

(千葉大学学位申請論文)

**THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FUNCTIONS  
OF TAIPING TEMPLE  
FOR THE XIBE ETHNIC GROUP IN CHINA  
---THROUGH THE INVESTIGATION ON THE USAGE OF TAIPING TEMPLE**

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# **Preface**

## Preface

### 1 Background and purpose

**Pluralistic unity:** China has a huge population of 1.3 billion people. This population is a composition of Han Chinese and 55 officially recognized ethnic minorities. Han Chinese makes up 92% of the population while the 55 ethnic minorities compose 8% of the rest. Each ethnic minority group has his own unique racial, social, culture and economic background. This vast composition of ethnic minorities and their differences have contributed to China as one of the world's richest country with different cultures, dialects and history.

This composition was called a pluralistic unity by *Fei Xiao-tong* in his famous lecture *Plurality and Unity in the Configuration of the Chinese People* at Chinese University of Hong kong in 1988. In his lecture, he elaborated that the Chinese people is of pluralistic origin from various civilizations and ethnic groups, and with the development of history, the Chinese people has merged into an organic whole with the unified consciousness of a nationality. This includes over fifty ethnic groups who are also known as “nationalities,” a fact which embodies plurality and unity at the same time: pluralistic because fifty-odd ethnic units are included, unified because together they make up the Chinese people. Namely, the Chinese culture today is the result of the co-evolution of diverse cultural species, which established the cultural identity of China.

The process of formation of the Chinese people’s pluralistic yet unified configuration has been the result of a historical process of millennia. The general situation was the simultaneous existence of a multitude of ethnic groups who were separated and independent of each other. During a long period of mutual contact many groups were mixed, aligned, or integrated, while others were divided and became extinct. In time the groups unified into one group which consisted of a number of subunits that kept emerging, vanishing, and reemerging, so that parts of some subunits became a part of others, yet each retained its individual characteristics. Together they formed a national entity which was at once pluralistic and unified. However, the Chinese people became a conscious national entity only during the past century, as a result of China’s confrontation with the Western powers.

**Policy toward minorities nationalities:** Since 1949 the Chinese government has made it one of its basic policies to assure equality between ethnic groups, a policy which was entered into the constitution. In accordance with legislation for regional autonomy, autonomous regions were designated for all national minorities to manage their own affairs. Ethnic language and traditional culture should be respected, and their reform can be decided on only by the ethnic groups themselves. Owing to historical reasons, China's national minorities lacked the means to develop their economy and culture in the past, so preferential treatment is being offered to help them. As a result, many who had concealed their ethnic identity previously now readily acknowledge that they belong to national minorities.

**Crisis of the pluralistic unity:** This pluralistic unity implies that, aparting from Han Chinese, the existence and development of 55 minorities are crucial for being diversity of Chinese culture. However, the modern history of China is complicated, changeable and miserable. During the past century, the first half of it was almost in a state of chaos caused by wars, which not only made people's life a misery, but also made the development activities stagnated. People were too busy day and night finding means of livelihood to think about what was culture and cultural diversity for the survival and multiplication of the nation.

The founding of People's Republic of China terminated the state of tangled warfare for years running, and people began to be busy with healing the wounds of war and rebuilding their hometown. With people's daily life becoming stable gradually, the cultural activities were also recovered and began to come back to the common people's daily life. However, just at this moment of everything being back to normal conditions, the coming of a political movement, The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, made everything take a turn for the worse. Ultimately however, for many it signified a loss of tradition and led people to a wrong way for understanding the value of traditional culture and history.

What is more, the modernization development of past 30 years has witnessed the incomparable dominance of the Han Chinese culture. The economic mechanisms, values, science and technology increasingly replace traditional cultures and knowledge systems of the minority nationalities. The traditional system are rejected, ore regarded poorly, while little is done to

strengthen their dynamics for local development. The capacity of local knowledge systems is further weakened when the younger generation is attracted by the dominant culture, and decides to move away from their cultural background. Namely, a strong tendency of assimilation with the Hans is shown in the development of minority nationalities.

It is not an exaggeration to say that the minority nationalities have lost their history, tradition and culture seriously in the past century, which is possibly the key reason for the collapse of ethnic community that they rely on for national existence.

It is just within the recent 20 years that there is a growing awareness that cultural diversity indigenous to China is such a crucial thing that it determined the identity of Chinese people in this increasingly globalized world. And the question is: will modernization mean further assimilation with the Hans for national minorities? If so, the simultaneous prosperity of all ethnic groups would have to be achieved at the price of ethnic traditions and cultures. Would this not likewise diminish the plurality of the people as a nation? Of course, there is the possibility that this may happen. In *Fei Xiao-tong's* belief "the more wealthy a society is, the more there will be opportunities for its members to develop their own characters. On the other hand, very few choices of modes of life will be available to members of a poverty-stricken society. If this rule also applies to ethnic relationships, then a developed economy will most likely provide opportunities for the ethnic groups to give play to their respective advantages and characteristics." However, the point is what the development of a minority nationality should be? What the value of the traditional culture and history lies in? And in what way can the dynamics of a minority nationality be activated?

### **Community and Temple in traditional society:**

Temple culture is one of traditional culture which is very common in traditional society in China. In traditional Chinese society, where there were people living a life in community, there would be at least one temple. The temple was a place where people find their spiritual sustenance, and besides, it was also a place where people of the community gathered and communicated. Thus the temple would become the public space of the community. It must be a place being closely linked with people's daily life, only in this way, it could become the nucleus and base for forming, developing and creating the local culture and history of the community which is considered to be the internal

force for the sustainable development of the community. This is what look a temple should have.

Namely, temple culture is a kind of complex of religious culture and community culture with temple as cementation medium. The temple, religious culture and community culture are three basic components of the temple culture in traditional China. That is to say, originally, temple should play a relative role in the formation and development of a community by unifying the spiritual world and integrating with the community culture. Especially for those minority nationalities, more importance was attached to the existence and usage of a temple where social cohesion that could make the community unified was created. However, due to the development of past century mentioned above, the temples were discarded, and then were considered to be a place for superstitions in the past century, consequently become disable in community construction for about one century.

In recent years, this traditional culture displays some resilience with many temples reconstructed and a gradual revival of religious activities. And people have tried a lot to utilize it in expectation of that making it play a role in solving the problem of community collapse today.

**The Xibe Minority Nationality and Taiping Temple:** The Xibe people numbered 172,847 in 1990, a sizable increase in population from the 82,629 enumerated in 1982. Many live in Liaoning Province and the rest half live in Xinjiang Province along the Ili River. The Xibe attribute their ancestry to the ancient Xianbei people. At the time of the Mongol invasion, the Xibe were hunters and fishers living in the far northeastern portion of China. By the late sixteenth century, they had come under the domination of the Manchu leader Nurhachi; at this time they settled and began agricultural activities. In the late seventeenth century, the Qing government moved many Xibe military and civilians to the frontiers, to larger Liaoning cities, and to Beijing. In 1764, 5,000 Xibe troops and their families were sent to Xinjiang to control the recently defeated Jungars, and this accounts for the present-day population of Xibe in the far northwest. The part moved to Shengjing(today's Shenyang, Liaoning Province), the capital at the time, is the central core of all the Xibes living in different areas of China, and Shengyang where the main parts of the Xibes live in a compact community is considered to be the birthplace of the whole nationality.



*Taiping* Temple was constructed in the early days of Qing Dynasty as an unofficial temple where the *Xibes* worshipped, dealt with the national affairs and led themselves a community life. In history, it played an important role in building Xibe ethnic community in Shengyang, later with the development of history, the influence of the temple even spread to the Xibes of different areas and became the symbol of the Xibe Nationality. Following the trend in modern history, the temple had ever been discarded for about half century, which caused a serious loss of traditional culture and the discontinuity of religious activities for several decades in Xibe ethnic community of *Shengyang*. The community has almost been facing collapse due to the loss of tradition and culture of their race.

With the awareness of utilizing the traditional culture to activate the community so to rebuild the identity of each community, *Taiping* Temple was reconstructed and put into use in 2004. The temple was reconstructed and reused in the hope for reviving the national identity of the Xibes.

This research, taking *Taiping* temple as a case study, for the purpose of investigating what should a ethnic community development be by utilizing its indigenous traditional and cultural resource, introduced the possibility to link people's hearts together with *Taiping* Temple as the base of national culture and to reconstruct the collective consciousness which could be the firm basis of the survival of a nationality in the transition of history.

### **3. Standpoint of This Research**

After experiencing the wars and political movements in modern history, over the last 3 decades the development activities of rural and urban people local government, as well as some research agencies have led to a situation in which more people have food, better health, longer life, more access to education and faster communication. And what is encouraging is that gratifying achievements has been gained in the field of economic development. However, however, the history and traditional culture in various regions has been ignored while people enjoy the economic prosperity. For the Xibe's ethnic community, people's consciousness of their national identity is getting blunted due to the loss of traditional culture. If things continue this way, the Xibe people has to face the problem of community collapse some time or later, and as a consequence, the nationality will certainly wither away in history with the community collapse. So what the community development should be is a very crucial problem left to today's Xibe people to think and solve as soon as possible at present.

In fact, the problem of community collapse is not only the problem of the Xibe nationality in China, with the arrival of industrialization and globalization, but also becomes a big problem being faced by all the communities in the world. In connection with such a problem, in the past 30 years, the endogenous development calling upon "another development from within" has been practiced in many places in the world. Japan is one of these countries that has tried to find a way out for community development by the practice of utilizing local resources of culture and history to activate regions, like One-village, one-product(OVOP) project, Hometown Movement and Folk Arts and Crafts Movement in Mishimamachi town, etc., which really alleviated the problem of community collapse. Some of these experiences has been introduced to China in recent years in succession. With the influence of periphery countries, in addition to the self-examination of the last 20 ~ 30 years development, China has began to try to find a way out for preserving and utilizing traditional culture in modern society. This movement also is echoed in non-governmental circles in many regions. People of the locality has began to think how to utilize the traditional culture originated from the locality to activate the community so to development a model of distinctive features for community construction according to the respective needs and

cultures resources of different regions.

With such a background, this research attempt to have a new understand of traditional culture and try to find its value in todays' society from the standpoint of endogenous development.

## **Part I the Outline of the Xibe Nationality**

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In China, there are 83,000 people who fall under the ethnic group category of Xibe. Most live in the fertile areas along the Ili River in northwestern Xinjiang, especially in the Ili Kazak autonomous prefecture's Qapqal Xibe autonomous county and the Huocheng and Gongliu counties along the Ili River. The rest are scattered over such areas as Shenyang, Kaiyuan and Yixian in northeastern China.

Originating from different geographical and historical backgrounds, the Xibe people in the northeast and northwest have developed vastly disparate lifestyles. Those in the northeast have become increasingly similar to the local Han and Manchu in cultural areas such as language, costumes, food and in their general style of living. On the other hand, those living in compact communities in Xinjiang have not strayed far from their own customs.

The Xibe people believe in religions known as Shamanism and Lamaism. They also have their own language and characters.

In early times, the Xibe people mainly engaged in hunting and fishing. With a developing economy, they also turned to agriculture and trade. The Xibe people depend on rice and wheat as their staple food, but also favor naicha (tea with milk), ghee, mutton and beef. Eating dogs is forbidden in their diet.

The traditional dress of the Xibe ethnic group is basically equivalent to that of Manchus. Men often wear long robes or short shirts and women wear cheongsam with laces mounted in the laps or cuffs. Today most Xibe people have adopted Han fashion and only some elders in Xinjiang maintain the traditional dress.

The Xibe people excel at singing and dancing. They are especially adept at playing their musical instruments, the Dongbuer and the Maken (harmonica). Xibe men are skilled archers. At festivals, sport activities such as wrestling, toxophily, horse racing, sheep-tossing and weight lifting are staged.

The traditional festival of the Xibe nationality is the "April 18th Festival." On April 18th, 1764, ordered by Emperor Qianlong of the Qing Dynasty, 3,275 Xibe people were forced to relocate from Shenyang to far Xinjiang. The Xibe people were relocated to the frontier in order to serve as

reserve soldiers at a military outpost in the event that there was an invasion or unrest along the borderline. After a one and half year trek, they arrived at Xinjiang and began constructing their new homes.

In order to commemorate this historical event, Xibe people from near and far gather to hold various activities, hence the "April 18th Festival."

## **Custom**

The Xibe people in northeast and northwest China have each formed their own characteristics in the course of development. The language and eating, dressing and living habits of the Xibes in the northeast are close to those of the local Han and Manchu people. Living in more compact communities, those in Xinjiang have preserved more of the characteristics of their language script and life styles. The Xibe language belongs to the Manchu-Tungusic branch of the Altaic Language Family. Legend has it that the Xibe ethnic group once had its own script but has lost it after the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) was founded. A growing number of Xibe people came to learn the Manchu and Han languages, the latter being more widely used. In Xinjiang, however, some Xibe people know both the Uygur and Kazak languages. In 1947, certain Xibe intellectuals reformed the Manchu language they were using by dropping some phonetic symbols and adding new letters of the Xibe language. This Xibe script has been used as an official language by the organs of power in the autonomous areas.

The Xibe ethnic minority in Xinjiang believed in Polytheism before China's national liberation in 1949. In addition to the gods of insect, dragon, land and smallpox, the Xibes also worshipped divine protectors of homes and animals. Besides, some Xibe people believe in Shamanism and Buddhism. The Xibe people are pious worshippers of ancestors, to whom they offer fish every March and melons every July.

In clothing, the Xibe women in Xinjiang like close-fitting long gowns reaching the instep. Their front, lower hem and sleeves are trimmed with laces. Men wear short jackets with buttons down the front, with the trousers tightly tied around the ankle. They wear long robes in winter. The Xibe costume in northeastern China is basically the same as that of the Han people. Rice and flour are staples for the Xibes. Those in Xinjiang who raise cattle and sheep

like tea with milk, butter, cream, cheese and other dairy products. April 18 on the lunar calendar is the festival of the Xibes, who would make flour or bean sauce on this day to mark the successful conclusion of their ancestors' westward move. In autumn, they would pickle cabbage, leek, carrot, celery and hot pepper. The Xibes enjoy hunting and fishing during the slack farming season. They also cure fish for winter use.

There are usually 100 to 200 households in each Xibe village, which is enclosed with a wall two or three miles long. A Xibe house usually consists of three to five rooms with a courtyard, in which flowers and fruit trees are planted. The gates of the houses mostly face south. Xibe women are good at paper cutting, and windows are often decorated with beautiful paper-cuts.

In the past, each Xibe family used to consist of three generations, sometimes as many as four or five generations, being influenced by the feudal system. Marriage was, in most cases, decided by parents. Women held a very low status and had no right to inherit property. The family was governed by the most senior member who had great authority. When the father was living, the sons were not allowed to break up the family and live apart. In family life, the old and the young each had his position according to a strict order of importance, and they paid attention to etiquette. "Hala," a council formed by male clan heads, handled major issues within the clans and enforced clan rules.

## **History**

The Xibes think they are descendants of the ancient Xianbei people, and there are many versions of the origin of this ethnic group. Xianbei was a branch of the ancient Donghu ethnic group in northern China, roving as nomads over vast areas between the eastern slopes of the Great Xinggan Mountains in northeast China. In A.D. 89, the northern Xiongnu, defeated by the Han Dynasty troops, moved westward, abandoning their land to the Xianbeis. Between A.D. 158 and 167, the Xianbei people formed a powerful tribal alliance under chieftain Tan Shihuai. Between the third and sixth centuries, the Murong, Tuoba, Yuwen and other powerful tribes of Xianbei established political regimes in the Yellow River valley, where they mixed with Han people. But a small number of Xianbeis never strayed very far from

their native land along the *Chuoer*, *Nenjiang* and Songhua rivers. They were probably the ancestors of the *Xibe* people.

Before the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), the *Xibe* ethnic group lived in a vast area centering around the present-day *Fuyu* County in Jilin Province and reaching as far as Jilin in the east, *Hulunbuir* in the west, the *Nenjiang* River in the north and the *Liaohe* River in the south. In the late 16th century, the Manchu nobility rose to power. In order to expand their territory and consolidate their rule, the Manchu rulers repeatedly tried to conquer neighboring tribes by offering them money, high position and marriage, and more often by armed force. Various *Xibe* tribes submitted themselves one after another to the authority of the Manchu rulers. By the end of the 17th century, the *Xibe* tribes in different areas had all been incorporated into the "eight banners" of Mongolia and Manchu. According to the "eight-banner system," soldiers in the banners worked the land in time of peace and went to battles during wartime, shouldering heavy military and labor services. In less than 150 years after the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) was founded, the *Xibe* people were removed from their native land in northeast China to various other places as far as Yunnan and Xinjiang. The Qing court also gave different treatment to various *Xibe* tribes according to the time and way of their submission to show varying degrees of favor and create differences in classification among them.

In the mid-18th century, the Qing government quelled the rebellions in *Junggar* and other localities of Xinjiang, and moved *Xibes* and people of some other ethnic minorities from northeast China to Xinjiang to consolidate and reinforce the northwestern border defenses. For this garrisoning assignment which was to last 60 years, 1,016 *Xibe* officers and soldiers were dispatched, and they took along more than 2,000 family members. In one year and five months, the poorly-equipped *Xibes* scaled mountains and forded rivers, eating in the wind and sleeping in the dew, trekking across deserts and grasslands in Mongolia to the faraway northwestern border. With striking stamina and tenacity, they endured starvation, drought, diseases and difficulties brought about by Qing officials, big and small, who embezzled army provisions and goaded them on. This was how the *Xibes* came to live far apart in northeast and northwest China. The heavy toll taken by the trip sharply reduced the originally small *Xibe* population.



The ancient Xibe people lived by fishing and hunting generation after generation. By the mid-16th century, the social organizations of the *Xibe* ethnic group had shifted from blood relationship to geographical relationship. The internal links in the paternal consanguineous groups became very loose. In each *Xibe* village lived members with different surnames. Because of the low productivity, collective efforts were required in hunting and fishing. Members of the same village maintained relatively close links in productive labor, and basically abided by the principle of joint labor and equal distribution. By the mid-17th century, the "eight-banner system" had not only brought the *Xibe* people under the reign of the Qing Court, but also caused drastic changes in their economic life and social structure.

The *Xibes* are a hard-working and courageous people. Although geographical isolation has given rise to certain differences between the *Xibes* in northeast and northwest China in the course of history, they have all made contributions to developing and defending China's border areas. The *Xibes* in Xinjiang in particular have made great contribution to the development of farming and water conservancy in the Ili and *Tacheng* areas. Since the Qing court stopped supplying provisions to the *Xibes* after they reached Xinjiang, they had to reclaim wasteland and cut irrigation ditches without the help of the government. They first repaired an old canal and reclaimed 667 hectares of land. With the increase of population, the land became insufficient. Despite such difficulties as lack of grain and seeds and repeated natural disasters, the *Xibe* people were determined to turn the wasteland on the south bank of the Ili River into farmland to support themselves and benefit future generations. After many failures and setbacks, they succeeded in 1802 after six years of hard work in cutting on mountain cliffs a 200-km irrigation channel to draw water from the Ili River. With the completion of this project, several *Xibe* communities settled along the channel.

Later, the *Xibe* people constructed another canal to draw water from the upper reaches of the Ili River in the mid-19th century. In the 1870s, they cut two more irrigation channels, obtaining enough water for large-scale reclamation and farming. The local Kazak and Mongolian people learned a lot of farming techniques from the *Xibes*.

While building irrigation channels and opening up wasteland, the *Xibes* also joined soldiers from other ethnic groups in guarding the northwestern border. In the 1820s, more than 800 *Xibe* officers and soldiers fought alongside Qing government troops on a punitive expedition against rebels backed by British colonialists. In a decisive battle they wiped out the enemy forces and captured the rebel chief.

In 1876, the Qing government decided to recover Xinjiang from the Tsarist Russian invaders. The *Xibes* stored up army provisions in preparation for the expedition despite difficulties in life and production inflicted by the marauders and cooperated with the Qing troops in mopping up the Russian colonialists south of the *Tianshan* Mountain and recapturing Ili.

The *Xibe* people in Xinjiang staged an uprising in support of the Revolution of 1911 soon after it broke out. Those in northeast China joined the Han and Manchu people in anti-Japanese activities after that part of the country fell under Japanese rule in 1931. Many *Xibes* joined such patriotic forces as the Anti-Japanese Allied Forces, the Army of Volunteers and the Broad Sword Society. Quite a few *Xibes* joined the Chinese Communist Party and the Communist Youth League to fight for national liberation. In September 1944, struggle against Kuomintang rule broke out in the Ili, *Tacheng*, Altaic areas in Xinjiang. The *Xibes* there formed their own armed forces and fought along with other insurgents.

Before 1949, the feudal relations of production in *Xibe* society emerged and developed with the incorporation of the *Xibes* into the "Eight Banners" of the *Manchus*, under which the banner's land was owned "publicly" and managed by the banner office. Irrigated land was mostly distributed among Banner officers and soldiers in armor according to their ranks as their emolument. The rest was leased to peasants. This system of distribution from the very beginning deprived the *Xibe* people of the irrigated land which they had opened up with blood and sweat.

In the 1880s, the "banner land system" for the *Xibe* people in northeast China began to collapse, and the banner land quickly fell under the control of a few landlords. Although the banner system stipulated that the banner land could not be bought or sold, cruel feudal exploitation gradually reduced the

Xibe people to dire poverty and deprived them of their land, and an increasing number of them became farmhands and tenants, leading a very miserable life.

### **Life After 1949**

The founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 ushered in a bright future for the *Xibe* people, who have since enjoyed political equality as one of the smaller ethnic minorities in China. In March 1954, the *Qapqal Xibe* Autonomous County was established on the site of *Ningxi* County in Xinjiang, where the *Xibe* people live in compact communities.

Since 1949, a series of social reforms have been carried out in the *Xibe* areas. Industrial and agricultural production has grown tremendously and people's living standards have gone up accordingly. The economic and cultural leaps in the *Qapqal* Autonomous County are a measure of the great success the *Xibe* people have achieved. As a result of their hard work, grain output in the county in 1981 was nearly four times the pre-liberation average, and the number of cattle three times as big. Small industrial enterprises including coal mines, farm machinery works, fur and food processing mills, which were non-existent before, have been built for the benefit of people's life. There are in the county 12 middle schools and 62 primary schools enrolling 91.3 per cent of the children. The *Xibe* people have always been more developed educationally. Many *Xibe* intellectuals know several languages and work as teachers, translators and publishers. Horse riding and archery are two favorite sports among the *Xibe* people. Since 1949, endemic diseases with a high mortality rate such as the *Qapqal* disease have been stamped out, and the population of the *Xibe* has been on the increase.

## **Part II Endogenous Development Activities in History**

### **---Construction and Reconstruction of *Tai ping* Temple**

## **Part II Endogenous Development Activities in History ---Construction and Reconstruction of *Taiping* Temple**

### **Chapter 1 Formative Features of *Taiping* Temple and Its Transformation**

#### **1.Lamaism**

Strictly speaking, Lamaism is not a scientific appellation, but just a popular name given by Han Chinese. It was also formally called Tibetan Buddhism, or school of Tibetan Buddhism which was a form of Buddhism being transformed after Indian Buddhism was introduced into Tibetan. It is of the same origin but different school with Han Buddhism that is widespread in the Han Chinese areas and *Pali* Buddhism that is widespread in the southwest border areas in China and Southeast Asia areas. This is the reason why the tourists would always have familiar and unfamiliar feelings at the same time when they visit a lamasery.

That is to say, Tibetan Buddhism had formed by the long-term mutual influence and conflict between Indian Buddhism and the local Bon Religion at Tibetan since 13<sup>th</sup> century. Based on Buddhist doctrines, it took up some deities and ceremonies from *Bon* Religion. Seeing from the content and from, Tibetan Buddhism was easy to be accepted by the ethnic groups that had just stepped into the early days of the feudal society from a clan society because it didn't exclude the primitive religions completely. And that is why the *Xibes* converted to it as soon as they engaged it.

The *Xibes* had converted to Tibetan Buddhism since they were under the rule of the Mongolian. Lamaism began to disseminate in the Mongolian areas early in the year of 1246, and was in ascendant at the end of Yuan Dynasty. It can be imagined that, being influenced by the Mongolian, some of the *Xibes* under the rule of the Mongolian began to convert to Lamaism with Lamaism and their primitive religion in a coexistence of mutual influence and conflict. There was not a life-and-death struggle between Lamaism and the *Xibes'* primitive religion because Lamaism has the properties of both Buddhism and primitive religion after they combined. Therefore, mutual tolerance was shown in the later period of coexistence, which created opportunities for both the continual development of Lamaism and the continuity of primitive religion.

#### **2. The Origination of *Taiping* Temple**

In the late Ming and early Qing Dynasties, the *Xibes'* lamaism belief was

tending towards being perfected. Simultaneously, in 1692(the 31th year of Kangxi's regin), the Xibes cast off the rule of Kerchin Mongolia and submitted to the authority of Manchu nationality's Qing Dynasty. after the submission, the Xibes was incorporated into the "eight banners" and hand begun the transition from a clan society of nomadism to agricultural society gradually. That is to say, being settled down, the Xibes' community based on geographical relationship began to form. With such a starting point, during about 200 years rule of Qing Dynasty, the Xibes had painstakingly played an outstanding role in state affairs, and were gradually going from strength to strength, at last developed into a nationality from a tribe. Just at this crucial turning point, some Xibes who were elites of the locality took the lead to make preparation to construct Taiping Temple at Shengjing where the Xibes lived in a compact community. This temple was not perfected once. There were only five tile-roofed houses at the very beginning. after the 17<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong's reign (the year of 1752), the front door, the main hall, and side halls were built and became a fairly perfect temple.

The Xibes is a trans-regional nationality that is largely scattered and compacted in small-scale. Taiping Temple, as the unique ancestral hall, and the biggest lamasery of the nationality, which came into being at the same time with the Xibe ethnic community in Shengjing, should be the entry point for studying the Xibe society. Namely, the formation of Taiping Temple has its significant historical background. Among numerous temples in China, Taiping Temple was just a common nongovernmental temple for civil use, which was neither broad in scale nor long-standing in history. However, it is very significant for understanding the actual conditions of the Xibe Nationality's development in 18<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, study will be focused on the cultural properties, the relationship with the community members and the actual usage conditions, so to clarify the significance of the temple for the future development of the Xibe ethnic community.

In the 46<sup>th</sup> year of *Kangxi*(1707), the seventh year after the xibes moved into Shengjing, the *Xibes* on garrison duty in *Shengjing* collected silver of 60 *liang* and began to construct *Taiping* Temple, neighboring *Shisheng* Temple on the west that was a big lamasery supported by the imperial family. And the triad of the Buddha, the dharma(canon), and the sangha(monk) were all ready. So the *Taiping* Temple has already begun to take the shape of a temple this time.

### **3.The general arrangement of Taiping Temple:**

There are 3 kinds of lamaseries if judging from appearance---Tibetan style, mixed style of the Tibetan and the Han Chinese, and Han Chinese style. Basicly speaking, Taiping Temple is a lamasery of Han Chinese style.

The picture in figure 1 is a reconstruction of Taiping Temple according to the recollections of the last lama of the temple. On the whole, according to this plan, Taiping Temple was composed of two parts---west yard and east yard which were separated by a flower wall. This kind of temple arrangement is unique in China. And the formation of this arrangement is owing to the inheritance of religious culture indigenous to the Xibes and the influence of the local society.

Comparison:

The picture in figure 2 is a very typical Mongolian lamasery. It is easy to be found that the arrangements in the two plans are resembling each other through comparison, and they are identical at the following two points: 1. Go-hou Gods Hall(hall where gods defense Buddhist doctrines are worshipped) are all arranged at one side in front of the Main Hall, and on its opposite side is the Scripture Hall (hall where scriptures are kept); 2Zong-ka-ba, who is the founder of Ge-lu sect of lamasims, is worshipped both in Taiping Temple and in Mongolian lamasery.

This is a comparison with a Han-Chinese temple. the north-south symmetry axis; the Four Devas Hall, Kang-u Hall, Bun-shou Hall which are arranged in order are the common points between Taiping Temple and Han-Chinese temple.

The establishment of east yard shows the uniqueness of Taiping Temple. at ordinary times, this part is not open and used as an area for daily life by Da lama and lamas. The main buildings include the meditation room which is used by Da lama as a place for chanting the Buddhist scripture and for daily life; and the resident quarters for lamas' daily life. And besides, this part has more important functions. On the 18<sup>th</sup> of every lunar April, the Xibes will use this east yard to hold ancestral worship ceremony. On that day, the gate will be opened to all the community members, and the activity of ancestral worship that has developed from their primitive religion will be held on a large scale of the whole nationality. That is to say, this part can be also regarded as an area for ancestral worship of the whole nationality.

Another arrangement in this temple which is different from other lamaseries and Han-Chinese temples is that a small hall for worshipping *Hu-xian*(fox demon) at the south-west corner of the west yard. The Xibes

worship *Hu-xian* as one deity of shamanism. Though *Hu-xian* worship is very common as a kind of folk belief in China, it is usually worshipped at an independent hall or temple. Arranging such a hall inside a Buddhist temple could be understood by common sense. It should be the distinguishing characteristic of the Xibe Nationality.

#### **4.Discussion**

This comparison and analysis on the temple arrange of Taiping Temple can help us understand the actual conditions of the religious life of the Xibes in 18<sup>th</sup> century and the relationship between the Xibes and Shengjing Society.1.the Xibes has not developed a unified religious belief. The Xibes is a nationality of poly-belief based on Buddhist religion, ancestral worship and some folk belief, etc. 2 the interaction between Han-Chinese culture, Mongolian culture and the indigenous culture of the Xibes had the distinguished culture of Taiping Temple formed, which also shows the relationship between the Xibe Nationality and Shengjing Society at that time.



## Chapter 2 *Tai ping* Temple in Qing Dynasty

### 1. Introduction:

The *Xibes*, the descendants of the ancient *Xianbei* people, are the ancient nomads of the northeast of China, and they may be the only ethnic group that have still been retaining the ancient *Xianbei* culture today. Open the long and changeable history of *Xibe* people, the great ancient *Xianbei* people left their indelible mark on the development history of human being, which is solemn and stirring, idle and inflexible. In history, because of war and political factors, etc., the *Xibe* people has engaged external cultures constantly so that the national culture of the *Xibe*'s could formed and developed in such a long and changeable history.

From the end of 1700's to the beginning of 1800's, the *Xibes* submitted to the authority of Qing Dynasty of Manchu nationality, and out of the needs of strategy, the *Xibes* were assigned to *Shengjing* (*Shenyang, Liaoning Province*) in succession. This is a very important national moving in the *Xibe* people's history, and since then, departing from the wild and mystery, the *Xibes* has begun to be on the way of prosperity and civilization. That is to say, since *Qing* Dynasty, painstakingly playing an outstanding role in country's affairs, the *Xibe* nationality began to go from strength to strength. Moreover, *Qing* Dynasty was such a crucial period that it was the turning point for the *Xibe* people to at long last evolve into the stage of cultivating a field in the village characteristic of the agricultural society from the primitive stage of hunting in the mountain forest and roving around on the prairie. Especially because of the change of production mode and some other objective factors, the social organizations of nomadism based on blood relationship was broken up, and the internal links in the paternal consanguineous groups became very loose, as a result, the *Xibes* had to face the problem of development and reconstruction of the community under the new circumstances.



### **the Xibe People**

Being settled down in *Shengjing*, the new social structure began to challenge the survival of the Xibe community; or in other words, the *Xibes* reached the milestone of their community development. And at this moment, the temple culture with distinguishing features of the *Xibes* began to take its shape, with such a background, *Taiping* Temple, the Ancestral Temple of the *Xibes*, came into being.

Till now, the *Xibes* and their Ancestral Temple had gone through thick and thin in *Shengjing* over 300 years. During the process of this development, though it was not smooth at all, experiencing its initial construction, its best, decadence, being discarded, and the reconstruction of recent years, especially, as the function of the temple becoming transformed and diversified, the *Taiping* Temple has played a relative role in the formation and development of *Xibe* ethnic group community.

With such a background, this paper investigates the actual utilizing Conditions and tries to make the following two questions clear: 1what kind of place is *Taiping* temple for the whole community? 2what force promoted the co-evolution of the community and the temple?

### **2. *Taiping* Temple in Embryo**

## 2.1. Background Knowledge

2.1.1. "Eight Banners" system: The system of "Eight Banners" was a form of social institution in Qing Dynasty. In the peacetime, the Eight Banner were farming and hunting as common people while in the wartime, they were fighting as soldiers. The system of Niulu was originated in Qing Dynasty. To meet the need of war, Nurhachi adapted the system of Niulu that was a temporary organization for production and military affairs into a long-term formal organization. It was regulated that 300 persons formed a Niulu and every Niulu should have a Niulu Ezhen (Watch Leader). Five Niulus should have a Jiala Ezhen (Canling) and every five Jiala formed a Gushan, that is, a banner. The leader of a Gushan was Gushan Ezhen (commander-in-chief). In 1601, Nurhachi set up the yellow banner, the white banner, the red banner and the blue banner. In 1615, he also set up the border yellow banner, the border white banner, the border red banner and the border blue banner. All those banners were called "Eight Banner" by a joint name. Nurhachi assigned his sons and nephews as the leader of the eight banners and those leaders were called "Gushan Beile". In 1635, he set up Mongolian "Eight Banner" and in 1642, "Eight Banner" of the Han nationality. So, there were in all twenty-four banners but customarily they were still called Eight Banner. The "Eight Banner" had military, political and producing function. The member of "Eight Banner" was called "banner man". As the ruin of the Qing Dynasty, the system of "Eight Banner" also died out.

2.1.2. Moving to south----- In the late 16th century, the Manchu nobility rose to power. In order to expand their territory and consolidate their rule, the Manchu rulers followed policy of control through conciliation by repeatedly trying to conquer neighboring tribes by offering them money, high position and marriage, and more often by armed force. Various *Xibe* tribes also submitted themselves one after another to the authority of the Manchu rulers. By the end of the 17th century, the *Xibe* tribes in different areas had all been incorporated into the "eight banners" of Mongolia and Manchu. Because the *Xibes* excelled in horsemanship and marksmanship, and were brave, doughty and skillful in fighting, the Qing court worried the submission of the *Xibes* wouldn't last long; and in order to prevent the resistance of the *Xibes*, the Qing court ruled the *Xibes* by dispersing them into "eight banners" of Mongolia and Manchu. Because of such a background, the social

organizations of the *Xibe* ethnic group had shifted from blood relationship to geographical relationship. And the result was that the internal links in the paternal consanguineous groups became very loose. According to the literature investigation, by the mid-17th century, the "eight-banner system" had not only brought the *Xibe* people under the reign of the Qing Court, but also caused drastic changes in their economic life and social structure.

As stated above, because the *Xibes* were skillful in fighting, in order to enforce the defence of *Shengjing*, the capital city of Qing, about 8,000 *Xibe* soldiers and their families were moved to *Shengjing*, this moving was called 'moving to south' in the history and lasted 3 years since the 36<sup>th</sup> year to 38<sup>th</sup> year of Kangxi's reign, and undoubtedly they should be the forefathers of the *Xibe* ethnic group in *Shenyang* today. And from then on, the *Xibes*' population in *Shengjing* began to increase gradually.

## **2.2. the Bud of Community**

### **2.2.1 To settle down in *Shengjing*:**

when they came to *Shengjing* at first, though the links of blood relationship of former paternal consanguineous groups was broken up, they still preferred to follow the old mode of production and lifestyle, that is to say, the *Xibe* people now had not yet come to understand the importance of agriculture, and of course agricultural production had not become the source of *Xibe* people's livelihood. So according to the standards of a nomadic ethnic group living where there is water and grass, the *Xibes* at last chose the area along the *Liao* River basin, the *Pu* Rive basin and the *Hun* River basin in the east, south and north of *Shenyang* to settle down. It was for the convenience of herding, fishing and hunting, and also for the convenience of practicing bowing and horsemanship that the *Xibes* made such places their home, and as for the convenience of agricultural production, little had been considered by the *Xibes*, for it was still relegated to a secondary position at the time.

As stated above, the *Xibes* in *Shengjing* had all been incorporated into the "eight banners" of Mongolia and *Manchu*. And according to the "eight-banner system", soldiers in the banners worked the land in time of peace and went to battles during wartime, shouldering heavy military and labor services; and marriage between bannerman and non-bannerman were also forbidden; what

is more, in the early days of Qing dynasty, the *Xibes* was still of low social standing, the intermarriage with other nationalities was very difficult. For these reasons, there was almost no intermarriage between the *Xibes* and other nationalities.

Their special production mode and the fact of no intermarriage with other nationalities at the time, of course were negative factors of the *Xibe* society, however, on the contrary, as a result, the composition of the *Xibe* village was kept to be very simple because the villages were generally inhabited by the *Xibes* only. So from another viewpoint, it was positive for the formation of a village community of the *Xibes*. At the beginning, the scale was small, and there were only three to five households at one place, sometimes only one household there. Though it sounds too farfetched to call them village, being settled down was really the beginning of the formation of the *Xibes*' village community at *Shengjing*.

### 2.2.2 Crisis:

Because the Qing court had always worried that the *Xibes* would make troubles if they had chance to put their strength together, and so they think the *Xibes* should never be inhabited into one place and had all the *Xibes* incorporated into the "eight banners" of Mongolia and Manchu, and there were even no *Niulu* of *Xibe* people, that is to say, the *Xibes* were completely dispersed into other nationalities. This policy of Qing court was to disintegrate the *Xibe* group completely without hampering using the *Xibes* who were brave, doughty and skillful in fighting. With this, though the *Xibe* villages had already formed, the villages were in a condition of being scattered, besides, at the very beginning after they had settled down, they still suffered from lacking ways and opportunities to come into contact with each other among villages. Moreover, the *Xibes* who just arrived in *Shengjing* was backward in production mode and was discriminated against politically. So the *Xibe* ethnic group in *Shengjing* was not compact enough and in a danger of disintegration.

### 2.2.3 needs for a meeting place----*Taiping* Temple in embryo

Such being the case, the *Xibes* were eager to have a meeting place, and then they collected silver(used as currency) and bought the land of later *Taiping* Temple and used it as a meeting place. There were no religion, no belief, etc. at the initial stage.

The main activities:

- ◆ making friendly contact within the whole group
- ◆ discussing the affairs of the *Xibe* people.
- ◆ making exchange with Manchu, Han, and Mongolia and other ethnic groups in *Shengjing* on behalf of the whole group.

Briefly speaking, though it was only used by people from upper circles of the group, it functioned effectively as a junction point or a contact center within and outside the group. Though its function is still very simple, it had played a role of new links in the whole *Xibes'* society at the moment of the internal links in the paternal consanguineous groups was just broken; and was also used as an establishment for external relations, which is crucial for the promotion of political standing in the future.

According to the literature, in Qing dynasty, there was no *Xibe* nationality yet, they were called the *Xibe* people, so besides as the predecessor of the *Taiping* Temple, this meeting place is another starting point during the course of the formation of *Xibe* nationality. It laid a foundation for the future formation and development of *Taiping* Temple, and also for the *Xibe* nationality.

## **2.3 the Actual Utilizing Conditions in the Early Days of *Taiping* Temple**

### **2.3.1 the development of the *Xibe* community:**

(1)the promotion of production mode:

Before they came to *Shengjing*, the *Xibe* people mainly engaged in fishery and husbandry, and also did limited farming, after moving to south, with the change of geographical condition and the influence from other nationalities, the production mode of the *Xibes* changed, they gradually gave up fishery and husbandry, and turned to agriculture and trade. However, farming was just done concurrently those days, to be exactly, they did some farming in addition to their main occupation of husbandry.

(2)Improvement of the political position:

Originally, the Qing government adopted a policy of “no appointment of

the *Xibes*” and “dividing and ruling” toward the *Xibes*. However, as banner-man, the *Xibes* moved into *Shengjing* always “made a determined effort in any assignment”, and as a result, the *Xibes* was gradually taken into account and put in important positions by the Qing government. For example, the *Xibes* moved into *Shengjing* began with running errand in the *Niulu* of the “Eight Banners” and then rose to be put in a position of the vanguard, the *Hujun*(officer in the army), the *lingcui*(officer in the army)and even the position of higher rank( the head administer of the army). Though it was during the reign of Emperor of *Qianlong* (1736-1795) that the *Xibes* was indeed entrusted with important tasks, the *Xibes* at this time had already begun to rise in political standing.

