



THE COMMENT ON BENZHU CULTURE

本主文化论

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序

杨政业

走进白族人聚居的乡村，你会发现每一个村庄都有一座建筑精美的本主庙，白族人对自己的民族保护神“本主”的景仰甚于对佛道教的信仰，本主文化是中华博大文化中具有民族特色的地方文化。

我的家乡大理市就有许许多多的本主庙。记得“少年骑竹马”的岁月，每当春节、火把节、本主节等节日里，和同龄的小伙伴一样，我们常跟在长辈的后边，到村头那座香烟缭绕、诵经念佛之声喧嚣鼎沸的本主庙中玩耍，长辈们举着猪头、公鸡虔诚献祭的诚惶诚恐的神态，至今犹浮现在眼前。儿时每次随我奶奶和母亲出村，她们都要停留于本主庙前作鞠躬行礼后才登上路途。

在春草茵茵的放牧场，还是在秋高气爽的打谷场上，或是过春节的喜气洋洋的日子，那些村里有文化的老者们手持烟锅，在吞云吐雾中讲述着我们村的少年英雄本主张小三为民驱蝗除害的故事。每当讲到本主的丰功伟业，人们的脸上就会泛起一股自豪的神情。“我们的本主如何如何……”总是挂在人们嘴边的话题，人们常常以本主的勇敢、聪明、法力无边而荣耀。

本主虽然是一种民俗和宗教，但它不象佛道教那样要人们成仙成佛，本主是作为襄助人们追求幸福生活的朋友出现，本主是人

性与神性的集合体。佛道教是要把人引向天国,而本主是助人们追求今生的幸福,这是一种独特的宗教哲学观念。爱国、爱家乡、爱自然、爱别人,爱自己的生命大抵为本主文化的基本内核;忠孝义勇、仁义礼智信的思想是本主文化中积累的儒家思想,本主文化是白族最典型的现实主义文化。

有本主文化就有本主研究的学术。但对这个问题卓有成效的研究,只是二十世纪八、九十年代以来的事情,以前的调查研究有一些基础,但面窄、量小,不能在学术界形成大的影响。近二十年来,国内外对本主的研究已有很大的发展。

学术研究应当是百花齐放的。由于每个人所受的教育、社会经历、掌握的资料等方面的差异,也就会产生不同的学术观点。土生土长的本地知识分子,由于天然的民族心理素质、民族语言等天然优势,感性认识多,调查研究的东西就比较真实。外地的学者从“旁观者清”的另一个视角来看,对本主文化的研究就可能更理性一些,国外的学者,从不同文化的对比,又可能从更新的角度来看这个问题。对本主文化的调查研究,最早起于二十世纪初,1950年后有过一定规模的调查,1980年进入一个比较活跃的时期,但是,迄今为止,白族人为什么信本主?本主文化与其它民俗和宗教有何不同?本主是人为宗教还是原始宗教?白族人为什么信仰异民族的李宓、郑回、忽必烈等等,许多未解开的谜,等人们花费力气去破译和解释。

对民族文化的研究永远不可能停留在一个静态的水平上,但研究的向前迈进却必须占有前人的研究成果。在对本主文化调查研究的过程中,我深感资料的馈缺。编一本有参考性的本主文化

论文集是萌发已久的愿望,于是,在1999年秋天,我便抽空做这项工作的资料收集和编辑工作。

现在收入本书的论文和调查资料共24篇,许多文章具有较高的研究水平,观点是新颖的,作者有大理的学者,也有北京、昆明等地的学者,论文发表时间主要集中在二十世纪的八十至九十年代,因为这个时期是国内外学术界对本主文化研究较为广泛,思想最活跃、学术成果较多较集中的时期,这也是在六十至七十年代思想界受“左”的禁锢以后的一次学术解放,所以学术研究的繁荣还要依托于好的环境和时代的造就,否则就不能有这本书的产生。

纵览本书,可以看到有不同的学术观点争鸣,但也可以看到学术界有着共识:

