

(sourced from “Lijiang County Annals”, 1997)

After scanning courtyard forms in Lijiang city, we can see that although the Lijiang form has clearly been influenced by the Han style, they retain still numerous differences from the Han style. Why? What does its prototype look like? In today’s Lijiang City (Dayan), we cannot find the dwelling form Xu described three centuries ago, but how about other regions of the Lijiang area? For example in Baidi and Yongning, two regions north from Lijiang City, we could still observe such kind of log dwelling form. Among these various Naxi dwelling forms in different regions, is there any similarity existing in the process of their transformation? If we compare the courtyard house form in Yongning, Baidi, and Lijiang, shall we be able to identify some crucial factors that were unique to their culture, which govern the changing mechanism of their house form? (Fig. 1-7)



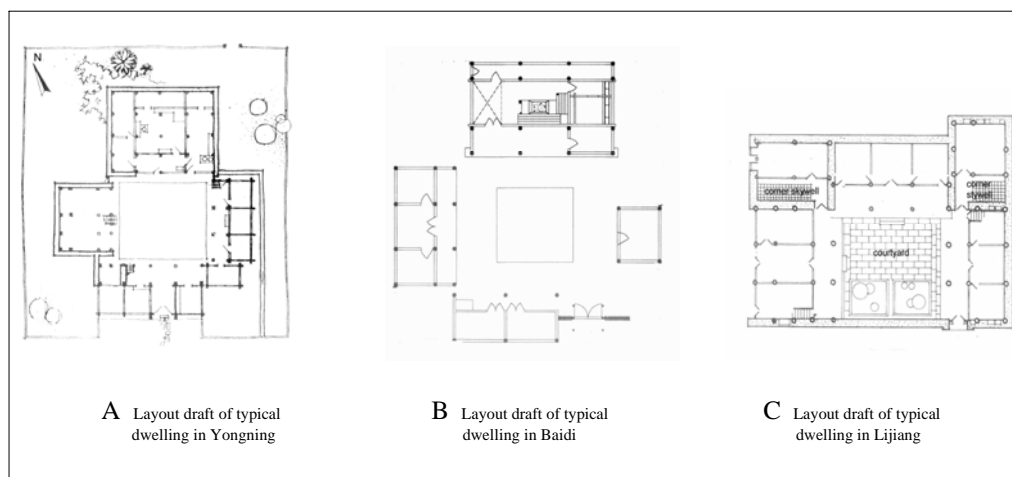


Fig.1-7 Three types of Naxi courtyard house layout (scale: 1/600)

A: Yongning courtyard — In the lake area northeastward of Lijiang City, Yongning Naxi (Moso) have lived in such large log courtyards for hundreds of years. All these courtyards have a special main building, Lama's residence, "flower rooms" and a big inward yard. The big dark old main building ("yimei") always has unique and symbolic meanings for every family member, whether male or female. It is also an important component of the whole courtyard house. "Yimei" usually has gendered space segregation, and accommodates most of the family's daily activities, especially those of the head of the household.

B: Baidi courtyard — Distributed in the mountain area or half-plateau area of the transition areas between Yongning and Lijiang City, Baidi dwellings are also log courtyard houses; however, they seem in smaller size and less compact than those in Yongning. The main building has distinct gendered space segregation, and also accommodates most of the family's daily activities. There is no special room for religious functions.

C: Lijiang courtyard — For their similar external forms and space uses, Lijiang courtyards are always examined and studied by most Chinese researchers as a courtyard form influenced remarkably by the Han style (Liu, 1957; Zhu 1988; Jiang and Yang, 1997). However these scholars paid less attention upon the inconspicuous differences between the Lijiang and Han style courtyards in space use organization, as well as how Lijiang form ties with the northern forms in Yongning and Baidi.

It seems clear that we can record a number of diverse dwelling forms in Lijiang area, which is inhabited by one ethnic group (Naxi) with the same origin, congenetic culture and language. How did these dwelling forms change or related each other? In our knowledge of vernacular dwellings, there are extensive factors (physical and cultural) that can have impacts on house form's formation and its change: geographic environment, climate, mode of production, clan and family, ideology, religion, or imported cultures and values. When we explore deep into these house forms, we may just find one certain kind of main building as well as the space accommodated within in one certain type of courtyard dwelling. Among so many possible factors, searching for the one that primarily influences the principal space in main building and the external form may provide us a good chance to find out some topics worthy of study.

1.3 Research significance and hypotheses

Previous studies

In studies of Naxi dwellings, nothing is more noticeable than that previous Chinese research have focused on courtyard dwellings in or surrounding Lijiang Old City



(Dayan) by describing and classifying, or exploring the cultural influence of the Han courtyard (Liu, 1957; Zhu 1988; Jiang and Yang, 1997). They leave a gap in our knowledge of house formal changes with regard to a more extended connotation of both space and time. Some western scholars initiated their research works on the tradition of Naxi dwellings and their relation with the Han dwelling style at the beginning of the 1990s, and their views are similar. They see the formal changes of the Naxi courtyard as “resulting from a policy of forced sinicization” (McKhann, 1995 and Daffner, 1992). Through a brief review of the previous research, this study will identify the research problem and the research significance.

Since 1980s when the academia started its concern with Lijiang, more and more research works introducing and studying Old Lijiang City have been published. They have helped to bring Lijiang under the rigorous protection of all levels of government, as well as putting it into the list of UNESCO World Heritage Sites. However, most of the research has the limitation of static description and classification. Liu (1957), Wang (1986) and Zhu (1988) described the forms, structures, and decorative details of Naxi courtyard houses primarily in Lijiang City and surrounding suburbs, and Zhu even sorted diverse house plans into five types and the timberworks into four types. Jiang (1997) and Yang (1997) paid more attention to a deep understanding on the cultural context of house form than others, however they still sorted the courtyard house form of Lijiang into the same formal and cultural classification as that of *Dali* (大理) and *Kunming* (昆明) — other two main areas distributed with the courtyard house form in Yunnan Province. They believed that the courtyard house forms in Dali and Lijiang were both sinicized styles. Perhaps influenced by the prevailing orthodox view implicitly permeating through Chinese academia, they less related the Lijiang



courtyard house form with its original form historically. They paid less attention to the possibility that the diversity of the Naxi dwelling form is not only the result of Han influence, instead might relate to some intrinsic changes in the Naxi socio-cultural context. Nevertheless, both scholars have made outstanding achievements in the research field of Lijiang Naxi dwellings, and provide us with a solid base for further study.

Among western scholars, few were able to carry out a detailed survey by themselves in the remote Lijiang area. Daffner suggested in her 1992 study that the *Yongning* (永寧) form might be the original style found among the Lijiang Naxi prior to their domination by the Han. She explained the Naxi courtyard compounds using a geographic frame. In his 2000 study of old Chinese old dwellings, Knapp pointed out that less research had referred to those different types of courtyard house in the north Lijiang area, and he also noticed the differences between the findings of western and Chinese researchers.

When we examine the physical or non-physical factors that may influence the formal changes of Naxi dwellings, we find that physical factors, such as climate, topography, orientation, material source, or technologies, can only partly explain the changes. In modern Yongning and Baidi, when rich families plan to renovate their old courtyards by using new material or imported technology, the main building and the space it contains are never changed. Religion may also impact the Naxi dwelling forms, however it works slightly in most of the Lijiang area except Yongning. The forced sinicization claimed by some western scholars cannot explain the distinction between the south Lijiang form and typical Han style, even with the Kunming and Dali forms.



Actually, previous studies have dabbled in these fields or facets, but none of them could interpret the diversity of Naxi dwelling form constitutionally.

The mode of production and women status are the facets neglected by most previous researchers, which are important factors that can influence life style and space configuration greatly. Imbalanced progress in the mode of production and the multiple facets of Naxi tradition have characterized Lijiang area since the Yuan Dynasty (Fang, 2001). Nowadays Lijiang accommodates different groups of Naxi living in a multiple socio-economic and cultural context still, which includes aspects of mode of production, social structure, pictographic literature, religion, sexual arrangement, etc. The Naxi ancient matriarchal social structure, big kinship families and their production mode are now surviving in Yongning, whereas in Lijiang city, Naxi society is based on exogamous patrilineal clans, and there are also some other social structures existing in the transition areas between Yongning and Lijiang city, such as Baidi and Daju (大具). Naxi matriarchal social structure and the liberated sexual arrangements in Yongning and Baidi have attracted many sociologists or anthropologists to study since the 1920s (Rock, 1924; Goullart, 1957; Jackson, 1979 and McKhann, 1995), however fewer architectural researchers have paid attention to how Naxi women play their roles in Naxi courtyards' formation and change.

Research problem and its significance

As early as Ming Dynasty had the courtyard form been recorded in the Lijiang area; when Han courtyards in inland China suffered massive destruction due to rapid social changes in recent decades, diverse courtyard house forms co-exist as common





Fig.1-8 New Naxi courtyard under construction

dwelling form over this area today. We can see the Naxi courtyard house continuing her story either in Lijiang city or other counties, in both cities and countryside (Fig. 1-8). If the drastic transformation of the socio-cultural context

after the 1950s leads to the decline of the Han courtyard, which factors of Naxi socio-cultural context ensure the diversity and the development of Naxi dwelling? As described above, the differences of the main building and the space it contains, which usually seems closely related to the formal changes of the Naxi dwelling as well as local Naxi women's status, is quite attractive to vernacular architecture researchers.

Thus the research problem of this study can be revealed as: ① Why have Naxi dwellings demonstrated such a diversity of house forms in Lijiang area? ② What is the relationship between the change of women status and the changes of house form in Lijiang area?

By relating women status to house form, this research may provide a new approach to explore typological changes of local form. And this study believes that the new research angle and analytical devices might bridge the existing gap in the research field. On the other hand, the practical significance of this study is timely. In last decade of 20th century, courtyard houses started to be destroyed in Kunming (昆明) and Jianshui (建水) — other two areas of distribution of the courtyard form in Yunnan Province. Although large numbers of new Naxi courtyards were constructed during this period, some worrying phenomena occur. For example, more and more aboriginal

Naxi inhabiting Old City put out their courtyard dwellings to lease for commercial use, usually to ecdemic businessmen, whereas some modern apartments developed by real estate developers are unsalable for their deviation from the Naxi lifestyle. Whether Kunming and Jianshui's today will be Lijiang's future or not? This study aims to answer the question by in-depth analyses on the intrinsic nature of Naxi house form changes.

Research objectives and hypotheses

Glassie (1975) believed that all relevant historical evidence — unwritten as well as written — must be taken into account to understand that “vast majority of people who left behind no literate legacy” (p11). He asserted that we need to read artifacts to learn about past cultures, and said that architecture is one of the most useful kinds of objects. So in this study, it is necessary to learn how to obtain information from silent artifacts — numerous Naxi courtyards — which Naxi people made, and then to “see how the mute artifact can be made to speak” (p12). In order to make diverse silent Naxi dwellings tell their stories, the study will apply concept of “typology” to help us in our theoretical research. Therefore, for both theoretical and practical purposes, the objectives of this research are:

- (1) Using a typological analysis to study Naxi courtyard house forms and their changes in the Lijiang area
- (2) Through participant approach and case studies, attempting to identify the “nuclear space” — a space form that reflects the socio-cultural relationship of Naxi dwellings



- (3) By closely examining the changes in “nuclear space” and courtyard forms, trying to identify the relationship between women’s role in socio-cultural context and the Naxi dwelling form; and further exploring a working model to illustrate the dynamic connection between such formal changes and the identified variables

The research first hypothesizes that there is a “nuclear space” existing in diverse Naxi courtyard houses and it is closely related to local women status. Second, women status, which is determined by the mode of production, relates significantly to the transitions of “nuclear space”, as well as the formal changes of Naxi dwellings in the Lijiang area. However, as other socio-cultural forces also play more or less important roles during formal changes, this research will establish a model to illustrate the dynamic interrelationship between them.

Nuclear space in this research

As mentioned before, the transformation of main building and the space it contains seem closely related to dwelling formal changes. In the above hypotheses, such space in main building has been given a name: “nuclear space”. It is therefore necessary for the thesis to explain this concept before further discourse.

Many vernacular architecture scholars have noticed that in early dwellings there are principal spaces not only accommodating most daily and ritual activities of the family, but also passing messages about social relations, or reflecting the cosmic view and tribe legends of an ethnic group (Oliver, 1997; Knapp, 2000 and Wang, 1985).



Symbolized structural components (wall, pillar or flat), hearth, shrine, gender segregation and behavior taboo are the ways such a space speaks. Naming it as “nuclear space”, the study will put special emphasis on this type of principal space within courtyard complexes, in order to study Naxi house formal changes and the socio-cultural context of Naxi society.

For further analysis, the thesis here defines “nuclear space” in four main characters:

① It is the central place where family members gather and move about, ② It is the space most utilized (especially by the head of household) in daily domestic life, ③ It is the most sacred space for important rituals in the life cycle as well as in the local religion, and ④ It is the dominant center for spatial organization that influences the entire building type.

1.4 Structure of thesis

The body of this thesis will be divided into six chapters, in addition to a brief “**Abstract**” at the beginning and an alphabetical “**References**” at the end.

Chapter 1 — **Introductions** — first introduces the problem’s background and the issue to be addressed, briefly establishes the current knowledge and the gaps in the research field, and explains the objective and hypotheses of the study.

Chapter 2 — **Literature Reviews and Methodology** — first gives a detailed analysis of the previous literature to elaborate on what has already been done in this field, critically points out their limitations, and further states the objectives of this study.



Second, some theories on “form and culture” and the typological approach are reviewed to establish a theoretical framework and make decisions with regard to method. Finally, after selecting the area to be studied, some detailed methods are proposed in respect to the research procedure and the data collection process.

Chapter 3 — **A Women’s History: the Socio-cultural conditions of the Naxi Ethnic Group in Lijiang Area** — includes reviewing sources from previous research, government County Annals, yearbooks and various reports to introduce the general situation of Lijiang society and economy, especially focusing on changes in the mode of production and women status in Yongning, Baidi and Lijiang. This part gives the direction for data collection in the fieldwork.

Chapter 4 — **Type and Transformation of Naxi Courtyard Houses in Yongning and Baidi** — based on the decided survey method and plan, gives two detailed sample reports demonstrating different “nuclear space” and log courtyard forms in Yongning and Baidi. All 27 log courtyard samples, which are derived from the abundant data collected in fieldwork or literature reviews, are coded and analyzed in an evolutionary frame, so as to interpret the changes of “nuclear space” and external form, as well as the women’s role in such transition.

Chapter 5 — **Type and Transformation of Naxi Courtyard Houses in Lijiang** — carries out a similar examination of the “nuclear space” and external form of Lijiang courtyard. Other 40 courtyard samples distributed in Lijiang city and the rural area, besides three participant survey samples, are also coded and analyzed in an



evolutional frame, so as to explore the formal changing regularity of Lijiang Naxi courtyards.

Conclusions are drawn in Chapter 6. Based on the answers to three sub-problems, this chapter works out the answer to the main research problem of this study. Other possible factors that might have an impact on house form changes, the future for the research field and its applications are also discussed in this chapter.



Chapter II Literature Reviews and Methodology

After introducing the focus issue, the thesis goes on to review the literature in three parts in this chapter. First, in order to elaborate on what has already been done and the gap in the research field of Naxi dwellings, it will give a detailed analysis of the previous literature and point out their limitations critically. Second, the important theories on “form and culture” and “gendered space” will be reviewed for establishing a theoretical foundation and exploring the relationship between “mode of production” and “women status”. A “typological” approach will then be traced for deciding analytical method. After selecting the area to be studied and constructing a theoretical framework, some detailed methods are proposed in respect to the research procedure and the data collection process. This part will give the direction for data collection in the fieldwork.

2.1 Previous research on Naxi courtyard houses

Many Chinese and western scholars have devoted themselves to the research field of Naxi vernacular architecture/dwellings. Chinese academic studies have the advantages of large amounts of firsthand data and a more exact understanding of local culture, whereas western researchers interpret Naxi house form from their angles, usually based on data obtained by Chinese scholars. Fewer foreign researchers can carry out their survey in such remote area. The thesis will review their studies in following two parts, and then analyze them critically.

Previous studies by Chinese scholars



Some Chinese scholars began to publish works specializing in Yunnan or Naxi dwellings in the 1950s. These scholars carried out their studies to identify the physical or non-physical features of the town's fabric and the courtyard houses of Lijiang City, but most of them lay particular stress on documenting the historical development or describing only the house form of Lijiang in detail. They are: Liu (1957), Wang and Chen (1986), Zhu (1988), Yang (1997) and Jiang (1997). In this section, the thesis will trace the progress of courtyard house research in China and Lijiang.

Professors Liu Dunzhen (刘敦桢), Liu Zhiping (刘致平) and Long Qingzhong (龙庆忠) are pioneering scholars who specialize in the study of Chinese dwelling houses before 1950. Their studies extensively survey, record and sort various traditional houses throughout China into functional categories, rather than just paying attention to grandiose and brilliant royal buildings. For a considerably long period of nearly 40 years, their archeological methods, detailed structural surveys and functional categorization have been adhered to by Chinese vernacular academics. Although these scholars have enhanced the status of vernacular dwelling research among academics, what they did in the 1940s~50s is still limited to appreciating, recording and simply sorting, and seldom touching the socio-cultural nature of the dwellings (Yu, 2001). The Naxi dwelling houses in Lijiang Old City have caught their eye for their natural and lively appearances and applicable treatments, such as the eave patterns, the fastigium with windows and fine window sashes. What we have read in chapter one, Professor Liu Dunzhen's description of Lijiang courtyard houses, is typical for this period.



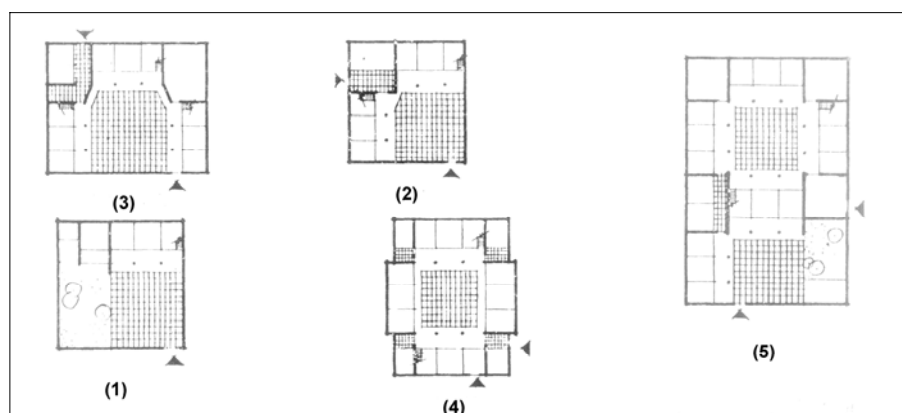


Fig. 2-1 Typical kinds of courtyard house plan in Lijiang City (Wang, 1986 and Zhu, 1988)³

It was not until the 1980s that studies specializing in Chinese dwelling houses extended over most areas of China, including minority districts. Zhu (1988) and Wang and Chen (1986) published their studies of Yunnan and Lijiang traditional houses during the 1980s. Their surveys and studies cover a broader range — of plan (Fig. 2-1), construction time, building framework, structure (Fig. 2-2) and materials, use of internal and external space, decoration, etc. — than previous works, providing a steady and clear segment of a continuous process, as well as helping us start our studies at this segment for tracing back and looking forward. Though these studies mainly focused on individual building analysis rather than systematically investigating the dwellings as a whole, or discussing various factors — either physical or non-physical factors — that might have a profound effect on house forms, they will

³ (1) yi-fang-yuan (一坊院) This is considered the simplest plan of courtyard house in Lijiang, which has only one 3-bay house at one side and a simple yard.

(2) er-fang-yuan (二坊院) This is another type of simple plan, which has 3-bay houses at two sides as an “L”, composing a simple yard with walls at the other two sides.

(3) san-fang-yi-zhao-bi (三坊一照壁) This is the most primary and usual type of courtyard house plan in Lijiang, which has 3-bay houses at three sides and one wall at the left side, surrounding a closed yard.

(4) Si-he-wu-tian-jing (四合五天井) This is another usual type of courtyard house plan in Lijiang. It has a closed yard with 3-bay houses at all four sides, and four nooks (usually composed by a lower room and a small yard) in four corners.

(5) multiple courtyard (多重/进院) — qian-hou-yuan (前后院) or yi-jin-liang-yuan (一进两院) These are mixed types of courtyard house plan with two yards — front and rear — at the Y axis or two yards at the X axis, which are usually constructed and occupied by big or wealthy families.

still be the basis on which this study is carried out, and important references with regard to Lijiang Naxi courtyards.

All these studies from the 1960s ~ 80s are considered just simple outcomes of architectural surveys or case studies, rather than real research in the field of vernacular dwelling houses (Yu, 2001). In China, so-called “real studies” in fact started to be published after 1990.

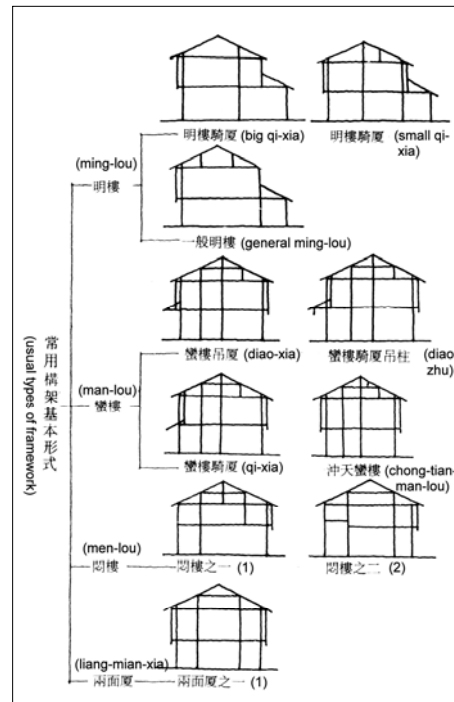


Fig. 2-2 Usual types of framework (Wang, 1986)

Since the second half of the 1980s, western theories and methods on vernacular architecture research have started to influence Chinese academia. Naxi dwellings in Lijiang have also been explored from multiple views and in multiple principles, ranging from sociology and history to culture, ethnology, folklore, linguistics, etc., rather than simply the architectural principle itself. Jiang Gaocheng (蒋高宸) and Yang Dayu (杨大禹), two scholars from the Yunnan Research Institute of Minority Architecture and Human Habitation, are among the outstanding researchers of this period.

Based on previous achievements and the large amount of data in this field, Jiang and Yang tried a multi-principle approach to carry out their 1997 study, mainly focusing on the anthropological, socio-economic and religious aspects, etc. For example, they notice that there are several different opinions on the genesis/ migration of Naxi nationality, which may be related to the initiation of Naxi settlements. They believe

them to be demonstrations of the complexity of the Naxi nationality and its culture. They also emphasized the migration and immigration during the ruling period of “Nanzhao”(南诏) in the Tang Dynasty, trying to argue that Han culture began to influence Lijiang area at that time. From the socioeconomic aspect, Jiang and Yang consider that the urban fabric of Lijiang (skeleton) had completed its formation already during the Ming Dynasty, and the lots and buildings (tissues and muscles) further filled the fabric after Qing Dynasty. They assert that it was in two periods that the majority of fine courtyard houses were built in Lijiang Old City — one was after the 1723 “gai tu gui liu”⁴ (“改土归流”), and the other was in World War II — and in both periods trading activities via Lijiang flourished extraordinarily. Furthermore, Jiang is the first scholar to have noticed and explored the impacts of religion on dwelling forms. Jiang claimed that the symbolic significance of the “central pillar” (中柱或天柱) was later embodied in the external space of the Naxi courtyard house — the yard, where Naxi people continued their adoration and telepathy to God in the sky. Divinations and taboos before or during the construction process were also conducted under Dong-ba wizards, usually concerning the location, orientation, and date. All that they observed and understood with regard to the Naxi courtyard house form has been explained well within the theoretical framework they introduced, and this will be the primary data foundation for this thesis to carry out an in-depth study of Naxi dwellings.

Previous studies by western scholars

⁴ During the Yuan dynasty (in about the 13th century A.D.), a local ruling family established its administrative center in the area of Lijiang and was controlled by the central government. The family prefect was given the surname *Mu* (木) and was made a hereditary ruler. The *Mu* (木) family controlled the area for 340 years. In 1723, the Qing dynasty changed the policy on local rule, and an imperial appointee replaced the native prefect. This is what we called “gai tu gui liu” (“改土归流”) in history. (Fang, 2001)



Among fewer western researchers who put their sights into the remote Lijiang area in the southwest of China, McKhann (1989 and 1995) and Daffner (1992) initiated their works on the tradition of the Naxi dwelling and its relation with the Han dwelling style during the beginning of the 1990s, and their viewpoints are similar.

Daffner explored the courtyard compounds of Naxi people in both Lijiang and Yongning (永寧) as reflections of traditional culture in her 1992 paper presented at IASTE's international conference. She conducted her discussion using a geographical frame. Three distinct but related settlements are documented in her two-month survey in 1991, including the courtyard compounds of Naxi dwellings in the transition areas between Yongning and Lijiang. The geographical frame upon which this discussion was based also served as a temporal model (somewhat like a transformational trace) for the Lijiang Naxi courtyard form. The researcher asserted that, moving south from Yongning to Lijiang, the villages between the two areas illustrate the gradual transformation of the Naxi dwellings, thus the Yongning form may be the original style found among the Lijiang Naxi prior to their domination by the Han, and the courtyard compounds presently found in Lijiang are continuous variations derived from the acceptance of the Han building methods within the Naxi group. This may be as an essential base for our study on formal changes.

In examining the Yongning Naxis' conceptions of domestic space, McKhann (1989) described a radial model with a center and a periphery, as well as an axial model that is characterized by the hierarchy existing in a matriarchal family. He noticed that these space notions are not incompatible with those associated with courtyard houses in the Han style. Thus, when contact with Han settlers became more intense and when



material and resources permitted, it appears reasonable that Naxi house forms evolved to include Han designs. In contrast to Chinese ethnologists' belief that this change from the Naxi original house form to the Han style dwelling form can be attributed to the natural process of human-social evolution, both McKhann and Daffner (1992) see it as "resulting from a policy of forced sinicization" (McKhann, 1995: p55) since the Qing Dynasty.

In his 2000 work, "China's Old Dwellings", Knapp paid more attention to the evolution of the Naxi dwelling form. Though he categorized the Bai (白族) and Naxi courtyard house forms into the similar sinicized style, just as most Chinese scholars did, he did not neglect Yongning Naxi's dwelling form and its relation to the latter courtyard house form. Besides pointing out the "little is usually written of the simpler precursor building types in less developed and remote areas that continue to be lived in by members of nationality groups" (p323), he presented some arguments for Naxi dwelling formal changes that are believed by western scholars, including McKhann and Daffner, which are quite incompatible with the findings of Chinese scholars. However, Knapp did not carry out any detailed analysis either on the spatial organization or formal changes of the house types he recorded.

Previous research methods

From the two sections of reviews above, in terms of primary methodologies applied by the previous scholars, we can identify two different tendencies in domestic vernacular research: cultural study and social study. Cultural study emphasizes the specific concepts and decodes cultural meanings expressed through house form and



type, whereas social study focuses on settlement pattern and social organization (Yu, 2001). If we review the two tendencies on a more detailed level, more specific methods can be sorted relatively, such as the approaches of historical archaeology, geography, ethnology, anthropology, folklore, etc. Since Chinese scholars have a centuries-old tradition of dialectic thinking and ideologies, focusing more on cultural study, domestic research usually concerns diverse types of building per se and their historical traditions. Through long accumulation, Chinese academics have achieved a large quantity of data collection, but their research has lacked detailed fieldwork and analysis.

Apart from static description, classification and superficial exploration of cultural meanings, Naxi courtyard study has suffered from the hierarchy implicitly permeating domestic academia, and from a lack of appropriate analytical devices. Overlooking the unique socio-cultural context of Naxi development, previous research has often confused their research angles and methods with those applied in the Han courtyard.

Criticism

After summing up these reviews, the study will specify the limitations of the previous research, and then point out the gaps in the field:

(1) Less attention to changes of dwelling form

Previous research has often focused on Lijiang Old City (Dayan, 大研) and its surrounding areas, rather than including the whole Lijiang area, which accommodates various groups of Naxi and diverse types of Naxi courtyard. They simply see the Naxi



courtyard as a transplantation of the Han style *siheyuan* or no more than a sinicized local style similar to that of *Dali* (大理) and *Kunming* (昆明). Thus, most scholars neglect to record and explore the formal changes of Naxi dwelling that have taken place in the “greater Lijiang area” for a long time, cutting the historical relations between diverse Naxi traditions.

(2) Simple over-emphasis on sinicization since the Qing dynasty

Only a few studies (Daffner, 1992; Jiang, 1997 and Knapp, 2000) have paid attention to the evolution of the Naxi dwelling form. However, they all simply emphasize that the formal changes are the results of sinicization since the Qing dynasty. They differ from each other only in the sense that Chinese scholars see the changes as Naxi actively accepting the Han style, whereas western scholars see it as passive sinicization. All of them neglect to explore the intrinsic factors within the Naxi socio-cultural context that may have an impact on dwelling formal changes.

(3) Little discussion on gender and space

For a considerably long period, most scholars have used a homological theory framework and method to study the Naxi courtyard form, similar to those used in studies of Han courtyards. Fewer have paid attention to the relationship of gender and space, even though this is quite important for studying the Naxi ethnic tradition, which is derived from a matrilineal society.

Briefly the thesis points out the gaps in Naxi dwelling studies here — that is, the lack of significant concern about house form changes, and the lack of an in-depth insight into the Naxi socio-cultural context and everyday life, by which we could effectively examine dwelling form changes.



2.2 Establishment of the theoretical foundation

Some important theories related to the selections or decisions regarding house form will be reviewed for establishing the theoretical foundation of this study, which will be carried out in three parts:

2.2.1 Review of theories of primary cultural dominance and their applications

House form is not simply the result of physical forces or any single causal factor, but is the consequence of a whole range of socio-cultural factors seen in their broadest terms...I will call the socio-cultural forces primary, and the others secondary or modifying.

This is what Rapoport called “socio-cultural forces primary” and the theory established in his 1969 work, ‘*House Form and Culture*’.

Vernacular architecture comprises the dwellings and all other buildings of the people which are related to their environmental contexts and available resources are customarily owner- or community-built, utilizing traditional technologies. All forms of vernacular architecture are built to meet specific needs, accommodating the values, economies and ways of living of the cultures that produce them.

In addition, what Oliver defined as “vernacular architecture” and his ‘*Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World*’ published in 1997, they are two milestone representatives among the theories of primary cultural dominance. These studies



focused on cultural meanings and saw vernacular architecture as the transmissions of culture, and gave an integrative method by which the house form and built environment organize rather than simply attribute them to a single force. They claim that house form can often express culture by a certain essence of style.

Cited in many studies on house form and culture around the world since the 1960s, the theory of primary cultural dominance has been one of the most important and influential theoretical foundations upon which architectural scholars have carried out their vernacular research. By reading their numerous studies, people became to generally comprehend the diversified dwelling traditions and cultures expressed by numerous house forms. For example, Jiang and Yang introduced the theory in their individual works in 1997 to discuss the cultural pluralism of vernacular houses in Yunnan Province, as well in Lijiang area.

