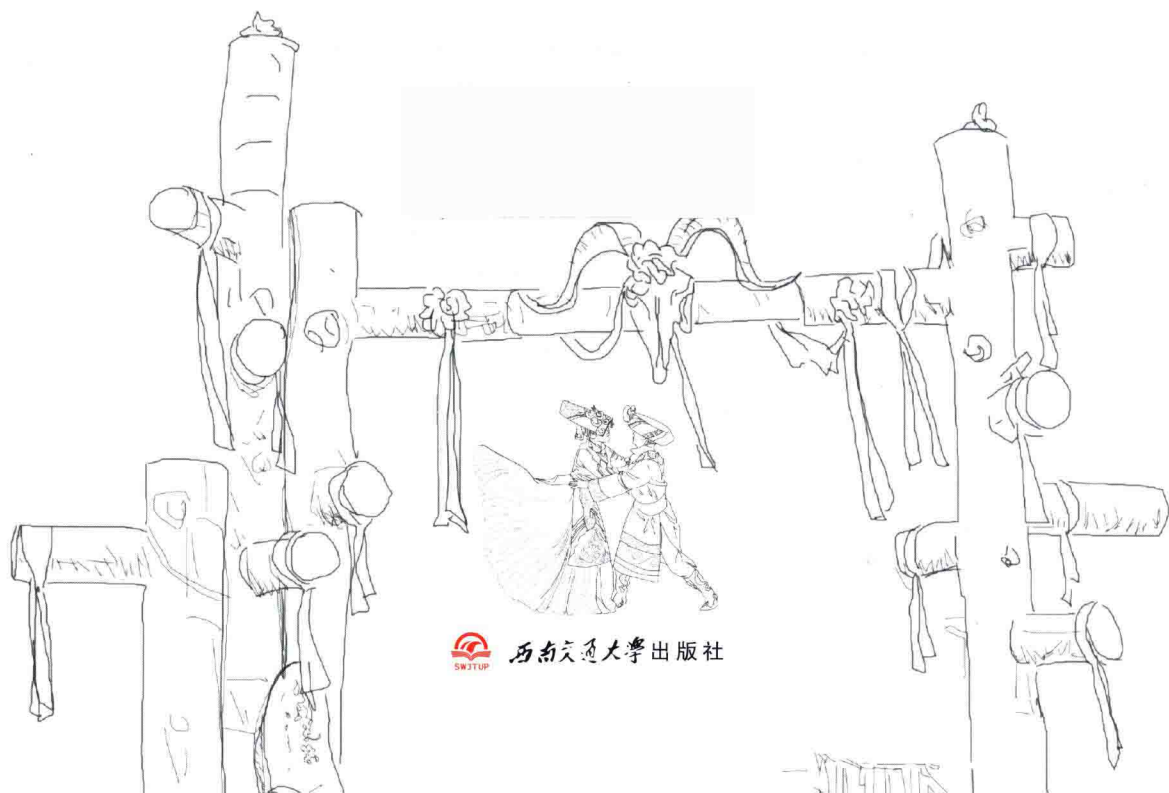


陈蜀玉◎主编

羌族文化

Culture of Qiang
Culture de Qiang



西南交通大学出版社

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羌族文化

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前言

一个偶然的机会，在上个世纪末，我陪同外宾参观了羌寨：羌碉、羌笛、羌族服饰和歌舞，等等。羌族文化第一次如此生动地展现在我眼前，印象非常深刻。从此，工作之余、闲暇之时我便开始阅读一些关于羌族的书籍。尽管我不是学民族学出身，且对羌族文化的了解仅限于一鳞半爪，但是羌族文化的魅力——悠久的历史、多样化的文学、口耳相传的语言以及羌族文化的现况，均构成我心中挥之不去的情结。结情之后，不禁心痒，跃跃欲试，虽力不能逮，但仍想走近羌族文化，为羌族文化的发展尽绵薄之力。毕竟个人的能力十分有限，但是教师的点滴影响，可以使青年一代开始了解羌族，通过网络、书籍和对外文字宣传，羌族文化必日久弥新；虽然发展民族文化不可能一蹴而就，但是我们可以用有限的知识去追溯羌族文化的发展脉络，去开拓羌族文化的发展空间。

