

中国西部



PROBING THE TIBETO-YUNNAN
CULTURE BELT

滇藏文化带

考察

云南田野考察群 著
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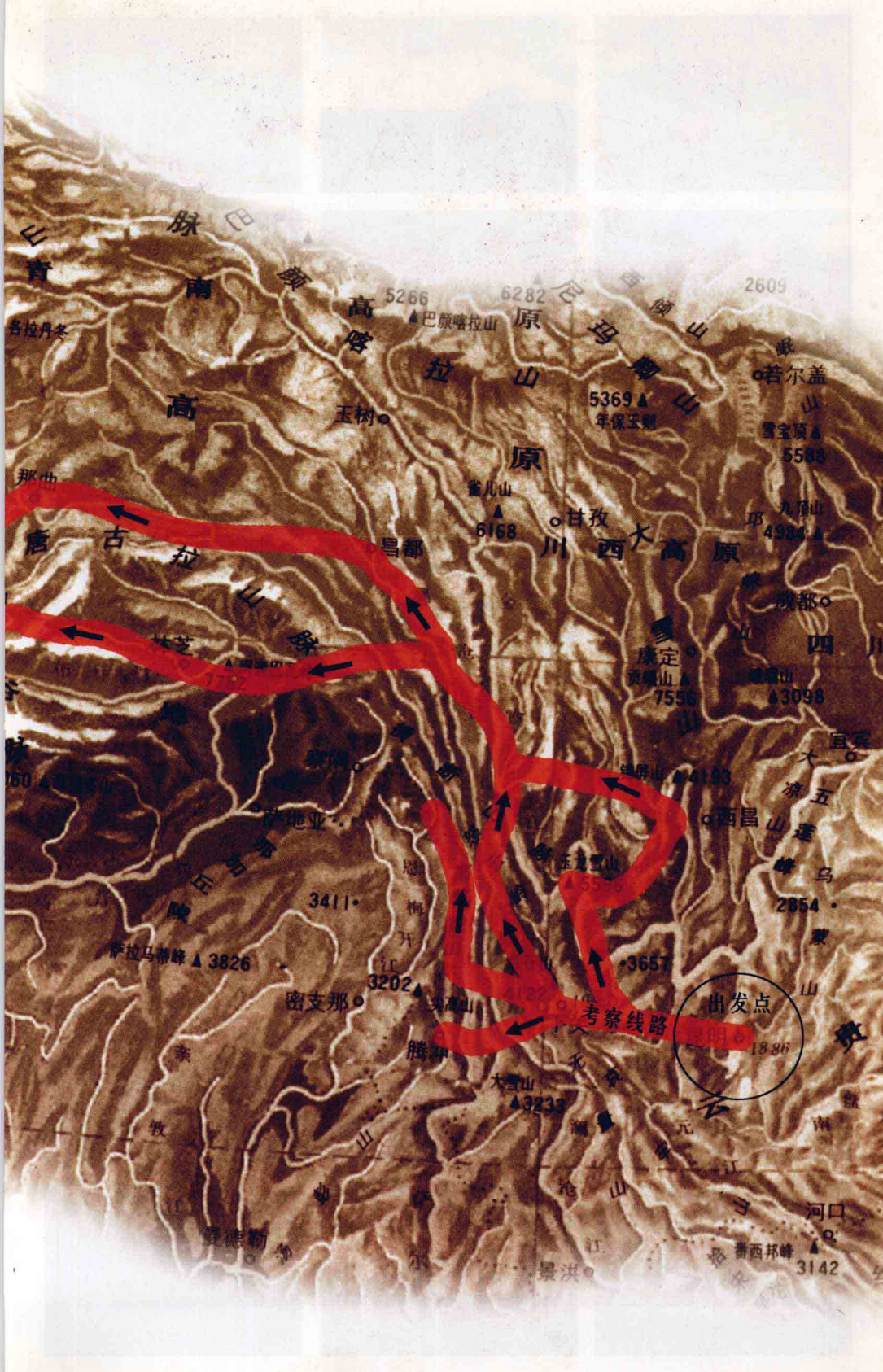
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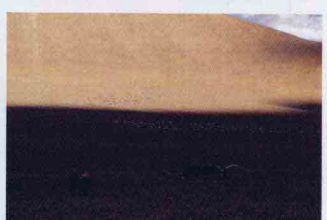
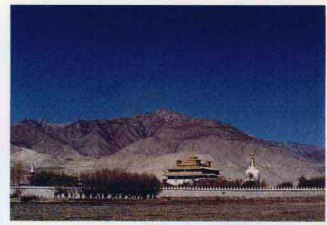
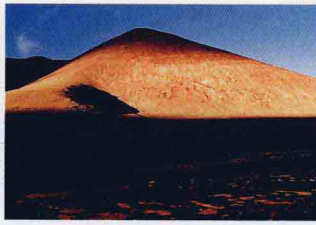
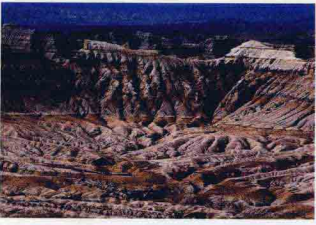
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周文中

