

非物質文化遺產與東亞地方社會  
Intangible Cultural Heritage  
and Local Communities in East Asia

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圖1：作為長太平清醮像徵的三大神：鬼王、土地與山神。（馬木池攝，2011）

Figure 1: Images of the three principal deities: the Ghost Master, the Earth God and the Mountain God (photograph taken by MA Muk-chi, 2011).

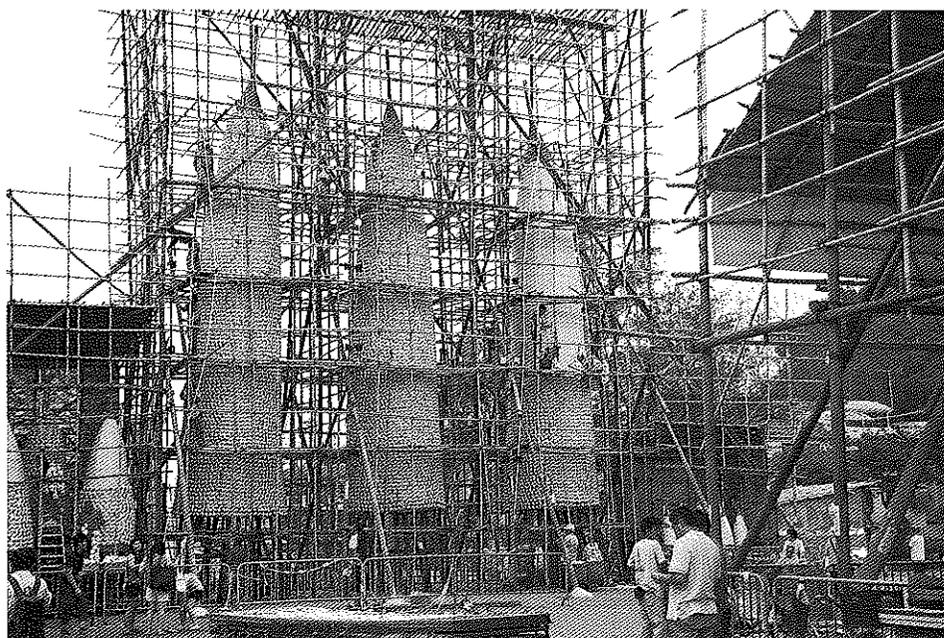


圖2：包山製作。（馬木池攝，2011）

Figure 2: Building the bun towers (photograph taken by MA Muk-chi, 2011).

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## 非物質文化遺產象徵邊界的移動 ——中國廣西中越邊境京族哈節的個案研究

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The Shift of Symbolic Boundaries  
around Intangible Cultural Heritage:  
The Case of the Jing Minority's *Hat* Festival  
on the Sino-Vietnamese Border in Guangxi, China

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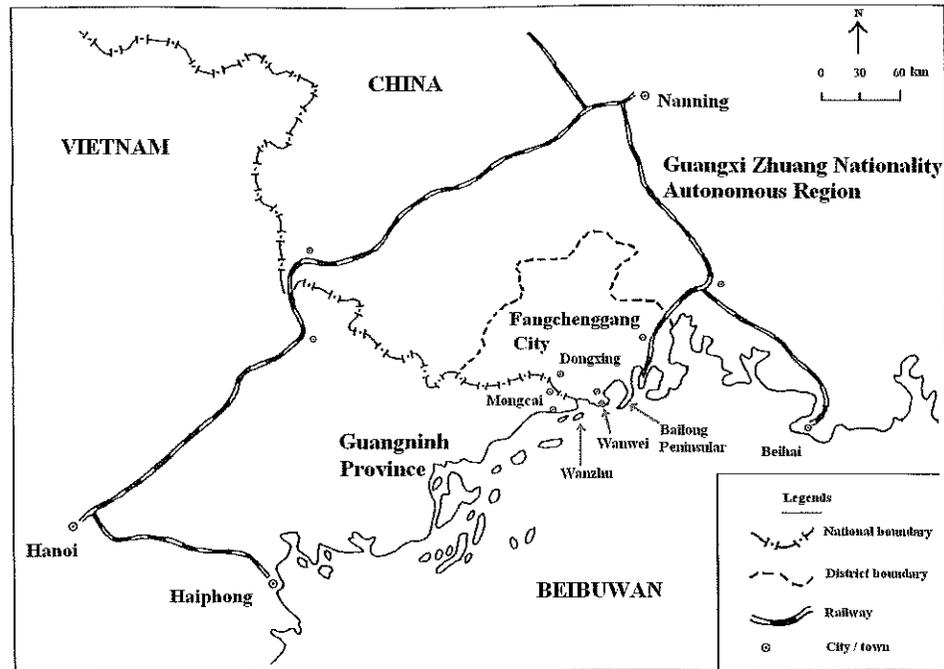
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**Introduction**

The *Hat* Festival of the Jing minority nationality in the People's Republic of China was proclaimed as a listed item of "National-Level Intangible Cultural Heritage" (*Guojiaji feiwuzhi wenhua yichan*) in June 2006. This local festival, centering around a week-long worship of communal patron gods, has become a great attraction since then, especially on the first day when municipal officials and tourists flood into Wanwei, a village of the Jing people in Dongxing, Fangchenggang City, on the Sino-Vietnamese border of the Guangxi Zhuang Nationality Autonomous Region. On the 9<sup>th</sup> day of the 6<sup>th</sup> lunar month of 2009 (30 July 2009), the festival in Wanwei began with a procession marching from the communal temple, which is locally called *hat-tin*, or the singing chamber, through the middle of the village to the beach lying to the south. The purpose of the procession was to receive the village's paramount patron god, Zhenhai Dawang (the king pacifying the sea), through rituals from his shrine located at the top of a small peninsula on the opposite side of the sea.

The procession was led by the head of the village temple and by a group of villagers carrying flags, drums and gongs, walking in front of two sedan chairs, one carrying an incense burner for the ritual to receive the god and one for the god's tablet taken out from the village temple. The sedan chairs were followed by four to five hundred people divided into a dozen marching teams that formed the procession. Each team comprised a particular group with a special identity, including a team of male ritual specialists and a team of female ritual singers and dancers that followed the sedan chairs. These were followed by a team of guests from Vietnam, two Han women performing teams from the nearby Jiangping market town and Fangcheng



Map I: Beibuwan (Gulf of Tonkin)

City, three teams of students from the village elementary school, and a team of guests from the nearby Jing villages. A team of local villagers followed at the end of the procession. Leaving the village temple at about 8:45am, the procession arrived at around 9:00am at an open ground before a makeshift ceremonial platform constructed in front of the beach. The marching teams then fanned out in two lines in front of this platform, on which were several rows of desks and chairs with name tags for high-ranking state officials from Dongxing and Fangchenggang City. The large backdrop of the platform was decorated with a huge banner that read “2009 *Hat* Festival of the Jing Nationality in Fangchenggang City” (2009 Fangchenggangshi Jingzu Hajie), followed by the names of the organizing parties, including the municipal communist party and government, and its departments of publicity and united front. A couplet on the two sides of the backdrop read, “promoting ethnic culture; crafting festival brand names” (*hongyang minzu wenhua; dazao jieqing pinpai*). For almost an hour before the high officials arrived, the seats on the platform were left vacant, as were the front rows of chairs arranged in the open ground for visiting officials and their families and friends. The procession teams flocking around the sedan chairs for the sea-god stood under the mid-summer scorching sun for

almost an hour, waiting for the arrival of the municipal officials. The many singing, dancing and musical performances, including the playing of the unique single-string zither of the Jing people, only absorbed a part of the waiting time. After the officials finally arrived on the platform at around 10:00am, successive speeches were made to flatter the festival as a listed item of Intangible Cultural Heritage, as a tool for promoting tourism in Fangchenggang City, and as a vehicle for cultural linkage and economic cooperation with Vietnam and the rest of Southeast Asia. In the middle of the speeches, a ribbon was presented to the former head of the village temple to wear around his body, a ribbon printed with characters designating him as the “Representative Successor of the National-Level Intangible Cultural Heritage” (*Guojiaji feiwuzhi yichan daibiaoxing chuanchengren*). A plaque was presented to the Dongdong City government, granting the City the title of, “Homeland of China's Folk Culture and Art” (*Zhongguo minjian wenhua yishu zhixiang*). Both titles were conferred by the Central Ministry of Culture in Beijing.

