

方李莉〇著

人类与遗产丛书

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内 容 摘 要

本书强调田野工作,所侧重的是本土化的经验与社会事实。因此,中国经验是本书的特色与切入点。书中许多论述都是来自田野的第一手资料,所使用的材料大部分是作者十几年来所做的一些具体个案研究,其中主要是作者所承担的两个大型国家重点课题——"西北人文资源环境基础数据库"和"西部人文资源保护、开发和利用"里的一些个案研究。通过这些研究,我们能感受到中国政府及不同地域的民间社会,包括不同专业领域的学者在全球一体化的背景中对遗产保护所持的各种不同态度及认识,这一切形成了种种"权威"与"力",它们在合力重新建构一个完全不同于传统的新的中国民间文化和民间社会。从某种程度来说本书就是在剖析和展示这种重新建构的过程。



SUMMARY

Like most research, the conclusions reached in this book are based on first-hand field studies, focusing on indigenous societal experience and facts. This book speaks about the Chinese Experience, most information comes from field studies, primarily from two State Key Research Projects: "A Database of Anthropology Resources in the Northwest Region" and "Preservation, Development, and Utilization of Western China'S Anthropology Resources". These projects provide an understanding of how culture heritage is viewed differently by the Chinese government, by the local people, and by scholars from various disciplines in front of the backdrop of globalization and also how "authority" and "power" are being reconsidered. The interplay among these factors facilitates a reconstruction of Chinese culture and society by non-traditional, grass-roots means. This book presents and analyzes changes in society under such changing circumstances.

为了不亏欠的获得

(代总序)

彭兆荣

遗产是人类从前辈那里继承来的财产。遗产的获得与失去每每只在念想之间。人类曾经用自己的双手创造了无与伦比的财富,人类也曾经用自己的双手毁灭了无法再生的遗产。我们为我们的创造而骄傲,我们也为我们的破坏而懊悔。

然而,人类总是在创造和破坏,骄傲和懊悔中前行的,在这样的时代,获得遗产的天经地义与保护遗产的责无旁贷同时赋予了人类。 人类社会未来的发展在于我们今天是否能够保护好遗产。此番道理 并不深奥,却时常为我们所忘却。忘却也是一种背叛,背叛有待于救 赎。今天的保护正是对昨天背叛的赎罪、惩罚和拯救。

笼统地说"人类遗产"显然不够周全,需要加注。有些遗产并没有包含人类的创造和劳动,自然遗产就是这样。任何一位到过美国科罗拉多大峡谷的游客事先都接受了相同的训导,其中有一段这样的话:大峡谷是自然的奇迹,人类并没有参与创造,因而不为人类所专美。今天,可以分享这份大自然的礼物是我们的幸运。人类没有任何理由破坏它,甚至人为地改变它。1903年,老罗斯福总统面对大峡谷说了这样的话: "任何人的干预只会破坏大峡谷,这里既然是上帝的杰作,那么也等上帝来改变它吧。"

对于自然遗产,人类干预得是否多了点,包括我们今天的保护行动。我们有限度地认可"保护"原则,不仅因为人类的自大横贯其中,更是由于它来自人类对自己曾经行为痛定思痛的深切反思。反思的必要与反思的代价往往是相互的。

文化遗产可以被认为属于人类的创造,可是我们同时需要明白一



为了不亏欠的获得 (代总序)



个道理:文化遗产是人类祖先创造的财富,它属于你我他,也属于你我他的后代。

遗产是存续的财,祸福相兼,是福是祸,全凭人类的智慧。遗产是获得的签,善恶与共,是善是恶,全靠人类的德性。遗产是变动的运,好坏并存,是好是坏全靠人类的行动。先哲早有"祸兮福之所倚,福兮祸之所伏"的箴言,嘱我们好自为之。

遗产可以成为运动的冠名,可以引出民族的荣耀,可以促进公民的觉悟,可以提升社会的道德,可以改善立法的功效,可以加强管理的力度,可以滋长政治的权力,可以产生资本的利润。

遗产也是一门学问,面对这门学问我们感到了肤浅。遗产是一种知识,面对这种知识我们感到了窘迫。于是需要学习,需要体认,需要实践,需要总结。

遗产是历史,属于过去。遗产是既得,属于现在。遗产是存续,属于未来。我们的生命、生存、生活同时属于过去、现在与将来。遗产与生命共存,生物的DNA与文化的DNA融为一体。维护人类生存的权利与拒绝人类自戕的厄运同时在遗产中得到完整的体现。

我们以这套丛书作为一个承载思想和知识的载体,并以此发出自己的声音。《遗产:源起与规则》梳理联合国教科文组织"人类遗产体系"及其保护运动的源起和"游戏"规则;《遗产:反思与阐释》解析遗产的学理、逻辑和谱系;《遗产:实践与经验》呈现遗产保护的中国实践与中国经验。三本书将遗产的道、理、势贯彻一脉。

为了不亏欠的获得,为了坦荡地活着,为了生命的延续,让我们保护好遗产,多留些财富给后代吧!

