

# 活在差異間

來自「原始天堂」  
丙中洛的啟示

## LIVING WITH DIFFERENCES

Lessons from a  
“Primitive Paradise”

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**雲** 南省西北的丙中洛是個佔地八百二十三平方公里的小鎮，不僅擁有大自然美景，人文和生態也同樣豐富。它安然坐落在兩座雪山——高黎貢山和碧羅雪山的懷抱之中。美麗又神秘的嘎哇嘎普是高黎貢山的主峰，海拔高五千一百二十八米，是當地人眼中的一座聖峰；碧羅雪山之巔則有四千五百米高。怒江在山峽之間奔流，流入緬甸後改稱薩爾溫江，滋潤兩旁的河岸。丙中洛各條村莊散佈在緬甸、西藏和印度交界的三角地帶。看似與世隔絕的丙中洛，在著名的茶馬古道上卻是極重要的一站。幾百年來，馬兒和騾兒馱著鹽、犛牛油、磚茶、草藥、布匹甚至貝殼（傈僳族婦女衣服上的裝飾），在古道上穿梭往返。

The Township of Bingzhongluo of North Western Yunnan Province boasts 823km<sup>2</sup> of beautiful natural scenery, human settlement as well as bio-diversity. It lies at the bosom of two snow mountains - the Gaoligong and the Biluo. The former's peak, the beautiful and mysterious Gawagapu, deemed sacred by the local people, is 5,128m above the sea level and the latter peaks at 4,500m. Nujiang, the "angry river", roars through it and becomes the Salween River when it reaches and nurtures the banks of Myanmar. The villages of Bingzhongluo are nested in the triangle of Myanmar, Tibet and India. As separated from the rest of the world as it seems, it stands as one of the most important post of the famous Tea-horse Trail. For hundreds of years, salt, yak butter, tea bricks, herbs, cloth and even shells (for decoration on Lisu women's apparels) were transported on the backs of horses and mules.

怒江第一彎 (圖片由趙果提供)

The first loop of the Nu River (courtesy of Zhao Guo)



自二零零八年十二月起，我開始在丙中洛進行人類學調查。讓我驚奇的是，當我們居住的世界越來越全球化，作為「現代人」的我們卻有許多東西要向這些被遊客和主流媒體形容為「原始」的人們學習。丙中洛不只有眾多民族聚居，還是一個多宗教的地區。它的地理位置令它成為商品貿易的中心，這裡的人民早就慣於遷徙，也早早學會了與「差異」共存。他們是怎樣與各種差異和平共處的呢？這裡幾乎不見有種族衝突發生，宗教衝突也只屬個別例子。四年間，我多次探訪當地，也慢慢破解了這個謎團：對當地人而言，「我們」與「他們」之間的界線並不堅實，而是很有彈性的；他們亦不會將不同身分的人本質化，以免在人與人之間劃下一條條人為的分界。

Since December 2008, I have been doing ethnographic research among the peoples of Bingzhongluo. To my surprise, I discover that we “modern” people living in the increasingly globalized world have a lot to learn from these “primitive” peoples, as what tourists and main stream media tend to describe them. Bingzhongluo is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious place. Given its geographic location and the trading necessity, people here have had a long migration history and learned to live with differences. How do they live with differences peacefully? There have been minimal ethnic conflicts in this area and very few religious conflicts. In four years I had been to repeated research trips which help me to solve the puzzle: secret lies in making porous boundaries between “us” and “them”, and in non-essentializing identities that draw artificial boundaries between one and another.





