



西南边疆民族文库·西南边疆史丛书
普通高校人文社会科学重点研究基地基金资助

A study of the Historic Relations between
The Naxi and Tibetan Ethnic Groups

纳西族与藏族 历史关系 研究



杨福泉
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内容简介

中华民族是由多民族构成、我中有你，你中有我而又各具个性的多元统一体，在历史的长河中，形成了凝聚力很强的中华民族这一整体，56个民族共同创造了伟大的中华文明。

在特定区域内形成的各少数民族之间的关系，是中华民族关系史的重要构成部分。在特定的历史时期，一些少数民族之间的关系，对这一区域政治、经济、社会、文化诸方面的格局和个性的形成都产生过重大的影响，是推动历史发展的重要动力。而这种少数民族之间的历史关系，构成了中华民族关系史的丰富性和多元性。这种研究首先需要对各民族之间过去和现在的关系作深入的专题和个案研究，只有建立在这种众多的专题和个案研究上得出的结论，才是最有说服力的。

在我国学术界，历来对历史上汉族和少数民族的关系是研究得比较多的，但对中国少数民族关系史的研究则还显得十分薄弱，特别是对具体民族之间关系的研究成果更是凤毛麟角。本书对历史上纳西族和藏族关系的研究，即是在这一薄弱领域里的一个尝试。

繁衍生息于中国西南部的藏族和纳西族是两个有着丰厚的文化遗产和突出的文化个性的民族，它们都曾在历史上扮演过重要的角色。这两个民族之间的历史关系，成为中国西南民族史和地方发展史上的重要篇章，成为推动当地“茶马古道”上经济和文

化交流的关键动力之一。至今，国内藏学界和东方学界把东巴教视为解开藏族早期苯教之谜的重要线索。研究这两个民族的历史关系，对研究中国民族关系史、西南地方史、民族史以及“藏彝走廊”上各民族的政治经济文化的交流和整合，都有重要的意义。迄今国内外对纳藏两族的历史关系有过一些零星的研究，但多侧重于某一方面，如西方学者对苯教和东巴教的比较研究，中方学者以单篇文章概论两族关系等，但至今尚没有比较系统和全面的研究论著^①。本书即从政治、宗教、文艺、民族融合等方面，对纳藏两族的历史关系作一个初步而有系统性的探研。

本书在写作中遵循了如下原则：由于历史上与纳藏关系相关的历史文献资料（包括汉文和藏文）连贯性的欠缺，以及由于历史上纷纭复杂的政治变动和社会变迁因素，在两族的关系史上，有着交流相对频繁与相对阻隔的不同历史阶段。因此，本文对历史上纳藏关系的研究，将不遵循传统的按朝代顺序逐一论述的“民族关系史”模式，而是采取从政治、经济、宗教、文学艺术、民族融合等方面分别探讨两族关系的方法，每一模块的内容又尽量贯穿以历史发展的脉络。在论述中分重点，对两族关系史上特别重要的历史阶段，本文将着重阐述；对于两族关系史上的具体内容，本书也根据资料的多寡和历史实际有所侧重，比如论述到两族文化上的关系，本书将对两族交流、交融最多的宗教现象有较多的论述。

本书分为以下几个部分：

^① 笔者的这篇博士论文完成于2001年。2003年，西南民族学院的赵心愚先生写了与笔者论文题目相同的博士论文，在绪论中提到了笔者的博士论文，提出“这篇重要论文的出现，标志着纳西族与藏族关系研究近年来取得了新进展。”赵心愚的论文在2004年以《纳西族与藏族关系史》之名由四川人民出版社出版。

一、同源异流的两族关系探讨。重点对川西和滇西北纳藏两族聚居地区所发现的石棺葬进行了论述，考释它与纳藏两族的历史渊源关系。论证了川西和滇西北的石棺葬与作为藏族、纳西族先民重要组成部分的牦牛羌白狼部落和苯教有密切的关系。另外，通过对古羌人首领无戈爰剑与纳藏两族的关系、古羌人与纳藏两族的宗教信仰、民俗、古籍和传说等的比较研究，论证了纳藏两族源于古羌人的历史源流关系。

