



音乐博士学位论文系列

官方与民间：蒙古族敖包祭祀仪式 音声的研究

Series of Doctor Dissertations in Music

董波 著

Dong Bo

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内 容 摘 要

敖包,亦作“鄂博”,是土堆子的意思,即用人工堆积起来的石堆、土堆。敖包是蒙古语,意为堆子或鼓包。汉语的意思为“堆子”。祭敖包是蒙古族最盛大的传统祭祀活动之一。现在的敖包有大有小,有的选用上好材料精雕细刻,有的随手捧来附近的石块堆砌,但无论怎样,在蒙古民众心目中都有着同样圣洁的位置。敖包祭祀是蒙古族历史悠久、影响广泛的全民族大型信仰活动。民族音乐学的研究范式对蒙古族敖包祭祀仪式这一民间文化具有较强的解释力,而过去我们缺少应用民族音乐学的研究范式来解释这一现象。本文试图以民族音乐学的音乐和文化的关系作为切入点,采取民族音乐学的研究范式,实现研究视角、目的和内容的民族音乐学转变,采用音乐民族志、主位和客位、历时和共时等研究方法,选取官方和民间各两个敖包祭祀活动为个案,通过比较研究来探讨敖包祭祀仪式中信仰、行为和音声三者间的互动关系,特别是探讨音声在敖包祭祀仪式中如何运用的问题。对蒙古族敖包祭祀仪式及音声加以民族音乐学的考察研究,不仅能够拓展民族音乐学的应用范围和解释能力,而且丰富民族音乐学对仪式音乐研

究的内容。

第一章基于文献分析的方法,以敖包祭祀仪式传统变迁为视角,对蒙古族敖包祭祀仪式及音声的历史演变进行了分析和论述,目的是为以后各章的个案现状分析和讨论提供参照点。了解敖包祭祀仪式及音声的当下形态,首先应有历史的参照点。通过文献分析和梳理,敖包祭祀仪式及音声在祭祀对象:天神、佛祖及天神、佛祖并存的演变;敖包主祭者:由萨满、喇嘛主祭向萨满和喇嘛主祭并存转变;敖包祭祀目的、功能:祭神求福、祭神求福与娱乐并存演变;敖包祭祀举办者:民间、官方与民间并存演变;敖包祭祀仪式的音声:萨满音乐、佛教音乐及多元音乐并存转变。

第二至第六章,以主位和比较的视角,通过对官方和民间敖包祭祀仪式及音声个案的考察和比较认为,敖包祭祀仪式、信仰和音声之间,从表面上看似乎是各自独立,实际上三者之间存在着同构关系。乌拉特、额尔顿官方敖包祭祀和桑根达来、额吉和白音民间敖包仪式及音声,既存在共同点,又具有相异点。相同点具体表现在仪式音声的萨满音乐、佛教音乐和民俗音乐等多元音乐文化特征。相异点具体表现在仪式音声的固定性与非固定性、历时性与共时性变异、原生态、次生态和再生态的不同,以及在官方敖包祭祀活动中凸现了明显的“国家在场”,它是一种“被发明的传统”。民间敖包祭祀仪式中的民族身份建构更加明显。由于旅游文化的开展,官方和民间敖包祭祀仪式被引导到一个特定的市场调控的体系中,尤其是官方敖包祭祀仪式尤为突出。

第七章中以研究者的角度,即客位的视角,对蒙古族敖包祭祀仪式及音声进行了方法论的思考。从笔者在仪式现场通过参与式观察方法所进行的田野考察来看,笔者发现,在官方敖包祭祀活动中在国家参与下,蒙古族敖包祭祀仪式及音声在活动内容、仪式结构等各方面都按照国家意志的导向发生明显变异,同时敖包祭祀仪式的传统也得到一定程度的保留。民间敖包祭祀仪式及音声尽