After the speeches and ceremonies ended, the procession immediately resumed, finally arriving at the beach where ritual specialists performed rituals to receive the sea-god. Journalist, and photographers crowded around the sedan chairs, in front of which divinations were made to invite the god to join the festival. Unfortunately, it took quite a few rounds of divination before arriving at the indication of the god's consent. After burning the incense to symbolize the arrival of the god, the procession gradually left the beach to return to the temple along the same route from which it came. This was not the traditional route of the procession, which would normally have gone along another street in a circular pattern. However, that returning route was blocked in 2009 by a street fair catering to tourists' desires for snacks and for a range of merchandise, including a car show.

After the proclamation of the *Hat* Festival as a listed item of National-Level Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2006, this was the second year that the state took the initiative to organize celebration activities in Wanwei during the festival. In 2008, the organizer was the state administration of Dongxing City, a county-level city where Wanwei is located. This year, the scale of activities was upgraded when Fangchenggang City was in charge, with Dongxing as its subordinate. The district-level municipal administration mobilized all its top personnel to show support to the festival, so that only local and registered official vehicles were allowed to enter

the village to safeguard the transportation of attending officials. However, although the opening ceremony and the long list of celebration programs in the following days appeared impeccable, the state's intervention in the festival still turned out to be a focus of contestation. One primary dispute aired on internet websites concerned the official name of the festival. The name that read, "2009 *Hat* Festival of the Jing Nationality in Fangchenggang City" on the backdrop of the ceremonial platform was the final result of the municipal administration's submission to the public opinion on the web, after the proposed official title, which was "The Second Anniversary of the *Hat* Festival of the Jing Nationality in Fangchenggang City" (Dierjie Fangchenggangshi Jingzu Hajie), had been lambasted by criticism from the Jing public, including those who I interviewed during the festival. The Jing public claimed that the festival had long been a tradition rather than being newly invented by the government two years ago when it started organizing the celebration's activities. Another criticism was rendered after the first-day ceremony, opining that the god receiving procession should not be delayed so long waiting for the completion of the opening ceremony held on the platform. The sedan chair carrying the God's tablet and the rest of the procession stood under the scorching sun for over an hour, and that the officials' late arrival showed their arrogance and disrespect to the communal patron god. These two disputes, while in appearance seeming as minor skirmishes, did show how state intervention in local culture in the name of promoting Intangible Cultural Heritage could backfire. Many comments appearing on the internet after the festival were critical of the state intervention in local cultural heritage which had distorted the cultural tradition.

The boundary between the state and the local culture has become very dynamic after the global program of safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage was formally launched by UNESCO in 2006. In the politico-economic context of present-day China, the above contestations about the *Hat* Festival show a special form of relationship between state and local society in terms of state intervention in, or even appropriation of, local culture. The project of Intangible Cultural Heritage contains an inherent range of boundary issues put under the jurisdiction of the state's administration, defining what cultural practices are to be recognized, where the identified heritage is to be located, who are the representative practitioners, and so forth. The state might have the upper hand in defining and redefining the boundaries, changing

the form or rules of the game, and co-opting local elite members for the project by wielding huge economic resources and administrative power, but the above cases show that state intervention may also trigger discontent and resistance.

The concept of "boundary" is instrumental in examining the socio-political relationships and the exercise of power in projects concerning Intangible Cultural Heritage. Identity politics is an inherent component of cultural heritage, which is usually associated with a particular group who define themselves in certain ways or as being defined under particular socio-political circumstances. Intergroup relationships and group interaction across symbolic boundaries are vantage points from which to view the dynamics of Intangible Cultural Heritage. These vantage points register the following questions: How is the boundary defined and demarcated, and by whom? How and under what conditions, and in what forms of interaction, is the boundary maintained, crossed, or transformed?

The boundary and interaction between the state and the local society is certainly a central theme in the national project of Intangible Cultural Heritage. As a global and international concept, Intangible Cultural Heritage involves a spatial dimension demarcated by national boundaries; in the local setting, social groups based on a variety of social and cultural identities are in constant interaction associated with the politics of cultural heritage. There is a rich literature advocating the synthesis between the two research orientations, a synthesis emphasizing the interaction between national identity based upon the national boundary and social identities revolving around symbolic boundaries. Attention must be given to both the material and economic effects of geopolitics and its cultural and symbolic meaning.<sup>1</sup> In the present-day rapid flows of capital, people, information and culture, the consciousness of boundary is always a social process in flux.<sup>2</sup> The global project of safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage can be understood as the imposition of a new grid to demarcate the rapidly changing

1 See Hastings Donnan and Thomas M. Wilson, eds., *Border Approaches: Anthropological Perspectives on Frontiers* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, Inc., 1994), and Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan, eds., *Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

2 Anssi Passi, "Boundaries as Social Processes: Territoriality in the World of Flows," *Geopolitics*, 3:1 (1999), 69-88.

social and cultural landscape through state intervention, but how this new grid is constructed depends largely on specific national and local conditions, and on the varying forms of state-society interaction, in particular economic and political contexts.

In the following sections, a range of political, social, and cultural boundaries surrounding the *Hat* Festival as a listed item of Chinese Intangible Cultural Heritage will be examined, including the cultural boundary of the Jing people, the boundary between religion and state administration, and the national boundary in transnational cultural linkage. These will be analyzed with reference to the context of state intervention to explicate the social dynamics involved in the projects of Intangible Cultural Heritage in China.

### Compartmentalizing Culture and All-round Cultural Display

The Jing Nationality Museum in Wanwei, newly opened on the eve of the *Hat* Festival in 2009, presented a list of fourteen items of Intangible Cultural Heritage belonging to the Jing Nationality. The *Hat* Festival headed the list as the only item at the national level, classified as a “folklore” (*minsu*) item. It was followed by the single-string zither, an item of “folk music” (*minjian yinyue*), and fish sauce, an item of “traditional handicrafts” (*minjian shougongyi*); both listed at the level of Guangxi Zhuang Nationality Autonomous Region. One level below was the Fangchenggang City level, which included the item of *chu nom* (or Vietnamese ideographic writing) under the category of “folk literature” (*minjian wenxue*) and Jing costumes under the category of “traditional handicrafts”. All the other nine items belonged to the lowest Dongxing City level, including categories of “traditional handicrafts”, “folk dance” (*minjian wudao*), “folklore”, and “folk literature”.

In this complex hierarchical list, the items of Intangible Cultural Heritage appear as finite, separate, classifiable items, in just the same way as the thirty-one items of Jing culture listed in a 2009 publication, enumerating the resources of Intangible Cultural Heritage along Beibu Gulf in Guangxi.<sup>3</sup> Many of the items in

3 Yu Zhongyi, Liu Shilin, and Liao Mingjun, eds., “Jingzu Feiwuzhi Wenhua Yichan Ziyuan” (Resource of intangible cultural heritage of the Jing Nationality), in *Guangxi Beibuwan Jingjiqu Wenhua Fazhan Yanjiu* (Study on cultural development in Beibuwan Economic Region, Guangxi) (Nanning: Guangxi People’s Publishing House, 2009), 209-218.

the museum list overlap with those on the list of this publication, which has half of its items not included in the 4-level listing system (nation – province / autonomous region – city – county) of Guangxi’s Intangible Cultural Heritage. Each of these thirty-one items is given a description about its special contents and background. However, not much is said about how these items co-exist and how they are related with one another in a local context, even-though many of them are found side by side in a single Jing community. When we look at the list of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, including 28 items on the national list and 103 items on the list at the level of the Autonomous Region, these items appear even more discrete and separate, as they are from many different and unrelated places. This is even more so for the national list of 147 items announced in 2006 and the 510 items announced in 2008. They were submitted for listing from all over China, divided into ten categories of cultural heritage.

