

# Religion in Social Classification and Social Orders: A Study of Catholicism in A Tibetan Village in Yunnan

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**Abstract:** This article attempts a new perspective upon Catholicism in a Chinese Tibetan village, Cizhong of Yunnan Province. The article reviews the discussion on social classification by Durham and Bourdieu, and argues that Catholicism, together with the other local religion—Tibetan Buddhism— functions as a social classification inside the village. Catholicism, as well as Buddhism, involves a whole set of rules for the practice of daily life, that are followed by villagers in Cizhong. By this social classification, the village achieves harmony under a reasonable order. The article, based on months of fieldwork, argues two things: First, how Catholicism has become a “local” religion; and second, how the social classification functions in village affairs. The former focuses on historical material and reveals that Catholicism has gradually transformed to a “native” religion, in some sense, during the past century after it was brought there by French missionaries. This transformation can be seen in the change of missionaries’s image in local legends and villagers’ narrative. The latter is based on current empirical material from fieldwork and demonstrates that villagers have created a new order out of the two sets of practices, one rooted in Catholicism and the other in Tibetan Buddhism, to manage social affairs and sustain balance or harmony in the village. Though the tension between the two religions still exists, a new order that shifts delicately between the two is practiced in most situations like funerals.

**Key Words:** Tibetan village; Catholicism; Practicing rules; Social classification

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When discussing Christianity, or more specific, Catholicism in China, a popular perspective is how a foreign religion manages to replace or fuse with indigenous believes and finally emerges as what we can see at present<sup>[1]</sup>. The analysis mainly focus on the struggles between Christians and local villagers, and sometimes the conflicts or negotiations involving country elites and central government from Ming dynasty to PRC nowadays<sup>[2]</sup>. Anthropologists may concern about the adoption of indigenous rituals and concepts in Christians, and the remodeled narratives of Christianity. Others take political perspective into consideration, including seeing Christianity and missionaries as varied forms of foreign invasion, sometimes the more dangerous one as conversion to Christianity is equivalent to abandonment of Chinese identity (duo yige jidutu, shao yige zhongguoren). In mainland China’s literature, this vague hypothesis has been the dominant

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[1] Wu, Fei, *Oracles on Heads*, Hong kong: Daofeng Press, 2001.

[2] Zhang, Xianqing, *Government, Clans and Catholicism*, Zhonghua Press, 2009.

and prevailing discourse for quite a long time after 1949 with a extreme constructed duality of Christianity and “Chinese religions”. However, as any concepts involving “China” or “Chinese” are difficult to define<sup>[3]</sup>. “Chinese religions” itself is a complex compound consisting of Taoism, Buddhism, and enormous local deities. So to avoid the mire of the duality discourse, a possible perspective may be understanding Christianity or Catholicism in the context of local society instead of constructed ideology. Thus this article studies Catholicism in a Tibetan village of Yunnan province with less Chineseness but its own indigenous religious tradition as Tibetan Buddhism mixed with Dongba belief and worship of mountain Gods. The focus is to discuss what kind of existence the Catholicism is in that village, how it gradually gains its locality in the historical view and how it functions in social affairs as a social classification in religious scale. These discussions in this article may not involve much of the Catholic villagers’ understandings and narratives of Catholic belief and the remodeled cosmology but attempt to the analysis of the practice of Catholicism integrated into the social classification.

## Catholicism In Cizhong

Cizhong is a typical Tibetan village in Yunnan today that almost all villagers speak Tibetan in everyday life and nearly 90% of them have the ethnic identity as Tibetan on their formal ID card (shenfenzheng)<sup>[4]</sup>. But in fact Cizhong has multiple ethnic groups, which are Tibetan, Naxi, Lisu, Bai, and Nu, and the two main groups are Tibetan and Naxi. According to a Naxi informant of mine, Liu Wengao, Cizhong village was a “pure Naxi” (chunchunde Naxizu) village before Tibetan rushed into it with foreign Catholic missionaries. I have heard a story about “forty Tibetan families” as the ancestors of the Tibetan group in Cizhong which confirms Liu’s story that the Tibetan in Cizhong have a strong connection with Catholic Missionaries. Though the story may not be seen as a precisely historical text, it may somehow explain the real connection between Catholicism and Tibetan villagers in the village today.