Based on the theory of primary cultural dominance, in his 1987 and 1992 studies on Penghu (澎湖) and Jinmen (金門) traditional houses, Weijen Wang discussed the relationship between formal changes and context. He considers that the design of vernacular architecture is the result of an incomplete linear process of “imitating + modifying” on prototype — that is over many centuries such a prototype had gradually fit their cultures by an intermittent though persistent series of corrections. This is a state of equilibrium. When the context changes, the misfit between the context and the form provides an incentive to change. Form-builders will only introduce changes under strong compulsion where there are powerful irritations in the existing forms that demand correction. So, when mode of production changed, a foreign culture was introduced, techniques were developed, or a family was divided,



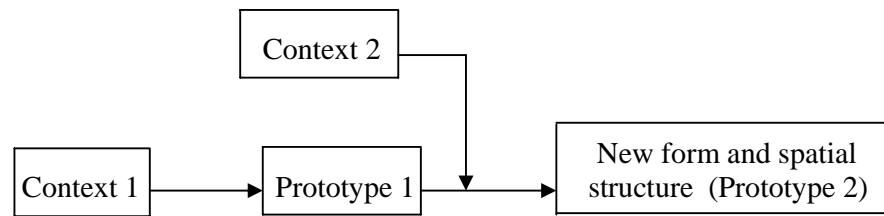


Fig. 2-3 Relationship between context and form (Weijen, Wang, 1987)

diverse new forms and hybrid structures were usually built with different degradation processes of the traditional form. The new context corrects the prototype of the vernacular architecture and causes the formation of the new form that fits the new context much better (Fig. 2-3). In theory, the process of adaptation is eventually bound to reach the equilibrium of well-fitting forms (p90~93). As for Steward's theory of multi-linear cultural evolution, Wang also applies it to discussing formal changes over time. The diagram illustrating this process in Wang's study will be utilized for our exploration of formal changes in Naxi dwellings (Fig. 2-4).

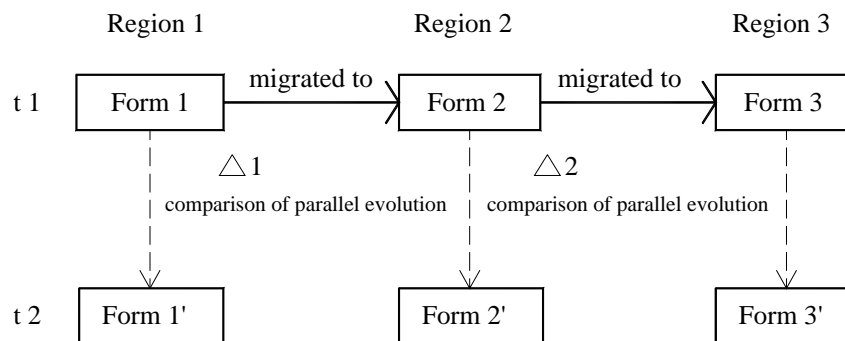


Fig. 2-4 Structural relationship of multilineal evolution (Weijen, Wang, 1987)

2.2.2 Review on developed theories of socio-cultural dominance

Following Rapoport (1969), academics continued their studies in vernacular as culture on a higher level of spatial logic or structure.

Among the subsequent studies, one important work published in 1975 was Henry Glassie's "Folk Housing in Middle Virginia", which is considered to be a landmark study dealing with vernacular architecture. In this analysis of eighteenth-century vernacular houses in Middle Virginia, Glassie presented a revolutionary and carefully constructed methodology for looking at houses and interpreting from them the people who built and used them. From our earliest days we are taught that history began as soon as people began to write down information. However, Glassie believed that history's ideal should be the story of all people. In the absence of writing, the world of artifacts can fill in the gap, challenging us with as many questions as written material, and providing answers as well. The work of Henry Glassie relies on this proposition, and upon one specific type of artifact — the building. After he selected the area for study, Glassie recorded about 200 old houses there, developed a transformational grammar of traditional house designs, and examined the area's architectural stability and change. He suggested a set of constructive rules about house building from Noam Chomsky's studies of language, so that a vernacular building could reproduce an accepted and known pattern. His method, which he calls a "structural" approach, looks closely at the form each artifact takes and the rules by which it is made. For instance, he first makes the basic observation that every building he surveyed for the book uses a geometric square or some variation thereof. On this basis, he divides the houses into group X, which uses a full square; group Y, which uses less than a full square, and Z, which adds to it. After plentiful illustration, he found that the houses became more formal and less related to their environment at the same time as the area's established political, economic, and religious institutions were disintegrating. It is as though the builders of the houses were deliberately trying to impose order on the



surrounding chaotic world. He gave less attention to changes in fashion and to practical matters. He suggested that the physical activity of the vernacular building had become the means by which the abstract culture was transmitted into material or spatial forms of building. Glassie's theory and his "structural" approach provide us with a span-new constructed methodology for interpreting house types.

Another review of the progress of the theory of socio-cultural dominance is the self-development of his 1969 theory by Rapoport himself during the past 30 years. In his paper published in the periodical "Housing, Theory and Society" in 2001, Rapoport gives a detailed interpretation of his persisting efforts in the field. The paper takes a particular conceptual and methodological approach to the relation of form/culture, through a framework based on culture, to a series of highly specific cultural and social variables. Rapoport suggests that it is impossible to relate "culture" or "socio-culture" to house form (or any built environment), because these concepts are too broad,

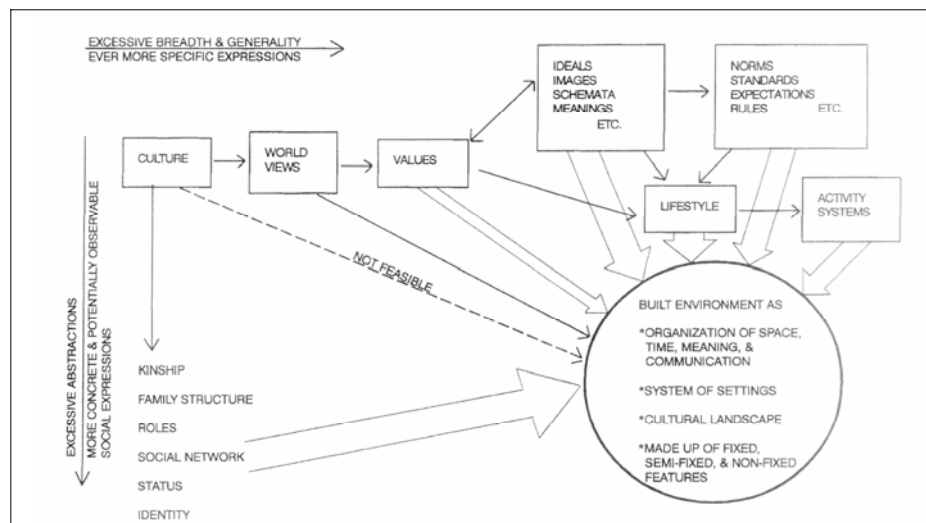


Fig. 2-5 Dismantling of "culture" and relating its expressions to the built environment (Rapoport, 2001)

general and abstract. More specific and concrete variables derived by dismantling “culture” are then related easily to house, house choices and preferences, group differences, etc. He then illustrates his dismantled culture in a version of several cultural variables either concrete (kinship, family structure, roles, social network, status, identity and institutions) or general (world views, values, and lifestyle and activity system) listed on a vertical or horizontal axis, then acting on house form (or the built environment) individually or interactionally (Fig. 2-5).

If we see physical determinism as simply trying to “attribute house form and space organization to a single physical cause”, there is a similarly excessive enlargement of cultural dominance within Rapoport’s 1969 discussion. The physical and non-physical contexts accommodated by every type of house all over the world is so daedal that if we continue limiting in such dualism, we will not find the truth underlying superficial changes. According to Alexander (1964), the human background which defines the need for new buildings, and the physical environment provided by the available sites, make a context for the form of the environment. Rapoport’s 1969 theory also put forward the similar idea that there are two sets of factors influencing the formation and transformation of the house form: socio-cultural factors — the decisive factor — and physical factors — the modifying factor.

In fact, many vernacular scholars have faced similar questions when dealing with their own research objects. Not only do they have to avoid plunging into dualism, but they also need to conform or peel off a broad, general and abstract concept of “culture” or “context” that decides form, to explore the truth they pursue. Six groups of factors that could have an impact on house form were listed in Weijun Wang’s



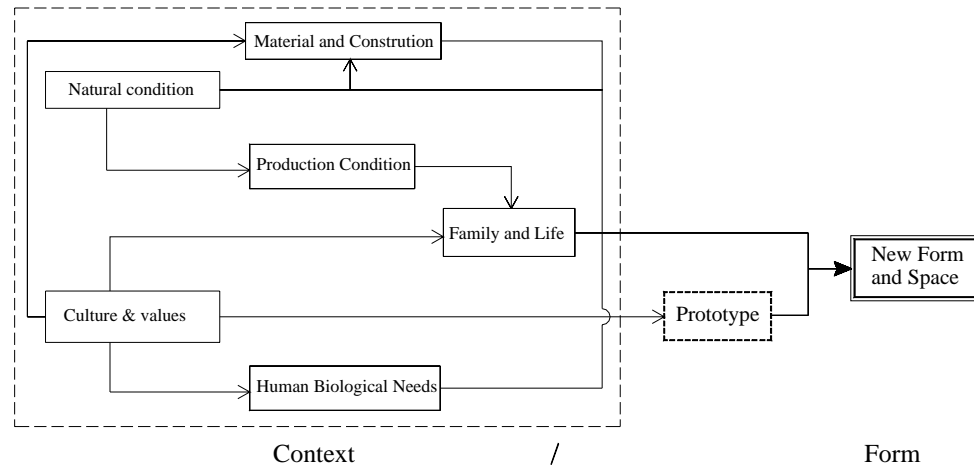


Fig. 2-6 Theoretical model of context/form (Wang, 1986)

1986 study, jumping out of dualism and greatly helping the discussion on the Penghu (澎湖) courtyard form (Fig.2-6). As for the issue addressed in this study, after dismantling the general and abstract concept of the socio-cultural factors impacting the Naxi dwelling form, we find that some close relationships exist between one or two factors sorted in distinct groups. The relationships and their interactions, such as mode of production, women status, family structure and lifestyle, are the key influence on the formal change. Thus, this study might revise Wang's 1986 context/form diagram to a more concrete level, like this (Fig. 2-7):

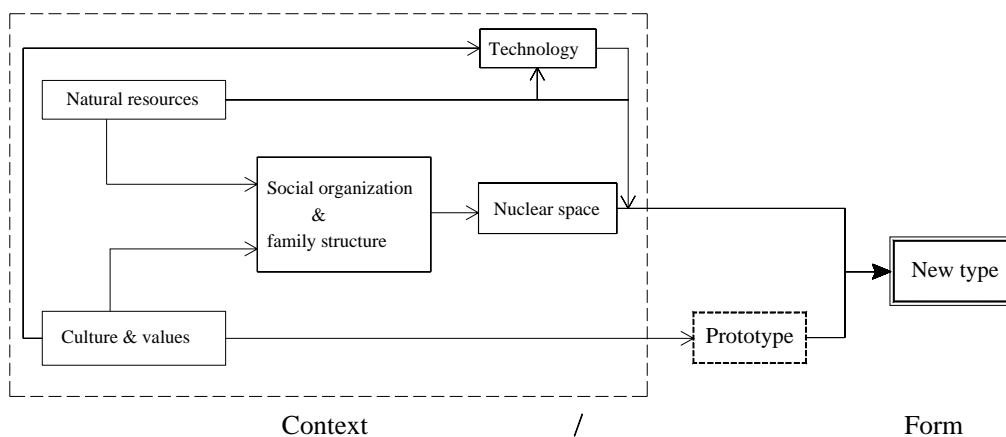


Fig. 2-7 Hypothetical model of context/form of Naxi courtyard in Lijiang area

This is a concrete but simplified framework, which omits those factors less related to the studied issue, while putting emphases on the primary variables that might have impacts on the Naxi spatial ideology and their house form. Next, the thesis will anatomize the three concepts of *mode of production*, *women status* (which are accommodated within “social organization & family structure” in the diagram above) and *nuclear space*, as well as discuss the close relationship among them.

2.2.3 Close relationship among the three variables

Mode of production and women status

Anthropologist J.H. Steward put forward two concepts of “ecological adaptation” and “cultural core” in his famous “*Theory of culture change*” (1984). He defined “ecological adaptation” as the process in which human beings utilize production techniques and environmental resources as their means of livelihood. He pointed out that it was natural resources which made the mode of production change. He also listed three fundamental procedures of the cultural ecology method: 1) the interrelationship of exploitative or productive technology and environment must be analyzed; 2) the behavior patterns involved in the exploitation of a particular area by means of a particular technology must be analyzed; and 3) the extent to which the behavior patterns entailed in exploiting the environment affect other aspects of culture must be ascertained. After exploring the relationship between production techniques, natural resources and the working (or behavior) mode, Steward raised his view of the “cultural core”, which he considered as a character most related to production or economic activities, including mode of politics, society and religion. Such an



aggregation is just the key to culture change, that is, ecological adaptation is the power of culture change.

This is an important argument for our study on Naxi culture and Naxi house forms. It is obvious that *mode of production* is ascribed into “ecological adaptation” according to Steward’s point of view. As an important facet most related to production, *women status* shall be considered one of the diverse features composing the “cultural core”. What is the relationship between the two? As a Marxist-feminist, Frederick Engels (1942) analyzed that changes in economic production transformed women from independent household managers to subordinate workers in privately “male-owned” families (cited in Spain, 1992). In hunting and gathering society, women contributed a large share of food to the household more routinely than did men, who were only sporadically successful at hunting. The matrilineal family structure very much benefited from production and reproduction, and the degree of gender inequality was low in such nonindustrial societies because little surplus existed on which to base a stratification system. By the time societies developed through the horticultural stage and into the agricultural (in the form of the plow and heavy draft animals), then industrial and commercial stages, technology reduced women’s contribution to production in relation to men’s. “World’s historic defeat of the female sex” allows men to acquire private property. The concept of paternity was established to include the possession of women and children so that private goods could be passed from one generation to the next. Patriarchy was institutionalized in the nuclear family and became the model for men’s power in other realms, which ensured women’s lowly status in such a male hierarchical order of society.



According to Marxism, *mode of production* is the means by which human beings obtain their physical needs from the natural world for their survival and reproduction, covering four important elements emerging in a producing process — subjects of production, instruments used in production, relation of labors and products distribution. For example, human beings in “savage” society used simple tools made from stone or wood to gather and hunt, then shared productions (food) together; whereas in “civilized” society, people who have capital and labors usually possess most of the productions. So, these four elements will be used to examine the condition of a local production in the thesis. Productive subjects and instruments can reflect the local ecological environment and technical conditions, whereas the relation of labors and the distribution of products are the primary factors that can decide or influence many facets of the local social system and family structure, including stratification, hierarchy, gender status, marriage, right of inheritance, etc. For this study, *mode of production* influences *women status* in the Naxi family most directly, which is manifested through the Naxi family structure and their gendered dwelling space.

Spain (1992) considered “gender” as referring to the socially and culturally constructed distinctions that accompany the biological differences associated with a person’s sex. While biological differences are constant over time and across cultures, the social implications of gender differences vary historically and socially (p3). Sociologists agree with the hypothesis proposed by feminist scholars, namely that status is unequally distributed among members of society and women status is thus a component of gender stratification, as is men’s. Exceeding much of the previous research, Spain (1992) measured women’s status successfully according to three variables depending on the detail available in ethnographies — power in kinship



network, inheritance rights, and control of labor and property. Power within kinship networks is a measure of women's leadership for societies in which there are few positions of political and religious authority (Ross, 1986, cited in Spain, 1992), and it emerges as the type of status most strongly associated with spatial segregation. This ability to influence people outside the immediate family demonstrates participation in the public sphere. Inheritance of property is a common measure of women's ability to control wealth, and control of labor and property is a scale most heavily weighted toward the control of male, female, and joint labor. The measurement of women's status varies depending on the detail available in ethnographies, but the three variables are used consistently in qualitative analyses, and they will also be analyzed as the essential aspects for measuring women status in Naxi families in this study.

Women status and space segregation

Space is essential to social science; spatial relations exist only because social processes exist. The spatial and social aspects of a phenomenon are inseparable (Massey, 1984; Dear and Wolch, 1989). Hillier pointed out in his 1984 work that the spatial structure of buildings embodies knowledge of social relations, or the taken-for-granted rules that govern relations of individuals to each other and to society, and dwellings reflect ideals and realities about relationships between women and men within the family and in society. Gender-status distinctions therefore are played out within the home as well as outside of it. More recently, feminist scholars have looked at the built environment (or spatial institution) as a reflection of gender relationships and power as well (Spain, 1992; Ardener, ed. 1997). Spain asserted that gendered spaces themselves shape, and are shaped by, daily activities. After qualitative



descriptions of five nonindustrial societies and quantitative analysis of cultures from the Human Relations Area Files, Spain argued that initial status differences between women and men create certain types of gendered spaces, and power in kinship networks emerges as the type of status most strongly associated with spatial segregation. Spatial segregation is one of the mechanisms by which a group with greater power can maintain its advantage over a group with less power. Most status differences are reinforced by subtle forms of spatial segregation.

Spatial segregation emerged early in nonindustrial era, when people depended on hunting and gathering, horticulture, agriculture, or fishing as their means of livelihood. Such societies often separate women and men within the dwelling (Oliver, 1987, cited in Spain, 1992). The division of labor in nonindustrial societies is simultaneously spatial and gendered. Men and women tend to perform different tasks divided fairly consistently along gender role stereotypes. These views on spatial segregation and gendered space are foundations for the research into this area.

Nuclear space and women status

As defined in chapter 1 above, *nuclear space* must be: ① the central place where family members gather and move about, ② the space most utilized (especially by the head of household) in daily domestic life, ③ the most sacred space for important rituals in the life cycle as well as in the local religion, and ④ the dominant center for spatial organization that influences the entire building type. In fact, many different dwellings or courtyard houses all over the world may have this kind of space to



organize the whole living space, nevertheless distinct in diverse places, shapes, dimensions or symbolic meanings.

In the field survey in Lijiang area, this study found that there also seemed to be such a *nuclear space* in Naxi courtyard, which most relates to gendered space. *Nuclear space* usually accommodates a clear spatial segregation, and is usually located in the main building of a courtyard complex. So, *nuclear space* and *women status* may have a close relationship in Naxi dwellings. Through exploring the spatial segregation and gendered space displayed within the *nuclear space* of a Naxi dwelling, this study may refine the spatial ideologies of diverse Naxi ethnic groups, which influence on courtyard space organization profoundly.

2.3 Reviewing “type” and “typology”

This section will review the concepts of “type” and “typology”, as well as the “typological approach” for selecting an effective research method. By focusing on gendered space, the thesis will introduce the new angle of using *women status* to study the Naxi courtyard form.

2.3.1 “Type” and “typology”

A clear understanding of the definition and concept of “type” is necessary to the discussion of typology and its uses in studying formal changes.



There are many definitions of type in numerous papers written by architects and theoreticians. This review begins with the definition of type described by the *Oxford English Dictionary*. “The English word *type* comes from the Greek *typos*, meaning impression or figure, with the connotation of striking or beating” (cited by Perez, 1991). Type can be simply defined as a concept that explains a group of objects characterized by the same formal structure (Moneo, 1978). Based on the concepts of type, *typology* is defined as a system of types used to classify or interpret individuals by creating relationships among type categories (Schneekloth, 1989). The word *typology* actually suggests the meaning of a historical change process.

Typological studies were first initiated as a design tool in the 18th century French Enlightenment, and were used to counter the break in the historical continuity and the separation in the building process between the designer and the client. The enlightenment generated two ideas that represent two sides of the problem: the functional approach and the formal approach. Interest in urban fabric as an object of rigorous study and a tool in design methodology began to emerge toward the end of the 19th century and extended through the 1970s. Three schools in Europe — the University of Birmingham, the Italian school and the school of Versailles in France — began to elaborate theories for the understanding of the built environment and the relation between its elements.

In typological study, different approaches are characterized by theory of use (such as: architecture, urban design and landscape). More usually, the typological approach has been used to analyze small towns’ fabric (Conzen, 1969) and to crisis Modern movement (Muratori, 1982), or to establish formulation of the design process in early



time. In architecture, typology is used as a theoretical tool to group building forms that share general physical characteristics.

2.3.2 “Typology” in research of vernacular architecture

Oliver discussed *type* and *typology* of vernacular architecture in his 1997 work. He pointed out that vernacular architecture is as susceptible to classification as is any other kind of human artifact it presents special problems due to the complexity of the subject. He also indicated that form is the only typological classification relevant to architecture, however it still offers opportunities for structural, material and spatial typological analyses. Oliver further reminded every reader that the additional factor that affects the nature of type is its development over time, and sometimes seriation in temporal sequence is one of the most frequent means whereby architectural typologies are devised. Oliver listed several important typologies of vernacular architecture in this section. They are elevations, plans, spatial relationships, structural types and uses and functions. A plan can communicate its relation with form and elevation, and the spatial relationship is especially significant in functional and social terms. In a spatial relationship, how internal volumes are combined or made distinct reflects the social complexity of the culture that uses them.

Glassie’s analytical system on house structural innovation in Middle Virginia (1975) can be seen as a typological analysis of house form changes. In his analysis of eighteenth-century vernacular houses of Middle Virginia, Glassie implied a set of constructive rules about house building. After a preliminary survey, he recorded every house in the study area he selected, no matter what its age. The recording included the



location of each house, the direction in which it faced and a drawing or photo of each of its sides. He suggested an adaptation of the concept which he calls “architectural competence”, so that a vernacular building could reproduce an accepted and known pattern. He used a geometric square and its variation, by adding or cutting, to explain his “architectural competence” and the interrelationship of his total 17 form classifications. Plentiful handwritten charts demonstrated Glassie’s detailed survey and thorough research, as well as helping him understand the changes of socio-culture conditions when those formal types occurred. In his 1975 work, not only did he develop a transformational grammar of traditional house designs, but he also examined the area’s architectural stability and change.

Wang’s 1987 and 1992 studies on the courtyard forms of *Penghu* and *Jinmen* also adopt the typological approach to show the trends of formal evolutions. Based on survey samples, Wang categorized the house types by their formal and functional characteristics, and then arranged them chronologically to demonstrate their evolutionary relationships. By closely examining changes in the spatial features of traditional courtyard houses in the two areas, the studies set up a causal link between context and form, or identified a transformation of the “mode of production” and “spatial ideology” underlying the formal changes.

2.3.3 The typological approach applied to Naxi dwelling research

For the objective of tracing the path of how the courtyard house form changed in the Lijiang area, this study considers the typological approach to be a proper method by which we can survey, categorize and analyze the Naxi courtyard and its



transformation thoroughly and in detail. Among five typologies listed and discussed by Oliver (1997), plan and spatial relationship can be used to define the nuclear space and dwelling form explicitly. They will be recorded and analyzed in most detail in this study. There are many criteria to classify form or space elements into categories. In response to the purpose for this study, typology and its transformation, this thesis will select three group criteria: “external form”, “intrinsic space” and “nuclear space”.

- external form: plan, erection, height, roof (form, dimension and material)
- intrinsic space: indoor space division, function distribution, section relation (dimension and material)
- nuclear space: the central space family members most gather and utilize, most symbolizing and governing the spatial organization of the whole dwelling

The three groups of criteria will give us guidelines for the fieldwork survey and analysis in following chapters. In the selected study area, external forms (especially the plans of the courtyards) will be surveyed and recorded as much detailedly as possible. *Nuclear space* will also be identified by recording and analyzing the families’ daily lives to explore *women status* and the spatial relationship of the whole courtyard complex.

2.4 Scope of study and three subproblems

Having established the theoretical framework, this section will first select a study area scope and a study time scope, and then divide the research problem into three



subproblems. Finally, some detailed methods will be proposed in respect to the research procedure and the data collection.

2.4.1 Scope of study

The study concerns with the typological transformation of Naxi courtyard houses. To make the study scope clear, this section gives a more explicit explanation with regard to several concepts:

The concept of “Naxi courtyard”

In this research, the concept of “Naxi courtyard” covers the courtyard forms that have ever occurred in the three selected survey spots (Yongning, Baidi and Lijiang) from the north to the south Lijiang area, both in the past and now. This is important for this study, which aims to explore the formal changes in Naxi courtyard houses more comprehensively.

Study area

Lijiang area is comprised of four counties, which accommodate various groups of Naxi and diverse types of Naxi courtyard. Lijiang Naxi ethnic groups live in a multiple socio-economic and cultural context with imbalanced development of production mode and multiple facets of tradition. Ethnographer He Zhonghua directly pointed out that there are three culture types existing in the Naxi cultural aggregation, represented by the Yongning type, the Baidi type and the Lijiang type (1991). In sociological and anthropological academia, one of the consensuses in recent Naxi



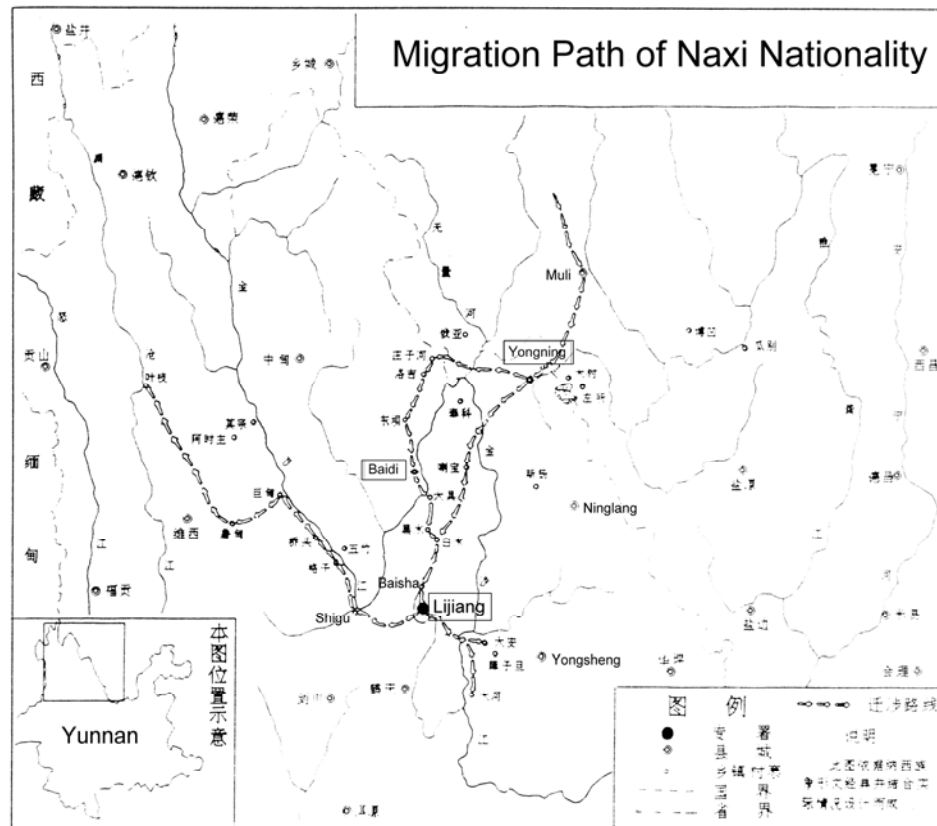


Fig. 2-8 Migration path of Naxi Nationality (Guo and He, 1999)

Naxi research is also dividing Lijiang area into three types of regions according to the differing degrees of development of their economy and culture (Guo, 1999 and Yang, 2001). Yongning, Baidi and Dayan are just the three centers and representatives of these regions.

Based on this point put forward by these scholars, the study will also use the three regions of Yongning, Baidi and Lijiang (including Dayan and surrounding areas) for carrying out the field survey and research. In order to identify the changes in the socio-cultural context and dwelling forms of this piece of Naxi-inhabited land, the migration path of the Naxi nationality (Fig. 2-8) is helpful in discussing such changes along both spatial and temporal axes.

Scope of time

In large quantities of literature review and field survey, the study finds that, whether in Yongning, Baidi or Lijiang, most of the existing dwelling houses were built in the last 300 years, from around the Qing dynasty until the present. Due to rapid socio-economic development in the past 100 years, Naxi courtyard form has changed greatly during this period. The study time therefore focuses on the past 100 years, especially on the second half of the last century. However, for some types of courtyard not existing substantively now, the study attempts to restore their forms through reviewing historical literature. As for the construction time of those very old courtyards, the householders will be asked to recall as exactly as possible. Unlike those grandiose and brilliant official buildings recorded in written material, seeking historical messages from occupants' dictation materials might be the effective method in surveying and recording these ordinary vernacular dwellings. Sometimes the survey cannot give out the exact year, but it does not influence arranging them in correct order relative to other different types.

2.4.2 Subproblems and research methods

This research mainly adopts a qualitative approach to carry out its analysis of formal changes in Naxi dwellings. In order to answer the main research problem, the thesis divides it into three subproblems. The first subproblem is “what are the differences between the three regions in women’s status” The second is “what are the differences between the three regions in ‘nuclear space’ and courtyard house form?” and the final



subproblem is “is there a significant relationship between women status and courtyard form changes?” The typological approach will be applied to survey, categorize and analyze Naxi courtyard forms and their changes in subproblem two.

Subproblem 1: what are the differences between the three regions in women’s status?

Subproblem 1 is a detailed introduction to socio-cultural context changes in Naxi history, mainly concerning the changes of *women status* attributed to mode progress in production. Data are mainly collected through historical literature and documentation review. Some information after 1949 can be gathered from government County Annals, yearbooks and various reports. Data are also supplemented by interviews with occupants of the courtyards visited, and with scholars who are famous in the field.

Mode of production is the key factor that can help us to slip the leash of any dualism and ideology to explore the truth that may influence many aspects of socio-cultural context. Closely related to a production process, data of productive subjects, instruments, relation of labors and distribution of products is collected and analyzed to identify the changes in production mode. Concretely, besides collecting general information on production in a certain region, the field survey will gather data regarding family size, number of labors, division of labors, farming tools, cropper varieties, and distribution of products from interviews with every Naxi family visited.

According to three variables which Spain (1992) applied to measure *women status* — power in kinship network, inheritance rights, and control of labor and property — this



section will examine more socio-cultural variables playing subsequent roles related to *women status*, such as marriage arrangement, family structure, kinship or kindred relation, lifestyle, customs, taboos, etc. By collecting and analyzing data in respect of these variables, the thesis may find out how *women status* has differed in terms of family and social networks. Thus, interviews with every Naxi family visited are also as important as reviewing historical literature and documents in data collection.

Subproblem 2: what are the differences between the three regions in ‘nuclear space’ and courtyard house form?

Typological analysis as well as large quantities of fieldwork is both necessary for this subproblem. The research design requires fieldwork to be carried out twice, in 2002 and 2003. Since Yongning and Baidi are located in rural areas, about 15 courtyard samples distributed across 2~4 villages are documented. As for Lijiang, 3 towns (Dayan, Shuhe and Baisha) and several villages are selected for study, giving a total of 60 courtyard samples for survey.

