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A Funeral as a Festival: Celebrations of Life in the Mosuo Tribe in China

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ABSTRACT This article attempts to provoke a discussion concerning the definition and nature of festivals by considering the process of Mosuo funerals in Southwest China as a festival event. The role of women and men in daily life and within the funeral ceremony is discussed – the Mosuo is a matriarchal society – as are the vernacular architectural settings which have evolved for both ritual and everyday activities. The article looks at the religious perception of death in Mosuo culture, which considers funerals as celebrations of a life cycle including birth, growing up and death; through onsite observations, it documents the process of a Mosuo funeral in relation to its physical space. Even though, unlike most other festivals, funerals occur at unpredictable times, it is argued that for the Mosuo the funeral event is also a festival.

Introduction

A festival is an event or social phenomenon encountered in virtually all human cultures.¹ In Latin, there were two terms for festive events: *festum*, for “public joy, merriment, revelry”; and *feria*, meaning an “abstinence from work in honour of the gods.”² A funeral can be seen as a form of festival that celebrates life, taking on either or both of these connotations.

49 Alessandro Falassi has written that festival is commonly
50 understood as

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52 a periodically recurrent, social occasion in which, through a
53 multiplicity of forms and a series of coordinated events,
54 participate directly or indirectly and to various degrees, all
55 members of a whole community, united by ethnic, linguistic,
56 religious, historical bonds, and sharing a worldview.³
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58 This definition puts a strong emphasis on understanding the
59 festival as a form of expression of community spirit. Jacqueline Thursby
60 suggests that mourning, in most funerary behaviors, sits in line with the
61 festival form. The death of a family member calls for an acknowledgement
62 of a life lived and completed, marked by a temporary withdrawal from
63 normal forms of daily life, whether or not accompanied by revelry.⁴
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65 In the Mosuo communities discussed in this paper, death calls for
66 a reversal of ordinary behavior. Daily social and occupational routines are
67 disrupted and people participate in Falassi's "series of coordinated
68 events," united in a common worldview. The Mosuo believe that both
69 human life and the transmigration of the soul are part of an ongoing life
70 cycle; as a consequence, these events are simultaneously "sacred and
71 profane, private and public."⁵ To relate the realm of the sacred to that of
72 the profane, the Mosuo have devised a series of formalized rites to be
73 performed on occasions such as the rituals of death, rites that are
74 concerned with "sanctioning tradition and introducing innovation,
75 proposing nostalgic revivals."⁶
76

77 **The Art of Matrilineality in Daily Mosuo Life**

78 The Mosuo people are a small ethnic group living in Yunnan and Sichuan
79 provinces in China. Mosuo are known as the "Kingdom of Women"
80 because they are a matrilineal society. In their prime, women are heads of
81 households; property is passed through the female line and women make
82 the business decisions. In order to preserve social order and the family
83 business, Mosuo women enter into what is called a "walking marriage"
84 instead of a civil marriage as a sexual and reproductive institution; they
85 neither share a residence nor have economic relations with
86 their husbands.⁷

87 The matrilineal Mosuo ideology is not only demonstrated in the
88 rules of descent but also more fully in the concept that women instead of
89 men are situated at the center of their world.⁸ Women are at the center
90 of power and make decisions for everyday life activities for everyone in
91 Mosuo. As the director, the leading woman in the family takes charge of
92 money and distributes daily tasks to others.⁹ There is clear division of
93 labor between women and men: women are responsible for household
94 duties such as cooking, cleaning and childcare, and men for heavy labor
95 such as agricultural production.

96 Although the role of women is weakened in the religious activities of
97 the Mosuo, in which they do not directly participate, the power of Mosuo
98 women is still manifested in the local religion. The Mosuo religion is guided by
99 two coexisting beliefs: Daba and Tibetan Buddhism, both of which are male
100 dominated.¹⁰ Once Tibetan Buddhism became prominent in Mosuo culture, it
101 was usual that within almost every Mosuo household that had more than two
102 sons, at least one of them, usually the youngest, would become a professional
103 lama.¹¹ Equally, a daba is usually a role passed down from one generation to
104 the next by men in one family. However, there is a difference: the native daba
105 worship a mother goddess and “the Mosuo are alone among their neighbors
106 to have a guardian mother goddess rather than a patron warrior god.”¹²
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108 **Mosuo Funerals as Festivals**

