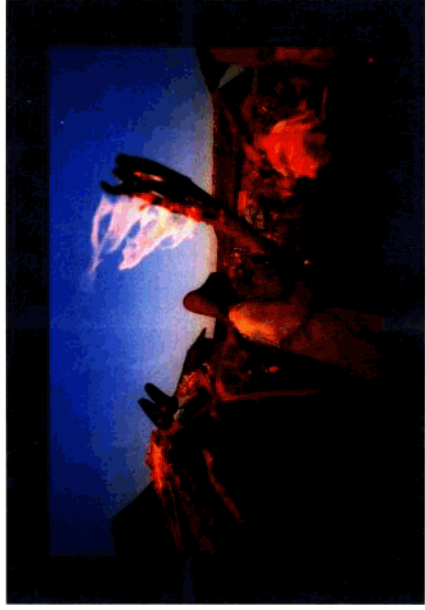


云南纪实

YUNNAN: A CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL
INTERPRETATION IN PHOTOGRAPHS



欧燕生

OU YANSHENG

田野考察摄影专题

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Ou Yansheng

云南纪实



西部人文地理文库·西行图志丛书

Yunnan: A Cultural and Historical Interpretation in Photographs

西部的感觉和叙录

邓启耀

从治水的大禹开始,有一批靠步行、骑马或乘舟考察中国边缘“四荒”地理人文的人,就已在许多人迹罕至的地方留下了他们的足迹。同时,他们还用文图并茂的方式,将当时所见所闻的有关边地风土、民俗、神话、宗教、矿产及动植物等方面的情况,做了精彩的叙录。这便是被称为“中国第一奇书”的《山海经》。

这些叙录亦真亦幻。实的至今还找得到根据,虚的或可视为神话。不过,说“虚”,也只是按现代人的标准罢了。在古代,神话、巫术、哲学、艺术和科学等本是溶为一体的。作为中国最早的一部人文地理著作,其人文叙述和科学实录具有同等的价值。而且,作为一部图志性的人文地理著作,那些精彩的插图就是考察者及后续者的“影视”作品,只是他们总是习惯性地把视觉和心觉所感的实象和幻象,同时曝光了。

如今,面对曾被视为“边缘”的西部,举起相机,历史与现实的影像在一刹那之间似乎有所重合。在某种意义上说,我们与它们相似,都是“边缘”状态下自然与文化的感觉者和叙录者。

我们感觉的西部,是自然的和精神西部。

当许多“中心”地区早已被人造的灰色笼罩,除了人及他们饲养甚至克隆的宠物外再难看到其他物种的时候,西部依然大多是天蓝云白,高山上有鹰盘旋,峡谷里有群兽出没,森林里长满千万种植物。即使是雪山荒漠,也以众河之源的力量,让广大流域中的人们充满敬畏。西部的人是坚强而又谦卑的,他

们能在缺乏最基本生存条件(如空气含氧量很低的高海拔牧场、阳光匮乏的洞穴和干旱的土地)的环境中顽强活下来,但没有谁对大自然妄言“征服”。他们举行庄严的仪式取来火种;他们用自己的血肉喂饲苍鹭;连草木,他们都以心相待,将它视为有情意的兄妹。在西部,数不清有多少有名有姓的神山、圣湖和龙林,被人用赤足、双手甚至整个身体抚摸个遍。漫长的古道上,环绕世界最高最独特的高原,人和马在大青石上踏出深深的印迹。随着天地间的长风流水,人们因时因地与自然合为一体;随着各民族之长歌流韵,大自然获得了灵性的生命和超自然的文化精神。

因此,我们叙录的西部,是人与自然合一的西部,是元始天地和人文精神合一的西部。

它是叙事的。因为有一种生存状态值得羡慕,那就是不断步入未知之域,亲身感受没有见过,没有活过,没有体验过的东西。它不仅是一种个人的感受,更是一种文化的感受。特别是当人们趋同于一种被物质化或社会化流行时尚导演的“中心”时,我们寻求自己卓然独立的“边缘精神”;当所谓“强势话语”校正出一个“公式”时,我们在山野里用母语讲着“另类”的故事。有血有肉,有情有灵,是我们叙事的追求。