These field surveys cover the plan, erection, section, height, and roof of the courtyards. Some samples (one sample selected from one region series) are surveyed using a participant approach, such as living with a selected Naxi family for one day, or visiting the ceremony of installing the main girder of a new courtyard. Interviews with occupants, builders, officials and scholars cover times of building or rebuilding, space use, family size and structure, mode of production, inheriting and dividing, communication between occupants and builders, etc. These contents are included in an interview diagram designed elaborately before departure (see Appendix-1).



However, for some types of courtyard not existing substantively now, this study restores their forms through reviewing historical literature, maps, pedigree, etc., whereas for the construction time of visited courtyards, this study attempts to arrange them in the correct order relative to other types or variations.

By exploring spatial organization and tracing family members' daily activities, the study identifies the *nuclear spaces* and their dominance within the courtyard compounds. Following the three criteria defined for typological analyses, all recorded courtyard samples are ultimately examined and categorized.

Subproblem 3: is there a significant relationship between women status and courtyard form changes?

Based on studies on subproblems 1 and 2, the analytical model established in section 2.2.2 enables a systematic examination of the relationship between *mode of production*, *women status* (accommodated in “social organization and family structure”) and *nuclear space*. This section chronologizes or arranges those corresponding variables into the form/context model, and examines them closely to find out how *women status* played a role during the changing process of the Naxi dwelling form, whether is there any dynamic relationship existing among the three, and how other variables (such as family size, foreign culture, new material and techniques, etc.) interact within the socio-cultural context, so as to complement the analytical model.

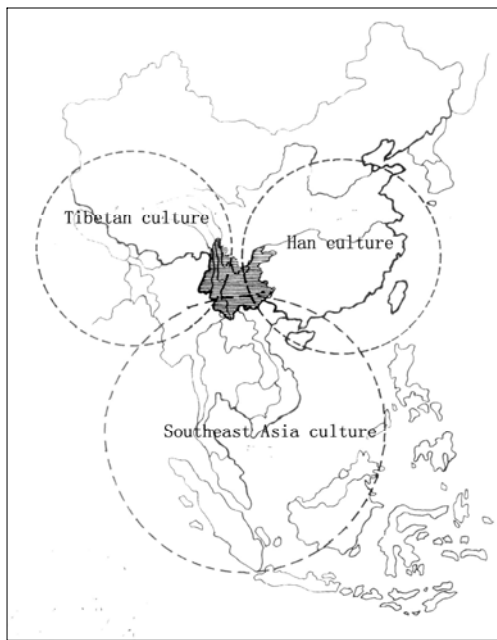


Chapter III A Women's History — the Socio-cultural

Conditions of the Naxi Ethnic Group in Lijiang Area

3.1 General socio-cultural conditions of the Naxi habitat — Lijiang area

Yunnan province, where most of the minorities in China live, is located in the southwest of China, and Lijiang is the primary area inhabited by the Naxi people in Yunnan. The unique geographical position has allowed several cultural spheres coexisting in this region historically (Fig. 3-1). Thus it is not difficult for us to understand the multiple and marginal nature of the socio-culture in Lijiang area.



Lijiang became a Naxi settlement in the late 12th century, although there has been a continuous human presence in this area since Paleolithic times. Some studies have suggested that the Naxi aborigines who first settled in Lijiang were ancient *Diqiang* (氐羌) nomad who migrated from the high northeast prairie (Fang, 2001 and Guo, 1999). Situated in the foothills of the Himalayas, Lijiang's

location was probably first chosen for its excellent water supply and proximity to a series of strategic passes that provide access to the plains. It has been a major trading center since early times, when it was a

staging point for “horse gangs” (马帮) on their way from Southeast Asia to Tibet and India. The three regions (Yongning, Baidi and Lijiang) selected for this study sit right on the migration path of the ancient Naxi tribe, from the northeast to the south (see Fig.2-8).

In the Yuan dynasty (in about the 13th century A.D.), Lijiang was clearly starting to be affected by Han culture from inland China. The advantageous location, topography and mild climate made the south Lijiang (Dayan) Naxi learn to adopt sophisticated modes of production and advanced irrigation systems early. However, situations in other lake or mountain regions north of Lijiang were rather different. The unbalanced development in economic production may have become a cause bringing about an unbalanced situation of socio-cultural evolution (He, 1991; Guo, 1999 and Fang, 2001).

Sociologists and anthropologists became interested in the Naxi matriarchal social structure and *women status* in Yongning and Baidi, and started to study in these fields in the 1920s (Rock, 1924; Goullart, 1957; Jackson, 1979 and McKhann, 1995). One of the consensuses among these scholars is that matrilineality was once characteristic of the Lijiang Naxi. As mentioned in the last chapter, recent Chinese Naxi studies have commonly divided Lijiang area into three regions according to the levels of development of their economy and culture: Yongning, Baidi and Lijiang. This division mainly involves the aspects of ecological condition, ethnic group, migration, mode of production, family structure, etc. Based upon this foundation, this chapter will therefore examine the historical and current situations of these aspects, mainly focusing on ecological conditions, mode of production, Naxi women and their status



in family and social networks, so as to find out how *women status* differ from each other in the three selected regions. This is also a background for an exploration of Naxi women's role in the spatial use and the formal changes of their dwellings.

3.2 Yongning and Yongning Naxi — Moso

Before introducing some general conditions of Yongning and the Yongning Naxi, it is useful to state a fact that is common knowledge in the Chinese Naxi ethnological field. That is, the Naxi group living in the Yongning area is always classified as a branch of the Naxi minority, however they call themselves “Moso”. Some western scholars have also used the term “Moso” in their research on the Yongning Naxi.

3.2.1 General situation of Yongning

Ecological conditions

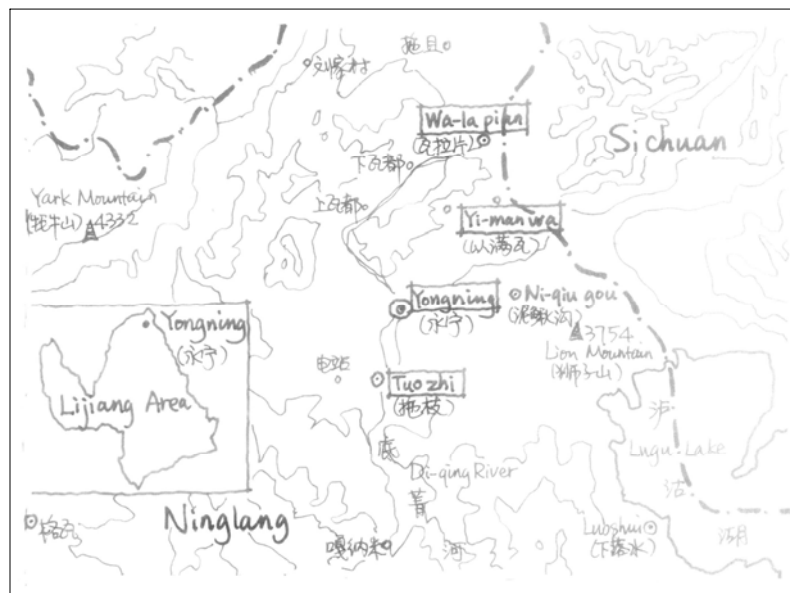


Fig.3-2 Map of Yongning

Yongning is located in a highland basin and lake area near the Yunnan-Sichuan border and the upper reaches of the Jinsha River. Yongning proper, the center of Moso culture, is a basin of 41.23 square kilometers at an elevation of 2,650 meters, surrounded by mountains up to 4,332 meters above sea level. Next to the basin is Lugu Lake (泸沽湖), a plateau lake of 48.45 square kilometers straddling the Yunnan-Sichuan border (Ninglang County annals, 1993).

Most of the Moso who live in Ninglang County are concentrated in what we call the greater Yongning area. In spite of the change, the Moso are still by far the dominant group in this area. According to the latest official statistics, by December 31, 1999, the Moso in the greater Yongning area numbered 10,749, accounting for 36.9% of the total population of 29,112.

Yongning is a place with little rainfall (less than 600mm), average annual extreme maximum and minimum temperatures of 20° and 4°, and an overall annual mean of 11.7°. Such dry highland ecological condition obviously limits local farming varieties and other sidelines.

Historical development

According to Chinese historical sources, the Naxi (Moso) arrived in northwestern Yunnan around 24 C.E., settling first in the Yongning area. Later, during the Tang Dynasty, they are said to have extended their influence to the Lijiang plain (McKhann, 1995:p54). Before the twentieth century, the Moso (Yongning Naxi) were continuously controlled by the *tusi* (土司) family and its collateral relatives, and



except for occasional skirmishes and wars with some neighboring groups, had little interaction with the outside society. This relatively isolated situation remained until the late 1920s and early 1930s when the militant Yi (彝) in the adjacent mountains started to fund their acquisition of arms and ammunition by selling self-produced opium. Such isolated situation also limited Moso's economic and social development.

The closed condition of the Moso has been broken since the 1950s, and Yongning has started to interact with the outside world. Although the traditional society changed under the guidance of communist ideology between 1956~1978, most of the Moso traditions have been restored in the process of opening and reform.

3.2.2 Mode of production in Yongning

Yongning farming developed since early. Cursory cultivation has been the most important mode of production within the entire economic body of the Yongning Naxi till today; stock raising, fishing, hunting and gathering are subordinate.



The Yongning Naxi (Moso) developed irrigation agriculture and effective fishing techniques long ago. Iron farming tools are generally used in cultivating, such as the “two cattles raise cowlstaff” (“二牛抬杠”, Fig. 3-3),

Fig.3-3 Two cattles raise cowlstaff (He,2000) “single cattle plough” (“单牛犁”), and “four plough” (“四节犁”). However, farming machines are not yet used popularly, and are often hired and shared by several families in the busy season. Produced from such

high, dry land, Moso produce in recent decades includes corn, potato, highland barley, buckwheat, oats, barnyard millet, as well as a variety of beans and vegetables. Most of the land was possessed by the *tusi* (土司) family before liberation. Within the *tusi* system, commoners and slaves were other lower classes under the *tusi*, and few of them could have their own land.

As Yongning is located at such a high altitude, stock raising has been a comparatively insignificant sideline in Moso's economy for a long time. Several families collaborate in a pasture unit, and alternately appointed graziers take the responsibility of animal husbandry. Fishing is another important sideline, especially in



fishing season (Fig.3-4). Aftertax fishing products are equally distributed among Moso commoners. This is the remains of the ancient principle of collective production and equal distribution in clan society, which is also the principle in hunting and gathering. It was always women and children who took part in gathering activities; however this mode of production has become less important in Moso's economy today. Moso's handicraft industry is fairly undeveloped, not yet having been divorced from agriculture. Long-distance "horse gangs" transport and trade was popular until the 1950s.

The basic unit of production in Yongning is the family. Women's role in the productive process is important and decisive. Every matriarch takes charge of her family's labor distribution and production management. The family with more labors usually has an advantage in farming, so the Yongning Naxi often collaborate in groups of 2 or 3 families called "*yidi*" ("依底") to overcome low fertility and natural

disasters. Some of these collaborations are established upon “*A-xia*” affinities, which usually last more than ten years. Families within a “*yidi*” often share farm cattle and young male labors in turn in the busy seasons, without any payment. After paying taxes to the *tusi*, products are always distributed and inherited collectively by the whole Moso matrilineal family.

3.2.3 Moso family structure and women status

The matriarchal family structure and the special sexual relationship have existed in many Yongning Naxi families until the present. In this structure, Naxi (Moso) women take charge of the whole family and have a prominent and high status. According to demographic data from 1956, 40% ~ 50% of families were matriarchal families, 30% ~ 40% were maternal and paternal co-existing families, and 10% were purely patrilineal families.

Power within kinship networks

The most conspicuous feature of Moso society is a duolocal visiting sexual system called “*zouhun*” (“走婚”), literally meaning “walking back and forth”, which differs from marriage in that it is noncontractual, nonobligatory, and nonexclusive. As the term suggests, the relationship normally does not involve cohabitation. The common practice is for the two partners to work and eat in their own matrilineal households. The man visits the women, stays with her overnight, and goes back to his own household the next morning. The only prerequisite is a mutual agreement between the man and the woman to allow sexual access to each other. No ceremony, social



recognition, or exchange of prestations is required to initiate or terminate a “*zouhun*” relationship. Although it is not unusual for the man to help the woman’s household in busy agricultural seasons, it is not a requirement. In principle, the relationship does not affect the partners’ socioeconomic status and does not commit them to an exclusive or enduring union. Children born in such a union belong to the mother’s household. Under no circumstances is a child considered illegitimate (Gesang, 1999).



As both cause and effect of “*zouhun*”, most Moso live in grand households without any conjugal units (Fig. 3-5). Such a grand household usually consists of 3~4 generations and 7~12 matrilineal

Fig. 3-5
A big Moso matrilineal family (He,2000) blood relatives. Members include the mother’s mother and her siblings; the mother and her siblings, and the children of the mother’s mother’s sisters; the ego and the ego’s siblings, and the mother’s sisters’ children; the children of the female members of the ego’s generation, etc. In a typical Moso household, female adult members receive their male visitors at home, while male members go out to visit their female partners (who call each other “*A-xia*”) in their homes. This unique family structure and marriage arrangement are important factors that embody women’s high status, as well as having a profound impact on daily family activities and the dwelling space.

In anthropology, relative appellation is another index for examining *women status*. Many kinship and relatives’ appellations for paternal lines do not exist within Moso kinship terminology, whereas appellations for maternal lines are in quite popular

usage (Table 3-1). In Moso tradition, the matrilineal blood relationship is rather more important than the affinal relationship, for example: a child calls his (or her) own mother and all her sisters “A-mi” and a woman calls her children “mo” or “ruo”, the same as when she calls her sisters’ children. Affinal relatives are often not involved with their kinship relatives, so it is impossible to hear the appellations uncle, cousin or nephew in a Moso family.

Table 3-1 Yongning Naxi kinship terminology

Moso title (in Pinyin)	Implied meaning
A- si	great-grandmother and her sisters
A- yi	grandmother, her sisters and all A-si’s daughters
A- pu	grandmother’s brothers and all A-yi’s brothers
A- mi	mother and her sisters
A- wu	mother’s brothers and all A-pu’s sons
mo	daughters and mother’s sisters’ daughters
ruo	sons and mother’s sisters’ sons
Ru- mi	granddaughters and ego’s sisters
	granddaughters
Ru- wu	grandsons and ego’s sisters’ grandsons
A- mu	elder sisters and mother’s sisters
	elder daughters
A- mu	elder brothers and mother’s sisters’
	elder brothers
Ge- mi	younger sisters and mother’s sisters
	younger sisters
Ge- ri	younger brothers and mother’s sisters
	younger brothers
A- xia	partner

(from Gesang, ed., 1999)

Inheritance of property

Property is collectively inherited and owned by all the matrilineal members of the family (Gesang, 1999). As a result, for Moso society, it is the number and gender of the entire group of children born to co-resident sisters that are significant, not the size



and configuration of any individual woman's offspring set. Daughters are important in a Moso family. The first girl in a generation receives some special consideration, since she is the first guarantee of the continuity of the hearth. A household would be concerned if not even a single daughter had been born to any of its child-bearing age women. At this time, a foster daughter would be adopted for inheritance.

Control of labor and property

The household economy is managed and supervised by the household head: usually the mother or the most capable woman presides over rituals, production, daily life and the keeping of property. The matriarch usually distributes family labors every morning and calls all the members together in the evening to discuss family affairs. She supervises the income and expenditure of the family, and she most certainly knows the storing places and quantities of family property. The mother's brother, on the other hand, takes charge of social affairs, the children's sexual arrangements, and trades of land and estate.

In the Moso's *mode of production*, even with a comparatively large household size, Moso families nevertheless work together quite corporately. Under administration of the matriarch, household labors are distributed by different genders and ages. Moso women are responsible for both the administration and execution of production: females under 13 years old work lightly as graziers; adult women engage in farming, gathering and houseworks; elderly women often breed pigs and chickens and look after children. On the other hand, boys often take responsibility for animal husbandry; adult men primarily engage in farming and long-distance trading, or some religious



practice as “lama” (“喇嘛”); elderly men often play a role as consultants for farming production. This thesis thus considers that it is the highland ecological conditions and limited interaction with the outside world that decided the development of Yongning’s productive mode, and the big matrilineal family and high status of women is just the adaptation of the Moso to survival in this natural environment.

3.3 Baidi and Baidi Naxi

3.3.1 General situation of Baidi

Ecological conditions

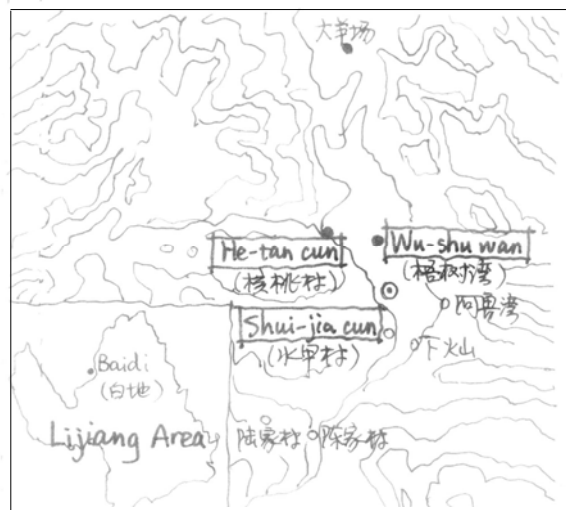


Fig. 3-6 Map of Baidi

Baidi, the capital of the Sanba Naxi ethnic township, is situated at the foot of the Haba Snow Mountain (哈巴雪山). Sanba is about 120km north of Lijiang city, covering an area of 977 square kilometers. The topography of Sanba is typically a mountainous and forested region, also appearing high in the northwest and low in the southeast.

Living with more than 7 different minorities, the Sanba Naxi accounts for 62.52 percent of the population or 9794 people. Baidi is the capital of six administrative villages or 75 natural villages.

In general, Sanba has a plateau climate. The dense forest and high altitude ecological environment here give Sanba a comparatively milder plateau climate than that of Yongning. At 2380m, the average annual extreme maximum and minimum temperatures of Sanba are 20° and 6.0°, and the overall annual mean is 13°. The annual rainfall on Sanba is 682.63 mm, and the annual non-frost period is 217 days (Zhongdian County annals, 1997).

Historical development

Whether in the geographical or temporal context, Baidi seems to be at a transition spot in the historical or cultural development of the Naxi. Along the Naxi immigration path (see Fig. 2-8), Baidi is a middle station southwest of Yongning and north of Lijiang. Due to a convenient interaction with outside society, Baidi's socio-economical development occurred earlier than that of Yongning, but later than that of Lijiang. Acting as a buffer zone between inland China, Tibet and Yunnan, Baidi was controlled under Tibetan suzerain during the Tang Dynasty. Early in the 15th century, the *Mu* (木) family established many fazendas in this area and migrated large numbers of people for cultivating⁵. The agriculture of this area developed greatly during this period. Before “gai tu gui liu” in the Qing Dynasty, Baidi was ruled by Tibetans again

⁵ From the 15th to the middle of the 16th century, *Mu tusi* brought large numbers of slaves to Zhongdian (中甸) and established many fazendas. These slaves had no personal freedom. They did corvée labor and served in the army. The *Mu* then moved them to the Jinsha River area to open up the wasteland and plant rice, graze yaks and mine gold and silver (Zhongdian County annals, 1997).



for several decades. In addition, Baidi has been the only passage of transforming tea and horses since ancient times, and is the birthplace of “Dong-ba” culture and the “Dong-ba” religion.

3.3.2 Mode of production in Baidi

Agricultural production based on the family unit is also the primary mode of production in Baidi. Earlier than Yongning, the cultivation mode in Baidi agriculture developed greatly since the Ming Dynasty, during which iron farming tools were widely introduced and in general used. Naxi farmers also used “two cattles raise cowlstaff” (“二牛抬杠”) in their farming, as well as water milling (“水磨”) or water grinding (“水碾”) in corn treatments. Farming machines are also used in Baidi nowadays. Many rich families have their own farming machines in cultivation. Produce in Baidi includes wheat, barley, corn and temperate fruits. A field survey taken in 1930 shows that the proportions of dirt farmers (自耕农), tenant farmers (佃农) and half-dirt farmers (半自耕农) were 70%, 20% and 10% respectively (Yang, cited in Zhongdian County annals, 1997).

Stock raising is another important component of the family incomes of the Baidi Naxi. Baidi has been famous in the Tibetan area for its mules and hogs since early times. Handicraft industries emerged at the beginning of the last century. However, Baidi did not enter into the general industrialization of the 1950s, until today.

The basic unit of production in Baidi is also the family. Baidi women still play a principal role in farming and housework, however the men have controlled productive



activity for a long time. Men take charge of labor distribution and technical problems, as well public and social affairs. Only a few capable women can be heads of families. Landlords possess most of the produce; tenant farmers usually pay taxes to their landlords. Properties and products are inherited by the elder son in Baidi.

3.3.3 Family structure and *women status* in Baidi

Baidi Naxi (as well as elsewhere in Sanba) have family structures based on the patrilineal system, however many features of the Naxi maternal tradition still remain. Family structure and *women status* in Baidi are in a transitional phase — the patrilineal family structure being established upon a firm maternal tradition.

Power within kinship networks

Baidi Naxi families count upon patrilineal descent. Commonly, the men in Baidi families have higher status than the women. The patriarch holds and supervises the production activity, whereas the mother takes charge of the housework and finances. The patriarch also presides over all sacrificial ceremonies (such as kitchen god worshipping every morning, God and ancestor worship in the lunar January, June and October), as well as other important public and family affairs (such as sons' marriages, household division, livestock trading, etc.). The eldest son stays with his parents and gradually helps to support the whole family, whereas other sons and daughters will move out after marriage (He, 2001).



However, Naxi women in Baidi families have a considerable high status, embodied first by family kinship appellations (Table 3-2). In this terminology, what differs from that of Yongning is that the appellations for father, paternal and affinal relatives occur, but the maternal relatives have more complicated appellations than paternal ones. Second, young people still have freedom in their social contacts, including shacking up in the “flower room” before their marriage. Those Baidi Naxi unmarried boys all have equal options of marrying a girl into their own family, or marrying into a girl’s family, and the wedding ceremonies are same. Third, the mother’s brothers have the priority in cousins’ marriage, which McKhann (1995) considers a special contrivance to delay the passing of property from one’s own maternal clan to another.

Table 3-2 Baidi Naxi kinship terminology

Naxi (in Pinyin)	Implied meaning
A- pu	grandfather and all old men
A- zai	grandmother and all old women
A- si	honorific title of head of household
A- ba	father
A- mei	mother
A- gu	mother’s brothers and honorific title for male relatives of senior generation
A- bu	father’s brothers
A- ni	father or mother’s sister
A- bu	elder brother and husband’s brother
Mei- mei	elder sister and brother’s wife
Gu- mei	younger sister and younger brother’s wife
Zheng- gei	nephew and all males of nephew’s generation
Zheng- mei	niece and all females of niece’s generation

(from Gesang, ed., 1999)

Inheritance of property

In Baidi Naxi families, sons and daughters follow their father’s surname. The son supports and inherits family properties. Daughters have no rights of inheritance,



however they can take their belongings and one piece of land from their own family once they marry out. If there is no son in a Baidi family, a daughter can inherit the family properties instead and marry a husband in. Baidi Naxi never discriminate against a married-in son-in-law.

Control of labor and property

In Baidi, most Naxi families often have three generations or 5-7 people living together. The patriarch usually has responsibility for supervising production, children's marriage and household division, whereas the women dominate the domestic affairs of controlling labor distribution and making financial decisions. If there is any trouble in the family lives of the Baidi Naxi, uncles from both paternal and maternal lines have equal rights in intervention and intercession (He, 2001).

Summing up this section, the thesis considers whether the family structure or the status of women among the Baidi Naxi can be seen situated in a transitional phase from the matrilineal to a patrilineal system. The scholar Gesang also points out in "*Grand Scan of Naxi Culture*" that a patrilineal system has been established, however many matrilineal traditions remain in Baidi Naxi society (1999: 271). Baidi *women status* is lower than that of Yongning women. The highland mountainous conditions decide Baidi's production, whereas convenient interaction with the outside world brings foreign techniques in. Together, they change the Baidi family's ethics, the status of their women, and their daily lives.

3.4 Lijiang (Dayan) and Lijiang Naxi



3.4.1 General situation of Lijiang

Ecological conditions



Fig. 3-7 Map of Lijiang City

Lijiang County covers an area of 7,648 square kilometers in the northwestern corner of Yunnan Province. Set against the dramatic backdrop of “Jade Dragon” Snow Mountain (5,590 meters) to the north and *Shizi* Mountain to the west, Lijiang Plain appears like an inclined basin facing everyday sunrises on the southeast horizon. In general, Lijiang’s winter is short, dry, and relatively mild, whereas her summer is moderate with a pronounced rainy season. Much of Lijiang County is hilly or mountainous, and the local climate is strongly affected by elevation. At 2450 m, Lijiang has average annual extreme maximum and minimum temperatures of 18° and 6°, and the overall annual mean is 12.6°. The annual rainfall on the Lijiang Plain is 969 mm, four-fifths of which falls during the rainy season from June to September, and half during July and August alone. With its high altitude and relatively thin air,

Lijiang receives an exceptionally large amount of solar radiation: 2540 hours of sunshine per year, with an intensity of 146.5 KCal/cm².

The county is home to more than 10 distinct national minorities, the Naxi being the largest ethnic group, accounting for 56 percent of the population or 184,000 people. The city of Lijiang is actually made up of two distinctly different parts. (Fig. 3-7) Old Lijiang or the Old City retains its traditional urban structure and architectural styles; the more recent part of Lijiang is a busy 20th century environment. The population of Lijiang's Old City is 28,000, 67 percent of whom are of Naxi origin. Eighty percent of the population has lived in Old Lijiang for several generations. The new city has three more self-constructed residential areas as well as the usual assortment of apartment blocks, government offices, hospitals, schools and hotels (Lijiang County 1997 Yearbook).

Historical development

Naxi people began to settle in Lijiang in the late 12th century. According to historical material, Lijiang has been a major trading center of “*Cha Ma Gu Dao*” (茶马古道) since early times. The development of Lijiang City relates quite closely to its economic conditions.

During the Yuan dynasty (about the 13th century A.D.), a local ruling family established its administrative center in the Lijiang city, at the foot of *Shizi* Mountain (狮子山). Thereafter, Lijiang was controlled by the central government: the family prefect was given the surname *Mu* (木) to be a hereditary ruler. That is when Lijiang



started to be significantly affected by the Han culture from inland China (Fang, 2001). The *Mu* family controlled the area for 340 years, until the historical events in 1732 “gai tu gui liu (改土归流)”. The city continued to prosper, and through the centuries it has maintained its position as the political, economic, educational and cultural center of northwestern Yunnan. It was also during this period that Han culture had the most marked influence on the local native culture.

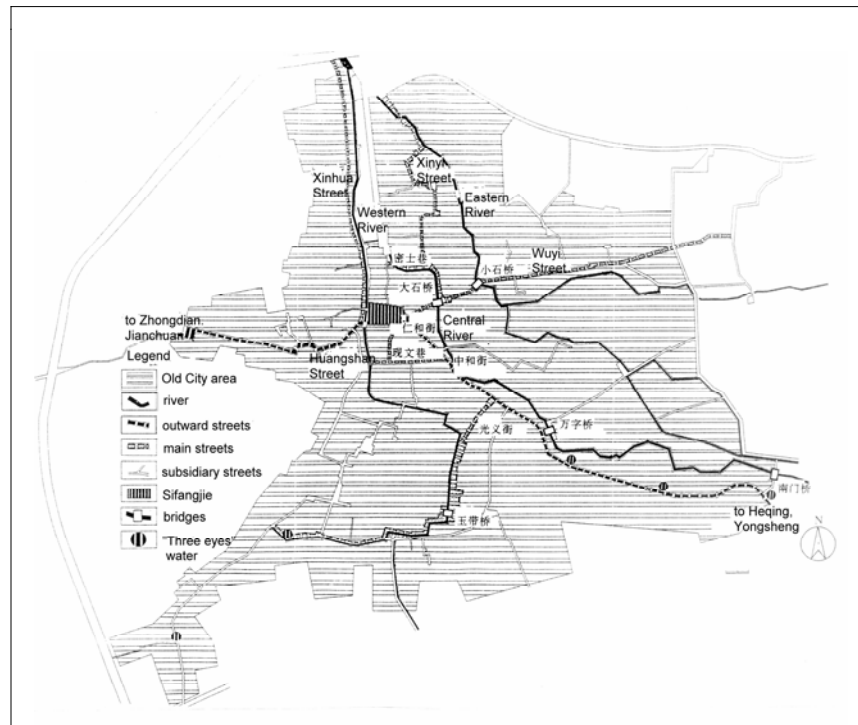


Fig. 3-8 Streets and water network of Old City (Jiang, 1997)

Another prosperous period was during World War II. When the Japanese conquered inland China, trading activities through the “horse gangs” flourished again. There were more than 1,200 trading firms and 8 banks located at this staging point (Lijiang County Annals, 1997). As for Lijiang Naxi’s settlement, Dayan Town, Chinese scholars Jiang and Yang (1997) consider that the urban fabric of Dayan (the skeleton) finished its formation already during the Ming Dynasty, whereas the lots and

buildings (the tissues and muscles) further filled the fabric after the Qing Dynasty (Fig. 3-8). In Dayan, the diverse topographical conditions and reticulated water network are two active elements that shape Naxi dwelling houses in thousands of ways, including layout, orientation, axis, entrance, vertical plan, etc.

3.4.2 Mode of production and its development in Lijiang

Agricultural production dominance

Located in a river valley and on a plain terrain, as well as profiting from a mild climate, Lijiang Naxi constructed their economic base on agricultural dominance until the 1950s. Since the Qing Dynasty, Lijiang Naxi have developed a more complicated and effective mode of agricultural production influenced by the Han and Bai: involving intensive cultivating, comparatively complete tools and water resource facilities, and even irrigating in turn. In Lijiang nowadays, many families have their own farming and transport machines. Produce in Lijiang includes winter wheat, summer paddy and subtropical fruits.

Because of the private ownership of land, the family was the basic unit of productive organization until 1950. The proportion of landlords / kulaks (富农) and tenant farmers / poor peasants was 10% and 90% respectively, however the landlords and kulaks owned more than 50% of the land and farming tools, as well as most of the products. Lijiang also has a tradition of collaboration according to free will. Although the collective mode of production has been the norm for 20 years, family units have been restored since the reform and opening policies were carried out throughout



China in 1976. This mode of production is an important factor that may influence people's lifestyles and living space in rural Lijiang.

Segregated commerce or handicraft industry

Besides the dominance of agriculture in their community, Lijiang Naxi included an independent commerce and handicraft industry as a principal part of their economy early in the Qing Dynasty. As mentioned above, Lijiang's location is in close proximity to a series of strategic passes, so it was historically a major trading center for "horse gangs". By 1950, Lijiang city had become the biggest commercial city in the northwest of Yunnan, with more than 1,200 firms and their branches distributed over Yunnan and China.