本主文化是白族的民族特征之一。迄今为止调查研究资料与活生生的民族文化证明,本主文化只是白族才有的文化。从唐代南诏时期“步(本)主”就作为国家尊奉的地方神灵,到明清时期,本(土)主文化现象仍在云南境内普遍存在,直到现在,云南境内许多地方的白、汉、彝等民族还保留着一些土主庙,大理、昆明、红河、楚雄、保山、丽江、怒江及湖南桑植的聚居白族都有本(土)主文化的信仰。

今天,你要了解白族,不乏到本主庙去看一看,白族的古戏台、古照壁、大本曲、对联、碑刻、园艺、美术、饮食、歌舞、工艺、祭祀等民俗与宗教文化还比较完整地保留在那里。如果说白族服饰从二十世纪四十年代开始被西装逐渐淹没的趋势,那么,本主庙的白族文化是受到较少冲击的地方,也是西方文化不可能代替的地方。如果说语言、共同心理素质等是白族的民族特征,那么,本主文化

是白族比较具象的文化特征。虽然佛道教文化也是大理文化和白族文化的代表之一,但影响最广泛,今天仍然有生命力的只有本主文化才是最能代表白族文化的“根”,是真真切切地展示白族文化的最朴素的“源”。

白族文化早在南诏大理国时期就已形成。因为白族与汉族的交往早在汉代就已经很密切,如大理市大展屯出土了汉墓、剑川沙溪鳌凤也有汉墓,证明白族与汉族文化在洱海地区很早就有交流。一千多年来,白族使用汉字(本民族的“白文”,使用范围极窄)发展了自己的民族文化,但对汉文化不是以“拿来主义”对待,而是批判地吸收,形成了自己特点的文化,这是一种生生不息的民族性格。本主文化未能被其它文化吞噬的原因,主要在于它根植于广泛的民俗生活之中。

民俗是保存民族文化的万能宝库。文化如果不为人们传承,它就停止了运动,也就自然消亡。而本主文化却始终处于动态生存的方式,它的载体为民俗,是白族人的心理寄托和生产生活需要它,民俗与宗教的一体化存活于民众生活之中是本主文化经久不衰的原因。如大理最隆重的本主节——绕三灵,时间从每年农历二月上旬至四月下旬,范围涉大理、洱源、巍山三县,参与人员有白、汉、彝等数万人,从接金姑(白王张乐进求之女)和蒙细奴逻,到四月二十三至二十五在大理坝子的三天三夜狂欢,无一不浸透着本主文化的民俗活动,如祭祀、歌舞、求偶等,一年一度,千年不绝,具有绵长的生命力。

本主文化是已经进入了人为宗教阶段的信仰。这是本主不同于原始宗教的主要特征。它所具备的活动场所——本主庙,活动

组织——莲池会等民间社团,还有本主庙会,有本主诰文、经书、祈祷通用奏表疏文等,是与原始自发的宗教有明显区别的。象白族的“中央本主”——神都段宗榜的祀庙,奉南诏清平官、大理国第一代国王段思平的先祖为本主,已有一千多年了。

本主神是一种“半人半神”的偶像。本主不象其它宗教那样远离人间烟火。从哲学的意义上分析,宗教是以宿命论的观点作为一切问题的出发点的,而本主崇拜的哲学基点却是“二元论”,即赋予本主神有朴素的唯物主义和唯心主义结合一体的特征,就象常见的“夹心饼干”那样,内部是唯心的,外部是唯物的。从唯心的一面看,白族人都认为本主是襄助人们解脱“生老病死苦”的伟大力量之神。而从唯物的角度看,白族人又赋予本主都有七情六欲,都有人生烦恼、儿女私事,甚至本主之间也有恋爱,本主也有越生越多的子孙,且都奉为本主(如李宓及其子孙)。再如“中央本主”段宗榜,是神性与人性结合的典型,它在神都内是大本主,是万民敬畏的至尊之神,而在马久邑却与民间女子相恋,又成了有血有肉的凡人。本主文化中的宗教意识,表现出天上人间的合一,神与人的合一,理想与现实的合一、宗教与民俗的合一,唯物与唯心一体同生的“二元论”,使本主文化的哲学思想呈现出一种矛盾的组合,它既抑制了白族唯物主义体系的构筑,也抑制了唯心主义体系的丰富性,表现出南诏大理国以来白族文化在发展过程和发展方向上的困惑,同时也表现出南诏以来白族知识分子对科技文化的追求与广大民众文化对俗文化的依赖的两种价值观的冲突,也表现了汉文化与白族文化的痛苦交织,这种文化的矛盾、冲撞、交融,展示出本主哲学观的“二元论”以及白族文化的多元化、多层面性、多线

