Praxis, Folks' Beliefs, and Rituals: Explorations in the Anthropology of Religion

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Edited by Augustin F. C. Holl

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Augustin F. C. Holl [a*]

ABSTRACT

The contributions assembled in this volume are the result of the "writing Anthropology" graduate and doctoral seminar of the department of anthropology and ethnology of Xiamen university. An original methodology and organization that has empowered young researchers to explore anthropological themes they are interested in through collective decision-making process. Each participant was asked to suggest a research theme for the semester seminar. The selected themes were listed by decreasing frequency and returned to the participants for a second tour. Anthropology of religion ended up being selected as the research theme for the 2020-2021 academic year. The crafting and production of the essays assembled here was articulated on a systematic combination of oral presentations and written assignments. The collected essays focus on the cultural dimensions of religion through contextualized and renewed anthropological analyses of the socio-cultural embodiments of its ideas and principles. The assembled contributions are organized into three parts: 1) Religion as Praxis; 2) Folks Beliefs and Rituals; and finally, 3) Sanctified Places, Objects, and syncretic.

Keywords: Religions; Praxis; Folks' beliefs; Rituals; Sanctified places; Synchretisms.

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INTRODUCTION: RELIGION, PRAXIS, RITUALS, AND OTHERS

INTRODUCTION

As is the case for "Culture", "Civilization", and other such extensive and comprehensive concepts, religion is a particularly difficult concept to define. It is either everywhere – too vague - or nowhere – too narrow. As sampled by Bowker (2000) with some excerpts below, there were already dozens of definitions of religion at the beginning of the 20th century.

For Karl Marx, "religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of a spiritless situation, it is the opium of the people".

For Emile Durkheim (1912) after a critical review of some his predecessors like Frazer or Reville, "religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say things set apart and forbidden – beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community…"

And finally, for the Merriam-Webster dictionary, religion is: "(1) the belief in a god or in a group of gods; (2) an organized system of beliefs, ceremonies, and rules used to worship a god or a group of gods; (3) an interest, a belief, or an activity that is very important to a person or group".

The contributions assembled in this volume are the result of the "writing Anthropology" graduate and doctoral seminar of the department of anthropology and ethnology of Xiamen university. An original methodology and organization that has empowered young researchers to explore anthropological themes they are interested in through collective decision-making process. Each participant was asked to suggest a research theme for the semester seminar. The selected themes were listed by decreasing frequency and returned to the participants for a second tour. Anthropology of religion ended up being selected as the research theme for the 2020-2021 academic year. The crafting and production of the essays, not all of them, assembled here were articulated on a systematic combination of oral presentations and written assignments. The collected essays focus on the cultural dimensions of religion through contextualized and renewed anthropological analyses of the socio-cultural embodiments of its ideas and principles. The different themes discussed all along the whole semester are not all addressed in this book but the discussed ideas are nonetheless presented. The assembled contributions are organized into three parts: 1) Religion as Praxis; 2) Folks Beliefs and Rituals; and finally, 3) Sanctified Places, Objects, and syncretic.

PART I: RELIGION AS PRAXIS

Praxis, a recurrent philosophical concept, is polysemic. It has medical, educational, spiritual, as well as political meanings. It is the process through which learned material, theories, and ideas, are enacted and realized. Simply stated, it is the constant state of research action. In the contexts of religious systems, it is the sustained effort and attempts of believers to shape their lives and actions according to the credos and cannons of their system of reference (Lather 1986, Trokan 1997). As shown above with the foundational Durkheimian definition, religion has played a crucial role in the formation of the cultural anthropology research field. The research domain is in constant process of elaboration since, with Clifford Geertz as one of the latest towering scholars in this regard.

In chapter 1, "Clifford Geertz and anthropology of religion", Mao Siqi opted to deal with the work of C. Geertz, acclaimed today as one of the most important theorists in the anthropology of religion. She addresses Geertz's significant contribution to the latest reformulation of what "anthropology of religion" should be. Mao reviews and rethinks Geertz's perspective and analysis of religion in a contribution organized in 3 parts. The first part focuses on "Religion as a cultural system, chapter 4 of Geertz (1973) book "*The Interpretation of culture*" in the light of J. H. Morgan discussion of Geertz's meaning-analysis approach to culture and religion. Morgan, a theology professor asserts that Geertz redirects anthropology and makes possible the construction of the interface between anthropology and theology. C Jason Throop praises Geertz semiotic approach to religion he has pioneered, and singles out two neglected aspects of Geertz's culture theory, namely his interest in subjectivity and practice. Taking notes of these scholars' judgements and suggestions Mao proceeds to analyze Geertz's interpretation of religion in the second part. Finally, in the third part, she conducts a comparative analysis of Durkheim and Geertz anthropological study of religion and looks at the commonalities of their different approaches. In her conclusion, she highlights Geertz's profound influence in religious studies and anthropology.

In Chapter 2, Zhuang Lei looks at the construction of "soul food" concept. It is mostly presented through historical archaeology methods, describing how it is acquired, changed as an adhesion to ethnic emotions, to become a synonym and symbol of an ethnicity. In her paper, she aims to explore the construction of "Soul Food" as a tradition, what kind of body and spiritual code lye behinds as it flows, and what kind of role it plays in the contemporary food culture situation. She argues that soul food is not only good to eat but also good to health, even, it really makes a good way to discriminate in and out. Through historical research, comparative sociology and ethnography text analysis, she finds that besides being a kind of survival wisdom, it contains a ritual meaning, even create a modern religion, as its followers believe that food represents a kind of personality and shows a moral function. She anticipates that her research shed light on the connection between food and individuals beyond political and economic relations, how it is involved in social action process, possibly leading to new religious forms.

Han Yang in chapter 3 examines the challenges faced by the Amish to educate their children in the United States with a compulsory education system. They had fought long until the landmark 1972 Supreme Court case, which finally confirmed their privilege to educate their children in community-based parochial schools. The research shows that, in contrast to the general impression that all Amish are extreme conservatives who refuse to send their children to any "contaminating" public schools, the Amish wisely use public schools as a useful means of adaptation to the modern world. Indeed, most Amish parents choose parochial schools, but many of them also perceive public schools as a tool to train their children and prepare them better for their later simple lifestyle as Amish adults. Moreover, variation exists within parochial and public schools. The former one is run by local parents, so their amenities, teachers and atmosphere can vary substantially. The latter one consists of different percentage of Amish pupils depending on their school district; hence their curriculum and activities also vary. Lasty, increasingly Amish parents choose to educate their children in home-schools. This relatively new schooling has sparked ongoing controversy. For many Amish, education has become less about isolating their children from the world, but more about shaping their interaction with it, with the aim to preserve their unique religious lifestyle more positively.

Additional interesting cases focused on the one hand on the subtleties in the practice of Boudhism by rural women at Dang, a village located in Jiangnan the south of the Yangtze River and the inheritance disputes in Taiwan Taoism on the other hand. In the former, it is shown that Buddhism flourished in the Jiangnan, with the particularity that its practitioners have always been mainly women. The field investigation was focused on the practice of reciting Buddhist scriptures by elderly women, and the social meanings of its variations. According to records from Ming and Qing fictions, women's reciting activities in the same area were mainly carried out at home, and the ultimate appeal of the chanting activities was related to giving birth to a son. Field observations at Dang Village show that the local women's religion places are not limited to their homes, but also developed in temples. Their motivation for chanting the scriptures is no longer to have a son, but cover broader requests, including the need of family sacrificial rites, prayers for peace, and harmony in villages and so on. Although some modern women's religious studies consider that Buddhist practice is motivated by women's efforts to escape from patriarchal families to gain a certain autonomy, this study shows that the practice of reciting Buddhist scriptures does not represent women's pursuit of individuality, but is instead anchored in the collective behaviours of families and villages.

In the latter case, because Zhang Enpu did not leave a written or oral will, since the 1970s there was some inheritance disputes after his death in Taiwan. So far, not only have the disputes not been resolved, but their territorial scope has been extended to the whole of China. The exploration then focused on the sources of the disagreements: "Why were there conflicts among the roles", "What was the result of the argument?" and "How does this situation affect the development of Taoism？" from an anthropological perspective. The presentation was organized in three main parts taking historical events as the context, looking at the actions

and aims of the forces involved, which included the Kuomintang, the Communist Party, the Zhang Tianshi family and the other warring factions. It was shown how these political, traditional, and personal forces shape the issue of inheritance of Taoism and the relationship between the situation formed after the dispute and the development of Taoism itself.

PART II: FOLK BELIEFS AND RITUALS

There are considerable folk beliefs which are manifest in the local traditional Festivals in different parts of China. A broad range of ceremonies and rituals, all collective activities that help to express the worship to local divinities was explored during the whole semester. It was shown that behind the ceremonies, one can find some characteristics of local communities and societies such as the format of community organization, traditions, as well as the identity of local members

In ancient China, the worship fairs taking place in festivals are important components of the social structures. Different Gods and Festivals build the identities of different communities. The division of labor in the festivals reflects the kinship and descent relations. The local Traditions in the Potlatch-like behaviors held in the Festivals. All These elements of local communities relate to the Folk Beliefs. Looked at from another perspective, beliefs and festivals play significant roles in the local people and communities' lives. They strengthen the local identity by activating the beliefs of the local God. They help maintain the connections with different communities and the kins relations out of the local communities with different clans' leaders helping to manage the resources in the worship fairs. And finally, large festivals help to resolve the contradictions between members in the community.

The Yao men coming-of-age rites of the Yao minority group, a religious ceremony that was shaped through the long history of the Yao people was also featured in the seminar discussions. It is an important form of moral education for those who accept the ceremony. Men of the Yao ethnic group in Wenshan Prefecture of Yunnan Province generally hold a solemn coming-of-age ceremony after they reach the age of fifteen. The basic procedures include three stages: " Dujie(度戒)", " Shoujie(受戒)", and " Guofa(过法)". Before the coming-of-age ceremony, the man is called the "shengren（生人）"; after the coming-of-age ceremony, he would be recognized as a "man in the full sense" and be accepted by the ethnic group and blessed by the gods. The discussion articulates on the anthropological ritual theory analyzes the process, purpose and cultural significance of the male coming-of-age rites of the Yao minority group in Wenshan Prefecture, Yunnan Province by combining Arnold Van Gennep's "transition etiquette" and Turner's symbolic ritual theory.

Death rituals and education were addressed in two seminar's presentations. In one, ritual performance and Life-Death education through a specific custom in Hengyang in the Hunnan province were equally featured and discussed. It was shown that the complex cultural significance of life and death is fully presented

and the connotation of death constantly conveyed through the performance of rituals and festivals. Through the performance of death in education, the memory of individuals and groups is constantly constructed, and the sense of belonging is constantly confirmed. Death education, help people better understand the meaning of life for a long time; and the core importance of love and respect is constantly conveyed and inherited. Change of family structure and modernization are taking place, but in order to play its role, death education based on traditional rituals and festivals, does not necessarily have to be restored completely. It has to explore more abstract level of meaning and incorporate emotional and cognitive elements with requirements of contemporary life.

In the other, ritual performance and Life-Death education were examined through a specific custom in Hengyang in the Hunnan province. It was argued that the complex cultural significance of life and death is fully presented and the connotation of death constantly conveyed through the performance of rituals and festivals. Through the performance of death in education, the memory of individuals and groups is constantly constructed, and the sense of belonging is constantly confirmed. Death education, help people better understand the meaning of life for a long time; and the core importance of love and respect is constantly conveyed and inherited. Change of family structure and modernization are taking place, but in order to play its role, death education based on traditional rituals and festivals, does not necessarily has to be restore completely. It has to explore more abstract level of meaning and incorporate emotional and cognitive elements with requirements of contemporary life. The seminar presentation thus focused on the traditional festival of "serving the elderly" in Shuangjiang village, Linghu Town, Hengyang, Hunan Province, and discusses how to generate death education for people during the performance of the ceremony. It also addresses the practical significance of death education in the contemporary era.

Nowadays, some elements of the Folk Beliefs and Festivals have already changed. People's attitude towards Beliefs and Festivals is also transformed. The nature and extent of these transformations deserve serious investigation.

In Chapter 4, Chen Rongrong focuses on the decline of Sun worship through the analysis of selected epics. There are many epics, myths and beliefs of different nationalities featuring the sun, but in modern society, few people still think that the sun is their national belief, even if they are still holding a fire-festival with connection to the sun. People of Yi nationality of China worship fire. They have a grand torchlight festival, but by analyzing the epic "Aizuo and Aisha" of the Azhe branch of the Yi nationality, it was realized that the sun worship precedes the fire one. And each stage of the epic presents a process of sun worship declining and fire worship rising. Using Jung's collective unconscious to analyze the image of the sun in different stages of the epic "Aizuo and Aisha ", It can be inferred that there is a gradual decline of the position of sun worship in the hearts of the Azhe people. The transformation of the solar calendar into the moon one in the epic "Aizuo and Aisha" and the related research on the origin of the torchlight festival of Yi nationality in reality, confirms the transformation process from sun worship to fire worship hidden in the epic.

For Zhang Luyao in chapter 5, Ancestor worship is not only a universal human belief phenomenon, but also an important cultural phenomenon in traditional Chinese society. It is a part of folk belief system in traditional Chinese society and an important component of Chinese folk culture. As a specific form of ancestor worship in Chinese society, the traditional sacrificial festival has its rich cultural connotation and ritual process. Starting from the analysis of traditional festivals, such as the Qingming, Zhongyuan, Chongyang, and Spring festivals, she explores the origin, transformation process, and the main concepts of Chinese ancestor worship. She analyzes the object, process and significance of ancestor worship`s ritual in traditional festivals from the perspective of anthropological ritual theory, and discusses the function of ancestor worship to maintain people`s emotion and connection from the perspective of collective memory theory. Finally, she focuses on the manifestation and existing problems of ancestor worship in today's urban society, the gradually decreasing space of traditional sacrifice activities，as well as the change of people's mind reflected by the changing forms of ancestor worship.

In rural China that is still patriarchal and dominated by patriarchal inheritance system, the gender differentiation and division of labor is still entrenched in religion activities. In chapter 6, Xiaomin Yang examines gender roles in rituals performed at Sanyang in the Fujian province in Southeast China. Previous studies have described this phenomenon and discussed the gender inequality in patriarchal society. However, there is a lack of study on gender role in ritual. The study of local ritual at Sanyang, a Fujian's village, found that gender's spatiotemporal role and division of labor along gender line in local ritual still exist. Women are allowed to attend certain ritual events as bystanders, which is different from former ways in which females were completely excluded from major ritual events. Gender division of labor is less strictly observed in the process of ritual, although it is still based on traditional customs and values. Meanwhile, men pay more attention to ritual activities involving family events. In modern society, with the improvement of women's social status and rights, women have control over household income and decisions, in rural patriarchal society dominated by male kinship system, some changes took place in the gender role in traditional ritual, showing the gap of modernization and tradition in patriarchy is being bridged, developing women's voice in important ceremonial occasions.

As a traditional national cultural phenomenon, funeral culture is the first step to build harmonious national relations in multi-ethnic mixed communities. Wang Meijin looks at funeral ceremonies and their social functions in Xinjiang in chapter 7. As one of the conditions, it is also an inevitable requirement for building the community consciousness of the Chinese nation and maintaining national unity.

Funeral ceremony as the final phase of the life etiquette, has special and important significance. Under the influence of different cultural backgrounds, various nationalities have gradually formed different funeral cultures in their development and changes, manifest through cultural elements such as funeral ceremonies and taboos. These cultural elements have been constantly selected

and constructed in the process of development and change of various ethnic groups and finally formed the unique funeral culture of different ethnic groups and their complete life etiquette. Based on data collected in Xinjiang which is a special multi-ethnic populated rural field point, her contribution considers the Han nationality and ethnic Muslim funeral custom as the research object and studies the funeral ceremony and their social functions of the Han and Hui ethnic groups. Field investigation, literature review, combined with the anthropology, ethnology boundary theory, social function theory and cultural integration and assimilation theory are relied upon to analyze the data. Finally, the paper aims to explore how different ethnic groups live harmoniously, interact, and develop in areas like Xinjiang.

Yang Peilin in chapter 8 focuses on the revitalization of Mazu Beliefs in contemporary China. It explores the multiple dimensions of cultural interaction, identity formation, as well as community integration. Before the contemporary era, Mazu beliefs were mostly local and indigenous, linked to considerations of magic efficacy that enhanced its popularity and attractivity. The reestablishment of Mazu Beliefs in Contemporary China was undertaken by the Chinese government. It has regarded the Mazu Temple in Meizhou Island as the cauldron of cultural interaction, identity and community interaction. And the process is localized, boosted by the resurgence of previously latent folk beliefs that have never been extirpated by modernization of China, and strongly amplified by the urge of profiting from tourism development. In the past and present multi-dimensional variants of Mazu beliefs have been occurring among indigenous communities in Putian City, differentiated worship areas laid across the Taiwan Strait and belief zones in China. In the process local government has adapted a significant place for establishing its multiple functions. The pilgrimage from Mazu temples to belief center in Meizhou Island of Putian City, Mainland China has brought up many contents of cultural interactions and identity. Within the process, the function of Mazu beliefs for community interaction, cultural interaction and identity formation has manifested multiple facets articulated around the idea of "mutual existence".

In chapter 9, Doan Ngoc Chung examines the spread and functions of Mazu beliefs and worship in Vietnam. Mazu belief is a type of Chinese people folk belief that has become a global cultural phenomenon. Before the Second World War, Chinese immigrants built temples for Mazu worship in many places of Southeast Asia, including Vietnam, especially its Southern part. It has been commonly known as the place of coexistence and multicultural exchanges between four ethnic groups, namely the Viet (Kinh), Hoa (Chinese), Khmer and Cham. Chinese immigration to Vietnam has a long history. Since the late seventeenth century, Southern Chinese immigrants and their unique culture had been arriving in the region. After immigrating to Vietnam, they maintained various ties with their motherland through cultural practices and belief systems, especially Mazu belief. In Vietnam, they set up various guild halls, temples and chambers of commerce to worship Mazu, forming a dense ethnic social network, which has played a significant role within the Vietnamese Chinese community. Using the notions of Transnationalism and ethnic identity, and supported by

fieldwork, literature research and comprehensive analysis, his study is not only aimed at understanding Mazu belief in Vietnam, but also underlines the role of this belief for the Chinese community well-being in Vietnam.

PART III: SANCTIFIED PLACES, OBJECTS, AND SYNCRETIC PROCESS

Some places, objects, and even processes take on special significance in religious practices.

In chapter 10, Duan Zeli focuses her research on the architecture of a "sanctified" place. The study of a concrete entity can effectively help to understand the concept of society and its complex connotations. Because the meaning can be changed or erased, but entity always leaves traces. To do so, She examines the main architecture of Jinci, which is located in Taiyuan, Shanxi Province, to understand the real meaning and the changes carried by the buildings. Jinci, as a space field involving multiple subjects of the state, local elites, and common people; it has experienced a growth process from The Shrine of Shu Yu of Tang to The Sage Mother Hall, The Water Mother Tower and finally to Jinci Museum. At some point, there were debates about what was in fact worshiped. Even at undisputed moments, the common people and the local officials interpreted the worship differently. The change of entities shows the transformation of dominant thoughts and the hidden struggle about power and culture. She presents the complex interaction between official and secular religion and outlines the specific expression of religion in different situations. In the long period of state rule, the common people did not simply accept the official religion, but had their own initiative to satisfy demands in the concrete practice— in the religious sense.

Gao Yuanxing examines the syncretistic long-term process that have resulted in the formation of present-day southern Fujian tradition in chapter 11. From festivals to customs, all reflect the impression of a deep-time dissemination and convergence between the Central Plain (Zhongyuan) and local beliefs. He explores how the traditional view of Central Plain influences southern Fujian's view of life, and search for the culture vitality of nowadays local people. He relies on field data, obtained from visit of Gongmiao, the local temple on the one hand, and conversations with local people on the other hand. On National Day, he attended the opening ceremony (Qingchengjiaohui) of Jingshengtang Temple's gate by chance, and found that the Gezai Opera performed that night called "The Birth of Prince" is written by Lin Shaopeng, a local dramatist. The performed opera recapitulates Southern Fujian past and allows in certain sense an understanding of it particular history. By searching for southern Fujian's past and tradition, knowing its cultural innovation in latest days, the contribution shows that southern Fujian's tradition is not just focused on the past, but also lives and innovates in today's world.

And finally, a very peculiar "entity", the sacred Shuishu script of the Sui minority people living in the southwestern border of China was featured and discussed in the seminar's sessions.. Shuishu, the carrier of the Sui language is sacred. It

was shown to be divided into the Sui texts and Sui characters and the calling spell of Shuishu used in various traditional ceremonies. Therefore, the sacred script of Shuishu, as the carrier of the inheritance and practice of Sui local belief, occupies an important position in Sui culture. The presentation relied on the concept of 'new literacy research' in cognitive anthropology and the research on ceremonies in the field of religious anthropology to explore the patterns of application and inheritance of Shuishi in the Guizhou province. By discussing the users of Shuishu, the practice of Shuishu in rituals and festivals, and analyzing Shuishu from the perspective of 'new literacy study'. Shuishu was accordingly framed as literacy practice, and put the study in specific social contexts to explore its use and inheritance of in local society.

CONCLUSION

The papers presented during the 2021 session of the "Writing Anthropology: seminar offer the multiple facets of religion and religious and related practiced in peoples' daily lives as well as long-term cultural development. Most of the case studies are from Mainland China and Taiwan but there are two interesting cases from North America. The writing seminar was quite intensive and the progress made by the graduate students during that short time span is absolutely remarkable.

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PART I: RELIGION AS PRAXIS

Clifford Geertz and Anthropology of Religion

Mao Siqi [a]

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews Clifford Geertz's perspective and analysis of religion, as featured in the "*The interpretation of cultures*" (1973), especially Chapter 4 "*Religion as a cultural system*". In addition, based on two papers, "*Clifford Geertz: An Interfacing of Anthropology and Religious Studies*" and "*Interpretation and the Limits of Interpretability: on Rethinking Clifford Geertz's Semiotics of Religious Experience*", I attempt to further understand and rethink Geertz's definition of religion and the meaning-systems analysis approach (i.e., hermeneutics).

Geertz says, Durkheim's discussion of the nature of the sacred is one of the established traditions and inevitable starting-points for any useful anthropological theory of religion. No doubt, Geertz establishes another tradition. Therefore, I will compare the two traditions and reflect on Geertz's religious theory and method.

Religion has always been the core of anthropological research, based on the above discussion on religious research, then we can also better understand the historical tradition and development of anthropology. In the conclusion of the paper, I reaffirm Geertz's significance in the religious study and anthropology. To a certain degree, Geertz brings anthropology to a new dimension and stage. Today, there are still plenty of researchers (especially anthropologists) who continue to draw inspiration from Geertz's ideology to advance the research of religion and anthropology.

1.2 AN ANOTHER TRADITION: THE CULTURAL DIMENSION OF RELIGION ANALYSIS

Geertz notes that, there are at least four established traditions--Durkheim's discussion of the nature of the sacred, Weber's Verstehenden methodology, Freud's parallel between personal rituals and collective ones, and Malinowski's exploration of the distinction between religion and common sense--inevitable starting-points for any useful anthropological theory of religion. In Geertz view,

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the anthropological study of religion was in a state of general stagnation after these great men. And he asserts that we must place them in a much broader context of contemporary thought to widen and move beyond these traditions. He believes with Langer that the concept of meaning is the dominant philosophical concept of our time, so it's time for social anthropology (particularly the anthropological study of religion) to realize the fact. (Geertz 1973, pp. 88-89)

Therefore, Geertz relies on the concept of meaning to analyze culture and religion. Culture denotes an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which humans communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life. And, a religion is: (1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in humans by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura off actuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic. (1973, pp. 89-90) Naturally, Geertz regards religion as a cultural system. Based on the context of *Chapter 4 Religion as a cultural system of The interpretation of cultures* (1973), in this part I will review how Clifford Geertz's develops the cultural dimension of religion analysis. No doubt, Geertz establishes an another tradition in the anthropological study of religion.

1.3 COMPREHEND AND ENDURE: RELIGION AS A SYSTEM OF SYMBOLS

The existence of bafflement, pain and moral paradox--of The Problem of Meaning--brings the limits of human's analytical capacities, powers of endurance and moral insight, which any religion that hopes to persist must attempt to cope with. Geertz asserts: the Problem of Meaning is a matter of affirming, or at least recognizing, the inescapability of ignorance, pain, and injustice on the human plane while simultaneously denying that these irrationalities are characteristic of the world as a whole. And it is in terms of religious symbolism, a symbolism relating human's sphere of existence to a wider sphere within which it is conceived to rest, that both the affirmation and the denial are made. (Geertz 1973, p. 108)

According to Geertz, religious systems are made up of a cluster of sacred symbols, namely culture patterns which have an intrinsic double aspect: they give meaning, that is, objective conceptual form, to social and psychological reality both by shaping themselves to it and by shaping it to themselves. (1973, p. 94). To be more specific, as religion on one side anchors the power of our symbolic resources for formulating analytic ideas in an authoritative conception of the overall shape of reality, so on another side it anchors the power of our, also symbolic, resources for expressing emotions--moods, sentiments, passions, affections, feelings--in a similar conception of its pervasive tenor, its inherent tone and temper. (p. 104). In his perspective, religion, as a system of symbols, provides a cosmic guarantee not only for their ability to comprehend the world, but also to give a definition to emotions which enables them to endure it.

1.4 COMMITMENT AND ENCOUNTER: ON THE RELIGIOUS PERSPECTIVE

The problem of meaning is one of the issues that drives humans toward the religious perspective, but it is not the basis upon which those beliefs rest, says Geertz. By comparing religious with three of the other major perspectives through which humans construe the world, he attempts to argue that 'the basic axiom underlying the religious perspective is everywhere the same: he who would know must first believe' (Geertz 1973, p. 101).

Compared to common-sensical perspectives, religious perspectives are oriented beyond everyday realities to realities that correct and complete them. And it's not action but faith and acceptance that are seen as the mode of engagement with such realities. Compared to scientific perspectives, religious perspectives question everyday realities in terms of wider and non-hypothetical truths. Compared to the aesthetic perspectives, the religious perspectives seek to create an aura of utter actuality. Geertz concludes that it is the sense of the "really real" upon which the religious perspective rests and which the symbolic activities of religion as a cultural system are devoted to producing, intensifying, and, so far as possible, rendering inviolable by the discordant revelations of secular experience. It is, again, the imbuing of a certain specific complex of symbols--of the metaphysic they formulate and the style of life they recommend-- with a persuasive authority which, from an analytic point of view, is the essence of religious action. (1973, p. 112).

In a word, rather than detachment, the religious perspective's watchword is commitment; rather than analysis, encounter. So, as to Geertz, the tracing of the social and psychological role of religion is more a matter of understanding how it is that humans' notions, of the "really real" and the dispositions these notions induce in them, color their sense of the reasonable, the practical, the humane, and the moral. (1973, p. 124).

1.5 RELIGIOUS RITUAL AS CULTURAL PERFORMANCES: THE CONTEXT OF RELIGIOUS CONVICTION

Geertz calls religious ritual "cultural performances", and emphasizes the contextual significance of religious rituals to the emergence of religious belief. He states that any religious ritual involves the symbolic fusion of ethos and world view, and it is mainly certain more elaborate and usually more public ones, ones in which a broad range of moods and motivations on the one hand and of metaphysical conceptions on the other are caught up. (Geertz 1973, pp. 112-113). In these plastic dramas men attain their faith as they portray it. (p. 114). Besides, the acceptance of authority that underlies the religious perspective that the ritual embodies thus flows from the enactment of the ritual itself. So, in the ritual performances, both the formulation of a general religious conception and the authoritative experience which justifies, even compels, its acceptance. (p. 118) For participants, religious performances are enactments, materializations,

realizations of it. For visitors, they are presentations of a particular religious perspective, so religious ritual can be most readily examined by observers.

Based on my reading and understanding, the above is a superficial review of Geertz's definition of religion. Based on the two scholars' papers on Geertz's religious study, the following part aims to supplement and enhance my understanding of Geertz's interpretation of religion.

1.6 INTERPRETATION OF INTERPRETATION

C. Jason Throop is a psychological and medical anthropologist, while J. H. Morgan is a theologian. Both scholars have their own entry points for Geertz's definition and research methods of religion. Based on different perspectives of scholars, this also helps me understand Geertz's religious thoughts. Morgan stresses the Geertz's meaning-analysis approach to culture and religion, and points out the significance of this approach for the redirection of anthropology and the relevance between anthropology and theology. Throop asserts that Geertz is renowned for his semiotic approach, while there are two neglected aspects of Geertz's culture theory in these same writings on religion, namely his interest in subjectivity and practice. Throop suggests that Geertz's semiotic theory of culture and social action has some shortcomings, and therefore Throop attempts to extend Geertz's hermeneutics of culture through James' philosophical psychology of religion and some of Michel Foucault's later writings on the hermeneutics of the self and subject formation. In this part, through the interpretation of Geertz's interpretation of religion by the two scholars, I hope to achieve a profound understanding of Geertz's religious theory and his influence on religious studies and anthropology.

1.7 SUBJECTIVITY AND PRACTICE: MOTIVATIONS, SYMBOLS AND RITUALS IN GEERTZ'S HERMENEUTIC OF RELIGION

Geertz is renowned for his semiotic approach, however, in Throop's view that another aspect to his semiotics of culture lacks attention in anthropology, which is his emphasis upon dispositions, tendencies, and habits in the context of his hermeneutic theory of culture and social action. This neglected side, namely Geertz's interest in subjectivity (or experience) and practice, are explicitly articulated in his examination of the relationship between religious symbolism and practice in his book, The interpretation of cultures (1973). In Throop's view, Geertz's take on religion reveals what might be termed the sentimental side to his semiotics.

