PHOTOGRAPHIC TRAVELOGUE WOODSTOCK ON THE SUMMIT

秘鲁影像日记·山巅上的伍兹托克

Photographer Zhong Weixing 钟维兴 作品

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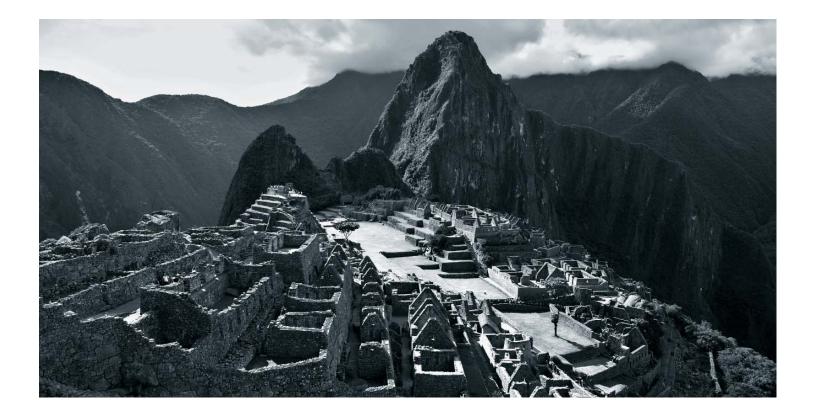
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The wisdom in self-sufficiency: A celebratory pilgrimage

说起来,库斯科并不是非常出名的大城市。位于它北部山区的马丘 比丘古城可能更出名,它的另外一个名字叫做"失落的城市"。

不过,这个已经开发得相当成熟的风景区不是我们捱过漫长的空中 旅程、在仅仅休整了五个小时之后就再次踏上行程的目的地。我们的目 光落在更远一些的库斯科城南部山区,那里有一座位于Sinakara山谷, 名叫Ausungate的山峰。那里不是旅游点,甚至也不会是,但是在每年 秘鲁的"太阳节"之前的这几天,这里会成为整个秘鲁人口最密集的地 区——这几天正值当地最著名的节日Qoyllur Rir'i期间。

和官方色彩浓厚的太阳节不同,这个甚至在出了南安第斯山脉地区 就几乎无人知晓的节日,是真正意义上的库斯科南部地区居民自发形成 的节日。它的来源令人惊奇地体现着某种平衡:行为形态充满着美洲萨 满的特征,又嫁接着基督教的三位一体理论,其十字架崇拜的形式显然 也具备天主教朝觐的特点,甚至在其做祈祷的动作中有的合什、亲吻手 捏十字架的典型动作——这其中任何一种单一的信仰都难以接受对方, 但是在这里,在神圣的Ausangate山地区,它们不但相安无事,而且显得 水乳交融。

"为了这次拍摄,我等了一年多。"同行的摄影师钟维兴的口气略 显感慨。事实上,这次出行就是摄影师发起的。一年前他只身来到库斯 科,本意是寻找一些专属秘鲁的风土人情,可惜四处酒店的马丘比丘没 能让他如愿。在返回库斯科拍摄太阳节的时候,他从当地人口中听说了 Qoyllur Rirli节,大感有趣,可惜时间已经过了,于是有了今年的出行计 划。

真正的路途永远比我们设想的要艰难——虽然在常常行走于不同地 区的摄影师来说,这几乎是一种常识,但就算钟维兴这样老资格的旅行 家,也没有料到要行抵圣山的山脚,居然会艰难到这个地步:首先是三 个小时筛糠一般的汽车之旅,七荤八素之际,当地向导告诉我们前面的 路已经无法通行汽车,于是换乘当地的山地马——听起来似乎还不错, 不过在大走速度的马背上连续颠三个小时,其实更不好受。然后,我们 终于到了山脚,马背上还有器材,所以所有人下马,开始步行上山…… 经验主义带来的也不全部是坏处,至少在对于朝觐方式的猜测上, 我们有了一点惊喜。可能是南美洲固有的热情,也可能是玛卡的作用, 这里的人们习惯于将本属于宗教的朝觐心理转化为炽热的情感表达,而 且从这段漫长的朝觐之旅的一开始,他们就集体进入了一种接近痴狂的 沉醉中:大家是一路又唱又跳地向着山顶进发的,而不是像我们设想的 那样,到了山顶才开始庄严的、仪式感很强的朝觐。又或者,这里的信 众天生的热情决定了他们定义信仰的方式是尽兴地表现自己?前往朝觐 的每一个人都是这场盛事的参与者,在同行的人群中,显得突兀的反而 是我们这些旁观者。我注意到上山的主道路旁的植被开始有了变化,它 们的枝叶越来越小了,很多地方甚至开始出现一些苔藓类植物——海拔 开始升高了,阳光剧烈而稀薄。人群热烈的情绪感染着摄影师,他几乎 没有注意到地形的变化,注意力完全集中在周围的人群上,几乎是无间 断地进行着拍摄。让一位几乎跑遍了全世界的摄影师在拍摄过程中甚至 情不自禁地低声惊叹,我们当时所处情景之震撼可见一斑。

