

1. Tangible Cultural Heritage

Ancient Villages: A Zhuang village in Wenshan Prefecture qualifies as an “ancient” Zhuang village if it retains the traditional *ganlan* style wooden houses, has the traditional Zhuang center of religion and democratic government—the *Tinglang*, or Hall of the Elders—which also serves as a site for relaxation, maintains the wind and rain bridge over the nearby river, is surrounded by virgin forest, which in turn is bordered by broad rice paddies, and if the origins of the village predate the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911 AD) period. Bahao (Pya’kau), Bamei, Jiumo, Xiban, Tuopai and Dixian villages in Guangnan County; Masa and A’e Xinzhai in Maguan County; Shangla, Pingkun and Poya villages in Funing County; Bagao and Yile villages in Qiubei County; and Maka, Mosuo and Nabo villages in Xichou County are among Wenshan Prefecture’s ancient Zhuang villages. In the entire prefecture, I estimate there are more than three hundred ancient Zhuang villages.

Historical Cultural Centers and Ancient Towns: The ancient towns of Wenshan Prefecture have not yet been adequately investigated and evaluated. The town of Guichao in Funing Prefecture is built on the ruins of the Ming and Qing Dynasty town of Fuzhou and retains many cultural and historical sites and should be registered as a protected old town. The county seat town of Guangnan County, which is built on the ancient capital of the Gouding kingdom that existed for 400 years from the Qin-Han (111 BC) to the Puxi (316 AD) era. This town has already been approved as a recognized Historical and Cultural Site.

Weaving and Zhuang Brocade: Zhuang have a long history of weaving; their folk looms range from a common two pedal loom to a more complicated six pedal loom, which can produce brocade cloth of the highest quality. During the Ming Dynasty, Zhuang brocade was considered one of China’s four famous brocades. According to my research, Zhuang villagers in Guangnan, Funing, Qiubei, Malipo and other counties still maintain their looms and the villages that are located far from towns continue to weave their own cloth.

Traditional Handicrafts: Zhuang carving, rattan weaving, pottery, paper-making, sugar-extraction, metal smelting and casting and other traditional handicrafts are the unique specialties of the region and the ethnic group. The silverworking of Buchong Village in Qiubei County, Masa, Majiachonghouzhai and other villages in Maguan County is exquisite. Papermaking in Guangnan County’s Zheka Village is a skill that has been passed on from the Qing Dynasty period to the present. Ninety percent of the



村，一家一户搜查，发现传统服装，没收烧毁。“改良会”的改良活动持续了十余年，波及到文山、马关、砚山等县，自己磨灭自己的传统文化。

2、“文革”破“四旧”毁了一代壮文化传承人

20世纪60年代，在中国的大地上掀起破“四旧”的政治风波，波及壮乡村村寨寨。1966年6月1日，《人民日报》发表了陈伯达炮制的《横扫一切牛鬼蛇神》的社论，第一次明确提出“要彻底破除几千年来一切剥削阶级所造成的毒害人民的旧思想、旧文化、旧风俗、旧习惯”。破“四旧”中有破除旧风俗和旧习惯两项，红卫兵对于这两项任务也投入了很高的热情，奔跑壮乡、走村窜寨，宣传、普及革命歌曲，不许唱壮族歌，家家门框上都要挂小黑板书写毛主席语录，壮族民间文化传承人“博摩”、“掌冷”，扣上“黑五类”、“牛鬼蛇神”的帽子，强行拉去集中办“毛泽东思想学习班”，在各村搜查壮族歌书、经书，集中堆积烧毁。“文革”十年，破“四旧”运动开展了十余年，一代壮族民间老艺人、“博摩”含冤去世。

3、普及汉文化歌伴生活的民族不再学歌

壮族是伴歌而生踏歌而逝的民族。少妇婚后怀孕，有古朴的安胎歌；怕流产，有神秘的保胎歌；婴儿出世，有祝福歌；小孩学说话，先教优美动听的儿歌；平凡的生活对话，语言如歌；谈情说爱，有深情依依的情歌；节庆酒宴，有荡激山河的对歌；寿终，要以歌送葬。每个人的一生，都沐浴在诗歌的海洋里。没有壮歌，就像没有太阳。进入20世纪90年代，大部分壮族不再唱壮歌了。早在50年代前，广南县、富宁县的传统三月花街节，壮语称“圩丹滇”、“金嘎尼”“拢端”，他称“风流街”，成千上万的壮族青年男女，汇集到三月花街以对歌择偶，以歌传情，各地的花街场变成壮歌的海洋。进入90年代，各地的花街场，已看不到自由对歌的男女。

从上述调查表证明，壮族赶花街的人数已逐年减少。进入21世纪，全州各地的传统三月花街节，除了地方政府组织活动外，大部分地区已经不再赶花街了。

壮族传统三月花街节的萎缩，原因有三：一是新中国成立后，壮家儿童都进学校，学汉语、讲汉语，考汉文，在壮乡倡导讲汉语；二是进入90年代，大部分青年离家外出打工，没有时间传承壮文化；三是地方政府对传承少数民族文化没有采取保护措施。

4、市场经济的冲击保护文化根基力不从心

90年代以来，经济全球化的趋势大大加强，市场经济改变了壮乡的传统生产生活模式，迫使青壮劳力外出打工，以获取的微薄经济收入维持正常的生活开支。在农村没有青年人传承壮文化，许多壮族文化传承人想继续传祖先传下来的文化，已力不从心。

525 rural households of this village continue the art of paper making today. Two Maguan County villages, Ahei and Chahe, continue a tradition of stone carving and sell their carvings. A'e Xinzhai Village in Maguan County produces wood prints that have become famous throughout the country and abroad.

