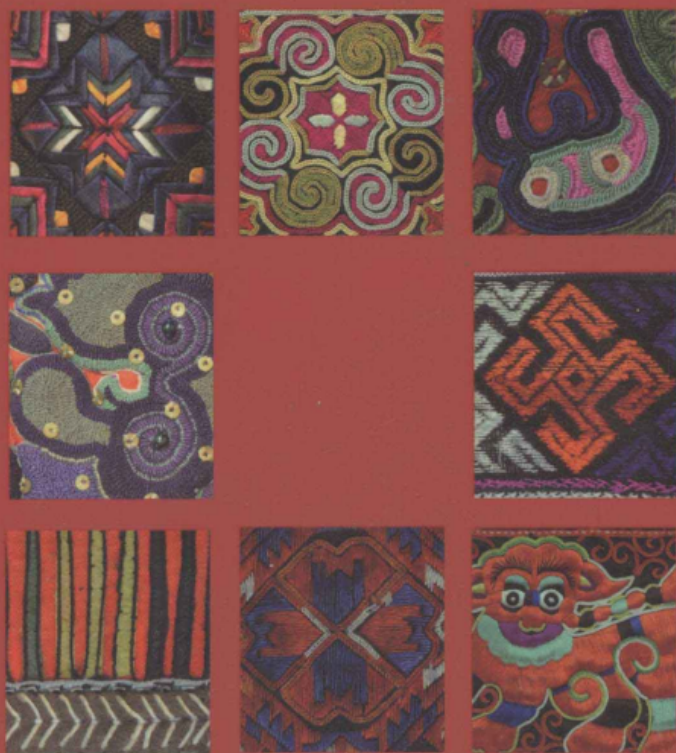


# 苗族節慶服飾文化特展

Festive Miao / Hmong Regalia





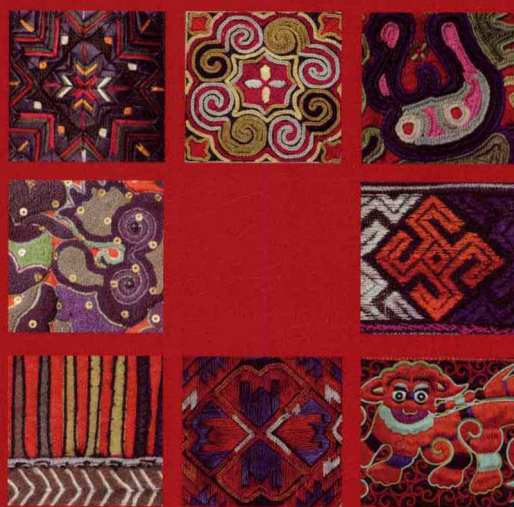


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 Council for Cultural Affairs, Executive Yuan

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 Preparatory Office of the National Headquarters of Taiwan Traditional Arts

# 苗族節慶服飾文化特展

Festive Miao / Hmong Regalia



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苗族節慶服飾文化特展 Festive Miao / Hmong Regalia

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# 序

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綜觀而言，一般人印象中的苗族，是熱情好客、能歌善舞、服飾精緻華麗、節慶歡騰熱絡……，經由總總零星的片段，拼湊出心目中的苗族文化。現今仍為農業社會型態的苗族，其節慶文化與歲時節令息息相關，依著春耕、夏耘、秋收、冬藏的作息，舉辦各種節慶祭儀，除了祈求風調雨順、作物豐收之外，各項娛樂活動，更為平日規律而單調的生活，注入歡暢喜悅的活力。



台江縣台拱鎮 黃英峰 攝

苗族服飾有性別、年齡與盛裝、常裝之分及地區性的差異，因苗族支系繁雜，故自明清起便有「百苗」之說，各支系的辨別大多源於不同的服飾。苗族服飾極具民族風格，女孩們自

幼便學習各種女紅技藝，並為自己縫製盛裝，在節慶中身上的服飾，便成了男孩判斷與擇偶條件。此外，豪放的苗族，有「以多」、「以大」為美的習俗，強烈的誇富意識成就了豐富多樣的銀飾，是慶典中最為鮮明的標幟，對苗人而言，銀飾不僅是避邪的吉祥物，同時也是

