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Sibe

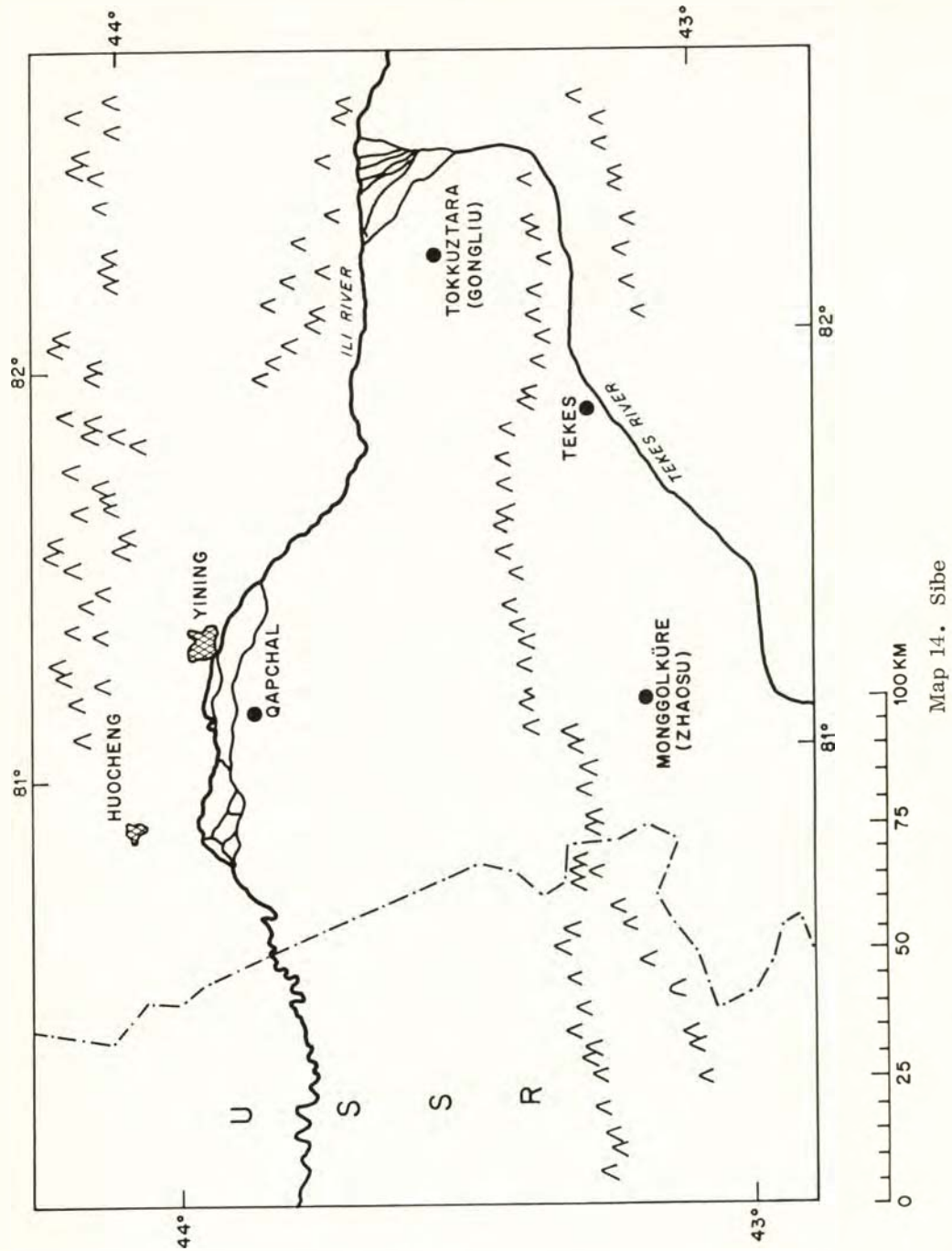
Size and Location

In 1982 there were 83,629 Sibes 锡伯 living in China, an increase of 57,000 since 1959.¹ Most Sibes still live in their Northeastern homeland, but 27,364 of them live in Xinjiang.² Of those living in Xinjiang, about 14,700 reside in the Qapqal 察布查尔 Sibe autonomous county as well as in Huocheng 霍城, Tokkuztara (Gongliu) and Qoqek (Tacheng) counties of the Ili Kazak autonomous prefecture (see Map 14). The Northeastern Sibes are scattered in places such as Shenyang 沈阳, Kaiyuan 开原, Yixian 义县, Beizhen 北镇, Xinmin 新民, Fengcheng 凤城, Fuyu 扶余, and the Gorlos banner.³