In Wanwei, the *Hat* Festival as an item of Intangible Cultural Heritage is certainly related to certain other listed items that are performed or displayed during the celebration activities, conducted in the vicinity of the village temple inside which religious rituals are performed. They include the items of costumes, dancing, singing, and the single-string zither music. The religious core of the festival comprises the activities of receiving the image of the Sea God from its shrine on the opposite side of the sea, worshipping the sea god inside the village temple, conducting a communal feast inside the village temple, and sending away the Sea God. The village temple is the center of the festival, where villagers worship five local patron gods headed by the King of Sea Pacification (Zhenhai Dawang), which, together with worship of the King of High Mountain (Gaoshan Dawang), seems to be a cult developed after the villagers’ ancestors migrated from the coastal region in northern Vietnam in the sixteenth century. The other three gods, King Xingdao, King Guangda, and King Anling, are believed to be local cults in Vietnam that were brought to Wanwei after villagers’ ancestors were firmly settled.

In the morning of the first day of the festival in 2009, villagers organized a procession, carrying the god’s tablet on a sedan chair to march from the temple in the middle of the village to the beach in the south. After they carried the Sea God back to the temple, they set out to receive the King of High Mountain from a local shrine in Wanwei. The other gods were invited by words only during

the worshipping rituals around noon. In addition to these five gods, villagers also worshipped a god they believed to be in Wanwei before the arrival of their ancestors, the first settlers who were the ancestors of the village's twelve surname groups. They also worshipped a dozen villagers who were deified after their deaths due to their special contributions to the community or the temple, or because they had been summoned to serve the gods.

In the afternoon of the first day, solemn rituals were conducted, in the middle of the temple facing the altar, by a team of fourteen male ritual specialists, each wearing special costumes and playing designated roles. These roles included preparing sacrifices of incense and alcohol, presenting the sacrifices, and reading the long prayer. Six women dancers and singers performed for each round of sacrifices. In addition to these male and female ritual specialists, a group of eight men, wearing uniforms of long robes and standing near the temple's main gate behind the ritual specialists, represented the villagers in worshipping the gods with kneeling and bowing during the ritual process. Yet their first important duty was bringing a ritual beam to the temple hanging it over two poles near the gate and symbolically marking the sacred space inside the temple by preventing evil spirits from entering it.

The second day's ritual was more elaborate, with offering of pork and other food items. In the following days, the ritual process was conducted around noon, normally comprising one round of incense offering, three rounds of alcohol offering, and finally the reading of the long written prayer. During each round of offering, a team of six women ritual performers danced behind the male ritual specialists. In the afternoon and evening sessions, the women's ritual performing team sang before the altar, and villagers sat inside the temple to enjoy their songs, which were about myths, legends, and stories from the Jing's classical folk literature. The singing activities of the festival also included gatherings outside the temple. Village elders flocked around the front court of the temple or inside some compounds called "singing chambers" to sing folksongs.

On the fifth and sixth days of the festival, each household in the village sent a male family head to attend a feast inside the village temple from noon till the late afternoon. These family heads sat around thirty-five tables put on the ground, six at each. Their social statuses were shown by how close their table was to the

altar, according to an order beginning with the personnel of village administration, then the ritual specialists, then village elders who had served the temple before, and finally the youngest household heads, who were seated at the outskirts. Three persons in the group around each table were responsible for bringing the food dishes and delicacies for the first-day gathering, items usually prepared and carried to the temple by women. The other three family heads were responsible for carrying the dishes the next day. External guests were arranged to join different tables. The feast began after the worshipping ritual was completed. The singing women offered tea to some guests of honor, such as representatives from neighboring Jing villages, and they received money as gifts from these guests. In the afternoon, cultural performances such as singing and dancing were presented. Besides preparing food for the feast inside the temple, villagers also invited friends and relatives for dinners at home.

The second-day communal feast inside the temple brought the festive atmosphere to the high point with continuous singing by the team of woman ritual singers and the villagers themselves. After the feast ended in the late afternoon, villagers were busy treating their own guests with dinner at home. Villagers returned to the temple in the evening to attend the ceremony of sending away the gods. There was also a ritual in which the team of eight village representatives for worship in 2009 handed over its duties to the team that was to take up the job the next year. In the late evening, a woman singer performed a special ritual dance called "flower rod dance" (*huaguan wu*), wielding two colorfully decorated short rods in both hands to symbolically sweep the gods out of the temple. The eight village representatives then took the ritual beam down from the hanging poles and sent it to the front court outside the temple, symbolically reopening the temple and bringing it back to its everyday state.

Around noon the next day, village elders and ritual specialists made trips to visit individual shrines around the village to worship those deities and spirits who had not been invited into the temple for the festival. These included shrines for King Xingdao, King Guangda, and King Anling, and other shrines for villagers who had been deified after their death. In the evening, the team of woman ritual performers fulfilled their last duty of singing and dancing to celebrate the success of the festival. Symbolically bringing the village to brightness and prosperity, they performed

a special ritual dance called “heavenly lanterns dance” (*tiandengwu*), each wearing a hat with burning candles put on the top and holding a bowl of burning candles in each hand.

The above ceremonies and activities around the village temple in 2009 were largely what I observed when I attended the festival in 1996, and they continued as the basic activities of the festival in 2009. However, there were many new activities organized for the festival in 2009, activities which were not related to the religious ceremonies in the temple. Also, the festival held more than ten years ago was mainly attended by local villagers, fellow villagers who had returned to their home-place from outside, and guests from Jing villages nearby and across the sea in Vietnam. The visitors in 2009 were much more mixed and had greatly increased in number. On the official website maintained by the Committee for the Preparatory Work of the 2009 *Hat* Festival of the Jing Nationality in Fangchenggang City (2009 Fangchenggangshi Jingzu Hajie Choubai Gongzuo Zuweihui), a news article featuring the *Hat* Festival was posted on the final day of the week-long celebration, entitled “Renmen Xizhanzan Jingzu Hajie Shi Yige Chuancheng He Hongyang Minzu Wenhua Zengjin Minzu Tuanjie De Shenghui” (People praised the *Hat* Festival of the Jing Nationality as a great occasion for promoting ethnic culture and enhancing ethnic unity).<sup>4</sup> It reported that sixty thousand invited guests had attended the festival, including officials from the various levels of state administration, dignitaries from various social sectors, representatives from Vietnam, and the general public, and that on average twenty thousand tourists flooded Wanwei each day. The article briefly mentioned those activities related directly to the religious worship and singing ceremonies, but emphasized other items more attractive for visitors.

These “more attractive” items were widely publicized in the electronic and printed media, including newspapers, websites and television. These included the opening ceremony of the Jing Nationality Museum and the plaque raising ceremony

4 Su Cuixia, “Renmen Xizhanzan Jingzu Hajie Shi Yige Chuancheng He Hongyang Minzu Wenhua Zengjin Minzu Tuanjie De Shenghui” (People praised that the *Hat* Festival of the Jing Nationality was a great occasion for promoting ethnic culture and enhancing ethnic unity), *Fangchenggang Daily*, 6-8-2009, <http://www.fcg-hj.com/Mediasdetview.aspx?MDID=15&pageid=5>, viewed on 6 October 2009.

for the Center for *Chu Nom* (Vietnamese ideographic writing) Studies and the National-listing of the *Hat* Festival on the eve of the festival, the opening ceremony of the *Hat* festival on the first day, and the evening variety show on the fifth day, all of which were events run by the government and attended by high-ranking officials. There were also non-traditional activities catering to touristic interests, such as playing tug-of-war and soccer games on the beach, and singing popular songs and dancing in variety shows. However, there were also a number of activities related to particular Jing heritage items, such as a street fair dedicated to Jing snacks and delicacies, demonstrations of communal fishing operated collectively by villagers from different households using a long net pulled in the shallow water along the beach, and demonstrations of catching shrimp and fish by holding a big net with two hands while walking in the shallow water along the beach on fastened stilts. Performances of single-string zither music were held on many occasions. Many of these attractive items, featured in the media in colorful photographs and video filming, were on the lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage at various administrative levels, as presented in the newly opened Jing Nationality Museum, although quite a few of them were not directly related to the religious nature of the *Hat* Festival.