Cizhong village consists of six natural villages with the lowest percentage of 50 to the highest percentage of 100 Catholics among population. The biggest and main village on the plain beside Lanchang River has 70% of its population as Catholics and the Catholic Church is also located there. The Church was first built in 1866 by missionaries Jean-Baptiste Goutelle and Josphe Pierre Chauveau from Paris Foreign Missions Society and then burn down in the disturbance of 1905. After the disturbance was repressed the Church was rebuilt with a huge sum of compensation from Qing government. Since then Cizhong has gradually become in key position of the whole missionary activities in north-western Yunnan and in Tibetan.

Also from that point began the story of Forty Tibetan Families as it can be confirmed missionaries brought Catholic believers into Cizhong with them and inhabited around the Church. With the abundant lands sold to missionaries with the Church at a extreme low price by local Chieftains, the catholic believers each was distributed some squares of land and settled there ever

[3] Shepard, John, Rethinking Sinicization: Processes of Acculturation and Assimilation, State, Market and Contextualized Ethnicities, Jiang, Bin; He Cuiping, 2000.

[4] Wei, Leping, Memory and Identity: Research on Livelihood, Social Organization and Culture Icon in Cizhong Village in Northwest Yunnan, 2001.

since. It may be exaggerated that the Naxi aboriginals were six families while Tibetan migrants were forty families thus Cizhong soon turned into a Tibetan village as we see today, but one thing can be sure is that the massive Tibetan Catholic migrants changed the population constitution greatly and the obvious primordial transformation of Tibetan Group and Catholicism started from then on while there might already be some Tibetan residents in Cizhong before 1906.

Today in Cizhong village, the distinction between Catholicism and Tibetan groups is vague. Rather, religion seems strongly tied with families and lineages, in the situation that most of the villagers claim themselves as Tibetan instead of Naxi and both Tibetan and Naxi Catholic believers can be found in Church. The situation is the same in another religion of Cizhong village—Tibetan Buddhism where both Tibetan and Naxi believers are found. In my fieldwork, if I went into a house and asked whether they are Christian or Buddhists, what I can know is that the people in that house are all Christian or Buddhists while whether they are Tibetan or Naxi remains unknown. That means families and lineages are classified into Catholicism and Buddhism rather than the ethnic identities.

I describe the Catholicism and Buddhism in Cizhong as in a steady equilibrium, where the dynamics of conversion is following quite simple rules—always be consistent with the family you live in. In another word, the only conversion happens when you marry into a family with different belief, which is often the case today. Every villager in Cizhong, whether he is a Catholic or Buddhist told me “one family should stick to one belief, otherwise the difference will cause struggles all the time and that’s a bad thing”. When getting married, bride and groom should agree on which belief they need to stick on if any conversion is needed. And as many other cases in a lineage, the remained belief does not depend on personal choice or will but the family tradition. Even today more and more young couples choose to leave the village and live separately from their parents, they still choose the belief as one marry into another’s family. In Cizhong, whether a wife marries into her husband’s family or other way around depends on specific situation with little restricts or social depreciation while the former is still more common case.

This rules not only applies to local villagers but also people married into Cizhong from other villages. One thing should be mentioned here is that Catholicism is actually very unique in that area as Tibetan county in Yunnan. Not far away from Cizhong is Deqin County and Shangri-la is on the other side of the mountain, both places with Buddhism prevailing and quite a number of important temples and Tibetan monks. As for people married into Cizhong, they are almost all Buddhists in their original families. But when they came to live in Cizhong, they followed the rules of conversion here and several did converted to Catholicism and go to Church every Sunday now. Father Yao at Cizhong Church introduced them to me as pious new believers while other villagers, in some cases even themselves, describe the conversion no different from other marry-conversions.