二、纳藏两族历史上的政治关系。笔者基于唐、明两朝是最为集中地反映了纳西族和藏族历史上密切的政治关系的事实，结合当时中国的政治背景，从多方面论述了在这两个时期中两族之间的政治关系；从两族之间的战争、友好关系、两族政教上层之间的交往、政治制度的相互渗透等，阐述了两个民族如何在纷争和矛盾冲突中又不断地推动着相互之间文化和经济的交流，增进两族之友谊的历史事实。

三、纳藏两族历史上的宗教关系。宗教是纳藏两族文化交流史上最突出而有特点的内容。本部分从唐时期吐蕃苯教对纳西族的影响，苯教与东巴教的比较研究、敦煌吐蕃文书与东巴古籍以及东巴教古画《神路图》的个案比较研究、藏族佛教不同教派对不同地区纳西社会的影响以及纳西族木氏土司对藏传佛教的贡献等，比较全面地论述了两族历史上在宗教文化方面的密切关系。

四、纳藏两族历史上的商贸关系。这一部分通过历史上非常突出的纳藏贸易，从一个重要方面透视纳藏两族历史上的经济关系。本部分论述了从唐代到近现代两族的商贸交流，重点论述了从清代到民国年间发展繁荣起来的“茶马古道”上的纳藏贸易，分析了两族贸易的特点、制度、习俗以及纳藏贸易对促进两个民族友好关系所起的历史作用。

五、从文学艺术和语言的角度看纳藏关系。本部分从文学、歌舞、绘画、语言等诸多方面论述了纳藏两个民族历史上的文化

交流。重点从与纳藏关系密切相关的藏族著名史诗《格萨尔王传》的流传和不同文本、流传在川西、滇西北地区与纳藏关系有密切关系的文成公主和金城公主的故事、东巴教卷轴画中的纳藏文化交融、丽江壁画中的藏传佛教文化内容和艺术风格，以及歌舞、语言中的纳藏文化交汇等方面，论述了纳藏历史上丰富多彩的文化交流。

六、纳藏两族的相互融合。本部分通过列举滇川藏部分地区纳藏两族相互融合、同化于对方的实例，论述了历史上两个民族在密切的交往中所形成的“你中有我，我中有你”的族群结构。此章除了引用很多历史文献记载和民族志资料，还用作者在不同的地方实地调查的一些实录个案，来更直观地透视两个民族的相互融合和政治、宗教、文化和社会习俗上的相互影响。

本书的研究证明，纳西族和藏族的历史关系具有这样的性质和特点：在漫长的历史进程中，这两个同源异流的民族之间因各种复杂的原因，相互间有过剧烈的矛盾冲突，发生过你争我夺的战争，但两族之间一直有着政治、经济、宗教和文学艺术等多方面的密切交往；两族人民在分分合合的矛盾斗争中也锤炼出了深厚的友谊，形成了滇川藏地区纳藏两族之间文化、族体等“你中有我，我中有你”的格局。深厚的友谊、各自吸纳互补的多方面交流，是贯串纳藏两族历史关系的主线。

本文除了论证上述反映在各个方面的纳藏历史关系的具体内容外，还可佐证以下几个基本的观点：

在中华民族、中华文明的形成和发展史上，不仅反映了人们常提到的“少数民族离不开汉族，汉族离不开少数民族”，同样重要的一点是：少数民族也离不开少数民族。在特定历史时期、特定区域内的少数民族相互间在矛盾斗争中发展的关系，是促进中华民族“多元一体”格局的形成和推动中华文明发展繁荣的重要动力。历史上特定区域内不同少数民族之间的关系，是形成该

区域社会和文化个性和特点的重要因素。纳西族和藏族之间这种丰富多彩的历史关系，对中国西南滇、川、藏毗邻地区社会、经济和文化特点的形成也起了重要的作用；正是许许多多类似纳西族、藏族这样历史地形成的民族关系，构成了中华民族文明史、中华民族关系史的宏伟画卷。