Handicraft industries, such as copper making, leather making, textile workshops and paper making, also began to develop in Lijiang City and the surrounding towns in the middle of the Qing Dynasty. In 1950, there were 2,500 practitioners working in diverse handicraft workshops, even with their own guilds. However, most of the workshops were comparatively small, with no more than 10 workers, and some were still based on family units. However, unlike in Han culture, where such production activities were dominated by men, Naxi women usually played an important role in such small-scale non-agricultural productions⁶. Apart from long-distance or wholesale commercial activities, Naxi women participated in most local commercial activities, as well as controlling whole family budgets (Rock, 1924; Goullart, 1957; Gesang, ed.,

⁶ "They learned all the intricacies of commerce and became merchants, land and exchange brokers, shopkeepers and traders...It is they who reaped the golden harvest of their enterprise...Nothing could be obtained or bought in Lijiang without women's intervention and assistance. Men knew nothing about the stocks in their own shops or of the price at which their goods should be sold. To rent a house or buy land one had to go to those women brokers who knew about it..." (Goullart, 1957: 94-95)



1999). Commerce, the handicraft industry and the role of women also are important facets that may have influenced people's lifestyle and living space in Lijiang old city, as well as in several townships in the surrounding area, such as Baisha (白沙), Shuhe (束河) and Longquan (龙泉).

Industrialization after liberation and recent boom of tourism industry

In the 1960s, Lijiang began to enter an era of industrialization. The industries of papermaking, leather making, textiles, print, food, building materials, medicine, etc. have developed greatly during the past 50 years. The production value of Lijiang's industry in 1998 was more than 40 times the 1949 value.

During the late 1990s, the Chinese government brought in a policy of "Development of the Chinese West". Lijiang Old City was designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1997, and was swiftly upgraded to one of the hottest travel sites in China. Since then, the tourism industry has become one of the economic mainstays of Lijiang city. By 1998, the income from tourism had reached RMB 800,000,000, direct and indirect practitioners in the tourism industry numbered 25,500 in total (Gesang, 1999).

One of the results of industrialization, the greatest change in production mode, is to draw the workplace out of the dwelling. Naxi dwelling houses are not units of production and re-production any longer. The other result is that *women status* changed again. Both of these factors will influence life-style and living space also.

3.4.3 Family structure and women status in Lijiang (Dayan)



Both western and Chinese scholars are generally confident that Lijiang Naxi have adapted the Han traditions of patrilineal descent, child betrothal, property inheritance and burial of the dead (Goullart, 1957; Daffner, 1992; McKhann, 1995 and Jiang, 1997). Few of them appear to have noticed that the patrilineal family structure of Lijiang Naxi has observable differences from that of the Han, which makes Naxi women's status different from that of Han women.

Power within kinship networks

Table 3-3 Lijiang Naxi kinship terminology

Paternal lines			Maternal lines		
English	Chinese	Naxi (in Pinyin)	English	Chinese	Naxi (in Pinyin)
great-grandfather	曾祖父	A- mu	great-grandfather	外曾祖父	A- mu
great-grandmother	曾祖母	A- mu	great-grandmother	外曾祖母	A- mu
grandfather	祖父	A- luo	maternal - grandfather	外祖父	A- gong
grandmother	祖母	A- nai	maternal - grandmother	外祖母	A- po
father	父亲	A- die	uncle	舅舅	A- ju
mother	母亲	A- mo	aunt	舅母	A- ju mo
elder uncle	伯父	Da- die	uncle	姨父	Yi- die
elder aunt	伯母	Da- mo	aunt	姨母	Yi- ma
younger uncle	叔父	A- shu	youngest aunt	小姨	A- niang ji
younger aunt	婶子	A- shen	cousin	表哥	A- ge
aunt	姑	A- niang	cousin	表弟	Gei- ren
elder brother	哥哥	A- ge	cousin	表姐	A- jie
younger - brother	弟弟	Gei- ren	cousin	表妹	Gu- mei
elder sister	姐姐	A- jie	nephew	外甥	Zheng- gei
younger sister	妹妹	Gu- mei	niece	外甥女	Zheng- mei
nephew	侄儿	Zheng- gei			
niece	侄女	Zheng- mei			

(from Gesang, ed., 1999)



In general, Lijiang Naxi has firmly established a monogamous marriage system and patrilineal family structure, within which *women status* is lower than men. A typical Lijiang Naxi patrilineal family is composed of three generations: grandparents, parents, son and daughter, often seen as “good fortune” (福气). The elder sons and all daughters will move out after marriage, while the youngest son lives with his parents. All these seem to indicate approval of Lijiang *women status* being similar to that of Han women, as does Lijiang Naxi kinship terminology (Table 3-3). Unlike Yongning and Baidi Naxi, Lijiang Naxi has complicated kinship terminology distinct in paternal lines and maternal lines, which is the external expression of the patrilineal family structure.

However, within such patrilineal families, some remains of Naxi maternal tradition mean that Lijiang women live in comparatively freer circumstances than Han women. First, in the Han patrilineal tradition, young women are forbidden social intercourse and free love, their marriages are arranged by their parents. Young Naxi women often have freedom in love and social intercourse, however they could not marry according to their will before the 1950s. Second, the Han tradition of “Duo zi duo fu” (“多子多福” — more sons more good fortune) and “Zhong nan qing nu” (“重男轻女” — son is more important than daughter) has not become the absolute and main focus of the Lijiang patrilineal tradition. Third, the mother’s brothers usually have priority in marriage arrangements among the maternal cousins, which means that he has the privilege of selecting his maternal niece as his daughter-in-law. Although young people have freedom in love and marriage now, their marriage still has to be agreed by the girl’s uncle (舅舅). This is clearly a remnant of the maternal tradition (Gesang, ed., 1999).



Inheritance of property

Before 1949, in a Lijiang Naxi family, elder sons and all daughters had to move out after marriage. The youngest son supported and lived with his parents, as well as inheriting the family properties, including the old courtyards. Daughters had no inheritance, except when there was no son in a family, in which case just one daughter and her husband (having changed his name to the woman's surname) lived with the parents (Gao, 2001). After 1949, new marriage laws gave Lijiang women more equal status to men, such as in education, free marriage, property inheritance, and support for the elderly.

Control of labor and property

Much different from Han women, Naxi women usually dominate over their husbands in domestic and commercial affairs. The leader role played by Lijiang Naxi women has been witnessed by Rock (1924), Goullart (1957) and Daffner (1992). In a Lijiang family, Naxi women often have responsibility for controlling the income and expenses, labor distribution and financial decisions, as well as bearing a large burden of the production (agricultural or commercial) and houseworks by themselves. "They were the brains of the family and the only foundation of prosperity in the household...their husbands and sons had to beg them for money...to buy cigarettes" (Goullart, 1957). Anthony Jackson labeled this strange juxtaposition of values as "legal patrilinearity yet traditional matrilinearity" (cited in Daffner, 1992).



3.5 Summary

After individual reviews of information about the *mode of production* and Naxi *women status*, this chapter now gives an integrated comparison and analysis of how the *mode of production* and *women status* have changed in the three regions, and determines the relationship between the two. The comparison and analysis are carried out in three aspects: ecological conditions, *mode of production* and *women status*.

Ecological conditions

Though there are no drastic distinctions between the ecological conditions of the three places, several obvious differences must not be neglected in this study. Such differences may have a considerable impact on many aspects of daily life, one of which is the *mode of production*.

Among the three regions, Yongning is located in a highland basin and lake area, and has the highest altitude, the driest microclimate and the least contact with the outside world. Baidi is seated in a mountainous and forested highland, 300m lower than Yongning, and its microclimate is milder and more humid than that of Yongning; it also has water sources for irrigation and quite convenient contact with outside society. As for Lijiang, it is also a highland basin, its microclimate is the mildest and most humid of the three, its water source for irrigation is plentiful, and its contact with neighboring ethnic groups and outside society is the most frequent and convenient.

Mode of production



McKhann asserted in his 1995 research on Naxi ethnic groups that “the kind of agriculture practice, as well as the relative production of agricultural and pastoral production in a given location, varies greatly with altitude and the availability of surface water” (p51). Data collected by this study may verify McKhann’s view. Four aspects involved in the *mode of production* are compared and analyzed among the three regions (Table 3-4).

Table 3-4 Different modes of production in the Lijiang area

		Yongning (永宁)	Baidi (白地)	Lijiang (丽江)
mode of production	subject of production	cultivation (corn, potato, highland barley), stock raising and fishing	cultivation (corn, wheat, barley and fruit), stock raising and transporting	cultivation (paddy, wheat, fruits), stock raising, commerce and handicraft industry
	instruments used in production	generally use iron tools; fewer machines used	complicated iron tools and more machines used	generally use farming and transporting machines
	relation of labors	family as production unit, matriarch controls and distributes labors	family as production unit, patriarch controls and distributes labors	rural area: family as production unit, patriarch controls and distributes labors
				city: capital owner controls labors
	products distribution	shared averagely by matrilineal family and inherited by female members after paying taxes to <i>tusi</i>	owned by patrilineal family and the sons inherit	rural area: landlords possess most products; the rest owned by family and inherited by sons
				city: possessed and distributed by capital owners

From this comparison and analysis, it is asserted that the *modes of production* among the three regions display different situations fitting their individual ecological condition. From Yongning to Baidi, then to Lijiang, the changing curve presents



several developmental modes of production — from simple farming to sophisticated agriculture, then to burgeoning industrialization. This changing situation is clearly reflected in women's role and their status in production and the family.

Family structure and women status

Simplified in another table (Table 3-5), data about the family structure and *women status* also are listed for comparison and analysis (for a complete comparison, the table includes an item for Han women).

Table 3-5 Women status in the different Naxi groups and Han

		Yongning Naxi	Baidi Naxi	Lijiang Naxi	Han
Family structure	Lineage	matrilineal	patrilineal, many matrilineal traditions remain	patrilineal, some matrilineal traditions remain	absolutely patrilineal
	Family size	10-30 P	around 7-10 P	around 4-7 P	uncertain
	Marriage arrangement	free love and liberated marriage	free love, monogamy	free love, marriage arranged by parents	parents arrange marriage
Women status	Power in kinship network	strong +	strong –	weak	weakest
	Inheritance rights	women inherit collectively	men's inheritance preceding	youngest son inherits	sons divide inheritance
	Control of labor and property	matriarch controls	patriarch and his wife together control	patriarch and his wife together control	absolute male control
Summary	status	highest	low	lower	lowest
	role in production	important	less important	less important	unimportant
	role in family	ritual	important	less important	unimportant
		domestic	important	less important	unimportant

Based on this analysis, the thesis considers that, accompanying the progressive changes in *mode of production* from Yongning to Baidi, and then to Lijiang, Naxi *women status* also displays a changing tendency from highest to low, then to even lower. As for one given region, there maybe exist some changes in a temporal context, which are not easy to observe within a short time. (Gendered) spaces themselves shape, and are shaped by, daily activities (Spain, 1992). Thus, women's different status and their roles in the family will be revealed as the forces that influence Naxi daily life and their living space in following chapters



Chapter IV Type and Transformation of Naxi Courtyard

House in Yongning and Baidi

In this chapter and the next, the thesis records nearly 70 Naxi courtyards distributed in selected areas — Yongning (永宁), Baidi (白地), Lijiang Old City (古城), Lijiang New City (新城) and the suburbs (城郊), and in particular presents 5 samples by surveying through a participant approach⁷. Due to the close similarity of log houses in Yongning and Baidi, the thesis discusses them first in this chapter, and then explores those in Lijiang in the next chapter. The study will identify their nuclear spaces and examine the courtyard form changes. (Table 4-1)

Table 4-1 Number and sites of surveyed samples in Yongning and Baidi

Yongning (永宁)		Baidi (白地)	
surveyed site	sample number	surveyed site	sample number
Wa-la pian (瓦拉片村)	5	Hetao village (核桃村)	5
Yi-man wa (以满瓦村)	4	Wushu wan (梧树湾村)	4
Tuo zhi (拖枝村)	4	Shuijia village (水甲村)	3
Zhe bo (者波村)	3		
Total	15		12

4.1 Moso log courtyards in Yongning and their nuclear spaces

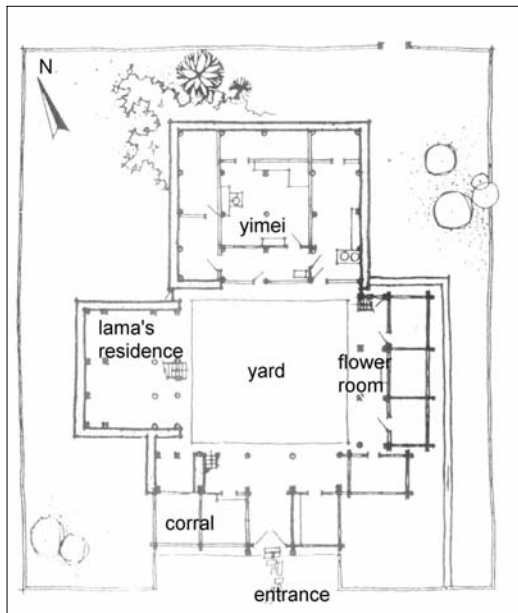
4.1.1 Traditional form of Moso log courtyard

Naxi dwellings in Yongning are mostly “three-side” or “four-side” courtyard houses, appearing in log cabins (木楞房) and the “jing-gan-shi” (井干式) structure system.

⁷ The 5 samples surveyed through the participant approach were all selected after general surveys in those villages.



Moso courtyards have a special space organization and segregated gender space distinct from other courtyard types, so as to fit their farming production, matriarchal family structure and liberated sexual arrangements. To accommodate households of 7~12, or even more than 30 members, Naxi courtyards in Yongning are often quite large, composed by several parts of the main building (“yimei — 一梅”), a lama’s residence (经堂), herbage storages, a corral, one or two rows of “flower rooms” (花骨房) and an entrance, surrounding a rectangular yard. (Fig.4-1)



The main building, usually called “yimei”, is always orientated south. The plan of the “yimei” is approximately a square bungalow, three “jin” (进) in depth, thus sometimes called “sanjinfang” (三进房) by locals. Divided into 5~7 rooms, the main building is able to accommodate almost all the daily life activities of

Fig.4-1 Typical layout of Yongning courtyard (Jiang,1997) every family member, except for “A-xia”s’ cohabitation.

Except for the “yimei”, the other three sides are all two-storey log cabins: the west and east wings and the gate building opposite. Obviously these are subordinate parts of such a courtyard, with smaller dimensions and simpler space division than that of the main building. The main entrance is always located at the south.

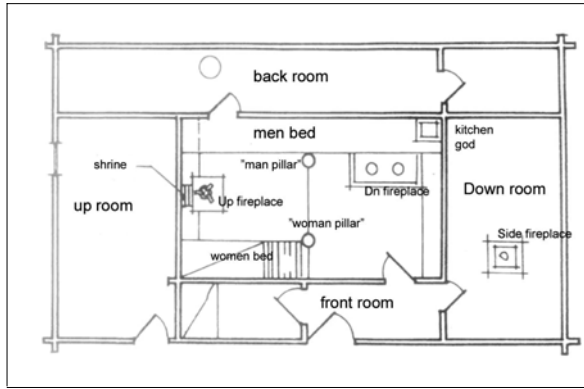


Fig.4-2 Typical layout of Moso “yimei” (Yang, 1997)

The main building — “yimei”— is for the household’s collective living. Located north of the central line and facing south, the “yimei” always plays a core and dominant role in space organization in the

Moso courtyard. Explicit gendered spaces can be found in the “yimei”. Within the 5~7 rooms into which the “yimei” is divided, the up room (上室) on the left side is used for corn treating, and the down room (下室) on the other side is the elder men’s (mother’s brothers) bedroom. The front room (前室) is often used as a passageway, whereas the back room (后室) usually stores food and important property. Surrounded by all these rooms is the central room (正室), quite large, sometimes with 60m², where the whole family meet and discuss family affairs together. It is also where the matriarch and minors sleep. There are two central pillars indicating man and woman, which must be made of one tree (the upper part for the man pillar and the root part for the woman pillar, showing the firm status of Moso women), as well as two fireplaces in the central room. The exalted space defined by the “woman pillar” on the south wall side is exclusively for female members, whereas the space defined by the “man pillar” opposite is for male members. (Fig. 4-2)

East wing has two stories with 3~4 bays: the downstairs space is used for herbage storage; the upstairs space is always for the lama’s residence and his praying. The downstairs spaces of the west wing and gate building are usually for livestock raising, whereas upstairs, there are all the “flower rooms” (花骨房) where adult women and

their “*A-xia*” meet. The number of these “flower rooms” is often equal to or more than the number of adult women in the household. The “flower rooms” are quite small and simply furnished, without any cooker, food, or tools in them. Thus the “flower rooms” are just special spaces arranged for cohabitation, rather than consumptive units.



Fig.4-3 Stacked log construction

The constructing of a Moso log cabin also embodies its structure system. Moso builders usually chop a concave tenon on both ends of timber logs cut and transported out from mountain forest, and then stack them up to a “#” shape structure (Fig.4-3). Thin boards pave

roofs with stones pressed on them. However, such completed log structure courtyards are seldom seen in recent years. Due to technical progress, mixed structure courtyards, which are partly built of dried mud and tiled roof, occur more frequently in Yongning nowadays.

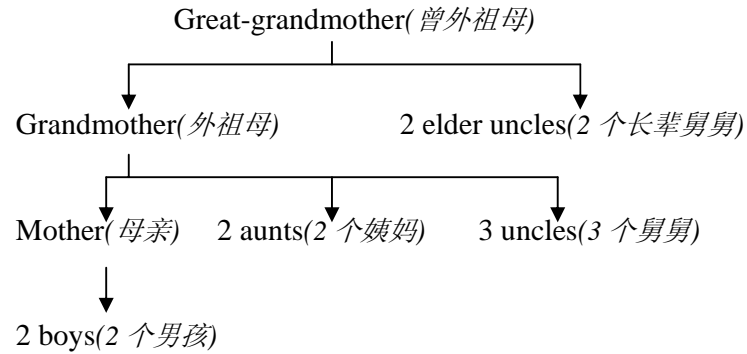
4.1.2 Sample 1: log courtyard of *Gong-zheng* (公正) family in *Wa-la pian* (瓦拉片)

General conditions of *Gong-zheng* family

A typical Moso family, the family known as *Gong-zheng* has 12 family members spanning 4 generations (Table 4-2). The 85-year old great-grandmother is the head of the household, in which those cooperatively and harmoniously living together are all matrilineal blood relatives. Great-grandmother presides over production, daily life and

property keeping. One elder uncle has an official post in local government, as well as taking charge of social affairs.

Table 4-2 Family structure of *Gong-zheng* (公正)



The larger family size gives *Gong-zheng* household an advantage in simple local farming and fishing. They have a larger field and more livestock to cultivate than other families in the village (Table 4-3). The elder uncle who takes an official post often takes his salary back home. Thus, the family has not only become rather rich in the village, but also is capable of helping other families in the busy season.

Table 4-3 Production conditions of *Gong-zheng* (公正) family

cultivable land	18 亩
livestock for cultivating	2 cattle and 1 horse
produce	corn, barley
output	4000kg / 亩
other livestock and fowl	9 pigs and 20 chickens
other income	uncle's salary

Participant survey on log courtyard of *Gong-zheng* family

Compared with the traditional forms, Moso log courtyards in today's Yongning have usually undergone some individual changes according to progress in their living level

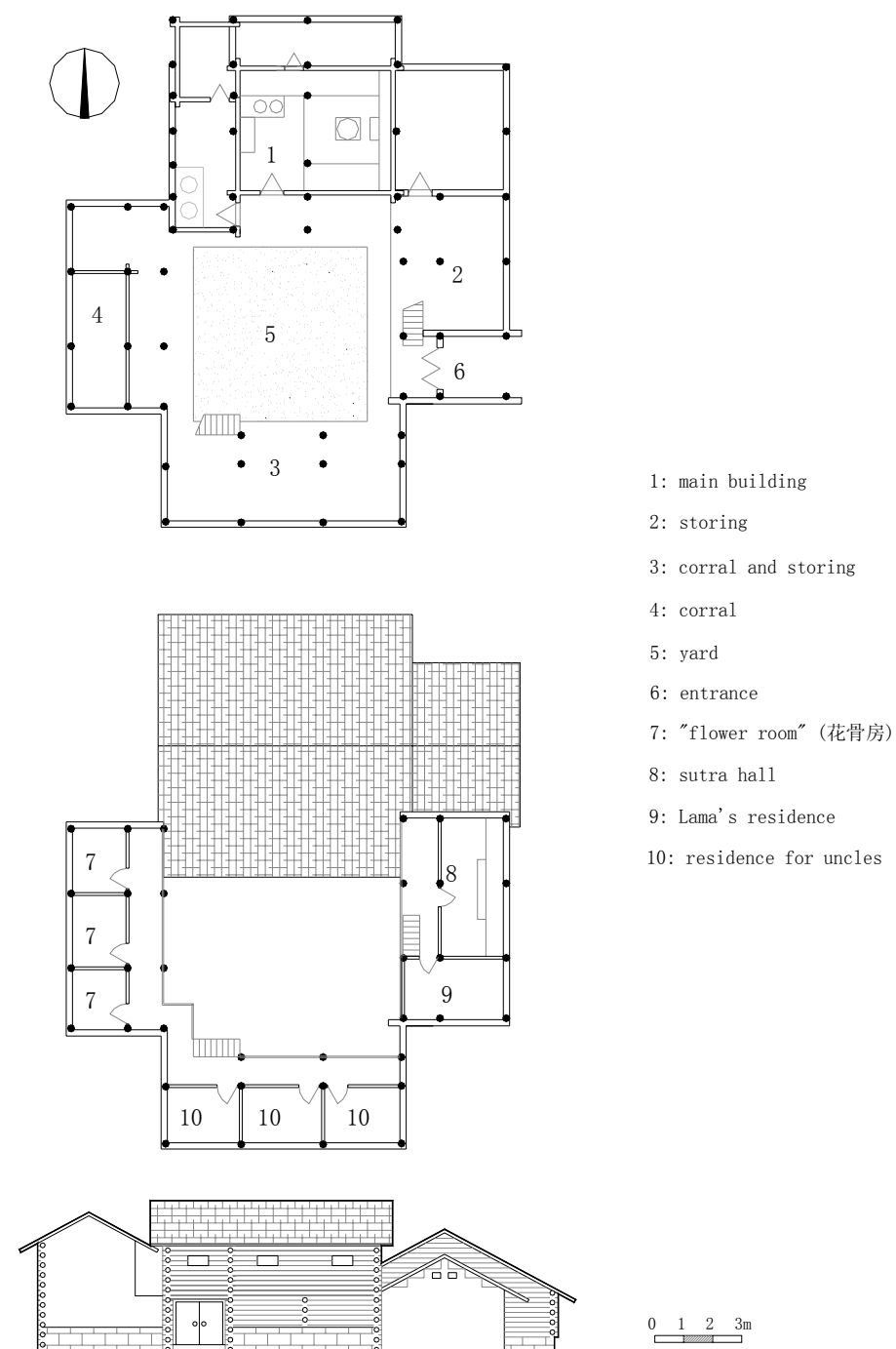


Fig. 4-4 Survey sketch of log courtyard of Gong-zheng family

and their actual needs. Due to the lack of wood, Moso courtyards are no longer built entirely out of stacked log construction. Dried mud structures and wood frames have started to be constructed in some rich courtyards. However, some of the more dominant aspects will never change. For example, the main building — “yimei”, the Lama’s residence, and the “flower rooms”.



Fig. 4-5 Main building of *Gong-zheng* family

The house of the *Gong-zheng* family is generally a completed Moso log courtyard with a rectangular yard of 6x6m. This complex differs from the traditional courtyard in that there are several rooms arranged for men’s

sleeping outside the main building. Either elder or younger uncles had no such rooms for sleeping before. (Fig. 4-4, Fig. 4-5)

Gendered space of main building

Compared with the traditional space in the main building (“yimei”), the space and its use in the *Gong-zheng* family’s “yimei” are somewhat different. For example, there is no down room (下室), which is



Fig. 4-6 Space of central room

usually the elder men’s (mother’s brothers) bedroom;

the up room (上室) on the other side has been changed for livestock food treating and storing; the front room has become an open veranda, though it is still used as a passageway; the back room (后室) is not used for storing foods, important property or bodies, but is empty in the *Gong-zheng* family home. Some main

buildings even have no back room in today's Yongning. (Fig. 4-6) However, the gendered spaces defined by the two pillars of woman and man and their spatial functions are exactly the same as those traditional spaces formed hundreds of years before. The thesis illustrates this gendered space of the main building (“yimei”) of *Gong-zheng* courtyard by the sketch plan below (Fig. 4-7). Though other parts of the main building have changed more or less, the most important central room continues the story of the Moso women.

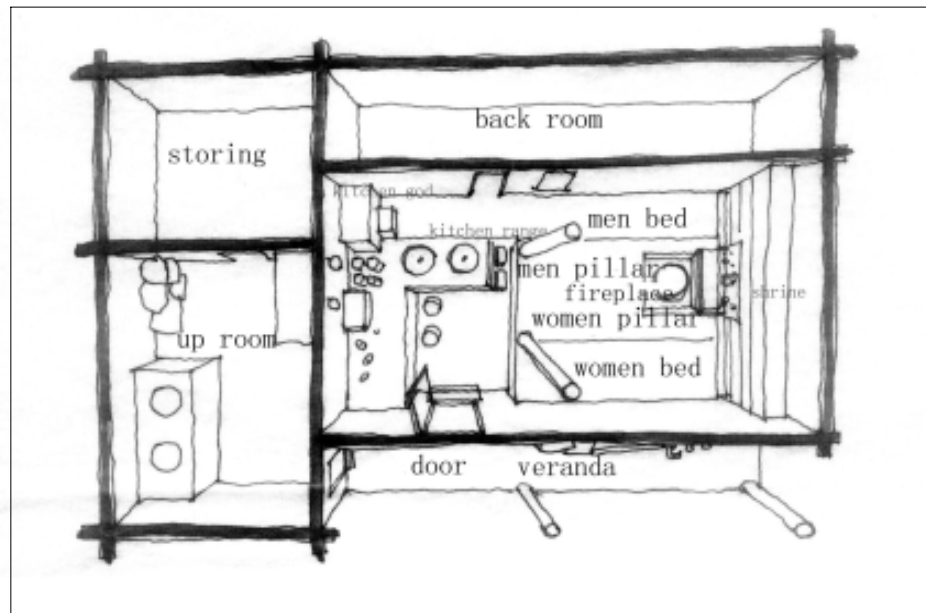


Fig. 4-7 Sketch plan of main building of *Gong-zheng* courtyard

Space use and daily activities of the family members

The table below (Table 4-4) shows the spaces, objects and activities in this log courtyard in order to demonstrate its spatial structure relation. It can be seen from this table that the main building accommodates most family functions, whether ritual or domestic. Two central pillars indicating man and woman, as well as the “women bed”

by the south wall and door are the essential ritual symbols. Girls and boys will have their coming of age ceremony by their pillars, and postpartum women often recuperate and feed babies on the “women bed” by the fireplace. The shrine between the two beds is where the Moso conduct their worship of their extensive Gods and their ancestors. The central fireplace has both ritual and domestic functions, offering a center for a family gathering. As for domestic functions, all those dominated by the matriarch take place in the main building: sitting, greeting guests, storing, cooking and eating, educating, and family gathering. The main building is thus clearly the central place of the courtyard.

Table 4-4 Spaces, objects and activities in the *Gong-zheng* courtyard

Name of space			Objects in this space	Actions carried out in this space
Main building ①			“woman pillar”, “man pillar”, fireplaces, shrine, kitchen god, women beds, men beds, kitchen range, cooking utensils, cabinets, TV sets	Sitting, worshipping, greeting guests, cooking, eating, family meetings, educating, working, sleeping for great-grandmother, grandmother and children
Veranda			Farming tools	Passageway
Wings	L	Up ⑦	Several rooms, bed, fireplace, cabinets	Cohabiting for adult women and their “A-xia” lovers
		Dn ④	Trough, farming tools	Raising livestock, storing
	R	Up ⑧⑨	Shrine, joss, sutra, cabinets, cushion	Lama’s residence
		Dn ②⑥	Herbage, corn, gate	Storing, entrance
Opposite building	Up⑩		Several rooms, bed, cabinets	Residences for uncles
	Dn③		Herbage, corn, trough	Storing, raising livestock

Note: numbers in circles indicate the spaces represented by the same numbers in Fig. 4-4

Recording and analyzing the daily activities of the family members⁸ allows further discussion of the dominance of the main building within the log courtyard complex of the *Gong-zheng* family (Table 4-5).

Table 4-5 Daily activities of *Gong-zheng* family members

(2003-09-26, sunny day, 22°C)

	<p>6am – 12am</p> <p>● matriarch: 6am, get up, make fire, boil water and tea, burn joss sticks, cook breakfast. 7:30am, have breakfast, distribute family labors, cook and feed livestock foods. 10am, carry water, clean. 12am, cook lunch.</p> <p>♂ female member: chop wood three times or work in fields.</p> <p>♂ male member: go to work in fields or in government.</p>
	<p>1pm – 6pm</p> <p>● matriarch: 1pm, have lunch, chop pigweed and feed pigs, 2:30pm, siesta with grandson, then supervise his study. 4pm, change water and joss sticks in sutra hall. 5pm, barrier livestock. 6pm, cook supper.</p> <p>♂ female member: work in fields or help doing housework.</p> <p>♂ male member: continue working</p>
	<p>7pm – 10pm</p> <p>● matriarch: 7pm, have supper, then discuss some family affairs. 8pm, sit and pray, arrange grandson's sleeping. 10pm, light the lights of sutra hall, pray, then back to sleep in main building.</p> <p>♂ female member: after supper, 8pm-10pm, go out for sociality activity. 10pm, back to "flower room", meet her lover.</p> <p>♂ male member: elder uncles often go to bed early. those youngers go out for socility and sleep in their lover's rooms, back before dawning.</p>
<p>● matriarch ♂ female member ♂ male member ♀ doing housework</p> <p>🌾 farm implements 🔥 firewood 🌿 herbage ➡ moving trace</p>	

By tracing the family members' moving traces, we can clearly see that except when doing farm work in the field, the female and male members usually gather in the main

⁸ The surveyed day was an ordinary day for the family. The survey recorded the daily activities of the family members: the matriarch, female members and male members, so as explicitly to explore the gendered space and their use of it.

building, occupying individual “beds” that exclude the other; when they gather, the matriarch and elder male members always sit furthest inside, near the shrine, and the main building is always the start of all other housework and social activities. In short, the main building is the center that governs the family activities in the main production work, as well as being a location for re-production.