"Qoyllur Rirl"的大概意思是"雪的星宿",这倒是和这次朝觐的 大环境非常贴切:几乎所有热烈的朝觐行为,都是在雪线上下的位置展 开的,并且越往上,越热烈。实际上,一队专司护卫的神职人员正扛着 Qoyllur Rirli的神圣象征物,从Sinakara山谷里另一条小道往山顶赶去,而 另一支"大部队"则正从Ausangate的另一面同时进发——想一想那是怎 样一种开阔的场景:若是伫立于山巅之上,就会目睹两条五彩斑斓的人 群组成的长龙正行进于上山顶的途中,另一个深色的小点则在两条长龙 之间缓缓行进,天地是他们身处的一个大房间,舒卷的云和太阳是墙上 的彩绘。

参加朝觐活动的人群基本上是以村为单位进行聚合的——他们在 以村为单位进行暗中的比赛:哪个村的歌舞更有表现力、服装更绚丽, 其中一些还高举着写有自己村名的旗帜。大多数男人的服装依旧带有南 美印第安人传统的特色,深色、镶有小亮片的坎肩套在袖口宽大的衬衫 上,下身是黑色或本色的各式牛仔裤,很多人都戴着花纹繁复的毛线帽 (后来我们才知道,这种毛线帽其实有另外一种功能)。女士们则大都

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穿着毛线背心和下摆洒得很开的裙子,戴着宽檐的皮帽。一些人手里持 有各种乐器,但类似于低音鼓的皮面大鼓是必不可少的一种。向导告诉 我们,这多半是些负有祭祀职责的萨满。他们穿着成套的土红色调的垂 髻帽和羊毛披肩——这真是令人惊奇的淡定,他们最终是会在山顶上和 扛着十字架的"圣体保护者"们汇合的,然而萨满们和这些明显有着天 主教式信仰的保护者们居然是山顶仪式的合作者。当然,也有些人完全 是为了给自己"壮声势"才肩扛大鼓,他们的服装就很随意了,可能是 任何形式的混搭。现场有一位微微驼背的老人就是这种自娱自乐者。看 不出来他属于现场任何一个村子,但似乎和很多人都比较熟悉。他穿着 一套洗旧了的牛仔服,口含自制的烟卷,在冰雪路上背着鼓又唱又跳, 有时候随着附近人群的歌舞敲出节奏。而在他附近就地演出的人的欢乐 也并不比他少。年轻男女们穿着混合有文艺复兴时期西班牙风格的服装 跳着一种需要男女配合的舞蹈。从动作上看,这样的舞蹈似乎受到过西 方世界宫廷舞的一点影响, 但它挥洒四肢的动作和时时伸展开来的双臂 又明明是对印第安鹰图腾崇拜的注释。有些人停了下来,把皱在头上的 毛线帽子拉下来——原来这顶帽子同时还是一个面具。我们注意到,面 具的样式有两种,一种是五官类似于扑克里面的王子J、留着小胡子的 笑脸人的形象,另一种是没有五官、整体深色、额部贴着一个小金属十 字架的形象。他们好像在路旁进行某种表演:两个小胡子先是叉着腰相 互争吵,有的甚至有一些拉扯,然后戴深色面罩的人就变魔术似的从背 后拿出一根皮鞭交予其中一方,让他鞭打另外一方,而被鞭打的一方也 并没有还手。鞭打之后,无论双方是否服气,大家又像朋友一样继续上 路。向导看到我们在驻足观看这种表演,就向我们解释到:这一种风 俗——把过去的恩怨在今天这种类似现场戏剧的游戏中彻底解决。戴深 色面罩的是"裁决者",他负责在场主持公道,对双方的恩怨做出判 断,并告诫双方,过往的一切矛盾在今天必须结束,未来的日子中不能 再将今日的恩怨提起。摄影师照了不少这样的照片,还让戴面具者现场 合了几张影。朝觐活动的现场并不缺吃喝,每一处载歌载舞的人群聚合 处,必然有几个热情的大妈正架起火,用自带上山的不锈钢大锅煮着玉 米、土豆或羊肉,雪原上四处飘香。

