

行政院國家科學委員會專題研究計畫成果報告

美國當代原住民文學中的信仰與社群之再現
The Representation of Religious Belief and Community in
Contemporary Native American Literature

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一、中文摘要

自哥倫布發現新大陸，西方基督教傳教士進入美洲大陸，莫不以匡正美洲原住民「原始，落後，野蠻」信仰為神聖使命並以改造原住民傳統生活方式的救世姿態自居。在西方二元對立的思考架構下，原住民傳統信仰被視為邪靈的化身，當去之而後快。美洲原住民承受近五百年的被殖民窘境，面對文化屠殺式(cultural genocide)的政策，文化瀕臨滅絕。美國原住民傳統的宗教儀式如太陽之舞(Sun Dance)，鬼舞(Ghost Dance)，佩雅特宗教儀式(Peyote religion)都曾遭法令禁止舉行的命運。1960年代起的美國印第安運動(American Indian Movement)，喚醒美國各部族原住民的部族意識。回歸部族(homing)，重拾部族靈視(tribal vision)成為泛原住民部族的號召，還我土地，重返聖地(sacred land)，回復傳統宗教儀式活動，尋得部族信仰自由(religious freedom)則成為普遍的訴求，在宗教，文化上取得部族自治權更成為原住民共同爭取的政治目標。

面對百年來白人宗教文化的壓境，同化政策的威迫，英語寄宿學校教育的推行，美洲原住民，縱使被圈於保留區中也難敵白人文化及代表另一股意識形態的宗教信仰的侵入。當傳統部

族信仰與挾帶龐大殖民勢力的西方宗教相遇時，美國原住民為求其生存或文化的自保，各有其相應之道。在信仰一途上，有選擇維護傳統信仰者，有選擇背離放棄部族信仰與身份，皈依西方基督教者，亦有設法在夾縫中，求長補短，融合兩種信仰於一者。以宣揚傳統佩雅特宗教(peyotism)的美國印第安教會(American Indian Church)自基督教中吸取某些要義，融入原住民傳統信仰，即是一例。

宗教融合(religious syncretism)似乎表現原住民在文化互動過程中，為解決衝突與矛盾，以不斷調整，調適，形塑出能彰顯原住民傳統講求兼容並蓄精神的一種信仰方式。然而，宗教融合並非意味兩股信仰的水乳交融，或在面對內部殖民的歷史過程中，原住民信仰與西方殖民宗教間沒有歧異的存在。相反地，在面臨基督教霸權式的一神論，二元對立思想，及白人殖民政策的壓迫下，原住民為免於文化的根絕，將傳統信仰質素「偷渡」至基督教信仰中，也是保存傳統信仰的一種策略。

基督教的侵入對原住民傳統信仰及宇宙觀的所造成衝擊，在原住民的眼中是破壞性及毀滅性的。首先，原住民傳統非二元式的宇宙觀，重視萬物相乘的關係網絡觀，及其接受泛神(pantheon)

的信仰態度，因基督教的一神論而遭貶斥打壓。原住民傳統信仰中所重視的經由祖靈引導(spiritual guidance)追求靈視(vision quest)的靈性宗教經驗儀式亦因土地的喪失，祖靈的失落而日趨式微。原住民社群中更因族人選擇不同的立命安身信仰，產生信仰差異。歧見，誤解與衝突，因之滋生。信仰差異遂成為破壞原住民社群和諧的導火線之一(Weaver ix)。

在再現原住民社群中繁複的宗教信仰面向，各部族的原住民作家無不展現其關懷立場與部族視野。然而在再現過程中，混血原住民作家的跨文化，臨界門檻位置(liminal position)使其在再見的視野上表現出更為多面向，含混的態度。本計畫延伸從對寶拉·愛倫及席爾科之研究，擴大探查三位混血原住民作家作品中所種種與原住民社群信仰相關之議題。這包括：1930年代原住民作家麥可·鍊克(D'Arcy McNickle)之《被圍者》(The Surrounded)，1960年代奧克拉荷馬州奇歐瓦族(Kiowa)莫瑪戴(N.Scott Momaday)的《兩山之路》(The Way to Rainy Mountain)，《日昇之屋》以及1980年代厄翠琪(Louise Erdrich)的《愛情靈藥》(Love Medicine)，《蹤跡》(Tracks)，及賓果宮殿(The Bingo Palace)。論文中為加強對原住民文化背景之瞭解亦自當代原住民哲學宗教學者德洛利亞(Vine Deloria, Jr.)，及威佛(Jace Weaver)對原住民宗教運動之引介及研究著手，並輔以原住民人類學者吉爾(Gill)對原住民傳統信仰細部之解說，以掌握原住民作家作品中所引徵之與信仰，神話，心靈，儀式相關的符碼與觀念，期以確實瞭解美國原住民傳統宗教信仰之特色，並以之為基準探討原住民作家在呈現原住民社群面對西方宗教殖民時，是採取何種策略，以抗拒宗教同化及文化滅絕之威脅，以確保部族的自