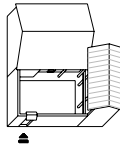
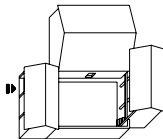
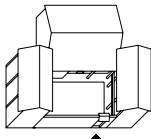
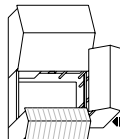
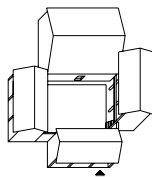
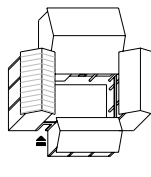
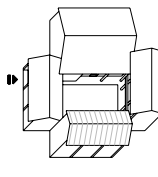
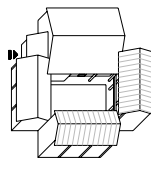
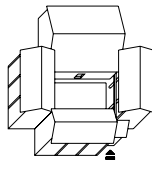
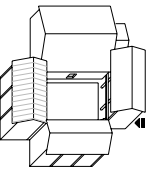
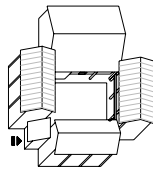
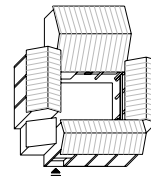
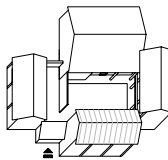
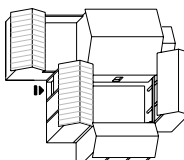
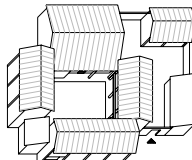
The Gong-zheng courtyard is typical of the Moso dwelling surveyed in the most detail in this study. Drawing from all the information obtained in the field survey, it is considered that: ① the gendered space in the main building (“*yimei*”) is the center of the whole courtyard, because all the family members stay and move about within it except during their working and sleeping time; ② it is the space most utilized, because it accommodates most of the domestic functions of Moso family life; ③ it is the space most sacred for important rituals, with spaces and structures indicating different Gods, and particularly man and woman; ④ and it is also the dominant center in the spatial organization of a Naxi dwelling. The study therefore identifies it as the **nuclear space** of the *Gong-zheng* courtyard, as well as further defining it as “woman-dominated space”.

4.1.3 Nuclear space and types of Yongning log courtyards

In the same way, the study examines all the main buildings of 15 Moso courtyards selected and surveyed in the fieldwork, no matter which village they are located in (see Fig. 3-2) or when were they built. The study then finds that the “woman -



Fig.4-8 Yongning courtyard samples and their information

Drawing				
Data	<p>"Pi-yawa" house in Tuozhi village built in 1995 mixed structure, board and tile roof</p>			
Drawing				
Data	<p>"Ah-wo" house in Wa-la pian built 100yrs before stacked log structure, board roof</p>	<p>"Yang" house in Zhebo village built 70yrs before stacked log structure, board roof</p>	<p>"Yi-man" house in Yi-man wa built in 1940s, partly rebuilt in 1985 mixed structure, board and tile roof</p>	
Drawing				
Data	<p>"Shou-ge" house in Wa-la pian first built 300yrs before, rebuilt 100yrs before stacked log structure, board roof</p>	<p>"Ah-da" house in Zhebo village built 80yrs before expanded in 1987 mixed structure, board and tile roof</p>	<p>"Yi-bu" house in Yi-man wa built in 1940s partly rebuilt in 1988 mixed structure, board and tile roof</p>	<p>"Pi-cuo" house in Tuozhi village built in 1980 mixed structure, board and tile roof</p>
Drawing				
Data	<p>"Jia-ba" house in Tuozhi village first built 200yrs before, expanded in 1930s stacked log structure, board roof</p>	<p>"Gong-zheng" house in Wa-la pian built 100yrs before expanded in 1986 mixed structure, board and tile roof</p>	<p>"Ah-cuo" house in Wa-la pian first built 100yrs before rebuilt in 1978 mixed structure, board and tile roof</p>	<p>"Ba-cimi" house in Yi-man wa built in 1987 mixed structure, tile roof</p>
Drawing				
Data	<p>"Di-ya" house in Yi-man wa first built 100yrs before, expanded in 1970s mixed structure, board and tile roof</p>	<p>"Ah-ni" house in Wa-la pian first built 150yrs before expanded in 1992 mixed structure, board and tile roof</p>	<p>"La-fu" house in Tuozhi village built in 1993 mixed structure, tile roof</p>	

dominated space” defined above actually exists in every courtyard recorded. A big central room, two central pillars, clearly segregated gendered space dominated

primarily by women, and accommodating most of the family's daily activities are their common features. The study therefore asserts that the gendered space in the main building is the *nuclear space* of the Moso courtyard. In later analyses, the thesis will use the symbol “◎” to illustrate such spaces, and categorize Moso courtyards with such *nuclear space* as well as “flower rooms” and Lama's residence as the “Yongning” type (shortened to type Y).

In order to explore prototype Y, subtype Y and their variations, this thesis now displays all the Moso courtyard samples gathered in the field surveys. (Fig. 4-8)

As for the external form of Moso courtyards, some research work (Yan and Song, 1983) mentioned that early Moso courtyards were often one-storey building complexes with a structure entirely made from stacked logs, and lean-to roofs except for the main building, which had a pitched roof. The study considers such courtyards to be a prototype of Moso courtyards in the Yongning area, though they are seldom seen. Summing up the 15 Moso courtyards observed in the fieldwork, those reviewed in the literature and possible variations, the study categorizes several subtypes Y by their external formal features, and arranges them by dates of construction. (Fig. 4-9)

4.1.4 “Yongning” type and its variations, arranged in 4 phases

In Yongning's simple farming society, Moso women have a rather high status in production, as well as in reproduction in the family. Besides power in their kinship networks, inheritance rights, and control of labor and property (see chapter 3), all of which are measures of the higher status of Moso women, Moso log courtyards and



their nuclear space also embody the higher status. Organized by a main building with explicit “woman-dominated space”, almost all subcategories have the remaining components of “flower rooms”, a corral, a Lama’s residence and a commodious yard, together serving both the production and reproduction of a big Moso household. The

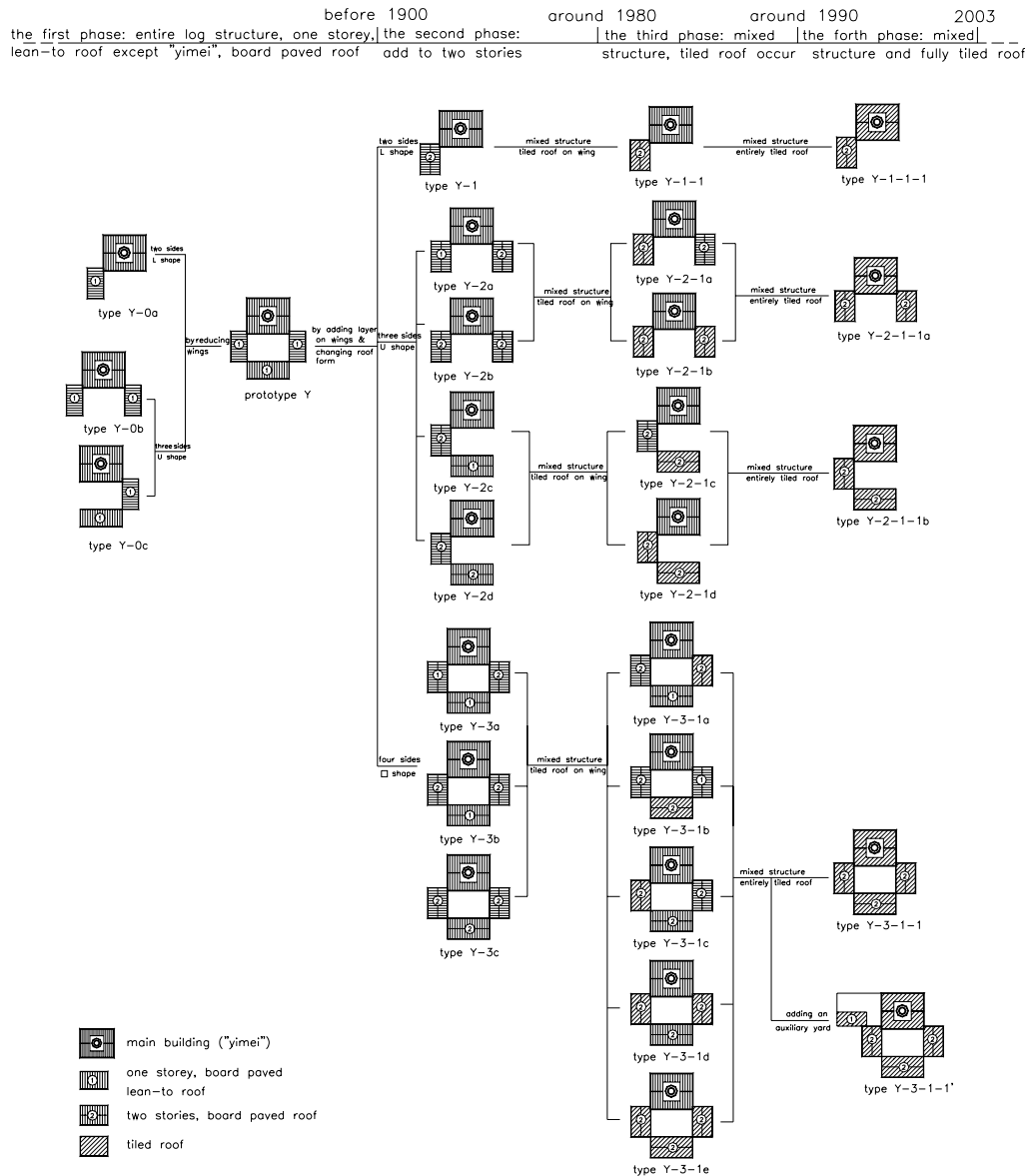


Fig. 4-9 Yongning Moso courtyard categories and their evolutionary relations

inward trend and symmetry are weak in such log courtyards, though sometimes appearing in a complete four-sided compound.

The thesis lists type Y and its variations in Fig. 4-8, of which the *Y* axis lists the variations by adding wings to compose two-sided, three-sided and four-sided courtyards, whereas the *X* axis shows the evolution tendency of type Y in a temporal frame. It is common knowledge that adding wings to expand a courtyard often follows the household's enlargement, which may occur in 10 or 20 years. Typological evolution along the temporal axis, on the other hand, involves longer-term socio-cultural and technical changes:

The first phase — before 1900

Prototype Y, derived from the previous literature (Yan and Song, 1983), as well as its variations by reducing the wings, is seldom seen nowadays; however, “women-dominated space”, which is accommodated within the big dark main building, had already been formed at that time. Their common features are: entirely stacked log structure, one layer, lean-to roofs except on the main building, and boards paving roofs pressed by stones.

The second phase — 1900~1980

More advanced techniques and enlarged households brought two-storey and pitched roof wings into the prototype courtyard, whereas the stacked log structure, the one-storey main building and the boards paving the roofs did not change. About one third of the surveyed samples were variations of this phase.



The third phase — 1980~1990

Due to rapid socio-economic development and the lack of wood, diverse variations in mixed structures as well as tiled roofs occurred in this period. Dried mud brick and simple wood frames started to be included in the courtyard structure except for the main building. More than half of the surveyed samples were variations of this phase.

The fourth phase — 1990 until the time of the field survey

The type Y courtyards built or rebuilt during this period have entirely tiled roofs, including the main building. Stacked log structures are used less in the auxiliary wings, whereas dried mud brick and wood frames are applied more than before (for example the “Ba-cimi” house in Yi-man wa). Due to the rising consciousness of issues of sanitation, a kind of multiple courtyard (type Y-3-1-1’, for example the “Ah-ni” house in Wa-la pian) has occurred in recent yards, usually appearing when humans inhabit the original big courtyard and livestock are being raised in a small auxiliary yard accessing the big yard.

Through analyzing Fig.4-8, the study finds that the evolution of type Y has been a very long and slow process. The main building, which accommodates the “nuclear space”, is the key and has remained constant throughout the process. As for the external formal changes that took place during the second half of the last century, the research considers that they are closely related to the great socio-economic developments of that time. For example, the rapid development since the 1980s has brought about many new and expanding courtyards as well as a lack of wood. There are also new sanitation values, new construction materials and new methods of construction.



4.2 Log courtyards in Baidi and their nuclear spaces

4.2.1 Traditional form of log courtyard in Baidi

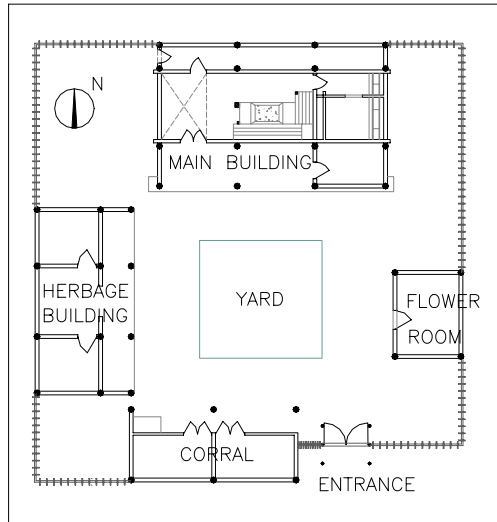


Fig.4-10 Typical layout of Baidi log courtyard⁹

Baidi courtyards are also log cabins (木楞房) and have the “*jing-gan-shi*” (井干式) structural system, often composed of several parts of the main building, a herbage building, a corral, a small “flower room” and an entrance surrounding a rectangular yard, sometimes without a fixed layout

because of the particular topography.

Weak connections between the contiguous parts make the whole courtyard seemed quite incompact, so the special feeling of a courtyard must usually be completed with the help of an entrance and closed fence (Fig. 4-10).

The main building, the most important part, is always orientated south. The big one floor house is usually two or three bays in width, however there is no implication of axially or symmetry. Divided into 3 or 4 rooms, the main building is also able to accommodate almost all the daily life activities of every family member.

Another important part is for the raising of livestock — the herbage building on the side and corral opposite. They are often simple and not completely closed, though the

⁹ This layout drawing is a survey record of a completely restored Baidi log courtyard located in the “Dong-ba Culture Museum” in the Black Dragon Pool Park, Lijiang.

herbage building sometimes has two layers. The small “flower room” opposite the herbage building occupies another side of the courtyard. The lean-to construction appears private and mystic for its small scale, closed wall and lean-to roof. In a Baidi courtyard, the entrance can never completely face the door of the main building.

Though divided into 3 or 4 rooms of different sizes, the biggest one, which occupies two bays, is the central space of the house. Explicit gendered spaces can be found in this big room. After entering the main

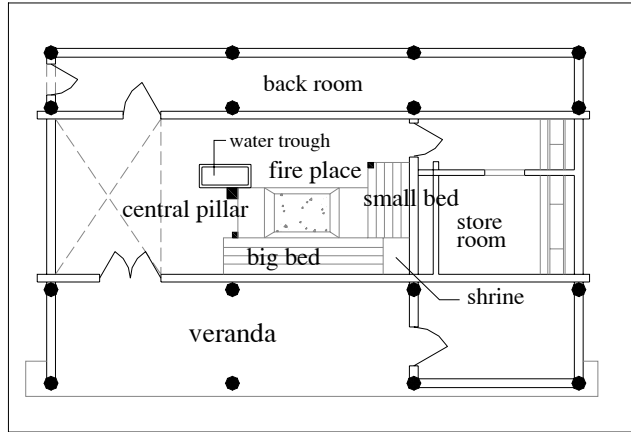


Fig.4-11 Typical layout of Baidi main building

door, a four-sided “central pillar”

(中柱或天柱) indicating Heaven’s prop as well man’s power (McKhann, 1989:157) can be seen erected in the middle of the house. Within the space defined by the “central pillar” and two walls on the south and east, there is a raised floor about 80mm high. A shrine is located at the encoignure, diagonal to the “central pillar”: both are sacred places according to Naxi religion. Left of the shrine by the south wall is the area exclusively for men’s activities, called the “big bed”. The area right of the shrine by the east wall is for women’s activities, and is called the “small bed”. Women are forbidden to enter any area exclusively for men. The area surrounded by these “beds”, shrine and “central pillar” is the fireplace — another important and sacred place providing heat, light, food and symbolic significance for the Naxi. The rest of the big room, in addition to the long back room, is the place for treating corn,

and the room adjacent to the “small bed” is for storing food, which was also the important property of a family in the past. (Fig. 4-11)

The herbage building and corral are purely subsidiary constructions for production. The small “flower room” on the east side has no domestic function in the daytime, but is used by the younger, unmarried members of the family to stay in over night. The “flower room” can be seen as the remains of the Naxi matriarchal social structure and its liberated sexual arrangements, though such rooms are smaller and fewer in Baidi.

The veranda begins to appear in Baidi, however just as a transitional space with several farming tools and sundries dispersed around. The large and broad yard is seasonally busy as it is used for farm work; it accommodates no special activities or facilities on ordinary days.

4.2.2. Sample 2: log courtyard of the *Ah-peng* (阿彭) family in *Wu-shu Wan* (梧树湾)

General conditions of the *Ah-peng* family

There are 3 generations, and 7 members in this Naxi family named *Ah-peng*.

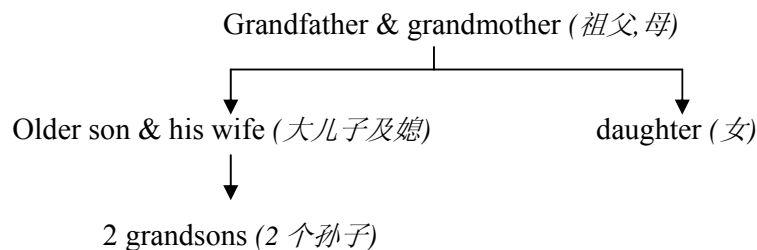


Table 4-6 Family structure of *Ah-peng* (阿彭)



The *Ah-peng* family is a Baidi family of patrilineal descent, in which the grandfather is in charge of production activities, while the grandmother presides over daily life and property. The *Ah-peng* family has a smaller household size than that of the *Gong-zheng* family in Yongning, because the older couple's younger son moved out two years ago, after his marriage, which is different from the current custom whereby the youngest son and his wife live with his parents. No matter which son moves out, this is an important characteristic of the patrilineal descent tradition. The household size will decreased further when the daughter marries out someday (Table 4-6).

The *Ah-peng* family's income is from farming production. Summer and autumn are their busy seasons. Every October, gold-yellow corn crowds the "sunning rack"(晒架) standing in the yard. As a sideline, the *Ah-peng* family also raises livestock and maintains a small apple orchard. Because the village is near the tourist site of "Bai-shui Tai" (白水台), the son can usually make some extra money by using the horse to transport tourists or goods. (Table 4-7) Compared with that of the *Gong-zheng* family, this table reveals the more effective farming production of an ordinary Baidi Naxi family.

Table 4-7 Production conditions of the *Ah-peng* (阿彭) family

cultivable land	13 亩
livestock for cultivating	3 cattle and 1 horse
produce	corn, wheat, horsebeans, apples
output	4200kg / 亩
other livestock and fowl	6 pigs and 10 chickens
other income	son's earnings in tourism



Participant survey on log courtyard of *Ah-peng* family

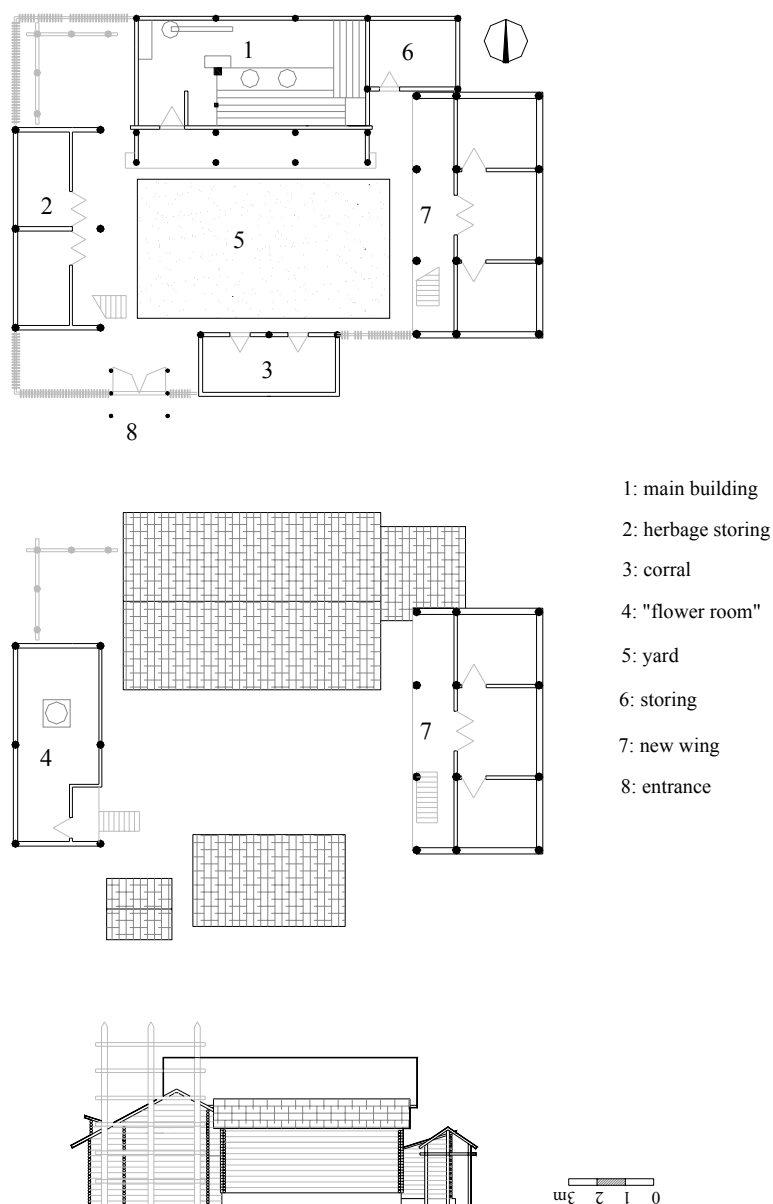


Fig. 4-12 Survey sketch of log courtyard of *Ah-peng* family

The “four-sided” courtyard of the *Ah-peng* family is composed of five independent parts: the main building, storeroom, “flower room”, corral and new wing. The oldest

structure, the main building, which has a stacked log structure and board paved roof, was built more than 100 years ago, whereas the new wing just became a part of the courtyard 6 years ago. Its structure system and use of space are no longer “*jing-gan-shi*” like the older parts of the courtyard, but follow the wood frame and “*yi ming liang an*” three bays pattern similar to the Han style. Such courtyards in which old and new parts co-exist are quite popular in Baidi.

Another change in the use of space has occurred according to changes of custom and actual needs. In the traditional Baidi courtyard, the “flower room” was for young unmarried family members to stay overnight in. However, the “flower room” in the *Ah-peng* family has been a storehouse since the 1950s~60s. (Fig. 4-12) Looking at the remains of the fireplace in the “flower room”, grandfather *Ah-peng* can still remember the years when he was young.

Gendered space of main building

Compared with the traditional main building, *Ah-peng* family’s main building has no more divided rooms but one big dark room. The room for storing foods and important property has become another separate log lean-to house by the main building. However, the gendered spaces defined by the “central pillar”, “big bed” (both symbolize man and man’s power in Baidi), “small bed” and their functions in daily life as well as in important sacrifices are still quite clear and explicit. (Fig. 4-13, Fig. 4-14, and Fig. 4-15)



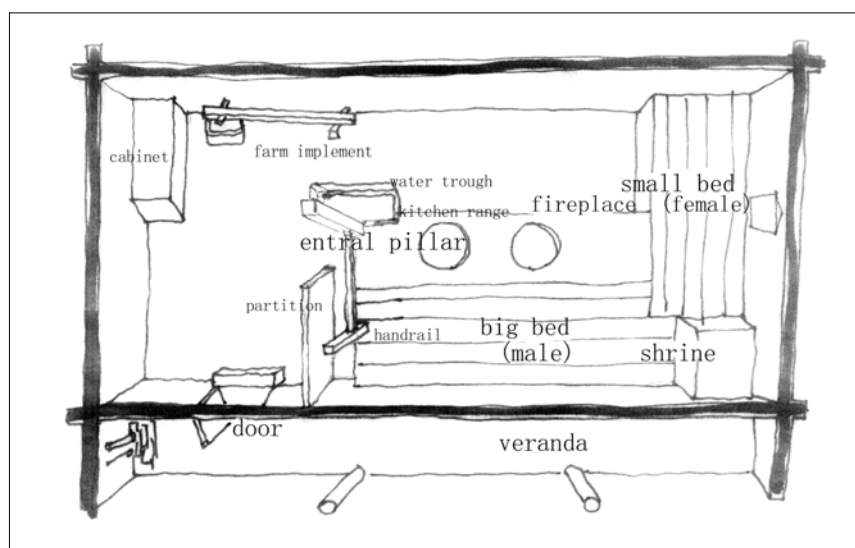


Fig. 4-13 Sketch plan of main building of *Ah-peng* courtyard



Fig. 4-14 Central pillar in main building



Fig. 4-15 “Big bed” for men in main building

Space use and daily activities of the family members

The table below (Table 4-8) lists the spaces, objects and activities in this log courtyard, also demonstrate its spatial structure. Similar to the *Gong-zheng*'s courtyard, this main building also accommodates most family functions, whether ritual or domestic, however with the storeroom outside. The “central pillar” indicating the power of sky and man, as well as the “big bed” by the south wall, are the essential

ritual signals. The shrine at the southeast corner is like a special cabinet facing the “big bed”, on which the *Ah-pengs* put their worship to the “Dong-ba” Gods and their ancestors. The fireplace offers a center for family gatherings, etc. However, the main building’s central place has been weakened since the new wing was constructed and started to be used as an independent consumptive unit for the older son’s small family six years ago.

Table 4-8 Spaces, objects and activities in the *Ah-peng* courtyard

Name of space			Objects in this space	Actions carried out in the space
Main building ①			“central pillar”, fire place, kitchen range, shrine, kitchen god, “big bed”, “small bed”, cooking utensils, stone milling (side house for storing)	Sitting, worshipping, greeting guests, cooking, eating, meeting with family, educating, working, sleeping for grandparents and grandsons
Veranda			farming tools	passageway
Wings	L	Up ④	Herbage	Storage
		Dn ②	Trough, farming tools	Raising livestock
	R ⑦	Up	3 rooms, beds, cabinets	Bedrooms for son’s family
		Dn	Herbage, corn, beds	Storage or guest room
Opposite building ③ ⑧			Trough, wood pile, main gate	Raising livestock, entrance

Note: numbers in circles indicate the spaces represented by the same numbers in Fig. 4-12

As with the *Gong-zheng* family, by similarly recording and analyzing the daily activities of the family members, the study also explores the dominance of the main building in the log courtyard of the *Ah-peng* family (Table 4-9):

Table 4-9 Daily activities of *Ah-peng* family members

(2003-10-02, busy season, sunny day, 18°C)

	<p>6am – 12am</p> <p>♂ householder: 6am, get up, go to work in fields with other family labors. 8am, come back home and has breakfast, distribute family labors, then pasture on mountain with solid food.</p> <p>♀ female member: all work in fields except mother doing housework at home.</p> <p>♂ male member: transport tourists or goods at tourist site.</p>
	<p>1pm – 7pm</p> <p>♂ householder: pasture on mountain all the daytime. 5pm, back home with cattles.</p> <p>♀ female member: 1pm, have lunch. Afternoon, daughter and daughter-in-law continue working in fields, mother do housework, take care of grandson.</p> <p>♂ male member: have lunch outside. 3pm, back home, help harvesting and drying corn.</p>
	<p>8pm – 11pm</p> <p>♂ householder: 9pm, have supper, then discuss house affair with other members around fireplace. 11 pm, go to "big bed" for sleeping.</p> <p>♀ female member: 8pm, feed fowl and livestock. 9pm, have supper. 11pm, mother go to "small bed" with grandsons for sleeping. Daughter go to new wing her room for sleeping.</p> <p>♂ male member: 9pm, have supper. 10pm, the son and his wife go to new wing upstairs their small family, watch TV and sleep.</p>
<p>♂ householder ♀ female member ♂ male member 🏠 doing housework 🌾 farm implements 🔥 firewood 🌿 herbage ➡ moving trace</p>	

It is clear that the *Ah-peng*'s main building is also the center for family gatherings, in which the male head of household always sits closest to the shrine. However this table reveals some differences between this and the *Gong-zheng* courtyard: the head of household moves outside the courtyard for his farm work and the social affairs he must deal with outside; the older son and his wife may have their own fun in the new wing instead of always staying in the old main building; and there is no special place

for the family's religious activity, like the sutra hall and Lama's residence in the Yongning Type.

The *Ah-peng* courtyard is a proper example of the Baidi Naxi courtyard selected and surveyed for the study using a participant approach. Summarizing all the information recorded in the foregoing tables and figures, the thesis considers that the gendered space in the main building also conforms to the four indexes for identifying nuclear space, and asserts that it is the ***nuclear space***, abstracted as the “men primary space”, in the *Ah-peng* courtyard.