在私有制存在的社会里，民族对抗和民族压迫是不可避免的，历史上各民族对地域和资源的争夺、各自势力的扩张等，必然导致不同民族之间的矛盾冲突。另外，在封建时代的中国，各个不同历史时期中央王朝的政治制度、边疆政策、民族政策既影响着各民族与中央王朝的关系，也影响着少数民族相互之间的关系。各个民族在矛盾冲突中又相互汲取各自在经济、文化上的长处，进行多方面的交流，各民族的和谐友好关系就是在不断的矛盾纷争中，逐步地建立起来的。我们不能因为历史上纳藏两族有过冲突和战争、有过相互间的压迫，就否定两个民族之间历史悠久的友好和谐关系；另一方面，我们也不能因为纳藏两族在漫长的历史发展过程中建立了血肉相连的友好关系，就否定历史上两族之间曾有过的矛盾和斗争。^① 很多国内外的历史事实证明，民族之间的和谐友好关系常常是在经过或长或短的矛盾冲突后逐渐地建立起来的，即使在两族之间有着频繁的政治、经济、文化等多方面交流的情况下，也难免还产生一些冲突。纳藏两族就是在这样的矛盾冲突中逐步磨合，求大同存小异，最终建立起深厚的友谊与和谐的民族关系。我们应该对中国的民族关系持辩证的历史唯物主义的态度，只有这样，才可能正确地认识中华民族的发展史和民族关系史。

^① 这一观点可参看何耀华教授关于凉山彝族和汉族的历史关系的论述，见何耀华：《中国西南历史民族学论集》，云南人民出版社，1988，第108~124页。

本研究在进行的过程中，始终遵循了笔者的导师何耀华教授所提倡的“历史民族学”的研究方法，即将历史文献和田野实地调查所得的民族志资料结合起来分析问题。在文献引证方面，在大量引证汉文史料的同时，也引用了很多纳藏两族的文字资料，以及西方学者撰写的民族志资料；笔者还引用了中国很多学者的田野调查材料，也融进了不少笔者亲自调查所得的第一手资料。

本研究从中国民族关系史的角度来讲，是一个微观的专题和个案研究，但从藏族和纳西族历史上的关系这一角度看，则是一个宏观的研究。其宗旨在于理出纳藏两个民族关系史上一条比较明晰的线索，深入探讨一些比较具体的两族关系史问题。在两族历史关系的研究上，需要做更为深入的专题研究。同时，笔者为避免宏观研究中常常容易犯的空疏浮泛之弊，在文中亦作了一些较为深入的专题研究和个案研究，力图达到一种宏观与微观相结合，从宏观看微观，又从微观看宏观的互动效果。

Summary

The Chinese Nation is composed of many ethnic groups who, though closely interrelated to one another, still bear their own distinguished characteristics. Throughout China's long history these ethnic groups have been incorporated into the Chinese Nation. This Chinese identity itself has many ties to and a strong cohesion with the Han ethnic group and considers the Han as its "core" ethnicity. It is with these various other 55 ethnic groups, however, that the great civilization of China has been built.

An important component of the history of ethnic minorities in China is the connections between the various ethnic groups. In a specific historic period, the relations of certain ethnic minority groups have played a very important role for the formation of local politics, economy, society and cultures etc. In order to truly understand these relationships and the impact they have had on the cohesion and unity of the Chinese nation, one must look at these relationships on a case-by-case basis. Only the conclusion, which is based on various case studies, will be convincing.

In Chinese academic circle, there are numerous studies focused

on the historic relations between the Han and other ethnic minority groups. There are very few studies, however, that concentrate specifically on the historic relations between specific ethnic minority groups themselves. The following study is one on the historic relations between the Naxi and Tibetan minority groups within China and their relations with one another. This kind of research is a challenge, as previous material is scarce or non-existent. This study will thereby attempt to broaden the scope of research done in the past.

