

主持人语：

## 山川意境及其人类学相关性

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山与水，是民族志时空坐落的内在构成元素，但它在民族志中尚未得到合适定位。

我们的研究缘何存在这一问题？原因大抵可以在“人类科学”割裂自然与文化、分化物质与精神的“惯性”中找到——正如费孝通先生曾指出的，我们“基本上直接接受了西方文化中‘人’和‘自然’的二分的、对立的概念”<sup>[1]</sup> (P.210)；而又如一位英国人类学家感悟到的，这二分的、对立的概念“从人与动物的对立状况中划出一条绝对的界线，割裂了主体与客体、人与物、道德与物理、理性与本能，更对立了社会与自然”。<sup>[2]</sup>

有着“天人合一”传统的东亚诸文明，除了有助于我们再度认识东西方价值观之差异<sup>[3]</sup> (P.185-196) 之外，是否还有助于我们补正西式社会科学的“去山川法”？

2012年4月27~28日，我在四川安仁镇召集了一次“山——人类学的视野”国际学术工作坊，邀请来自东亚诸国、欧洲及中国的20多名友人对这一问题加以探究。

参与工作坊者有的从部落异文化反观西方宇宙论的局限，有的呈现中、日、韩三国文明传统中山川的角色，有的结合理论与经验叙述民族志时空坐落中人与物、神与自然难以区隔的特征，有的以生动的个案展现中国文化诸书写传统中山川的核心地位。<sup>①</sup>

本栏目的三篇文章，源自这一工作坊关于中国古代士人对山的书写与描绘的讨论，是对工作坊中出现的西方宇宙论批判、东亚文明研究及天人关系民族志诠释的回应与延伸。其

中，北京大学中文系博士研究生兰善兴的文章聚焦中国山水画，该文指出，山水画的成熟过程与士大夫群体独特的身份形成过程有着内在的契合；山水画是上古山川崇拜的人文表达方式，山水画论所追求的“传神”，使山川之“生命力”得以人文化。中国社会科学院世界宗教研究所博士后研究人员李金花的文章是通过一本文人游记——顾彩的《容美纪游》——来呈现传统士人的山川观念。文章力求展现士人对山川的三重印象——既是蛮荒之地，同时又是桃花源和仙境地，这三者看似一个交融的矛盾体，但实际上它是传统士人借助边远的山川来反思自身的社会，对文明与野蛮、出世与入世、得道与失道之关系的思考。中国社会科学院民族学与人类学研究所助理研究员舒瑜的文章讨论了“山志”这一文类对“山”的书写，以康熙年间高翥映所著《鸡足山志》的文本分析为基础，力图呈现清初士人所理解和书写的山川。文章从山川与府州的结构关系，解读山志的书写；并指出对于山志作者而言，山川与府州构成了两套相互配合和补充的知识。

山水画、游记、方志均不同于民族志。因之，从事我们这门学科研究的同行们易于将这组文章看作若干对于“前艺术”、“前科学”、“前民族志”的现代解析。三位作者的写作给人留下的印象恐怕亦是如此——他们似乎将人类学诠释当作方法，将中国的山川意境当作其施加方法的对象。然而，在理念出发点与内涵上，三篇文章提供给我们的，恰不是“以今论古”，而是“以古示今”——借古人投身于山

川、融入于文质彬彬之境、置身于自然秩序与政治之间的种种身心活动，反衬现代社会科学的局限，让那些兴许是出于“不经意间”的老式书写启迪民族志的新论述。

山水画、游记与方志透露出古人有过的“中间性灵通”。当下，这一“灵通”并未失去生命力，因为，经过梳理，它将再度“生活”在社会科学中，与后者碰撞结合，产生作用。而这组文章试图做的，正是与此呼应。人与自然混融的思想，“实际上不仅是中国的，它是世界上很多文明所具有的基本的理念，但中国人传统上对这方面有特别丰富的认识和深刻的探讨”<sup>[1]</sup> (P.210)；为了将诸如山与水之类的“自然物”融入人文世界的民族志视野中，我们可以“转眼到历史文化的大共业上，来重提中国传统天人合一的老观念”<sup>[4]</sup>，借重文人山水画中“人小物大”的意境，参考穿行于文野之间的游记，比附方志中治所与“地理”对应的方法，展开对人与物、文明与他者、政治与“自然”之间广义的人文关系研究，提炼出既有自身文化特殊性、又有宽阔普适性的人类学论述。

注释：

①关于该学术活动，请参见兰婕、汤芸所写“纪要”（《西北民族研究》2012年秋季卷

204-207页）。要强调指出的是，我们不能简单把此次工作坊的有关讨论归类为“生态人类学的”，因为，“生态人类学”正是基于社会与自然的二元对立论提出的，而我们的讨论则相反，与会者关注的，其实是作为文化之存在基础与核心内容的“自然”。

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## The Artistic Conception of “Mountain-River” and its Anthropological Correlation

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**Abstract:** Mountains and water are intrinsic elements situated in time and space of ethnography. However, they are not yet properly positioned in ethnography.