条发展的状态,使得白族文化的内涵和外延更加深厚和广阔,学术研究也就更难,但更有价值。

在云南的古代文化中,南诏大理文化是最重要的组成部分,研究云南和大理文化,研究本主文化是不可缺少的一环。在现代生活中,一些民族文化正象物种的消失一样快速消灭,传统的白族文化从二十世纪以来消失了很多。本主文化会不会在二十一世纪加速消退?这不能不引起文化人类学者和当代社会与本民族的深思与警醒!如果白族文化消失,那么白族的消亡也会很快到来。因为服饰的消退也是近一百年来才迅速出现的事。再如白族语言在祥云的一些地方几乎消失(如祥云大波那村,解放初还有许多老人通白语);本主文化还会消失吗?也许现在的研究和加以保护,还可能“亡羊补牢,犹未为晚”。既然认为本主是一种民族文化,就应当予以保护和利用,在现代化发展过程中,白族不能丧失自己的文化,“一个失去了自身文化的民族,是一个漂泊无根的民族”,但愿斯宾格勒的警言不要在白族身上重演悲剧,不至于象新疆古代高昌国文化一样消失。

苍山洱海间迄今屹立着许多巍峨的本主庙。中华人民共和国成立 50 年后的今天,学术界对本主文化已取得丰硕的研究成果,而且这些成果正不断被转化为民族文化旅游的独特资源,神都“中央本主”段宗榜的神庙也被作为重要景区开发利用。对本主文化的学术研究已作为文化资源被南诏风情岛等运用。这是本主文化独特魅力之所在。幸哉,学术繁荣的时代;幸哉,本主文化被纳入科学研究和应用的年代。

FORWARD

YANG ZHENGYE

When you enter into the Bai's village, you can find there is a exquisite building in every village. It's the Bai's Benzhu temple. The Bai's respect and admiration for Benzhu is more than that for Buddhism and Taoism. Benzhu culture is a local and national culture among Chinese extensive culture.

In Dali, my hometown, there are many Benzhu temples. I still remember that years when I was young, on Benzhu Day or other festivals, my childhood friends followed behind the elders and played in Benzhu temple which was filled smoke and sound of reading the Buddhist scripture. Scenes of the elders offering sacrifice to Behzhu devoutly appear before my eyes to this day. On each occasion that I departed from the village with my grandma and my mother, they always had bowed to Behzhu temple before we set out.

In a pastureland full of green grass, a threshing ground of autumn sky high and air brisk, or the days full of joy when the Spring Festival, those ingenious old men of our village, held a pipe bowl and told the story about Zhang Xiaosan, a Benzhu. He had got rid of a plague of locusts for the villagers. The villagers wore a proud expression on their face as they were talking about achievements of Benzhu. "What about our Ben Zhu" is always the subject of a talk of the villagers. The people often take Benzhu'

s braveness , Intelligence and magic power as the pride .

Though Benzhu is a folkways and a religion , it isn ' t like Buddhism or Taoism to make the people become a immortal . Benzhu is a friend to help the people to seek a happy life , and it ' s the aggregate of human being and gods . Buddhism and Taoism lead the people into the Kingdom Of Heaven , Benzhu help the human being seek the happiness of this life . That ' s unique religionary and philosophical concept . Loving country , Hometown , the others and own life is the main crux of Benzhu cluture . Loyalty and filial piety , benevolence and uprightness is the Confucianists idea , which is accumulated in Benzhu cluture . Benzhu is the most typical realism culture of the Bai .