又是一个偶然的机会，我结识了福特基金会。这些想法得到福特基金会文化和教育项目官员何进博士的认同。在他的鼎力支持下，我们组织了课题组，师生们做了大量的实地考察、案头写作、资料查阅、网络建设、系列讲座、问卷调查，以及中、英、法三种文字的写作和翻译。这一过程不仅提高了师生们的个人能力，而且使大家认识到，民族文化的生存取决于自身的发展，而发展的途径必须不断创新。

在此基础上，课题得到了四川省人大、四川省民族委员会、阿坝州党委、阿坝师范专科学校、西南交通大学 211 办公室等部门和单位的通力合作。四川省人大纽晓明副主任在百忙之中多次关心课题进展情况。《羌族文化》一书已经过四川省民族事务委员会专家审阅，省民族事务委员会周发成处长和省民族宗教委员会周礼成主任亲自执笔修改。阿坝藏族羌族自治州党委王建民副书记和杜林先生也曾细致入微地关心课题进展的每一个细节。阿坝师范专科学校副校长陈兴龙教授对《羌族文化》一书提出了宝贵的修改意见。在成书之际，西南交通大学 211 办公室的郑凯锋教授对《羌族文化》的出版给予了大力支持。没有以上各位领导和师长的帮助，就没有《羌族文化》这一成果。不仅如此，西南民族大学科研处王康教授、文学院副院长徐希平教授都在课题出现困难时伸出了援助之手。还有四川大学法学院研究生黄亚菲同学和邹俊彬同学，他们对所承担的工作竭尽全力。特别是贺运和刘安两位同学，他们吃苦耐劳、任劳任怨，出色地完成了课题组中最艰苦的工作。在英语翻译过程中，西南交通大学外国语学院代智勇和蒋婧老师做了大量的前期工作。随后由美国康奈尔大学

余同乐同学和余丹娜同学、西南交通大学外国语学院孙念红和 Denise O'Toole 老师对原稿做了修改，最后由 Rachel Meakin（白洁）女士校订完成。

还是很偶然，我原本只打算出版一本中英文对照的《羌族文化》，2004 年恰逢西南交通大学法语系诞生，师生们对羌族文化产生了浓厚的兴趣，部分师生参加了项目工作，他们的热情鼓励了我。在我们的共同努力下，完成了法语译本。在修改法语译本的过程中，王婷婷老师付出了大量的时间和精力，同时 Guillaume Larsen, Babaud Alain 和 Ye Ma 也参加了校订工作。其实还有很多人与我们有同样的情结：他们访问过我们的网站，参加过我们的活动，试译过我们的文本，与我们共同努力。由于人数很多，唯恐挂一漏万，恕不一一列出，在此一并感谢。

应该承认，具有独特性的民族文化在科学化、商业化、全球一体化的竞争中处于劣势，现代性强烈地冲击着民族性。在民族文化求生存、谋发展的过程中，应该对本土文化进行保护，这种保护意味着对民族文化的扶持和挽救：扶持被流行趋势冲击的民族文化的原形，挽救被强势文化忽视的原生态。这些文化原形和文化原生态是民族文化的根基，也是全人类的共同财富。因此，民族文化唯有先生存才能发展，唯有发展才能体现其价值。

我们课题组提出了促进羌族文化发展的三种保护手段：文化手段、网络手段、法律手段。保护是手段，发展是目的。尽管用有限的手段去保护无限的文化显得杯水车薪，用固定的方式展示发展的内容，更是捉襟见肘，对每一种民族文化形态都立法保护，尤为力不能逮，但是这些手段奠定了发展的基础。《羌族文化》一书就是保护和发展链条中的一个有机环节：用中、英、法三种文字向外界介绍羌族文化，让羌族走出羌寨；通过文字反映羌族历史、建筑、语言、文学、音乐舞蹈、衣食住行和风土人情，让世界了解羌族。用三种语言的互动促进民族文化的发展，是我们课题的创新之处。我们期待这一尝试能得到法语国家、英语国家和我们本民族的共同认可。

如果我们的共同努力能使羌族文化走进世界民族文化之林，如果通过我们中、英、法三种文字所开启的小小窗口能管窥博大精深的羌族文化，我们对羌族文化的爱慕之情便得以表达。若夫文果载心，故余心有寄。