Given the anti-psychologistic stance that Geertz has long been noted for, Throop asserts that most striking is Geertz's reliance upon moods and motivations in his famous definition of religion. Motivations are understood by Geertz to be 'persisting tendencies' or 'chronic inclinations' 'to perform certain sorts of acts and experience certain sorts of feeling in certain sorts of situations' (Geertz 1973, p. 96). In a word, to Geertz, motivations are dispositions. By inducing in the worshiper a certain distinctive set of dispositions, religion lends a chronic

character to the flow of his activities and the quality of his experience, which both conforms to social and psychological realities and alter those self-same realities to their own dictates. Besides, the significance of motives and moods takes on further import in Geertz's discussion of the 'problem of meaning' in religious practice. Throop points out that Geertz highlights the key role that practice plays in instilling dispositions, propensities, and habits embedded in particular systems of cultural meaning, religious or otherwise. Ritual performance brings the symbolic and the experiential into a mutually informing dialogue, and it's where participants verify and vivify a given symbolic system. Throop concludes that Geertz has paid to the place and significance of motivations in patterning subjective life and social action. For Geertz, varieties of subjective life and social actors' lived experience are significantly patterned by religious symbols and the broader cultural patterns within which they are embedded. Therefore, we can understand that why Throop says that Geertz's writings on religion in the context of *The interpretation of cultures* advances both practical and experiential dimensions. And it is in the context of these same writings that Geertz works to integrate the practical, experiential, and interpretive aspects of his semiotics of culture.

Throop critically interrogates Clifford Geertz's analysis of religious belief, and he points that Geertz's largely anti-subjectivist and anti-experiential take on meaning is somewhat lacking. Inspired by the work of James and Foucault, Throop puts forwards some paths attempting to extend Geertz's semiotic theory of culture and social action. First, on the subjectivity, pay attention to the richness, complexity, and diversity of experience which is foregrounded in James' philosophical psychology of religion. Another point is through some of Michel Foucault's later writings on the hermeneutics of the self and subject formation, so as to achieve a profound comprehension of the dynamics and complexities of meaning and practice in contemporary religious life.

1.8 MEANING-ANALYSIS APPROACH TO CULTURE AND REDEFINING ANTHROPOLOGY

For Morgan who as a theologian, Geertz creates a social scientific approach to the study of religion, which redefines anthropology and make the interfacing of anthropology and theology possible.

In the view of Morgan, not until Geertz did anthropology attempt systematically to employ the concept of "meaning" as a hermeneutical tool in the analytical description of human culture, and it's Geertz who has approached the subject-matter of religion from the perspective of a humanist. Morgan asserts that Geertz puts forth the most useful definition of religion to-date in the social sciences. In Geertz's definition, religion is a meaning-system, and a fundamental characteristic of religion is the address to the "problem of meaning". For Geertz, symbols are meaning-bearer, religious experience is multidimensional and expressed through symbols. Therefore, culture and religion are symbol-systems which express humankind's quest for meaning. Since anthropology is the analysis of culture, so the fundamental task of anthropology put succinctly is the

systematics of meaning, namely meaning-analysis. This systems analysis approach implies interpretation, or more correctly, hermeneutics. Therefore, Morgan says that Geertz redefines anthropology as an "interpretive science". To be more specific, Geertz redirects the science of anthropology away from speculative and scientifically fruitless normative pursuits and towards its historical legacy of descriptive analysis. Thus, as Morgan says, Geertz not only plays a significant role in the anthropological study of religion, but also has an important influence on the definition and orientation of anthropology.

Besides, from the perspective of Morgan who as a theologian, with Geertz's efforts--the utilization of the category of meaning as an interpretive key to understand religion and culture--the way is truly open for an honest dialogue between the social scientists and theologians. Anthropology (systematics of culture) and theology (systematics of religion) are both disciplines addressed to the systematics of meaning, and as noted above, the analysis of meaning will inevitably involve an analysis of the symbol as meaning-bearer. So, that's why Morgan regards Geertz's as an interfacing of anthropology and theology.

Today, we still have to constantly read and rethink Geertz's works, theories and approach. The ideological legacy left by predecessors is a starting point, and then later generations of students to make their own new thinking on the study of religion.

1.9 COMPARISON OF TWO TRADITIONS: DURKHEIM AND GEERTZ

In 1870, Friedrich Max Muller delivered a public lecture at the London's prestigious Royal Institution. This German scholar believed that a scientific study of religion had much to offer on both sides, gathering the various facts--the customs, rituals, and beliefs--of religions throughout the world and then offering theories to account for them, just as a biologist or chemist might attempt to explain the workings of nature.[1] The idea of a scientific approach to religion (i.e., religious science) first caught the imagination of serious scholars since the 19th century, and many important theories of religion that have been put forward. Those religious theories can be divided into two types, explanatory and interpretive theories. Functionalist theorists focus on the intention, emotion and influence of various religions to "explain" the origin, function and nature of religions. The advocates of humanistic approach tend to emphasize the role of human thought and emotion, and ask to "interpret" religious phenomena by taking human intention into account.[2] Explanatory theories include "Animism" by Tylor, and "Psychological Needs" by Freud, "Society as Sacred" by Durkheim, and "Religion as Alienation" by Marx; interpretive theories include "the Sacred of Religion" by Eliade, and "Religion's Construct of the Heart" by Evans-Pritchard, and "Religion as Cultural" by Geertz.[3] Anthropology has two major research

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[1] *Daniel L. Pals, Seven Theories of Religion (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp.3-4.*
[2] *Daniel L. Pals, "Seven Theories of Religion," p.13.*
[3] *Niu Hong, 2011. A Discussion on the Types of Religious Theories: Explanatory ones and Interpretive ones. Journal of Tibet University 26(04): 170-175.*

traditions, namely, society and culture. The difference lies in the emphasis on whether the ultimate goal of anthropologists is to understand society or to understand the world of thoughts and symbols. The former can be traced back to Durkheim, while Geertz is the master of the latter, which also fully embodies these two traditions in their research approach on religion. The following aims to make a comparative study of the two scholars on religious theories, so as to deepen the understanding of Geertz's religious study.

1.10 "THE IDEA OF SOCIETY IS THE SOUL OF RELIGION"[4] AND "RELIGION AS A CULTURAL SYSTEM"

Durkheim contends that a religion linked to the simplest social system that exists might well be regarded as "the most elementary religion we can possibly know", namely Australian tribal religion: totemism. And if we can explain this religion, we have a start on explaining all religion. Then, we will have in hand religion's "elementary forms". Durkheim considers the various religions in their concrete reality, while Geertz consider conceptions of religion in general.

Durkheim tries to reveal the nature of religion, he believes that worship of the totem is nothing less than worship society itself. Religion is something eminently social, society as sacred. In short, society is the origin of religion, and religion makes society more orderly. It can be seen that Durkheim's study of religion is to derive the final social theory, and the explanation of religion is to achieve the understanding of society.

Geertz notes that, Durkheim's discussion of the nature of the sacred is one of inevitable starting-points for any useful anthropological theory of religion, and we must place them in a much broader context of contemporary thought to widen and move beyond these traditions. Geertz regards religion as a cultural system and puts forward the cultural aspect of religious analysis. Geertz tries to reveal the meaning of religion. His study of religion is to analyze the meaning systems represented by the symbols of religion and to relate these systems to social structures and psychological processes.

Theorists who stress this role of human thought and feeling are sometimes described as "interpretive" rather than "explanatory" in their approach. Interpretive theorists contend that religions are adopted by persons; they are about things that "have meaning" to human selves.[5] Durkheim's religious study ultimately point to the society, in order to explain the society. The ultimate direction of Geertz is culture, which aims to interpret the meaning. Obviously, Durkheim is an explanatory theorist, while Geertz is an interpretive theorist.

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[4] *Émile Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, tr. Joseph Ward Swain(New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915), p. 419.*
[5] *Daniel L. Pals, "Seven Theories of Religion," p.13.*

1.11 THE INTERLINKED CONNOTATIONS OF THE TWO TRADITIONS

Durkheim and Geertz both discovered the importance of ritual to religion. In Durkheim's view, worship which consists of emotional group ceremonies held on certain set occasions, is the very core of the clan's collective life. Religious sentiments and emotions first arise not in private moments but in the great group ceremonials of the clan. In Geertz's account, it is in ritual that is consecrated behaviors. Religious beliefs in human life are also generated in the specific activities of religious rituals. In a ritual, the world as lived and the world as imagined, fused under the agency of a single set of symbolic forms, turn out to be the same world, thus producing that idiosyncratic transformation in one's sense of reality (Geertz 1973, p. 112).

Durkheim believes that religion is not only a ritual system, but also a system of ideas. It not only regulates people's behavior, but also controls and influences people's thoughts. Religion provides the earliest classification method for human beings, and also provides an important source for social life to become a logical life. To Geertz, the importance of religion lies in its capacity to serve, for an individual or for a group, as a source of general, yet distinctive, conceptions of the world, the self, and the relations between them. Religious concepts spread beyond their specifically metaphysical contexts to provide a framework of general ideas in terms of which a wide range of experience-intellectual, emotional, moral--can be given meaningful form.(Geertz 1973, p. 123) Therefore, it can be seen that both scholars have expounded the social function of religion to some extent. Functional theorists strive to look beneath or behind the conscious thoughts of religious people to find something deeper and hidden. They contend that there are underlying social structures or unnoticed psychological distresses which form the real roots of religious behavior.[6] In this sense, Durkheim and Geertz are both functionalist theorists.

1.12 CONCLUSION

So far I have discussed Geertz's writings on religion in the context of The interpretation of cultures. Geertz regards religion as a cultural system. Geertz develops the cultural dimension of religion analysis, so it's no doubt that Geertz establishes an another tradition in the anthropological study of religion. In Geertz's definition, religious systems are made up of a cluster of sacred symbols, namely culture patterns, which give meaning. That is to say, symbols are meaning-bearer, religious experience is multidimensional and expressed through symbols. Geertz says, what we want and do not yet have is a developed method of analyzing the meaningful structure of experience (here, the experience of persons) as it is apprehended by representative members of a particular society at a particular point in time—in a word, a scientific phenomenology of culture (Geertz 1973, p.364).

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[6] *Daniel L. Pals, "Seven Theories of Religion," p.13.*

John H. Morgan asserts that, not until Geertz did anthropology attempt systematically to employ the concept of "meaning" as a hermeneutical tool in the analytical description of human culture, and it is Geertz who has approached the subject-matter of religion from the perspective of a humanist. Daniel L. Pals points that, the advocates of humanistic approach tend to emphasize the role of human thought and emotion, and ask to "interpret" religious phenomena by taking human intention into account. As C. Jason Throop notes, Geertz's take on religion reveals what might be termed the sentimental side to his semiotics.

Religious theories can be divided into two types, explanatory and interpretive. Theorists who stress this role of human thought and feeling are sometimes described as "interpretive" rather than "explanatory" in their approach. Interpretive theorists contend that religions are adopted by persons; they are about things that "have meaning" to human selves (Daniel L. Pals 1996, p.13). Obviously, "Religion as Cultural" belongs to the interpretive theory and Geertz is an interpretive theorist.

Malinowski has tried to establish scientific anthropology, but when his notes came to light, the myth of the scientific anthropology he created was shattered. Therefore, anthropologists are keenly aware that anthropology is both scientific and humanistic. In this academic context, Geertz attempts with resolute determination to redirect the science of anthropology away from speculative and scientifically fruitless normative pursuits and towards its historical legacy of descriptive analysis. As Morgan says, Geertz creates a social scientific approach to the study of culture and religion, namely meaning-analysis approach which redefines anthropology as an "interpretive science". From this perspective, we can better understand Geertz's key and profound influence on anthropology.

COMPETING INTERESTS

Author has declared that no competing interests exist.

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Soul Food, Good to Eat or Good to Discriminate

Zhuang Lei [a]

2.1 THE "SOULS" CARRIED BY SOUL FOOD

What is soul food

Well, every ethnicity has its own bite. We believe food could show who we are and shape what we become. And our protagonist, soul food, it is another name of African American cuisine, as "soul" began to refer as African American culture in the 1960s.

When it comes to soul food, we may point out the dishes with pig's feet, collard greens, black-eyed peas, and hominy grits without hesitation, and these ingredients just like a symbol which represents all of the African American cuisine, conveyed with the slavery history that commonly held belief in the 1960s and 1970s, as it became entangled in a complex political struggle over the legitimacy of a menu dictated by poverty and exclusion.

In tradition, a standard southern dish usually fried and prefer a spicy taste, the menu includes fried chicken, greens, corn pone and hot breads, and these are also classic African American food menu. But we should know that part can't be the whole. African American food is much more than that. Anthropologist William Gascom once identified five traditional cooking techniques of the West African Yoruba—smoking, frying, baking in ashes, roasting near the fire, and boiling in water. *The Peppers, Cracklings, and Knots of Wool Cookbook*, written by Diane Spivey, expanded upon the Gascom list, adding cooking with seeds, stewing in milk, high seasoning, beekeeping, fermenting (honey for wine), creating sweetener from sugar cane pressed and pulled by elephant, marinating and slow-roasting skewered meat, flavoring the stew pot with palm oil, frying bits of dough as snack food, and stirring yam flour into biscuits. (Tipton-Martin: 2019)

Jessica B. Harris added a few more traditional culinary practices associated with the African diaspora: composing dishes like Hoppin' John, red beans and rice, and jollof rice that mix grain with bits of meat and vegetables into a one-pot dish;

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garnishing with spicy sauces; making dumplings and fritters; seasoning with pastes like sofrito (herbs, green peppers, garlic); abundantly using okra; flavoring with dried, smoked, and pickled ingredients; and preparing confections using nuts, fruit pastes, and cane sugar or molasses.(Tipton-Martin: 2019)

Thus we can see that African American have a treasure trove of food and enjoy diverse dishes before they moved to the United States. The traditional "soul food" should be a kind of homesick food, having its own historical context. Chained in a strange country, forbidden to display their traditions, to make a whole melting pot policy also remove their individuality, cut the umbilical cord of their African names and languages. At the same time, we should notice that African American cooking "developed along two lines" (Schomburg, 1999), one is cabin cooking, known for using less-desirable and cheap ingredients, is a "soul-satisfying" strategy to fend for themselves, by applying remembered African practices, they show impressive survival skills to make-do provisions in their cabins, farmers and rural agricultural migrants took these dishes with them out of the South following Emancipation. They emphasized cooking with feelings and down-home tastes, and this become the roots of soul food. But there is also another kind of soul food. These people enjoy more freedom in ingredients, as they serve for the wealthy, not just feed for themselves, they show their talent where an elaborate table set with fancy food marked a family's wealth and social standing. So here comes the point, who is the chef and who is the diner, soul food is not only a "foods of slavery", is a bridge to celebrate African American heritage.

And soul food recipes are not at a standstill, they show more diverse forms in modern times, such as *Jubliee* and *A Date with A Dish*, you can see the cooks' efforts, like any ethnicity or anyone would do, they cook with the richer variety of available ingredients, improve the flavor and dietary nutrition, from appetizer, beverage, bread, soup and salad, side and vegetable, main dish to dessert, you could find an evolutionary history of a dish from the menu, like "batter breads", at once they mixed white cornmeal, hot rice and flour lightly, baked immediately without time for rising, which usually called plain muffins, but imaginative cooks add nuts and berries to enhance the taste sense, some flavors have won people's preference and become classics, like banana and sweet potato, becoming part of soul food culinary heritage.

And so we can see that soul food is dynamic and flowing, and its boundaries are constantly changing.

Food serves as a self metaphor

Food always plays an active role when we think about our relationship to the others. "You are what you eat", it's not just about what you look like outside, it also about some inner, invisible line, which decides who you are in a cultural context, mark as your social status. That is most likely due to the exchange between ethnicities, when communication happens, for a sense of safety we would like to tell who is ours who is others, as a basis for survival, food selected as the choice naturally. Some special food, usually the staple food or other

related to important historical events, will become the symbol of this group, as we have a tendency to associate food with our ethnicity, food is like a symbolic totem to give us a certain character, Like Parry describes in the India: "Man is what he eats. Food not only creates his physical body, but also his moral character."(Parry, 1985: 613)

But meanwhile, as we put food as an ethnic identity, we should notice the global exchange makes the traditional food no longer closed, the use of foreign ingredients, more diverse diners, a same dish maybe divided into different patterns which in a fancy restaurant, a fast food chain, or just at home. Everything reminders us to move our angle of vision from race to class, from group to individual, to see a food's evolution and embodiment, how it tangles in a practice to achieve its metaphors and metonyms.

2.2 THE EVOLUTION OF SOUL FOOD

Who You Are Determines What You Eat

Just as a person needs different nutrients to grow, soul food also changes from time to time to suit people's different needs. So maybe it would have a dramatically change on its appearance, like pudding. Could you imagine that the tender, luscious pudding we see now once like a sausage stuffed with oats or entrails? Sometimes the history of food evolution is as complex as that of humans. Take the soul bread cornbread for an example. In fact, the cultivation history of maize should be traced back to Central and South America, and it was even brought to Africa during colonial times, not a native crop. But that was a long time ago. For those who immigrate to the United States, it triggers memories of mother stirring and tasting her cornmeal mush as it bubbled on top of the stove, it is the lovely African Fufu, although its predecessor was cassava. Cornbread has been called the staff of life of soul food, whatever conglomeration of shapes, sizes, mixtures or names. It can be corn cake, corn pone, corn dodgers, batter cake, spoon bread, corn muffins, hoecake, hushpuppies—which plus the varied combinations of cornmeal and flour, cornmeal and rice, cornmeal and hominy (Tipton-Martin: 2019).

Cornbread has a big family tree. At first it was just a coarse mix of meal, lard, and water baked in the ashes of a roaring fire or cooked on a flat surface above a fire. Then it was improved with egg and milk and fried into golden brown griddle cakes, or turned into a cake-like cornbread when leavened with eggs, baking powder, and buttermilk. Even took on new flavors like chiles and cheese from other regions. In fact, how you cook mostly depends on what you have. If we have the conditions we surely would like to add something or change something to make it a fluffy, tasty one, as some cooks delighted special-occasion diners with cornmeal soufflés, otherwise known as spoonbread. Then it comes to another question about who you are, this in turn determines what resources you can use. Slaves worked on the farm and maybe they could save a part to plant, but it just provides a little rough stuff, lack the most important part that less but better to achieve a delicious meal, and that part can only be obtained through the distribution of economic authority power.

Multifaceted "Soul"

As we showed in part one soul cuisine has two main makers, and each of them owns different resources. Who cook, cook for who, in a cabin, or in a kitchen, technology is also a big factor. It offers the possibility to maintain the appropriate temperature and accurate time to prepare a meal, more efficient, more delicious. Meanwhile, efficient mass production enables more people to enjoy the expensive time-consuming goods in the past, like flour, sugar, butter and so on. People could no longer use hot water to mix the rough cornmeal, and they could use more refined cornmeal as well. But we should also note that the flow of technology access is stratified like capital. It creates the chance, but keeps the best. In spite of this, sugar, eggs, milk, baking powder's join give the bread its soft, moist character. The widespread use of oil and sugar enables people to absorb enough energy for heavy works. Even some cooks developed a fondness for including ingredients associated with Mexican cooking, such as tomatoes and hot chile peppers, and calling them "Spanish". As we can see, from something good to stomach, the evolution of cornbread makes itself gain more good to eat.

However, the soul food's family members do not have a smooth sailing on the history river, even the cornbread. African-American Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad once declared that nation followers should avoid traditional "slave" foods to clean their minds from the ideological poisons, like peas, collard greens, turnip greens, sweet potatoes, corns, because they are very cheaply raised foods and used as animal feeds (Muhammad:1967,1972), as the moral polluted food you eat can become one of your part and weaken immunity to white's treachery. But it's interesting to see that ideology shift took place enabling the African American Sunni Muslim community to once again enjoy soul food cuisine. In one clear example, hog shifts from a polluted object to a medicine as it can "take away the shyness of those who eat this brazen flesh (Muhammad: 1967)", from a taboo to a holy one, the hog stands much more than itself, it represents oppression, negatively valued modes of behavior, liberated consciousness, all in all, it stands for history, organizing multiple political, social, and personal locations based upon changing spatial and ideological contexts.

So there is no ensuring symbol, and between people and symbol there has an active relation, as man could choose even we say that only if we want a symbol there comes a symbol, it is used as a form of social control or a way of delineating order, and mired in a dialectical relationship between historical memory and identity versus social and ideological change.

Circle of Bite

Just like man has multiple dimensions, food also occupies more than one category, beyond essentialism. And it is interesting to see this reversal not only happened in soul food identification, but also in its cooking way, or more precisely, its ingredients. For a long time, people have been trying to improve the taste with more sophisticated and expensive ingredients and additives, but now comes a new twist, pursuing something more nature, pure, even raw. Rough and mild food

instead of soft, creamy, mellow or delicate one become the table star, like Virginia Spoon Bread stands out for its unique combination of white cornmeal and cooked hominy grits, the stress of adding whole wheat flour in cakes or muffins which published in 1912 in *Kentucky Cook Book: Easy and Simple for Any Cook*, also reflects early twentieth-century health food cooking trends. Less sugar, less fat, less additions, as that can help us gain a lighter body, say goodbye to American cooking which no fried no happy. This analogy from a kind of "inertia", scientists have found that high dietary sugar dulls the responses of the Drosophila melanogaster taste neurons to sweet stimuli, causing higher food intake and weight gain, and this change is irreversible (Vaziri: 2020).

"Less but healthier", thus people want to do something to defend their health. Now we can see the soul food flows from good to stomach, good to eat to good to health. And these rough but rich in cellulose's food are served on delicate plates. Whether it is good for health becomes the criterion to judge. Like chasing high-priced goodies in a meal, now these ingredients come from family farms or nature once people sniffed. Natural, organic, original, people gain power from the food, and long to share a kind of purity, and through this purity to identify oneself, as an imaged ritual to feel native emotion and refresh once more. And we will talk about it in the next part.

2.3 SOUL FOOD, SOUL NURTURED

As a "Crystal Ball"

One of the functions of traditional food is to enhance the collective memory, as these ritual meals can be a point to wake up certain events. The food memory is not alone or accidental, because what we taste mostly depends on what we smell, and as the largest gene group in our body, olfactory receptor gene group converts different smells into two-dimensional images which composed by dots in the prefrontal cortex, rooted in a particular time and place. As a result, these collective memories about food are an important part of the immigrant experience, and we can see it usually serves as an ethnic identity on the table.

Such as in the Wheat Street Baptist Church (McCutcheon, 2015), a black protestant church, which open an Emergency Food Programme for the homeless and low-income people who are referred to as "guests" every Monday and Wednesday. The type of food is soul food, approximately 200 people come to enjoy the soul food they provide every week. In this situation, Soul food is used as a mute sermon mixed with religious ideology, black history, and personal testimony. The preparation and distribution are communal activity and blends two main bidirectional functions: it meets the bodily needs of guests and (2) brings volunteers closer to God (Witt, 1999). Besides, cultural production occurs at the table where volunteers engage in conversations that are seemingly casual, yet are intertwined with serious discussions about matters of concern related to black people. The table serves as a safe space, like a micro-community brings the individual into the group, and soul food acts as a support in the scenario, once again bring people back to the original land they were born in, where the purest of ones' heart, could prove who they are, and help to find how they should be.

The process can be seen as a way to recreate home, as it turns the subject from "I" to "we" to imply a collective presence, and soul food is refined as a totemic power, people get metonymy by eating it, and refresh it through group practice like prayer or communication. As a kind of memory animal, man can be woken up to the deep ethnic cohesion by pressing and reaffirming some kind of social memory practice. Soul food as the concentration of the land and history is the sacred object in ritual to piece together the growth process of vitality in imagination. This vitality moves between man and plant, call for a "blackness" sense, it is a primitive emotion produced by empathetic analogy: tenacity, affinity to nature, mutual assistance. At that time soul food also gain the metaphor of the group, create an imaginary ethnic character, as this identity is the base of what Anderson called "imagined community".

But except "blackness", there is another "whiteness" side which American historian Du Bois called "double consciousness". This identity is the combination of tradition and mainstream culture, like the changing flavor to earn more dinners and state, and the traditional type is not the daily meal anymore, as more convenient and accessible food is needed to meet the fast industrial work. But, there are still some efforts, like typical soul food ingredients or African seeds planting in Urban Garden Farming (Reese, 2019), as a symbol to grow folks and roots. It is an integration strategy under modernity, to obey to live, but save.

So you can see that soul food is just like the crystal ball, past and future, memory and hope, you can find all in it, in imagination, but the most precious, the purest. It is collective as well as individual, each one could gain his perspective view of it, to touch the prediction then embrace the future.

Create a New Modern Religion Trend

Just like any religion does, the most important function is to find the original power to return to oneself. It shows a mental image's model like a perfect crystal. It also offers an approach, as belief and imitation can tell the truth and form a moral discipline. And as the global flows, develops a kind of scattered, individualized religion, with a materialistic streak as different symbols assigned to each person. The pursuit of health translates into the worship of food, "You are what you eat", the craze has spawned a plethora of diets: ketogenic-diet, vegetarian diet……select, abandon, from limited to multivariate then turn a twist to purity, soul food become what called "embodiment". One can see the volunteers in the Action Mission Ministry of Wheat Street Baptist Church could once be a drug addict, or the food hunters look for a meal nurtured both mentally and physically.

So we can see the implications of purity diverge from audience to audience. For those at the bottom, it is the outward manifestation of mental power which means giving each other a hand, searching a decent life and self-actualization, it is about the sense of belonging. Good meal, good sleep, have a good luck to start a new day. But for the richer ones are totally different. They are not so concerned about clustering and personal fulfillment. They have established a certain fame and status. What they need is to show them, and take advantage of these

resources to gain more. In their eyes, food is a prestige tool, which represents grade and good to discriminate. So you can see that they set up a series of standards and access mechanisms to reflect the hierarchy system. Some fancy restaurants, especially Michelin starred restaurants, have a dress code and request you to follow a list of fine dining etiquettes, you may have to reserve a seat a long time before, but special seats are reserved for only a few guests. However, although having so many etiquettes, people are still crazy about the stars, regard them as necessary work for a pilgrimage. As they believe what they taste is not only for the stomach, but the life, the power, the money, the blood, the nature, or the Tao that chefs pursue, and so on. The consumption of food is more about spiritual. Both chefs and diners are looking for a resonance, and the restaurant provides such a place which uses different rules to sort out ingredients and people, through seating and other ritualized behaviors to see if they are in the right line. It means neatness and order, and as a social occasion, this classification will help them find the appropriate partners.

The open and close at the dining time creates a ritual process. People have the tickets and the opportunity to re-invent themselves. Besides, it also created the possibility to rebuild the center and the periphery. Food acts as their own spokesperson, noble, rare, well bred, different from the poor canned food in the industrial world. This food worship reflects the secularity go on a way to the religion evolution. Like a psychic, senior chef transfers the sanctity to the food, and diners gain vitality by eating it, as upgrade soul quality at the mean time. But we should notice this pursuit of purity is not about a race or an ethnic anymore, just like what shown in the *Jubilee* (Tipton-Martin, 2019): when you sit down to eat what set to you is a global table, cast-iron abides with bone china, crystal, and damask, and iconic Southern and international dishes are served alongside one another, it is going to be a global flavor, which get rid of center, region or boundary. Maybe someone would say it is a capitalism's trick, just open a convenient door for hunting money from people all over the world, but we can't deny it is also convenient to catch the element we need like in a "cultural supermarket", as religion also has market competition to earn more believers, and the interpretation is becoming more and more multiple, materialistic and individualistic.

2.4 CONCLUSION

Food is not just about food. As we can see that soul food flows as time goes by, and it creates a vivid evolution story, not only about imagines or tastes, but also metaphors, to show how soul food and human entangle and shape each other. Full of dear memory and as a kind of purity symbol, soul food nurtures ethnic groups, chefs, and diners, it is a crystal ball which composed of past in a future hope, each one can select and summon what he needs from it as his moral support to share the soul food's power. Full your stomach, satisfy your spirit, cure your heart, that is what actually soul food is. But meanwhile, although people regard purity as its psychic symbol, it is actually a mixture in material body, especially in such a global age, to gain a global flavor, and that open its accepters. Soul food is no longer the preserve of a certain group, it breaks the

old ethnic boundary but form a new one, which rounds the capital, technology, status we carry, to set out a discriminating way layer by layer. From ingredients preparing, cooking, consuming and eating behaviors, soul food constructs self-identity by finding partners in group and used as a discrimination label outside, and provides a door to change resources and enter a new dimension. Besides, different from the old, the new boundary is contextual and flexible, the choice reflects how we act in a historical situation, and we can say the encounter of soul food histories create diversity, as we achieve different selves through the rituals, or the magic of food, both of soul food and people find their multiple souls. By forming a community across the geographic, soul food become a new food worship, it is in the way to achieve more good to eat, and also classify an order for more good to discriminate.

COMPETING INTERESTS

Author has declared that no competing interests exist.

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Equality or Diversity: The Education of the Amish Child

Han Yang [a]

3.1 INTRODUCTION: THE AMISH AND THEIR EDUCATION

The Amish are a group of Anabaptist Christian church fellowships with Swiss German origins, close to Mennonite groups. They came to America in the late 17th century to escape the persecution they suffered as Anabaptists in Europe. In the late 19th century, tensions rose between traditional and more progressive Amish communities. The latter one gradually became known by the name Amish Mennonite, and eventually united with the Mennonite Church; the former one became known as the Old Order Amish, or just the Amish. Their conservative religious belief forbids the use of any kind of contraceptive devices, and thus it has caused a fast growth of their population. Nowadays there are about 350,000 Amish (Amish Population, 2020), while the number in 1971 was only 50,000 (Wittmer, 1971). The mean Amish family size is 6.8 in 1979 (Ericksen et al., 1979), and the annual growth of population is about 12% per year, calculating from the given statistics. Historically, most of the Amish live in the United States, mainly in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, but some of them have emigrated to Canada or Latin America too, with the aim to avoid the threat of being forcefully assimilated into American mainstream society. In fact, their resistance to the mainstream society surrounding them and simple attempt keep their own lifestyle has caused long-time hostility and harassment.

The Amish are famous for their simple and pious life. They live in isolated communities to stay away from secular influences, being proud to be known as a peculiar people. They believe that living a simple life is the way to get closer to God, and everything they do is seen as a way to attain that goal. Amish families are grouped into church districts which serve as governing units. One such unit typically consists of 25 to 35 married couples and their offspring and is governed by its chosen leaders -usually a group of three or four men-who are ordained to the offices of bishop. Bishops of different districts meet informally to share concerns, as a mechanism to promote solidarity.

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Amish men and boys wear blue denim trousers and accompanying suspenders together with a dark colored shirt. In the warm months, they wear straw hats while doing farm work. Women and girls wear long dresses with a very high neck line. The dresses go down to the ankles and the sleeves go toward to the wrists, and prayer caps are always worn. All Amish clothing has plain colors without stripes or checks. Most commonly seen colors are blue, brown, dark purple and black.

