

灾后重建背景下岷江上游羌族社会文化变迁研究——以羌族建筑为例 Social and Cultural Changes of the Qiang Ethnic Group in Upper Min River Under the Post-disaster Reconstruction – A Case Study Of the Qiang Architecture

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岷江是中国长江的重要支流之一。岷江上游在青藏高原东缘，主要包括四川的汶川县、理县、茂县、松潘县、黑水县。居住着羌族、藏族、汉族及回族等民族，其中，羌族主要分布在这里，人口有 30.6 万人（中国第五次人口普查数据）。

Min River is an important tributary of the Yangtze River in China. The upper Min River is in the eastern margin of the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau - an area comprises of Wen-chuan County, Li County, Mao County, Song-pan County and Hei-shui County. This area is the habitat of the Qiang, Tibetan, Han and Hui ethnic groups. According to China's fifth census data, a majority of Qiang Group with approximately 30.6 million population live here.

二、震前岷江上游的自然及人文特点

Natural and Cultural Characteristics of The Upper Min River Before Earthquake

1.生态脆弱和资源匮乏区

Fragile Ecology Area and Shortage of Resources

岷江上游地区是四川乃至西南地区重要的生态屏障和水源涵养地。属于典型的高山峡谷区，具有复杂的生态地质环境，是我国西部典型的生态脆弱带。洪涝、地震、风雹、崩塌、滑坡和泥石流等自然灾害频繁发生。

Upper Min River Valley is an important ecological barrier and water resource conservation area in Sichuan Province and even to the extent of the entire Southwest

region of China. It is a typical alpine gorge topography that contains complicate geological and ecological systems, as well as an ecologically vulnerable zone in the western China. Natural disasters attack this area frequently, such as floods, earthquakes, hail, avalanches, landslides and mudslides.

2. 重要的历史民族走廊与通道

A Corridor with Historical and Ethnical Importance

岷江上游是藏彝走廊中一条十分重要的民族走廊与通道。历史上，岷江上游成为汉、藏茶马贸易的重要通道。明清以后，大量汉人迁入岷江上游地区，开发岷江河谷，开始形成汉、羌、藏等民族混居交融的局面，并促成了沿途城镇的兴起与繁荣，从而逐步形成了今天的民族分布格局。

The upper Min River is one significant ethnical passage of the "Tibetan-Yi Corridor". It has become an important channel of Tibetan tea-horse trade early in the history. During Ming and Qing dynasties, a large number of Han Chinese migrated to the upper Min River and developed the valley. Since then, the Han, the Qiang and the Tibetan ethnical groups began to blend and promoted to the prosperity of cities and towns along the corridor, also gradually shaped the current distribution of the ethnical groups.

3. 汉羌藏民族文化交融带

Fusion Zone of Han, Qiang and Tibetan Cultures

4. 最大的羌族核心聚居地

Largest Core Settlement of Qiang

村寨聚落规模不拘束于固定的大小和外形，按照地势分布在半山或高山台地上，体现了羌族村寨与自然的有机结合。羌族被称作“云朵上的民族”。

The scale and form of the villages are flexible in pattern, scattered among the mid-levels or the mountain plateau along the tendency of the terrain, it reflects the organic

relationship of the Qiang villages and the nature. Therefore, the Qiang is called "the people in the clouds."

三、“5·12”地震灾后重建

Reconstruction after May 12th Earthquake

8.0 级汶川特大地震，是自 1950 年以来破坏性最强、波及范围最广、救灾难度最大的一次地震灾害。羌族地区全受灾，主要居住地为极重灾区和重灾区。

The magnitude scale 8.0 Wenchuan earthquake was the most devastating natural disaster since 1950 as well as the most extensive and challenging rescue task to the government. The entire Qiang area was destroyed by the earthquake, their major residential districts fell into the categories of the “extreme” and “severe” earthquake stricken areas.