As there existed Benzhu culture , the academic research of Benzhu arose . But the fruitful research about this problem began at the 1980 ' s or the 1990 ' s . All the previous research have built some fundation , but it was limited in scope and short in quality . So it can ' t have a great influence on the academic circles . In the recent twenty years , the research at home and abroad have made great advances .

The academic research should be free development different forms and styles . Because of the difference of everyone ' s education , life experience and own material , there are different academic viewpoints . The intellectuals locally born and bred , their investigation and research are more true . because of their natural nation phychological character , nation language and perceptual knowledge . The scholars of other places are " the spectators see most clearly " , so their research are more ractional from another visual angle . The external scholars maybe regard this problem from a new angle . The survey and research of Benzhu culture arose at the beginning at 20

century. There were some survey of a fair scale after 1950 and a active period in 1980. But up to now, why the Bai believe in Benzhu? What is the difference between folkways and religion? Is Benzhu the Artificial Religion or the Primitive Religion? Why the Bai believe in Li Mi, Zheng Hui and Hu Bilie? Many doubts not resolved are waiting for the people to decipher and explain.

The research on the national culture must not stay at a static level, but a improvement of research must need having the predecessors' research fruits. I deeply felt the material is so poor in my survey and research of Benzhu culture. To compile a collected papers of the academic thesis for reference is my long time wish. So I managed to find time to do some collecting and compiling of this job in autumn in 1999.

Now, there are 24 theses and survey material in this book, Many of them have a High level and an original theme. The writers are the scholars from Dali, Beijing, Kunming and Chengdu. The publishment time of theses mainly are in 1980's to 1990's. Because in this period, the research of Benzhu culture at home and abroad are very extensive, and the academic fruits were in abundance. This period was an academic liberation after the ideological imprisonment by "Left" deviation from the sixties to the seventies in 20 century. So the promotion of academic research depends on the good environment and time, just as same as the publishment of this book.

Taking a sweeping view of this book, there are the contention of different academic themes and the common understanding in the academic circles.

Benzhu culture is one of the Bai's national traits. The survey and

research up to now and alive Benzhu national culture proved that Benzhu is the Bai's typical culture. During Nanzhao period in Tang Dynasty, "Buzhu", Benzhu, was the local gods believed in by the whole state. To Ming and Qing Dynasties, the phenomenon of Benzhu culture still commonly existed in many places in Yunnan. To this Day, the nationalities, such as Bai, Han and Yi, Still have retain some Benzhu temples, and the settled Bai nationality have Benzhu religion in Dali, Kunming, Honghe, Chuxiong, Baoshan, Lijiang, Nujiang and Shanghai in Hunan.

Today, if you want to understand the Bai, you can go to have a look at Benzhu temple. The Bai's folk custom and religious culture, such as old stage, old shadow wall, Dabeng song, antithetical couplet, stele, horticulture, art, food, song and dance, technology and sacrifice, were still completely retained there. If we think that the Bai's clothes were gradually replaced by Western - style clothes from 1940's, then Benzhu temple culture is the place which is not pounded or replaced by Western culture. If we say that the language and the common psychological character are the Bai's nation feature, then Benzhu culture is the Bai's particular cultural feature. Though the culture of Buddhism and Taoism are one of the representatives of Dali culture and the Bai's culture, only Benzhu culture have great influence and vitality to this day. It's the "root" which can represent the Bai's culture, and it's the "source" which can clearly show the Bai's culture.

The Bai's culture, already came into being early in the Nanzhao and Dali Kingdom Period. Because the Bai's contacts with the Han was very close early in the Han Dynasty, such as the Han tomb unearthed from

Dazhangtun in Dali, and Shaxi, Aofeng in Jiaochuan, all of them proved that the culture of Bai and Han mixed together in Erhai region. In the past more than 1000 years, the Bai developed own nation Culture, using the chinese character (The Bai Nationality's "Bai character" is limited in scope). But the Bai didn't "bring" the Han culture entirely, they assimilated it with discrimination and envolved the culture with own featrue. That is a kind of national nature full of vitality. The reason why Benzhu culture has not be engulfed by the other culture is mainly that the Bai culture plants among the broad folkways life.