The Amish mostly make a living by farming. Cultivation and care of the soil is of key importance in Amish values, and they have a reputation of being excellent farmers. Amish farms are labor-intensively operated by married couple, their children, and by the help of their relatives. The Amish youth are usually given responsibilities in farm work, which are rewarding to them as they grow into adulthood. Young Amish aspire to get married, to own a farm, and to live close to their relatives in the community.

In Amish community, church services are held bi-weekly in different families' houses or barns in turn. On alternative Sundays, they have a religious service in each home. At home Pennsylvania Dutch is spoken, and German is the language of the church. The Amish use horse-driven-buggies for transportation instead of automobiles. And any kind of military services is refused by the Amish. Young men of draft age serve as conscientious objectors instead.

However, modernity has always been encroaching upon the Amish. Highways, shopping malls, rural established businesses and new houses built for non-Amish make it increasingly difficult to sustain their old lifestyle. Non-agriculture types of work are becoming more common. Many Amish men work on construction crews in small cities, in a factory or small store in rural setting, or are promoted to managerial positions. This has made a distinction between the factory Amish and the farm Amish. Another example is that although buggies are still used for local transportation, hired cars are used for distant places such as weddings, family reunions and funerals. Bus and train are also used for distant visitations.

As for the education, the Amish have always maintained the belief, according to the Bible, that the children belong to their parents, and they should not be educated by the state nor for the benefit of the state. Education beyond eighth grade is not only unnecessary for their simple life but also a danger for their kids to be exposed too much to the "contaminating" outside world. Amish parents worry that this might spoil their children for farm life. Moreover, since the kids require no more than eighth-grade-education, the school teachers need and should have only eighth-grade-education as well.

To fulfill these requirements, the Amish have developed a system of parochial schools. These schools are usually one- or two-room private schools, located close to children's homes in an agricultural environment, so that children can help with the farm work and aspire to become farmers. In order to teach their way of life, the Amish want to have the teachers qualified by their commitment to

Amish values. Teachers qualified merely by state standards are incapable of teaching the Amish way of life, because they cannot become live examples from which Amish pupils learn. Besides, the Amish believe that public schools are intended only to impart worldly knowledge, to ensure earthly success, and to make good citizens for the state. They, on the contrary, hope schools can prepare their children to live spiritually in this life and for eternity.

The traits of Amish parochial schools inevitably clash with the ones of public consolidated schools. Before 1972, this kind of schooling had run afoul of the law in every state where they had been attempted. Literally hundreds of Amish parents had been put into prison for refusing to send their kids to local public schools. However, the Supreme Court case that year has significantly changed this.

3.2 THE PAST: TURNING POINT IN THE RECOGNITION OF THE AMISH EDUCATION

By 1972, every state except Mississippi in the United States has some kind of compulsory school attendance statute. This unfortunately contradicts with the Amish belief that formal education beyond eighth grade is not only unnecessary but also dangerous. In fact, there have been various attempts made by parents of different ethnic group backgrounds to invalidate the compulsory school attendance statues. In 1901, some parents in Indiana challenged the state's compulsory statute, claiming that it invaded their natural rights as parents, for they believed that to education their children is their natural duty and shall not be taken away. However, Indiana court rejected this challenge, declaring that parents' obligation to educate their children was not only to the kids, but also to the state. Therefore, for the sake of the children's welfare and the society's interests, the government was authorized to demand the parents to send their children to proper schools.

The United States Supreme Court has also created some precedents in this area. In the 1922 case *Meyer v. Nebraska*, the Supreme Court affirmed that "it is the natural duty of the parent to give his children education suitable to their station in life", and indicated the scope of the rights flowing from the 14th Amendment of the Constitution, saying "not merely freedom from bodily restraint but also the right of the individual to contract, to engage in any of the common occupations of life…and generally to enjoy those privileges long recognized at common law as essential to the orderly pursuit of happiness by free men." (Morris, 1977) In the slightly later case, 1925 *Pierce v. Society of Sisters*, it reaffirmed that "fundamental theory of liberty upon which all governments in this Union repose excludes any general power of the state to standardize its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public teachers only." (Morris, 1977) In these two cases, the Supreme Court gave at least indirect support to compulsory school attendance statutes, but emphasized that attempts to "standardize" different children or to undermine parental authority were unacceptable.

As for the Amish, they usually challenged the compulsory attendance statute with the free exercise clause of the First Amendment of the Constitution. In fact, there has been a long history of the lawsuit between religious exercise and secular law in the United States.

The first major confrontation took place in *Reynolds v. United States*, where a Mormon was convicted of bigamy. The defendant argued that polygamy was a principal tenet of his religion, therefore marrying multiple wives was a behavior protected by the freedom of religion. Nonetheless, the Supreme Court distinguished the difference between religious beliefs and religious actions, determining that while the government could not properly interfere with the former one, it may put some regulations on the latter one as long as it might become a danger to the society. According to the "belief-action" dichotomy, the defendant was perfectly free to believe in polygamy, but just could not practice this belief, because it would seriously conflict with the public interest.

One important case with opposite spirit is the 1963 *Sherbert v. Verner*. The well-known liberal Warren Court reversed the Supreme Court of South Carolina's decision to deny unemployment compensation benefits to a Seventh Day Adventist who refuse to work on Saturdays. The Court believed that such denial of benefits would infringe upon the free exercise of the appellant's religion. Many precedents limited the scope of religious free exercise to direct burdens. In other words, only if a certain religious exercise causes its implementer direct burdens within existing statutes, then such statutes are unconstitutional for violating free exercise clause. However, the Warren Court, in favor of judicial activism, expanded the scope to include indirect burdens. It declared that "any incidental burden on the free exercise of appellant's religion may be justified by a 'compelling state interest'", and as for what constitutes the "compelling state interest", it said "in this highly constitutional area, 'only the gravest abuses, endangering paramount interest, give occasion for permissible limitation.'" (Pullman, 1972) *Sherbert* is possibly one of the most significant case in the area of free exercise, and it shed light on many succeeding cases, including *Wisconsin v. Yoder*.

In 1966, a Wisconsin trial court labeled some Amish parents criminals for not sending their children to school beyond eighth grade. Although admitting that the compulsory attendance statue did interfere with the defendants' religious free exercise, the trial court declared that the statute represented a "reasonable and constitutional exercise of a governmental function of the state." (Pullman, 1972) However, the Wisconsin Supreme Court vindicated them in 1971 under free exercise clause, and the case was appealed to the United States Supreme Court

The Burger Court then was still considered as, although not as much as the preceding Warren Court, a liberal Supreme Court. It listened to the expert testimony made by Dr. Hostetler, who testified that the basic tenet of Amish faith is individual salvation achieved through a church community, which must be separated from the world. The Amish religion must pervade totally the lives of its followers, therefore how long an Amish child should get formal education is a

question within the context Amish religion, rather than just a secular educational one. Having made clear that regulations on Amish education is an infringement on religious free exercise, now the Court needed to find out whether such infringement was necessary and constitutional. It looked into *Sherbert* and declared that although the state's in attaining an educated citizenry is a valid one, the Amish did provide adequate education for their children even though they were not sent to formal schools. Thus, Amish children getting education in their own community is nothing near the abovementioned "gravest abuses". Moreover, the Court found that in the constitutional system religion clause was more revered and embedded that the countervailing state interest, therefore this kind of limitation was not legitimate. It concluded that compulsory formal education after the eighth grade would gravely endanger-if not destroy-the free exercise of the Amish's religious beliefs, and thus the Amish were exempt from such state statute. The free exercise claims of the Amish had finally become the law of the land.

3.3 THE PRESENT: OVERLOOKED CHANGES IN CONTEMPORARY AMISH EDUCATION

Since *Wisconsin v. Yoder*, it has been nearly 50 years and a lot has changed. The spirit of the case is to grant the Amish privilege to establish and control their own schools suiting their own lifestyle. And as the lifestyle changes, so do the schools.

At the *Yoder* time, simple labor-instead-of-technology-intensive farming was regarded the primary livelihood of the Amish. Today, however, with high birthrates and shrinking availability of land, with rising land prices and new agricultural technology used in the larger society, the Amish way of nonmechanized farming has become more and more problematic. As a result, alternative means of livelihood are becoming increasingly popular, for example micro-enterprises, mobile work crews, and even factory employment. In certain communities, the majority of local Amish work in occupations other than farming.

Nevertheless, just like what had happened in other places of the world, the turn from precapitalistic livelihood to increasing entanglement with the market economy has caused greater socioeconomic differentiation among the Amish. More "modern" economy requires specialized knowledge which is not a traditional part taught in Amish parochial schools. The increasing engagement with the mainstream society calls for the schools' serving to shape their children's interaction with the secular world instead of isolating them from it. Besides, different situations of different Amish communities also lead to different characters of local schools. And individual Amish parents also play a vital role in their children's education.

Similar to the stereotypical image of the Amish as a homogeneous, timeless and agrarian people, Amish schools have long been regarded as some one-or-two-room rural parochial schools, stuffed with teachers of Amish backgrounds and providing curriculum suitable for Amish faith. Even if this was ever true, it is not

the whole picture today. Indeed, nowadays most Amish still send their kids to local parochial schools, but these schools are far from homogeneous. In fact, they vary as the communities in which they locate vary. Moreover, some Amish parents voluntarily send their children to public schools for various reasons, and some keep them in home schools for different considerations.

First, parochial schools are still the main choice for most of Amish parents in many communities. Since *Yoder*, the number of parochial schools in different Amish communities has been rapidly increasing. For example, there are 177 Amish-run private schools in Holmes County settlement, Ohio alone, and each year at least one new school is built. Parents send their children to parochial schools for various reasons. One overwhelming cause is that they believe that such schools allow children to engage in activities that are more directly supportive of the lives they will lead as Amish adults. In public schools too much that are not needed for Amish way of life are taught, and parents are afraid that the curriculum and technology used there are dangerous or contaminating. Some Amish parents argue that the peer pressure existing in public schools would make their children unsatisfied with Amish lifestyle anymore, while in parochial schools, pupils could stay away from learning some "weird-looking animals" like dinosaurs. (McConnell and Hurst, 2006).

However, parochial schools in different communities are absolutely not the same. Distinctions exist in areas such as facilities, curriculum and disciplinary climate. Parochial schools are supported by local community, and economic situation of different communities can make local schools very different. While some schools only have rusty hand pumps for water, others are equipped with drinking fountains. And the differences are not only material. The particular configuration of church affiliations surrounding a certain school, as well as the occupations and social class of the parents of the school, has a discernible impact on the atmosphere of the given school. A school supported by mainly younger Amish parents with successful home business hired two non-Old-Oder-Amish teachers with great pedagogical reputation, and they have shaped a more "progressive" atmosphere in their school comparing with others.

Second, parochial schools are not the only choice for many Amish parents now. In McConnel and Hurst's interview (2006), nearly half of the interviewees admitted that they had used public schools at some point, with full knowledge that non-Amish characters were taught to their kids in public schools, like competition, individualism, nationalism, and teenage subculture. So why do some parents send their children to public instead of parochial schools?

One simple and logical answer to us might be money. While a parochial school is directly funded by a group of local Amish parents, a public school is supported by taxes, which are paid by all Amish, therefore no additional financial burden is incurred to send children to public schools. Nonetheless, most of Amish parents denied that money was the issue. They indicated that the real reason is to prepare their kids better for a world of ever-increasing contact with the "English". Some Amish parents complained that teachers in parochial schools were too

young to be highly qualified, while everything in public schools is better, like the quality of instruction, in particular the use of English. Besides, some progressive parents believed that interaction with "English" world is not always a bad thing, because the more exposure they have to other cultures, and accepting them for what they are, the better off they will be. Meanwhile, local public schools also serve to fit Amish needs. Curriculum is specially tailored to keep seven- and eighth-grade Amish students at public schools while avoiding the middle school environment.

Lastly, more and more Amish parents choose to keep their children at, although still relatively rare, homeschools. Some parents started homeschooling because there were no parochial schools in their area and they refuse to send kids to public schools, while others just don't believe that the academic level in existing parochial schools is high enough. Another reason for homeschooling is to hope bond with their own kids more, and this kind of family control over and responsibility for education is seen as a maintainer of Amish culture to homeschooling advocates. However, home schooling is frequently under criticism too, mainly for it isolates children from each other with whom they will eventually live after leaving school. Besides, parents run a homeschool are also often suggested to have a "know-it-all" arrogance, which is utterly unacceptable in Amish faith.

To sum up, the homogeneous Amish world of the *Yoder* decision has disappeared, if not never existed, and much more nuanced anthropological observation is required to get a better understanding of the Amish.

3.4 CONCLUSION: AN APPEAL FOR A MORE NUANCED ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATION

Clearly, the Amish have been consciously choosing different education strategies to serve their long-term goal of preserving their own unique culture and lifestyle. To keep their community intact and integrated, they work hard to seize control over contact with the "English" world, yet not like some might presuppose that just cutting off ties with the mainstream society as many as they can. Quite the contrary, many Amish do not reject chances of communication with the outside world, as long as such communication is under scrutinization. Besides, the macroeconomic, technological and legal changes took place in recent decades also made such cut-offs increasingly impossible. Bridges between traditional Amish and outsiders are gradually being built, although might still be weak ones. Amish education not only reflect this trend but also contributes to be one passage per se.

Among the different education strategies mentioned earlier, at least two are considered by most Amish as effective ways to promote community continuity. Amish parochial schools are owned and controlled entirely by the Amish. It is there that the reproduction of Amish habits, beliefs and lifestyle is most likely to occur. This kind of minority-owned-controlled-education is "exactly what is logical according to the anthropologist viewing the relationship between education and culture" (McConnell and Hurst, 2006). The other major way is public school

entirely composed of Amish students. The rejection of public schools as a general idea did not take place until 1940s, and that was nothing but merely a reaction to the consolidation of public schools. In fact, as long as public schools remain small and rely on individual agency in influence instead of consolidated pedagogical structure, Amish parents are happy to send their children there because the exposure to non-Amish culture stays at a limited level.

Other education strategies are more debatable. Homeschooling puts a child's education directly into parents' hands rather than professional teachers'. Advocates argue that this approach produces a clearer articulation and better understanding of Amish values for the children, while opponents stress that the sense of community comes from shared experience, and it is precisely what the kids in homeschooling system are deprived of. The last strategy is to send children to a public school where non-Amish pupils constitute a notable part or even the majority. This is most accommodating to the outside pressures that the Amish increasingly face yet is also most likely to intensify contradiction within the community. The outcome of this "radical" response to increasing interaction between the Amish and outside world is yet to be fully understood.

The Amish struggle to keep balance on a tightrope. On the one hand, all they do is under the ultimate aim to preserve their uniqueness and continue to exist as a distinguishable ethnic group. On the other hand, there is a pragmatic concern for ensuring one's children get an education that serve them well in the ever-changing world. Internal and external forces bring about changes in Amish education, which in turn alters the Amish social structures. Interaction with modernity in small-scale societies is an attractive yet sometimes misleading topic, but one thing is certain, that is nuanced anthropological observation is needed for better fighting against presumptuous stereotypes.

COMPETING INTERESTS

Author has declared that no competing interests exist.

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PART II: FOLK BELIEFS AND RITUALS

The Decline of Sun Worship from the Epic Aizuo and Aisha

Cheng Rongrong [a]

4.1 ANALYSIS OF THE SUN RELATED PLOTS IN AIZUO AND AISA

The epic of word of mouth among all nationalities is the accumulation product of people's history and culture, showing people's collective unconscious. And the sun, as a prototype, shows the change of people's unconscious attitude towards the sun in the epic. Azhe is a branch of the Yi nationality, living in the area of the inspection town of Maitreya County, Honghe continent, Yunnan Province. In Azhe's epic Aizuo and Aisa, the decline of sun worship with the changes of the times is clearly reflected in the verse, with the transformation of the sun calendar to the moon calendar and the evolution of the festival to the torch festival.

1) The sun in the age of the one vertical eyed man

In the epic Aizuo and Aisa, the first one-eyed man era, the sun and the moon is the premise of life. The sun's manufacturing process lasted "99 days and nights "and "88 days and nights ", and the secrecy and length of the manufacturing process were specially emphasized in the epic(Shi Youfu, Shixiao, 2010, p19).

Later, the created sun gold girl did not want to come out of the hole, the gods to persuade her to go out, to find the nephew of the Big Dipper to come alone with her, provided three fairy girls to dress her, gave her a gold needle to punish those who want to peek at her, let the god bird carry her, the Milky way God to guide her to the west in the home of the Red Cloud God(Shi Youfu, Shixiao, 2010, p25-30). It can be said that for the smooth operation of the sun, all gods painstakingly, the importance of the sun and its dignity, is clearly revealed in the text.

After that, the disaster of the destruction of the one vertical eyed man era is also closely related to the sun. The cause of the disaster is that the bird king eagle coveted the sun. It fought with the sun bird, after the failure, the body hung in the sun's hole, precluding it to rise. The disappearance of the sun led to the collapse of reason and order of all things in the world. Different creatures resented each other because of the killing and fighting caused by darkness, then fell apart and the one vertical eyed man died (Shi Youfu, Shixiao, 2010, p30-35).

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Through the narration of the one vertical eyed man's time in the text of Aizuo and Aisa, we can see the importance and dignity of the sun in the initial era, as well as the representative of reason. The importance of the sun's mere disappearance for a few days brings about chaos in the world, a disaster significant enough to destroy the world, and the easy extinction of human beings at that time is self-evident in the text. As far as human beings are concerned, they are too weak in the initial era, just hiding in trees, living by all the life given by nature, the emergence of disaster is not much related to them, as for the end of the disaster, although the human soul has made a contribution. But the main subject of action is still animals.

2) The sun in the age of straight eyed man

After the age of the one vertical eyed man, the sun went out of the cave, the God created the straight eyed man, and the world returned to order. At this time, the straight eyed man has occupied a better position in the creation than the one vertical eye of the previous era. No longer as weak and helpless as before, he can interfere in some things in the world.

Humans raised tigers were let to eat the sun, white dogs were let to eat the moon, the world returned to darkness (Shi Youfu, Shixiao, 2010, p39). But it is worth noting that the disappearance of the sun at this time did not led to the great disaster of the previous era, the order of the world still exists, and the collapse is no longer coming. Even because of this darkness, humans learned to use fire and taste the dead bodies of other animals (Shi Youfu, Shixiao, 2010, p42-47).

In order to retaliate against the wanton human beings, the sun god build seven suns. These seven suns travel together. The world was roasted dry into a sea of fire, and the straight eyed man survivor Awen invented the bow and arrow, and shot six suns down. He was also burned to death by the sun, ending the straight eyed age (Shi Youfu, Shixiao, 2010, p50-53).

We will find that the sun's position is lower than that of the one vertical eyed age, and the complete disappearance of the sun has not led to a great disaster like that of the previous era. The sun is no longer the representative of reason. The uniqueness of the sun is lost, the sun is no longer "the only sun created by the sun god added straight ", but" man Awen with the bow and arrow shot down the six suns, leaving the remaining sun ".

3) The sun in the age of transverse eyed man

The rest of the sun went into hiding after Awen, and transverse eyed man, made up of the blood of the goddess of God, began to appear. They found food, had a stable source of food, and got the support of animals. After the curse punished many animals, the rooster successfully shouted out the sun and the transverse eyed man lived quietly (Shi Youfu, Shixiao, 2009, p57-63).

After that, the transverse eyed man was rude to the Gods, and the god fell again to disaster, but the flood had nothing to do with the sun. By virtue of farming

civilization, mankind has achieved the domination of all kinds of animals (animals are called "masters" in the text) and the achievement of "controlling" the sun (the sun of the cross-eyed man's time reappeared because the rooster shouted it out). The sun is no longer the only noble god of the original era. Because of the development of productive forces, the subjectivity of human beings reaches its peak at this time, and the natural gods are no longer powerful enough to destroy the world, even if they are, they are ordered by the supreme god of humanization.

4.2 THE TRANSFORMATION

1) *The weakening process of solar prototype image*

Through the description of the sun-related plot of the one vertical eyed man era, the straight eyed man era and the transverse eyed man era in the creation epic Aizuo and Aisa of Azhe people of Yi nationality, we can find that the image of the sun in the epic has gone through three times and has been constantly changing (Li Zixian 2001, p41-42). The social environment will have an impact on the emergence and evolution of the literary image in folk literature, and the primary economic environment in the social environment, that is, the level of productivity development, is undoubtedly of great influence on the literary image. Because of this, the sun is noble in the one vertical eyed man age, that is, under the level of human productivity, and its existence is closely related to the survival of mankind. Therefore, in the epic, the small things that happen to the sun can lead to dramatic changes in human life. In the age of straight-eyed people, human beings were separated from the age of "resigned to fate" because of the development of productive forces, and people who entered the early stage of farming civilization began to decline in respect for the sun. All this collective unconscious produced by people's common experience is reflected in the epic: the sun is no longer high, humans can feed tigers, or they can shoot her with bows and arrows —— and humans are trying to resist and control the sun. All the disappearance and disappearance of the sun is related to human beings, not animals, which reflects the human identity, openly fighting nature —— although it takes a price, but the sun is not invincible. In the time of the cross-eyed man, when man was able to manipulate animals to call the sun at will, man seemed to have "defeated" the sun, and though they still needed it, the sun was not the noblest thing in their lives, and the level of human productivity was greatly improved, and the sun was no longer important.

In a word, the prototype image of the sun in Aizo and Aisha goes through three times, and the function is gradually weakened, and this weakening process is accompanied by the weakening of animal subjectivity and the strengthening of human subjectivity. I'll use charts to show:

2) *The transformation of chronology*

In the epic, the solar calendar was established by the highest god Geng after the flood of the cross-eye era. According to the operating cycle of the sun, 365 days a year, a total of 10 months, 36 days a month, the remaining 5 days as sacrificial days.

Image Times	The sun	The animals	Human
The one vertical eyed man era	.Major Causes of Disaster .Occurrence and End	Dominator of Disaster Generation and End	.There is little connection to the emergence and end of a disaster .Death
the straight eyed man era	.Major factors of disaster (killed) .The main cause of the end of the era (being killed again)	.Persuaded by man to kill the sun .Burned to death, eaten .Used to plow land	.Indirectly killing the sun .Acquisition of fire .Direct killing of the sun .Death
the transverse eyed man era	Appear with the called by human	.To serve man as king .Call for the sun by human command	.Slavery animals .Communicating with the sun

According to Shi Youfu, Shi Xiao collected and collated "Aizuo and Aisha" in the text of the "Origin of Civilization" in a chapter of notes cited in the Yi Azhe people "Dragon worship" records, as ancient Yi leaders and was deified Geng Ji, its time used a total of October sun year, one to May for the sun year, worship the sun god, six to October for the Yin year, ancestor hunting festival (Shi Youfu, Shixiao, 2009, p217).

There is no doubt that according to the epic description of the solar calendar year, the two festivals of the year are the most grand and solemn, the annual time is relatively fixed, there are fixed organizations and rituals, according to the text. The author concludes that the Yi Azhe branch has changed from a rough inter-tribal worship of the early natural characteristics to a higher cultural realm of the organization and ceremony of the Sun God belief (Edward Taylor 1992, p328). Although, according to the evolution of the epic, human beings have come to the era of the birth of civilization and relatively high autonomy, it can be inferred from the worship of the sun embodied in the epic and the archetype of the sun in the collective unconscious of the Azhe people pointed out in the century that the real historical period of the Azhe people here should be the early days of the farming era dominated by slash-and-burn cultivation, and large number of livestock farming and hunting was carried out instead of mainly farming for a living.

In the epic, the cancellation of the solar calendar came from the animals' ignorance of all things in the October solar calendar. Finally, according to the full moon time and women to the red tide time fixed month, this obtained the sand side moon calendar. The main function of the Sha Fang Moon Calendar is to cooperate with the Azhe people who have entered the farming era to cultivate, in the epic according to 12 months of very detailed farming behavior division ," one year 12 months, month and month work ."(Shi Youfu, Shixiao, 2009, p232).

In this era, people eat grain, and there are many factors that affect the growth of grain, the sun is not the only and most important factor, so it is no longer the main sacrifice, the god of agriculture, mountain god, dragon and other gods in charge of growing in the wind and rain were added to the sacrifice team. Most of the development and evolution of divine personality in mythology maintain some synchronization with the development and evolution of primitive religion and its forms (Li Zixian 2001, p98), from the increase of worship to gods and the change of the year. The author thinks that the sun worship in Shafang era has gradually weakened compared with Gengji era.

4.3 THE TRANSFORMATION OF SUN SACRIFICE TO TORCHLIGHT FESTIVAL

1) The Xinghui festival

Torchlight Festival is popular in Yi, Bai, Naxi, Lahu, Hani, lisu, Pumi, Tibetan, Zhuang, Yao and other southwest ethnic festivals. According to the remains of Puge County in Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture, the Torch Festival is generally held around the 24th of June of the lunar calendar, including "Dongsi ","

Dongge" and "Dongcha" three contents. "dongsi" means to celebrate the festival, that is, to hold a ceremony of sacrifice to the sun god, ancestor god, the god of fire ;" dongge "means to play with fire, including wrestling, climbing pole, high jump, singing and dancing, horse racing, archery, sheep robbing and other entertainment programs ;" dongcha" means to send the god of fire, women to visit her parents' family and other customs activities(Wang Xiaodun, 2012).

With regard to the origin of the Torch Festival, there are different legends of different nationalities, and there is a hypothesis about the age of mythology :" the wider the distribution of a myth, the older the myth ." It is inferred that the Torch Festival not only has rich historical accumulation, but also has a very old source.

From the historical data, the Torch Festival is actually the xinghui Festival. This case of "June 24 as the year ", or divided into two sections in one year, can be explained by the xinghui.(which means the return of the star in English) Because the "xinghui" is about the concept of star observation, used to determine the position of the sun in the stars. From the Earthman's point of view, every solar year, the sun runs on the starry background for a week. Therefore, for a particular star as an observation criterion, it has two basic relations with the sun: one is hedging, the other is together. When hedging, the star close to the moon; when together, the star close to the sun. The two divide exactly one star year or a solar year into two sections(Wang Xiaodun, 2012).

As the bottom layer of fire, in ancient times, fire worship was mainly related to astronomical calendar. Among them, in ancient times, in the Chinese region, there were two kinds of calendars —— the law of "fire" and the law of "fire ". The so-called "fire period" is determined according to the periodic state of trees, and belongs to the "fire period ", which refers to the determination of agricultural time according to the apparent movement of large Mars, which belongs to the starry calendar. These two calendars were later combined in customs, which became known as "Xinghuo "," Genghuo"," Gaihuo "," Yihuo", that is, in different seasons to drill different trees for fire. In all parts of the world and among the ancient Chinese people, we can see the remains of the custom of changing fire and similar customs.(Qiu Xikui,1990)

That is why people regarded fire as the embodiment of the sun. From this point of view, fire worship not only means the praise of the sun, but also the emphasis on the calendar. It can be understood why the same festival has the names "Torch Festival" and "Xinghui Festival" among the Yi people.

2) The transformation of sun sacrifice to Torchlight Festival.

The night of the Torch Festival will ignite a huge bonfire and carry out all kindsof rituals related to fire, and the function of fire is mostly to exorcise evil diseases and "Use the light from the torch to predict whether the next year's harvest will be good" mainly. According to Fraser's book The Golden Branch, a bonfire is a simulated witchcraft for the sun ," by igniting fire to imitate the source of light and

heat in the sky to get the sun needed by people, animals and plants." Fraser believes that the date, form, and perceived influence of the festival on weather and plants determine whether the festival originated from the sun (Fraser, 2018, p340).

The first is the date and form of the Torchlight Festival. Torch Festival is held on June 24 of the lunar calendar, coincides with midsummer, is the most prosperous time between the sun, this time the bonfire is a imitation of the hot sun, Torchlight Festival for the bonfire detour is a imitation of the sun (the third day of the second lunar month, coincides with the early spring, the recovery of all things, more Rain Water, cold weather, sunlight, I infer that it may initially help the sun rekindle the intention).

The second is what people think of as the effect of fire on animals and plants and on the weather. At the Torch Festival, the most common activity is to carry a torch into the cultivated land, or to light a small pile of fire beside the cultivated land, which is thought to be beneficial to the growth of the crops. After the house went all over the field, he went to the field to play a fire to sacrifice the mother of the field.(Li Yujun, 2007) In addition to the favorable influence on animals and plants, the mating behavior of men and women during the Torch Festival was also a kind of promotion of fertility behavior. In the Torch Festival, the function of fire is to influence all living beings with its light and heat. This is a simulation of the sun. From the epic point of view, the sun's heat and heat is the origin of life.

Through the above analysis of the relationship between fire and the sun, sacrifice fire and the sun worship, the author inferred that the origin of the torch festival was the sun sacrifice activity, but after the changes of the times and the development of the productive forces, the sun worship gradually weakened, and the human controllable "fire" replaced the sun and became a new sacrificial object. This evolution is basically consistent with the narration in the epic. It can be said that the prototype of the sun in the epic "Aizuo and Aisha" is the product of the collective unconscious performance of the related belief changes caused by the historical changes.

4.4 CONCLUSION

Fire culture, as an important cultural tradition of Yi nationality, has been studied by many scholars. However, the author thinks that the light and heat broadcast by fire may initially originate from the initial light and heat —— the sun in nature, and the Yi Azhe epic "Aizuo and Aisha" is the most favorable information about this. The epic handed down orally by human beings is a recount of the history and cultural accumulation of their own ethnic groups. All the details come from the subjective consciousness of the world in the unconscious. It is passed down from generation to generation, after thousands of people's oral adaptation and singing. Finally finalized, become a historical miniature.

The archetype of the sun in the epic "Aizo and Aisha" changes her importance in the life of all things with the change of times. In the one vertical eyed man era,

the sun is the major causes of disaster, the animal is the dominator of disaster generation and end, human is the weakest creation; In the straight eyed man era, the sun is the major factors of disaster, she is being killed, the animal is persuaded by man to kill the sun, human indirectly kill the sun. They can use the fire, and shot nine sun from the sky. They no longer fear the sun. In the transverse eyed man era, the sun appear with the call by human. The animal serves man as king. Human can just do anything in this time, and the sun is not that important anymore. After three times and three different races, sun's function and influence on all things are weakening. Human autonomy gradually increases with the change of times.

