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傣族文化志

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A Cultural History of the Dai Nationality

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导 论

——寻找“文化血型”

黄惠焜

传统文化和现代化的关系问题已经成为一个国际性的课题。世界各国都在探讨解决这一问题的理论和方法。现代化是一种经济行为，同时也是一种文化行为。现代化的进程正在改变着人类社会的物质面貌，也正在改变着现代化的主体人类自身的精神面貌。作为一种经济行为，它需要文化的支撑；作为一种文化行为，它需要经济的支撑。但从文化人类学即民族学的角度观察问题，它更侧重于文化的研究，侧重于传统文化能动作用于现代化的研究。这种能动作用可以表现为文化适应和文化协调，其结果将是一种正面的推动；也可能表现为文化逆反和文化冲突，其结果将是一种负面的迟滞。科学家孜孜以求的正是要找到一种动态的平衡，实现一种既是现代化的又不悖离民族传统的理想。

现代化对于当今人类将是一种历史的必然，将是一种不可抗拒的历史选择，一切民族都将不可避免地顺乎历史地将走向现代化，但是，实现现代化的方式将是可选择的，不同民族都将依照自身的文化传统和文化模式选择现代化或者塑造现代化。以下的状况出现于未来将是完全可能的：人们享受着相同质量和相同水平的物质成果，但是，不同文化传统的民族过着不完全相同的精神生活。

文化结构着人类，结构着民族。随着现代化的普遍推进，人

类的物质共性将不断增强，但人类的精神个性不会消失。民族这一个概念是一个大于工业化和现代化的概念。现代化的实现虽然是一个漫长的过程，但总有实现之日并且可以用指标体系验证。能不能说现代化实现之日，便是民族消亡之时呢？显然不能这样说。依照马克思主义的原理，民族的消亡将是更为漫长的过程。除非我们把现代化这一概念再作历史学分期，那么，民族的消亡可以留到现代化高级阶段以后去讨论。

所以我们要立足现实，立足于传统文化和现代化的关系。在多民族的中国，这也就照应了民族传统，照应了民族关系。尽管民族传统文化在现代化的过程中将不可避免地部分改变或部分消失，但这种改变或消失将是有度的。越过了这个限度民族关系将受到损伤，现代化也将受到损伤。

因此，我们要更多的认识民族文化，了解民族传统，推进和谐的民族关系，从而推进我国的现代化建设，使之得到更好的文化支撑。

这就是我们编写《傣族文化志》的初衷。

其实，当初申报云南省社科“八五”规划项目时，我们的课题名称是《云南民族文化志》，准备为二十五个兄弟民族各写一本文化志书，使之成为文化志系列丛书，后来因经费不足而不得不把傣族以外的其他二十四本暂时搁置。这里留下了遗憾，也留下了余地，等待着学界内外更多的朋友参与。

《傣族文化志》是一部民族学著作，民族学的学科对象是人类文化，故文化的描述和研讨构成为本书的主要内容和主要特点。这与中国民族学家对民族学学科对象的理解没有大的冲突，但在切入点上也存在局部差异。中国民族学家有的侧重于少数民族社会形态的研究，有的侧重于少数民族历史发展规律性的研究，有的直接把它和民族问题研究等同，这于学者个人，体现了各自的研究特征，但于民族学学科建设，即仍然是一个有待解决的大问题。

我把这个问题看得比较重，认为在社会科学诸学科中唯有文化人类学（民族学）以人类文化为研究对象。它研究文化的产生、文化的结构、文化的功能、文化的传递、文化的交流、文化的变异以及文化的适应等等。运用这门学科的知识，可以弥补单纯的经济学的不足。因为，单纯的经济观念可能是一种带着弊端观念，它常常在“好的动机”后面，隐藏着文化逆反，文化冲突，文化抵制，甚至引发民族冲突。

《傣族文化志》既然是一部民族学著作，它就应当体现志书的特点，体现民族文化志书的特点。世界人类学家历来把人类学区别为体质人类和文化人类学两大部类，历来把民族志列为文化人类学的基础学科，与理论民族学构成为姊妹关系。按照民族志的要求，它以描述为特征，以田野记录为特征，所得的应当是亲访亲历的第一手资料，故其视角多重横向，其方法多重比较，其对象重现存。文献记载的“史存民族”，不是它研究的着重点，纵向的探索历史过程，也不是它研究的着重点。在西方民族学家的传统习惯中，它承担着整个文化人类学资料库的重任，同时被看作是一项资格证书：一个没有民族志著作的民族学家，将不视为一个完整意义上的民族学家。需要注意的是中国民族学家的创造，他们不仅有高质量的民族志著作，同时有高质量的民族学理论，这种材料和理论的结合，一直继承着恩格斯《家庭、私有制和国家的起源》一书的传统。

《傣族文化志》的另一个特点是它重视田野，来自田野。它大量利用了前人的田野资料，又补充了大量亲历亲见的田野资料。举凡描述所及，大多亲临考察。从一定意义上说，它弥补过去以西双版纳和德宏傣族研究代表全体傣族研究的不足，增加了红河沿岸、金沙江沿岸以及其他地区傣族的资料。它有较大的覆盖面，但也存在为数不少的空白。重要的是坚持了田野实践，努力运用了田野工作的理论和方法。这一方法不仅是说“我到了农村”，而且