One thing I may pause and highlights here is that villagers hardly speaks of doctrines or theology concepts of Catholicism with me but they repeatedly emphasize the importance to follow the rules here to make sure I understand their meaning and the serious attitude they have towards belief. They hardly talked about Jesus Christ or God Father or Saint Maria, even in very religious occasion such as Sunday Mass or celebration of Assumption Day. But them speaks with me in a very serious tone that they should prepare masses for their dead parents or the whole family do the same rituals when needed. They get their identity and the whole set of rules about appropriate practice from

parents just like their blood, name, or even life. They change it in situations that the rules demonstrations for the general good. Though I can't find any literal text about these rules, every villager seems quite familiar with them and willing to share it with me.

The rules are not only adopted by Catholic villagers. As a matter of fact, Buddhist villagers also share the same logic, while concrete and details practice or rituals may differentiate. The logic I mention here is about the valuation of certain initial parts of life as well as the importance to practice the detailed rules well to achieve similar goals. In other word, how religion should be practiced and what the finally aims are the same for both Catholic and Buddhist villagers. In that sense, if we take Tibetan Buddhism as the indigenous or native religion, I have to argue that Catholicism in Cizhong is nothing like a bunch of people somehow connected with Pope they never met or Saints in history but rather a native religion as well. With a clear entrance during 1866—1906, the process of how Catholicism became native is open to be discussed.

## Localizing of Catholicism

To discuss the process of the localizing of Catholicism in Cizhong, I want to begin with another legend about the slaughtered missionaries during the disturbance in 1905. The process involves multiple aspects including political, economical, and religious through history. So I will approach that point through the change of images of missionaries and foreign Fathers to reveal how Catholicism is adopted by local villagers and gain its locality.

When the disturbance busted in 1905, the angry monks armed with knives and swords surrounded the original Church. They wanted to cracked down the Church and killed all the French missionaries in it. At that time, local Tibetan Catholic villagers helped missionaries to escape and hide in the mountains. Monks found out and offered high price for the location of the missionaries for they could not find them. One day a Tibetan Buddhist boy played in the mountain woods noticed the cabin with a foreign and ran back home to tell his parents. The family heard about the generous reward offered by monks and chieftains so they sold the information to them. Then the missionary LePeirre-Marie Bourdonnec got caught and executed together with the Catholic villager who helped the missionary to hide. At the execution, the missionary asked to read the bible one more time. The monks and chieftain mocked but permitted, and the missionary took out the bible with him and teared it up while reciting. When finished, he told the monks it is time to send him back. So the monks cut his head off but white milk instead of red blood outflow from the neck. When villagers stole back the head and body, them were not rotten at all even it was end of June and the weather was quite hot.

In that myth text, we may find quite a number of metaphors in it, like the imitation of Jesus by the missionary, and the milk indicates some similar description about the land of Canaan. But what is more essential here is that the image of missionary is not a victim but a victor. This reverse is quite common in Bible literature. But when it is applied into the myth among Tibetan villagers, we can see this reverse is vital in the localization of Catholicism. That is to say the reverse of missionary represent the reverse of existence of Catholicism in Cizhong village. In the myth, the anger and hostility are clear and indicate the alienation and negative imagination towards a foreign group. But in

the reverse discourse and narrative, the anger and hostility transform into superior power and perseverance symbolized by immortal. So the power and perseverance are signs of protection, which a great and powerful dominant can provide. We can understand this metaphor as the disturbance was soon repressed by Qing government under the pressure of France. Thus French missionaries removed the prestige and power owned by Chieftains and monks, even Qing government, and became the new dominant here. The unreasonable transaction between chieftains and missionaries over lands for new Church strengthened this vague impression. After the failed rebellion, Tibetan villagers chose to surround to this new chieftain as they used to do before. Thus, emerges the image of villagers who protected the missionary and stole the corps back. In that way they differentiate their image from the chieftain and monks as the alliance and followers of the missionary—the new chieftain in real life.

