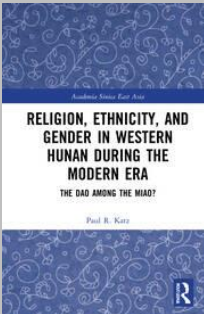


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康豹

中央研究院近代史研究所特聘研究員



得獎專書

*Religion, Ethnicity, and Gender in
Western Hunan during the Modern
Era: The Dao among the Miao?*,
London and New York: Routledge.

書名中譯：《苗可道非常道：近代湘西的宗教、種族與性別》

得獎簡評：

作者運用多年在湘西苗族地區的田野調查與大規模檔案文獻，從歷史學與民族誌的角度，探討湘西苗族地區漢人與非漢族群在儀式傳統之間的交涉。本書透過對於道教神祇、經典、科儀的傳佈、地方信仰與實踐的存續與變化，以及性別與宗教的研究，討論道教與當地儀式傳統如何共同型塑地方宗教文化。作者也提出跨雜糅性（trans-hybridity）的概念，來說明地方傳統文化與外來影響互動的複雜面向。

得獎人簡歷：

康豹，現任中央研究院近代史研究所特聘研究員。其研究範疇主要為近代中國和臺灣的宗教社會史。在研究方法上，係從區域性的研究著手，綜合歷史文獻和田野調查資料，並參酌社會科學的理論。早期的研究是以具體的個案為主。他的第一本專書，*Demon Hordes and Burning Boats*，以溫瓊（溫元帥）信仰為主軸，一方面追溯臺灣王爺信仰的淵源，另一方面也探討道教和地方民間信仰之間的相互影響過程。第二本專書，*Images of the Immortal: The Cult of Lü Dongbin at the Palace of Eternal Joy*，運用各種形式的文獻和圖像資料，著重其文本性（textuality）的討論，分析呂洞賓信仰在山西永樂宮的發展與演變。第三本專書，*When Valleys Turned Blood Red*，係研究日

治時期臺灣最重要的武裝抗爭之一「噶吧哖事件」(西來庵事件)，並且透過田野調查、耆老訪問，深入討論此一事件對南臺灣地方社會所造成的衝擊。

近年來，康豹特聘研究員開始探討比較宏觀的課題，並且據以檢視學界既有的論述。*Divine Justice: Religion and the Development of Chinese Legal Culture* 一書，係探討宗教與司法的相互影響，特別著重漢人社會中神判儀式的討論，並且說明這些儀式在漢人社會中的意義。另外兩本專書 *Religion in China and its Modern Fate*，及與 Vincent Goossaert 教授合著的 *The Fifty Years That Changed Chinese Religion, 1898-1948*，皆係中研院主題計畫的成果。此二書的主旨則探討並評估晚清最後十年以及民國時期，華人宗教命運的重要轉變過程，嘗試將宗教置於理解中國近代史之核心。值得一提的是：*The Fifty Years That Changed Chinese Religion* 一書被納入美國亞洲研究學會 (Association for Asian Studies) 的書系 *Asia Past and Present: New Research from AAS*，成為全球學界所共享的標竿著作。

Paul R. Katz is a historian of Chinese popular religion, specializing in the interaction between religion and local society. His research is based on a wide range of sources, including government archives, local gazetteers, stele inscriptions, private

writings, temple records, canonical and liturgical texts, and works of literature. Because much of his scholarship focuses on social organization and ritual, he also uses data collected during field research to augment historical sources.

Dr. Katz's early research centered on case studies. His first book explored the cult and festival of Marshal Wen (溫元帥), a popular plague-fighting deity who was widely worshipped in the province of Zhejiang during the late imperial era and whose cult spread to Taiwan in the form of the Royal Lords (王爺). His second book examined the cult of the Daoist immortal Lü Dongbin (呂洞賓) at the Yongle Gong (永樂宮). Another case study, entitled *When Valleys Turned Blood Red*, tells the story of colonial policies and their tragic impact on local communities in modern Taiwan during the Ta-pa-ni (噍吧嘰) Incident of 1915 (also known as the Xilai An 西來庵 Incident) in terms of Paul Cohen's "three keys" of history: event, experience, and myth, especially the experiences of the men and women who were caught up in the flow of history.