Why does our study address this problem? The reason can be found in the inertia of “human sciences” in splitting the nature and culture, and separating material and spirit. Fei Xiaotong noted that: “basically we have directly accepted the western concept of the dichotomy between ‘man’ and ‘nature’” (Fei, 2009: 210); and also the British anthropologist’s perception on the concept of binary opposition “Drawing an absolute opposite boundary between the man and animals, that split the subject and object, human and materials, morality and physics, reason and instinct, and made a more opposite situation between the society and nature” (Tim, 2000: p48)

In addition to its usefulness in helping our re-understanding the differences in values between the East and West, the tradition of “*tianren heyi*” (the theory that man is an integral part of nature) in East Asian Civilizations (Fei, 2009: 185-196) is helpful in supplementing “the absence of the mountain-river” in Western social science?

From 27 to 28 April, 2012, I organized an international workshop in Anren Township, Sichuan entitled “The Mountain—an Anthropological Perspective”. More than 20 colleagues from East Asian countries, Europe and China were invited to explore this issue.

Some participants of this workshop reflected on the limitations of Western cosmology from tribal cultures; some discussed the role of mountain-river in the traditional civilization of China, Japan and Korean; some spoke about the difficulties in separating persons and things, the deities and nature in time and space of ethnography from the theories and experiences; and some, by providing vivid ca-

ses, talked about the core position of the “mountain-river” concept in various writing traditions of Chinese culture. (Lan, Tan, 2012)

The three articles related to the mountain-river included in this Journal are derived from discussions on ancient Chinese literati’s writing and description of mountains in the workshop. They are a feedback and expansion on the critique of western cosmology, the study of East Asian civilizations and the ethnographical interpretation of the relationship of nature and man that is mentioned in the workshop. Among them, the article of Lan Shanxing, a Doctoral candidate from the Chinese Language and Literature Department of Peking University, focuses on Chinese landscape painting. It points out that the maturation process of landscape painting had an internal relationship with the unique identity and formation process of the literati and that landscape painting was a cultural expression regarding the worship of mountains-rivers in ancient times. The pursuit of the “lifelike” in landscape painting made the “vitality” of mountain-river more humanization

The article of Li Jinhua, a post-doctor from the World Religion Research Institute of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), illustrates the traditional literati’s conception of the “mountain-river” through Gu Cai’s *Rongmei Jiyou* (*Travelogue in Rongmei*), a travelogue of a literati. His article presents three impressions of the literati concerning “mountains and rivers” (i. e. landscape or nature). Nature is not only a wild place, but is also a kind of utopian paradise as seen in the myth of *taohuayuan* (Peach-Blossom Spring). It is also a wonderland. It seems that these three impressions are a set of contradictions. However, it is actually the traditional literati tried to reflect their own society, and explore the relationship between “civilization” and “savage”,

“chushi” (renouncing the world) and “rushu” (enter society), “dedao” (just cause) and “shidao” (unjust cause) through the symbolic meaning of the mountain-river in remote areas. The article of Su Yu, an assistant researcher from the Ethnology and Anthropology Institute of CASS, discusses the writing of “mountains” in the “Mountain Gazetteer”. Taking *the Jizushan Zhi* (Gazetteer of Jizu Mountain) written by Gao Wengying in the period of Kangxi as the basic text, this article presents mountains and rivers as they were understood and described by the literati in the early Qing dynasty. It begins with the structural relationship between “landscape” and the authority to interpret the writings of the mountain gazetteer; and states that, to the author of the mountain gazetteer, “mountain and river” (i. e. landscape or nature) and authority formed two sets of mutual cooperation and complementary knowledge systems.

Landscape paintings, travelogues, and gazetteers are all different from ethnography. Thus, it is easy for the colleagues in this field to take this set of articles as several modern interpretations of “pre-art”, “pre-science” and “pre-ethnography”. Readers’ impressions about the articles of these three authors might also be the same. It seems that they take anthropological interpretation as a method, and Chinese artistic conception of “mountains as drivers” as the object for applying the method.

However, on the starting point of the concept and its connotation, what the three articles provide us with is not just a “discussion of the past through the present,” but a “revelation of the present from the past”. They allow us to reflect on the limitations of modern social science, and use those old-fashioned writings, which might be written “unconsciously”, to inspire a new discourse in ethnography through the metaphor of the literati’s dedication to the landscape, integrating themselves into a gentle world, and their various physical and mental activities while positioning themselves between the natural order and politics.

Landscape painting, travelogues and gazetteers reveal the “intermediaries” of the literati in

the past. At present, these “intermediaries” have not yet lost their vitality, because they will again “live” in the social sciences, colliding and combining with the latter, and finally militating after constructing. What this set of articles is trying to do is to echo this. The concept of the integration of man and nature is “actually not only found in China, but is also a basic theory of many civilizations in the world. However, Chinese people traditionally have particularly rich cognition and deep exploration on this aspect” (Fei, 2009: 210); In order to integrate “the natural material” such as mountains and water into the ethnographical perspective of human world, we should “turn our sights to the total framework of history and culture, and bring up again the Chinese traditional conception of ‘man is an integral part of the nature’” (Qian, 2000), rely on literati’s artistic conception of “renxiao wuda” (human figures are treated as minor things and nature as big things) in landscape painting, take references of refined and unrefined travelogues, and use a corresponding method of authority and “geography” in gazetteers to do a research on the broad cultural relationship between the man and material, civilization and the other, politics and “nature”. By doing so, we can construct an anthropological discourse which not only has its own cultural particularity, but also a broad universality.

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