管未受到官方的直接影响,但在长期的历史演变过程中也存在不同程度的变异。它传统的信仰功能日渐式微,仪式开始简单化,很多仪式被省略,现代化的发展赋予敖包祭祀新的、更具有功利取向的娱乐和经济价值功能。伴随敖包祭祀仪式的变迁,仪式音声也随之发生了变化,表现在音声的类型、形式和功能等方面。蒙古族敖包祭祀仪式及音声正是处于一种主体结构相对静止并同时吸收着外来文化因子的“慢速”变迁过程之中。尽管如此,蒙古族敖包祭祀仪式,从古到今,其生命力依然顽强,并不随政权更替和文化变迁而消失。其原因在于它与蒙古族的精神世界及信仰追求有关,具体来说,与具有蒙古特色的萨满文化、佛教文化、蒙古族传统民间文化以及族群认同有关。因此在今天保持敖包信仰仪式的强大生命力必须与蒙古族人的现代社会生活结合起来,使其在蒙古族人的现代社会生活中发挥应有的功能。只有这样敖包祭祀仪式及音声才能在现代社会关系中既保持其传统特点和功能,又能与现代社会生活相适应。

总之,通过官方和民间敖包祭祀仪式的历史追溯、现状个案考察和音声的比较研究,蒙古族敖包祭祀仪式及音声,在今天既保存着传统的天神信仰等娱神性特点,又具有满足当代蒙古人的请神灵去病、求子和求雨等功利需求以及族群认同等娱人性的一面。

关键词: 官方与民间 敖包祭祀 仪式音声

Abstract

Ao Bao, also called Ebo, means heaps of stones or mounds used by the Mongolians. In Mongolian, it means heaps or drum-like things, while in Chinese, it means heaps. Sacrificial rite of Ao Bao is one of the most grand activities of Mongolian nationality. Some Ao Baos are big, while some are small. Some are made elaborately from first-class materials, while some are piled up with stones nearby conveniently. under any circumstances, all Ao Baos enjoy the same holy status equally. Sacrificial rite of Ao Bao is a kind of large-scale activity of faith within the entire ethnic group. The research paradigm of ethnomusicology has comparatively strong explanatory ability in studying folk culture, such as sacrificial rite of Ao Bao among Mongolian nationality, while the previous researches lack such perspective. The research tries to make it a breakthrough point to explore the relationship between ethnomusicology's music and culture, adopt the research paradigm of ethnomusicology, and realize the transfor-

mation into ethnomusicology in the aspects of research paradigm, research perspective, research goal and research content. Adopting ethnomusicology, emic and etic approaches, with diachronic and synchronic perspectives, the research selects a governmental case and a nongovernmental case of sacrificial rite of Ao Bao respectively to discuss the interaction among faith, action and music in the rite, especially the issue regarding how to use music in the rite. Investigating the sacrificial rite and the music usage init can not only expand ethnomusicology's field of application as well as its explanatory ability, but also can enrich ethnomusicology's content in ritual music.

Chapter one Based on the literature review, the research takes the change of Ao Bao ritual tradition as the perspective, analyze and discuss the historical evolution of the rite and its music usage, aiming at providing an anchor point for the case analysis and discussion in the following chapters. In order to understand the current forms of Ao Bao sacrificial rite and its music, we must set a historical anchor point at first. Through literature review, the following aspects have been discussed: sacrificial targets have realized the evolution from God and the Buddha existing respectively to their coexistence; Ao Bao priests have realized the evolution from shaman and Lama priest existing respectively to their coexistence; purpose and function of Ao Bao ritual have realized the evolution from praying to God for blessing to praying to God for blessing and entertainment coexisting; hosts of Ao Bao ritual have realized the evolution from being with the governmental side and nongovernmental side respectively to their coexistence. The music of Ao Bao ritual have realized the evolution from sha-

man music and Buddhism music exist respectively to the coexistence of multiple music.