The new chieftain image was not just a social imaginary only existing in scholar's discourse. The villagers in Cizhong describe the foreign Fathers in the Church in the same way they write about a chieftain. When I was talking to someone aged Catholic villagers who actually met with the Fathers and clearly remembered the contact, they have told me Fathers are sometimes very harsh on them but sometime help them with no intention of reward. Xiao Jieyi, maybe one of the most aged Catholic believers in Cizhong told me about things happened between Father Andre (Georges Andre) and his family. Xiao said his family was close to the Church, quite familiar with several Fathers and Sisters their. His father helped Father Andre to look after the horses at the backyard and lived there. Father Andre was a very strict person and scold Xiao's father a lot. One winter, they argued about horses' feeding again and the irritated Father Andre throw the whole family out of Church. Freezing cold outside with no food or water, the family only depended on the support from other villagers blinding the angry Father to survive. Finally, when Father Andre calmed down, the family went back to live in the church and that was the next spring already. But when Xiao grew older, about his adolescence time, Father Andre was quite fond of him for he was smart and well-behaved. So Father Andre sent him to church school to study Chinese, Latin and theology, which was a very precious chance for local villagers to get high education at that time, and wanted him back in the missionary work.

There are many similar descriptions on Fathers and missionaries, as villagers need to do housekeep work in the Church, farming work in the lands and vineyard, and helped to serve the feasts on festivals. Fathers and missionaries may scold or yield at villagers but also treated people they favored generously. More importantly, when a family suffered from hunger or illness, the Fathers would come and help. As a matter of fact, chieftains in other Tibetan areas in Yunnan also cared for the peasants when harvests is poor or the husband suffered seriously some disease. In social affairs, Fathers and missionaries also took the role of mediator and sometimes the judge in arguments inside the church. From these aspects, the new chieftain image was not just a concept, but also description of the real situation.

The new chieftain image can be initial in the localization of Catholicism in Cizhong. For those Buddhist villagers, they never shared a close relation with the Fathers or missionaries. On the contrary, they keep the subtle alienation with them, though open rebellion was out of consideration. They choose to surround and tacitly accepted the new chieftain. What they need to solve was that the negotiation between Catholicism group as they live in the same area. Total separation or alienation was something missionaries wanted but never did the villagers. Both Catholic and Buddhist villagers urged a remodeling of village society, which means everyday transactions, marriage exchange and

cooperation in social affairs such as rituals, funerals and public infrastructure constructions. As I have demonstrated in previous sections, Catholic villagers should not be seen as shaped and guided only by doctrines now, neither should they back then. Transactions and marriage guarantee the daily life possible and the cooperation in social affairs are based on the logic shared by all the villagers, like unprocessed death will compromise the safety of whole area, not only targeted people. In other words, even though Buddhist villagers do not share the same rules with Catholic people, they manage to endure the difference for the only reason that these affairs should not remain unprocessed.

To conclude, the localization of Catholicism went through two processes: one is that the Catholic villagers accepted Fathers and missionaries as new chieftains and followed the rules they set; the other is that Buddhist villagers negatively admitted the new chieftain with subtle alienation but endured the difference in detailed practice of the Catholic villagers to maintain affairs in mostly in the shared logic. The change of image of missionaries provides a glance at this extremely complicated process that won't be able to fully be represented in this article. But it still reveals the general two parts as summarized above of this localization and indicates how the disciplined and negotiated set of rules for everyday practice in Cizhong function in the village, which will be illustrated in the next section.

