



The Influences of Yi Chieftains' Intermarriage on Southwestern Area from Ming Dynasty to the Republic of China

Qianfang Shen

School of Human Science, Quqing Normal University

Quqing, Yunan 655011, China

E-mail: shqf1228@yahoo.com.cn

Jiaxian Qian

School of Human Science, Quqing Normal University

Quqing, Yunan 655011, China

Abstract

The Yi nationality mainly resides in Yunnan province, Sichuan province and Guizhou province and has a large population. After their antecedents entered into class society, in marriage status, there formed characteristics of inner nationality marriage, outer clan marriage, inner class marriage and trans-family marriage. After the establishment of chieftain system, the level of chieftains appointed by the central kingdom is beyond all other classes and would not marry those of lower classes. They would only marry chieftain families of the same classes. Therefore, their marriage covers Yunnan, Guizhou and Sichuan provinces. On another hand, since the Ming Dynasty, Yi chieftain areas had experienced dramatic social reforms, which also changed the original class system. It was then hard to maintain the originally fixed marriage relationship. They had to change their traditional marriage concepts, after which more and more inner nationality marriages and cross-class marriages occurred. Therefore, their marriage characteristics were in a contradict development of tradition and change, which exerted important and long lasting influence over the southeastern area.

Keywords: Yi chieftains, Marriage, Southwestern areas, Influences

The Yi nationality mainly resides in Yunnan province, Sichuan province and Guizhou province and has a large population. After their antecedents entered class society, under the restraint of slave system production relationship, there formed strict marriage characteristics, including inner nationality marriage, outer clan marriage, inner class marriage and trans-family marriage. After the establishment of chieftain system, the chieftains appointed by the central kingdom are beyond all other classes and would not marry those of lower classes. They would only marry chieftain families of the same classes. Therefore, their marriage covers Yunnan, Guizhou and Sichuan provinces. Due to the long term, mutual and frequent intermarriages, they were tied together closely as relatives. Besides, they had common economic basis and class interest relationship so they cooperated and helped each other. Hence, they were a great challenge to the central kingdom in respect of whether the central kingdom could effectively control and fortify administration over the southwestern areas. It could be proved by the fact that the Ming dynasty and Qing dynasty both frequently re-adjusted Yi chieftain areas.

For another hand, since the Ming dynasty, as the feudal kingdom enhanced their control over Yi chieftain areas, the areas experienced large changes. In this significant social reform, many chieftains lost their original power and brilliance while some of the Hei and bai Yi who were originally under other's thumb became landlords through diligent work and change of management ways and they called themselves chieftains too, which weakened and blurred the class system. Some of the Han migrants who entered these areas also developed into new landlords. These changes also changed the original strict class system. Hence, it was hard to maintain the originally fixed marriage relationship and

they had to change their traditional marriage concepts. As a result, there appeared cross-class and cross-clan marriages. Such marriages grew constantly, which put Yi chieftain marriage under contradict development of tradition and change and exerted important and long lasting influences over southwestern areas.

1. Whether Yi chieftain inheriting system was perfect determines the stability of southwestern areas

After the central kingdom established chieftain system in Yi area, the central kingdom also regulated the chieftain inhering passage and scales. The first son of the first wife could inherit chieftain title. In addition, younger brother could inherit upon the death of the elder brother, uncles and nephews could inherit, wife and concubine could inherit, daughter and mother could inherit, and clan members could inherit, which means that besides the first son of the first wife, the other sons, uncles and nephews, other members of the clan, mother and wife all have opportunities to obtain chieftain titles. Such would result in inheriting chaos. Many people would involve in fighting for the chieftain titles, which is not good for the stability of this area.

In order to prevent the chaos of Yi chieftain inheriting, the government made clear regulations and conducted system management. Also, the government constantly complemented the management. In JiaJing period, chieftain inheriting system was further perfected and it required that “the officials and government must make record. All descendants must be recorded, including their ages, mothers, and title of inheriting.” The administrative chieftain should periodically send the record to official and soldier departments for examination. It became the official system in Ming dynasty.