Rice Production and Processing: The Zhuang are a rice-farming ethnic group. Their ancestors created water wheels, treadmills, water-powered pestle mills, grain boats and other tools. The Zhuang have developed more than one hundred recipes for sticky rice delicacies, including sticky rice dumplings wrapped in leaves, rainbow colored sticky rice, stick rice cakes, puffed rice, etc.

2. Intangible Cultural Heritage

Folk Literature: Zhuang folk literature is diverse and rich. In order to inventory the Zhuang oral intangible literary heritage, more than 1,500 mythological tales, narrative poems and chants have already been collected, but there are many that have not yet been recorded. Creation histories include "Buloakdvo," "Zaufa, Zauting," "Kautangwae," etc. Epic love poems include "Banlong, Banli," "Yilwaeu and Diling," "The Poya Songbook," "Gaishau, Nilangbau," "Kenzu, Longzu," etc.

Dramatic Arts: The Zhuang are an ethnic group that is good at singing and dancing. Some forms of folk drama that have been passed down to the present include Funing *Tu* plays, Lexi *Tu* plays, Guangnan *Sha* plays, Guangnan Zhuang ceremonial music. Currently there are more than ten active Zhuang skit troops, including Meng Village Skit Troop, Lexi Skit Troop, Zheka Skit Troop, Banbeng Skit Troop, etc. Zhuang folk dances include Guima Village's Bronze Drum Dance of Guangnan County, Daxinzhai Village's Straw Man Dance of Yanshan County, the Bu Dai Paper Horse Dance of Wenshan County, the Pu Nong Hand Towel Dance of Guangnan County, the Pu Nong "Longyawai" Dance of Guangnan and Xichou Counties, Yanshan County's Club and Torch Dance.

Traditional Festivals and Ceremonial Rites: For the Zhuang, there is a festival for every month of the year. Different Zhuang locations celebrate different festivals and ceremonies, but some common Zhuang festivals include: the "Flower Market" or country fair of the third lunar month, the Buffalo King Festival, the "Priest" (or "Sacrificer"), sacrifices to the sun, the Bu Dai End of the Year Festival, Guangnan County's Reception of the Emperor's Daughter, Festival of Men, Festival of Women, the Lovers' Holiday of the second lunar month, the *Draenlong* Holiday, the Festival of



广南县壮族三月花街节调查(2004年统计)

| 乡镇 | 花街地址 | 赶街时间 | 60年代以前 赶街人数 | 90年代以后 赶街人数 |
|-----|------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 珠琳镇 | 甲板 | 农历三月马日(第一街) | 30000余人 | 20000余人 |
| 者兔乡 | 堂上 | 农历三月第一个马日 | 10000余人 | 11000余人 |
| 者兔乡 | 者兔 | 农历三月中旬属龙日 | 19000余人 | 19000余人 |
| 者兔乡 | 达磨 | 农历三月第一个鼠日 | 5000余人 | 4000余人 |
| 那伦乡 | 那伦 | 农历三月第一个属虎日 | 20000余人 | 10000余人 |
| 旧莫乡 | 夕板 | 农历三月鸡或虎日哪日先选哪日 | 5000余人 | 4500余人 |
| 旧莫乡 | 旧莫 | 农历三月选第二个鸡日 | 8000余人 | 6500余人 |

麻栗坡县漫江村的寨老说“我们壮家世代代种稻谷维持生活,现在种稻谷每斤8角钱,每人平均仅有7分稻田,一年忙死忙活耕种稻田,除了购买种子、化肥、农药的本钱,一亩的收入不到200元,如果再除牛力、人工劳力,种田已经没有经济收入了。年轻人不得不外出打工。”据调查,漫江村有壮族136户609人,2004年有31对夫妇留下孩儿给年老的长辈在家照管,夫妻双双常年外出打工,有30位青壮年离家打工。漫江村全村外出打工有92人,年龄最大的50岁,最小的21岁,村里仅留下老、弱、儿童。在该村传承壮族文化的陆安才说:“我家有一套十代人承传下来的古老摩书,现在我年老多病,眼下找不到年轻人来学,到我这代断后了,对不起祖宗啊!”

富宁县孟村前后左右数十公里,是壮族聚居区,该村在50年代前,各地汇集到村前稻田里赶花街的人数多达20000余人,该村的壮戏班,每年都在花街场地搭台演传统壮剧。到90年代,村里的大部分青年演员外出打工,孟村的花街活动已不正常。2006年,州民宗委、州壮学会到富宁县孟村组织赶“拢端”,参加三月花街节活动,请该村的壮戏班表演一场传统壮剧。戏班班主班艳春东奔西跑,省内外打电话,通知本村演员回村演壮剧,最后有几位演员在广东打工,不能参加演出,最终不能演出。老戏班班主说:“世道变了。我们用2斤米酿出1斤米酒仅卖1.8元,人家拉岩洞里的水装塑料瓶,一斤卖得2元。农民种田不值钱啦!演员们不得不外出去打工。”

5、地方政府决策导向的偏移淡化了本土文化

20世纪90年代到21世纪初,文山州委、州人民政府,为了提高文山的知名度,为了“文化搭台”,每年都组织开展“双节”活动,虽然对保护和弘扬少数

the First Rice Harvest, the ceremony in which women get made up to “open the door of rice seedlings.”

The Zhuang of Wenshan have a long history and a rich and colorful cultural heritage, which includes their unique spiritual values, mindset, imagination and cultural aesthetics which are the embodiment of the limitless vitality and creativity of the Zhuang people.