The Qapqal⁴ autonomous county is located near the Demulik mountains, a spur of the Tianshan, and was created on March 25, 1954 on the territory of the former Ningxi 宁西 county.⁵ Less than half of the county's population is Sibe, the rest belonging to the Han, Uigur, Kazak, and other nationalities.

History

There are two major hypotheses about the Sibes' origin. One claims that the word Sibe is a phonetic change from the old Xianbei whom most Sibes regard as their ancestors.⁶ The other claims that both the Sibes and Manchus are descendants from the Jurchens (Nuzhen).⁷ Neither hypothesis seems to be entirely correct. According to a stele, the "Taiping shi bei ji 太平寺碑记," preserved at the Liaoning provincial museum in Shenyang, the Sibes originated in



Map 14. Sibe

the area of the Jalatolo 扎賚托羅 river southeast of Hailar.⁸ The Manchu historian Zhao Zhan has identified the Jalatolo as the present-day Chuor 绰尔 river. From about 400 to 600 that area was also inhabited by one of the five Shiwei 室韦 groups. The Sibes' ancestors formed one of the sub-groups, called the Yellow Head Shiwei, who later became the Yellow Head Jurchen.⁹

By the time of the Mongol world empire the Sibes lived in an area called Boduna 伯都讷, the modern Fuyu 扶余 county. It was bordered by Jilin in the east, Hulunbuir in the west, the Nonni river in the north and the Liao river in the south.¹⁰ Their principal economic activities were still hunting and fishing. At the end of the sixteenth century the Manchu leader Nurhachi (1559-1626) was forging a new state in the Northeast. In 1593 the Sibes, together with the Yehe 叶赫, Ula 乌拉, Huifa 辉发, Hada 哈达 Neyin 讷殷, and Zhusheli 珠舍里 tribes, resisted him but they were defeated and integrated into the Manchu eight-banner system.¹¹ At the same time, the Sibes gave up their nomadic existence and settled down in garrisons.¹²

At the end of the seventeenth century, the first of two major moves by the Sibes occurred.¹³ Between 1690 and 1701 the Qing government moved large numbers of Sibe soldiers and civilians to Beijing, Shengjing 盛京, Kaiyuan, Jinzhou 锦州 and some twenty other cities in modern Liaoning province. Different tracts of land were allotted to the soldiers and their families according to their *hala* and *mokon* (see below). The Sibes' agricultural techniques and cultural level quickly improved. The rice grown by the Sibes gained a good reputation and was shipped to Heilongjiang to supply the border garrisons.

In the spring of 1764 over 5,000 Sibe banner troops and dependents were dispatched to Xinjiang to garrison the territory of the recently defeated Jungars.¹⁴ After a long trek which led them across Mongolia, the Sibes arrived in Ili in September 1765 where they were assigned to the area south of the Ili river.¹⁵ In 1767 they were organized into eight *niru*, the basic unit in the banner system.¹⁶ The Qing government gave each *niru* seeds and draft animals and ordered them to raise their own food, at the same time discontinuing rations.