主性(sovcreignty)與文化的傳承。

關鍵詞：儀式，部族靈視，佩雅特宗教，宗教融合，信仰衝突，神聖性

Abstract

Since their first contact with the indigenous people on North American continent, the Christian missionaries have set the goal to "civilize" what they subjectively judge to be savage indigenous people. Utilized as a colonization tool to subjugate the indigenous during colonization period, Christianity bore the stigma of being "an imperialist religion." Christianity, which is assumed to have exerted tremendous influences on the lives of Native Americans in the United States, is condemned to have produced more detrimental than beneficial effects on the development of Native American cultures.

Christianity, which is thought to ruthlessly impose its rational, monotheist beliefs on Native American community, compels the Native Americans to change, alter and give up their traditional beliefs and practices to a considerable extent. In face of forced assimilation, many Native Americans are compelled to make a choice for their religious orientation: whether to adhere to traditional belief or to convert to Christianity. To some Native Americans, conversion to Christianity is a strategic means adopted to aid their struggle for cultural survival. Syncretic mixing of Christianity elements and Native American religious elements is another strategy to preserve traditional belief, to minimize the potentially detrimental effect of religious colonization.

Because of the existence of diverging religious beliefs, Native American community is thereby sundered.

Communal tensions and misunderstanding which arise from belief difference "undermine the work of community organizing" (Weaver ix), decreasing the cohesiveness of community.

This research project examines the way in which Native American mixedblood writers represent the religious dimensions of Native American communities: their belief conflicts, and belief accommodation. This project study expands the research scope from works of Paula Gunn Allen and Leslie Silko to the works of three mixedblood writers: D'Arcy McNickle's *The Surrounded* (1936), N.Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* (1968), *The Way to Rainy Mountain* (1969) to Louise Erdrich's *Love Medicine: New and Expanded Version* (1993), *Tracks* (1988), *The Bingo Palace* (1994).

In order to catch the main gist of Native American traditional beliefs, the project looks into Native American religious studies by Vine Deloria, Jr. and Jace Weaver. It further goes into anthropological descriptions about traditional beliefs of Native American communities by Sam D. Gill. With fundamental cultural, religious and anthropological knowledge about Native American beliefs as background, the study examines the perspectives that these writers hold in their presentations of Native American community and religious beliefs.

Key words: ritual, tribal vision, religious syncretism, belief conflict

三、緣由與目的

堅定的信仰，對神祈不變的崇敬與依歸可以是個人或族群立基於世，安身立命的行為準則。對原住民部落而言，凝聚其社群部落的力量是祭師及其所舉

行的宗教信仰儀式。然而美國原住民在歷經歐美殖民統治，歐洲宗教侵入，使其傳統信仰儀式遭受質疑。原住民裔美國人在歷經強勢宗教壓境下，其在靈性追求上，是抗拒或認同。而當代原住民作家，位居保留區內外或邊緣，是如何再現其族裔徘徊於歐美宗教與族裔傳統信仰之間，是本研究企欲探討的問題。

四、成果自評

本研究對自宗教面向切入，企圖對當代原住民作品進行文化部分之瞭解。研究過程中雖然設法自社會宗教學者韋伯，涂爾幹等宗教研究著作著手，以希望對宗教研究有更清析的概念後，能應用於作品閱讀文本之分析，可惜文本虛構的再現(fictional representation)與文本以外之現實(reality)有其罅隙。宗教心理學的一些觀念反而成為可應用以分析文本中人物皈依西方宗教心理歷程的利器。應用佛洛伊德及克麗斯蒂娃的理論來分析原住民的宗教行為及心理，及與文化母體間的關係，是研究過程中的收穫。

本研究部分成果已以英文寫作 *Veil the Faith in Tribal Vision: Religion and Belief Conflict in Louise Erdrich's Love Medicine and Tracks* 積極尋找可發表之期刊。

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Veil the Faith in Tribal Visions:
Religion and Belief Conflicts in Louise Erdrich's
Love Medicine and *Tracks*

Chang Yueh-Chen

Was there any sense relying on a God whose ears was stopped? Just like the government? I says then, right off, maybe we got nothing but ourselves.