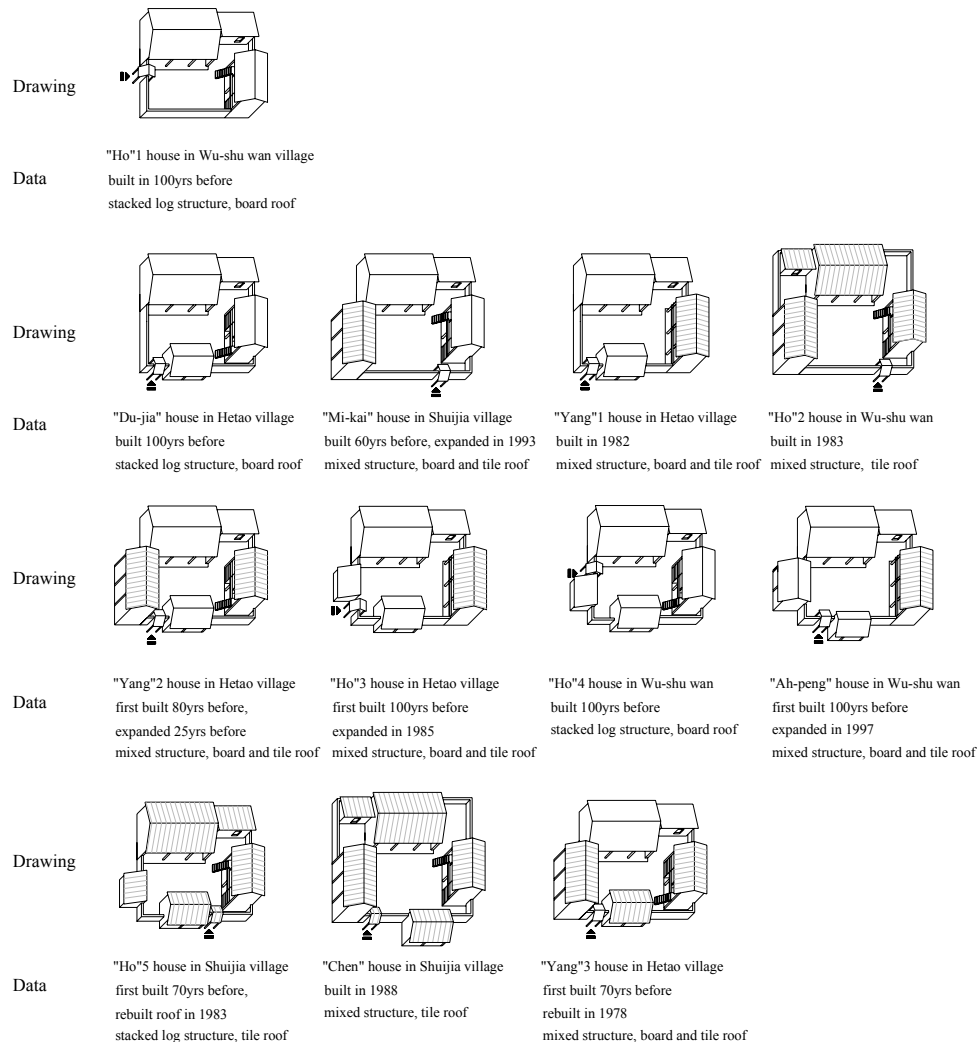
4.2.3 Nuclear spaces and types of Baidi log courtyards

In the same way as used in analyzing Yongning courtyards, the study examines all the surveyed samples of 12 Baidi courtyards, finding that the “men primary space” can be found in every courtyard sample. Though some rich households have constructed a new wing in the old courtyard and changed their daily behavior in recent years, the dominant status of the main building in the whole courtyard complex has not changed. The big dark central room, the central pillar with its male symbolism, the clearly segregated gendered space primarily for men unlike those in Yongning, and also accommodating most of the household's daily activities: these are the common characteristics of these main buildings. Thus, the study considers the “men primary space” in the main building to be the ***nuclear space*** of the Baidi courtyard. In the following analyses, the thesis will use the symbol “■” to illustrate such spaces, and categorize Baidi Naxi courtyards with such ***nuclear space*** as “Baidi” type (shortened to type B). In order to explore prototype B, subtype B and their variations, the thesis



also displays all the Baidi courtyard samples gathered in the field surveys following the order of their layout arrangements. (Fig. 4-16)

Fig. 4-16 Baidi Naxi courtyard samples and their information



Few written materials have mentioned what the prototype of the Baidi Naxi courtyard looked like. The traditional form of Baidi courtyard the thesis described in the first part of this section is drawn from a restored courtyard (originally built 150 years ago) sitting in the Dong-ba Culture Museum, which exhibits the early form of Baidi

courtyards to visitors. Traced back to the early forms and combined with the memories of Baidi elders, the study carries out the analyses and classification of Baidi Naxi courtyards based on the form of this specially restored dwelling. (Fig. 4-17)

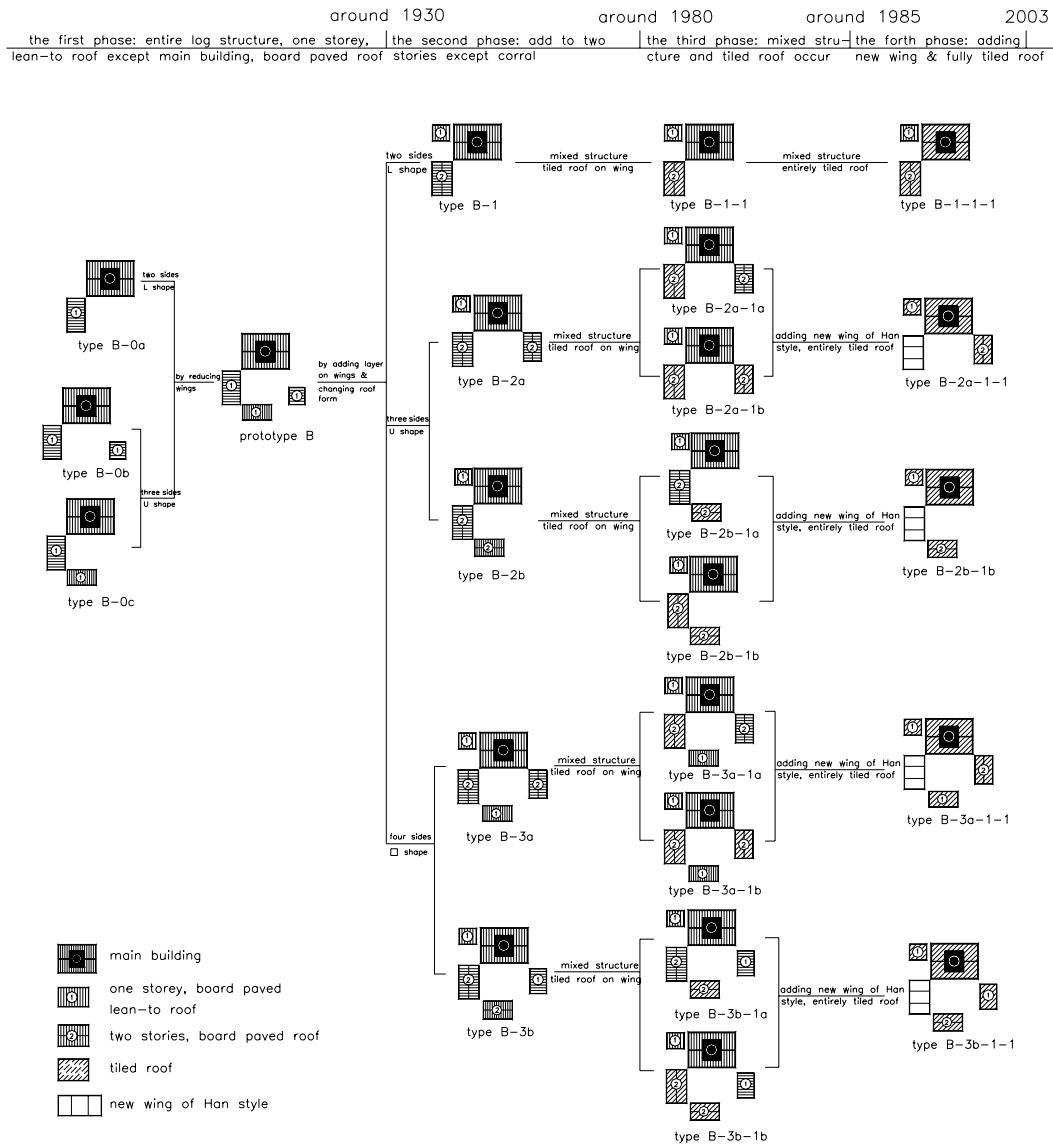


Fig. 4-17 Baidi Naxi courtyard categories and their evolutionary relations

4.2.4 “Baidi” type and its variations arranged in 4 phases

The Baidi Naxi had a comparatively convenient connection with the outside world and a progressive production mode. The distinction did exist between “a public world

of men's work and a private world of women's household service" (Engels, 1942), and became more and more significant. Though many maternal traditions were retained in Baidi, pure matrilineal families are hard to find, whereas patrilineal descent and both descent families have already been accepted in this region. Women have gradually lost their grand status in the household, and this is clearly embodied in the changes in the gendered space in Baidi Naxi courtyards.

Along with patrilineal descent being commonly accepted, whether "nuclear space", external form or special use, the "Baidi" type has changed greatly. The thesis embraces type B, sub-type B and their variations in Fig. 4-17, of which the Y axis lists those variations by adding wings to compose two-sided, three-sided and four-sided courtyards, and the X axis shows the rough evolutionary relation of type B in a temporal frame.

The first phase — before 1940

Prototype B and its variations are seldom seen nowadays. Their common features are: entirely stacked log structure, main building with "men primary space", single storey, lean-to roofs except the main building, and boards paving roof on which stones press.

The second phase — 1930~1980

Storeroom with lean-to roof was moved out from the main building. More advanced techniques brought in by trading activities during World War II, along with enlarged households, introduced two-storey and pitched roof wings into the prototype courtyard. However, other features of the prototype, such as its stacked log structure, one-storey main building and boards paving the roof, did not change.



The third phase — 1980~1985

This is a short but rapid evolutionary period for type B. Due to the policy of opening and reform, the lack of wood, and the new progressive construction technologies, diverse variations built in mixed structure occurred during this period. Dried mud brick and simple wood frames started to appear in courtyard structure except for the main building. Tiled roofs also occurred at this time. So, mixed with several structural forms and different roof materials, many variations can be counted in this period.

The fourth phase — 1985 until time of field survey

Compared with the coequal evolutionary stage of type Y, the fourth phase of type B started earlier and the variations changed greatly. A popular pattern of Baidi courtyard in these two decades is mixing two or three structure forms within the original courtyard, usually as main building and storeroom built in a stacked log structure, corral and “flower rooms” built or rebuilt in dried mud brick combined with a simple wood frame, and a completely new wing introduced in a wood frame. The courtyards in this stage all have tiled roofs. Here we can observe a strong trend whereby type B imitates or learns from the more “progressive form” of south Lijiang.

4.3 From “Yongning” type to “Baidi” type

Through detailed analyses of types Y and B, two log courtyard forms found in Yongning and Baidi, the thesis now makes some comparisons between the two dwelling forms, so as to find out how they have changed in terms of “*nuclear space*”, external form and use of space, as well as to explore how women status has altered



alongside these changes.

Types Y and B are both dwelling forms that were generated in almost exclusively agricultural societies. Although the ecological conditions of Yongning and Baidi are not always similar, low effective farming and limited technical means have made Yongning and Baidi Naxi both adopt the family as their units of production and reproduction, as well as the log courtyard house as their dwelling form. However, the distinct women status of the two regions, decided by their different modes of production, is clearly spelled out in the courtyard forms, whether in the “*nuclear space*”, the external form, or in the use of space.

Transformation in “*nuclear space*”:

Both types Y and B use the “main building + auxiliary components” mode to organize the courtyard space. The main building is the focus of the courtyard complex, accommodating most of the important ritual and domestic functions. The “*nuclear space*” in the main building has thus become the most important index for examining relationships among family members. (Fig. 4-18)

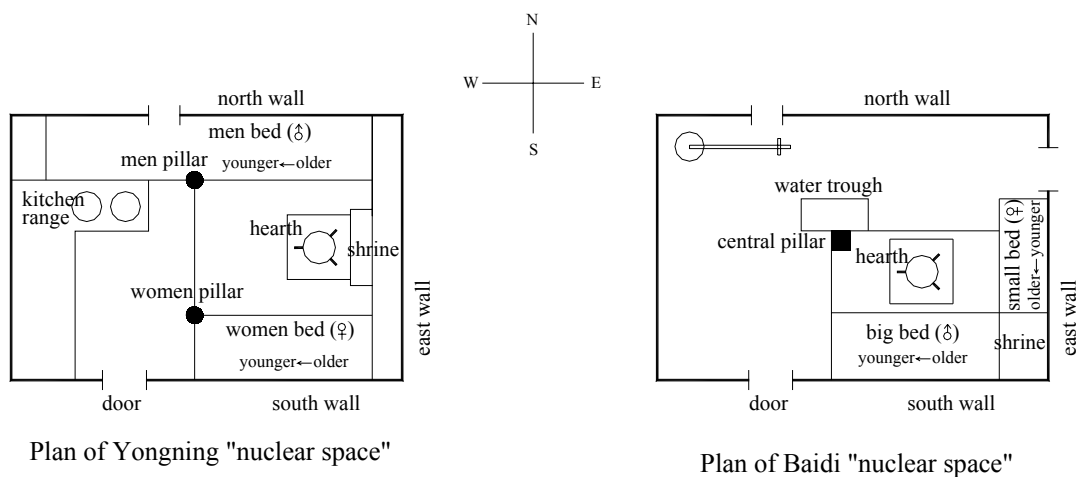


Fig. 4-18 Comparison of “*nuclear space*” in Yongning and Baidi

In his 1989 study, McKhann derives from Naxi pictographic texts that, in Naxi tradition, the north-south axis is used to mark distinctions in social status — north: superior; south: inferior (p161). Here the thesis uses two single line plans to illustrate how “*nuclear space*” changed between type Y and type B:

In these two plans, family members with superior status occupy the space by the south wall and door to face their Gods and ancestors. This is the first and most essential index by which we can identify the nature of each gendered space. Furthermore, principal pillars indicating female or male, as well the gendered space they confine, and the location of shrine and hearth, together verify the nature. What is even more important is how the daily activities and rituals are performed in the life cycle, which can reveal more about the “*nuclear space*”. Thus, through all the analyses given in the two sections above, the thesis asserts again that the “*nuclear space*” of type Y is “woman dominant space”, whereas the “*nuclear space*” of type B is “men primary space”, following the distinct women status of each society.

Changes in intrinsic space uses:

Though the Yongning and Baidi Naxi both selected log courtyard house as their residence form, the study goes on to compare the uses of space in courtyard types Y and B, in order to reflect women’s role and status in the family.

First of all, type Y has a Lama’s residence (经堂) and “flower rooms” (花房) in its complex, and the number of “flower rooms” usually is not less than that of adult women in the family, whereas type B does not (just one or two “flower rooms” remain). Second, type B has a side-wing building for the son’s independent living,



whereas type Y has no room for adult male members to sleep. Third, type Y has a storeroom accommodated in the main building, whereas type B's storeroom has been moved out. The thesis considers that such differences are generated by the distinct (matrilineal or patrilineal) family structures, marriage arrangements, inheritance systems, and local religions among the Yongning and Baidi Naxi. In modern Baidi, the property division of the patrilineal tradition having gradually been accepted, the son and his small family start to enjoy their own living space in the Han-style new wing. The focus of the main building thus begins its decline.

Transformation of external form:

For a long period until the 1980s, there were no obvious differences between the two types of log courtyard form, except that type Y had a bigger size courtyard complex and main building, as well as a more compact layout than type B because of the Yongning Naxi's large matrilineal households and united family structure. The evolution of type B took place at a more rapid pace than that of type Y, since type B started to absorb the Han-style new wing into the old log courtyard in the middle of the 1980s.

To sum up, from Yongning to Baidi, the Naxi dwelling form changes from a matrilineal big log courtyard to a patrilineal log courtyard, telling us the long history of local Naxi women, whether through "nuclear space", intrinsic space uses, or external form.



Chapter V Type and Transformation of Naxi Courtyard House in Lijiang

After exploring courtyard types and their changes in Yongning and Baidi, the study now records and discusses another 40 Naxi courtyard samples distributing in Lijiang Old City (古城), New city (新城) and suburbs (城郊), from which 3 samples will be surveyed and explored through a participant approach, so as to identify their nuclear spaces and examine the courtyard formal changes. (Table 5-1)

Table 5-1 Number and sites of surveyed samples in Lijiang

Old city (古城)			New city (新城)			Suburbs (城郊)		
survey site		sample number	survey site		sample number	survey site		sample number
street	lane*		street	lane*		country	village*	
Guang-yi street (光义街)	GY	1	Beimen street (北门街)	ZY	2	Huang-shan country (黄山乡)	BH	2
	XY	2		JH	1		JL	3
	ZY	1		XT	1		WR	1
	GB	1	Xi'an street (西安街)	2 Rd	3	Long-quan (龙泉乡)	ZH	1
	XW	1		3 Rd	1		RL	2
	JX	2		6 Rd	1	Baisha country (白沙乡)	SY	3
Xinhua street (新华街)	CW	1		7 Rd	1			
	SS	1	Xiang-shan street (象山街)	NZ	1			
Wuyi street (五一街)	Up	1		SL	1			
	Mid	1		JZ	1			
	Dn	2						
Qiyi street (七一街)	XW	1						
Total		15	Total		13	Total		12

Note *: check complete Chinese name in “Glossary of Chinese site names”

5.1 Courtyard houses in Lijiang and their nuclear spaces

5.1.1 Traditional form of courtyard house in Lijiang

Composed of three or four basic units obviously influenced by Han style, a full-developed courtyard complex in Lijiang has formal distinctions from the courtyard types in the north Lijiang area discussed above.

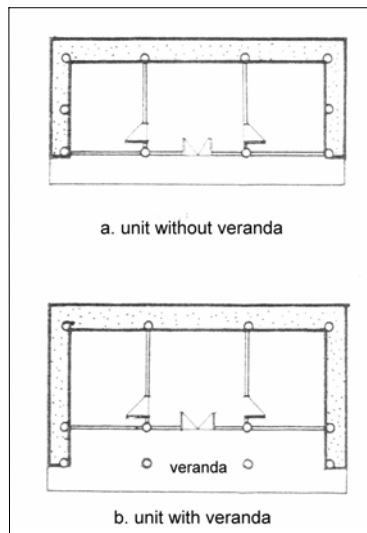


Fig. 5-1 Unit of Lijiang courtyard

“*yi ming liang an*” (“一明两暗”) is the basic unit pattern of the Han-style courtyard, usually including a central main hall with two adjacent side rooms (Yu, 2001). A regular bay system is used in the traditional division of interior space. As for the Lijiang unit, since Lijiang enjoys a mild climate all year long, the bays are squares of about 3x3m, unlike in other parts of China, where the bays are deeper than they are wide, to help shield inhabitants from the sun’s heat.

Jiang (1997) further divides the Lijiang unit into two forms — with veranda (厦子) or without (Fig. 5-1). Also because of the mild local climate, the veranda of the Lijiang unit is rather large in depth, even close to the indoor depth, facilitating many outdoor activities.

A fully developed courtyard house form in Lijiang is a U - shaped *sanfang yizhaobi* (三坊一照壁) or *sihe wutianjing* (四合五天井) complex that includes a two-storey main building (主坊), a pair of facing side wings (厢坊), a screen wall (照壁) (For *sihe*

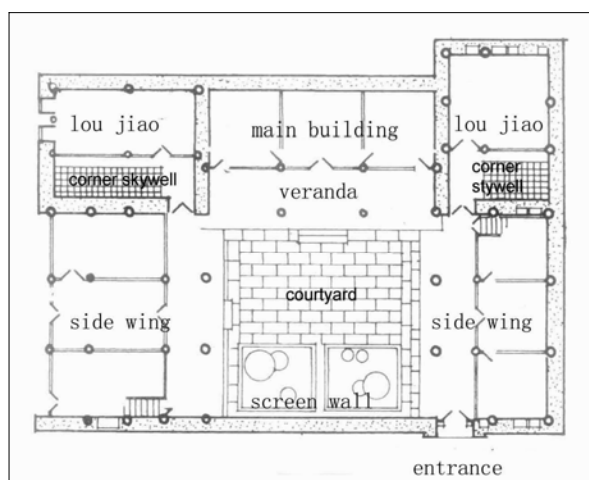


Fig. 5-2 Typical layout of *sanfang yizhaobi* (Zhu, 1988)

wutianjing is *Daozuo* (倒座) — another unit facing the main building), and an entrance that finally completes the enclosure of a courtyard. Besides the central courtyard, such dwellings also typically include two (or four) small corner skywells called “lou

jiao” (漏角). The screen wall is often 3m high and 0.48 ~ 0.60m thick. The dimensions of courtyards differ in urban and rural areas — the latter are usually larger for farmwork. The location of the entrance will be according to the main building’s orientation or the site topography, rather than following the Han style with entry always in the southeast corner. (Fig. 5-2)

The layouts of Lijiang courtyards basically follow the spatial organization by their inward-facing structures, hierarchy, axuality, symmetry and enclosing wall, evoking the Han style but not so strictly. The two-storey main building is most important within a Lijiang courtyard house, possessing a larger scale in both width and depth than other units do. Downstairs, the central main hall (明间) is a proper space for living, greeting and ceremonies, and the two adjacent side rooms are sleeping rooms for elderly family members. Upstairs are the ancestor hall, storeroom and guest rooms. Only inferior to the main building, the two side wings of the opposite units are usually occupied by younger family members or their families, or used for storage. The unit of “Dao zuo” is used according to family needs, for storage or sometimes for leasing. With access to the outside through a side gate, the “lou jiao” is usually composed of a

corner skywell and one or two corner rooms, functioning as kitchens or pigpens. The central open yard is usually paved in a centripetal design with pebbles and tiles, and disposed with some elaborate potted plants, so as to accommodate activities such as laundry drying, basking (“烤”太阳), chatting with neighbors, etc.

Much more than just a transitional space between the interior and exterior, the veranda is often as deep as 2.4m or more in order to create a broad semi-open gallery. The veranda is used as a porch-like “room” for many of the daily household activities of the Lijiang Naxi, such as entertaining guests, serving family meals, producing handicrafts, even napping. Unlike verandas elsewhere in China, used as mere passages with no furniture, Lijiang verandas comfortably accommodate sofa, table, stools, chaise longue, water basin and even small stove — the equipment needed for most domestic activities.

Since the Qing dynasty, Lijiang Naxi craftsmen have developed their own unique style of housing framework in response to local conditions and tradition. The construction of the Naxi house is wood frame. Many different framing patterns are used to achieve the desired room depth, veranda, and the appropriate storey-number. Exterior walls are adobe brick with plaster, and interior partitions are of wood. Foundations consist of drum-shaped stones placed on a firm subsurface supporting the freestanding columns above, and the screen walls are usually whitewashed. Structural members such as purlins end with graceful carvings of animal figures. Transoms are also carved into iconic figures. Column capitals and beams are painted black, white and green. Walls screening the rooms from the courtyards contain many iconographic woodcarvings, all of which attest to the importance assigned to design and to outdoor



living. The inside surfaces of screen walls along with inlaid glass, wood, marble or paint over stucco.

5.1.2 Sample 3: courtyard of *Mu* (木) family in *Baihua* (白华村) village, suburb

General conditions of *Mu* (木) family

There are 3 generations, 5 members in this Naxi family.

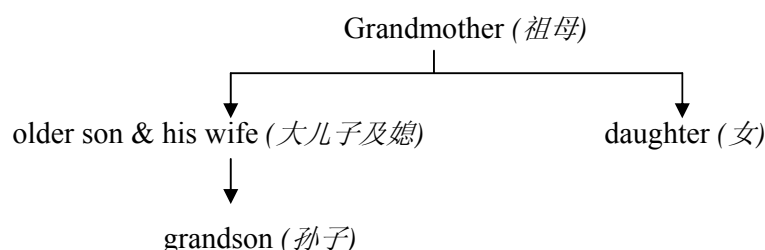


Table 5-2 Family structure of *Mu* (木)

The *Mu* (木) family is a typical farming household in this village, in which all households are of patrilineal descent. Besides earning profits from more effective farming production using more advanced instruments and machines, the *Mu* family has the ability to make money by diverse means. In this family, the older son is in charge of production activities and social affairs. As for domestic affairs, such as

Table 5-3 Production conditions of *Mu* (木) family

cultivable land	6.5 亩
farming machines	tractor and mill
produce	corn and wheat
output	4300kg / 亩
other livestock and fowl	3 cows and 8 chickens
other income	orchid growing and entertaining visitors

daily life and property keeping, these are presided over by the grandmother. (Tables 5-2 and 5-3)

Participant survey on *Mu* (木) courtyard

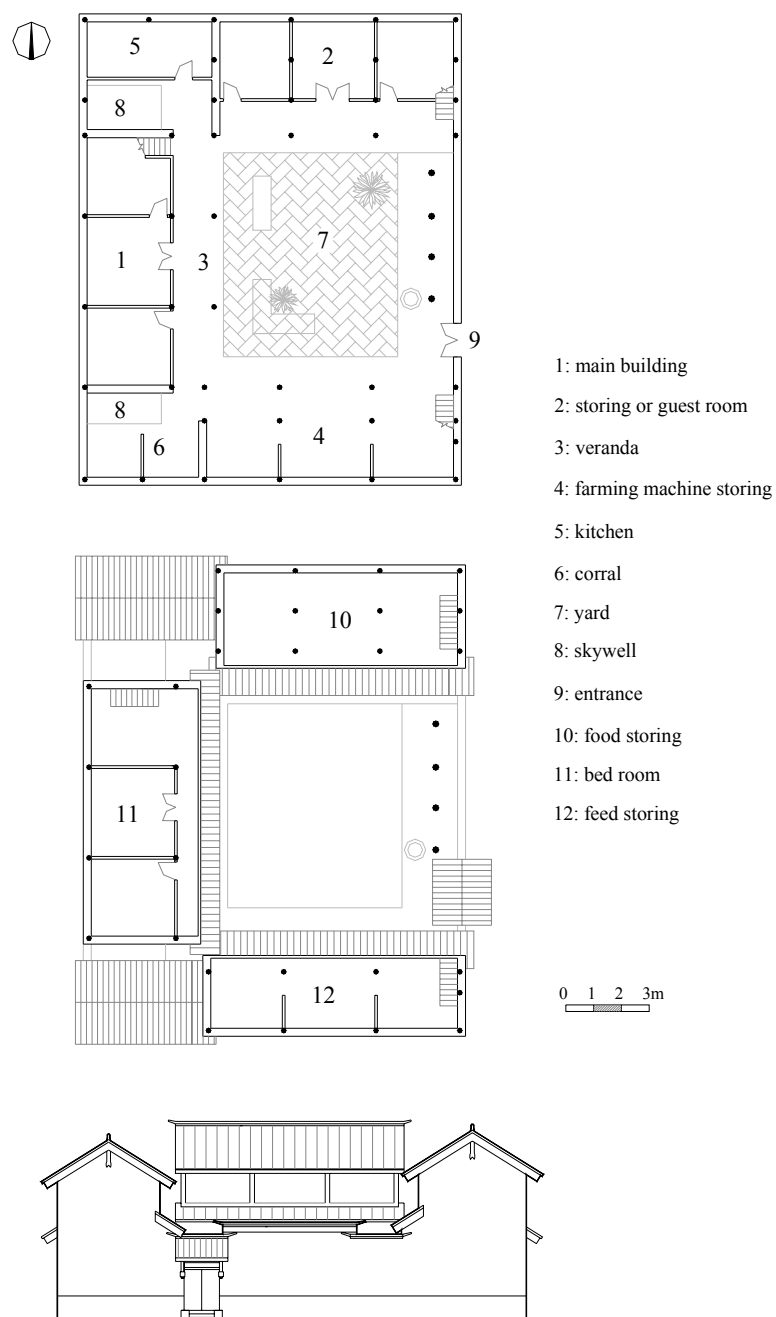


Fig. 5-3 Survey sketch of Mu courtyard

The *Mu* courtyard was first built 80 years ago, and was then repaired and expanded in 1978 and 1995 respectively. Its external form is a typical U-shaped *sanfang yizhaobi* courtyard; however some spacial functions are quite flexible to fit the needs of production and daily life, rather than following traditional usage. The upstairs rooms of the main building are occupied by the older son's small family, and no longer function as ancestor hall, storage or guest rooms. The new wing constructed in 1995 has been used for guest rooms to entertain visitors since 2001. Located separately at two "lou jiao" by the main building, the kitchen and corral no longer make the courtyard dirty and noisy like before. (Fig.5-3)

Main building and veranda

The main building is of course a three-bay unit, being furnished primarily following Lijiang Naxi traditions. The central room is little bit wider than the two side rooms, and is used as a comparatively important space for greeting



Fig.5-4 Central room of the *Mu*'s main building

respected guests, worshipping, and family reunion dinners. Besides the traditional furniture, such as a long table (万卷桌), square table (八仙桌), fauteuil (太师椅), joss, calligraphy and painting (字画), diverse modern furnishing is apparent, like a sofa,



Fig.5-5 Veranda of the *Mu*'s main building

tea table, and TV set. Thus the family members can spend more time together at night in recent years. There is no explicit space segregation for men or women, however the central axis transfixing the whole

courtyard embodies the hierarchy, axiality, and symmetry ideology of a paternal society. (Fig. 5-4, 5-5)

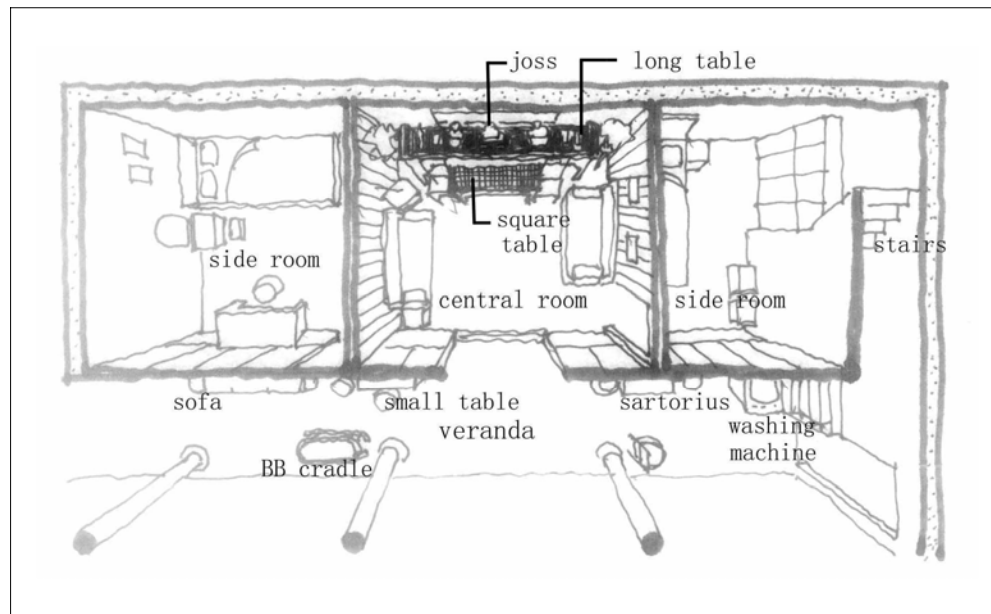


Fig.5-6 Sketch plan of the *Mu*'s main building

The veranda of this main building is rather deep, at 2.4m, accommodating the facilities for most daily activities and housework. Every family member likes to be on the veranda when they are at home, since they can feel bright sunlight and fresh air on the veranda whereas it feels dark and depressing in the central room. Besides a sofa, small square table and stools, there are even a washing machine, a baby cradle and a small stove on the veranda. Grandma *Mu* does most of her housework there, including simple cooking and baby care, and even has her noon nap on the sofa. (Fig. 5-6)

Space use and daily activities of the family members

The table below (Table 5-4) lists the spaces, objects and activities in the *Mu* courtyard. Then, through the participation approach, the study records and analyzes the daily

activities of *Mu* family members, so as to determine the dominant space in the courtyard (Table 5-5).

Table 5-4 Spaces, objects and activities in the *Mu* courtyard

Name of space			Objects in this space	Actions carried out in the space
main building ①	central		long table, square table, fauteuil, joss, sofa, tea table, TV	sitting, greeting, entertaining, family gathering
	right		wooden bed, cabinet, table, chair	grandma sleeping
	left		wooden bed, cabinet, desk, chair	daughter studying, sleeping
veranda ③			sofa, small table, stools, sartorius, washing machine, small stove, baby cradle	doing housework, sitting, dining, studying, napping
wings	L	U(12)	herbage, feed	feed storage
		D④	farming tools and tractor	storage
	R	U⑩	food, sundries	storage
		D②	beds, cabinets, table, stool	storage or guest room
yard ⑦			tree, flower trough, well, sunning rack	doing farm work, sunning
loujiao	L ⑥		cow, corral, feed trough	raising livestock
	R ⑤		gas, wood stove, cupboard, table, stool	cooking

Note: numbers in circles indicate the spaces represented by the same numbers in Fig. 5-3

By revealing how the *Mu* family uses their main building and the whole courtyard compound, the study shows that a great change has taken place in the “nuclear space” as well as in their spatial organization. Compared with their close relatives north of Lijiang, there is no explicit gendered space governing the *Mus*’ main building or the whole courtyard. Though the main building is still the principal and most utilized unit, the ritual and domestic functions which were originally accommodated together within it have been separated here: the central room serves for family ritual activities indoors, such as family gatherings, worshipping and wedding ceremonies, whereas the veranda has become a semi-open venue for most domestic functions. Thus after analyzing the spatial functions and human behavior, it is believed that the “central

room + veranda” is the most principal and most used space — the *nuclear space* — in the *Mu*’s courtyard, and it is also the “nuclear space” in numerous courtyards in Lijiang. The next two surveyed samples will verify this point.