It is clear that unlike the *Hat* Festival I had attended in 1996, the festival in 2009 was no longer only about religious worship centering around the village temple. It had become a full scale cultural display of the Jing Nationality's heritage. The national program of Intangible Cultural Heritage has been the primary motor driving this development, as evidenced by the opening of the Jing Nationality Museum on the eve of the festival. The national fever of Intangible Cultural Heritage has a special twist in the non-Han Chinese minority area, where the identity of individual minority groups, according to the grid of state classification, are further substantiated by a full array of cultural display in particular localities.

The *Hat* Festival has become a show window of the Jing identity as a minority in China. It is not surprising that the news I cited above from the official website of the festival had a heading which read, “People praised that the *Hat* Festival of the Jing Nationality as a great occasion for promoting ethnic culture and enhancing ethnic unity.” The compartmentalized cultural items on the lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Jing Nationality do not need to be meaningfully related

in order to be displayed on special occasions, such as those cultural activities and performances centering around religious worship that I observed during the *Hat* Festival in my 1996 visit. In the festival this year, these cultural items were displayed as discrete and separate under the loose fabric of Jing identity. Of course, the Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Jing Nationality has also become an economic resource in terms of tourism development. This heritage has been strongly promoted by the government in line with the publicized official goal of Intangible Cultural Heritage projects, which is making use of them for economic development.<sup>5</sup>

### State Intervention and Administrative Boundaries

Since the Jing's *Hat* Festival was proclaimed as a listed item of National-Level Intangible Cultural Heritage in June 2006, 2009 has been the second year that the state took over the management of the festival, as epitomized by the opening ceremony. In 2008, the festival was undertaken by the administration of Dongxing City, a county-level administrative unit in the Chinese state system. In 2009, the organizer was upgraded to Fangchenggang City, an upper administrative unit at the district level. The Mayor of Fangchenggang City hosted the ceremony, with the presence of the Party Secretary and a range of top-ranking officials sitting on the platform. Still more prominent were the top-ranking leaders who were invited to officiate at the ceremony, including the Vice Chairman of the Guangxi Zhuang Nationality Autonomous Region, whose ranking was equivalent to the Vice Governor of provincial-level administration. Indeed, the commencement of the opening ceremony was announced by the representative of the Communist Party of the Autonomous Region, a member of the Party's Standing Committee and the Head of the United Front Ministry. The Vice Chair of the Autonomous Region's People's Political Consultative Conference conferred a plaque with the title of the "Homeland of Chinese Folk Culture and Art"

5 Cultural Bureau of Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, "Guangxi Feiwuzhi Wenhua Yichan Baohu Yu Chuancheng Qingkuang" (The condition of the succession and conservation of intangible cultural heritage in Guangxi), 24-9-2008, *Guangxi government website*, [http://www.gxzf.gov.cn/gxzf\\_gxgk/gxgk\\_ghsy/ghsy\\_kghwhbh/200809/t20080924\\_82020.htm](http://www.gxzf.gov.cn/gxzf_gxgk/gxgk_ghsy/ghsy_kghwhbh/200809/t20080924_82020.htm), viewed 9 October 2009.

(Zhongguo Minjian Wenhua Yishu Zhi Xiang) on Dongxing City, while the Director of the Cultural Bureau of the Autonomous Region's government presented a ribbon to the former head of the village temple to wear around the body, with printed characters designating him as the "Representative Inheritor of the National-Level Intangible Cultural Heritage" (*Guojiaji feiwuzhi yichan daibiaoxing chuanchengren*). The only representative of Wanwei Village sitting on the Platform, among about fifty upper-level officials, was the Village Party Secretary.

The meticulous organizing work for the seven-day program of the festival, from July 29 to August 4, was strictly overseen by the state administration above the village level. A committee for the preparatory work of the 2009 *Hat* Festival of the Jing Nationality of Fangchenggang City (2009 Fangchenggangshi Jingzu Hajie Choubai Gongzuo Zuweihui) was established in Dongxing City, and an official website about the Festival, entitled "Website of Special Topics on the 2009 *Hat* Festival of the Jing Nationality of Fangchenggang City" (2009 Fangchenggangshi Jingzu Hajie Zhuanti Wangzhan), was maintained by the Fangchenggang City government's working committee for the festival.

A week before the Festival, the website posted an entry announcing that the much of the preparatory work was well underway.<sup>6</sup> There was another entry the next day discussing the completion of the 1.2 million RMB project of renovation work in the area around the village temple.<sup>7</sup> I attended a meeting of the village's own working committee at the village temple on that day. An inspection team led by the Head of the Department of Nationality Affairs of Dongxing City Government arrived at the village temple in the morning to discuss with the village working committee about the detailed program of festival activities. The village

6 Chen Yicai, "2009 Fangchenggangshi Jingzu Hajie Choubai Gongzuo Youtiao Buwen" (The orderly preparatory works of the 2009 *Hat* Festival of the Jing Nationality in Fangchenggang City), *Beibuwan Online News*, 22-07-2009, <http://www.fcg-hj.com/Mediasdetview.aspx?MDID=19&pageid=5>, viewed 6 October 2009.

7 Su Cuixia, "Jingzu Hating Zhuangban Yixin Ying Hajie" (The village temple of the Jing Nationality has been thoroughly renovated for the *Hat* Festival), *Fangchenggang Daily News*, 23-7-2009, <http://www.fcg-hj.com/newsview.aspx?Nid=24&pageid=3>, viewed 6 October 2009.

elders objected to the Dongxing Government's request that the God-receiving procession be set out at 9:00am on the first day of the festival. According to their experience last year, it took only fifteen minutes for the procession to arrive at the open area before the platform for the official opening ceremony, and they would need to wait there for almost an hour for the arrival of the officials, and another half an hour for the ceremony to finish. They protested that in 2008 they were completely drenched under the heavy rain while they were standing there for such a long time. According to their own plan this year, before the God-receiving procession set off, they would conduct a plaque opening ceremony at the temple, commemorating a research center on traditional Vietnamese ideographic writing (*chu nom*) run by village intellectuals. Following this, their guests of honor for the ceremony could join the procession and the first-day activities of the Festival. However, their plan was in vain as the Dongxing Government inspection team insisted on their own schedule and proposed moving the research center's opening ceremony to the morning a day earlier. Eventually, history repeated itself this year, as the first-day God-receiving procession was again detained for over an hour in front of the platform of the official opening ceremony. The only difference was that the participants in the procession suffered from the scorching sun instead of the drenching rain.

As the start of the festival approached, the inspection work was undertaken more frequently by higher ranking officials. Three days before the festival, the Vice Mayor of Fangchenggang City, the Director of the United Front Ministry of the City's Communist Party, and the Head of the City's Communist Party Secretariat, all members of the Standing Committee of the City's Communist Party, formed another inspection team to visit Wanwei Village and other places to oversee the preparatory work.<sup>8</sup> Once again on the next day, the Vice Party Secretary of Fangchenggang City, accompanied by the Vice Mayor, the Director of the United Front Ministry, and the Director of the Publicity Ministry, made another trip to

8 Wang Chunling, "Shiwei Lingdao Jiancha 2009 Jingzu Hajie Choubai Gongzuo" (Leaders of the City's Communist Party inspected the preparatory work of the 2009 Hat Festival of the Jing Nationality), 28-7-2009, <http://www.fcg-hj.com/newsview.aspx?Nid=30&pageid=3>, viewed on 6 October 2009.

inspect the preparatory works.<sup>9</sup> All these inspection jobs were publicized on the City Government's official website specifically maintained for the festival.

