● 主编 王 頠

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序

世界上繁多的生态博物馆(ecomuseum),是保存前工业社会的生活形态, 展示多元文化遗产,维护全球经济一体化浪潮下的文化多样性,保持与提升地 方文化的自信心、原真性以及文化创造力的重要手段和工具。

具体而言,生态博物馆是将某一特定社区或某一特定区域整体作为博物馆,包括其人文环境和自然环境,强调社区历程的整体保护与协调发展的统一。它最早出现于1971年的法国,与北欧的露天民俗博物馆、北美的殖民地聚落(如威廉斯堡)及世居民族保留地等,有一定的思想渊源关系,都是将遗产留在当地,兼融保护与发展的双重使命。

此生态博物馆之理念,自 20 世纪 80 年代中期通过《中国博物馆》杂志的翻译介绍来到中国,它像一颗小小的种子,首先在贵州然后在广西,生根、开花、结果与壮大,并传播到全国的许多地方。虽然 "Eco"有"生态的"和"生计的"双重含义,但用"生态博物馆"对译"ecomuseum",也是在那个时候确立下来的,并逐渐获得某种共识。1993 年南开大学博物馆主持召开的中美博物馆论坛上,史密森博物学院的南希·富勒(Nancy Fuller)教授系统介绍了"部落博物馆""社区博物馆"和"生态博物馆"的联系与区别。1997 年开始,中国政府和挪威政府合作,在贵州省先后兴建了 4 个民族村寨型生态博物馆,从此揭开了中国生态博物馆实践探索的序幕。

生态博物馆建设的核心要素,除国际上公认的生态博物馆要素外,我国在生态博物馆建设中也逐渐摸索出一些自身的理解和经验。选择哪些地方建立生态博物馆?如何进行相应的文化和技术评估?选择建立生态博物馆的社区或村落,必须同时具备以下三个关键因素:一是要有丰富而有特色的各类文化遗产资源;二是当地居民出于意愿,对建设生态博物馆有积极性;三是当地政府的全力支持,再加上有专家团队和学者的技术支持。

广西是较早进行生态博物馆实践探索的地区,从 2003 年开始,便结合广西 民族博物馆建设,思考整体规划建设生态博物馆群。经过几年的摸索,专家提 出"1+10"方案,即一个广西民族博物馆与 10 个生态博物馆共同建设的宏大计 划。10 个生态博物馆分别是南丹里湖白裤瑶生态博物馆、三江侗族生态博物馆、 靖西旧州壮族生态博物馆、贺州客家生态博物馆、那坡黑衣壮生态博物馆、灵 川长岗岭商道古村生态博物馆、东兴京族生态博物馆、融水安太苗族生态博物馆、



龙胜龙脊壮族生态博物馆和金秀坳瑶生态博物馆。

我个人有幸近距离观察甚至参与广西"1+10"方案论证、实施与建设的许多过程,参观考察过所有的生态博物馆,参加了南丹、三江、龙胜等生态博物馆的开幕剪彩仪式,参加了几次培训活动并几次观看纪录片电影,也指导过多名硕士、博士生,他们在那里进行较长时间的实地参观考察。看着这些博物馆一步步成长,一步步成为社区里最重要的文化工具和公共空间,成为广西以及影响全国的一个文化品牌,我无比感动,无限自豪。

有"中国生态博物馆之父"之誉的苏东海先生,把广西民族生态博物馆"1+10"模式的实践称为中国的"第二代生态博物馆"。他认为生态博物馆作为源于西方的遗产保护的民主化理念,主张授权地方居民保护、解释和管理他们的遗产,从而促进社区发展。如今他的观点在中国展现了新的意义和可能。生态博物馆立足中国实际,是在专家和政府机构的指导与全力支持下得以实现和发展的,生态博物馆建设已逐步融入国家文化遗产体系和文化多样性发展的政策中。不同于世界上大多处于"政治地位缺乏"与"文化地位挣扎"的少数族群,中国的少数民族及其所在的社区,1950年以来随着国家民族政策的全面实施,已经当家做主成为国家的主人,不仅全面参与各项公共管理,而且已经构建了民族区域自治体系。