1.灾后重建的国家政策

National policy for Reconstruction after Earthquake

政府通过建立健全法律制度体系，确保灾后重建工作科学、有序、稳定地进行。

《汶川地震灾后恢复重建条例》中强调科学选址的重要性。

Through the establishment of a robust legal system, the government ensured that the reconstruction could be proceeded in a scientific, organized and stable manner.

"Regulations of Restoration and Reconstruction after the Wenchuan earthquake," emphasized the importance of scientific site selection.

对口援建政策：为灾区带来了资金、物资及人才，促使灾后重建快速有效地进行。

The Counter-partnership Reconstruction policy brought the funds, materials and specialists to the area and accelerated the reconstruction with efficiency.

地方出台相关政策：羌族地区实施了“三百”示范工程建设，将城乡居民住房加固重建与风貌恢复重建结合起来。

Local supportive policies: The implementation of the "three hundred" demonstration projects in Qiang district combined the stabilization and reconstruction of the urban and rural housing with the restoration of the scene/style/feature.

抢救和保护羌族文化：设立羌族文化生态保护实验区，构建羌族非物质文化遗产保护体系，注重保护羌族文化特有的生存环境，维修历史文物和遗迹，新建大批文化基础设施，为羌族文化抢救和保护工作提供了机遇。

Rescue and protection of the Qiang culture: the establishment of the Qiang culture ecological experimental reserve built up a protective system for the intangible cultural heritage of the Qiang. The system especially focus on the conservation of the unique living environment of the Qiang culture, the maintenance of historical artifacts and sites, and the construction of new cultural infrastructure. These movement provides the opportunities for the rescue and protection of the Qiang culture.

灾后重建的特点：一是国家主导的重建，二是重建中关注到了民族文化的保护。

Characteristics of post-disaster reconstruction:

The first is the national leadership in the reconstruction; the second is the protection of the ethnic culture during reconstruction.

三. 四个村寨重建案例 Four Case Studies of Village Reconstruction

专业技术人员对村落及周边环境进行现场勘测与评估，对受损建筑进行鉴定，确认村寨是否搬迁、房屋是否重建。经过整体规划后再建设。总体来讲，重建后，羌族居住格局变动不大，但有微调，乡镇或县城附近地带羌族的居住点有扩大之势。下面介绍几个不同的恢复重建案例：

In order to determine the relocation of villages and reconstruction of the housing, the specialists did site surveys in the village and the surrounding areas to make assessments of building damage. The overall planning was forerun to the reconstruction. In general, the residential layout of the Qiang did not change too

much, only some minor adjustments after reconstruction; the Qiang settlements near urban centers had been expanded.

Here are several types and case studies of the restoration:

(1) 原址原貌恢复重建村寨 (茂县三龙乡合心坝寨)

Restoration of Village In Situ

Case Study of He-xin-ba Village, San-long Township in Mao County

地质较稳定，地震对自然环境破坏程度略小，村民住房及碉楼建筑物一定程度受损，但非毁灭性破坏，村落基本布局如常；原有民居密度不大，有空间和场地进行重建。

This type of reconstruction is appropriate as the sites have relatively stable geological structure; the earthquake damage to the natural environment is slighter; the village housing and the watchtowers were hit but not entirely destroyed, the basic layout of the village remains; and the original residential density is low enough to provide spaces and sites for reconstruction.

村寨恢复重建后，原有景观未发生改变。同时，通过交通条件改善，方便了人们的生活，很少有人愿意搬迁，回到了正常的生活轨道。

The original landscape dis not changed after reconstruction. At the same time, people's lives were facilitated through the improvement of transportation, therefore, only very few people were willing to relocate as the villagers back to a regular life.