After the establishment of Qing dynasty, it also regulated that the deed of merits, and clan, and the titles of the ones who could inherit should be recorded. When the descendant inherits, the provincial chieftain with the seal or the administrative chieftain should examine the record and send it to official or soldier departments for approval. “If the record is destroyed by water or fire or is stolen, the local chieftain should inform the persons and the persons should go to the departments for examination and making up. If the person committed crimes and lost his or her titles, the Du chieftain and administrative chieftain should state the reasons and send the record to departments for nullifying”. Later, it also regulated that chieftain inheriting time should not exceed six months, which controlled the blackmail infringed by the local officials to a great extent. Therefore, the chieftain inheriting system was more perfect than in Ming dynasty, which conduces to the stability of southwestern areas.

However, the inheriting system of Yi chieftain was only implemented at the beginning of the feudal kingdom. Besides, at the beginning of a kingdom, the nation's power was strong and the control and administration over officials sent to Yi chieftain areas was strict. The politics was good, which all helped avoid officials to make benefits from it. During and after the mid-term, the society was under bad management, the officials were under corruption, and the class contradicts were sharp, which all put Yi chieftain inheriting system under chaos and aggravated the instability of the society. Let us take Ming dynasty as an example. According to the records of *Ming History* and *Real Record of Ming Dynasty* and other relevant local history records, during the mid-and-later period of Ming dynasty, there were frequent fights for inheriting chieftain titles. The following table shows the fights of Yi chieftains of large scale and impact in Ming Dynasty.

Time	Fights among chieftains	Reasons
Year Hongwu 27	Wusatu Chief Executive and Zhanyitu Chief Executive	For lands
Year Xuande 8	Wusatu Chief Executive and Wumengjun Chief Executive	For lands
Year Chenghua 18	Bozhou XuanweiShi and Shuixi XuanweiShi Anguirong	For lands
Chenghua and Hongzhi Period	Shuixi Xuanwei Shi Anwanzhong's cousin Wanyi and Wugua (Tumu)	For inheriting
Hongzhi Period	Inner fight of Puan State official Longchang clan	For inheriting
The end of Zhengde and the beginning of Jiajing	Mangbujun official Longshou, his brother Longzheng, and sister-in-law Zhilu	For inheriting
Year Jiajing 23	Shuixi XuanweiShi and Bozhou XuanweiShi	For land
The later of Jiajing	Dongchuanjun Chief Executive and Wusajun Chief Executive	For inheriting
The Later of Jiajing	Wudingjun official Qu clan and his wife Suolin	For inheriting
Longqing and Wanli Period	Shuxi XuanweiShi Anguoheng and his uncle Anxin	For inheriting
Wanli Period	Wumeng, Wusa, Dongchuaner Chief Executive	For inheriting
Wanli Period	Yongning Official She Shitong and She Shixu	For inheriting
Wanli Period	inner fight of Jianchang official An Clan	For inheriting

The mid-and-later Wanli Period	inner fight of chieftain family in Yuexiqiongbu state	For inheriting
Later Wanli Period	Zhanyi state official Lushou and Luzhe	For inhering
Later Wanli Period	Zhanyi Chief Executive and Wusa Chief Executive	For inheriting

In the aforementioned 16 fights, 5 occurred before 1522, Shizong JiaJing Zero Year, which accounts for 31% of the all and which are fights between the neighboring chieftains for lands. 3 are hatred fights due to land fights, which accounts for 19% of all. 2 are fights for chieftain titles, accounting for 12%. They occurred at the end of Xianzong Chenghua period (1465 – 1487) and Hongzhi Period (1488 – 1505). During the 98 years under the control of JiaJing (1522 – 1566) to Wanli period (1573 – 1620), there are lots of fights among Yi chieftains, 11 fights, accounting for 69%. Besides, these fights are different from the previous ones. Only one is for land, accounting for 6% while 10 are for inheriting, accounting for 63%. Seeing from the perspective of lasting time, the fights at the beginning of Ming dynasty would soon come to an end while the ones occurred at the later period would last a long time, cover a larger area, could not be resolved easily, which resulted in the chaos in southwestern area and endangered the government's control over this area.

