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HAN Min

National Museum of Ethnology

1. Introduction

Since 1978, China has been gradually transformed according to a new economic model, the socialist market system, and has become increasingly involved in globalization. Till then, the primary role of domestic tourism in China was as a tool to support socialist ideological propaganda and the role of international tourism to China was viewed by the government as one of the diplomatic means of strengthening international relations. After changes in central government policies, tourism began to be seen as an economic activity and became a strategic economic industry, while at the same time, domestic tourism still maintains its ideological purpose of promoting solidarity and the unity of the nation (for instance 'Red tourism') and shaking off poverty. Many have observed that domestic tourism has an ideological purpose of promoting the unity of all Nationalities (cf. "global village") and modernizing the backward (Oakes 1998; Schein 2000). A remarkable feature of recent tourism development in China is the way that ethnic cultures and their localities have been revalued, reconstructed and represented. This phenomenon of localization is remarkable. How and why has localization happened in Chinese tourism development? To shed light on these questions, intensive case studies are necessary.

Competition among regional cultures or ethnic cultures is becoming more intense under the impact of tourism and globalization. In the case of the minority ethnic groups in China, language, clothes, hairstyle, lifestyle construction, and religious faith are often represented as ethnic characters and symbols, whereas the characters of Han people are too various or too monotonous. In this sense, the possibilities of cultural representation of Han people are very limited. However, if people observe the Han culture in different regions or different times, they will find its diversity. For the moment, compared with cultural tourism among minority ethnic groups in China, we can find three features in cultural tourism among the Han people.

Firstly, the local Han people usually stress and represent their local characters in tourism development. In the case studies about ancient villages of Xidi, Hongcun, and Nanping in Southern Anhui by Li Fan and Jin Zhongmin (Li and Jin 2002; Zhang 2007; Jiang, Wang and Li 2009), rural tourism in Hebei (Liang 2008) and Shanxi (Wang and Zhao 2007), it is pointed out how the local ancient villages have been revalued as tourism destinations,

and at the same time the style of construction and lifestyle of the Han people has begun to be revalued (Wang and Zhao 2007; Liang 2008). Secondly, the history and network of the family, lineage or surname group has begun to be re-presented and revalued. In the case of Zhuji Lane in Nanxiong, Guangdong, by re-presenting their local family history people have structured it within the entirety of Chinese history and subsumed their local identities in Chinese nationalism (Segawa 2008). Thirdly, famous people, “heroes”, are also a resource for the Han people to use for their tourism development. Mao tourism in Shaoshan, Hunan and Mazu tourism in Putian, Fujian are examples (Han 1997, 2001; Huang and Peng 2007).

This paper offers an ethnological study of the re-presentation of local cultures, and tourism development among the Han people, in Heshun town (Qiaoxiang) (Map1). This is called “The Hometown of Overseas Chinese” in Yunnan, where I conducted research in 2001, 2002 and 2008. The community and memory of Heshun have been reshaped and re-presented by local government, tourism agencies, intellectuals, and the local host community.



Map 1 Heshun between China and Myanmar.

2. Heshun, Qiaoxiang, the Hometown of Overseas Chinese

Heshun is a border town in Tengchong County. It is 750 km northwest of Kunming, 210 km east of Myitkyina in Myanmar, and 600 km from Ledo in Assam, India. It is tucked away among rolling hills, and has long been overpopulated. People went abroad frequently during the Ming and Qing dynasties, and more than 10,000 Chinese originating from Heshun are now distributed in thirteen countries. Nowadays Heshun consists of over 1,300 households and 6,048 people living in three administrative villages. Returnees from overseas, and their kin, make up 62.7 % of the total population, so Heshun is also called Qiaoxiang, the hometown of overseas Chinese. Here Qiao means living abroad or a person living abroad. Xiang means countryside, village or rural area.

In earlier times, the overseas Chinese who succeeded in rice trading, mining or processing jade built luxurious family mansions equipped with modern and exotic commodities. Now in Heshun, there are also about 170 farmhouses built between the late Qing dynasty and the early Republican Period. The overseas Chinese also built many public buildings: one library of 70,000 volumes (Picture 1), eight ancestor halls, seven shrines and temples, seven clothes-washing pavilions (*xiyi ting*) by the river and more than ten moon terraces (*yuetai*, places that are important for village communication and grain drying).