实际上,广西"1+10"模式的实践探索对当代博物馆学可能具有的意义,尚未被系统认识。广西民族博物馆作为"本体馆",已经成为我国人类学民族学博物馆的新典范,而分布在各地的10个生态博物馆既是它的专题馆,又宛如一个个"分馆"。从世界范围看,生态博物馆的出现是国际新博物馆学运动的一部分,其在理论上和观念上是对传统博物馆的颠覆,它因为挑战了传统博物馆的理论与根基而具有某种"先进性"。1984年《魁北克宣言》的通过,被认为是国际新博物馆学运动成熟的标志。从那时到现在30多年过去了,新博物馆学理念逐渐深入人心,但它是否完成了对传统博物馆学的改造?

广西的实践是这个问题的最好答案。"1+10"模式中的广西民族博物馆属于传统形态博物馆,传统形态博物馆与生态博物馆相结合,这是以往从未出现过的新生事物。它不仅打破传统博物馆学对博物馆形态的规范,而且超越了博物馆的地域与空间限制。在我看来,最具革命和哲学意义的还有将非物质文化遗产以及人的活动全面纳入博物馆系统之中,使广西民族博物馆建立在新博物馆学的根基之上,实现了传统博物馆与生态博物馆的完美结合,在某种意义上说,这也是传统博物馆与生态博物馆的相互调适、相互融合的过程。被称为"第三代生态博物馆"类型的安吉生态博物馆体系,正是从广西经验中得到启发,让传统博物馆更"接地气",把以往一直以传统形态存在的安吉县博物馆进行系统"改造",使其成为生态博物馆体系中的中心馆,同时把地方经济暨传统

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产业放到与地方历史文化同等重要的位置, 纳入博物馆体系。

广西民族生态博物馆的实践经验如何在理论层次上加以认识?篇幅所限,这里无法进行系统讨论。从具体效益评价的角度,我认为广西民族生态博物馆的建立发挥了以下六个方面的重要作用:一、生态博物馆有效地保护了当地的物质文化遗产,包括自然、环境、文化、历史、建筑、景观等遗产,与周边没有进行生态博物馆实践的区域相比,更多地保护了传统城镇和村寨的文化和自然遗产。二、生态博物馆促进了当地非物质遗产(无形遗产)的保护、传承、弘扬和发展。在生态博物馆区域,原生态文化保护工作非常明显地好于其他区域,文化展示表演空间得到了发展。三、生态博物馆带动了当地旅游业的兴起,促进当地经济社会全面发展,生态博物馆具有一定的品牌效应。四、生态博物馆带动或开创了当地的文化消费,参观博物馆成为人们的一种生活方式。博物馆不仅成为观光、休闲和旅游的基地,更是教育与文化基地。五、生态博物馆的建设丰富了广西民族博物馆的各项业务工作,增加了博物馆藏品的数量并提高了其质量,提高了博物馆文化和创新的能力。六、生态博物馆的建立改变了遗产地区和景观地区领导层发展经济的思路,很多地方政府已经认识到原生态、传统文化、民族风情、工业遗址和遗产是当地发展经济的最重要资源。

作为一种全新的博物馆形态,生态博物馆的探索不会止步。今天,生态博物馆以及社区博物馆被公认为属于"大众的事业",但在博物馆行业内部则仍然属于"小众的专业"。不久前通过的《博物馆条例》,对生态博物馆只字未提。这一方面说明,生态博物馆的事业是难以包括在"博物馆条条框框"之内的,另一方面也说明生态博物馆的理论发展和实践探索超前于"主流博物馆群体"的一般认识。因此,生态博物馆的先行者以及后来者,有必要将自己的认识和探索整理出来加以发表,让更多的同行以及社会大众全面了解当代博物馆的进步。广西民族博物馆的领导层高屋建瓴,决定出版"广西民族生态博物馆文化记忆丛书",凡11本,详细介绍生态博物馆在广西的实践,以及各生态博物馆所拥有的自然和人文遗产。广西得天独厚,在生态博物馆的建设中已经成长起来一批青年学者和博物馆学人。本丛书的作者大都是广西生态博物馆最早或较早的参与者,他们是广西民族博物馆的研究人员,同时每人负责联系一个生态博物馆,每一位都学有所成。我和他们因生态博物馆结缘,深知他们有工作上的热忱,学术探索上的干劲,更有被认同被肯定的渴望。

是为序。

潘守永

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PREFACE

The establishment of ecomuseum around the world is an important method for maintaining the life styles of pre-industry age, exhibiting the variety of cultural heritage, protecting cultural diversity under the economic globalization, and enhancing the cultural self-esteem, authenticity and cultural innovation.

