



Sight and Insight

—— Life in Lijiang, Baidi, and Yongning
Ulli Steltzer



我眼中和心中的形象

——生活在丽江、白地、永宁的人们

乌利·斯特尔兹 著 娄 蔓 安 利 译



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序

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在中国云南、四川和西藏三省区毗邻的金沙江、澜沧江流域,在海拔5596米的玉龙大雪山下,有一个“纳西古王国”,这个古国的主体居民是纳西族,以及彝、藏、普米族等民族。纳西人分布在云南省丽江、宁蒗、永胜、中甸、德钦、鹤庆、剑川、兰坪、贡山,四川省的盐源、盐边、木里、巴塘以及西藏自治区的察隅、芒康等县,居住区大约在东经98.5—102度、北纬26.5—30度之间。纳西人所居住的区域平均海拔为2700米,境内多大山深谷,如玉龙雪山、哈巴雪山、白马雪山、贡嘎岭、虎跳峡等是闻名遐迩的名山大峡,是充满神秘气息的旅游探险之地。

绝大多数纳西人自称“纳西”(naxi),有一部分自称“纳恒”(nani)、“纳罕”(nahai)。“纳”(na),在汉古文献中则称为“麽些”(读mo-so)、“摩沙”、“摩梭”等。1954年,经中华人民共和国国务院批准,统一称为纳西族^①。据1990年中国第四次人口普查,纳西族总人口为278009人,其中以滇西北的丽江市为最大的集聚区,当地的纳西族有184894人,占纳西族总人口的66%。

纳西语属于汉藏语系藏缅语族彝语支(近来有的语言学家又认为纳西族语言处于羌语支和彝语支分界点上,与这两种语言都密切相关),划分为以丽江坝区为代表的西部方言和宁蒗县永宁为代表的东部方言。

纳西族有本族宗教祭司——“东巴”用来书写经书的两种古老文字,一种是图画象形文字,纳西语称之为“斯究鲁究”(serjelvjje),意思是“木石上的痕迹”(又译为“木石之标记”或“木石之记录”)。从文字形态看,东巴象形文是一种正从图画字向象形字过渡的文字,由于至今还有祭司东巴能识读和运用这种文字,因此被国际上一些学者称为“世界上惟一保留完整的活着的象形文字”。另一种文字叫“哥巴”(ggeqbbaq),它是一种表词文字(Phonetic script),当文字记录语言时严格保持字和词相对应。一个字代表一个音节。

较多的学者认为纳西族渊源于远古时期居住在中国西北甘肃、青海的河(黄河)、湟(湟水)地带的古羌人(ancient Qiang People),约从春秋战国(公元前770—221年)时起,陆续迁徙到现在所居住的区域。但随着纳西族分布地区各种考古实物的不断发现,一些学者提出了纳西族是南迁的古羌人与土著融合而形成的观点。

在古代,丽江纳西族曾有“梅”、“禾”、“束”、“尤”4个氏族,东部方言区的纳西族多数属纳西古氏族“梅”、“禾”两支后裔,西部方言区的纳西族多数属纳西古氏族“束”、“尤”两支后裔。在丽江、维西等地的纳西族中,家族之上的氏族组织早已消

失。

纳西族中的家族组织很普遍,家族由几户至若干户共尊一个始祖的血缘亲属组成。在丽江、维西、中甸等实行一夫一妻制的纳西族地区,家族“崇窝”(co-o)依照父系血统而组成。结婚一般都要经过订亲、请新娘、举行婚礼的程序。同姓不同宗的人可以通婚,但同一“崇窝”之间禁止通婚。

泸沽湖地区纳人(naq)(即如今普遍所称的“摩梭”)的亲族组织保持着比较古老的特征,他们有母系家族组织“斯日”,后来母系家族逐渐分裂演变为母系家庭。到二十世纪50年代前,“斯日”内部各家之间的经济联系已经不多。纳人(摩梭)把母系氏族叫做“尔”,直至二十世纪60年代,永宁纳人的绝大多数家户还能说出自己分别属于“西”、“牙”、“胡”、“俄”4个古氏族。

泸沽湖地区的纳人(摩梭)中同时存在着母系家庭、母系父系并存家庭和父系家庭3种形式,但母系家庭是主要的家庭形式。母系家庭所有成员的世系皆从母,男女成员系由一个或几个始祖母的后裔组成,母系血缘是维系家庭的基础,财产按母系继承,由母亲传给子女,舅传给甥和甥女。男子在家中的身份是舅祖、舅舅、兄弟、母亲的儿子或舅舅的外甥。每个母系家庭有一个家长,通常由年长或能干的妇女担任。舅掌礼仪、母掌财产是家庭权利和分工的形式。母系家庭的传统观念认为:女子是根种,缺了就断根。如果某个家庭一旦没有女继承人,便要过继养女或养子。

