

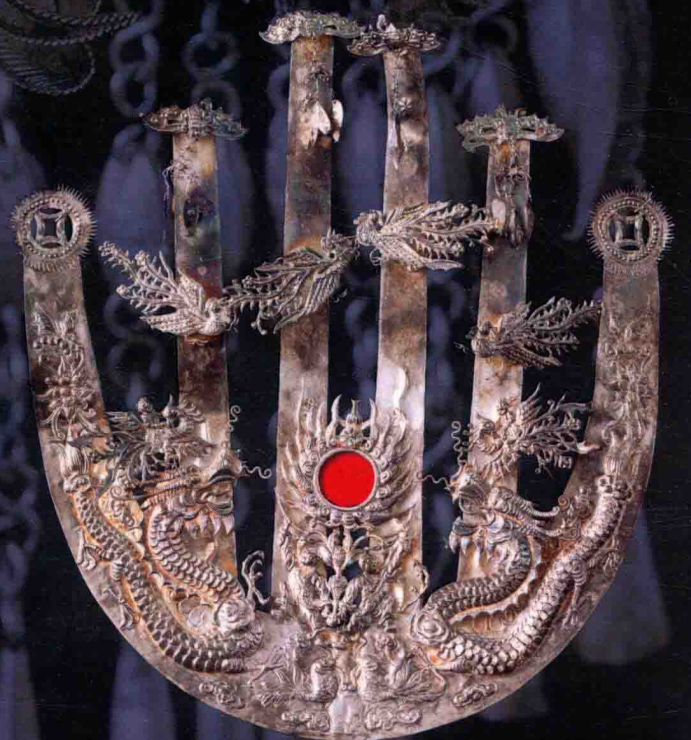
THE COLLECTION SET OF FOLK ART AND CRAFTS IN GUIZHOU CHINA

中國貴州民族民間美術全集

張行
印

銀飾

SILVER ORNAMENT



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银饰

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序

张 仃
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中国是一个工艺美术十分发达的国家。贵州是中国民间工艺美术尤其发达的省区，大家对这一点似乎都有一定的印象。

负责任地说，这笔遗产是需要保护的。民间工艺美术在历史上比较艰难地生长和延续，从一开始，就命运多舛。有一种东西帮助了它的生长，就是社会的落后。

落后在经济上表现为贫穷，在地理上表现为偏僻，在社会需求上表现为被冷遇。对民间工艺匠来说，这些并不是什么好事。但我们又不得不承认，正是落后才使民间工艺美术获得了天然的生态环境。

封建社会在中国持续时间长，相当发达。最不合理的一点是在这种社会，好的东西，包括好的艺术，总是为少数权贵所优先享用。要纠正封建社会的这一大不公，人民群众能做的只能是把自己认为好的东西留下来，供自己享用。民间艺术就是在这个意义上实现了对封建制度的反抗。他们可以让一些好的艺术创造在底层流传和扩散，皇帝有皇帝的享用品，他们有他们的享用品，这是争取平民的艺术权利的社会体现。

多少代人总结出较好的一种造型、纹样、色彩组成，程式化地固定在不同的刺绣、挑花、陶艺、木雕、漆作、剪纸当中，世代相传，这样的遗产实在万分珍贵。试想，这些东西突然在一个时代中断了，灭失了，将是多么的可惜可悲。封建社会总算结束了。如今，信息的传播，交通的发达，给不同地区的人们提供了共享某一种艺术的机会和权利。这时候，分散在民间各地，为区域性的居民喜闻乐见的历史条件似乎不存在了，算是一件好事，但同时又很让人忧虑：在这样的情景底下，民间工艺最容易被人忽视，因为它的生态环境已然改变。人们有更好的其他的生活用品和生活寄托后，便会忽视它，等到想起了它的珍贵之时，它已经消失了。趁现在这些东西还存在着，趁我们对这个问题还有所认识，应该去做一些抢救性的工作。

我们认为，贵州人民出版社就是在做这样的工作。

贵州这地方，其生态环境符合我们所说的民间工艺美术的生态环境的评判标准，民间工艺相对来说保存得比较完整。很多先进的文化成果会随着更先进的文明的排挤或顶替而消亡。这一文化现象在地图上的反映是向边缘和落后的地区迁移。商周青铜工艺一度构成人类文明的辉煌，但随着社会进步，它作为社会主流成果不复存在了。历史上曾经有过许多类似的辉煌，却都在画了一条高高的阳线以后滑落下去。但另有一种现象又值得庆幸，某种文明可能会从发达地区向偏远地区迁移，获得它再生、复兴的机会和空间。商周的青铜工艺从中原地区式微后，到了云南地区，又一度制造了新高峰，成为滇文化重要的成就。中国的边缘地区保留着许多古代文明的辉煌。主流工艺文化变成民间工艺文化，其实并非是折损，而是以移位、变性为条件实现继承与保护。这是应该引起研究者重视的。