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副 主 编

范建华 郝光明 陈 琦

编 委

向 伟 徐 冶

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(4-7)

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(11-52)

上篇 流动的血脉
(55-122)

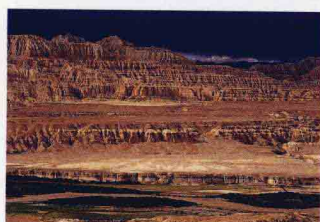
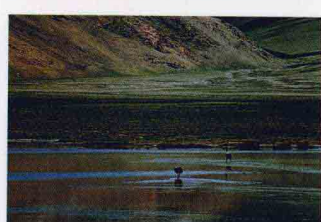
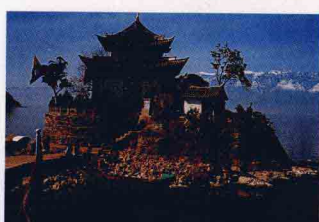
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西部

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，他们还用图文并茂的方式，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形，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、艺术和科学等本是融为一体的。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间似乎有所重合。在某种意义上说，我们与他们相似，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，是自然的和精神的西部。

当许多“中心”地区早已被人为的灰色笼罩，除了人及其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，峡谷里有野兽出没，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）的环境中顽强地活下来，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鹰；连草木，他们都以心相待，将它们视为有情意的兄妹。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；随着各民族的长歌流韵，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，我们的镜头盖无法打开。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，溶解化合在穿衣吃饭的寻常道白中。实在的材料，自然的表述，用不着引经据典拿别人的话来说你看见的事。有分量的实录报告，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一点那些未能或较少被“主流历史”传承下来的文化。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、十来亿俗民的物质生活和精神生活，形成许多种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，“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招回迷走的魂魄时，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，玄蜂若壶，五谷不生，其土烂人；或雕题黑齿，得人肉以祀，蝮蛇蓁蓁，封狐千里，雄虺九首，往来倏忽……

当严谨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、僂耳反舌，有卵生而长羽的羽民国，有裸浴即怀孕的女子国，这些人不仅异形异禀，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，西部存在着许多鲜为人知的“另类文化”，形成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未被纳入“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，正向世人逐渐亮出自己的本来面目。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。

A SENSATION TO WEST CHINA

Professor Deng Qiyao

Since ancient times when Emperor *Dayu* regulated 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, which might be only myths. But from different point of view, those “unreal records” might be modern one-sided view. In ancient times, myths, witchcraft, philosophical, artistic and scientific standards and ideas were inseparable from each other. *Shanhaijing* is the first book on China 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 of visual 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 photos, 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, the recoders and interpreters of Nature and the “frontier cultures”. We want to know in what kind of state the 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” pets. But most regions in west China are still under blue sky with eagles hovering over high mountains, wild animals 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 altitude, on the draught lands or in the caves with little sunlight. 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 is an organic whole comprising man and Nature or a combination of the nature in its original state as well as the culture and spirit of the local ethnic groups.

It is narrative because there is one way of life worth recording. 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” of “formula”, in remote places we

are telling "others stories" in our own language, which is vivid, substantial, emotional and enlightening.

It is truthful. 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 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, which 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 other 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 affected a few of ethnic groups with a population of a few billions spiritually, and present to the outside world the spirit and psychological states of these people, which have become a challenge to most writers.

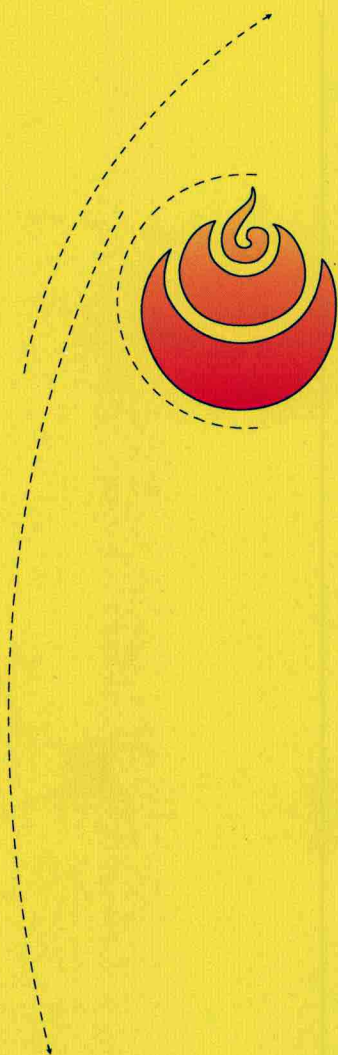
Another point worth mentioning is that the authors of many books, who were in favor of the dominant Han culture or Western culture theory, regarded their own culture as superior one and others inferior. As a result, they failed to give a fair record or account of the "frontier culture".

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

Today, it has been proved that the Han centralized theory or "the dominant cultural center" can not 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 unfold 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 communication and mass media, west China is unfolding itself to the outside world and many blanks to 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 quick process of globalization, some former "frontier regions" have become the "front line" 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 modern cultures. 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.





PRELUDE



**From the Hengduan Mountains
to the Himalayas**

**从横断山
到喜马拉雅**