And for the Torchlight Festival, which is actually the xinghui Festival. This case of " 24th of June of the lunar year ", or divided one year into two sections, can be explained by the xinghui (which means the return of the star in English). Because the "xinghui" is about the concept of star observation, used to determine the position of the sun in the stars. In ancient times, fire worship was mainly related to astronomical calendar. That is why people regarded fire as the embodiment of the sun. From this point of view, fire worship not only means the praise of the sun, but also the emphasis on the calendar. It can be understood why the same festival has the names "Torchlight Festival" and "Xinghui Festival" among the Yi. Through this connection and the above analysis of the relationship between fire and the sun, fire sacrifice and the sun worship, it can be said that the prototype of the sun in the epic "Aizuo and Aisha" is the product of the collective unconscious performance of the related belief changes caused by the historical changes. However, because this paper is only aimed at the epic of Azhe people in a branch of Yi nationality, and the related materials are less, it is inevitably biased and limited. It is hoped that more materials will be collected in the future to improve this conclusion.

COMPETING INTERESTS

Author has declared that no competing interests exist.

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The Practice and Function of Ancestor Worship in Chinese Society

Zhang Luyao [a]

5.1 A REVIEW OF RESEARCH ON ANCESTOR WORSHIP

Ancestor worship, as a common phenomenon in human society, has been investigated and analyzed by many disciplines, such as religion, sociology and anthropology. From the perspective of anthropology, the researcher Seyin (2012) from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences deeply analyzed the definition, origin, related concepts, influencing factors, the relationship between ancestor worship and ancestor worship ceremony, and the development process of ancestor worship in the Chinese folk society.

One of his article entitled *"An Analysis of religious Anthropology of Ancestor Worship ",* in Durkheim's theory of religion and Radcliffe brown's contribution to the direction of religious studies as the theoretical foundation, has been clear about the following points: one is that the ancestor worship is a religious phenomenon belongs to the special kinship group--the family, the second is that the authority of relative group leadership and its corresponding obeying rules are inseparable. Influenced by Durkheim`s research achievements, Radcliffe brown pointed out that the religion is a reflection of social life, and demonstrated the direction of ancestor worship phenomenon research based on this proposition. He thought that the ancestor worship, which based on the relative group, is a typical example of a real fact that the society imposes constraints on its members. People get a sense of belonging through ancestors, meanwhile they are controlled by the whole collective, and it`s hard to get out of the shackles of society.

Based on this theoretical perspective, the main issues discussed in this paper are the origin of ancestor worship and the concept based on it, the influencing factors of ancestor worship, and the relationship between the phenomenon of ancestor worship and ancestor worship ceremony.

First of all, let's talk about the definition of ancestor worship. *Seyin* believes that "ancestor worship is a universal phenomenon of human belief and culture, while

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ancestor worship in the anthropological sense refers to a folk belief system based on the belief that dead members are able to influence the lives of alive members in a relative group" (Seyin 2012: 29)[1]. *Youminghui* thinks that "ancestor worship is a belief in the spirits of ancestors which generates on the basis of the increasing complexity of human concepts about the soul and the gradual development of soul worship (Youminghui 2015: 125)"[2]. *Xiedongli* give a definition to ancestor worship in her research review article: "ancestor worship, or ancestral spirit belief, is a religious habit that includes the activity of offering sacrifices to the spirits of ancestors. It is a belief that the spirits of ancestors still exist and will affect the living conditions of the present world and descendants (Xiedongli 2014: 84)"[3].

From the definition of ancestor worship, it can be found that the emergence and development of the cultural phenomenon of ancestor worship is closely related to the following factors: ancestors, kindred groups, and the concepts associated with the soul that existed in early human society. From the angle of origin, the concept of animism and the totem worship shape the object of worship in ancestor worship, which is the "ancestor god". Because people believe in the immortality of the soul, and believe that the soul of their dead ancestors still has the ability to protect and influence their life in this world, they will worship the soul of their ancestors, also combine this belief with some specific rituals, thus produce the ritual of ancestor worship. This explains the origin of ancestor worship and its relationship with ancestor worship rituals.

Secondly, the phenomenon of ancestor worship is most closely related to religion in that people sanctify their ancestors' souls. The combination of this concept of ancestral spirit and the concept of the soul leads to the worship of ancestors. In folk religions, the most common way to mold ancestors into gods is to offer sacrifices. By offering sacrifices to ancestors, people pray for the protection of their descendants' lives. At the same time, the abstract concept of ancestral spirit and ancestor worship are presented through the figurative worship ceremony, it makes ancestor worship ceremony become an important source of information to understand the culture of ancestor worship of specific groups. It contains symbolic information about the social and cultural world of specific groups, which is of great research significance.

In general, the current research tendencies on ancestor worship can be divided into three branches: First is the analysis of the origin and development process of the cultural phenomenon of ancestor worship. The second is the analysis of the structural function and significance of ancestor worship in the society. And the Third is a cross-cultural comparative study of the phenomenon of ancestor worship in different cultural contexts. The ultimate goal of this study is to explain the deep cultural connotation of ancestor worship and summarize the universality and particularity of ancestor worship in various groups around the world.

5.2 THE PRACTICE OF ANCESTOR WORSHIP

China's traditional festivals are formed on the basis of agricultural civilization, which contains people's good wishes for a good agricultural harvest and prosperous population. Agricultural civilization is the important cultural background to the emergence of Chinese traditional festivals. However, after the industrial society, some festivals gradually lose their original inner power and face the fate of disappearing or fading. The reason is that the whole cultural background of agricultural civilization has gradually disappeared, but the culture factor of ancestor worship still exists and plays a role, so the traditional festivals which are associated with ancestor worship still maintain a strong vitality, the most typical ancestor worship festivals include Qingming, Zhongyuan, Chongyang and the Spring Festival.

This part will first sort out the basic information about traditional Chinese sacrificial festivals through literature and materials. Secondly, it explores the relationship between ancestor worship and traditional sacrificial festivals, and looks through the "sacrifice" for the link between ancestor worship and traditional festivals. Finally, it summarizes the characteristics of ancestor worship in traditional festivals, such as belief object, belief ceremony, belief concept and so on.

First, we have to clarify the definition of Chinese traditional festivals. Wangman (2018) used the concept of "minzu" in her article, believing that Chinese traditional festival is the collection of the 56 minzu`s traditional festivals. She also focused on the study of traditional festivals with the theme of ancestor worship and ancestor memorial. In the article entitled *"Analysis of the relationship between sacrifice and Chinese traditional festivals"*, Lixin defines Chinese traditional festivals from the perspective of the historical development of festivals, and believes that "In the context of Chinese culture, festivals refer to 'the traditional festivals in the order of the lunar calendar', and the origin and development of festivals have a long historical process"(Lixin 2011: 56) [5]. Second, the traditional Chinese festivals originates from the production and living needs of the agricultural nation. In traditional Chinese culture, agriculture is the most critical influencing factor. The arrangement of people's social life basically revolves around the process of agricultural production. "Lunar calendar" is the time calendar invented by ancient people according to the time law of agricultural work, which contains the profound wisdom of ancient people. In addition to agricultural production, religious belief also plays a huge role in the emergence of festivals. Many traditional Chinese festivals embody the concept of nature worship, such as the belief in the god of nature: the Mid-Autumn Festival to worship the moon god, the Qixi festival to worship Niulang & Zhinv stars. Third, entertainment is an important factor shaping traditional festivals. With the development of social productivity and the progress of people's understanding of the natural world, the influence of religious factors on festivals begins to decline, the etiquette and entertainment of festivals begin to increase, and recreational activities, gift giving and food culture become the themes of festivals. This adds more secular atmosphere to the festival and makes it a part of daily life. To sum

up, festivals can be roughly divided into three types according to their causes: festivals for agricultural orders, festivals for religious sacrifice, and festivals for entertainment and social activities.

My paper focuses on four traditional Chinese festivals related to ancestor worship, namely the Qingming, the Zhongyuan, the Chongyang Festival and the Spring Festival. Let's start with the Qingming Day, this day also called Tomb-sweeping Day, is one of Chinese traditional festivals. The main folk activities of this festival are ancestor worshiping and hiking. In its formation, the Qingming Festival combines the "Qingming Solar term" (Zhang Shuhong 2013: 180)[6], Shangsi Festival and the related customs of the Cold Food Festival. Therefore, it is necessary to explain these three components. Qingming festival is one of the 24 traditional Chinese solar terms. The arrival of Qingming festival means rising temperatures and more rain. Green plants also begin to grow rapidly, which is the basis of the custom of spring out-hiking. Shangsi Festival is one of the ancient festivals of the Han minzu. It is close to the Qingming Festival and its main activities include out-hiking, entertainment and soul-summoning and sacrifice. The main custom of the Cold Food Festival in the third month of the lunar calendar is to eat cold food -- banning open fires. This custom originates from Jie Zitui, a famous loyal minister in ancient Chinese history, who was honored for his moral character by requiring that people not cook rice over open fires for a month. To sum up, tomb-sweeping Day customs are mainly in two aspects: to commemorate ancestors and outing. The festival embodies the Chinese concept of respect for ancestors and saints, and its core lies in the concept of loyalty and filial piety in Chinese culture.

Comes to the Zhongyuan festival, the main customs of this festival are ancestor worship, river lighting, burning paper money and offering sacrifices to the land god. The origin of this festival is the worship to ancestor`s soul in ancient times. People celebrate the harvest and thank the land god in this festival, and report the harvest to their ancestors, reflecting the core cultural connotation of filial piety. And the Chongyang Festival falls on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month each year. The main folk activities include climbing mountains, appreciating autumn scenery, worshiping gods and ancestors, and expressing gratitude and respect for the elderly. The Chongyang Festival also had an element of agricultural harvest celebration in its origin. It was a festival for ancient people to offer thanks to heaven and ancestors at the time of harvest in September. At the same time, because the date of the Double Ninth Festival contains the two Numbers nine, which in Chinese means longevity and happiness, the festival also contains people's wishes for a long and healthy life for the elderly.

The Spring Festival is the most important festival in Chinese culture. It is the end of the old year and the beginning of the New Year. It is of great significance to the Chinese people. The main themes and folk activities of the Spring Festival include celebrating the New Year, reuniting with relatives, exorcising evil spirits and offering sacrifices to ancestors. The origin of the Spring Festival is closely related to sacrificial rites, especially the "La month sacrifice". "La month sacrifice" is the sacrificial offering to the gods at the end of the year in ancient society, in

order to repay the harvest of agricultural activities in the year. And sacrificial and memorial activities for ancestors were gradually increased in the process of spring festival development.

Through the definition and source analysis of the four traditional festivals of ancestor worship, it can be seen that there is a certain relationship between the traditional sacrificial festivals and ancestor worship in China, and sacrifice is the concrete expression of the concept of ancestor worship in the traditional festivals, and it also is the connecting link between ancestor worship and festivals. Ancestor worship is an important factor in the formation and development of festivals. The custom activities of the four traditional festivals all include ancestor worship activities, which contain people's wish to pray for a better life and peace. In general, ancestor worship and traditional sacrificial festivals influence each other and depend on each other. The concept of ancestor worship is the cultural core of the ancestor sacrificial festival, and the ancestor sacrificial festival is the external form of the concept of ancestor worship.

5.3 THE FUNCTION OF TRADITIONAL SACRIFICIAL FESTIVAL

According to the analysis of the four main traditional festivals, it can be seen that ancestor worship is an important factor in the formation and development of Chinese traditional festivals. The reason for some festivals` formation is the need to worship ancestors and the concept of ancestor worship. And the other festivals have gradually added the content of worshipping gods and ancestors and remembering ancestors into their customs, and a lot of colorful folk activities have formed around the theme of ancestor worship in the process of festival`s development. These folk activities not only add to the entertainment of the people during the festival, but also shape the emotion and memory of the participants in a wider scope and maintain the cultural foundation shared by family members. This part will mainly discuss the functions of traditional ancestor worship festivals. And from the perspective of cultural memory theory and collective memory theory, this part will also analyzes the following questions: what kind of experience, what kind of memory and what kind of emotion the traditional sacrificial festivals and its various folk custom activities bring to the participants? Finally, based on the above analysis, the function, significance and the value of traditional ancestor worship festivals are found, the role of traditional culture in the development of today's society is seen, the importance of inheriting traditional culture is realized. So we can have a deeper understanding of the importance of protecting traditional festivals in terms of consciousness and concept.

The concept of ancestor worship is one of the long-standing concepts in traditional Chinese society, which reflects the Chinese people's reverence for the soul of ancestors, the emotion of missing ancestors and the desire for a rich and stable life under the background of agricultural civilization. It is also a reflection of the plain cultural concepts of people in traditional Chinese society. As a concrete manifestation of the concept of ancestor worship, the traditional ancestor worship festivals carry the sense of identity and emotion generated by the Chinese people based on the concept of ancestor worship. This sense of identity and the

strong emotional connection have formed the emotional and cultural foundation shared by Chinese people, which continuously plays an important role in strengthening national identity, promoting social stability and harmony, and promoting the inheritance and protection of traditional culture.

First of all, take the Spring Festival as an example. As the most important festival in a year, the Spring Festival represents the end of the old year and the beginning of the New Year. Therefore, the Spring Festival has a set of extremely complex and serious activity processes. However, due to the vast geographical territory of China, different geographical regions may be different in customs to a certain extent under the influence of environmental factors, cultural traditions, living habits and other factors. For example, the north region is used to eating jiaozi on important festivals, while the south region is used to eating tangyuan. Although different geographical regions differ in their specific habits and preferences, the sacrificial ritual to ancestor is a ritual that can be performed in any region during the Spring Festival. Family members honor their ancestors through special ancestor worship ceremonies, and confirm their affiliation to the family by participating in the family ancestor worship ceremonies, so as to find their own identity. Therefore, the festival`s custom of ancestor worship not only serves as a channel for family members to recall their ancestors, but more importantly, living family members need to seek and confirm their identity and the sense of identity through rituals. That is one of the important significance of ancestor worship festival.

Secondly, from the perspective of ritual theory, the periodic repetition of traditional sacrificial festivals enables participants to temporarily break away from their daily life and enter into the festival state, thus achieving the purpose of recalling history, reviving tradition and experiencing culture. This provides a way for people in modern society to relax their spirit and return to the tradition. Moreover, these traditional festivals create a common history and build the shared memories for participants through repeated recurrence, which is the source of the common sense and sense of belonging of the crowd. By participating in the ceremonies and activities of traditional ancestor worship festivals, people gain a sense of belonging and enhance their own identification with Chinese culture and national identity. As said in the theory of collective memory, "People preserve the memories of each period of their lives, and form a continuous relationship through the reproduction of memories, so that our sense of identity can be generated and exist for a long time"(Halbwachs,M 2002: 82)[8].

Finally, the existence of traditional ancestor worship festivals is also of great significance to promote the inheritance and protection of traditional culture. In the Chinese long history, there have been a lot of folk customs with scale and system around people's daily agricultural production and life, but those traditional festivals that can stand the test of time and survive to this day need to have their special intrinsic motivation. This intrinsic motivation is consistent with the most fundamental and simplest folk beliefs and cultural concepts of the people. Such as the concept of ancestor worship. In spirit, ancestor worship conforms to

people's nostalgia for ancestors and pursuit of life source; In form, the ancestor worship ceremony, which contains the concept of ancestor worship, provides an emotional outlet for people and a platform for members of the group to connect and interact with each other. During the festival, people can temporarily get away from the tedious and hard work of daily life. They can relax themselves, recall their ancestors and express their hopes for a better life in the future through activities such as hiking, holding ceremonies and having a social dinners. As mentioned above, the concept of ancestor worship is the internal driving force of traditional sacrificial festivals, and the ritual of ancestor worship is the external carrier of traditional sacrificial festivals. The combined effect of internal and external factors makes the traditional festivals have a strong vitality. They have withstood the test of time and have been constantly integrating new ideas and creating new customs in the course of history. As a result, they have become an important cultural symbol of Chinese civilization and have a profound impact on the cultural concepts and daily life of every Chinese people.

5.4 CONCLUSION

Ancestor worship, as a common phenomenon in human society, has been studied by many disciplines for its emergence, development and influencing factors. Ancestor worship and its related concepts and rituals constitute an important part of human religious life. Based on the folk belief that people think the dead members can bring impact to the existing members, people developed a view contains all things have spirit of the idea and the concept of ancestor worship. People pray to their ancestors for protection and concealment by offering sacrifices to their ancestors' souls, which includes people's reverence and memory for their ancestors and their desire for a rich and stable life in the pre-industrial society. However, the concept needs a certain carrier to complete the process of its own visualization, ancestor worship is the same truth. Therefore, in the context of Chinese society, the sacrificial ceremony in the traditional sacrificial festivals assumes this function, and the sacrificial ceremony becomes the specific expression of the concept of ancestor worship in the traditional festivals. It proves that there is a certain relationship between the traditional sacrificial festivals and ancestor worship, and it is the connection point between ancestor worship and festivals. This paper analyzes the four traditional and classical sacrificial festivals, including the Qingming, Zhongyuan, Chongyang and the Spring Festival, four big festivals all have the following features: contain ancestor worship activities and family outing, and these all embody the profound cultural connotation of ancestor worship, natural god belief, filial piety, family reunion and respect for nature. It can be seen from the connotation of folk activities in traditional sacrificial festivals that the cultural factors of ancestor worship in Chinese culture continue to radiate vitality in today's society. Therefore, the traditional sacrificial festivals associated with ancestor worship can always maintain vitality and become a part of people's cultural life.

From the perspective of function, the existence of traditional sacrificial festival has its practical significance. Speaking from the perspective of family or ethnic, the folk activities and rituals in festivals can shape the participants' emotion and

memory. Festivals construct the shared memories among family members through common activities and experiences, so as to strengthen the common cultural foundation and promote emotional connection, which is of great significance to the stability and long-term development of families or ethnic groups. From the perspective of individuals, festival activities can allow participants to temporarily break away from their daily work and life and enter into the state of festivals, so as to achieve personal physical and mental relaxation and provide a way for people in the modern high-stress society to relax and experience traditional culture. Second, participants also felt a sense of belonging and enhanced their personal identity through the shared memories of the group.

However, it should be noted that although ancestor worship and traditional sacrificial festivals have important significance and function, their existence and development still face some difficulties in today's society. For example, a study on the emotional return of ancestor worship concept in rural society points out that ancestor worship in rural society now faces the following three problems: first is that the public space for ancestor worship ceremony is reduced and the space function is lost; second is that the subject of ancestor worship is changed from collective to individual; third is that the ancestor worship ceremony is changed from complex to simple(Yang Xiaojun 2019: 5)[9]. These problems are caused by modernization, urbanization and the disintegration of traditional rural social structures. As both culture and emotion need certain carriers, the protection of traditional sacrificial festivals should not only be paid attention to spiritually, but also be protected spatially, so that the concept of ancestor worship, the traditional sacrificial festival and the traditional culture represented by them can be better protected and inherited.

COMPETING INTERESTS

Author has declared that no competing interests exist.

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Ritual and Gender Role in a Sanyang Village patriarchal clan, Fujian

Xiaomin Yang [a]

6.1 THE RELATED BACKGROUND OF THE "BUDDHA'S BIRTHDAY CEREMONY"

As a seaport city in southeast China, Quanzhou is unique in terms of its physical geography, social culture, politics and economy: on the one hand, it is inextricably linked with traditional culture of Central Plain area of China; on the other hand, it is a pioneer in foreign exchange. Therefore, Quanzhou's social culture is a combination of both central plain Han culture and maritime culture, and the traditional concepts of the Han population of Central Plain area have always run through, making Quanzhou culture maintain its own cultural characteristics. During the Ming and Qing dynasties, in order to strengthen the management of the grass-roots society, Quanzhou government implemented a complete system of administrative space zoning system, namely the "Pu-jing " system, which divided the grassroots society according to regions, where the people share the same geography, history, customs, life style and so on, and even the common ancestor. The uniqueness of Quanzhou lies in the close connection between folk beliefs and the "Pujing" system. Each Pujing unit has its own Pujing temple, and each Pujing temple has its own god as the main symbol of the local geo-regional community. Through common folk beliefs and rituals, local people face epidemic, strife and various daily affairs together, and the residents of Pujing area have a common consciousness and interest, which creates a strong sense of identity and consolidates the cohesion of the community (林志森, 张玉坤 et al. 2011).

Sanyang Village, a clan village of the Yang surname in Quanzhou City, Fujian Province, is surrounded by mountains and far from the sea, and has the typical characteristics of the patrilineal clan culture of Sothern Fujian. According to the genealogical records of the Yang clan, the ancestor Yang Mingzhu（杨明珠）was a jinshi （进士） of the Later Tang Dynasty (960-1279 AD) and served as a left vice-minister of the Ministry of Revenue. After the collapse of the Later Tang Dynasty (960-1279 AD), three generations of Yang Mingzhu's family (grandfather Yang Anyin, father Yang Yiyin, uncle Yang Su and son Mingzhu) came to Fujian

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followed the King of Fujian to avoid the disaster. In the tenth year of the Southern Tang Dynasty (952 AD), Yang Mingzhu and her father Yang Yiyin followed Zhan Dunren, an official of Anxi Kaixian County, into Xiaochang (today's Anxi). In the fifteenth year of the Southern Tang Dynasty, Yang Mingzhu migrated to Wu Li Po of Guanqiao. Soon afterwards, his second son Yang Jinlian came to the Yinping Mountain where lush bamboos and trees are flourishing , and decided to settled here, named this place as Sanyang(三杨), meaning that the three generations of Yang Mingzhu developed Fujian area, and the later homophonic of this village is Sanyang(三洋). Like the Han population who migrated to southern China from Central Plain during the Yongjia Rebellion and the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period, the ancestors of Sanyang clan who also migrated from central plain of China brought the traditional Central Plains Han culture and Confucianism into Fujian, and adapted to the nature of local area and formed a very distinctive southern Fujian clan culture. As the village developed, new villages were developed around Sanyang Village to meet the growing population. According to the Chinese clan concept, the clan is divided into different branches, or Fang (房, an internal branch of the clan divided according to the blood order), and the expansion of the clan meant that some of Fang within the clan have to leave the larger clan village to open up new clan villages, usually small ones, so the Yang clan branches were distributed in different areas.

According to the old Quanzhou Pujing system, different Yang clan villages constituted a Pujing unit, and the inhabitants in this Pujing area unit not only shared the same production and living style and customs, but also shared part of history and ancestors. The ancestor worship of the Han people has a long history, especially worship those famous people in their own lineage, such as Lao Tzu, who is worshipped by people with the surname Li, and Confucius who is worshipped by people with the surname Kong(郑镛 2009). Likewise, the Yang clan, who originated from the Han clan in the Central Plains, worshipped Yang Wulang, Liulang and Qilang as their ancestors because they revered the loyalty and courage of the famous patriotic generals family in history, namely the Yang family generals(杨家将), who defended the country against the enemies. Usually, Yang Wulang who worshiped as Dade Chanshi（大德禅师）is regarded as Pujing God for most Pujing areas in Quanzhou city. However, In the Pujing area to which Sanyang Village belongs, the Pujing God is Yang Liulang who is a member of Yang family generals and the ancestor, which is different from other Quanzhou areas. In the center of Sanyang Village, there is a temple named Yuantong Hall(圆通堂), which was built in the Ming Dynasty, and enshrines the three God of Pujing and God of Ancestor Worship. On the 10th day of the first lunar month every year, each village in this Pujing region takes turns to be the village in charge of the tour of the Pujing God(巡境).The religious rituals related to the Sovereign Deity include the tour（巡境）, Fenxiang(分香), and the Buddha's Birthday（佛生日）, which is the birthday day of the Pujing God. The Buddha's Birthday is the day when the people of Pujing area conferred the birth date of the Lord of the Pujing, and the ceremony is held jointly by the clansmen of the village, and one of the clansmen of the village performs the ceremony in the first lunar month of the year. In the Pujing, where Samyang Village belongs,

the Yang Clan is divided into 10 clan branch villages, and each clan village holds the Buddha's Birthday Ceremony every ten years. Therefore, the Buddha's Birthday Ceremony is a very important and grand event in the clan villages.

6.2 THE PROCESS OF THE "BUDDHA'S BIRTHDAY" RITUAL

1. Research Methods

Since the Buddha's birthday ceremony was just held in Sanyang Village in 2019 and I had the opportunity to participate in part of the ceremony process as a member of the village, the research on the Buddha's birthday ceremony in this village adopted the participant observation method as well as the case study, and interviewed the male elders who participated in the whole ceremony process to obtain information and details of the ceremony process that I, as a female, could not participate in. Of course, the case study method may have the disadvantage of being incomplete and may detract from the general characteristics of the ritual, so I also interviewed other families to find out how they performed the ritual.

2. The Ritual Process

(1) Preparation for the ceremony

In the rural areas of southern Fujian, the responsibility for the Buddha's Birthday Ceremony is usually assumed by the married adult male of the family and his family, so when a son becomes an adult and marries and has a son, the responsibility for the Buddha's Birthday Ceremony is passed from the elderly father to the son. When there are more than one son in the family, the son has the right to perform the ceremony only after the separation of the family.

Generally, the pigs used for the rituals are domestic pigs, which are bought and raised by the families themselves, but since most of the young people in the village work outside the home and do not live in the village, the rearing of domestic pigs is left to the elders. The parent may help several sons raise their pigs at the same time. When an elderly family member is not physically fit to do the work, or dies, the pigs may be reared by other relatives who are in a position to do so, such as sisters who have married, or relatives of the wife's side. It is important to note that pigs for ritual offerings are generally not chosen from pig farms, as it is believed that pigs from farms use a lot of feed in the raising process and lack some kind of connection with the family, and it is inappropriate and foreign to offer such pigs to the "Buddha". However, it should be noted that with the development of the city, more and more people are leaving the village to seek employment in the city, in this case, the exodus of the rural population may lead to the loss of the conditions for raising the pigs prepared for the Buddha's birthday ceremony.

A few days before the ceremony, each housewife makes a list of the offerings she will need for the ceremony and purchases or prepares them. On the day before the ceremony or in the early hours of the morning before the ceremony,

each family prepares the meat offerings, so that the meat used in the ceremony is not fully cooked or raw. In addition to the three animals, the offerings for the ritual must include rice cakes, which are divided into red, white and black, so a few days before the ritual, each family packs and cleans the pounding mortar, prepares the glutinous rice and prepares the rice cakes for pounding. Other offerings used in the ceremony come from the preferences of individual families, as families share the food that has been offered after the ceremony, with other offerings being particularly characterized by family preference. In addition to family preparations, the village will invite a theatre troupe to the village to prepare for the feast and festivities that follow the ceremony.

(2) During the ceremony

On the day of the Buddha's birthday ceremony, the Taoist priests set a time for the killing of the pig, and then cut off the pig's head to be used in the ceremony, the eight immortal tables brought by each family are lined up on the open space in front of the Yuantong Hall, and the offerings are quickly arranged by each family, with the sacrificial pig's head and tail in the middle of the table (the pig's head and tail represent the whole pig), and the other offerings are lined up one after the other , the kind of offerings is no less than 12.the sacrificial table also has gold paper and a string of firecrackers. In front of the three statues of the deities in the Yuantong Hall (Dade Changshi, YangLiulang, and YangQilang), there is a main sacrificial table where offerings are made by members of the village, and unlike the sacrificial tables in each family, the sacrificial animals on the main table include a complete pig and a whole sheep riding on the pig's back, and there are no fewer than 24 plates of offerings on the main sacrificial table, with the head family's sacrificial table usually placed next to the main sacrificial table. We note that children and women are allowed to enter the ritual area before the ceremony, and that in most families, the offerings are brought to the round hall by the women and minor children of the family and set on the table; after the offerings are set, the women quickly leave to return to the family to begin their own "battlefield". Before the ceremony begins, the head families of the village houses are lined up in the order of Fang, who are the most respected adult male, typically wears a blue or red Chinese robe and a black cap on his head, and other male heads of each family standing on the periphery. The ritual procedure is as follows: the drumming of the drums, telling the gods what is to be done at the place and announces the beginning of the ceremony; the Taoist priest makes a speech and invites the deities to a banquet; the purification of the altar, where the altar is cleaned to pray for peace; the main sacrifice, where the Taoist priest recites the ritual text in the front of the main sacrificial table; the slaughtering of pigs for sacrifice, where the Taoist priest sprays incense along the sacrificial tables and dispenses Buddhist water, telling gods to share those foods; the men of head families follow the Taoist priest and light incense and bow in the front of each sacrificial table; and the dedication of cooked pigs, where the cooked pigs are dedicated to the main deity, the pig's head on the sacrificial table is roasted and sacrificed again. And at the end of the ceremony, the Taoist priest reads the ritual to send off the deity. Finally, each family takes the gold paper from the sacrificial table to the incense burner and lights a firecracker to mark the end of the ceremony.

(3) After the ceremony

On the other side of the ceremony, the female group prepares the post-ritual banquet, which is usually a flowing feast, while the female group helps in the kitchen to prepare the food for the banquet. After the ceremony, when the male parents greeted and moved back to the offerings, the guests almost came, the male and female hosts greet the guests, while the rest of the family goes to help in the kitchen. The guests usually included friends of the husband and wife, relatives on the mother's side, relatives on the wife's side, and married sisters and their families. Mother's and wife's relatives and married sisters receive a piece of pork from the hosts before they leave, the size of the pork depending on the proximity of the relationship. At the banquet after the ceremony, the roles of men and women are reversed, with the female role gaining prominence, with the housewife not only in charge of the banquet but also of the distribution of the pork, while the male has a weaker role than the women in the banquet, only being responsible for serving the guests. Outside the home, the village sets up a stage in the center to invite the troupe to sing in a celebration ceremony that lasts at least three days. After banquet, the family members share the offerings made during the ceremony. That's the entire ritual process, and then we will discuss the cultural symbolism of the ritual process.

6.3 THE CULTURAL MEANING OF RITUAL

The Gender Division of Labor and Cultural Implications of Ritual Activities

All formal acts of the "Buddha's Birthday" ritual are performed by men, with the head of the family being male and the priest conducting the ritual being male. The "Buddha's Birthday" ritual is inherited by the eldest son in the patrilineal family or performed separately for each son after the separation of family, with the old parents retreating behind the ceremony, thus confirming the family order of "father and son as one" and reflecting the inherited role of the eldest son in the non-separated family. The inherit of this ritual also shows the symbolic meaning of inherited family power of eldest son, and presentation of the family order by the male which is also reflected in the case of the separation of family. First, the ceremony is centered on the new male head of the family, in which the new host represents the family and participates in the ceremony, and the guests of the ceremony are centered on the new nuclear family of the male head of family, where the wives' relatives are established in the patriarchal family, and the wives' relatives of the old male parents are banqueted as the maternal relatives of the new family. Secondly, the females are the supplementary members of the patrilineal family, the married daughter, as an "outsider" to the family, does not inherit the right to conduct the ceremony, but rather appears as an important guest, and the housewife in the patriarchal family is not allowed to participate much in the formal ceremony, but mainly serves as a behind-the-scenes preparer for the family that conducts the ceremony. As a result, the position of men in rituals is central and crucial who are more likely to take on important rituals, thus, rituals exhibit male-centered gender relations.