它是实录的。因为没有脚到、眼到和心到,我们的镜头无法打开。哪怕只是一个断面一个瞬间,也比永恒的空话值得。特别当我们心有浮躁的时候,不妨拍几张不事造作的照片,写几行一是一二是二的文字,将内在的理论要素,溶解在

化合在穿衣吃饭的寻常道中。一手的材料，自然的表述，用不着引经据典拿别人的话来说你看见的事。有份量的实录报告，看似随意，却决无疏漏的设问缺环，具有内在的理论厚度。

本套丛书和我们已做和正在做的事一样，最简单的一个目的，就是试图借百十页文字和图片，尽可能真实地记录下那些未能或较少被“主流历史”记录下来文化。这些文化很少进入正史，多在民间或所谓“边缘”流传，有时流变，有时显现，有时消失，但更多时候，却影响着几十个民族，十来个俗民的物质生活和精神生活，形成许多种让一般书本很难归纳的文化形态和心理形态。

还有一个重要的原因是，包括《山海经》作者在内的“汉文化中心”论者和“西方文化中心”论者，受“我即文明，其余皆荒”观念的局限，从来都没把包括西部在内的广大“边缘”地带的多元文化，做客观的叙录。

当想象力丰富的人文学者在为迷走的魂魄大招时，中国的西部，那是个不可止留的险恶去处；或流沙千里，旋入雷渊，赤蚁若象，玄蜂若壑，五谷不生，其土烂人；或雕题黑齿，得人肉以祀，蝮蛇蓂蓂，封狐千里，雄虺九首，往来倏忽……

当谨严的地理学家在描述华夏国土的山海之经的时候，中国的西部，仍然笼罩在一片神异的迷雾里。“殊方异域”的国民，不是鸟喙獠头、穿胸三首，就是长股奇肱、僇耳反舌，有卵生而有羽的羽民国，有裸浴即怀妊的女子国，这些人不仅

有异形异禀，而且大多生活在充满奇禽异兽、神灵精怪的地方，令人望而生畏而又想入非非。

时至今日，“汉文化中心”史观和“一点四方”文化结构，已受到事实的挑战。千百年来，在西部，存在着许多鲜为人知的另类文化，他们有着与内地很不相同的衣食住行和思想观念，有自己特殊的生活方式。中国少数民族的绝大部分，都生活在这片神奇的土地上。他们向世人，展示了色彩缤纷的另一个天地。

西部，这一过去被当做边荒蛮地而不被纳入“主流历史”的区域性和多民族边地文化，随着地区与地区、民族与民族的不断交往，以及现代传播媒介和交通的日益发展，正向世人逐渐亮开自己的本来面目。人们传统知识系统中的空白，被纷涌而至的各种信息充塞得满满的。它们如此色彩斑斓，人们不得不对“荒蛮”的西部刮目相看。近些年来，时代观念的变迁和社会结构的调整如此之快，一些原为“边缘”的地区突然变成经济文化的前沿，形成新的经济文化中心或“活跃的边缘地带”。每一种文明在深化“自我文化”、“传统文化”认识的同时，必须尽可能理解无数个“他者文化”、“现代文化”，并力求在这多元的多色彩的时代，把握住自己的个性特色以不被淹没。

这，就是本套小书所想试达的目标。

AN INTERPRETATION OF WEST CHINA

Since ancient times when Emperor Da Yu began to regulate rivers to prevent floods, a good few explorers, either on foot, horseback or by boat, went to the sparsely populated and remote places to study the geographical features and ethnic cultures. In their investigation, they had some praiseworthy findings and recorded them in a book with illustrations. This book *Shanhaijing*, regarded as Number One Book of this kind in those days in China, covers the customs, cultures, myths, religions, mineral, plant and animal resources in these regions.