2. The betrayal or submission of Yi chieftain is crucial for roads leading Yunnan to the inner land

Since Qin and Han dynasty, the main road leading Yunnan to the inner land are Wuchi Road, going from Kunming, Quqing, Shaotong to Yibin, Lingguan Road, going from Chuxiong and Yaoan, Dayao, Jinshajiang, Huili, Liangshan to Chengdu. In Yuan dynasty, there is road from Yunnan to Huguang road, going from Kunming to Quqing, and to the east going from Puan of Guizhou, Anshun, Hunan and inner provinces. Because his road is short and even, it became the most important road for Yunnan to inner lands in Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasty. In addition, there is Luzhou road, going from Kunming, to Quqing, to Weining, Hezhang, Bijie to Luzhou of Guizhou provinces and to Chengdu or Chongqing.

The aforementioned roads all pass areas controlled by Yi chieftain. Huguang road and Luzhou road are the main lines for Yunnan to inner land. The area under the control of Shuixi Xuanwei chieftain is the throat that these roads must pass and is the traffic hinge that connects Sizhou, Bozhou, Chongqing and Yunnan with the inner land. Therefore, the betrayal or submission of Yi chieftains, including Shuxi, Wusa, Jianchang, Puan, Zhanyi, Wumeng, Zhenxiong, Wuding and Xundian is crucial for the traffic of this area, which further influences the traffic between Yunnan and inner land.

As a practical political and the founding father of Ming dynasty, Zhu Yuanzhang realized this point. Therefore, after the initial victory of military crusade, Zhu Yuanzhang officially met Shuxi, Wusa, Wumeng, Dongchuan, Mangbu and Zhanyi chieftains in the February of Hongwu 15. "Send persons to Yunnan. Send persons to build roads with the breath of ten Zhangs. And following the ancient way, every 60 miles is a station" (Ming Hongwu Record). The implementation of central government's orders, the regional connections, and the development of economy, the circulation of commodities, the unification of nationalities, and the military crusade are all greatly influenced by traffic smoothness. Traffic is an important standard to measure the national or regional economy development levels and is the premise and basis for all political, economic and cultural development.

At the beginning of Ming dynasty, the Ming dynasty could correctly handle the relationship with Yi chieftains. Hence, there were no obvious conflicts or fights. The traffic was smooth, which therefore enhanced the connections of frontier areas with inner land, promoted businessmen's travels, and promoted the economic and cultural development of this area. These Yi chieftains were also in charge of delivery supply. "The stations to Shu are in the charge of Shuixi. The stations to Dian are in the charge of various chieftains" (Guo, 1980). The traffic mainly depended on chieftains, which is beneficial for the government to control this area.

However, such situation changes with the policy changes of government over southwestern areas. It had been eventful since the governing of Ming Yingzong. The politics was dark, the society was unstable and the local officials did not conduct their duties, the minority nationalities had obvious conflicts with the government. In Ming dynasty, there wars had been launched to Luchuan. Large number of soldiers from Nanjing, Yunnan, Huguang, Sichuan, and Guizhou had been used, resulted in "a lot of military costs" and the chaos of the world due to that small area (Ming History). Due to the long war lines, people and local chieftains along the long suffered from providing military costs and put local people into poor. In addition, the military rules were not strict and soldiers blackmailed and trampled the local people, which aggravated the conflicts between chieftain areas and the government. During the third crusade to Luchuan, an uprising of about 200,000 people from Guizhou Yi, Miao and Han nationalities burst out. The relative Yi chieftains joined to rebel, which blocked the traffic and influenced the speed of the government's crusade to Luchuan. During Tianqi period, Shechongming and Anbangyan initiated uprising to resist nationality repression and Yi chieftains, Wusa, Zhanyi and Bangbu all supported, resulting in the block of the entire Guizhou's traffic. The traffic from Yunnan to the inner land could only take Jianchang from the north and Jiaozhi from the north (Creation of Eleven City Stele).

Both the resist of Yi chieftain area people caused by the crusade to Luchuan and the Shean chaos in Tianqi period are caused by the nationality policy and repression of Ming government. Such resists paralyzed the roads from Yunnan to

inner land and were detrimental to the government's control over southwestern area and social stability. This might be the reason why Yongzheng, although being opposed to, or being blamed as "stupid, short-sighted, aimless and is not beneficial for protecting life, property and lands" or being considered as "to seek for promotion through agitating southwestern chieftains and non-Han nationality to resist" (Helman, 2001) when issuing order to abolish southwestern chieftain system, still took the risk and appointed Ertai as the general officer of Yunnan and Guizhou to largely change southwestern Yi chieftains and make through this traffic of that area.