Louise Erdrich, *Love Medicine*, 237

I thought of faith. I thought to myself that faith could be called belief against the odds and whether or not there's any proof.

-- Louise Erdrich, *Love Medicine*, 245.

The quartets of Louise Erdrich's novels-- *Love Medicine* (1984), *The Beet Queen* (1986), *Tracks* (1988), and *The Bingo Palace* (1994) chronicles the cultural and spiritual changes of Chippewas in historic transition.¹ Religious and cultural dimensions of such novels as *Love Medicine* and *Tracks* have respectively drawn extensive discussions from critics. On one camp, Catherine Rainwater argues that the fundamental conflicts in *Love Medicine* arise from the conflicting codes between Western religious systems and Native spiritual belief. Similarly, Karen Janet McKinney notes that *Love Medicine* depicts the "cultural schizophrenia" caused by "clash between the Catholic dogma of the miracle and the native belief in personal vision" (152-153). On the other camp, some scholars endeavor to demonstrate that underlying Erdrich's depiction of seemingly incompatible cultural contradictions and collisions is Erdrich's attempt to seek spiritual balance or religious syncretism. Kalar Sanders, for example, maintains that Erdrich's characters in *Love Medicine* are engaged in a search for "healthy balance", despite the fact that they are surrounded and trapped by different forces (129). And Susan Stanford Friedman insists that Erdrich's task in *Tracks* is to blend "two opposing realities," to seek religious

¹ Spanning three generations of Native American and European immigrant families, these novels tell interlocking, inter-generational stories of four families: the Kashpaws, the Morrisseys, the Lamartines, and the Lazarres.. *Love Medicine*, the first novel of this tetralogy, initiates the telling of this family saga. Some of the characters that show up in *Love Medicine* reappear in the other three novels. The family history spans from the time of 1910s in *Tracks* to 1980s in *Love Medicine*.

syncretism other than identity for her characters (127).

In her perceptive reading of Erdrich's *Tracks*, Friedman indicates that Fanonian interpretation, which centers on the polarity of colonization and decolonization process to highlight the identity politics of the novel, is insufficient to justify the "mixing" of peoples and religions that underlie the surface contestation. According to Friedman, contradictions in *Tracks* prevail where two contested forces battle over their supremacy. One is the force that struggles to claim native identity through the promotion of native spirituality, whereas the other force celebrates the hybridization of religions, embracing a more inclusive view of religious syncretism (108). While she strives to demonstrate the religious as well as political syncretism in Erdrich's novel, Friedman accurately pinpoints the ambivalence that Erdrich discloses in telling stories about her characters, particularly the female characters who oscillate between two worlds.

The cultural tensions derived from the conflicting belief systems between Catholicism and Chippewa traditional spiritual beliefs unquestionably constitute the central themes of Erdrich's works. In both *Love Medicine* and *Tracks* Erdrich's attempt to present the baffling cultural as well as belief clashes that engulf her characters is fairly palpable. The depiction of multiple contested forces at work, in fact, renders the communal life and people in Erdrich's novels lively, vivacious and dynamic. In a sense, Erdrich's multidimensional characterization defies stereotypical representations of Native Americans, leading readers to have a real glimpse of a Native American community sundered by the diverging religious as well as cultural beliefs. "Traditional religions, Christianity, and syncretic movements," Jace Weaver maintains, "have created in American Indian communities a religious pluralism that produces communal tensions and misunderstandings that undermine the work of community organizing" (ix). Indeed, the communal tensions and misunderstandings that spring from the divergence of religious beliefs among natives not only disturb the peace of the community but disrupt the solidarity among its members. The split of the Native American community, also as Weaver argues, is attributable to the destruction of traditional notion of culture and the construction of social structure "incompatible with traditional society" after European colonialism (20). Erdrich's presentation apparently reflects Weaver's observation about Native American community to a certain degree.

But another factor that should not be overlooked in our examination of Erdrich's perception and representation of Chippewa community is perhaps her mixedblood status. Of German and Chippewa ancestry, Erdrich is well educated in mainstream white America. But she bears strong resemblance with the other Native American writers-- Leslie Marmon Silko and Scott N. Momaday, for instance-- in that she also shows preference to portray the peripheral existence of the mixedbloods and the struggle of her community people. She tends to set her characters in the reservation as well as off-reservation surroundings in order to unveil the contradictions extant in two worlds. But commented by Robert Silberman as "a worldly author" who seems to be