3. Heshun, as an Ethnic Cultural and Ecological Village and a Strategic Tourism Spot

These architectural features, the beautiful natural scenery, and the local lifestyle began to be revalued and reshaped in the 1990's when the Yunnan government and their scholars



Picture 1 Dongjing Music in Heshun. Han Min 2000.

began promoting Yunnan as a “great province of ethnic cultures” (*Min Zu Da Sheng*)¹⁾.

Within the provincial project, constructing ‘*wenhua shengtai cun*’ (Ethnic Cultural and Ecological Villages) is an important activity. The project was initiated in 1998 with funds from the Ford Foundation and was led by the Yunnan Provincial Committee of China’s Communist Party (The Project Team for the Construction of Ethnic Cultural and Ecological Villages in Yunnan, China with a Grant Awarded by the Ford Foundation, Beijing 1999: 1). The project leader, Yin Shaoting, professor of Yunnan University, pointed out that the idea of constructing Ethnic Cultural and Ecological Villages was a new idea and a method of protecting and using the culture, influenced by the idea of ecomuseum born in France in the 1970’s (Poulot 1994). According to Professor Yin, four policies were created for the Ethnic Cultural and Ecological Villages. Firstly, the Ethnic Cultural and Ecological Villages should not be museums or facilities artificially constructed. They should be areas where the accumulated cultural traditions and their strong local cultural colors are both protected and exhibited. That is to say an Ethnic Cultural and Ecological Village is a union of a real, existing living culture with an ecological environment. It is not a means of cultural protection without its fundamental base, but a method of practicing cultural protectionism in the local community. Secondly, the best cultural traditions should be maintained and modern civilization should be accepted at the same time. Thirdly, unlike the large museums managed by specialists in urban areas, an Ethnic Cultural and Ecological Village should be managed by local people independently. Fourthly, the project must be linked to tourism development and the people’s lives should be enriched. The construction of an Ethnic Cultural and Ecological Village is a kind of *Wenhua Fupin*, Culture Poverty Alleviation (Yin 1999: 9).

According to the four policies above, five standards for choosing Ethnic Cultural and Ecological Villages were established:

- (i) The ecological environment is good and must provide a beautiful rural landscape.
- (ii) Unsophisticated old customs remain.
- (iii) The local people have a wish to conserve their culture and ecological environment.
- (iv) The village must be easily accessible from the main tourism destinations at national and provincial levels.
- (v) The provincial government can get support from the local government and capable local cadres to help develop the village (Yin 2001: 1-17).

As a result, Heshun and other three villages were chosen as Ethnic Cultural and Ecological Villages in Yunnan in 1998, among which Heshun was chosen as the Han village, while the others were Jinuo, Yi, and Buyi villages.

4. Tourism Development, Initiated by the Provincial Government, with Participation by Scholars and Local People

Heshun has been a tourism spot since 1996. According to my interviews with the cadres of Heshun Township, there were 150,000 tourists in 1996. After it was specified as an ethnic cultural and ecological village and strategic tourism spot by the provincial government, the number of tourists increased. For instance, the number of tourists in 1999 was 360,000 and this increased to 534,500 in 2000. Most were Chinese; however there are also foreign

tourists from Singapore, Malaysia, Japan, the UK, Holland, Germany, Canada and the USA.

In 2001, the provincial government decided to make Tengchong into the fourth tourist spot of Yunnan besides Xishuangbanna, Dali and Lijiang, and used three catchphrases to represent Tengchong, “Hometown of overseas Chinese with a long history,” “Jade town,” and “Beautiful resort land with Volcano and Hot spring”: the first two were related to Heshun. The provincial government sent famous writers, cameramen, and journalists of the *Yunnan Daily* to Heshun to write about it (He 2001).

The provincial government also sent writers and journalists to Heshun, and mobilized mass media to make it well known. They asked CCTV to cover Heshun and make TV programs there. In a state-wide competition held by CCTV in 2005, Heshun won the reputation of one of ‘The Ten Most Charming Countryside Towns in China’. In 1996, only 150,000 tourists visited Heshun. After its selection as an Ethnic Cultural and Ecological Village and as one of the most charming countryside towns in China, the number of tourists increased to 649,890 by 2007.

