

于硕 赵式庆
—— 主编



MOUNTAINS, OH MOUNTAINS!

AN ORAL HISTORY OF
THE OROCHEN HUNTERS

山上啊， 山上！

鄂伦春猎民口述史

倾听兴安岭的王者讲述他们的故事

大学服务学习课程的学生

2014年、2015年两度深入鄂伦春腹地

保育文化 | 唤醒记忆 | 敬畏自然

鄂伦春人的生态智慧驱散现代人类心智的雾霾
照亮我们回归自然家园的道路

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YU Shuo & Hing CHAO



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主 编: 于 硕 赵式庆

责任编辑: 李莎莎

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Compiled by Yu Shuo & Hing Chao

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序一



“敬畏自然, 遵从自然”的鄂伦春

| 白兰 |

这部鄂伦春猎民口述史由香港理工大学的学生记录完成, 对于鄂伦春文化和民族的保护, 对于人类学的学术研究方法都有着全新的意义。我记得在 2014 年 6 月北极圈民族文化国际研讨会上, 三位学生代表的发言让我们多么惊奇, 我当时怎么都无法想象, 他们怎样能在 10 天的时间里获得如此丰富的关于我们民族的故事, 并就迁徙、家族谱系和文化遗产三个主题做了梳理和分析, 甚至因观点独到而引起争论。第二天上午我与全体同学做了一次交流, 我对他们说: “你们真了不起! 大学本科, 没有一位从事人类学专业, 却能一步到位成功访谈, 比我认识的一些博士、硕士更有亮点!”

我一直在等待这本书的出版,但没想到会这么快,因为整理、编辑、核实、校对的时间是惊人的。我曾于上世纪90年代在硕巴黎的家中讨论萨满教,那时她兴致勃勃地给我讲阿尔卑斯山牧羊人的故事,她当时在法国和意大利交界的山区研究该地区历史上的疆界变迁和文化认同。她告诉我她的“文化主义”在第一次田野中就被彻底颠覆,山上有着通古斯人一样的石堆“敖包”,欧洲上下很多语言都称其为“开恩”(cairn);牧羊人同样使用草药,小教堂的墙上贴满了祈求和见证神迹的“迷信”,两千米的山上长着“中国迎客松”。没想到二十多年以后她居然带着法国风范来到了我的家乡,带着一群听不准鄂伦春普通话的香港学生来探寻我们的历史传承,真有些像传说故事。

以鄂伦春自己的语言讲述自己的故事,不只是简单的民族志的记录,还体现了一种全新的人类视野。如同英国社会史学家保罗·汤普逊所言:是重新赋予当地人的历史主体地位,“由自己的口讲述自己的过去,以使用自己的手更好地创造自己的未来。”口述史构成了历史人类学的重要基础,因为它像人类学家那样收集与使用口头证据,同时激发历史学家反思谁是历史权威,历史为谁说话,过去的声音是谁的声音”¹。从我自己的亲身经历中我深深懂得一个民族的自救是最重要的,首先就是记住自己的历史、文化和语言。然而,鄂伦春民族存在的这三个标志都处于危亡之中。

鄂伦春是北部中国的狩猎民族,主要分布于大兴安岭地区:内蒙古鄂伦春自治旗,内蒙古扎兰屯市南木鄂伦春民族乡,黑龙江黑河市新生乡,黑龙江黑河市逊克县新兴乡和新鄂乡,黑龙江伊春市嘉荫县胜利猎民村,黑龙江大兴安岭地区塔河县十八站鄂伦春民族乡,黑龙江省大兴安岭地区呼玛县白银纳。另外在北京、呼和浩特、哈尔滨等城市也有少量的鄂伦春人。

1 保罗·汤普逊(Paul Thompson):《过去的声音——口述历史》(*The Voice of the Past Oral History*),牛津大学出版社,第3版,2000年。