The area in which the Sibes settled is good for both herding and farming. Annual rainfall is about thirty-five centimeters and the frost-free period lasts about 160 days, thus enabling the cultivation of wheat, paddy rice, cotton, sesame seeds, melons and fruits. The soil is rich and can be worked with irrigation. The area also contains sizeable coal and iron deposits and in the eighteenth century still had dense forests with precious medicinal plants. Within a few decades the Sibe soldiers and civilians converted this piece of wilderness into a granary. Of key importance to this success story was the construction of the 100-kilometer long Qapqal irrigation canal which was built between 1802 and 1808 under the direction of the commander of the Sibe camp, i.e., all eight *niru*, named Tubot 图伯特.¹⁷ The canal carried the snow run-off from the Tianshan. The eight *niru*, placed on both sides of the canal, soon opened up more

than 80,000 mu (about 5,333 hectares) of farm land. The Sibes still sing a folk song with these lines: "The Qapqal canal is our mother, for a hundred years it has nourished us." The Sibes also took part in the construction of other irrigation canals, such as the Imperial canal north of the Ili river, the Abdela west of Qoqek and the Haborhu in the Bortala region.¹⁸

Language and Literature

The Sibe language belongs to the Manchu branch of the Manchu-Tungus group of the Altaic family of languages. Despite two centuries of separation from their homeland, the Sibes of Xinjiang speak a language that still contains many words similar to those spoken by various nationalities in the Northeast and especially close to Manchu, as demonstrated in the following table.¹⁹

Sibe	Manchu	Hezhen	Evenk	Oroqen	
<u>bira</u>	<u>bira</u>	<u>bira</u>	<u>bira</u>	<u>bira</u>	'river'
<u>səl</u>	<u>sele</u>	<u>ᠰᠡᠯᠡ</u>	<u>ᠰᠡᠯᠡ</u>	<u>ᠰᠡᠯᠡ</u>	'iron'
<u>sujan</u>	<u>suwayan</u>	<u>sojan</u>	<u>ᠰᠣᠵᠠᠨ</u>	<u>ᠰᠣᠵᠠᠨ</u>	'yellow'
<u>elin</u>	<u>alin</u>	<u>urkən</u>	<u>ᠤᠷᠢᠨ</u>	<u>ᠤᠷᠢᠨ</u>	'mountain'
<u>jəli</u>	<u>yali</u>	<u>ulsə</u>	<u>ᠤᠯᠤᠰ</u>	<u>ᠤᠯᠤᠰ</u>	'meat'
<u>dən</u>	<u>den</u>	<u>gagda</u>	<u>gugda</u>	<u>gugda</u>	'high'
<u>dzi-</u>	<u>zhi-</u>	<u>əmə-</u>	<u>əmə-</u>	<u>əmə-</u>	'to come'

On the other hand, separation has brought about certain changes in the Sibe language that have resulted in a fair number of words not found in Middle Manchu, the language spoken by the Manchu when all Sibe still lived in the Northeast. A few examples are eralingge 'this kind', teralingge 'that kind', butumzhi 'sinister', beilen 'dance', as well as obvious neologisms like kurtun 'car tire', and banzhibusi 'author, editor'.

Another group of new words comes from the languages of nationalities with which the Sibes in Xinjiang have had long and close associations, as well as from Chinese. From the latter come, e.g., banzhurren < 主任 banzhuren 'office manager', siyangshui < 香水 xiangshui 'perfume', and benchiyan < 本錢 benqian 'financial capital'. Uigur loan words include bazar < id. 'market' and tonor 'a kind of crisp pancake'. From Kazak come kemes < kemez 'fermented mare's milk', baige < bəygə 'horse race' and salivar < xalbar 'leather pants'. Examples of Mongolian loan words are archi < ariha 'fermented milk liquor', gobi < gobi 'dry steppe', and kukur < hūhūr 'snuff box'.²⁰

Another lexical change in Sibe is the replacement of old words. In the past, the Sibes used the Manchu word yoksana for rubber but then gradually

replaced it with the Chinese loan word siyanpi. The Sibe word for revolution used to be composed of the Manchu words hesebun 'destiny' and be halambi 'reform', but it was later changed to dasan 'political' and be halambi, which was ultimately shortened to das'halan. Today it, too, has been replaced by a Chinese loan word, geming. Finally, Sibe used the Manchu words dasan 'political' and be ezhelembi 'to seize' to express 'dictatorship'. After the Russian-inspired rebellion in the Ili region broke out in 1946, the Sibes adopted the Russian loan word dektatora, but have now switched, as in many other cases, to a Chinese loan word, zhuwanzheng.²¹

The Sibe language has eight vowels, as follows:

<u>a</u> as in <u>ax</u> 'slave'	<u>o</u> as in <u>orin</u> 'twenty'
<u>ə</u> as in <u>əwən</u> 'cake'	<u>u</u> as in <u>udun</u> 'wind'
<u>ɛ</u> as in <u>ex</u> 'bead'	<u>y</u> as in <u>yx</u> 'wolf'
<u>i</u> as in <u>ixə</u> 'duck'	<u>ɔ</u> as in <u>omi-</u> 'to drink'

The twenty-seven consonants are:

<u>n</u> as in <u>nɪŋu</u> 'six'	<u>j</u> as in <u>jas</u> 'eye'
<u>k</u> as in <u>kəskə</u> 'cat'	<u>r</u> as in <u>bira</u> 'river'
<u>g</u> as in <u>gurun</u> 'country'	<u>f</u> as in <u>fix</u> 'brain'
<u>χ</u> as in <u>χotun</u> 'city'	<u>w</u> as in <u>wix</u> 'tooth, horn'
<u>b</u> as in <u>bor</u> 'calf' (animal)	<u>ŋ</u> as in <u>nimanŋ</u> 'snow'
<u>p</u> as in <u>pus</u> 'store'	<u>q</u> as in <u>qor</u> 'harm'
<u>s</u> as in <u>suwan</u> 'image'	<u>ɕ</u> as in <u>ɕor</u> 'far'
<u>ʃ</u> as in <u>ʃuwən</u> 'culture'	<u>x</u> as in <u>xəl</u> 'mute'
<u>t</u> as in <u>tasən</u> 'mistake'	<u>ts</u> as in <u>tsixai</u> 'dictionary'
<u>d</u> as in <u>dasən</u> 'government'	<u>tɕ</u> as in <u>toimar</u> 'tomorrow'
<u>l</u> as in <u>lək-</u> 'to rub, grind'	<u>dz</u> as in <u>dzibən</u> 'capital' (money)
<u>m</u> as in <u>ma</u> 'coarse'	<u>ɕ</u> as in <u>ɕita-</u> 'to come late'
<u>tʃ</u> as in <u>tʃal</u> 'storehouse'	<u>dʒ</u> as in <u>dʒal</u> 'matchmaker'
<u>dʒ</u> as in <u>dʒi</u> 'child'	

The consonants dz and ts are used only for Chinese loan words.

The language also has the following twelve diphthongs.

<u>ai</u> as in <u>aiçin</u> 'gold'	<u>ia</u> as in <u>niamən</u> 'heart'
<u>əi</u> as in <u>wəiləm</u> 'labor'	<u>iə</u> as in <u>diəm-</u> 'to carve'
<u>oi</u> as in <u>boixun</u> 'family'	<u>io</u> as in <u>niorun</u> 'rainbow'
<u>ui</u> as in <u>suilam</u> 'laborious'	<u>iu</u> as in <u>liulə-</u> 'to walk a horse'
<u>au</u> as in <u>dauçi</u> 'corrupt person'	<u>ua</u> as in <u>tua</u> 'fire'
<u>əu</u> as in <u>səulə-</u> 'to contemplate'	<u>iau</u> as in <u>miau</u> 'temple'

The diphthong iau is used only for Chinese loan words.

There have also been some changes in the meaning of words. The simplest examples are the words for east and west. In Manchu it is dergi 'east' and wargi 'west' but in Sibe the meanings have been reversed. Another example of such a change is Manchu sibkari 'short and thin hair', but in Sibe it means 'the youngest child' in a group of brothers and sisters.²²