More recently, Dr. Katz's scholarship has shifted to larger conceptual issues that challenge established paradigms and conventional wisdom. This began with his *Divine Justice* book, which reconsidered definitions of Chinese legal culture by

assessing the roles of religious beliefs and practices from ancient times to present day. *Divine Justice* treats two forms of overlap between religion and the law: the ideology of justice (especially the idea of divine retribution or 報應), and the performance of judicial rituals (oaths, underworld indictments, etc.) that could interact with informal mediation and actual legal practice. He has also devoted considerable effort to systematically demonstrating how the 50 years from 1898 to 1948 transformed Chinese religion into a modern, globalized religious culture via three forms of religious change: 1) Mutations of communal structures of religion, especially temple cults; 2) Innovative productions of religious knowledge; 3) New types of elite religiosity. Research results include in his own *Religion in China and its Modern Fate* as well as *The Fifty Years that Changed Chinese Religion* book co-authored with Vincent Goossaert. The latter book was published in the Association of Asian Studies' *Asia Past and Present: New Research from AAS* series, thereby making it available to a broad range of scholars worldwide. Some of his research results were also presented during his lecture as Recipient of the 2012 Hu Shih Memorial Chair, and during the Jerusalem Lectures in Memory of Professor Menahem Stern in June 2012.

得獎著作簡介：

本書係獲得中研院深耕計畫支持的研究成果，其旨在透過歷史學與民族誌的角度，考察近代湘西苗族地區漢人與非漢族群儀式傳統之間的關涉。本書從接觸帶（contact zone）的概念出發，探討道教與當地苗族儀式傳統之相互揉合，以及藉以塑造地方宗教文化的方式。這些現象不只包含道教神祇、經典、科儀的傳佈，也牽涉到地方信仰與實踐的存續和演變，作者認為可用「跨雜糅性」（trans-hybridity）來加以理解。

此外，透過湘西的案例，有助於檢視過去研究地方社會的學者所提出的觀點，如華生（James Watson）曾以華南天后信仰地位的提升，說明國家與地方菁英協力於「標準化」（standardization）的過程；周紹明（Joseph McDermott）將社神祭祀、民眾神聖空間、佛教與道教團體和宗族組織，視為公共宗教實踐的「鄉村四重奏」（village quartet）；科大衛（David Faure）則主張地方社會在整合於國家的過程中，形成社群「內」、「外」的分野。這些研究都指出官方與地方菁英扮演了的主要角色，但對於經歷「整合」的人群本身，往往著墨有限，更少有人深入分析其中的性別、族群、語言等面向。至於道教與地方宗教的互動，也是本書討論的重點，有些研究華南與臺灣的學者將道教視為民間宗教中較高等的型態，道教透由其崇拜架構（Daoist liturgical framework），納入其他信仰，並使之規範

化。綜合這些考量，本書以湘西為例，嘗試提出新的思考。

回顧現代學界的湘西研究，可溯及 1930、40 年代中央研究院學者凌純聲（1901-1978）、芮逸夫（1898-1990）的西南民族調查工作，當時蒐集的田野照片多達 8000 張，以及文物 1100 餘件、文書 800 餘種，彌足珍貴。1933 至 1936 年間，他們來到湘西展開調查，成員還有當地的苗族知識份子石啟貴（1896-1959）。凌、芮等人在 1940 年撰成《湘西苗族調查報告》，石氏也在同年完成工作，是中國本土最早的人類學著作之一，但前者要到 1947 年始出版，後者更晚到 1986 年才面世。日後石氏之子石建中、其妻麻樹蘭均任教於中央民族大學，結合學界與當地專家，整理當時的調查成果，總共有八卷，計十冊之多，已於近年問世。同屬苗族的永綏縣人石宏規（1898-1982）於 1948 年當選第一屆立法委員，翌年來臺，也曾做過類似調查。民族學者盛襄子、作家沈從文（1902-1988）等人也各有探究。1950 至 80 年代並有後續報導，以及作者近年在當地進行田調工作，都是本書論述的重要基礎。