財富的象徵，而銀飾上的紋樣，記載著苗族的變遷，更是一種獨特的文化載體，豐富了民族文化的底蘊。

由於國內民眾較少接觸苗族文化，國立臺灣傳統藝術總處籌備處為使國人能認識苗族的民風習俗，並親睹苗人服飾文物的精緻華麗，特別策劃以清水江沿岸的黔东南苗族聚落宗支為主軸，展出百餘件當地傳統盛裝，透過此區域的節慶風俗介紹，搭配盛裝文化及服飾特色等單元，探討苗族的傳統藝術與文化，盼藉由此展示，能引發更多少數民族的研究議題，進一步引領民眾去欣賞並尊重不同背景的文化風貌，從而充實藝術層面的涵養，為臺灣的傳統藝術開闢更為寬廣的視野！

國立臺灣傳統藝術總處籌備處 主任

柯基良

# Foreword

Since ancient times, the varied customs and cultural practices of all races and civilizations have never failed to develop unique festivals and ceremonies. They are usually meant to prevent calamities, to pray for blessings, to commemorate or celebrate family reunions. At festivals, rituals and ceremonies are carried out for specific purposes. Everyone is dressed in his/her finest, feasting and rejoicing with dance and music. The Miao women in Yunnan and Guizhou are known for their festive regalia and elaborate ornamentation. The unmarried women's clothing, in particular, is exceedingly magnificent and complex. This cultural expression is markedly different from the Han Chinese and other ethnic minorities.

On the whole, the Miao impart an impression of being a passionate and hospitable people, of being excellent dancers and musicians, and of being makers of exquisite regalia, who celebrate festivals with all their heart. Using pieces of information such as these, we have constructed a picture of the Miao culture in our imagination. Still an agrarian society, the Miao festival culture is, in fact, intertwined with the annual agricultural calendar. Hence, following the yearly routine – spring plowing, summer weeding, autumn harvesting and winter storing – a myriad of rituals and festivals are organized to pray for the rain, the good weather and the harvest, as well as to provide entertainment for the people themselves in order to break the monotony of everyday life.

Miao clothing is defined by gender, age, occasion (formal and casual) and locality. With too many Miao subgroups to enumerate, during the Ming-Qing period they were simply referred to as Bai Miao 百苗 (One Hundred Miao.) The distinction between the subgroups is mostly based

on their variety of clothing features, which express the wearer's group identity. Learning how to make clothes is a traditional skill all girls must learn at a young age, in order to provide for themselves a beautiful wardrobe. Those garments become the suitors' grounds for selecting their marriage partners. Additionally, the Miao "the bigger, heavier, the more beautiful" aesthetic sense, gave rise to the rich array of silver ornaments, which are most eye-catching at festivals. To the Miao, silver ornaments are not only talismans but also status and wealth symbols. The decorative patterns are no less than narratives of the people's history. Above all, they constitute a unique cultural medium, which leads to the enrichment of the fundamentals of a culture.

Our viewers have not had much contact with the Miao culture. Therefore, in order to familiarize them with it and provide them with a visual experience of the exquisite garments, the National Taiwan Traditional Arts Planning Office organized this exhibition of more than one hundred pieces of traditional Miao regalia, with the groups along the Qingshui River of Southeast Guizhou as the main subjects. Through the introduction of customs, combined with their festive clothes and clothing culture, it is hoped that viewers can examine the Miao arts and culture and further explore other minority issues therein. This may also lead them to appreciate and respect cultural expressions from different backgrounds. In the course of fulfilling our viewers' desire for artistic nourishment, we may be able to create a broader vision for Taiwan's traditional art.

*Ko Chi-Liang*

Director of Preparatory Office of the  
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- 57 台拱型式 TAIGONG

台江縣台拱鎮 Taigong Town, Taijiang County

- 65 舟溪型式 ZHOUXI

凱里市舟溪鎮 Zhouxi Town, Kaili City

- 75 谷隴型式 GULONG

黃平縣谷隴鄉 Gulong Township, Huangping County

- 87 施洞型式 SHIDONG

台江縣施洞鎮 Shidong Town, Taijiang County

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雷山縣橋港鎮 Qiaogang Town, Leishan County

- 111 西江型式 XIJIANG

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- 129 偉家型式 GEJIA

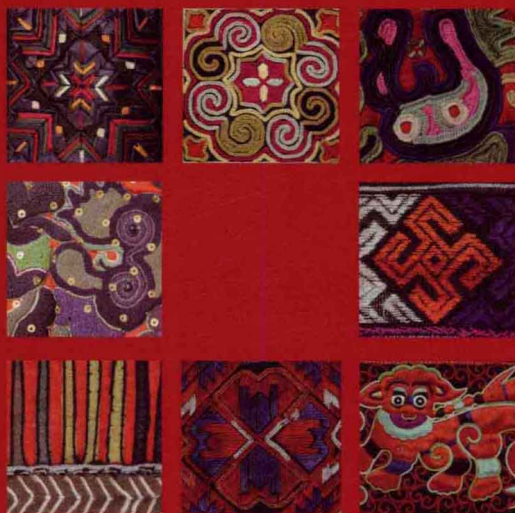
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## 日常器物 Utensils and Implements