According to their folklore, the Sibes had their own script many centuries ago, but no evidence of it has been found. What is certain is that some time after their absorption into the Manchu eight-banner system, the Sibes adopted the Manchu script and used it unchanged until 1947. In that year an organization was formed in Yining, called the Sibe and Solon Cultural Organization, which, among other activities, helped promote the reform of the Manchu script so as to better serve the Sibes' need (see Table 11). The changes undertaken can be divided into those pertaining to letter form, spelling, and vocabulary. As to letter changes, the Manchu alphabet had two k which in their median forms were written { and :{. The new Sibe script adopted only :{ for this consonant. However, in their final form the two k are still represented by the same two letters as in Manchu, namely: 𐩪 and 𐩫. Another change concerns the syllable an. In Manchu a dot is placed at the tail, like 𐩡, when it is part of a loan word, but the Sibe script uses the dot for both native and loan words. Another structural change concerns the elimination of useless syllables. Of the 131 syllables in the Manchu script, thirteen are never used by Sibe speakers. They are the vowel uu (long u) and the syllables it forms with the consonants n, b, p, s, sh, l, m, ch, zh, y, r, and f. They are pronounced exactly the same as those with short u. The new Sibe script also added the syllables wi, wo, wu and used the forms for Manchu fi, fo, and fu, i.e., 𐩢, 𐩣, 𐩤, to represent them.

As to spelling, we can observe three changes made in the Sibe script. One is the change of letters. For example, 'backward' is Manchu amargimbi but Sibe amarchambi. Another change involves the adding and dropping of letters, like 'hope' is Manchu akdachun but Sibe akchun, and 'to lead' is Manchu ahuuchilambi but Sibe akchulambi. The third change is the combination of two words into one. The Manchu word for 'honeybee' is hibsu ezhen but Sibe hibsuzhen; 'to produce' is Manchu arametuchibumbi but Sibe aramtuchibumbi; and 'about to go' is Manchu geneme zhaka but Sibe genemsaka.²³

There are also certain differences in the use of expressions and grammatical use between Middle Manchu and Sibe.

Until the so-called cultural revolution, the use of Sibe was actively promoted in the Qapqal Sibe autonomous county. Children in the first three grades were taught Sibe and arithmetic, to which was added Chinese and other subjects beginning in the fourth grade. In all, Sibe students in elementary schools had instructions in Sibe throughout their entire six-year stay.

In addition to instructional materials, various kinds of books were printed

Table 11
SIBE SCRIPT

	A	B	C	D		A	B	C	D
1	ʃ	ʃ	ʃʌ	a	18	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	m
2	ʃ	ʃʃ	ʃʌʌ	æɛ	19	ʃ			tʃ
3	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	i	20	ʃ			dʒ
4	d	d	d	o	21	ʃ			j
5	dʃ	dʃ	dʃ	uɣ	22		ʃ	ʃ	r
6	dʃ	dʃ	dʃ	ɔ	23	d	d		f
7	ʃ	ʃ	ʃʌ	n	24	d	d		w
8	ʃʃʃ	ʃʃ	ʃʃ	k	25		ʃ	ʃ	ŋ
9	ʃʃʃ	ʃʃ		g	26	ʃ			q
10	ʃ	ʃ		χ	27	ʃ			ɣ
11	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	b	28	ʃ	ʃ		x
12	ʃ	ʃ		p	29	ʃʃ			tʂ
13	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	s	30	ʃ			tʂ
14	ʃ	ʃ		ʃ	31	ʃ			dʂ
15	ʃʃ	dʃ	ʃ	t	32	ʃ			ɣ
16	ʃʃ	dʃ		d	33	ʃ			dʂ
17	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	l					

A = Initial position
B = Medial position

C = Final position
D = IPA transcription

in the Sibe language by the People's Publishing House in Ürümqi.²⁴ As can be expected, these included major political works translated from Chinese. Moreover, some thirty Chinese classics, like The Romance of the Three Kingdoms and more than 100 contemporary works like The True Story of Ah Q were published.²⁵

Contemporary Sibe writers produce their works either in Chinese or in their native language. The well-known poet Guo Jinan 郭基南 has written in Chinese since the 1930s.²⁶ Examples of Sibe-language literature are novels like Huuwaliyangga zhai mergenzhy [a personal name], short stories like Guusin yamzhi (New Year's Eve), and collections of traditional literature like Sibe uksura irgen siden i zhube (Sibe folk stories). All told, some 200 titles in Sibe were published until the outbreak of the so-called cultural revolution. This, of course, put an end to all cultural activities and by 1983 only a handful of Sibe-language books have been published.²⁷ One exception, which was a newspaper, not a book, continued to be published after 1966. It was the Iche banzhin (New Life) which had first been published in 1946 in Yining. When in 1954 the Qapqal autonomous county was established, the paper was transferred there and became the organ of the local Party committee. Its name was changed in 1972 to Chapchal serkin (Qapqal Newspaper).²⁸