纳人(摩梭)与其母系家庭相应的婚姻形式是“阿夏”走访婚,“阿夏”在纳人语中意为“情侣”。“阿夏”婚的基本形式是男不娶女不嫁,相恋钟情者互相送信物定情。情侣双方都终身生活在母亲家里,男子在夜间到情侣家过偶居生活,次日黎明即返回自己的母亲家里。男女缔结“阿夏”关系要遵守传统习俗,只有不属于同一母系血缘的成年男女才能建立这种关系,“阿夏”所生的子女随母,血统也依母系计算。

纳西族有自己的本土宗教(indigenous Religion),祭司的自称是“本补”(biubug)或“本”(bu)——“本”有祭祀、诵经之意,民间称之为“东巴”,“东巴”意为“智者”、“老师”。因祭司被称为“东巴”,因此纳西本土宗教被称为东巴教。在纳西东部方言区,对本土宗教祭司称为“达巴”。达巴无象形文字经书,但口诵经很多。

东巴教源于纳西族古代巫教(Shamanism),后来逐渐吸收了藏族的苯教(Bon)、藏传佛教等的一些内容,形成了一种独具特色的民族宗教。它有严密复杂的祭仪系统,庞大的鬼神体系,与各种仪式配套的象形文经书。泛灵信仰、自然崇拜、祖先崇

拜、生命崇拜、重占卜、强调人与自然的和谐关系是东巴教的主要特征。东巴经中说,人类与大自然是兄弟俩,如果人与自然相互依存的和谐关系遭到破坏,就会引来灾难。因此,纳西族民间有很多保护自然生态的习惯法,以此规范制约着人们对待自然界的行爲。东巴教的主要仪式“祭署”的主旨即是阐释人与自然之间相依互存的关系。祭司东巴熟谙纳西民情风俗、能歌舞、善书画,他们用自制的竹笔所写下的图画象形文古籍,中国学术界称之为“东巴经”,在西方国家一般称为Naxi Manuscripts(纳西手写本)。其内容包括宗教、历史、民俗、文学艺术、医学、天文、历法、地理、动植物、生产知识等,留存至今者多达1400种、20000多卷,分别收藏于丽江、昆明、南京、北京、台湾和美、德、英、法、意大利等国的博物馆和图书馆中。东巴经堪称纳西族古代百科全书。

纳西人还信仰汉传佛教、藏传佛教和道教。公元14~15世纪,纳西族木氏土司(Headman Family Mu)在云南、四川纳西族和藏族地区大力弘扬藏传佛教噶玛噶举教派(白教),建了很多寺庙,如著名的“滇西十三大寺”。如今在丽江还有属于该教派的指云、玉峰、文峰、普济、福国5大寺庙。在16世纪的明万历年间,木氏土司还主持刻印了著名的藏文《大藏经》,史称丽江版《甘珠尔》,这是在藏区正式第一次雕版的《大藏经》。永宁的纳人(摩梭)普遍信仰藏传佛教的格鲁巴教派(黄教),在公元1556年建立了著名的黄教扎美戈寺。道教传入纳西族地区后,产生了道教组织洞经会和皇经会,后来不少洞经会和皇经会逐渐演变为民间群众性的音乐娱乐组织,很多普通民众也成为洞经和皇经乐会的成员。演奏洞经音乐成为纳西族民间一种普遍的文娱活动。

纳西族对诸种宗教文化兼收并蓄的开放精神不仅促进了社会和经济的发展,也促成了艺术的繁荣。一些体现多元文化融合的艺术杰作由此产生,如著名的丽江白沙壁画即是明代丽江纳西族社会大开放的产物。白沙壁画最为突出的特点是表现在题材上的多种宗教和同种宗教中的各种教派内容相互融合并存,以及多民族的绘画技法揉为一体的现象。该壁画把汉传佛教、藏传佛教、道教的神佛绘于同一幅画中,突出地反映了纳西族在历史上善于吸纳多元的异民族文化,不偏执于一种宗教文化的特点。

著名的“丽江古乐”也是多元文化相融汇的艺术结晶。“丽江古乐”由“白沙细乐”和丽江洞经音乐、皇经音乐组成(“白沙细乐”今已濒于消亡,皇经音乐今已失传)自二十世纪40年代以来,很多音乐史家对“白沙细乐”这套组曲进行了研究,认为它是我国屈指可数的几部大型古典管弦乐之一,除

历史悠久之外,其珍贵之处还在于它是丝竹合奏,分章节(尚存八首歌、舞、乐结合而成的套曲),其旋律与“和声”的独特是中国所仅见的,被誉为“活”的音乐化石。“丽江洞经音乐”是区别于中国各地道教音乐体系的艺术珍品。其所以珍贵,是因该乐还保留了一部分在中原早已失传了的辞、曲音乐,如唐代的《浪淘沙》、《紫微八卦舞(曲)》,元代的“北曲”等。近几年,丽江古乐越来越受到国内外旅游者和专家学者的欢迎,多次到北京、昆明等地演出;1995年和1997年,丽江大研古乐队应邀在英国、香港演出;1998年,该乐队应挪威国王之邀赴挪威演出。此后,又分别赴意大利、英国、德国、美国、瑞士等国演出。