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Director of Preparatory Office of the  
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# 服飾為節日生輝

## 以雷山、西江一帶苗族為例

貴州大學人文學院及民族與婦女發展研究中心教授/主任

張曉

大體來說，苗族服飾主要是以女裝來分別不同地區的服飾特徵。本文論及的雷山、西江一帶苗族服飾即屬此範疇之內。這一帶的苗族婦女服飾分為便裝和盛裝。便裝是常服，盛裝則是在重要的場合穿著。那麼，盛裝的場合有哪些呢？那就是婚葬禮、走親戚等。其中最頻繁的即是「節日」。

雷山、西江一帶苗族最主要的節日有兩個：一個是「吃新節」，另一個是「苗年節」（還有一個特別重大的節日，就是每十二年一次的大型祭祖節。不過時間和這年的苗年節是重疊的）。「吃新節」——這個節日在苗語直譯過來叫「吃卯（對應十二生肖的「兔」日）」也叫「吃新飯」。說「吃卯」是因為在卯的那天過節，這帶苗族所有的節日都用卯天。說「吃新飯」實際是指品嚐新穀穗。屆時各家戶到稻田裡摘下幾穗打苞抽穗的穀穗，拿來敬祖宗，然後大家分享，也就是象徵性地吃新一年收成的糧食。

「苗年節」相當於漢族的「春節」<sup>1</sup>。苗族以農曆十月為歲首，每年到農曆的十月就過苗年節。一般苗族的節日沒有固定的日子，具體的時間到那一年才能確定。西江苗族是以水稻種植為主，節日與農事的季節安排關係密切。一般的規律是：每年到春天插秧的季節選擇插秧的日子（稱為「開秧門」），這一天作為推斷過年時間的起始日。「開秧門」後五十天的卯日是「吃新節」；「吃新節」再過七十五天的卯日過苗年節。就是到了那天，通常也還要看卯日是落在上弦月或是下弦月，因為一個月有兩個或者三個卯日。如果有特殊情況，例如秋收還沒有完成，或者有什麼別的事情，節日時間需要推遲或者提前，則由家族長和寨佬們

商量確定。但是不管時間是推遲或者提前，都必須落在卯日。

苗族過苗年節不像漢族的春節只過一次，而是過多次。雷山的苗年節一年過兩次，叫做「前節」和「後節」；西江一年要過三次，稱為「頭節」、「大節」和「尾節」。雷山苗族用歌謠和西江苗族開玩笑說：「西江西饑鬼，過三節相撞」。西江的苗族又用歌謠回應說：「我過我的節，誰叫你們來」。這一帶苗族的節次多，而且時間又不固定，各個村寨各節日的時間也不完全一致，於是就方便了大家出門「走親戚」。今天他村的親戚來你家過節，明天你又去他們家過節如此等等。

節日是休閒的日子，更是喜慶的日子。過節時必得穿上最漂亮的衣服，尤其是年輕人。

「吃新節」也是要穿新衣服的，但那是在農曆的六月，通常也就是陽曆的七月，天氣已熱，穿上盛裝會熱得難受，因為盛裝都是以自家紡織的土布為底，加上繁複的刺繡裝飾，那時穿的衣服只能是便裝。不過便裝也分有刺繡和無刺繡裝飾的兩種。有刺繡的當然美過沒有刺繡的，但也更厚重。「吃新節」時大多數人的穿著以涼爽為主。不過與「苗年節」相比，「吃新節」的重點不在於「穿」，而在於「歌」。因為「吃新節」時，眾人的目光皆聚集在對唱著情歌談情說愛的年輕伴侶的身上。

如果說吃新節重在歌聲，那麼苗年節的看點就是服飾了。雷山西江一帶苗族的苗年分為兩個部分：前面一個苗年節是祭祀祖先和神靈的節日（西江的大節）；後面一個苗年節則是自娛自樂的節日。在苗族自治自樂的苗年節裡，苗族的一個主要活動是「跳蘆笙（舞）」。<sup>2</sup>這種活動每次舉行少則三天、五