The Sibes' oral literature consists of songs, long poems, and folktales. Some of them hark back to the time before the sixteenth century when the Sibes still practiced hunting and fishing, while others, like "Shaman Uchun" (Shaman's Song), recall the old religion.²⁹ Other forms of folk literature reflect the time of the westward migration and the Sibes' new life in Xinjiang. Examples are the long poem "Song of Migration," the very popular "Ushin Uchun" (Wilderness Song) and the "Song of Kashgar" relating events in the 1820s when Sibe soldiers were dispatched to Kashgar to help suppress an Uigur uprising.³⁰ Folktales show strong Chinese influence³¹ and deal largely with social relations, like "The niru Chief and his Son-in-law,"³² "The Poor Girl and the Rich Girl," and "The Bald Eagle."³³

Society

Sibe society is patrilineal and used to be arranged by hala and mokon, organizations common to all nationalities in the Northeast. A hala is a clan whose members all have the same surname. A hala consisted of several mokon, localized kin groups, with members of each mokon claiming common descent from a progenitor. However, Sibe society gradually changed from a consanguinal to a territorial structure. Starting even before the westward migration in the eighteenth century, this process accelerated after the Sibes' arrival in the Ili valley. Despite the Qing government's efforts to settle the Sibes according to their original hala and mokon (see history section above), Sibe society continued

to rearrange itself into new units called gashan. Identical to the Manchu gaxin and quite similar to the Mongol and Daur ail, these gashan comprised persons from many different hala and mokun who had come together for common economic pursuits. These included hunting in the Northeast and farming and irrigation work in Xinjiang.³⁴

As was the case with all other traditional societies in Northern China, Sibe marriages were arranged and women had no inheritance rights. The eldest surviving male in a family inherited the entire patrimony.

Because of their long separation in widely different parts of the country, the Sibes in Xinjiang and those in the Northeast have developed certain cultural differences. One outstanding difference is that the Sibes in Xinjiang live together with other minority nationalities but they have preserved their own speech, clothing, and housing much better than the Sibes in the Northeast.³⁵ One factor accounting for this apparent contradiction is that the Xinjiang Sibes have lived in large, more densely populated communities of their own people whereas those in the Northeast tend to live in smaller villages often rather distant from each other. Another possible factor is that the propinquity to the Han, as is the case in the Northeast, leads to faster assimilation than propinquity to other minorities.

Sibe villages in Xinjiang have between 100 and 200 households and are surrounded by walls up to four kilometers in circumference. Individual homes have a courtyard with vegetable plots and fruit trees. With the main door facing south, the average house has three rooms, some houses as many as five. The kitchen range is built in the central room which is flanked to the east and west by two rooms with kangs heated from the range. Windows and furniture have carved designs of which the most common are the peony and the lotus.³⁶

During the Qing period the Sibes adopted Manchu dress. Men liked to wear green, blue, and brown long gowns that opened on the left or right side, short jackets and peaked hats. Women preferred the qipao 旗袍,³⁷ white socks and embroidered shoes. Unmarried women kept their long pigtailed until marriage when they coiled them around the head in the form of a dish. They also like to wear earrings, silver bracelets and rings. During the republican period, the Sibes in the Northeast adopted Chinese dress, but the Sibe women in Xinjiang continued to wear the qipao although adopting also certain Uigur and Kazak forms of dress (see Illustration 26).³⁸

Among the Sibes' recreational activities riding and archery are extremely popular and date back to the time when the Sibes' ancestors were still engaged in hunting and herding. Another reminder of the past is found in certain dances in which performers are dressed as shamans and perform pantomime versions of the ancient shamanist ritual (see Illustration 27). Sibes are fond of singing, either as soloists or in groups, and they are accompanied by several instruments of which the most important are the dombur, an instrument borrowed from the

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neighboring Kazaks, the three-string hitkuna and a double flute (Illus. 28 a,b, and c). One popular art form is scissor-cutting, done by women who apply the finished figures to windows.