性别是纳西族家庭劳动分工的基础,纳西男子主要从事劳动强度较大的犁田、挖田、耙地、播种、砍木料、劈石头、狩猎、砍柴、到高山放牛、制作农具以及皮革和铜器等传统工艺品、赶马运输,外出经商等;女子从事栽秧、砍柴、拉松毛、薅锄、收割、放羊、放猪、舂米磨面、做传统食品、到集市上出售生产品等。在城区,开铺子和摆摊做生意的多是妇女。纳西族妇女以勇敢、吃苦耐劳、不怕死而著称。从纳西族的传统来看,妇女的社会地位是比较高的,纳西族民间最大的节日“祭天”是祭纳西族女始祖的父母亲和舅舅(相传他们都是天神)。古代重女性、重母性的文化特征也反映在纳西语中,如纳西语中以“女”为大,以“男”为小,以“母”为大,以“子”为小。如祖房、大房称为“女房”、“母房”,小房称为“男房”、“子房”,一切大的东西多以“女”、“母”为词头。在一些固定词组中,女性在前,男性在后,如夫妻称为“尼奴阿改汝”(ninvegaissce),妻“尼奴”(ninu)在前,夫“阿改汝”(egaissce)在后。纳西族十分崇拜女神,相传东巴教神圣的占卜书是从盘祖萨美女神那里求来的,永宁纳人(摩梭)每年都有祭拜女神的节日。从古至今,纳西族妇女能调解部落、村寨、家族、邻里之间的纷争和矛盾。纳西族妇女的服饰——羊皮披肩背面缀有七块五彩丝线绣成的圆盘,象征日月星辰,其中寓有她们披星戴月地辛勤劳作的含义。二十世纪40年代留居丽江8年的俄裔作家顾彼德(Goullart, P.)在他所写的《被遗忘的王国》(Forgotten Kingdom)中这样写纳西妇女:“她们是家庭的智囊,是家庭繁荣昌盛的依赖。与一个纳西女子结婚就相当于有了人生的保险,使人可以闲适舒服地度过余生。”(“They were the brains of the family and the only foundation of prosperity in the household. To marry a Naxhi woman was to acquire a life insurance, and the ability to be idle for the rest of one's days.”)

纳西男人豪放爽朗而沉毅笃厚，过去是以强悍善战、勇猛无畏而著称的武士，后来有很多男子迷上文学艺术，喜欢养花，汉文书法、绘画，演奏音乐等。很多纳西人的庭院像个小花园，堂屋里多挂书法绘画作品，很多偏僻的山村里也不乏饱学之士。过去丽江每个乡村、城中的每条街道都有民众自发组织的古乐队，在繁忙的劳作之余吹拉弹唱，自得其乐。现在丽江城乡各地仍有十多个纳西古乐队，业余参加古乐队自娱的纳西人有教师、职员、大学生、工人、农民、商贩、屠夫等。由于纳西族有如此丰富的传统文化和很多温文儒雅的读书人，纳西族被很多人誉为“文化的民族”。此外，不少纳西男子是出色的工匠，他们生产的铜器和皮革制品远近有名。

公元1723年（清朝雍正元年），清朝政府在中国西南少数民族地区实行“改土归流”，实施“以夏变夷”的政策，封建政权向丽江纳西族社会全面灌输“三纲五常”的观念，强制性地改革纳西族的风俗，强化包办婚姻，纳西妇女被“三从四德”的封建礼教所羁绊。在丽江，各种带有极浓的封建色彩的重男轻女习俗不断形成，妇女受到重重压迫。

由于外来封建礼教文化、政治体制与纳西本土文化之间的激烈冲突等多种原因，在二十世纪50年代以前，无以数计的纳西情侣少则一对，多则数对乃至十对地为爱情、为反抗封建包办婚姻而殉情。他（她）们雍容盛装，在可以见到玉龙雪山的草深林密、风景优美之处，唱一曲悲风泣雨的殉情长歌“游悲”，含笑赴死。这种历史性的爱情大悲剧使丽江蒙上了“世界殉情之都”的凄婉哀伤之名，并酝酿出一个爱情乌托邦灵界（spiritual paradise）——“玉龙第三国”，相传它就在那座被纳西人视为神山，至今尚未被人类征服的玉龙大雪山山上。他们相信那里是“白鹿当耕牛，红虎当坐骑，獐子当家狗，野鸡当晨鸡；青草当床铺，白云做被盖；晨雾为纱帐，日月做明灯，爱情无羁绊，青春永不逝；没有苦和痛，没有愁和泪”的大自然乐园。我从多年的调查中得知，在过去所有有殉情悲剧发生的地区，女性殉情者都远远多于男性。女子比男子更倾向于殉情，殉情的决心也比男子更为坚定，这是因为孔孟封建礼教对妇女的压迫比男性深重的原因，同时，也与纳西族妇女“勇敢而不畏死”的传统精神有关。