Unlike the traditional museum, an ecomuseum usually takes a community or a whole region as a museum, including the human environment and the natural environment, which emphasizes the unity of the overall protection and the coordinated development of the local community. The ecomuseum was firstly founded in France in 1971. The "Eco-" is derived from the Ancient Greek οἶκος (OIKOS), meaning "family household business" like a farm, referring as much to human management (as in Economics) as "nature" as in Eco-logy. The idea is related to open-air folk museums in northern Europe and the colony settlements (for instance, Williamsburg in USA) or aboriginal reserves in North America. Just like all these three kinds of museums, The ecomuseum also keeps heritage in local community, having a dual mission of both cultural preservation and community development.

In the mid-1980s, the concept of ecomuseum was introduced to China when those translated articles were published in the journal *Chinese Museum*. Just like a powerful seed in the ground, the idea of building ecomuseum has been successively realized in Guizhou, Guangxi and then spreads to many other parts of the country. Although the English word "Eco" has both meaning of "ecology" and "livelihoods", "ecomuseum" was translated into "生态博物馆" in Chinese, and gradually obtained some kind of consensus. In the year of 1993, the Museology Department at Nankai University organized a Sino-US museum forum, while Dr. Nancy Fuller introduced and distinguished the concepts of tribe museum, community museum, and ecomuseum in this forum. Then since 1997, four ethnic village type ecomuseums have been built in Guizhou Province in cooperation with the Chinese government and Norway government, which marked the beginning of the research and practice of ecomuseum in China.

In addition to the core elements of ecomuseum construction which are accepted

internationally, there is China's itself understanding and experience from the Chinese ecomuseum practice. For instance, what places should be chosen to establish ecomuseums? How to make cultural and technical assessment of ecomuseums? For choosing a community or village for an ecomuseum, we should focus on three key elements at the same time: firstly, there are rich and distinctive cultural heritage resources of various kinds; secondly, the locals welcome the idea of building the ecomuseum in their community; thirdly, the local government offers full support, and there should be technical supports from expert teams and scholars.

Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region has been one of earliest place where ecomuseum practice was explored in China. As early as 2003, people within Guangxi began to think about the overall plan of building ecomuseum groups in combination with the construction of Guangxi Museum of Nationalities. After a few years of explorations, the authority proposed the "1+10" construction plan. The "1" is Guangxi Museum of Nationalities and "10" refers to the ten ecomuseums in Guangxi, which are as followings: Nandan White-trousers Yao Ecomuseum, Sanjiang Dong Ecomuseum, Jingxi Jiuzhou Zhuang Ecomuseum, Hezhou Hakka Ecomuseum, Napo Black-clothes Zhuang Ecomuseum, Lingchuan Changgangling Ancient Business Route Ecomuseum, Dongxing Jing Ecomuseum, Rongshui Antai Miao Ecomuseum, Longsheng Longji Zhuang Ecomuseum, and Jinxiu Ao Yao Ecomuseum.

I feel fortunate to have the opportunity to observe or participate in many processes of project demonstration and the constructions of the "1+10" ecomuseums. I visited all of the ecomuseums and attended the opening ceremonies of ecomuseums in Nandan, Sanjiang, and Longsheng. I also joined the documentary festival and training programs several times and instructed my graduate students to do their field works at the ecomuseums in Guangxi. I am very proud and impressed that the ecomuseums in Guangxi have become the important cultural tool and public space, and even become an influential cultural brand in China.