据 2010 年人口普查，中国境内鄂伦春族人口有 8659 人。在与大自然唇齿相依的生产、生活中，鄂伦春族保留和延续了人类最古老的生存方式——狩猎。其文化特点和文化意义，体现了泛北极圈文化中独特的“敬畏自然，遵从自然”的宇宙观，是对中国和世界多元文化的贡献。今天，我们回望人类的发展史，应该感激鄂伦春族，他们以狩猎文化最朴素的智慧保护着人与自然的和谐关系；也应该弘扬鄂伦春人在山林里孕育的耐力与勇敢，以及对生命尊重的民族精神。

“鄂伦春”是民族自称，一说为“山岭上的人们”，另一说为“使用驯鹿的人们”。“鄂伦春”一词最早见于史籍，是在 1627 年清天聪元年的奏折中，被写为“俄尔吞”“俄乐春”。以后的奏折或文官的著述中，常见的有“俄伦春”，以及“毕拉尔”“玛涅格尔”等。1683 年康熙二十二年，鄂伦春人被编入清朝八旗。当时，清朝廷把鄂伦春人分为两类：“摩凌阿俄伦春”和“雅发罕俄伦春”，即“骑马鄂伦春”和“步行鄂伦春”，同时把在山林里相邻而猎、仍然在牧养驯鹿的雅库特鄂温克人称为“使鹿鄂伦春”。

鄂伦春族的氏族有玛哈（卡）依尔、玛涅格尔、玛乃依尔、玛拉依尔、莫拉呼日、吴恰尔坎、葛瓦依尔、古拉依尔、魏拉依尔、柯尔特依尔、阿其格查依尔、白依尔、毛考依尔、卡日基尔、尼日基尔、恰克其尔、杜宁肯。茫茫林海中的游猎生活使鄂伦春人坚毅、热情，鄂伦春人说：“要快乐地感受生活，不要带着悲伤迎接明天。”不过，他们的气质中总带着淡淡的忧伤。1953—1958 年间，在政府的安排下鄂伦春人下山定居。1996 年，内蒙古鄂伦春自治旗的鄂伦春人在矛盾中放下了猎枪，放弃了祖祖辈辈的狩猎生活，开始了农业生产。

鄂伦春人过去以“乌力楞”为组织方式游猎，由四到六户人家组成。

这些人家通常都有血缘关系。打到的猎物回到乌力楞要在各户平均分配，因故没参与打猎的家也有份。季节性的长时间出猎叫“昂格玛仁”，临时的晨猎叫“贝尤仁”。鄂伦春男孩从八九岁就开始跟着大人学习打猎，在鄂伦春人心里，“莫日根”像英雄一样受到尊敬。“莫日根”必须是打猎高手，具备尊老扶弱、公平和大公无私的品格，能带着大家过上好日子。

六十多年来鄂伦春民族发生了很多变化，比如，传统服装的变化：人人穿→有人穿→没人穿；鄂伦春语言的变化：人人说→有人说→少人说；还有住屋的变化：斜仁柱¹→木刻楞²和板夹泥³→砖房→楼房→别墅房；交通的变化：驯鹿→猎马→马车→汽车→火车→飞机。