FOR THE SAKE OF GAIN AND REWARD WITHOUT LOSS AND OBLIGATION

(PROLOGUE)

Peng Zhaorong

Heritage is a treasure bequest to humankind by its ancestors. With their own hands humans have created unique and incomparable treasures, but with the same hands humans have destroyed countless jewels impossible to revive or restore. We are proud of our creations and we are sad about our destruction of those creations.

Hence humankind is walking on a road between pride and regret, between creation and devastation. In such a setting, the right and potential to delight in our heritage as well as the responsibility to protect it, are both entrusted to man.

The further development of human society depends on how well we can manage to preserve our inheritances. This is not a very complicated issue, nevertheless it can be quite often forgotten or neglected by ourselves. Forgetfulness is a form of betrayal and deceit – it's a wrongdoing along with which goes a need to compensate for it. The preservation work today is a kind of punishment and compensation for the faults, and salvation from the crimes committed yesterday.

Generally speaking, the definition and understanding of human heritage are far from being complete, therefore they require a wider range of attention. In some cases the creation of heritage indeed doesn't incorporate human participation and effort. For instance — natural heritage. Any tourist who had once visited Colorado Grand Canyon had in advance been tought that this Canyon is a natural miracle, in the creation of which human contribution was not involved, and for that reason it is not meant to exhibit its beauty for man only. To be able to enjoy this marvellous gift from Mother Nature is our great fortune and there should be no special excuse to damage it or intentionally adjust it to our artificial needs. In the year 1903 Franklin Roosevelt said facing Grand Canyon: "The intrusion of anyone would destroy this Canyon. It is a masterpiece created by God, thus we should wait for him to come and change it."

Isn't it true that there is too much human intrusion in relation to natural heritage, including the preservation movement. We have a limited view on the principles of





preservation, not only because of human self-centered values, but also because the idea of preservation derives from sorrow and regret over our past mistakes. The need for reconsideration and the price paid for it are connected.

Cultural heritage can be regarded as a part of human creation, nonetheless we still have to be aware of one matter – cultural heritage is a fortune created by our ancestors, it belongs to us, but it also belongs to our offspring.

Heritage is a fortune to be treasured and passed on. Fortune and tragedy are linked together, whether it is one or another fully depends on human wisdom.

Heritage is a representation of benefit and achievement, but good goes along with evil – and whether it's good or evil depends on human morality.

Heritage is a fate that keeps changing – whether it's for the better or for the worse wholly depends on human actions. Just as it was stated in early Chinese philosophical thought: "Misfortune is resting on fortune and fortune is resting on misfortune." This urges us to devote ourselves to making the best of it.

Heritage can be like a sports champion, it can illuminate the glory of a nation, expand peoples awareness, inspire social morality, improve effectiveness of legislation, fortify the power of government, strengthen political authority and lead to material benefit.

Heritage is a field of study we feel we know only superficially, it is a knowledge that we feel anxious about. Therefore there's a need for investigation, practice and determination.

Heritage is a testimony of the past, it is a gift to the present, and an ongoing process belonging to the future. Our fate, our life and whole existence are a part of the past, present and future.

Heritage and life are coexisting. Biological DNA and Cultural DNA create one entity. In this sense, the protection of humankind's existence and the prevention of its demise are embodied by heritage.

With this series of books we created a medium for the transmission of ideas and knowledge. Heritage: Origins and Rules, revises the UNESCO human Heritage system and the origins of its conservation movement and its "rules of game". Heritage: Reflection and Interpretation, explain and analyze the theory, logic and record of heritage. Heritage: Practice and Experience, presents the practice and experience with heritage in China. These three books encompass the method, logic and significance of heritage.

