中央民族大学"985工程" 中国当代民族问题战略研究哲学社会科学创新基地之 民族学人类学理论与方法研究中心科研成果



田野人文丛书

永久的飘泊

Everlasting Migration of the Hmong

定耕苗族之迁徙感的人类学研究

An Anthropological Study of the Sense of Migration in Settled Hmong



杨渝东/著





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摘 要

苗族是中国南部一个典型的山地迁徙民族。直到 1949年,苗族才基本停住了迁徙的脚步,渐渐在他们原来居住的村寨和集镇安顿下来,形成相对稳定的定居社区。五十多年来,苗族村寨作为相对稳定的社区延续下来,它们彼此之间也建立了较为固定的地缘关系。那么,这五十多年的社会变迁是否已使苗族忘却了他们的迁徙史?或者说,迁徙史对于如今生活在苗寨中的人们有什么意义?它是否还被他们运用来构想人与人之间的关系及人与外部世界的关系?我带着这些问题进入了田野工作。

本书采用民族志方法考察了滇东南一个苗族村落。我的 田野工作地点是云南省屏边苗族自治县和平乡的上坝村。在 这个苗族村落从事社会人类学调查逐渐使我认识到,定居的 现状与迁徙的历史是苗族社会文化中相互难以分割的两个方 面。从社会形态看,上坝与社会人类学者以往描述的扎根乡 土的汉人村庄存在着明显差异。从主观意识上说,他们的神 话、信仰体系与仪式均展示了迁徙在苗族的主观意识中是一 个永恒的主题,他们的族群精神(ethos)并没有随着苗族 的定居化而消减,这使得我们在一个看似定居的农业文明当 中感受到一种飘泊的心态。为了揭示苗族定居村落的这一迁 徙性. 我从村民的社会实践、观念体系和仪式操演等三个层 面来考察,并试图通过细部的分析来揭示它们与迁徙的历史 之间的关系。

- (1) 在社会层面上,上坝由多个苗族家庭迁徙而成。 1949年之后,村落在经济、政治、文化方面都经过了国家 的重新调整,游耕的村落形态逐渐转变为固定的村落形态。 但是, 村落社会中占核心地位的族亲与姻亲关系仍然在年度 时间的热季与冷季安排当中交替成为社会事务的中心。冷季 中表现出来的巨大的社会流动性使得苗族社会有别于定耕的 农业文明, 而在冷季中缔结婚姻的过程也是家族得以繁衍接 续的前提。换言之,定居的家族形态要在富有流动性的社会 交往中才能得以实现。
- (2) 在社会记忆层面上, 在村中频频讲述的神话、传 说、古歌, 在老人传授下来的仪式咒语、念白、调词当中都 包含着苗族关于迁徙的记忆。黄河水朝天、苗族逃难、战争 的破坏、汉人的欺诈、重返家园成了上述口承文学中的 主题。
- (3) 在信仰一仪式层面上, 苗族的自然观念将人与植 物、动物相并列,信仰存在于一切自然物体中的魂。他们关 于魂的想象与家园的别离有关,人及动物、植物求平安的仪 式也饱含着魂从远处归来的意蕴。祖先与鬼都是魂的延伸。 如果说鬼隐喻着一种外来的暴力,那么村中频繁的驱鬼仪式 就表明苗族不断遭到暴力的侵害,他们希望通过驱赶暴力获

得自己家园的安定。进而,他们的家门就成了一个划分界线的重要标志,家族每年也要举办重聚迁徙中失散兄弟的活动。最后,人的魂要在人过世以后回到祖先的故地,那是他们迁徙的起始地并为他解去身上的重负,让他享受在故地与先祖们在一起的快乐生活。

通过以上三个层次的考察,本书比较深入地说明定居的 苗族村落与迁徙的苗族历史之间的密切关系。本书将指出,在苗族的社会形态与观念意识中,迁徙仍然居于核心的地位,这与他们定居的表象形成鲜明的对比。以往社会人类学研究多以定居村寨为典范,侧重研究社会观念一符号形态与社会现实之间的稳定关系。而苗族村落的研究则为我们指出了一个值得关注的事实,那就是,有着漫长迁徙历史的民族,在定居之后仍然会存留对于迁徙历史的社会记忆。社会记忆与制度化(如地缘化)的实践之间的不对称现象,不仅对于理解苗族自身有重要意义,而且也潜在着对其他族群的定居性和迁徙性辩证关系的启发,因而值得社会人类学做进一步的探讨。本书的结论部分涉及到了有关苗族的历史与文化内涵的这一理论意义。不过,本书以民族志的叙述为主,所涉及的理论探索只能是初步的,因而有待未来的进一步细化和拓深。