根據鎮政府二零一一年的人口普查，丙中洛有怒族人口三千二百七十五人、僂僂族二千零十五人、藏族五百四十人、獨龍族四百一十三人、漢族一百五十二人，六十六人則來自「其他」少數民族，這些都是中國政府一九五零年代「民族識別」工程所認可的民族。縱使在民族識別系統中，各民族被賦予各種「群體特徵」，丙中洛人卻以各種方法衝破這些族群界線。首先，所有人都能夠操多種語言：多數成年村民會說流利的怒語和僂僂語，有些更通曉怒語、僂僂語、獨龍語和藏語四種語言。此外，每一個人都懂得哼唱各族的歌曲和跳各族的舞蹈。當大多數遊客以為國家的「民族識別」概念是「硬道理」，卻看見面前跳著藏舞的是怒人、僂僂人唱怒族的歌，都不期然地投訴被騙！這些當地人不是惺惺作態，而是在他們眼中，「民族分類」並不是國家和主流媒體所看的那一回事——「民族分類」對於當地人來說僅僅是一種表述方法，是國家用來協助管理龐大人口的工具。

第二，各「民族群體」間的通婚實在太普遍，以致要找一位「純種」族人也十分困難。阿妮的父親是獨龍族人，母親是僂僂族人。我常常取笑說不知她究竟是何種人，連她自己也總是忘記了自己的身份，非得把身份證翻出來才說得出正確答案。她不太會說獨龍語，卻能說怒語和僂僂語。她的丈夫同樣不太清楚自己的身世——媽媽是怒族，爸爸可能是藏族或怒族，但四種主要語言他都說得流利。要找出這裡人的種族身份絕對是大難題，即使是親生兄弟也能夠聲稱自己來自不同民族。接待我的房東媽媽在政府登記冊上是僂僂族人，她卻私下告訴我有個僂僂族父親和漢族母親。她的丈夫是一位小學校長，原為白族的他，成年後卻登記成漢族。她有兩個兒子，一個登記為僂僂族，一個登記為漢族；後來她想把兩子都改成怒族，因為怒族是中國最小的民族之一，政府給怒族人的優惠政策也較多。的確，這樣做似有「欺騙」成分，但他們並非不忠於自己

According to the 2011 census of the township government, there are 3,275 Nu people living in Bingzhongluo, 2,015 Lisu, 540 Tibetans, 413 Dulong, 152 Han and 66 "other" minorities. These groups are officially recognized groups according to the National Ethnic Classification project of the 1950s. However, the local people are able to transcend the boundaries set by the national classification system by various means. First of all, everybody is multi-lingual - most adult villagers are fluent in Nu and Lisu, some are fluent in all four languages: Nu, Lisu and Dulong and Tibetan. Moreover, everybody can perform the "ethnic" songs and dances of all different groups. Many tourists who fully subscribes to state's notion of ethnic classification complained that they felt cheated when the "Nu" performed Tibetan dances for them or the Lisu performed Nu songs for them. They are actually not insincere. The truth is, ethnic categories do not mean the same thing for them as they mean for the state or the main stream media. Ethnic categories are regarded as merely performative roles to satisfy state's need to manage the population.

Second, there are so many intermarriages amongst the so called ethnic groups that it is hard to find anyone who is "purely" any group. Anni is the daughter of a Dulong father and Lisu mother. Each time when I tease her about her ethnicity, she often forgets and has to search for her official ID card to find the answer. She does not speak much Dulong, but speaks Nu and Lisu. Her husband is also vague about his origin - born of a Nu mother but a father who might be Tibetan or Nu. He speaks all the four major dialects fluently. It is a challenge to figure out people's ethnic identities here and it is common for brothers of the same parents to register as different ethnic groups. My host mother who is registered as a Lisu tells me that her father is Lisu but mother is Han. Her husband is Bai but later changes his registration into Han since he is able to go to school and become a school headmaster. She has two sons, one registered as Lisu and one registered as Han, but later on she wants to change their ethnicities to Nu, because the Nu has better policy coverage as it is one of the smallest groups in China.