In this book, some records are true which can be proved even today, but some accounts are not factual records, which might be only myths. But from a different point of view, those "unreal records" might be modern one-sided views. In ancient times, myths, witchcraft, philosophical, artistic and scientific standards and ideas were inseparable from each other. *Shanhaijing* is the first book on Chinese ethnic cultures and geography, and its cultural account and scientific record are equally valuable. It is also the first book of this kind with excellent illustrations, which can be regarded as "modern photographs or video records". In those days, they used to express their ideas together with their feelings, either factual or imaginary.

Today when we face west China, a frontier area in the past, and shoot some scenes, we feel that the past and the present seem to have combined to form an organic whole. In a certain sense, we are the same as our forefathers, a recorder and interpreter of Nature and the "frontier cultures". We want to know in what kind of state west China is and what is its spirit. After modern civilization has entered many "central regions", there are few wild animals left except man, domestic or cloned animals. But most regions in west China are still under a blue sky with eagles hovering over high mountains, wild beasts pacing up and down the valleys and thousands of tree species growing in the primitive forests. The people in west

China always cherish a feeling of great reverence for the vast virgin land and snowy mountains where rivers and life rise. They are both strong-willed and humble. They can survive in the worst living conditions such as on the highland pastures with much less oxygen than in the low latitudes, the arid lands or in the caves with little sunlight, but they have never wanted to "conquer Nature". They hold solemn rites to get fire; they feed their eagles and vultures with their own blood and flesh; they treat plants as their brothers. In west China, there are numerous well-known Holy Mountains, Lakes and Forests worshiped by the natives wholeheartedly. On the long, ancient stone roads and the highest and unique plateau, there are footprints left by our forefathers. As time marches on, the people there have become an inseparable part of Nature, which in turn has obtained its inspiration and cultural spirit from them. Thus the west we have recorded is an organic whole comprising man and Nature or a combination of the nature in its original state and the culture and spirit of the local ethnic groups.

It is narrative because there is one way of life worth recording and admiring. That is to continuously seek and experience the unknown in person. It is not only a personal experience but also a cultural experience. Especially when people tend to be controlled by the "popular centers" created by the modern society, we are seeking for our own "frontier spirit". When the "dominant discourse" has produced quite a few "models" or "formulae", in remote places we are telling "others' stories" in our own languages, which are vivid, substantial, emotional and enlightening.

It is of factual nature. We have to arrive at the very place before we can take any photographs. Even if what we have recorded is only a small part or a moment in our life, it is much more valuable than those high-sounding and meaningless words.

It is a down-to-earth job to take some unaffected photographs, record some facts or dissolve some theoretical ideas in our everyday speech. The natural description based on the first-hand information is better than quotations from some classical works or others' comments. The factual record of these regions, done seemingly at will, has a solid foundation with its own theoretical support.

This series of picture albums, like what we have done or are doing, is intended to record as much as we can the ethnic cultures ignored by the "dominant history". These ethnic cultures have seldom entered the "recorded history" but have spread far and wide among the local people as "frontier cultures". Some are developing and some disappearing. In most cases, they have exerted much influence on tens of ethnic groups with millions of people spiritually, and present to the outside world the spirit and psychological states of these people, which have become a challenge to most writers.

Another point worth mentioning is that the authors of many books, including the writers of *Shanhaijing*, who were in favor of the dominant Han-culture or Western-culture theory, regarded their culture(s) as superior one(s) and others inferior. As a result, they failed to give a factual record or account of the "frontier cultures".

Though those imaginative scholars were calling the lost spirits, they often regarded or described west China as a dangerous place, where existed only vast deserts, deep abysses, steep cliffs, arid lands, poisonous soil, man-eating savages with tattooed faces and dyed teeth, terrible snakes with nine heads, colossal and grotesque red ants and bees, and huge foxes running about.