The Tourism Bureau of Yunnan province and the Tengchong local government co-sponsored a Yunnan Tengchong Volcano and Hot Spring Festival in Heshun. During the festival, members of the Dongjing association in Heshun played Dongjing music to the tourists² (Picture 1). Dongjing music, which had been suppressed as feudal culture during the Maoist period, is being re-presented now as traditional local culture of Tengchong in order to attract more tourists. At the same time, the stories of the overseas Chinese who were engaged in mining, jade processing and rising trade in Southeast Asia were made into short plays or local operas and presented on stage during the festival. The history of overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia and social relations with the overseas Chinese had been treated negatively during the Cultural Revolution and the Cold War period, but now the history of the overseas Chinese is revalued, and it is even regarded as an important part of both the local history of southwest Yunnan and the history of Southeast Asia.

5. Discovering, Revaluing and Designing Nature and Culture by the Local Government and Scholars

In order to improve tourism development, four capable young cadres were sent from Tengchong County to Heshun Township, and appointed as head of township, deputy head of township, township party secretary and township People’s Congress Chairman. Dong Ping, one of the four cadres, was in charge of tourism development, and within one year, he interviewed many villagers and their relatives elsewhere, gathered first-hand materials, wrote a book about Heshun, and had it published (Dong 2000). In his book, he revalued the shrines, the ancestors’ hall, the geology and the biographies of Heshun people as valuable materials for research on migration in southwest China. Now, at the entrance of Heshun, there is a travel guide map, on which the shrines, the temple, and the ancestor’s hall are re-presented as tourist attractions.

With financial support from the Ford Fund of the USA³ and the Tengchong government, Wenchang Temple, the Library and the Home of Ai Siqu (1910-1966)⁴, all of which had been damaged during past years, were rebuilt in 1999. Wenchang Temple in Heshun was

built in the Daoguang era (1820-1850) of the Qing Dynasty for Wenchang, the Literature Deity among the Han people. During the Cultural Revolution, Wenchang Temple fell out of use but has now been renewed as a resource for tourism. A stone monument which was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution was reestablished inside Wenchang Temple as a local cultural relic in 1999. On the stone monument, there are records of 8 *juren*, recommended men⁵⁾, 3 holders of the *bagong*⁶⁾ degree and 403 holders of the *xiuca* degree, cultivated talents⁷⁾, appearing one after another during the five hundred years between the late Ming Dynasty and the early Qing (Li and Li 1999: 59). Since the reconstruction, Wenchang Temple, together with Heshun Library, has been playing an important role as the cultural center of Heshun. Exhibitions like the history of overseas Chinese and international postage stamps are held there, and traditional Dongjing music is also often played for tourists or guests, about which I will deal in the next part of this paper.

Heshun Library (Picture 2) was built in 1928 with financial support from overseas Chinese. It houses 70,000 volumes. About 10,000 volumes in its storage were published in the Qing Dynasty, 15,000 in the Republic Period before 1949. There are rare editions of ancient works, some being the only copies extant. 30,000 books were published after the founding of the People's Republic of China. More than 150 kinds of newspapers and magazines are available at the library. Some of the old books, newspapers and magazines are valued as first hand materials for research into the history of Southeast Asia and the history of overseas Chinese. It is said to be the biggest township-level library in China. Heshun Library has been taken as the symbol of a home town of overseas Chinese.

The library building is also astonishing: it is made of stone and wood and built in both traditional and Western style, with beautiful gardens and elegant iron railings. In 1980,



Picture 2 Heshun Library built in 1928. Han Min 2000.

Heshun Library was included in the National Library Administration system, and listed as a provincial cultural relic. Over the first gate of the library is a horizontal sign “Heshun Library” with inscriptions by Zhang Li, the last Juren of Heshun, and graduate of all the provincial examinations. Over the second gate is another sign “the Cradle of Culture” with inscriptions by Hu Shi, a famous intellectual in China in the early 20th century.

Converting a local residence into a historical museum is an important part of the project. After their joint investigation in Heshun, the government cadres, scholars of Yunnan University and the local elders decided to choose the Li mansion as a museum to represent the culture of Heshun and the history of the overseas Chinese.

