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以云南剑川西湖周边一镇四村为个案

◎张春继 著

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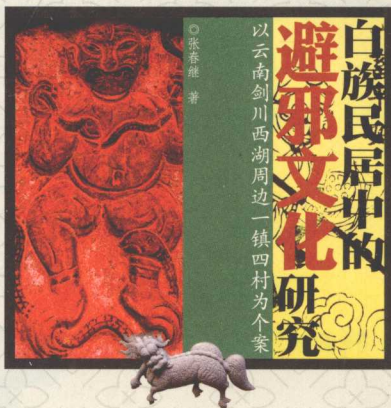
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从村落开始：避邪文化研究的有益尝试

春继的硕士毕业论文《白族民居中的避邪文化研究：以云南剑川西湖周边一镇四村为个案》要出版了，这是云南大学出版社为2009年在云南昆明召开第十六届人类学与民族学世界大会推出的有关云南民族文化研究丛书中的一本。

春继2007年在我院新建的文化遗产学系通过答辩，获得了非物质文化遗产与民间美术研究方向的硕士学位。这几年随着文化遗产学科的发展，教学中硕士毕业论文涉及边疆民族地区非物资文化和民间美术传统的研究多了起来。学术在田野考察的基础上不断拓展与丰富，同学们把新鲜而又独特的多民族文化信息和生活的清新带进了校院，也为学科发展带来许多新的挑战。生活的宽度与深度在深深影响着学科的生长与发展。

春继是白族人，他的毕业论文选择了其家乡剑川作为个案研究的区域，他的田野就是在故乡熟悉的村落中开始的。

“熟知非真知”，从小生活在剑川的春继对古村落里的文化细节充满了好奇也存留着许多神秘而又片断的记忆。长大读书后的春继中专和大学都是学的美术，他从剑川白族村落里走出来，成了一名画家和学校里的美术教师。他绘画的主题仍然会与剑川那曾经的生活记忆关联着。毕业论文写作时春继的心灵又一次回到了剑川，一个神秘而又令他着迷的剑川。

避邪文化在中国的乡村社会是很普遍的生存习俗，但问题的研究不能只停留在文化的普适性上，而要回到不同地域的具体生活情景中，具体族群文化认同的背景中去发现其文化的独特性和多样性，去发掘避邪文化具体的“地方感觉”。春继的田野调查正是从童年时的具体生活的村落中开始的。童年时的许多避邪物已经遗失了，他对仅存的避邪物进行了深入的调

查记录，并与保守着村中习俗秘密的风水师和年长者进行了。他梳理了西湖一镇四村避邪文化的基本物质分布形态，并对避邪物进行了简略分类，对其习俗功能和文化象征进行了内涵分析。应当说，当我们习惯了笼统论述避邪文化的风气后，春继从活态的具体村落来展示避邪文化，给人带来耳目一新的感觉，这是一个非常可贵的开始，对那些古老而又普遍的民俗主题的研究，又是一个十分有益的尝试。这种方法使问题的研究回到了真正的起点。

接下来的问题是把具体村落调查梳理出来的避邪物放到一个什么样的参照背景中去解析，又以什么样的原则和方法去发掘避邪物中隐藏着的文化记忆，这是十分复杂而又棘手的问题，目前民间美术研究的深入，正是在这个层面上长期徘徊着。

春继的论文把有形与无形的文化放在了一起进行观察研究，这是一种整体的文化生态观，但同时也使田野调查及论文写作面临新的挑战。这种完整的文化生态观要求有完整、严谨的田野调查，从空间上要有系统深入的调查和适合生态结构布局的细致陈述；在时间上要有调查物的年代分辨与物象分类，以及同一物象在活态流动的时间习俗中的不同功能等等。春继对避邪物的解释运用了图像的概念，图像解释对于民间美术研究来说，其意义首先有两方面：一是图像志的研究，主要分析图像的基本属性（是什么），以及源自哪里；二是图像学的分析，主要是关注象征学方面的问题。由此而来围绕着活态文化的村落，有关避邪图像的断代及产地以及制作技艺等。对这些有关物质形态的图像因素要进行准确、严密的调查分析。针对避邪物构成的生存空间的习俗功能和居住空间中的人的避邪文化认同心理的调查，口述调查在这里并不局限于避邪物及避邪习俗，同时更深入细致地发掘出个案区域内普通人的避邪生存