## Religions in Social classification

When we observe and try to understand religion in social context, we are actually talking about how society is possible. Religion, whether admitting its transcendence or not, is embedded in society with other systems<sup>[5]</sup>. Functional perspective that religion provides meaning and explanations, which are vital to human beings in social context, to subjects sounds cliché but remains its possibility to understand what kind of existence religion is. And in this article, I will focus on the practice of believers involved in social affairs and regard Catholicism as a set of rules for practice rather than a meaningful encyclopedia for philosophical questions. Detailed practice mingles with aboriginal logic and then reconstructs the social order in Cizhong in the process of localization of Catholicism and negotiation with Buddhism.

Religions in Cizhong, Catholicism and Buddhism, can be seen as a social classification. Involving Catholicism and Buddhism, the social classification however is not a contrast binary one since neither of the two holds the opposite understanding or description of the other. In fact, as I have presented in paragraphs above, Catholicism and Buddhism are two different sets of rules for everyday practice with the similar or even the same logic. But as several informants have implied that the tension between Catholic villagers and Buddhist villagers still exist and in my observation, the tension is transferred to the stigma of the present Father at Cizhong Church. So where does this tension come from if things can not be simply concluded as contrast binary? A possible answer may lie in the distinct between the ideal social condition of internal consistency and homogeneity and the practical approach by social classification.

The discussion goes back to the understanding of society<sup>[6]</sup>. In anthropological studies, a tribe

[5] Geertz, Clifford, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, New York: Basic Books, 1973.

[6] Brown, D. E. *Social Classification and History*, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (1973), pp. 437-447.

or society usually treated as homogenous with little attention on difference of groups inside<sup>[7]</sup>. In China's context, the major ethnic group "Han" is a constructed homogenous concept since late 19th century<sup>[8]</sup>. As most of the situation when we talk about nation-state, the same hypothesis emerges again. It is rather hasty to claim that this constructed concept is totally invent and is bluffed by some politicians for certain propose. We need a further thought on how we imagined our society before making judgements based on valuation. The homogenous society has be a long-lasting ideal picture of human society with the following assumptions as shared interest, intimacy by blood or possibility of fully understanding and communication. Practically, the internal consistency results in a more efficient and coherent system functioning. But as Cohen points out that the homogenous tribe or society never exists in human history, the ideal picture is always an impossible goal to achieve.

Without the basis of consistency or coherency, how the society functions in a heterogenous situation? The effort to regain order falls in the process of social classification. As Durkheim illustrated in "primitive classification", the importance of classification lies in the way classification is done<sup>[9]</sup>. The specific meaning and implication of each category are not as important as the process of define the relation between each group. The rationalization and construction of order are exactly how people understand the relation between subjects involving themselves<sup>[10]</sup>. The logic then used to explain every new object they have encountered or in other words, to classify them. Bourdieu then deepen the discussion by use "Habitus" to explain how social classification manage its way from mental and logical impulse to concrete social practice<sup>[11]</sup>. When we take religions in Cizhong into the explanation by Habitus<sup>[12]</sup>, they fit the discussion of structured-structure and structuring-structure<sup>[13]</sup>. But I will stay on the discussion why social classification can release the anxiety caused by heterogeneity and the urge for homogeny, and why Catholicism and Buddhism, or why religion functions as social classification rather than the more common ethnicity or social hierarchies

The possibility of classification to maintain social harmony largely depends on the reconstructed order in what scale fits the practical need of people. In that way the classic topic in anthropological studies about the native cosmology may be actually about the reconstructed order that aims to maintain some reasonable equilibrium as a replacement of the homogenous condition. The order mostly appeared in the interaction between different groups based on negotiation and adjustment of category relations. These relations are not ideological or abstract but with solid social background such as kinship, community or age. It will not be appropriate to see these social relations simply as derivatives of the abstract category relations but also the source to construct the abstract ones. People do not make up the ideal category and define their relations before they pick out relationships

[7] Cohen, Ronald, *Ethnicity: Problem and Focus in Anthropology*, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 7, 1978, 379-403

[8] Dicotter, Frank, *Global Science, National Politics and Assimilationist Discourse in Modern China, State, Market and Contextualized Ethnicities*, Jiang, Bin; He Cuiping, 2000.