This tight organization, overseen by the state administration, put the village under strict regimentation during the festival, especially near to the first day opening ceremony and other events attended by high-ranking state officials. Police checkpoints were set around corners of the village, only registered vehicles were allowed to enter the village, and thirty young volunteers were organized by the Youth Brigade of Dongxing City's Communist Party to care for the honorable guests.<sup>10</sup> The village leadership surrounding the village temple, traditionally involving only a loosely organized body of village elders, also transformed itself into a highly ordered taskforce. There was a meticulous division of labor in carefully drafted work plans, flowcharts and schedules for every work item, with clearly stated accountability and responsibility, as epitomized by the minute details of the rules and personnel responsible for the village temple posted on the walls on two sides of the temple's main gate. Indeed, the temple leadership did make an effort to refashion itself for the huge challenges of the festival's heavy work. After serving for thirteen years, the former head of the temple, who had been designated as the "Representative Successor of the National-Level Intangible Cultural Heritage" and who was to pass on the title in the opening ceremony, was ironically removed from the honorable post of Temple Head in a meeting early in 2009. He had proved himself to be unqualified to lead the village elders in meeting the huge challenge of organizing

9 Wang Chunling and Mo Xian, "Li Ningbo Jiancha 2009 Jingzu Hajie Choubai Gongzuo Shi Zhichu Quebao Huodong Longzhong Xiqing Yuanman Chenggong" (Li Ningbo inspected the preparatory work of the 2009 Hat Festival of the Jing Nationality and requested guaranty of the full success of the celebration activities), 30-7-2009, <http://www.fcg-hj.com/newsview.aspx?Nid=28&pageid=3>, viewed on 6 October 2009.

10 No author, "Fangchenggangshi Jingzu Hajie Jianwen" (Experiences in the Hat Festival of the Jing Nationality in Fangchenggang City), adopted from *Guangxi Television Online Forum*, 9-8-2009, <http://www.fcg-hj.com/newsview.aspx?Nid=44&pageid=3>, viewed on 6 October 2009; Dongxingshi Tuanwei (Youth Brigade of Dongxing City's Communist Party), "Qingnian Zhiyuanzhe Fuwu Jingzu Hajie" (Youth volunteers serving on the Hat Festival of the Jing Nationality), 6-8-2009, <http://www.fcg-hj.com/newsview.aspx?Nid=40&pageid=3>, viewed on 6 October 2009.

works because he had made a number of mistakes in the 2008 *Hat* Festival, the first time that the festival was managed by the state administration. On the one hand, village elders blamed him for being too authoritarian and not listening to fellow villagers and mobilizing their cooperation. On the other hand, he had failed to cultivate good external relations. Apparently, state intervention in the festival had greatly changed the nature and scale of the organizing work.

The heavy paperwork demonstrating the tedious organizing tasks included a fifteen-page detailed work plan on six "traditional programs" (*chuantong xiangmu*) of the *Hat* Festival to be handled by the Wanwei village administration and the temple elders. This work plan included an attachment of a five-page table registering the division of labor and personnel deployment, drafted by the village administration to support the overall work plan formulated by the preparatory committee of Fangchenggang City.<sup>11</sup> In addition to the deployed personnel stated in the work plan, comprising mainly local fellow villagers, a dozen Jing elite members living in Dongxing City and Fangchenggang City, who were retired state officials from various administrative units of the cities and managers of business enterprises, were solicited by the village elders to take the leadership of the most formidable task. This was arranging the lunch on the first day of the festival for more than a thousand guests in the open area around the temple. This task, so called "the lunch for ten-thousand people" (*wanren can*), required tedious coordination and communication, as well as good social stature and experience serving many high-ranking officials and dignitaries from outside. The participation of the Jing elite in the village leadership for organizing the festival demonstrated very clearly the changing nature and scale of the festival.

Since its founding, the Chinese party-state has distanced itself from religion, especially folk religion. Even after the Culture Revolution ended, folk religion was still a tabooed arena for the state administration. However, the national program of Intangible Cultural Heritage has somehow offered opportunities for party members and state officials to cross the administrative boundary, learning to come to terms

11 Work Group for the Traditional Programs and the Tradition Festival of the 2009 *Hat* Festival of the Jing Nationality in Fangchenggang City, "Gongzuo Xihua Fangan" (Detailed work plan) and "Zeren Fengong Biao" (Table of division of labor), 20-7-2009.

with folk religion, and even participating in it and promoting it. When I attended the *Hat* Festival in 1996, I did not see any state officials joining the ceremonies or celebration activities, except those who were members of the Jing communities. During the festival in 2009, I saw high-ranking state officials visiting the temple, including those who were from the state administration of the Autonomous Region. These officials also participated in the plaque opening ceremony in the temple, on the eve of the festival, for consecrating the *Hat* Festival as an item on the national-level listing of Intangible Cultural Heritage. Another group of officials came from the Central Personnel Ministry in Beijing, arriving with their families in a big travel bus for a vacation, and joining the alcohol offering game inside the temple.

Cultural change occurred when officials traversed the administrative boundary. In 1996, I only heard of ritual singing and local folksongs as sacrifices for the Gods during the last two days of the festival, with the banquet inside the temple among village fellows. In 2009, during the same event, I heard many nationalistic songs, eulogizing the Chinese Communist Party, showing tributes to the State, and promoting unity among the fifty-six nationalities in China.

### Transnational Linkage and National Boundary

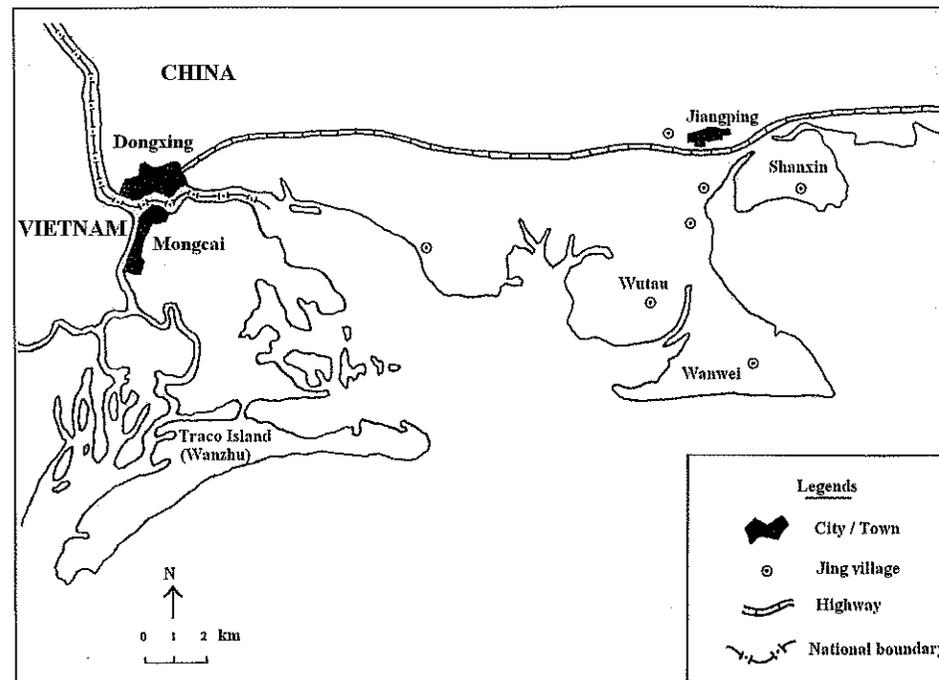
A written passage on a wall inside the Village temple tells of an origin myth of the Jing community in Guangxi, relating it to the origin of the cult of the King of Sea Pacification (Zhenghai Dawang). The story is repeated in a collection of folktales published in the mid-1980s:

There was a mountain called Bailongling [or Mt. White Dragon] along the northwestern coast of Beibuwan [the Gulf of Tonkin]. Ships going between Dongxing and Beihai had to pass around it. A huge Centipede Spirit lived inside a deep cave in the mountain. Whenever a ship passed in front of the cave, people on the ship had to offer a human sacrifice to the Centipede Spirit as food, or else the spirit would produce big waves and the ship would capsize.

One morning, a beggar carrying a big pumpkin on his back approached a ship in Dongxing and asked for a free ride to Beihai. The captain was happy to agree, as he secretly planned to present the poor beggar

as a sacrifice to the Centipede Spirit. He told the beggar to come the next morning. At dawn, the ship set off from Dongxing along the Beilun River, gradually began to cross the Beibuwan and finally neared the cave in which the Centipede Spirit lived. The beggar then asked the sailors to heat up the big pumpkin. When the Centipede Spirit came out of the cave and approached the ship in the sea, the captain tried to push the poor beggar down into the water as the human sacrifice. The beggar asked the sailors to wait a moment, then threw the red hot pumpkin toward the Centipede Spirit. The Centipede Spirit immediately swallowed the pumpkin, only to find the heat burning its stomach. After a short struggle that caused huge waves, the Centipede Spirit died.....