陈蜀玉

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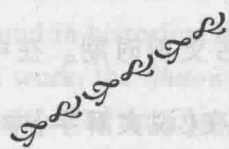
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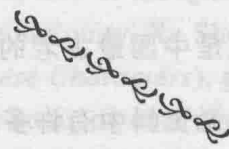
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CHAPTER ONE HISTORY OF THE QIANG

史田羌美 章一第

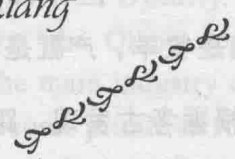
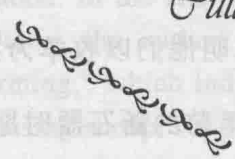


Culture of Qiang



羌族文化

Culture de Qiang



第一章 羌族历史

羌族是中国最古老的民族之一，起源于上古史前时期。在中国古老的历史传说资料中有许多关于羌人的记载。许慎在《说文解字》中说：“羌，西戎牧羊人也。从人，从羊。”古代文献都把“羌”作为从事畜牧业且以养羊为特色的一个民族。范曄在《后汉书·西羌传》中说：羌人“以产牧为业”。牧就是牧羊，产就是粗耕。这说明他们以牧羊为主要生产，而以粗耕为辅。根据考古发现，距今四五千年前的新石器时期，在今甘肃、青海河湟东至陕西泾渭流域的广大地区，即有我国先民的活动遗址，这些先民正是古代的羌人。《后汉书·西羌传》又载：“西羌之本，出自三苗，姜姓之别也。”根据历史传说，三苗是帝舜时期的一个部族，是黄帝的夏官缙云氏之后。缙云氏姓姜，炎帝之苗裔。这里追溯到西羌的本源，即是上古姜姓部族炎帝之后。

上古畜牧起源于狩猎，是男子从事的产业。农业种植起源于采集，是女子操作的劳动。传说中的姜姓部落多与农业有关，早于神农的共工氏就是姜姓部落的一支。传说共工氏之王，水处什之七，陆处什之三，

CHAPTER ONE HISTORY OF THE QIANG

The Qiang, whose origin can be dated back to prehistoric times, are one of the most ancient ethnic groups in China. Many records of the Qiang people can be found in historical documents about Chinese antiquity. Xu Shen's most important work, the *Shuowen Jiezi* (*Origin of Chinese Characters*), gives us a clear definition of the Qiang: "shepherds who share common ancestry with the Western Rong nationality; the character itself can be divided into two root words: 'people' and 'sheep'." Historical documents all characterize the "Qiang" as an ethnic group dependent on animal husbandry, especially sheep, for their livelihood. In the *History of the Later Han Dynasty: the History of the Western Qiang*, the author Fan Ye says "the Qiang depend on sheep herding and farming," which indicates that the main industry of the Qiang at that time was raising sheep, supplemented by some primitive form of farming. In a wide area spanning from the Huangshui river in Gansu and Qinghai provinces eastwards to the valleys of the Jing and Wei rivers in Shaanxi Province, archaeologists have discovered relics of ancient Chinese people living in the Neolithic Age four or five thousand years ago. These people were the ancient Qiang. Fan Ye also states that "the Western Qiang originated from the San Miao," a branch of the Jiang family. According to historical legends, the San Miao was a tribe which existed during the period when the legendary monarch Shun was in power. The ancestor of the San Miao was Jin Yun, whose husband was a government official serving Huang Di, the legendary Huang Emperor, around 3000 BC. Jin Yun was named Jiang. Thus, the San Miao tribe, who were also descendants of Yan Di (the Yan Emperor), belonged to the Jiang Family. The origins of the Western Qiang can be traced to the Jiang tribe, whose forefather was Yan Di.

In ancient times, the men usually took care of the livestock while the women farmed the land. According to legend, most of the Jiang tribes were involved in agriculture. The Gonggong tribe was one of the earliest Jiang tribes, even earlier than Shen Nong (the Chinese God of agriculture). Legend has it that seventy percent of the area ruled by the Gonggong tribe was covered by water.