[9] Durkheim, Emile, *Primitive Classifications*, London: Cohen & West, 2009.

[10] Robbins, Derek, *Classification in French Social Theory*, *Theory, Culture & Society* 23(2-3), p. 42-43.

[11] Bourdieu, Pierre, *Outline of A Theory of Practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

[12] Bourdieu, Pierre, *What Makes a Social Class? On The Theoretical and Practical Existence Of Groups*, *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 32 (1987), pp. 1-17.

[13] Hu, Chunguang, *Habitus, Practice and Social Space; Bourdieu's Theory of Social Classification*, *Journal of Chongqing University of Posts and Telecommunications (Social Science Edition)*, Vol. 25, No. 4(2013), p. 120-128.

already existed in society as the representations. Rather, they construct the order out of the concrete social facts, in a way more like induction than deduction.

Back to our discussion on Cizhong Catholicism. I will use another example of the social affairs to present how Catholicism-Buddhism functions as social classification in Cizhong, which is a funeral of a Catholic mid-aged woman that I attend in the village.

Just like other villages in China, villagers in Cizhong all somehow connected with each other as relatives after so many years' marriages between Catholic families and Buddhist families. I got the news that a woman Catholic had passed away from Father Yao, and he permitted me to attend the three-day funeral. In Cizhong, when a man pass away, all his relatives need to come to funeral and inside the village, every family needs to send a person to night-watch on the first and second night before the burial on third day. I asked to attend the night-watch, but was politely refused by the family as they take this something only in the villagers. They asked me to attend the funeral at daytime with other relatives from other villages.

The woman was Catholic, so the whole set of rituals was charged by Father Yao. When I got the house the second boring, I was surprised almost every family was involved in the funeral and it is impossible to tell if they are Catholic or Buddhist. But when the mass began, suddenly all the Buddhist villagers ebbed to the peripheries of the yard and all Catholic villagers emerged to the center and started chanting.

After the mass was over, the people on the peripheries and center mingled again and no way to tell. The same situation happened on the burial rituals on the third day. And right before taking the coffin to cemetery, the periphery-center division appeared for another time, only that division was between close families or relatives and other villagers helping around.

That is just one case showing how Catholicism-Buddhism classification system functions in Cizhong. The periphery-center division is a delicate swift between detailed religious practice and the common logic for both the Catholic villagers and Buddhist ones. Someone passes away—death of a member of the community is one of the most urgent and essential social affairs that confronts the whole village. Typical process has to be done to erase the potential harm that the death might cause inside the village. Both Catholic and Buddhist villagers agree on this point of view and even adopting different practice rules, they need to finish the process together. Li Jinlong, a young villager told me a story that he experienced to convincing me about the doom that death may bring:

There was once some guy died in a car accident, fallen from the highway to the abyss. It was more convenient to take his body across the main part of village to the cemetery on the hill. They ignored the old warnings about never taking corps across the village and buried him. Since then 8 more people died of various reasons that year and all the villagers felt the doom they were caught in. So both Catholic and Buddhist villagers invited Fathers (Father Yao hadn't arrived at that time) and monks to fight the evil. I remembered Father to spread holy water house by house and monks chanting at the center of the village. Not sure whose solution finally worked, anyway no one died for the rest of that year.

Though other villagers told me not to buy Li's story because it's children's horrible stories with no facts can prove that. Anyway, they still keep asking the Father or Monks from other village to pure their new car to exile any possible devils on it that may cause car crush. Proper rituals for dead ancestors are also important even they emphasize that they are the same as the caring for them when



they are alive. Death is a remarkable compact towards individual relationships and social structures. That is why funeral is no doubly one of the most important social affairs in Cizhong village.