关键词: 苗族 迁徙性 社会结构 社会记忆 魂 葬礼 历史

Abstract

The Miao was once typical of a migratory ethnical minority in the highlands of South China. From the age of great antiquity with no written history, their ancestors had lived a frequently drifting life. Their moving footsteps can be found recorded in some periods in the whole dynasty history of China and not in some others, but migration had been a normal living condition for the group. This history was ended in 1949 when the Miao were arranged to gradually settle down in the villages and towns they occupied temporarily before. From then on, the Miao's settlements have turned from floating places to fixed communities, in which the Miao have established stable networks of territorial relationship. However, has the Miao put their history of migration out of their mind as a result of the social changes in these 50 years? What does the history of migration mean to the Miao now living in their settlements? Is it still the source for them to imagine the relationship of people and between people and the world? With these questions in mind, I went into my fieldwork.

My book describes through an approach of ethnography a Miao village named Shanghba which is under the governance of Pingbian Miao Autonomous County in southwestern Yunnan. By conducting social anthropological research in this village, I become to realize that the settlement as the reality and the migration as the history are two aspects intermingled in the social consciousness of the villagers. As the social form in concerned, Shangba is different from the Han rooted villages discussed by many anthropologists in their works. The Miao has a special memory system as a result of "losing their written system". Their myths, legends, beliefs and rites are still telling us that the migration is a permanent subject in the Miao's ethical sense. Therefore, the ethos of drifting doesn't fade into insignificance with the process of their settlement. On the contrary, I was greatly impressed by the fact that the rooted-cultivation is virtually surrounded by a mind of drifting. Undoubtedly, this obstinate thought is repeatedly reproduced and strengthened by their social practices. In order to reveal this mind of drifting in this seemingly settled village, I categorized the practices of the villagers into three levels:

(1) On the social level, Shangba is composed of several Miao lineages, which immigrated into the village many years ago. After 1949, the economical, political and cultural aspects of the village were reconstructed by the state. As a result, the drifting-cultivators were changed into mountain village dwellers. However, now the lineages and the marriage alliances are in fact full of diffe-

rent characteristics from long rooted Han villages. In hot season of every year, the lineages organize their members to cooperate with each other to finish materials production, while in cold season with the appearance of more frequent moving of young people from one Miao village to another, marriage relations play more important role than lineages. The conspicuous social mobility embodied in the cold season distinguishes the Miao from the estabilished agricultural nationalities. Therefore the lineages must put themselves into the mobility to reproduce and enlarge the scale of lineages.

- (2) On the social memory level, their myths, legends, ancient songs, curses handed down orally by the old are all filled with the memory of migration, such as Yellow River's flood, the Miao's moving, the disaster of wars and the recovery of their homelands. Even in a little village like Shangba, these ancient stories are still alive.
- (3) On the belief-ritual level, the human is juxtaposed with the animal and the plant in the Miao's concept of the nature. The Miao generally believe that everything has its own soul. Their imagination of the soul is related with their leaving their homeland. The Miao believe that sickness or death comes when the soul/homeland is away while everything is all right when the soul/homeland is back. Compared with the Han, the Miao's belief system cares more about ghost and god. If we look on the ghost as the violence from the outside, the rituals to exorcise it performed frequently in the village illustrate that the Miao was once attacked by alien forces from time to time. Another impor-

tant ritual called "Kan Huoxing" is performed in lineages every year to reunite the brothers missing during the migration and to exorcise ghost at the same time. The last but not the least, the funeral ritual is carried out to lead the soul of the dead to go through thick and thin to find the hometown of their ancestors at last.

By observing these practices, I come to understand there is a close relationship between the rooted village life of the Miao and their migration history. As mentioned above, the migration, contrasted with their residential appearance, has been the core not only of their social structure but also of their mind. In my eyes, this mind of drifting implanted in the seemingly settled Miao villages like Shangba gets us to reflect the previous theories and methods of social anthropology. The former researches took the settled village as a paradigm, emphasizing the stability of the social structure constructed by the collective consciousness and symbol system. However, it's noteworthy that the Miao with a long history of migration remains the social memory of the migration after their settlement of over 50 years. Thus, there appears an unsymmetrical relationship between social consciousness and social institution. Based on this, the dialectal relationship between settlement and migration in other ethnic groups can also be reviewed. Hopefully, this may be the main contribution of my book.