The people on the ship finally realized that the beggar was an Immortal who had come to kill the malicious Centipede Spirit. After its death, the Centipede Spirit broke into three pieces – the head, the trunk, and the tail. The three pieces of the dead body later became three islands: Wutau Island, Shanxin Island, and Wanwei Island – the three islands of the present day Kinh people. [In Chinese the second syllable in each of the three



Map II: Kinh Communities

names means 'the head', 'the heart', and 'the tail' respectively.] Who was that Immortal? He was said to be the Sea God who is now worshipped in the village temple on each of the three islands. Every year people on each island hold a festival to thank their Sea God and ask for good catches when fishing.<sup>12</sup>

I found this story publicized on display boards outside the village temple during the *Hat* Festival when I conducted fieldwork in Wanwei in 1996. Village elders gave me a slightly different version of the origin myth. This version tells that the Centipede Spirit broke into four pieces instead of three after its death. The extra piece is the mouth part, including the two big teeth, of the Centipede Spirit. This part of the body later became Wanzhu Island, with the second syllable in the name of Wanzhu being a homophone for the word for teeth in local Cantonese. Wanzhu Island was located on the Vietnamese side across the sea, known as Tra Co Island in Vietnamese. The Jing community on that island had had close interactions with the Jing people on the Chinese side, including participating in each other's *Hat* Festival through reciprocal invitation. I was told by the editor of the folktale collection that because of the sensitive political issues related to national boundaries, he and other Jing scholars decided to change the original version of the story into the "three-piece" version. Wanzhu Island was thus excluded, in order to avoid confusing the official national boundary and the identity of the local Jing people.<sup>13</sup>

Given the bloody Sino-Vietnamese War which broke out in the late 1970s and which was still haunting the two countries relationship in the mid-1980s, the editor's political sensitivity toward the Jing people's transnational linkage with Vietnam was understandable. However, since the *Hat* Festival was resumed in 1985 after its long

12 Su Ruanguang et al. eds., *Jingzu Minjian Gushixuan* [An anthology of folktales of the Jing Nationality](Beijing: Chinese Folk Literature and Arts Press, 1984), 1-3.

13 Siu-woo Cheung, "Regional Development and Cross-Border Cultural Linkage: The Case of a Vietnamese Community in Guangxi, China," in *Where China Meets Southeast Asia: Social and Cultural Change in the Border Regions*, eds. Grant Evans, Christopher Hutton, and Kuah Khun Eng (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asia Studies, 2000), 281-282.

suspension during the Cultural Revolution, the Jing's cultural connection with their Vietnamese counterparts in Wanzhu has been gradually reestablished, particularly through reciprocal visits during the two communities' *Hat* festivals, held a week apart, and through the hiring of female ritual singers from Vietnam to perform in Wanwei during the festival. After the Sino-Vietnamese border was re-opened, the development of border trade favoring Jing business people through their cultural connection with Vietnam further consolidated cultural exchanges. These events culminated in the official visit of a provincial delegation from Vietnam to the tenth anniversary of the *Hat* Festival's revival in 1995. However, the three-piece version of the origin myth has already become the standard version, and no official sources referred to the Jing's transnational identity until recent years, when the national project of Intangible Cultural Heritage was promoted.

In the application form submitted in August 2005 for listing the *Hat* Festival as a national-level item of Intangible Cultural Heritage, the entry on geographical distribution clearly stated that in addition to the three Jing islands in Guangxi, the *Hat* Festival is also popular among villages along the Beibuwan (Tonkin Gulf) in Vietnam. In various entries, the application talks about the deep cultural connection between the festivals in Guangxi and those on the Vietnamese side, the village temples' similarity in architectural style, and the villagers' reciprocal visits to the festivals on both sides. This transnational cultural connection is reiterated as the basic characteristic of the festival and a source of its value. In the final entry, on experts' recommendation, the *Hat* Festival is depicted as an occasion for international cultural exchange through its cross-border cultural connections and reciprocal invitations between the Jing People on both sides of the national boundary. In recent publications about Intangible Cultural Heritage in Guangxi, the transnational nature of the *Hat* Festival is emphasized again and again.<sup>14</sup>

14 Chen Yinghong, ed., *Guangxi Feiwuzhi Wenhua Yichan Jingcui* (The cream of Guangxi's intangible cultural heritage) (Nanning: Guangxi People's Publishing House, 2008), 44-47; Huang Yanxi, "Jingzu Wenhua de chendianchang: Hatjie Wenhua Neihan Chanshi" (The sedimentation ground of Jing culture: The analysis of *Hat* Festival's latent culture) in *Zhongyue Bianjing Minzu Wenhua Yishu Kaocha Yanjiu*, ed., Yu Su (The study of ethnic culture and art on the Sino-Vietnamese border) (Nanning: Guangxi People's Publishing House, 2007), 68-80.

This shift of the official narrative, from confinement within the national boundary to transnational cross-border cultural linkage, requires explanation. Indeed, this change of official attitude is not only in words, but also in action. I was told that the Guangling Provincial Government in Vietnam was officially invited by the Fangchenggang City government to send a delegation to Wanwei for the *Hat* Festival in 2009, but due to the outbreak of the sensitive ethnic riots in Xiangjiang months earlier, this transnational cultural exchange was put on-hold. It seems that the global institutional framework of the international program of Intangible Cultural Heritage as promoted by the United Nations is by no means a sufficient reason. The international dispute sparked in 2004 between China and South Korea about the right to apply for listing the Duanwu dragon-boat festival as an item of Intangible Cultural Heritage of humankind tells that national boundaries could still negatively restrict Intangible Cultural Heritage.<sup>15</sup> The situation of the *Hat* Festival must be explained within the context of regional economic collaboration around Beibuwan (Tonkin Gulf) as promoted by the Guangxi government and the central state of China in recent years. Since 2004, the China-ASEAN Expo has been held annually in Nanning, the capital of the Guangxi Zhuang Nationality Autonomous Region, serving to promote economic exchange between China and Southeast Asian nations. A more specific framework for regional economic cooperation, "Fan Beibuwan Jingji Hezuo Luntan" (Pan-Beibu Gulf Economic Cooperation Forum), was established by the Guangxi government, and endorsed by Beijing as a national institution in 2008. The forum involves the participation of China, Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei, and the Philippines.<sup>16</sup> In a recent publication, entitled "Guangxi Beibuwan Jingjiqu Wenhua Fazhan Yanjiu" (The study of cultural development in the Guangxi Beibuwan economic

15 See "Duanwujie Zhi Zheng: Sui Lai Baowei Women de Wenhua Yichan" (The competition over Duanwu Festival: Who is coming to protect our cultural heritage). *Tom Online*, <http://news.tom.com/hot/duanwujie/>, viewed on 11-10-2009.

16 Du Yuanjiang and Li Rui, "Fan Beibuwan Jingji Hezuo Yin Zhongguo Dongmeng Bolanhui Wushi Tuijin" (Pan-Beibu Gulf economic cooperation is practically promoted by holding the China-ASEAN Expo), 17-10-2008, Guangxi Webpage, People's Net, [http://www.peoplegx.com.cn/spezhibo/gx50daqing/news\\_show.asp?id=1801](http://www.peoplegx.com.cn/spezhibo/gx50daqing/news_show.asp?id=1801), viewed on 11 Oct 2009.

region), the *Hat* Festival and other Jing cultural items that have been listed as items of Intangible Cultural Heritage are directly linked to the economic development of this transnational region.<sup>17</sup> During the *Hat* Festival in 2009, I saw a large billboard in Wanwei, reading “Warm Congratulations on the Grand Opening of 2009 Pan-Beibu Gulf Economic Cooperation Forum, 2009.8.6-7, Nanning, Guangxi, China” in both Chinese and English, to publicize the up-coming transnational event. After the *Hat* Festival ended in early August, an article covering the festival appeared on the official website of the 2009 *Hat* Festival of the Jing in Fangchenggang City (2009 Fangchenggangshi Jingzu Hajie Zhuanti Wangzhan), entitled “The *Hat* Festival of the Jing has become the bridge connecting China with ASEAN for exchanges and cooperation.” Alluding to the Jing’s history of migration 500 years ago, moving from the coastal region of northern Vietnam to the three islands in coastal Guangxi, the article features the visit of a woman from Vietnam, who had become familiar with Dongxing City through border trade. Enumerating some trade figures, the article reported that the officials of Fangchenggang City would make use of the *Hat* Festival to promote cooperation between China and Vietnam, and gradually with the other ASEAN nations.