3. Yi chieftain intermarriage joint resisted and impeded the system change of Ming and Qing kingdom

Since Yuan and Ming period, especially Ming dynasty, as the central kingdom conducted soldier and civilian land occupation at a large scale and as more and more immigrants from the inner land entered into Yi area, the local economy and culture of Yi area developed and made progress. Since the mid Ming dynasty, the kingdom step by step made system change over Yi chieftains and executed flowing official control. For another hand, with the growth of Yi chieftain power, in order to obtain more and more lands and population and to extend, such chieftain extension and flowing official control region extension generated direct interest conflicts. When it came to the point, they had to use force to resolve it.

The Yi chieftains knew well that they should pull together. Besides, they were of close marriage relationship. Hence, they cooperated to resist the measures of central kingdom. For example, during Zhengde period Mangbu Tushe Longshou and his brother Longzheng, brother-in-law branch fought for inheriting. The government dispatched soldiers to repress and with the reason that "there is no relatives anymore and no one was entitled to inherit" changed Mangbu. The change of Mangbu harmed the common interests of Yi chieftains and aroused the fears of Mangbu's marriage relatives, Shuxi, Wumeng, Wusa, Dongchuan, and Zhanyi. They knew what it meant to them. Hence, "since the change of Mangbu, the chieftains were worried and resisted against the government". Although Ming government "used several provinces and civilians and dispatched soldiers to fight, no success was gained (Ming Jiaqing Record). At last, they had to discard the change and recover Mangbu chieftain control.

At the beginning of Qing dynasty, the controller needed to concentrate force to fight against the Mongolia power in the north and the north Ming regime in the south, so they appeased southwestern chieftains. Hence, they stabilized southwestern chieftain regimes. After Yongzheng mounted the throne, with the enhancement of king power and the consolidation of status, he needed to conducted significant social reforms over the local power that threatened central control. He realized the centralization control over southwestern minority nationality areas, including Yi areas.

In the spring of Yongzheng 4th year, Ertai told the Yongzheng King, "There are major troubles in Yunnan and Guizhou. To make there at peace, we must control minority high classes. In order to do so, we must reform land system. Although Dongchuan has changed 30 years ago, the lands were still controlled by chieftains. No one dare to reclaim the lands within Gaoyu four hundred miles. If we could change the Dongchuan, Wumeng, Zhenxiong to the control of Yunnan, we could have three states and one town." (Wei, 1984) "The Xiongtu is connected to Wumeng. It is the same violent as Wumengtu. If we do not change the land system, the border of the three provinces would all be interrupted. We could either bring Wumeng, then zhenxiong under control. Or we could treat them to fight against each other and then we seek the chance to control the two." (Royal Order) Such idea was totally agreed by Yongzheng King. Ertai was then appointed as Yunnan and Guizhou general officer and started to change southwestern areas. Later on, Ertai ordered Quxun General Soldier Liu Qiyuan to command soldiers to move to Dongchuan. Based on the former change, they continued to change at Yi chieftain areas. To Yongzheng 5th year, Wumeng and Zhenxiong were defeated in sequence and flowing official was appointed.

Although the chieftain system was abolished, they still had power in their hands. Their locations were connected to Liangshan areas and they were inter-married. They had advantages in time, location and human resources. So they continued to fight back and resist system change. For example, the younger brother of Wumeng Mitie chief Luyongxiao, Luyongzhong was the officer of Sichuan Mahu Mopo. Luyongzhong died and his wife accepted Luyongxiao and hence, Luyongxiao inherited the title of Mopo officer. Luyongxiao occupied Mitie and Mopo. As is described "Liangshan area of Sichuan is connected to Mitie. This area extends thousands of miles. Originally, this area was in wilderness and has many minority groups. They had never blocked government's army. Tundu, Shama, Leibo and Huanglang chieftains are all marriage relatives to Lu clan" (Royal Order). "Azheyi has not decedent. Hence, Azheyi adopted the son of Shama chieftain. What is more, they are in marriage relationship for a long time. Aduyi depends on Xinfu Shama chieftain's power and dares to take in betrayal groups" (Royal Order)". "Lajin, Zhene and Adu of Alv merged Shama area. Tuke and Tuoqu are all marriage relatives of Alv and they both helped Alv in the merging fight. Tuoque is the father-in-law of Alv and Tuoque is the uncle-in-law of Alv. (Yongzheng Royal Order)". Therefore, when Qing army assaulted Mitie, they could go through Dian and Chuan. Besides, they have Liangshan marriage relatives as backup. They dared to resist. Hence, Ertai had to increase soldiers. It was until the May of Yongzheng 6th year they wiped out the underlings of Luyongxiao. However, most of people from Tundu and Leibo who helped Luyongxiao escaped. Ertai, for one hand, dispatched soldiers to attack them. For another hand, he ordered to go through Shama, Leibo, Tundu and Huanglang