(2) 原址或就近新建村寨 (汶川县雁门乡萝卜寨)

Construction of New Villages In Situ or Nearby

Case Study – Luo-Bo Village, Yan-men Township in Wen-chuan County

萝卜寨是岷江河谷房屋最为集中、人口最多，且以黄土为建筑材料的羌族民居群落。平均海拔 1970 米，位于一个面积较大、黄土堆积而成的台地上。216 户，1071 人，建筑依山势而修，为典型的羌寨群落。其布局呈现出 3 个特点：一是垂直分层，依照山势和台地分层而建；二是民居集中；三是龙王庙等神地都在最高点，高于民居建筑。

Luo-Bo Village is the most concentrated Qiang community in the Min River valley with a large amount of population and clustered loessial buildings. The village is located in a large loessial plateau at an average of 1,970 meters above sea-level. There were 216 households, comprised of 1,071 people. Being a typical Qiang settlement, the buildings were constructed along the topology of the mountain. There are three characteristics of its layout: First, it is an vertical distribution - the location of housing is coordinated with the levels of the mountains and plateaus. Second, the residential areas is highly concentrated. Third, is the Dragon Temple and other sacred places are located in the highest level above the residential architecture.

地震时萝卜寨人员伤亡惨重；生态环境遭到一定程度的破坏，村寨建筑几乎倒塌；道路路基被毁；村民用水极度困难。但原有民居附近有场地进行重建条件。Luo-Bo Village had a high casualties from the earthquake. Its ecological environment was damaged, almost all the village buildings were collapsed, the embankment of the roads were destroyed too. The villagers were suffered from the extremely difficulty of water supply. But there are qualified sites for reconstruction near the existing residential neighborhood.

广东省江门市对口支援萝卜寨村。在征求村民同意后，设计规划出 52 平方米、82 平方米和 120 平方米三种户型供村民选择。全部村民自主选择 52 平方米的户型。Jiangmen City of Guangdong Province was the counter-partner to support Luo-Bo Village for the reconstruction. With the consent of the villagers, there were three types of housing design for the villagers to choose from - 52 square meters, 82 square meters and 120 square meters. All the villagers choose the 52 square-meter unit as their typical housing layout.

村寨基本布局发生明显改变，新址选在凰山上地质力学性质更好的台地上，即过去的停车场位置。整体布局依山势而建，与四周景观自然融合。建筑结构采取钢筋混凝土框架，增加抗震技术，卫生站、幼儿园等，采用 9 度抗震设防；民居按照 8 度抗震设防。新房外观用石材填充墙体，并用黄泥外敷墙体，实现与旧村寨风貌的呼应统一。旧村寨将作为旅游发展的一部分进行恢复。室内布局在细节上略有改变。2012 年，旧村寨完成复建。群众通过发展旅游得到好处。

The basic layout of the original village changed significantly since the new site was laid on a geomechanical stable plateau in the Phoenix mountain, which was a location of a parking lot. The overall village layout follows the topography of the mountain in harmony with its natural landscape. Reinforced concrete structures was used as the architectural framing to increased its anti-seismic capacity. The residential units were designed to an earthquake resistance of magnitude 8. The structure of health stations and kindergartens even raised the resistance to magnitude 9. The exterior of new housing is stone wall plastered with loess, which echoes the style of the old village. Its interior layout changed slightly in detail. The old Village was restored and developed as part of tourism. The rehabilitation of the old village was completed in 2012 and brought profits to the public through the development of tourism.

(3) 异地重建 Relocation

A.政府组织的外迁移民——邛崃市直台村

Relocation Organized by the Government – Zhi-Tai Village, Qiong-lai City

直台村在地震前隶属汶川县龙溪乡，位于海拔 2600 米左右的高山台地上，是一个传统的高山羌族村寨。全村有 435 人，土地资源丰富，但交通不便，很少有人出去打工。在地震中，自然生态遭到严重破坏，村民房屋受损严重，面临缺水的困难，唯一通往外界的机耕道被震塌，多处发生泥石流和滑坡。由于水源及道路的不可恢复性，2009 年 4 月，村民从汶川整体搬迁到成都市的邛崃市山区，直接入住新房。

Zhi-Tai Village was under the jurisdiction of Long-shi Township of Wen-chuan County before the earthquake. This village is a traditional Qiang mountain settlement, situated at a plateau at an altitude about 2600 meters. The village has 435 people with abundant land resources. But the inconvenience of transportation deterred the villagers work out of town. During the earthquake, the natural ecosystems and the village houses were severely damaged accompanied with the shortage of water supply. The only gateway to the outside world collapsed; mudslides and landslides occurred at multiple locations. Since the water sources and

the roads were irreversible, the entire villager was relocated from Wen-chuan to a mountain area in Qionglai city of Chengdu and immediately moved into their new housing in April 2009.