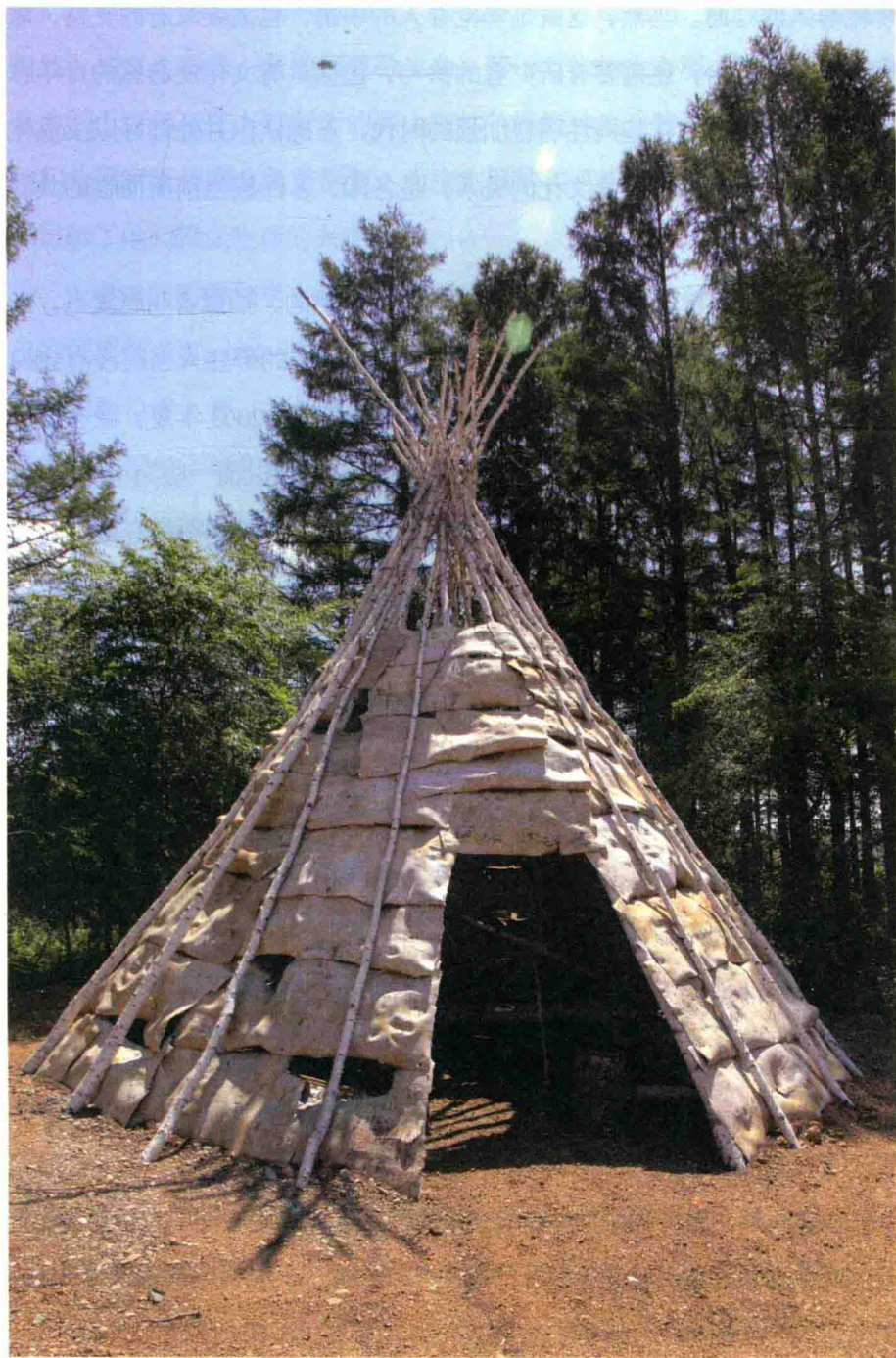
狩猎生活决定了语言的取向，鄂伦春语中表现狩猎、捕鱼、采集和树木花草、飞禽走兽等自然界方面的词汇非常丰富。有些形容词和动词十分独特，在现代汉语中找不到对应的解释。鄂伦春语是没有文字的语言，那些超越时间和空间的神话、传说、故事、寓言、诗歌、唱词、谜语等都靠口口相传才得以表述传承。反映现代生产、生活和社会活动方面的词汇，比如大楼、邮电局、火车、地球、手机、电脑、信息、海啸等，在鄂伦春族语中是没有的。

让我们的民族文化、民族语言能够在山林这样特定的环境中生存，是

1 斜仁柱，鄂伦春族圆锥形的传统居所，由二十多根长3米的斜仁做支架围成圆锥形，墙顶一体，夏秋季覆盖桦树皮，冬春季覆盖兽皮。鄂伦春语的“斜仁”，汉语意为“木杆”；“柱”，汉语为“住屋”“房子”“家”。斜仁柱内有三个铺位，用松木杆搭建而成，离地约20公分高。正对着门的铺叫“玛路”，女人不能坐卧，因为玛路的上方是神位。斜仁柱适于游牧生活，搬迁时取下覆盖物驮于马背即可出发了。

