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滇越铁路与边民社会

——物与自我延伸的人类学研究

Dian-Yue Railway and Borderland Community
——Anthropological Study of the Objects and Self-extension

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内容摘要

“物”作为人类学的研究对象，一直以来都是以客体的身份与主体的人构成社会的二元结构。人们通过对“物”的研究，确定社会发展的阶序、群体的交往接触；分析“物”的交换背后的社会关系与结构；赋予不同“物”以符号意义，表现人群共同体的秩序安排；关注作为消费品的“物”在消费过程中所体现出来的社会、文化意义，包括消费者的权力、地位以及社会等级等；在全球化的世界体系中，分析作为技术载体的“物”进入原住民社会后，所引起的社会变迁以及地方社会如何应对这一变迁。随着人类学开始关注物的心性研究，人们突破传统的主客体的二元结构，物成了个体记忆、集体记忆、社会记忆的载体与表述对象，成了自我身份的标识和自我延伸的手段，从而在物的民族志研究中实现了物的“去物质化”和人的“去身体化”。

本文以1903-1910年法国人在中国云南修建的“滇越铁路”为对象，通过对这一“事件之物”的民族志式研究，在揭示滇越铁路所具有的“物性”体系在不同历史时期对边民社会的不同层次的影响基础上，认为滇越铁路经过百年的积淀，已经成为边民社会不同人群与个人自我的延伸。面对着滇越铁路逐渐退出历史舞台的事实，笔者提出从关怀人的角度去关怀滇越铁路，对滇越铁路进行遗产化处理，我们通过祖先的财产确定和叠加自我的同时，也担负让遗产继续为下一代身份证明与自我叠加的义务。人与物互化，从主体的视角去审视客体、尊重客体，一方面让物在“移动性”的社会中对人们心灵起到“按摩器”作用；另一方面有助于对人、物的完整理解与认知，而这将充实人类学民族志研究的视角。

文章在对人类学关于“物”的研究谱系梳理（第一章）基础上，根据“物性”的不同视角分析滇越铁路对边民社会的区域人群、都市、村落、社区以及个人等的影响，最终实现物与人的主客体互化；第二章介绍了滇越铁路修筑的国际、国内背景，指出对于“事件之物”的理解需要把其置于特定的社会情境中，从不同的文化图式去探寻其意义；第三章主要分析铁路沿途区域人群既把铁路看成殖民的象征符号，根据地方性知识体系去理解、反抗西方的殖民活动，进行边民社会

的历史叙事，又把西方的现代性进行再地方化，构建边民社会的现代性发展；第四章以滇越铁路的中间枢纽站开远市为例，分析作为现代交通工具的滇越铁路是如何拉出开远这座城市，进而改变人们的生产方式与生活模式；第五章从滇越铁路作为文化传播的媒介入手，分析滇越铁路修建与通车后，天主教文化在铁路沿线传播，加速了民族文化的嬗变，认为苗族人群共同体把天主教文化纳入地方性知识体系中，形成与原有文化相连续的新的文化构型；第六章以具体的社区空间记忆为研究起点，把滇越铁路及其附属物/事作为“自我”的存在与延伸，分析边民社会的人们是如何围绕铁路及其附属物/事而发生的自我流失与叠加，进而实现人与物的主客体互化；第七章从人类学对人的关怀角度，探寻对物的人文关怀，延续滇越铁路的社会生命和书写滇越铁路的文化传记。

关键词：滇越铁路 边民社会 物 自我 文化遗产

Abstract

As a research target of anthropology, *objects* have always been the dual structure of community combining the identity of object with the subject of human being. Through the study of anthropological “object”, researchers try to reach the following goals: 1) Determine the order of social development and the contact of community. 2) Analyze the social relations and structures underlying the objects exchanges. 3) Endow symbol significances with different objects. 4) Represent the order arrangements of community. 5) Focus on “objects” as consumer goods whose social and cultural meaning manifested in the process of consumption, including the consumers’ power, status and social class, etc. In addition, with the trend of world globalization, analyze that researchers also extend their study to social vicissitudes and how the local community responds to those vicissitudes caused by “objects” as technological media entered into the community. As anthropology begins to study the mind of objects, researchers break through traditional dual structure of subject and object, and objects turn into carriers and state targets of individual memory, collective memory and social memory. As a result, objects become the token of self-identity and means of self-extension, so that the research of ethnography of objects achieves the “dematerialization” of objects and “disembodiment” of man.

The Dian-Yue Railway was built by France in 1903-1910 and was taken as a object in my paper to reveal that the system of objects nature of the Dian-Yue Railway has affected borderland community and this fact demonstrates that the Dian-Yue Railway has been the self-extension of different Communities in the borderland community in the past century and has achieved inter-conversion between subject and object through the “objects of event” ethnographic-style research. Since the Dian-Yue Railway has been gradually fading away from the historical stage, the author urges that we should concern for Dian-Yue Railway as we do for our people and Dian-Yue Railway must be taken as heritage that the property our ancestors left for us, through which our identity is defined and superposed. At the same time we are charged with obligations that prove identity and superpose self for the next generation continually.

Chapter One, based on the anthropological study about genealogy of "objects"

analyzes that Dian-Yue Railway has exerted great influences on groups, cities, villages, communities and individuals from different perspectives of objects nature in borderland community and at last realized the inter-conversion between the subject and the object.

Chapter Two introduces the international and domestic environment for the Dian-Yue Railway construction. It also points out that the understanding of the "event of objects" is driven by particular social contexts and thus its significance should be explored from different cultural schemata.

Chapter Three analyzes how the regional groups along the railway regarded the Dian-Yue Railway as a symbol of colonization and how they interpreted and resisted the West's colonization according to local knowledge systems, and how they encoded the narratives of borderland community. In addition, this chapter also explains the re-localization of the west modernity and construction of modern development of borderland community.

Chapter Four, by close study of the Kaiyuan station in the middle of the Dian-Yue Railway, examines how the Dian-Yue Railway pulled out this city and changed people's production and life as the modern transport.

Chapter Five, taking the Dian-Yue Railway as a culture medium, analyzes the dissemination of Catholic culture along the railway which accelerated the evolution of national culture after building and opening of Dian-Yue Railway. This chapter also points out that it is the unification of Catholic culture and local knowledge system which shaped Mizo-zu community into a new cultural configuration continuous with the original culture.

Chapter Six, beginning with the analysis of specific memory of space community, illustrates how the Dian-Yue Railway and its attachments/ things become the manifestation of self - existence and self - extension. It further explores how people appeared self-loss and self- stacking around the railway with its attachments/ things and at last achieved the inter-conversion between the subject and the object.

Chapter Seven, projected from anthropological concerns for human beings, explores the Humanism of objects and the way by which Dian-Yue Railway can forever prolong its social life and compose its culture biography.

Key words: Dian-Yue Railway; Borderland Community; Objects; Self; Cultural Heritage

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