109 The funeral ceremony is the most elaborate rite of passage in Mosuo
110 culture. Chuan-Kang Shih argues that “in the household-based Mosuo
111 society, performance of death rituals [... is one of] the most important
112 vehicles to reaffirm and reinforce their unique kinship ideology centered
113 around matrilineal harmony.”¹³ It is not only an event of mourning and
114 sorrow but also a time to celebrate life. The Mosuo people believe that
115 death is not the end of life but a life-relief. Because of the inevitability of
116 death and a belief in an active life after death, the Mosuo have developed
117 elaborate rituals to ease the pain of physical separation and to guide the
118 dead into the spiritual world of the ancestors. During the funeral, the
119 families are sad and cry only for a short time. Otherwise, they seem
120 relaxed, even laughing; everybody expects the deceased’s spirit to leave
121 the family and meet the ancestors as soon as possible. The Mosuo believe
122 that their wellbeing will be greater in the afterlife, thus funerals become a
123 grand and lively scene for the community to celebrate the freed souls.
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125 The living spaces, including the house, the courtyard, the street
126 and the mountains, become stages for the community to set up ritual
127 activities for a funeral. Drawing on the onsite observation of a three-day
128 Mosuo funeral in August 2016, the paper discusses the spatial
129 transformation from everyday activities to festive and celebratory
130 moments in the Mosuo funeral, considering participants as performers.
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132 **The Process**

133 The Mosuo funeral process can be considered in six stages, from the
134 preparation of the corpse in a fetal sitting position in the temporary
135 mourning hall, to religious chants and feasting, which lead to the climax
136 of the bonfire dance and the cremation itself at the final stage. Each
137 stage of the funeral rituals and activities strongly connects with the
138 dwelling space (Figure 1).

139 Once a person expires, the face of the dead person is turned away
140 from the hearth and an oil lamp is lit to illuminate the way to the other
141 world. In the shortest possible time after death, the deceased’s family
142 members are obliged to go out individually to carry the grievous news to

143 the other households of the same lineage and to inform the village. During
144 the preparatory period of the funeral, the dead body is first cleansed and
145 wrapped in a white cloth in such a manner that it looks like a fetus, and
146 then put into a pit dug in the grandmother's house for temporary interment
147 (the grandmother's house, called *Yimi* in the Mosuo language, is central to
148 a Mosuo family; it is the place where the daily life of the household,
149 centered on the matriarch, takes place). A temporary "mourning hall" is set
150 up in the grandmother's house, decorated by household members assisted
151 by the villagers. In the early morning of the first day of the funeral
152 ceremony, the coffin is then placed in the temporary mourning hall,
153 accompanied by the sound of three huge cannons. After the funeral
154 preparations are complete, the family of the deceased invites a number of
155 lamas and one daba to chant. These religious chants last throughout the
156 funeral; in fact, the lamas' chants continue from the moment the individual
157 dies until the forty-ninth day after cremation.¹⁴

158 The high status of Lamaism is reflected in the number of lamas
159 taking part in the rituals and, correspondingly, the cost of the service. The
160 number of lamas invited depends on the wealth of the household and its
161 social network. At the service witnessed in 2016, the deceased's household
162 invited fourteen lamas and one daba to chant in the rituals. Dabaism has
163 never been replaced, and still plays a central role in the funeral process – it
164 is the daba who performs the role of the funeral guide, conducting the "Road
165 Leading Ceremony" which aims to send the soul of the dead back to the
166 ancestral land in Sibuanawa, and thus to restore household harmony in this
167 world.¹⁵ In the ceremony seen in 2016, the daba first briefly recounted the
168 history of the Mosuo and that of the lineage, then reviewed the personal
169 history of the deceased and persuaded the soul to join the ancestors. He
170 pointed the soul to take the road from the deceased's home garden to the
171 ancestral place of origin, detailing the names of the places on the route –
172 every road, every river and every village.¹⁶ At the same time, the lamas
173 prayed for the sins of the dead, chanting to pacify the soul. Whereas
174 Lamaism appears to treat the deceased as individuals, Dabaism treats the
175 deceased as members of a social group that includes members both from
176 this world and from the ancestral world.