若是考察印加人在上古时候的来源,似乎和东亚地区的人类也有着 一些渊源。即使历史以它不可小觑的力量在其过程中改变着印加人的生 活形态,人性最本真的部分却有着类似的感受。在Qoyllur Riti朝觐活动 中,这样的类似在视觉感受上表现无遗:无论如何,这样的人群和集体 行为方式,都会让人想起藏人们在草原的雨季里举行的跑马会,或者莎 车地区伴随着繁复迷人的十二木卡姆的麦西热浦。它们是如此的相似: 歌舞和现场表演、最大程度的参与性、鲜艳的服装和以这种形式对平时 人们社会角色的消解。群体的欢乐往往有着巨大的感染力。这种感染力 让身在其中者对表演自己和感受娱乐的过程性质渐渐模糊起来,直到它 们不再是一般意义上分为"施"与"受"的二元对立面,而是成了一种 合为一体的联接个体和群体意识之间的强力纽带——这种纽带主要表现 为大集体式的自由活动,但具备一个相对统一的价值观趋向。于是对神 圣的朝觐演变成了某种高潮迭起的魔幻仪式,用以对抗的,却不是人们 行走其中的天地,而是对自身欲望的集合形式——我们一般将之命名为 "生活"——的释放式调节。人作为智性生物的价值得到了自我确认, 代表负能量的毁灭和不幸则可以在这样的活动中被净化掉。

我们一般下意识地以为不同文化背景中成长起来的人,差别可以 大到基本人性也可能有着巨大差别,以为那是所谓"野蛮人"的"异域 风情"。这场规模巨大的狂欢式朝觐正好给我们这种文明中心论好好地 上了一课,让我们认识到,即使在我们的概念中的所谓"现代文明"社 会,这样的对自身智性的认知和肯定其实一样具有巨大的价值。

如果说上世纪六十年代在北美风起云涌的嬉皮士运动催生出的举办 于1969年的乌兹托克音乐节可以被定义为一次无可辩驳的对现代人庸俗 沉闷的实用主义价值观的反动和趋向人性本真精神的回归,那么这一场 在遥远南美的Ausungate山自发举行的Qoyllur Rit'i朝觐仪式,则完全可以 被命名为一场在山巅上举行的乌兹托克。 It's said that for a big city, Cuzco is not very well known. It's probably not as well known even as Machu Picchu, in the northern mountainous region of the city, and dubbed a ,,lost city.‰

However, this city has been developed so much that it already looks like a ripe tourist area, and it wasnft the point of the seemingly endless flight that we suffered through. After resting five hours, we continued along to our final destination. Our sights were set on an even more remote region to the south of Cuzco, Ausangate Mountain in the Sinakara valley. This was no tourist destination, nor would it ever be, but every year several days before Inti Raymi, the Peruvian Festival of the Sun, this place would host the highest concentrations of Peruvian people. This well-known days-long festival is known as Qoyllur RitÊ.

Unlike the more official Inti Raymi, the Qoyllur Rith festival is unknown to most people outside of the southern Andes region. The basis of this spontaneous celebration by the inhabitants of the southern Cuzco region are unexpected, yet seem to reflect a sense of balance: The rituals have all the characteristics of the shamans of ancient South American cultures but simultaneously preserve the Holy Trinity of Christian thought, and its use of the crucifix as an object of worship has clear Catholic connotations. Even during the daily prayers, all is harmonious; the act of kissing the cross is unacceptable to many Christians, but here on the sacred Mt. Ausangate, these different schools of thought exist together in complete harmony.