B. Cultural Contact with Other Ethnic Groups and Globalization Have Accelerated the Rate of Disappearance of Zhuang Cultural Heritage.

The accelerated rate of disappearance of the cultural heritage of the Zhang of Wenshan Prefecture is caused by patterns of historical development, the cultural and political influence of Han Chinese culture, and remaining self-effacing attitudes of the Zhuang with regard to their own culture. The cultural heritage of the Zhuang is on the verge of being lost to future generations—a great loss not only to the Zhuang but also to the precious heritage of all the people of China.

1. Survival Adaptations over Time: The Self-Effacing Attitude of the Zhuang toward their own Cultural Tradition.

According to Qing Dynasty record *The Gazetteer of Kaihua Fu* (1828 AD), 180 years ago Kaihua *Fu*—the area currently included in the counties of Wenshan, Maguan, Xichou, Malipo and Yanshan, as well as a bit of what is now Honghe Prefecture—consisted of 1,184 villages inhabited by Zhuang, Miao, Yi and other ethnic groups. Only eighteen villages in Kaihua *Fu* were unmixed ethnically Han villages, that is, 1.5% of the total villages. Toward the end of the Qing Dynasty, large numbers of Han people migrated into Wenshan Prefecture, a trend that continues to the present, such that in 2004 the Han nationality population for this area of 31,456 square kilometers (12,150 square miles) had reached 1,452,453 people. In an area that is not large, and in less than two centuries, the Han population has grown until now it accounts for more than 40% of the total population and total number villages of the prefecture. Due to cohabitation and cultural mixing between the Zhuang and Han, the original way of life and environment of the areas settled by minority nationalities has changed, and the attitude toward the passing on of Zhuang culture has also changed. Xingjie Township in Xichou County was original known as “Xinjie” (meaning “new market”). Early on there was only a Zhuang village named Zhebao at that location, but by the final years of



民族传统文化有推进作用,但是,对经济投入还未准确地用在保护和弘扬本土文化上。每年为了节日的热烈气氛,在“双节”期间,临时组织部分少数民族民间表演队进城表演,活动结束后,对少数民族文艺表演队未作培训和长期保留,年年临时组织,十年凑合,没有长远规划。在节日期间,为名人效应,愿意出数十万元请外地歌星到文山唱一首歌,也不原意出一万培养本土少数民族歌手。在宣传媒体及相关的决策导向上,淡化了本土文化。

三、云南文山仍是“壮族文化的富矿区”

2006年至2007年,云南省壮学会邀请文山州委、州人民政府、云南省电视台,在文山联合摄制反映壮族文化的12集大型电视纪录片,州民宗委安排笔者参与发掘、组织提供拍摄,历经两年的拍摄,已拍了200余小时资料,初编出12集540分钟的传统文脉探索片《丽战勐僚》。2007年10月,摄制组将初编片带到广西,请广西壮族自治区原副主席、《壮学丛书》总主编张声震研究员、中央民族大学原副校长梁庭望教授、广西社科院原副院长黄铮研究员;中国民族学会副会长、广西壮学会会长、民族研究所所长覃乃昌研究员;中国铜鼓研究会理事长、广西文物专家组长蒋廷瑜研究员;中国民族医药学会副会长、广西民族医药协会会长黄汉儒教授;广西社会科学院壮学研究中心潘其旭研究员;广西民族研究所副所长覃彩銮教授;广西文物专家郑超雄教授等10多位著名专家,看了在文山拍的样稿片,专家们一致认为,在广西拍不出这样的片子,因为广西壮族民间的传统文脉没有云南文山丰富,“文山是壮族文化的富矿区”。

近年来,国内外研究壮族文化的专家、学者,都把云南文山看作“壮族文化的富矿区”,文山各级政府应该珍惜本州的壮族文化遗产。

四、为贯彻党的十七大会议精神做好壮族文化遗产的保护工作

我国是一个统一的多民族国家,56个民族在长期生产生活中创造的丰富多彩的文化遗产,是中华民族智慧与文明的结晶,是联系民族情感的纽带和维系国家统一的基础。随着全球化趋势的加强和现代化进程的加快,我国的文化生态发生巨大变化,少数民族文化遗产受到冲击。加强文化遗产保护迫在眉睫。胡锦涛总书记在党的十七大明确指出:“要全面认识祖国传统文化,取其精华,去其糟粕,使之与当代社会相适应,与现代文明相协调,保持民族性,体现时代性。加强中华优秀文化传统教育,应用现代科技手段开发利用民族文化丰厚资源。加强对各民族文化的挖掘和保护,重视文物和非物质文化遗产的保护,做好文化典籍整理工作。加强对外文化交流,吸收各国优秀文明成果,增强中华文化国际影响力。”党中央十分重视文化遗产的保护工作,国办发〔2005〕18号《国务院办公厅关于加强我国非物质文化遗产保护工作的意见》文件明确了保护工作目标:“通过全社会的努力,逐步建立起比较完备的、有中国特色的非物质文化遗产保