2 木刻楞，俄罗斯风格的北方游牧民族传统民居，木头建材，有楞有角，得名木刻楞（也有说是俄语音译）。墙壁用松树原木一层一层地垒全，用木楔加固，木头之间垫苔藓，不透风，人字形屋顶用桦树皮或苔房草覆盖。耐严寒，冬暖夏凉。讲究的木刻楞会在入口修一间走廊，叫门斗，防风避雨，送往迎来。

3 板夹泥，也叫“筏子房”，是政府为下山后的鄂伦春族修建的住房。墙壁用木板做框，里面夯入芦苇和泥的混合物，屋顶覆盖芦苇。



夏天的斜仁柱

鄂伦春人的心愿。当然，这既是鄂伦春人的事情，也需要政府的支持，需要有传承的平台，还需要有研究者的参与，包括具有文化使命感的青年志愿者的参与。在文化趋同性明显加强的时代，正确认识并处理好以工业化为标志的发展和保护传统文化的关系，是各国、各民族当前所面临的共同问题。

我给学生看过两张照片，一张是1956年拍的，拍摄者叫赵复兴，当时是内蒙古少数民族社会历史调查组成员，照片上的那些人当时没有会说汉语的，有些会说满语，有些会简单的俄语和日语。2003年夏，我在田野调查时与托河一位老人用鄂伦春语交谈，老人已经可以懂一些简单的汉语，但不太会说。她叫田柱金，姓柯尔特依尔。而现在可以用鄂伦春语交流的人越来越少了。

另一张照片是马神楚卡布如坎，1960年前后拍摄的，年轻人没有人知道这是什么。“万物有灵”既是鄂伦春族的宗教观念，也体现了狩猎民族“敬畏自然，遵从自然”的文化理念，打猎不是有多少就打多少，而是没有吃的了才去打，是为了生存。鄂伦春人没有存储的概念，保持着因需而取的习惯。今天，来自现代化的挑战既改变着生产和生活方式，也深深影响着鄂伦春人的文化和精神生活。

六十年前他们下山定居了，二十年前他们被禁猎了。失去了山林的鄂伦春人开垦了土地，但不会耕种。于是有人说，曾经骁勇的鄂伦春变成了兴安岭的记忆。似乎，与民族传统有关的事情都在渐渐远去，鄂伦春族被置入了正在过去的历史之中。

各方面都在宣传和保护鄂伦春传统文化，旗长到北京推广大型舞剧《勇敢的鄂伦春》，请著名学者呼吁“输血”“造血”，与俄国的鄂伦春交流，想通过政府实现生产性发展，想用文化方式重塑民族精神。

每一个民族都是伟大的、智慧的、勤劳的、勇敢的。鄂伦春的伟大是

他们没有停下学习和创新脚步。鄂伦春的智慧是他们“敬畏自然而遵从自然”的文化理念，是他们尊敬生命，善待万物的生命观。鄂伦春的勤劳是他们千百年来在人迹罕至的深山密林传奇般地生存着。鄂伦春的勇敢是他们为国家征战南北英勇捐躯、为生态保护和可持续发展放下猎枪，奉献和贡献了他们赖以生存的兴安岭。

人类学的田野和学术研究很重要，但我近年来开始用参与的方法为自己的民族做点事。比如促成了鄂伦春博物馆的建立，合作完成了形象片《行进中的鄂伦春》等，并尝试影响政策的制定，避免文化保护被商业绑架。感谢我的朋友于硕和赵式庆，你们指导着青年学生以走进鄂伦春的方式，加入到了一项伟大的人类文化的保护征程中。

白兰，研究员，
内蒙古社会科学院民族所所长
2016年4月于呼和浩特

Orochen Hunters: Revering and Respecting Nature

by Bai Lan

This oral history is based on interviews conducted by students from the Hong Kong Polytechnic University. It brings new meaning to the preservation of Orochen culture, as well as to the methods by which anthropology is studied.

At the International Conference on Comparative Study of Pan-Arctic Ethnicity and Culture in June of 2014, I was very much impressed by the three students' speeches. It was hard for me to imagine how they could have gotten to know so much about our people in merely ten days. They organized and analyzed three aspects: migration, genealogy and cultural legacy, and they stirred quite a debate because of their unique assertions. The next morning, I had a direct exchange with the students. I told them, "You are so impressive! As mere undergraduates, rather than professional anthropologists, you have discovered so much through your interviews, much better than some of the PhD or Master's degree students I know!" They had clearly benefited from the direction of their teacher and my friend,

Professor Yu Shuo, as well as the Chairman of the HK Orochen foundation, Hing Chao.