"I waited more than one year just to shoot this!%sighed my travel companion, photographer Zhong Weixing. This trip was, in fact, initiated by him. One year previously, the photographer had visited Cuzco with the aim of capturing rare images of traditional Peruvian society, but with only hotels surrounding Machu Picchu, he was unable to fulfill his wishes. When he returned to Cuzco for Inti Raymi, he heard about the Qoyllur Rith festival from locals. His interest was piqued, but unfortunately the festival was already finished for the year. Thus arose the plans for this trip.

The actual road to the festival was much more difficult than we ever imagined. To photographers well-versed in traveling to all kinds of places, this is no surprise, but even the seasoned travel photographer Zhong Weixing did not foresee that he would have to rest before ascension of this sacred mountain even began. Such a challenge so soon was unexpected: The first three hours were spent in a bumpy car ride, and in some kind of mix-up, our guide told us that the road ahead was closed off to car traffic, at which point we carried on by horseback. It sounded like a good idea, but three hours on the back of a horse moving at speed turned out to be quite uncomfortable. When we finally reached the foot of the mountain, we had to dismount and walk up the mountain so that the horses could carry our equipment.

Experimentalism isnft always a bad thing, at least when it comes to making a pilgrimage, and so we had a pleasant surprise awaiting. Perhaps it was the warmness inherent to South Americans, or perhaps it has to do with the welldocumented effects of the maca plant, but people here habitually pour forth with emotion, the result of psychological transformation related to fundamental religious belief. And from the very beginning of this long pilgrimage, they collectively entered into something close to a mad intoxication. All were singing and dancing as they journeyed together toward the summit of the mountain. It wasnft at all the solemn, reverent ceremony on the mountain peak that we had imagined. Then again, was it these worshippersÉpassionate nature that compelled them to define their convictions by joyfully expressing themselves? Every single person on the pilgrimage was a participant among peers in this grand occasion, in contrast to our conspicuousness as bystanders. I noticed that the vegetation lining the main path up the mountain was beginning to change, the branches and leaves shrinking, and many places had even begun to grow moss. So far above sea level, the sunshine is severe and yet sparse. The crowdß enthusiasm was infectious, and the photographer nearly did not notice the change in terrain, so focused was his attention on the crowd as he shot, uninterrupted. One must simply let a photographer who has traveled to nearly every corner of the globe carry out the process of shooting, and even exclamations of surprise and wonderment at the scene must be made in a low voice.

"Qoyllur Ritĥ%dranslates to something like "snowy constellations,%and indeed, this is a very fitting description of the environment during this pilgrimage. Nearly all acts of dedicated pilgrimage are carried out on snowy hills, and the higher the altitude, the more devout the pilgrims. A special convoy of clergy carried the sacred symbols of Qoyllur Ritĥ from a small path in the Sinakara valley to the mountain, and another, larger group of pilgrims set off from the opposite face of Ausangate at the same time. Think about the wide open space in that scene, if one were looking down from the top of the mountain: to witness these masses of people in spectacularly colorful clothing in two long lines snaking up the mountain, dotted by specks of dark color slowly proceeding along. The world is just a giant room that theyfre in, and the swirling clouds and sun are simply painted on the wall.

The participants in the pilgrimage are essentially a composite of clans, and as such, they carry out an unstated competition: That clanß songs and dances are more expressive, their costumes more splendid, and their clanß flag is held higher. Most of the menß clothes still bear the traditional characteristics of the clothes of the indigenous people of South America: dark colors, wide