178 During the two-day funeral, banquets are held in the courtyard for
179 participants to eat and drink, and a traditional bonfire dance is held after
180 dinner before the cremation ceremony. The dance rite is performed by
181 men who wear armor and hold bells; they shout, sword in hand, for the
182 deceased's open exorcism, in order to remove obstacles – the route back
183 to their ancestral land is thought to be full of danger, evil spirits and
184 demons. Household members, villagers and guests form a line and dance
185 around the bonfire, in a dance known as the Guozhuang dance, and sing
186 the "Funeral Song," as follows:

188 How can we have the heart to be apart forever / It's human
189 nature to be dead. / How good is life / As good as after death /

The tall trees will be blown away by the wind. / He that is old will die. People will die when they are old.¹⁷

The “Funeral Song” fully represents the attitude of the Mosuo people – one of the openness of life to death. The leader of the dancing line plays a short bamboo flute; in the flickering light, tears are turned into laughter. The bonfire dance continues intermittently until after midnight, with relatives handing out sweets to every mourner during this time. At midnight, the body in its white wrapping is removed from the pit in the grandmother’s back room and put into the coffin, again accompanied by three cannons.

In the early morning of the second day, the coffin is transported from the village to the cremation site. The pyre is constructed from squares of fresh pine logs with four logs forming a small square house, which represents the mother’s house. The reason for this is that the Mosuo believe that the cremated body needs to live in the mother’s house before returning to the ancestral land with the Mosuo ancestors. When the fire is lit at the base of the pyre, the coffin is torn into pieces and the personal belongings, including the deceased’s clothes, are thrown into the flames to be burnt with the body. One lama adds melted yak butter on top of the pyre. After a while, when the pyre is devoured by smoke and flames, most of the relatives begin to go home, with the exception of the lamas and a few close family. After the cremation site has cooled and the fire goes out, the cremated remains of the deceased are collected. The mourners pick up the remains, starting at the feet and finishing at the head. The ashes are then carried by two lamas to the family gravesite. When at the grave, the ashes are placed under a tree in order to ensure that the deceased can have an early rebirth. From this point, the deceased is formally considered an ancestor and worshipped accordingly by the remaining household members.

A Collective Practice of Rituals

The rites of passage we call “funerary” meet the defining criteria set out by Arnold van Gennep for both celebration and festival. The funeral is an occasion with “crowds of people” and “for a particular community.”¹⁸ As Thursby has suggested, “a funeral is a cultural performance.”¹⁹ Differing from other forms of festival, funerals are solemn, ritualistic and ceremonial. Though not always public or formal, they can be both. Despite their solemnity, funerals are a commemoration, and consequently their atmosphere is often one of pleasurable activity. At the wake, or “viewing,” there is often vivacity, a sense of ongoing life, expressed by “a crowd of people with shared purposes and common values.”²⁰ Understood as a festival, the funeral rites, mourning and feasting can be interpreted as cultural performances. Though it may not be a regular “periodic religious celebration,” it occurs in all cultures.²¹ For Mosuo funerary practice, both Latin terms *festum* and *feria* are appropriate. As Thursby mentions, funeral rituals follow ancient patterns and folk customs; they are a time for the celebration of a life “organized by and for a particular

community.”²² The objects and audience of these rituals include not only the deceased and the surviving immediate relatives but also the whole matrilineage, and indeed the whole local community.

Angus Gillespie states that a festival provides the planners, the participants and the audience with “renewed confidence, enthusiasm, and pride which they take back to their home communities.”²³ The Mosuo funeral is a planned event that becomes a reunion of family and friends, and the experience is carried home in the memory of all the participants. It is a homegrown, grassroots festival organized by and for a particular community. As part of the Qingming or “Circle-the-Mountain” festival, Mosuo families assemble yearly at the burial tree where they hang colored prayer-flags in honor of the deceased, then follow with a picnic. The religious idea of the Circle-the-Mountain festival is to worship ancestors as well as the natural gods. Through it, individual funerals, which are one-off events, and individual people now deceased, are given a role within the regular festivities of the community as a whole. The relationship between the Mosuo funeral and the annual Circle-the-Mountain festival makes it clear that these funerary practices constitute aspects of a wider festival practice.