Tibetan and Naxi, who live in Southwestern China, are two ethnic groups who each have very abundant cultural heritages and also particular cultural characteristics. Because of this rich cultural background, The Tibetan and Naxi studies have recently become influential topics in the international academic field. Throughout Chinese history, both Tibetan and Naxi ethnic groups played a very important role in the politic stage of Southwestern China. The Tibetan regime of Tubo had a powerful influence in the political situation of Western China during the 7th and 8th centuries. The Naxi also were influential in the countries history. The hereditary chieftain family Mu had great power over the Tibetan areas of the country. The Mu family's region was extended to some Tibetan areas of Yunnan, (present Sichuan) and Tibetan provinces during the Ming Dynasty (1368—1644). The relations between Naxi and Tibetans thereby became a very important part of the history of the Southwestern China. The two ethnic groups were key forces, in the promotion of economic and cultural exchange and communication among the ethnic groups in

the area. At present, the international academic circle for Tibetology and orientology consider the Dongba religion of the Naxi people as a key clue for studying the early Bonism of Tibetan. Thereby, the studies of historic relations of Naxi and Tibetan are very important for studies of the China's history of the ethnic relations, local history of the Southwestern China as well as the cultural and economic exchange and integration of the various ethnic groups in the adjoining areas of Tibet, Sichuan and Yunnan. Until now, while articles focusing on the relations of Naxi and Tibetan can be found, most of these studies only concentrate on a small number of specific topics. Topics found include the preliminary comparison on the relations between the Naxi Dongba religion and the Tibetan, both which were completed by western scholars. There has also been a general introduction about the historic relations of Naxi and Tibetan in a single article done by Chinese scholars. There has been, however, no comprehensive and systematic studies done on the topic. This book is the first academic result of preliminary and systematic studies on the historic relations of Naxi and Tibetan in terms of politics, religion, economy, literature and art. This book also focuses on the integration of both ethnic groups.

This study is based on the following principles:

Due to the lack of historic documents with continuity from dynasty to dynasty about the relations of Naxi and Tibetan and also because of the complicated politic and social changes in these two ethnic groups historic development, there were frequent commu-

nications between the two ethnic groups which sometimes blocked each other relatively. Therefore this study of the relations of the Naxi and Tibetans will not follow the traditional model, which usually describes ethnic relations according to the chronological sequence of history. This study, rather, will attempt to complete deeper research on the various topics from the political, economical, religious, and artistic aspects and their integration in both ethnic groups. In each research model, the chronological sequence is made apparent from the discussion of the topic on hand. This study will emphasize the most important periods in the history of the relations between Naxi and Tibetan. In terms of the concrete contents of the relations between the two groups, this study will lay special emphasis on specific matters according to the quantity of the research materials available to the author. The fact of history will also be a factor. For instance, with regard to the cultural relations of the groups, this study will lay relative emphasis on the religion with which both groups had the closest communication and integration into their own beliefs.

The study is divided into chapters as follows: The first chapter is focused on the similar origin of the Tibetan and Naxi. The emphasis will be laid on the archaeological discovery of the ancient rock-made coffins in the areas of Yunnan, Sichuan and Tibet where the Naxi and Tibetan people live. The philological studies of historic origins of the groups will be carried out in this section. The conclusion of the study is that the ancient rock-made coffins scattered in the Western Sichuan and Northwestern Yun-

nan has very close relations to the ancient Bailang Tribe of Maoni (Yak) Qiang people. These people, as it can be seen, are an important component of the ancestors of Tibetan and Naxi people. These coffins are also closely related to the practices of Bonism. In addition, this study has proved that the Ancient Qiang, Tibetan and Naxi tribes all share the same historic origin. This has been done through the detailed research of the relations of Wu Yi, an Ancestor of Qiang tribe, Tibetan and Naxi tribes as well as the comparative studies on the religions, folklore and historic documents of the Ancient Qiang, Tibetan and Naxi.

In the second chapter, the study of the political relations of Naxi and Tibetans throughout history is observed. This study will be done with specific consideration to the fact that the Tang Dynasty (618—907) and the Ming Dynasty (1368—1644) were also the periods when the political relations of Naxi and Tibetan were very concentrated. In this chapter, the analyses of the political relations of both groups during these important time periods are considered and inspected along side the political history of Greater China. The chapter will provide detailed discussions on the wars, friendships, and communications of the political and religious leaders between the both groups. Through all these methods, Chapter three will provide an answer on how the two nationalities developed their cultural and economic communications and exchange while acknowledging the conflicts and contradictions along the way.