### **2.3.2 Being constructed as a temple:**

With a developing economy and the improvement of political position, their cultural activities had also been livened up. It was reflected on two aspects, one is that the language of Manchu was in common use among the *Xibes*, the other is that the *Xibes* began to prepare to construct the *Taiping* Temple.

In the 46<sup>th</sup> year of *Kangxi*(1707), the *Xibes* on garrison duty in *Shengjing* collected silver of 60 *liang* and began to construct *Taiping* Temple on the former site, neighboring *Shisheng* Temple on the west, a big lamasery supported by the imperial family. And the triad of the Buddha, the dharma(canon), and the sangha(monk) were all ready. So the *Taiping* Temple has already begun to take the shape of a temple this time.

### **2.3.3 The activities in the early days of *Taiping* Temple:**

(1)utilizing conditions:

With the passage of time, it becomes increasingly difficult to investigate the details of the activities on Buddhism, politics and exchange at its initial stage as a temple. However, having some simple literature to go by, the scene of general utilizing conditions of the temple at that time could be reproduced as follows:

◆used as a lamasery:

With being constructed formally as a temple, the function was no longer so simple as in embryo, namely, in addition to the function as a gathering place, it began to be used as a lamasery from thence. Lamaism is a form of

Buddhism. It is usually regarded as the popular name of Tibetan Buddhism and mainly practiced in Tibetan and Mongolia. The *Xibes* had already associated with the Mongolian who had believed in Lamaism over a long period of time before they came to *Shengjing*, and being influenced by the *Mongolian*, many of the *Xibes* also believed in Lamaism. Before the construction of *Taiping* Temple, the *Xibes* could not find a place for the activities of Buddhism ceremony and service, so once the temple was built up, it was mainly used for Buddhism ceremony and service. However, the main Buddhism activities were just some individual behaviour like burning joss sticks before an idol or worshipping Buddha, etc.

◆used as an establishment of self-government and exchange within and outside the group:

On one hand, the temple still carried on as a meeting-place as before, that is to say, the *Xibes* got together here and discussed the affairs within the group. Of course the capacity of self-government was more strengthened than before, anyway, a well-organized for self-government had not appeared yet at this stage.

And on the other hand, with the birth of *Taiping* Temple, the association between the *Xibes* and other ethnic groups, in particular, the Mongolians, became more frequent and close in the name of religion.

(2)Influence on the community:

◆the Buddhism activities objectively achieved the result of linking the majority of the *Xibes* to some extent who live scattered in *Shengjing* because the activities enhanced the internal exchange by making all the believers got involved.

◆There was more frequent use as a base of external exchange, depending on it, the Xibe ethnic group could establish and promote the social position in *Shengjing* society through interacting with other groups.

◆The function was still very simple at this stage. Religious activities were still far from exerting a great influence on the whole community.

#### **2.4. the Actual Utilizing Conditions at Taiping Temple's Best Days**



#### **2.4.1 the Xibe Community at this Stage**

(1)Improvement of the political standing: in the 24<sup>th</sup> year during the reign of the Emperor of Qianlong(1759), the Emperor of Qianlong decreed that “entrust the Xibes with tasks on an equal basis ”. That means, the policy of the Qing government to the Xibe people was modified and changed to “Treating the Xibes equally and entrusting them with tasks; fostering their strengths and making best use of their advantages for us” from the original policy of “dividing and ruling; no appointment for the Xibes”. And this policy lasted till the end of Qing dynasty. The actual reason for the change maybe like this: one is because that the Xibes are always “making a determined effort in any assignment”, especially, they could always distinguish themselves for being brave and skillful in battle on every expedition; another reason is that the Xibes began to be able to use the Manchu language in common with the Manchu nationality while still excelling in horsemanship and marksmanship. The Qing court decide the Manchu language as the national language, and together with horsemanship and marksmanship as the foundation of administering a country. With this, the Xibes who could both speak Manchu language and excel in horsemanship and marksmanship would inevitable be put in an important position.

(2)Enhancement of economical power: there were a great increase in population in Xibe community at this time, they opened up wasteland cultivated more, as a result, animal husbandry began to decrease in economical life while agriculture was enhanced to an important position. There is such a record found in literature: “They cultivated the soil of broad acres, besides for the food of themselves, they have to pay grain tax and land rent, in the 29<sup>th</sup> year of *Qianlong*(1764), ..... the *Xibe* soldiers and officers commanded the soil over 400,000 *mu*,.....” ,Judging from this, the *Xibes* had changed their mode of production and engaged in agriculture increasingly, that is to say, agriculture and farming had already become the main means and support of life. Simultaneously, this change also played a relatively positive role in the agricultural development of the locality.

#### **2.4.2 Extensions and Management of Taiping Temple:**

For the promotion of political position and production force, the Xibes who were always “making a determined effort in any assignment” and “working hard on farming” had accumulated wealth and have some surplus

for spiritual and cultural life. With such a background, the Taiping Temple was further developed. Since the 17<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong's reign, within about 50 years, Taiping Temple experienced its high-speed development both in the aspect of function and in the aspect of physical construction. There were three extensions on a large scale and the functions of the temple were also becoming diversified. The relationship with the community became so close that it was developed into a very active and powerful kernel of the community development, and it is so important that it was indispensable for the growth of the community and the nationality.

The first extension: In the 17<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong(1753), two officers, *Badai* and *Yin Dengbao*, put up capital together and erected the main gate, built the east and west side halls on two sides of the main hall, and molded the new figures of Buddha.

The second extension: In the year 41th year of *Qianlong*(1777), another officer, *Luobusang*, collected money and renovated the temple again. He molded new figures of *Zongkaba* and *Guanyin*, and added new Buddhism scriptures, further equipped and perfected the temple.

The third extension: In the 8<sup>th</sup> year of *Jiaqing*(1803),another person named *Hashabu*, erected two stone tablets on the east and west sides of the main hall.

Till now, *Taiping* Temple had already reached its best days with a fine-looking appearance of broad scale.

The Xibes collected some money and bought some land as the temple property for temple's renovation and Buddhism rites activities. And there were 7 lamas and 1 da lama who were in charge of the general affairs of the temple.



**The Main Hall of *Taiping* Temple**

### 2.4.3 the Important Daily Activities of *Taiping* Temple at Its Best

◆important religious activities:

date	activities
Lunar New Year 8th~15th	Temple fair(Lamaism activities---jumping Buzha)
Lunar April 8th~15th	temple fair, Birthday of Buddha
Lunar April 18th	Temple fair, Ancestor-worshipping Celebration
Lunar May 13th	Memorial ceremony for Guanyu
Lunar June 24th	Memorial ceremony for Guanyu
Lunar June 15th ~August 1st	Lamas Reciting scriptures without going out of temple

Figure 1 important religious activities:

◆daily religious activities:

- ①A ceremony of reciting *Taiping* scriptures would be held at noons.

②On New Year's day or other festivals, a continuous stream of the *Xibes*, and sometimes people from other nationalities, would come to Taiping Temple to listen to lamas reciting scriptures.

Besides all these fixed daily Buddhist rites activities, at ordinary times, the pilgrims of Taiping temple would come to offer incense and pray to Buddha, or make a vow, redeem a vow to the Gods at all times. And lamas would be invited to home of the common people to perform rites often, for example, if there was a birth of baby boy, lama would be invited to chant prayers at home, and so to bless the baby boy with protection against suffering a misfortune in his life and for a healthy growth; and when there was a funeral affairs, lama would be invited to perform rites to release soul deceased from purgatory; besides, in every lunar January, lama would come to every household to perform a rite to enshrine the Buddha image, etc.

Analyzing the literature and the oral instructions concerning with the activities above, *Taiping* Temple had many pious worshippers at this stage with a scene of burning incense and reciting scriptures incessantly all the year round. It is said, besides Buddhist activities, activities for ancestor worship were also the kernel of the activities performed at Taiping Temple, That is to say, at its best, Taiping Temple was used as a place for Buddhist activities and ancestral worship activities, and with temple fair it is also a place for trading and recreational activities of the community. With this, the temple had influence on the community with profound and lasting significance. The following is the details on functions of the temple operated upon the growth of community:

#### **2.4.4 The relationship between Taiping Temple's activities and the growth of community**

##### **(1) as a Place for Religious Activities**

Seeing from the origin of Taiping Temple, it was built as a lamasery, and Buddhist activities should be in the first place, however, the religious activities here were quite different from other common lamaseries because of the uniqueness of the *Xibes* religious life.

The fact was that the activities of ancestral worship came to the first place here. And the Festival of April 18<sup>th</sup> which was for ancestral worship was

the most mammoth festival held at the temple. For the *Xibes*, the temple was a sacred place for the activities of ancestral worship first of all.

In the history, the *Xibes*' spiritual life embraced a variety of beliefs and practices, including animism, totemism, nature worship, shamanism, Lamaism, ancestral worship and some other folk beliefs. Coming into the era of Qing dynasty, shamanism had fallen into decadence, the *Xibes* spiritual life was mainly based on Lamaism, ancestral worship and various folk beliefs, and among them, the *Xibes* set great store by ancestral worship. From ancient times to the present, they had never wavered in their faith, and for them, the belief of ancestral worship topped all the others.

### ①the nationalization of ancestral worship

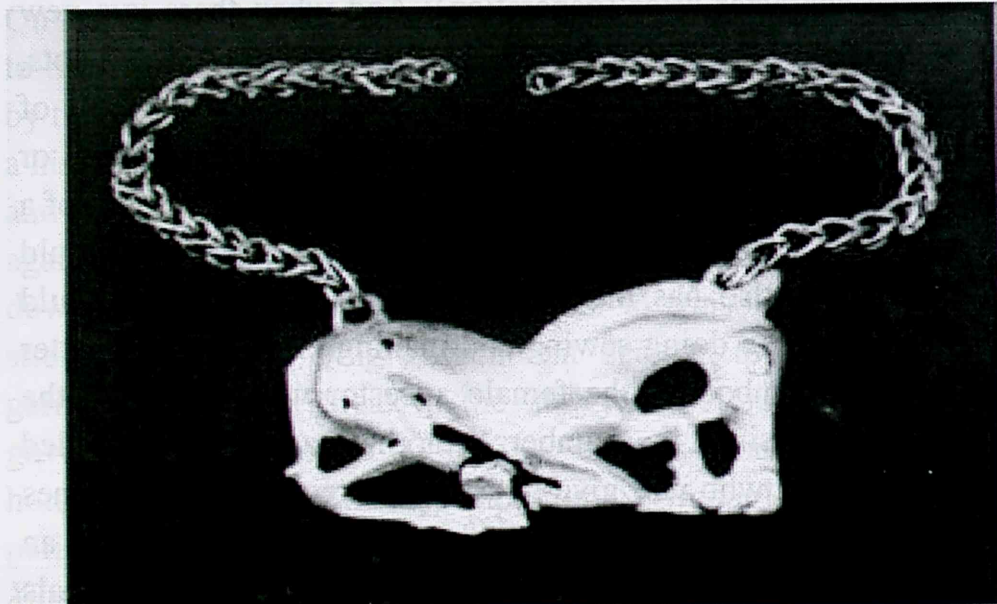
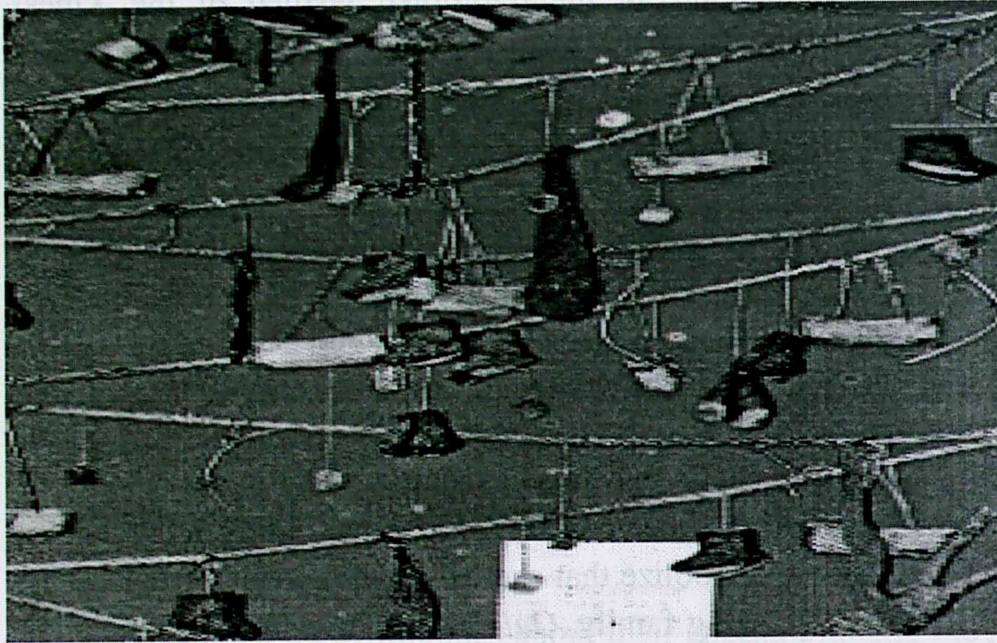
---Festival of Lunar April 18<sup>th</sup>---

There were a lot of folktales about their ancestor among the *Xibe* people. On traditional festive occasions, each and every family would offer sacrifice to their ancestor, however, it was held just within each and every family, not by the whole nationality. The nationalization of ancestral worship was born of a historical event of the *Xibes* in Qing Dynasty. In the mid-1800s, some nobles and tribal chiefs in Xinjiang area, supported by tsarist Russia, rose in rebellion against the Qing court. Qing government dispatched troops twice and put down the rebellion. After that, in order to consolidate and augment military strength there, the Qing government decided to station massive forces to garrison the border area. In the 29<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong's reign (1764), the government detailed 1,020 *Xibe* officers and men who excelled in horsemanship and marksmanship from *Shengjing*(today's *Shenyang*) and its periphery area to move to *Xijiang* in two batches. There were about 3000 *Xibes* moved to Xinjiang together with their families. On lunar the 18<sup>th</sup>, April, the *Xibes* who were going to move to Xinjiang and the *Xibes* who would stay at home, gathering together at *Taiping* Temple, offered sacrifice to ancestor by killing sheep, said prayer to ancestor for being safe and sound and prepared grand banquet as a farewell dinner for the beloved members of their nationality who would be soon on the way of expedition. This historical event is not only a heroic undertaking but also a big moving in the history of Xibe Nationality, so after parting at the temple, the temple has become historical site and the sacred symbol of moving west and the nationality. In order to commemorate this big historical event, lunar April 18<sup>th</sup> was fixed to be the national festival of the whole nationality since then. This is the most grand

and ceremonious festival among all the traditional festival of the Xibes. According to some oral instruction and historical literature, during the period of Qing Dynasty, there were the following traditional activities held for this festival:

offering sacrifice to ancestor:

the ancestor of the Xibes are not concrete person or God. One is called Xilimama. It is a special family tree handed down since the ancient Jomon period. The symbolic thing is a long thread (of 9 stands). 9 (or 10, 11, 12) articles (about 3 inches) which have symbolic meanings are attached to the thread. Bow and arrow, thimble, quiver symbolize the excellent skill of the Xibe boys being adept in archery and horsemanship; cradle is the symbol of numerous offspring. Every time when a bride comes to the family, a cradle will be attached to the thread to symbolize that she would give many births for the family, and so to have a growing family. *Galaha* has the same pronunciation with another Chinese character "Bei" (generation). And when there is a new generation in the family, *Galaha* will be attached to the thread; and boots, copper cash (money in ancient China), tasseled cap, etc. are the symbols of hope, for example, hope for winning promotion and getting rich; and red or green pieces of cloth are the symbols of girls. When there was a new birth of a girl, such a piece of cloth will be attached, when the girl got married, it would be removed. Of course it also has the symbolic meaning that girls should manage household affairs like doing sewing and making clothes. As a matter of fact, the long thread symbolizes the female ancestor who will bless the nationality with an increasing number. Another ancestor is called *Harkanfama*. He is the God who will give livestock protection, so sometimes is called God of Horse. In ancient times, animal husbandry occupied an important place in the Xibe's economical life. Whether the domestic animals were all thriving or not will influence their livelihood directly. So the Xibes really set store by livestock in their life. So they worshipped the God of Horse in the hope that the domestic animals are all thriving. Changing with the times, the image of the God of Horse were a bearded middle-aged man in a overcoat made of roe-deerskin, or horse mane and tail inside a small wooden box, or a yellow cloth with "the position for the God of Horse" written on it; or sometimes a man in the dress of herdsman.



Xilimama and the God of Horse are two common female and male ancestors of all the Xibes. Every time when there was an activity for worshipping ancestor, the gate of the temple would open widely, and taking offerings like joss sticks and candles, the Xibes would go to perform the ceremony. The head of the clan would let the images of ancestor out and place them on the altar; and then killed a sheep or other domestic animals and offered it as a sacrifice to their ancestors; the head of the clan must drink a toast and burn incense and kowtow to the ancestor gods; other people must follow the head of the clan to kowtow to the ancestor gods; lamas recited

scriptures and said prayers for all the people. This was the ceremony for ancestor worship.

Having a dinner party:

A temporary kitchen would be set up in the temple; slaughtered sheep for the mutton and cooked a mutton soup and prepared Chinese sorghum. The head of each and every family would go to have the dinner. At the banquet, the Xibes liked to listen to *Nianshuo* (story-telling in the way of talking and singing---- sort of folk art forms of the Xibes), in which stories about the joys and sorrows, partings and reunions on the way of moving west, and heroic deeds, outstanding achievements of defending the northwest border area of China would be told. To cherish the memory of their parting countryman, recall the heroic undertaking of their ancestors, more than ever they thought of their countrymen far away and passed away on this happy festival.

temple fair :

There would be a temple fair on April 18<sup>th</sup> in a grand manner. Besides the activities of buying and selling, there were also some theatrical performances and other forms of folk art performances, in addition, traditional sports competitions would be held at the temple fair, including skill competitions on horse race, archery, wrestling and *Diaoyang* (skill competition of taking the goat on a horseback).

Outing:

Many people of the community would take part in this activity. Young people would go for an outing by riding, and women and old people would go by vehicle or on foot. It was the time of spring that the grass has just turned green, people went in knots for a walk in the country, and then had a picnic together to celebrate the happy festival time of the nationality.

Preparation of traditional food in every household:

Eating fish and steamed meat was another traditional custom on this day, and besides, people of each and every family would prepare *Mishun* particularly on this day. *Mishun* is a kind of traditional Soybean paste, it is a kind of thick sauce made from soybean, flour, etc., put it into a earthen jar, will be used as a flavoring throughout the year.



What deserves to be mentioned is that the commemorative activities were confined within *Tai ping* Temple in early days, however, with the increase of population, various kinds of commemorative activities would also be held at every *Niulu* and village. With all these activities, having offering sacrifice to ancestors as the nucleus of all the activities, April 18<sup>th</sup> became the grandest festival of the nationality, and offering sacrifice to the national ancestors was also of course the most important activity and ceremony of *Tai ping* Temple throughout the year.

Besides offering their pious worship to ancestors, many relaxed and joyful activities like food-making, sports and other forms of folk customs were also immersed in the activities of April 18<sup>th</sup>. That is to say, the sacred worship to ancestors was combined closely with folk customs, and the commemorative activities even went beyond the scope of the temple and extended to every corner of the community, so to get the whole community involved in to the activities. And all the members of the community got immersed into the atmosphere both solemn and joyful created by this festival, it was not only the memorial ceremony of the temple any more, but also the popular festival of grand reunion of the whole nationality.

By such activities for ancestral worship, not only the culture of ancestral worship were handed down from generation to generation, also the folk customs involved became part of the national culture through long usage, and would be resounded and evolved with the growth of community.

#### Significance:

The nationalization of ancestral worship made the temple the nucleus of The community's social cohesion, accordingly, the function of enhancing the identification within the community and nationality was produced then. Why could it be said so? The most important significance of ancestral worship for the community was that; it created a common god---ancestor for the whole community after the blood relationship as the internal links in the paternal consanguineous groups was broken up, and created a new and imaginary kinship in a religious way among the members of the community. This kind of kinship became the social basis of the whole community. The common feelings and identification were produced in the recollections for their common ancestors, of course, the force for social cohesion was also produced accordingly. However, as a matter of fact, the force at the core that keeps the kinship that hold all the *Xibes* together was not the bloodrelationship, but the

activities for offering sacrifices to ancestors itself. It was such activities that played a prominent role in building and keeping this kinship. It could be said that the Xibes living scattered in Shengjing was combined into one union on a basis of imaginary blood relationship. And this union was the Xibe ethnic community which was the prop of Xibe nationality. There was enough force to make people being tied together, and to make people to work together with one heart and to strive for the development of their community.

## **(2)the Popularization of Lamaism:**

The background of the *Xibes* being converted to Lamaism:

Lamaism is the popular name of Tibetan Buddhism. It has come to be formed since 13<sup>th</sup> century. It has been formed by the interact and conflict between Buddhism and the local religion of Tibet---*Bon-po* religion, which is mainly based on the religious doctrines of Buddhism and admit some gods and ceremonies from *Bon-po* religion.

There might be reasons from two aspects why the *Xibes* were converted to Lamaism. The first, in Yuan Dynasty, the court gave support and advocated Lamaism, and Lamaism became the dominating and religion of Mongolian and Tibetan areas, and later became the unique religion that the people of Mongolia and Tibet. Because the *Xibes* subordinated to *Horchin* Mongolia, and it can be imagined that part of the *Xibes* were converted to Lamaism under the influence of the Mongolian. There was a situation of conflict, fusion and co-existence between Lamaism and primitive religion(Shamanism). Because Lamaism had some properties produced by the combination of Buddhism and Tibetan primitive religion(there is a lot in common between *Bon-po* and the *Xibes*' primitive religion and Shamanism), it didn't reject primitive religion completely. So there was not a life-and-death struggle happened in the course of its propagation in the *Xibes* areas, just the opposite, it turned out to be that many *Xibe* people were soon converted to Lamaism as soon as they engaged it.

This not only provided opportunity for Shamanism's extension, but also created conditions for the continuous development of Lamaism. This was one important reason.

Besides, the core of the governing class of Qing Dynasty is made up of members from the upper strata of *Manchu*. As a minority nationality with sparse population, long before conquering the central part of China, the *Manchus* were eager to unite with Mongolia and other minority nationalities.

And the formation of “Eight Banner” system could be regarded as the formation of *Manchu* community composed of *Manchu* nationality and other minority nationalities. Lifting themselves from being a racially homogeneous nationality, the ancient *Nuchen* nationality formed a new national entity in *Ming* Dynasty. However, this new national entity had not developed a unified religion. Up to Qing Dynasty, in order to defend its domination, the governor advocated Lamaism vigorously, constructed 6 lamaseries and gave a lama high honor. The religion of Shamanism, which had been regarded as the “being sacred and handed down from generation to generation” and “source of all the happiness”, couldn’t take the place of Lamaism which had already been regarded as the orthodoxy in the history. The doctrines were too primitive, and there were too many gods, no concrete idols, no permanent monastery, besides, sacrifice was mostly offered within each and every family. So there were not many followers.

Therefore, in order to find a common and strong spiritual prop for the “Eight Banner” system of *Manchu* entity, the government of Qing Dynasty enthroned Lamaism by giving every effort. The influence of Lamaism became increasingly extended. The fact is that Lamaism had played an relatively positive role in the course of unifying Mongolia, the Northwest, winning the support of the people, and in founding the state, establishing and consolidating state power. Having the social status of a state religion, Lamaism enjoyed very high political position at that time. Just because of this, the Xibes were greatly encouraged to be converted to Lamaism in Qing Dynasty.

The relationship between the Xibes and Shengjing Lamaism:

As Lamaism was enthroned by the government of Qing Dynasty, there were many lamaseries built in Qing Dynasty, the most famous were the Royal Temple, and the North Pagoda *Falun* Temple.

#### ► the Royal Temple

The second emperor of Qing Dynasty *Huangtaiji* understood the religious feelings of the Mongolian who crossed over to the Qing Dynasty. In order to have them come over and pledge allegiance forever, so to keep their domination hold good, in the second year of *Chongde’s* reign(1637), *Huangtaiji* gave orders to construct a lamasery at *Xisanli* of *Shengjing* (the Royal Temple Road, Peace District), whose full name was “*Lianhua Jintu Shisheng* Temple”(meaning---temple of Lotus, pure land, famous scenic spot).

It is the biggest lamasery extant in Shenyang, and the only temple of imperial family in the northeast of China. It was also called the Royal Temple because it was constructed by the edict of Emperor *Huangtaiji*. And because it was the temple of imperial family, the top roof of the temple was covered with yellow tiles and bordered with green eaves, so it is called “Yellow Temple” among the people. As the temple of imperial family of Qing Dynasty, *the Royal Temple* was taken seriously by the Qing Court since it was Emperor *Huangtaiji* that decided to construct it. So the Royal Temple enjoyed very high political and social position. For it was constructed for the Mongolians, the scriptures would be chanted in Mongolian language and Tibetan language.

► the North Pagoda *Falun* Temple:

Another important lamasery is the North Pagoda *Falun* Temple. In the early days of Qing Dynasty, in order to safeguard the state power of Qing, Emperor *Huangtaiji* gave orders to construct 4 pagoda temples as country-guarding temples 5 miles away from the imperial ancestral temple of the Forbidden City in 4 directions of east, south, west and north respectively in *Shengjing*. The east pagoda was called *Yongguang* Temple connoting “lighting of wisdom shines”, referred to Buddha; the south pagoda was called *Guangci* Temple connoting “the sun illuminates all living creatures”, referred to the earth and all the subjects; the west pagoda was call *Yanshou* Temple connoting “long life His Majesty”, referred to the Son of Heaven---the emperor; the north pagoda was called Temple connoting “Buddha dharma circulates in the world”, referred to the ultimate aim that the state power would be ever lasting. The north pagoda is the real purpose of Emperor *Huangtaiji*. The four temples enjoyed very high position because they are country-guarding temples. And among them, the north pagoda temple---*Falun* Temple was the most important and attracted a large number of pilgrims. The scriptures used in the four temples were in the language of Manchu and Tibetan, for they were constructed for the state power of Qing Dynasty.

Compared with Royal Temple and the North Pagoda Temple, *Taiping* Temple was quite different from the two top lamaseries both in position and in scale. However, since it came into being, the contact and exchange between *Taiping* Temple and the two top lamaseries was in a way of very close kinship.

The contact and exchange with the Royal Temple originated from the long standing and well established relationship with the Mongolian. The Xibes had been under the rule of the Mongolian for a long time before they

submitted to the authority of Qing Dynasty of Manchu nationality. Their belief of Lamaism also originated from the influence of the Mongolian. From the location of *Taiping* Temple, various temples stood in great numbers in the northwest of *Shengjing*, however, they were all spaced at applicable intervals. Only *Taiping* Temple and the Royal Temple neighbored with each other closely. The east side hall of Royal Temple was for receiving the *Xibes* specially. On every New Year's Festival and temple fair, many *Xibes* would go to Royal Temple to listen to scriptures chanted by lamas. And when there was a temple fair in *Taiping* Temple, a lama from Royal Temple would be sent to *Taiping* Temple to take charge of the affairs of food and drink. It was thus clear that the *Xibes* moved to *Shengjing* still kept frequent contacts with the Mongolian of the locality. The relationship was even very close. In this sense, *Taiping* Temple was the symbol of the friendship between the *Xibes* and the Mongolian.

Many of the *xibe* followers of Lamaism inclined to the North Temple, the *Xibe* lamas usually went to the North Temple to further their study. Among the four temples, lamas of east, west and south are all from the Mongolian and they chanted the scripture in Mongolian and Tibetan; only 19 lamas of the north *Falun* Temple were from the *Xibes* who were appreciated by the emperors of Qing Dynasty because they had a good command of Manchu language and so to chant the scriptures in Manchu language. After the Qing Court moved the Capital from *Shengjing* to Beijing, emperor Qianlong had been to *Shengjing* on a inspection four times, and he visited *Falun* Temple twice and left a poem---“圣建四浮塔，斯惟城北隅。……法轮演国语，永

佑万宗都”(meaning: “With the order of His Majesty, the four pagoda temples was constructed in the corners of the city, soaring straight up into the sky.....it is in the north corner of the city, chanting scriptures in Manchu language, that the north pagoda temple safeguards the state power forever. ”). Thus it can be seen, only *Xibe* lama could have a good command of *Manchu* language that was taken as the national language by the Qing Court, so the *Xibe* lamas could be appreciated and be put in an important position in the sacred country-guarding temple. When the biggest lamasery of *Shengjing*---the Royal Temple had important activities like temple fair of large-scale, other lamaseries would go to chant scriptures together, and the Royal Temple will especially prepare a chanting hall for the lamas of the north

Falun Temple. With such a background, *Taiping* Temple would also invited lamas of *Falun* Temple to chant together when there was a big temple fair. Thus it could be seen that the contact between *Taiping* Temple and *Falun* Temple built up a close relationship between the Xibes and the *Manchus*.

Buddhist activities: as a lamasery, the Buddhist activities of *Taiping* Temple was of course thriving for a time. And the main Buddhist activities are as follows:

► Lunar New Year 8<sup>th</sup>~15<sup>th</sup> and Lunar April 8<sup>th</sup>~15<sup>th</sup> : twice temple fairs of large-scale

One important activities was Jumping *Buzha*. It was a ceremony performed to drive away all the evil demons and ghosts. It was a sorcerer's dance in a trance traditionally.

► And on lunar April 8<sup>th</sup> commemorative activities for Buddha Sakyamuni's birthday would be held. And then a temple fair bustling with activities will be held on a big scale. According to the oral instructions of the old people, a continuous stream of devotees of the Xibes came together in crowd no matter how far their home was. And on this day, the Xibe women and girls dressed in their holiday best, to burn joss sticks and prostrate themselves before the image of Buddha, make a vow or redeem a vow to a god, and give in charity, and then, do shopping for daily life and agriculture production. Before the temple, there were some stalls of groceries and offerings for a sacrifice. Everything needed were there. People who were doing business, watching the fun and excitement, and people who earned a living as a perform by juggling , fortune-telling, etc. gathered there; sounds of hawking one's wares, cheerful and light-hearted laughs raise one after another. It was really a scene of bustle and excitement.

► twice memorial ceremonies for Guanyu:

Once was on lunar May 13<sup>th</sup>, which was to commemorate the story of "Taking a Single Sword to the Banquet" of Guanyu, Another was on lunar June 24<sup>th</sup>, which was to commemorate the birthday of Guanyu.

► Lunar June 15<sup>th</sup>~August 1<sup>st</sup>

Lamas stayed at temple chanting the scriptures without going out, and people who listen to the scriptures would contribute money to the temple.

► There would be a ceremony for Chanting *Taiping* scriptures every noon. On New Year's Day and other festivals, a continuous stream of the Xibes came to the temple to listen to the scriptures. At this stage, *Taiping* Temple really had

many pious worshippers and had a scene of burning incense and reciting scriptures incessantly all the year round.

► Besides all these fixed Buddhist activities, at ordinary times, the pilgrims of Taiping temple would come to offer incense and pray to Buddha, or make a vow, redeem a vow to the Gods at all times. And lamas would be invited to home of the common people to perform rites often, for example, if there is a birth of baby boy, lama would be invited to chant prayers at home, and so to bless the baby boy with protection against suffering a misfortune in his life and for a healthy growth; and when there was a funeral affairs, lama would be invited to perform rites to release soul deceased soul from purgatory; besides, in every lunar January, lama would come to every household to perform a rite to enshrine the Buddha image, etc.

► Influence:

the immediately influence to the whole community was that Taiping Temple becomes the Buddhist Holy Land of the whole community, soon afterwards, smaller lamaseries came into being in every big village of the community, family hall for worshipping Buddha were also set up almost in each and every family. People burnt joss sticks and kowtow before the image of Buddha on first and 15<sup>th</sup> of each month according to the traditional Chinese calendar. Especially, on New Year's Day and other festivals, joss sticks, candles and offerings were set out in the hall and people pray Buddha for everything. It is said that the activities of Lamaism in each village vary slightly, however, men and women, young and old would vie with each other in taking part into the activities, they were so pious that many devotees would kowtow with each step forward till the front of the image of Buddha.

► functions:

Seeing from the Buddhist activities mentioned above, the activities of Lamaism were very thriving throughout the year. Lamas and followers gathered together to enjoy the activities of worshipping and chanting. As a lamasery, Taiping Temple had already become a perfect place for Buddhist activities which was Expected to last forever by the Xibes. It really shows us the influence of Lamaism to the whole community. And the significance of Lamaism activities maybe like this:

the activities of Lamaism was a very important spiritual prop for the members of the whole community. The activities improved the communication of the community by the way of religion.

*Taiping* Temple was an important medium to harmonize the *Xibe*

community and the whole society of *Shengjing*. It provided a way for the *Xibes* to communicate with other nationalities. Especially it established a close relationship between the *Xibes* and the Mongolian and the *Manchu* that were the two strongest nationalities in “*Manchu* community” that could represent *Shengjing* society at that time. It could be said that the existence of *Taiping* Temple built up a cultural bridge for cultural communication and exchange which established a kind of affinity between the *Xibes* and other nationalities. This cultural force made the *Xibe* community integrate with outside environment naturally and ensured the *Xibe* community be well coordinated with outside environment. The establishment of this kind of communication and affinity was an indispensable prerequisite for the growth of the *Xibe* community in *Shengjing* society.

### **(3)the Influence of Han Religious Culture:**

The influence of Han religious culture was general from Taoism and mainly was expressed in the folk worship of the *Xibes*. Taoism is a unique religion originated from *Han* culture which has had a great influence on Chinese history over 2,000 years. General speaking, Taoism has been come into being gradually based on thoughts and belief of folk sorcery, Shamanism, supernatural being and Alchemy, *Yin-yang* (or Cosmic dual forces, *yin* and *yang*, the two opposing principles in nature, the former feminine and negative, the latter masculine and positive), the concept of the five elements (of metal, wood, water, fire, and earth)( used in ancient Chinese cosmology and later in herb medicine), and the Doctrines of *Huangdi* and *Lao Zi* of the Western *Han* Dynasty(206 B.C---A.D.24). Taoism originated in the Warring States(475~221, B.C.). The Doctrines of *Huangdi* and *Lao Zi* of the Western *Han* Dynasty is the premise thinking of early Taoism. And strictly speaking, the Taoism founded by Zhang *Daoling* appeared in the later Eastern Han Dynasty (A.D.25-A.D.220) with *Wudoumi* (five *dou* rice) Taoism as its leading symbols and *Lao Zi* worshipped as the founder of Taoism. There were two branches of North *Tian-Shi-Dao* and South *Tian-Shi-Dao* in the Northern and Southern Dynasty (420~589). And in *Tang* and *Song* Dynasty Taoism was further developed. Coming to Yuan Dynasty, Taoism was divided into two branches of “*Zheng Yi*”and “*Quan Zhen*”. Taoism is still in vogue In *Ming* Dynasty, and was on the wane since *Qing* Dynasty. That is to say, in Qing Dynasty, Taoism has already declined, however, some gods and deities like Goddess *Mazu*, God of Wealth *Guanyu*, kitchen god, local god of the land, the



god of happiness, the god of longevity, and the god of fortune has been still generally worshipped all along. In Qing Dynasty, Taoism on the wane still had a strong influence on the Xibes' religious life. For example, there are a lot of gods and deities in Xibes' belief originated from Taoism. This could be found in the religious activities of *Taiping* (means "peace") Temple. Under the influence of *Han* religious culture, the Eight Immortals, the goddess of *Niangniang*, the God of Wealth *Guanyu*, the god of General *Liumeng*, the Dragon King, kitchen God, local god of the land, door-god, and the god of worm, etc. were assimilated as a part of the gods and deities they worship. And the following gods and deities were worshipped in *Taiping* Temple for being accepted by all the members of the community:

#### God of Wealth *Guanyu*:

There was a hall set up for *Guanyu*. *Guan Yu* (160 – 219) was a military general under the warlord *Liu Bei* during the late Eastern *Han* Dynasty and Three Kingdoms period in ancient China. He played a significant role in the civil war that led to the collapse of the *Han* Dynasty and the establishment of the Kingdom of *Shu*, of which *Liu Bei* was the first emperor. And he was seen as the epitome of loyalty and righteousness. The Xibes looked up to him as the embodiment of wisdom and courage and offered sacrifice to the God of *Guanyu* twice. One was on lunar May, 13<sup>th</sup> for the story of "Taking a Single Sword to the Banquet" of *Guanyu*, on this day, a hind leg of a sheep would be offered in front of the image of Buddha, and steamed bun, fruits, cakes and other offerings which is altogether 5 kinds onto the altar, besides, 6 cups of spirit that will be lit later, and then burned incense and kowtowed to the image. Another was on lunar June 24<sup>th</sup>, it was to commemorate the birthday of *Guanyu*. The way of offering sacrifice was the same as the activity on May 13<sup>th</sup>.

#### Worshipping *Wenchang*:

There was a hall for the God of *Wenchang* in *Taiping* Temple. *Wenchang* was also called *Wen-qu* Star, which was a general name for the star above the one at the tip of the bowl of the Big Dipper in ancient China. The astrologers in ancient China thought it was a lucky star that could bring people fame, wealth and honor. The God of *Wenchang* was considered to be the God of Learning or the God of literature. It was in about 6th century that he was accepted by Taoism. It says that he was the son of the emperor, and kept on reincarnating

to benefit people. He was a great god and in charge of people's study and examination. After the 14th century, many Chinese schools feted this god. His birthday was on February 3 of the lunar calendar. Especially in the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), his birthday was even congratulated by the Emperor. From this we can see though he was a Taoist god, he had been marked with Confucian color.

“Farming and schooling” was a basic native culture of *Han* Nationality. Farming was the source of life; and schooling was the only way for the offspring of peasants to climb up stepping stone of the society. The Xibes who had stepped into an agricultural society in late Ming and early Qing Dynasty were obviously influenced by this Han culture. A call for learning and a desire for an official career through imperial examination came to become popular in the Xibes ethnic community. They hoped that, with the protection of the God of *Wenchang*, their offspring could achieve their ambitions for being well-educated and an official career with high position and handsome salary.

#### Worshipping *Huxian* (demon fox)

A hall for worshipping *Huxianw* was set up in the southwest corner of *Taiping* Temple. There is a memorial tablet set in it. And people burned joss sticks and offered up a sacrifice before the tablet of *Huxian* on first and 15<sup>th</sup> of each month according to the traditional Chinese calendar. *Huxian* was one of many kinds of gods and deities in folklore. The Xibes included it into the gods and deities who were in charge of protecting the family.

#### ► Origin:

*Han* Nationality has a long history of worshipping *Huxian*. It originated from the primitive religion. It was usually worshipped as totem, or as a demon, whom could become a demon through practicing Buddhist or Taoist rules conscientiously, the so-called “when getting old, the demon is in a man’s figure”. “*The Classic of Mountains and Rivers*” of the period before Qin Dynasty had already had the record of the nine-tailed demon fox. And according to folktales, a fox could become a demon fox through practicing Buddhist or Taoist rules and would turn into man(woman)’s figure. Having great magic power, the demon would bewitch people who disrespected it and make them suffer a lot. So the fox demon were worshipped as *Huxian* among the people for the purpose of escaping disaster and praying for being safe and well. And Since *Tang* Dynasty, the custom of worshipping *Huxian* was in vogue for a time. Stories about fox spirit spread far and wide among the

people. According to the ancient novel of *Zhang-zhuo* 《朝野金载》 (“A Record of the court and the country”), 「唐初以来，百姓多事狐神，房中祭祀以乞恩，食饮与人同之，事者非一主。」 (meaning: Since *Tang* Dynasty, worshipping *Huxian* comes into vogue, and the people pray and offer sacrifice in their houses; the deity enjoys the same diet with man, and there are many worshippers. )and there was such a proverb : 「无狐魅，不成村。」(no village without a fox demon). So we can say that *Huxian* worship was very popular in *Huan* culture.

Since departing from the *Great Xing'an Ling* Mountains areas, they have had more contact and exchange with *Han* Nationality. And being influenced by *Han* Nationality, they adopted it into their belief of Shamanism and worshipped it as one of the deities of Shamanism. *Huxian* was worshipped as an important deity of folk worship by most people in almost all the *Xibe* villages formed in *Shengjing*.