心理和相关的文化记忆，以及有着独特身份者如风水师、寺庙工匠，持有特殊习俗技能者关于避邪文化的理解和他们的文化记忆。生活的深度往往超出了我们通常的学术判断。

云南白族文化是多元的，剑川白族村落中的民族文化信仰同样包含着多元性，而村落中避邪图像中一些形象又包含着一个更久远的文化传统背景，需要我们对相关时代的美术考古资料以及相关文化研究有一定的熟知。春继的图像解释与分析在现有基础上还有待发展、深入，也可在多角度、多层面的文化比照思考中寻找更贴切的线索。作为白族艺术家的春继，对家乡、对白族的民间美术心存着一份热爱和责任。我相信，随着他以后不断的积累和深入的研究，我们将会看到他在白族民间美术研究方面取得更多的成果。

中央美术学院非物质文化遗产研究中心主任、教授

乔晓光

2008年6月2日于北京

Starting with a tribe: discovering exorcism

Zhang Chunji's graduate paper *Exorcism in Tribe Buidings of Bai: Research Based on One Town and Four Villages Located around Lake Xi, Jianchuan, Yunnan* will be published by Yunnan university press within days, and this book is chosen for the 16th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, which is held in Kunming, Yunnan in 2009.

Zhang Chunji graduated with master degree in culture heritage and folkloric art, which was a newly found department in 2007. Recently, study of cultural heritage becomes center of attention among scholars and the world, and more students also become actively involved in research on culture heritage and folkloric art of minorities in our institution. By discovering and collecting new factual evidences from their research, students bring them to our institution and our society, which hugely influence and challenge scholars and society.

Zhang Chunji is a member of tribe of Bai, and for his thesis of his graduate paper, he chose his tribe. He grew up in the tribe, where he could still remember some very interesting rituals from his childhood, which also puzzled him as well. He majored in art in both vocational school and university, and now he is an art teacher and also works as a painter. For his paintings, his tribe is always the theme of his works. Hence, when he began his thesis, he went back to his tribe, a charming and mystical place.

Exorcism is commonly practiced in countries in China. For his thesis, first, his research needs to find the origin of

practice of exorcism and how daily life actually embraces the practice of exorcism in order to demonstrate its uniqueness and versatility. Zhang Chunji started with his childhood in the tribe. Many of the objects that were used for practice of exorcism from the past were missing, but he still managed to accomplish substantial research on the remaining ones. He interviewed with the elders and Fengshui masters from the tribe, and he categorized and analyzed the objects for practice of exorcism, which he found in one town and four villages around Lake Xi. As a consequence, Zhang Chunji demonstrated the culture of exorcism with his very personal experience, and it is a great start to carry on more substantial and valuable research on this ancient yet common subject.

Next, it is important to understand how to use a particular object for practice of exorcism in a particular situation, and to discover the actual meaning of each object. This process is complicated and difficult, and as for research in folkloric art in China, many scholars are unable to progress at this stage.

Based on his careful observation of both cultural experience and physical objects, Zhang Chunji's thesis brought his research to a whole new level, a well-organized demonstration of a complete system of exorcism in culture of Bai. He explained the culture of exorcism by images. Images are crucial for research on folkloric art because first, it is important to understand what the images are, and where they are from. Also, by analyzing the images, one can understand what they stand for. Hence, based on the images, one is able to figure out the circumstances the images were created, craftsmanship

of the images, etc.. Last but not least, it is crucial to understand why people in the tribe psychologically accept the practice of exorcism, especially people, like Fengshui masters, craftsmen, exorcists, or any other kinds of practitioners of exorcism.

Culture of Bai is fascinating, yet mystical in many aspects, and culture of exorcism within Bai records the history of Bai. Zhang Chunji, as an artist of Bai, his passion for Bai and folkloric art in Bai would help him to discover and collect more valuable and significant information for study and research. I am certain that we will see great success from him in the future.