### Concluding Remarks

This paper examines the changing nature of the religious *Hat* Festival of the Jing minority nationality, which inhabits the Sino-Vietnamese border area in Guangxi, China. It analyses the festival from three boundary-related perspectives: the cultural boundary of the festival, the state administrative boundary of the celebration activities, and the national boundary in the Jing’s transnational cultural linkage with Vietnam. All these boundary issues constitute particular aspects of the Intangible Cultural Heritage program in national and transnational settings, which have provided a special context for the transformation of the *Hat* Festival in recent years.

The compartmentalization of cultural items appearing on lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage often conceals the particular cultural configuration in a particular

17 Yu Yizhong, Liu Shilin and Liao Mingjun, eds., *Guangxi Beibuwan Jingjiqu Wenhua Fazhan Yanjiu* (The study of cultural development in the Guangxi Beibuwan economic region) (Nanning: Guangxi People’s Publishing House, 2009), 209-218.

locality. Cultural items that appear to be discrete and unrelated entities are put under the loose fabric of place or ethnic categories. Motivated by the development of the tourism industry, the *Hat* Festival has been promoted and publicized as the Jing people’s paramount cultural tradition on the national list of Intangible Cultural Heritage, and a full range of cultural display has been mounted for tourist consumption. Many cultural items on display had never appeared in the past festivals, yet under the new context they have become part of it, often in the name of Intangible Cultural Heritage. The festival has been expanded from religious practices meaningful to members of the Jing community to all-round cultural displays marking the cultural boundary of the Jing identity for outsiders

The national project of Intangible Cultural Heritage is a typical case of state intervention in local culture, selectively recognizing and promoting particular cultural items. Popular religion has long been a tabooed arena for the state administration, yet when the state crossed the administrative boundary to reach out in the name of Intangible Cultural Heritage, practices of popular religion such as the *Hat* Festival became vehicles for fulfilling the goals of economic development and political stability in minority areas. The appropriation of local culture across administrative boundaries through the use of the concept of Intangible Cultural Heritage might impact traditional practices. The appropriation may sanitize cultural elements that remain unacceptable to the state, such as spirit possession in the *Hat* Festival, thus instilling statist or nationalistic elements in local culture. On the other hand, outright appropriation and transformation of the meaning of local cultural practices in administrative terms may trigger public contestation and resistance, like the protest against naming the opening ceremony run by the government the second time as the “second” *Hat* Festival of the Jing Nationality.

The politically sensitive issue of national boundaries and identities has been generally well registered in national programs of Intangible Cultural Heritage, particularly in association with the operation of state administration. However, under the special contexts of transnational cooperation in regional economic development connecting China with ASEAN nations, the state narrative about the *Hat* Festival has broken the confinement of the national boundary as emphasized in the past when Sino-Vietnamese political relations were in tension. The cross-border linkage of Jing culture with Vietnam was promoted as instrumental in the development of

transnational cooperation for the regional economy. Intangible cultural heritage thus acquired a transnational character traversing the national boundaries.

Since the Hat Festival was listed as an item of national Intangible Cultural Heritage, relationships among the Jing's cultural boundary, the state administrative boundary, and the national boundary have undergone significant transformation. The festival has been expanded from a religious practice meaningful to members of the Jing community to one of all-round cultural display marking the cultural boundary of the Jing identity for outsiders. The state's intrusion into the ceremonies of the festival has blurred the boundary between state administration and religious activities, and cultural connections traversing the national boundary have been openly promoted. This paper argues that in conjunction with the transformation of Jing local society and the national and transnational settings, the national project of Intangible Cultural Heritage listing has served as a significant vehicle for these shifts of symbolic boundaries around the *Hat* festival.

All these issues of cultural, administrative, and national boundaries centering on the Jing's *Hat* Festival as a listed item of Intangible Cultural Heritage have clearly demonstrated that the notion of boundary is a social process susceptible to changing conditions. Examining the boundaries of Intangible Cultural Heritage in the national and transnational contexts may help us develop a better understanding of the dynamics of the related social processes.

## 非物質文化遺產象徵邊界的移動

### ——中國廣西中越邊境京族哈節的個案研究

張兆和

#### 摘要

中國廣西靠近中越邊界的京族每年為祭祀社區保護神祇所舉行的哈節，於2006年被列入國家級非物質文化遺產名錄。自此以後，這個為期一周環繞祭祀社區保戶神祇的地方節日變成每年一度的隆重慶典。特別是在節日的頭一天，為數眾多的官員與遊客像潮水般湧往瀉尾——位於防城港市東興開發區靠近中越邊境的一個京族聚居村落。本文基於2006、2008和2009年對瀉尾哈節的田野調查，探討一系列在中國圍繞哈節被列入非物質文化遺產後的政治、社會和文化邊界問題，包括京族的文化邊界、宗教信仰和國家行政之間的邊界及跨境的文化聯繫中的國家邊界等。這一討論以國家介入為背景，嘗試說明地方文化被捲入中國非物質文化遺產計劃後的社會動態。

自從2006年哈節被公報為國家級非物質文化遺產名錄以來，2009年已是第二年國家在京族哈節期間於瀉尾安排慶祝活動。第一次是在2008年，主辦的是瀉尾所隸屬的縣級行政單位的東興市。在2009年，當東興市所隸屬的地區級行政單位防城港市成為主辦機構時，活動的規模加大升級了。防城港市動員所有高層人員參加活動以表示支持，以致這天早上進入瀉尾的道路嚴重擠塞，管理人員只准本村的車輛以及有註冊登記的官方車輛駛入，以確保官員前來參加活動時交通順暢。無論如何，儘管在跟著幾天的官方籌辦活動看似完美無暇，但官方介入哈節慶典還是成為了爭論的焦點。在互聯網上爭論最激烈的是節日的官方命名問題。節日第一天早上，典禮台背幕上所寫的「二零零九防城港市京族哈節」字樣，其實是在受到京族群眾（包括筆者在節日期間採訪的部份民眾）對官方網頁上所寫的「第二屆防城港市京族哈節」的大肆抨擊後，官方所做的一

種妥協。京族群眾認為哈節已經有一個很長的歷史傳統，而非像官方網頁上所寫的名稱所顯示，僅只是在兩年前官方開始組織慶典時所創辦的活動。另一項批評出現在第一天的官方典禮之後。民眾認為以神輿為中心的迎神隊伍不應該被安排在烈日下，站立等候典禮臺上的官方儀式完成後才前往接神，官員的遲到更被指責為對社區保護神的傲慢與不敬。這兩項批評看似小事，但卻顯示了當國家以推動非物質文化遺產的名義來介入地方文化時，可能導致的反作用。哈節過後，互聯網上出現的不少評論都指控官方介入地方文化遺產，扭曲了地方文化傳統的本來面目。

自聯合國教科文組織於2006年開展保護非物質文化遺產的全球性計劃以來，國家與地方文化之間的界線變得非常動態。在當前政治經濟脈絡下的中國，上述關於哈節的爭議，反映了圍繞官方介入和挪用地方文化的問題而產生的一種特殊的國家與地方社會的關係。非物質文化遺產的計劃在國家行政主宰的評審之下存在一系列的界線問題，定義什麼是值得確認的文化實踐，哪裡是被認定的文化遺產的代表地點，誰是文化遺產實踐的代表人等等。國家掌握著巨大的經濟資源和行政權力，當然有能力去定義和再定義這些界線，改變這個遊戲的形式和規則，並且招攬地方菁英加入計劃，但上述案例顯示國家介入亦可能引發不滿與抗議。