In the viewpoint of the *Xibes*, fox was the most intelligent animal with exceptional wisdom and inspiration surpassing the human beings. If someone offended and hurt it, that person would be definitely retaliated to suffer serious disease and even lose his life. In the past, the *Xibes* feared it rather than fires and floods. Meanwhile, they firmly believed in the stories about the fox demon could safeguard the family to be safe and sound and to swell. So they had developed a custom of worshipping fox demon and offering sacrifice to a fox demon long before they moved to *Shengjing*. In the early stage of hunting life, hunting fox is forbidden and even today there was still such a don't to all the members within their nationality. If someone hunted a fox, and the person himself or one directly-related members of his family fell ill suddenly, people would firmly believe that the fox demon was taking revenge on the person and his family. And generally the person must kill a sheep at the least, or even kill a cattle , then perform a ceremony to offer an apology, and bury the remains of the dead fox in the ground in the same way for the remains of a dead man.

► the Way for Offering Sacrifice:

Because *Huxian* was worshipped by most of the *Xibes*, a hall for worshipping *Huxian* was especially set up in *Taiping* Temple. The people called *Huaxian* “*Xianjia*”(meaning: god), so a tablet with the writing of “the

position of “*Xianjia*” and a niche with the figure of fox demon (sometimes in the figure of man) inside were set in the Huxian Hall. At ordinary times, an incense burner and *Fushu* (a piece(pieces) Of paper(cloth) with magic figures drawn by Taoist priests to invoke or expel spirits and bring good or ill fortune),on which some words expressing worship was written, were put on the altar. The activity for offering sacrifice was performed by burning incense and offering alcoholic drink, and then the worshipper should kowtow to the figure of Huxian. Time for this offering was not fixed. And it is said that at that time women were forbidden to get in and out of Xuxian Hall.

*Huxian* is also worshipped in each family. The position of Huxian is set in the storehouse of every household. As a member of the family, it is also called “*Ha-shi-bao-yi-zha-ka*”(a thing in the storehouse). And the sacrifice was offered the same way.

### Worshipping the Dragon King :

#### ► Origin:

Another deity worshipped under the influence of Han nationality was the Dragon King. According to the record of *Shengyang* Registration Office of Temple Property, the Dragon King was invited at the time when the temple was just built up. That is to say, the *Xibes* invited *Sakyamuni*(Buddha) and the Dragon King into

*Taiping* Temple at the same time. Though there were Dragon worship both in Buddhism and in Taoism, as a general rule, the Dragon King would not be worshipped in a lamasery. Judging from this record, *Taiping* Temple was not a typical lamasery when it was constructed originally. And it also shows how the *Xibes* attached importance to the Dragon King worship that would bring them timely wind and rain and a bumper grain harvest. Before Han Dynasty, there was only god of dragon, no the King Dragon. After *Sui* and *Tang* Dynasty, Buddhism spread from India into China. And then the Belief of the King Dragon could be found all over the country. However, there were indications that the dragon of Indian Buddhism should be spread from China into India. And it became the Dragon King by further creation of Indian. As Buddhism spread into China, the Dragon king worship spread into china at the same time. After being adopted by Taoism, and being reconstructed and perfected, a new Dragon King worship that was different from India’s has been developed in China, which spread far and wide among the people, and could be found in every aspects of the common people’s life.

► Function of the Dragon King:

The Dragon King is the god that is in charge of rainfall and bumper or poor harvest of various areas. The work and duty of the Dragon King is to bring cloud and rain and so to wipe out the sweltering heat and worries of people. The custom to pray for rain by offering sacrifice to the Dragon King is widespread among the people, which have a great influence on agriculture and daily life. For the common people, whom make a living in a given circumstances decided completely by nature power, the only way to avoiding the hit of natural calamities is to rely on the Dragon King that can bring them favorable weather and a bumper grain harvest. So in the past, temples for the Dragon King were all over the country, in which the Dragon King was worshipped as a god of water.

► Offering Sacrifice to the Dragon King:

The Dragon King enjoys a very high position among the people because it manipulate the common people's daily life. In order to pray for a favorable weather and a bumper harvest, the activities of offering sacrifice to the Dragon King is very common both in the area of Han Nationality and minority nationality. And these activities become the custom of each area through long usage. For example, there are various festivals concerned with the Dragon King worship.

Lunar January the 2nd :(the Dragon-Head-Raising festival)

There are many versions of supposition about the origin of this festival. Anyhow, it is really the costom festival of Han Nationality and some minority nationalities. However, each nationality has developed their own custom to celebrate this festival based on the common wish for a bumper harvest. The Xibes also celebrate the festival with their own custom.

At *Taiping* temple, series of activities such as lion dancing, dragon lantern dancing, a temple fair of small-scale would be held on this day, and of course a ceremony for offering sacrifice to the Dragon King. And in every household, the men of the family would draw a dragon from the entrance to the well with kitchen ash. It was just like a figure of swimming dragon with which indicated "leading a dragon". And with this, people hoped that the Dragon King could bring a bumper harvest to this family. Another custom was that all the people will stop doing needlework to avoid pricking the head of the dragon because the dragon would raise its head on this day. And people believed that if they pricked the head of the dragon, they would be punished to suffer a headache for one year. Besides, the *Xibes* would eat some *Heye*

pancake, *Su-zi-yan* pancake, and another traditional food *Dou-mian-jia-zui* on this day.

In the history of China, no matter what dynasty it is, the Han culture has always been the Dominating culture, so for the *Xibes*, to exchange with *Han* culture is also very important for the growth of their new-born community.

Seeing from the various religious activities of Taiping Temple, the Xibes didn't pay much attention to the origin and background of the gods, they pay more attention to if the god would be efficacious, or if the activities for offering sacrifice would bring them happiness, or if they would be blessed and protected by the god they worshipped, or if the activities would satisfy their emotional needs, and if the activities would meet the needs of their community growth so to ensure the sustainable development of the environment on which the Xibe people relied for existence. That might be the reason why the temple could be loaded with so many religions and beliefs. Anyhow, the existence and development of their community was much more important than if the temple was pure enough to be a real lamasery. Based on these complicated and diverse religion and belief, the Xibe people formed their values for understanding the world, estimating social behaviors, and social control system and mechanism for making the community in harmony.

## 2. Taiping Temple and the stability of the community

### (1) Huishou System

It was an association with an important key person called "*Huishou*" (the head of the association). In *Qing* Dynasty, *Huishou* system was a very common and important way for supporting temple's existence. Since Taiping Temple was being perfected, the temple property was also increasing, thus *Hui* was formed to promote the management of Taiping Temple. Here is an incomplete name list of people who had ever been *Huishou* (the head of the association) in the history:

A part of the name list:

**Se-pu-jian-e:**

Family name: Gua-er-jia-shi;

Banner: the border yellow banner;

Official position:

- ▶ 28<sup>th</sup> year of *Daoguang's* reign (1848), the **headman of *Tu-si*** (system of appointing national minority hereditary headmen in the *Yuan*, *Ming* and

*Qing* dynasties) at *Sengjing* General *Yamen*(government office)

- ▶ 3<sup>rd</sup> year of Xianfeng's reign(1853), followed Prince *Seng* to suppress bandits, returned to Shengjing in triumph, and promoted to be a *Xiao-qi-xiao*(ranks the 8<sup>th</sup> in a banner)
- ▶ 5<sup>th</sup> year of *Tongzhi* reign(1866), appointed to be a *Fangyu* of *Yongling*(the head of a defending force)
- ▶ 11<sup>th</sup> year of Guangxu reign(1885) ~ , vice- *Dutong*(ranks second in a banner)

**Wo-a-long**:: the third son of *Se-pu-jian-e*, during Guangxu's reign, appointed as a *Zuoling*(ranks fifth in a banner)

**Guan-xue-ji**: the son of *Wo-a-long*

**Guan-xi-ling**:: another name is *Xi-shao-peng*, *Xiuca*(scholar)i(one who passed the imperial examination at the county level in the *Ming* and *Qing* dynasties ), **reserve prefect**

.....

In view of this, *Huishou* was generally undertaken by people of prestige within the nationality, they were the elites of the community, they managed the temple and coordinated the community while being an officer of the court drawing on their social position. Functions of two aspects of *Huishou* System:

As an Administrative Organization:

The immediate work and duty of *Hui* was to manage the affairs of the temple, for it was established for the temple first. For example, it must concern itself with the affairs like repair, construction, maintenance, raising money, collecting contributions, income and expenses, and appointing lamas and da lama(the head of the temple), and organize the important activities of the temple. For example, in order to increase the temple's properties, led by *Huishou*, the *Xibe* people collected money and bought some land and houses to let as temple properties. according to the literature:

- ▶ “There was a two-story building with three bays upstairs and downstairs, and three tile-roofed houses in the backyard at *Xiao-xi-guan*(No.32 4<sup>th</sup> section *Xiao-xi* Road). This temple properties was let to “*Fulandong*” cake store in those years.”
- ▶ And another record---“bought 5 gate-houses with 5 tile-roofed house in the backyard and three wings at *Da-jing-yan Xiao-xi-guan*(No.72 3<sup>rd</sup>

section Xiao-xi Road). This properties was let to a mill.”

- ▶ Besides, they also bought some land as properties, for example, “the land Gonghe Supermarket neighboring the temple in the west is the temple’s property in those days.” All the income from these real estate could be used to as the expenditure of Taiping Temple.

As an organ of self-government:

This shows an important intension of Taiping Temple as an ancestral temple. That is to say, it is equal to an organ of self-government. Though the Xibes had already entered into feudal society from clan society in late *Ming* and early *Qing*, the *Hala-mokun* System as a social system with distinguished national features, which was formed in the period of clan society, had continued to play a relatively role for a long period in *Qing* Dynasty. “*Hala*” means “surname” in the *Xibes*’ language. It was a paternal consanguineous group based on blood relationship. “*Mokun*” means “clan” in the *Xibes*’ language. They are the branch consanguineous groups formed naturally within the same “*Hala*”. So each “*Hala*” was composed of several “*Mokuns*”. With a long-term development, “*Hala-Mokun*” System made the whole society self-manage, self-adjust, self-perfect, and even self-close down, and thus brought its political function to fruition through such a system. According to the literature, this social system of *Hala---Mokun---family---household* of the *Xibes* had not changed in the way of keeping the inner society of the *Xibes* in operation until the 16<sup>th</sup> century. As stated above, the *Xibes* in *Shengjing* had all been incorporated into the “eight banners”. However, though the “eight banners” system was an official system, it was closely integrated with the non-governmental system ---“*Hala-Mokun*”: the first, the *Xibes* who held a post in “Eight banners” were all rich people from a “*Hala*”, their duty was to hold themselves responsible to the leading body at a higher level and simultaneously to their own “*Hala-Mokun*” as well. And “*Ha-la Da*”(the head of “*Hala*”) and “*Mokun Da*”(the head of “*Mokun*”) held themselves responsible to the officials of their “*Hala*”. Once there was something happened, an investigation would be conducted to ascertain where the responsibility lay from top to bottom. With such a combination, both the Niulu officials on behalf of their “*Hala*” or “*Hala Da*” and “*Mokun Da*” had to be devoted to their duty and do their best to take their responsibilities for the affairs of the community. And finally the system of “*Niulu---Hala---Mokun---family---household*” was put into operation. The



Second, the system of “*Hala-Mokun*” was authorized to enforce the governance on behalf of Qing court. That is to say, they were authorized to administer the affairs of their community in their own way except killing. This perfect combination between the “Eight Banners” system and “*Hala-mokun*” system had not only upheld the domination of country, but also sustained the traditional system of “*Hala-Mokun*”. *Taiping* Temple was just the executive body of such a system, that is , it was the place to put this kind of administration into operation. While it took its responsibility for the “Eight Banner” system outside of the community, it also took its responsibility for the affairs within the community, like to receive guests and visitors, a clan’ get-together, etc., so to promote mutual aid and unity within the nationality; besides, like to enforce the customary laws of the clan so to safeguard the common interests of the community members. Seeing from this, *Taiping* Temple was the place where the clan power was brought to fruition. It ensured the autonomy of the community with the aid of the traditional force of customary laws which was indigenous to the Xibes. This function was the very original intention of the Xibes when they first constructed the temple.

And this function had been increasingly perfected with the function of ancestral worship being strengthened. And thus *Taiping* Temple was endowed with the function of self-government. So it could be said that *Taiping* Temple could be considered as a non-government organization with autonomy and independent character.

From this, we can judge how close the relationship between *Taiping* Temple and the community were. On one hand, the establishment of *Huishou* System enhanced the management of the temple, on the other hand, it played an irreplaceable role in upholding the social order of the community.

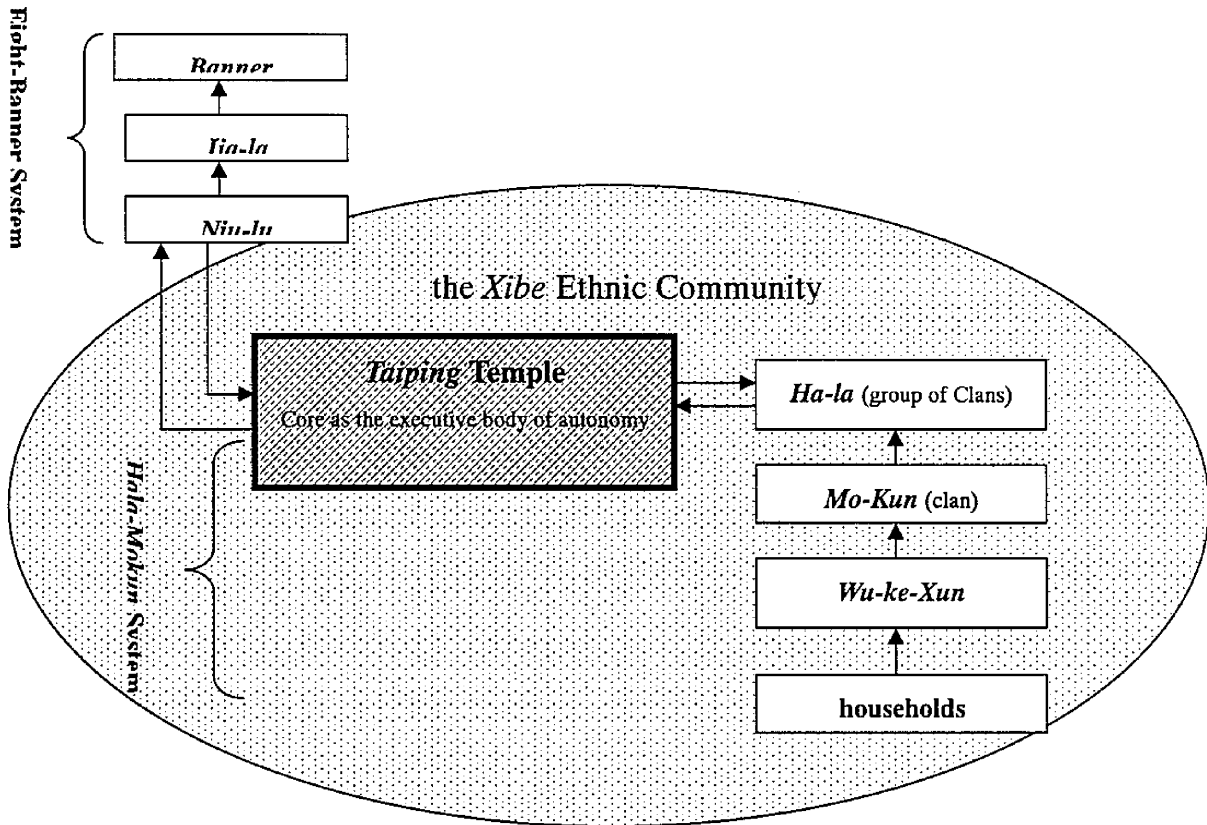


Figure 5: the autonomy system with *Taiping Temple* as the executive body

## (2) place of education

the enlightenment of religion-----temptation for being good and intimidation for being evil

As a place being heavily loaded with various religions, the enlightenment of religion was the educational function first shown at Taiping Temple. The kernel of Taiping Temple's religion were ancestral worship, Lamaism and some folk beliefs. No matter what religion it was, they have a common duty, and the duty was to enlighten the followers, and to guide people to forsake being evil for being good. This is what different religions have in common, and this was the key reason why the god of different backgrounds could be worshipped in the same temple.

Lamaism and the Taoism enlighten their followers by a temptation for being good and a intimidation for being evil. As a branch of Buddhism, Lamaism induces people to do good works and so to accumulate virtue; to be a vegetarian and to chant the name of Buddha as a way of religious discipline; to conduct benevolent actions wholeheartedly, so to detach oneself from transmigration, and then can go to the Kingdom of Heaven, and might be

requited this life, so to get rich from poverty. Taoism enlighten the follower to be scrupulously honest even when there is no one around; to treat things with tender care; being loyal and devoted and showing filial piety and fraternal duty; to show sympathy and consideration for orphans and widows, and to help people in need..... In one words, as long as people can “pursue all the good deeds without doing anything evil”, people can meet their ideal to be a immortal. It can be imagined that these “temptations for being good” of Lamaism and Taoism must be great allure for those people who wear shabby clothes and have not enough food to satisfy their hunger though they really work hard all life. As a intimidation for being evil, the horribleness of the hell is depicted to the best. Besides suffering various tortures in the hell after one’s death, the people who do evils will often receive retribution this life like translocation of one’s social position and rank or financial situation, and even loss of life-span. This intimidation for evil conduct could really restrain and awed the common followers.

And other beliefs like ancestral worship and folk beliefs also persuade and exhort people to “pursue all the good deeds without doing anything evil” and “to worship piously”, etc. with different approach to reach the same goal. These suggestions ensure that people will persist in their belief, so to ensure the dominant position of religions in the community. And with *Taiping* temple as the nucleus of the community, the *Xibes* put all these suggestions into operation.

#### Ancestral Education and the Customary Laws:

The above is the basis of the educational function of any religion, for the enlightenment of religion is common in any communities. Besides, the activities for ancestral worship created a great influence on the ancestral education. That is to say, with this education, the customary laws that ensured the stability of *Xibe* community came to be formed and had been put into operation. Being the criteria of conduct, the customary laws stabilized the indigenous order of the community, and become the basic prerequisite for the unity and harmony of the community.

For the *Xibes*, the belief of ancestral worship topped all the others. The ancestral education was put into practice through the activities for ancestral worship. The offspring of the *Xibes* understood the existence of the clan through ceremonious get-together of all the clansmen; and they understood the

traditional value, laws and orders through studying the instructions, exhortations left by ancestors piously. History education of clan is obtained through looking back on the brilliant history of the whole nationality. At a matter of fact, one important purpose of the activity itself was to highlight the spirit of educating the coming generations. With such an education, the ancestral idea would hand down generation after generation. And influenced by this ancestral idea, people will unconsciously took the existence of the whole nationality as the support of individual's existence, so to take sustaining the whole nationality as one's unshirkable duty and responsibility. For the purpose of worshiping ancestors, harmonizing the clan, upholding the unity, mutual aid and cooperation, the Xibes made some "family rules and regulations" and "clan rules and regulations", these "family rules and regulations" and "clan rules and regulations" were the customary laws that upheld the stability of the Xibe community:

► "*Hala-Mokun*", social etiquette, moral standards:

the Xibes were restricted by the "Eight Banners" system in the aspects of military, politics and economics because they had long-term lived in the "Eight Banner" system in which the military, administration and production were combined together. However, their social life and moral standards were generally influenced by "*Hala-Mokun*" system of their own. "*hala*" was a paternal consanguineous group based on blood relationship. It was a clan system with strong cohesive forces. "*Hala*" will be divided into several "*Mokun*"s when it developed to the fifth or sixth generation. The main functions of "*Mokun*" is to establish public graveyard, organize the members of "*Mokun*" worshipping ancestors, revise the family-tree, make the rules and regulations, safeguard the proper interests of all the "*Mokun*" members, support the old, weak, sick, disabled and those who have no kith and kin and can't support themselves, punish those who revolt or rebel. The "*Mokun*" committee was the highest organ of "*Mokun*" power that performs the functions above.

► productive labor:

The Xibes had long-term lived in the system in which the military, administration and production were combined together. And according to the "Eight-Banner" System, soldiers in the banners worked the land in time of peace and went to battles during wartime. Though the use and distribution is decided by the "Eight Banner" system, the mode of production was decided by the Xibes customary laws. For example, "*Yuexi*" System(meaning:

cooperating in cultivation) was a very typical agricultural production mode of the Xibes. In those days, land was distributed by the authorities, and the fields on the hills were all public and controlled By a section of “Eight banners” system. Because the fields were far from villages, irrigation generally relied on water from a hill or a mountain. With such a condition, it was hard to be managed by a individual person. And thus “Yuexi” System had been carried out for a long time. With this mode of production, the cultivators would form a partnership, and they would provide the means of production, seeds, labors together. At the end of the year, they would share the harvest equally without considering the difference in labor force and production skills and techniques.

►property inheritance:

Who should inherit the property left by the last generation had already Become a important problem related to one’s immediate interesrts since private ownership came into being.. Because the Xibes always esteemed their ancestors, in order to avoid that the inheritance left by one “Hala” run off to another “Hala”, the property was decided to be inherit by the male side of the family, and the female side didn’t have the right of inheritance. If no male offspring, a son-in-law who lived in the home of his wife's parents could be regarded as the inheritor. If no offspring at all, the property would be dealt with within “Mokun” through negotiation.

According to the oral instructions of some old people, in the past, family members had to sign a contract before dividing up family property (so as to set up separate households). Usually, a contract would include the following content: reason for dividing up the family property; how to divide up the family property; details of divides (lands , house, house’s location, neighbors, size of the house); the main farm implements, furniture and money; article’s name and number; shares of each male inheritance; right of parents and how to support their parents after dividing the family.

►marriage:

The *Xibes* acted on monogamy in marriage. Of course, some exceptional rich people would marry a concubine because the wife couldn’t give a birth. They only intermarried within the nationality. In *Qing* Dynasty, they had all been incorporated into the “eight banners”, and according to the ban of “Eight Banners”, the marriage between a banner-man and a civilian was forbidden, so as banner-man, the *Xibes* were also forbidden to get married with civilians. Marriage between people of the same surname was also forbidden, that is to say, people from the same “Hala” was not allowed to get married. And the

offspring of the relatives on the paternal side were forbidden to get married. Besides, there was such a rule in their customary laws---daughter of uncle(on mother's) side could get married with son of aunt(on father's side); but daughter of aunt(on father's side) was not allowed to marry son of uncle(on mother's side). And between husband and wife, there was such strict rules that wife must live together with husband at husband's place; and husband had absolute power; and wife must submit herself to the will of husband absolutely.

► Punitive measures of customary laws:

In order to enforce the customary laws soundly, every "*Hala-Mokun*" had taken some punitive measures against those people who offended against the laws, as follows: supervision and condemnation by public opinion, which had the effect of education; acknowledging a fault by paying a visit, which was for punishing stealer and robber; penalty, which was for punishing the old people who did something wrong; physical punishment, which was for punishing juveniles and young women; humiliation punishment, which was for an expectant mother or others who could not stand a physical punishment; performing manual labor to atone for one's crime, which would be carried out at the physical labor occasions of spring plowing or autumn harvesting.

These customary laws, which upheld the stability of the community and clan's interests, were brought into fruition by the system of "*Hala-Mokun*" which represented the clan power. It could be said that it gave expression of ancestral worship concretely, and its establishment and enforcement is the result of ancestral education.

### **3.Fair Culture---- Stage of Craftsmanship**

Public living spaces like a trading centre or an entertainment centre especially for the common people's daily life were seldom considered into the urban planning of Qing Dynasty. As a result, temples usually became the place centralized by the activities of folk customs on people's own initiative. As a kind of folk custom, fair culture came into being by the way of regular temple fair with temple as the nucleus. Taiping Temple, when it was first constructed, was just a place for the activities of worshiping and praying without any temple fair at all. However, with the development of economy and the people's needs for further communication, Taiping temple began to hold temple fairs with interflow of commodities and folk art performance, which at last developed to be a complex blended with activities of beliefs, commercial

folk customs and entertainments, which were rooted deeply into the common people's life of the community. It showed a picture of the common people's life which was considered to be the best in that locality at that time. According to the oral instructions, compared with other famous temple fairs in Shengjing at that time, the temple fair of Taiping Temple was by far simple, unadorned and pleasant, however, there were many stalls and various commodities, and with the fair, the Xibe people could not only traded here but also enjoyed various kinds of dramas, local operas, acrobatics and vaudevilles. In a word, activities about food, clothing, articles of daily use and entertainments were in full swing here. With this, the temple became the centre of life culture in the community, and for the common people, to go to the fair on holidays was a very important and exciting thing in their life. The temple fair of Taiping Temple was very thriving in Qing Dynasty, full of distinctive national features and with a large coverage, and it should come first among all the folk customs of the Xibes.

The date of the temple fair was decided by the date of religious festivals of Taiping Temple. Besides the Lunar New Year, the temple fair would also be held on lunar January 8<sup>th</sup> ~ 15<sup>th</sup>, lunar April 8<sup>th</sup> ~ 15<sup>th</sup>, lunar April 8<sup>th</sup>, lunar May 13<sup>th</sup> and June 24<sup>th</sup> when there were important religious festivals. And among them, temple fair on April 8th was the most grand.



**Figure: Temple Fair**

(1) as the trading place of the community

On the day of Temple Fair, some small retailers and hawkers far and near came to trade at the temple fair for making money. As time passes, the people and retailers far and near gradually came to the temple fair in crowds, and then the fair came into being and be fixed at Taiping Temple. What was the traditional temple fair of Taiping Temple like? Even those Xibe people about 50 years old were not clear about it. However, the Xibes over 70 years old could recall the scene of those years. According to the oral instruction and literature, the main trading activities of the traditional temple fair were as follows: traditional food, tools for production, articles of daily use, etc. whether the traditional food or articles of daily use gave expression to the rich and masterly craftsmanship among the Xibe people. These craftsmanship originated from daily life and practice of production and have high practicability and some artistic quality. The villager of the Xibe community produced these handicrafts for daily use of life and production of their own family on the one hand, and on the other hand, they also produced these handicrafts in large number for selling them on the market, and the temple fair was the right place and occasion for this selling:

crafts of traditional food: according to the oral instructions, besides some traditional food like *You-za-gao* (a fried rice cake), *Ma-hua* (a fried dough twist), etc. that were common in the area of northwest of China, there were many typical local food of the Xibes. The temple fair was just like a exposition of the traditional food of the Xibes. Which reflected the eating custom of the Xibes at that time:

► game (as food): With the custom left by their preceding generations who had lived a nomadic life, the Xibes who moved to Shengjing still kept the custom of eating game. Since they had already departed from the original hunting environment, there are no big wild animals to hunt in Shengjing. However, they still kept this custom by hunting pheasants, hares, wild ducks or bustards; and it is said they were very skillful in catching a sparrow or other bird in winter. They also lived on gathering edible wild herbs. It is said among the people that the reason why the pilose antlers were so valuable was that the stags could eat many rare herbs in remote mountains. So they had an idea that wild herbs were more nutritious. So there would be many stalls of games and



wild herbs at the temple fair. The Xibes had distinctive recipes for cooking the games and wild herbs, which had been developed in the long-term nomadic life. The games and the wild herbs were the delicacies at the fair.

▶ Suan-tang-zi: It is a kind of food made of corn flour. The cookery is: to soak the corn with water and grind the soaked corn into paste; to ferment the paste till it smells sour; to prepare soup; to squeeze the paste into the boiled soup with a special tool(1.5-inched bucket); to add some vegetables, salt and other flavorings; and then it is done. It is fragrant and a little bit sour.

▶ Fa-la-e-fen: It is the principal food in daily life. The cookery is: to leaven dough; roll it into flat cakes; to bake the raw flat cakes with a pan; the size is decided by the pan. It tastes crisp and limp.

▶ Guo-kui: It is one of the food of the Xibe nationality with distinctive flavor. There are two kinds---leavened dough and unleavened dough. Whichever is added with milk, soybean oil, pork fat, mutton fat, and sugar. It is very crisp, limp and soft. It is difficult to harden even after a long time. It is a little bit thicker than Fa-la-e-fen and can be used as traveling food.

▶ Kun-bu-e-fen: the cookery is the same as Fa-la-e-fen. But the dough is harder than the Fa-la-e-fen's, and it is 2 ~ 3 centimeters thicker than Fa-la-e-fen.

▶ Suo-luo-huo-e-fen: cookery: make a dough of palm size and 4~5 centimeters thick; put it into the cooking Stove and toast it with the hot ash in the cooking stove.

▶ Guo-zi-e-fen: It is one of first-class food of the Xibes. Cookery: to add soybean oil or pork fat, pumpkin paste, sugar or honey, and egg into the dough; roll the dough into long narrow pieces of 5~6 centimeters in length; fry the long narrow pieces in the hot oil. It is crisp, limp and soft and difficult to harden after a long time.

▶ Pumpkin Dumpling: It is a kind of food with distinctive flavor. Cookery: dice the pumpkin; add some onion and soybean oil; make them and some unleavened dough into dumplings; steam the dumplings by putting them into a steamer.

▶ Hun-suo-ji: It is made of leeks, green and red pepper, celery, yellow radish, and cabbage, and salt and some other flavorings.

▶ La-cai: This is also with a distinctive flavor. The Cookery: strip and slice taros; to boil it thoroughly; to mix it with shredded radish.; to lay it aside for 2 or 3 days. Eating by dipping in sauce.

▶ Mi-shun: It is a kind of traditional thick sauce with distinctive national

flavor. Before lunar April 18<sup>th</sup>, each and every family will have 5kg wheat germinated; and then cook it thoroughly with boiled water; ferment it for several days by leaving it at the warmest part of a heated *kang*, and then block it and dry it by airing;; on April 18<sup>th</sup>, bring the blocks to the mill and grind the blocks into powder, on the same day, prepare paste by the powder; put salt into the paste; and put it into an earthen jar, and the last step is to expose it to the sun for some time. There are many taboos like that the water must be got from a well before daybreak, or people must keep silent in the course of preparation. Mi-shun is almost an indispensable part of the people's life, and on a food and drink stall at the temple fair, Mi-shun could be found very often. The Xibes use it as a flavoring throughout the year.

► Suan-cha(sour tea):

This is a kind of spirit with tart flavor, and it was made during the period between the Dragon Boat Festival and ending of the dog days. Cookery: wash soy beans, millet, barley; soak this mixture; grind the mixture into powder; keep the mixture being soaked till getting sour; strain the liquid of the mixture with a piece of gauze; boil the liquid strained; and Suan-cha is done after the boiled liquid becomes cool. It tastes sour.

► Mi-jiu

This is a kind of spirit. It will be made during the period of festivals. Cookery: soak glutinous millet with water; steam the soaked glutinous millet thoroughly; put the mixture (the liquid and the solid) into an earthen jar; add some water if necessary; put some distiller's yeast into the jar and stir the mixture; 2 or 3 days after being fermented, the liquid above is Mi-jiu. It tastes a little bit sweet and sour.

► Chao-chao-mian: cookery: grind Chinese sorghum into powder, to parch the powder. To eat by making a soup by adding boiled rice water into the powder (it is good for the stomach in hot summer days, dog days especially when suffering from a diarrhea).

► Da-zi-Fan: cookery: cut the pork, beef or mutton into cubes; add polished round-grained rice and boil the mixture into porridge; then it is done after adding some salt and other flavorings.

► Su-zi-Yan cake: the Xibes like to plant some perilla around their house. The seeds can be used make Su-zi-yann cake. Cookery: to roast the seeds and grind the roasted seeds into dust, mix some salt into it; wrap the powder mixture with ground glutinous rice; roll them into round and flat cakes; and bake the cakes.

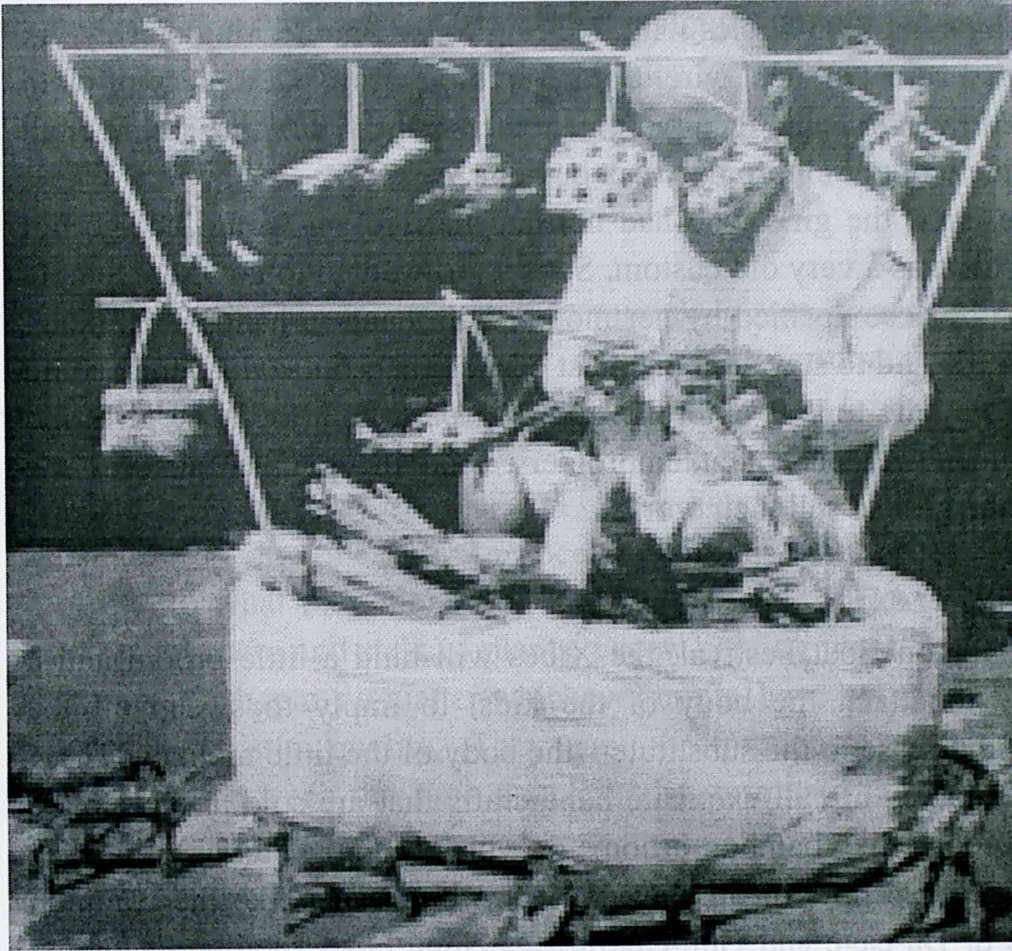
► Dou-mian-jia-zui: it is a kind of principal food of the Xibes. Cookery: make a dough of glutinous Chinese sorghum or millet; steam the dough till it is done; roll the steamed dough into very thin cakes; then grind the roasted soy beans into dust; wrap the soy bean dust with the thin cakes into rolls; and cut the rolls into several parts.

The above are just the representative foods and drinks of the Xibes, with the change of seasons, these foods and drinks would be found at the temple fair. As a matter of fact, there were so many kinds of foods and drinks which could be found at the temple fair that it is difficult to record them all. At the temple fair, some people would buy and bring back home and some would enjoy there, what is more, the people of other nationalities would also come to the Xibes' temple fair to enjoy the traditional foods and drinks of Xibe nationality. so it was just like an exposition of the traditional food of Xibe Nationality.

According to the oral instruction, another trading is also very common at the fair, that is the trading of handicrafts:

weaving and knitting crafts:

Weaving and knitting are two kinds of crafts. The craft of weaving is generally for daily life and production. For example, the basket, *Yu-zhao*(a tool for catching fish) made from twigs of willow or the chaste tree, mat made from *Kaoliang*(Chinese sorghum) stalk or reed, straw mat, screen, straw rain cape, straw hat, straw sandals, *Ji-zhao*(a tool for shutting chicken in it), a sewing basket, *Yan-po-lou*(a shallow basket for containing tobacco), *Gai-lian*(a flat cover used as a kitchen utensil in various ways), *Bo-ji*(tool for winnowing wheat, grain, etc,) made from straw, which are all the articles of daily use. Besides, there are some toys, like *Mao-mao-gou*, *Ma-lian-duo*(a toy with an oblong shape woven by four leaves of a Chinese small iris ), small basket, cage of katydid, a horsewhip, a dragonfly, a locust, which are made from straw and Chinese small iris; and the craft of *Niu-ban* and *Suan-mu-ge-da*(buttons)woven with strips of cloth is more difficult that only those skillful craftsman can do it; the crafts of knitting includes needle knitting, crochet hook knitting, shuttle knitting, etc, needle knitting is generally used for knitting clothes, a shawl or other ornaments, and shuttle knitting is mainly used for fishing net and purse net, etc.



**Figure: Handicraft**

crafts of embroidery:

The crafts of embroidery is generally used for dress and personal adornment and articles of everyday use. For dress and personal adornment, coat, jacket, trousers, shoes, hat (mainly for a old lady or kids and some women), Du-dou (an undergarment protecting the abdomen) will be embroidered with beautiful design, even the soles (of cloth shoes) will also be embroidered; and what is most peculiar is that they will embroider the sole of stockings in order to make it more beautiful and thicker so to protect against cold climate of the north. Other articles of daily use like handkerchief, curtain, drapes, pillow cover, pillowcase, *Bei-ge-da* (bedding bag), screen and pouches will also be embroidered.

The tools of embroidery are embroidery needle and two rings made of bamboo chips. First whittle bamboo into two pieces of thin chips of. The length is about 60 centimeters (one piece is a little shorter). Soak the bamboo chips for some time in order to increase the toughness. Curve the two pieces

of bamboo chips into two circles with one ring round another ring closely, fix the rings with a screw or steel wire. Before embroidering, put a piece of cloth onto the small ring first, and then put on another to the small one, so the cloth is fixed and the work of embroidery can be done.

In those days, the girls who had not get married yet would not go out very often. This was a very old custom. So if a girl wanted to go to the temple fair, she must be accompanied by her mother with hand in hand. Such being the case, the girls had to stay at home most of the time, so the work they could do to while away the time is embroidery. In the past, both the Xibe girls and the Xibe women were adept at embroidery. And the temple fair was the occasion for the girls to sell their works.

crafts of Binding:

On the Dragon Boat Festival, the Xibes will bind a little broom and a little monkey to attach the body of the kids, to imply to sweep all the misfortune and disease to the substitute---the body of the little monkey. These little broom, monkey are all exquisite handicrafts that are sold at the temple fair. various brooms like bamboo brooms or whisk brooms, etc. used in daily life are all made by crafts of binding. Various bird cages like the common hanging-cage or Da-cage and Gun-cage for catching bird are all delicate and fine handicrafts. Especially Gun-cage, it is composed of three stories. The first story is a loft equipped with a decoy, the middle story is equipped with two rolls(two pieces of board which can turn over and shut), the bottom story is larger than the top story and middle story, which is for storing the birds catcherd. Besides, another famous handicrafts of binding is *Zou-ma-deng*. A *Zou-ma-ding* is a lantern with paper-cut figures of men, animals, etc. made to revolve when the lantern is lit.

crafts of sculpture:

It includes carving and molding.. The crafts of carving is composed of wood-carving, stone-carving,, brick-carving and pit-carving, etc. screen, cabinet, trunk, niche (for a Buddhist statue), doll, farm implements, tableware(wood-pot, wood-bowl, wood-ladle, wood-spoon), tables and chairs ornamented with the crafts of carving can be found very often at the temple fair. in addition, things of pit-carving are generally toys or for watching, for example, a small basket, a small boat or a ball carved from a walnut. Being fine and delicate is required in the works of pit-carving, and walnuts is the

main resources. Molding includes clay-sculpture and dough-modelling. The crafts is mainly for Buddhist statues, besides for making some toys and some other handicraft articles. And dough-modelling is mainly for making food products.

crafts of paper-cut:

The patterns of paper-cut include animals, plants, man's figure, a celestial being, the Chinese characters that imply good fortune. Varieties includes paper-cut for window decoration, for wedding's decoration, and for *Zou-ma-deng*'s decoration.

The raw materials of the *Xibes*' handicrafts are very extensive. The craftsmen suit the measure to local conditions and decide the material according to what they make, for example, metals, bricks and stones, earth, straw, wood, stem and stalk of plants, paper, knitting wool, cotton thread, silk fabric, and cloth, etc. no matter whichever crafts, have both high practicability and some artistic quality. They are the products of the harmonious co-existence between the *Xibe* people and nature, and the fruits of the *Xibe* people's wisdom and intelligence.