贵州就是这样一个保存着相当多的中国古老文明的地区。在这里，我们能看到原始的建筑工艺、汉代的制陶工艺、唐代的蜡缬工艺、宋代的雕刻工艺、清代的服饰工艺，还能看到被称为戏曲活化石的面具工艺。为什么这些工艺美术的源发地，现在都很难找到其踪迹了呢？这样一想，实在应该庆幸贵州拥有这么一种保护中国工艺美术的天然生态环境。现在，是到我们做出抉择的时候了。我们真的需要这些传统或民间工艺吗？如果需要，我们就应该将其保护起来；如果不需要，我们就应该听任它们的消亡。每一个有智识和责任感的人，无疑都会做出加以保护的选择。

保护的第一步，就是要把美宣传出来，引起大家的重视。贵州人民出版社令人感佩地开始了这项工作。这是一项庞大的艺术工程，必须有责任感、有眼光、有经验才能做到；否则，纵使财政上有拨款，也不见得人人都有这样的认识和劲头。

贵州在我们的印象中，山地较多，民族构成也很复杂，开展中国民间工艺美术的保护和研究，贵州属首当其冲的省区之一。不做，将有愧于历史，有负于民族；做了，就会获得中国文化英灵无限的激赏。我们

要首先表达这种心情。

当两千多件作品的照片放在面前时，我们感到了沉甸甸的责任，也很欣慰。总算又有人开始做这项系统工作了。接下来，不同地区的人就可能看见这些精美的工艺品。想想它们都是出自那些名不见经传的劳动者之手，都是出自那些从来没上过学堂受过正规教育的民间艺人之手，却又是那样的精美，那样经得起任何审美法则和尺度的挑剔，我们都会心存感动。祝贺《中国贵州民族民间美术全集》的出版，感谢参与编辑出版这套书的海内外学者和有识之士。

我们并不满足于仅仅是贵州做这项工作，尽管民间工艺美术方面的集子，零零星星也有不少出版，但我们还是冀望每个省区都组织人马，对属于责任范围的民间工艺美术加以大面积、全方位的采集整理，在条件成熟的时候，也出版这样一套全集。这样，中国濒临灭绝的民间工艺美术品，将会借助出版物的传播，赢得几何级成倍增长的欣赏者和同情者。这是争取政策支持和社会力量参与保护行动的起码的一步。

我们建议，贵州民间工艺美术的宣传，要和贵州整体的文化宣传结合起来，使其成为贵州区域形象的一大亮点。旨在保护的原则和前提下，把贵州绝无仅有的民间工艺美术的宣传纳入旅游经济的规划设计之中，可使民间工艺美术自身的经济资源，有限度地释放和体现，服务于社会和时代，又赚取回报，依靠自身的价值求生存发展。配合这套全集出版，应该举行隆重的首发式、研讨会和巡回展，在北京展，在上海展，到香港展，到纽约展，让世人都来领略它的魅力。贵州的文化部门应该着手准备，向联合国教科文组织申报“贵州民间艺术品”为人类文化遗产项目——可以同贵州若干著名景观申报人类自然遗产的工作合并进行。有关的艺术院校和研究机构，可以考虑在贵州等民间工艺美术发达地区，设立永久观察站，由课题负责人不定期轮值，以激活话题，深入研究。

谨以如上心情，表达我们对贵州民间工艺美术的关心。是为序。

Preface

Zhang Ding and Zou Wen

China is a country which possesses various resources of folk arts and crafts. Specifically Guizhou which is a valuable province with imprints on well-developed folk arts.

Responsibly, folk arts are cultural treasures which need to be protected. However, folk arts and crafts suffered rough environmental changes during the growth and development in history.

Geographical remote is the factor that caused the backward economy of the minority society. The demands of folk crafts are not popular, in which case, these artisans are not being motivated by the market. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the creation of folk arts is inspired by the natural environment and the backward economy.

Feudal society lasted a very long time in China. In this way, upper class had the priority to enjoy novelties and luxury. To fight against the unfair situation, the masses were trying to create some other crafts which could be accessible by the larger part of the population. Folk arts represent the manifests of masses that complained about the feudal hierarchy. Therefore, folk arts and crafts spread among the grassroot classes.

The good type, pattern and chromatics have been summarised and applied in various embroidery, cross-stitch work, pottery, wood carving, painting and paper cutting, arts that were taught from generation to generation. Thus, these crafts become very precious heritage for culture. It is hard to assume how pity would be if these crafts were destroyed or lost. With the development of information communication, technology and transportation, people in different districts have more opportunities, being able to enjoy and share their arts together. It is good to encourage folk arts to develop, at the same time, we are concerned that folk crafts may be neglected as the original environment also changed. People are busy improving their quality of life, and, if they don't pay enough attention to protect folk crafts, these might disappear. Thus, as soon as we realized the issues, we should take actions to protect these heritages.