the Qing Dynasty period, a large number of Han had migrated to that spot, started a market, and settled down. Eventually the Han population exceeded the Zhuang population by a factor of ten. In the 1920s, the living space of the original Zhuang inhabitants changed as the natural resources in that area diminished. The traditional “men plow and women weave” “small-scale peasant economy” also changed, forcing the Zhuang to begin speaking Chinese, learn Chinese characters, and engage in commerce. In the ensuing relationship between the Zhuang and the Han, the Zhuang suffered discrimination and were often insulted. In 1920, Mr. Lu Kaihe of Xichou County’s Zhebao Village and Mr. Lu Chunpeng of Malipo County’s Nanyou Village and other open-minded Zhuang people, in order to open up their peoples’ minds and help the Zhuang fit into the existing environment, organized and founded the “Xi [chou] and Ma[lipo] Nong Peoples’ Social Customs Improvement Society.” In July of that year, the founding conference was held at Zhebao Village, with representatives from both counties—more than one thousand members in attendance. After the “Improvement Society” was founded, regulations for reform were drawn up, including the promotion of the study of Han culture by all the people, a prohibition on the singing of Zhuang songs, and the abolition of traditional costumes. Those who violated these regulations would be forced to pay a fine, which would be the same for everyone, whether a member of the gentry or a peasant. Society members and local *Jia-Bao*^① chiefs from each location organized troops to intercept people going to market. They used iron hooks to catch the skirts of the women who had not switched over to Han style pants and would not allow them to participate in the market. Any Zhuang who were found singing Zhuang songs were chased back to their villages and not allowed at the market. In some areas, squads were organized to enter villages and search each household for traditional clothing which was confiscated and burned. The improvement activities of the “Improvement Society” continued for more than a decade, spreading to Wenshan, Maguan, Yanshan and other counties, the Zhuang destroying their own traditional culture.

2. The Cultural Revolution’s Smashing of the “Four Olds” Destroys a Generation of Transmitters of Zhuang Culture.

During the 1960s, throughout most of China, a political movement to smash the “four olds” began, which eventually spread to every Zhuang village and hamlet. On June 1, 1966, the *People’s Daily* published an editorial by Chen Boda^② entitled



护制度,使我国珍贵、濒危并具有历史、文化和科学价值的非物质文化遗产得到有效保护,并得以传承和发扬。”文山壮族苗族自治州拥有丰富多彩的壮族文化遗产,为了保护我州壮族文化遗产和其他各民族的文化遗产,建议开展以下保护措施。

1、成立“云南文山少数民族文化遗产保护研究室”

根据国办发[2005]18号文件:“政府主导、社会参与、明确责任、形成合力;长远规划、分步实施,点面结合、讲求实效。”的工作原则,有必要组织由州政府相关领导挂帅,有宣传部、民宗委、文化、旅游、教育、财政及各少数民族学会参与的文化遗产保护工作领导小组,成立“云南文山少数民族文化遗产研究室”。采用“机构开放、人员流动、内外联合、竞争创新”的运行机制,结合民族民间保护工程、文化信息资源共享工程、非物质文化遗产代表作名录申报、非物质文化遗产名录建立等项目,围绕少数民族文化遗产的重大理论和实践问题,组织专家学者共同开展有关少数民族文化遗产的认定、保存、传播、保护和利用等领域的研究。各县相应成立少数民族文化遗产保护工作室,为加强我州少数民族文化遗产保护工作的持续开展提供有力的智力支持。建立州、县级文化遗产保护名录体系,列出保护重点,并把有代表性的向省级、国家申报。更好地为我州文化产业和社会发展服务。

2、加强少数民族文化遗产保护工作队伍建设

结合文山州壮、苗、彝、瑶等多民族聚居的特点,各民族都应有懂本民族语言、了解本民族历史及文化遗产保护的工作人员。通过有计划的教育培训,提高工作人员的工作能力和业务水平,大力培养专业人才,建立一支专业和业余组成的少数民族文化遗产保护队伍。

3、加大保护工作的经费投入

我州应将少数民族文化遗产保护工作专门纳入财政预算,设立“少数民族文化遗产保护专项资金”。专设文化遗产抢救基金,文化遗产项目所在县应安排适当的配套资金。同时,通过“政府主导、社会参与”,鼓励个人、企业和社会团体对少数民族文化遗产保护工作进行资助。对在少数民族文化遗产保护有突出贡献的单位和个人应给予奖励。

4、加大对“壮族文化富矿区”文化遗产保护工作的投入

我州是以壮族和苗族为主的自治州,应打造好壮族、苗族文化名片,提高文山的知名度。我州的壮族和苗族有丰厚的文化资源,特别是专家学者公认的文山是“壮族文化富矿区”的定论,应该珍惜我州的壮族文化资源,加大对“壮族文化富矿区”文化遗产保护工作的投入。

2007年12月8日

"Sweep Away All Ox Devils and Snake Spirits," that is, class enemies and bad elements, which, for the first time, clearly proposed "thoroughly getting rid of the old thinking, old culture, old social customs, and old habits brought about by the exploiting class that have poisoned the people for several thousand years." Two parts of smashing the "Four Olds" were discarding old social customs and old habits, and the red guards assigned this task performed it with great passion. They hurried to Zhuang areas and rushed from village to village publicizing the rules, teaching revolutionary songs, and forbidding the singing of Zhuang songs. Every household had to hang a blackboard on their doorframe on which to write Chairman Mao's quotations. The *Bohmo* and *Jangleng* of the villages, traditionally transmitters of Zhuang folk culture, were forced to wear hats identifying them as members of the "five black classes" or the "ox devils and snake spirits" and were forcibly dragged together to form "Mao Zedong Thought Study Classes." In every Zhuang village searches were conducted for Zhuang song books and traditional scriptures which were piled up and burned. During the ten years of the Cultural Revolution and the smashing of the "Four Olds" that continued for more than a decade, a generation of older Zhuang folk performers and *Bohmo* passed away while suffering great injustice.