Key words: the Miao; migratory mind; social structure; social memory anima; funeral ritual; history of the Miao

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第一章 导 论

一 "人往高处走"

2003 年 7 月中旬,我到云南省一个叫做上坝的苗族村寨从事社会人类学考察。该村位于滇东南红河州的屏边苗族自治县和平乡。7 月正好是那里雨水充沛的季节,夏日虽显得比较清凉,但进村的路也被淋得泥泞不堪,这让行李压肩的我略感焦虑。欣慰的是,在和平乡政府向年轻的乡长交涉后,他答应派乡里的吉普车送我进村,还让一位副乡长陪我前去。

第二天早上七点,吉普车准时从乡里出发。沿着山间的乡村公路,车徐徐盘旋而上。这条泥石路经雨浇淋,处处都是水坑泥潭,车在不停的摇晃与抖动中颠簸前进,使我根本顾不上观赏路边晨曦中的山色。我一手扶着行李,一手抓着前椅的靠背,注意力高度集中在吉普车本身的起起落落当中,以减少自己从座位上腾空而起的次数。即便如此,头还是在车顶上狠狠地撞了几次,惹得身边那位副乡长也忍俊不禁。狼狈当中,我无暇顾及窗外的景致,只感觉到车在不断

地往上开,在少数过于陡峭的路段,司机需把油门踩到底才不至于让车陷在泥坑里。每当这时,汽车马达发出的巨大轰鸣声就在群山间回荡。

过了将近一个小时,不知翻过了多少个陡坡,小吉普终于"摇"进了群山间的一个大坝,并驶上了一段平路。这个时候,副乡长笑着说已经到了上坝的村口。我连忙透过前窗往外望。近处一片平阔的稻田和远处几点隐露在树木中的屋舍在连日雨水的浸润下显得葱郁苍翠,极目处几座直插入云的峻秀山峰平添了村庄的灵气。这就是我盼见已久的苗寨了。不多久,吉普车就绕过田地进入到村寨里面。路边有几间覆盖着青瓦的泥土房,它们都背朝着这条入村的大路,使我没有看到屋里的人。在我兴奋而微感遗憾之际,车拐过一座小桥并在一个泥土的操场上停了下来,进村的这条路仿佛也在此到了尽头。两个破旧的篮球架伫立在操场的两头,一栋同样覆盖着青瓦的二层木楼在其后的青山映衬下显得更为宁静古朴,一望便知是村小学,那陈旧的屋舍写意着岁月的磨痕。

对苗族"情有独钟",也许是源自儿时的一段生活经历。我在渝黔相交的一个小镇上长大,有次赶场在人海中看到几个穿着非常鲜艳的女性,感到好奇,然后从长辈那里知道她们是苗族人,从此在记忆中留下了很深的印象,但我对苗族的了解也止步于此。时隔多年,我在远离家乡小镇的北京大学攻读人类学博士学位,导师建议我可将研究范围确定为西南少数民族,当时我立刻就想到了苗族。不久,我开始阅读关于苗族的著述与研究,儿时因一时好奇而留下的模糊

印象才一点点铺展开来。

不过,时间的"有涯"与资料的"无涯"使我并没有把模糊的印象变成清晰的图画。相反,关于苗族的起源、分支、语言、习俗的争论,以及各地苗族不同的文化形态反而让我在书斋中感到迷惑。在上世纪 50 年代国家进行民族识别之前,"苗族"这个称谓没有清晰的边界,很多在民族识别后不属于苗族的族群也被称为"苗"。在民族识别后,边界相对清晰了很多,但苗族地域广阔,人口众多,分支细密又有融合之势。在大致可划分的湘西、黔东南、黔中、川黔滇等分布区域中,语言不通、文字缺乏、风俗有别、沟通不便,很难连缀成一个整体性的苗族图景。在这种情况下,我似乎只能舍弃整体,而选择个别。

在此期间,我读到云南大学历史研究所民族组于上世纪70年代编撰的《云南省金平屏边苗族瑶族社会调查》,其中收录了雷广正先生1958年在屏边县的苗族调查报告。该报告从"民族情况"、"经济情况"、"政治情况"、"家庭、婚姻、宗教及社会习俗"四部分描述了屏边县苗族社会与文化的基本情况。(雷广正,1976[1958])虽受当时调查目的的限制,他没有对这些调查资料作深入的分析,但他详细的记述已足以成为进一步研究的前期知识准备。于是,我把田野地点初步定为屏边县,接下来的事情就是去屏边到底我要做什么。

2003 年春节后,正当我在毫无头绪地准备研究方向时, "非典"在京城大肆蔓延起来,一时人心惶惶。到4月中旬, 从北京出去的人已经明显不受各地欢迎。还有传闻说,再过