With a reputation of the father of Chinese ecomuseum, Su Donghai regards the practice of "1+10" plan as the "second generation of ecomuseum in China". In Su's opinion, the concept of ecomuseum was originated from the democratization idea of heritage protection in the western world which claims that the locals should have the right to protect, explain and manage their own heritages in order to develop the local society. Nowadays, there are new meanings and possibilities showing in China. Based on the situation in China, the establishing of ecomuseums have received great support from professionals and the government, and the establishment and development



of ecomuseums has been gradually integrated with national cultural heritage system and the policies of cultural diversity development. Unlike the most minorities in other parts of the world which are struggling for "political and cultural rights", with the full implementation of national policy since 1950s, China's ethnic minorities and their societies enjoy the right to be the owner of their nation, not only fully participating in the public management, but also building a system of regional ethnic autonomy.

In fact, the significance of the research and practice of "1+10" model have not been fully recognized in the field of modern museology. As the "main museum", Guangxi Museum of Nationalities has become a new model of museums of anthropology and ethnology in China, while the ten ecomuseums are both its thematic museums and branches around. From a global perspective, the emergence of ecomuseum is a part of the new international museology movement. It theoretically and fundamentally challenges the traditional museum system and thus is regarded as a more advanced model. The publication of *Quebec Announcement* in 1984 is considered as a symbol of maturity of the international new museology movement. It has been 30 years since then, and the concept of new museology has been widely accepted. However, does it complete the transformation of "traditional museology"?

The practice on ecomuseums in Guangxi provides the best answer for the question. In the model of "1+10", Guangxi Museum of Nationalities represents the traditional museum type and its construction combined with the other 10 ecomuseums, which is an innovative practice that has never been done before. It has not only broken the rules for the museum forms under traditional museology, but also gone beyond the regional and space constraints for museums. As far as I am concemed, the most significant and revolutionary aspect of this practice is to bring the intangible cultural heritage and human activities into the museum system, which makes Guangxi Museum of Nationalities build on the foundation of new museology, achieve the perfect combination of the traditional museum and ecomuseums, and in certain sense, it is also a process of adjustment and integration between the old and the new. Inspired by the practice in Guangxi, the construction of ecomuseum in Anji, Zhejiang province, which is regarded as the third generation ecomuseum type, transformed the traditional local county museum into the main museum of the new ecomuseum system, and incorporated both the traditional industry and regional history and culture into the local museum system.

How do we theoretically understand the practice of ecomuseum in Guangxi? I cannot discuss systematically here due to the space limitation. From the perspective of specific benefit evaluation I believe the establishment of ecomuseums in Guangxi plays a role in the following six aspects. Firstly, the ecomuseums protect the local tangible cultural heritage, including nature, environment, culture, history, architectures, and landscapes. Compared with the area without ecomuseum, the traditional towns and villages are better protected in places where the ecomuseums are established. Secondly, the establishment of ecomuseums promotes the protection and development of intangible cultural heritage. In the places where the ecomuseums are established, local culture is demonstrated and protected much better. Thirdly, the ecomuseums, with some brand effects, promote the local tourism industry and economy. Forthly, ecomuseums promote and create local cultural consumption, as visiting museum becomes a kind of people's lifestyle. Museums are not only bases for sightseeing, leisure and travel, but also for education and culture. Fifthly, the construction of ecomuseums diversifies the functions of Guangxi Museum of Nationalities, enriches the quantity and quality of the museum collection, and also improves the museum's ability for cultural innovation. Sixthly, the establishment of ecomuseums changes the thoughts of leadership from heritage and landscape areas on economic development. Many governments have been aware of that local original environment, traditional culture, ethnic culture, and industrial sites and heritage are the most important resources for local economic development.

The exploration on ecomuseums, a new form of museum, will continue. Today, ecomuseum or community museum is known as public business, while it is still a marginal major inside the museum industry. In the Museum Regulations published recently, the ecomuseum is not mentioned at all. On the one hand, the career of ecomuseum cannot be regulated by the rules and regulation of traditional museology, and on the other hand, the theoretical development and practice of ecomuseum is far more advanced compared to the general understanding of "mainstream museum community". Thus, the pioneers and followers of ecomuseums should publish their understandings and explorations to help more counterparts and the public understand the development of modern museum. It is a wise decision for the leaders at Guangxi Museum of Nationalities to publish this series of cultural memory of Guangxi ethnic ecomuseums (including 11 books) to introduce the practice of ecomuseums in Guangxi and the natural and cultural heritage belonging to these ecomuseums. A group of young scholars and museologists have grown out of the process of ecomuseum construction. Many authors of this series are not only researchers at Guangxi Museum of Nationalities, but also the contact persons for these ecomuseums, and most of them are the earliest or older participants of ecomuseum



constructions. I have known them through ecomuseums and deeply understand passion for academic exploration and desire for recognition of their efforts.