中国历史文化名城——丽江大研古城地处极远的滇西边地，过去是纳西古王国的首府，著名的滇藏贸易“茶马古道”的要塞，城中的绝大多数居民是纳西人。该城典型地反映了纳西人博采众长而形成的高超的建筑艺术，是中国建筑史上的一个奇观。古城座落在玉龙雪山下海拔2400米的高原台地上，始建于宋末元初（一说古城已形成于唐代，即当时

的“三戣城”），总面积3.8平方公里。四方街是古城中心，4条干道呈经络状向四周延伸。道路随水溪的曲直而修建，房屋就地势的高低而组合。“城依水存，水随城在”是古城的一大特色。位于城北的黑龙潭为古城主要水源，潭水由北向南蜿蜒而下，至双石桥处被分为东、中、西3条支流，各支流再分为无数溪流，穿街过巷，入墙绕户，形成主街傍河、小巷临水，跨水筑楼，家家流水，户户垂杨的景象。四方街西侧的西河上设有活动闸门，居民利用西河与东河的高差冲洗街面。众多大小水流之上，造型各异的古老石桥、木桥多达350多座，使大研古城的桥梁密度居中国之冠。古城的街巷全部用红色角砾岩石（此种石头因雨后呈现色彩斑斓的5种颜色，民间称为五花石）铺成，有晴不扬尘，雨不积水的优点。丽江古城是一个活生生的城，而不是那种历史博物馆式的死城。它在中国是惟一一个居民以少数民族占大多数的历史文化名城，数万普通的纳西人每天休养生息其中，满目可见浓厚的民风民俗。1997年，经联合国世界文化遗产评委会评审通过，丽江大研古城列入“世界文化遗产名录”。

随着时代的发展，在现代化和城市文化的浪潮冲击下，纳西人的故土和文化也在发生变迁，本土传统文化在衰落，他们需要得到外界更多朋友的理解、帮助和支持，使“云之南”这个美丽古老的雪国能可持续地发展和繁荣。我的加拿大朋友，摄影家乌利博士不顾年迈体衰，多次深入到丽江、永宁纳西人地区，用她独到的慧眼和艺术表现力拍摄了许多朴素、真实而动人的纳西人形象，我愿五洲四海的朋友们能从乌利的摄影作品中领略到当代纳西民众平和、宁静而纯朴的音容笑貌，在您有余暇之时，到这个美丽的“古代王国”来欣赏太白山雪、高山、大江和纳西人千百年的悲欢故事，来和纳西人交朋友。

（作者系云南省社会科学院副院长、研究员、博士）

2001年12月31日

①丽江等地的纳西与永宁等地的纳人是同源异流的一个民族，国务院在1954年将该族名称统一为“纳西族”。目前，宁蒗彝族自治县在自治条例中把摩梭（纳人）列为一个待识别的民族。本序言按目前国家统一的民族识别结论和对内对外宣传的惯例，将丽江等地的纳西人和永宁等地的纳人（摩梭）统一在纳西族中来论述。

Introduction

by Yang Fuquan

The ancient "Naxi Kingdom" is situated at the intersection of Yunnan, Sichuan, and Tibet, and area with an average elevation of 2700 meters, richly endowed with high snow-capped mountains, big rivers, and deep gorges. Most of its residents are of the Naxi nationality.

Old Chinese literature refers to the people of this kingdom as "Mo-so," "Mo-sha," or "Mo-suo." Today, however, most of their descendants call themselves "Naxi" (pinyin romanisation), though some call themselves "Naxi," "Nahai," or "Na." According to the 1990 national census, the Naxi nationality has a population of 278,009, with 66% living in Lijiang County, the largest single region inhabited by the Naxi. The Naxi language, which belongs to the Sino-Tibetan language family, is divided into the western dialect, represented by the Naxi in the Lijiang Ba area, and the eastern dialect, represented by the Na (Mosuo) in the Yongning area, in Ninglang County.

Dayan town, the historic center of today's Lijiang city, is often referred to as the "Old Town." It was the capital of the ancient Naxi kingdom, a fortress on the Yunnan-Tibet "Old Tea Trade Route." The town, which covers an area of 3.8 square kilometers at the foot of the Jade Dragon Snow Mountain, was built around the end of the 12th century, between the late Song and early Yuan Dynasties. Reviewed and approved by the United Nations World Cultural Heritage Committee in 1997, Lijiang Dayan is now listed as a "world cultural heritage site."