I had been waiting for the publication of this book but was surprised how quickly it was done. Since the time required for transcription, editing and proofreading is tremendous, I can only imagine how much effort Professor Yu Shuo invested into it. We once had a discussion about shamanism at her home in Paris in the 1990s, where she enthusiastically told me stories about the Alpine shepherds. She was then studying the shifting national borders and cultural identities between France and Italy. She told me her belief in “culturalism” was entirely overturned by her first field study. There in the Alps were piled-up stones just like the Tunguska *oboo*; in many European languages it is called a “cairn”. Shepherds there likewise used herbal medicine. The walls of a small church were covered in “superstitious” messages praying for or testifying to miracles. Two thousand metres above sea level, Chinese “welcome” pine-trees were growing. Much to my surprise, more than twenty years later, she actually brought all this enthusiasm to my hometown, seeking out our legends and history, along with a group of Hong Kong students who struggled to understand the Orochen’s accented Mandarin.

The act of inviting the Orochen to tell their own stories in their own voices is not a simple recording of a people’s history; this effort reflects a completely new perspective for anthropology. As a British sociologist, Paul Thompson, said, “To tell the past with one’s own voice is to create a better future with one’s own hands.” Oral history has become an important foundation of historical anthropology because it allows the oral evidence collected by an anthropologist to provoke a historian’s re-examination of authority, purpose and subject in historical study. From my own experience, I have a profound understanding of the importance of a people’s self-

preservation, first and foremost by remembering their own history, culture and language. For the Orochen people, all these three things are at the brink of extinction.

The Orochen are a hunting people of northern China. They spread along the southern end of the Greater Khingan Mountains. The territory includes the Orochen Autonomous Banner of Inner Mongolia, Zhalantun Nanmu Orochen Ethnic Township of Inner Mongolia, Xinsheng Township in Heihe city of Heilongjiang Province, Xinxing Township and Xin'e Township in Xunke County in Heihe city of Heilongjiang Province, Victory Hunters Village in Jiayin County in Yichun city of Heilongjiang Province, Shibazhan Township of Tahe County in Greater Khingan Mountains of Heilongjiang Province, and Baiyina Township in Huma County in Greater Khingan Mountains of Heilongjiang Province. Other smaller groups of Orochen people live in Beijing, Hohhot and Harbin. According to the census of 2010, there were 8,659 Orochen people registered in China.

With a means of production and way of life closest to nature, the Orochen people preserved and continued the oldest way of life known to man: hunting. Their cultural characteristics are not only a valuable addition to multiculturalism in China and the world but also reflect the unique worldview of “revering and respecting nature” of Pan-Arctic societies. Today, as we review the course of human development, we come to respect the Orochen people for their ability to maintain a balance with nature, which is contained in the wisdom of their hunting culture. Their bravery and endurance while subsisting in the forest, as well as their spirit of respecting life, should be carried forward.

“Orochen” is what the people call themselves, a name which might have legendary meanings of “people living on top the mountains” or “people with domesticated deer”. The earliest historical record of the term “Orochen” is in

the imperial report to the Qing emperor in 1627 in the form e-er-tun or e-le-chun. In later imperial reports and documents they were often mentioned as e-lun-chun, bi-la-er or ma-ni-ge-er. In 1683 during emperor Kangxi's reign, Orochen was listed in the Manchurian Eight Banners. The Qing court divided Orochen people into two parts, "Molinge Orochen" and "Yafahan Orochen"; that is, "horse-Orochen" and "walking Orochen". They also named Orochen hunters in the nearby forests "Yateku Orochen", or "Orochen with deer".