*Taiping* temple provides a place for trading within the community in the way of holding a temple fair regularly.

Judging from the development of craftsmanship, the temple fair promotes the development of techniques and technologies of those days, even invention and creation. On the other hand, its commercial functions found its expression in having a close relationship with the life of the *Xibe* common people. The trading way at the temple fair is that each makes up the other's deficiency from his own surplus so to satisfy the needs in their life; with this, the small-scale production of craftsmen and peasants can be conducted in good circulation. The fair established a bridge between production and exchange, production and consumption. And thus the community could be in a good circulation.

## **(2)*She-huo*(folk art performance)at the temple fair**

*She-huo*—is also called "*She-huo*" performance. It refers to all kinds folk art performance found at the temple fair. It is folk entertainment activities in a grand manner which includes local drama, dance, acrobatics, vaudeville act, martial sports, strains of music accompanied by drumbeats and other performances

which are generally called “*She-huo*”. With *She-huo*, the people amuse themselves on traditional festivals and celebrations. The *Xibes* have also developed their *She-huo* with distinctive features. The fair gathered up local drama, songs and dances, acrobatics, sports show the most, for folk artists will make a living as performers at the temple fair, which is the cradle of the folk art of the *Xibes*. The folk arts supported by the temple fair are as follows:

**Buddhist progress:** the most excited Buddhist progress is on Lunar April 8<sup>th</sup>, the birthday of Buddha. On that day, lamas of North Pagoda *Falu* Temple will invite the bronze statue of Buddha out of the temple, accompanied by two boys on two sides of the statue, passing through the busiest section of *Shengjing*, come to *Taiping* Temple. Setting off firecrackers all the way, the atmosphere is very exciting. On the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup>, ceremony of chanting scriptures will be held for two days. After that, the bronze statue of Buddha will be escorted back to North Pagoda *Falu* Temple. During the progress, there is a crowd of spectators. This activity of giving pleasure to the god brings the gaieties of the festival to the people.

**Jumping *Buzha***(a sorcerer’s dance in a trance): From lunar January 8<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> and from lunar April 8<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup>, the temple fair will be held twice. In this period, Jumping *Buzha* is a very important activity. It is a ceremony of Lamaism performed to drive out the evil demons and ghosts, which is considered to be a religious dance. On the occasion, four players in bizarre dress and wearing masks with the patterns of bull’s head, horse face, human skull and other wry face that is sinister in appearance, accompanied with percussion instruments, jump one moment and gyrate the next from indoors to outdoors, at critical moment, they will make actions to show the hatefulness and absurdity of the evil demons and ghosts, so to imply the hardship of the world. The players occasionally play some simple *Kongfu* actions for frolic. The players will be now singing, now dancing for several times. After that, the ceremony had come to its climax. A man with unusual strength jumped out to grapple with the evil demons and ghosts and strike them down to the dust. The man with unusual strength represents a brave warrior who comes with the decree of the God. With the man with unusual strength succeeding in driving the demons and ghosts out, the crowds shout and jump for joy. Though Jumping *Buzha* is a religious ceremony, it is rather like a drama. The man with unusual strength and the evil demons and ghosts are usually acted by the

lamas of the temple. Sometimes a private citizen will be a guest performer in it.



跳神舞



Figure: Jumping *Buzha*

local dramas and operas:

► *Beng-beng-er*: This local drama could be found at the temple fair of annual April 18<sup>th</sup> Festival. It was created comprehensively by taking *Yang-ko* (a popular rural folk dance in China), folk songs, some local operas as the basis and adopting (combining) some other folk art forms including *Xuan-zi* (a three-stringed plucked instrument like Japanese samisen), *Lian-hua-lao*, *Qu-tan-diao* (folk art forms originated from central part of China), *Da-gu* (a Chinese ballad with drum accompaniment), etc. *Beng-beng-er* in early days was performed by male actors only, and no female actors. All the women roles will be acted by male actors disguised as a woman. The melody of



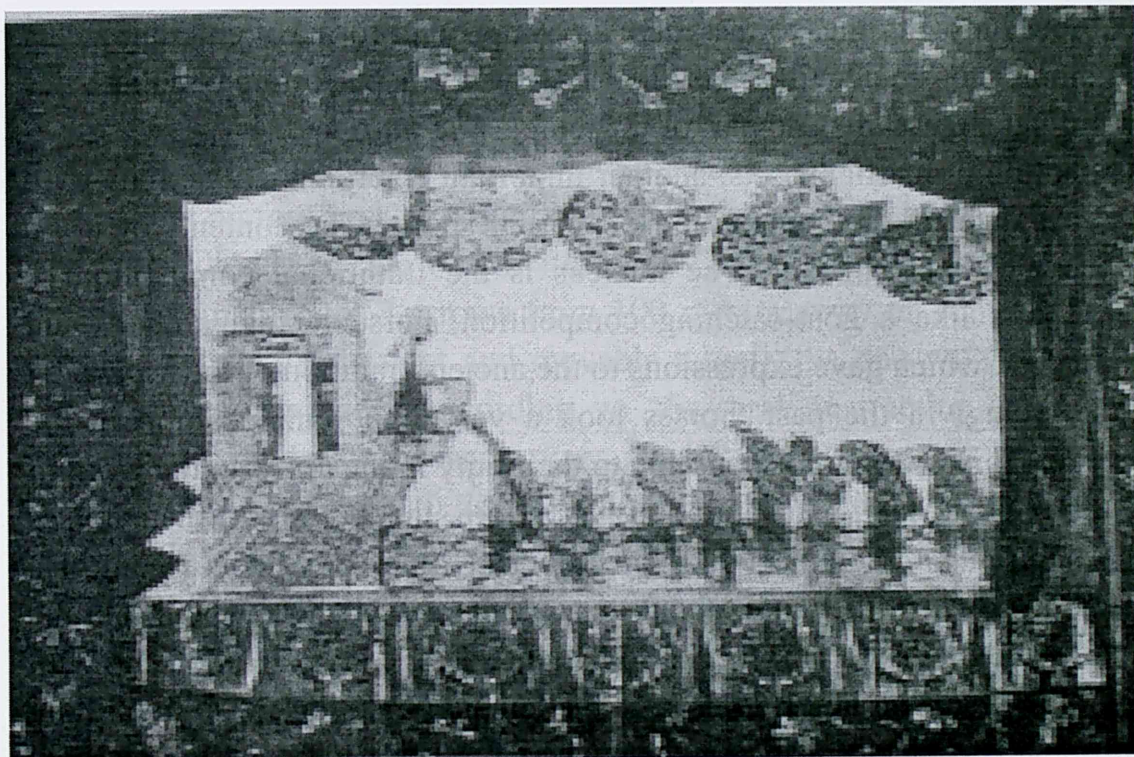
*Beng-beng-er* is exquisite, and the actors often perform by improvisation, besides, four basic techniques---speech, mimicry, comedy and song are required in performance, among them, the techniques of singing and talking are required the most. The librettos are generally from a traditional operas, folktales, the legends and stories of ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign. Talking or speech is humorous jokes. Anyhow, most of the content of *Beng-beng-er* generally originated from fairy tales, fable tales and life stories of the Xibes. It could be said that the history, folk customs, joys and sorrows in daily life, and values of the good and evil, the beautiful and the ugly are all in it. *Beng-beng-er* later has developed into today's *Er-ren-zhuan*(a song-and-dance duet popular in the northeast). It is the source of today's *Xiang-sheng*(crosstalk or comic dialogue) and *Xiao-pin*(witty skits) which are very popular all over China today.

► *Han-cun-Chun*: Some *Xibes* call it *Yang-ko-mu-dan*. It is a kind of local opera that is similar to the *Yang-ko* opera of *Han* nationality in the northChina. It was created by the *Xibes* through the exchange and coexistence with *Han* nationality. It is composed of *Ping-diao-qu-pai* and *Yue-diao-qu-pai*(the names of the tunes). The roles include *Sheng*(the male character type), *Dan*(the female character type), *Jing* (the "painted face" character type), and *Chou* (clown). When there is a temple fair, each and every family will contribute to hold a performance of "*Han-cun-chun*", and the performance are often accompanied with the performance of walking on stilts, dragon dance and lion dance, etc. Just like *Beng-beng-er*, women are not allowed to play a role in it in the early days.

► Shadow play(a leather-silhouette show):

Shadow play is the sister-art of paper-cut. It is theatrical performance in which the audience views a screen on which the shadows of puppets or performers are cast by a light source behind them. Depending on the light of the lamp, the ingenious sculpted skin dolls are shined upon the screen and are controlled by the artists behind the screen, mixed with music and singing, many interesting shadow plays is directed. Except for the rich varieties and exquisite performance skills, the skin carving has achieved a high level, vivid appearance, fine cutting techniques, brilliance color, beautiful pattern and good function of decoration. For the simple and unsophisticated style and

unique elegant flavor, it can be not only used in the Shadow play, but also can be seemed as a unique artworks for appreciation. In the past, there were some folk artists who are engaged in the work of Shadow play and had consummate skills. The fair was an important place and occasion for them to show this folk art and their skills. Thanks to their excellent workmanship, shadow play has become a very popular folk art among the people, as a result, the Xibe people become an important inheritor of the art of shadow play of the north.



**Figure: Shadow Play**

► **Storytelling and Singing “Chang-er”**(a kind of genre of popular entertainment consisting mainly of talking and singing): This art form is full of distinctive features of the *Xibe* nationality. Storytelling is to tell the stories on books, which is usually about stories from the works of classical literature like *the romance of the three kingdoms*, *Pilgrimage to the West*, *States of East Zhou Dynast*, and *the Legend of Deification*, etc. Some tellers can tell the whole set, and some can tell part of a set as one independent story. The latter is very common at the fair because telling the whole set of a story will take 1 or 2 months. The performers of storytelling are often the people educated who can read a novel themselves; some other performers who are not well educated can memorize the stories told by others and retell the stories to

others from memory. Both can make a living as a performer of storytelling. The contents of “*Chang-er*” are often from librettos. However, it is not an aria of an opera, but something like a narrative poem chanted in an impromptu tune. Some performers could sing while playing a musical instrument so to attract more audience. Storytelling and singing “*Chang-er*” are both attractive folk art forms which can gather a lot of people round the performers. The audience can be enlightened, educated, or be molded so to evoke hope and courage,.....

▶ A variety show of other forms: there are some other forms of entertainments. For example, the vaudeville acts like a show by a performing monkey, or acrobatics, etc. these are also part of the temple *She-huo*.

□ Competition of martial sports: another important entertainment activity with a mass character is the competition of martial sports. The contents of it are also very rich and colorful. The nucleus is the traditional competition of martial sports like a goat-catching competition, horse racing, archery and wrestling, etc. which gave expressions to the ancient tradition of the *Xibes*.

▶ Horse racing: In the past, horses took a very important position in the *Xibes*' life. Horses were indispensable to their duty in the army, to the work of cultivation and to their transportation. Therefore, the *Xibes* and their horses had been in an indissoluble bond since ancient time. Boys could control a violent horse when they are about ten years old, rushing about on the mountains and plains on horseback. So they had kept a close relationship with horse all the time. On the festivals or at the temple fairs, those who like riding would organize a horse race spontaneously, so to seize the occasion to show off their riding skills. According to the customs, the horses to enter the competition must be fed in a special way. One month before the competition the horses must be fed on a diet with concentrated feed so to conserve energy and build up strength, and must receive training everyday. Only by this way, the horse can be in a healthy and strong condition on the eve of competition. According to the old people, there would be a horse race on April 18th without fail.

▶ Goat-catching competition: this competition would be held at the same time with horse race. In the past, if a family had a wedding or gave a birth of a boy, the family would ask to offer a goat to be the target of goat-catching game as a celebration, which later had developed into a competition. The rule of the competition is: select a fat goat and kill the goat; then soak the mutton over 10 minutes; after that, the host would make a speech to express best wishes; then

throw the mutton into the crowd of horses; and all the horsemen began to vie with each other for catching the mutton the first; the winner would stew the mutton and invite all the people to enjoy the mutton together.

► Archery: The *Xibes* are famous for being excel in horsemanship and marksmanship. In the life of fishing and hunting in early days, both men and women were all adept at horsemanship and archery. After moving to *Shengjing*, as soldiers in “Eight-banners”, the skills of horsemanship and archery were also required deadly. The *Xibe* soldiers were considered to be a strong contingent in “Eight-banners” for their excellent skills in horsemanship and marksmanship. Therefore, the activities of archery become a custom of the *Xibes*, and later developed into a traditional martial sport. The general rules for this competition were that: shoot a fixed target first, then a movable target; shoot on foot first, the by riding. Those people who can shoot birds and beasts by riding were the best marksmen. The rules of the competition for adults were that: shoot 3 arrows from 100 meters away on foot and then by riding(including fixed target and movable target), the one with highest total score was the winner. According to the oral instruction, the archery competition would be held many times a year. When there was a temple fair, especially on April 18th, it is an important competition and entertainment activity. Huge crowds of people will gathered at the temple to watch the excitement.

► Wrestling:

It is another martial sport with distinctive national features. And it had been so for quite some time. It is said that under the domination of Mongolian in Yuan Dynasty, at annual wrestling competition, the *Xibes* were always the winner of the lead, the second or the third and were always rewarded by the Great Duke of Mongolia. Coming to Qing Dynasty, the young people of each *Niulu* will organize a competition spontaneously when there was a temple fair or a festival. The traditional wrestling included tumble and *Lunjiao*(similar to today’s kickboxing or *taekwondo*). The traditional rules for wrestling were like this: a referee will examine and confirm that both sides are in accord with the demands and then start the competition; both sides beat each other at once, they can give full play to their skill by cuffing and kicking or swinging the waist of the opponent, as sudden as lightning, just like a test of strength and wisdom, till tumbled the opponent down. On one hand wrestling strengthens the body, and on the other hand tempers one’s fighting will, so to cultivate bellicose personalities that is the ability indispensable whether for the *Xibes*

who lived a nomadic life or for the *Xibes* who did a duty in “Eight-banners”.

The *Xibe* nationality had many traditional martial sports. The above, as fixed competitions at the temple fairs, were emphasized and had been developed rapidly to be the representatives of *Xibes*’ traditional martial sports among the people.

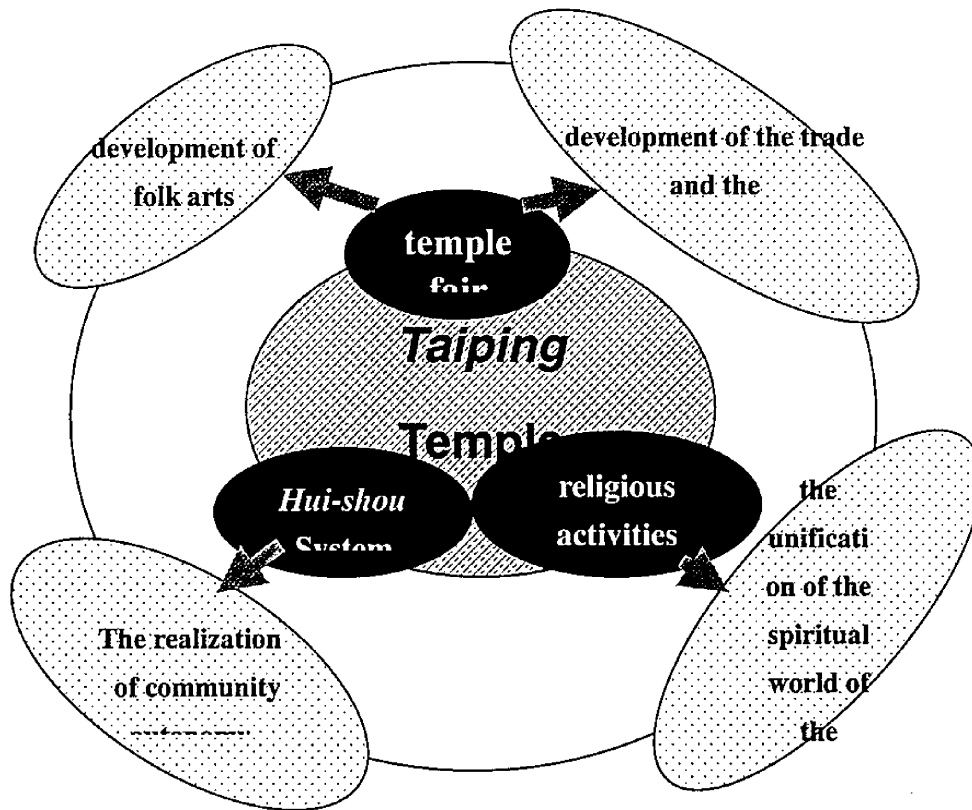
The days when there were temple fairs were the most exciting days of the *Xibe* ethnic community. the kinds of *She-huo* performance of the *Xibes*, as a matter of fact, reached tens. The above mentioned are just representatives of all folk arts among the *Xibe* people. These grand performances showed us a grand occasion on which the *Xibe*’s folk arts come on competitively. On one hand the temple and the fair provided a place and a occasion for the craftsmen to show their excellent skills off, so to consolidate the existence of these folk arts and enhance the development of these folk arts, and on the other hand, developed the temple to be the nucleus of the festivals, and the main body of entertainment activities of the community, so to enhance the close relationship between the temple the community.

*Taiping* temple had developed rapidly as a place for trading and the nucleus of festivals and entertainment activities. The temple fair changed the religious festivals into secular festivals, and changed the festivals of the temple into the festivals of the community. With this, those secular entertainment activities and trading activities can be integrated into the temple fair. Therefore, the temple fair would rather be a local festival activities of the common people than a religious activities. The informal activities like dating, making friends, arguing and communicating among the people were conducted here, and local drama, opera were performed here, the competition of martial sports were held here, so to make the temple fair a market for trading, a stage for festival activities, a public square for gathering and meeting, it is the most vital life center of the community. This maybe reflects the property of the temple fair most basically.

## **2.5 Summary:**

It was in Qing Dynasty that the *Xibe* nationality has begun to be on the way of prosperity and civilization. Since then, they settled down and started to develop agriculture and build up their own community. The formation of the *Xibe* community at last became the basis of national development. With this background, this paper discussed the the functions of *Taiping* Temple operating upon the growth of the

community. Seeing from its functions and the actual utilizing conditions, such conclusions can be drawn out:



**Figure: the functions of *Taiping* Temple at its best**

1.Owing to the change of social environment and production mode caused by moving of the whole nationality, the *Xibe* people had to reconstruct their community based on geographical relationship again, and with such a background, *Taiping* Temple came into being. *Taiping* Temple appeared as a meeting place in its embryonic stage, and from thence, the *Xibe* people began to construct their community, as the result of the *Xibe* people adapting themselves to the new circumstances for survival, and its emergence can be regarded as the starting point of the growth of Shenyang *Xibe* community.

2.Though in the history, the *Xibe* people has never developed an unified religion within the nationality, *Taiping* Temple had developed into the spiritual core of the *Xibe* community, and religion was the main property of the temple during this period; and besides, despite as a place for Lamaism, the belief of ancestral worship was becoming the dominating belief of *Taiping* Temple with the co-evolution of the community and the temple. Based on these

complicated and diverse religion and belief, the Xibe people formed their values for understanding the world, estimating social behaviors, and social control system and mechanism for making the community in harmony.

3. With the establishment of *Hui*, the temple was developed into the ancestral hall of the community as an executive body for administrating the whole community in the way of patriarchal clan; and combined with the educational function of the temple, in particular, the ancestral education, *Hui* put the clan power into practice, as a result, the temple became the place where the national autonomy was brought to fruition. Depending on this *Hui* system, the temple play a relatively role in the social stabilization of the community.

4. Joining of trading activities and folk art performance activities at the temple fair, developed the temple into the commercial center and the main body of festivals and sightseeing of the community. With this, the temple was further connected with the common people's life, and get the whole community involved into the activities of Taiping Temple, and thus became the centre of life culture of the community.

The perfection of Taiping Temple has experienced long history, which was driven by the needs of the common people originated from the development of the community all the way. The existence of the temple provided possibilities for all the participatory development activities that could get all the people of the community involved. The course of Taiping Temple's development and perfection was the course that the Xibes has created the distinctive culture of their community. This is a kind of development "from within"---- traditional pattern of endogenous regional development in ancient China. Thought the Xibe nationality in Qing Dynasty were very weak in politics, economy and military, with the force of culture, then have formed common feelings, self-government mechanism, and common folk customs which combined them into a collective. It was with this endogenous force that the community came into being at long last. Today in China, there is a strong tendency of temple culture's revival appearing in many places after religious life has been broken down for several decades, however, what should a temple culture be in the future development of a community is still a question left to people to think and solve. To throw light on what a temple culture should be in community planning and so to make it a reference for future community development is the purpose of this paper.

## Chapter 3 *Taiping Temple in the Transition of Modern History*

### 1. Introduction:

This is the second report following the first report on *the Relationship between Taiping Temple and the Xibe Ethnic Community in Qing Dynasty*, and this paper is to focus on the second stage of Taiping Temple's development which embraces its decline, revival and the actual utilizing conditions after being reconstructed.

Taiping Temple, as discussed in the first report, was an unofficial temple where the Xibes worshipped, dealt with the national affairs and led themselves a community life in Qing Dynasty. It came into being on their own initiative under the demands of community development after the Xibes began to settle down to construct their community based on geographical relationship, and at last became an indispensable public space for the community life. With the transition in modern history, Taiping Temple and the Xibe ethnic community also followed the trend, and experienced ups and downs. Not only the temple itself had ever been discarded for a long period of time during the modern history, but also the community has almost been facing collapse due to the loss of tradition and culture of their race. What is more, following the Reformation and Opening of China, China has entered a new stage of development with an emphasis on promoting economic prosperity in the last 20 ~ 30 years, however, the history and traditional culture in various regions has been ignored while people enjoy the economic prosperity. For the Xibe's ethnic community, people's consciousness of their national identity is getting blunted due to the loss of traditional culture. If things continue this way, the Xibe people has to face the problem of community collapse some time or later, and as a consequence, the nationality will certainly wither away in history with the community collapse. So what the community development should be is a very crucial problem left to today's Xibe people to think and solve as soon as possible at present.

In fact, the problem of community collapse is not only the problem of the Xibe nationality in China, with the arrival of industrialization and globalization, but also becomes a big problem being faced by all the communities in the world. In connection with such a problem, in the past 30 years, the endogenous development calling upon "another development from



within” has been practiced in many places in the world. Japan is one of these countries that has tried to find a way out for community development by the practice of utilizing local resources of culture and history to activate regions, like One-village, one-product(OVOP) project, Hometown Movement and Folk Arts and Crafts Movement in Mishimamachi town, etc., which really alleviated the problem of community collapse. Some of these experiences has been introduced to China in recent years in succession. With the influence of periphery countries, in addition to the self-examination of the last 20 ~ 30 years development, China has began to try to find a way out for preserving and utilizing traditional culture in modern society. This movement also is echoed in non-governmental circles in many regions. People of the locality has began to think how to utilize the traditional culture originated from the locality to activate the community so to development a model of distinctive features for community construction according to the respective needs and cultures resources of different regions.

## **2. Twice Declines of Taiping Temple**

### **2.1 the period from the Revolution of 1911 to the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China**

(1)the background:

the Revolution of 1911:the Chinese bourgeois democratic revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen which overthrew the Qing Dynasty. This is a great revolution for national independence, democracy and for making China prosperous and powerful, which terminated the autocratic monarchy of 2000-years and founded Republic of China. However, the period following the Revolution of 1911 was a period of wars and struggles and could be divided into 3 stages:

stage of war among warlords: 1912---1931

stage of the rule of Japan: 1931---1945

stage of the rule of the *Kuomintang* (KMT): 1946---1948

It was a period of tangled warfare, and in addition, with the end of Qing Dynasty, Lamaism lost its strong political support from Qing court. And thus both the community life and the temple began to be on decline being

effected by this social unrest.

utilizing conditions of Taiping Temple: according to the literature and some oral instructions

► Literature records found in *Shengyang archives*:

the first record in 1905---The earliest record about *Taiping Temple* in this period was made by a Japanese named *Naito*. He investigated the temples and palaces in Shengjing by taking the opportunity of Japan’s victory in Japan-Russia war in 1905. The record is as follows:

*Buddhist texts in Mongolian, red printed books, with complete cloth wrappers and board holders, one copy, ..... kept in Taiping Temple next to the Royal Temple on the west, the same as the printed Buddhist texts in Mongolian in the Royal Temple, this is the one unabridged, put on the shelf in good order, the writing on the board holder is: contributed by an officer in the Ninth year of Guanxu’s Reign (1883), probably has nothing to do with the texts kept in the palace and the offices of the local government. The above is the collection condition of Buddhist texts in Taiping Temple.*

□the second record in 1917---the second record is from *General Records of Xibe Minority Nationality in Shenyang, (1917), volume 13, “record about Lama”*:

<i>Name of Temple</i>	<i>Time of Completion</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Reference</i>
<i>Taiping Temple</i>	<i>The 36<sup>th</sup> year in Kongxi’s Reign</i>	<i>Outside the Wairang Gate(city gate)</i>	<i>The Ancestral Da lama 1 Temple of the Xibes</i>

third record (time unknown)---another record was found in a book *Miscellanies of Shengjing* written by a scholar called *Miao Runfu*:

*Xingqing Temple---the ancestral temple of Manchu nationality;*

*Taiping Temple----the ancestral temple of Xibe nationality;*

*Shanyuan Temple----the ancestral temple of Han nationality*

*The above temples are all outside the city gate of Wairang.*

the forth record in 1930---Another Japanese Mr Murada mentioned Taiping Temple in his investigation for his book *Architectures of Lamaism in the Early Days of Qing Dynasty in Manchuria*, however, he only mentioned that it

was a lamasery in bad preservation without further details.

the fifth record in 1936---in Manchurian stage, the name of Taiping Temple was mentioned in several books, for example, in the book of *Lamaism and the Number of Lamas*(in 1936, the earliest one)

the sixth record in 1939---a record on the book *Historical Sites in Fengtian(today&s Shenyang)*:

Religion	Faction	Location	Name	Time of Completion	The God Worshipped	Number of Monks	Half
Lamaism		Xiao-xi-guan	Taiping Temple	The 40 <sup>th</sup> year of Kongxi's Reign	Sakyamuni	7	19

in 1941--- *the Xibe Clan* written by a Japanese *Simada* is the first general survey on the history and geography of *Xibe* nationality. Mr *Simada* is a Japanese scholar who had been in Dalian and *Fengtian*(today's *Shenyang*) many years, however, nothing about the temple was mentioned in his book. So it is quite possible that the temple had already fell in decline seriously at that time.

A record in *the history of Xibe Nationality*---*Xibe lama Bai-yan-hu-li-ya had ever been the apprentice of two masters in order to become the abbot(Da lama) of Taiping Temple, and became the abbot of Taiping Temple in 1941 until the liberation of Shenyang.*

*the Annals of Xibe Nationality in Shenyang* has such a record---*Taiping Temple has already been before the eve of Shengyang' liberation in 1948.*

The above are the only literature records about the utilizing conditions of this period that can be found today.

► Oral instructions:

Mrs *He* 77 who was born in 1930 was once offered to Taiping Temple as a contribute in order to cure the illness before 6 years old, which was a kind of very common Buddhist rites activities at that time.

Mrs *He* and some other old people who are over 74 years old still have the memory about temple fair and some religious activities and the celebrations of some traditional festivals like April 4<sup>th</sup>, etc. held at Taiping Temple when they were about 6 or 7 years old.

According to the literature records and oral instructions, the following inference can be drawn out:

The temple had been in use till the eve of *Shengyang's* liberation(1984);

The temple began to be in bad preservation since 1930 at least.

The temple began to decline seriously since 1941

There still were some religious activities because there were Da Lama and lamas in the temple even till the eve of 1948.

There were no regular cultural and religious activities of large -scale *representative of* the whole community life since 1936 or so because we cannot find any clue for them according to the literature records and oral instructions above.

According to these changes, the following judgments may be reasonable:

the temple was on the decline day by day in this period of history.

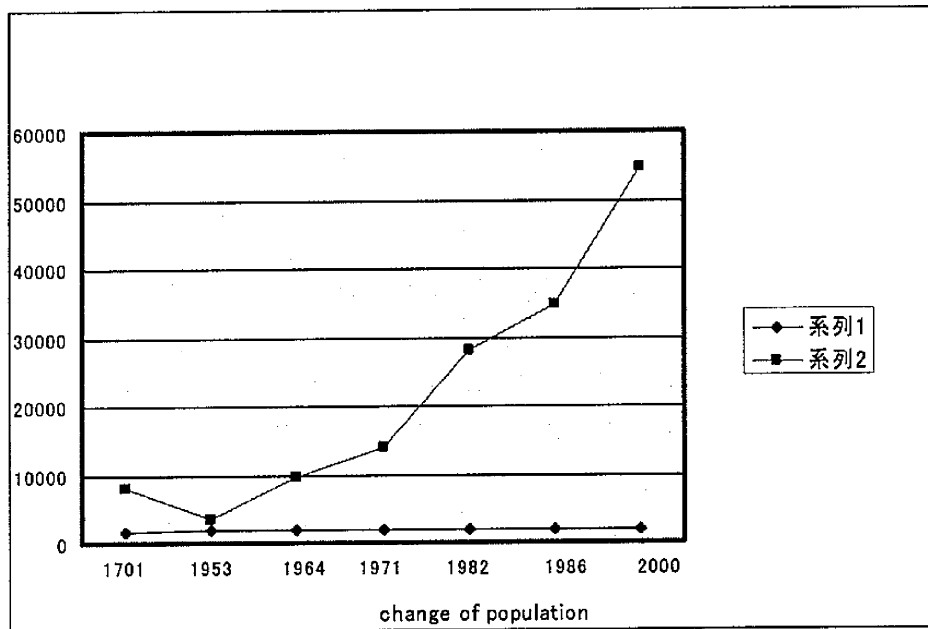
the temple was losing its position as the centre of community life with the discontinuity of regular cultural and religious activities of large -scale representative of the whole community life.

Actual conditions of the community of this period:

Economic life: "Tangled warfare for years running had caused the *Xibes* untold suffering because of press-gang and heavy land tax, etc. Besides, most of the farm land the *Xibes* had were low-lying land on which the crops suffered from water-logging very often. And floods often dilapidated their houses and forced the *Xibe* people leave home and wander about."-----this is a description in *the Annals of Xibe Nationality in Shenyang*, it explains that the economic life of the *Xibe* community was miserable and facing collapse.

Political life: The Revolution of 1911 overthrew the Qing Dynasty and released the *Xibes* from "Eight Banners" system. However, Han chauvinism began to gain ground and racial discrimination followed immediately. That is to say, the *Xibes* also suffered from political discrimination in those days.

Change of population: The economic collapse and political discrimination forced the *Xibes* to leave their hometown and even made a false report about their race purpose a sense of national inferiority. This was showed obviously in the change of population. Table 2 is population censuses conducted after the founding of the People's Republic of China. Compared with the population of the *Xibes* community when they first moved to *Shengjing*, there was a substantial decrease in population. This abnormal decrease in population was caused by leaving and false report because of the collapse of social cohesion in the community.



From the above, the community was really in a danger of collapse. As the unique centre of the life of the community whole, the decline of *Taiping Temple* which is heavily loaded with history and culture is the sign and symbol of the decline of the community, which very possibly cause the nationality to wither away in history due to the loss of social cohesion and traditional culture.

### 3.2.2 the Period from the founding of the People's Republic of China to 1980s”:

(1) Rebuilding Their Community: the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949, which terminated the state of tangled warfare for years running. And people began to be busy with healing the wounds of war and rebuilding their hometown. With people's daily life becoming stable gradually, political life, economic life and education of the community whole also began to resuscitate as well as cultural activities came back to life little by little at the same time. For example, some people who left their hometown during the war come back gradually; activities based on traditional culture like traditional festivals, local folk arts, and religious activities, etc. began to be held and performed in small scale; and in order to implement the minority nationalities and religious policies, *Taiping Temple*, which was occupied in the chaos of war, was returned to the Xibes, though the activities of the temple weren't recovered yet. However, just at this

moment of everything being back to normal conditions, the coming of a political movement made everything take a turn for the worse.

(2) the Great Cultural Revolution and the Four Olds-----**The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution** was a mass movement launched in 1966, to remold society and reactivate Communist ideals. Ultimately however, For many it signified a loss of tradition, and a loss of their career, hope and trust. One of the main focuses of the Cultral Revolution was **the abolishment of the Four Olds -- old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits**--in order to bring the areas of education, art and literature in line with Communist ideology. Anything that was suspected of being feudal or bourgeois was to be destroyed. As an ancient temple, *Taiping* temple is undoubtedly one of “the Four Olds”, and was destroyed during the Great Cultural Revolution.

(3)Actual conditions of *Taiping* Temple in this period:

- May 15<sup>th</sup>, 1951--- the temple was occupied by Beishi Educational Bureau for running a primary school. Seven rooms in west and east side halls, three rooms of in front hall and ten of monk’s cell was occupied and the primary school was called Mass Primary School;
- 1953--- In order to implement the minority nationalities and religious policies, Mass Primary School moved out of the temple on orders and the temple was given back to the Xibes;
- 1955--- Ten of monk’s cell were occupied by the first Automobile Components Factory for running a factory;
- 1958--- A motorcycle factory occupied 3 rooms of the front hall, 3 rooms of the main hall, and 3 rooms of the back hall and 7 rooms of the west hall and east hall of the temple;
- 1959---The same factory occupied the meditation room of the temple;
- 1967---The west hall, front hall and the main entrance were pulled down in the Great Cultural Revolution;
- 1972---The temple was occupied by the Sewing Machine Components Factory.
- 1974---The back hall, small west and east halls and meditation room were pulled down in the Great Cultural Revolution. And till now, the temple was pulled down except the skeleton of the main hall that was used for a garage at that time.

According to the above, for being occupied, pulled down so frequently, *Taiping* Temple had lost all its functions that it should have, and even we can say that it was no longer a temple at all during that period.

(4) Community life:

□religious life---In this movement with the thorough discard of *Taiping* temple, other small village temples in the community were also destroyed, besides, *Kirimama*, the family tree and other traditional culture that symbolized the *Xibes'* religious belief were spoiled and all the religious activities here were also suspended. Since then, people lived a life without religious life for several decades.

□cultural life---During the ten years of Cultural Revolution, cultural activities like traditional opera performance and other local performance were banned for being suspected of being feudal, and replaced by a new kind of art in which the world was presented in a much simpler way, that is Revolutionary Model Opera – the Yang Ban Xi.使文化生活画一化 uniformity. which was for uniformity of Cultural life in China.

As a consequence, the belief, cultural life and even lifestyle were uniformed in this movement. Admitting of no exception, the *Xibes* also had to sacrifice the distinctive features of their race by giving up their own belief, custom, tradition and adapted to follow the only pattern in social life like all other nationalities. To be in brief, the immediate effect of the abolishment of the Four Olds to the *Xibe* ethnic is the serious loss of tradition.

Because of tangled warfare running for years and the following political movement, the temple was junked, as a definite result, the community life was also desolate on all sides. The distinctive features of tradition were dying out gradually.

### **3.3The revival of Taiping Temple**

#### **3.3.1The Initiative of National Revival-----the establishment of the Xibes' Fraternity**

The Great Cultural Revolution was ended in the year of 1976. After that, the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CPC(Communist Party of China) was convened in 1978 immediately. After this session, the central government began to attach importance to the nationality work again by emphasizing “national equality”,

“national unity” and “the common prosperity of all ethnic groups”. Some old national policies and laws were recovered and some new policies and laws were made so to encourage and promote the development of minority regions. With such a political environment, some actions and movements for national revival were sponsored among the people spontaneously, which was approved by the government later.

The establishment of the Xibes’ Fraternity: With a long-term discontinuity of community life caused by the discard of Taiping Temple, many of the Xibes, especially the young people know little about the history and tradition of their own nationality as time passed. In order to make the tradition of their race inherited by offspring, some Xibes’ scholars began to consider establishing the Xibes’ History Society since the year of 1979, which later was renamed the Xibes’ Fraternity.

The process is as follows:

1979----some Xibes began the preparatory work for the establishment of the Xibes’ History Society;

1984----a meeting for discussing the establishment was held; and a forum was held for editing and systematizing historical accounts of past events and ancient books on culture the same year.

1985---*Rules of the Xibes’ History Society of Liaoning Province(a draft plan)* was drawn up;

1986--- a preparatory committee was set up with the support of the local government;

1987----the Xibes’ History Society was established;

1988---- the Xibes’ History society was renamed the Xibes’ Fraternity.

It took 9 years to establish the Xibes’ Fraternity. It is the first NGO of minority nationalities in Liaoning Province. The main tasks of this organization are doing research on national history and culture, dealing with national affair and organizing activities so to create opportunities for the Xibe people to make friendly contacts with each other. The establishment of the Xibes’ Fraternity is of great significance for the Xibe Nationality because later it has been the central core of national revival and development. And the reconstruction of Taiping Temple is considered to the biggest achievement among their work.

### **3.3.2 the reconstruction of Taiping Temple:**



the discovery of Taiping Temple's remains in the general inspection of Cultural Properties:

This general inspection work was started as early as the beginning of preparatory work for the establishment of the Xibes' History Society. It has lasted over 20 years up to now. It includes the investigation on all aspects of national cultural properties such as investigations on history, language, folk customs, folk arts, change of population, religion, politics and economy, etc. The achievements now have become the solid foundation of national revival and development.

In August, 1979, the members of the Xibes' Fraternity came to the remains of Taiping Temple for the work of general inspection of cultural properties. And there they found the wood tablet with an inscription of *Xibes' Ancestral Hall* in the ruins, in addition, the dilapidated middle hall with a skeleton on the verge of collapse. At that time, the temple was still being occupied by a factory and workers there drew a plane figure of the temple before being pulled down for the members of the Xibes' Fraternity. After that, they made inquiries of *Bai Guangwu*, the last lama of Taiping Temple, about the conditions of Taiping Temple before being discarded. Later, they gained support from the local government and the central government and began the long and hard work for the reconstruction of Taiping Temple. the process is as follows:

1979----the remains of the temple was found;

1983---The middle hall was reconstructed;

1985---the stone tablet with an inscription in Manchu language was collected and protected by the Palace Museum of Shenyang as a culture and historical relics. The replica of this stone tablet was erected in front of the east side of the middle hall. And the middle hall was fenced with iron railings for protection;

1988---the middle hall was used as an exhibition hall for cultural or historical relics like the wood tablet with an inscription of *Xibes' Ancestral Hall*, bows and arrows and other weapons used in ancient time, the replica of stone tablet, and *Kirimama* (The symbolic thing of the Xibes' female ancestor), etc. besides, the introduction of Taiping Temple and a famous painting about story of moving west could also be found here. Till now, the middle hall of the temple began to be put into use as a place where the Xibes got together, looked at and paid their respects to the history and culture of their race;

1989~July, 2003-----Forums attended by the representatives of the local residents and scholars were held over and over to over again to discuss the reconstruction of the temple on a full scale.

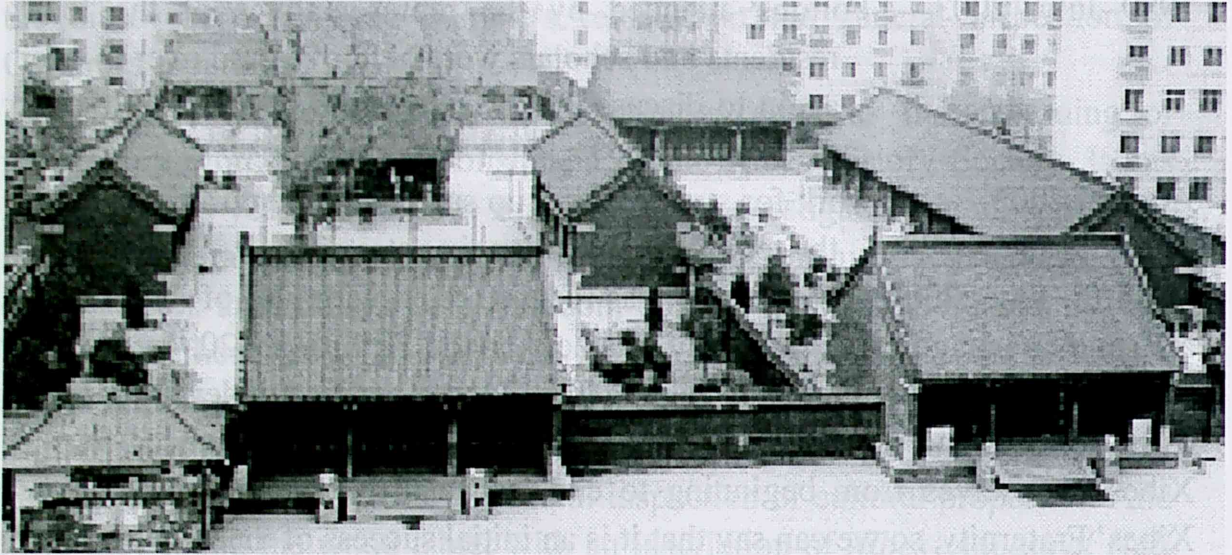
August, 2003----- the work for straightening up surrounding environments and the temple's renovation was started;

on Fifth, June, 2004----the temple was reconstructed with half of the original area and an inauguration ceremony was held on the Fifth, June, 2004.