During the process of funeral, different practices are adopted so the periphery-center division exists. Villagers are all very aware of how the shift works when context changes—ritual for classified practice and other part for united village. In other affairs, even in the marriage conversion mentioned at the beginning of this article, the periphery-center division also appears, although may in different forms or ways. The classification in Cizhong falls into religions has its own historical context, including the strong existential recognition of missionaries that the difference between sets of rules for practice rooted in religion was too obvious and strengthened repeatedly by missionaries and Fathers. As well as the missionaries, central government's religion policies after 1949 shaped the separation between Catholicism and Buddhism with the absence of missionaries and Fathers since. The ethnic policies favoring Tibetan ethnic group may account for the deliberately indistinct on ethnic identities of Tibetan and Naxi in Cizhong. We can not affirm the religious social classification can be traced back to a or several specific reasons, but the point is that Catholicism, together with Buddhism, works as a practical system to reconstruct a reasonable social order to manage affairs and sustain equilibrium, with the acculturation of skills to endure and swift between different sets.

## **Conclusion**

As I have argued in the above sections, Catholicism brought in to the village by missionaries gradually gains its locality in Cizhong and functions as social classification to provide a practical and reasonable social order in case of social affairs. What remains undiscussed is that whether this is the only social classification in Cizhong village. Even ethnic identities are no longer the case, what about lineages? One thing can be sure is that the religions in Cizhong are closely connected with lineages. In another word, the diversity of categories inside a religion is about lineages and families. During the depression between 1956—1980, all kinds of religions were abolished there. Both Catholicism and Buddhism continued to survive through lineages and families, from parents to children, from husbands to wives.

Another thing is that as I analyze the situation of Cizhong at present, things there are actually changing rapidly. What I do not mention in the previous discussion is how the Catholic as well as Buddhist belief continue on the younger generation. Like many other works on Christianity transformation from elder generation to younger generation have noticed, more and more young villagers start to rethink their belief and the set of rules for practice they inherit from their parents in the context of modernity and secularization. Even inside the village, the social lifestyle has changed a lot since visitors and strangers rush into it, which is a quite common phenomena at other places in Yunnan and Tibetan. The particular situation of Cizhong may change, the phenomena we need to explain remains the same: What kind of existence of Christianity is in Chinese society? And the perspective that religion functions as social classification waits for more resonance on the classic but general topic of how society is possible. Also in China's literature, the hypothesis of contrast duality between Christianity and Chinese Religions needs to be modified for any possible further discussion around Christianity in China.

中文题目:

## 社会分类和秩序中的宗教——对云南藏区一个天主教村落的考察

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**摘要:** 本文讨论的对象为云南滇西北藏区的一个村落中的天主教。文章回顾了涂尔干和布迪厄以降的社会分类的相关理论, 论证天主教和村落中的藏传佛教一起构成了村落内部的社会分类标准。天主教包括了一整套日常生活的实践规范, 藏传佛教也是如此。村民们遵循这些实践规范, 并且通过确定彼此的社会类别归属, 使得村落产生了共同的秩序, 并实现了和谐共存。本文在田野工作的基础上对两个问题进行了讨论: 其一是天主教如何变成了“地方”宗教的; 其二是这套社会分类规则如何在村落的日常事物中发挥效力。前者依赖于历史材料, 论证了天主教是如何在进入当地的一个多世纪的时间中逐步转化为“本地的”宗教。这个转化过程可以有当地传说以及村民的叙事中传教士形象的变迁看出。后者基于当下的田野材料, 论述了当地村民如何从两套实践规则中创造出新的社会秩序, 以保证村落性的事务得到处理。尽管宗教类群之间仍有张力, 但在诸如葬礼等仪式场合, 两套时间规则仍可以完成有效的切换。

**关键词:** 藏区; 天主教; 实践规则; 社会分类