There are many Orochen bands: Mahayir, Maniger, Manayir, Maliyir, Molihuri, Malikuri, Wuchiarkan, Wageyir, Gulayir, Weilayir, Kerteyir, Aqigechayir, Baiyir, Maokaoyir, Karijir, Chiakeqir, Nirijir, Duningken and Dunajir. A hunting life in the vast forests has made the character of the Orochen people warm-hearted and persevering. They often say: "We shall always live life happily and never face tomorrow with sorrow." Yet their temperament has always carried a touch of sadness. In the years 1953 to 1958, the government made arrangements for the Orochen people to settle down. In 1996, the Orochen people reluctantly put down their guns, gave up their hunting life, and began to farm.

In the past, the people of Orochen hunted in *urileng* bands, which typically consisted of four to six families, often related by kinship. Long-term seasonal hunting was called *Yanggemaren*, and the hunted game was shared equally among *urileng* families even if a family didn't participate in the actual hunt for some reason. Orochen children started to learn hunting skills from adults from the age of eight or nine. In the hearts of the Orochen people, the best hunters, *morgen*, were respected as heroes. A *morgen* must have great hunting skills, respect the elders and help the weak, and have a fair and impartial character.

Over the past sixty years, the Orochen have changed tremendously. One example is their dress, which changed from traditional clothing worn

by everyone to traditional clothing worn by some, and finally to traditional clothing worn by no one. Hunting life affected their language, such that in Orochen language there is a very rich vocabulary for hunting, fishing and foraging, as well as for trees, grass, flowers, birds and animals. Some of the adjectives and verbs are unique and have no corresponding equivalent in modern Chinese. The Orochen language is an oral language with no written form. Their stories transcend space and time, and they have myths, legends, fairy tales, poems, songs and riddles; they must all be passed down orally. Words associated with modern life: building, post office, train, earth, mobile phone, information, or tsunami do not exist in the Orochen language.

The wish of the Orochen people is to have our culture and language survive in the special environment of the forest. Of course, this is not just an issue for our people, but requires government support, a sustainable environment, and also the participation of researchers including young volunteers with a sense of cultural mission. In an era of increasing cultural convergence, all nations and peoples are facing a common problem, of understanding and finding the proper balance between industrial development and the preservation of traditional culture.

I have shown two photos to the students. One was taken in 1956 by Zhao Fuxing, a researcher who surveyed Mongolian minority social history. No one in the photo spoke Mandarin; some spoke Manchurian while others spoke simple Russian or Japanese. In 2003, I spoke with an elderly Xiriteqi woman in the Orochen language; she could understand some simple Mandarin, though she could not speak it well. She was Tian Zhujin from the Kerteyier clan. Now there are very few who can communicate in the Orochen language.

The other photo was horse-spirit Chukaborken, taken around 1960. The Orochen believe that “spirits dwell in all things”, a reflection of the idea of

“revering and respecting nature” in hunting culture. Orochen people have no concept of saving, while they maintain the custom of taking when needed. Today, modernization brought about changes not only in production and way of life, but also in Orochen culture and their spiritual life. Sixty years ago, they came out of the forests; twenty years ago, they were banned from hunting, whereby they lost the resources and the mountains in which they had survived for generations. They started to cultivate the land while having no knowledge of agriculture. Some say the Orochen have turned from brave to weak, and from weak to dull-witted. It seems that all ethnic traditions are becoming obsolete, as if the Orochen have already been relegated to history.

The Orochen depended on the forest for their survival, which is the foundation of their culture. Those concerned with the Orochen’s cultural survival have been advocating preservation. They expressed their concerns with the authorities, sought communication and collaboration with Orochen communities across the Amur in Russia. They researched and revived the methods of domesticating and breeding deer. They also went to Beijing to promote the dance performance The Brave Orochen. However, the overall results have been less than ideal. What more can they do and how much longer can they persist? The Orochen local government in Alihe Town opened a class to teach the Orochen language, but it discontinued after just one semester.

Field research and study are very important in anthropology. However, I must leave study behind and pursue activism, by launching media campaigns that will protect our heritage from commercial exploitation and influence good policy decisions. Orochen are courageous and wise, persevering and responsible. In the bosom of Mother Nature, they once lived quietly, self-reliantly, peacefully and free from conflict in the depths of the forest. In closing, I would like to thank my friends Yu Shuo and Hing Chao, who led