Of course the reconstruction of Taiping Temple was realized under the support of the central and local government. However, it has been advanced by the Xibes themselves from beginning to end, especially, with the work of the Xibes' Fraternity, so we can say that it is an initial success of the Xibes in their practice of endogenous national and community development.

### **3.4 Actual Utilizing Conditions after Being Reconstructed:**

Since Taiping Temple had been on a decline and then discarded in the late of 1930s, the religious activities in community life had been discontinued for several decades. With the reconstruction, it can be judged that the activities concerned with religious belief have been coming back to people's life little by little through the observation in field survey. However, to what extent the religious life has been revived after the Xibes has lived a life without religious belief for several decades? And what is the position of Taiping Temple in people's religious life today? With these questions, an investigation was done to examine the religious property of Taiping Temple today by questionnaire in 2006.

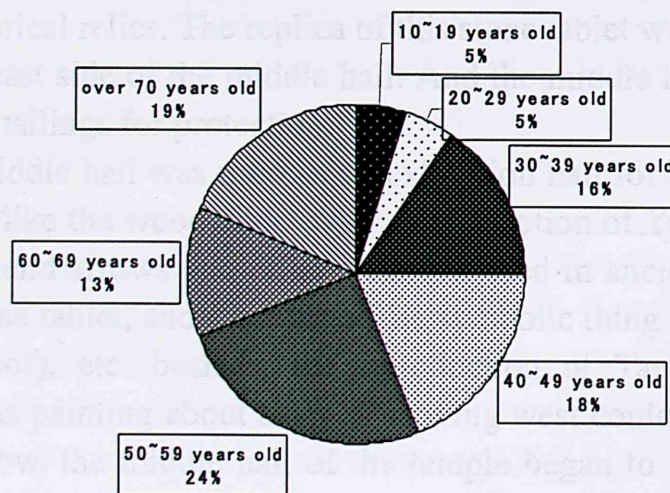


**Taiping Temple reconstructed in 2004**

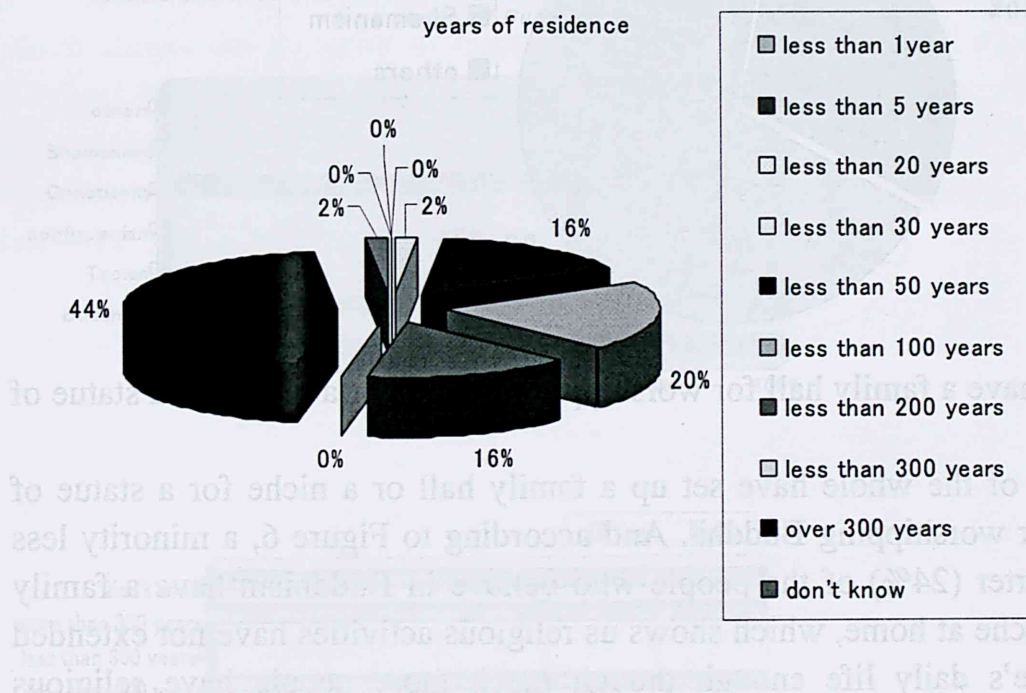
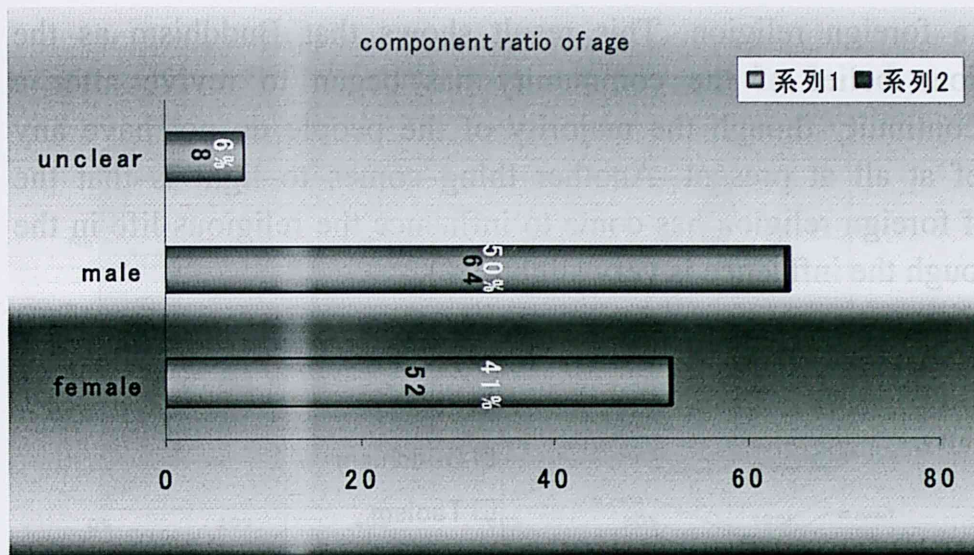
### **3.4.1 Function as a Religious Centre of the Community:**

#### **(1) The population of questionnaire is as follows:**

The component ratio of the respondents is that 10~19 years old is 5%, 20~29 years old is 5%, 30~39 years old is 16%, 40~49 years old is 18%, 50~59 years old is 24%, 60~69 years old is 13% and over 70 years old is 19%. The distinction of sex is that female is 41%, male is 50% and the unclear is 8%. Besides, one's term of residence is that those over 300 years win the majority with 45%.



component ratio of age



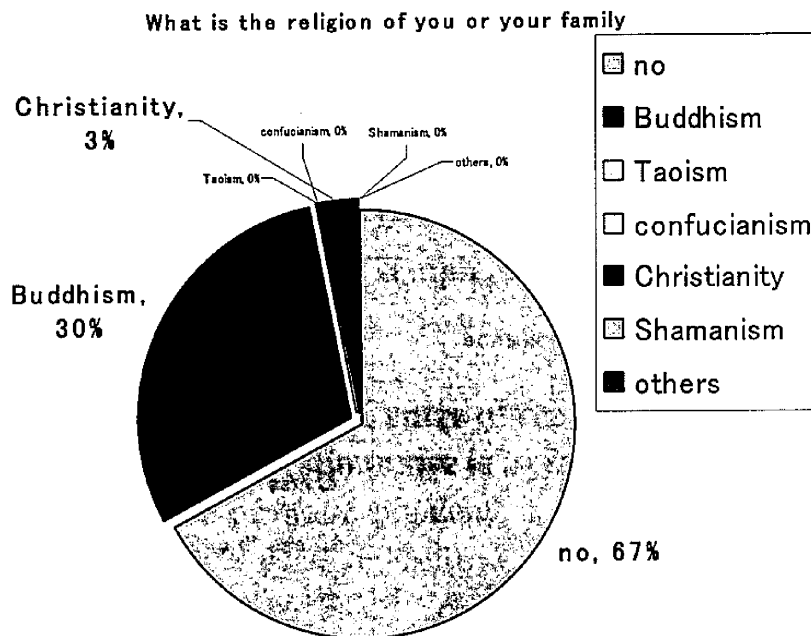
**(2) Investigation on the actual condition of people's religious life:**

The Xibe nationality was a race of strong religious mentality in Qing Dynasty. Almost all the people in the community believed in Lamaism (a branch of Buddhist) besides worshipping ancestors. With the discontinuity of religious life and the introduction of other religions into China in recent years, the religious life has unavoidable changed a lot.

□ What is the religious belief of yours or your family?

Among the respondents, 67% have no religious belief at all at present, and about 30% have a religious belief of Buddhism while the rest 3% have

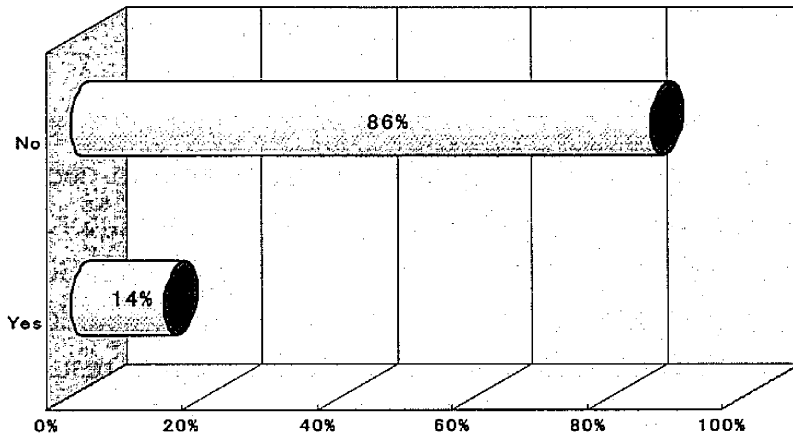
converted to a foreign religion. This result shows that Buddhism as the original religious belief of the community has begun to revive after a long-term discontinuity though the majority of the people do not have any religious belief at all at present. Another thing comes to light is that the introduction of foreign religion has come to influence the religious life in the community though the influence is very slight(3%).



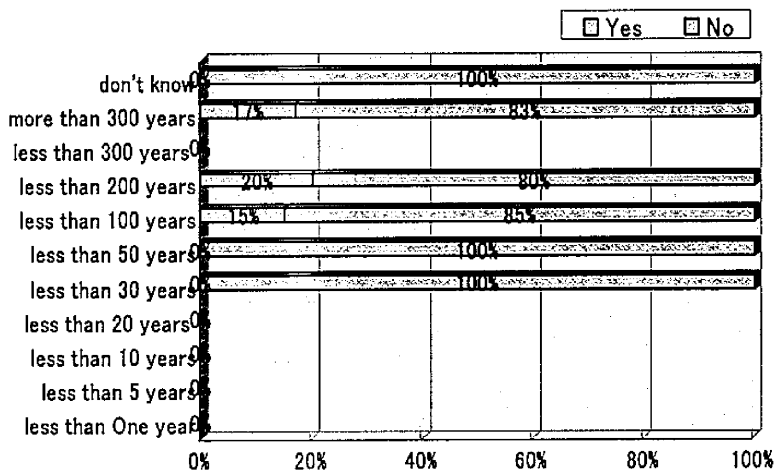
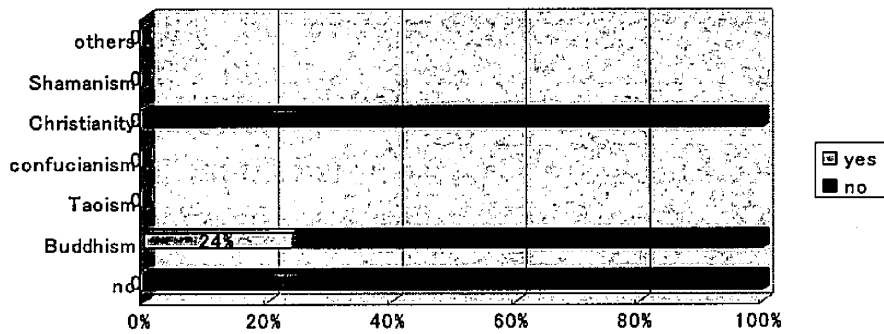
□ Do you have a family hall for worshipping Buddha or a niche for a statue of Buddha?

Only 14% of the whole have set up a family hall or a niche for a statue of Buddha for worshipping Buddha. And according to Figure 6, a minority less than a quarter (24%) of the people who believe in Buddhism have a family hall or a niche at home, which shows us religious activities have not extended into people's daily life enough though much more people have religious mentality back to their mind. And with figure 7, the family halls or niches are all set in the families of long-term residence in *Shen-yang* (15% of the families with a history over 100 years, 20% of the families with a history over 200 years and 17% of families with a history over 300 years), which shows that this tradition is easy to be kept or revived in the families with long history here.

if having a family hall for worshipping Buddha or a niche for a statue of Buddha



the Cross of *What is the religious belief of yours or your family* and *Do you have a family hall for worshipping Buddha or a niche for a statue of Buddha*

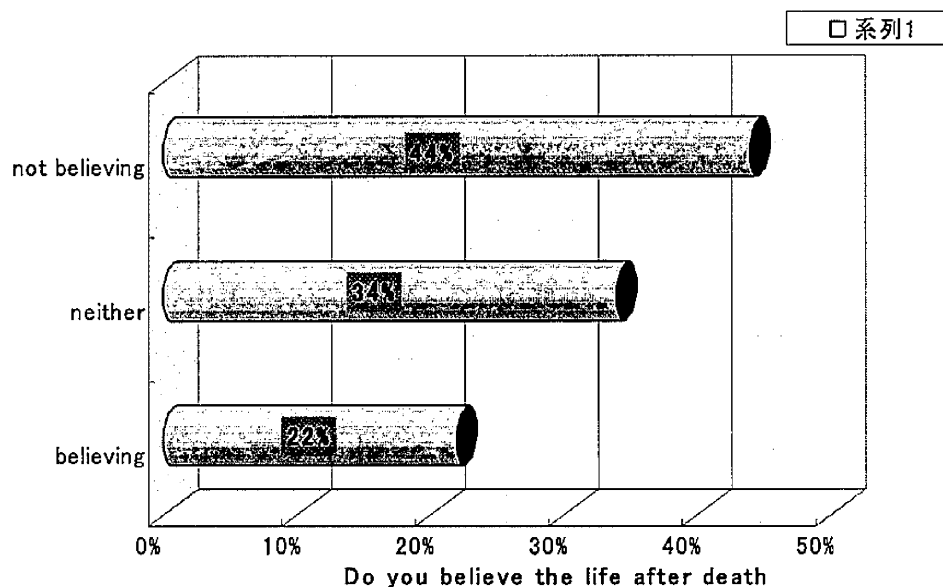


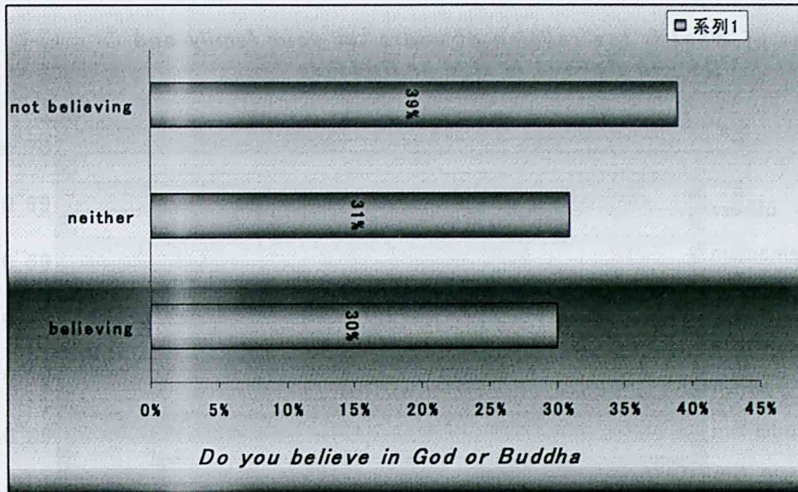
the Cross of *Years of residence* and *Do you have a family hall for worshipping Buddha or a niche for a statue of Buddha*

□the basis of religious world view

The two basic questions *Do you believe the life after death?* and *Do you believe in God or Buddha?* were set to investigate people's basic world view of religion.

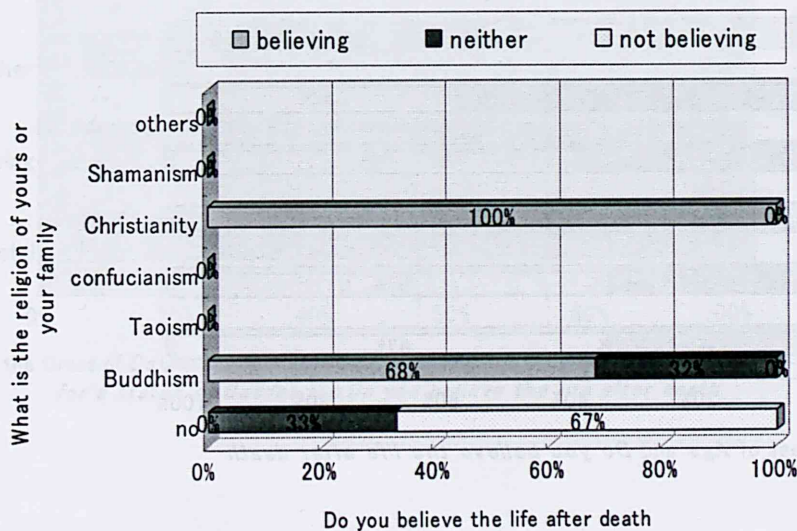
For the question *Do you believe the life after death?* About 22% of the respondents believe the life after death; 34% of them are unable to decide if they should believe or not; and the rest 44% don't believe the life after death at death. For the question *Do you believe in God or Buddha?* About 30% of the respondents believe in God or Buddha; 31% of them cannot decide; and the rest 39% don't believe in God or Buddha at all. And with this result, we can say people who can firmly follow the basic world view is the minority(20%~30%) of the community, however, there are quite some people(over 30%) who can not decide if they should follow such a world view, whom may become the potential followers in the future.





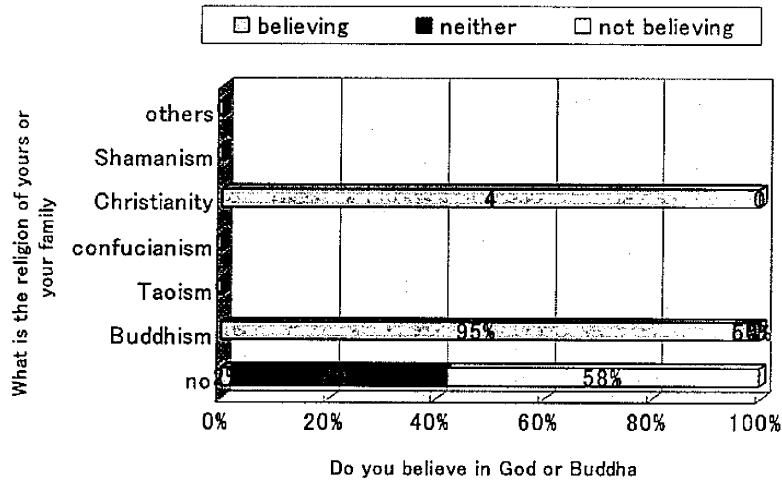
With figure 9 and 13, among the people who believe in Buddhism, 68% of them believe in the life after death and 95% of them believe in God or Buddha, which shows the majority of them can follow the basic world view of their religious belief. However, compared with the followers of Christianity who believe the life after death and believe in God or Buddha perfectly, 32% of the Buddhism followers can not decide if there should be a life after death and 5% can not decide if they should believe in God or Buddha. The reason why there are so many people at a loss may be from the effect of the discontinuity of religious life for several decades.

the Cross of *What is the religion of yours or your family and Do you believe the life after the death*

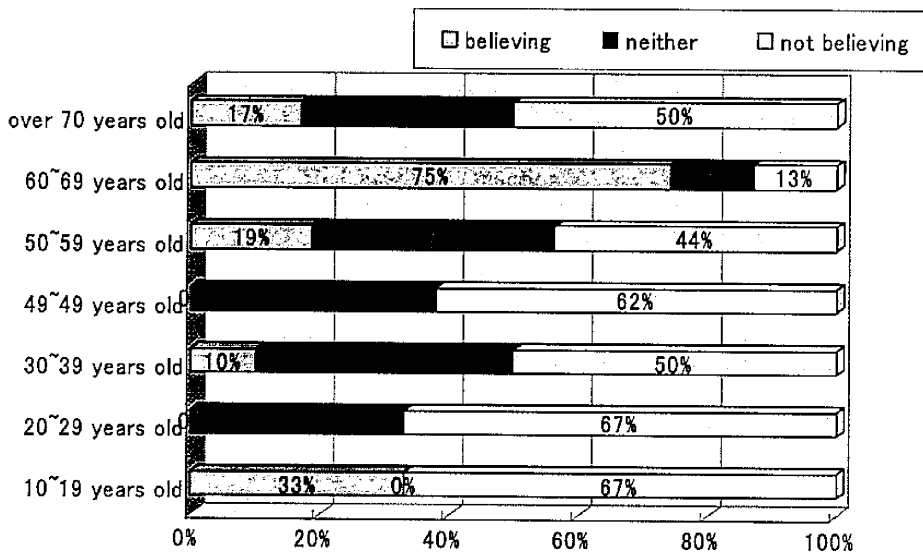




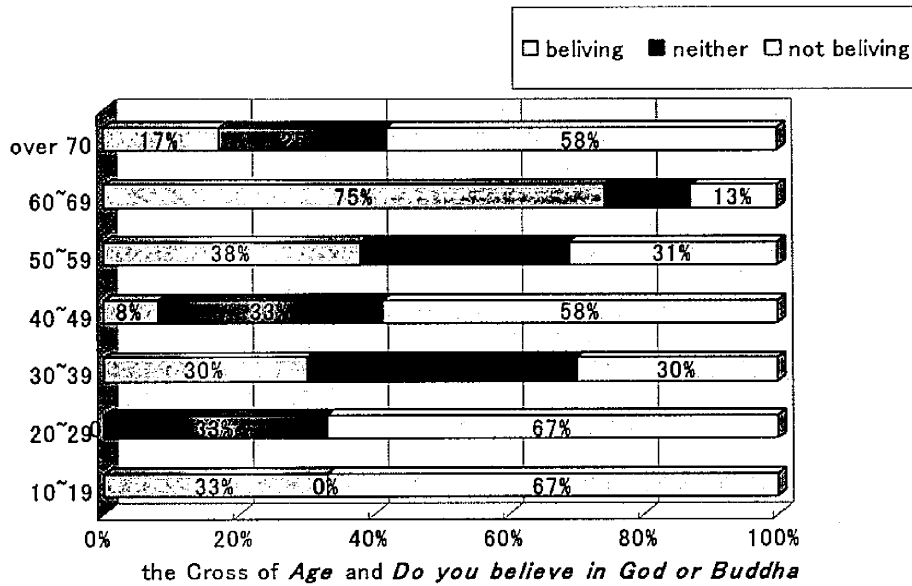
the Cross of *What is the religion of yours or your family and Do you Believe in God or Buddha*



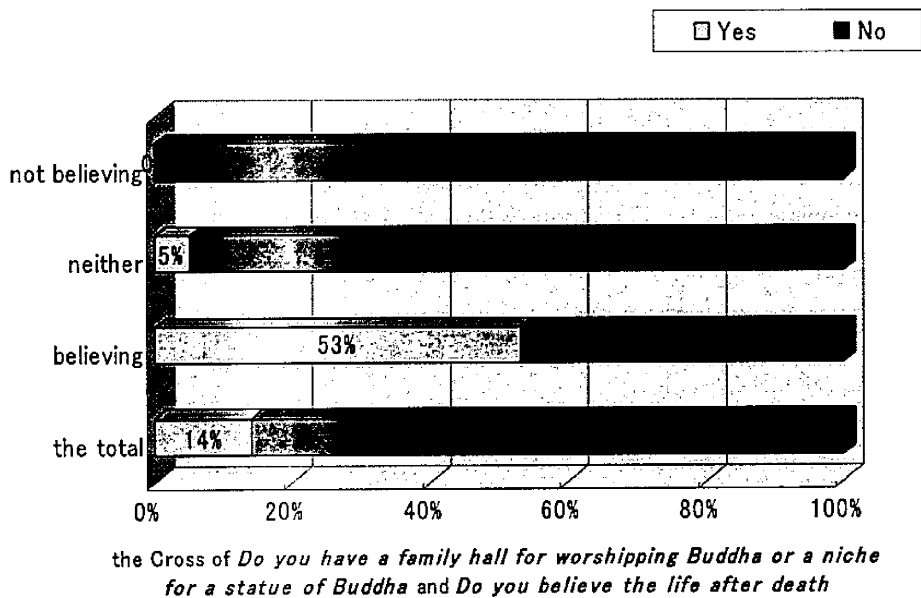
According to the cross of Age and Do you Believe the life after death and the cross of Age and Do you believe God or Buddha, 75% of those from 60 to 69 years old believe the life after death and believe in God or Buddha, which shows us they are the main support of the basic world view of religion. In other age groups, the people who do not follow the basic world view or who are at a loss are the majority.

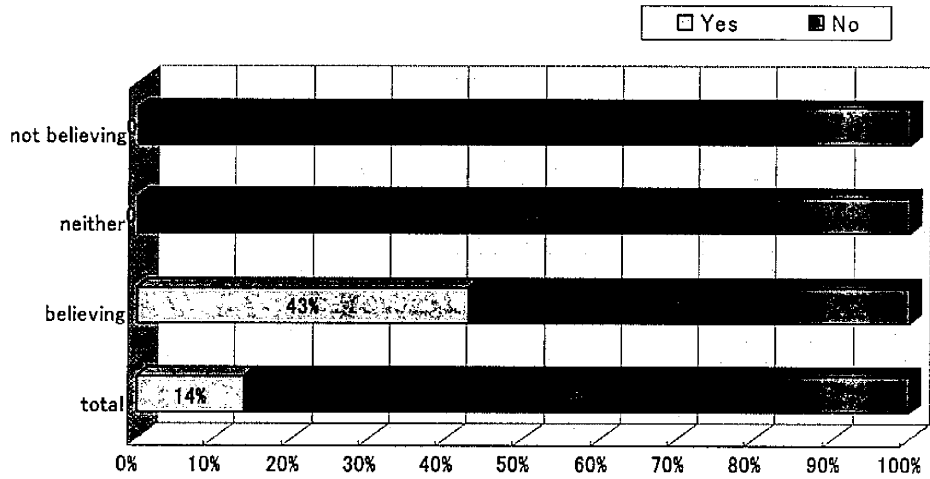


the cross of *Age and Do you believe the life after death*



The following two crosses shows the influence of the basic world view of religion upon people's daily life. 53% of those who believe the life after death and 43% of those who believe in God or Buddha have a family hall for worshipping Buddha or a niche for a statue of Buddha. That is to say, about half of those who believe the life after death and who believe in God or Buddha still keep this tradition in their daily life

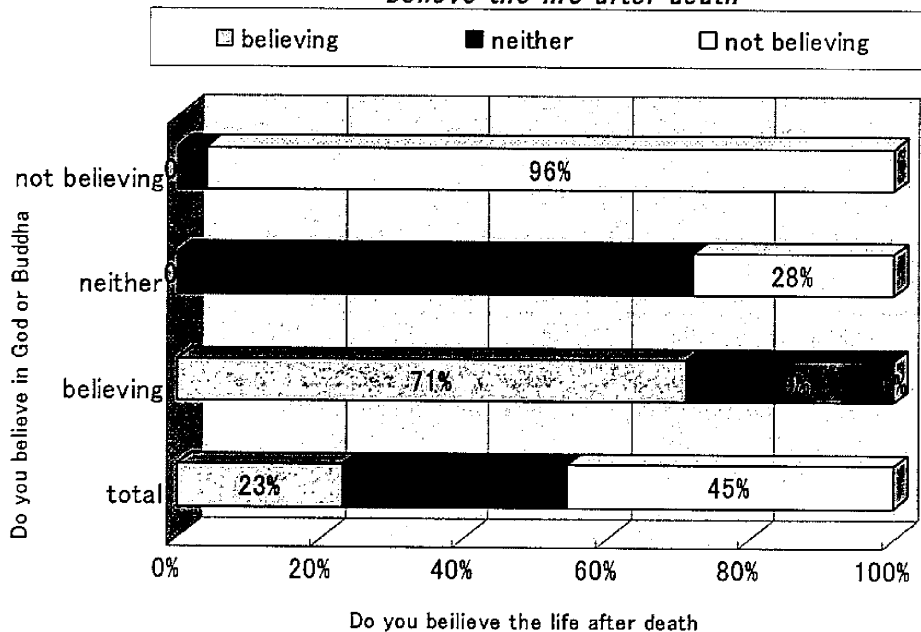




the Cross of *Do you believe in God or Buddha* and *Do you have a family hall for worshipping Buddha or a niche for a statue of Buddha*

According to the following cross, 71% of those who believe in God or Buddha believe the life after death; and 72% of those who can't decide whether they should believe in God or Buddha are also not sure if there is another life after death; and those who don't believe in God or Buddha also deny the existence of another life after death with a large proportion of 96%, which shows that those who believe in God or Buddha and those who believe the life after death are generally from the same group who can grasp their religious belief by following the two basic world view of the religion at the same time.

the Cross of *Do you believe in God or Buddha* and *Do you believe the life after death*

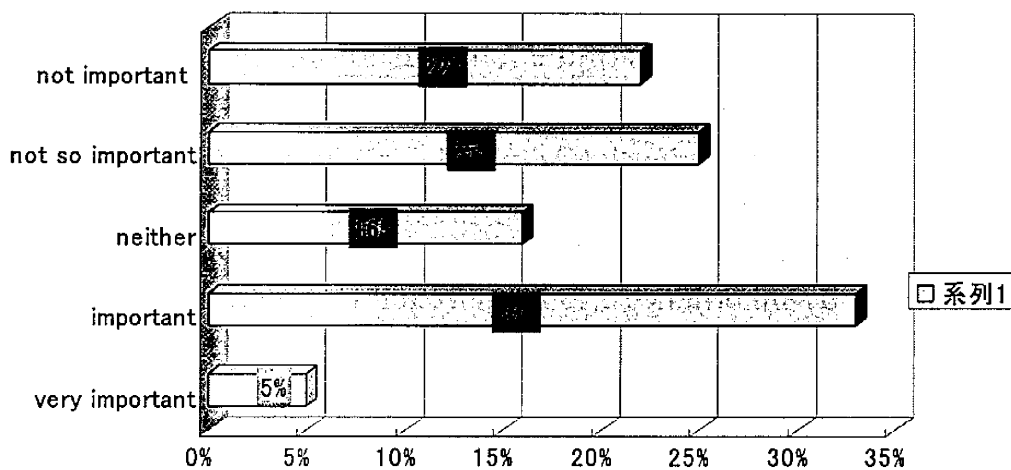


Overall, the majority of people who have a religious belief can follow the basic world view of their religion, which is a minority in the whole community that is generally composed of the seniors of the community; And half of those who follow the basic world view of the religion will also worship at home.

Another point that deserves attention is that there are quite some people do not know what attitude they should have to these old world view of religion today, which is possible because of the past negation to religions in history and influence of modern science education.

□ the importance of religious belief

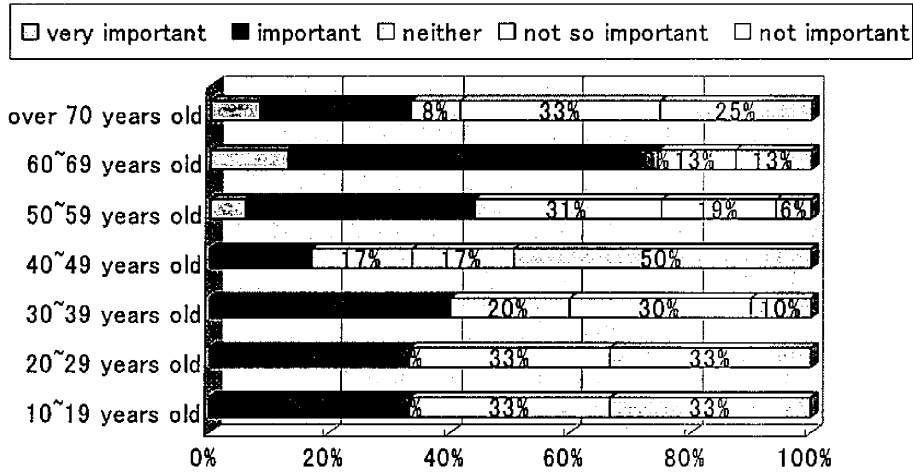
The respondents who thinks that religious belief is “very important”(5%) and “important”(33%) are less than half, and also less than the people who thinks that religious belief is “not so important”(25%) and “not important”(22%), which shows that religious belief is no long so important for the majority of the community any more. However, if looked at the phenomenon historically, the people(38%) religious belief is “important” and “very important” is a remarkable revival if compared with the period when religion was completed negated.



Is religious belief important for you

The cross in the following shows the relationship between age and the importance of religious belief. More than the half(71% )of those from 60 to 69 years old thinks religious belief is “very important” or “important” while people who think religious belief is “important” or “very important” in other age groups are all less than the half, which show s the senior of the

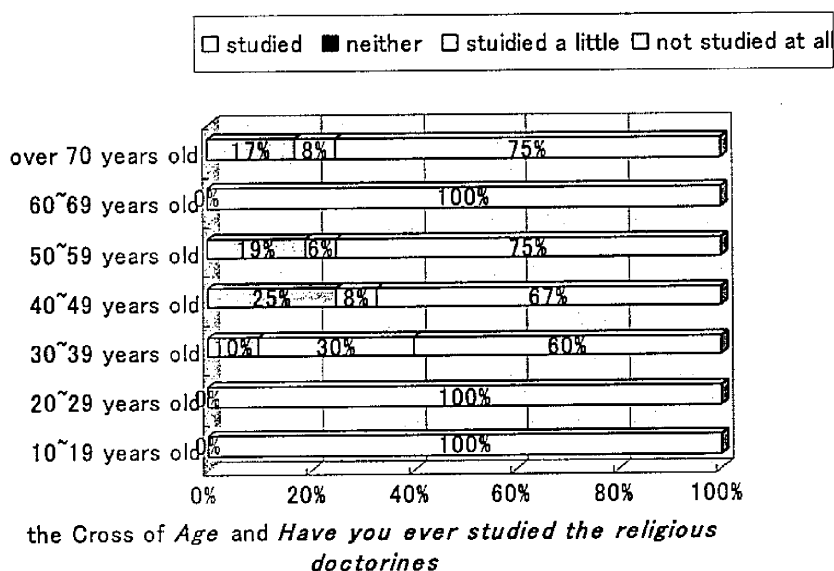
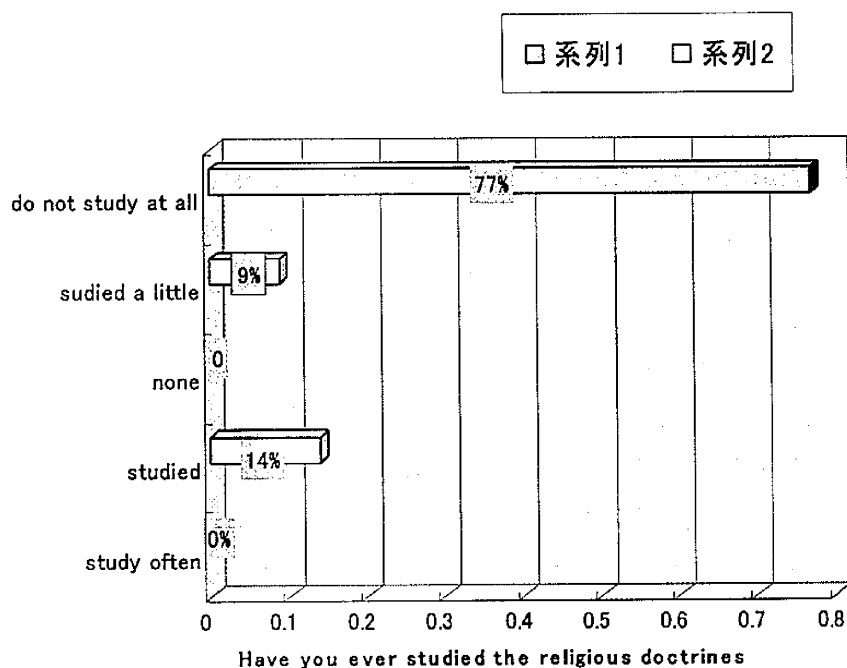
community are the main force of religion revival in the community.



the Cross of *Age* and *Is religious belief important*

□ Have you ever studied the religious doctrines?

To the question “Have you ever studied the religious doctrines?”, 77% of the respondents answered that they have never studied the religious doctrines. And according to the cross of *Age* and *Have you ever studied the religious doctrines*, None of people from 60 to 69 years old have ever studied the religious doctrines. As the nucleus of the religious life in the community, why they have never studied religious doctrines? To this questions in the interview, some of them said they were influenced by people around or because there had ever been such a custom in the past .It sounds that if someone will follow a religion is not decided by how much he/she knows about the doctrines written on book but by inheritance from generation to generation or influence of the surroundings to a great extent.



**(3) Investigation on the actual utilizing conditions of Taiping Temple in people's religious life:**

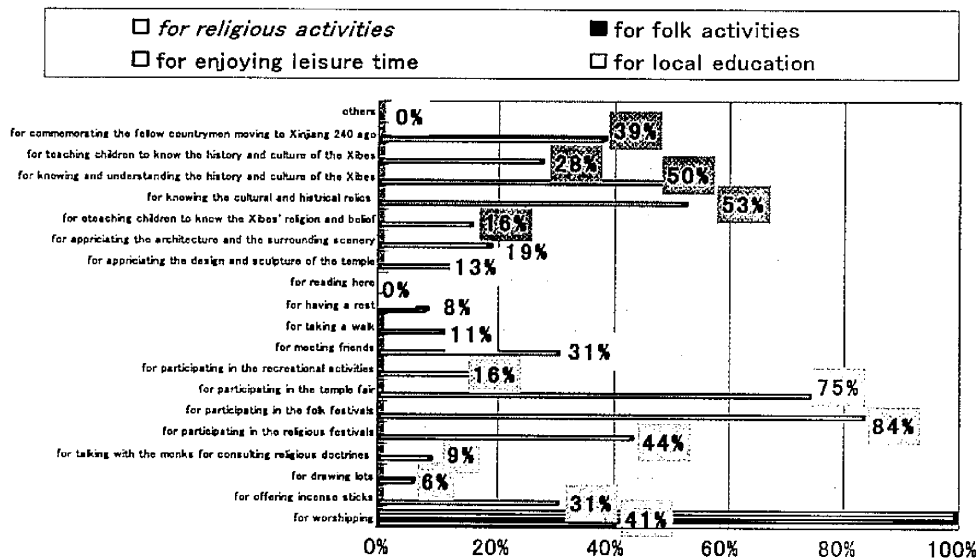
□ Why do you go to Taiping Temple?