乃是洪水泛滥的时代。共工氏及其后代都致力于防治洪水。“共工氏之霸九州也，其子曰后土，能平九州，故祀以为社（神）。”（《礼记·祭法》）共工氏子孙在黄帝时任“土官”，少皞时任“水官”，禹之时四岳继续协助禹治水。水是早期文明的先决条件，也是原始农业发展的基础。传说姜姓共工氏不仅是古羌人中最也是中国古代先民中最早进行农业生产的部落之一。从这个意义上讲，古代羌人姜姓部落开启了中国的农耕文明。

同时，古羌人是汉族前身华夏族的重要组成部分。《国语·晋语》有云：“昔少典娶于有蟠氏，生黄帝、炎帝。黄帝以姬水成，炎帝以姜水成。成而异德，故黄帝为姬，炎帝为姜。”姜姓部落联盟不断扩张壮大，大举东进。“阪泉氏蚩尤，姜姓炎帝之裔也。”（《路史》）相传，蚩尤作五兵（器），即戈、矛、戟、酋矛、夷矛。这些金属兵器的制作表现出他们卓越的制造才能，所以后世把蚩尤奉为主兵之神。至于夏禹，也有史料传说他是羌人的后裔。自汉司马迁《史记·六国年表》至晋 500 年间的许多文献，都说禹生于西羌石纽，是西羌（夷）人。所以，有学者据此认为“夏王朝的主要部族是羌（人）”。

Flooding was a continual problem and successive generations of Gonggong devoted their lives to flood prevention. "The Gonggong tribe dominated all of China. A son of the Gonggong, named Hou Tu, took care of the country and the people all worshipped him as the God of the Land." (*Book of Rites: Sacrificial Offering*) Under the Huang Emperor, the descendants of the Gonggong tribe were in charge of land management, whereas under Shao Hao, the son of the Huang Emperor, they managed the water resources. Under Emperor Yu, they held the post of "Si yue", their main duty being to assist Yu in regulating the rivers and watercourses, a prerequisite in the early stages of civilization with water being foundational to the development of primitive agriculture. Thus, the Gonggong people of the Jiang were among the earliest of the ancient Qiang and were also possibly the earliest ancestors of the Chinese to take up agriculture as a way of life. In this sense, it is the Jiang tribe of the ancient Qiang who initiated the agricultural civilization of China.

In addition, the ancient Qiang are one of the ethnic groups that composed the Hua Xia nationality, out of which grew the Han nationality. According to the *Guo Yu*, a collection of historical anecdotes making up pre-Imperial China's most important body of historical narratives, "Shao Dian married You Jiao and gave birth to two sons, Huang Di and Yan Di. Huang Di grew up by the Ji River whereas Yan Di grew up by the Jiang River. As a result of these differences in background, Huang Di bore Ji as his family name whereas Yan Di bore Jiang as his family name." With the alliance of these Qiang tribes, the Jiang family name grew stronger and stronger and they moved eastward in large numbers. The book of *Lu Shi* relates that the Chiyou people of the Banquan tribe, who were descended from Yan Di of the Jiang, were good at making five kinds of weapons, namely, daggers, spears, halberds, the Qiu spear and the Yi spear. This highlights the great skill of the Chiyou people in weapon manufacturing, a skill which caused them to be worshipped later as the God of Weaponry. As for Yu, the reputed founder of the Xia Dynasty, some legends regard him as a descendant of the Qiang. According to many documents written during the five hundred year period from Sima Qian's *Han Dynasty Historical Records: the Chronological Table of the Six States* until the Jin Dynasty, Yu was born in Shiniu, in the Western Qiang area, and was a descendant of the Qiang. Therefore, some scholars even conclude that the Qiang was the dominant tribe in the Xia Dynasty.

在史前时期，居住在西北的古羌人中一支姓姜的部落，以及共工氏、炎帝、蚩尤等部落最先进入中原，相继并入以黄帝为代表的部落。经过长期的迁徙和交往，逐步融合为一体。可见古羌人是汉族前身华夏民族的重要组成部分。至于未进入中原的古羌人部落，散布于甘肃、青海河湟及陕西的部分地区，继续从事游牧生活，发展缓慢，其后裔便成为毗邻于殷商的羌方、羌人。甲骨文中大量记载了他们的活动以及他们与殷商长期交战的史实。自此以后，羌人的历史进入了文字记载时期。