Chapter three studies the religious relations of Naxi and Ti-

betan throughout history. The religious influences and communications between the two groups are some of the most important and interesting aspects of the relations between Naxi and Tibetan people. This chapter includes the comparative study of the Bonism religion of Tibet and Dongba religion of Naxi. Case studies in this section will include: the comparison between the classic manuscript of ancient Tibet, which was kept in Dunhuang, and the Dongba manuscript of Naxi; the comparison of Tibetan and Naxi religious beliefs seen from the long scroll hemp painting entitled "the road of gods" (heiq ri piq) of the Dongba religion; the influence of the different schools of Tibetan Buddhism on the Naxi people of various areas, and the great contribution to the Buddhism made by Family M¹¹, the Naxi ruling hereditary chieftains.

The fourth chapter focuses on historical economic relations of Naxi and Tibetans. This relationship can mainly be seen from the famous commercial activities and exchange between both nationalities in various periods of history since the Tang Dynasty (8th century). These studies lay emphasis on the commercial relations between the Naxi and Tibetan tribes from the Qing Dynasty (1644 — 1911) to the Republic of China (1912 — 1949). This relationship is especially reflected in the trade of the Ancient Road of "Tea and Horse Road" (the traditional caravan road from Tibet to Yunnan). In this chapter, the characteristics, institutions, custom of trade between Naxi and Tibetan, and the historic role of commercial relations towards the promotion of the friendship of Naxi and Tibetan will be discussed.

In the fifth chapter, the historic relationship of both nationalities seen from the art, literature and language of both cultures, is discussed. The chapter is focused on the historic cultural exchanges between Naxi and Tibetan reflected in their literature, dances, paintings and languages. The emphasis in this chapter will be placed on many topics including: the spread and of the well-known Tibetan epic " the King Gesar" as well as the various versions of the story that exist today; the various versions of stories describing the Princesses Wencheng and Jincheng which were spread over Western Sichuan and Northwestern Yunnan; The integration of Naxi and Tibetan cultures in the scroll paintings of Dongba religion of Naxi; the Tibetan Buddhist culture and art style reflected in the Murals of Lijiang, and the integration and interaction of both cultures as seen from dances, languages etc.

In the sixth chapter, the mutual integration and nationalization of Naxi and Tibetan people and the ethnic construction of both nationalities are discussed with case examples of Tibetan and Naxi people living in Yunnan, Sichuan and Tibet. In addition to use of various historic documents and ethnographic records, some case studies based on the author's fieldwork are also given. This last method is utilized in order to view the mutual integration and nationalization of both nationalities and their mutual influences reflected in politics, religions, cultures and social costumes more directly and clearly.

This study has proved that the historic relations between Naxi and Tibetan bear the following characteristics: Throughout their long historic development, owing to various complicated reasons, both nationalities, while confronting mutual conflicts and serious wars, continued to engage in close communication. This relationship in terms of politics, religions, economy, arts and literature continued to exist throughout each group's distinctive history. Thereby, the intimate friendship between both groups has not only been established, but also tested in their conflicts and communication. While this integration and interaction of the Naxi and Tibetan was constructed, their friendship and mutual interdependence is the mainstream of historic relations between Naxi and Tibetan.

In spite of the detailed discussions of specific events and aspects of the historic relations between Naxi and Tibetan above, one could still see the several basic viewpoints from the studies as follows:

In the history of the formation of China's civilization and its development, the historic facts prove that in addition to what many people said, "the ethnic minority nationalities can not develop without the Han nationality, and contrary, the Han nationality can not develop without the ethnic minority nationalities", the fact that the ethnic minority nationalities of China could not and can not develop without an equally harmonious and beneficial relationship towards one another. In each historic period, one can view how relations between ethnic minority groups in certain ge-