The Li mansion was built during the late Qing dynasty and the early Republic period. Now, only one old woman, a granddaughter of the original owner, is still living there. About 200 Li descendants are now scattered in Yunnan, Beijing, Thailand, Myanmar and other parts of the world. The Li mansion is currently managed by the Tourism Bureau and has three main display themes:

Firstly, their lifestyle is represented as a standard in Heshun, combining agriculture and trade, and placing equal emphasis on scholarship and official service. The Li family began trading using *mabang*, horse caravans, to transport raw cotton and small trinkets, and in 1850 they established a company for trading jade and jewelry. They later set up eight branches in Yangon, Myitkyina, Kunming, Xiaguan and Chongqing. They donated a remarkable sum of money to Heshun Library and joined Sun Wen’s alliance association which contributed a lot to the Xinhai Revolution (1911). One of the Li, who studied in Japan, became president of Tengchong High School and the Deputy Head of Tengchong County.

Secondly, the Li family is represented as one of patriotic overseas Chinese businessmen. Beside their contributions to the Xinhai Revolution and the construction of Heshun Library, they also changed their entire company and branches inside China to Joint State-private Ownership, were elected deputy presidents of the association of overseas Chinese in Yunnan and went to North Korea to console the volunteer army in the Korean War (Dong 2000: 55-56). The words sculpted over the main rooms, *Jian yi yong wei*, ‘Voluntarily combating criminal activities’ and *Bao jing wo bang* ‘Using trade in jade and jewelry to calm down China’ show a Confucian responsibility and its life creed of cultivating one’s character, managing the family, ruling the country, and calming down the whole world, all of which were practiced by the Li. In Heshun, there are many overseas Chinese like the Li family who have made great contributions to the Xinhai Revolution, the Anti-Japanese War, the Korean War and the cultural course of Heshun.

Thirdly, the imposing dwellings and spacious courtyards of the Li are represented as a precious cultural heritage that exemplifies the history of Heshun, the hometown of overseas Chinese. In the tourism pamphlet published by the Tourism Bureau of Tengchong, the dwellings and courtyards are described as some of the representations and symbols of Heshun Culture.

Using Myanmar as a route in and out, the Li traveled far and wide in the world, making their precious contributions to the unique Heshun culture which is a blend of many civilizations, ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign. The local residence museum is represented as an official model culture of Heshun by the government.

6. Local People Re-presenting Their History

At the same time, the local people have also taken an active part in the project. The Dongjing music association is an example. Dongjing music previously functioned as a means of education for men, as well as an amusement, and as part of religious practice before 1949. Yin Wenhe, who is an overseas Chinese returned from Myanmar and a deputy president of the Overseas Chinese association of Tengchong, pointed out that Dongjing performances in Heshun began about 200 years ago. Members of the association used to gather once a week on Saturday to play Dongjing. They also played at funerals, memorial events, birthday celebrations and on other occasions. The music was also used to pray for peace and good harvests. During the Cultural Revolution, their activity was stopped and their music sheets were lost. In 1987, Mr. Liu, who was a returned overseas Chinese and also a former member of the Dongjing association in Heshun, called on the old members and reformed the Dongjing association of Heshun at his home. In order to support them the Dongjing association in Myanmar presented them with 20 volumes of music named Daxian Dongjing, musical instruments and censers. Now there are 20 members of the Heshun Dongjing association. They can play 44 traditional repertoires, such as Yu Jiangfeng, Suo Nanzhi, Hanlin Qiang, Siji Feng and so on (Li 1998). Recently Dongjing began to be revalued as 'local culture' by the local government. Now the Dongjing players in Heshun compose new songs to enrich their repertoire, and are often invited to play Dongjing by other villages, and in other counties.

Beside the Dongjing Association, the Senior Citizens' Association takes an active part in representing Heshun's history and culture by making and singing new songs as well. The songs of *Heshun shi Ge hao defang* (Heshun is a wonderful place) and *Qi Xiannu you Heshun* (Seven Fairies travel in Heshun) are examples. In these songs, the locals revalue their cultural roots, splendid residences and ancestors' halls, the crafts of processing jade and working rattan, and their gastronomic culture. Now there are 37 members of this association. Every morning before breakfast, they gather to play croquet in the vicinity of the river, or do physical exercise inside Wenchang temple. When they finish exercising, they usually read novels, or sing songs. Their grandchildren sometimes join these activities as well.

To the tourists from outside, their songs function as a means of re-presenting natural scenery, local history and the culture which had been suppressed; to the local people, the songs function as a means of establishing their identities and educating the younger generation about community traditions.

Besides the Dongjing Association and the Senior Citizens' Association, the people of Heshun use various ways to re-present their history and culture. The Liu Family Courtyard is another example of local culture and family history being displayed.