到了商代，羌与商时常交战，并以被商征伐为多。商朝对羌方用兵，主要目的是掳掠奴隶，同时也用掳掠的羌人奴隶作人牲供祭祀。据卜辞记载，商朝将羌人与牛牲一起用于祭祀，而且以五羌配三牛，三羌配二牛，等等，羌人的身价还不如牛。据现有资料的初步统计，被用作祭品的羌俘多达 7 750 人。羌俘除了被用于祭祀外，还是殉葬品。据现有资料统计，被用作殉葬品的羌人达 5 178 人以上。

周代羌人有了很大的发展，种姓繁衍，遍布西北，其中一部分进入中原。西周建国之初，面临国内外诸多困难，周王室为了巩固周的统治，继续加强与姜姓的联盟，封姜姓之国申、吕和许等于江汉及淮河流域。并建立东方的大国齐国，以镇压反叛的淮夷。周建立的姜姓之国还有纪（今山东寿光）、向（今安徽怀远）、州（今山东安丘）、鄆（今山东东平）、

In the prehistoric period, an ancient Qiang tribe called the Jiang lived in northwestern China, and together with the Gonggo and integration they merged into one tribe represented by Huang Di. Thus, it is clear that the ancient Qiang were one of the people groups that formed the Hua Xia nationality, out of which grew the Han nationality. The ancient Qiang tribes that did not enter central China were spread over the Huangshui River valley in Gansu Province, Qinghai Province and some parts of Shaanxi Province, continuing their nomadic existence. Their descendants lived in the border area of the Shang Dynasty territory. Many records have been found in the form of inscriptions on tortoise shells, relating the lives of these Qiang people and their long-time wars with the Shang Dynasty. Thenceforth, the history of the Qiang entered into a new era with written records. Yan Di, Chiyou and other tribes, they were the first to gradually enter central China after many years of association.

In the Shang Dynasty, the Qiang and the Shang were often at war with each other, with the Shang more frequently the victors. The Shang would go on expeditions with the express purpose of capturing Qiang people to be used either as slaves or in sacrificial rituals. Shang Dynasty oracle inscriptions on tortoise shells or animal bones indicate that in such a sacrificial ritual either five Qiang slaves with three cattle or three Qiang slaves with two cattle were used. The price of Qiang slaves at that time was even lower than that of cattle. Moreover, the Qiang slaves were sometimes buried alive with the dead. Statistical data show that a total of 7,750 Qiang slaves were sacrificed and more than 5,178 slaves were used as grave goods.

In the Zhou Dynasty, the Qiang developed rapidly in terms of both population and number of family names. They spread all over northwestern China, and some of them settled down in central China. After the foundation of the Western Zhou Dynasty, the Zhou royal family encountered great difficulties both at home and abroad. To consolidate their ruling power, they strengthened their alliance with the Qiang. Some Qiang nobles were offered official posts, becoming heads of the states of Shen, Lü and Xu in the Jiang Han valley and Huai River valley. The powerful state of Qi was set up in the east to suppress the rebellious Yi in the Huai River valley. Other states established by the Zhou and administered by Qiang nobles included the states of Ji (now Shouguang in Shandong Province), Xiang (now Huaiyuan in Anhui Province), Zhou (now Anqiu in Shandong Province), Zhang (now Dongping in Shandong Province),

厉（今湖北随州）等。他们和齐、吕、许等大国一样处于周王朝的周边要塞地区，共同起着屏藩周王室的重要作用。西周末年，周幽王宠褒姒（褒姒娘家为姒姓之国）废申后。申后之父申侯（姜姓）联合缙及犬戎攻杀幽王于骊山。在申侯的主持下，太子宜臼被立为平王。西周故地为犬戎所侵，西周告亡。西周灭亡后，平王被迫东迁洛邑。由于周姜联盟破裂，周王室一蹶不振。

姜氏戎（四岳之后）与齐、吕、申、许同为姜姓。这些国家都是最先进入中原的。齐、吕、申、许做了诸侯、贵族，均自称是华夏（族）。到了周代，已形成一个比较普遍的概念，即重视遵守周礼，接受华夏文明，所谓“诸夏用夷狄礼则夷狄之，夷狄用诸夏礼则诸夏之”^①。除羌人中的姜姓部落在西周时已开始融入华夏外，还有部分羌人在春秋战国时期建立了“义渠国”，都城在今甘肃宁县。他们已能建筑城堡，实行定居，农业生产水平较高，对死者实行火葬，这些都是羌人的习俗。随后秦灭义渠，以羌人作为主要成分的西方诸戎（一般统称为西戎）大都融合于秦。所以，《后汉书·西羌传》评价说：“自是中国无戎寇。”