To classify the detailed purposes in figure 1 into four purpose groups of religious activities, folk activities, enjoying leisure time and local education as in figure 2, it turns out that coming for religious purpose ranks the third. In the past, the local residence built the temple for religious activities first, and of course coming to temple for religious purpose undoubtedly ranked the first in

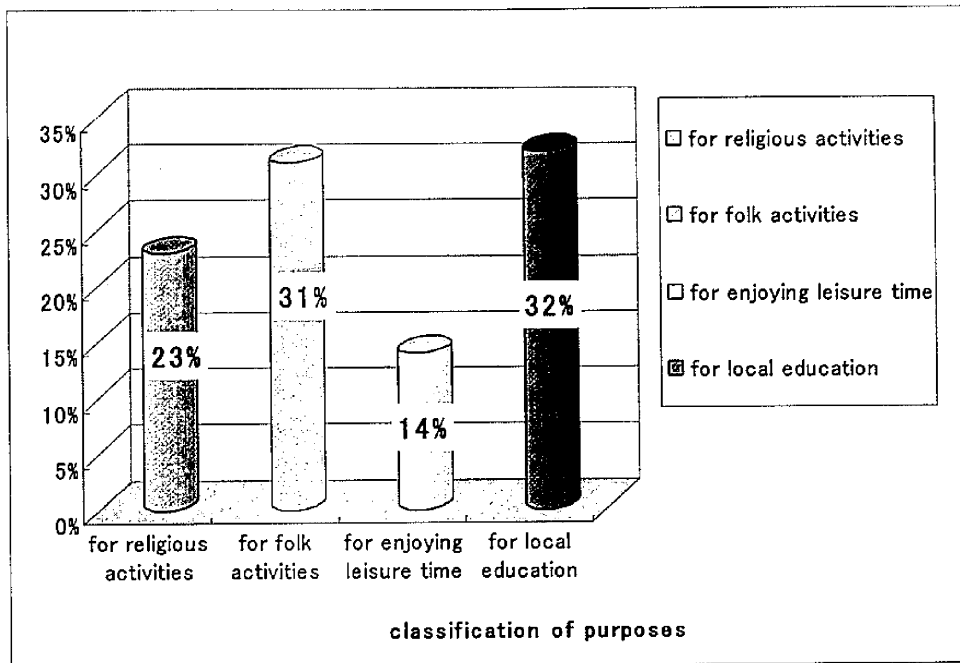
those days. Today's change seems to tell people that the functions of a temple today is not first decided by people's religious life any more.

And refer to the details of religious purpose in figure 1, people come to the temple for worshipping(41%), for offering incense sticks(31%), for drawing lots(6%) and for talking with the monks for consulting religious doctrines(9%), which shows that people may accompany their action of worshipping with offering incense sticks most of the time, but may not accompany worshipping with drawing lots or consulting religious doctrines with the monks in the temple most of the time that was very common in the past.

Besides, participating in the religious festivals(44%) is still a very important part of residents' religious life, which also show the temple plays a relatively role as a place for organizing collective religious life in community. (Discussions on other purpose will be in other parts of this paper.)

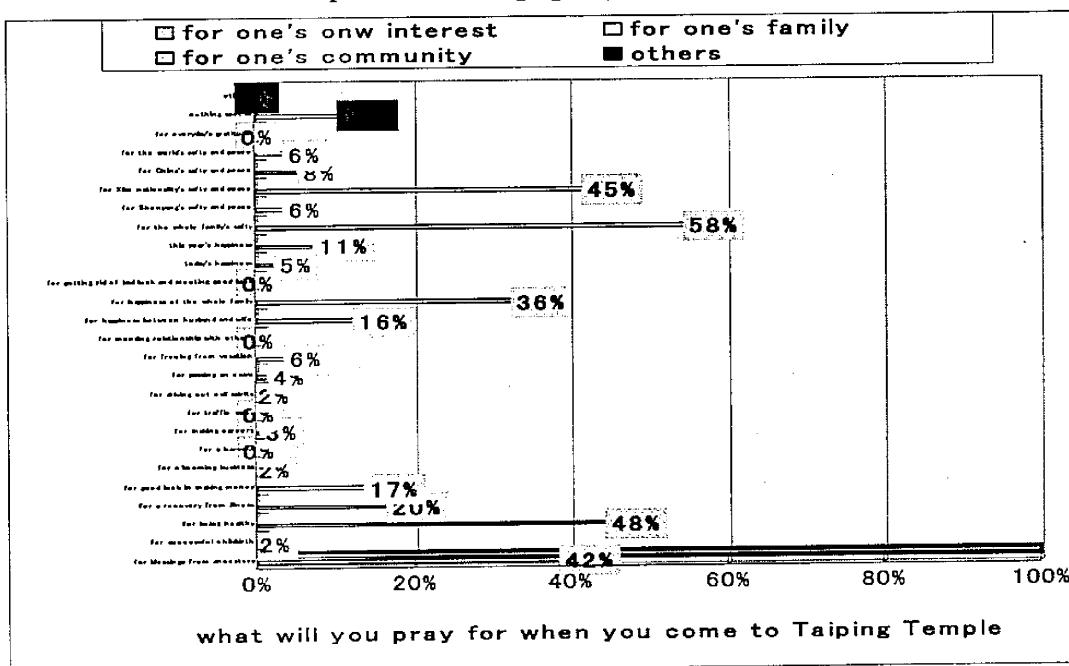


In what conditions will you go to Taiping Temple?

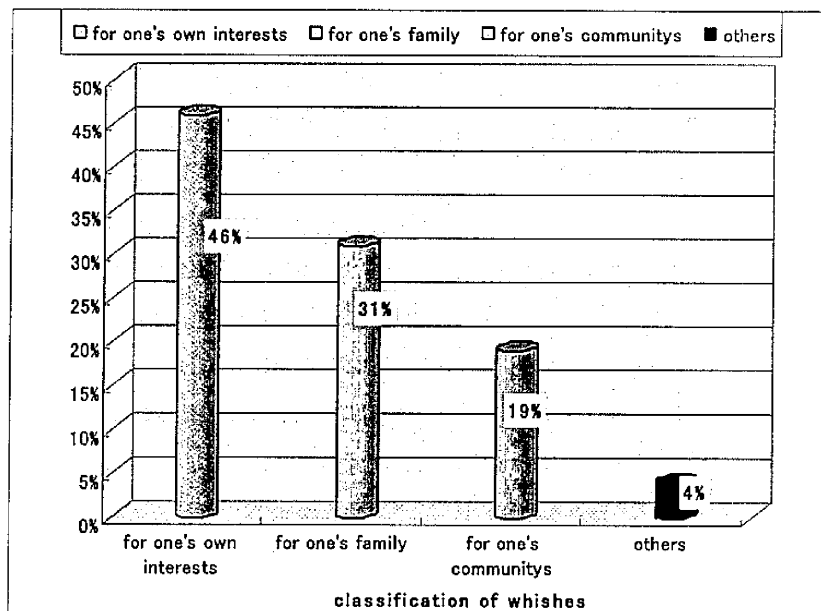


□ What will you pray for when you come to Taiping Temple?

To classify the detailed wishes in figure 1 into four wish groups of “for one’s own interest”, “for one’s family”, “for one’s community” and “others” as in figure 2, it turns out that to pray for one’s own interests ranks the first(46%) and to pray for one’s family comes the second(31%). There is no difference from what was expected by this point. Temple should be a place for the common people to pray for their own interests since ancient, and this tradition still exists as part of today’s function of the temple.(The discussions on other wishes will be in other parts of this paper.)

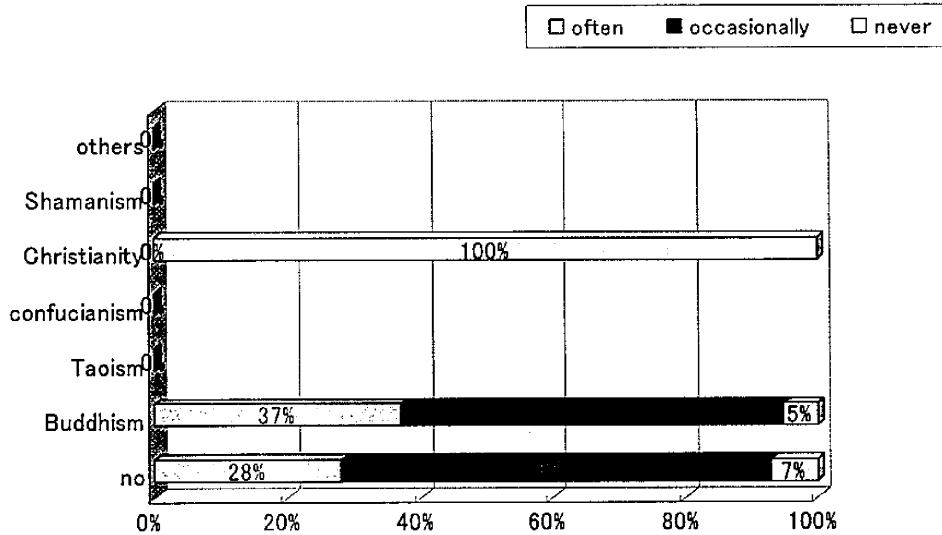






□ Has going to Taiping Temple become a habit of yours?

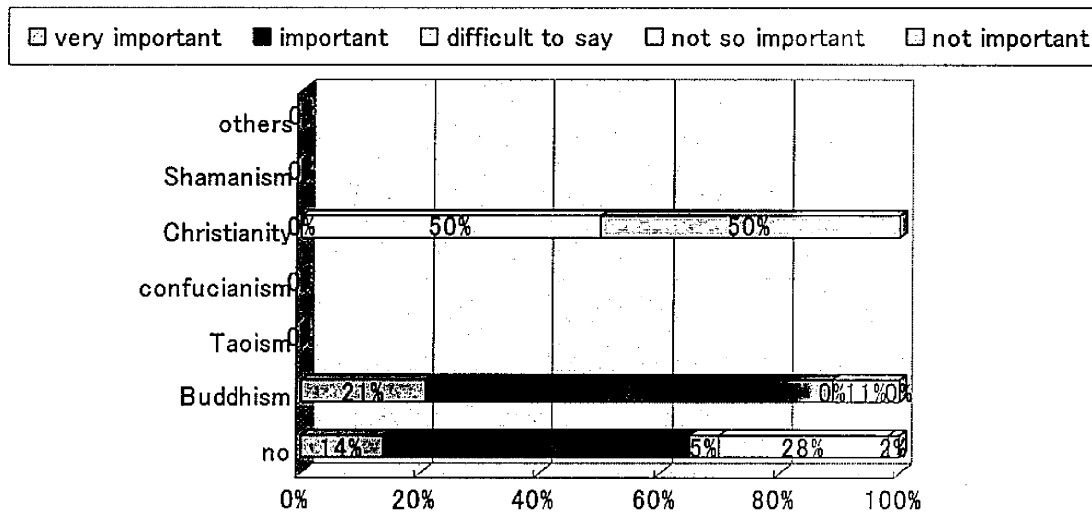
This cross of “*What is the religion of yours or your family*” and “*Has going to Taiping Temple become a habit of yours*” is to test the difference in using frequency between people who believe in Buddhism that is the original religion of Taiping Temple and people who have no religious belief and people who have converted to a foreign religion. The result turns out to be that----37% of the people who believe Buddhism go to the temple often, and 58% of them go to the temple occasionally; for those who have no religious belief, 28% of them go to the temple often, and 65% go to the temple occasionally; and those people who have converted to Christianity have no habit of going to Taiping temple. this result shows that----the first, concerning with religious life, the temple is a place only used by people who believe in Buddhism which is identical with the original religion of Taiping Temple; the second, people who believe in Buddhism go to the temple more often than people who have no religious belief(with “often”---37% vs 28%, occasionally---58% vs 65%); the third, excepting followers of Christianity, the temple is a place which is used by the large majority of both those who have a religious belief and those who have no religious belief.



the Cross of *What is the religion of yours or your family* and *How often will you go to Taiping Temple*

**Is going to Taiping Temple important for you?**

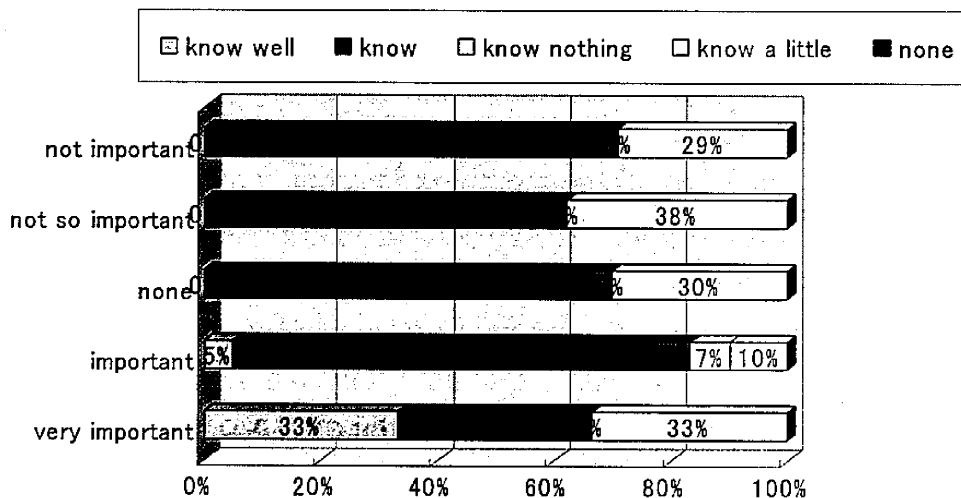
The following is a cross of “*What is the religion of yours or your family*” and “*Is going to Taiping Temple important for you*” is to test the difference in importance between those who believe in Buddhism and those who have no religion and those who have converted to a foreign religion(Christianity). Excepting the of Christianity who are 100 percent think that it is not important for them to go to the temple, the result turns to be that 89% of those who believe Buddhism think that it is very important(21%) and important(68%) for them to go to the temple while 65% of those people who have no religious belief think that it is very important(14%) and important(51%) for them to go to the temple, which shows that----first, both thinks going to the temple is important in the large majority which shows Taiping Temple is important for all the members of the community not only because it is a place for religious life but must be influential to all the members in other aspects; the second, Taiping temple, as a central place for religious life, is indispensable for the large majority of those who believe in Buddhism.



the Cross of *What is the religion of yours or your family and Is going to Taiping Temple important for you*

Do you know some old tales of Taiping Temple?

The following is the cross of “Is religious belief important for you” and “Do you know some old tales of Taiping Temple”. Almost all the groups win a majority in this test. That is to say, the large majority of the community members can take the charge of inheriting the history and tradition of the temple. However, the group who think religious belief is important win the majority with the highest proportion of 86%, which shows that religion is a very important way for inheriting the tradition and history as thought.



the Cross of *Is religious belief important for you and Do you know some old tales of Taiping Temple*

Overall, summing up this part, the following points come to light:

After being reconstructed, a minority of the community members soon began to utilize Taiping Temple as a place to practice their daily or collective religious belief, which can be considered a small revival of religious life in community; Though this revival is too small to represent the majority of the community, it could be regarded as a remarkable revival if considering the long-term and full discontinuity of religious belief in the community; The minority is mainly composed of the seniors of the community who knows the traditions and history the most and could possibly be the main force to take the charge to activate the tradition and history of the temple and the community; The religious life is no longer the nucleus of the community life practiced at *Taiping* Temple for the majority of the community any more at present at least.

### **3.4.2 Full Recovery of Ancestral Worship:**

As a religious place, *Taiping* Temple is not only used as a lamasery, but also as an ancestral hall. As mentioned in the former chapter, in the middle of 18<sup>th</sup> century, part of the Xibes in Shengjing was moved to Xinjiang for garrisoning the frontiers, which severed the Xibes each other. And this event was the immediate reason for the nationalization of ancestral worship which is conducted by each family respectively before. And therefore, *Taiping* Temple became the sacred place for ancestral worship of the whole nation, namely, the ancestral hall of the Xibes from then on.

The investigation on the spot, including the observation and a questionnaire survey on people's attitude, proved that the reconstruction and reuse of *Taiping* Temple has brought a full revival of ancestral worship:

The actual conditions of revived ancestral worship activities:

(1) The inheritance and transfiguration:

Inheritance---The revived ancestral worship has been holding on every 4·18<sup>th</sup> since the reconstruction. The traditional way has generally inherited. For example, Kilimama is still used as the primary symbol of ancestor of the nation; representatives will come to the temple to perform the ceremony; and the way of offering sacrifice and performing the ceremony are also continued, explain and publicize the outstanding achievements of the older generations and ancestors of the nationality, temple of large scale, etc.

Transfiguration---

Change of ancestral image: Now the image is not only limited to Kilimama, but also a hero of old generation called Tu-bo-te worshipped as national ancestor for his contribution to the whole nationality, besides the memorial tablet of ancestor is also worshipped at the same time.

change in the way of celebration: in the past a temporary kitchen would be set up in the temple for cooking and enjoying the traditional food. However, this traditional sumptuous dinner of the whole nation has not revived with the revival of ancestral worship activity, though people will still enjoy some traditional food through other ways on this festival day. In the stead of it, larged-scaled commemoration meeting and theatrical festival, etc. will be held to celebrate this memorable day.

Change in the folk customs among the common people: in the past, eating fish and steamed meat was another traditional custom on this day, and besides, people of each and every family would prepare *Mishun* particularly on this day. *Mishun* is a kind of traditional Soybean paste, it is a kind of thick sauce made from soybean, flour, etc., put it into a earthen jar, will be used as a flavoring throughout the year. Unfortunately, this tradition of life culture has not yet revived with the revival of ancestral worship.

Change of temple fair: Both in the past and today, there would be a temple fair on April 18<sup>th</sup> in a grand manner. Besides the activities of buying and selling, there were also some theatrical performances and other forms of folk art performances, in addition to some traditional sports competitions that would be held at the temple fair. The Difference is the motive of temple fair today is no longer for the basic needs of the common people's life as it was before, or rather, it's much more for entertainments and recalling the traditional culture today, though some traditions like horse race, archery, goat-catching and some other traditional performance and some handicraft had already unfortunately disappeared from today's temple fair.

Despite the transfigurations, the Xibes both in the past and today do their best to hold the commemorative activities in a grand way to show their piety to the ancestors of the nation. namely, with all the community members being involved, and with offering sacrifice to ancestors at Taiping Temple as the nucleus of all the activities, April

18<sup>th</sup> is still the grandest festival of the nationality throughout the year.

The actual conditions is that the activities of ancestral worship are holding on every 4·18th since the reconstruction, which shows us there is a full recovery of ancestral worship only in 3 years, and according to the observations and this questionnaire analysis, at least two points can be confirmed: □Ancestral worship was responded and firmly approved by the Xibes of all ages; and it seems that Taiping Temple as a ancestral hall has never declined in people's mind though the building had fallen into ruins for several decades.□the sense of ancestral worship is so strong in people's mind that it has transcended the common religion, namely, it has nothing to do with if people have enough piety for common religions.

## (2) Rebuilding of nationality with ancestral support:

The reunion of the whole nationality:

Since 1764 (the 29<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong's reign) when part of the Xibes in Shengjing had been assigned to Xingjiang, the Xibes in Xinjiang and the Xibes in Shengjing(Shenyang) has been parted for 185 years till the founding of the People's Republic of China. During this period, it is said that a famous high-ranking military officer named Tu-bo-te has been allowed by the emperor to go back to hometown---Shengjing to visit the countrymen. He returned to Shengjing in 1810 and introduced the conditions of the Xibes in Xingjiang to the fellow countrymen in Shengjing, and thus made the Xibe people parted in two places understand each other's conditions. However, that's only hearsay that shows the Xibe people's strong desire for reunion.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, there were some contact between Xinjiang and Shenyang. According to the figure ?, in 1980s, the contact in different field were very frequent, however, the scale of those contact were too small to bring a real reunion of the whole nationality to fruition.

And this dream of national reunion was turned into reality after the ancestral worship activity at Taiping Temple was revived. Since 2004, there are about 200 Xibe people from Xinjiang attending the ancestral worship every year. Together with the Xibes from other 13 areas and the native Xibes in Shenyang, there will be over ten thousands Xibes take part in this yearly

ancestral worship activity.

The significant positive change for the Xibe nationality's development could be demonstrated by the following words, *"we, the Xibes in Xinjiang has dreamed to go back to our native land for about 240 years, and this dream came true when I am 69 years old, we at long last come back, how excited I am!....."*, Mr. Dong Songbai said with tears in eyes, *".....Shengyang community is the birth place of our nation, with 4·18 festival, we have become united*

*Both spiritually and emotionally; and with this activity, we have been recognized by people of other nationalities. Our ancestors have been satisfied by the reunion and the sacrifices we have made to them. We would like to continue it forever because our ancestors say so. ...."*

That is to say, the ancestral worship activity has brought the reunion to fruition and strength the position of Shengyang Xibe ethnic community as the nucleus of the whole nation all over the country.

<b>Time</b>	<b>Number of people</b>	<b>Activity</b>
August the first, 1958	5 Xibes	Xinjiang visiting group came to Shenyang for visit and investigation
May 9th, 1959	2 Xibes	Fact-finding mission of Xinjiang Social Science Academy came to Shengyang for histoical investigation
1980	1 Xibe	ditto
August and September in 1980	1Xibe	Shenyang Visiting Group went to visit the west
October, 1981	1 Xibe	To attend the meeting of the Xibe Language Society in Xinjiang
August, 1982	2 Xibes	Xinjiang Archery Team came to Xing-long-tai Xibe Town in Shenyang for visiting performance

June, 1983	40 Xibes	The Xibe Mission from Xinjiang came to Xing-long-tai Xibe Town in Shenyang for friendly contact
May, 1984	11 Xibes	The Xinjiang mission came to Shenyang for investigation
July, 1984	15 Xibes	Xinjiang Seniors Visiting Group come to Shenyang for visit and investigation
August, 1984	13 Xibes	To attend the celebration meeting for the founding of Cha-bu-Cha-er Xibe autonomous county for 30 years
November, 1984	15 Xibes	Xinjiang Economic Investigation Group came to Shenyang
August, 1986	13 Xibes	The Xibe academic Society of Liaoning Province visited Xinjiang for attending the symposium on Xibe's history, language and literature.

#### Search for ancestors' history:

240 years ago, about 4,000 Xibe officers and men, who were entrusted by the emperor with a mission of garrisoning the frontier in Xinjiang at a critical and difficult moment, started from Shenyang, crossed Inner and Outer Mongolia, and passed through Keqisi Mountains, and arrived at Xinjiang at last. It took the Xibes one year and 4 months to finish the march with a whole course of 20,000 miles. This is the famous "Moving West". This event not only improved the political position of the Xibes in Qing Dynasty but also make the ancestral worship a nationalized belief as discussed in chapter I. In



2003 when *Taiping* Temple was reconstruction, “Moving West square” has also built on a vacant lot near the temple for the purpose of publicizing and commemorating this historic event.

However, with the passage of time, even some *Xibes* don't know the route of moving west in 1764 for certain. Some seniors of the *Xibes* think it's a pity if the young generation even doesn't know the details of such a significant historic event. So the *Xibes*' Fraternity has organized an activity called “A Re-march along the Moving West Route” on the day of lunar the 18<sup>th</sup> of April. Many young people of the *Xibes* and even people from other nationalities signed their names for taking part in this activity. The volunteers of this activity include folklore students and researchers, photographers, tourists, writers, businessmen, etc., all in all, people of different field will participate this activity. This march is still in preparation and will be put into operation next year. This spontaneous march will be the opportunity to make the young generation understand ancestors and history of the nation, and further understand the nation of their own. It is undoubtedly significant for the inheritance and future development of the whole nation.

#### Revival of Patriarchal Concept:

Another important activity among the *Xibes* is to look for and make inquiries about the family members of the same ancestry. For example, Mr. Wu Lianbuo from Sujia Village has found that he has a large family of 50 members of 6 generations through this activity, and through the joint effort of all the family members they renewed the genealogical tree of 16 generations. And this genealogical is written both in Xibe language and Chinese and now being enshrined at Taiping Temple.

According to the preface of *An's genealogical*, “.....there isn't a country without history, and there isn't a family without genealogical tree, the importance of the genealogical tree of a family is the same as the history of a country. Respecting ancestors will bring all the family members together and make them close,....., it makes family members to be reasonable and sensible, makes them know the importance and seniority in human relationship,.....”, the genealogical is just the history of a family, even the history of the whole nation which is heavily loaded with tradition and culture of the nation.

The *Xibes* began to found their genealogical tree during the best days of Qing Dyasty. However, with the transition of history, many of the genealogical trees were burned down or sustained heavy losses. Thanks to this ancestral worship activity, many genealogical trees were re-founded and

renewed.

(3) Taiping Temple as a county guild:

Taiping Temple, undoubtedly as a place for holding the ceremony of ancestral worship is indispensable. As a matter of fact, it is also used as a county guild in this activity. With the extension of this activity's influence, not only the local people in Shenyang, but also many people from Xinjiang and other parts of the country come to worship ancestors of the nation. In fact, this has always been a basic function of an ancestral hall in ancient China. With the revival of ancestral worship activity, this function was also revived today. Today it plays a role of making friendly contact among the Xibes and providing convenience for countrymen from other parts of the country. Simultaneously, it also plays a role of dealing affairs of the nation, especially the affairs concerned with the activity of ancestral worship. Namely, it plays a role to ensure that the reunion and ancestral worship activity shall go smoothly. The Xibes the *Xibes' Fraternity* is in charge of putting all these into operation. It can be anticipated that this function shall be multiplied in the near future to become more extensive just as "*Hui System*" in Qing Dynasty.

It is obvious that the activity of ancestral worship has been fully revived as soon as the temple was reconstructed. Ancestral worship has so deeply rooted in Xibe people's mind that it has enough force to link people's heart together

And with this, the reconstructed Taiping Temple is rather a ancestral hall than a lamasery for today's Xibes. Perhaps this is one reason why lamaism is neglect and the revival is so slow. To be exactly, the significance of ancestral worship has transcended all the other religion for today's Xibes, which makes ancestral worship gain the dominance over all the other religions at Taiping Temple.

Endogenous development for rebuilding nationality is undoubtedly a time consuming process, however, this activity, if it could be continued, it would motivate the community to develop within their own cultural context and, in this way, move participation a step forward, what is more, it would be a step towards the reconstruction national collectiveness by strengthening the social cohesion among all the Xibes.

### **3.4.3 the Establishment of the Xibe Folk-Custom Culture Museum and Local Education:**

#### **(1)The origion:**

After the Great Cultural Revolution, the Xibe Nationality was in a condition of serious loss of tradition. Traditional culture of their race became something very unfamiliar for many young people at that time. Being out of the wish to revitalize the Xibe nation, some people who were about 40 years old at that time started to establish the Xibes' History Society(the predecessor of the Xibes' Fraternity). At the same time, the work of general inspection of cultural properties of the Xibe Nationality was also started together with the beginning of preparatory work for establishing the Xibes' History Society. With the advance of the work, some cultural or historical relics like the wood tablet with an inscription of *Xibes'Ancestral Hall*, bows and arrows and other weapons used in ancient time, the replica of stone tablet, and Kirimama(the symbolic thing of the Xibes' female ancestor), etc. were found and they decided to put these relics on play. Thereby, the embryo of the Folk-Custom Culture Museum came into being. The establishment of the Xibe Folk-Custom Culture Museum is as follows:

1988----- the middle hall of Taiping Temple was used as an exhibition hall for the things found. And the exhibits at that time were some material objects only.

From 1988 to 2004----It was a long-term work for collecting and sorting the exhibits. And during this period of time, the cultural or historical relics found before were sent to Shenyang Imperial Palace Museum for being stored up properly.

2004---The museum was opened again by borrowing a hall in the office building from the local government of Xibes' town. And there the history and folk customs of the Xibes were exhibited and explained in the form of panels.

2005---The museum was moved to the former monk's cell in the west yard of Taiping Temple. The exhibits include panels, old photos and material objects and some academic achievements.

So briefly speaking, the establishment of the Xibe Folk-Custom Museum is based on the result and achievements of the work of general inspection of

cultural properties and history study. The reason why it took so long time to establish the museum is due to the hardness of the work for collecting and sorting the folk customs first after a serious loss, and another reason is that there wasn't a proper facility for the museum before the reconstruction of Taiping Temple according to the members of the Xibes' Fraternity. So it is better to say that the reconstruction of Taiping Temple and the work of general inspection gave the birth of the Xibe Folk-Custom Museum.

the general process of the Folk-custom Museum's establishment:

time	content	place
1988	very few material objects of relics found	the middle hall of in the east yard of Taiping Temple
1988~2004	the work for collecting and sorting the exhibits	
2004~	panels and some material objects	in the office building of local government
2005	panels, photos, material objects and some academic achievements	The former monk's cell in the west yard of <i>Taiping</i> Temple

**(2)the Present Situation and Features:**

the Xibe Folk-Custom Culture Museum is a museum of small-scale with strong features of regional museum at present. Compared with those well-developed and well-equipped museums of large-scale , the organization and management of the Xibe Folk-Custom Culture Museum is still far from being perfected. However, as a program of community development, it has held an important mission of providing opportunities for the members of the community to receive local education and disseminating local culture since it was established from the very beginning, and so to become a base for sending message of culture of the community or their race inside and outside the community. Therefore, considering from the angle of community development, it has the following features:

□Feature of Originality:

Speaking the feature of originality, it is said that the Xibe Folk-Custom

Culture Museum is the first folk-custom culture museum of minority nationality in China. And it is also the first museum established by utilizing their own ancestral temple as the facility which is one of the cultural resources peculiar to the community for corresponding to the image of the community purposely. With this, the temple has taken kindly to becoming the new symbol of the community in a fresh way. This act of initiative could give an inspiration on how to get a new understanding of local resources and how to create and activate the value of a traditional culture in a fresh light for those people or region who are going to activate the traditional culture, and especially for those collectives who are suffering from the deficiency of financial supply.

□ Feature of Grass-roots:

In point of fact, Taiping Temple itself is of strong feature of grass-roots since ancient, for it has been an unofficial temple for civil use all the way. It has served the community members' daily life and become a place heavily loaded with life culture. The folk-custom museum also continued this feature by attaching importance to the exhibits of cultural life. The following is an abstract sorted out from an interview to the manager of the Xibes' Folk-Custom Culture Museum:

(Q----question; A---answer)

Q: How long is the history of the oldest real thing exhibit in the museum?

A: There are some real things with a history over 200 hundred years which can show the life style of the early days when the Xibes settled down in Shengyang.

Q: Does it mean that things of long history and invaluable will win acceptance the most?

A: No, if the real thing will be well received by the museum has nothing to do with the two points. We collect the old things not for seeking its high value but for seeking if it can reflect the folk customs of different periods..

Q: What is the purpose of collecting these real things?

A: I can answer this question by answering another question---“whose museum is this?” This museum is run not only for a few scholars or experts who can understand the valuable relics and antiques, or rather, the audience must be the common people of the community, which determined that the exhibits must be the things that can be understood by the common people, only in this way, the common people will be willing to come and visit; And another point is that we believe that the whole memory of the Xibe

Nationality is composed of these things found among the Xibe people. These real things of different periods show the history and change Xibe people's life style and hold the story of the Xibes in store.

Q: What aspects of life do the exhibits involve?

A: We try to collect things that can reflect all aspects of the Xibe people's life. And the exhibits that we have collected till now involve the articles for daily use (like old dress and personal adornments, clock, radio, household utensils, and mirror, beauty case and other articles for making-up used by women, etc.); articles for playing games, for practicing daily religious rites, and some articles showing the folk arts and handicrafts (like musical instruments, old songs, embroidery, sculptures, etc.), whichever contains rich techniques and skills and national emotions inherited among the people; Besides, we also have some panels and old photos showing various scenes of life in different period of time.

The manager insisted on the feature of grass-roots from the beginning to the end, which could be the crucial point that connect the museum with the community closely and keep the continuity of the community history.

□Feature of Being Participatory:

The feature of being participatory is first shown in the interaction between the museum and the local residents in the work of collecting the exhibits. According to what the manager said in the interview, many of the exhibits are the contributions of the local residents. On one hand, the process of appraising the holdings of the local residents at the local residents' place is a process of winning public favor, and on the other hand, it is the process of guiding the local residents to understand the history and culture of their race and so to call the sense of culture protection into being among the people naturally. For example, Mr. Guan, a farmer with a family history over 300 years in Shenyang, was very excited when he understood that a part from an old furniture of his which shows the carpenter's craftsmanship in the past is a thing of value. And his neighbors were also astonished to think that the old things at home could be an exhibit in the museum. This interaction takes kindly to make the local residents understand the culture of grass-roots is something of value which can show the history of their race. And the manager of the museum said the next plan is to collect the articles after the Great Culture Revolution which shows the life style of the Xibes in this 30 years. Once the contribution is adopted to be one exhibit in the museum, the name and the story of the former user will be written into the explanatory notes of

the exhibit. With such kind of participation, the story of the common Xibe people will also be told in the museum. With such kind of interaction, the museum unavoidably became the medium to link the common people and community, in which the common people, as the community members, will definitely get involved into the consideration of community culture, history and development.

Another kind of participatory activities is the temporary exhibits held at the museum. The museum has held three temporary exhibits since it was established in the temple in 2005.

The first is the exhibit of paper-cut arts in which many works of paper-cut created among the people were exhibited together with the works of folk artists;

The second is an exhibit of painting and calligraphy with an emphasis on the calligraphy of Xibe language that is in the danger of vanishing, in which the artists will create on the spot so to improve the interaction between the exhibitors and the visitors;

The third is an oil painting exhibit of the works of *He-ye-er ·Xing-qian*, an old people of 79 years old. He is a high school teacher who worked in Xinjiang in his early days and later moved to Shenyang and settled down there. He drew 39 paintings on the history of the Xibes in 40 years. He said I drew the history onto the canvas for the purpose that the great history of our race could be inherited by our offspring generation after generation.

The common features of the three exhibits are that all of them were based on the local cultural resources and all of these exhibits were activities with the participation of the common Xibe people by which brought the museum, the people and the community (region) together.

□ Feature of Being Academic:

Till the end of Great Culture, not only had the tradition culture been destroyed seriously, but also the research work had also been broken down for a long period of time. With the establishment of the Xibes' Fraternity, the research work, as one task of the Xibes' Fraternity, was reopened. Within this period less than 30 years, the Xibe scholars has gained some achievements on the research of origin of the Xibe people, the past history, the great event in history, the change of population, the family tree of the whole nation, religious believes, folk custom, their language, literature and arts, and political and

economic life and education in different period of time, etc. It is no exaggeration to say that the establishment of the museum was based on these achievements on ethnology, archeology, the science of history, investigation on life culture, etc. done by the Xibes' Fraternity to a great extent, which is still important for the future development of the museum. For the Xibe Fraternity, the establishment of the museum is the extension of the research work of the Xibes Fraternity, in which the achievements could be shown to the public. And for the museum, with the joining of the Xibes' Fraternity, it has been positioned to be a kind of academic institute.

It is not too much to say that the combination of the museum and the Xibes' Fraternity formed a firm basis for a sound development of the community. Without a doubt, the turbulent situation and destitution of people's livelihood in modern history in China were the immediate reasons for the decline of Taiping Temple and the nationality itself. What is more, the regional culture is becoming standardized owing to a lack of consideration for the value of tradition in the process of industrialization, modernization and globalization. When the younger generation is attracted by the dominant culture, and decides to move away from their cultural background, the traditional systems are even rejected, or regarded poorly. Consequently, the capacity of local knowledge systems is further weakened while little is done to strengthen the dynamics for local development. Facing such a crisis, the local education for promoting the Xibes' awareness of the regional culture is first and foremost for local development. The activity of utilizing part of the temple as the regional museum should be considered a new shoots from the ancient roots that is an initiative in the practice of recreating the value of traditional culture, which plays a role of local school which is obliged to strengthen people's attachment for the community of their own through promoting understanding to the local culture of their own and the self-awareness of ethnic identity.

### **3.4.3.Reopening of Temple Fair**

#### **(1)Transfiguration from Religious Cohesion to Culture Cohesion**

Whichever the temple fair it is, it is an activity of collective carnival which includes the three basic factors of religious belief, commercial activities and cultural activities. People of different age, occupation and sex can take an untrammled part in the activity, which shows strong features of being



participatory and being totally involved.

It is same to the temple fair of Taiping Temple. From the ancient to the present, whether the traditional temple fair which had lasted nearly 200 years, or the revived temple fair today, both of them show a strong participation of the community being involved totally. However, the origin that causes this carnival spirit of the whole people to happen has changed with the change of age.

In Qing Dynasty, the religious festivals were fixed after the Xibes religious beliefs like Lamaism and Ancestral Worship had well developed. Accompanying the celebration of each religious festival, temple fair came into being. The temple fair had finally developed into a comprehensive fair embracing various performances of folk artists and other cultural activities from a simple fair buying and selling farm produce and handiwork in early days. In Qing Dynasty, the temple unified the spiritual world of the people by religions. Gathering at the temple with common religious piety, people owned and shared their life custom jointly through commercial and cultural activities, and thus the community was formed. As a collecting and distributing center of commercial and cultural activities, no matter how important the commercial activities and public entertainments, they all along subordinated to the religious activities here, in the final analysis, religious activities was the nucleus of all here. All in all, Taiping Temple became the nucleus of the community life and community development with the diversification of its function on the basis of spiritual unification caused by unified religious beliefs.

The revived temple fair of Taiping Temple today has soon realized the participation with all the community members being involved by taking the advantage of carnival spirit peculiar to temple fair. There is no difference between the traditional temple fair and the revived temple fair on this point. However, as times change, there is an essential change in the relationship between the three basic factors of a temple fair. According to the analysis on religious life above, though almost all the community members expect that Taiping Temple should be recovered to be the religious center of the community someday, only a small minority of the population in the community has kept their religious belief at present. It is difficult to say that the religious activities of this minority could be the nucleus of the social cohesion in the community. In picture1 shows the time and name of the temple fairs today, while picture 2 shows the same thing of the temple fairs in

Qing Dynasty, by comparison, it is easy to find that the difference the temple fairs' date and name were decided by religious festivals date and name while today's temple fairs' date and name have nothing to do with religious festivals but are decided by seasons and folk festivals. On the contrary, figure 1 shows us % come to the temple fair for folk activities and enjoying leisure time, which shows us that Taiping Temple's function for religious belief has been reduced, so does its economical function, while the people are attracted to come to the temple fair by the activities relating to the folk customs. That is to say, the people of the locality come to the temple fair for enjoying entertainments and leisure time. With the strengthening of its function of entertainments, the content of the entertainment at the fair has changed from religious drama to displaying ethnic and folk culture and arts. And with this, the cultural function and the function for linking up human relationship were produced. Therefore, the temple fair today has evolved into a so-called "cultural temple fair" gradually-----a place for public entertainments and involvement where the ethnic folkways and folk arts will be displayed.

Being different from the traditional fair with people's sense of participation born of religious identity, the public involvement is realized by cultural identity through cultural communication and exchange. All in all, the temple fair today of Taiping Temple has evolved into a public space for a mass meeting relying on cultural cohesion from the traditional one relying on religious cohesion.

## **(2)the Revival of Traditional Life Culture**

The revival of traditional life culture:

The traditional life culture, being considered to be part of the dynamics for sustainable development of Xibe Nationality, was emphasized on the temple fair. Different from the poor revival of religious belief, it shows remarkable resilience and becomes the highlights on the fair.



### **the Temple Fair**

These activities are supported by a group of folk artists of Xibe Nationality who are the members of the Xibe's Fraternity. And for their contributions to the locality, they are also recommended and accepted as the members of the Society of Folk Artists of Liaoning Province. And the following traditional life culture has come back to people's life successively on the temple fair since the temple fair reopened in 2004:

#### **□ Folk Handicrafts:**

□ Sugar-molded: Sugar-molded is a folk art of painting a picture with sugar. Both the skill and the tools used by craftsman are very special. The painting brush is just a long-handled copper ladle while the pigment is the malt sugar melted in the pot. In the process of painting, the craftsman ladles out some syrup from the pot, and then, inclining the ladle a little bit forward, shakes the thread of syrup onto the surface of a marble slab with the arm moving slowly and steadily while the syrup is hot. With the shaking of the copper ladle, a dragon, a bird, or a dog..... etc. will appear on the surface of the marble slab. After the sugar cool down and dry up by airing awhile, attaching a piece of bamboo stick and prizing the picture off from the marble slab, the sugar-molded is completed. It is a traditional handicraft used for making toys very often. And the sugar-molded toys are children's favorites. Sometimes there will be wooden or metal molds which are carved with various patterns. The most common motifs are chickens, fish, pigs, horses, lions and tigers. However, the sugar-molded without molds is much more difficult. Skills and experiences are required. Only those craftsmen who have a good command of

this traditional skill can do the work with ease, so it is fun to both observe and eat. This traditional skill is presently under the verge of extinction.