Lijiang is the only city in China where the majority population is an ethnic minority. Living here are tens of thousands of Naxi, whose habits and customs can be seen everywhere. The Black Dragon Pond, in the north, is the main water source. The water flows from north to south, divided into three tributaries, each tributary further divided into numerous streams moving through the town. Crossing the water are over 350 old stone bridges of various sizes and styles. The West river has a floodgate. The residents use the water level difference between the West and the East river to wash the streets, which are paved with large "five-blossom stones."

Traditionally, Naxi women are considered as brave, hardworking, undaunted by difficulties, and fearless of death. In the Naxi tradition, women have been given a higher social status than men. The greatest festival for the Naxi is the worship of heaven, which really means to worship the parents and brothers of a female ancestor. This old culture of looking up to women is also reflected in the language. For example, "big" is referred to as female or motherly, and "small" as male or of the son. In an ancestral house, big rooms are called female rooms and small rooms are called male rooms. In Naxi set phrases, the female element precedes the male element: a husband and wife is called "ninvegaissie" with "ninv," wife,

preceding "egaissie," husband.

In the past as well as the present, Naxi women may resolve any conflict and disagreement between tribes, villages, families and neighbors. The outfit of Naxi women - a shawl made from sheepskin and decorated with seven disks embroidered with five color silk symbolizing the sun, the moon and the stars - suggests that they work from morning till night. A Russian writer, Peter Goulart, who lived in Lijiang for eight years in the 1940's, wrote in his "Forgotten Kingdom" of the Naxi women: They were the brains of the family and the only foundation for prosperity in the household. To marry a Naxi woman was to acquire life insurance, and the ability to be idle for the rest of one's days.

Naxi men are traditionally considered unconstrained and candid, steady and resolute, sincere and magnanimous. In the past, they were fearless warriors, full of valour and vigour. Later on, many became fascinated by literature, the art of growing flowers, Chinese calligraphy, drawing, painting and playing music. In old times, every village and every street in Lijiang communities had its own self-organized band whose members entertained themselves and others after a day's work by playing Naxi classical music. There are still over ten bands of this kind in Lijiang and surrounding villages. The band members include teachers, office workers, university students, farmers, business vendors, and even butchers.

Among the Naxi, the extended family is predominant, consisting of several blood-related households that worship a common ancestor. In Lijiang, the family form of "co-o" is based on the father's blood lineage. "co-o" is an old Naxi word, "co" meaning "people" and "o" "bones," which roughly translates to "root-bone" and refers to several branches of descendants of a common ancestor. Naxi people regard the father's side of the family as "bones" and the mother's side of the family as "flesh."

In the Yongning and Lugu Lake areas, among the Na (Mosuo), there are three family types: patriarchal, matriarchal, and shared, with the matriarchal being the most popular. In that kind of family, all members are from the mother's side. Male or female, they are all descendants of one or several female ancestors. The blood relationship from the mother's side is the foundation of the family. Property is passed down from the mother's side: from the mother to her children, and from mother's brother to his sister's children.

A man's position in the family may be that of uncle, mother's brother, mother's cousin, son, or nephew. Every matriarchal family has a family head, an elderly or capable woman. The uncle takes charge of rituals; the mother takes care of finances. This is the normal form of distribution of rights and responsibilities in such families.

In a traditional matriarchal family, a young couple will not get married. Once in love, the man as well as the woman will continue to live in their own mothers' houses for life. The man will go to his lover's home for the night and return to his mother's home at dawn. This kind of relationship, often called a "walking marriage," is governed by old customs: only adult men and women from different blood families can be "lovers." Their children will live with the mother as part of their mother's blood family.

The Naxi nationality has its own indigenous religion. Their Shamans are referred to as "Dongba," which means "wise man" and "teacher." In Yongning, in the eastern dialect area, the Dongba is called "Ddaba." The Dongba religion originated from ancient Shamanism. It absorbed elements from the Tibetan Bon religion and Tibetan Buddhism to become a unique Naxi religion. It has a complex system of worshipping, a large assembly of gods and devils, and pictographic scriptures to go with each ceremony. The Dongba religion believes in harmonious relationships between humankind and nature, in pantheism and polytheism. It worships ancestry and life, and it emphasizes divination. Dongba scriptures say that man and nature are brothers. If their harmonious interdependence is damaged, disaster will follow. As a result, many Naxi customs are environmentally friendly.

Dongba shamans had a good knowledge of the Naxi people and their folk customs. They were accomplished at singing and dancing, painting and calligraphy. Their writing covers topics such as religion, history, folk customs, medicine, astronomy, the calendar, animals and plants, and production-related knowledge. Today more than 20,000 volumes of their pictographic writings may be found in libraries and museums around the world.

The Naxi have adopted an open attitude toward various religions and cultures. This has not only promoted social and economic development, but also the flourishing of the arts. The Baisha Murals, which were created in the Ming Dynasty, reflect this multi-culturalism. They depict the gods of Han Buddhism, Tibetan Buddhism, and Taoism coexisting in harmony. Another example of multi-cultural integration is the "Lijiang Classical Music," composed of "Baishaxiyue," Lijiang Dongjing Music, and Huangjing Music.