This private museum is managed by the Liu couple. The atmosphere of this residence is graceful, and its architecture shows both Chinese and Western styles. The Liu succeeded as grain traders in Myanmar, and built their residence in the 1920s. Their descendants⁸⁾ voluntarily opened the residence to the public in 2000, guiding tourists, and providing meals and accommodation. Many tourists from Kunming, Beijing and Germany have stayed at

the Liu mansion.

The Liu Family Courtyard is managed voluntarily by ordinary citizens and it was opened to the public before the Li mansion, managed by the government. Both the Li Mansion and the Liu Courtyard emphasize the culture represented by their buildings. In both buildings, this culture is related to the culture of the central plains and that of Confucianism. The architecture displays typical features of *qiaoxiang* culture, in which Chinese and Western styles are combined. For instance, the Liu Family Courtyard shows the features of *qiaoxiang* culture by exhibiting architecture and articles of daily life. There is a *yuetai*, a music terrace made into the building. Terraces for music are seldom found in traditional Chinese residences. Over the two windows of arch type, are sculpted four words: *zuohua* and *zuiyue* which mean that one enjoys oneself by drinking sake and looking at flowers. The words come from a poem made by Li Bai (701-762 AD), one of the greatest poets in China. Liu's wife explained to the tourists proudly that the music terrace is the only one in Heshun and it is there that the West was combined with China.

A key difference between these venues lies in how the historical narratives are represented; stories about the Li are fixed, told by guides provided by the government and represent an official model culture of Heshun. The Liu Family Courtyard Museum is independent and is not restricted by the government or tourist agency. The volunteers can make their own decisions about what to display and how to display their residence, and can use their own words to represent the history, their memories of the Liu family, their community and the country. When the Liu show their residence, they usually tell the tourists the historical background and how the house was used in past years. For instance, they explain the different uses of the main gate and the side gate for people of different gender and status. Women who are pregnant or have given birth within the month, and babies less than one year old usually use the side gate. When somebody dies, people also use this side gate to carry the corpse out of the home. Tourists can gain some knowledge of folklore and notice similarities and differences between Heshun and their hometown.

On the second floor, there are two halls where, in the late Qing Dynasty, during the funeral of their great grandmother and the wedding of their grandmother, eight hundred guests were invited to the feast. During World War II in the 1940's, more than a hundred Kuomintang (KMT or Chinese Nationalist Party) troops stayed on the second floor. The nails for hanging guns still remain on the wall. In the late 1940's, during China's full-scale civil war between the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) and the Communist Party of China (CPC), the People's Liberation Army of the CPC arrived at Heshun, and the hygiene battalion lived in the Liu mansion, painting the wall white and using the second floor as an operating room. Showing a picture in which tigers are embroidered, the Liu told the tourists that the picture had been painted by their father, and embroidered by their mother, who was the first woman to stop foot-binding in Heshun, and who was the only one who could read and write among the four sons' brides. So their mother always wrote letters to the men abroad instead of their wives who were unable to read or write.

They also display items showing the hobbies, personalities and lifestyle of their family, sharing their personal memories with the tourists. For instance, they told how the old iron and locks made in England and the scissors made in Myanmar were used by their parents.

And they showed pictures about the folklore of Myanmar which had been presented by their daughter living there, telling people a vivid continuing story of an overseas Chinese family.

Many pieces of wooden root sculpture made by the husband were on display as a presentation of their hobbies. There were also sculptured plums made by the wife to represent the local gastronomic culture. In Heshun and Tengchong, the local women usually sculpture a flower out of plums and put them into a sealed bottle. They call these *diaomei*, sculptured plums. They are a work of art and a kind of preserved food as well. The local people often present sculptured plums to relatives or friends and eat them when their stomachs and appetites are weak.

The Liu Family Courtyard Museum is autonomous without being restricted by the government agency. They can make decisions about what to display and how to display their residence, and use their own discourse to represent the history of the Liu family, their community and the country.

The tourism agency of Tengchong once asked the Liu to make their residence an official 'tourist spot' and promised them that if they did so, they would receive an allowance from the government. However they refused the offer, because they worried that they would lose their freedom. The Liu told me, "Now we take care of the tourists in our own good time while we do our farm work. We want to communicate with the tourists. Tourism is about communication."