的民族，因為當地人從不把「民族分類」視為日常交流中自我身份的依托。由於未受過學校教育，入學前的孩童常常不清楚自己的民族身份。一位六歲男孩這樣跟我說：「我是丙中洛族。」

第三，當地人的衣著和建築都跟隨怒族的風格。幾乎所有傳統村屋都保留怒族的建築特色；絕大部分老人家不管在登記冊上是甚麼民族，平時皆穿怒族服裝。怒族人有一道特色美食叫「琵琶豬」：把豬的腸和脂肪掏出，再將香草塞進豬的胃部、口部和鼻孔並縫起來，平放在火塘上方烤數星期。這道菜在丙中洛不論任何民族，各家各戶都會吃。此外所有當地女性依然保留編織的習俗，她們所織的也以怒族或獨龍族的傳統圖案為主。也許，這是由於最早來到這些村落定居的就是怒族，該族也以怒江來命名。所以說，他們這些習俗更多是反映出居住的地域，多於各自的民族文化。雖然在國家的教育下，他們對各族的正式服裝、編織風格或飲食習慣瞭如指掌，但了解再深，也只不過是一場為遊客或政府官員而演的戲而已。他們的日常生活受環境影響，比受「民族」身份影響大得多。

While this can be considered strategizing, they are not being insincere - in the minds of the local people, the ethnic category is not an operating tool for daily interactions. Young children are especially confused about their ethnicity before their school education implants the idea. One six-year old boy says to me: "I belong to the Bingzhongluo zu ethnicity."

Thirdly, in terms of clothing and housing style, almost all the traditional village houses are constructed in the Nu style and most of the elderly dress in the Nu style clothing, regardless of their ethnic registration. The Nu also has a particular food called Pipa Pork: taking out the intestines and fat of a pig, stitching it up with herbs inside the stomach, mouth and nostrils, laying flat above the fire place for a few weeks before serving. That is also eaten in all households regardless of ethnicity. Moreover, all the local women keep the habit of weaving - in Nu or Dulong style patterns. That might be because the Nu was the first to arrive in these villages and named after the Nu River. These habits are more of reflection of locality than of ethnic culture. Although each group knows very well through state education what is the proper ethnic clothing and weaving style or dietary habit for each group, again, it is

only put on for a show for either the tourists or state officials. Their daily living is much more characterized by the place rather than by the ethnic group.



穿著藏族節慶服飾的怒族婦女  
A Nu woman dressed in Tibetan Style Festive Clothing



每天都穿怒族服裝的藏族奶奶  
A Tibetan granny dressed in her daily Nu style clothing

一位藏族婦女正在編織怒族風格的布料，丈夫在旁邊砍柴  
A Tibetan woman weaving Nu style textile and her Lisu husband chopping firewood



二零一三年一月廿八日的星期二那天，一宗悲劇發生了：一名男子醉酒時誤殺了同村另一名男子，兇手後來向警方自首。出乎我意料的是，喪禮在和平的氣氛下進行，沒有出現過任何爭拗。我是唯一一個詢問兩位涉事者是哪族人的人，所有村民都認為這件事情完全與民族無關。外人很容易會認為此事是因兩族人爭執而起，但他們則只當作有人醉酒肇禍，絕對不是什麼「民族衝突」。對此，我很同意著名挪威人類學家巴特和耶魯大學政治科學家史考特所說：所有的身份認同都是建構的，包括族群身份。種族衝突充斥著現今整個世界，而丙中洛人民對待差異的處理方式，也許能啟發我們些什麼。



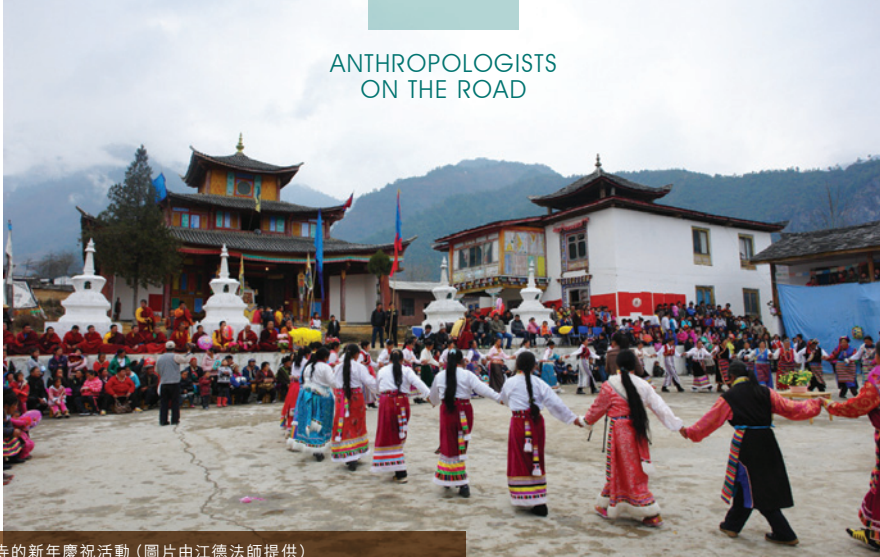
藏傳佛教普化寺  
The Tibetan Buddhist Puhua Temple