要遵循一定的田野工作理论和田野调查方法。这些理论包括以下重点：第一，重视观察但更重视参与；第二，通过参与把外视和内视结合起来但更强调内视；第三，把局部所得置入整体判断，通过比较认识变易；第四，把阶段置入过程，区别原生状态和派生或衍生状态；第五，对文化作结构分析，寻找其外缘结构、表层结构、深层结构和核心结构；第五，用象征学的观点和符号学的观点深究有形之后的无形内涵；第六，从现存的现象入手，把现实感和历史感协调起来。除此之外，调查的手段，调查的方式，模式的设计，一一都务求周全。在传统的民族学家的眼睛里，语言的掌握至关重要，一个不懂调查对象语言的民族学家，也将不是一个完整意义上的民族学家。

傣族文化志是很难写的。这是由于傣族人口众多、历史悠久、文化多元、跨国跨境，在中原文化、江汉文化、氐羌文化、印巴文化和高棉文化的结合部。它的内核，是百越先民赐给它的，它的衍化，是众多异族兄弟带给它的。在概括傣族文化总的气质的时候，我曾使用了“水的文化”这一概念，现在也还没有新的概念能够替代。解析而论，它源远流长，是由无数小溪汇聚而成的文化长河；它博大精深，文字的出现和使用已经一千多年；它雍容华贵，铸就了可与中原媲美的仪式和礼节；它深刻含蓄，一切行为规范都源于至高的哲理；它刚柔相济，宽容能力和不可阻挡的威力相辅相成；它绚丽多姿，就如宝雨天花纷纷扬扬。它有一种中和气质，从不摆出征服者的架势而你会被他征服，这种征服就如婴儿接受慈母的抚摩。你有时会觉得他太软弱徐缓，殊不知他具有类似太极拳般的神形。像这样文化铸就的人民，像这样人民铸就的文化，给我们学科工作者提出了多少不能回避的课题。你必须承认它，你必须接近它，你尤其必须理解它。这样，在现代化过程中你才能知道为什么傣族身上背着那么沉重的“文化包袱”，傣族群众为什么会因珍惜自己的文化遗产而在现代化面前思

索选择。每一个民族都有自己独特的文化，每一种文化都具有自身的血型。血型没有高低贵贱之分，但对输入的血液他要严格挑选，误输血液的后果人人皆知。“文化血型”也没有高低贵贱之分，但“文化血型”误植的结果却常常被人忽视。中国的现代化不能是全盘西化，少数民族的现代化不能是全盘汉化，其道理便是如此。寻找“文化血型”，这便是我们处理传统文化和现代化关系的政策出发点，也就是我们写少数民族文化志的理论出发点。

Introduction

—— To distinguish one “cultural blood type” from another

Huang Huikun

The relation between traditional culture and modernization has become a focus of interest by scholars all over the world. Different theories and approaches have been discussed and tested. Modernization is both an economic and a cultural process. This process is changing not only the material base of our society but also the mental outlook of man who is the dominant force of modernization. As an economic process, modernization needs cultural support, or vice versa. If we consider it from an anthropological point of departure, we center more on a cultural study or the study of the impacts of traditional culture on modernization. If these impacts result in a cultural adaptability or reconciliation, they will have positive impetuses; if they lead to a cultural reverse or a cultural conflict, they will have negative effects. In order to realize modernization quickly and keep up the tradition at the same time, scholars have been trying to find a “dynamic balance” between them.

Modernization is an inevitable historical trend and choice of mankind and each ethnic group will certainly realize modernization in the course of history. Nevertheless, there are different approaches to realizing modernization. Every ethnic group, basing itself on its own cultural tradition and its typical cultural pattern, will surely have its own choice. It will be possible that in the future all ethnic groups will enjoy

the same material wealth but have different cultural lives due to their different cultural traditions.

Culture has played an important part in human evolution and no ethnic group can develop any thing without a culture. Different ethnic groups will enjoy similar material wealth in the course of modernization but they will retain their own traditions. "Ethnic group" is a term with a wider extension than "industrialization" or "modernization". Though it will take a long period of time to realize modernization, it can be expected with definite targets. It is incorrect to say that when modernization has been realized, different ethnic groups will disappear. According to the basic principle of Maxism, it will take a much longer period of time for different ethnic groups to disappear. Therefore, we are not in a position to discuss this problem at the initial stage of modernization. I think we had better base our research on the reality and on the relation between traditional culture and modernization. Only in this way can we pay proper attention to the multi-cultural traditions and relations in China. Though in the course of modernization some ethnic traditions will partly change or disappear, there will be a limit, beyond which the relations between different ethnic groups and modernization itself will suffer a loss. To quicken our modernization with a sustainable cultural support and avoid unnecessary setbacks, we should try to have a better understanding of ethnic cultures and traditions and to improve their relations. This was our planned intention of writing this book. As a matter of fact, our planned project (as one of the Eighth Five-Year Plan Projects of Social Sciences in Yunnan) was to write a series of books on the twenty-five ethnic groups in Yunnan. Owing to financial problems, we can only finish this one. We hope that in the future more scholars will engage themselves in this promising project.