Illus. 26. Sibe Woman in Qapqal

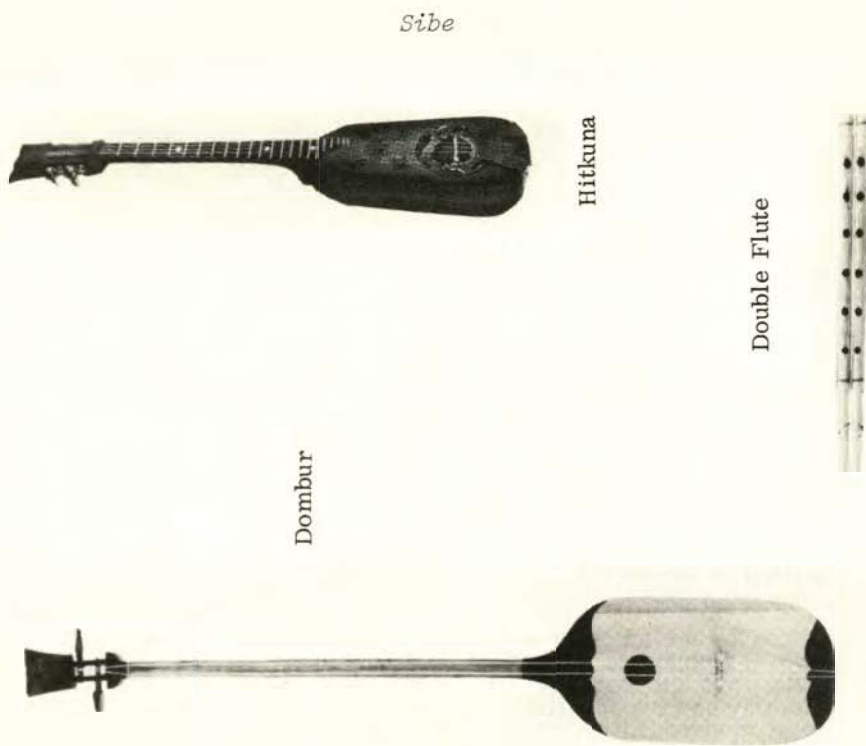
The usual disposal of the dead is by burial. However, male and female shamans, women who die in labor, and those who commit suicide by hanging themselves are cremated and their ashes are preserved in urns. One of the traditional rules is that husband and wife must either be buried or cremated together. Thus when a shaman's wife dies first, she is buried, but when her husband dies, her body is exhumed and both of them are cremated. Underage males are buried but need not be placed in a coffin, while girls are cremated and their ashes are scattered.³⁹

Religion⁴⁰

Before 1949 the Sibes in Xinjiang were polytheistic, worshipping the Insect King, Dragon King, Earth Spirit and Erqin, the emissary of the Smallpox Spirit. Two other important Sibe deities were Xilimama, the protector of domestic tranquility, and Hairkan, the protector of livestock.



Illus. 27. Sibe Shamanist Dance



Illus. 28. Sibe Musical Instruments

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The Xilimama festival is the biggest and most important. In a given village the oldest members, most prestigious individuals and parents with the most children are asked to make toy arrows, quivers, boots, and cradles. They take these, along with copper money, red and green cloth strips, and pig or sheep bones, and place them in a paper sack and put in the northwest corner of the main room. At the time of the spring festival, they string a silk cord from the northwestern to the southeastern corner of the room and place the items mentioned above on it. During the first days of the following month, all the items get picked up and placed back in the corner. In the past, when a boy was born, an arrow was added to the collection. When a girl was born, a strip of cloth was added. A bone was added when a new generation was started. Hence the Xilimama festival provided a kind of genealogical record and affirmation.

The altar for Hairkan was located in the upper left-hand corner on the outside of the south wall. On New Year's Day and on other festival days, incense is burned in front of the altar, and an offering is made in the shape of a horse of red cloth or bird feathers.