### **Handicraft: Sugar-molded**

□Blowing Sugar figurines: It belongs to the food culture. The ways of making sugar figurine consist of: 1, blowing figurine; 2, drawing figurine; 3, moulding figurine. The details is as follows: A sugar figurine is made by first melting malt sugar in a pot, then taking it out when it becomes semi-colloid and blowing it into a hollow round ball with a long and thin tube. When the ball cools down it becomes solid while the lump of elastic sugar remains soft and warm in the hand. At that point the sugar blower pulls, rolls, and pinches the ball while blowing into the tube. In less than a minute, a figure takes shape. Although it is not difficult to learn the basics of blowing sugar figurines, it takes much time and practice to do it well.

□Dough Molding (Dough Figurine 面塑 捏面人) : The main material of Dough Figurine Sculpture is flour or processed soft composite pottery. The process is complicated which can fully reflect the sculptor's ingenious idea and exquisite skill. The completion of the whole piece of work covers stages of designing, dough mixing, braising, dough kneading, color matching, dough molding, desiccation and packaging etc. Skills involved are kneading, molding, pressing, rubbing, rolling, grinding, poking, cutting and so on. The

artwork is vivid and colorful. It is said that with the development of antiseptic and antichecking techniques, some works can be preserved for tens or hundreds of years. It is said that some Xibe sculptors traveled between big cities to make a living on it in the past and hence brought it to a higher artistic level. Geographically, the Xibes' dough figurine has a character of being primitive and simply, rough, bold and unconstrained. Nevertheless, it is a pity that the ancient folk art lacks worthy successors and is endangered with the possibility of being lost. If it is not further inherited and developed, the coming generations will not be able to appreciate this special genre of art with a long standing.

□Egg Carving: As a matter of fact, the art of egg carving is popular in many places of China. This handicraft of the Xibes originated from the old custom of giving red egg as a present in Shengjing in early days. In Qing Dynasty, this custom is very popular for wishing others good luck and happiness when there is a joyous event like wedding, birthday, or birth of a boy, etc. Thus, many Xibe people followed this trend and began to keep a stall or open a shop specially for selling red eggs which were called "colorful eggs" at that time. Later, people began to decorate these eggs with flower-and-bird painting or facial mask-like male makeup in Chinese opera for the purpose of business thriving. With the evolution of many years, the craft of "colorful eggs" had been improved and finally evolved into a craft of value-----egg carving.

Egg Carving means engraving on egg shells to form pictures, which is the combination of both painting and carving. It uses the technique of carving to produce the effects of painting. Egg Carving originated from egg-painting comprises traditional techniques like basso-relievo and miniature carving. Egg Carving requires no pigment of any depends solely on the original color of eggshell itself. Making Egg-Carving requires, first of all, to choose lustrous and a metabolic eggs. Then the eggs should go through procedures consisting of sucking out yolk, cleaning, disinfection, drying, painting, carving, putting on colors, decorating, packing, etc.

□Paper-cut: It takes paper as the material and scissor or engraving knife as the tool. Paper-cuts are produced by hand, not by machine. There are two methods of manufacture: scissor cuttings and knife cuttings. The former one is fashioned with scissors. Several pieces of paper, up to eight pieces, are fastened together. Then, artists cut the motif with sharp, pointed scissors. In knife cutting, artists put several layers of paper on a relatively soft foundation consisting of a mixture of tallow and ashes. Following a pattern, the artists

hold a sharp knife vertically and cut the motif into the paper. Considerably more paper-cuttings can be made in one operation with knife cuttings than with scissor cuttings. The paper-cut art has been widely spread and of a long history. In fact, it is one of China's most popular and characteristic folk arts. The Xibes' paper-cut has its uniqueness on subject matter, style and techniques which were fashioned by its local folk-customs and traditions. Folk paper-cut of the Xibes outlines the natural forms by way of employing characters, symbol and implication to constitute beautiful patterns, which has exerted an influence on decorative patterns, leather silhouette, printed cloth, embroidery and paintings. As a form of folk art, it occupies a significant position in the folk activities, for example, various paper objects and symbolic figures used to be buried with the deceased or were burned. It is still the case in some Xibes' villages.

□Embroidery: Embroidery is another traditional craftwork of the Xibes which is by using colorful threads to embroider all kinds of designs and pictures on knit-work. Making embroidery is a highly complicated and careful process, which requires particular and diverse stitches. In old days, the girls had to stay at home most of the time because few of them went to school, so one of the works they could do to while away the time is embroidery. So in the countryside, it used to be even one of the craftsmanship that every girl was to master and that were often used to judge brides. Up to now, there are still some old women in the countryside being good at the work of embroidery. However, the Great Culture Revolution has impacted the inheritance of this traditional skill, as a consequence, the young people who have a good command of this skill are becoming less and less. So there is a call for the young female of the Xibes to study this traditional craft among the Xibes people. The embroidery works of the Xibes include sachet, pillow cover, pillowcase, shoes and national dress and personal adornment, etc. These artworks take the patterns of animals and plants of native growth as the principal designs, some sachets are even embroidered with the characters of Xibe language or the patterns of arrows and bows cherished deeply by the Xibes. The Xibes' embroidery is distinguished by rich and bright colors, which is totally different from Suzhou embroidery of the south that is fine and exquisite, showing north nationality's character of broad mind and pleasant simplicity in all respects.

□pinwheel (a child's toy) (风车) : The making of pinwheel and kite is a traditional handicraft handed down all over the world, which have had a history over 2000 years in China. People of the Xibe Nationality also had its original crafts for making pinwheel and kite. It is said that the traditional process of selecting suitable materials and the craft itself for making pinwheel and kite are very complicated, which has failed to be handed down in the turbulence of modern history. The making of pinwheel and kite shown at the temple fair is really something like the old one which is originated by the Xibes in the past. However, it is far from being exquisite and complicated as the traditional one. Anyway, the show of this incomplete inheritance still aroused people's interest in this traditional craft, which at least set the work for reviving this craft into action. It is said that the Xibes Fraternity is looking for the real inheritors of this craft in the expectation that the craft will appear before the public in the future by taking the advantage of this grand cultural gathering.

#### □Local Opera:

□*Deng-guan Yangko*: Yangko is a popular rural folk dance in the Northeast of China among many nationalities. However, *Deng-guan Yangko* of the Xibe Nationality is a kind of folk art different from orthodox yangko by emphasizing comical performance. The star actors of the performance are Deng-guan Wife and the manager of the accountant's office in the old days. Deng-guan Wife is a male in female disguise with very ugly make-up, and the more ugly the better for fun. And another actor is the manager of the accountant's office who will cast funny accounts with the audience and ask people to pay for it. Another distinguished feature is that the stage properties which the actors hold in hand are decorative lanterns of lotus, pumpkin, radish, watermelon, cabbage, or a lion, tiger, monkey and fish, etc. in stead of the handkerchiefs generally used in the performance of the general orthodox yangko. With its distinguished features, *Deng-guan Yangko* has become a represent of their traditional culture, which bring people much joyfulness in its unique style.

□*Er-Ren-Zhuan*: *Errenzhuan* is a form of duet, which has been developed from *Bengbeng* of Qing Dynasty. It is a form of *Quyí* that involves storytelling, singing and dancing, between two performers. *Bengbeng* has a

history over 200 years and its script is written in popular language that is easy to understand, humorous, and rich in local life style and flavor. The vocal music is based on that of the northeastern folk songs. The singing is high-spirited and of an explosive type, sincere and moving. The dancing is derived from farmers' dances done to celebrate sowing and planting. It also features the folk dance technique of waving fans or silk handkerchiefs. Today, *Beng-beng-er* is performed by an actor and an actress of which all the women roles will be acted by male actors disguised as a woman in early days. *Errenzhuan* has been listed as a folk art protected by the state.

□shadow play (a leather-silhouette show) (皮影) :

The period from the middle of Ming Dynasty to the beginning of Qing Dynasty and then up to Republic of China is the period of shadow play's great prosperity for the north nationalities in China. The Xibe Nationality just settled down during this period of time. They had inherited and developed the art of shadow play and became the outstanding representative of this traditional folk art. According to the record, there were about 30 shadow projectors and over 16 actors till 1991. Even today, there are still some excellent artists of shadow play among the people. The art of shadow play being handed down and prevailing over the whole area of the Xibes has preserved and accumulated the deep intention of the fishing and hunting culture and the primitive Shamanism culture. Symbolic formula that can be found in the artistic form of shadow play shows us the distinctive cultural mentality and tradition of the Xibe race. The art of Xibes shadow play has inherited the style of paper-cut to a great extent, which is simple and honest, natural and powerful, bold and unconstrained. The techniques of expression has got beyond simply imitating the nature and got up to a high level of art, which has a great influence on the development of the folk art of shadow play both of the north and even of the whole country. Besides, it also has strict and special methods and technics in the making and chasing process. Seeing from the subject matter of the shadow play, as the predecessor of stage opera, it has a rich list of plays on celestial beings, historical romance, folk customs and life, love story and ethics, which has made the shaping of artistic figures and images more rich and colorful.





### Shadow Play

□ **Jumping Buzha (a sorcerer's dance in a trance):** Jumping Buzha is a very important religious activity of Lamaism, which is considered by lamas to be the religious dance drama of the grand ceremony of Lamaism. After converting to Lamaism, Jumping Buzha became a very important and fixed play in the religious ceremony of Lamaism. It is said that it was an exceptionally grand occasion as a religious activity in Qing Dynasty. Unfortunately, today what we have seen at the temple fair was only something appreciated by the audience as a kind of ancient religious dance drama which has little connection with people's religious belief; and most people just enjoy watching it for it is a memory of a kind of ancient belief. If Jumping Buzha could come back to people's life completely as a part of people's religious life is still unknown.



### **Jumping *Buzha***

#### **□ Folk Dance:**

The Xibe Nationality has a variety of folk dances, among them, the most representative ones are religious dance “*Shaman Dance*”, and folk dance of a mass character “*Beilun Dance*”.

□*Shaman Dance*: The Xibes created the religion of Shamanism which suited their production mode and the nature on which they rely for existence. It had become the deep-seated groundwork of the Xibes’ traditional culture after being well developed and enriched in the long history. The religion of Shamanism has continued thousands of years and one of its main functions and values was to treat diseases so to ensure the multiplication of the whole clan. The treatment was conducted in the process of a sorcerer’s (a Xibe Shaman) dance in a trance which is an integral whole of song, dance and music. The song, dance and music in it were the product of the collective creative work. This kind of treatment had an effect on the patient by the psychotherapy produced by the religious song chanted by the Shaman and his(her) assistant during the dance. The Xibe Shaman has their clothes specially made---the costume with an iron hat worn on head; a chest-guard bronze mirror hung before the chest; embroidered skirt with long ribbons tied round the waist. The Xibe Shaman imitated the postures of various animals and the action of the animal’s pursuing, fighting and slaughtering while dancing in such a dress, which reflects the spirit of the primitive clan age, nomadic and hunting lifestyle and also the distinctive features of mountain forest culture and prairie culture. Today’s Shaman Dance is a folk dance

evolved from the primitive Shamanism and the activity of Shaman's dance in a trance. This kind of dance is usually shown in a special way by combining song and dance together. It shows its distinctive features by its bold and unconstrained style; vigorous and powerful movements which is considered to be very simple and vivid. Influenced by the folk "Beilun" Dance,

□ *Bei-lun* Dance: If we say that Shaman Dance is a religious dance, then *Bei-lun* Dance is the general name for the folk dance of strong massive and self-amusing characters. *Bei-lun* Dance mainly gives expressions by the movements of upper limbs. The distinctive features of this dance are sprightly rhythm, graceful dance movements and its being terse and forceful. The performance is generally an improvisation in the form of pas de deux mainly for self-amusement which is accompanied with lively rhythm. The traditional instrument for accompaniment is called Dong-bu-er, while violin is used very often to play an accompaniment in the performance today. Over ten kinds of *Bei-lun* Dance have been found among the people. And it is said that *Bei-lun* dance is known to all and people of all ages can dance one or two kinds of it at least.

#### □ **Traditional Martial Sports :**

□ *Ga-La-Ha*: Catching *Ga-La-Ha* (the kneecaps of a sheep's hind legs; only two every sheep) is a traditional game played by the Xibes. In ancient times, the Xibes of all ages would gather and kill a sheep for have a dinner together after coming back from hunting. And they found that the kneecaps of the sheep's hind legs left after the dinner were small and exquisite and had different shapes on four sides. They handed it around and enjoyed the fascination together until they spread a piece of animal skin onto the ground and put hundreds of kneecaps onto the animal skin for playing a game. Afterwards, some rules for the game were formed and at last it evolved into the *Ga-La-Ha* game today. The basic rules for today's *Ga-La-Ha* game is as follows: There are about 200 kneecaps as pieces(basically taking 160~240 pieces as the radix); In the competition, the first step is to cast the pieces onto a piece of felt(or a piece animal skin) spread on *kang*; while catching the pieces, the players must throw a small steel ball up highly first, then catch a hold of the pieces as much as he can; and then catch the steel ball with the same hand while the ball in the air is falling down; the hand and other part of the body shouldn't touch other pieces and the pieces in the hand shouldn't be dropped down; the competition arena will be the *Kang* of a Xibes' family;

there are two teams with four players respectively; the players will catch the pieces in turns until nothing left on the felt; the team who catches more pieces than the other team will be the winner; generally it is a fight of 5 rounds and the team who win 3 rounds will be the last winner. The game of catching Ga-La-Ha is a very old cultural activity for amusement. Its historical and cultural value shouldn't be neglected.



### ***Ga-la-ha Game***

□ **Wrestling:** It is also a traditional sports activity of a mass character over the area of the *Xibes*, which can help to temper one's fighting will and build an indomitable character. Among the people, wrestling has not developed a competition formula on a regular time schedule and with established rules like archery. Among the people, both the kids and the adults like wrestling. If they have chance to gather together in threes and fours, there will be a bout to decide who is stronger. Therefore, wrestling proficientes are constantly emerging among the Xibe people. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, wrestling was included in the events of sports competition. With this, the wrestling sports of the Xibes has developed and the training method is also becoming scientific and standardized increasingly. People of talent in wrestling sports come forth in large numbers and some of them have won the national championship many times.

These life culture handed down from the past were shown at the temple fair in the way of performance, entertainment, or in the way of buying and selling, etc. Simultaneously, the programs of the performance and the entertainment and the handicrafts, as the expressions of the traditional life

culture, were well received by the people who come to the temple fair. That is to say, the life culture showed remarkable resilience at the temple fair in comparison with the revival of religious belief. For the question “what of the traditional life culture attract you the most?”, the answers of the Xibes are general as follows: “It’s the things of our race, and I can’t find the same things elsewhere”; “it makes me remember past times”; “these life culture attract me so much because they are the properties of our Xibes”; ... and answers of the non-natives are general as follows: “It is natural and simple”; “It is difficult to find the same thing at a supermarket(handicrafts)”; “It is very interesting”; “The cultural taste is very special and interesting”; “the process of making is very attractive(handicrafts)”; It seems that for the natives of the Xibe Community these life culture are loaded with the common memory of their race which can touch off the sense of identification among the Xibe people and will link people’s hearts together; and the unique culture taste is something that have attraction for those non-natives.

Why people are in such sympathy with each other in the love of the life culture shown at the temple fair?

What the life culture handed down among the Xibe people, including folk arts, entertainments and handicrafts, etc., have in common is that people can talk about the story of it according to its external appearance, so to tell the ideology and intention of the creation. Namely, these things not only are practical in life but also can satisfy people’s spiritual needs. Tracing its source, many Xibe folk artists try to have a thorough knowledge of social ideology while watching, communicating and thinking in their social life within their power. Only with this, the creation aspirations could be fired up and then their understanding of social culture could be put into artistic images that are visible. These folk artistic images are the productions of the harmony of social culture, which could be considered to be the symbols for signifying and expressing national culture. What people obtained from these productions has gone beyond the productions themselves whether they are the creators, or the appreciators or the users. As a matter of fact, they can enter a multi-dimensional Xibe society and history by these productions at the temple fair. As such a carrier, the productions become more significant and attractive. This is why people have sympathy with each other in the love of the life culture shown at the temple fair.

### **3.5 Discussion and Conclusion:**

(1) According to the analysis in the first report, Taiping Temple had developed to be a multi-function nucleus of the community life in Qing Dynasty. It provided a public space for the internal interaction between the community members where people identified themselves with the common religious life and cultural life and other national affairs, etc. in point of fact, it was a place where people's hearts were linked and the collective consciousness was brought to fruition; or it was the base where the national tradition could be handed down from generation to generation. However, since the early days of 1900s, Taiping Temple had been in a condition of being discarded from the period of tangled warfare to the Great Cultural Revolution and then up to the period before its reconstruction. During this period of nearly 100 years, the distinctive national features has been disappearing gradually, and the crisis of national collapse is becoming more and more serious. Undoubtedly, there must be various reasons for the collapse of a nation, however, it is difficult to make a denial of that the decline of Taiping Temple is an important reason for the disability of the tradition inheritance because its decline cause the discontinuity of religious and cultural activity, etc which is considered to be the important means for inheriting the traditional culture

(2) The existence of the NGO of the Xibes----the Xibes' Fraternity and the general inspection of cultural properties being pushed forward by the Xibes' Fraternity are the prerequisites of the reconstruction and reuse of Taiping Temple. this long-term striving process is a kind of bottom-up development practice which is different from the development activities promoted by the government and could be considered to be a development from within. This initiative of endogenous development is the key factor for the temple coming back to the Xibe people's life.

(3) As a lamasery, the religion of Lamaism had ever played a relatively role in forming the social cohesion by unifying the spiritual life in the community. However, the reconstruction and reuse of the temple has not brought the complete revival of Lamaism belief to fruition in the community temporarily, that is to say, only a minority in the community are utilizing the temple for the purpose of religious activities. So it is too early to rely on religious force to develop the social cohesion over again. Anyhow, if considering the long-term

discontinuity of people's religious life in the history, the revival of Lamaism belief of this extent should be noteworthy for it at least shows that the religious piety has never disappeared in people's mind though the religious practice and activities had been discontinued for several decades in history. Therefore, a further extent of the revival of religious belief could be anticipated. In the point of fact, the inheritance of Lamaism belief, which is considered to be a symbol of collective life and an important means for inheriting the tradition and forming social cohesion in the Xibe community, is also crucial for the survival of the nationality in history.

(4) The building of the Xibe Folk-Custom Culture Museum shows that the function of the temple is changing to be a cultural centre of the community. Though the appearance of the Xibe Folk-Custom Culture Museum in the temple transfigured the traditional image of religious centre that it should be, it corresponds to the image of the community and play a role in the local education for promoting the Xibes' awareness of the regional culture and strengthening people's attachment for the community of their own at the moment when many young people is attracted by the dominant culture and decide to move from their cultural background.

(5) The revival of the life cultural like folk arts, entertainments and handicrafts, etc. showed remarkable resilience in comparison with the revival of Lamaism belief. Today's temple fair is different from the traditional one which was naturally formed by the cohesion of religious festivals and people's needs for the exchange of goods and materials. Today's temple fair was materialized by people's needs for reviving the traditional culture while people's physical life doesn't rely on it directly. Today's temple fair culture is rather like a square culture for the purposes of cultivating culture consciousness, spending leisure time and seeking amusements, spreading knowledge and performing economic activities, etc. People gathered here for communal celebration which is just like a carnival. People identify themselves with the communal activity for finding out the common of national emotions, values, history and tradition. With this cultural identity, the new collective consciousness will be rebuilt with people's hearts being linked.

In traditional Chinese society, where there were people living a life in community, there would be at least one temple. The temple was a place where people find their spiritual sustenance, and besides, it was also a place where

people of the community gathered and communicated. Thus the temple would become the public space of the community. It must be a place being closely linked with people's daily life, only in this way, it could become the nucleus and base for forming, developing and creating the local culture and history of the community which is considered to be the internal force for the sustainable development of the community. This is what look a temple should have. It is the same for the Xibe community and Taiping Temple today. Taiping Temple does not show its traditional look any more today with the historical transition, it still takes time for the temple to adjust itself to the needs of the community life, so if it could completely come back to people's daily life and exist for the basic needs of the community is the key point that will determine if it can still be a place to link people's hearts together and so to arouse the collective consciousness which is considered to be the internal force for the sustainable development of the Xibe nationality in the transition of history.



## **Results and Conclusions**

## Results and Conclusions

This book took a general view of the social and cultural functions of Taiping Temple for the Xibe ethnic community. And the following come to light:

### 1. Taiping Temple----the symbol of the Xibe Nationality's identity

The social environment and the production mode of the Xibes had undergone great changes owing to the settlement policy of the Qing government in the early days of Qing Dynasty. the Xibes, who lived a clan community life of nomadism, had to reconstruct their ethnic community based on geographical relationship again in Shengjing. The "*Ju-yi-ting*"(gathering place) built spontaneously by the Xibes later became the predecessor of Taiping Temple. With it, the Xibes gave full play to lamaism belief highly praised by Qing government, and the belief of ancestral worship which is the symbol of their identity in the community construction and development.

### 2. Taiping Temple---the starting point of community development

Taiping temple is the religious centre of the ethnic community with lamaism and ancestral worship as the pillar of their poly-belief according to its temple arrangement and the annual events. And with Taiping Temple as the spiritual base of the community, the common community sense among the Xibes was then cultivated even if they haven't developed a unified religious belief. As it were, Taiping Temple was the starting point of the Xibe ethnic community.

### 3. Taiping Temple---a place for cultural creation, inheritance and economic development

Taiping Temple is not only a place for religious events, but also a place for temple fair where various traditional handicraft and local operas had been exchanged and developed.

The craftsmen and artistes in the community showed the traditional skills and local operas at the temple. the artistic exchange and life handicraft's activation further made the whole community involved and developed. Namely, Taiping Temple was not only the religious centre, but also a economic centre, public entertainment centre for all the members of the

community.

Generally speaking, it is not too much to say that Taiping Temple is a place where the sense of value, national emotion and life principle which played a role in harmonizing the community formed owing to the close relationship with the community.

Therefore, as the cultural base of the community, it is possible for Taiping Temple to link people's hearts together and reconstruct the collective consciousness which would be the foundation for the survival of Xibe Nationality.

**The Problems Being Faced today:**

At present, the central government tries to help the Xibe ethnic group in their national development by some supporting policies like preferential treatment, the construction of ethnic villages, the promotion of local industries, etc. It could be said that these policies have produced satisfactory results in some aspects. Especially, owing to the strong influence of Han Nationality at Shengyang that is specified to be the developed economic area in China, being fully equipped with infrastructure, transportation, etc which should be the basic foundation for economic activities, it is obvious that there is an improvement in the standard of the Xibe people's living.

However, with the advance of modernization, the traditional culture indigenous to the Xibe Nationality is in the state of serious loss owing to placing their main reliance on Han Nationality too much. If so, the so-called development is nothing else but an exogenous development. The extinction of national culture, which is the basic foundation of nationality, is the extinction of the Xibe Nationality in real term, it's nothing but being assimilated by Han Chinese.

With the extinction of culture, the indigenous development becomes impossible. As a result, it is impossible to development the capacity for development through one's own resources. It is nothing but a dependent development. To keep their own culture co-existing with Han Chinese culture while co-evolve with Han Chinese is a big problem to be solved.

**Conclusion:**

The Xibe ethnic minority is a nationality which is very acceptant. Since the end of Ming Dynast and the beginning of Qing Dynasty, it has accepted the influence of the cultures of Manchu Nationality, Kazakh Nationality,

Uygur Nationality and Han Chinese, and before Ming and Qing Dynasty, it was influenced a lot by the culture of Mongol Nationality. Therefore, its custom and culture is something blended with cultural elements of these nationalities. However, the custom and culture of the Xibes has maintained to be distinctive in history since the Xibe nationality has kept its integrality all the time. No matter in which period of history, today or in Qing Dynasty, with the development of society, the customs and culture of a nationality will change and evolve naturally. Especially today, self-contained community was broken down and the change is so fast. This transformation of culture and customs has the protracted nature and the property of continuity. If so, what is the basis for the sustainable development of nationality in the transition of history? According this case study, it should be a collectiveness formed on the basis of the tradition indigenous to this nationality. For the Xibe Nationality, Taiping Temple is just such a place which can link people's hearts together, through various traditional temple activities, the common emotions, feelings, ideology, life style, and values would be built. The collectiveness would be formed after all these customs and culture are owned jointly by community members. Only with this collectiveness, the nationality could transform and evolve based on the tradition peculiar to it, so to make the nationality never decline, hand down and multiply and even develop and grow in strength. The existence of Taiping Temple affords a possibility for the birth and inheritance of this collectiveness based on traditional culture. And its prerequisite is the endogenous development with all the community members as the masters and based on the needs of these masters of the community. Endogenous development maybe the only development option for the Xibes, otherwise, the Xibe ethnic community and the nationality itself will definitely head for decline and even collapse at last.

### **Proposal for future development:**

Endogenous development is definitely not an antisocial activity.

It is just an alternative for local control of development options.

For me, I just want to demonstrate plainly the value neglected in today's society through this book.

Those who make the choice are at last the Xibe people.

However, for a sound development in China, it is necessary to help Chinese understand its value.

I confirmed that the reconstruction of Taiping Temple is a step of such

development practice through this book.

Hereafter, I will do my best to spread this way of thinking about another development.

## **Acknowledgement**

This book has been written under the guidance of many patient advisors and the support of the local people and government:

Pro.Miyazaki, Pro. Kamaike, Pro. Fukukawa, Pro. Ueda, (Chiba University)  
Guan Baoxue, Ye Yongcheng, An Jingsheng, Ms. He, Wu Guilan, Li Xingcheng, Yan Weifen, Liu Lihua and all the other members of the Xibes' Fraternity.(Shengyang, China)

the Archives of Liaoning Province, the Archives of Shenyang, the Cultural bureau of Shenyang, the Library of Liaoning Province, local government of Heping District, Xing Longtai Town Government (Shenyang, Liaoning Province, China)

I am grateful for their guidance and support.

At last, I want to give my special thanks to my supervisor, Pro. Miyazaki. He is a standard-bearer for creating a ideal society in my eyes. Thanks for his research as a pioneer in this field and his earnestly instruct. That makes me feel confident in my hard research work. Many thanks again from the bottom of my heart.





**研究背景～**

多民族国家 (13億の人口)

漢民族 (92%)

55の少数民族 (8%)  
シボ族、満州族、モンゴル族……

**研究背景～**

貴孝通さんによる **多元一体格局** 学説の確立

多元：  
56以上文化の種から共進化された

一体：  
融合した同一の民族意識を持っている有機的統一

豊かな歴史、文化多様性の民族文化アイデンティティを立てた

**研究背景～**

危機：多元一体格局の崩壊

しかしながら、中国の近代史を振り返ると、それは、多くの少数民族にとって、まさに、苦難の連続でした。為政者の変化や社会の急速な変容が、人びとの生活に大きな影響を与えてきたためです。

それは、シボ族にとっても例外ではありませんでした。

とくに、1966年以降の文化大革命や都市化・近代化が進展するなかであって、今日、**少数民族のアイデンティティの構築が急務となっています。**

中国近代史

アヘン戦争～清朝時代の末年～中華民国～中華人民共和国～(文化大革命)……都市化、近代化……

1966年～

**研究目的**

本研究は、中国遼寧省瀋陽市に居住する少数民族であるシボ族を取り上げ、人びとの社会生活の中心に位置してきた寺廟である「太平寺」の社会的・文化的役割を把握することを目的としています。

そして、最終的には、寺廟を民族文化の基地として再認識し、人びとの心を繋ぎ、民族が存続するための基盤となる集団意識を再構築する可能性を示したいと考えます。

**研究方法**

文献調査

現地調査

参与観察

アンケート調査 (128部)

インタビュー調査 (17歳以上のシボ族人22人)

データ

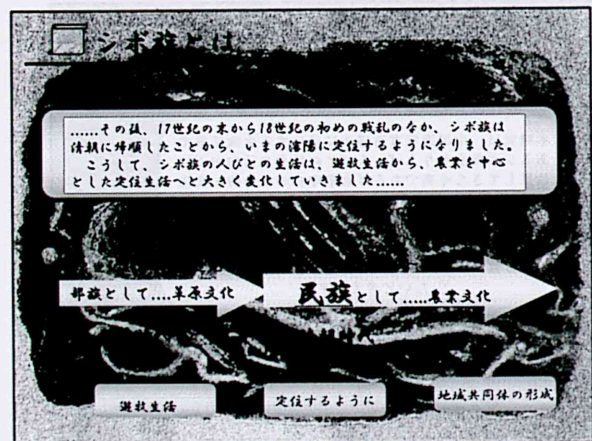
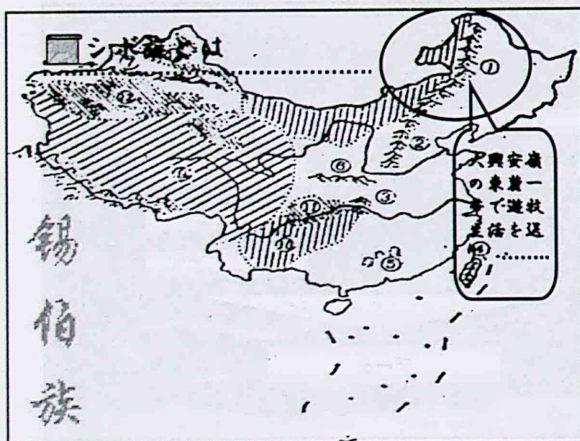
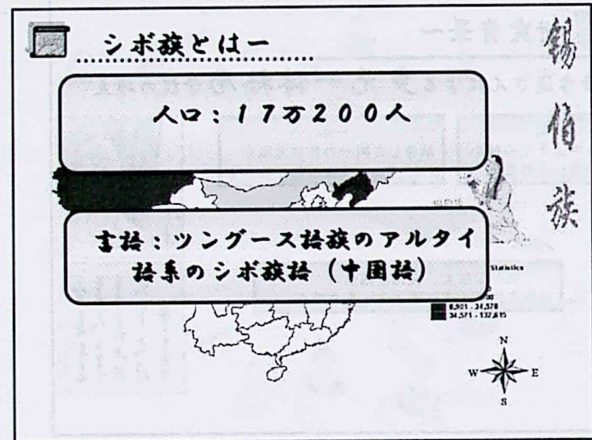
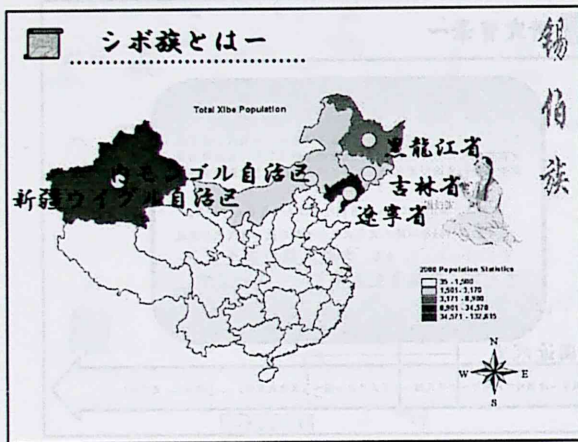


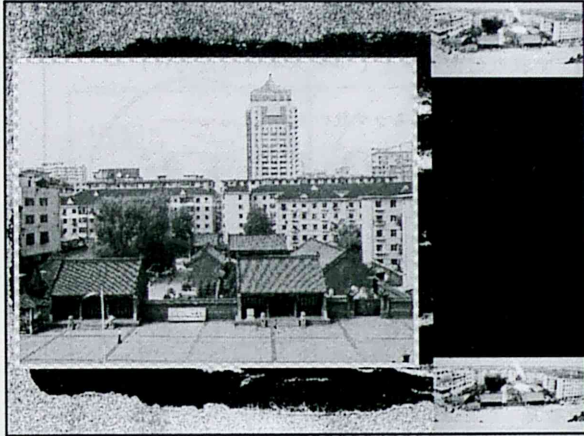
研究背景 目的、先行研究、本研究の視座

第一部 シボ族の歩みと交展の現状  
古代、清朝時代、現段階

第二部 太平寺とシボ族社会とのかわり  
第一章 ハードの面：形態特質とその変容  
第二章 第三章 ソフト面：太平寺の使い方

所見、採題と展望

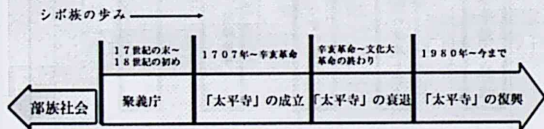




太平寺西院のパノラマ写真

■ 太平寺の変遷～

- 第一時代「聚義庁」の設立：17世紀の末～18世紀の初め
- 第二時代「太平寺」の成立：1707年～辛亥革命（清朝の終わり）
- 第三時代「太平寺」の衰退：辛亥革命～文化大革命の終わり
- 第四時代「太平寺」の復興：1980年～今まで



■ 太平寺の変遷～

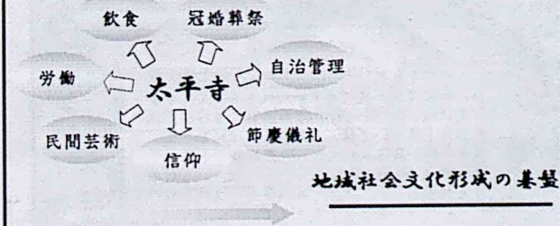
第一段階：伝統的社会における内発発展の胎動

第一の時代は、清政府から勇戦に戦う民族性を認められ、駐屯軍として瀋陽市に集められ定住生活を行うようになった17世紀の末と考えることができます。その時、シボ族の人びとは、民族の団結のために、自発的に「聚義庁」をつくりました。それが、「太平寺」の基礎になりました。「聚義庁」とは、中国語で集会の場を意味しており、当初から、「太平寺」は、人びとの心を繋ぐ役割を担ってきたといえます。

「聚義庁」：集まる場

■ 太平寺の変遷

第二段階：「聚義庁」からラマ廟へ



■ 太平寺の変遷

第三、四段階：太平寺の衰退と復興

1966年から～文化大革命による衰退

——激動な歴史による人々のアイデンティティの急速的な消失

1980年から～復興の時代による再建

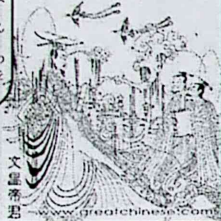
急速に発展している現代社会の中で

- どのような太平寺が目指されているのでしょうか？
- どのような太平寺を目指すべきなのでしょうか？

■ ラマ教の信仰の場としての太平寺（清時代）～

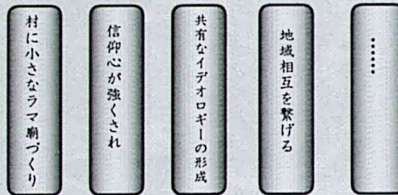
シボ族におけるラマ教の普及について——

シボ族が清政府に帰順した後、政府の国教であったラマ教がシボ族地域の住民たちの間に急速に浸透していきました。以後、ラマ教が人びとに共有の精神的支えのひとつとしてシボ族社会に普及していきました。このことに重要な役割を果たしたのは、まさに「太平寺」でした。太平寺は、シボ族の社会のなかで、もっとも大きなお寺として、盛んにお参りがなされるようになっていきました。たとえば、学問の神である「文昌」に対して、シボ族の人びとは、盛んに、太平寺に向かい、焼香をあげ、願をかけたたり、お参りをしたりしました。



■ ラマ教の信仰の場としての太平寺（清時代）～

シボ族におけるラマ教の普及による——



宗教聖地

→ 地域の中核

■ 日常生活の場としての太平寺（清時代）

思い出を語る村の人：

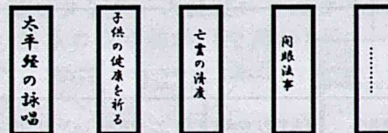
昔の生活の暖かさ、いつまでも忘れられない



村の人：2004年、当時74歳の何さん 法事を営んでいるラマ僧たち

■ 日常生活としての太平寺（清時代）

ラマ僧の奉仕：



■ 日常生活としての太平寺（清時代）

このように、太平寺は、当該地域のシボ族の人々の日常生活のみならず、生老病死、喜怒哀楽、成敗榮辱などいづれにも浸透していたのです。

「ヶ」としてのラマ教

生活づくり

人生づくり

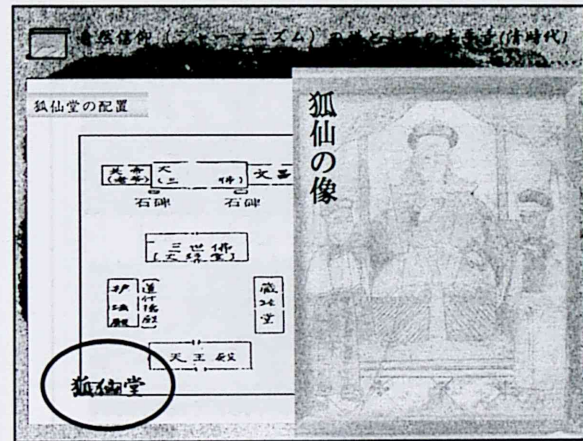
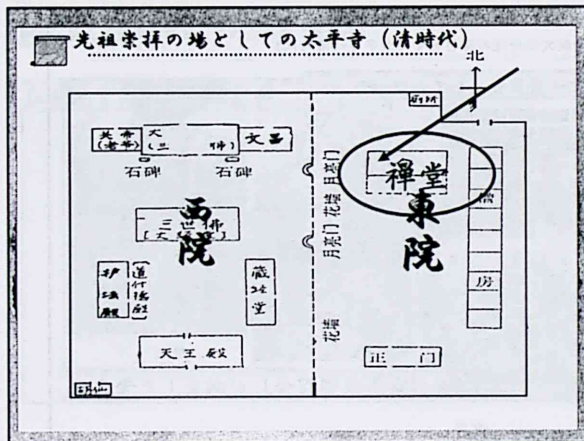
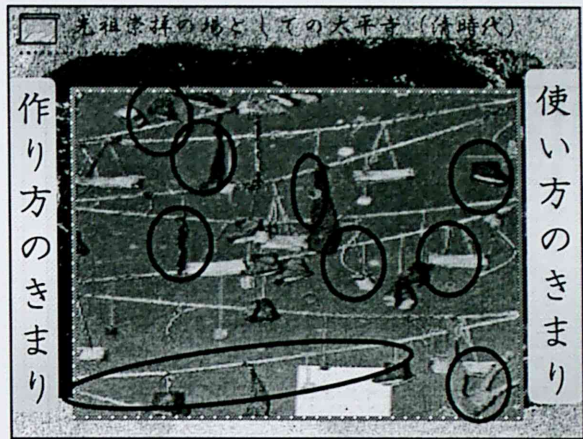
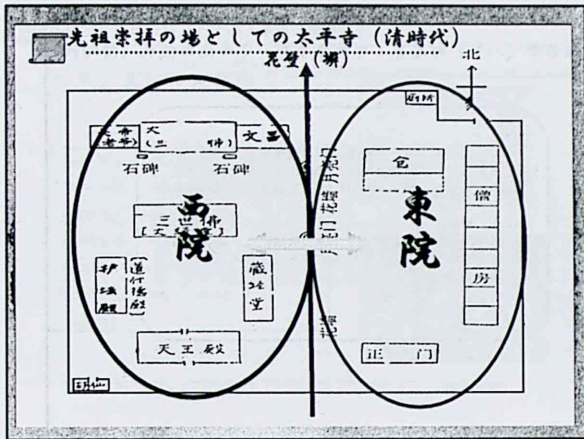
人づくり

■ 先祖祭祀活動としての太平寺（清時代）

4・18祭りによる：

→ 地域主人公づくり

この太平寺で毎年行っている先祖崇拝活動は、戦乱時代と文化大革命時代を除いて、今まで受け継がれています。この活動によって、地縁関係を基づいて結んだ民族共同体にとって、仮想的親族関係が形成され、民族の心を繋いで、共通の感情を呼び起こした。その次、いろいろな生活習わしができて、民族社会、文化を形作ることも果たした。



非日常 (ハレ) の場としての太平寺 (清時代)

太平寺における主な宗教活動:

期日	活動
旧暦1月8日~15日	鬼やらい、廟会
旧暦2月2日	「竜抬頭」
旧暦4月8日~15日	お歌迎様の誕生日
旧暦4月18日	先祖祭り、廟会
旧暦5月13日	関公の「單刀赴会」祭り
旧暦6月24日	関公の誕生日
旧暦6月15日~8月1日	「誦經法会」

.....