Pan Shouyong

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概流

Summary

苗族,一个起源于我国的国际性民族,其历史悠久、人口众多、文化浓郁。目前,全世界苗族人口有1200余万,我国有942.6万(2010年),主要分布在贵州、湖南、云南、广西、重庆、湖北、四川、海南等省(自治区、直辖市),国外的苗族主要分布在越南、老挝、泰国、美国、法国、加拿大、澳大利亚、阿根廷等国家。

关于苗族的起源, 最早可以追溯到三皇五帝时期的九黎部落集团以及后 来的三苗。九黎部落集团以蚩尤为首领,最早活动于黄河下游和长江中下游 一带。九黎部落集团与炎、黄部落集团发生过多次的接触和冲突,最后九黎 部落集团败北,大部分人退居到长江中下游地区,到尧、舜、禹时期,逐步 发展形成了一个新的氏族部落集团,即三苗。《国语·楚语》曰:"三苗,九 黎之后也。"尧、舜,特别是禹时期对三苗不断征伐,导致三苗部落集团瓦解, 除部分三苗臣服外,大部分部属成员西迁到洞庭、彭蠡一带,形成商、周之 际的"南蛮"。因"南蛮"活动的区域主要是荆州地区,故又名"荆蛮""蛮荆"。 《毛诗正义》云:"蛮荆,荆州之蛮也。""荆蛮",是三苗的后裔。[◎]春秋战 国时期,随着楚国势力的兴起,居于这一带的"荆蛮"被迫向南和西南迁徙, 形成后来所谓的"武陵蛮"或"五溪蛮",直到南北朝时期仍然如此。唐宋之际, 随着历代统治者和汉族文人对苗族先民认识的加深,"苗"又从众多的"蛮" 中分离出来,成为特定的称呼。重新出现"苗"的记载,最早是在唐代,樊 绰《蛮书》有"黔、泾、巴、夏,四邑苗众"的记载。宋代朱辅在《溪蛮丛笑》 中将"五溪之蛮"区分为"苗""徭""僚""仡伶""仡佬"五种。可以 肯定,至少在宋代,"苗"已经是一个单一民族的专称了。唐宋时期,由于 战争、征调等原因、苗族先民从武陵地区又不断地向西和向南迁徙、到明清 时期,已广泛分布在我国的南方和西南诸省。明末清初以来,又有不少的苗

① 伍新福:《中国苗族通史》,第35页,贵阳,贵州民族出版社,1999。



族继续向西南迁徙,进入越南、老挝、泰国等东南亚国家。20世纪七八十年代,受战争影响,聚居在东南亚的苗族又以"难民"的身份迁移到法国、美国等西方国家。苗族由此成为世界性的跨境和跨国民族。不断的迁徙使苗族各部之间彼此隔绝,少于交往。^①再加上自然环境、历史条件、其他民族影响等因素,苗族内部之间出现了较大的差异,造成支系多、方言差别大、服饰类型多样化的现象。^②因而,苗族的文化呈现丰富多彩的特点。

广西苗族人口约有 47.55 万(2010年),主要居住在融水、隆林、三江和龙胜 4个自治县,其余则散居于融安、资源、环江、南丹、都安、田林、西林、那坡等地。广西苗族自称为"木""蒙",也有自称为"达吉"的。^③因服饰、地域、习俗的不同,广西苗族有不同的他称,如"偏苗""白苗""红头苗""花苗""清水苗""素苗""草苗""中堡苗"等。宋代以来,苗族先民就陆续从今天的湖南、贵州等地迁入广西,直至清代晚期,最终形成了今天广西苗族的"大分散、小聚居"格局。