「邊界」的概念是檢視非物質文化遺產計劃中的社會政治關係和權力運作的有利工具。身份政治是文化遺產中賦有的元素，通常關係到一些在特殊社會政治環境下，以某種方式定義自己或被他人定義的群體。跨越象徵性邊界的群體互動和群體之間的關係，是審察動態中的非物質文化遺產有利的觀點視角。該觀點視角可以審察如下問題：邊界是如何被定義和標識的？由誰人定義標識？在什麼條件和什麼互動的形式下，邊界被維持、跨越或者改變的？

國家與地方社會的界線和互動，實在是國家非物質文化遺產計劃的中心主題。一方面，作為一個全球性的或國際性的體制，非物質文化遺產涉及以國家邊界所標識的空間地裡向度；另一方面，在地方的脈絡下，社會群體基於不同的社會或文化身份在涉及文化遺產的政治中不停地互動。不少研究提倡綜合這兩個研究向度，強調以國家邊界為基礎的國族身份認同與圍繞象徵性邊界的社會文化身份認同之間的互動，並同時關注地緣政治的物質經濟影響及其文化

象徵意義。在今天資產、人口、資訊和文化的急速流動下，邊界的意識常常是變動不居的社會過程。保護非物質文化遺產的這個全球計劃，可以被理解為透過國家介入來將一個新的框架套在急速變化中的社會和文化景觀之上。這個框架如何被構築，較程度上則視乎特定的國家和地方條件，以及在特殊的政治經濟脈絡下不同形式的國家與社會之間的互動。

本文由三個關於邊界的視角來分析中越邊界京族社區的哈節：節日的文化邊界，國家行政與民間宗教之間的界線，京族與越南跨國文化聯繫中的國家邊界。這些邊界問題成為考察非物質文化遺產的國家和跨國計劃的特殊向度，反映著近年來京族哈節的演變。

在中國，認定非物質文化遺產的行政系統有國家、省/自治區、市和縣四個層級，這使得被不同行政級別認定的非物質文化遺產的項目呈現出一種互不關聯的狀態，但是實際上很多時候這些項目本身是相輔相成的。比如說哈節與其它的被認定為非物質文化遺產的項目如服裝、舞蹈、唱歌和單弦琴音樂都是哈節整個儀式活動一個組成部份，但是它們卻被人為地分隔成不同非物質文化遺產類別。此外，在哈節被認定為非物質文化遺產之後，它就不再是一個以村落廟宇為中心而展開的宗教活動，由於政府的介入，它變成了一個京族文化遺產的全面展演。哈節成為京族認同的一個對外展示的窗口，用以對外標識京族身份認同的文化邊界。當然，京族的非物質文化遺產也成為了一種發展地方旅遊和經濟的資源。

2009年在瀧尾舉行的哈節開幕式上，列席主席臺的50位政府官員中，除了一位來自瀧尾村（村支書），其餘的都是縣、市、自治區一級的領導。這一次的哈節由防城市的領導組成了專門的工作組委會，負責統籌哈節的各項工作，並且建立了哈節的官方網站，將哈節準備工作的進程公佈於眾。政府的參與無論是從組織還是文化上都改變了哈節。在哈節開始前的一個星期，就哈節第一天何時接神的問題，瀧尾村的老人們與組委會下的由東興市民族事務處組成的工作小組發生了意見分歧。工作小組要求接神儀式9點開始，然後遊行隊伍就到開幕式舉行的地方集合，等待嘉賓到來，而瀧尾年長的村民認為可以在接神遊行開始之前先在廟裏做個儀式，這樣不僅使遊行隊伍不用長時間地等待，而嘉賓也剛好可以參加隨後的遊神和慶祝活動，但是村民的建議並沒有被採納。瀧尾的哈節原本是

由村中老人來準備的，但是2006年之後，由於各級政府的干預，村裏的這一籌備工作變成由一個計劃性和組織性非常強的工作組來負責。比如說，村委換掉了原來廟的負責人，理由是他在2008年的哈節中太以自我意志為中心，不聽其他村民的意見並且沒有與外界保持良好的互動；住在東興和防城的京族的已退休的政府官員，也就是京族的精英分子成為瀉尾村的哈節工作組的主要成員。這些人事的變動和安排清楚地反映了2009年哈節的性質和規模正在發生改變。另外，政府官員對哈節籌備事務的管理使得哈節發生了文化上的變化，即本來是一個宗教性質的節慶活動，現在則充滿了頌揚黨和民族團結的元素。

民間宗教過去被視為國家行政的禁忌範圍，但現在當國家以非物質文化遺產工作的名義跨越行政禁忌的邊界而介入，像哈節這樣的民間宗教成為了促進少數民族地區政治穩定和經濟發展目標的媒介。以非物質文化遺產為名的行政邊界擴張和對地方文化的挪用，影響著傳統文化習俗傳承，例如像哈節中神靈降身附體等不為官方接受的宗教習俗被清洗排斥，又或在地方文化中灌注國家和民族的色彩。另一方面，以國家行政的用詞來轉變地方文化習俗的原來意義，有時可能會導致公眾的反感和抗拒，京族民眾抗議政府將第二次由官方舉辦的哈節開幕典禮說成是第二屆京族哈節典禮就是一個明顯例子。

在民間傳說中，廣西京族起源的故事是將越南的京族作為其中的一部份的，但是在上世紀80年代的官方文本中，京族的部份被剔除了出去，主要是因為當時的政治環境強調的是要劃分一個清晰的中越邊界，不過，在2005年要申報哈節為國家級非物質文化遺產時，越南京族與廣西京族的文化關聯和互動被強調為哈節的基本的特徵和價值所在。2004年以來旨在加強中國與東南亞諸國經濟交往與合作的「泛北部灣經濟合作」的策略，正是強調這一文化聯繫的重要原因。國家邊界和國族身份的政治敏感議題一般地存在於非物質文化遺產的國家計劃中，尤其是一些涉及跨境群體的計劃項目。無論如何，近年的跨國區域經濟合作將中國和東盟國家關聯起來，使得哈節突破了過去因中越政治關係的緊張而形成的國家邊界局限。京族與越南的跨國文化聯繫，被視為發展區域性跨國經濟合作的有利工具，因而哈節的跨國性質在非物質文化遺產的名義下被肯定和宣揚。

進入了國家級非物質文化遺產名錄後，哈節在與京族文化邊界，國家行政和民間宗教之間的界線，以及國家邊界的問題上經過了種種變化：1) 哈節由一些對京族社區成員而言有意義的宗教實踐，擴展成為整體性文化展示，用以對外標識京族身份認同的文化邊界；2) 國家行政範圍延伸至節日的活動中，使國家行政與民間宗教之間的界線變得模糊；3) 跨國境邊界的文化聯繫被公開宣揚。本文認為在京族地方社會和國家與國際環境的改變下，非物質文化遺產的國家計劃促成了哈節所涉及的種種邊界現象的變化。這些圍繞哈節作為非物質文化遺產所涉及的文化、行政和國家界線問題，是受著種種條件變化所影響的社會過程。考察在國家和國際脈絡下的非物質文化遺產計劃所涉及的種種界線問題，將有助我們進一步瞭解相關的動態性社會過程。



圖1：在哈節的第一天早上，從村廟到海邊接神的路上，遊行的隊伍需要在舉行盛大的官方哈節開幕式的舞臺前停留，這一個安排是2008年哈節被列為國家級非物質文化遺產之後，在國家主導哈節組織活動的情況下才出現的。（張兆和攝，2009）

Figure 1: On its way marching from the communal temple to the beach to receive the village's paramount patron god in the morning of the festival's first day, the ceremonial procession was required to stop in front of a stage constructed for holding the official grand opening ceremony, a newly invented program of the festival after the state took a leading role in organizing the festival, which was listed as an intangible cultural heritage on the national level in 2008 (photograph taken by CHEUNG Siu-woo, 2009)



圖2：前任村廟的負責人披上書有“國家級非物質文化遺產代表性傳承人”的綬帶，帶領遊行隊伍從海邊接神回來，哈節在這一儀式後開始。（張兆和攝，2009）

Figure 2: The former head of the village temple wore a ribbon designating him as the "representative heir of the national-level intangible cultural heritage" on his way leading the ceremonial procession to receive the paramount patron god from the beach for initiating the festival (photograph taken by CHEUNG Siu-woo, 2009).