① 范文澜：《中国通史简编》（第一册），人民出版社1953年版，第107~108页。

and Li (now Suizhou in Hubei Province). These states were situated as important garrisons in the border areas of the Zhou Dynasty territory, forming a kind of natural defense against foreign invasion. In the final years of the Western Zhou Dynasty, the last Zhou emperor, You Wang, bestowed his favour on Bao Si, one of his imperial concubines, who was from a state governed by the Si family, and dethroned his queen, Shen Hou. Shen Hou's father, a Qiang noble and head of the state of Shen, conspired with Quan Rong to kill You Wang at the foot of Li Mountain. A ceremony was then held, presided over by the father of Shen Hou, in which Yi Jiu, the crown prince, was enthroned as Emperor Ping Wang. However, Quan Rong then invaded the Zhou territory and Emperor Ping Wang was forced to move eastward to Lou Yi. Owing to the break-up of the alliance between the Zhou and the Qiang, the Zhou royal family fell into disarray and the dynasty finally came to an end.

The head of the state of Rong and the heads of the states of Qi, Lü, Shen and Xu were all Jiang. These Jiang people were the first to enter central China where they became nobles, dukes or feudal princes and claimed membership of the Hua Xia. By the time of the Zhou Dynasty, it was widely accepted that all people should conform to the ceremonial rites and regulations of the Zhou and adopt Hua Xia traditions. The general belief at that time was that "if China adopted barbarian etiquette, all the Hua Xia people would become barbarians, whereas if barbarians adopted Chinese etiquette, then they would become part of Hua Xia" (Fan Wen Lan. *General History of China*. Vol. 1. pp. 107-108. Beijing: People's Publishing Company, 1953). Although the Qiang tribe of Jiang merged into Hua Xia society during the Western Zhou Dynasty, there were other Qiang tribes who founded a state called "Yiqu" during the Spring and Autumn period and the Warring States period. In Yiqu, these tribes settled down and built fortresses, engaging in relatively advanced agriculture and practising cremation, a tradition of the Qiang. Their capital was located in Ning County, Gansu Province. This state of Yiqu was later destroyed by the Qin, who unified the whole country and established the first centralized imperial government in China. Thus the tribes from western China (generally called the Xi Rong or Western Rong), most of which were Qiang, gradually merged with the people of Qin. The *History of the Later Han Dynasty: the History of the Western Qiang* states that "there were no invaders from the west after the unification of the country".

到了汉代，原来进入中原的羌人，已与汉族融合。而未进入中原的则形成众多部落，各有酋长，散布于长城以南的陇西和青海河湟地区。这些部落名号不同，不相统属，常互相攻战掳掠，“强则分种为酋豪，弱则为人附落”（《后汉书·西羌传》）。他们大多处于原始社会氏族部落末期至阶级社会初期，与西周初年建立的齐、吕、申、许等羌人大不相同。众多部落中最强的有先零羌和烧当羌。其次则有钟羌、勒姐羌、卑湍羌、当煎羌、开羌、罕羌、且冻羌、沈氏羌、虔人羌、牢姐羌、封养羌、兮姐羌、烧何羌、巩唐羌，以及效功、傅难、当阰、乌吾、零悟、滇那、黄羝等羌族部落。他们分布在今甘肃、青海和陕西西南部，与汉王朝都曾发生过大小不同的冲突，对汉叛服无常，但最后大部分羌人部落都失败降服，被分散内迁至边塞诸郡安置。没有降附的仍居塞外，被称为外羌。

武帝期间，加强中央集权，发展社会经济，维护西北地区的正常活动，实现了与西域各国的友好交流。但匈奴贵族联合羌人豪酋反叛，图谋破坏汉王朝的努力，汉王朝多次出兵征讨。到宣帝时，先零等羌族部落联合起兵，攻城邑，杀长史，进攻金城，大败汉军。宣帝派赵充国率兵前往救援，并颁布命令“大兵诛有罪者……”（《汉书·赵充国传》）羌人若协助汉军诛“有罪者”，给予重赏。