The Sibes spruce up their ancestors' graves twice a year at which times they make two different offerings. As a result, the March festival is known as Fish Memorial Day and the July festival as Melon Memorial Day.

Recent Developments⁴¹

Since the establishment of the Qapqal autonomous county in 1954, food production has tripled and livestock has doubled. There are a number of shops engaged in tanning as well as in making and repairing farm implements. The county has four middle schools and more than fifty primary schools, with over eighty percent of all school-age children attending classes. Finally, more than 2,000 Sibes are employed as cadres at various levels of party and government.

Notes

¹Minzu yanjiu 23 (1983), 81; Jiankuang, v. 4, 30. Muromski reported about 25,000 Sibe in the Ili valley in 1906. Kałužiński 1977, 7.

²Minzu tuanjie 150 (1983), 10.

³Zhongguo, 220. See also Li 1979, 221.

⁴Qapqal is a Sibe word denoting granary.

⁵Zhongguo, 227-228.

⁶Many Sibe legends and folksongs call the Xianbei the Sibes' ancestors. Zhongguo, 222. See also Jiankuang, v. 4, 30.

⁷See, e.g., Manzhou yuanliu kao, as quoted in Sibe zu wenxue lishi lunwen ji, 99.

⁸The Manchu text reads: "Sibe aiman daci hailari dergi julergi jalatolo sere birai šurdeme tehe..." Zhao 1980a, 113. Also note that in the Qing gazetteer the area near Shiwei Mountain south of Hailar was called Sibe. Zhongguo, 220.

⁹The members of this tribe were said to have had "yellow," i.e., blond, hair as well as bluish-green eyes. One can still find some Sibes with these features in both Qapqal in Xinjiang and Fuyu county in the Northeast. Zhao 1980a, 118.

¹⁰Zongguo, 222.

¹¹Op. cit., 223.

¹²Jiankuang, v. 4, 31; Zhongguo, 224.

¹³Wu and Zhao, 22.

¹⁴Op. cit., 24; Xia, 93. Zhongguo, 223, lists 1,016 soldiers and more than 2,000 dependents.

¹⁵Zhongguo, 224.

¹⁶A Manchu term meaning arrow. Chinese 牛录 niulu. These same eight niru still existed in 1906. Kałužiński 1977, 7. According to Wu and Chao, 27, the Sibe niru were later called banners, but these eight banners should not be confused with the eight-banner system. Qing documents also sometimes referred to all eight niru as the "Sibe camp."

¹⁷Zhongguo, 224 mistakenly calls this commander Turgen 图尔根 which is actually a place name.

¹⁸Jiankuang, v. 4, 31-32; Zhongguo, 224.

¹⁹Li 1979, 223.

²⁰Shulan, 77; Li 1979, 223.

²¹Shulan, 77.

²²Ibid.

²³Shulan, 76.

²⁴Op. cit., 78-79.

²⁵Jiankuang, v. 4, 37.

²⁶Zuopin xuan, v. 2, 392-393.

²⁷See bibliography. These books as well as a few textbooks are available at Wilson Library of Western Washington University.

²⁸Shulan, 78-79. The Center for East Asian Studies of Western Washington University has a few samples of this semi-weekly newspaper.

²⁹Zuopin xuan, v. 2, 376. The words of a "Hunter's Song" are recorded, in Chinese translation, on pp. 379-380.

³⁰Op. cit., 376-377.

³¹Kałužiński 1977, 9.

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³² Xinjiang xiongdi minzu minjian gushi xuan, 128-135. Hereafter Xinjiang. A somewhat longer version is found in Zuopin xuan, v. 2, 382-391.

³³ Xinjiang, 136-146.

³⁴ Zhongguo, 224.

³⁵ They are best preserved in Jinquan 金泉 commune. Xia, 93.

³⁶ Zhongguo, 222.

³⁷ A close-fitting woman's dress with high neck and slit skirt.

³⁸ Jiankuang, v. 4, 36-37.

³⁹ Xia, 93.

⁴⁰ Information on religion is adapted from Zhongguo, 221.

⁴¹ Zhongguo, 227-229.