Chapter two, Chapter three, Chapter four, Chapter five, Chapter six Through analyzing and comparing the governmental and nongovernmental cases with regard to the rituals and music, the research finds that there does exist an isomorphic relations among Ao Bao ritual, faith and music which seems independent from each other outwardly. Governmental Ao Bao rituals and music in Wulate, Eerdun and nongovernmental Ao Bao rituals and music share some common similarities and dissimilarities. Similarities are embodied by the cultural feature of multiple musical forms, including shaman music, Buddhism music and folk music. Dissimilarities are embodied by the following aspects: stability and instability; synchronic and diachronic variations; differences of original ecology, secondary ecology and regenerated ecology; in governmental Ao Bao ritual, the awareness of country's being present is clearly expressed, hence making the ritual an invented tradition, while in nongovernmental ritual, there exist an evident ethnic groups' identity construction.

Because of the development of tourism development, governmental and nongovernmental Ao Bao rituals have been guided into a market-regulated system, which is more obvious in the governmental rituals.

Chapter seven The research ponders over the methodology of research regarding Ao Bao sacrificial rituals and music in the perspective of the researchers, namely, the emic approach. Based on the field work through participation observation, the researcher has the following findings: with the participation of coun-

try in the Ao Bao ritual, Mongolian nationality's Ao Bao sacrificial rituals have changed evidently according to the country will with regard to the content and the structure. Meanwhile, the tradition of Ao Bao sacrificial rituals has partly been kept. As for the nongovernmental side, although the rituals and music have not been influenced directly, there still exist variations of different degrees. Its traditional faithful function has gradually declined, the ritual has been simplified and many rituals have been omitted. The modern development has endowed the Ao Bao sacrificial rituals some new functions, which are more entertainment-oriented and economy-oriented. With the ritual change, the music has changed accordingly, which is revealed in the types, forms and functions. Now, the Ao Bao sacrificial rituals have been experiencing a slow changing process, with the major structure being relatively static and absorbing the external cultural factors at the same time. Still, Ao Bao sacrificial rituals, from ancient times to the present, have strong vitality and wouldn't disappear with the regime supersession and cultural change. The reason lies in its connection with the Mongolian nationality's spiritual world, specifically, the shaman culture with Mongolian feature, Buddhism culture, traditional culture of Mongolian nationality and the ethnic group identity. So, today, in order to maintain its strong vitality, it has to be integrated into the modern social life of Mongolian nationality to bring its due function into play. Only in this way, can Ao Bao sacrificial rituals and music not only maintain its traditional features and function, but also adapt to the modern social life.

In short, through the historical retrospection of governmental

and nongovernmental Ao Bao sacrificial rituals, case study and comparative research into music, the research finds that nowadays, on one hand, Ao Bao sacrificial rituals and music have retained traditional faith in God still bearing the feature of pleasing God. On the other hand, the rituals and music can also please people by meeting the utilitarian needs of modern Mongolian regarding asking God to remove disease, to pray for children or rain, to construct ethnic group's identity.

Key words: government and nongovernment; Ao Bao sacrificial ritual; ritual music

目 录

1	导言:蒙古族敖包祭祀仪式及音声:民族音乐学亟待研究的一个新领域
1	一、蒙古族敖包祭祀仪式及音声:民族音乐学应关注的主题
6	二、蒙古族敖包祭祀仪式及音声:民族音乐学研究范式的缺失
11	三、蒙古族敖包祭祀仪式及音声研究的范式转换:民族音乐学的范式
16	第一章 蒙古族敖包祭祀活动及音声演变:官方与民间视角——一个基于文献的分析
16	一、蒙古族敖包祭祀活动的演变
17	(一) 敖包祭祀对象:天神、佛祖及天神、佛祖并存的演变
19	(二) 敖包主祭者:由萨满、喇嘛向萨满和喇嘛主祭并存转变
22	(三) 敖包祭祀目的、功能:祭神祈福、祭神祈福与娱乐并存演变
24	(四) 敖包祭祀举办者:民间、官方与民间并存演变
28	(五) 敖包祭祀仪式的音声:萨满音乐、佛教音乐及多元音乐
35	二、蒙古族敖包祭祀活动演变的反思