Gender Division of Labor and Cultural Implications of Non-Ritual Activities

The banquet is important to the entire Buddha's Birthday ceremony. The role of the woman in the banquet is highlighted, with the housewife taking full responsibility for its preparation and joining the male head of the family in welcoming and entertaining the guests, rather than hiding behind the banquet. In addition, the clan relatives fall into the category of "family of one's own" by providing assistance according to the proximity of the relationship. The mother's relatives, the wife's relatives, and the married sister's family are invited as guests, reflecting the social relations centered on the paternal kinship group. The banquet strengthens the bonds with the different in-laws.

Changes in Ritual Behavior

In the old behaviors of traditional Buddha's birthday, women and children are excluded from the rituals, the gender division of labor is mystified by legends of disasters and blessings, and women are excluded from the formal rituals. For example, in the old way of the ritual, the offerings are brought to the table and set up by the male community, and women are not allowed to enter the place of ritual. In the formal ceremonies, children and women occasionally appeared in previous ceremonies, and only Taoist priests, the males of head families and the male parents of families were present, where were only serious and solemn. But now, the ceremonial occasion has changed, which is that other unrelated persons can observe the ceremony outside the ceremony, and women are allowed to be present in the periphery of the ceremony to observe instead of being completely excluded from the ritual.

Changes in Non-Ritual Behavior

The role of men in non-ritual activities has also changed somewhat. Instead of leaving the preparation of offerings to the housewives, some male heads of household are more involved in the preparation of offerings, helping the housewife with what used to be considered trivial household tasks, and breaking the old tradition of "men outside, women inside" and gender differentiation in labors. In addition, during the banquet after the ceremony, some males are involved in the preparation of the banquet, including the kitchen and the front desk, creating a situation where the male head of the household is in charge of the household together with the housewife.

Gender Role Analysis of Buddha's Birthday

As a traditional patrilineal clan village, Sanyang village's gender roles in the Buddha's Birthday Ritual are typical of the patrilineal clan culture. The succession of the Buddha's Birthday Ritual being limited to the eldest adult son, forming a new kinship centered on the new male head of family, where the former wives' relatives were transformed into maternal relatives, and the new wife's kinship groups and married sister groups were added, reinforcing the traditional patrilineal clan centrality of male relatives. The kin group represented by the

female side nested within the patrilineal clan, complementing the male-centric kin network, which create a social structure in which male blood relatives are the main axis of transmission and female in-laws are the ties that bind. The families involved in the rituals adopt the old "male head outside, female head inside" labor division of the rituals, with the male head of the family responsible for all formal ritual activities and the housewife for non-ritual activities outside the rituals, such as the preparation of offerings before the rituals and the feast after the rituals. The traditional division of labor is not only influenced by the traditional concept of Han patriarchal clan, but also reflects local agricultural livelihoods, which require the male group to be primarily responsible for agricultural activities, while the female group assumes a supporting role in agricultural activities and is responsible for the daily affairs of the family. Therefore, the traditional gender division of labor in such ceremonies where "male-dominated, female-supplemented" reinforces gender inequalities(刘中一 2008, 高修娟 2016). However, with the development of cities and towns, more and more people, including women, are leaving the countryside for the cities in search of more work opportunities. The traditional concepts have been attacked, and the patrilineal clan society in many areas has also been affected by modernization. In southern Fujian, this patrilineal clan concept is still maintained better, but the social status of the female group is constantly improving, and the contribution of the female group to the family income is the same as that of men's contribution, giving women a greater voice in the traditional patrilineal family and control over the family's finances. However, the advancement of women's social status is unable to fully defend the foundation of the traditional patriarchal family, that is reflected in the fact that women are still not given the right to inherit the rituals and are still considered "outsiders", who are unable to participate in the formal rituals, existing only as spectators. However, this presence of female spectators is also a sign of change, from the total absence of women to the presence of female spectators, and the disappearance of ritual taboos that used to belong to women, which reflects the improvement of the social status of women. Women also use other rituals to construct the "hidden power" of women in the living family, that is, the power that culture and rituals give them, rather than the power that comes from the patriarchal system, which does not undermine the patriarchal kinship system and the explicit power of men, but rather influences the governance strategies of the family, giving women the power to be independent heads of household and to express their independent selves. (陆益龙 2017). In addition, there is a corresponding change on the part of the male community, which is more involved in the daily life of the family, i.e., the "household chores" that used to be reserved for the housewife, such as the preparation of offerings with the housewife during the Buddha's birthday ceremony, the preparation in kitchen during the feast. The "household affairs" include caring for other folk beliefs and preparations of the family, such as the family's ritual sacrifices to the kitchen gods. On the one Hand, female groups are unable to fully cross the gender boundaries of traditional patriarchal clans in religious rituals, but on the other hand, they are breaking with traditional ritual practices and actively participating in rituals to establish women's "hidden power". In general, in modern society, with the increasing improvement of women's social status and rights, women have control over household income and decisions, in

rural patriarchal society dominated by male kinship system, despite the voice of some religions are still run by male, some changes have taken place in the gender role in family, the phenomenon that the patriarchal system keep women completely outside of major events in the family has changed, male participant in some trivial daily affairs, which is bridging the gap of tradition and modernization.

6.4 CONCLUSION

This article takes a "Buddha's Birthday" ceremony as an object of study and analyzes the gender division of labor in traditional patrilineal village's ceremonies in southern Fujian. We find that the gender division of labor is more obvious in ritual activities, showing the characteristics of male-dominant and female-assisted. Although formal ritual activities are still dominated by men, the traditional practice of excluding women from formal ritual activities and separating the gender in taboo ways has changed, that is, the absence of women in formal ceremonial activities to the peripheralization of women as spectator in rituals. Exploring its cultural implications, the transmission of the Buddha's birthday rituals strictly confines the patrilineal family to the male relationship of father and son, and excludes women from the formal sequence of the family. Unlike in ritualistic activities, in the gender division of labor in non-ritual activities, the female role is given the same role and status as the male one, and the female role is even highlighted, with women participating in the important distribution of gifts, i.e., "pork distribution". In addition, in non-ritual activities, the gender division of labor breaks the traditional "men outside, women inside" division of labor and men become more involved in "trivial" family affairs. The reasons for these changes can be traced back to the fact that, with the process of modernization, gender equality has been developed to a certain extent, and women, who have more and more power to speak and control resources, are gradually breaking the traditional patriarchal gender confinement barriers.

COMPETING INTERESTS

Author has declared that no competing interests exist.

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Funeral Ceremony and Social Functions in Xinjiang

Wang Meijun [a]

7.1 INTRODUCTION

7.1.1 Research Topic and Background

For human beings, death is not only a physiological phenomenon, but also a cultural phenomenon. How to face the inevitable death and comfort the dead and the living has always been a great thing. In human society, since the emergence of related beliefs and concepts such as "dead soul" and "afterlife", rituals for offering sacrifices to the dead have gradually taken shape, which are either complicated or simple funeral rituals. In different stages of human social development and social organizations in different regions, funeral rites are ubiquitous and play an indispensable role in a specific social and cultural system, with irreplaceable functions. Malinowski has pointed out: Of all the sources of religion, death is the most important, the last joint of life and the supreme turning point.

National culture is the spiritual wealth of each nation in the long-term social practice, and it is an important basis for studying the history and development of each nation. As an important part of national traditional culture, funeral culture is one of the important ways to study the cultural changes of various nationalities. The death of life is a proposition that everyone should face. As the last ceremony of life, the research on the social function behind the funeral ceremony is of great significance.

Xinjiang, located in northwest China, is a multi-ethnic region dominated by the Han Ethnic group. It is mainly inhabited by ethnic groups such as Han, Hui and is one of China's five autonomous regions of ethnic minorities. The research on the funeral ceremony and its social function in a mixed community of multiple nationalities in Xinjiang is to record and sort out the traditional ethnic culture again. On the one hand, it can increase people's understanding of the ethnic culture. On the other hand, it can also provide a classic paradigm for

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strengthening ethnic unity and progress, promoting exchanges, communication and integration among ethnic groups, and laying a solid foundation for consolidating the common consciousness of the Chinese nation, continuously promoting exchanges, communication and integration among ethnic groups, and building a common spiritual home for all ethnic groups.

Located at the eastern end of the northern foot of Tianshan Mountain in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, on the southeast edge of Junggar Basin, Jimusar County is adjacent to Qitai County in the east, Fukang City in the west, Kalamaili Ridge and Fuyun County in the north, and the Bogda Mountain watershed is bounded by Turpan region and Urumqi City in the south. County town Jimsar town. The county covers a total area of 8,848 square kilometers, with 5 townships, 4 towns and 206 administrative villages under its jurisdiction.[1]

7.2 LITERATURE REVIEW ABOUT FUNERAL CEREMONY AND SOCIAL FUNCTION

In the early western cultural anthropology, the research on how the world views death and its behavior mainly focuses on primitive peoples and traditional societies. Its main contents and approaches can be roughly divided into two aspects: First, people's actions after the death: ritual, burial style, taboo, and sorcery such as divination and revenge; The second is the interpretation of death by primitive peoples themselves. The following is a brief overview of the important views of the most representative and influential scholars in contemporary research.

Fraser's cultural evolutionism

Frazer (1890) argues that there was a primitive stage in the development of the idea of human death, in which people refused to accept death, believing that they were born immortal. With the progress of human society and intelligence, the sorcery attitude towards death is gradually replaced by religious belief, which shows that many primitive peoples have their own interpretation of death, that is, the myth of death. His research on the concept of death and related rituals and customs of primitive peoples has demonstreated his evolutionary formula of "Witchcraft- religion- Science".

Van Gennep's "through the ritual" model

Arnold-Van-Gennep (1909) expounds the funeral ceremony as a part of the whole process of life ritual, using the term "ritual" to describe the transformation of individuals and societies from one condition to another. The funeral is described as a part of the whole process of life ritual, which can be divided into separation ceremony, that is, the stage of separation from the primitive social relations; Rite of transition, that is, the intermediate stage from one state to

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[1] *These data is from the official website of Jimusar Country government.*
http://www.jmser.gov.cn/zjbt/jmsegk/jxgm/56550.htm

another; Integration ceremony, that is, the stage of integration with new social relations. From this he noticed that funeral rites placed more emphasis on separation rituals. He was not satisfied with the general descriptive record of ritual, but tried to excavate its internal structural pattern, and paid attention to the universal connection between this pattern and social life and its function.

Malinowski's cultural functionalism

The main contribution of Malinowski, a great English functionalist, lies in his analysis of the sociocultural functions of ritual and belief. Based on the analysis of human's double psychology towards death, Malinowski(1986) reveals the emotional comfort function of ritual and belief. Human love and affection for the dead and antipathy and fear for the dead are mutually contradictory. The phenomenon of the shield. The deep psychological structure of this dual attitude is actually the fear of death and the hope for eternal life. When people's perception of the reality, that is, decay and complete end of the body, then, is a religious into legs, rescue the difficulties of emotion in a survival situation. This kind of religious comfort based on emotion, according to the desire of life rather than resorting to reason, the way of its implementation on the other hand is a ceremony, through the funeral, cults, and transportation of all kinds of custom and the dead, through to the worship of ancestors is the belief exterior-interior enrichment, specific and can be tricky; On the other side is the mythological explanation, which tells people where death came from, makes people believe in life beyond the grave, and explains the indispensability of rituals and their standard rules. At the same time, he also paid attention to the funeral ceremony from the perspective of sociology, and believed that "the private behavior of death, the single most private behavior of any person, becomes a public accident and a tribal accident." They connect the individual to society and the relationship between society.

7.3 METHODOLOGY AND DATA

This paper mainly adopts literature method and fieldwork method.

First, comparison and analysis of collected documents and data by means of documentary method: relevant data related to funeral customs. The natural climatic conditions, construction history, population and other basic data that directly or indirectly influence the funeral custom of consulted.

Second, fieldwork method is mainly divided into two aspects: the first one is about observation and the participative observation, which is to collect primary information or original data of survey points. This method obtains all information related to funeral rites through direct perception and direct recording. The second is the interview method, in which interviewees are selected for in-depth interviews to understand the thoughts and opinions of different roles in funeral ceremonies, and a large number of interview materials are used to summarize the funeral.

7.4 FINDINGS

A case of thick description

(1) The basic process and of the funeral ceremony

Throughout the funeral process, people can be seen in the sense of reverence to the traditional death ceremony. In the funeral ceremony, it is required that the ceremony should be carried out correctly and completely, and the etiquette should be done thoughtfully, not carelessly. The indoctrination of Chinese traditional theory also makes the traditional ceremony be emphasized and carried out, which is the important reason for the inheritance of traditional funeral ceremony and etiquette.

(2) The funeral ceremony's process of the first day: Wail at funeral

Cry is the most common form of the funeral, it shows the filial children, profound friendship between friends and relatives between deep feelings, the neighborhood help each other, and so on, however, the cry at the funeral of emotional expression is a skilled job to express deep condolences to the deceased. Often, children are devastated by the loss of their parents, and crying adds to the sadness.

(2) The funeral ceremony's process of the last day

1. Song bin

"Song bin" means to carry the coffin to be buried; Accompany the coffin at the funeral. It means the real from the family and is the dead retained the last important ceremonies in the world, generally divided into several programs; descendants worship, respected old people read a memorial, all silent, the eldest son dropped the basin, sent the coffin, removed the layout of the mourning hall. All these programs must be finished before 12 o'clock, and then go to the cemetery led the hearse. These ceremonies have both traditional inheritance and modern interpretation. The convergence of ancient and modern cultures has formed the following characteristics.

2. Appreciation banquet

Funerals, as well as weddings and festivals, provide an opportunity for people to socialize and gather. In a family, once a person dies, the family members often fall into a state of grief. Many people are needed to help in the funeral, and the expenses of money, property and goods are also huge. It is very important for relatives, friends, neighbors and fellow villagers to give assistance and help. After the funeral is over, the funeral home will hold a banquet with wine in order to thank relatives and friends, which is also a common social custom. Here are some of the characteristics of the banquet.

① The person of hometown

Participants include relatives, friends, neighbors and fellow townsmen. Living in a foreign country, the ancestral home is very important for everyone, the same ancestral home is the best prerequisite for communication and, as the saying goes: "When a fellow countryman meets a fellow countryman, tears come to his eyes." It is the best testimony to the emotional connection of the hometown. It can be seen that a large number of villagers participate in the funeral ceremony. Compared with the wedding, there are more participants in the funeral ceremony.

② Worshipping respect

The act of giving gifts at a funeral is mainly reflected in "helping the living". On the one hand, this behavior is to help the deceased family spend a lot of money, so that they can arrange the funeral smoothly. On the other hand, people hope that they can get help from others when they encounter such things in the future. People will eventually die, which is a reality that no one can escape. Today's help to people's families will be exchanged for tomorrow's help from others to their own families.

③ Harmonious atmosphere

In this appreciation banquet, the three groups (covered below) of people will attend, if there is usually a grudge or entanglement, in this special occasion will be resolved. Generally, they are automatically divided into different areas according to age and gender, such as half male and half female. There is no clear distinction between male and female. Old people and young people also naturally separate, mostly because they don't have a common language or equal status. During the banquet, there was still a lot of family gossip, and there was usually no drinking, so after twenty-four courses, the banquet was over, and it only took about an hour.

(4) The characteristics of a funeral ceremony

Funeral is a collective activity, which itself is an opportunity for social cohesion, which is a very necessary means of contact for a society based on small-scale peasant economy with few and many channels of communication. In such a consanguinity and geographical interwoven environment, the characteristics of a funeral ceremony are displayed. The following content reflected by mourning clothes is the core content of expressing the close relationship between the living and the dead. The mourning teams, here are mainly composed of the Xiaozi group, the in-laws group, the neighborhood group.

The Xiaozi Group

The group is made up of family members and immediate relatives of the deceased, including sons(or a son of an adoptee), daughters-in-law, unmarried daughters, grandchildren and grandchildren. The heaviest mourning clothes are

the eldest son in mourning, whose head is covered with white coarse cloth and is surrounded by hemp rope, whose body is covered with white coarse cloth that drags the floor without seams around the edges, whose waist is tied with hemp rope, the white coarse cloth pasted on cloth shoes, and the coarse cloth worn by the second son is slightly shorter than that of the eldest son, and so on. Elder daughters-in-law are the most filial among women, similar to the eldest son, except that the head is surrounded by long white coarse cloth, which grows to the ground. Similarly for women, unmarried daughters are more filial than married daughters. As far as children are concerned, the degree of filial piety is mainly determined by the length of mourning. For the grandchildren, only wear the filial piety cap, no matter the family and grandchildren are all red, that is, sew a small piece of red cloth or red wool in front of the white filial piety cap. In the whole process of funeral ceremony, the Xiaozi group is the most significant executor of the funeral ceremony. They can be seen during all the process of the ceremony.

In-laws group

The vast majority of families in Jimusar are moved to Xinjiang: they came to a new place to build or to form a new family. When there is a funeral, the relatives will try their best to attend the funeral ceremony. When it comes to in-laws, fewer children mean fewer in-laws. Due to the good education policy, most of the children go to school or work outside the home, and also due to the promotion of free love, most of the in-laws are born in different places, which also leads to the fact that the in-laws' family members are less able to participate in the funeral personally due to the limitation of time and space.

Neighborhood groups

In the villages from all over the country, "a near neighbor is better than a distant relative". In the funeral ceremony, although the neighbors do not have mourning clothes to reflect the close relationship between the living and the dead, the neighborhood group is the largest group in Jimusar's funeral ceremony. Usually, if someone in the neighborhood had died, someone in the neighborhood would turn up uninvited. Especially the villagers from the same province, almost the whole village will participate in it.

(5) The Hui people in funeral ceremony and appreciation banquet

There are many Hui people living in Jimusar County, and their funeral rites are also affected by the surrounding main ethnic group--- the Han people. They also attend the funeral of the Han nationality, offer condolence and gift money.

At the banquet, a special table is made to entertain them. These foods are in accordance with the requirements of Muslims, so they will also enjoy this table. Most ethnic minorities in Xinjiang do not burn paper. For example, the Hui and Uygur, who believe in Islam, do not worship their ancestors, and the funeral rites are also different from those of the Han people. When they put the dead in the

grave, they don't go anywhere near it. Of course, most of the people in Xinjiang are Han farmers, who observe the relevant etiquette and taboos of the Traditional Han people, and bury them in the ground and move to ancestral graves at the same time.

In Jimusar County, the Han people and the Hui people have very close communication. But now the exchange and communication between different nationalities is not only in economic and cultural aspects, but also in interpersonal relations, through the means of "Marriage"[2], the further close relations between different nationalities have been realized. Furthermore, through this kind of inter-embedded communication and interaction, people close to each other have promoted the order stability of small communities and made certain contributions to the cause of economic development and national unity.

7.5 SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE FUNERAL CEREMONY

(1) Cohesion

Funeral for the dead is the living arranged matters involving the families of the dead, but also the family and clan, but also the entire villages, "the funeral ceremony in communication in family, clan, village relationship has a pivotal role, this is a kind of essence to kinship ties with the core, and borrows the neighborhood mutual relations further integration of geopolitical contact each other feed mechanism". [3]Therefore, funeral ceremony is the most typical folk village activity in the rural society of China. It not only symbolizes the relationship between the dead and their relatives, but also shows the relationship between the dead and their families, families and religions, and of course, it also relates to the construction of harmonious relations in the village.

(2) Enhancement of family identity and cohesion

The funeral ceremonies in villages and their contents express the transformation of the spatial structure of the living and the dead, from the realistic world to the spiritual world, containing the praise, memory, remembrance and attachment of the living to the dead, as well as the blessing of the dead to the living. Among those who participate in the funeral activities of the deceased, there are both the immediate relatives of the deceased and more of them are the family and clan relatives. Family members constitute the main crowd in the funeral activities, which is the core force to carry out the funeral smoothly. The full participation of family members in funeral activities is the witness of the complete ceremony. Gathering the strength of the whole family to hold a good ceremony for the dead is the wish of family members, which expresses the reaffirmation and sublimation

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[2] *"Marriage" is a requirement of the Xinjiang government for government cadres and officials, with the purpose of promoting relations between different ethnic groups, strengthening exchanges and communication between the government and the public, maintaining security in Xinjiang's border areas, and consolidating and developing ethnic unity.*
[3] *Li Rubin. Funeral Ritual, Belief and Village Relationship Construction [J]. Folklore Research. 2015(3):127-134.*

of the relationship between the living and the dead, and is the embodiment of the enhanced family identity and cohesion.

Nowadays, the young people in the village almost all work in other places, and their relatives have little contact with each other at ordinary times, especially the grandchildren of the old people, who don't have much contact with each other and have a tight relationship in daily life. However, after hearing the news of the old man's death, everyone took the time to rush back to his home to attend the funeral. In this funeral activity, everyone made a concerted effort to manage the old man's funeral honorably and showed great solidarity. Later, others gave high praise to the efforts of the family in this funeral activity. At the funeral, the Xiaozi group and the In-laws group work together to manage the funeral.

Contemporary vernacular village structure relationships, funeral ceremony mostly could focus on the family and clan members an opportunity to work together to jointly handle affairs, in the process of funeral held, no matter how the relationship between between family members, the members of the clan, will be in the family, especially old man died showed an unprecedented sense of identity, family cohesion is strongest at this moment, the consciousness of the people who share the same members of the family, consanguinity kin properties get maximum limit display and publicity, it is contemporary vernacular village society full of family tradition and the folk custom.

(3) The harmonious relationship between the spatial structure of the family neighborhood and the village

"China's rural social basic structure is a so-called 'pattern of difference sequence', is their personal contact network",4 that is to say: the family members and family relationship, family relationship and family relationship, family and clan, the clan and the relationship between the village or the villagers and the village, neighborhood or very close relationship, which is different from the urban community. In China's vast rural areas, the basic structure is a big family established by family branches and families according to blood relationship and kinship. The relationship between villagers is mostly neighborhood relationship, which produces an invisible emotional connection between villagers. Family and neighborhood are part of a village. The unity and cohesion of family and neighborhood is not only an important basis for the development of a village, but also plays a very important role in the collective activities of a village and plays an irreplaceable role in the construction of a harmonious village relationship.

When the news of an old man's death spreads throughout the village, the villagers will spontaneously come to the family and offer condolences and attend the funeral ceremony, including carrying the coffin and so on. Villagers attend funeral ceremonies, which is the important power of the old man's smooth afterlife. The interpersonal communication and interaction in Jimsar's rural burial give rise to the corresponding villager relationship.

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4 Fei Xiaotong. Rural China [M]. Beijing: Beijing Press; 2004

The funeral ceremony is an important event in a village. During the funeral ceremony, family identification and mutual help between neighbors can be reflected. At the same time, on the one hand, this kind of recognition and mutual assistance will extend to other matters in the village; On the other hand, this kind of mutual help between neighbors will keep the relationship between villagers in a relatively stable state of balance, which is crucial to build a harmonious relationship between villages and ethnic groups.

(4) Education and Regulation

In funeral activities, people consciously invest energy, labor, time and financial resources, which reflect social norms and social expectations under the influence of traditional culture and taboos. At the same time, people play a role of social norms to a certain extent in the observance, practice, inheritance and re-education of taboo rules, not only the inheritance and development of traditional culture.

Culture is not fixed, and funeral ceremonies are changing. However, in the process of change, the function of educating and regulating people has been continuing. The cultural significance and social function of funeral culture are related, both of which have an edification effect on later generations, and also play a role in inheriting culture and maintaining society. After the funeral, the annual sacrifice is not only a way to honor and honor our ancestors, but also a way to conduct self-examination and supervision. If they had a clear conscience and had done nothing to discredit the family, they had the face to burn paper and sacrifice to the ancestors. Otherwise, they will feel ashamed to face their dead ancestors, even if they come to visit the grave to worship their ancestors, they will be ashamed, so as to spur people's behavior after. This spur gradually translates into inner self-discipline. At the same time, the good qualities of the elderly, such as kindness, honesty and trustworthiness, will also affect their children and grandchildren, so as to realize the function of education and regulation.

(5) Cultural integration and ethnic interaction

Because the Han people and the Hui people are all living in Jimusar Country, their funeral culture will influence each other by the surrounding main ethnic group. The Hui will take part in the Han's funeral ceremony, will be in sympathy and send gift. And the Han family will entertain them and then set a table(this means the host will set a table full of food for them on the banquet, and these foods are in conformity with Muslim requirements).

Most of the ethnic minorities in Xinjiang do not burn paper. For example, the Hui people who believe in Islam do not worship their ancestors, and they do not visit the graves when they place the dead in them on Tomb-sweeping Day. Of course, most of the people in Xinjiang are Han farmers, who observe the relevant etiquette and taboos of the Traditional Han people, and bury them in the ground and move to ancestral graves at the same time.

In the history of Jimusar Country, the Hui and Han exchanges and contacts are very close. But now the exchange and communication between different nationalities is not only in economic and cultural aspects, but also in interpersonal relations, through the means of "marriage", the further close relations between different nationalities have been realized. Furthermore, through this kind of inter-embedded communication and interaction, people close to each other have promoted the order stability of small communities and made due contributions to the cause of economic development and national unity.

(6) The normative function of funeral taboos

Funeral taboo is a negative code of conduct, which means a boundary that cannot be crossed. If anyone dares to break these rules, the most terrible punishment awaits them. So observing the funerary taboo is not just a matter of piety, it's also a matter of interest. The instinct of mankind to seek advantages and avoid disadvantages drives people to consciously or forcibly observe the taboo of funeral, because the words and deeds prohibited by the taboo are not only full of danger, but also connected with the rewards and punishment of gods and ghosts, and people's happiness in this world and the fate of the afterlife. In order to prevent the spirits from harming people, they will form corresponding restraint behaviors and taboos. This psychology of seeking advantages and avoiding disadvantages makes people spontaneously restrain their words and deeds. In action, it is the standard of behavior in the funeral ceremony. The normative function of funeral taboo has an invisible power, which secretly dominates the words and deeds of funeral participants, and urges people to arrange funerals in strict accordance with the norms of funeral ceremonies and various taboos.

7.6 CONCLUSION

The funeral ceremony is a Chinese tradition, in which people express the memory of the deceased, and it is also a kind of inheritance and transmission of traditional culture. The functions of maintaining interpersonal relationship, inheriting local culture and educating future generations in Chinese funeral culture play a very important role in people's life.

Through understanding the funeral ceremony in Jimusar Country, it can reflect people's inheritance of tradition, and also reflect the inter-embedded clan relationship and cultural exchange, especially in the funeral ceremony, mutual assistance, comfort, often across blood, family, or even the nation. At the same time, the problems reflected in the funeral ceremony, such as economy, environment, interpersonal relationship, concept of life and death, and the relationships during the Han people and the Hui people. In funeral ceremony, people's behaviors and ways of interaction can reflect the basic state of local society in Xinjiang.

Living in a multi-ethnic region of Xinjiang, at the same time, numerous ethnic composition, formed in the long history of development and national interaction of

economic cooperation and cultural exchanges and integration, in combined with the party and the government's emphasis on security frontier stability, safeguard national unity and progress, and promote the prosperity and development of the national made great progress. In the cultural development of the masses of all nationalities, it is more important to apply the principles of equal treatment of ethnic relations to ensure the inheritance and development of ethnic culture.

COMPETING INTERESTS

Author has declared that no competing interests exist.

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Contemporary Mazu Belief: Cultural Interactions and Nation Identification

Yang Peilin [a]

8.1 BRIEF HISTORY OF MAZU BELIEFS

The Past

This article divides the historical survey of Mazu beliefs into two phases. The formal one is here delineated as "past", and the latter one is phrased as "present". The dividing crest lies in the late 1980s. Mazu beliefs is a cluster of folk belief mostly located in the offshore districts of China that stems from more than a thousand years ago in Song Dynasty (960—1279A.D), China. Originally, the image of Mazu was allegedly derived from an ordinary fisherwoman called LinMo who lived in the nowadays offshore area of Putian City, Fujian Province. Her lifetime in local community was narrated as a life of benevolent and gracious that she had helped villagers avoid evil spirits and invoked blessings from different magical existence with her witchcraft. After her death in her early twentieth, local people build a temple to worship her and named it "Temple of Virtuous Witch" which lied in the position of original temple in Meizhou Island(2018 蔡天新).

According to historical records, the tales of Mazu went through a process of variation that in the ensuing dynasties after Song, the image and the resulted folk beliefs which absorbed massive cultural elements diversified by multiple forces. The first manifest of her magic efficacy in the history was in a voyage that occurred in the Tiansheng period of Song Dynasty (1023—1032A.D) during which a local captain of trade ship was not able to lift the anchor from the sea and was advised to pray for help from Mazu in the temple. Consequently, the ship successfully set off and came back with large fortunes which urged the ship owner and other captains to fund the formation of a series of temples around Putian City. Moreover, with this pattern of Mazu manifesting her overwhelming magic efficacy saving people on the voyage from perils, by the end of Song Dynasty, Mazu temple had spread across the entire offshore area in China and worshiped by indigenous communities (1990 蒋维锬).

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In the meantime and aftermath, Mazu had gradually been lifted up from a local witch idol possessing unique magic efficacy to the level of nationwide goddess (shengmu 圣母；tianhou 天后) that was sponsored by authorities from different periods. In 1122A.D, an official of Song Dynasty Lu Yundi pleaded the emperor to bestowed Mazu with official title after Mazu saved him from typhoon during his voyage to Korea as the representative of emperor himself. The emperor agreed, which firstly empowered Mazu alongside with beliefs in her with official status (2019,宋建晓；曹悦宁).

In the following dynasties, Mazu had been repeatedly bestowed with royal titles that enabled beliefs in Mazu into a routine of consistent escalation of influence and magic efficacy. For instance, Mazu was brought into different regions, which included the most areas of Korea, Japan, Southeast Asia, South Asian and even Arabian Peninsula, through the international trade carried out by businessmen throughout the entire Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368A.D) (2018 蔡天新).