在本書蒐集的湘西苗族材料中，可以清楚看到當地的宗教文化情態，絕不僅限於上述國家、宗族、道教勢力深透到地方社會的產物，更像是各種文化元素的特殊合成，宛如變化多端的合奏曲。在此過程中，官方的角色固然不可低估，但苗寨的

本土守護神、母系親屬在儀式中的地位（尤其是母舅與妻舅），以及當地儀式傳統家族傳承的性質，同樣值得探究。如果想要評估道教的影響，更不可忽略當地的儀式專家。此外，當地儀式專家的族群認同，以及女性靈媒等性別課題，也都是值得考量的問題。另一方面，湘西儀式專家的傳統也反映湘西族群歷史的一個面相：一般來說，漢人移居較早、活動較多的地區，較重視漢字書寫的道教文本，而並且師承有緒；而苗族色彩較濃厚的地區，屢見苗、漢元素之並陳，透過不同儀式的專家型態，不僅可以看到人群之間的分野及其認同，甚至能尋繹其整合的線索。

This book presents the main findings of the author's Academia Sinica Investigator Award research project about the transformations of religious life in Miao (苗) communities of Western Hunan (Xiangxi 湘西) during the modern era, combining historical and ethnographic methodologies to explore the interaction between indigenous ritual traditions and organized religions such as Daoism. In addition, this study pays special attention to the ways in which gender and ethnicity have shaped such processes, as well as what these phenomena can teach us about larger questions of modern Chinese history. The data presented in

this book reveal that interaction between Han and non-Han religious cultures was characterized not only by the deliberate transmission of doctrine and liturgy, but also the persistence of indigenous beliefs and practices, a phenomenon he define as “trans-hybridity”. One key facet of trans-hybridity is gender, including powerful goddesses worshipped for their ability to exorcise demonic forces as well as the continued influence of female mediums whose practices flourish despite persistent anti-superstition campaigns. This study also endeavors to transcend previous scholarship on Western Hunan that has stressed the impact of state policies and elite agendas, focusing instead on the roles played by ritual specialists. Such findings call into question conventional wisdom about the “standardization” of culture at the hands of the state and local elites, the integration of local society into the state by means of written texts, the “temple-centric” nature of communal religious life, and the prevalence of a “village quartet” featuring Buddhist or Daoist organizations, kinship institutions, temple cults, and earth god associations.

Many scholars have noted that one narrative of the relationship between Daoism and local communities involves that religion’s

links to a liturgical framework that enables it to act as a civilizing force. In the case of Western Hunan, however, the data presented in *Religion, Ethnicity, and Gender in Western Hunan during the Modern Era* do not indicate the cultural hegemony of an imported Daoist religion but rather the reverberation between Daoism and a diverse range of indigenous traditions, albeit exhibiting significant variation depending on the extent to which the local culture of a particular area had been molded by Han Chinese beliefs and practices. This in turn points to the significance of trans-hybridity as a means of analyzing the interaction between Miao and Han religious cultures, with rituals performed in Western Hunan today representing the result of both translation (deliberate attempts at molding their contents) and hybridity (inadvertent actions with unintended consequences).

One core element of this project is its links to a venerable tradition of scholarship at Academia Sinica that dates back to the 1930s. Dr. Katz's initial interest in studying Western Hunan derived from extensive discussions with Wang Ming-ke (王明珂), Academician and Distinguished Research Fellow at the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica (Taiwan), who informed