■ 非日常（ハレ）の場としての太平寺～「佛誕日」まつり（清時代）

旧暦四月八日：お釈迦様の誕生日

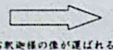
「出巡」

誦経

庙会



瀋陽にある法輪寺（空室のラマ廟）



お釈迦様の像が運ばれる



太平寺

■ 非日常（ハレ）の場としての太平寺～その他の儀礼（清時代）

☆他にも、武人の関羽（かんう）の誕生日には、関羽の肖像画の前に、羊の撲毬やその他のさまざまな供え物をして、お酒を注いで火をつけ、さらに線香をあげて地面に願うしました。  
 ☆また、旧暦六月十五日から八月一日までの一ヶ月間は、読経活動が行われました。ラマ僧たちは、太平寺にこもり、経文を誦唱しました。読経を聞きにきた人たちは、金を寄付しました。

■ 生活文化創造と経済発展の場としての太平寺～庙会（清時代）

庙会（縁日）

シボ族社区の安定と発展に従って、生活文化も豊かになっていきました。特に手細工技術の進化、それに地元の民俗芸術の発展とともに、生活文化の交流に対する需要がだんだん強くなっていきました。太平寺における展覧会的な要素をもつ庙会は、この需要に応じて生まれました。



飲食の屋台



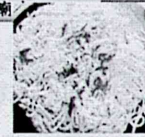
庙会の手職人

■ 伝統文化交流の場としての太平寺（清時代）

食文化の博覧会としての廟



面酒



酸湯子



焼肉



伝統飲食

「シボ族联谊会」が調査した食文化

■ 伝統文化交流の場としての太平寺（清時代）

刺繍工芸～



枕カバー



テーブル掛け、チョッキ、枕カバー



男と女の靴



■ 伝統工芸交流の場としての太平寺（清時代）

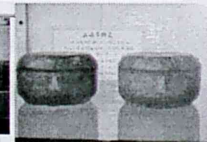
他の手細工～



餅と紫の工芸



木彫の工芸



清朝時代の「五福手飾盒」



弓と矢の製造技術



彫刻工芸

伝統工芸交流の場としての太平寺（清時代）

「社火」文化の舞台～

- 「ベンベン」－Beng-being-er
- 「灯官秧歌」－Deng-guan Yang-ko
- 「漢村春」－Han-cun-chun
- 「影絵芝居」－Shadow play
- 「念説」－storytelling
- 唱「唱儿」－Sing 'Chang-er'
- .....



影絵芝居



「灯官秧歌」

伝統工芸交流の場としての太平寺（清時代）

「社火」文化の舞台～

東北流派の代表としてのシボ族の影絵芝居：



著名なシボ族の影絵芝居芸術家：高金華さん

伝統工芸交流の場としての太平寺（清時代）

伝統体育運動競技活動～



競馬



羊を奪う



弓術

伝統文化交流の場としての太平寺（清時代）

廟会は～

...貿易の場、廟会社火の舞台であり、農民や職人の生産活動を循環させ、さまざまな生活技術、民族芸術などの生活文化の形成・伝承に果たした役割は非常に大きなものがあったと言えます。

伝統的な社会における自発的な行動～

以上、清朝時代の太平寺の使い方を紹介してまいりました。民衆の寺院として、太平寺の土地を購入することにはじまり、その後の太平寺を取り巻くさまざまな活動は、すべてが、シボ族の人々が自発的に行ったものでした。この民族の内（うち）の力で、太平寺は、地域社会の信仰生活の場のみならず、民族自治の執行機関、生活文化の集散地として発展しました。シボ族が定住民族として自らのアイデンティティを形成する時代に、重大な社会的、文化的な役割を果たしたのです。

自発的な行動

アイデンティティの形成

直面している問題～

今日の社会における内発的発展の胎動：

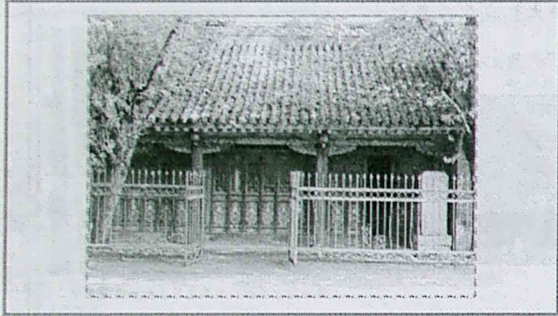
漢民族と共に発展しながらも、自らの民族文化を堅持していくという、この矛盾する二つの方向性の両立が、今日、シボ族が直面している課題となっています。

民族共生への道へ.....

太平寺 ⇨ 民族作りの再出発点



### 太平寺の再建～



1982年再建された太平寺の中殿



### 「シボ族釋議會」の成立～

地域のエリートによるシボ族NGO「シボ族聯誼會」の成立

1980年代からの民族文化財産調査による太平寺の復興



シボ族聯誼會のメンバーたち



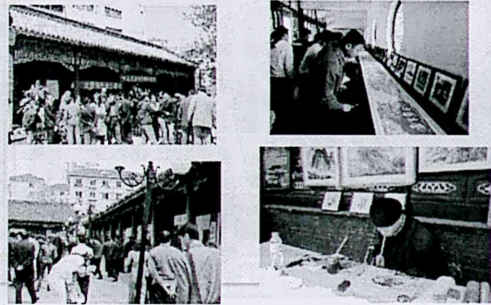
### 民族文化の保存・育成の場としての太平寺（現代）

#### 再建による民族博物館づくり：



### 民族文化の保存・育成の場としての太平寺（現代）

#### 博物館の展示活動



### 民族文化の保存・育成の場としての太平寺（現代）

#### 民族の根を探すことを目指す民俗博物館

「民族の歴史、およそ300年のシボ族たちの生活様式を表すのはシボ族民俗博物館の使命です」とは、博物館の館長としての谷さんが言われていた。

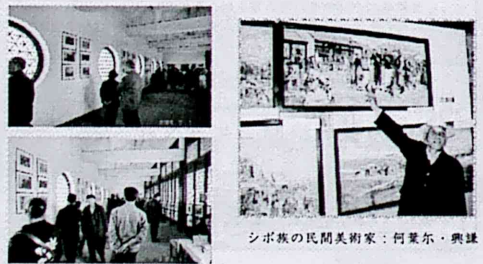


博物館の館長谷さん



### 民族文化の保存・育成の場としての太平寺（現代）

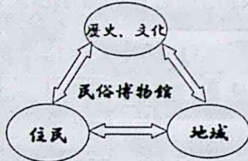
#### 住民たちが参加できる民俗博物館の展示活動



シボ族の民間美術家：何業尔・興謙

民俗文化の保存・育成の場としての太平寺（現代）

民俗博物館作り——内発的な地域づくり活動の一端



シボ族としてのアイデンティティ

生活文化の再生の場としての太平寺～廟会の再開



賑やかな廟会

生活文化の再生の場としての太平寺～廟会の再開

シボ族の生活文化の再現が目指している廟会——

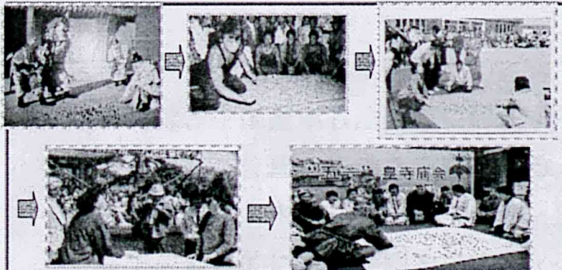


生活文化の再生の場としての太平寺～廟会の再開

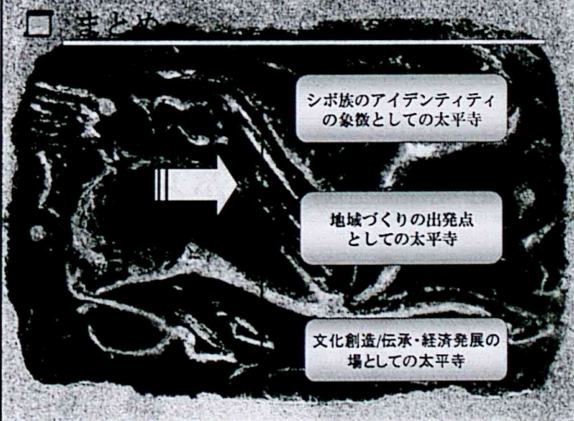
シボ族の生活文化の再現が目指している廟会——



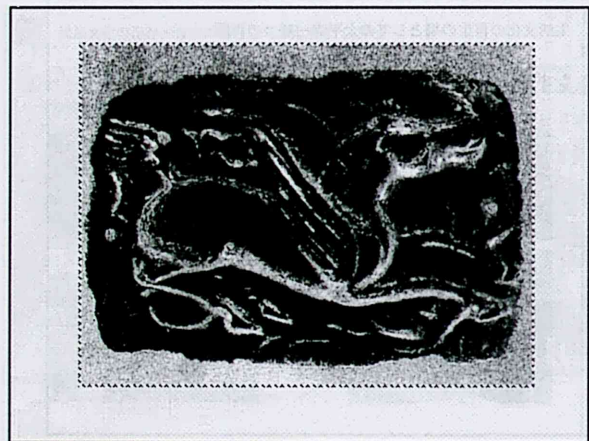
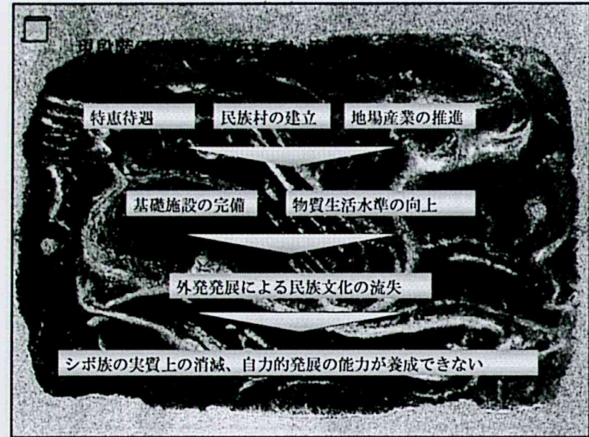
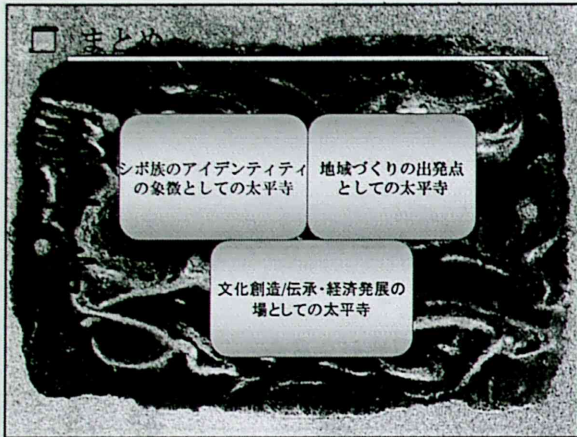
生活文化の再生の場としての太平寺～廟会の再開



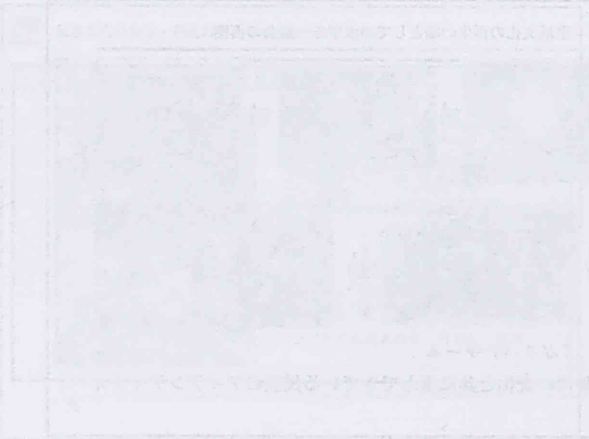
「ガラハ」ゲーム：  
時代の変化と共に進んできている民族のアイデンティティ







ご静聴どうもありがとう



中国少数民族シボ族にとっての太平寺の社会的・文化的役割

～シボ族による太平寺の使い方調査を通して

<スライド01>

こんにちは、王晗です。これから、博士論文「中国少数民族シボ族にとっての太平寺の社会的・文化的役割」について発表させていただきます。よろしくお願い致します。

<スライド02>研究の背景：

それでは、まず、研究の背景を説明いたします。

よく知られていますように、中国は、「多民族国家」です。全人口約 13 億人のうち、92%を漢民族が占め、残りの8%が55の少数民族で構成されています。本研究で取り上げるシボ族は、そうした少数民族のひとつです。

それぞれの民族では、古くから、独特の経済機構や文化が形成されてきました。

<スライド03>研究の背景：

中国の文化は、長い歴史を経て、独自のものとして形成されてきました。その要因のひとつが、こうした多民族の共生にあると言えます。このことを、中国の著名な社会学者であり、人類学者・民族学者である費孝通は、「多元一体格局」と称しています。つまり、中国文化は、多様な文化の種が「相互進化」することによって形成されたものであり、多様性こそが、中国の文化のアイデンティティの基盤であると述べています。

<スライド04>研究の背景：

しかしながら、中国の近代史を振り返ると、それは、多くの少数民族にとって、まさに、苦難の連続でした。為政者の変化や社会の急速な変容が、人びとの生活に大きな影響を与えてきたためです。

それは、シボ族にとっても例外ではありませんでした。

とくに、1966年以降の文化大革命や都市化・近代化が進展するなかにあって、今日、少数民族のアイデンティティの構築が急務となっています。

<スライド05>本研究の目的：

本研究は、中国遼寧省瀋陽市に居住する少数民族であるシボ族を取り上げ、人びとの社会生活の中心に位置してきた寺廟である「太平寺」の社会的・文化的役割を把握することを目的としています。

そして、最終的には、寺廟を民族文化の基地として再認識し、人びとの心を繋ぎ、民族が存続するための基盤となる集団意識を再構築する可能性を示したいと考えます。

<スライド06>研究方法：

本研究の方法はご覧の通りです。文献調査をはじめ、現地調査によって資料収集を行いました。現地調査においては、アンケート調査や参与観察調査とともに、22 人におよぶシボ族住民を対象とした聴き取り調査を行いました。

#### <スライド07>論文の構成：

本論文の構成は、ご覧の通りです。本論文は、四つの部分から構成されています。

第一部は、シボ族のあゆみをまとめ、今日のシボ族が抱える問題を明らかにしました。

第二部は、「太平寺」と瀋陽市のシボ族社会とのかかわりを把握しました。

第二部の第一章では、ハード面から、「太平寺」の形態的特質とその変容を説明しました。

第二部の第二章と第三章では、ソフト面として、「太平寺」を取り巻くシボ族社会の生活の諸相、ならびに、シボ族社会、民族の発展にもたらした影響を時間軸に沿って把握しました。

終章では、以上を踏まえて、シボ族人びとの心を繋ぎ、民族の集団意識を具現化する場としての「太平寺」の位置づけを見出し、さらに、内発的発展の立場から、シボ族の地域づくりについて、今後のあり方を導出いたしました。

本日は、太平寺の利用実態をご紹介しながら、シボ族の人びとにとって、どのような役割を果たしてきたかについて、時代を追って把握していきたいと思っております。

#### <スライド08>シボ族とは：

それでは、まず、本論で取り上げるシボ族を簡単にご紹介いたします。

ご覧の写真がシボ族です。

#### <スライド09>シボ族とは：

今日、シボ族は、主に遼寧省、吉林省、黒竜江省などに居住し、一部が新疆ウイグル自治区に居住しています。

#### <スライド10>シボ族とは：

人口は約17万人で、言語はアルタイ語系のシボ語を有していましたが、現在では大部分が中国語を使用しています。

#### <スライド11>シボ族とは：

シボ族の先祖は、今からおよそ2000年前、中国の北方に暮らしていた遊牧民でした。長い歴史のなか、幾多の変遷を経て、

#### <スライド12>シボ族とは：

17世紀の末（すえ）から18世紀の初めに、シボ族は、満州族が樹立した清政府に帰順した

ことから、遊牧生活に終止符を打ち、定住するようになりました。

#### <スライド13、14>太平寺の変遷：

こちらをご覧ください。この写真が、今日の「太平寺」です。

シボ族の人びとの生活が、遊牧から、農業を中心とした定住生活へと大きく変化するなかで、民族として、人びとの心をつなげるのに大きな役割を果たしたのが、この「太平寺」に他なりません。

#### <スライド15>

その利用実態を時間軸に沿ってしてみると、ご覧のように、およそ4つの時代に分けることができます。まず、それらを概説いたします。

#### <スライド16>太平寺の変遷～第一の時代：「聚義庁」の設立

第一の時代は、清政府から勇敢に戦う民族性を認められ、駐屯軍として瀋陽市に集められ定住生活を行うようになった17世紀の末と考えることができます。その時、シボ族の人びとは、民族の団結のために、自発的に「聚義庁」をつくりました。それが、「太平寺」の基礎になりました。「聚義庁」とは、中国語で集合の場を意味しており、当初から、「太平寺」は、人びとの心を繋ぐ役割を担ってきたといえます。

#### <スライド17>太平寺の変遷～第二の時代：「太平寺」の成立

そして、第二の時代には、シボ族のあいだに清政府の国教であったラマ教が広がり、「聚義庁」が「太平寺」へと発展した時代です。その規模がもっとも大きくなったのは、18世紀中盤です。

こうして、シボ族の人びとは、「太平寺」を中心として、古くより伝わってきた信仰や冠婚葬祭、節慶儀礼、労働、飲食、民間芸術などの民俗文化の継承をはじめ、自治管理を行ったりするようになりました。

この時代、太平寺は、まさに、シボ族の人びとの生活の中心としての役割を担い、民族のシンボルとして、定住民族としての新たなシボ族文化が形成される基盤となりました。

#### <スライド18>太平寺の変遷～第三～四の時代：太平寺の衰退と復興

しかし、1966年以降、文化大革命などを要因として、太平寺が急速に衰退する時代を迎えます。それとともに、シボ族の人びとのアイデンティティは、急速に消失の一途をたどっていきました。太平寺は廃棄され、まったく人びとに顧みられることがなくなりました。それが、第三の時代です。

そして、第四の時代は、1980年から今日に至る復興の時代と位置づけることができます。太平寺は、政府の支援を受けながらも、人びとの手で復興が進められるようになりました。

それでは、この第四の時代にあっては、どのような太平寺が目指されているのでしょうか？また、どのような太平寺を目指すべきなのでしょう？

「太平寺」がもっとも民族のアイデンティティの基地として機能していた「第二の時代」の太平寺をご紹介します。考察を進めていきたいと思えます。

#### <スライド19>ラマ教の信仰の場としての太平寺（清時代）

シボ族が清政府に帰順した後、政府の国教であったラマ教がシボ族社区の住民たちの間に急速に浸透していきました。

以後、ラマ教が人びとに共有の精神的支えのひとつとしてシボ族社会に普及していきました。このことに重要な役割を果たしたのが、まさに「太平寺」でした。太平寺は、シボ族の社会のなかで、もっとも大きなお寺として、盛んにお参りがなされるようになっていきました。

たとえば、学問の神である「文昌」に対して、シボ族の人びとは、盛んに、太平寺に向いて、線香をあげ、願をかけたり、お参りをしたりしました。

#### <スライド20>ラマ教の信仰の場としての太平寺（清時代）

やがて、当該地域では、太平寺を中核として、各村落に小さなラマ廟がつくられるようになりました。

シボ族の年寄りの話では、かつては、どの家にも仏が供えてあり、何事にも神仏の加護を求めたといいます。瀋陽のシボ族の信仰心はとても厚かったのです。

こうして、ラマ教は、太平寺を拠点として、シボ族の間に早急に普及し、シボ族の共有のイデオロギー形成に寄与しました。

また、人びとのラマ教信仰は、今日の瀋陽に居住する他の民族との密接な文化交流を育むこととなり、シボ族社区の形成と発展するために不可欠な盛京社会全体の調和の懸け橋の役割も果たしました。

太平寺はシボ族の人々に宗教聖地と見なされ、敬虔な信徒たちは一步一步額ずいて太平寺にお参りしました。

#### <スライド21>日常生活の場としての太平寺（清時代）

太平寺からは、毎日のように、ラマ僧たちが読経する声が聞こえてきました。また、夕刻ともなると、僧侶たちは、伝統的な笛である美しい簫(しょう)を吹き鳴らしました。

シボ族の人たちは、こうした読経や簫(しょう)の音を耳にしながら、熱心にお祈りのために太平寺に通ったのです。

昔、太平寺の近くに住んでいた76歳になる何(カ)さんは、若いころに耳にした、そうした声や音楽の音が、今でも忘れられないといいます。

#### <スライド2 2>日常生活の場としての太平寺（清時代）

太平寺の僧侶たちは、太平寺の仕事だけではなく、住民たちの家に招かれて、さまざまなラマ教の法事を営みました。

例えば、男の子が産まれたら、太平寺の僧侶が住民の家に招かれました。そして、子供の健康成長、一生の好運のため、経文を詠唱しました。

また、生まれた女の子が健康でなかったら、元気になるまで、出家させ太平寺に預けられました。

他にも、人びとが亡くなった時には、必ず、太平寺から僧侶が招かれ、法事が営まれました。

#### <スライド2 3>日常生活の場としての太平寺（清時代）

このように、太平寺は、当該地域のシボ族の人びとの日常生活をはじめ、生老病死、喜怒哀楽、成敗栄辱などおよそすべての生活に浸透していたのです。

#### <スライド2 4>先祖崇拝の場としての太平寺

太平寺は、シボ族にとって、ラマ廟だけではなく、先祖崇拝の場でもありました。先祖崇拝の大切さは、ラマ教信仰以上といっても過言ではありません。それは、シボ族の人びとが遊牧時代から有していた先祖崇拝ときわめて密接な関係があります。

#### <スライド2 5>先祖崇拝の場としての太平寺

こちらをご覧ください。これは太平寺が廃棄されるまで最後のラマ僧であった方の記憶を頼りに復元した太平寺の平面図です。花壁という仕切りで、東院と西院に分けられています。ラマ教の寺院としては、このような伽藍配置は中国では唯一のものです。

西院はラマ教の寺院でしたが、東院はラマ僧たちの居住区であるとともに、先祖崇拝活動を行う場でもありました。

#### <スライド2 6>先祖崇拝の場としての太平寺～キリママ

たとえば、ご覧の象徴物は、「キリママ」と称されるものです。これは、女性の先祖を祀ったもので、人びとの子孫繁栄にかかわる願いが込められます。シボ族の人びとが、古来、遊牧時代から相続してきたものです。

キリママの作り方には、決まりがあります。まず、一本の長い絹糸に、さまざまな願いを込めた九個以上のものをかけます。例えば、写真の弓矢や矢筒は男の子の象徴です。小さな赤や緑色の布切れは女の子の象徴です。

小さい揺籃は子供に恵まれるようにとの願いが込められています。靴や帽子、銅銭などは、後代の子孫が、官位が高くなったり、豊かな生活ができることを願った象徴物です。

他にも、羊の後肢の膝蓋骨で作ったコマである「嘎拉哈（ガラハ）」も発音がシボ語の「代」

と同じなので、一つの世代が増えたら、新たに一つの「嘎拉哈」を糸にかけます。

また、このキリママは、必ず息子と娘両方ともいて、家族が多いおばあさんが二人選ばれてつくられました。

#### <スライド27>

この儀礼は、かつては、各家々で行われてきましたが、そうした習慣は薄れ、今日では、4月18日に太平寺のみで行われています。なお、祀る活動がないとき、キリママは寺の禅堂の西の角にしまいます。

#### <スライド28>自然信仰（シャーマニズム）の場としての太平寺～狐仙堂の配置

また、太平寺の平面図の左下をご覧ください。ここは、西院の西<sup>せいなん</sup>の角（すみ）です。ここには、狐仙堂が設置されています。シボ族の人びとは、「狐」をシャーマニズムの神として祀りますが、その祠も、太平寺のなかに設えられています。狐崇拜は、民間の信仰として、中国でしばしば見られますが、太平寺のように仏教のお寺の中に狐仙堂に設置されることにはありません。

太平寺には、濃厚な民族の特色が現れているといえます。

まさに、太平寺が、ラマ教のみならず、多様な民族の信仰の中心的施設として、シボ族の人びとの心のよりどころとして機能してきたかをよくあらわしています。

#### <スライド29>非日常（ハレ）の場としての太平寺～跳布札（鬼やらい）

ご覧の表は、太平寺で行われていた年中行事をまとめたものです。お正月をはじめ、跳布札（鬼やらい）やお釈迦様の誕生祭、読経活動など、実にたくさんのお祭りの日が設定されていました。

#### <スライド30>非日常（ハレ）の場としての太平寺～跳布札（鬼やらい）

たとえば、跳布札（鬼やらい）をご紹介します。この儀礼は、人びとの妖怪や化け物を追い出すため行う宗教舞踊です。この行事は、旧暦の一月八日から十五日までと、四月八日から十五日までの期間に行われました。

四人の演者が、ご覧のような牛の頭や馬の頭、髑髏や鬼の仮面と衣装をつけて、打楽器を打ち鳴らしながら躍ります。憎らしい妖怪の動作をしながら、寺の中から外まで移動し、時世の苦難を表現します。クライマックスに近づいてくると、一人の勇士と神様の意志の化身が登場し、妖怪や化け物と格闘したのちにやっつけます。

この演者は、一般的には、太平寺のラマ僧が務めました。しかし、時には、観衆が一つの人物に扮することも許されています。これは、まさに人間と神とが共に喜ぶ「人神共楽」の宗教楽舞とも言えるものでした。

残念ながら、この儀礼は、今日では行われていませんが、人びとの安定した生活への願

いが表れるラマ教のなかでももっとも大切な年中行事のひとつでした。

<スライド3 1>非日常の場としての太平寺～「佛誕祭」：旧暦の4月8日（お釈迦様の誕生日）

旧暦の4月8日は、お釈迦様の誕生日です。その日には、「佛誕際」が開催されました。法輪寺という皇室のラマ廟から、お釈迦様の像が運ばれてきました。その途中では、二人の男の子が像を支えて、爆竹を鳴らしてとてもにぎやかな雰囲気になりました。

その後、二日の間、経文が詠唱されました。

また、この期間は、宗教活動だけではなく、大規模な廟会が開催されました。

<スライド3 2>非日常の場としての太平寺～その他の儀礼

他にも、武人の関羽（かんう）の誕生日には、関羽の肖像画の前に、羊の後肢やその他のさまざまな供え物をして、お酒を注いで火をつけ、さらに線香をあげて地面に額ずきました。また、旧暦六月十五日から8月一日までの一ヶ月間は、読経活動が行われました。ラマ僧たちは、太平寺にこもり、経文を詠唱しました。読経を聞きにきた人たちは、金を寄付しました。

<スライド3 3>

このように、当時の太平寺は、日常生活をみても、当該地域の人びとの関係を構築するために、不可欠な存在であったことがわかります。

また、年中行事のような非日常の生活をみても、その活動は、宗教に対する信仰心のみならず、住民たちの精神的同一化を基底とした連帯意識とネットワークをより強固なものとし、地域社会を維持するために役立っていたといえます。さらに、各行事は、人々の暮らしを彩り、人々の心を潤わせ、住民たちの地域に対する愛着心をつくることに寄与しました。

太平寺は、まさに、当該地域における中心的な「場」となっていたといえるのです。

<スライド3 4>生活文化創造と経済発展の場としての太平寺～廟会

シボ族社区の安定と発展に従って、生活文化も豊かになっていきました。特に手細工技術の進化、それに地元の民俗芸術の発展とともに、生活文化の交流に対する需要がだんだん強くなっていきました。太平寺における展覧会的な要素をもつ廟会は、この需要に応じて生まれました。

<スライド3 5>伝統文化交流の場としての太平寺～食文化の博覧会としての廟会

聞き取り調査によると、太平寺の廟会では、たくさんの細工がよく見られたといえます。本日は、いくつかの例を取り上げ、ご紹介いたします。

廟会は、食文化の博覧会という一面があります。シボ族は、狩猟生活の伝統を継承して



おり、食肉の加工に優れていました。その他にも、「糰子飯」「酸湯子」「酸茶」「面酒」「炒炒面」などの多種多様な伝統食品が継承されてきました。こちらの写真をご覧ください。これらは、シボ族の民間組織である「シボ族聯誼会」が、民族文化財を調査したときとった写真です。今日は大部分の食文化が漢民族と同一化してしまっていますが、シボ族の特色がある食文化は、こうした廟会を通じて広がっていったと思われます。

#### <スライド36>伝統工芸交流の場としての太平寺

シボ族の人びとは、生活のなかで、さまざまな生活工芸品を制作してきました。

たとえば、生活に身近なところで見つけやすい素材を利用した編織工芸や靴、カーテン、枕カバーなどの刺繍工芸、彫刻工芸、切り紙工芸などがあります。

#### <スライド37>伝統工芸交流の場としての太平寺

こちらはシボ族がほめられた刺繍工芸です。この写真は靴下に施された各種の花の刺繍です。これは、おしゃれのためではなく、北方の厳寒を防ぐとともに、着用する人の健康祈る気持ちが込められています。

#### <スライド38>伝統工芸交流の場としての太平寺～廟会：「社火」文化の舞台

廟会でなされるさまざまな民俗演芸は、総称して「社火」と称されます。

シボ族の社火文化には、ご覧のような種類があります。

#### <スライド39>伝統工芸交流の場としての太平寺～廟会：「社火」文化の舞台

なかでも、ご覧の透明な皮革に着色した人形を紙や布製のスクリーンの裏から光を投影して演じる演劇である「影絵芝居」が高度に発達しており、中国東北地方の代表と見なされています。

#### <スライド40>伝統工芸交流の場としての太平寺～伝統体育運動競技活動：

他にも、廟会では、狩猟民族のシンボルとして、競馬、弓術、レスリングなども伝統的な体育競技も廟会で盛んでした。

#### <スライド41>伝統文化の交流の場としての太平寺

このように、廟会は、貿易の場、廟会社火の舞台であり、農民や職人の生産活動を循環させ、さまざまな生活技術、民族芸術などの生活文化の形成・伝承に果たした役割は非常に大きなものがあったと言えます。

#### <スライド42>伝統的な社会における自発的な行動～

以上、清朝時代の太平寺の使い方を紹介してまいりました。民衆の寺院として、太平寺

の土地を購入することにはじまり、その後の太平寺を取り巻くさまざまな活動は、すべてが、シボ族の人々が自発的に行ったものでした。この民族の内（うち）の力で、太平寺は、地域社会の信仰生活の場のみならず、民族自治の執行機関、生活文化の集散地として発展しました。シボ族が定住民族として自らのアイデンティティを形成する時代に、重大な社会的、文化的な役割を果たしたのです。

#### <スライド43>直面している問題～

しかしながら、こうしたシボ族の人びとの生活文化も、次第に漢民族化するにしたがって消失していきました。

漢民族と共に発展しながらも、自らの民族文化を堅持していくという、この矛盾する二つの方向性の両立が、今日、シボ族が直面している課題となっています。

こうしたなか、現在では、この「太平寺」が、再びシボ族の地域の振興の要（かなめ）として見直され、復興の動きが具体化しつつあります。シボ族の人たちは、自らの発想で太平寺を再建して、民族としての心を再び呼び起こそうとしています。

こうした活動はまさに民族の持続可能な内発発展の胎動として、民族作りの再出発点と認められるものであり、シボ族の発展には重大な意義があるといえましょう

#### <スライド44>太平寺再生を巡る新たな取組み

続いて、1949年の「中華人民共和国」の建国後の太平寺とシボ族社区の発展実態を紹介いたします。

この写真をご覧ください、これは、1982年の太平寺の中殿の様子です。太平寺は、文化大革命の間に廃墟となってしまったが、これを人びとの手で回復したものです。

#### <スライド45>「シボ族聯誼会」の成立～

その中心的活動を果たしたのが、1987年に成立した「シボ族聯誼会」でした。

1978年、中国政府は「改革開放」という新しい政策をスタートしました。文化大革命およびそれ以前の政策の全面的な是正が開始されました。すなわち、「民族の優れた伝統的文化を高揚し、繁栄させ、発展させるべきである」という指針と政策が打ち出されたのです。

そのことを受け、シボ族の人々は、民族文化の流失、衰微の現状を意識し、民族復興の活動を始めました。その一環として、シボ族の人たちを代表とするシボ族の民間組織である「シボ族聯誼会」が1987年に成立したのです。成立大会は1987年5月14日、15日に行われました。

この民間組織によって、民族文化財調査が行われ、太平寺の復興もその調査に基づいています。この「シボ族聯誼会」は、今日まで、20年にわたって継続しています。

#### <スライド46>民族文化の保存・育成の場としての太平寺（現代）

こちらの写真をご覧ください、およそ17年にわたる地道な活動によって、2004年、ついに太平寺は再建されました。その後、人びとは、「民俗博物館」をつくったり、「廟会」を再開したりしました。

ご覧の写真は、太平寺の一部を利用してつくられた「シボ族民俗博物館」です。

「シボ族聯誼会」が、1979年に行った民族文化財調査によって発見した民族文化財を展示するため、当初は、鎮政府オフィス・ビルの部屋を借りて作りしましたが、2005年太平寺にその場所を移しました。

#### <スライド47>見せるだけ

#### <スライド48>民族文化の保存・育成の場としての太平寺（現代）

博物館のなかには、200年前から30年前までに庶民たちが生活のなかで用いてきた生活用品が展示されています。

#### <スライド49>民族文化の保存・育成の場としての太平寺（現代）

また、ここに展示されているのは地元の住民の作品です。彼は、美術の専門家ではありませんが、練習して達人になった小学校の先生で、油絵で民族の重大の歴史を記録しまし

た。今日では、民族の歴史を知る貴重な資料となっています。ここで展示されている作品は、多くがこうした作品です。

まさに、太平寺は、人びとの手によって、民族文化の保存・育成の場として復興されています。

#### <スライド50>民族文化の保存・育成の場としての太平寺（現代）

このように、博物館は、住民と地域と歴史・文化を繋ぎ、シボ族としてのアイデンティティを確かめることを目的として、シボ族の人びと自らがつくりあげた施設であることから、それは、内発的な地域づくり活動の一端とってよいと思います。

#### <スライド51>生活文化の再生の場としての太平寺～廟会の再開

続いて、廟会をご紹介します。廟会にも、人びとの自らの民族文化に対する思いが現れています。

廟会は太平寺が再建されると同時に、毎年数回行われています。人びとは、廟会をととても楽しみにしており、この写真をご覧になってもわかるように、とてにぎやかな廟会の様子がわかります。

#### <スライド52、53>生活文化の再生の場としての太平寺～廟会の再開

また、これらの写真を見てください。今日復興されている廟会では、シボ族の生活文化の再現が目指されています。

#### <スライド54>生活文化の再生の場としての太平寺～廟会におけるガラハ

時間の都合上、一つの例をあげて説明させていただきますと、たとえば、「ガラハ」があります。これは、シボ族が遊牧生活を送っていたなかで形成され、今日まで継承されてきた伝統的なゲームです。ご覧のコマは、羊の後肢の膝蓋骨で作られています。

遊び方は色々ありますが、今回調査した遊び方の例を簡単に説明いたします。まず、毛氈をオンドルの上に敷き、二つのチームにそれぞれ150個コマを配り、その後、この300個のコマをむらがなく毛氈に並べます。別に準備した砲丸を上に向けて、砲丸が地面に落下しないうちに、できるだけたくさんのコマをとるのです。そして、砲丸が毛氈に落ち、反射で飛び上がったとき、コマをとった手で受け止めるんです。たくさんコマをとったチームが勝つのです。

このゲームは、シボ族の人たちは、年寄りから子供までみんな遊ぶことができます。このゲームに参加することは、まさにシボ族としての証明でもあります。毎年、各村落で何回試合が行います。

#### <スライド55>まとめ

以上、太平寺の利用実態の変容に基づき、太平寺がシボ族にとって、どのような社会的・文化的な役割を担ってきたのかについて概観して参りました。

ここで、整理させていただきます。

#### (1) シボ族のアイデンティティの象徴としての太平寺

清政府の成立の最初の年に行われた定住化政策によって、シボ族の人びとの社会環境、生産様式は大きく変容しました。かつては遊牧で生計を立て、氏族共同体を形成していたシボ族の人々が、地縁関係に基づいて民族社区をつくることになったのです。このときにつくられた「聚義庁」が、その後の「太平寺」の前身となりました。人びとは、そこに、清朝政府が奨励したラマ教に加え、自らのアイデンティティの象徴としての祖先崇拜を中心とした多様な宗教を祀りました。

#### <スライド56>地域づくりの出発点としての太平寺

太平寺の伽藍配置と年中行事を見れば、太平寺は、ラマ教と祖先崇拜を柱とした多様な宗教が融合した、いわば民族社区の信仰の中心となっていることがわかります。人びとは、信仰が違っても、太平寺を大きな精神的な拠り所として、地域共同体の意識を育んできたのです。いわば、太平寺は、シボ族の人びとの地域づくりの出発点といえるのです。

#### <スライド57>文化創造／伝承・経済発展の場としての太平寺

太平寺では、宗教的な行事ばかりでなく、しばしば、「廟会」と称される祭りが開催されました。「廟会」では、さまざまな伝統技術や地方劇が実施されました。

社区の手仕事の職人や芸人は、それぞれ社区の伝統技術や地方劇などを、お披露目しました。こうした、太平寺を介した芸術交流や生活工芸文化の活性化は、さらに社区全体をも巻き込みつつ、発展していきました。太平寺は、宗教活動の中心としてだけでなく、社区の経済センター・生活娯楽センターとしての意味合いをも備えるようになっていきました。

総じて、太平寺では、地域社会との密接性が重視され、シボ族社会の調和をまもる特有な価値観念、民族感情や生活理念などが形成されていったといえるでしょう。

したがって、太平寺は、民族文化の基地として、シボ族の人びとの心を繋ぎ、民族が存続するための基盤となる集団意識を再構築する可能性を示唆することができます。

#### <スライド58>現段階の発展と直面している問題：

現在、中央政府は、シボ族に対して、「特惠待遇」や「民族村の建立」「地場産業の推進」等の支援政策をとっています。これらは、いずれも、ある面では、良い効果を収めている

といえます。特に、中国の経済発達地区に指定されている瀋陽市は漢民族の影響が強いため、漢民族との共生と協働の中で、先行した漢民族文化やさまざまなインフラストラクチャーや交通などの経済活動の基礎となる施設が完備されています。シボ族の住民の生活水準も高められているように見えます。

しかし、近代化の進展とともに、シボ族の本民族文化は失われつつあるのが現状です。なぜなら、漢民族への依存が大きすぎるためです。こういったかたちでの、いわゆる「発展」は、シボ族にとっては外発型（読み方は？‘ガイハツカタ’か？）の開発に他なりません。民族文化は民族の基盤を考えるものにとって、民族文化の消滅はシボ族の実質上の消滅であり、漢民族化に他なりません。

文化の消滅に伴って、地域の固有の発展ができなくなれば、それは、自力的発展の能力が養成できない、従属型発展に他なりません。漢民族と同時に発展しながら、自分の民族文化をよく保存するという、この矛盾するようにみえる発展の方向性を両立させることが求められています。

#### <スライド59>今後の課題

内発的発展とは、決して、反社会的活動を意味しているものではありません。

選択肢として存在する「もうひとつの (alternative)」発展の考え方です。

それは、今日、見落とされがちであり、私は、本論文を通じて、その可能性を明示したいと考えました。

選択するのは、あくまでも、シボ族の方々です。

しかしながら、それが、中国社会のより健全な発展につながるのであれば、それを、中国の人びとが認識し、後押しすることも必要だと思います。

私は、本論文を通して、その一端を、人びとが自らつくりあげた太平寺に確認することができました。

私は、今後、中国において、「もうひとつの (alternative)」発展の考え方を、少しでも広げていくよう、力を尽くしていきたいと思います。

#### 民族のアイデンティティを守ろう

最後になりましたが、今回、発表のスライドの背景として使ったこちらのものは、シボ族のトーテムです。人びとに、「瑞獣」と称されています。古くは狩猟民族であったシボ族の象徴として、かつて、人びとの生活に欠かせなかった「犬」がモチーフとなっています。近代化・漢民族化が進む今日、日々消失しつつあるシボ族のアイデンティティにとって、今日紹介した太平寺と同様、民族のアイデンティティを代表する貴重なシンボルと認められています。太平寺のように、これも民族のアイデンティティとして守って、次の世代に伝えることは研究者として私の期待です。すなわち、太平寺の研究から始めて、民族のアイデンティティとして、さまざまな民族文化を生かして、民族の再創造を引き寄せることは本研究が目指しているところです。