3. The Spread of Han Culture: The People that Lived by Singing No Longer Learn the Songs.

The Zhuang are a people who live with singing from infancy to death. When young women get pregnant after marriage, a simple song is sung to calm the unborn child. If the young mother fears miscarriage, she sings the mysterious song for protecting the fetus. When the child is born a song of blessing is sung. When the child begins to speak he is first taught to sing pleasant sounding children songs. Even the language of normal daily conversation sounds like a song. For courtship and romance there are deep and moving love songs. For festivals and banquets there are exciting call-and-response songs. And songs are used to send off and bury the dead at the end of life. The life of each Zhuang person is bathed in an ocean of poetry and song. For the Zhuang, not having their songs would be like not having the sun. But by the 1990s, the majority of the Zhuang no longer continued to sing Zhuang songs. The Third Lunar Month Country Fair Festival, called *Waedandyan*, *Jingani*, or *Longdaen* in Zhuang, also known as the "Market of Romance" was attended by tens of thousands of young Zhuang people of Guangnan and Funing Counties during the 1950s. They would come together at the



Third Lunar Month Country Fair Festival to find mates through the singing of two-part songs; the site of each area's country fair became a sea of Zhuang singing. But by the 1990s, it was hard to find any men or women spontaneously singing songs at the country fair festivals.

Guangnan County's Zhuang Third Lunar Month Country Fair Festival Survey
(2004 statistics)

| District or Township | Fair Location | Time of Fair | Number of participants prior to the 1960s | Number of participants after the 1990s |
|----------------------|---------------|---|---|--|
| Zhulin Township | Jiaban | 3 rd lunar month horse day (1 st market day) | > 30,000 | > 20,000 |
| Zhetu District | Tangshang | 3 rd lunar month, 1 st horse day | > 10,000 | > 11,000 |
| Zhetu District | Zhetu | 3 rd lunar month, the dragon day that falls during middle ten days | > 19,000 | > 19,000 |
| Zhetu District | Damo | 3 rd lunar month, 1 st rat day | > 5,000 | > 4,000 |
| Nalun District | Nalun | 3 rd lunar month, 1 st tiger day | > 20,000 | > 10,000 |
| Jiumo District | Xiban | 3 rd lunar month, rooster or tiger day, chosen each year | > 5,000 | > 4,500 |
| Jiumo District | Jiumo | 3 rd lunar month, 2 nd rooster day | > 8,000 | > 6,500 |

As the above survey data shows, the number of Zhuang participating in this festival has decreased over the years in most locations. Now in the 21st century, most Zhuang locations across the prefecture have discontinued celebrating this festival except in places where the government organizes festival activities. There are three reasons for the demise of the Zhuang traditional Third Lunar Month Country Fair Festival. The first is that after the founding of new China (in 1949), most Zhuang children started to attend school where they studied Chinese, spoke Chinese, took tests in Chinese and were encouraged to speak in Chinese in their villages. The second reason is that starting from the 1990s, the majority of Zhuang young people began to leave the village to seek wage labor, and thus they did not live in the home village long enough to fully receive the

Zhuang culture passed on by their parents. The third factor is that local government did not adopt measures to protect the transmission of minority cultures.

4. The Invasion of the Market Economy Results in Losing the Means to Protect Culture

Since the 1990s, the trend toward economic globalization has increased greatly. The market economy has changed the traditional way of life of the rural Zhuang, forcing Zhuang young people to leave their home areas to earn money through wage labor, in order to earn meager wages needed to provide for basic living expenses. Even though many Zhuang people do want to pass on the traditional culture inherited from their ancestors, without young people in the village to carry on the traditional Zhuang culture, their desire exceeds their ability.

The elders of Manjiang Village in Malipo County say, "We Zhuang have lived by growing rice for generations, but now a pound of rice sells for only eight *jiao* (around \$0.12 US) and each person only has around seven tenths of a *mu* of land (0.05 hectare or 0.11 acre). In a single year, even if we work ourselves to death, after buying seed, chemical fertilizer, pesticides, the income for a single *mu* still does not come to 200 *yuan* (about \$30 US). Then take away from that the cost of maintaining the buffalo and the farmhands and there is no profit at all. Young people have no choice but to go elsewhere to work." According to my research, of Manjiang Village's 136 Zhuang households (609 people), 31 children had been left to be raised by their grandparents while their parents left the village each year to work. Thirty young people were also away working, for a total of 92 villagers, from the ages of 21 to 50, working wage labor far from the village. Those remaining in the village included the old, the weak or sick and the children. According to Lu Ancai, who is trying to pass on the Zhuang culture in that village, "Our family has an ancient Mo religious book that has been passed down for ten generations. Now I am old and often sick, but I cannot find any young people to come study this book. When my generation is gone, we will have failed the ancestors!"

An area of about ten kilometers around Meng Village in Funing County is heavily concentrated with Zhuang people. Before the 1950s, more than 20,000 people came to participate in the country fair held in the rice paddies in front of this village. This village's Zhuang skit troop would perform a traditional Zhuang opera each year at the country fair. During the 1990s, most of the young actors started to go elsewhere to seek



employment, and the country fair is no longer a regular occurrence. In 2006, the Prefecture Religious and Ethnic Affairs Commission and Prefecture Zhuang Studies Association came to Meng Village to organize *Daoenlong* country fair activities and to invite the village's Zhuang skit troop to perform a traditional Zhuang opera. The director of the skit troop went everywhere, telephoning anyone he could think of within and without the province to notify the members of his troop to return to the village to perform the opera. But finally because some of his troop members who were working in Guangdong Province could not return home to participate, the performance had to be canceled. The director of the old skit troop says: "The world has really changed. We use two pounds of rice to brew one pound of liquor which only sells for 1.8 *yuan* (around \$0.20 US), but then people fill plastic bottles with water from a cave and sell that for two *yuan*. The work of the peasants in cultivating their fields is not worth money now! The actors have no choice but to go elsewhere for work."