Table 5-5 Daily activities of *Mu* family members

(2002-11-23, sunny day, 16 °C)

	<p>7am – 12am</p> <p>♂ householder: 7am, get up, transport the milk to downtown, 8am, come back home and has breakfast in veranda with family, then go to work in field.</p> <p>♀ female member: 8am, have breakfast on veranda, then do housework except daughter goes to school.</p>
	<p>1pm – 7pm</p> <p>♂ householder: 1pm has lunch outside, then go to flower market.</p> <p>♀ female member: 1pm, have lunch and nap on veranda, afternoon, daughter-in-law also go to the flower market. 4pm, daughter comes back and does her homework in veranda. 6pm, grandma starts to prepare supper</p>
	<p>8pm – 11pm</p> <p>♂ householder: 8pm, have supper with family on veranda, then watch TV and chat in central room, 11pm, go upstairs to sleep.</p> <p>♀ female member: 8pm, feed cows and livestock. then have supper. 11pm, grandmother and daughter go to side room for sleep. 9pm daughter-in-law goes upstairs with her baby.</p>
<p>♂ householder ♀ female member 🧺 doing housework 🏠 corral 🌾 farm implements 🚗 tractor 🌿 herbage ➡ moving trace</p>	

5.1.3 Sample 4: courtyard of *Ho* (和) family on *Xinhua* street (新华街), Old City

General conditions of the *Ho* (和) family

This is a traditional township family with three people — an elderly couple and their youngest son. The elder patriarch inherited the old courtyard and a small fur manufacturing workshop from his parents, and these will pass to his youngest son someday. The small workshop was prosperous in the past, but has declined in the last 20 years due to fewer and fewer Naxi traditional costumes being needed by modern Naxi people. Although grandpa *Ho* is the patriarch, grandma *Ho* decides many things as well as presiding over the workshop.

Participant survey on the *Ho* (和) courtyard

The old courtyard was built 300 years ago, and partly restored after the 1996 earthquake. Limited by a small and sloping site condition, the *Ho* courtyard's layout shows special flexibility for fitting in with its environment and its function. By the same participant approach as used above, the thesis records and analyzes this courtyard house, focusing on its nuclear space and external form. (Fig. 5-7)

The *Ho* house was first built as a small courtyard with two buildings opposite, functioning as a family unit of both production and reproduction. Sitting on a main commercial street in Old City, the *Ho* courtyard adopts the obvious layout of “front shop + back work” (前店后坊). Fur manufacturing and storing are often carried out in rooms up on the street shop, or sometimes in the veranda and yard. The side kitchen was an extension added after 1996.



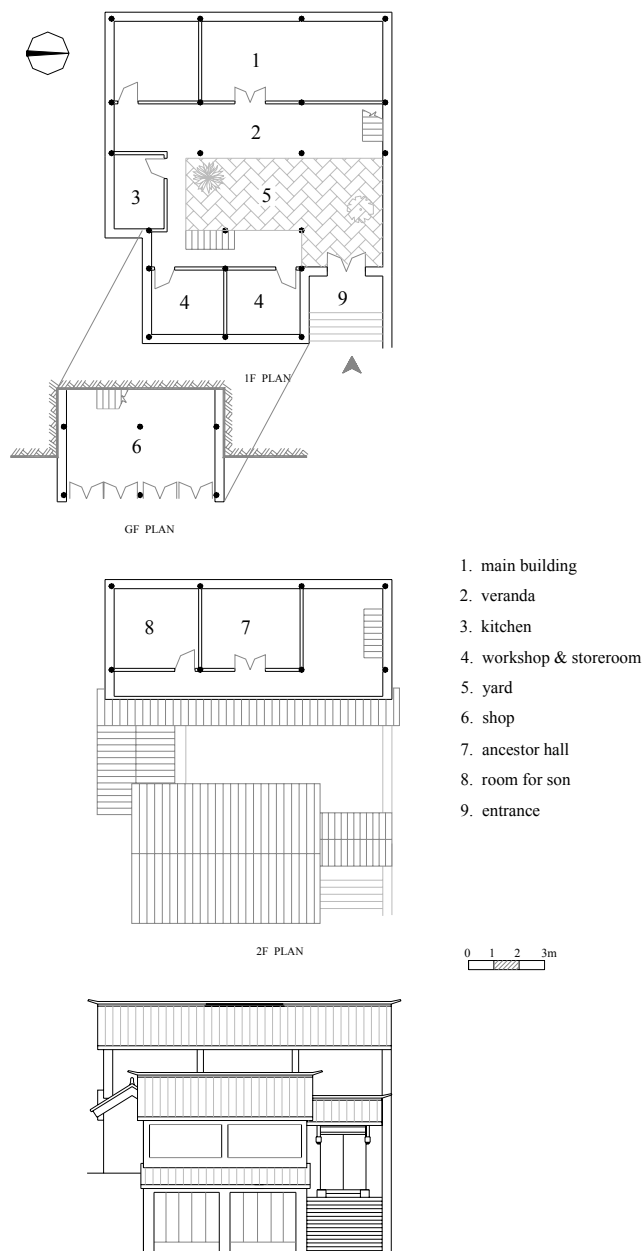


Fig. 5-7 Survey sketch of Ho courtyard

Main building and veranda

From each layer of the courtyard layout, the study finds that the courtyard has a traditional main building and veranda, however with some practical adaptations for



Fig.5-8 Living room of the *Ho*'s main building



Fig.5-9 Veranda of the *Ho*'s main building

daily life: the partition between the central and right room is removed to make a bigger living room with both traditional and modern furniture (Fig. 5-8); the right room is for the elder couple to sleep in, and the central upstairs room remains as an “ancestor hall”, seldom seen in the Old City; by the upper central room is the son’s bedroom, who is now single.

The veranda of this main building has a depth of 2.2m, also accommodating many facilities for daily activities. A cane sofa, a wooden table, an old refrigerator, a water fountain and even a sewing machine are all piled into the semi-open space, as well as a workspace for occasional fur manufacture. (Fig. 5-9)

Space use and daily activities of the family members

The table below (Table 5-6) lists the spaces, objects and activities carried out in the *Ho* courtyard. Then, through the participation approach used above, the study records

and analyzes the daily activities of the *Ho* family members, so as to explore the dominant space in the courtyard (Table 5-7).

Table 5-6 Spaces, objects and activities in the *Ho* courtyard

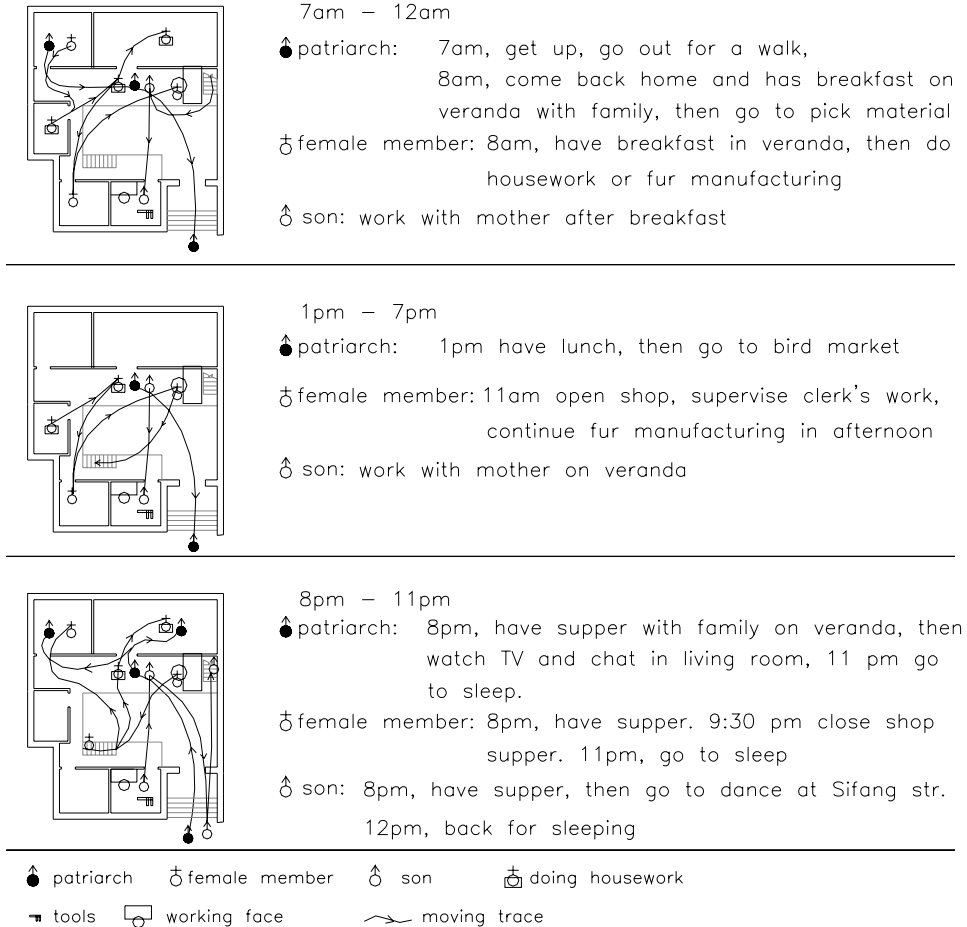
Name of space		Objects in this space	Actions carried out in the space
main building ①	central	long table, square table, fauteuil, joss,	sitting, greeting, entertaining,
	right	sofa, wall units, tea table, TV set, refrigerator	family gathering
	left	wooden bed, cabinet, desk, chair	elder couple sleeps
veranda ②		sofa, small table, stools, sewing machine, washing machine, old refrigerator, water fountain, workspace and tools	doing housework, sitting, dining, fur manufacturing
wings	L ③	gas, wood stove, cupboard, table, stool	cooking, dining
	R		
yard ⑤		tree, flower rack, well	working, sunning
dao-zuo	Up④⑨	workspaces, chairs, tools	fur manufacturing, entrance
	Dn ⑥	counter, goods shelf, chair	selling fur finery

Note: numbers in circles indicate the spaces represented by the same numbers in Fig. 5-7

The *Ho* courtyard is typical of such old courtyards in the Old city, which act as a mode of “family handicraft + commerce”. There is also no explicit gendered space governing the *Ho*’s main building or the whole courtyard. The study can still identify the “central room + veranda” as the principal space that accommodates most important ritual and domestic functions. It is just the same as the “*nuclear space*” identified in the *Mu* courtyard. The symbolism of space gender may be implied through the central axis and ancestor hall’s upper central room, which indicate the hierarchy and paternity of the household.

Table 5-7 Daily activities of *Ho* family members

(2002-11-25, sunny day, 17°C)



5.1.4 Sample 5: courtyard of *Yang* (杨) family in Xi'an Street (西安街), new city

General conditions of *Yang* (杨) family

This is a modern nuclear family with three member — a middle-aged couple and their daughter who studies at university in another city and does not live in the courtyard

except during holidays. The couples are both civil servants who work from 8am to 5pm and live on salaries. Gender statuses are equal in this modern family, though the woman decides many things in daily life.

Participant survey on the *Yang* (楊) courtyard

The *Yang* courtyard was built in 1986, restored after the 1996 earthquake and redecorated in 2001. The *Yang* courtyard is a fully “new” Naxi courtyard — new space, new material, new structure — except the central room and veranda of the main building.

Sitting on a small site no bigger than 13x14m, the courtyard is an “L” shaped building with a traditional three-bay two-story unit main building, and an east wing with a flat roof. The main building has a traditional wood frame, whereas the east wing is constructed from bricks and cement. The spatial arrangement follows the needs of modern life in this family. The central room of the main building has lost its traditional courtyard status, and instead joins with a side room to act as a big living room equipped with modern furniture. The upstairs space is the couple’s private sitting and living area. Divided into two auxiliary rooms functioning as kitchen and toilet, the east wing abandons the three-bay unit completely and is decorated with white tiles for sanitary purposes. A solar energy system is placed on the flat roof of the east wing, making a parade of its distinction from traditional Naxi dwellings. (Fig. 5-10)



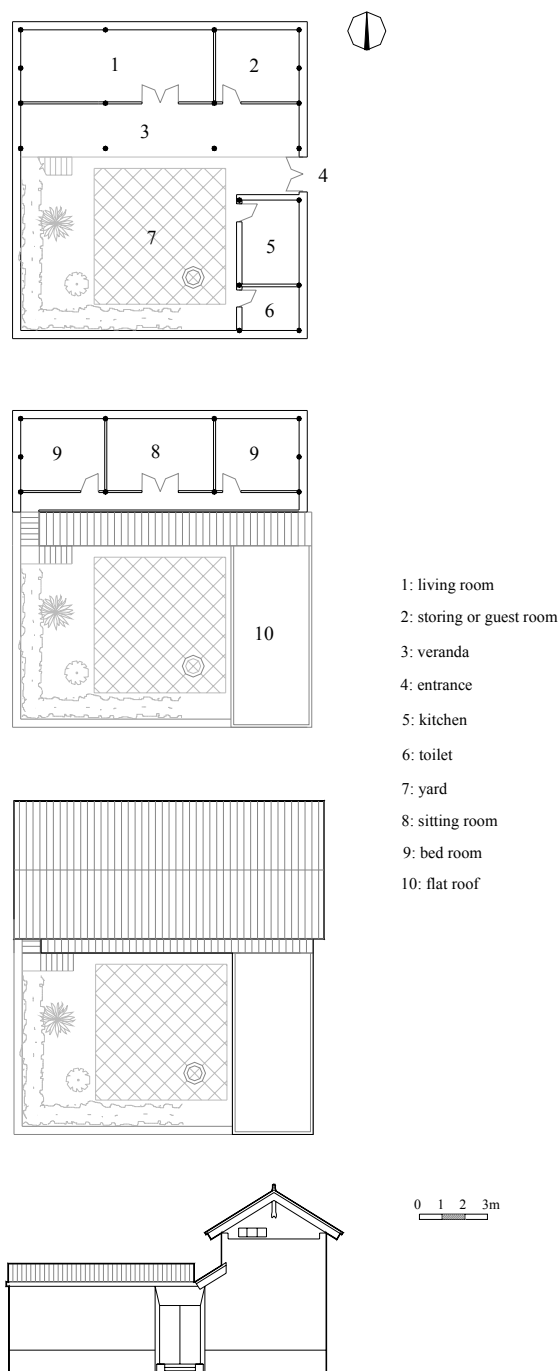


Fig.5-10 Survey sketch of Yang courtyard

Main building and its veranda

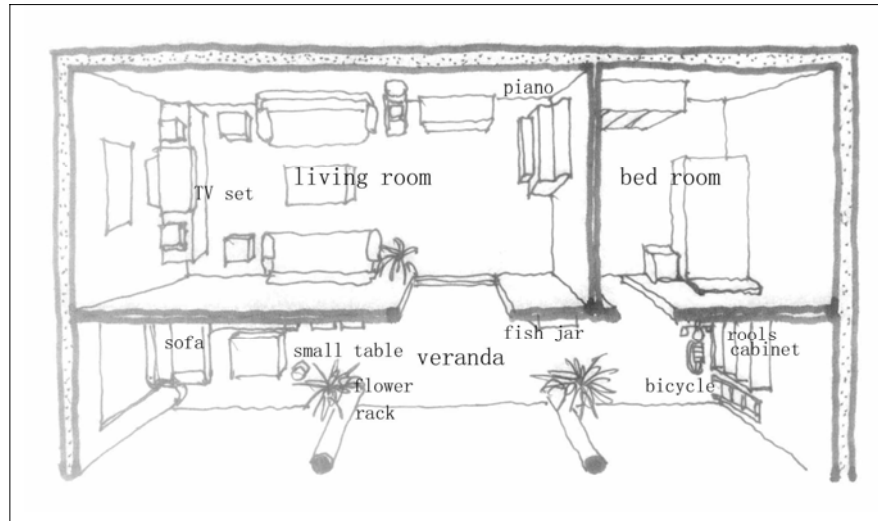


Fig.5-11 Sketch plan of the *Yang*'s main building

The sketch and picture diagrammatize how the family utilizes the space in main building and veranda. (Fig. 5-11 and 5-12)



Fig.5-12 Veranda of the *Yang*'s main building

The couple does not stay at home on work days, and are pleased to spend their spare time on the wide veranda and in the small delicate yard — sitting, chatting, greeting visitors, doing simple housework, etc. Though the

small family size and urban lifestyle make the veranda no longer a busy center of household activities, the function and dominant status of this traditional semi-open space has succeeded here.

Space use and daily activities of the family members

Though the *Yang* house is a small and simple courtyard, the study will list the spaces,

objects and activities taking place in it in as much detail as possible in order to identify its *nuclear space*. (Table 5-8)

Table 5-8 Spaces, objects and activities in the *Yang* courtyard

Name of space			Objects in this space	Actions carried out in the space
main building	cen tral	Up⑧	long table, square table, fauteuil, joss, sofa, tea table, TV	sitting, living and entertainment
		Dn①	sofa, tea table, liquor cabinet, TV table, TV set, Hi-Fi equipment, piano	greeting respected guests, entertainment
	left	Dn①		
		Up⑨	wooden bed, cabinet, desk, chair	couple studying, sleeping
	right	Up⑨	wooden bed, cabinet, desk, chair	daughter studying, sleeping
		Dn②	wooden bed, cabinet, desk, chair	store or guest room
veranda ③			sofa, small table, stools, bicycle, tools, fish jar, flower rack	doing housework, sitting, dining, gardening, watching fish
wing	Up⑩		solar energy system	sunning clothes
	Dn④⑤⑥		bavin stove, gas stove, cupboard, dining table, stools, sanitary ware, washing machine	cooking, dining, washing, bathing, entrance
yard ⑦			fruit tree, flower trough, water well, pet cage	doing housework, planting, raising pets

Note: numbers in circles indicate the spaces represented by the same numbers in Fig. 5-10

What goes on in the *Yang* courtyard is typical urban life. The thesis therefore omits a detailed report of daily activities for this family. From the data reported above, the study finds that the Lijiang mode of “central room + veranda” has experienced some changes in the *Yang* courtyard. The ritual function has been further impaired, because no explicit gendered space or worship place exists. Many domestic activities have moved to special service components, like the kitchen and toilet. Thus the veranda has become a comfortable and clean place for just sitting and living.

5.1.5 Nuclear spaces and types of Lijiang courtyards

Fig.5-13a Lijiang courtyard samples and their information

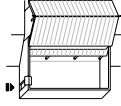
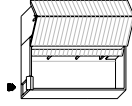
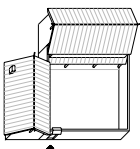
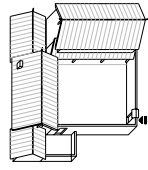
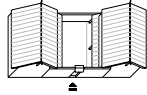

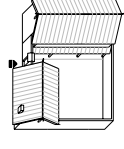
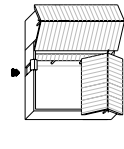
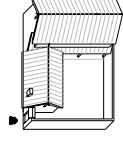
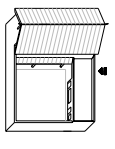
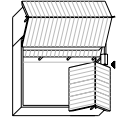
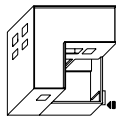
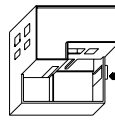
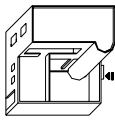
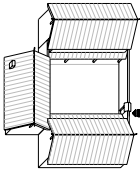
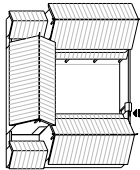
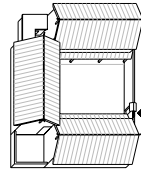
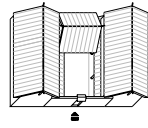
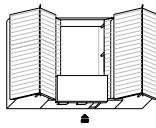
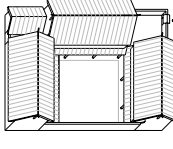
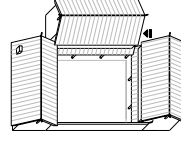
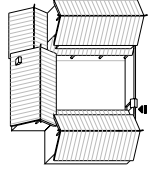
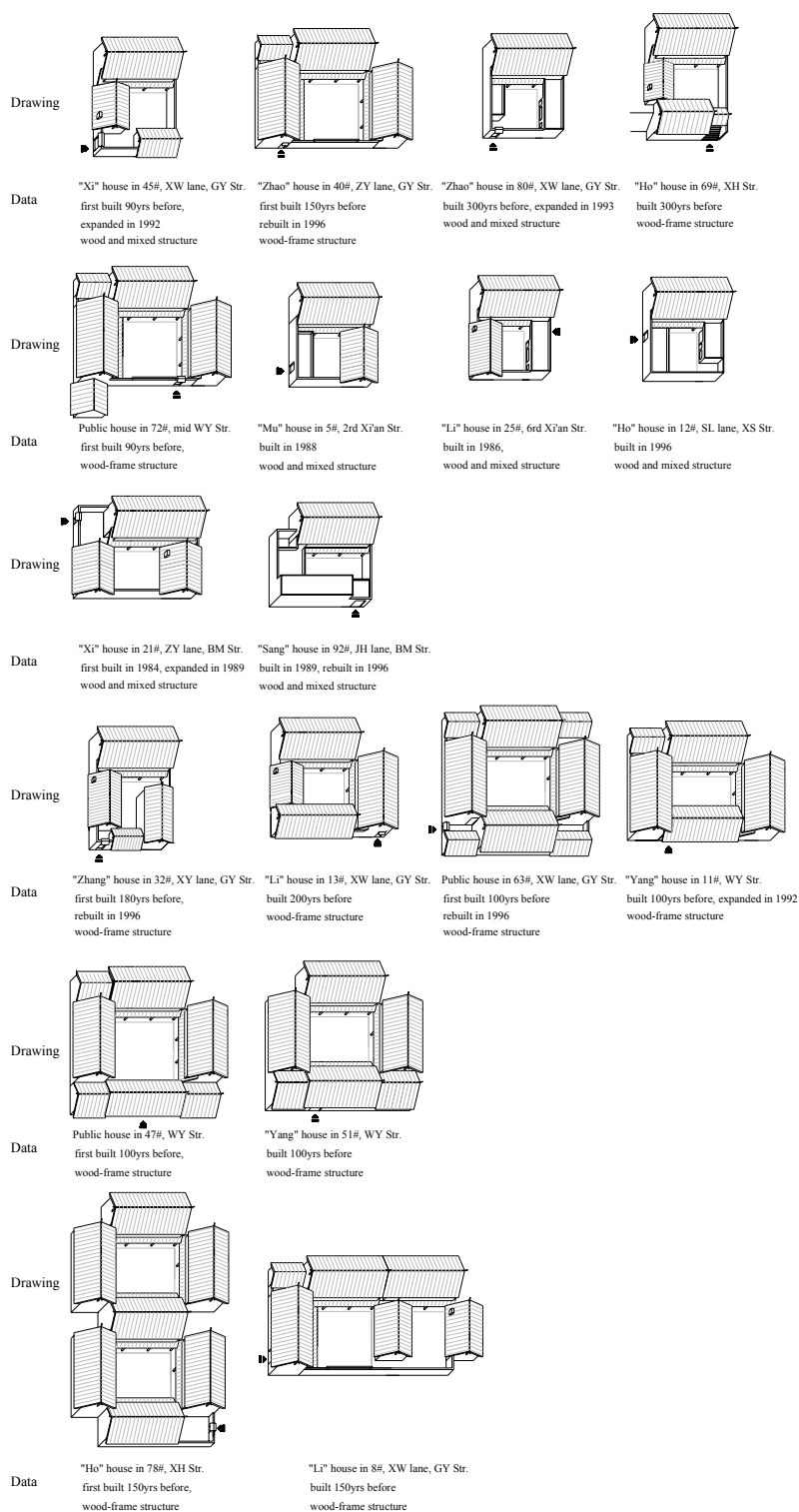
Drawing				
Data	"Zhang" house in 15# XH Str. built 150yrs before wood-frame structure	"Yang" house in 6#, 3 rd, XH Str. built in 1986 wood-frame structure		
Drawing				
Data	"Ho"1 house in 7#, JL village, BH built in 1997, in expanding wood-frame structure	"Ho"2 house in 12#, JL village, BH built 100yrs before, expanded in 1990s wood-frame structure	"Yang" house in 23#, Renli village built in 1987 mixed structure	"Wang" house in 1#, XL lane, GY Str. built 200yrs before, rebuilt in 1996 wood-frame structure
Drawing				
Data	"Li" house in 31#, GY lane, GY Str. built 150yrs before, expanded in 1996 wood-frame structure	"Zhang" house, 116#, ZY lane, GY Str. built 80yrs before, expanded in 1996 wood-frame structure	"Ho" house in 24# 2rd, Xi'an Str. built in 1988 wood and mixed structure	"Yang" house in 27#, 2rd, Xi'an Str. built in 1986, rebuilt in 1996 wood and mixed frame structure
Drawing				
Data	"Niu" house in 9#, 7rd Xi'an Str. built in 1988, rebuilt in 1996 wood and mixed structure	"Ho" house in 10#, NZ lane, XS Str. built in 1997 mixed structure	"Li" house in 6#, JZ lane, XS Str. in construction mixed structure	"He" house in 107#, XT lane, BM Str. built in 1998 mixed frame structure
Drawing				
Data	"Mu" house in 1st team, BH village first built in 1945 expanded in 1982 wood and mixed structure	"Mu" house in 8#, WR village built 80yrs before expanded in 1978 and 1995 wood and mixed structure	"Zhang" house in 17#, JL village first built in 1972 expanded in 1982 and 1992 wood and mixed structure	"Ho" house in 19#, RL village built 100yrs before wood-frame structure
Drawing				
Data	"Li" house in 42#, RL village first built 100yrs before, expanded in 1996 wood and mixed structure	"He" house in 14#, SY village first built 100yrs before expanded in 1940 and 1985 wood and mixed structure	"Mu" house in 16#, SY village built 150yrs before, expanded in 1987 wood-frame structure	"Ho" house in 41#, SY village built 150yrs before wood-frame structure

Fig.5-13b Lijiang courtyard samples and their information



The study examines all the main buildings and verandas of 40 courtyard samples picked from Lijiang Old City, new city and suburb (Fig. 5-13). Though the construction dates of these courtyards are quite different, the extrinsic forms have not changed much: even though the central rooms of the main building have gradually lost their important roles, the central rooms and wide verandas continue to display their dominant status in Lijiang courtyards and the Lijiang Naxi's daily lives. The Lijiang Naxi see the veranda as their sitting room, dining room, workshop, social arena and an interface with sunlight and green plants. The study thus considers the "central room + veranda" to be the *nuclear space* of the Lijiang courtyard, and uses the symbol "☀" for it in the next illustration, then categorizes these courtyards with such *nuclear space* as "Lijiang" type (shortened to type L). Compared with the gendered "nuclear space" in the Yongning and Baidi types, the thesis identifies two kinds of transition existing in the transformation process. The first is a qualitative leap from integrative gendered space accommodating both ritual and domestic functions indoors, to segregated ritual space in the central room and primary domestic space in the semi-open veranda. This kind of segregation is greatly influenced by the Han style, but retains Naxi expression. The second kind of transition has occurred in recent years, and displays the decline of the ritual function, as well drawing some serving functions out to the veranda. Such quantitative change will continue.

Though we know from Xiu's diary (1693) that the Lijiang Naxi lived in log courtyards during the Ming Dynasty, no previous written material describes what kind of log courtyards they were. The thesis therefore temporarily omits the early phase of the Lijiang type (called type L), then analyzes and classifies Lijiang Naxi courtyards based on the "three-bay unit" component, covering the five types defined by Zhu



(1988) and more new subtypes since the 1980s (Fig. 5-14).

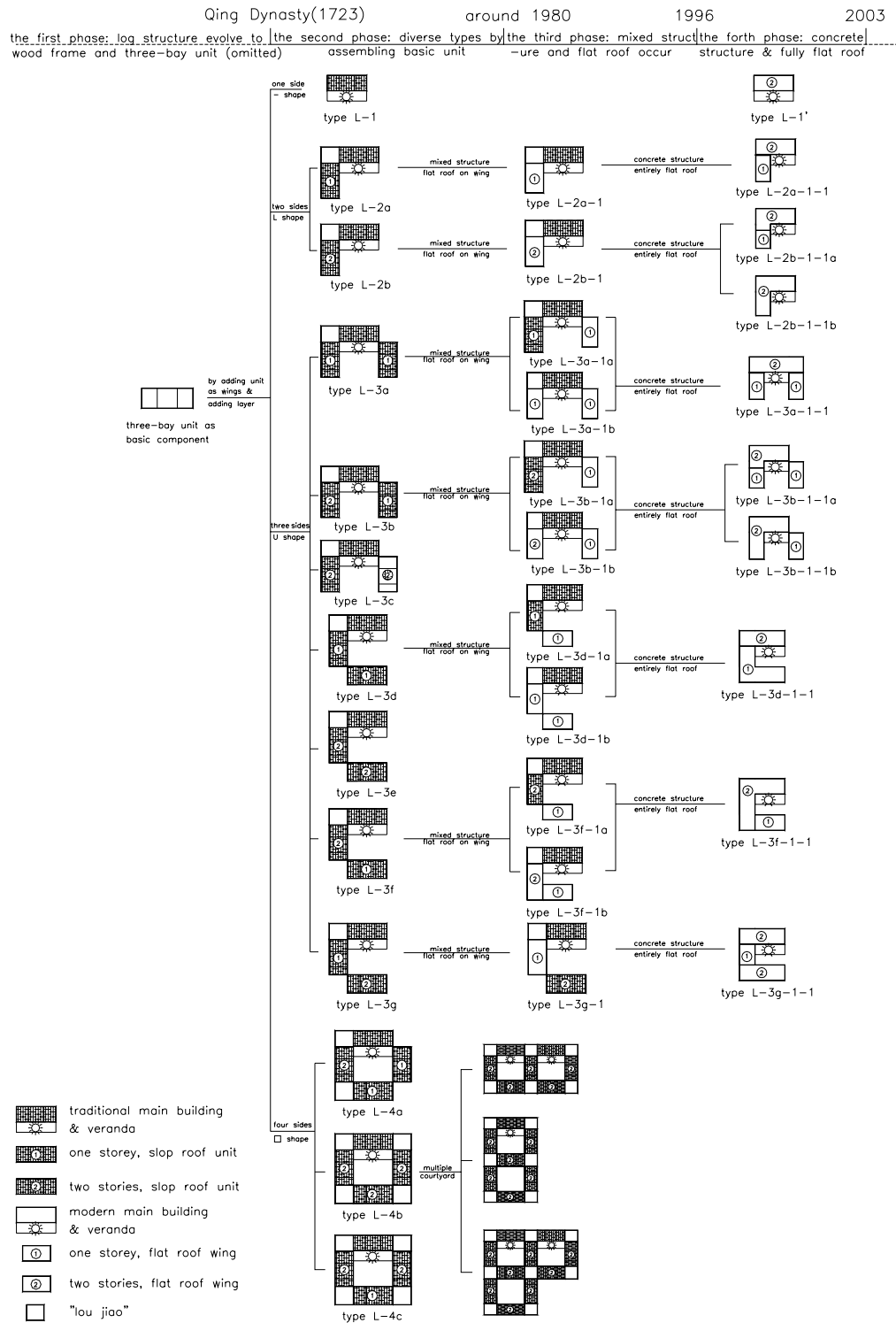


Fig. 5-14 Lijiang Naxi courtyard categories and their evolutionary relations

5.2 “Lijiang” type and its variations, arranged in 4 phases

“Lijiang” type covers the old and new courtyard houses distributed in Lijiang City and its suburban and rural areas. It has experienced a more complicated and drastic transformation process than types Y and B, which can be attributed to the change in women status in Naxi society, as well as the influence of Han culture.