China Central Academy of Fine Arts

Cultural Heritage Research Center Chairman, Professor

Qiao Xiaoguang

June 2, 2008 Beijing

序 二

两年前的一个晚上，小友张春继到寒舍看我。那时，他将要从中央美术学院毕业，留着长发，束成独辫，面容白皙，谈吐儒雅，很有青年艺术家的模样。寒暄过后，他便拿出刚刚定稿的硕士学位论文让我提意见。我接过来看看标题，又浏览了一下主要内容，便感到十分惊异。我和张春继是同乡，认识多年，只知道他主要从事油画工作，曾经以家乡剑川民间绣花鞋为题材，画了一系列形象逼真、寓意深刻的作品，原以为其硕士学位论文也一定是讲绘画方面的，没想到竟是论述白族民间避邪文化，这怎能不令人惊诧呢？更使我大为惊异的是论文中搜集的关于白族民间避邪文化的资料，特别是一幅幅关于白族民间“偷鸡神”雕像的照片。张春继论文中一部分“偷鸡神”资料和图像是在我的家乡向湖村搜集的，而且就在我老家旧宅的左邻右舍墙壁上拍摄的。我在家乡生活了二十四年，对那里的一草一木、一砖一石都非常熟悉，但唯独没有注意过张春继论文中说到的那些“偷鸡神”雕像，当然也就说不上对“偷鸡神”雕像的文化或美学意义进行了研究了。据我所知，这种白族民间“偷鸡神”图像，不只我熟视无睹，其他白族文化研究者也似乎没有注意到，这当然不能不使我大为惊诧了，不仅为张春继的细心观察、独具慧眼而赞叹，也为他发现一种长期湮没无闻的白族民间文化而感到惊叹和兴奋。

完成研究生学业以后，张春继一直坚持研究白族民间避邪文化，在硕士论文的基础上，又两次回到其家乡剑川对白族民间避邪习俗进行了更为细致深入的田野调查，进一步获得了大量的第一手资料。除了“偷鸡神”图像以外，还搜集了种种避邪习俗资料，诸如撒灶灰、石灰，悬挂甑底、镜子、筛子、木炭，插放桦树枝、艾枝、柳枝、青刺枝、菖蒲、柏叶、桃弓、蒿枝，张贴弼马温像及各种甲马、符篆等等，同时也调查了这些避邪手段针对形形色色的精灵鬼怪、魑魅魍魉时各自

的功能，大大地充实了先前的硕士学位论文的内容，也使剑川白族民间避邪的相关习俗得到了较为全面的展示。对白族民间避邪习俗的种种情况，张春继不仅进行了文字上的调查整理和描述，而且还提供了几百幅清晰可观的照片，与文字资料相互印证，交相辉映。有的照片中的形象内涵十分丰富，能够引起人们多方面的联想与阐释，其意义大大超出了文字的说明与解释。这么多的照片的拍摄，如果没有执著的精神和敏锐的眼光，那是无法发现和完成的。就拿“偷鸡神”雕像来说，它体积不大，又高高地镶嵌在一些人家正屋后墙靠外一面的上部，距地面一般都在五米以上，要清楚地拍摄下来是很不容易的。据老乡说，为了拍摄这些雕像，张春继向老乡借来简陋的木梯，靠在墙上，颤颤巍巍，爬行而上，站在梯子顶部，一只手扶在土砖墙缝之间，一只手拍摄图像。虽然我不在现场，但完全可以想象得出，张春继当时是冒了怎样的危险！现在，张春继的书稿呈现在我们面前，一幅幅鲜活生动的照片，丰富的文字资料，使我们看到了一个青年画家对自己民族的民间文化，对艺术、对学术研究倾注了多么大的热情和精力。

当然，考察和研究白族民间避邪习俗与相关图像，张春继不是始创者。几十年来，一大批民间文化研究者都关注并且程度不同地研究了白族民间避邪物件和图像，对诸如佛塔顶上的大鹏金翅鸟（白族民间俗称“金鸡”）、甲马画、瓦当、瓦猫、镇宅狮、一些具有避邪性质的图案、镜子、太极八卦图等避邪物件和图像分别作了或多或少、或深或浅的分析和阐释。这些研究的指向几乎不约而同都最后落实在对白族文化和心理的阐释上。因为大家都知道，这些物件和图像虽然都是以艺术形象呈现在人们面前，但它们的功能却主要是避邪除害、驱恶祛病、求吉祈年的。这种借助于图像以驱邪避害的现象存在于所有民族的民间文化中，但由于生存环境和历史文化演变的不同以及集体无意识的差异，各个民族、各个地方的民众在选择哪些物件、形象作为避邪物并且赋予它们以怎样的意义时也就有了殊分。这些物件和图像，既有历史文化的既定，也有现实环境的影响。因此通过对一个民族民间避邪物件和图像的分析