areas and they arrived at Jianchang. In the thousands of miles, there were all troops and they cooperated to attack chieftains' outer Jinsha River. In January of Yongzheng 7th year, Dian soldiers returned.

However, the left chieftain power was reluctant to lose their power. They attempted to re-organize their people to seek chance. Hence, in Yongzheng 8th year, there broke out Wumeng and Zhenxiong rebellion of a larger scale. Ertai applied more than 10,000 official soldiers from Dian and Qin and 5,000 soldiers to attack the rebellion in three directions. To the end of the year, the rebellion was finally suppressed. Ertai used more than 4 years to change system of Yi in the northeast of Dian. Although, he finally suppressed the rebellion and set up flowing officials, he consumed large amount of human and material source, which restrained him from the system change over southwestern areas.

4. Local officials took advantage of the defect of the Yi chieftain inheriting system to take bribe, which aroused social turbulence

The inheriting system of Yi follows that the first son of the first wife is entitled to inherit first, which shows that the power and status of chieftain's sons vary. However, they at the same time followed their traditional customs too. Under the special situation where the first wife of the chieftain did not have son or the first son of the first wife died at young age, other people, including the other sons, uncles and nephews, nationality members, wives and concubines, and mothers and daughter-in-law, all have chance to obtain the chieftain title. Although the central kingdom and Yi chieftains highly emphasized the inheriting, they could not avoid the fight among their marriage relatives and clans for inheriting chieftain title. Because once someone obtained chieftain title, the person could not only have the grace given by the central kingdom, have the paramount power to administrate the local people, have huge amount of material property, but also his wife clans or mother clans would all feel safe and proud because of alliance in politics and military. Especially for those relatively weak chieftains, officers, to become a chieftain will no doubt give them a strong backup.

At the earlier stage of the kingdom, the government made clear regulations on the inheriting of chieftain and conducted strict control and effective administration over the local officials who were in charge of administrating Yi chieftain areas, which avoided the local officials to make benefits therefrom. Hence, there were few fights for inheriting. After the middle term, the official administration was extremely corruption. In the implementation of chieftain inheriting, officials would take bribe and make benefits, resulting in the disorder in chieftain inheriting, which is detrimental for the stability of the area and for the government's control. For example, during Wanli period, Yongning Xuanfu Sheshitong passed away. His wife and his son of the first wife both died at earlier age. In addition, his second wife Sheshitong did not have son and his other wife Sheshixu had a son named Chongzhou. However, Chongzhou was young at that time. Under such situation, according to the Yi custom, Sheshitong, Sheshixu and Chongzhou could all inherit the chieftain title. The two parties fought for inheriting. The officer in command of Guizhou Guo Cheng made advantage of their fight and dispatched soldiers to Luohong where Sheshixu resided and "robbed all She family had accumulated in nine generations". (Ming Wanli Real Record) When the government appointed Chongzhou to inherit Xuanfu title, Sheshitong resisted. "Sheshitong used gold and silver of 480,000 Liang to bribe Cuishui and Baisha Zhuwei as well as Wusa officials. She also sent messenger Yanshicai to take platinum of 3000 Liang, gold of 200 Liang, silk of 100 tons to Shuixi Anguoheng to ask for soldiers. Sheshixu also send messenger Hquting to take her son Chongzhou, with gold, silver, silk and other articles, to Bozhou to ask for soldiers from Yangyinglong (Cao, 1980). Therefore, Du commander Zhang Shenwu took the chance to "rob two houses of Sheshixu and obtained several ten thousands gold". He also seized Sheshixu to hide his crime. The leading person of Sheshixu Yanzongchuan, under the name of "rescuing Sheshixu", "burned and robbed Yongning and Cuishui, Pu and Mo." (Hu, 1981). Because the local officials were to greedy, the two parties enlarged their conflicts. More and more chieftain marriage relatives were involved in the fight. Shuixi Anjiangchen's brother Anyaochen once entered Shuixi Zhenxiong Junmin and directed Zhenxiong Yi soldiers to burn and rob Yongning and formed the situation "From the south of Xulu and to the east of Bijie, warnings were on all day." (Ming Wanli Real Record). The government was unable to repress and hence had to order to release Sheshixu and exempt Yanzongchuan from punishment. The fight stopped.