5. Misdirected Local Government Strategies Watering Down of Local Culture.

From the 1990s on into the 21st century, the Wenshan Prefecture Communist Party Committee and People's Government have organized and held "Double Festival" activities in order to increase Wenshan's renown so that "Wenshan takes the stage." Even though these activities could potentially play a role in the preservation and development of minority ethnic groups' traditional culture, nonetheless at present economic resources still have not been used to specifically protect and promote local culture. Every year in order to create a lively atmosphere for the "Double Festival," some minority folk performers are first organized and brought into town to perform. But no permanent training or preservation program is organized for the performers after the activities are over, and each year the performances are hastily organized and improvised just before the activities without any long term plan. At the time of the festival, in order to bring some celebrities to Wenshan, the government is willing to spend tens of thousands of *yuan* to bring in singing stars from outside of Wenshan Prefecture to sing a song or two, but it is not willing to spend even ten thousand *yuan* to train the local minority singers. The effect of official publicity media and related strategies are having the effect of watering down local culture.

C. Wenshan Prefecture, Yunnan, is still a "Gold Mine of Zhuang Culture"

From 2006 to 2007, Yunnan Province's Zhuang Studies Association invited the Wenshan Prefecture Communist Party Committee, the Prefecture People's Government, and Yunnan Province Television to work together to film and produce a twelve-part television documentary about Wenshan's Zhuang culture. The Prefecture Religious and Ethnic Affairs Commission arranged for the author to participate in the explorations and provide photography. Through two years of filming, more than 200 hours of data were recorded, which were edited to produce a nine-hour, twelve-part series on our quest for traditional culture. During October 2007, the production group took an early version to Guangxi and invited a prominent group to preview the series: the former vice-chairman of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, researcher Zhang Shengzhen who is editor-in-chief of the *Zhuang Studies Series*, Professor Liang Tingwang who is the former vice-president of the Central University of Nationalities, researcher Huang Zheng who is the former assistant director of the Guangxi Social Science Institute, the vice-president of China's Ethnic Studies Association, the director of Guangxi's Zhuang Studies Association, researcher Tan Naichang who is the director of the Ethnic Research Institute, the director general of the China Bronze Drum Research Society, researcher Jiang Tingyu who is the leader of the Guangxi Cultural Relics Specialists Group, the assistant director of the Chinese Ethnic Medicine Studies Association, Professor Huang Hanru who is the director of the Guangxi Ethnic Medicine Society, researcher Pan Qixu of the Zhuang Studies Research Center of the Guangxi Social Science Institute, Tan Cailuan who is assistant director of the Guangxi Ethnic Research Institute, Professor Zheng Chaoxiong who is an expert on Guangxi cultural relics, and ten other famous experts. All the experts agreed that this kind of filming could not have been done in Guangxi because the traditional Zhuang culture of Guangxi is no longer as rich as that of Wenshan: "Wenshan is a gold mine of Zhuang culture."

In recent years, domestic and foreign experts and researchers studying Zhuang culture have seen Wenshan as a "gold mine of Zhuang culture." Every level of government in Wenshan ought to cherish the cultural heritage of the Zhuang of our prefecture.



D. Toward Implementation of the Spirit of the 17th Party Congress; Do a Good Job of Protecting the Zhuang Cultural Heritage

Our country is a unified multiethnic nation; fifty-six nationalities working together over a long period have created a rich and colorful cultural heritage, the crystallization of the wisdom and civilization of the people of China. This heritage is the link that holds together the feelings and unity of the nation. Following the tendency toward globalization and the accelerating pace of modernization, the cultural ways of life of our country are undergoing monumental changes and the cultural heritage of the minority ethnic groups is under attack. There is an urgent need to strengthen the safeguarding of cultural heritage.

General Secretary Hu Jintao at the 17th congress clearly pointed out: "We should completely get acquainted with the traditional culture of the motherland, take its best features, remove its dregs, make it fit in with our present society, coordinate it with our modern civilization, maintain its ethnic quality and that which embodies the spirit of the ages. We will strengthen the Chinese culture's traditional education, applying modern scientific methods to develop and make use of the plentiful resources of ethnic culture. We will strengthen the preservation of and excavation into each nationality's culture, putting importance on the preservation of cultural relics and intangible cultural heritage. We must do the work of archiving cultural manuscripts and records well. We will strengthen exchanges with foreign cultures, assimilate the fruits of the best civilizations of every nation, and increase the cultural influence of China internationally." The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CCP) attaches great importance to the work of protecting cultural heritage. National Announcement No. 18 of 2005, entitled "The Opinion of the General Office of the State Council Respecting the Strengthening of the Work of Safeguarding the Nation's Intangible Cultural Heritage," clarifies the objective of the preservation work: "through the hard work of the entire society, to progressively establish institutions for the preservation of China's special intangible cultural heritage in a relatively complete manner. Through these institutions, our nation's precious and endangered intangible cultural heritage which carries our history and is of both cultural and scientific worth will be effectively protected, passed on and fully utilized."

Wenshan Zhuang and Miao Autonomous Prefecture possesses rich and colorful cultural heritage; in order to protect our prefecture's Zhuang cultural heritage and that

of other ethnic groups, I recommend taking the following measures:

1. Establish an "Office for the Preservation and Research of the Minority Ethnic Cultural Heritage of Wenshan Prefecture, Yunnan."