安置点海拔 1200 米。由户主抓阄来决定住房位置。房屋外观是小别墅，内部布局功能区分明显，用电磁炉和液化气解决吃饭问题。人们不耕种土地，种植茶叶或外出打工为生。

The new settlements is situated at an altitude of 1200 meters. The housing was assigned by drawing lots by the head of these households. The appearance of housing is a small villa. The interior layout is efficient and functional. The villagers cook with liquefied gas and electromagnetic ovens, plant teas or work outside the village instead of farming.

村民们对南宝山的自然环境十分满意，认为小洋楼安全、舒适、干净，但缺乏羌族特点。2015 年，邛崃市政府帮助当地进行房屋外观改造，发展乡村旅游。已初见成效。

The villagers are fully satisfied with the natural environment of the Nan-bao-shan. These small western-style buildings are safe, comfortable and clean, but lack of the Qiang features. A positive effect has shown after the Qiong-lai city government started to assist with the local house reform and the rural tourism development in 2015.

B. 自发迁居的移民——茂县蓝店坡村

Spontaneous Relocated Migrants – Lan-Dian-Po Village, Mao County

凤仪镇是茂县政治、经济、文化中心，蓝店坡村是其中的一个村。地震前，羌族占全村人口 80%，但他们几乎不会说羌语，经济发展水平远高于半高山羌族地区。Feng-yi town is the political, economic and cultural center of Mao County, Lan-Dian-Po Village is one of the villages in town. The Qiang people accounts for 80% of the population in the village before the earthquake. These Qiang people hardly speak

Qiang language, but their economic development is much higher than the Qiang in the alpine region.

由于一些高山地带地质灾害严重，政府允许这些地方的羌族投亲靠友进行异地搬迁，移民陆续迁来蓝店村。至 2011 年 4 月，全村已经由原来的 108 户发展到 200 多户。羌族比例上升到 90%。

Because there were serious geological disasters in some of the mountain areas, the government allowed the Qiang people in these areas moved to their relatives or friends. Thus, these migrants were successively coming to the Lan-Dian-Po village. The amount of the household in the village has expanded from 108 to 200 by April of 2011. The proportion of the Qiang population has risen to 90%.

移民的灾后重建房受宅基地面积和经济条件限制，由农户自行设计。无法进行选址，没有朝向讲究。不再用石片砌筑，而是用水泥、砂石、砖和钢筋修建框架或砖混结构建造。房屋布局异于传统布局，功能划分明确。外观各具形态。

Constrained by the site area and the economic conditions, the reconstruction were designed by the migrant farmers. Because there was no options for the site selection, the orientation issue was not taken into consideration. The housing is no longer stone masonry, but a framing structure of cement, sand, brick and steel or a mixed brick masonry. Apart from the traditional pattern, the housing layout were equipped with clear functions of various appearance.

这里的移民是羌族地区自发移民的一个缩影，来自于家庭内部和家族的自我决定，迁入地的原居民也没有什么异议，他们彼此相处融洽。

Migrants here is a miniature of spontaneous migration of the Qiang, which depends on the internal and self-determination of the families. There was no objections from the local inhabitants since they can live together in harmony.