A Cultural History of the Dai Nationality is written from an ethnological viewpoint. The subject of ethnology is culture. Therefore the description and discussion of (a given) culture is the focus of interest of this book. As far as this point is concerned, it is quite similar to those books written by other Chinese ethnologists. Its difference lies in the point of departure. Some Chinese ethnologists lay particular emphasis on the study of the social forms of the ethnic groups and some on the law (s) of the historical development. Others equate ethnology with ethnic problems. Though different approaches have their own characteristics, they may lead to some serious disputes over the establishment of a discipline. I think we must take human culture into consideration. Among the social sciences, only cultural anthropology (ethnology) takes human culture as its object of study. Ethnologists study culture with different focuses on its origin, its structure, its function, its transmission, its exchange, its development and its adaptation. The knowledge of this discipline can counteract some weaknesses of economics. It is quite possible that a good economic motive may lead to a malpractice if we only take economic benefit into consideration. As a result, cultural reverses, cultural conflicts and cultural resistances and even ethnic conflicts may occur. Since this book is an ethnological work, it has incorporated its own traits. Anthropologists have classified anthropology into physical anthropology and cultural anthropology. Ethnography is regarded as a basic subject of cultural anthropology and it is as important as theoretic ethnology. In ethnographic studies stress is put on description and field-work. Its findings are usually based on first-hand materials and its perspectives on lateral studies. Its approaches are comparison-oriented and its objects are facts. The ethnic groups in historical records and a detailed study of historical process are not the focus of its interest. Western

anthropologists usually think ethnography is the databank of cultural anthropology and it is also a qualification. An ethnologist is considered unqualified if he has written no book on ethnography. Chinese ethnologists, having inherited the tradition of the influential book, The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State by Engels, have not only written very good ethnological works, but also had a very good theoretical foundation in this field.

This book places much emphasis on fieldwork, including not only the findings of the former ethnologists but also the first-hand materials obtained by ourselves. In the past, Dai studies centered on the Dai people in Xishuangbanna and Dehong. This book covers a wider area, including the Dai people living along the Honghe River and the Jinsha River and in some other places, though it is not a comprehensive and perfect one. We have tried to put useful ethnological theories into practice in our fieldwork, which include the following important points: 1. We lay stress on observation, but we put more emphasis on participation; 2. Through participation, we have combined our observation with our comprehension to which more attention has been given; 3. We have put our findings into the whole field of ethnological study, and through comparison we have reached a new level of understanding of the development. 4. We have taken different stages into consideration in order to better understand the original state and its development; 5. We have analysed cultural structures, covering the surface structure, the deep structure and the cultural core; 6. In order to better understand the abstract after a study of the concrete, symbolic and semiological concepts have been taken into account; 7. We have tried to understand the reality from a historical starting point. We have also tried to perfect our means of investigation and the different approaches used. Ethnologists usually think

that an ethnologist should understand the language(s) used by the ethnic group(s) he is studying; otherwise he is unqualified in this field.

It is not easy to write a book on Dai culture because the Dai nationality has a long history and a large population. Dai culture has its own multicultural traits and the Dai people are distributed in different countries and places. Some live in the border areas influenced by Central Plains culture, Jiangnan culture, Diqiang culture, Indian—Pakistani culture and Khmer culture respectively. Its cultural core was bestowed by the ancestors of the Baiyue and its development has been influenced by many other ethnic groups. While summarizing the typical traits of Dai culture, I coined “A River Culture” and now I cannot find a better term to replace it. By “A River Culture” I mean in its long historical development Dai culture has absorbed many strong points of other ethnic groups and has formed into a multi—cultural river. Its writing appeared more than one thousand years ago. Its graceful ceremonies and etiquettes can rival those practiced by the people in the Central Plains. Its behaviors and moral standards have rich philosophical connotations. Dai culture shows a combination of inflexibility and yielding, and its generosity is inseparably connected with its irresistible powerfulness. Dai culture, with its colorful features, has a neutralizing power, which never has an air of importance but you will naturally become subordinated to it. This subordination is quite like a baby’s willingness to accept his mother’s care. Even its occasional hesitation has the quality of Taijiquan (a kind of traditional Chinese shadow boxing which incorporates its powerfulness in its slow movements). Chinese ethnologists should try our best to understand such a people and such a culture from an anthropological viewpoint. Only through a better understanding of them can we really understand why they treasure their culture so much and why they are so

prudent in their choices in the course of modernization.

Each ethnic group has its typical culture and each culture has its own "blood type." Though no blood type is superior to others, blood transfusion requires a choice. A misstep in transfusion may lead to a fatal mistake. The same is true of "cultural blood type" and "cultural blood transfusion." China's modernization does not mean to be completely Westernized or Hanized. To distinguish one "cultural blood type" from another is our starting point in handling the relation between traditional culture and modernization and is also our theoretical starting point in writing this book.

Translated by He Changyi

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