天，多則七天、九天（必須用單數）。屆時全村的男女老少都湧到村寨專門的場地上去，男青年上場吹蘆笙，女青年上場按照蘆笙的節奏踩舞步，其他人則在四面圍觀。到時候只看見一排排的姑娘身著漂亮的盛裝，戴著滿頭滿身的銀飾，花花綠綠點綴著一片銀海，非常壯觀美麗。這種活動也不局限於年輕人。吹蘆笙的除了年輕人也有中老年人；踩舞步的除了姑娘們還有老婆婆和老公公等。它是一個全民性的娛樂活動，但是，對於年輕人特別是女孩子卻有著特別的意義。



西江千戶苗寨 2009.8.4 黃英峰 攝

雷山西江皆是清水江畔以水稻為主的農耕民族。作為農耕民族，傳統家庭的性別分工是男耕女織，男人管「吃」，女人管「穿」。服飾生產是女人一生的責任。服飾的製作有很多道工序和分為多個部件。首先是材料的準備，布匹的製作；再就把布做成衣；還要在衣服的底子上刺繡裝飾等等。土布的製作有種棉花、脫粒、擀棉條、紡紗、理紗、織布等過程；刺繡的種類有平繡、貼繡、辮繡、鎖繡、皺繡、雙針繡、打子繡等。其中布匹製作環節包括印染，印染又涉及到種植藍靛；刺繡需要用絲線，絲線來源在傳統上是自己種桑樹自己養

蠶；納鞋的線要用麻做，這又牽涉到麻的種植；裙子要做成百褶裙，工藝要求很高，需請專門的藝人等。服飾的部件涵蓋衣服、褲子、帽子、鞋子、頭帕、袖套、襪子、揹兒帶等。

筆者的奶奶和外婆以前可能也製作過蠟染，我曾經看見我母親年輕時用過的一張床單是紮染的。但是到了母親的時候就盛行刺繡，沒有再看到蠟染了。據有關材料介紹，民國八年（1919年）貴州省政府頒行「蠶桑計畫」，雷山因此還創辦蠶桑講習所。雷山西江苗族盛行刺繡可能與此有關<sup>2</sup>。

整體說來，所有的婦女都共同承擔服飾的製作，每位婦女都必須要學會和掌握服飾所有的工序。但服飾的工藝有一漸進的過程，婦女們根據不同年齡階段也有不同的分工。一般而言，年輕姑娘的任務是刺繡，所製作的服飾是為她自己準備的；中年婦女的主要任務是織布和裁縫，她的服務對象是家庭的全部成員；老年人主要的活計是紡紗，為自己的兒媳分擔一些工作量。

苗族女人最初學習服飾製作不是從織布做起，而是從刺繡開始。傳統上小女孩四、五歲就開始學習刺繡，等到她進入少年的時候基本技藝已經掌握得差不多，她就得開始為自己在衣服上繡花了。此後她一件一件地繡，繡完一件再繡一件，一直繡到她出嫁的時候。這時她積攢下來的繡花衣服可能有十幾件或者幾十件。作為新娘，這些繡花衣服隨著她的出嫁被



雷山縣西江鎮 2006.7.14 胡克強 攝



她帶到丈夫家裡，一件件地擺在她的新床上，供丈夫的家族和親戚觀賞和評價。



雷山縣西江鎮 2006 胡克強 攝

雷山西江等地苗族傳統上嫁女兒不給陪嫁，嫁妝就只是她自己的衣服。這些衣服是足夠她穿一輩子的，甚至於可以留給自己的女兒。一位姑娘，用她的青春年華繡出這些衣服，是為她未來的人生做準備，因她為人妻母以後，就沒有時間再為自己做衣服了。這同時也是為了體現自己的聰明才智和人生價值。在男耕女織、性別分工的社會裏，女人是否勝任自己的角色任務，從這些服飾就可以判斷。

新娘的嫁妝是一個女孩長大成人可以擔任家庭責任的證明，而每年的苗年節穿著新裝到「蘆笙場」上去亮相則是對女孩針線活的年度「考核」。

「跳蘆笙」的動作很簡單，姑娘們一個跟著一個，圍成一個或者數個圓圈，踩著蘆笙手吹奏的蘆笙節拍走舞步：向前挪動或者左右輾轉。就是這樣一圈一圈地往返以復，每天從下午三四點鐘開始到天黑（隨時可以離開或者加入舞隊），一直持續數天以後。就像我們國慶日的閱兵式一樣，女孩們一圈一圈地在父老鄉親和親朋好友的面前走過，接受「閱兵」。它和「吃新節」的賽「唱」不一樣，這時候她們比的是「穿」。穿著盛裝的女孩們不再開口，