The local officials took the chance of intermarriage conflict to take large amount of bribes and local government also under the name of examination to take bribe, therefore, the conflicts usually could be not resolved timely. Chieftains, in order to be entitled to inherit, "bribed officials". "They lived in provincial city and spent lots of money which is extorted from their people" (Yongzheng Royal Order). The officials demanded money from chieftain and the chieftain demanded it from civilians. To put it in detail, the officials demanded money from chieftain, the chieftains demanded it in turn from commander, the commander asked it from Huotou and Huotou from civilians. "The officials used every method to take money or materials from chieftain and local people, which caused the local people to resist and rebel. The government finally lost control over this area" (Ming Tianshun Real Record). Such behaviors aggravated the local people's burden and aggravated the conflicts between people and local officials. So the local people further resisted the measures and policies of the central kingdom and put it harder for the government to control and administrate this area.

5. The enlargement of intermarriage scale conducted to the communication of nationalities and social progress

Since Ming dynasty, Yi chieftain areas experienced dramatic social reforms. Its social structure, social structure and

economic structure all changed to different extent and unbalance of inner development was aggravated. At the same time, the traditional system and culture of Yi nationality were impacted too. The original balance was broken. Areas where the system changes were thorough further relaxed their class system. The family branch concept weakened and was replaced by the one husband and one wife paternal small family society the same as Han system. In blood concept, originally, people judged by “black or white”, which was replaced by “judged by economic status”. Therefore, there were more and more cross nationality marriages and cross class marriages. For example, the official name Ashimeng, the first wife of Lijiang Naxi chieftains, is Fengshimu. She is the daughter of Wudingfu and Fengzhifu. She gave birth to a son named Mu and the second son Muyou. Abaoyu, the second wife of Lijiang Naxi chieftains, was Fengshishao with official name. She gave birth to two sons, Jia and Tui. The first son Mu inherited the title of his father.” “The first wife of Muyi, Lushihuan, is the daughter of Wuding official. She is named second class Shuren. She gave birth to two sons. The first son Mujing inherited his father’s title and second son is named Muyao. The second wife of Muyi, Lushirui is the daughter of Wuding official and is named the second class Shuren. She gave birth to two sons. The first son was named Changzhan and the second son was named Muxi.” (Mu Clan Pedigree). Shuixi Yi chieftain Anshi and Bozhou chieftain Yangshi conducted intermarriage and their lands bordered and they helped each other. (Ming Shenzong Real Record) As is recorded in Mangbu Long Clan Poetry Collections, Longweibang married Hezhang, the second daughter of Weining Eranshi. However, Hezhang did not give birth. So Longweibang married a daughter of Shaotong Han nationality Dingshi. She gave birth to two sons and two daughters. Longtiyong (the first son of Longweibang) firstly married Yiliangmao Maoshan Luoshi daughter, who did not give birth. He then married daughter of Ye from Jiangxi, who gave birth to three sons and who resided in Kunming. Longdekun married Zhu Guihua, Han nationality, who gave birth to three sons and one died. Longchengyu first married Anshi of Guizhou Tumu and then married Yang Zufeng, Han from Shaotong. In cross class intermarriage, the daughter of Qiaojia Tuoche Tuqianhu Luyanying is Luxunzhen. They put the third son of Hei Yi Longyun, Longshengzeng, as the heir to Aduo Tuqianhu (Qiao Clan County History). Adu official Anshude married “Longyinjing, the far niece of Longyun as the concubine”. There are many similar cases.