In 1723, the first year in the reign of Emperor Yongzheng in the Qing Dynasty, the government started a policy in southwest minority regions to "remold the region into the Chinese mainstream." The Naxi were forced to change their customs and ways of life to allow for arranged marriages, which led in time to the serious oppression of women. As a result of severe conflicts within Naxi culture, countless Naxi lovers-sometimes a single couple, sometimes as many as ten or more-would commit lovers' suicide, to protest arranged

marriages. They would put on their best clothes, go to a beautiful place deep in the forest where they could see the Jade Dragon Snow Mountain, sing a last love song, and end their lives. This historic tragedy gave Lijiang the sad name of the "world capital for lovers' suicide".

It is believed that on that Jade Dragon Snow Mountain, there is a natural paradise where "white deer plough the fields, people ride on tigers, river deer are raised instead of dogs, pheasants sing in the morning, a person's bed is the soft green grass, bedcovers are the white clouds, curtains are the morning fog, and sun and moon are the only lamps. There are no restrictions on love, and youth lasts forever. There are no pain, no suffering, no tears and no sadness."

My Canadian friend, the photographer Ulli Steltzer, has come to Lijiang and Yongning four times, capturing many vivid images of Naxi and Mosuo people with her unique eye for artistic expression. From her pictures, I hope that people all around the world may have a taste of modern Naxi people's lovely timbre and happy countenance. When you have the time, please come to our beautiful "ancient kingdom." Come and make friends with the Naxi people

前言

乌利·斯特尔兹

在过去6年里,我很荣幸能和云南的纳西人和摩梭人认识交往。当我1995年到达丽江时,一年前这儿发生了破坏性的地震,我既不会说汉语也不会说纳西话,只能用有限的手语交流。1997年、1999年、2001年,我再次来到丽江,也访问了永宁的摩梭村子以及中甸县的白地,在两位出色的翻译协助下,在我视觉印象的基础上,我对纳西人和摩梭人才有了更深刻的了解。

我们采访了许多人,这本书的图片文字,来自他们的言语和对世界的深刻理解。

这项工作,如果没有我们采访过和拍摄过的对象的好客和协作是办不到的,我对他们表示真诚的感谢。

我感谢和感激中国和加拿大的朋友们,我的这个计划得到了他们的大力支持。

云南社会科学院的杨福泉教授鼓励我,并且为这本书写了序言,作为一个丽江的纳西人,他慷慨地与我分享了他的纳西文化学识。

加拿大西门,弗雷泽大学(Simon Fraser University)王建(Jian Walls)教授,促使我出席了1999年在丽江召开的国际东巴文化学术讨论会。他总是乐于帮助我做一些翻译工作,包括将杨福泉教授为这本书所写的序译成英文。

1995年,在北京外国语学院工作的商惠民(Sandra Sachs)女士说服我去丽江,她在那儿从事关于“工合”的研究工作。1997年,我们返回那儿在一起工作。我深深地感激她,她为我提供的许多资料,为我的许多采访当翻译。谢谢你!亲爱的商惠民(Sandra Sachs)

1999年,我将丽江东巴文化博物馆的赵秀云“借”出来两个星期,去摩梭人生活的永宁。她帮助我采访摩梭人,那些摩梭人和我一样地喜欢她。后来,她邀请我去参加她在白地举行的婚礼。

索纳米达娃(译音),Suonami Dawa 那么和蔼,文雅!他与我们分享他的爱和摩梭人的传统知识,并且给我们介绍了永宁周围的许多家庭。

李锡,丽江市东巴文化博物馆馆长,他总是对人很关切,总是及时地提供我所需要的任何东西,包括翻译,运输车辆等。他待我像一个优秀的纳西人待他的母亲一样好。最后,我要谢谢非常热心的李忠翔教授,云南美术家协会的理事,对我的工作感兴趣并关注。并且介绍我认识云南美术出版社总编彭晓先生。

Vancouver 2001年5月

Foreword and Acknowledgements

by Ulli Steltzer

Over the past six years, it has been my privilege and joy to become acquainted with the Naxi and Mosuo people of Yunnan. When speaking neither Chinese nor Naxi, I arrived in Lijiang in 1995, the year before the devastating earthquake. Communication was limited to sign language. In 1997, 1999, and 2001, I returned and also travelled to the Mosuo villages of Yongning as well as to Baidi, in Zhongdian County. With the help of two excellent interpreters, I was able to add a considerable measure of understanding to my visual impressions. We interviewed the many people whose words and insights form the text of this book.

This work would have been impossible without the cooperation and hospitality of the people we interviewed and photographed. I offer them sincere thanks.

I am grateful and obliged to several friends in China and Canada who went out of their way to support this project:

Professor Yang Fuquan of the Academy of Social Sciences in Kunming encouraged me and provided the introduction to this book. A native of Lijiang, he generously shared his knowledge of the Naxi culture.