39	第二章 官方敖包祭祀个案之一:乌拉特敖包祭祀
39	一、乌拉特敖包祭祀空间
42	二、准备程序
42	(一) 装饰敖包
52	(二) 音响准备
53	(三) 摆献贡品
56	(四) 采访敖包诵经喇嘛主持:包头市杭锦旗独贵塔拉镇红星 三社什拉召庙主持吉日格勒
58	(五) 采访领经喇嘛——朝格巴雅尔师傅
61	三、乌拉特敖包祭祀前奏曲——诵读金刚经
63	(一) 金刚经法器
70	(二) 金刚经诵经音声
74	四、乌拉特敖包祭祀开场曲——跳《骷髅舞》
78	(一) 金刚舞乐队
80	(二) 《骷髅舞》开场

84	五、乌拉特敖包祭祀中的敖包经
91	六、乌拉特中旗领导带领民众进行乌拉特敖包祭祀
118	第三章 官方敖包祭祀个案之二:额尔敦敖包祭祀
118	一、额尔敦敖包祭祀空间
123	二、额尔敦敖包的传说
123	(一) 额尔敦敖包的由来
123	(二) 贝子庙与额尔敦敖包
133	三、初见额尔敦敖包
140	四、额尔敦敖包祭祀活动
140	(一) 额尔敦敖包祭祀仪式音声——贝子庙晨诵
141	(二) 额尔敦敖包祭祀衍生出来的世俗性仪式音声
142	(三) 额尔敦敖包祭祀中神圣性仪式音声
142	(四) 敖包祭祀仪式
196	五、国际游牧文化节及搏克、赛马比赛

210	第四章 民间敖包祭祀个案之一：桑根达来敖包祭祀
210	一、桑根达来敖包祭祀的空间
217	二、祭祀龙头泉眼敖包
226	三、祭祀桑根达来敖包
228	（一）装饰桑根达来敖包
229	（二）烟祭
231	（三）献祭及酒祭
233	（四）诵经
240	（五）酒祭绕敖包
248	四、敖包联欢
248	（一）午餐
249	（二）赛马
254	（三）午休歌唱
260	（四）摔跤
263	（五）分食福祿

264	(六) 颁奖闭幕
266	第五章 民间敖包祭祀个案之二:额吉、白音敖包祭祀
266	一、额吉敖包祭祀仪式
266	(一) 额吉敖包祭祀仪式场景
269	(二) 额吉敖包祭祀程序
286	二、白音敖包祭祀仪式
286	(一) 白音敖包祭祀空间
294	(二) 白音敖包祭祀程序
305	(三) 白音敖包祭祀后的联欢
315	第六章 官方与民间:敖包祭祀仪式音声的比较研究
315	一、官方敖包祭祀仪式及音声
316	(一) 官方敖包祭祀的音声内涵
321	(二) 官方敖包祭祀仪式及音声的音乐特征
354	二、民间敖包祭祀仪式及音声

- 354 (一) 民间敖包祭祀的音声内涵
- 361 (二) 民间敖包祭祀仪式音声的音乐特征
- 370 三、官方、民间敖包祭祀仪式及音声的相同性
- 372 四、官方、民间敖包祭祀仪式音声的相异性
- 376 **第七章 “敖包”祭祀仪式及音声变迁的方法论思考**
- 376 一、蒙古族敖包祭祀仪式及音声的当代变迁
- 380 二、敖包祭祀仪式及音声变迁与多元文化因素
- 380 (一) 敖包祭祀仪式及音声与萨满教文化因素
- 383 (二) 敖包祭祀仪式及音声与佛教文化因素
- 386 (三) 蒙古族敖包祭祀仪式及音声与蒙古族传统民间文化因素
- 389 (四) 蒙古族敖包祭祀仪式及音声与符号、族群认同
- 392 三、敖包祭祀仪式及音声变迁与蒙古族现代生活构建
- 393 (一) 敖包信仰的内涵和功能
- 397 (二) 蒙古族现代生活现状、问题及重建