When those cautious geologists were trying to give a truthful record of the ethnic cultures and geographical features of the Central Plains, west China in their imagination was still invested with an air of mystery. The people there were described as

strange creatures with birds' eyes and animals' heads, or had deformed arms, tongues and ears, or were oviparous animals with wings, or could become pregnant after a bath naked. In addition, they stayed in strange and terrible places inhabited by grotesque birds, animals and spirits.

Today, it has been proved that the theory of the dominant Han culture or of "the dominant cultural center" cannot bear the test of time. For thousands of years, there have been many ethnic cultures in west China unknown to others, which are quite different from those in the interior of China. Most of the minority groups in China have been living on this mysterious land, which is unfolding a colorful but different world, including different habits, customs, ideas and ways of life.

West China, once regarded as uncivilized and unaccepted by the "dominant history", is a wonderful world with its own geographical features and ethnic cultures. With the increasing exchanges between different regions and different ethnic groups and the improving communications and mass media, west China is unfolding itself to the outside world and many blanks in our traditional understanding of it have been filled in. With so much new information emerging, the people in other places have begun to look at west China in different lights. With the development of our society and the quickening process of globalization, some former "frontier regions" have become the "front" or new economic and cultural centers. In this changing world, every culture, while trying to understand its position better, has to understand other cultures and modernization. Only in this way can it retain its own ethnic characteristics and survive in this multi-cultural society. With this purpose in mind we have compiled this series and expect that it will be of some help to a better understanding of west China.

Professor Deng Qiyao
August 8, 1999

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火神的盛典

THE GRAND FIRE-GOD CEREMONY

彝族尚火，对火的崇拜贯穿于生产生活的方方面面。从生下来在火塘边进行的命名仪式，到死时举行的火葬，每个彝人的一生都与火结下不解之缘。因而，他们自称火的民族。对火的崇拜，派生出许多节祭祀仪式。彝族支系阿细人的祭火神节可称为火神的盛典。本专题所表述的就是阿细人通过钻木取火、纹身祭火、赤足跳火等情节活动祭祀火神、为山寨祈福的过程。

1997年3月8日，天刚放晓，我踏上了从昆明开往弥勒的班车，应当地朋友之邀，去参加红万村祭祀火神的盛会。此时，春节刚刚落幕，咣咣的鞭炮声依稀可闻，汉族村落仍然沉浸在喜庆的氛围之中。刚随汉族过完春节的彝族支系阿细人，又开始忙碌着准备一年一度的盛大节日——祭火神节。

这是一个阳光明媚的早晨，心情如四周的景物一样明朗。坐了3个多小时的车，浑然不觉得累。换乘吉普后，花3个多小时骑行20多公里山路，就到了位于弥勒县西一乡的红万彝村。

虽然距离祭火神节还有一天，这个约有八九十户人家的小村庄已到处洋溢着浓厚的节日气氛。举目四望，掩映在桃花、杏花、李花丛中的红土小屋充满田园情趣，家家户户的门楣上贴红挂彩，门庭院落干干净净，小孩们都穿上了红红绿绿的盛装，那些花簇般的姑娘格外引人注目。

祭火神节在当地的阿细语中称为“木邓赛鲁比”，含有为祭火神而举行狂欢活动的意思。它是阿细人一年之中众多节日里较为精彩和隆重的一个，其祭祀日期和庆祝活动一般在每年的夏历二月初三，正式节期为一天，之前的一天为祭龙日，也是祭火的准备日。