而是穩穩當當地跟隨節奏邁開舞步，盡量少身體的晃動，以體現體態行為的端莊之美，也有利於服飾的展示和方便觀眾的欣賞，即使有些舞曲需要轉動身體，也是很慢地穩步進行<sup>3</sup>。而在圈外觀望的全村男女老少以及來訪的親戚朋友也百看不厭，並不時的進行比較和評點。所有的人都沉浸在一片歡樂的氛圍之中。到「跳蘆笙（舞）」的最後一天，小夥子還會吹著蘆笙向他喜歡的女孩「討花帶」（女孩們將事先準備漂亮花帶，這種花帶在傳統上是在織布機上織的）。

不論「跳蘆笙」的形式簡單或複雜，服飾不是舞蹈的道具，舞姿卻得配合服飾展示的需要。苗族女子通過這種方式使她的服飾技藝獲得社會的認可，同時獲得自我肯定。節日成了少女們一年中的期盼，它帶給苗族服飾諸多展示的機會，也讓苗族的節日更繽紛燦爛。

註1：這一帶苗族也過春節，但過得很簡單，稱呼春節為「漢族的節日」。

註2：秦小鋒《清、民國時期雷山縣教育梗概》，載《雷山縣文史資料選輯》第一輯，第58頁。雷山縣政協文史資料委員會編，1989年出版。

註3：現在「內部全球化」，有的演員穿著雷山西江厚重的苗族盛裝，跳著台江縣反排村大幅度擺動的苗族木鼓舞，這種美+美=醜的「文化嫁接」，忽略了不同地點苗族具體文化事項內涵的差異性及其與文化生境的關係。



# Regalia Aggrandize Festivals

## with Leishan and Xijiang as Examples

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Generally speaking, the unique features of a woman's clothing are key to the differentiation of the Miao subgroups of various localities. The apparel of Leishan and Xijiang, subject of this discussion, are no exception. Divided into casual and formal attire, the former is the everyday garb, while the latter is only worn on important occasions. What are those occasions then? They are weddings, funerals, visitation with relatives, etc. Of all occasions, festivals are the most frequent.

The essential festivals in Leishan and Xijiang are the Chi XinJie/Chi Xin Fan 吃新節/吃新飯 (Tasting the New / New Rice Tasting) and the Miao Nian Jie 苗年節 (Miao New Year.) Ultimately, there is the most celebrated Ancestral Festival which falls on every twelfth year, which happens to be this year, 2009. New Rice Tasting in Miao language means "Tasting the Mao 吃卯." Why Mao? Mao is the hare's birthday of the animal zodiac. All Miao festivals' are calculated on the basis of the animal zodiac, and the Mao day is commonly chosen for festivities. When New Rice Tasting comes, all families will make offerings of the freshly threshed new rice to their ancestors and afterwards share the food among themselves, a symbolic celebration of the yearly rice harvest.

The Miao New Year's Festival equates to the Han Chinese Chun Jie 春節 (Spring Festival or Chinese New Year.) For the Miao, lunar October marks the beginning of the year, thus the time for the New Year Festival. However, none of the Miao festivals have pre-set dates; the actual dates are

decided when the year comes. As wet rice growers, Xijiang festivals are intertwined with the four seasons' agricultural activities. The general rule of thumb is: the Kai Yang Men 開秧門 (Opening the Gate of Seeds) determines the beginning of the year, as it is the rice seed planting day. A Mao day after the fiftieth day of Kai Yang Men is the New Rice Tasting. Another seventy-five days after the New Rice Tasting, again on a Mao day, is the Miao New Year. There is yet an additional deciding factor, that is, the Mao day must be during the part of the month when the moon is waxing, not waning, since there can be as many as three Mao days in a month. If a special circumstance arises, such as a late harvest or an unexpected incident, that causes delaying the celebration to become necessary, the exact time will then be discussed and finalized by the leaders of the village. Whether the date is postponed or pushed earlier, the prerequisite is always the Mao day.

Miao New Year's festivity is often held for more than one period of time. In Leishan, it is celebrated twice, called the "earlier fest 前節" and the "later fest 後節." In Xijiang, the celebration is held thrice: the "head fest 頭節", the "big fest 大節" and the "final fest 尾節." They are so passionate about festivity that the Leishan and Xijiang Miao kid each other in song: "Xijiang, gluttons of the west side, collide into each other after three feasts," sing the Leishan Miao. The Xijiang Miao respond: "Our feasts are our business, so why are you here!" Festivals in this area are frequently held on inconsistent dates. Each