Spatial Transformation

Falassi writes that:

the primary and most general function of the festival is to renounce and then to announce culture. [...] At festival times, people do something they normally do not; they abstain from something they normally do; they carry to the extreme behavior that is usually regulated by measure; they invert patterns of daily social life.²⁴

Wayne Davies explains that festivals provide unusual activities and evoke emotions that take people outside their normal behavior in time and space.²⁵ Waldemar Cudny also argues that festivals are spatial phenomena that temporarily transform the space they occupy.²⁶ The transformation and continuity in Mosuo funerals, as Falassi suggests, announces, or affirms, a continuation of the cultural life of the deceased in memory, and perhaps iteratively in a continued form.

The subversive character of the funeral is in the change in use of the grandmother’s house, renouncing its usual role. The everyday activities of the grandmother’s house are replaced by celebratory or ritual events during the funeral. Most of the time, the grandmother’s house is the central place where the daily life of the household takes place. It is where family members gather, cook, eat, drink, discuss family matters, receive guests and worship their ancestors. It is also where they experience major life events and hold significant ceremonies, such as the coming-of-age ceremony. During the funeral, the main room of the grandmother’s house is transformed into a temporary mourning hall for the rituals of death. The back room (a small space behind the main room)

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Figure 1
Different stages of Mosuo funeral rituals and activities in the courtyard: (1) preparation of the body, (2) decoration of the temporary mourning hall, (3) religious chants, (4) food celebrations, (5) bonfire dance and (6) cremation. Photomontage: Huichao Feng, 2017

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Figure 2
"Circle-the-Mountain" festival. Photo: Huichao Feng, 2016

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that ordinarily functions as a storeroom for grains, preserved pork, potatoes and other kinds of food, becomes a mortuary. What remains the same in both funerals and everyday life is the symbolic meaning of the grandmother's house, as a center to conduct rituals of the life cycle.

In contrast to its normal daily appearance, the main room of the grandmother's house is decorated for the funeral with new clothes hung on a rope and fastened horizontally over the coffin. The purpose of the decoration of the temporary mourning hall is to show the deceased's experience of life. In front of the house-like coffin, a ceremonial table is



Figure 3
 lamas performing a crema-
 tion, showing the positions of
 the performers and the audi-
 ence next to the pyre. Photo:
 Huichao Feng, 2016

set up with ritual objects – ceremonial food, wine, flowers, yak butter, lamps and a saddle, as well as white paper with a “Fenghuang” totem to lead the soul of the dead person. The colorful but empty coffin is placed in the upper hearth, opposite the entrance to the main room. The coffin is about one meter high with a herringbone pattern enclosing ink-painted decorations of red–green–blue bottles and lotus leaves, Tibetan elegiac couplets, claw flowers, conch shells, Sun, Moon, stars, birds patterns etc. Every course of the banquet is placed on the table for the deceased to enjoy with all their relatives and guests. Such rites of decorating are a way of displaying the most important symbolic elements of the ceremony in which the community comes together.

During the funeral, the inner courtyard is temporarily transformed from a multifunctional, relatively public space – used variously as a passageway, a working area for crop processing and feeding domestic animals, and a place for social gatherings and children’s play – into a place to receive mourners, conduct ritual ceremonies, feast and perform the traditional bonfire dance. Through the feasting and the ubiquitous presence and importance of food in relation to death and mourning, it is clear that this ritual funeral behavior is a folk expression for the living. As folklorist Susan Kalcik puts it, “eating at such a time is a celebration of life in the face of death.”²⁷ Sumptuous banquets often occur over two days, set out on low tables and stools set up in the courtyard.