研究，庶几可以窥见这个民族广大民众的精神世界，通过它们可以了解和认识这个民族的习俗、信仰状况和民间文化乃至整个文化的特质。这应当是许多学者在研究白族民间避邪物件和图像时重内涵挖掘、轻形式分析的主要原因。张春继虽是青年画家，但他的研究路数也和其他人没有什么不同，也是想从形象中分析文化内涵。虽然这样，张春继对白族民间避邪图像的研究还是表现了鲜明的品格和特点。

首先，田野调查较为全面且深入具体。张春继主要选择剑川的一镇（金华镇，即剑川古城）四村（朱柳村、龙门邑村、向前村、文华村）开展田野调查。这些村镇历史悠久，保留了大量的白族传统民间文化，对研究白族文化具有明显的典型意义。张春继生于斯，长于斯，对这里的一切耳濡目染，了然于胸，加上长期的反复调查，深度访谈，细心拍摄和写生，认真写作，应该说在张春继的研究成果中，剑川一镇四村民居的避邪图像确实得到了较为全面且深入的描述，包括名类繁复的各种避邪图像，这些图像的造型、工艺、空间位置与白族民居建筑的关系、功能作用等等，每一种物件和图像都被调查、描述得相当细致具体。据我所知，张春继是第一个对剑川一镇四村民居的避邪图像作了如此全面、细致、具体的调查与研究。

其次，在调查中有所发现。正如我在前文中所说到的，“偷鸡神”避邪图像就是张春继难能可贵的发现。

再次，提供了大量的实地考察和实物照片。有些照片中的物件和图像是不容易见到的，也许我孤陋寡闻，我觉得不少照片中的物件和图像在以前的相关研究成果中还未曾见到过。这些都对进一步研究白族民间避邪文化有重要的参考价值。

最后，对剑川白族民间的邪怪精灵和避邪图像进行了系统研究。在对剑川白族民间的各种邪怪精灵进行类型分析的基础上，张春继进一步对一镇四村的建筑和仪礼活动中使用的近四十种避邪图像进行了较为详细的研究，仔细分析了每一种避邪图像的使用方式、表现形式、营造方法、所占据的位置、主要的功能等等，并且作了一定的归类，列出图表。他的看法，

大多来自自己的观察、调查和思考，不依傍或屈从旁人的成见，主要从实地考察出发，有些解释和观点很有见地，对我们进一步研究白族避邪图像和习俗是有启发意义的。

应该指出，张春继的研究也有一些不足。对避邪图像的描述较多，深入透彻的分析有所不足。虽然可以立足于自己的田野调查和思考，但对学术界相关研究成果仍然可以作一些交代，这样可以增加书稿的学术含量，也可以凸显自己所作的工作和贡献。在分析图像时，如能发挥自己的美术专长，加大对图像的形式与美学的分析，从而导向文化分析，书稿就会更精彩。一些观点还有值得商榷之处，如上房梁抛撒硬币、馒头等物是否即为避邪等。

虽然如此，张春继的这本书仍然是一部有价值的学术著作，对于我们进一步研究白族民间避邪习俗和图像，从而进一步研究整个白族民间文化都有着明显的参考价值。看到这本书稿，使我感到特别高兴的是，作者张春继是这样的年轻，充满激情和才气，充满着对家乡的爱，充满着学术创造的抱负和干劲。我相信，他在白族避邪习俗和图像的研究方面将会有更多的成就。确实，像张春继所说的，白族避邪图像不是其避邪文化的全部，避邪文化是一个结合多种因素和多种事物的综合性体系，它与其他白族文化一样，还有许多问题和研究空间等待我们去探索，去解释。我们希望张春继，也希望有更多像张春继一样的青年学者在白族文化的研究道路上不断开拓，进一步提高白族文化的整体研究水平。

段炳昌

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Two years ago, a dear friend of mine, Zhang Chunji, came to see me in my apartment. At that time, he was going to graduate from Chinese Art Institute, so he was showing me his thesis for graduation. After I briefly read through it, I was surprised by the content of his thesis.

We come from the same place. We know each other for years. I know he does oil paintings and he paints a series of traditional Chinese embroidery shoes, and he is good at it, so I expected that he was going to talk about anything of art for his paper. So when I found out he would talk about exorcism in Bai, I was amazed. I was especially thrilled when I saw pictures of the Hen-stealing Goddess from his collection. The pictures and the information he gathered are from my hometown, and the pictures of the goddess were actually taken from the walls in my neighborhood. I lived in my hometown for twenty-four years, and I am familiar with everything in the town, from any types of the flower to the brick in the house, but the funny thing is that I have never paid enough attention to the goddess he took from the wall, and lots of researchers who study the culture of Bai, it seems like they never talk about this particular goddess, either. I am very thrilled by Zhang Chunji's close observation and rediscovery of the culture of Bai that was neglected for years.