Now in Heshun, there are more local people who open their old houses to tourists and offer food and accommodation. They enjoy re-presenting their history and communicating with tourists. Through this communication, the local people feel more confident about their history and their culture. Moreover, they are able to improve their narratives by responding to tourist reactions. In this way, cultural representation can be dynamic, influenced by the interactions between hosts and guests. In this sense, the Liu and other private family museums are living museums where the hosts present their history and communicate with their guests.

In fact the name Lijia Dayuan, which literally means the Liu Family Courtyard, was given by a tourist who had visited many famous old residences and valued the Liu one most. Such comments from tourists may be arbitrary, and sometimes they may be wrong. So how the hosts respond to the comments of a guest is important. In this sense, the cultural re-presentation by the Liu is dynamic, influenced by the interaction between the hosts and guests. Thus cultural re-presentation is a kind of collaborative activity recreated from the process of interaction between hosts and guests.

7. Conclusion

In Heshun we can see that under the influence of tourism and globalization, the history, lifestyle, architecture and memory of the place has been restored and re-presented, and at the same time the locality has been reshaped by local government, tourism agencies, intellectuals, and the local host community.

Those features such as ancestor worship, the Dongjing association and so on, which had been suppressed by the socialist ideological standard have begun to be measured in the

tourism context, by the new socialist market ideological standard. In China, the ways of regional and ethnic culture are always synchronized with the cultural policy of the government. Therefore, a new superiority or inferiority relation may emerge between the cultures valued as tourism resources and those that are not, just as many cultural phenomena were suppressed by the standards of socialist ideology in the past.

However now people who own the history or culture valued as tourism resources have the chance to show and re-present it. The account of Heshun tourism illustrates both collaboration and competition among the government offices, tourism agencies and the local community, in the process of creating local images for tourists. More variations in the representation of locality are appearing, raising the possibility of the emergence of a heterogeneous society with multiple values in the process of tourism development.

Notes

- 1) In most rural areas of China, old houses, ancestors' halls and shrines were usually destroyed as symbols of the feudal system during the land reform, the formation of people's communes and the Cultural Revolution. The old style architecture in Heshun had a narrow escape because of the preferential policy towards the overseas Chinese taken by the government¹ in the early 1950's. However, during the Cultural Revolution, the stone monuments for making honorable recognition of women and scholars were destroyed and some of the ancestors' halls were used as warehouses by the government. Generally, the architecture in Heshun is comparatively well preserved compared with other parts of China.
- 2) As to Dongjing music, the Naxi Dongba orchestra in Lijiang is most well known in tourists. Before the establishment of the People's Republic of China, like the people in Heshun, many Han villages, towns and cities in Yunnan contained Dongjing associations, exclusive religious societies oriented around worship of the Taoist deity Wenchang. The term *Dongjing* is an abbreviation of the title of the Taoist scripture *Dadong Xianjing*, "Immortals' Book of the Great Grotto". From 1949 to 1978, the Dongjing associations were suppressed. In the 1980's, when this grip was loosened, there was a major revival of Dongjing music.
- 3) The Ford Fund of the USA came to Yunnan for a poverty alleviation project in the late 1980's.
- 4) Ai Siqi was a famous Chinese Marxist Philosopher. His former name is Li Shengxuan. He later traveled to Hong Kong, where he studied English and French at a Protestant school and was exposed to Sun Yat-sen's *Three Principles of the People* and to Marxism. He also went to Japan to study philosophy in 1928. His most important works were *Historical Materialism and Dialectical Materialism* and *Philosophy for the Masses*.
- 5) Generally, there were four levels of examinations with corresponding levels of difficulty: (a) preliminary examinations, (b) provincial examinations, (c) metropolitan examinations, and (d) the palace examination. Provincial examinations were held triennially in the various provincial capitals for the selection of *juren* (Recommended Man). Metropolitan examinations were also held triennially in Beijing, the national capital for the selection of *jinshi* (Promoted Scholar) from among *juren*.
- 6) People who had been registered at the end of the provincial exam are called *bagong*.
- 7) Preliminary examinations were held yearly in local cities by provincial officials in charge of

educational affairs; successful candidates received the title *xiucaï* (Cultivated Talent).

- 8) Liu had been the head of Heshun Township till 1997. His wife used to be a cadre in the Tengchong government. Now the couples are retired and stay in Heshun as farmers.

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