In the late Yuan Dynasty and the following centuries, expatriates that dwelled in foreign soils for business purpose further enhanced the multinational existence of Mazu beliefs by funding the construction of localized temples, which in the ensuing centuries contributed to the globally mutual empowerment of Mazu beliefs whose effect is not unintelligible even in the contemporary world.

When it is further surveyed, the ongoing process of vigorous enchantment by a multitude of emperors was too obvious to neglect. Here only some quintessential examples which supersede others due to their influences both in and out of China. Such like: Zheng He paid visit to the origin temples more than 9 times during his 7 times of grand voyages that happened in the emperor Yongle's regime (1403-1424A.D) and early years of emperor Xuande's regime (last time ended in 1433A.D). Besides, the grand voyages expanded the belief to another 37 new countries and areas that hadn't seen it before (1990 杨浚；范传贤；许琼英). During Qing Dynasty (1644-1912A.D), rulers of Qing Empire spared no effort to add to Mazu's overwhelming power. Emperor Qianlong (ruled from 1736 to 1796A.D) had accumulatively bestowed multiple times upon Mazu with royal recognition.

After the First Opium War (1840-1842A.D), the opening of borders of China and the following advancement of international interaction propelled Mazu beliefs to a new status in which until late 19th century basically in every China town or enclave embedded in western word the belief could be detected (2018 蔡天新).

However, the demise of Qing Dynasty literally witnessed the decline of Mazu belief. In the early period of Republic of China, especially during the New Culture Movement (1915-1923 A.D), many folk beliefs faced the crucial impact of the intellectual waves valuing "democracy and science". The ensuing warfare also overshadowed the radiance of Mazu beliefs in China, pushing it to critical status, resulting its devaluation through the process (2014 蔡洁华). After the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the process basically continued

from 1950s to 1970s. Only after the decisive year 1978, did the nearly obviated belief meet its new dawn.

The Present

The revitalization of Mazu beliefs in contemporary China underwent a process significantly related to the effort of local residents of Meizhou Island alongside with the long-term "latent culture of Mazu worship" that never really vanished at all.

During the crusade of the Cultural Revolution, the original Mazu temple clusters were almost utterly demolished. Many local villagers in Meizhou Islands risked their well-being to save the statue of Mazu from temples and endeavored to conceal them in their houses. Some of them were even hid for more than ten years. This is more than an evident sign that the folk beliefs on Mazu were never eliminated in local resident' collective consciousness. It just transformed into a latent existence. The hope to resurrecting Mazu beliefs was never lost in folk ideology. In the early 1980s, some of the venturous villagers in Meizhou Islands ventured to the reconstruction process of original Mazu temples under sensitive political atmosphere (2015 吴晓美；周金琰), which ushered in the new era of Mauz beliefs that can be depicted as Contemporary Mazu Beliefs.

Contemporary Mazu beliefs are a complex which is underpinned by modern Chinese government for its versatilities of providing fiscal revenues, establishing worship icon for national recognition and setting pivot for cultural interaction and community integration.

8.2 MAZU BELIEFS: SPACE-TIME VARIATION

As a belief cluster, Mazu beliefs are dynamic systems that are very adaptive in variations of circumstance. It has been substantially surveyed that during its approximately history of 10 centuries till now, Mazu beliefs have proliferated into ramifications and variants in different time and space. In the past, its often manifest revelation of inherent Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism elements which profoundly facilitated its comprehensive as well as robust existence in local communities in which the belief systems has established localized relationship of interaction has been acting as a significant force that propelled it into modern world. In modern world, the mentioned cocktail of multifaceted entities in which the government doesn't play negligible role is continuing its metamorphosis.

Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism in Mazu beliefs

It shall be first clarified that there never has been a "pure Mazu beliefs" throughout history. Nor is the existence of similar Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism. Somehow it has been a unique Chinese style to assimilate belief systems and produced moderated versions accustomed for its historic logic. Therefore the "three -ism" mentioned here have not been macro religion systems which have "floated" upon various local communities but incorporated with local

cultural elements for adaptation. Hence, it can be reasonably inferred by readers that Taoism here means a mixture of early Taoism philosophy formed mainly before Qin Dynasty in China with a series of folk beliefs followed chronologically.

Very intriguing that from the advent of Mazu belief both Taoism and Buddhism had struggled to integrate it into their belief sequence. History has witnessed so many Taoism records among which some could initially be traced to Song Dynasty of picturing Lin Mo (Mazu) as a "witch" who was virtuous and able to implement positive witchcraft for people's blessings. Since Taoism in Chinese history has long possessed this tradition of absorbing different "gods and even good ghosts and witches" into its "god sequence", some of these records even further empowered Mazu so that it could be a "Taoism Goddess" for her amiable quality (2009 叶明生). As for the perspective of Buddhism, the record went back almost the same period in Song Dynasty that Lin Mo at that time in some areas could also be called as "Dragon Woman"（龙女, which derives from the tales about a "dragon woman" presenting treasure pearl to the Buddha in the Buddhism Classics Lotus Sutra (2012 王荣国,汪文娟).

We can also detect the embodiment of Buddhism and Taoism in the management of Mazu temples located in different belief zones and periods. For instance, Tianhou Temple (天后宫) in Tainan, Taiwan was recorded run by Buddhist monks in Qing Dynasty, and the phenomenon allegedly started not long after the origin establishment of Mazu's image in Song Dynasty (2012 王荣国,汪文娟).In comparison, multiple areas had or have Mazu temples, at least in ritual aspect, run by Taoist priests in history or even in present time(2010 王福梅).

The existence of Confucianism in the belief system is more latent but still not negligible. What is more important is that it usually demonstrates its "spiritual power" alongside with the ritual ceremonies and even image construction of Mazu. In this mixture status one can find a fabulous status that three ideologies has immensely fused themselves altogether with this potent folk belief and therefore gave birth to a effective and colorful continuum that has been radiating its cultural appeal both for cultural interaction and community integration. Worship ceremony like Sacrifice Ceremony to Mazu in a large amount of temples throughout dynasties and areas of ancient China were imprinted with the forms of using altar of Taoism as well as statue of Mazu built after the image of traditional Chinese female Avalokiteshvara (2010 王福梅); However, the real indoctrination often laid in the promulgation of traditional Confucianism ideology that emphasizes stable social stratification and harmonious social order by improving collective awareness of social ethics. The very structure and detail process were generally orchestrated by Confucianism bureaucrats would decorate as a beautiful footnote to the latent but essential existence.

It is a nearly perfect example addressed above. In most cases there was less thrilling the comprehensive manifestation of distinctive ideologies. Other cases resembled the structures of above example but with less cultural richness. Such as numerous temples that only aimed to serve village-communities for daily

worship function in which Mazu beliefs were combined with other folk beliefs that were actually the product of belief system formed by localized religious idol taking in Confucianism ideology (2009 叶明生).

Many authors writing about the presentation of the influence from Mazu beliefs tend to highlight the support they received from these relatively mainstream belief systems. However, it is usually ignored that it shall be possible and even promising to utter that Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism alongside with their special mixture in the history have, to some extent, gained everlasting power by allowing a status of mutually existence with other folk beliefs like beliefs on Mazu. In other words, these large belief systems require localized belief system to absorb them in the first place so they can in the following process contribute to the localization of community integration while embracing the dynamics of cultural interaction that inevitably helps the ongoing construction of feeling towards regional belonging and even larger identity based on a "culture continuum".

This pattern will be more evident in the analysis about variants of Mazu belief in present China and even in the interesting pilgrimage occurred in current mainland China and Taiwan. We can even sophisticate the theoretical pattern after the analysis forthcoming.

8.3 MAZU BELIEFS IN PRESENT CHINA: COMMUNITY INTEGRATION AND NATION-STATE

New era of Mazu beliefs in the 1980s China is to its ground advocated by Chinese government, which has put the crucial entity that is so vividly observable in shaping such a large amount of "modern folk beliefs" under the survey of academic eyes. It is so common that reshaping folk beliefs for a series of ends to achieve by modern nation-state. The revitalization of modern Mazu beliefs in its long appreciated original place, Meizhou Island, Putian City in Fujian Province is an expressive instance to illustrate the present of modern nation-state in traditional folk beliefs and the concomitant effect with the process.

It has been mentioned that the traditional Mazu beliefs had not been eliminated by various forms of political and social unrest the entire China has encountered during the last about 150 years. In the late 1980s, local government in Putian City, Fujian Province started to realize the significance of reestablishing Mazu belief in its birthplace. This process of revitalization has been immensely influenced by modern bureaucracy and its "instrumental rationality".

Today Mazu temples with the attached ceremonial rituals in Meizhou Island are mainly organized and supervised by a routine called "rotation system sustained by four temple clusters" (2015 吴晓美,周金琰).The clusters aforementioned in the past were comprised of monks and the residents from surrounding Li(里:a common unit in traditional Chinese village communities) around the temples. Nowadays the intervention of local government has set up a "board" whose members includes prestigious local folks, retired esteemed officials and formal

committee member from CPPCC[1]. Its priority was attached to the finance affairs of temples and assist infrastructure construction as well as maintenance carried out by government or private commercial groups. Besides the "board" is also responsible for daily affairs which are consisted of daily cleaning and incense management, etc. It is also integral in its function that organizing "diplomatic affairs" like large pilgrimage from belief group in Taiwan. There is another group whose members are selected from local households for assisting ceremonies staging and daily duties in the temples (2015 吴晓美,周金琰). In the past the function of aforementioned "board" was placed on the shoulders of the monks in the temple. Hereby one of the most enormous alterations that has come into our vision is demonstrating its meaning. The traditional structures which pinpointed beliefs temples as the worship centers that form an interactive force with its adjacent communities mostly though the present of folk and localized power (like monks mentioned before) have transformed into a new structure. In this structure government has emphasized its existence for what it deems the Mazu beliefs and the temples implicated should provide for local areas or even the macro nation-state.

It can be find that the traces from the anticipated structure-function in rural community integration that has been highlighted by local government through the ideological promulgation of combining all sorts of virtuous quality the government hope to direct into local rural community with the symbolic power of Mazu image. For instance, Mazu can be found almost everywhere in local society of Meizhou Island from reconciling neighborhood conflicts, reforming backward customs, improving public security and even in morale education in school (2019 宋建晓 曹悦宁). The government there is also resorting to advocate islanders to be volunteers in local tourism destination for it can improve both the image of Mazu and local communities. Another example is similar. Mazu temple in Xingang, Taiwan also placed the role of Mazu belief in its core of community integration and administration. Some of the slight differences are concentrated in the details that local NGOs are sometimes more weighted in community affairs in a autonomy sense and the youth generation is fond of the belief system even more fervent in certain scenarios like ceremonies than their parents and grandparents (2019 宋建晓).

It may be easy to attribute the entire institutions and the ensuing effect above to the effort and work of local government. However, it would be impossible if traditional ideology of Mazu beliefs had never achieved a state of being the pivot in local worship and community activity center, whether this center was realized in substantial or spiritual fashions in which the latter one refers to an "imaginary center" where local people harbor their partial but crucial morale sustenance. What is also worth noticing is that the government there needs to employ traditional values as a latent but robust system in current days to organically integrate them into what is often visible rural administration in modern nation-state like district autonomy and community democracy. In other words, modern community integration in many areas of China is currently and inherently

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[1] *Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference*

exploiting traditional culture nourishment for its modern development. This state actually helps to fortify the roles of folk beliefs in modern China as a dynamic local force to serve as a "micro tradition" lived under the "macro tradition" that is leaded by nation-state which stresses the solidarity and unity of culture.

Another factor able to produce repercussion is about the action that local government has been taking to rebuild Mazu beliefs as a profiting system for its tourism purpose. In this circumstance we can find a dazzlingly interesting culture pilgrimage in which community integration, cultural interaction and identity are all evidently or potentially embodied.

Tourism destination and Pilgrimage

The "secularization" of a folk belief with its different states of affiliation for profiting purpose is not a very common phenomenon since not every category is historically and culturally quintessential, let alone one that possesses abundant indigenous endowment. Hence, here we only survey tourism site in Meizhou Island, Putian City as an example.

From the initial action of reestablishing Mazu beliefs in its original site as a tourism destination one can find a complex configuration that local government alongside with communities there has developed to render a tourism resorts which is not only able to yield decent economic returns but also create prominent effect for community integration ,cultural interaction and identity formation.

In current China, the construction of a cultural tourism destination where elements from both history and folk beliefs are more than significant has been sometimes, if the conditions permitting, realized by the assistance of an honorable brand called Word Intangible Cultural Heritage. Mazu beliefs were entitled with this honor in 2009 by UNESCO[2](2013 郑耀星,阮永明). This outcome has been facilitating the establishment of a "good tourism place" inasmuch as it has provided a culturally conspicuous image for local formulation of tourism site.

It has been an ideology for local government that the construction of a tourism destination should embrace more than just profiting goal but a complex in which tourism itself should help community governance and foreign interaction. For instance, the government has on purpose implicated residents in the business of tourism and different sorts of derivative recreational activities in which local communities has been provided with harmonious atmosphere and considerable opportunities for profiting(2018 周丽妃). Other examples are about cultural festivals that are designed under the themes of Mazu beliefs. This phenomenon is obvious in lots of cities and areas where Mazu beliefs are present in different ways. Festivals there are mostly supported by local governments and have gradually inclined to be entertaining for they have incorporate fashion elements that are adored by the youth generation, What is more than worth our attention is

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[2] *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization*

that these activities are usually associated somehow with political agenda(2019 陈春阳，林国平).

Referring to political agenda, it would not be more evident than the Mazu image built in Meizhou Island and the famous pilgrimage across Taiwan Strait that has attracted attentions from different angles across the strait.

History has seen multiple times of organized pilgrimages from Taiwan to original Mazu temple in Meizhou Island. Many of these pilgrimages have overcome political obstacles. It seems that these pilgrimage activities have been consistently serving as enhancement for pilgrims from Taiwan to establish their cultural identity whatever the macro political environment. A typical example is the historic pilgrimage occurred in 1989. About 300 believers in Yilan(宜兰), Taiwan surmounted hinderance and finally rendezvoused in Meizhou Island. They even carried Mazu statues with them when landed. They were under the reception of some members from the "board" aforementioned. However, these people did not have "exit and entry permit" (2015 周金琰). After the worship process, they reverently carried more than 140 statues of Mazu back to Yilan, which means a great event of branching from original belief resort.

Pilgrimage here also connotates reverse process. For instance. Another epoch-making "tour of Mazu" took place in 1997 when original Mazu statue in Meizhou Island reached Taoyuan airport, Taibei City, which set on a one-hundred-day tour of Mazu statue in Taiwan (Ibid). The radiancy of Mazu statue was more than sacrament that basically the entire island was affected and whatever place the statue arrived in was pervaded with the air of worship.

Nowadays the worship of Mazu in Taiwan is more standardized, and the process of pilgrimage is now diversified. The authority in Taiwan is now taking the worship and pilgrimage to Meizhou Island as a serious event that is able to produce political results since in certain district of Taiwan, the local authority were not be voted for if certain degree of disrespect to Mazu was felt by local voters. We have also seen online worship is now growing for people that is still having difficulties reaching in its original temples (Ibid).

We can find that at least in current stage that both governments across the strait are establishing a cultural identity through various fashions of cultural interaction in the process of developing a tourism and pilgrimage destination. Since this "pilgrimage zone" is not a completely spontaneous entity that has come into being with only effort from public participation but also the "tacit consent" of allowing communication of nongovernmental civil groups of believers from the governments. It needs to assert that the cultural identity that implies more than just recognition of "Chinese nation" but also a collective awareness of cultural belongings that are clearer when the boundaries are sensed, whether these boundaries exist in concrete context of pilgrimage or latest form of "pilgrimage travel". Another point requiring clarifying is that this cultural identity is not only a "ritual identity" which is only visible in pilgrimages but through the comprehensive existence that is now integrated as a unity in which interconnective forces like

governments, pilgrims, and local residents in Meizhou Islands, etc. are all in the field acting their roles. In other words, the cultural identity achieved is inherently detectible and sometimes crystal especially in the ceremonial activities.

8.4 CONCLUSION

Fascinating as it is, Mazu beliefs has evolved from a relatively primitive folk cult to a belief complex in which multiple forces are detectible in its functioning. This article provides a historical context for the formation of Mazu beliefs as a background for the analysis of its modern form in current China. The historical development of Mazu beliefs has coherently manifested that authority and local communities together had endeavored to empower Mazu so it could be more than just a local belief cluster that in certain degree served as "worship center" for local village-communities. It seemed that rulers from different dynasties tried to lift Mazu beliefs so it could be a "radiative center" existed both for district integration and pivot for promoting foreign trade and relationship.

The turbulence in the early modern history in China has seen an almost oblivion state of Mazu beliefs. However, Mazu beliefs were never eradicated due to indigenous residents holding them in their collective memory and the belief clusters were resurrected inherently by the combined effort of local government and residents.

We can see many variations of Mazu belief clusters, and this shows that there is now such thing as "pure Mazu beliefs". In the history of evolution, Mazu beliefs have been always adopting a strategy which could be summarized as "mutual existence". This phrase essentially demonstrates that Mazu beliefs have been often employed as a "tool" for circumstantial purposes. As a result, we can find that in the history both Taoism, Buddhism and Confucianism tried to incorporate Mazu beliefs in their belief sequence. This empirical fact expresses that Mazu beliefs help the realization of both these mentioned ideologies and therefore help achieving its localized realization.

In the present time, the power of nation-state and bureaucracy have intervened the reestablishment of previous localized Mazu beliefs and placed itself as an obvious structural force to direct Mazu beliefs for purposes of cultural interaction, identity and community integration in a modern fashion. Localized Mazu beliefs in the original place are sometimes "floating above" local communities and acting like a center for pilgrimage and profiting purpose as a tourism destination and these two facets are often functioning in one. Besides, local government aiming to promote modern community integration is consistently borrowing and reproducing cultural elements from Mazu beliefs to achieve its "latent but potent existence" in local communities.

In conclusion, Mazu beliefs has been a ever-changing belief clusters that is accustomed to realize its existence and further evolution by absorbing circumstantial cultural elements and took a form of mutually existence.

COMPETING INTERESTS

Author has declared that no competing interests exist.

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The Function of Mazu Belief of the Chinese People in Vietnam

Doan Ngoc Chung [a]

9.1 RELATED CONCEPTS AND THEORIES

Transnationalism and Transnational Chinese

What is the concept of Transnationalism? It is a research theory in Western academia since the 1990s, mainly used to study the political, economic, and cultural activities of immigration beyond the borders of nation-states under the background of globalization. Steven Vertovec - Professor of Transnational Anthropology at the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Oxford, who has long been engaged in transnationalism studies, believes that: Transnationalism refers to "the ties and interactions that connect people or institutions across national boundaries." Transnationalism is a cross-border network established and maintained by people or institutions, and various interactions and exchanges relations generated through this network. Its main of action can be immigrants, communities, non-governmental organizations, governments and multinational corporations. Its contents are various connections and activities established across national boundaries, and its scope covers various fields such as politics, culture, economy and ideology. [1]

With the development of the times, the phenomenon of Chinese immigration has not only continued to grow, but the immigration process has become more and more complex. Therefore, in recent years, the study of Chinese immigrants has been paid more and more attention and has become an important research object. The main research object of this paper is Transnational Chinese. What is "Transnational Chinese"? In order to understand this concept more clearly, first of all, we should distinguish the two concepts of "Overseas Chinese" (华侨) and "Transnational Chinese" (华人). According to Zhuang Guotu's explanation, "Overseas Chinese" refers to Chinese citizens who have settled abroad, while "Transnational Chinese" refers to people who live outside China and do not hold

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[1] *Ding, Y.Y. 2012 Transnationalism and Its Theoretical Contributions. Ethno-National Studies, No 3, pp1-12.*

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Chinese nationality but maintain Chinese national identity. [2] In other words, Overseas Chinese are Chinese who are designated to live outside China, but they still have Chinese nationality; while Transnational Chinese have no Chinese registered permanent residence, they belong to "foreigners" in terms of nationality, but they are still Chinese in blood.

With regard to the concept of "Transnational Chinese", Liu Hong believes that transnational Chinese refer to "those immigrant groups who are in the process of transnational activities, link their place of residence with their birthplace (their own or their parents') and maintain multiple relationships. Their social scene is characterized by crossing geographical, cultural and political boundaries. As transnational immigrants, they speak two or more languages, have immediate relatives, social networks and careers in two or more countries, and continuous and frequent cross-border communication has become an important means for them to make a living." [3] This shows that transnational Chinese are highly mobile in terms of geography and mixed in terms of culture. In addition, their social space is not only a space in the geographical sense, but also a space with social and cultural significance formed by a certain mechanism and the internal connection of different places.

Mazu belief

Mazu belief is an important form of Chinese belief. The main god of this belief is Mazu. There are many different legends about Mazu's birth and life. However, it is generally said that she is a real figure in Chinese history, her name is Linmo, born in the first year of emperor Taizu's Jianlong reign (A.D.960), in Meizhou Island, Putian, Fujian Province. She was very intelligent since childhood, and has a good knowledge in astronomy, geography, hydrology and meteorology; when she grew up, she did more good deeds, for example, she often helped the people out of trouble, expel evil spirits and cure diseases, and often sailed to save ships in shipwrecks, leaving behind many well-known legends and deeds. Therefore, after Lin Mo's death, in order to inherit Mazu's spirit and morality of selfless charity and active disaster relief, the local people built a small temple on Meizhou Island to worship. After the emergence of Mazu belief, it was not immediately accepted by people outside of Meizhou Island, but it went through a long process of spreading. There are two reasons why Mazu belief can completely go out of Putian, Fujian Province and become one of the main folk beliefs in China:

The first is that in the Northern Song Dynasty, Fujian, Guangdong and other coastal provinces, there are many folk houses have been engaged in maritime trade and other ship activities of the tradition. China's maritime industry has also been through rapid development. However, under the traffic conditions at that time, they often encountered the danger of strong winds and waves, ship damage and human death. In order to pray for safety, those people hope to use a

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[2] *Zhuang Guotu. 1989 The Origin and Application of the Word "Overseas Chinese". Xiamen University Press, pp343-352.*
[3] *Liu Hong. 2003 The Transmutation of Chinese Society in Post-War Singapore: Local Feelings, Regional Networks, and Global Perspectives. Xiamen University Press, p215.*

kind of superhuman power to resist the threat of the sea, conquer nature, dominate nature, and provide spiritual support. As a result, Mazu belief rise in response to the proper time and conditions, which complied with the people's desire for peace at sea and the need of developing marine economy in Song and Yuan Dynasties. From then on, fishermen and merchants from these coastal provinces often worshiped the statue of Mazu on their ships. At the same time, they also actively publicized and spread the deeds of Mazu's good deeds, and believed that every time they could save themselves from danger, they all depended on the protection of Mazu's miracles. These effectively promote the spread of Mazu belief in coastal areas, and continued to pass on, become one of the popular beliefs in these areas.

Secondly, after 36 imperial edicts in the four dynasties of Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing, the status of Mazu continued to improve, which further promoted the spread of Mazu belief. In 1123, the Mazu Temple was first canonized by the imperial court and was given the plaque "Shunji" ("顺济"), the beginning of the Mazu's official recognition. Then, many emperors of the Southern Song, yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties not only successively added the titles of "Mrs. Linghui" ("灵惠夫人"), "Mrs. Zhaoying" ("昭应夫人"), "Tianfei" ("天妃"), and "Tianhou" ("天后"), but also set up some temples and temples which were regularly managed by local officials. During the period of Zheng He's voyages to the west, Zheng He also specially stipulated that whenever the fleet berthed at a wharf on the island, they would worship Mazu, and if there was no Mazu temple there, they would donate money to build one. The title of the imperial court and its official sacrificial ceremony for Mazu played a great role in the spread of Mazu belief. This not only shows that Mazu has been officially recognized, providing Mazu belief with a "legal status"; but also set up a great image of Mazu as "protecting the country and protecting people", shifting Mazu from a "local" to a "national God".

According to the statistics of "The World Mazu Temples", there are more than 5000 Mazu temples and more than 300 million Mazu believers in 35 countries and regions including Japan, South Korea, Vietnam, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, India and the Philippines. [4] Mazu belief spread to all over the world, especially in the countries and regions along the Belt and Road, has actively integrated with local beliefs and local culture, rooted and integrated into local social life. It has become the common cultural memory of the people in the countries and regions along the Belt and Road, and has become one of the ties and bridges for strengthening cultural and crowd exchanges between countries along the Belt and Road and China.

9.2 MAZU BELIEF OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE IN VIETNAM

The spread of Mazu belief of the Chinese people in Vietnam

In Vietnam, Mazu belief was spread with the footprints of Chinese businessmen and immigrants. At first, it was spread by sea to the South-central part of Vietnam

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[4] *Fujian 2005 The World Mazu Temples.*

(around the end of the 16th century). Then, in the 17th century, in Northern Vietnam, the belief in Mazu appeared in busy cities following the footsteps of Chinese businessmen. Around the end of the 16th - beginning of the 17th century, Mazu belief followed Chinese immigrants into the new areas of Southern Vietnam (see Fig. 9.1). Therefore, there have been temples dedicated to Mazu in three areas of Vietnam from a very early time.

Fig. 9.1. The way of mazu belief spread to Vietnam

For example, in Northern Vietnam, there is Thien Hau Temple in Pho Hien street, Hung Yen City (built by Fujian Chinese in 1640 to thank Mazu for her blessing, so that they could cross the sea to live and work in peace and contentment). In the central part of Vietnam, there is Thien Hau Temple (Hoi An City, Guangnan Province, built by Fujian Chinese in 1626), and Ba Nuoc Man Temple (in Phu Yen, built by Hainan Chinese in 1862). In the South of Vietnam, there are temples such as Thien Hau Temple (or Tue Thanh Hoi Quan in Ho Chi Minh City, built by Guangdong Chinese in 1760)... The existence of these temples not only testifies to the development of Vietnamese ports from the 16th century to the 19th century, but also indicates the emperor Nguyen's policy of being kind to Chinese immigrants. In the beginning, these temples had simple building, linked to the activity of gangs. After that, with the development of social economy, the whole belief cultural institutions, especially Mazu belief institutions, have been further improved. Mazu temples are gradually divided into independent belief places.

According to statistics, there are about 1.3 million Chinese in Vietnam. More than 85% of them live in the south of Vietnam. They are mainly concentrated in Ho Chi Minh City and the Mekong Delta. Therefore, it has the largest number of temples dedicated to Mazu in the country. Most of these temples were built between the 18th and 19th centuries, which was also the number of Chinese emigration to Vietnam. Mazu temples in southern Vietnam are as follows: (see Fig. 9.2).
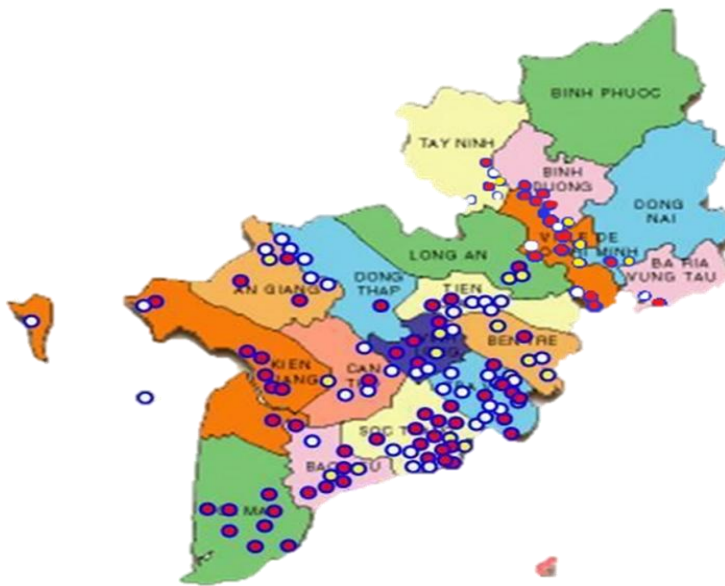
Fig. 9.2. Distribution of Mazu temples in Southern Vietnam
Red: Chinese Mazu temple; Yellow: Vietnamese Mazu temple; White: Other temples for Mazu

In terms of main parts and worship space, the belief of Mazu in Vietnam can be summarized into three different forms. First, Mazu is worshipped in Chinese temples, which is a typical and common phenomenon in Vietnam, especially in southern Vietnam. Among them, Mazu is mainly regarded as the main sacrifice in the temple, which is orthodox. In addition, Mazu was also sacrificed to other Chinese gods, especially is Guangong. The second is the phenomenon of Mazu being worshipped in one's own home, which is a form of worship that only appeared later in overseas Chinese families, which originated from cultural roots and respect and worship of Mazu. And third, Mazu was sacrificed in the temples of the Kinh (Viet) people. Although there are no accurate statistics on this phenomenon; it is relatively common in Southern Vietnam, especially in the old temples. This phenomenon shows the vitality and spread of Mazu worship in this area, which makes Mazu worship a special form of Chinese belief and gradually accepted by other ethnic groups in Southern Vietnam. In today's open cultural environment, sharing Chinese culture is a very natural phenomenon, which shows the strength and essence of national culture.

The basic characteristics of Mazu belief in Vietnam

In Vietnam (especially in the South), Mazu belief is a special cultural belief of Chinese. Therefore, it represents the cultural value characteristics of Chinese beliefs. Although culture is a constantly changing value, Mazu belief will accept

certain influences in the process of coexistence of various ethnic groups. This also means that the Mazu belief of Chinese in Vietnam not only contains the original characteristic culture, but also the local culture of Vietnam. Its basic characteristics are as follows:

The first is the particularity of Mazu belief of the Hoa people (the Chinese people in Vietnam). Mazu belief came into being with the Chinese immigrants to Vietnam. It is one of the folk beliefs of Chinese people, so the Chinese and Vietnamese people still keep the original Chinese traditional cultural beliefs in their lives. Mazu belief has improved the common consolidation and directed the common morality, personality and lifestyle of Chinese. It is thus clear that the particularity of Mazu belief is not only incarnated in the establishment of Chinese culture, but also through the architectural style, worship furnishings, activities and belief forms, as well as the related aspects of life and Mazu belief. For example, Mazu's temple is built according to the traditional Chinese architectural principles, with the concept of Yin-Yang universe and harmonious symmetrical aesthetic concept, or according to the shape of the word "mouth" ("口") or "country" ("国"). Decorative patterns also show familiar models in Chinese decorative art. The arrangement of statues in temples shows the particularity of this form of belief. Therefore, the statue of Mazu is solemnly arranged in the main hall, which shows people's respect for her. In some places, people decorate the statue of Mazu in the middle, and beside them are Qianli Yan and Shunfeng Er, or Zhenzhu goddess and Xining goddess.