According to National Announcement No. 18 of 2005, the work must proceed according to the following principles: "The government leads; society participates; responsibilities are clarified; cooperation takes shape; long term planning; step-by-step implementation; the work at selected spots is linked to that of the larger area; practical results are emphasized." Therefore it is necessary that the appropriate leaders in the prefecture government take command of the organization, and that the Publicity Department, Religious and Ethnic Affairs Commission, Culture, Tourism, Education and Finance departments, as well as the various ethnic studies associations all participate in the cultural heritage preservation leadership group, in order to set up the "Office for the Preservation and Research of the Minority Ethnic Cultural Heritage of Wenshan Prefecture, Yunnan." This office should adopt mechanisms of "organizational opening, personnel flow, internal and external alliances, and competitive creativity" to integrate preservation projects among the minority people, cultural information sharing projects, submissions of representative items for intangible cultural heritage registries, intangible cultural heritage preservation registries and registered protected items, compilation of significant theories and practical questions centered on minority cultural heritage, organization of specialists and researchers to formulate opinions on minority cultural heritage, and research into conservation, dissemination, preservation, utilization and other domains. Each county should also establish offices for the preservation of minority cultural heritage in order to strengthen the prefecture's minority cultural heritage preservation work and develop and increase its intellectual support. A system of cultural heritage preservation registries at both the prefecture and county levels should be established to list important protected items and recommend the most representative of them to the provincial and national levels for inclusion on those registries. This will better serve the cultural property and societal development of our prefecture.

2. Construct a Work Team for the Strengthening of Minority Cultural Heritage Preservation

A team to work on preservation of cultural heritage should be composed of local



members of Wenshan's Zhuang, Miao, Yi, Yao and other minority ethnic groups who can understand the language of their respective ethnic groups and are knowledgeable about their own ethnic groups' histories and cultural heritage. Through programmed educational training, the work and business abilities of the members should be raised, and experts should be aggressively groomed, in order to create an expert and specialized minority cultural heritage preservation team.

3. Invest Funds for Significant Preservation Work

Our prefecture needs to specifically include the work of protecting minority cultural heritage in its fiscal budget and establish a "Special Fund for Minority Cultural Heritage Preservation Work" specifically for the rescue of endangered cultural heritage. The county where the cultural heritage is located would arrange for appropriate matching funds. At the same time, in accordance with the principle of "Government leading, society participating," we should encourage individuals, businesses and social organizations to provide financial aid to the minority cultural heritage preservation work. Businesses and individuals that make prominent contributions to the minority cultural heritage preservation work should be rewarded.

4. Throw the Work of Minority Cultural Heritage Preservation into High Gear in the "Gold Mine of Zhuang Culture."

Our prefecture is a Zhuang and Miao nationality autonomous prefecture, and thus we need to produce good Zhuang and Miao cultural "business cards" to represent the prefecture and increase Wenshan's visibility. Our prefecture has abundant Zhuang and Miao cultural resources. We ought to treasure our prefecture's Zhuang cultural resources, and put the work of minority cultural heritage preservation into high gear in the "gold mine of Zhuang culture."

8 December 2007

① *Jia-Bao* is a system of neighborhood administration used during the Qing Dynasty.

② CHEN Boda, 1940-1989, was editor of the CCP journal Red Flag (*Hongqi*), then the head of the propaganda department and a member of the standing committee of the Politburo, and was finally convicted as one of the Gang of Four.

A Brief Handbook for Conducting Minority Culture Fieldwork in Wenshan

How to Establish Rapport with Minority Peoples

WANG Mingfu

The Zhuang, Miao, Yi, Yao and ten other minority nationalities reside in Yunnan Province's Wenshan Zhuang and Miao Autonomous Prefecture. These nationalities have a long history. Their traditional cultures are rich and detailed, and their cultural concepts regarding the natural environment have given rise to the folk customs and cultures of other regions. In recent years many domestic and foreign experts have made Wenshan, this cultural treasure trove, the object of their research interests.

In beginning ethnographic field research into minority nationality folk customs, specialists and researchers of past ages discovered the best method for entering many cultures: "When in Rome, do as the Romans." This is the issue to which researchers should pay the most attention. In order to collect valuable first-hand data, one must first understand the customs of and culture of the people group one intends to research, and connect with the people to the degree that the researcher is trusted by the people. For twenty years now, the present author has resided within Wenshan researching and organizing projects related to the minority nationalities' traditional cultures. He has done field research by establishing a relationship of mutual respect with the minorities, through sensitive consultation together with them.

I. Wenshan Minority Nationalities' Situation

Yunnan Province's Wenshan Zhuang and Miao Autonomous Prefecture (hereafter referred to as Wenshan Prefecture) has a land area of 31,456 square kilometers, and governs eight counties: Wenshan, Yanshan, Qiubei, Guangnan, Funing, Xichou, Malipo, and Maguan. Within the prefecture live eleven nationalities: Han, Zhuang, Miao, Yi, Yao, Mongolian, Hui, Dai, Bai, Bouyei, and Gelao, with a total population of 3,312,704 people (2003 statistics).

Wenshan is an ancient and mystical land, and from ancient times humanity has



multiplied here. In 1937 in a cave in the vicinity of Qiubei County's Heiqinglong village, a pile of carved flintstones, burnt bones and other relics of human civilization were discovered, the age of the fauna indicating the middle New Earth age, 200,000 years ago. In 1965 and 1973 there were two excavations in Xichou County's Xianren Cave which discovered evidence of late Stone Age *Homo sapiens*' fossilized teeth, at least 50,000 year old; this was named "Xichou Man." In 1975, stone carvings, stone scraping tools, engraved pottery shards, fossilized horse bones and the fossilized skeletons of other wild animals were excavated in Malipo County's Xiaohu Cave, the remains of ancient people of the new Stone Age, approximately 4,100 years ago. This all is sufficient to show that early in the prehistoric era humanity was already flourishing in this area.