四、羌族建筑文化的变迁 Evolution of Qiang Architecture

1. 选址 Site Selection

生态环境对羌族村寨的大小及形式有重要影响。作为选择村落选址的必备条件，需要具备向阳、背风、有水源、林地、有少量平地。同时，还要求建在相对封闭、易守难攻的地方。神山、神林、寺庙、碉楼、房屋、土地、山路、水源地构成了完整的村寨空间。

The ecological environment is crucial to the size and the form of the Qiang villages. The prerequisites of a village site should be sunny and leeward, containing water sources, woodland and a certain amount of flat ground. It also requires a relatively enclosed and defensible location. A complete village space comprises of sacred mountain and forests, temples, watchtowers, houses, land, mountain roads and water sources.

重建房选址首先以地质安全为先，然后结合建设用地大小进行房屋布局或规划设计。购买的宅基地往往无法解决耕地问题。

The geological stability is the first priority of the site selection for reconstruction. The plan and layout are designed under the conditions of the size of construction site. Usually the purchased residential sites cannot provide a solution to the arable needs.

2. 建筑类型 Architectural Types

（一）碉楼：从历史遗存到景观

Watchtowers: From Historical Relics To The Landscape

碉楼属于历史遗迹，在岷江上游一带皆有分布。起瞭望观察和防御躲藏双重作用，并对村寨选址和民居布局有直接影响。

Watchtowers is one type of historical relics, spreading over the vicinity of the upper Min River. Watchtower has double functions of observation and defense. It also directly affects the site selection of a village and the layout of vernacular dwellings.

地震中，羌族精湛的建筑营造技艺被突显出来，仅有个别碉楼有局部垮塌，部分碉楼出现裂纹的现象。在灾后重建中，按原位置、原形式、原材料、原工艺的原则进行修复。另外，为了旅游发展，个别地方在碉楼遗址基础上进行了重建，成为旅游线上的一景。

The excellence of the Qiang architecture and its construction skills were noticed during the earthquake. Only some of the watchtowers were partially break down and had some emerged cracks. In the post-disaster reconstruction, the restoration of these watchtowers followed the conservation principles which requires the original configuration, materials and the traditional craft procedure to repair in place. Some watchtowers were reconstructed on the basis of the ruins to create attractions for the tourism.

（二）民居：从碉房到“洋楼”

Dwellings: From Blockhouse to "Western-style Mansion"

传统建筑具有“一畜、二人、三神仙”的立体结构。

The traditional building has the three-dimensional structure for the animal, the human and the gods.

地震后，部分羌寨修旧如旧，较好地保持了传统特点，达到了村寨整体布局的和谐统一，体现了文化保护的整体性和原真性原则。

Part of the Qiang villages were repaired as the old configuration and kept most of their traditional features after the earthquake,. The coordination of the village layout reflects the integrity and authenticity of the conservation principles.

在交通条件好，旅游沿线的村寨房屋修建之后，外观进行了统一的装饰。

With better transportation services, the village houses along the tourist route were renovated with unified decoration after reconstruction.

而高山村寨，由于建设成本高，工期较短，担心再次发生地震，修房只修一层，制约了房屋的规模、风格及样式。

Due to high costs and shorter construction duration, only one story of the mountain village housing got repaired. The concern of reoccurring earthquakes has restricted the size, styles and configuration of the dwellings.

异地重建的移民，搬迁地无安全隐患，但受制于宅基地的大小，只能按购买面积及周边环境，以实用为需要，简单设计后修建。新修的房屋实现了人畜分居。房屋功能划分明确，在部分地方，火塘被取缔，火炉代之；没有中心柱问题，在客厅一角安放简易神龛；放置白石的纳萨被简化等。

There was no safety issues at the new site for the relocated migrants. Limited by the size of the site, the repair and construction were simple and practical based on the purchased lot and its setting. In these newly built houses, the living areas for human are separated with the pen for livestock. The functions of housing are well-defined: fireplace was banned in some areas and replaced with stoves. Because there was no center columns in the house, the shrine could be simply placed at a corner of the living room. The traditional form of Nasa for white stone?? was simplified too.