改革开放以来, 受现代化进程的影响与经济全球化的冲击, 与大多数少 数民族传统文化一样,苗族文化也面临着保护与传承的问题,最突出的表现 是:主流文化和其他外来文化通过现代学校、现代传媒等不断渗透,孕育和 承载民族文化的资源环境遭到破坏, 村寨共同体的生产生活作为民族文化生 产和再生产机制的功能因青壮年人群的大规模外出而严重弱化和紊乱、重要 文化遗产因传承人的离世而逐步消失等。面对严峻的形势,受国际生态博物 馆运动和我国贵州生态博物馆建设实践的影响和启发, 广西文化行政主管部门 从2003年起启动了民族生态博物馆建设的探索,经过8年多的努力,到2011年, 广西建成了包括壮、汉、瑶、苗、侗、京等世居民族在内的 10 个民族生态博 物馆工作平台和保护区域。广西民族生态博物馆的建成标志着广西民族文化 的保护取得了阶段性成果。广西苗族生态博物馆选址在融水苗族自治县安太 乡。就广西苗族而言,融水是苗族人口最多也最为集中的地方,全自治县有 苗族人口 20 余万,约占广西苗族人口的 43%。安太乡因地处融水苗族自治县 腹地、信息相对闭塞、从而成为现存苗族文化资源较丰富的区域之一。苗族 生态博物馆以位于安太乡小桑村下屯的信息资料与展示中心为依托,以小桑 村及附近的元宝村、培秀村为保护范围,对苗族文化实行整体保护和动态保护。

①② 《苗族简史》编写组,《苗族简史》修订本编写组:《苗族简史》,第24页,北京,民族出版社,2008。 ③ 广西壮族自治区民族事务委员会:《广西少数民族》,第60页,南宁,广西人民出版社,1986。

20世纪 90 年代,德国学者扬·阿斯曼提出文化记忆理论,认为文化传承的方式可分为"与仪式相关"和"与文字相关"两大类,任何一种文化,只要它的文化记忆还在发挥作用,就可以得到持续发展。^① 我们在做生态博物馆工作时,十分重视文化记忆。我们认为,文化记忆工程是生态博物馆的重要工作之一。秉承这样的理念,从建馆之初,我们就强调挖掘和整理社区文化资源。生态博物馆建成之后,我们仍然强调搜集和记录工作。事实上,文化记忆工程的开展对社区文化传承和创新的方向有重要影响。苗族社会在历史上是一个无文字的社会,其文化的传承都是口传身授,很多仪式、节日活动往往成为苗族文化记忆的载体。在科技高度发达的今天,文化记忆的方式有了新突破,文字、录音、录像、图片成为苗族文化记忆的新载体。我们也试图通过文字辅以图片的方式,展示苗族生态博物馆所在社区的自然、历史和人文,以此促进文化的记忆、保护与传承。"人类学写作本身就是阐释"^②,这就是本书写作的初衷。

在撰写书稿的过程中,我们不拘于传统的民族志书写方式,而是在此基础上进行了创新。一是资源环境篇章,不是纯粹地介绍自然资源和环境,更多的是将资源、环境与文化间的相互关系进行了探讨和梳理;二是注重博物馆"以物说话"的理念,将文化事项中的相关实物进行了重点介绍和展示;三是关注文化持有者的诉求,专门对非物质文化遗产传承人的相关信息进行了调查和整理;四是为避免书写方式的单一,强调多利用图片来展现和解释所描述的事与物;五是注意多学科合作,吸收了人类学、历史学、生态学和植物学的专业人员参与调查。最终,我们希望更多的人能够通过此书了解到生活在元宝山西麓的苗族以及他们丰富多彩的文化。

① 王霄冰:《文化记忆、传统创新与节日遗产保护》,载《中国人民大学学报》,2007年第1期。

② 「美」克利福德·格尔兹著,纳日碧力戈等泽:《文化的解释》,第17页,上海,上海人民出版社,1999。



融水安太苗族生态博物馆的信息资料与展示中心

Information and Exhibition Center in Miao Ecomuseum in Antai, Rongshui