红万村阿细人的祭火神节是祖辈留传下来的古老传统，相传已



有近千年的历史。节日的形成,与信仰万物有灵的古阿细人对火的崇拜有密切的关系。阿细人的创世史诗《阿细的先基》记载了阿细人与火的渊源:相传远古时候,阿细先民与兽同处,生命经常受到威胁。一天,雷电交加,大雨倾盆,一样红彤彤的东西自天而降,落入树洞。人们从来没有见过这种东西,就用树枝撬树洞,结果撬出了火。火吓跑了野兽,驱走了寒冷,在大火中难以逃生的动物成为美味的熟食品。人们渐渐认识到火的种种好处,想办法把火种保留下来。但由于不能对火加以很好地控制和利用,不是火种被雨淋熄,就是山火肆虐。人们开始对火的功能和威力感到惊奇和神秘,对火又敬又怕,总象有一种神灵在主宰着火。一年冬天,天寒地冻,一个叫木邓邓的年轻人受先民用树枝撬出火的启发,用两根坚硬的栗木相钻,钻了3天3夜,钻出火来。他把钻火的技术传给人们,并教大家保护火种。于是,人们把他视为主宰火的神灵,于每年二月初三,也就是他钻出火的那天,举行盛大的祭火仪式祭奠他。

我和老葛进村的日子是二月初二,按当地的说法,这一天是祭火节前的“准备日”。在这个特殊的日子,全村的长辈及青壮年男子要聚在村中的长街上吃一顿长龙宴。时近午后,各户都准备一桌美食佳肴,按顺序一字摆开,接成长约1里的长龙。就要开席了,只见一位精神抖擞的长者举杯向天,口中念念有词,那肃穆和悲怆的神情,仿佛在追述阿细民族的血泪历史。我向村民们打听,才知老人是村中享有盛望的毕摩,因他所具有的渊博学识,对村中一切重大事情都有决策、组织和领导的权力。毕摩念颂的是开席经,大意是讲述远古时候先民们在黑暗中摸索,被野兽追咬、被野火焚烧的悲壮和在火神保佑下生活安定、丰衣足食的喜悦,召唤火神和大家共进盛宴。颂经毕,村民们举杯互祝来年风调雨顺、五谷丰登、村人和睦、四季安康。开席了,人们饮同心酒,比烟锅赛,跳民族舞,为祭火节的狂欢活动拉开序幕。这顿饭吃得热热闹闹,天黑方散。席间,村中的一个老者告诉我,长龙宴可算是祭火节的“开席式”,以男子为主角的祭火盛典的各种仪式及人员的安排,均在席间商量就绪。

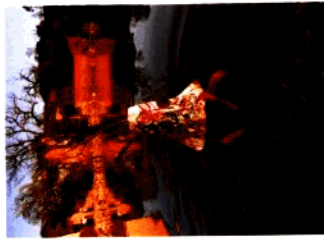
祭火节当天,是个极其晴朗的日子。大清早,堂屋、院落被重新收拾得干净利落。穿戴一新的妇女们如彩蝶般来回穿梭。好客的主人为我们端上大碗的红糖鸡蛋和糖煮粳米粥,嘱我们要全部吃完,这样便能在来年得到火神的保佑。在所有人吃完早饭后,主妇将灶塘中的火用灰闷熄,将火塘仔细清扫并将火灰送出户外,这在当地叫送旧

火。送旧火的目的是为了迎接新火。打扫妥当后,主妇们又忙着准备迎接新火种的各种祭品去了。

约中午时分,从外村赶来参加祭火的人越来越多,整个村庄喧闹起来。此时,离祭火神尚有一段时,各种准备活动仍在有条不紊地进行。在毕摩家中,几个老到的中年人正在为纸糊的火神描眉画眼:在脖颈处画上松果作装饰,并在手中插上一把锋利的木刀,使其看起来更加威风凛凛;而在村边一些僻静的地方,另一些化妆师在为青年男子和小孩描面绘身。绘身的涂料有红、黑、黄、白、褐5种颜色。图形有由五个五色连环组成的倒三角形,各色斑点和虎、豹等动物的图案。化妆讲究前胸和后背相对称,头上、脚趾上和小孩的双腿都精心绘饰。据熟悉当地民的老葛介绍,五色连环代表着五种颜色的土壤,喻意人们希望由五色土构成的丰饶大地能为人们提供累累硕果;五色圈内的各色斑点象征日、月、星辰和光艳四射的火苗,而各种动物图案则反映出阿细人的崇拜。绘过身的男子用树叶、纸片做成各种动物的图案戴在头上,用棕叶和麻片包裹下身,仿佛原始人一般。小男孩则一丝不挂的全裸着,只用棕条编成帽子戴在头上。待全部化妆完毕,绘身人鱼贯进入毕摩家中,在那里静候等待着祭火时辰的到来。