him about the legacy of research on this area by some of the founding members of his Institute, Ling Chunsheng (凌純聲) (1901-1978) and Ruyi Yih-fu (芮逸夫) (1898-1990), who worked with a Miao intellectual named Shi Qigui (石啟貴) (1896-1959) to do fieldwork in Western Hunan as part of a research project on Southwest China undertaken between 1929 and 1943. Their work resulted in the collection of over 8,000 photographs, 1,100 artifacts, and 800 documents. Ling and Ruyi wrote up their findings in 1940, although their book (entitled *Xiangxi Miaozu diaocha baogao* 《湘西苗族調查報告》) was not published until 1947. Shi also wrote up his results in 1940, with his work (one of the earliest examples of Chinese indigenous anthropology) finally being published in 1986 under the title *Xiangxi Miaozu shidi diaocha baogao* 《湘西苗族實地調查報告》. More recently, Shi Qigui's son and daughter-in-law (Shi Jianzhong 石建中) and the late Ma Shulan (麻樹蘭), both emeritus professors at Beijing's Zhongyang minzu daxue (中央民族大學), have done extensive follow-up research and worked with other scholars and local experts to publish Shi Qigui's field data in an annotated ten-volume collection entitled *Minguo shiqi Xiangxi Miaozu diaocha shilu* 《民國時期湘西苗族調查實錄》.

There are also Republican-era studies of Western Hunan by Shi Honggui (石宏規) (1898-1982) and Sheng Xiangzi (盛襄子), as well as detailed accounts of local life by the renowned writer Shen Congwen (沈從文) (1902-1988). The quantity and quality of their data, combined with historical and ethnographic materials collected during the course of my Academia Sinica research project, served as the foundation for this book's findings.

得獎感言：

本書是我所主持之中央研究院深耕計畫「近代宗教與族群關係之演變——以湘西地區的道教跟苗族之互動為討論中心」的研究成果（執行時間：2010年1月至2014年12月），首先要感謝中研院的贊助與近史所同仁的協助。

這個研究的展開係受史語所王明珂院士的建議與啟發，第一次到湘西去考察時更是由他與當時的助理胡其瑞帶路，並介紹當地主要的合作對象，至今銘感恩於心。此外，兩位計畫助理王世駿與康詩瑀的用心努力與付出，使得此計畫能順利進行，在此一併致謝。

在執行研究計畫期間，得力於許多學者提供寶貴建議與協助，包括 Alain Arrault、David Faure、Patrice Fava、Vincent Goossaert、David Holm、John Lagerwey、Edward McCord、

Daniel McMahon、Mark Meulenbeld、David Mozina、James Robson、Kristofer M. Schipper (1934-2021)、Meir Shahar、Donald Sutton 等，以及王秋桂、陳攻奴、賀喜、何翠萍、何兆華、黃淑莉、黃樹民、康笑菲、高雅寧、連瑞枝、謝曉輝、葉育倫等。

此外，特別感謝許多湘西當地學者專家的支持與幫忙，包括龍海清，龍文玉，羅康隆，麻春霞，麻美垠，明躍玲，石建中，石壽貴，伍秉純，吳合顯，楊庭碩及張應和，以及兩位已經辭世的苗族研究前輩：麻樹蘭與麻樹剛。他們無私的協助讓此研究得以順利進行。

本書撰寫過程中，苗族研究權威 Nicholas Tapp (1952-2015) 從計畫一開始花許多寶貴時間來指導我這個苗族研究的門外漢，華人宗教研究先驅 Daniel Overmyer (1935-2021) 幫忙校對整本書的內容；都是我終生感恩難忘的。

這個研究使我改變對華南研究的刻板印象：在湘西地方社會的權力不見得來自於國家與宗族，有不少「地方菁英」是女性或神職人員；最有地位的神職人員不是道士，而是儀式中只講苗語、從頭到腳必須穿苗族服裝的男性法師（苗老師），以及女乩童（仙娘）；負責幫村民驅邪趕鬼的神祇，不是張天師或玄天上帝，而是儺母，先鋒官也是女神。當地爆發農民起義

時，負責帶兵領將的也是仙娘。總而言之，所謂的「中國宗教社會史」，如果沒有考慮到族群、性別等因素，只能說是一種片面、不真實的史學研究。

在執行這個計畫的過程中，也讓我體悟到人與人之間素樸真摯的情誼；如在苗寨和村民一起吃臘肉、喝著用汽油桶製釀的酒，是令人感動的記憶。最後，感謝我家人給予的愛護和支持，以及學界朋友的鼓勵，都是成就本書的助力。