除了民族多元化，丙中洛還起碼有三個有組織的宗教，以及原住民流傳下來的古老治病法。藏傳佛教在十八世紀開始傳入丙中洛，一七七三年在此興建普化寺，現時是雲南省怒江州唯一的藏傳佛教寺，這裡的藏傳佛教徒據統計有二千六百人。巴黎外方傳教會於十九世紀末期來到此處，主要向藏族和怒族傳教，現時鎮上有五座天主教堂，天主教徒約八百人。英國的內地會和美國的神召會傳教士向藏人傳教失敗，卻在二十世紀初期在傈僳族取得巨大成功，現時丙中洛鎮有八座新教教堂、約八百名新教徒。雖然各宗教間的分界線看來比民族間的界線要清晰得多，它們之間卻也不會互相排斥。

On Tuesday 28 January 2013, a tragic event happened. One man killed another man in the same village while drunk and later the killer turned himself in to the police. To my surprise, the funeral went peacefully without any quarreling. I was the only person who inquired about the ethnic backgrounds of the two people involved. All the villagers feel that ethnicity was utterly irrelevant. It was merely a tragedy caused by drinking, instead of an “ethnic conflict” which might be easily interpreted by outsiders. Therefore, I echo the renowned Norwegian anthropologist Fredrik Barth and the famous Yale political scientist James Scott, in asserting that all identities, including ethnic identities, are constructed. In lieu of all the ethnic conflicts that abound in the world today, the way people of Bingzhongluo deal with differences might offer something enlightening.

Besides ethnic diversity, Bingzhongluo hosts three institutionalized religions together with indigenous healing practices. The Tibetan Buddhists came to proselytize in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and established the Puhua Temple in 1773. Now it is the only Tibetan Buddhist Temple of the entire Nujiang Prefecture of Yunnan province and 2,600 people register as Tibetan Buddhists. The Catholic missionaries of M.E.P. (*Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris*) came to the region in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and converted Tibetans and Nu alike. Now there are 5 Catholic churches in the township, and around 800 Catholics. The Protestant missionaries of China Inland Mission and Assembly of God, having failed to evangelize the Tibetans, met with huge success among the Lisu in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Now there are 8 Protestant churches in the township and around 800 Protestants. Even though each religion





普化寺的新年慶祝活動（圖片由江德法師提供）

New year's celebration in Puhua Temple (courtesy of Master Jiangde)

不同的宗教族群之間同樣十分包容，無論人們信奉或脫離任何一個制度化的宗教，都不會受到什麼歧視。信仰不同的人結成夫婦的現象也算普遍，不過為方便起見，一戶人家通常會信奉同一個宗教。比如說，一對信奉天主教的姊妹分別嫁給傈僳族人和白族人，兩位丈夫便在婚前開始上教堂，成為天主教徒。一位新教婦女嫁給信奉藏傳佛教的丈夫後，便不再上教堂了。「為什麼呢？」我問。「現在我時常要清理丈夫留下的酒瓶（註：當地人普遍十分愛酒），這使得我上教堂時十分慚愧。另外，我們在吃飯前，還要先向各式各樣的神明奉獻。這些都讓我覺得自己沒法再做個好的基督徒了。」她說。新教傳教士是嚴禁信徒喝酒和吸煙的。各種儀式禮節和村落集體勞動也有助於跨越宗教的界限。雖然現金經濟已進入這些村莊，但是需要

seems to have clearer demarcation marks compared with the vague lines of ethnicity, they are not mutually exclusive groups either.