Sacralized Spaces and Celebrations

The Mosuo funeral can be regarded as a religious celebration designed to bring about a sacralization of space, involving a number of religious activities that combine indigenous Dabaism and foreign Lamaism. Emile Durkheim was the one of the first to discuss the way in which festivals rely on a sacred/secular dichotomy, pointing out that religious festivals

378 have evident secular implications, and secular ones almost invariably
379 resort to metaphysics to gain solemnity and sanction for their events, or
380 for their sponsors.²⁸ Mircea Eliade extended this idea, suggesting that
381 religious events adopt a form of sacralization that modifies the usual
382 daily function and meaning of time and space: "To serve as the theatre of
383 the festive events an area is reclaimed, cleared, delimited, blessed,
384 adorned, forbidden to normal activities."²⁹

385 Both the Mosuo's religious practices are represented in the space
386 of the funeral process. Lama rituals are mainly held in the "sacred
387 chamber," a room that forms an integral part of every Mosuo household, a
388 place for gods to live and for the lama – equipped with Lamaist icons and
389 various ritual objects – to stay and practice his religious routine. The Daba
390 rituals too are mainly held in the grandmother's house and inner courtyard.

391 The final stage of the funeral ceremony, the cremation, takes place
392 on an area of hillside that is again made sacred, transformed into a
393 dramatic stage set by the house-like pyre and other ritual items. It is
394 reclaimed, delimited and adorned for the festive event. "Performers" chant,
395 wearing religious costumes, while mourners stand quietly by like an
396 "audience." The act of cremation is believed to carry the "evil," the
397 negative, out of both the deceased person and the community that is left
398 behind. In each stage of the funeral celebration – the temporary interment,
399 the mourning through feasting and the cremation – ordinary places are
400 turned into festival places, renewing their own transformative powers.

403 **Conclusions**

404 The Mosuo funeral discussed in the paper reflects the ritual elements
405 that define a festival. It shows that in the funeral festival, the Mosuo
406 fulfill their cultural and religious obligations, not only to the deceased but
407 also to their family and community. For the Mosuo, death is neither
408 merely the end of mortal life nor a simple disruption of domestic order in
409 a single household. The death ritual is a concern of the household of
410 which the deceased used to be a member and also of the lineage and the
411 whole immediate community. The Mosuo funeral has become a cultural
412 phenomenon and a source of local community integration.

413 Instead of rituals of death, the Mosuo funeral has become a
414 celebration of life, during which loved ones mend torn relationships
415 through sumptuous banquets, heart-warming memories and gregarious
416 laughter. Through the processes of Mosuo funerals, it can be seen that
417 the Mosuo mourn and then celebrate with ongoing, forward-looking
418 confidence in the continued joy of life. More importantly, from discussing
419 the procedures of the funeral, from the preparation of the corpse, through
420 the varied dramatic ritual performances and on to the climax of the
421 cremation, every aspect is aimed at reinforcing matrilineal solidarity and
422 revalidating matrilineal harmony and related cultural values. Rather than
423 a period of time with an emphasis on separation and death, the rituals
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surrounding the funeral have become a place for renewal and reaffirmed
 connectedness between family and friends of the deceased.

Although an individual funeral will not be repeated, funerals as a
 community event in a society could be argued to have a recurrence, albeit
 an irregular and unpredictable one. The annual Circle-of-Mountain
 festival of the Mosuo works as an intermediate layer between funerals
 and the everyday, to continue the celebration of life.

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 Southwest China, looking at the relationship between inhabited space
 and architectural form, and its evolution in the face of cultural and social
 change. She completed her M.A. in Interior Design at Birmingham City
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 place-making and environmental design through people's sensory
 experiences, particularly of soundscape and smellscape.

Notes

- 1 Alessandro Falassi, "Festival: Definition and Morphology," in *Time Out of Time: Essays on the Festival* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 1–10.
- 2 For the definition of "festival" in Latin, see the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P. G. Glare (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 686, 694–695.
- 3 Falassi, "Festival: Definition and Morphology," 2.
- 4 Jacqueline S. Thursby, *Funeral Festivals in America: Rituals for the Living* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006), 127.
- 5 Falassi, "Festival: Definition and Morphology," 2.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 1.
- 7 "Walking marriage" or "visiting marriage" (*Zouhun* in Chinese) is the term used to describe all ongoing sexual relationships in Mosuo culture; these relationships are based on mutual affection, and are not necessarily permanent. Men do not live with their female partners. They usually meet at night at the woman's house and at dawn the man returns home to his own maternal family. They do not set up a new family and do not share property. Any children resulting from the union of the couple are the women's, while the man helps to raise the children of his sisters; Tami Blumenfield, *The Na of Southwest China: Debunking the Myths* (Washington, DC: Blumenfield, 2009), 3. Available online: <https://web.archive.org/web/20110720025007/http://web.pdx.edu/~tblu2/Na/myths.pdf> (accessed April 30, 2018).
- 8 Chuan-Kang Shih, "Mortuary Rituals and Symbols among the Moso," in *Naxi and Moso Ethnography*, ed. Michael Oppitz and Elisabeth Hsu (Zurich: Volkerkundemuseum Zurich, 1998), 103–125.
- 9 Chuan-Kang Shih, *Quest for Harmony: The Moso Traditions of Sexual Union and Family Life* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 219–222.
- 10 The primitive religion of the Mosuo people is called Daba, which is a combination of ancestral worship, spirit worship and nature worship. Dabaism has no written scriptures, systematic creeds, classic books, religious organizations or monasteries. All its doctrine is retained in the memory of its