与此同时,在毕摩家中,祭火神活动中的主要角色——祭火师已将传袭几十代人的祭火服取出,赤裸着上身穿上,并戴上一顶大檐帽。衣服和帽子均已十分破旧,好像出土文物一般,然而,相传木邓当年就是这身装扮钻出火来的。祭火师穿上祭火服后便不再随意大声笑闹,那严肃的表情似乎已在默默酝酿钻火的步骤。

约下午4时左右,祭火神的时辰到了。只听毕摩一声令下,两个年轻力壮的男子将“火神”抬起,稳步跟在毕摩和祭火师后,由众多的绘身人簇拥着走向密枝林。密枝林是村中最大最茂密的一片树林,也是最为神圣和神秘的地方。凡遇重大的节日庆典、祭祀活动,都要首先在密枝林中祭祀神灵。祭火神时,毕摩在象征祖先的树下放好贡品,边握法铃、边颂经文,大意是告



知火神，全村人要举行祭祀他的盛大活动，请求他保佑活动成功等。此时，大家全都屏住呼吸，在一旁肃立着，仿佛一丝声响都会惊扰林中四处游走的神灵。颂经毕，钻火师、毕摩和老者围成一小圆圈，祭火师在黄栗树杆上凿一小孔，加少许火药，以另一根黄栗木杆做杆钻木取火。待钻出火星，老者忙用火草引燃，并加上干木片，然后将火移至火神座下的火盆之内，一年的新火种便产生了。

随着新火种和“火神”被人抬起，鞭炮声、铙钹声、牛角号声轰然响起。在古朴雄壮的乐曲中，人们以捆绑着许多木刀的树枝为“火神”开道，“火神”昂然前行，周游村寨，所到之处，家家户户都将事先准备好的美酒洒向“火神”，并将贡品恭恭敬敬地献于“火神”座下。对着“火神”焚香叩头，然后用松明在新火上引燃，把新火种小心翼翼地迎入家中火塘，备加呵护，使之常年不熄。与此同时，护送“火神”的绘身人也就当作火神的使者迎入家中，在屋内喊喊打打，挥刀舞枪，意思是把家中的邪魔驱赶出门。绘身人吹打得越激烈，说明被驱走的污秽越多，主人也就越高兴。

送火神时，祭火活动中最为精彩的跳火神也同时开始了。只见绘身人纷纷舞起木刀、木杈和袍棒，击碗敲盆，高喊“木邓来哟”，簇拥着“火神”冲向四面八方。有的绘身人扮作小丑的模样，对围观的人群做着夸张的鬼脸，极力地扭腰摆胯，把热闹的气氛推向高潮。我身旁的一个中年男人，男扮女装，围头巾，穿花衣，怀抱假娃娃，做出宽衣解带，要给娃娃喂奶的样子，突然又将娃娃扔在地上，事不自禁地狂奔着冲向池塘，引得围观的人群哈哈大笑。