The second is the localization of Mazu belief of the Chinese people. On the surface, Chinese people have basically accepted the local lifestyle of Vietnam. In daily life, such as clothing, food, shelter, language, customs, etc., there is no difference between Vietnamese and Chinese, and they can't even distinguish what is Chinese and what is Vietnamese. The social relations of Chinese have gradually been "Vietnamese". The localization of living habits will inevitably affect the localization of ideology and religious tradition; when a foreign religion arrives at a new ethnic gathering place, it will inevitably be impacted by local culture and religion. For example, the festival of Mazu belief of Chinese people in Vietnam is March 23 of the Lunar calendar, which is based on the legend of Mazu's birth. But some places choose Mazu's Festivals according to their local culture and situation. [5] In addition, there will be some changes in the ceremony of Mazu belief, so there will be similarities and differences between the Mazu belief of the Chinese people in Vietnam and China. This type of form is not only very common to Mazu belief, but also meets the same situation in the folk belief in the world.

The third is the mixture of religions of Chinese. In the Mazu temples in Vietnam, the phenomenon of religious hybridity is quite common. In a Chinese temple, in addition to the main worship God Mazu, other gods are generally also worshiped. And the Chinese who believe in Mazu believe in one or many other religions at

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[5] *Đặng Hoàng Lan, "Lễ hội Thiên hậu Thánh Mẫu của người Hoa ở Nam Bộ", trong Tín ngưỡng thờ Mẫu ở Nam Bộ - Bản sắc và giá trị, Võ Văn Sen, Ngô Đức Thịnh, Nguyễn Văn Lên (chủ biên), Nxb Đại học Quốc gia Thành phố Hồ Chí Minh, 2014, tr. 493.*

the same time, so they will also serve together. All worship objects are not bound by the origin or worship. This performance is not exclusive to each other through a variety of belief objects. The specific worship objects are determined by the individual's will on the basis of the concept of "faith is blessing". For example, in Vietnamese temples, the same temple worships gods of different religions. In Mazu temple, there are also statues of Buddha, which are often seen to worship Mazu and Guanyin Bodhisattva. The interaction between Chinese religious culture and Vietnamese local culture, as well as the absorption and improvement, reflects the exchange and integration of different cultures. After Chinese arrived in Vietnam, with the continuous integration of ethnic groups, religion has been assimilated with the local religion in the process of continuous transformation and reconstruction. There is a situation in which you have me and I have you.

9.3 A CASE STUDY OF THE TUE THANH HOI QUAN, HO CHI MINH CITY, VIETNAM

General situation of Tue Thanh Hoi Quan

Tue Thanh Hoi Quan is located in District 5, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam. Due to the worship of Mazu, it is known as the Thien Hau temple in Tue Thanh Hoi Quan (commonly known as the Mazu Temple, Ba Temple). The temple was built in the 18th century by merchants mainly from Guangzhou. They built a temple for Mazu in order to thank Mazu for her kindness and escort to cross the sea safely. Thien Hau Thanh Mau is worshipped in the main hall of the temple. In addition, Long Mau Nuong Nuong, Kim Hoa Nuong Nuong, Quan Thanh De Quan and Tai Mien Tinh Quan are also worshipped (see Figs. 9.3, 9.4 and 9.5). The Thien Hau Temple is one of the biggest, oldest and most valuable historical and cultural sites of Chinese temples in Ho Chi Minh City.

Fig. 9.3. Thien Hau Thanh Mau, Long Mau Nuong Nuong, Kim Hoa Nuong Nuong are worshipped in the main hall of Tue Thanh Hoi Quan (Taken in February 2020)

Fig. 9.4 and 9.5. Quan Thanh De Quan and Tai Mien Tinh Quan are also worshipped in Tue Thanh Hoi Quan (Taken in February 2020)

According to the stele of rebuilding the guild hall of Tue Thanh in 1830, it is pointed out that: "构起潭潭之宇馆，岁祭有便于趋庭，议事不劳于他所". Among them, "worship"（岁祭: It is the annual worship of Mazu's birthday besides festivals） and "discuss affairs"（议事: Businessmen hold meetings to discuss the business and social welfare of the Chinese society） are the dual functions of Tue Thanh Hoi Quan. (see Fig. 9.6).

The belief activities of Tue Thanh Hoi Quan

The temple of Thien Hau in Tue Thanh Hoi Quan enjoys a booming pilgrimage. Every day, there are endless stream of pilgrims who come to Mazu to worship, pray for health, family and harmony, and hope for the good in people's hearts. According to observations and interviews, the number of worshippers is the largest on the first and fifteenth day of the lunar calendar, especially during the Spring Festival. In recent years, Tue Thanh Hoi Quan has held incense activities in every New Year's Eve, it has gradually become a new fashion, and many people come to the temple to offer incense, worship and pray. According to relevant statistics, from New Year's Eve to the first day of the Lunar New Year every year, about 20.000 people used to come to worship in the Thienhau Temple of Tue Thanh Hoi Quan. Everyday, scattered worshippers and tourists come to the temple to worship more. Some Chinese families have made the worship of Mazu a collective activity of the whole family. They made an appointment to worship together, and Mazu temple has become a place for Chinese to gather, make contact and strengthen friendship.

In terms of the Mazu worship groups, besides the Chinese people in Vietnam, there are also Jing people (Vietnamese). The worship of Mazu is mainly middle-aged people, and there are also many young scholars or students. Among them, some young people have become passive believers because someone in their family believes in Mazu. In Thienhau temple, it is not difficult to see children following their parents to worship. They have accepted the ceremony and activities of worshipping Mazu from a very young age. Gradually, they will think that offering sacrifices to Mazu is a kind of living habit.

Fig. 9.6. Rebuilding the stele of Tue Thanh Hoi Quan (Taken in February 2020) *Social activities of Tue Thanh Hoi Quan*

With the increasing number of immigrants, the important issues of immigrant society, such as education and welfare, are also the social responsibility of Chinese businessmen. They take social responsibility through the carrier of temples and guildhalls. Its functions of Tue Thanh Hoi Quan include culture, education and welfare. In 1910, Tue Thanh Hoi Quan built a Tue Thanh Viet Tu school (now Mach Kiem Hung middle school) on the right side of Thienhau temple, contributing to the education plan of "cultivating trees for ten years and cultivating people for a hundred years". The reason why this educational plan is

achieved is to save the funds for the annual Thienhau's birthday public performance and feast. Then, in 1958, Phuc Hung school was built in District 11, Ho Chi Minh City, to meet the needs of Chinese students in civilian areas. Since 1967, the funds obtained from the "Sacred Lamp Bidding" held every year on the eighth day of the first month in Tue Thanh Hoi Quan have been allocated to social welfare, education and hospital funds. After the first bidding for the holy lantern in 1967, it was decided to give the money to Nguyen Tri Phuong Hospital as a gift for an obstetric and breeding hospital. From 2010 to 2015, the board of directors of the Thienhau Temple in Tue Thanh Hoi Quan organized many activities, such as providing scholarships for students and taking care of the elderly people. In addition, Tue Thanh Hoi Quan also actively participated in social welfare work such as disaster relief and poverty relief, with a total amount of 21.313.895.400 Dong (equivalent to 6.093.459 RMB). [6] Therefore, Tue Thanh Hoi Quan has won many awards from the central government and Ho Chi Minh City for many times, and has been honored to be awarded the honorary title of "Good people and good deeds" by Ho Chi Minh City for many years.

COMPETING INTERESTS

Author has declared that no competing interests exist.

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[6] *The 23rd Congress of Tue Thanh Hoi Quan, Ho Chi Minh Municipal Ethnic Affairs Committee, http://bandantoc.hochiminhcity.gov.vn，September 17, 2020.*

PART III: SANCTIFIED PLACES, OBJECTS, AND SYNCRETIC PROCESS

The Architecture and Religion of Jinci

Duan Zeli [a]

10.1 THE SPATIAL LAYOUT OF THE ARCHITECTURE IN JINCI

As far as Chinese official architecture is concerned, it was basic to follow a fixed structural pattern, which was shaped under the unified dynastic empire. Ethics, morality, and hierarchical order were all reflected in ancient Chinese architecture. However, the uniformity and inflexibility of the individual styles also resulted in a unique style of Chinese architecture—— the integral layout with courtyard of buildings. The design is generally balanced and symmetrical, along the longitudinal axis and the horizontal axis，also known as the front and back axis. The more important buildings are placed on the longitudinal axis, and the secondary houses are placed on the horizontal axis on the left and the right. Whether it was palaces, government offices, or temples, Chinese architecture showed a combination layout with the crucial buildings as the center. The buildings are usually connected to several courtyards along a central axis. In order to see the vital buildings in this layout, "one must pass through a series of courtyards and feel the gradually rising prelude of anticipation as one proceeds. Until one finally enters the central courtyard and sees the most magnificent main building, emotions reach a climax. At this moment, one is deeply moved by the architecture."[1]

Jinci, which is the focus of this article, is typical of traditional Chinese ancient architecture, with a large and complicated complex of buildings. Like a large garden, Jinci houses many ancestral temple buildings of different periods, beliefs and functions in one space.

Entering Jinci today requires a long walk to reach the deepest part of the entire area. The first step is to enter through the main gate of the Jinci Museum, walk straight ahead, and bypass the Water Mirror Terrace. Then climb the Meeting Transcendents Bridge over the Earl of Zhi Canal. Passing through the Iron Man Terrace and the Duiyue Memorial Gateway, and arriving at the Offering Hall. The building with the massive roof in front of the Flying Bridge is the Sage Mother

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[1] *Fenghan Xieyang, "Monomer and Group: The Distinction of Space Art of Chinese and Western traditional architecture", Last Modified April 29, 2020, https://www.douban.com/note/760734142/*

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Hall, which is the end of the central axis (Figs. 10.1-2). This means that the Sage Mother Hall is the core building of the entire Jinci complex. As the name implies, "Jinci" is related to the state of Jin. The story of "Shu Yu's enfeoffment[2]" tells us that Shu Yu, who was bestowed the title of Emperor, became the first ancestor of the state of Jin and was in charge of the land in Shanxi today. The Shrine of Shu Yu of Tang is located to the southeast of the Sage Mother Hall, a clear departure from the central axis of Jinci. Space corresponds to the meaning of worship, sanctity, hierarchy and order. This raises the first question: why does the central axis not end at the Shrine of Shu Yu of Tang but at the Sage Mother Hall, or even if the Shrine of Shu Yu of Tang is not on the central axis at all?

Fig. 10.1. Scenic spot of Jinci[3]

As early as 1934, the notable Chinese architects Liang Sicheng and Lin Huiyin[4] went to the Jinci to study the large palaces, Buddhist temples and other buildings of the Tang and Song dynasties and wrote a report on them. In the report, Liang Sicheng drew a plan of the Jinci, called "The Temple of the Sage Mother of Jinci". This drawing depicted the core buildings of the temple's central axis, just as the route described earlier. The only difference is that the Water Mirror Terrace at the beginning of the axis is not in the drawing. For a long time, this was interpreted as an oversight in the drawing. It was not until Zhou Xiaodi's team from the Southeast University's Institute of Architectural History and Theory entered Jinci in 2011 to plan for the preservation of cultural relics that they discovered a 6-

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[2] *Zhang Xingyun, "Fireworks in Jinci," Sanlian Life Week1077, no. 10(2020):97.*
[3] *http://youimg1.c-ctrip.com/target/fd/tg/g2/M00/A5/F7/CghzgFVkYtaAL10RAA3BpW3cUYo052.jpg*
[4] *Zhang Xingyun, "Fireworks in Jinci," Sanlian Life Week1077, no. 10(2020):95.*

degree deviation between the Water Mirror Terrace and the axis formed by the entire Temple[5]. This means that the Water Mirror Terrace is not on the central axis. In other words, the Water Mirror Terrace is not the stage of the Sage Mother Hall. Perhaps this is the reason why Liang Sicheng did not mark the Water Mirror Terrace in his drawing. This strange deviation is clearly not in line with the traditional Chinese architecture's adherence to the central axis. This becomes the second question.

Fig. 10.2. Flat layout of Jinci[6]

Shen Yang[7] from the Institute of Architectural History and Theory at Southeast University examines the history of the building complex and speculates that the 6-degree deviation of the Water Mirror Terrace is likely to be in the direction of the Water Mother Tower. This mentions a new building, the Water Mother Tower. On the location distribution map, the Water Mother Tower is almost parallel to the Sage Mother Hall. This layout, combined with the deviation of the Water Mirror Terrace, makes the relationship between the two buildings intriguing. Is the Water Mother Tower attached to the Sage Mother Hall or is it competing with the Sage Mother? What's being proclaimed by this?

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[5] *Zhang Xingyun, "Fireworks in Jinci," Sanlian Life Week1077, no. 10(2020):96.*
[6] *Citing Liu Dunzhen. "History of Ancient Chinese Architecture" (first edition). Beijing: China Construction Industry Press, 1980, p. 184 (Fig. 15-1).*
[7] *Zhang Xingyun, "Fireworks in Jinci," Sanlian Life Week1077, no. 10(2020):98.*

This article begins with a combing of the buildings on the central axis of Jinci. The spatial layout of the Sage Mother Hall and the Shrine of Shu Yu of Tang presents a different distribution than envisioned. Then focusing on the Sage Mother Hall as the core and considering this in the context of the complex, a deviation from the stage is found. This deviation leads to another building, and implies a more complex relationship between the main buildings.

Architecture cannot explain itself, but it can faithfully record and respond to historical changes, including social structures, cultural beliefs and specific actions. It is generally believed that objects are embodiments of ideas, but ideas are not always primary. To start from the material entity of architecture is to break away from the usual thinking and present the subjectivity of material entity. The three myths at the beginning are clearly inspired by the material. Without the most straightforward presentation of architecture, perhaps these real issues would have been overlooked.

Architecture is created by people. But after they are built, they do not just reflect ideas; On the contrary, they become tools for shaping people's thoughts and attitudes. The different forms of architecture evoke different feelings, such as different degrees of reverence. In the course of historical changes, architecture still faces reconstruction and transformation by people, to be produced and produced again and again. The ultimate issue of this paper is to consider the social background and historical facts through the relationship between architecture, and to achieve a more profound understanding of history, society and culture.

10.2 THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE BUILDINGS

At the beginning of the article, three questions are posed. In order to answer them, it is necessary to be clear about the historical process of the buildings involved. Therefore, the second part of the article focuses on the history of four buildings: the Shrine of Shu Yu of Tang, the Sage Mother Hall, the Water Mother Tower and the Water Mirror Terrace.

The construction of these buildings dates as far back as the Zhou Dynasty and as late as the Ming Dynasty, with the most complex relationships concentrated in the Song Dynasty. More importantly, the construction process was not sequential, but overlapped on the timeline. The building has been rebuilt and reconstructed over the course of its history.

Shu Yu of Tang and the Sage Mother are both spirits of Jin. The former is the spirit of the political unit of Jin, the latter representing the spirit of Jin Springs. Because the word "*ci*" implies a memorial or ancestral shrine, for a long time Jinci served as a shrine to the founder of Jin state, Shu Yu of Tang, rather than a place of worship for the spirit of water.

The earliest known record of Jinci is found in the *Shuijingzhu* 水经注. "On the west side of the marsh, there is the Shrine of Shu Yu of Tang. On the side of the

water there is the Liang Hall. Knot flying beams on the water."[8] (沼西际山枕水，有唐叔虞祠。水侧有凉堂。结飞梁於水上) The origin of the Shrine of Shu Yu of Tang begins in the Zhou Dynasty.

When King Cheng was spending his leisure time with Shu Yu of Tang, he made a gui tablet by plucking the leaf from the wu 梧 tree, then he handed it to Shu Yu of Tang saying, "Using this I enfeoff you." Shu Yu was happy and therefore told the Duke of Zhou. The Duke of Zhou beseeched King Cheng saying, "Did the Son of Heaven enfeoff Yu?" King Cheng said, "I myself was play-acting with Yu." The Duke of Zhou replied, saying, "Your servant has heard that the Son of Heaven has no 'acting' words. When the Son of Heaven speaks, then the historians transcribe it, the musicians recite it, and the knights commend it." Because of this, Shu Yu was later enfeoffed in Jin.[9]成王与唐叔燕居，援梧叶以为珪，而授唐叔虞曰：余以此封女。叔虞喜以告周公。周公以请曰：天子其封虞邪？成王曰：余一人与虞戏也。周公对曰：臣闻之天子无戏言。天子言则史书之，工诵之，士称之。于是遂封叔虞于晋。

Thus Shu Yu became the lord in the state of Tang, which is now Shanxi. Because of the Jin water within its borders, the state of Tang later became the state of Jin. The Jin Wang Temple was built to commemorate of Tang Shuyu. As the founder of the state, Tang Shuyu blessed the land of Shanxi. The name Jinci refers to the entire complex centered on the Shrine of Shu Yu of Tang, as recorded in documents until the mid-Qing Dynasty.[10]

After the Song Dynasty, the main deity's temple was moved to a different location and the massive hall of the Sage Mother was built. According to the official account at the time, the hall was built for "praying for rain".[11] There are dragon grain, water grain and other decorations inside the temple, reflecting the fact that the Sage Mother was recognized as the god of water of Jinci. In 1168, the Offering Hall was added in front of the Sage Mother Hall, and by then, the central axis was initially formed. "The hall is the largest and highest-shaped building in Jinci, with the Perfect Benefit Spring 难老泉亭, Eternal Youth Spring Ting-gazebo 善利泉亭 and Zhou Bai 周柏 corresponding to each other, and the axis is heavenly (Fig. 10.3). Pointing straight from the village at the bottom of the hill to the peak of the mountain, connecting the oldest Earl of Zhi Canal 智伯渠, Iron Man Terrace 金人台, Offering Hall 献殿 and Flying Bridge 鱼沼飞梁 in Jinci, which are staggered and climactic."[12] Naturally, the Hall of the Sage Mother became the absolute protagonist of the Jinci complex.

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8 Shen Yang, Shen Tong and Zhou Xiaodi, "Spatio-Temporal Misinterpretation of Displacement of the Entrance Gate of Jinci Temple," *Architectural Journal, no.1(2019):112.*
9 Miller Tracy, *The Divine Nature of Power: Chinese Ritual Architecture at the Sacred Site of Jinci.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007),40.
10 Shen Yang, Shen Tong and Zhou Xiaodi, "Spatio-Temporal Misinterpretation of Displacement of the Entrance Gate of Jinci Temple," *Architectural Journal, no.1(2019):112.*
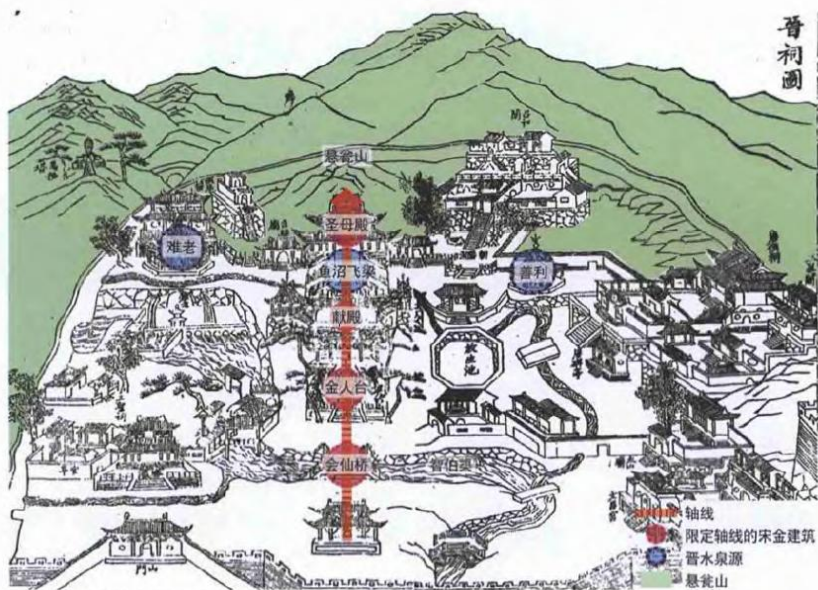[11] Zhang Xingyun, "Fireworks in Jinci," *Sanlian Life Week1077, no. 10(2020):97.*
12 Shen Yang, Shen Tong and Zhou Xiaodi, "Spatio-Temporal Misinterpretation of Displacement of the Entrance Gate of Jinci Temple," *Architectural Journal, no.1(2019):112.*

Fig. 10.3. The axis of the Sage Mother Hall13

At the same time, the city of Jinyang declined in the Song dynasty, with Tang Shuyu losing his political position. Because it is far from the source of Jinshui, it lacks the popular foundation like the Sage Mother. By the end of the Song dynasty, the incense of the Sage Mother Hall had far surpassed that of the Shrine of Shu Yu of Tang.

Entering the Yuan dynasty, the litterateur Yuan Haowen 元好问 only had to feel: "So Jinci was originally a shrine to Tang Shuyu, but now with the Lord of Zhao Ji, the name of disorder for a long time!"[14]

However, the officials could not accept the situation that the local deity faith exceeded the Confucian orthodox Shuyu. In the early years of Qing Dynasty, scholar Yan Ruoqu 阎若璩 proved that the Sage Mother was actually Shu Yu's mother, Yi Jiang 邑姜, according to *Xie Yuwen*《谢雨文》.[15] The spatial status and incense of the Sage Mother over her son is thus explained. It is therefore understandable why the central axis of the complex of Jinci ends at the Sage Mother Hall instead of the Shuyu Shrine.

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13 Shen Yang, Shen Tong and Zhou Xiaodi, "Spatio-Temporal Misinterpretation of Displacement of the Entrance Gate of Jinci Temple," Architectural Journal, no.1(2019):112.
14 Yuan Hao Wen. The Complete Works of Yuan Hao Wen. (Taiyuan: Shanxi People's Publishing House, 1990), 751-752.
15 Shen Yang, Shen Tong and Zhou Xiaodi, "Spatio-Temporal Misinterpretation of Displacement of the Entrance Gate of Jinci Temple," Architectural Journal, no.1(2019):113.

Performing has long been an indispensable part of the rituals of the ancestral hall. The stage of Jinci, the Water Mirror Terrace, appeared in the middle of the Ming Dynasty. But official records did not appear until the end of the Qing Dynasty. The reason for the neglect was the belief that the noble and integrity of the gods was incompatible with the entertainment of the play. "Play, not respect. To worship god on stage is actually to insult god."[16] Even so, the Water Mirror Terrace still received support from the public, and underwent renovation and the addition of a shed after its construction. Interestingly, the structure of the Water Mirror Terrace is different from the ordinary theatres. The stage usually built on the central axis is a "passing stage",[17] which means that it is usually open and people are allowed to pass through, but only the back side is blocked during the performance. The Water Mirror Terrace appears to be on the central axis, but it is not a "passing stage". After precise measurement, it was found that it is not on the central axis where the Sage Mother Hall is located but have a 6-degree from the axis.[18]

In fact, not only does the Water Mirror Terrace not belong to the core axis, but also the gate of Jinci is not on the axis. The original gate of Jinci is located about several meters to the south of the central axis. But in 1964, a new gate was built behind the Water Mirror Terrace in order to align with the axis. "The displacement of the mountain gate has led to a misinterpretation of the space of the Jinci, especially with regard to the central axis and the Water Mirror Terrace ".[19] If one goes back to the original location of the gate, the route into Jinci is as follows: "Walk through the leading space to the side of the Water Mirror Terrace, then turn right to go around the Water Mirror Terrace to reach the Meeting Transcending Bridge, and from there enter the axis of the Sage Mother Hall".[20] From the point of fengshui, the door is generally not open on the axis, but open at the proper location of yin and yang, while also makes the spatial level more abundant. In this way, the Water Mirror Terrace did not appear in the path of sacrifice. That is to say, the Water Mirror Terrace is excluded from the space of the Sage Mother Hall because of the tortuous route.

Then why was the Water Mirror Terrace set up? Where does the 6 degrees deviation point to? This needs to be considered before and after the establishment of the water mirror stage. So leading to another building. The new official interpretation of the worship of Sage Mother has not been well received by the public. The legend of "Liu's sitting urn"柳氏坐瓮 appeared in the local area.[21] Liu Chunyin 柳春英, a kind-hearted villager of Jinsheng Village 金胜村, touched the god. And the god gave her a whip, which not only solved her own

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16 Liu Dapeng. *Jinci Chronicles.* (Taiyuan: Shanxi People's Publishing House, 2003), 70.
17 Zhang Xingyun, "Fireworks in Jinci," Sanlian Life Week1077, no. 10(2020):96.
18 Zhang Xingyun, "Fireworks in Jinci," Sanlian Life Week1077, no. 10(2020):96.
19 Zhang Xingyun, "Fireworks in Jinci," Sanlian Life Week1077, no. 10(2020):96.
20 Zhang Xingyun, "Fireworks in Jinci," Sanlian Life Week1077, no. 10(2020):96.
21 Miller Tracy, *The Divine Nature of Power: Chinese Ritual Architecture at the Sacred Site of Jinci.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007),187.

water problem, but also benefited the villagers. In order to save the villagers from flooding, resolutely plunged into the crisis, saving the whole village, and leaving a village with long flowing water to the future generations.

In order to substantiate the legend of Liu Chunying, during the Jiajing years of Ming dynasty, people built the Water Mother Tower next to the Sage Mother Hall. To dedicate the water god, Liu Chunying and to consolidate the position of folk belief. The statue in the building is decorated by a peasant young woman with a light makeup and half-drooped hair. It seems that she has not finished dressing. After the Water Mother Tower was built, the Water Mirror Terrace was also built.

10.3 ARCHITECTURAL IMAGES AND SOCIAL BELIEFS

The second part has already revealed the history of these buildings. This historical narrative has already partially revealed the relationship between the buildings, and the third part will more clearly reveal the social significance and interaction between the buildings.

The Shrine of Shuyu is dedicated to Tang Shuyu, the late lord of Tang state, benefited the people and after his death was elevated to the status of God and worshipped for generations. His temple is one of the earliest ancestor worship temples in China. When the Tang Dynasty entered the Song Dynasty, the rulers of the Song Dynasty apparently realized that the Shrine of Shuyu was a symbol of the Tang Dynasty, and in order to weaken the significance and political status of the old one, Jinci underwent a religious transformation. This led to the rise of the Sage Mother Hall.

As a simple local deity of rain and water, the Sage Mother, with the strong support of the rulers, became the absolute protagonist among the many folk temples in Jinci. In the social background at that time, the Jin water irrigated the surrounding villages, giving rise to industries such as the mill and paper making, and further expanding the status of the Sage Mother as a symbol of water source. The image of the Sage Mother responded to the social needs of the time and was easily revered by the people.

This change was certainly due to dynastic changes and political interventions, but if the image of the Sage Mother had not been accepted by the majority of the people, the shrine would not have flourished. The belief in the Sage Mother was originally a tool used by the Song rulers for political counterbalance, but by linking it with the local economy and the reality of people's lives, the people were able to give a solid foundation to this rising star.

However, this situation was not accepted by the scholarly officials. With the belief in local god surpassing the orthodox Confucian belief, scholars made many efforts to revive the orthodox beliefs. In the early Qing Dynasty, Yan Ruoqu 阎若璩 proved that the Sage Mother was actually the Shu Yu's mother, Yi Jiang,

according to *Xie Yuwen* 《谢雨文》.[22] The reinterpretation of this image brought the difference in belief status back into the framework of the Confucian hierarchy. The image of the Sage Mother became associated with dynastic rule, implying the state's control over local god. Both the Shuyu Shrine and the Sage Mother Hall, dominated by scholars, became architecture of Confucian orthodoxy. But obviously, the story does not end here.

In the process, the people are still not accepting it. These matters involve very real issues of water rights. When the Temple of the Sage Mother is interpreted as a local water goddess who protects the local agricultural and economic industries, this is an autonomous power belonging to the local. However, the worship of the Sage Mother was officially transformed into a reverence for the Mother of Shu Yu, and the system of private self-government was intersected by official rule. A sacrificial system free from official interference was important to the local. Therefore, the legend of the water god Liu Chunying " Liu's sitting urn"柳氏坐瓮 was born in the folklore. In order to substantiate the folk legend of the water god Liu Chunying, people built the Water Tower next to the Sage Mother Hall during the Ming Dynasty.[23] The Water Tower was built next to the Perfect Benefit Spring 难老泉, forming an axis parallel to the core axis of the Sage Mother Hall and seemingly on an equal footing with the Sage Mother. Soon afterwards, the Water Mirror Terrace was built. Architecture scholars believe that the 6° deviation of the Water Mirror Terrace actually favors the Water Tower, thus emphasizing the folk axis formed by the Perfect Benefit Spring and the Water Tower.[24]

According to the above discussion, the emergence of the Water Tower was the result of the competition between the private and the official authorities for water rights. However, an analysis of the sacrificial rituals reveals that the local people did not sacrifice to Liu Chunying solely for the sake of water rights. The surrounding villages do not have a mechanism to monitor each other's rituals to the Water God, which means that whether or not other people sacrifice to the Water God does not affect the rainfall at the Perfect Benefit Spring. This is very different from the usual deity rituals, in which the Water God is a god with no punitive side at all. According to the local people, "To worship the Water God is nothing more than to show one's conscience and thank one for using its water. "[25]In this way, the Water God sacrifice is not like a belief in a god, but more like an ancestor worship. According to Arthur P. Wolf, the ancestors are essentially members of the kinship, and the blessing is out of benevolence to take care of the offspring. When one asks a god for something, he must make a sacrifice to please the god, while praying to the ancestors does not necessarily mean one must be prepared to make a sacrifice. The relationship between humans and gods is based on devotion and respect, but the relationship between humans and their ancestors is universal and constant, involving common welfare and mutual

[22] *Shen Yang, Shen Tong and Zhou Xiaodi, "Spatio-Temporal Misinterpretation of Displacement of the Entrance Gate of Jinci Temple," Architectural Journal, no.1(2019):113.*
[23] *Miller Tracy, the Divine Nature of Power: Chinese Ritual Architecture at the Sacred Site of Jinci. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007),187.*
[24] *Zhang Xingyun, "Fireworks in Jinci," Sanlian Life Week1077, no. 10(2020):98.*
[25] *Zhang Yahui, Water and Virtue Matching the Sky, Beijing: Ethnic Publishing House, 2008, 248.*

dependence.[26] The background of the struggle for water rights is that the water from the Perfect Benefit Spring produced by the Water God is only used for irrigation in local villages, but in fact, drinking water, clean water, etc. are all related to the Water God and the Perfect Benefit Spring.[27] Therefore, not only the rituals performed at the Water Tower, but also the local people's propagation of the story of "Liu's Sitting Urn" is a manifestation of the worship of Liu Chunying.