After graduate school, Zhang Chunji continued his research on exorcism in the culture of Bai. He went back to Jianchuan twice to collect more information about exorcism. In addition to the picture of the Hen-stealing Goddess, he provides images and information of tools that are used in the

practice of exorcism, such as brushes, carbon, mirrors, branches of willow trees, etc. Also, he has done exclusive research on different goblins and spirits, goddesses and demons, and the spells to control or vanish the demons. He puts together the information from these two trips with detailed description to each object. And as a result, he is able to show more complete and dimensional practice of exorcism in Bai. Zhang Chunji provides more than one hundred pictures of the signs, tools and sculptures that are used in practice of exorcism from these two trips, but it is not as easy as you think to gather the information of each one of them. For instance, the Hen-Stealing Goddess is usually engraved in the wall where is at least 5m above the ground. I was told by my neighbor that when Zhang Chunji tried to take pictures of the goddess, he climbed up the ladder with one hand holding the camera, and the other hand tightly holding on to the bricks in the wall. I was not there when he took the picture, but I can imagine how tough it must be. And I believe only someone who is truly passionate about his culture, is capable of overcoming difficulties to do the job, and Zhang Chunji is one of them with no doubt.

For years, many scholars have studied exorcism in culture of Bai. They have discovered and interpreted many signs and symbols, which are used in the practice of exorcism, for instance, the golden bird (often referred by Bai as the golden chicken) on the top of the pagoda, the cat on the roof, the lion that guards the home, the symbol of yin and yang, etc. In order to explain what they are and why the way they are, the scholars all conclude that it has to do with the culture of Bai and the people of Bai since the symbols and signs are used by the people of Bai to pray for fortune and rid of the evil. Many cultures adopt and adapt the practice of exorcism, but because of different ethnic, social and historical backgrounds, people from

different culture choose the symbols and the signs differently. So by studying the signs and symbols, scholars can then understand the logic of choosing the symbols for what they stand for, which would lead to understand the culture behind it. Many scholars choose this way to study for a different culture. Zhang Chunji also wants to understand and discover the culture of Bai, but his approach is different from the others.

First, Zhang Chunji did not write his paper by staying home and reading books. He went to the town of Jinhua and four villages of Zhuliu, Long Menyi, Xiangqian and Wenhua, where residents from these places still carry on traditional lifestyle. Zhang Chunji was growing up here, so he already knows very much about the unique culture here. Then he interviewed elders and took many pictures of different objects to figure out the relationships among the signs, the architectures, the locations and the craftsmanship. Everything was written in detail, and I think probably Zhang Chunji is the first person, who actually does research in this area.

Second, he found many signs and symbols that had never been discovered and published before. For instance, the Hen—Stealing Goddess is noticed and described for the first time in any publication.

Third, he provides a great amount of pictorial evidence. Maybe it is me, but I have never seen some of the objects and signs in his research before, and I truly believe the new discovery would contribute very much to the study of culture of Bai.

Fourth, he systematizes the results from his research. Based on what he found out about the goblins, spirits, goddesses, and demons, he explains and analyzes nearly 40 signs that are used during ceremonies of practice of exorcism. He analyzes each one of them in detail. He discusses its function, how to create

it, how many ways of showing it and how important it is in the ceremony. Then he categorizes them and places them in a chart based on his perspective. The result is very original.

Personally, I think his research is great, but I think maybe he could go further when analyzing each sign instead of describing the sign. Or maybe he can describe the sign as he interprets it as a piece of artwork. And maybe some of the rituals, such as dropping coins or steamed buns from the ceiling, cannot be considered as practice of exorcism.

Still, Zhang Chunji's book would be a great contribution to study the culture of Bai and to understand the importance of practice of exorcism in the culture of Bai. Zhang Chunji is excited and passionate about his work and he is still so young. He is motivated by his love of his hometown. I truly believe that he would discover so much more about the myth of exorcism in the culture of Bai because Zhang Chunji mentioned in his book, the signs and symbols are only a part of the culture of exorcism in Bai. The culture of exorcism is so closely related to many parts of the society of Bai and it is reflection of many aspects of culture of Bai. Hopefully, in the near future, more and more young scholars, just as Zhang Chunji, would get involved into the study of culture of Bai.

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