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practitioners, the Daba, and learned by rote orally from generation to generation. The Mosuo also practice Lamaism, a Tibetan variation of Buddhism, in which a lama is a spiritual leader. Since the mid-sixteenth century, Tibetan Buddhism has gradually become the dominant religion among the Mosuo. Before the 1956 Democratic Reform in the Mosuo area, Tibetan Buddhism was prevalent to the extent that almost every household had at least one member serving as a professional lama; Lugu Lake Mosuo Cultural Development Association (LLMCDA), *Mosuo Religion* (2006), <http://www.mosuoproject.org> (accessed April 30, 2018). The LLMCDA was an association directed by John Lombard, focused on Mosuo cultural preservation and development.

- 11 Since the mid-sixteenth century, Tibetan Buddhism has gradually become the dominant religion in the Mosuo area; Chuan-Kang Shih, "Mortuary Rituals and Symbols among the Moso," 105.
- 12 Christine Mathieu, *A History and Anthropological Study of the Ancient Kingdoms of the Sino-Tibetan Borderland – Naxi and Mosuo* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 2003), 35.
- 13 Chuan-Kang Shih, "Mortuary Rituals and Symbols among the Moso," 123.
- 14 The Mosuo believed that it took forty-nine days for the soul to travel back to the ancestral land. According to Tibetan Buddhism, the cycle of birth, life, death and rebirth takes forty-nine days.
- 15 Sibuanawa is a mythical place, an ideal kingdom for the Mosuo, a heaven where the souls of their ancestors rest and live. As the legend is told, "in the olden days, the Na emigrated from Sibuanawa, their original village, to the south"; Cai Hua and Asti Hustvedt, *A Society without Fathers or Husbands: The Na of China* (New York: Zone, 2001), 102, 169.
- 16 Huashan Zhou, *Wu fu Wu fu de Guo du? Zhong nv bu qing nan de mu xi Mosuo* [A

Society without Fathers or Husbands? Discrimination against Neither Female nor Male in the Mosuo Family] (Beijing: Guang ming ri bao chu ban she [Guangming Daily Newspaper Publ. House], 2001), 42–44.

- 17 Prayer song, recorded in Shaoquan He, *Zhongguo Mosuo ren* [The Mosuo People in China] (Yunnan: Yunnan Renmin, 2017), 541.
- 18 Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of passage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 10.
- 19 Thursby, *Funeral Festivals in America*, 16.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 17.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 16.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 17.
- 23 Angus Gillespie, cited in *American Folklore: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Jan Harold Brunvand (New York: Garland, 1996), 230.
- 24 Falassi, "Festival: Definition and Morphology," 3.
- 25 Wayne K. Davies, "Festive Cities: Multi-dimensional Perspectives," in *Theme Cities: Solutions for Urban Problems*, ed. Wayne K. Davies (Dordrecht: Springer, 2015), 533–561, at 535.
- 26 Cudny Waldemar, "The Phenomenon of Festivals: Their Origins, Evolution, and Classifications," *Anthropos*, 109, no. 2 (2014): 640–656.
- 27 Susan Kalcik, "Ethnic Foodways in America: Symbol and the Performance of Identity," in *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: The Performance of Group Identity*, ed. Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 37–65, at 49.
- 28 Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, A Study in Religious Sociology* (London: Allen & Unwin and New York: Macmillan, 1915).
- 29 Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1961), 20–65.

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