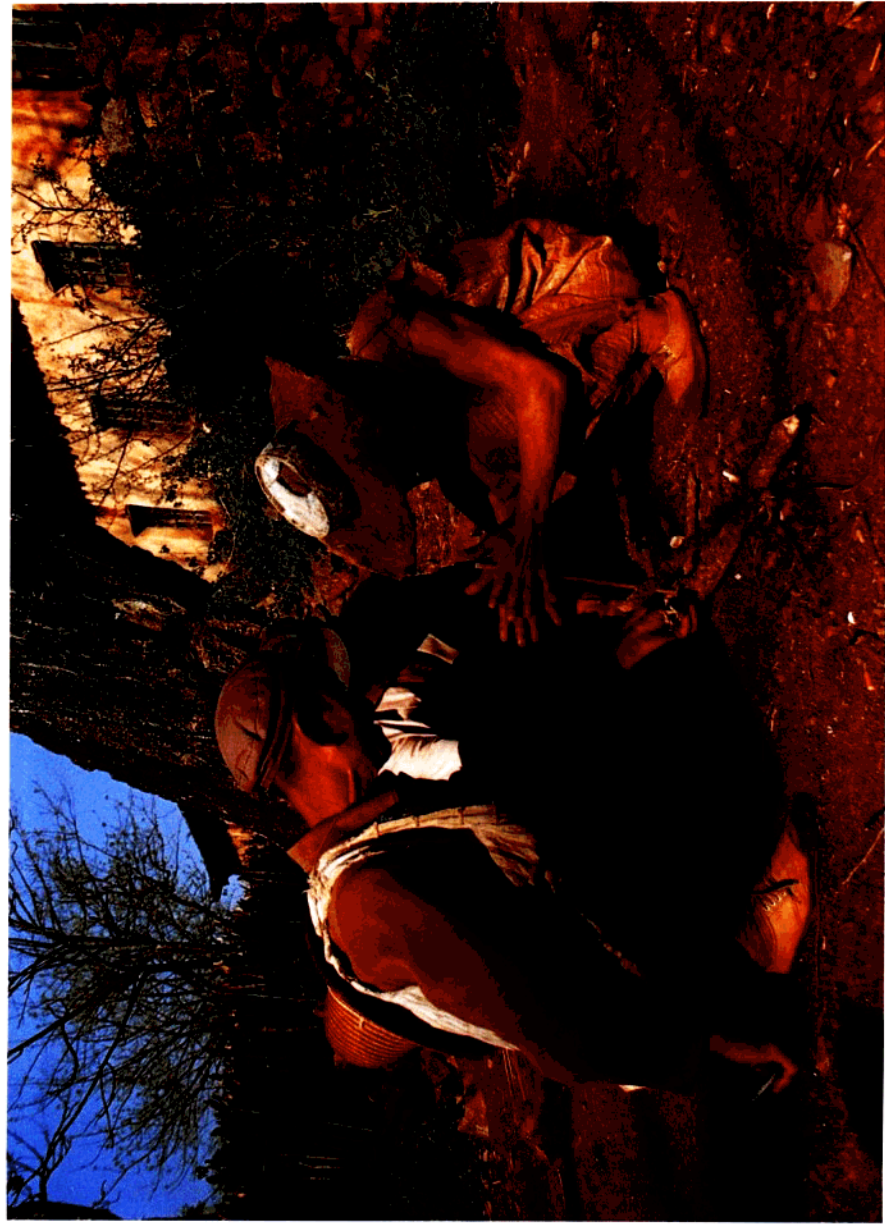
待到各家各户的火种都已取完，人们抬着“火神”来到村边的地中。在这里，要举行第二轮的折神。只见人们全都赤足俯身，叩拜生长万物的大地，感谢大地母亲赐予的一切，并祈求火神保佑来年收成有余、人寿年丰。

祭火神仪式进行到此，祭祀活动已全部结束。人们将“火神”送至村中最大的院坝上，点燃篝火。熊熊燃烧的火堆旁，显示力与美的摔跤活动拉开序幕，人们纷纷席地而坐，观看一场场龙争虎斗。天色渐暗，飞霞满天，整个活动进入高潮。围绕着火堆，手舞足蹈的绘身人在此起彼伏的铙钹声、号角声、呼叫声中点燃火把，有的跳火堆，有的射火箭，有的转火磨，有的围火阵……就在这种欢乐的气氛中，人们恣意不舍地将“火神”和自己手中的“兵器”投入篝火。再度高高燃起的火苗映红了半边天空，同时也将人们的激情燃得更高。随