Although subjectively the intermarriage among the controlling classes of nationalities is mainly to maintain and fortify their control. The marriages with so obvious political color are to serve certain political interests. But objectively speaking, the intermarriage among upper levels of different nationality could not only improve and maintain their mutual relationship, but also could increase their mutual communications in economy, culture and interactions, reduce the bias caused by nationality differences, alleviate nationality conflicts, improve nationality relationships and conduce to local prosperity and progress.

What is more important, the direct consequences of the cross-clan intermarriage and cross-class intermarriage among Yi chieftains are that their decisions would exert great influence over their nationality. More and more Yi people would marry other nationalities and other classes. The scale and influence of the latter exceed that of the former one. Such intermarriage could not only weaken the class concept and status recognition inside Yi nationality, but also could enhance the mutual study and communication of nationalities and develop economy and culture communication of larger scale. It is also good for the social progress of frontier minority peoples areas. Its social influences are long lasting and it reflects the mutual communication and integration process of Yi, Han and other peoples. This is the unavoidable trend for nationalities’ integration and is the result that people from different nationalities friendly treat each other, communication with each other in economy and culture and conduct intermarriage within different nationalities.

Although Yi chieftains were divided into different provincial administration, they would inter-marry in order to show their high class statues. Due to social changes, they broke inner nationality marriage and inner class marriages. Their intermarriages had certain political aims and were not all willing to have such marriages. However, the effect brought by the inter-marriage not only lies in the marriage. It has more significant meanings, which is the relative relationship established through the intermarriage and the emotional and psychological relative feelings. What is more, the intermarriages were most network structure rather than single lines. Hence, their mutual interest relationship is more close. They are always at subtle relationship with the central kingdom, which exerted significant influences over the stability of southwestern areas.

References

- Cao, Xuequan. (1980). *Guizhou Places of Interests*.
- Guo, Zizhang. (1980). *Guo Qingluo Article Collection*.
- Hu, Qingjun. (1981). *Ming and Qing Yi Nationality Society History*. Shanghai: Shanghai People’s Press.
- John. Ed. Helman and translated by Tian Mingxin. (2001). The chieftain system in southwestern areas and the reasons why the Qing dynasty at its earlier stage conducted its reform on it. *Guizhou Nationality Research*.
- Mangbu Long Clan Descendants. (1997). *Mangbu Long Clan Poetry Collection*.

Ming Hongwu Real Record. Central Research Institute History Research Institute, State Owned Beiping Library Red Gird Version (Taiwan).

Ming JiaJing Record. Central Research Institute History Research Institute, State Owned Beiping Library Red Gird Version (Taiwan).

Ming Shenzong Real Record. Central Research Institute History Research Institute, State Owned Beiping Library Red Gird Version (Taiwan).

Ming Tianshun Real Record. Central Research Institute History Research Institute, State Owned Beiping Library Red Gird Version (Taiwan).

Ming Wangli Real Record. Central Research Institute History Research Institute, State Owned Beiping Library Red Gird Version (Taiwan).

Ming Xihong Real Record. Central Research Institute History Research Institute, State Owned Beiping Library Red Gird Version (Taiwan).

Ming Xianzong Real Record. Central Research Institute History Research Institute, State Owned Beiping Library Red Gird Version (Taiwan).

San, Jidi. *Creation of Eleven City Stele*. Guangxu Puan Zhiliting Record.

Wei, Yuan. (1984). *Shengwu Record*. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Department.

Yi, Dongyang. *Ming Examples – Official Fifth*. Volume Six. *Official Inheriting*. Wenhai: Wenhai Press

Qing Dynasty Examples- Soldier. Volume 589. Wu, Yongzhang. (1988). *China Chieftain System Source and Development History*. Chengdu: Sichuan Nationality Press.

Yongle History. Volume 19418. Zhan Ciba.

Yongzheng. Royal Order. Yongzheng 10 Yongzheng King Red ink preface.

Yunnan Museum. (2001). *Mu Clan Pedigree*. Kunming: Yunnan Art Press.

Yunnan Provincial Editing Group. (1987). *Sichuan Guizhou Yi Nationality Social History Investigation*. Kunming: Yunnan People's Press.

Yunnan Provincial Qiao Clan County History Editing Committee. (1997). *Qiaojia County History*. Kunming: Yunnan People's Press.

Zhang, Tingyu. (1974). *Ming History and Wang Ji Bibliography*. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Department.