For the sake of gain and reward without loss and obligation, in order to live honestly and pass on life to the next generation, let's take good care of our heritage and leave more treasures for our children!

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引言





一、研究的缘起

1998年在北京大学百年校庆举办的"文化自觉与跨文化对话"国 际研讨会上,美国著名人类学家萨林斯的发言引起了笔者的思考。他 认为,"世界文化的同质化和多元化是同时出现的,伴随着全球化的 开始,80年代许多第三世界出国生活的移民们又回到自己的国家来创 建新的牛活,也就是本土文化的一种复兴。他们的变化是在技术和生 活方式上继续学习西方, 但一些已经失去了的传统观念和文化正在恢 复, 如传统的庆典活动、传统的公众仪式、传统的亲属网络等"。他 认为,"这种传统的恢复是创新的一种手段,世界文化的一体性和差 异性是同时发展的, 保护自己的文化传统已经在第三世界和第四世界 形成一个普遍的现象,这些非西方的人创造他们文化观的斗争已摧毁 了传统与变迁的对立,一体化和多样化、西方化和本土化的对立"。 他的这些观点笔者后来在他的《甜蜜的悲哀》一书中也读到过。他的 有些理论笔者是非常赞成的, 他是当今一位非常了不起的人类学家。 但笔者认为, 他所说的这些文化的恢复并不是真正意义上的恢复, 因 为作为文化来讲, 那些与人类生计有关的文化, 如生产方式和生活方 式是文化的内核部分, 而其他的则属于外围部分, 如果内核已经改变 了,它的外围部分还能存在吗?因此,当时笔者认为有关文化多样性 的问题在我们这个时代的讨论,并不是像他所认为的那样已经结束, 而是刚刚开始,或者还未完全开始。

在那次会议上,美国的人类学家桑格瑞认为,过度地强调本土化



③ 圆明园遗址

 民族之间、国家与国家之间互相尊重彼此的历史、文化,而对个人来讲,则要求尊重对方人格上的独立。在21世纪,人们关注的焦点可能不再仅仅是自然生态的问题,更重要的还有一个文化生态的问题。这个问题必然要涉及到民族与民族之间、人与人之间、人与自身心理之间、人与自然之间的种种关系,如何处理好这些关系,将牵涉到整个人类未来的命运和前途。我们要在处理好这些关系的基础上,重新恢复人类早期的那种人与自然的亲和关系,在重返大自然的同时,重返我们的精神家园,重建我们新的文化观念。

于是,笔者撰写了一篇题为《文化生态失衡问题的提出》的论 文,并在论文中写道:"据统计,随着工业文明的迅速发展,每天都 有100种左右的物种在消失,这么多物种在短时期内的消失,会使得 地球上错综复杂的生命之网的完整机体遭到致命的伤害。但是, 却从 来没有人统计过,随着工业文明的浸染,每年有多少地方性的传统文 化在消失,而这种消失也会对人类的文化生态带来伤害。"●"在现代 化文明迅速席卷全球的今天,每时每刻都不知道有多少传统的土生土 长的文化在消失。一种'落后'的传统地方文化的消失,谁也不会注 意、谁也不会感到惋惜,但当成批这样的文化群都在消失的时候,人 们有没有想过,这是不是一种文化生态在遭到破坏?也就是说,以人 为中心的观念正使得生物圈内的生物急剧递减,同样,以西方文化为 中心的观念也正使得文化圈内的文化种类急剧递减。同时,也是不是 可以说,人类现代的物质文明是以生物的多样性减少为代价的,而人 类现代的精神文明却是以文化的多样性减少为代价的。我们现在感到 的是自然生态被破坏,自然资源在减少,但同样我们将面临的还有一 个文化生态被破坏和文化资源在减少的问题。"❷

论文思考的时间很长,从1998年开始,几易其稿,到2001年才最后完成。论文写完后,被刊登在《北京大学学报》上。该文章刊登后引起了较大的反响,当时《南方周末》的一位记者采访笔者问道:"许多地方性的文化一旦消失,会对人类社会的发展带来什么样的影响?面对这些文化多样性的消失,我们应该有些什么样的保护措施?"笔者当时的回答是不确切的,因为觉得自己的一些提法更多地是一种直觉,要提升到一种理论的高度来认识,还需要有更多的研究,需要有大量的实例来说明。当时我们国家正在进行西部大开发,为了保护西部的人文资源和文化生态,2001年,笔者承担了国家重点

② 同上,第105页。