Professor Jan Walls, of Simon Fraser University made it possible for me to attend the 1999 Dongba Conference in Lijiang. Always willing to help, he made several translations for me, including Professor Yang Fuquan's introduction to this book.

Sandra Sachs of the Beijing Foreign Studies

University persuaded me in 1995 to visit Lijiang, where she was involved with research on co-operatives. In 1997 we returned there to work together. I am indebted to her for much information and for translating many interviews. Thank you, dear Sandra!

Zhao Xiuyun is the translator for the Dongba Culture Museum in Lijiang. In 1999, I "borrowed" her for a two-week trip to Yongning's Mosuo people, who she interviewed and who loved her as much as I do. Later, she invited me to her wedding in Baidi.

Suonami Dawa, so kind and gentle! He shared with us his love and knowledge of Mosuo traditions and introduced us to many families in and around Yongning.

Li Xi, Director of the Dongba Culture Museum in Lijiang, always concerned, always aware, provided anything I needed, including interpreters and transportation. He treated me as a good Naxi treats his mother.

Finally, I thank the very kind Professor Li Zongxiang, Director of the China Artists Association, for his personal attention and interest in my work, and for introducing me to Peng Xiao, Chief Editor of the Yunnan Fine Arts Publishing House.

Vancouver, May, 2001

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Landscape and Architecture,
Lijiang County
丽江市的景观和建筑