This is a step forward in the understanding of the folk belief in the Water Tower. From the point of view of the local people, the Water Tower represents a kind of secular religion, which is not only the difference between national big tradition and folk small tradition, but also allows the ordinary villagers to connect with the morality of heaven and earth in a larger sense, playing the moral role of "religion" in life.

In this history, the image of the Sage Mother Hall is more complex. First, with the support of the ruler, it became the local water god, and then the people, driven by their real needs, gradually identified with the image of the water god. However, the demands of the people eventually diverged from the official ideas of the scholars, and the image of the Sage Mother was transformed from a local deity into a Confucian orthodox image, maintaining the official belief system at the local level. The water god Liu Chunying, on the other hand, belongs to the folk belief system from beginning to end. The Water Tower was built to establish a folk axis of resistance to the official one, and it did so, becoming an ancestor-like deity carrying local moral beliefs. The Shu Yu Shrine, the earliest symbol of ancestor worship, was gradually weakened by the power struggle between different faiths, and even had to change the image of the Sage Mother to justify the decline of its joss sticks. However, this is not to belittle the status of the Shuyu Shrine. As a symbol of Confucian orthodoxy and endorsed by the state, the Shuyu Shrine is still one of the most important buildings in the entire complex of Jinci.

The imperial power, the Confucian ideological order, and the local society have their own religious expressions, which are intertwined and nested together to form the overall picture of the architecture of the shrine.

10.4 CONCLUSION

Starting from the main protagonists of the building's disputes, we discover the incomprehensible 6-degree deviation, and then discover the building's faithful record of the historical process. The struggle for power in the change of dynasties, the demand for autonomy of people, and the perseverance to the hierarchical and ethical order of the scholars are the vivid histories preserved in remains.

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[26] *Arthur P. Wolf，"Gods, Ghosts, Ancestors" in Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society.(California: Stanford University Press,1974),166.*
[27] *Zhang Yahui, Water Virtue Matching Heaven, Beijing: Minzu Publishing House, 2008, 251.*

To see architecture only as the result of imperial manifestation of domination would be to ignore the fact that its transformation corresponds to different events and people. Beginning with the Shrine of Shu Yu, a model for ancestor worship and Confucianism, the deity and the fireworks were all gathered in this building. The rulers, however, suppressed its political symbolism and promoted its folk orientation in order to stabilize the new regime. The Sage Mother became a means to maintain rule in the image of local gods, and folk beliefs responded to socio-economic development, thus far surpassing official beliefs. The order-observant scholars reformed the beliefs and returned them to the Confucian hierarchical order. The common people again created local beliefs to realize their moral ideals.

After examining religion in Chinese society, C. K. Yang 杨庆堃 proposed two kinds of structures for religion. One is institutional religion 制度性宗教, which is independent of the secular social organization and has its own ritual and organizational system, and the other is diffused religion 分散性宗教, whose rituals and organization are closely tied to the secular system and social order.[28] The latter is prevalent in Chinese society.

This paper presents the expression of diffused religion in architecture. In an attempt to explain "why architecture is the way it is," it shows the complex interaction between official religion and folk beliefs. Folk beliefs are not always in opposition to official beliefs, but also conform, converge, and sometimes are better suited for domination. Official and ethical beliefs are sometimes transformed into ordinary folk beliefs, which are closely integrated with the local society.

The state, the scholar, and the local community each had their own religious expressions, which, though not categorized into religious system, were intertwined to form the overall picture of the architecture in Jinci. As Yang Shen said, "The development of Jinci in traditional China was a collection of influences from the state, the people, scholars, and gentry, accompanied by friction, restraint, confrontation, and fusion of various powers and social consciousnesses, which eventually formed a balance and was a microcosm of social power relations. Every building in Jinci has a meaning, and its continuity of more than a thousand years is the result of people's choice."[29] The combing and investigation of the architecture of Jinci provides a better way to understand folk beliefs and people.

COMPETING INTERESTS

Author has declared that no competing interests exist.

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[28] *Yang Qingkun, Religion in Chinese Society: A Study of Religion's Modern Social Function and Its Historical Factors, Shanghai: People's Publishing House, 2007;35.*
[29] *Zhang Xingyun, "Fireworks in Jinci," Sanlian Life Week1077, no. 10(2020):96.*

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Southern Fujian's Tradition and Innovation in Historical Perspective: Past and Present

Gao Yuanxing [a]

11.1 INTRODUCTION

American anthropologist Robert Redfield formulated a couple of terms: "Macro-tradition" and "Micro-tradition"(Redfield 1956). The term "Macro-tradition" refers to a kind of culture centered on central city, popular with intellectuals of rank and fashion, while the term "Micro-tradition" refers to the culture of frontier places represented by villagers. In Taiwan, Li Yiyuan (Li Yiyuan 2000) applied the concept of macro-tradition and micro-tradition to the study of Chinese culture. Macro-tradition mentioned by Li Yiyuan refers to a set of cosmology and world view represented by Confucian culture in Chinese society. While micro-tradition refers to the folk existence of a set of their own cosmology and world view.

When these terms were brought into the present situation of southern Fujian's beliefs and traditions, I just find that it is difficult to distinguish which kind of belief truly belongs to "Macro-tradition" and which kind of belief truly belongs to "Micro-tradition".

Entering a prosperous Minnan temple in a nearby village, you will hear Buddhism chants ring in your ears. The deity surrounded by ceremonial salutes of buddhism, is probably a taoism god, such as Mazu and Zhongtanyuanshuai(中坛元帅). Wangye (Ongya) is a series of gods and positions (it depends on situations) who are revered by local fishermen.On the one hand, in the situation that Wangye becomes a position, he may appear in a certain kind of cloth and ornament in the temple near a Taoism deity. According to the villagers nearby Huacangan(华藏庵), Tongan district. It is because Wangye patrols earth on behalf of heaven and the deity who assumes the office of Wangye would change every few years, so it is difficult to carve a fixed Wangye statue. On the other hand, when I talk about Wangye with a Mazu-believer taoist, she doesn't seem to regard Wangye as a Taoism deity.

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All of the events above seem to tell us that, in southern Fujian's local condition, macro-tradition and micro-tradition are not independent of each other. On the one hand, owing to the Imperial Examination giving frontier inhabitant chances to become state officials, after common people who as folk religious believers become officials, they would enshrined their local deities as a part of Chinese orthodox gods system. On the other hand, via dividing burning incense to build new local temples and religious immigration, orthodox traditional deities could become folk deities. In Chinese Taoism's ancient theory Chihua (气 化), everything could be transformed into each other. So, the happening of the events related above is not surprising. But all of the events above at least reflect a certain kind of fact that, the most important point of Chinese religion is that it reflects the believer's social worldview (Arthur P.Wolf 2014). All of the aspects show that the leader of the supernatural administration system is a counterpart of the emperor of the earth (Arthur P. Wolf 2014). So we would discovered once again that, in current situation of southern Fujian's beliefs, there is no distinct dividing line of macro-tradition and micro-tradition, like any other places in today's China.

But when we search for southern Fujian's traditions in historical perspectives, we will find that this place plays a frontier role of the empire for a long time. Before the arrival of immigrants from the Central Plains, southern Fujian belonged to a famous large region called Baiyue (百越). As a region with different cultures, Baiyue and the Central Plains had undergone a long time of cultural integration. As a part of China land, southern Fujian, due to its unsuitable geographical environment (mountainous, lack of arable land, and is popular with disease) in history, its cultural evolution is very different from the Central Plains. When the Central Plains has surpassed the stage of magic, southern Fujian is still at this stage. The belief of witchcraft in the ancient Baiyue is now hard to find. The time when we noticed the local beliefs such as Mazu and Baoshengdadi in southern Fujian once again, is started with the arrival of the Kaizhangshengwang (The Saint Emperor who civilized Zhangzhou(漳州,a city of southern Fujian)) Chen Yuanguang (陈元光) from the Central Plains in Tang Dynasty. Therefore, to some extent, Southern Fujian is "discovered" by immigrants from the Central Plain, rather than natural evolution. Therefore, the history of the "discovering" and "establishing" of southern Fujian, is also the history of the connecting of Chinese past and present, the connecting of gods abode and earth, and the connecting of world of life and world of death.

So we could shift from analyzing macro-traditions and micro-traditions to analyzing the Chinese traditional ideas from Central Plains view about the others. This kind of the others are geographically represented as imperial borders like southern Fujian. And culturally, in Arthur P. Wolf's view, this kind of the others represented as ghost (Gui,鬼)(Arthur P. Wolf 2014). Arthur P. Wolf makes the distinction between god, ghost and ancestor with the classification of the human social system. The god represented a complete set of imperial systems of the empire and the emperor. The ancestor represents the traditional system of human society. And the ghost is excluded by human society and not accepted by traditional society. Both gods and ancestors have a creative social relationship,

while ghost represents a dangerous and destructive social force (Arthur P. Wolf 2014). Compared with this kind of view, Richard Von Glahn has different view, he thinks that, the model of "god, ghost and ancestor" has functional implications. The model itself is changing over time, many gods are ghosts before, ancestors can also be upgraded to deities. In some cases, the image of the ancestors is not very different from the image of the other ghosts (Richard Von Glahn 2004). All in all, the history of Chinese belief's integration is also the history of "the other" being integrated into "Ourself". However, this kind of historical process must be local. Because in China, all of the religions are local. Only by carefully searching for the history of local society, can we truly understand the dialectical relationship between religion and society (Richard Von Glahn 2004).

In historical perspective, the culture of southern Fujian not only try to pursue the mainstream culture of Zhongyuan, but also keeps the special features of frontier culture. It not only follows the unified political and cultural system of the Chinese nation and makes contributions to it, but also surpasses the norms of tradition and reality. It not only tries to inherit the traditional values of early Chinese culture, but also creates a social structure such as provincial organizations (Chen Zhiping 2014). And the merges of Minyue (闽越) and the Central Plain cultures in history is the track of culture changes, and also the reason of the stratification of folk beliefs and cultures in Southern Fujian (Peng Weibin 2007).

11.2 SINOCENTRISM AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF SOUTHERN FUJIAN

The central Plains, originally meaning "the middle of the world", refers to the middle and lower reaches of the Yellow River in ancient China (Shu Xincheng 1947). In Zhou Dynasty, people identified the Central Plains symbolizing the center of the world (Xu Zhuoyun 2015). Sometimes the term "Zhong Guo (中国, the Middle Kingdom)" is also used to refer to the central Plains. What should be emphasized is that the term "Guo" refers to the large cities and civilization, which opposite to barbarism. Therefore, the central Plains and Sinocentrism, symbolized the ancient Chinese orthodoxy.

Although since pre-Qin Confucianism, the difference between orthodox and unorthodox is not about race, lineage, but about culture and morality (Guo Hongji 1994). However, only the cultural distinction hides the strong pride of the Huaxia (华夏) people who lives in the Central Plains, while the other people nearby the central Plains also regard themselves as barbarians (Taoxu 1993).

After the Zhou Dynasty, the sinocentrism took the central Plains, which is the ancestral home of the Zhou Dynasty, as the place of orthodox power. The culture areas which expanded from the central Plains, were all proud of displaying the central Plains aesthetic. The central Plains or the middle kingdom as these ethnic groups' self cognition, gradually replaced the cognition of their own clan. However, the concept of sinocentrism still has the meaning of civilizing the barbarians. For example, when ancient literati experienced relegation, they tended to associate the southern frontier of the empire with their inner

disappointment, especially the coastal areas on the border of the empire, even though it had been included in the category of the empire. Because central to the Chinese world View was that anything that lay beyond the empire was a threat to orthodox civilization (Clark H R 2010). Therefore, even the frontier ethnic groups who accepted the self cognition of the Central Plains still had to face the problem of how their existing cultural heritage harmonized with the newly accepted concept of the sinocentrism.

Although the word "Minyue" disappeared into a vast sea of ancient books in China after emperor Wudi of the Han Dynasty conquered Minyue and moved its people to the Yangtze River and Huai River. However, in connection with the belief in snake totem still existing in Fujian, the seafaring culture from ancient times to the present, and the continuing interest in folk beliefs such as divination, we can also say that the Minyue culture has a certain historical continuity. Richard Von Galhn thinks that history is an open process in which social order and values are constantly reinterpreted and reconstructed (Richard Von Glahn 2004). To understand how a continuous culture has been influenced and changed in the process of acculturation, we should first analyze its early historical lineage. Before Tang Dynasties, the central Plains civilization and the Southern Baiyue civilization coexisted (Chen Zhiping 2014). Therefore, the culture of southern Fujian before Tang Dynasties can be regarded as a relatively independent unit. And its remained dialogue(the term "Min(闽)" first appeared in Shanhaijing(山海经,the Classic of Mountains and Seas,the term "Yue(越)" first appeared in Oracle bone scripts(甲骨文) of Shang Dynasty,the term "Baiyue" first appeared in Lushichunqiu(吕氏春秋),and the term "Minyue(闽越) first appeared in "Shiji(史记,Historical Records(Xuejing,Wang Zhenglu 2007)",obviously,this kind of dialogue mainly a kind of appreciation by the people of the central Plains) with the Central Plains culture was mainly achieved through the literature records of central Plains scholars.

The term "southern Fujian" first appeared in a Tang dynasty article by Han Yu (Han Yu), but at that time the term "southern Fujian" probably referred to the entire region of Fujian. The time when the term "southern Fujian" was really used to refer to the present Xiamen, Zhangzhou and Quanzhou regions, is after the Fujian dialect experts put forward the Southern Fujian language and its division in the second half of the 20th century, which is also the scope of the meaning of "Southern Fujian" in the title of this paper.

Yue(越) means "distant place" in ancient Chinese, while Baiyue refers to the numerous ethnic groups living in the south of the central Plains. Although it is not clear whether "Min(闽)" is a name claim by the local people of Fujian or a name from the central Plains, it is clear that the word "Minyue" comes from the rulers of central China to name the ethnic groups in Fujian. The natives in Fujian were called "Seven Min(七闽)" in the Shang and Zhou literature. During the Qin Dynasty, the central government via indirect way to govern the area of Minyue. (Peng Weibin 2007).After the fall of Minyue, for the rest Minyue people who scattered in the mountains and forests, on the one hand they continued to resist

the northern people to move in, on the other hand they just change their surname to fit Sinocentrism culture and become the cultural descent of the powerful families of the Central Plains. In the literature of Tang and Song dynasties, it has been pointed out for many times that some of Fujian's popular family names, such as Lin and Huang,were transformed from descendant of the Minyue people(Peng Weibin 2007).

According to the traces presented in the archaeological materials and historical documents, as early as 4000 years ago, the Minyue people had the consciousness of totem classification and ghost belief, and the belief in magic was also quite popular (Peng Weibin 2007). In ancient China, the art of witchcraft provided insight into controlling one's destiny, and ritual acts -- especially sacrifices to gods -- gave mortals the means to gain divine blessing (Richard Von Glahn 2004). Richard Von Glahn believes that Chinese religious culture manifests itself in two fundamental orientations throughout its history: 1) it is a exorcism plan of eudaemonistic and propitiation to harmonize mortal and spiritual worlds; 2) It is an abiding belief in the inherent moral balance in the universe (Richard Von Glahn 2004). While the second orientation gradually became popular among literati in the central Plains, the southern Fujian region was still in the first orientation generally. Therefore, the contradiction and conflict of these two orientations not only exist in different levels of time and society, but also exist in different Spaces of the empire. With the large-scale southward migration of the northern powerful families due to the war, the two different orientations were about to collide in southern Fujian, together with the Sinocentrism view of Central Plains held by the central Plains scholars, they shaped the external features of the later Southern Fujian culture.

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11.4 THE DEITIES OF THE SOUTHERN FUJIAN：A GENERATING OF STRUCTURALISTIC

From the emperor Wudi who defeated the country of Minyue and established southern Kuaiji county(会稽南部都尉) to the three Kings who civilized Fujian, the southern Fujian area under the empire has been in the collision of cultural exchanges. From The Han And Jin dynasties to the Five Dynasties, the people from the central Plains began to migrate to the southeast coast, including southern Fujian. With a large number of northern people entering Fujian, the culture of sinocentrism spread rapidly from north to south in central Fujian, and folk customs of the central Plains gradually replaced indigenous folk customs and took the main position (Chen Zhiping 2014). Such acculturation is mainly carried out on the premise of sinocentrism, that is, the southern Fujian region is regarded as a symbol of the frontier both geographically and culturally. The famous Ghost city of Fengdu (Fengduguicheng, 丰都鬼城), located in Sichuan Province,

Southwest China, symbolizes the nether world (Yinjian,阴间), the afterlife world of the ancient Chinese people, which means that Fengdu, both geographically and culturally, has become a symbol of the others of the Empire. The example of Fengdu shows that the external characteristics of local culture are closely related to its place in the imperial structure. At least, in terms of the external characteristics of a local culture, it is a top-down construction from the sinocentrism concept, regardless of its original appearance.

This kind of sinocentrism, in my opinion, includes three aspects, the first aspect concerns the view of others (e.g. the view of death, disease), the second aspect shows as the concept of "Moral always better than existence" which was raised by Zhu Xi, and the third is a kind of metaphor of relatives and titles of the gods originating from the Zhou dynasty , especially reflect on the external characteristics, the metaphor of relatives such as Laotianye(老天爷,the god of sky who is our grandpa), Tianhou(天后,the holy wife), and good brother(好兄弟,a name of ghosts), titles of the gods such as Guangzezunwang(广泽尊王,the king whose grace cover the whole world), Kaizhangshengwang(开漳圣王,the king who civilized Zhangzhou),a mixture of these two kinds such as Diyegong(帝爷公,the emperor grandpa), Wangye(王爷,the king grandpa). The harmonious relationship of metaphor of relatives and titles of the gods which forms in the process of history just like a young man who comes from Quanzhou told me, these different Kings are all brothers. It is the concepts represented by these three aspects that have exerted an important influence on the final formation of the belief culture in Southern Fujian.

There have been different ideas about death in Chinese history. In the Zhou Dynasty, it was believed that ancestors could influence the lives of their descendants (Richard Von Glahn 2004).The ritual of ancestor worship is a banquet between the living and the possessed body (Richard Von Glahn 2004). Shipwrecks are often associated with accidental deaths. In the Eastern Zhou culture, people are often frightened by ghosts and spirits that roam the earth after death. (Richard Von Glahn 2004). In order to appease the ghosts' anger, people built ancestral halls and offered sacrifices to them. According to the anthropologist Mary Douglas, danger arises from categories that cannot be classified, and the establishment of memorial tablets for these ghosts not only effectively removes the danger, but also strengthens the social order. In sinocentrism, others can be described as ghosts, such as the tribe named "The point of ghost (Guifang, 鬼方)" in the Shang and Zhou dynasties. This appreciation of the other also shows in a ghost who is believed to live in southern China: Shanxiao(山魈). No matter what the historical reality is, the legend of Shanxiao still remains in the Taibao culture of Nanping city, Fujian province. Similar to the cultural construction of Fengdu ghost city, it can be regarded as a kind of cultural interaction under the sinocentrism view.

With the emergence of the gods, an idea of a vast bureaucracy in the underworld began to take shape, based mainly on the imperial system and judicial organs of the Han Dynasty (Richard Von Glahn 2004). Most of the gods in the religious belief of The Han Dynasty once existed as ordinary mortals (Richard Von Glahn

2004). It can be said that most of the gods generated in the Han Dynasty were upgraded to gods by ordinary people after death. This feature is also evident in the southern Fujian deities generated in the Song Dynasty and later, such as Mazu and Baoshengdadi.

Owing to the co-existence of the belief both divine power and morality in Chinese religion, and in Confucianism concepts morality often trumps divine power, and supernatural power (ghost power, whose source is unknown and cannot be classified), will eventually be transformed into divine power and added to the imperial bureaucracy. Therefore, after the Han Dynasty, the source of diseases would be regarded as the little gods who carried out the will of Heaven or the absence of moral norms. In sinocentrism, the hot and humid south was associated with disease and exorcism. The eastern Han dynasty thinker Wang Chong, who was born in southern China, thought that the people in southern China (Chuyue,楚越) were carriers of the disease, but he also linked the disease to the virtues of the rulers. Although Confucian scholars, who advocated more moral concepts, continued to exert influence on southern Fujian society, the idea of divine power of epidemic disease still existed. Moreover, different concepts are closely related to the people of different professions. Baoshengdadi with superb medical skills mainly accepts people's belief as a local god, while Wangye who also protects people from diseases is closely related to the Danmin (疍民,the ethnic group who are fishermen). However, with the influence of moral ideas, both of them are attached with moral meanings. In particular, many legends describe the previous existence of Wangye as an honest official who loved his people, or Confucian scholars who are on the way to examination or protect their emperor. Although as early as the Song Dynasty, today's Hunan province had similar ritual practices (Richard Von Glahn 2004). But it was only in southern Fujian that similar deities became local protectors. This may also be because, in the view of scholars just like Wang Chong, the frontier people as carriers of the disease and their gods are structurally similar.

Under the influence of the religious culture of the Song Dynasty, people gradually realized that the gods were part of their own history, the common memory of the local society (Richard Von Glahn).These deities reflect both the unique history of the region and the needs of its inhabitants. In this process, many of the deities that appeared in the Song Dynasty became strikingly similar to their believers (Richard Von Glahn 2004). The new local beliefs of the Song dynasty were about ordinary people, usually by birth or death (more often) and with divine powers, it is because they belong to the same community that the local people get their inspiration from these deities (Richard Von Glahn 2004). During the Song Dynasty, Hundreds of local deities were enshrined in worships, and their miracles for the court and local society earned them official approval (Richard Von Glahn 2004). The gods Mazu and Baosheng emperor in southern Fujian were the representatives of such local deities. It is a process of reverberation, the folk worship and religious professionals influence each other, leading finally to the formation of faith traditions (Richard Von Glahn 2004).

11.5 THE COMING OF MODERNITY

After reaching a roughly habitual form in Song Dynasty, the tradition of southern Fujian has passed almost 800 years. During this kind of long time, the tradition of southern Fujian experience the mix of Islam culture, Hinduism, Manichaeism and Nestorianism in Yuan Dynasty. The district of Jin (境)to be build as a unit of local religious community during Yuan and Ming Dynasty. Many related legend and tradition of Wangye can be traced back to Ming Dynasty. The famous patriotic general Zheng Chenggong became a kind of Wangye after his passing away. And after the Age of Discovery, many native southern Fujian people joined the group of going to southeast Asia(下南洋),not only they bring the food of southeast Asia such as satay sauce and sweet potato to southern Fujian, but also they bring the culture of southern Fujian to southeast Asia,they bring their deities, such as Chenghuangye (城隍爷),Tudigong (土地公),Mazu (妈祖),Baoshengdadi (保生大帝) and Wangye (王爷),and mixed with local culture, the culture reproduction produced many new beliefs and traditions, such as Nadugong(拿督公,Natha), and Sending the boat of Huangye (送皇船,a combination of Jiuhuangye (九皇爷) belief and Wangye belief).

All of the examples above demonstrate the central view of this paper, that is the culture of southern Fujian is a long historical consummation, and this kind of culture innovation is still going on. In Shapowei (沙坡尾),the people who come from other communities could be allowed to joined Xiagang(厦港) religious activity of sending the boat of Wangye. In folk religious performance, many popular elements are added into the process, such as street dance and pop music singing. And almost in every important ceremonious activities, the unique shaped Electronic Sound Nezha (电音三太子) would be noticed. In my opinion, the most striking cultural project is the Gezai opera which combines many kinds of opera patterns in southern Fujian, originated from Taiwan province. The people community of southern Fujian formed after a long time of acculturation, and the new birthed Gezai opera gives these people a chance to make their culture still at the process of innovation. Like almost all the classical operas in China, the information of Gezai opera is advancing with the times. The social changes, the emergence of new ideas, can be reflected in the newly written drama. These years, many young and skillful dramatist emerges, and I happen to encounter a drama called "The Birth of Prince (太子出世,its another name called 'The Empress of Two States')" which composed by a young dramatist Lin Shaopeng at the night of the opening ceremony (Qingchengjiaohui) of Jingshengtang Temple's gate. At first, I think this is an ancient play, but after searching the internet, I finally realized that this is a modern composition. To a certain degree, this kind of new composition reflects some culture innovation of today's culture of southern Fujian. Especially when Kuanyin (观音), a very popular Buddhism deity of southern Fujian, is added into the drama of "The Birth of Prince". Moreover, the role of Kuanyin to bring a mortal back to life in this drama is similar to that of Gauri in the Harshavardhana's famous work, Nagananda(龙喜记).This reflects that even today, the modern southern Fujian

culture still retains its element of receiving the influence of Indian buddhism culture.

Gezai opera, also known as Xiang opera(芗剧), is believed to be originated from Yilan (宜兰),Taiwan province. And most of people in Yilan come from Zhangzhou (Liuli 2019).The birth of Gezai opera is actually the result of cultural interaction between Zhangzhou and Yilan. Maybe for this reason, most of the troupes performing on the stage in Xiamen come from Zhangzhou, especially Longhai. Although in the framework of the current interpretation of southern Fujian drama, Gezai Opera is defined as the formation and rise of modernity in the turbulent times of great change, it isn't buried by the powerful and devastating modernity of enlightenment (Wangwei 2014). In the context of modernity reflexive, the newly created Gezai opera has become an important resource for southern Fujian community to imagine modernity (Wangwei 2014). So the Gezai opera is still a folk performance rooted in the countryside. It is local creators rather than intellectuals have quietly endowed the southern Fujian culture with the meaning of innovation in their composition.

Lin Shaopeng, born in an art family in Longhai, Zhangzhou, is now a famous young dramatist of Gezai opera. Since 2000, also the year of Xiamen's rapid urbanization, after adapting and expanding several outline plays, Lin began to write her own original works, the popular work "The Birth of Prince" was also written during this period. "The Birth of Prince" not only shows the lingering, sincere, persistent and deep love between lovers, but also shows the long and selfless love between mother and child, mother and daughter, father and daughter. Love and affection intertwine, producing a touching expression effect (Yang Huiling 2007).

Lin once described how she wrote "The Birth of Prince", and said her creative inspiration comes from dissatisfaction with historical figure Xi Shi, who was in the midst of the conflict between the two states, deceived the king who loved her (Yang Huiling 2007). Lin wanted very much to write about a woman with the beauty and sanctity of Xi Shi, who was also in the war (Yang Huiling 2007). But the enemy king really fell in love with her. Different from Xi Shi, Yulan who was created by Lin knew how to cherish happiness and finally lived a happy life (Yang Huiling 2007).

In the culture of southern Fujian, the opera performed on the stage opposite the temple is shown for the deities in the temple. Time goes by, many ancient social structures no longer exist, but people's emotions remain the same. In Lin's opera, the prince always has a happy ending, the characters in the play must come out to happiness after sufferings, especially the good people must have a good ending (Yang Huiling 2007). Besides these, she also adds some point of views which are not really "traditional". As described in the example of Yulan above, under the gaze of the deities, Lin adds the today's folk view of love of southern Fujian people in her offering "The Birth of Prince. This land has staged numerous separation and death in history, but on the night of nowadays performance, the deities in the temple, along with the audience, are also watching the reunion of the lovers in another fantasy space.

11.6 CONCLUSION

To make a brief review of southern Fujian's beliefs and traditions in historical perspective, what can this prove? To show that the southern Fujian's tradition comes from the tradition of central Plains? Or to demonstrate that the tradition of southern Fujian is actually the continuation of Baiyue culture? Factually, history has its own logic. The logic not only includes social and economic development, but also a cultural dimension. The communication between the northern people came from the Central Plains, who had developed into the stage of religion, and the Baiyue natives, who had remained in the magic stage, was perhaps an underrated great acculturation. In this kind of culture merging, the northern people with their sinocentrism re-established the place of southern Fujian culture in the aesthetic structure of the empire. Under the powerful transforming power of religion since the Song Dynasty, the spiritual powers in the structure of the otherness were gradually interpreted to help people drive away the otherness. The empire's rule over its people was pervasive, even the deities and their associated rituals eventually became part of the imperial hierarchy. Enshrined in hokkien style temples, the gods with unique names are part of the appeal of today's Southern Fujian culture. A traveler who wants to explore the history of the god's roots in southern Fujian will no doubt be disappointed, nor will he be able to study the history of the god's "migration" from the central Plains to southern Fujian. Zhu Xi, a great Confucian scholar in the Song Dynasty, once said of Quanzhou of his time: "In ancient times, this place was called the Country of Buddhism; The streets are full of saints." However, during the Han Dynasty, more than a thousand years before the Song dynasty, the Baiyue, where Quanzhou is located, is described in the Shiji(史记), a book compiled during the reign of Emperor Wudi of the Han Dynasty, as "The Yue people believe in ghosts and their shrines are all haunted". Since the Tang Dynasty, the immigrants of the Central Plains imagined Southern Fujian as their hometown, and imagined the location of Southern Fujian according to the structure of the empire. The old deities may be forgotten, but the new deities were born in the mature cosmology of the empire, in such a cosmology, Center-frontier, emperor-monarchs, father-son, husband and wife are all lined up. No matter what its original form, every god has its own place in such a hierarchy. The history of southern Fujian people lineage communities, who are believed to have originated in the Central Plains also began to be told from that time.

Southern Fujian culture is like a unique baby born from the empire's cosmology in the mature period. Because it was born so late, it looks so exquisite. The contents of "the Romance of the Gods(封神演义)" and "the Romance of the Three Kingdoms(三国演义)" are put on the top of the temple called "heap shears". Art decoration, the essence of other dramas is absorbed into the performance of Gezai opera in the tradition called "Picking Opera(捡戏)". This is not a blind cultural borrowing, but the continuous abundance and development of the southern Fujian Community after its formation in the Song Dynasty, and as mentioned above, such development and innovation have continued till today.

COMPETING INTERESTS

Author has declared that no competing interests exist.

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