Although the consensus among scholars (Goullart, 1957; Daffner, 1992; and McKhann, 1995) is that matrilineality was once characteristic of the Lijiang Naxi, and Xu’s diary (1639) mentions that relevant log dwellings did exist in Lijiang city (Dayan) in the Ming Dynasty, it is difficult to be sure which kind of log dwelling they were due to the lack of detailed written material. Were they type Y, type B or another type? What the study can assert is that the prosperity of commerce and the handicraft industry since the Qing Dynasty has further confirmed the principal status of Lijiang Naxi men in family production, reproduction and inheritance. Therefore, combined with the influence of Han culture, the Lijiang courtyard started to quit its original form and spatial ideology completely in the Qing Dynasty, especially after 1723 “gai tu gui liu” (“改土归流”).

There are other two important phases during the entire evolutionary process of type L. Rapid industrialization, urbanization and the recent boom of tourism since the 1996 earthquake have introduced not only more advanced construction technologies, but also a modern life style, and new gender relationships and spatial ideology into Lijiang. More and more women have become urban labors in recent years and earn as much money as men do. The new concept of equal gender relationships as prescribed



by marriage law is commonly accepted whether in the city or in rural villages. Therefore, as an expression of family space closely related to women, the spatial organization of type L inevitably has to change. Another powerful factor impacting on type L formal changes is the introduction of concrete structure technology. The new technology was often used on unimportant wings first, but more recently is utilized to construct the entire courtyard.

The first phase — before the Qing Dynasty (1723)

Prototype L, whether derived from type Y or type B, fulfilled its first drastic transformation during this phase: the Lijiang courtyard started to quit its original form characterized by the leading main building, stacked log structure and incompact spatial conditions, and began using the Han style “three-bay” unit to compose a diverse courtyard in a wooden frame. The “*nuclear space*” is divided into two parts: “central room + veranda”, but has lost its clear gender segregation.

The second phase — Qing Dynasty ~1980

As a result of commercial prosperity during this period, many courtyards composed of “three-bay” units were built, rebuilt and expanded all over Lijiang city (Dayan). Fig. 5-14 lists more than 16 variations and possibilities by assembling a two-storey main building and one- or two-storey wings to: 1) “—” shape courtyard with only the main building; 2) “L” shape, two-sided courtyard; 3) “U” shape, three-sided courtyard; 4) “□” shape, four-sided courtyard and multiple courtyard variations.

The third phase — 1980~1996



This is the early phase when concrete structures and flat roofs started to be used in partially rebuilding or extending diverse courtyards. They were seldom used, however, in four-sided and multiple courtyards. Such new wings were constructed in bricks and cement, however they were not always in traditional three-bay dimensions or traditional size. The new wings usually function either as a modern furnished living room for a son's small family, or an extension to a modern kitchen and toilet, as well breaking the hierarchy, axially, and symmetrical ideology of the traditional Lijiang courtyard. At least 11 variations are observed and listed in this stage, found in both Old City and the new city.

The fourth phase — 1996 ~ field survey

Concrete structures and flat roofs have been roundly used to construct diverse new courtyards in this phase. Wooden frames have disappeared completely from these new courtyards. What has not changed is: 1) the main building is still built as a three-bay unit, however it is not always divided into three rooms; 2) still as “*nuclear space*”, the commodious veranda functions just as before. Limited by site (no bigger than 14x14m) and family size, the “L” shape two-sided courtyard is in the majority (about 80%), whereas the “—” shape and “U” shape courtyard are both in 10% of cases. Altogether, 10 new variations can be found in this phase.

5.3 Formal changes of Lijiang courtyard

In this section, the formal changes are discussed in two lines — (1) comparing the “Lijiang” prototype to the “Yongning” and “Baidi” types; (2) formal variations of the “Lijiang” type itself — so as to interpret the formal changes explicitly.



5.3.1. From types Y and B to prototype L

If we see the courtyards in the Lijiang rural area (as well as many in the Old city) as somewhat similar to prototype L, the common nature of the three formal courtyard types is — they all act as the family unit of production and reproduction. However the rest change greatly, whether in “nuclear space”, or in space organization, or in external form.

The most visible change is in external form. It seems that type L has learned a lot from the Han courtyard: “3-bay” unit, wood frame, dried mud brick wall, tiled pitch roof, etc., quitting the form of the ancestor’s log house completely. However this is just the outer covering: space organization can tell something about social relations instead. Inward-facing structures, hierarchy, axuality, symmetry and enclosing walls, evoking the Han style, strongly confirm the Naxi paternity society.

It is the semi-open veranda, furnished well for daily life instead of just as a passage, as well as the ancestor worship place that actually indicate formal changes in the “*nuclear space*”. The veranda draws out those daily activities originally carried out indoors, signalling the segregation of ritual function and domestic function. The central shrine in type Y or the corner shrine in type B are the places where the Naxi offer sacrifices to both gods and ancestors; however in the type L main building, a memorial tablet especially for the patrilineal ancestors (祖先牌位) is put at the long table in the central room or its upper room, occupying the end of the central axis which dominates the whole courtyard as well emphasizes the hierarchy and symmetry



of a paternity family. As for extensive god worship, this has already lost its dominance in Lijiang Naxi family and society.

5.3.2. Formal variations of “Lijiang” type itself, recent after 1950s

Function of Lijiang courtyard dwelling

As the study asserts above, most Naxi courtyard dwellings function as both production and reproduction spaces. The inhabitants' occupation can often be identified easily through the dwelling's form, such as the farm courtyards in Lijiang rural areas (Huangshan and Baisha), and the workshop courtyards in traditional handicraft streets (Renli village and Xinhua Street) and traditional commercial streets (Lijiang Old City). In the second half of the 20th century, especially the last decade, Lijiang began a period of rapid industrialization and urbanization. Drastic changes in mode of production and life style made the Lijiang courtyard no longer an associated unit of both production and reproduction. The new style of Lijiang courtyard acts just as a space for family reproduction, and the building size becomes smaller and smaller.

Nuclear space and main building

The “*nuclear space*” in type L is divided into two parts, the “central room + veranda”, without clear gender segregation; however the male ancestor worship and some taboos for women stipulated within the central room have fulfilled the symbolization of a patrilineal household. For hundreds of years, this nuclear space has been the key space and the steadiest character that can identify type L and its variations. Some changes can be observed, however, since the middle of the 1990s. Some domestic



functions (such as washing, cooking, etc.) have moved further to special areas such as well-equipped kitchens and toilets.

Techniques and construction

Construction technique has played a more active role in the formal evolution of type L since the 1980s. The introduction of concrete and steel has made more type L variations possible, such as big rooms, independent staircases, flat roofs and cantilever corridors. At the time these techniques began to be utilized, the traditional form also started to fade out.

To sum up, therefore, during the process of formation and transformation of type L, different factors have influenced its formal changes in different phases. *Mode of production* and *women status* have been the primary influences on the formation of prototype L, whereas urbanization and new techniques are the more important factors that have changed the traditional courtyard to a pure living unit.



Chapter VI Conclusions

Having completed the above reports and analyses, the study will draw its conclusions in this chapter. First, this chapter answers the main research problem of this study — how *women status* impacts on formal changes in Naxi dwellings. The chapter will then briefly explore other possible factors that influence house form and how they work. Lastly, the thesis will examine the future of the research field and its applications in the sustainable development of Naxi courtyard houses in Lijiang area.

6.1 Naxi women status and Naxi dwelling forms

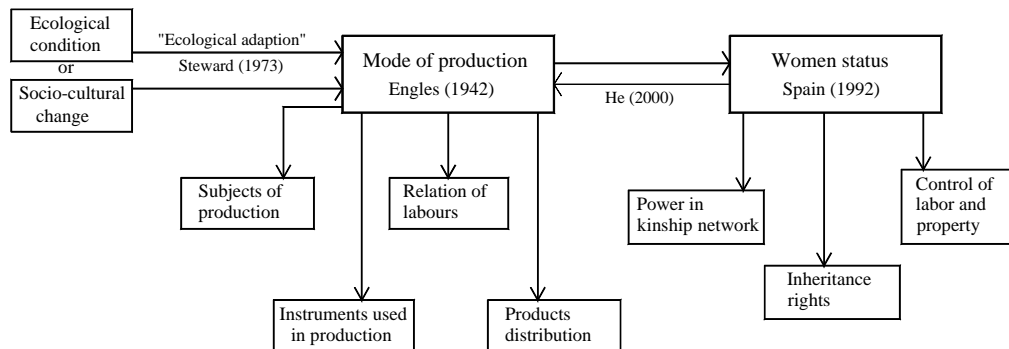
Changes in Naxi women status and roles

A discussion and analysis of how *women status* has changed in the three selected regions is the focus of chapter 3. At the end of chapter 3, the thesis codes all obtained data about *mode of production* and *women status* into two integrated tables (Table 3-4 and 3-5). By intensively exploring these related variables, the study shows that different tendencies with regard to *women status* exist in the 3 selected regions, and these are closely related to the region's ecological condition and *mode of production*. From Yongning to Baidi, then to Lijiang, Naxi *women status* changes from highest to low, then to still lower. This changing tendency is congruous with many anthropologists and sociologists' views on the relationship between production and women. Commonly, the mode of production is capable of deciding *women status*. However, this causal relationship is sometimes reversible. Ethnologist He Zhonghua (2000) considers that matrilineal family structure and high *women status* might be



negative forces which block Moso socio-economical progress in modern Yongning. As for one given region (such as Lijiang), there may exist reiterative changes of *women status* in a temporal context, usually subsequent to some great socio-cultural changes in history. All these changes become the forces which shape Naxi daily lives and their living space. The diagram below illustrates the variables examining *mode of production* and *women status*, as well the relationship between the two. (Table 6-1)

Table 6-1 Relationship between mode of production and women status



Spatial and formal changes of Naxi dwellings in Lijiang area

In chapters 4 and 5, the thesis focused on how the *nuclear space* and dwelling forms have changed in Lijiang area. Following the established three group criteria of external form, intrinsic space and *nuclear space*, the thesis classifies all surveyed samples and documented forms into three main categories — “Yongning”, “Baidi” and “Lijiang” types, and then arranges their prototypes and diverse variations in a chronological framework, so as to examine the typological transformation of Naxi dwellings more thoroughly. This section will integrate the changing thread as well as illustrate this typological transformation by Table 6-2.

Table 6-2 Comparison of Lijiang courtyard forms

	Type Yongning	Type Baidi	Type Lijiang		typical Han courtyard
			traditional	new	
location	Wa-la pian village	Wu-shu wan village	Baihua village	27#, north Xi'an road	Beijing
layout (dimension)					
nuclear space					
elevation					
height	main building	1	2	2	1
	wings	2	1 or 2	1 or 2	1
	gate building	2	1 or 2	1 or 2	1
house function	production and reproduction	production and reproduction	production and reproduction	reproduction	both or only reproduction
yard function	production	production	production	reproduction	both or only reproduction
main building	large, female space dominance	large, male space dominance	3-bay unit	3-bay unit	3-bay unit
roof form	sloping	sloping	sloping	sloping + flat	sloping
structure	stacked log	stacked log + wood frame	wood frame	wood frame + concrete	wood frame
nuclear space and spatial organization					

Several key changing points in the transformation process are now asserted as follows:

Multilineal evolution — it is a multilineal thread of which three types of Naxi courtyard evolve individually. “Yongning” type, labeled by maternal nuclear space in

the main building, has evolved ‘adagio’ and steadily for hundreds of years (Fig. 4-9). However, steadily governed by male nuclear space, the “Baidi” type has evolved actively since the Lijiang-style three-bay unit was introduced in the 1980s (Fig. 4-17). The “Lijiang” type, on the other hand, has experienced a much more frequent and drastic evolutionary process, whether in nuclear space, spatial function, external form or structure (Fig. 5-14).

House function — The Naxi courtyard has changed from an associated unit of production and reproduction (type Y, type B and type L before the 1950s) to a unit just for family reproduction (type L variations since the 1980s). The study considers this to be the inevitable outcome of progress in the *mode of production* as well as industrialization after the 1950s.

Nuclear space — the study asserts that “*nuclear space*” is the most noticeable feature in the transformation process of the Naxi dwelling form. Different Naxi ethnic groups (such as the three groups selected for this study) present their social relations in this space in their distinct voices.

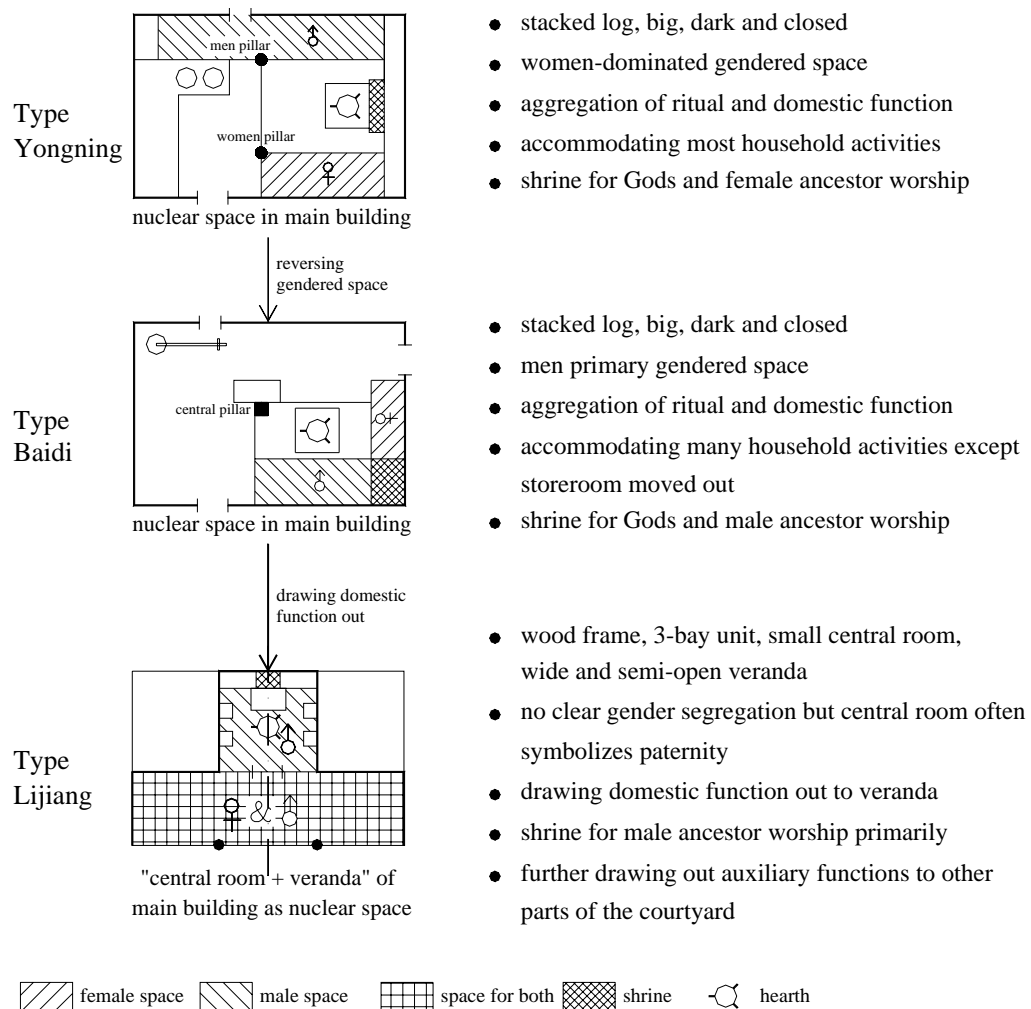
Yongning and Baidi Naxi use their age-old ways rooted in tribal legend or religious myth to integrate their “*nuclear space*” with several opposite concepts, such as Gods and humans, male and female, ritual and domestic. For example, both Yongning and Baidi Naxi see the side by the south wall (facing their north Gods and ancestors) as the superior side, thus family members with higher gender status usually occupy this area; they use their big dark main building to accommodate most ritual and domestic functions, however the Yongning Naxi cut one tree into two round central pillars to



indicate distinct gendered spaces as well women's superior status, whereas the Baidi Naxi establish man's power in the family by a four-sided central pillar.

Influenced by Han culture however the Naxi traditions remain, the Lijiang Naxi dismantle the original main-building aggregation into ritual functions indoors and domestic functions on the semi-open veranda. An invisible central axis (ancestor's tablet located at its end), hierarchy, and symmetry of the courtyards are symbols consolidating paternity in the Lijiang Naxi family.

Table 6-3 Nuclear space changes in Naxi courtyard house



Space organization — Both “Yongning” and “Baidi” types adopt the mode of “main building + auxiliary components” to organize their courtyard space, which together acts as one completed living unit in incompact layout. The “Lijiang” type uses the “3-bay” unit as its basic courtyard component, which can act as an independent living unit in itself. The layout of type L basically follows the spatial organization by its inward-facing structures, hierarchy, axuality, symmetry and enclosing wall.

The thesis thus simplifies the courtyard formal changes in the geographical frame of the Lijiang area: the Naxi dwelling form changes from maternal log courtyard in Yongning to patrilineal log courtyard in Baidi, then to wood frame paternity courtyard in Lijiang (Dayan). If we examine them in a temporal frame, the Naxi dwelling’s *nuclear space* and external form does not always change at the same pace. Once the *nuclear space* has been chosen, it becomes the steady core of the entire courtyard space, whereas the external form (such as the structure form, layout, layer, and roof form) usually changes more easily and frequently.

6.2 Women status and other factors that affect formal changes

In this section, the study carries out a detailed analysis by putting the variables of *mode of production*, *women status*, *nuclear space* and dwelling form into a context/form diagram (see Fig.2-7), so as to find out how *women status* plays a dominant role in the process of formal changes. (Fig. 6-1, 6-2, 6-3 and 6-4, thick line shows primary factors and their influence.)



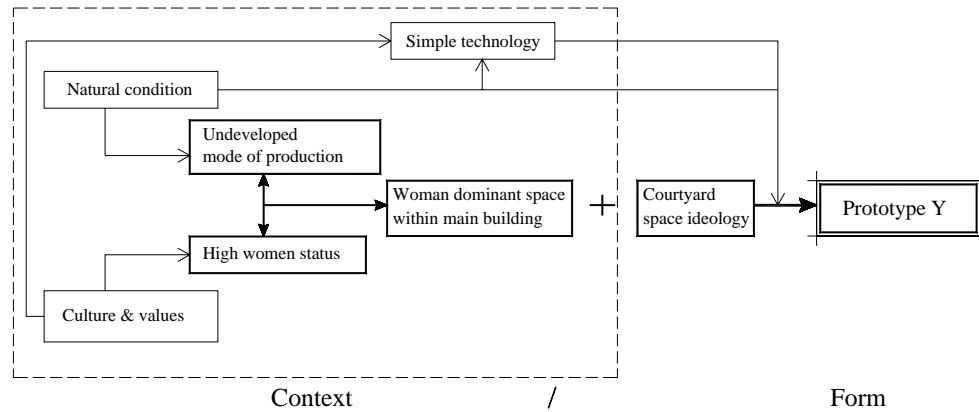


Fig. 6-1 Diagram for formation of prototype Y

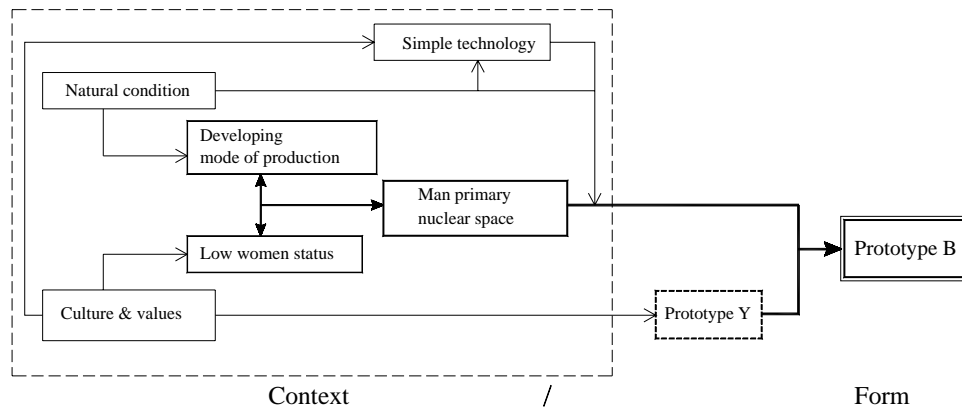


Fig. 6-2 Diagram for formation of prototype B

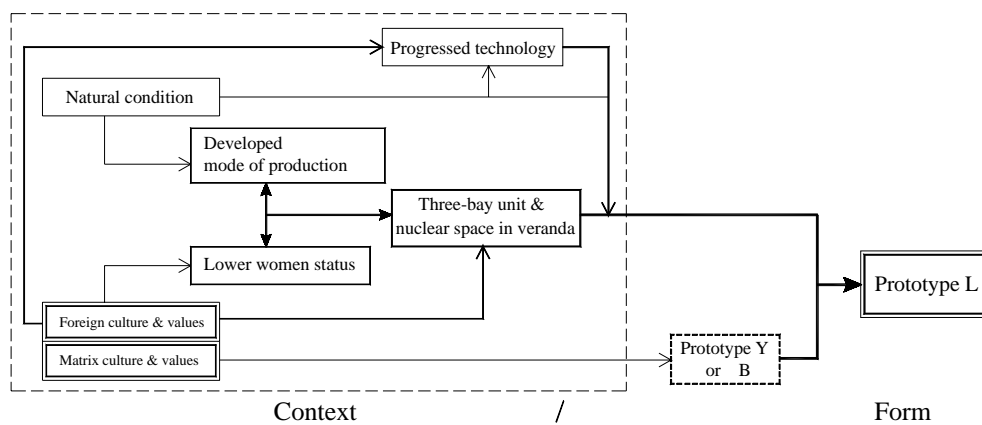


Fig. 6-3 Diagram for formation of prototype L

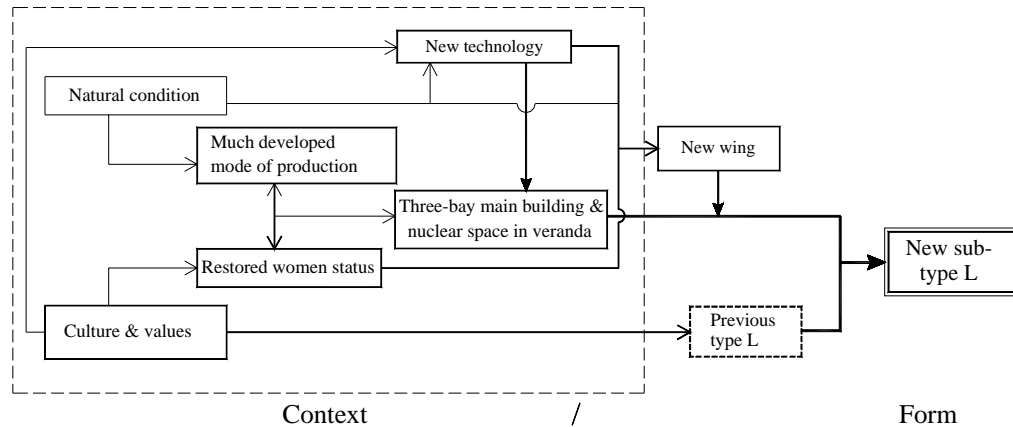


Fig. 6-4 Diagram for evolution of type L after 1996

Women’s role — these diagrams, combined with the discussions in chapters 4&5, further verify that *women status* usually plays a key role in the transformation process of the Naxi dwelling form.

- 1) Basically, *women status*, which is determined by the *mode of production*, is the primary power behind the formal changes in Naxi dwellings.
- 2) Through impacting primarily on the “*nuclear space*” in the main building, *women status* (whether high or low) achieves control of the space structure and courtyard form. For example in type Y, Naxi women’s absolute status and role in the family and farming production not only make the “*nuclear space*” a female dominant space dominance, but also keep female “flower rooms” as important components of such a big courtyard.
- 3) *Women status* may also change the spatial function and courtyard size. In a Baidi patrilineal household, only one son and his family can live with the head of household, whereas other sons and daughters must move out after marriage. Thus type B often uses a smaller courtyard size to hold a smaller family size.

- 4) In the process of typological transformation, the “*nuclear space*” decided by *women status* is often invariant, whereas construction technology and auxiliary space are usually changeable. Recently in Baidi, many courtyard houses have appear in which there is co-existence of the old main building and a new wing. The new wing is often built with a wood frame following the Lijiang pattern, however it cannot erode the dominance of the log main building.
- 5) Within the evolutional process of one category, new cultures and values, technical factors, and household conditions often work on wings or auxiliary parts first and more effectively. Invariance in the main building as well as the veranda usually means such changing power is resisted for quite a long time, until *women status* changes drastically.

Although the thesis carries out its typological transformation research from the primary angle of *women status*, the study does not exclude a dynamic formal evolution process in which many other factors might work together, such as religion and technical progress.

Factor of religion — religion is another important factor impacting on the spatial organization of Naxi courtyards. The Yongning Naxi believe in Tibetan Buddhism. In the Moso log courtyard, there is always a religious space specified for the Lama’s praying and residence, which usually occupies the upstairs space of a side wing. The invariance of this part is almost the same as that of the *nuclear space* in the main building. However, in the Baidi courtyard, we cannot find this part. Following the local “Dong-ba” religion and their tribal legend, the Baidi Naxi put their offerings to their extensive Gods and their northern ancestors onto the shrine at the southeast



corner of the main building. This shrine thus becomes an absolutely sacred place in Baidi Naxi production and life cycle. As for Lijiang courtyards, the shrine located at the end of the central axis is merely for offering sacrifices to male ancestors. Joss sticks are simply a kind of occasional furnishing. The thesis considers it closely related to the fact that there is no common religion dominating Lijiang Naxi society, but simply a tradition of paternity.

Technical effects — the technical factor has become more and more powerful, and is usually introduced with the transplant or transport of new culture and values, especially in the last two decades. Besides revising the external forms greatly, the technical factor has even started to erode the *nuclear space* and traditional spatial structure. In Lijiang new city, 3 Naxi dwellings without verandas and yards have been built in the past two years. Will this be the future form of Naxi dwellings?

6.3 Prospects and applications of the research field

What the thesis has achieved is — from the primary angle of *women status*, by using typological analysis — to explore the formal changes and regularities of Naxi dwellings. However, due to the lack of written literature and further in-depth survey, some links of transformation have not been clearly proved, such as what courtyard form is exactly the anterior type from which prototype “L” was derived. Arguments about whether Yongning culture or Baidi culture is the matrix culture or source culture of the early Naxi ethnic group still exist among academics (Guo and He, 1999; He, 2000), and these arguments are closely related to the evolution of Naxi dwellings. Here the author offers her further hypothesis on Naxi dwellings’ multilineal evolution



process. The study considers that Naxi courtyard forms may take on “multilinear evolution” or “parallel evolution” in a temporal frame. Tracing along the migration path of the Naxi nationality, the study hypothesizes that all type Y, B, L and their diverse variations are the results of “multilinear evolution” or “parallel evolution” originating from the same prototype or from a certain halfway result individually. The thesis illustrates this hypothesis in the diagram below (Fig. 6-5), within which the thick line indicates a strong possibility whereas the dashed line indicates a weak possibility. This could provide a new objective for future research.

As for new popular values and more progressive technologies, will they replace the traditional cultural core in controlling the typological transformation of Naxi dwellings? These are all questions worthy of exploration in future research.

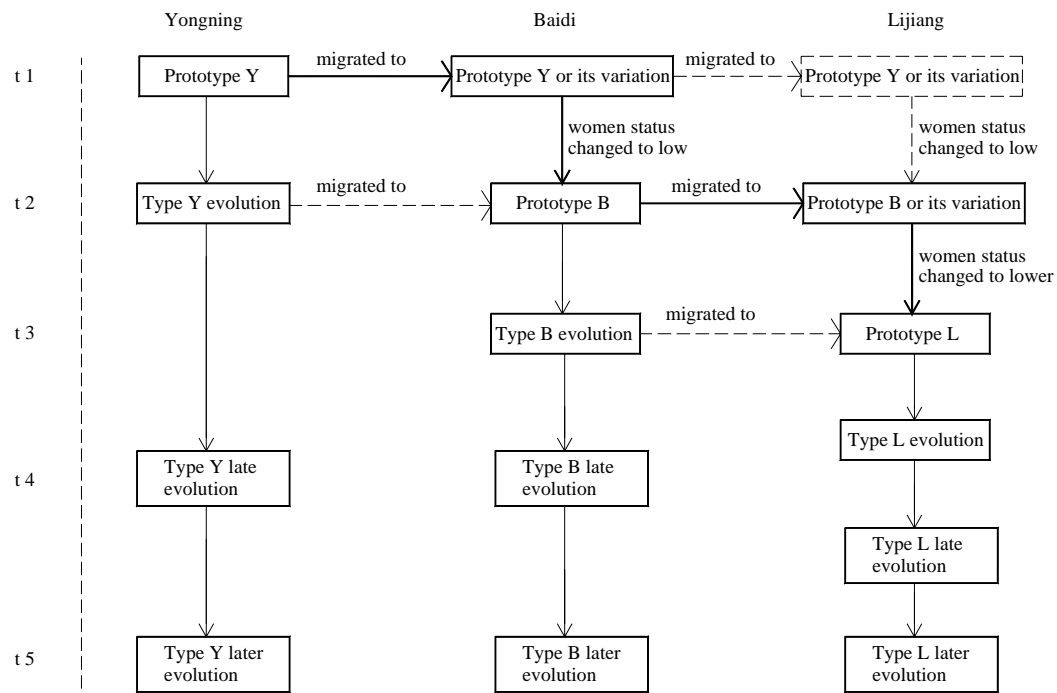


Fig. 6-5 Possibility for typological transformation in temporal frame

Research on traditional dwelling forms in the past has mostly emphasized documentation and preservation: not many efforts have yet been made to explore how the gender socio-cultural context relates to dwelling formal changes. If we examine such critical issues more thoroughly all over China, we will obtain an in-depth understanding of diverse local cultures, so as effectively to preserve the old as well as suitably and sustainably developing the new.



Appendix -1: Survey Diagram of Naxi Courtyard House in Lijiang Area

District				Address	
Approximate time		First build		Type	
		Rebuild			
Condition of occupant	Family Scale				
	Mode of Production				
	Women status				
Brief drawing and mapping					
Name of space		Objects in this space		Actions carrying out in the space	
Main building					
Veranda					
wings	right				
	left				
Gate building					

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