1

1. 生长在海拔 2400 米的棕榈树，背景是玉龙雪山和宏文村。

1. Palm trees at an altitude of 2400 meters; in the background is the Jade Dragon Snow Mountain, Hongwen Village.

2. 流过丽江县的长江（金沙江）。

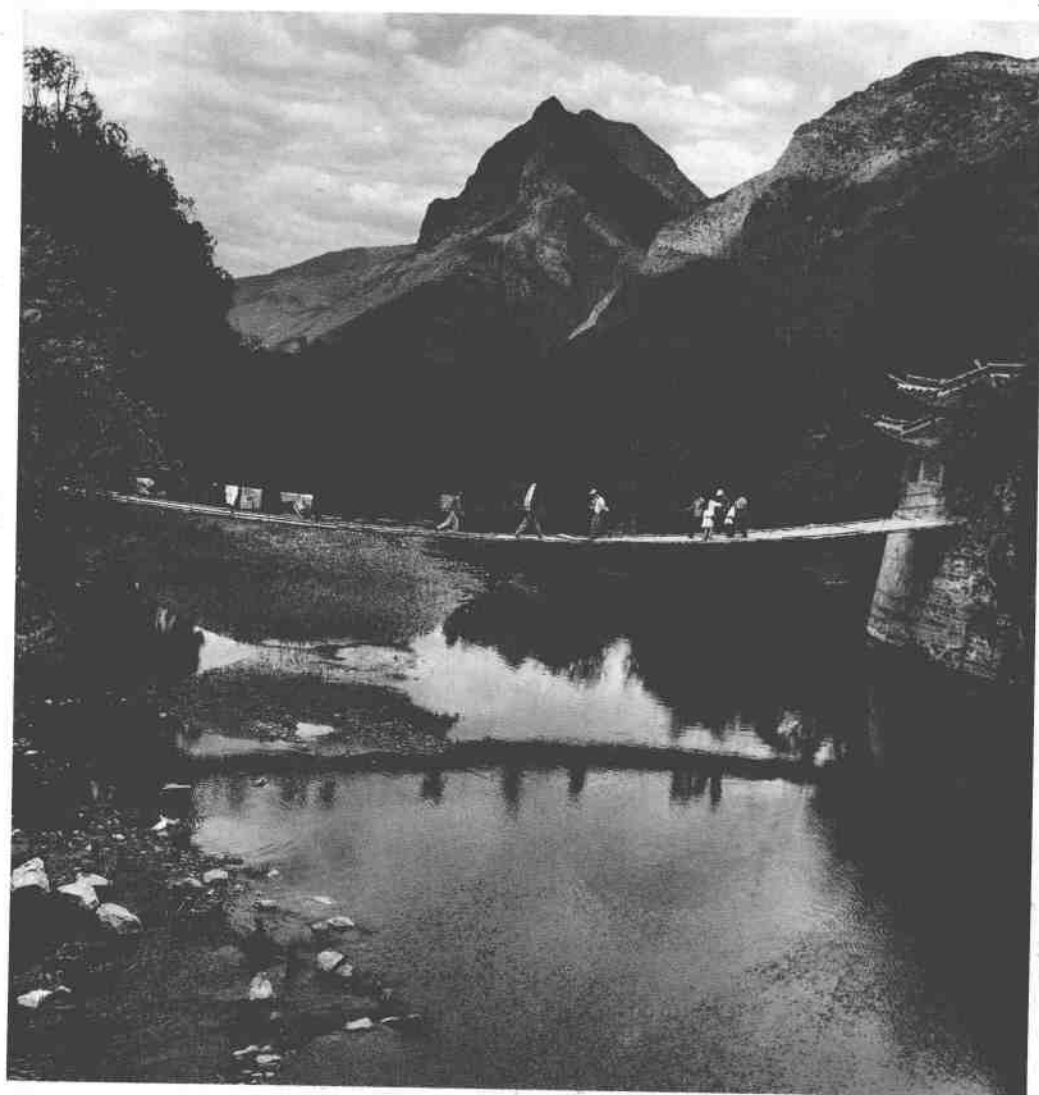
3. 丽江县石鼓镇的金沙江支流。

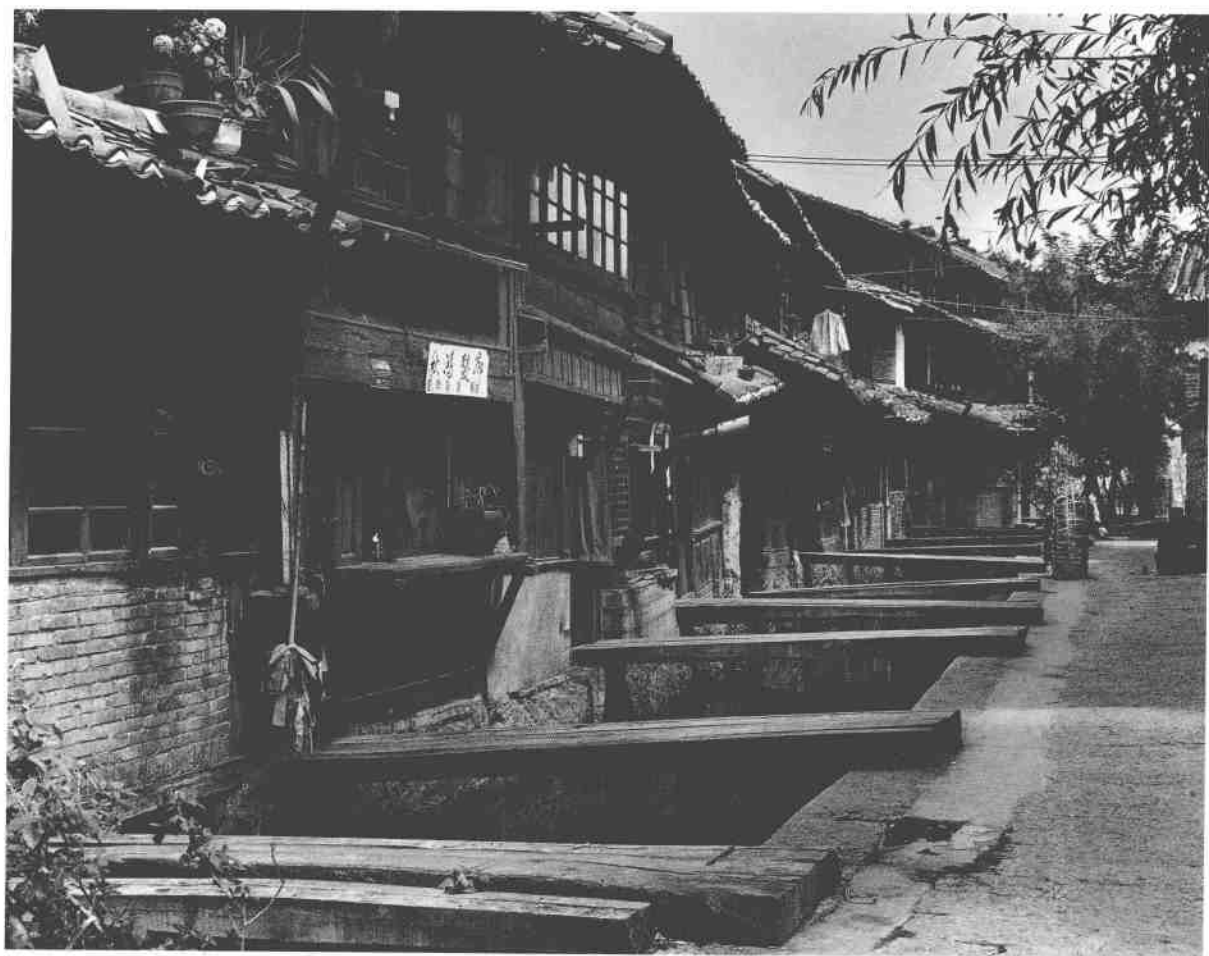
2. The Yangtze River in Lijiang County

3. A tributary of the Yangtze River in the
area of Shigu

2







4. 丽江古城。

5. 丽江古城里的古代石桥。

4. Lijiang Old Town

5. An ancient stone bridge in the Old
Town