sleeved shirts with sequined cuffs, and black or neutral-colored jeans. Many people also wear wool hats with complicated patterns on them (we later learned out that there is another function for this wool hat). Most of the women wear wool vests and very full skirts and wide-brimmed leather hats. Some of the people carry different kinds of musical instruments, but the most important one is a large leather drum that looks much like a bass drum. Our guide told us that most of these are the traditional Andean shamans who must carry out the sacrificial duties. They wear rust-colored wool capes and matching hats that hang down over their ears and a surprisingly calm demeanor. At the end of the journey, they will stand at the top of the mountain, upon which the Catholics will converge, holding up their crosses. But the two groups carry out their spiritual ceremonies upon the mountaintop peacefully. Of course there are some who carry the large drums just to show their strength and give themselves prestige, and their clothes are thrown together haphazardly, not matched. And amid all of this is a slightly hunchbacked elderly man amusing himself. He doesn't seem to belong to any of the clans, and yet he seems to be familiar with many of the people here. He is wearing a pair of well-worn jeans, and from his mouth dangles a hand-rolled cigarette. He climbs the icy path with a big drum on his back all the while singing and dancing, and sometimes drumming the beat for the songs of a nearby group of people. And the joy of the performers surrounding him is no less than his. Young men and women wearing a mix of Spanish Renaissance-era clothing are dancing a partner dance that seems to have been influenced by Western ballroom dancing, but the way the dancersÊ limbs sway and their frequent extending of their arms shows a clear connection to the native American worship of the eagle. Some stop now and pull down the crease in their wool caps. originally, this kind of hat also functioned as a mask. We notice that there are two kinds of mask, one with features similar to that of the Jack in a deck of cards. a mustachioed, smiling face. and the other with no facial features at all, merely dark-colored cloth upon which a small metal cross has been affixed. There seem to be some performances along the side of the road: Two bearded young men cross each other as if to quarrel, and some even start to shove. Then the one wearing the dark mask pulls out a whip from behind, as if by magic, and hands it to somebody in the crowd. That person whips the other man, who does not retaliate in turn. After this, they carry on down the road just as if they were friends. Our guide, seeing us stop to watch the performance, explained: This is a tradition; the old grudges of the past are completely settled today in this game of live drama. The one who wears the dark mask is the "judge‰and responsible for the ruling after judging the grievances of both sides. Both parties are then warned that all the conflict of the past must end today, and that they can never be spoken of again in the future. The photographer took many shots of this performance, as well as some of the mask-wearers against the backdrop of the whole scene. The ritual site had no shortage of food or drink, nor singers nor dancers, and inevitably

there were some small fires where people used the steel pots they had carried up the mountain to cook corn, beans, and mutton while the snow floated down everywhere.

Upon inspection, it seems that the ancient Incans share some roots with the peoples of the East Asian regions. Of course the lifestyle of the Incans has changed over the course of time, given the powerful effects of history, but the most fundamental, true part of human nature seems to have similar feelings as the East Asians. The visuals on display during the Qoyllur RitÊ pilgrimage left out nothing: Regardless, this kind of crowd and group action are reminiscent of the Tibetan horse races on the grasslands during the rainy season or the festivals of the twelve-mugam musical mode in the Yarkand region of Xinjiang. They are so similar: singing and dancing and live performances, massive participation, colorful clothing and temporary disappearance of ordinary social roles. The joy of the community is infectious. This infection gradually blurs the division between one offering performances and the same person having fun until the two are no longer divided into a binary of "giving%and "receiving%but have become strongly tied together, a link between the individual and the collective consciousness. This bond mainly emerges during large-scale, freewheeling events, but their values tend to oppose tradition. As a result, changes to the sacred pilgrimage emerge in waves. Resistance arises not from people walking one road but from that deep longing for social gatherings, which we usually call "life,%that is the kind of regulators of release. The value of human intellect lies in self-confirmation, representing the destruction of negative energy and misfortunes that in this kind of activity can be purified.

We usually think subconsciously that people who have grown up in different cultural backgrounds are fundamentally different and also that the difference might be huge, and so we dub their cultural habits the "alien customs‰of "barbarians.‰This massive, carnival-style pilgrimage gave us an important lesson in cultural theory and allowed us to recognize that, even in our concept of so-called "modern civilized‰ocieties, the acknowledgement of oneB self-assuredness and certainty.

If the hippie movement of 1960s North America that gave rise to Woodstock in 1969 can be described as a one-time, indisputable reaction to modern mank debased and depressed pragmatist ideological values and a return to humanity fit rue spirit, then this spontaneous ceremony of pilgrims, Qoyllur RutĤ, on a remote Mt. Ausangate in South America, can be dubbed the Woodstock on the Summit.



 Peru · Woodstock on the Summit

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