The Zhuang are the indigenous nationality of Wenshan. Cultural artifacts, cave relics and bas relief mountain sculptures excavated at various sites in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region and in Wenshan Prefecture testify to the fact that Wenshan, this ancient land, was the cradle of what became the Zhuang nationality. The ancestors of the Zhuang, called "*Bai Yue*" or "One hundred *Yue*," had already begun a civilization based on wet paddy farming before the Shang Dynasty. In the Zhuang language, the word for rice paddy is *naz*; the Zhuang people passionately love their *naz*. When the Zhuang settle a new village, they often bless it with a name like *Naz lun* (meaning 'boat-shaped paddy'), *Naz hongz* (meaning 'king's or emperor's paddy'), etc. Just in Wenshan prefecture alone, more than a thousand places are called *Na* and 518 villages still have the word *na* in their names. The Zhuang are the earliest rice paddy farmers to live in Wenshan. Varying historical development and settlement patterns have given rise to over thirty different names for the Zhuang, and linguistically also there are differences. The Zhuang population of Wenshan Prefecture today stands at 993,591 people (2003 statistics), which can be divided into three branches: the Nong, the Sha and the Tu.

The Miao (Hmong) Nationality is a nationality which migrated to Wenshan in ancient times. In the first year of the Ming dynasty, 2,000 households of Miao people migrated from Guizhou and settled in Wenshan's Qiubei County. The Miao of Wenshan can be divided into various branches, referred to by others as White Miao, Blue (or Green) Miao, Han (or Sinocized) Miao, Bian (or Leaning) Miao, etc. Today the Miao population in Wenshan is 419,855 people (2003 statistics).

The Yi Nationality is also a nationality indigenous to the southwest part of China.

According to historical records, the majority of the ancestors of the Yi entered Wenshan early during the Tang Dynasty or even before. Wenshan Prefecture's Yi people can also be divided into various branches, referred to by others as Black Yi, White Yi, Red Yi, Luo, Phu, Sani, Meng, etc. The Yi population in Wenshan Prefecture stands at 323,229 people.

During the Tang Dynasty, ancestors of the Yao (Mien) Nationality first migrated to Yunnan's Wenshan, Honghe and other places from Hunan and Guangxi. After the Yuan Dynasty, more Yao people successively settled in Wenshan. The names (exonyms) by which the branches of Yao are called include: Dian (or Indigo) Yao, Ban (or Plank) Yao, Shan (or Mountain) Yao, etc. The Yao population in Wenshan prefecture is 81,840 people.

Today the population of other minorities in Wenshan Prefecture is relatively small. There are 23,310 Hui people, 14,967 Dai people, 7056 Bai people, 6380 Bouyei (Buyi) people, 3381 Mongolian people, 1636 Gelao people. Except for the Dai people, these minorities all settled in Wenshan during the Ming and Qing Dynasties.

Owing to the varying historical origins, means of livelihood and lifestyles of the various minorities in Wenshan, colorful and varied folk customs have resulted, preserving the region's unique traditional cultures. In recent years, this ancient and fascinating land that is Wenshan has attracted the attention of numerous domestic and foreign researchers.

II. Preparation for Field Research

Beginning a minority culture field research project is a quite complicated endeavor. Besides the necessary material and mental preparations, the most important thing is to get connected with the relevant information regarding the people group to be researched. If one first seeks to understand who are the key people in the researched group, then through these key people one can learn about the past and present of the group and make contact with villages, households and individuals in the group. So the first step is to meet these key people, then research the customs and traditions of the group, at the same time being careful to collect any relevant bibliographic data. Once one has entered into the field research stage, then one can clarify one's inquiries and better know what research questions require more careful observation.



1. Locating Information Prior to Beginning Field Research

Before beginning field research, one must connect with the key people of the group to be researched. Early on one should become aware of the folks customs and habits of the group. Before entering a village, one should know a little about the culture to avoid looking awkward. In order to learn more little about the culture, one should seek out relatives or friends from the group, or ask others to arrange a meeting with someone with first-hand knowledge, someone who can give the researcher an introduction to someone from the researched group, and who can consult on the research.

People who might be able to introduce the researcher to influential people in the researched group include someone with whom the researcher has ethnicity or religion in common, who is related by marriage, those born in the same year or month, local government or party leaders (look into who are the leaders in the relevant rural district, township, village, and any leaders living out of the area), other academic researchers who have already done work in the area, or educated members of the nationality.

People who could be useful as consultants include those of neighboring villages, those of the same nationality or connected by marriage, local government or party leaders and educated members of the nationality.

2. Locating Previously Published Information

Browse:

- Local annals (dìfāng zhìshù). (Find these in prefecture and county libraries and the archived data of local annals editing offices; for example, *Kāihuā Fǔzhì* (Kaihua Government Annals), *Guāngnán Fǔzhì* (Guangnan Annals), *Kāihuā Fǔzhì Diǎnzhù* (Annotated Kaihua Government Annals), *Guāngnán Fǔzhì Diǎnxiào* (Corrected Guangnan Annals), the current annals of the eight counties of Wenshan, etc.)

- Local researchers' relevant data.
- Statistical data from county, township, and village governments.

3. Choosing Village Datapoints

- Villages where human culture is following its natural trends (The village layout, residence patterns, clothing, language, folk customs, etc. still are maintained in their original forms.)