The religious groups also enjoy porous boundaries. Conversions in and out of any institutionalized religions meet with little discrimination. Inter marriages among people of different faiths do occur quite frequently, but a single household usually belongs to the same religion out of convenience. For instance, a pair of Catholic sisters married a Lisu man and a Bai man respectively. Both men converted to Catholicism before marriage after a period of studying within the church. One Protestant woman married a Tibetan Buddhist man and stopped going to the church. When I asked her why, she said, "I am ashamed of sitting in the church now that I have to clean up my husband's bottles. We also have to make offerings to the gods before eating. That makes me feel no longer fit to be a good Christian." The Protestant



重丁天主教堂

The Catholic Church of Zhongding Village



新教教堂內的宗教儀式  
Inside a Protestant Church

大量勞力的鄉村工作如建屋、耕作，以及婚禮或葬禮依然是集體行動的。每戶人家起碼要派出一位代表，無償地和其他村民共同完成工作。主人家只會為各人提供食物，通常有肉類和酒水（新教徒喝無酒精飲料，其他人則有酒喝）。再者，當有婚禮或喪事，住在其他村落的親戚也會前來幫忙，由此打破地域的限制。透過諸如此類的「集體勞動」，來自不同村落、不同宗教背景的人們就能夠齊心協力、和平合作，真是了不起的機制！和世上其他充滿宗教、民族或地域衝突的地方不同，這裡的村民不會把各種身份「本質化」，因此對他人往往更加有同情心。

missionaries strictly forbade drinking and smoking for the believers. Furthermore, ritual activities and collective village labor cut across religious boundaries. Although cash economy has been introduced to the villages, any labor intense village work such as construction of a house, cultivation of the fields, weddings or funerals are done collectively. Each household sends at least one family labor to work together with other villagers with no pay. The host family only provides food: normally meat and drinks (soda or tea for Protestants and alcohol for non-Protestants). Moreover, relatives from other villages also contribute labor on weddings and funerals, cutting cross territorial boundaries. Therefore, the collective labour provides channels through which people of different villages and religious groups collaborate and cooperate peacefully. What a remarkable mechanism! Different from places full of conflicts resulting from religious, ethnic or territorial differences, the villagers here do not essentialize these identities. Therefore, they are more able to exercise empathy when they come into interact with one another.

信奉天主教的藏族婦人（圖片由陳潔提供）  
A Catholic Tibetan woman (Courtesy of Chen Jie)



參與喪禮的薩滿巫醫（左）  
The shamanistic healer (the one on the left) attending a funeral



這份同情心還蔓延到村外人。丙中洛每戶人家的年均收入少於港幣二千元，大部分村民的生活非常窮苦。趙果是丙中洛一家小旅館的女主人，她領導當地的一個草根組織「嘎娃嘎普聯盟」，專門協助特別貧困的學生就學。最近，聯盟得到來自全國各地的朋友幫助，在當地設立了一家圖書館，讓所有學生及其他居民無償使用。住在這裡已經八年的白族人趙果，慢慢懂得欣賞當地人的生活方式。「許多外地人覺得這裡人的生活既貧窮又原始，我卻覺得這是一個世外桃源！」✧

This empathy extends beyond the limits of the villages. With an annual average income of less than HKD2,000 per household, most villagers live in utter poverty. Apple (Zhao Guo), owner of a small hostel in Bingzhongluo, has been leading a grassroots organization called *Gawagapu Alliance*, in order to help students from extremely poor families to stay in school. With the help of friends from all over China, the Alliance has also recently set up a library that is open to all the students and other residents. Having lived there for the past eight years, Apple has come to appreciate the local ways of life, "Many outsiders think people here are poor and primitive. But I do feel that this is a paradise." ✧

旅館主人趙果經常資助貧苦學生  
(圖片由趙果提供)

Apple, the owner of a hostel, also helps to fund students in need  
(Courtesy of Zhao Guo)



由趙果及「嘎娃嘎普聯盟」其他捐款人集資在當地開設的圖書館 (圖片由趙果提供)

The local library set up by Apple and other donors of *Gawagapu Alliance* (Courtesy of Zhao Guo)

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