着排山倒海般的大三弦声响起，不分男女，不管老少，村民们全都跳起了最能体现阿细人活力和技巧的阿细跳月，我也按捺不住激情，加入了这纵舞欢歌的行列。皓月之下，篝火熊熊，弦声铮铮，姑娘小伙跳得如痴如狂，老人孩子跳得如痴如醉。直到凌晨，狂欢活动才渐入尾声。

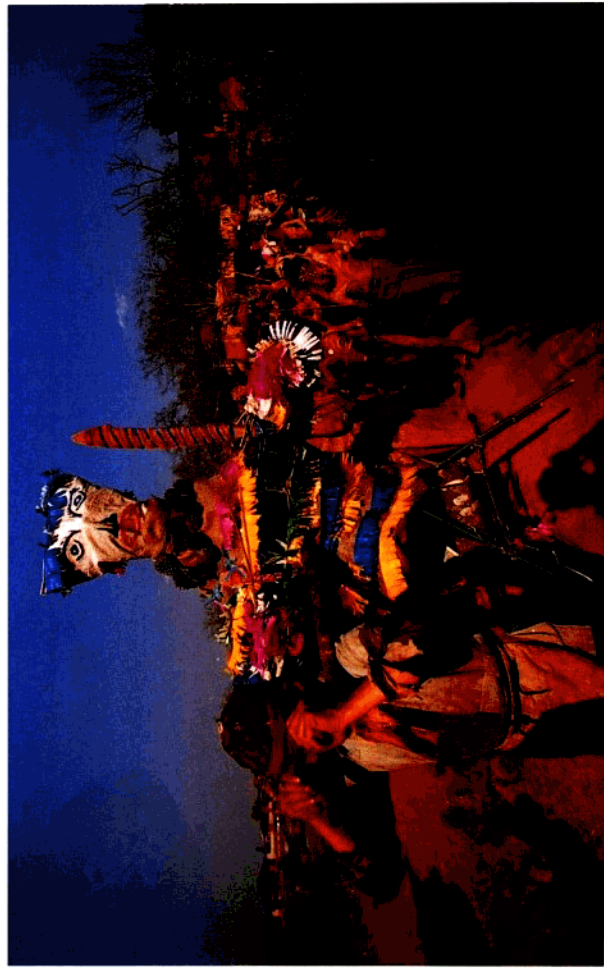
随着跳火神的结束，狂欢一天的人们又回到了现实生活中。祭过火神，意味着污秽邪魔已被火烧尽，人们可以在火神的保佑之下，安排一年的生产生活了。

The Yi nationality worships fire, which is revealed in every aspect of their life. The naming ceremony of the newly born baby is held by the fire-pit. When a Yi dies, his family will hold a cremation ceremony. Thus, the Yis call themselves a fire-worshipping nationality and have a good few ceremonies related to fire-worship. The fire-worshipping ceremony of the Axis (a branch of the Yi nationality) is the most impressive of all. This section truthfully records the whole process of this ceremony, including the process of drilling wood to make fire, the fire-worshipping tattooing process, the fire performances and other sacrificial rites.



祭火神仪式开始时，首先要钻木取火。现在的取火和过去已有不同，为缩短时间，火石也用上了。

At the beginning of the ceremony, the Yis will drill wood to make fire. Today this practice is somewhat different from the past one because the steel is used to save time.



“火神”威风凛凛地挥剑在前，率领着他的“士兵”们为村民们送去新一年的火种。

The awe-inspiring "Fire-God" walks ahead, waving his sword and leading his "soldiers" to bring fire to the villagers for the coming year.

扮作怪兽的小伙子
是火神的忠实卫士。

*The young fellows who are
dressed up as strange animals
are devoted guards of Fire God.*