Folkways is a universal treasure - house to reatain national culture. If the culture are not handed down by the people, it will stop its movement and wither away. Benzhu culture always exists as a dynamic state form, its carrier is folkways. The Bai place their hope on Benzhu, and it's the Bai's need of production and life. That folkways and religion exist in the people's life as a whole is the reason why Benzhu culture is prolonged. For example, the grandest Benzhu Day in Dali - Raoshanlin Days, are observed from late ten days in February to early ten days in April every lunar calendar year. Its scope involve three counties: Dali, Eryuan and Weishan, and thousands upon thousands of persons join in this festival, including Han, Bai, Yi, etc. From meeting Jingu (Bai's King, Zhanglejingqiu's daughter) and Mengxinuluo, to three days and nights of revelry in Dali from April 23 to 25. All of that embody folkways activities of Benzhu culture, such as sacrifice, song and dance, court, etc. Raoshanlin Days are observed every year, continuing for one thousand years, and it has very long vitality.

Benzhu culture is the belif which has entered into the artificial

religion stage. That's the main feature that Benzhu is different from the primitive religion. Its activity place—the Benzhu temple, activity organization—nongovernment mass organizations, such as Lianchihui, etc, the unified and appointed Benzhu temple fair, and Benzhu admonition, confucian classic, memorial for praying, all of them are the obvious difference from the primitive religion. For example, the temple of central Benzhu – Duan Zongbang belived in Duan Siping, a prime minister of Nanzhao, the first king of Dali Kingdom as Benzhu. Its history is more than one thousand years.

Benzhu is an idol who is half human being and half god. Benzhu is not like god in other religions who is far away from the human being. Analyse from the Philosophy, religions made fatalism as the starting point of every thing, but philosophic essential point of the worship of Benzhu is dualism, give Benzhu the character of materialism and idealism, like the sandwich biscuits, the internal part is materialistic, the external part is idealistic. Say from the idealism, the Bai people regard Benzhu as a mysterious god who can help the human being get rid of hardship of birth, age, illness and death. Say from the materialism, the Bai people give Benzhu the seven emotions and the six sensory pleasure, worry over for life, be immersed in love, even though they can be in love each other, they can bear many children which can be regarded as Benzhu, too. For example, central Benzhu, Duan Zhongbang, is a typical god which has the character of human being and the character of god. In the capital temple he is a Benzhu, but at Majiuyi he can fall in love with a local girl, and become an ordinary person who has blood and flesh. The religion ansciousness in Benzhu culture indicates the combination of heaven and

world, the combination of god and human being, the combination of ideality and reality, the combination of religion and agriculture customs, the combination of materialism and idealism, which made the philosophic idea of Benzhu culture indicates a kind of compose bitterness and contradiction, which restrained the "building" of the Bai materialism system, and the abundant of idealism system, indicates the puzzle in the developing process and developing direction of Nanzhao and Dali Kingdoms, and also indicates since Nanzhao kingdom the Bai intellectual had been seeking the science and culture and the conflict between the mass culture and custom culture, that also indicates the hardship interweave between Han civilization and Bai civilization. The contradiction, colliding, mingling of the culture, express the dualism of Benzhu and the plural state of developing. It made the intension and extension of Bai civilization become more deeper and broader, the academic research become more difficult and more valuable.

In the ancient culture of Yunnan, Nanzhao and Dali Kingdoms culture is the most important composment, the nessessary link of the study on Yunnan Dali culture and Benzhu culture. In the modern life, some national culture disappeared rapidly like species. Many traditional culture had disappeared during 20 Century. If Benzhu culture will be disappeared in the 21 Century? This cause the culture Anthropologist, modern society and the local people fall into deep thought and be on the alert! If the Bai culture disappeared, the Bai Nationality would disappear rapidly. Because the Bai customes disappeared in recent one hundred years. The Bai language in xiangyun almost disappear (In the early years of revolution lot of men spoke the Bai language in village, such as Dabona, Xiangyun): Can