3.材料及色彩 - Material and Color

传统建筑建筑体下宽上窄，门窗矮小，开口多向南或东南方，外部墙壁光滑，不留裂缝，冬暖夏凉，牢固耐用。新房落成，还要关门闭窗烟薰几日才能使用，具有坚固、防腐的效果。羌族充分利用自然资源搭建房屋。房屋用料全部就地取材，以山石、泥、木料、麻筋等。

The structure of traditional Qiang architecture is taper from the bottom to the top, with small windows and doors. In the smooth exterior walls without cracks, most of the openings are facing the south or southeast. This kind of dwelling is adaptive to the weather, solid and durable. To be more stable and anti-corrosive, a newly built house has to be enclosed and smoked for several days before use. The Qiang fully utilize the natural resources to construct their houses. All the housing materials are from the local, such as rocks, mud, woods and hemsps.

羌族房屋通常不会随意拆建，往往会有几代人居住。随着时代的进步，许多人开始采用新材料。比如，用砖、瓷砖和水泥改造灶台等。

The Qiang dwellings usually do not rebuild periodically, but continuously occupied by several generations. However, there are many people began to use new materials along with the progress of the times. For example, they would use bricks, tiles and cement for the stove renovation.

这次地震，村寨毁损严重，重建房抗震安全性被强调。如，汶川映秀镇，新修建筑采用框架或砖混结构，房屋基座采用橡胶隔震垫、滑板支座、消能阻尼器等隔震技术，提高了抗震能力和建筑安全度^①；所有桥梁的每个桥台、桥墩盖梁的连接处都使用纵、横向橡胶垫块，作为缓冲装置。

The villages was severely damaged by the earthquake, the anti-seismic capacity ,the stability and safety of housing were emphasized during reconstruction. Ying-xiu town for example, the newly built housing used a framing system and mixed brick masonry structure. The rubber isolation pads on the base, sliding bearings and energy dissipating dampers were installed to improve the seismic resistance and building safety. Vertical and horizontal rubber pads also had been applied at each joint of the abutments, piers and beams of all bridges as a buffering system.

在广大农村，传统建筑工艺受到了挑战，采用水泥、砂石、砖和钢筋修建框架或砖混结构的房屋。茂县太平乡杨柳村的灾后重建房较为特别，采用台湾谢英俊设计师的设计理念，用轻钢结构技术确保了良好的抗震性，并一定程度上保留了羌族的建筑特色。这种方式村民乐意接受，是一种环保、安全的重建模式。

In the vast rural areas, the traditional architectural craft has been challenged by the use of cement, sand, brick and steel framing structure or mixed brick masonry.

^① 《映秀重建成国际水平防震减灾示范区》，《南方日报》，2010年10月9日。

The reconstruction in Yan-Liu Village ,Taiping Township of Mao County is a special project. Adopting the design concept of Taiwanese architect Hsieh Ying-jun, the housing was constructed with light-steel frame to ensures the high capacity of earthquake resistance while preserving the Qiang architectural characteristics to a certain extent. This idea were well-accepted by the villagers. It is an eco-friendly and safe model of reconstruction.

结 语 Conclusion

汶川大地震加速羌族文化变迁，国家主导的灾后重建成为变迁的强大推力。在不同的地方，民居住房建设结果是不一样的，通常城镇好于农村，河谷地带的房屋明显优于半山和高半山的农房。羌族建筑类型在原有基础上呈现出多样化发展的趋势。建筑布局更为合理，外观风貌与内部结构呈现的是传统与现代化并存的局面。

The Wen-Chuan Earthquake accelerated the cultural changes of the Qiang, and the state-led reconstruction became a powerful thrust to these changes. The outcomes of the residential housing construction are different from place to place. Generally speaking, the housing in towns are better than in villages; the houses in valleys are much better than the farm houses in upper mountains. Based on the tradition, the types of Qiang architecture showed a tendency of diversification. Its building layout became more reasonable, its exterior and interior structure represent a coexisting of traditional and modern.