The aim of Guizhou People's Publishing House is trying to record information from original folk arts, and raise awareness regarding the importance of history and its impact on today's cultures, trends and lifestyles.

The ecological environment of Guizhou matches up with the standard environment for folk creations. Moreover, there are plenty of folk crafts preserved in Guizhou, which are facing the risk to be damaged and replaced while new and advanced culture that may gradually squeeze them out from the modern society. Bronze arts in Shang and Zhou Dynasty are one of the greatest glories of human civilization, however, the social progress has changed the main social trend of cultural achievements. The reflection of this cultural phenomenon on the map is the migration to the marginal and backward areas. A lot of art innovations appeared and then disappeared, and their triumphs drew a parabola in the history line. Furthermore, the immigration of some civilizations from developed to remote areas could bring potential chances and space to renew the culture. Since Bronze art in Shang and Zhou Dynasty faded away from the Central Plains area of China, Yunnan District (Dian) became the main area where Bronze art had further development and successes. Until now, the remote areas in China keep plenty of gifts from ancient intelligence. In other words, the mainstream craft culture transferred to folk arts has experienced a very long time, in which, their displacements are for exploring suitable environment to be inherited and protected. Current researchers

should pay more attention to folk arts.

Guizhou is a place where a lot of ancient Chinese civilizations have been kept: the original building technology, Han Dynasty Pottery crafts, Tang Dynasty wax process, Song Dynasty carving skills, Qing apparel handicraft and masks for local operas. These technologies and skills can hardly be found in their cradle, but in Guizhou. Why did this happen? The answer is that Guizhou has natural ecological environment which can protect the sustainability of traditional folk arts and crafts. And there is no doubt that our duty is to protect these precious arts and crafts instead of regretting their extinction.

First step to protect them is to attract more attention on folk arts. Guizhou People's Publishing House is respectfully working on advertising. The huge tasks require responsibility, experienced professionals to attend, otherwise, even though there is enough money to support this mission, not everyone can undertake it.

Guizhou is a place surrounded by mountains and hills, and has complex structure of minority groups. Guizhou stands in the breach to start the works for protecting and researching Chinese folk arts. Besides, we are grateful that it provided us this worthwhile opportunity to record and collect folk arts and crafts for history.

When over 2,000 photos of these crafts have been shown in front of staffs, we feel strongly obligated and excited to do the work. Finally, they could be sorted organisationally and systemically. Once we realised that these photos will be showed to different people, different places, we were so moved. These crafts are all from unknown folk artists who may have never ever go to study for art or other education, but their ability is so exquisite, and they are able to be measured with any aesthetic rules and scales of criticism. Therefore, we congratulate the publication of *The Collection Set of Folk Arts in Guizhou, China* and appreciate all the staff members who attended in editing this set of books.

It is not enough that only Guizhou is doing the work. Even though some collections of folk crafts have been published in the past, we are looking forward more people attending to collect and manage for folk arts. To expand the range of researching folk arts, we hope every district can organize a team to deal with their folk crafts and publish a set of books like this in the future. In this way, these endangered folk crafts could be broadcast via pictures, in which more people will learn from it. To achieve this goal, we need the support from the society and government as well.

We suggest, the advertisement of Guizhou folk arts should combine into the promotion of the culture in Guizhou. Based on protection principles for folk arts, the plan of Guizhou tourist economy assists the unique Guizhou folk arts and crafts to be popularized in public. These folk crafts can be used in business, which gradually will explore an economic way for sustainability. To promote folk arts in Guizhou, this set of books was published, and to bring the folk arts into international stage, further exhibitions and shows are suggested. The culture department in Guizhou council should prepare to apply "Folk Arts in Guizhou" to the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation to gain more support and better protection. Thereby more research and further works by colleges and institutions can be invested in the preservation of folk arts.

With the caring of folk arts, we have a bright prospect for the further development.



前言

李黔滨

贵州是个多民族省份，境内有苗、布依、侗、水、仡佬、瑶等十七个世居民族。其中苗、布依、侗、水、瑶等民族都有以银为饰的习俗，程度上有不同，以苗族为最。由于苗族在历史上频繁迁徙，不断分散，栖居地又受到山地环境的限制，致使内部支系林立，因而也形成了苗族文化的多样性特征。据《中国苗族服饰图志》记，仅贵州境内不同的苗族服饰即有一百二十五种。其他如侗、布依、水等民族，内部也都存在分支。作为服饰的组成部分，银饰亦因支系不同而造型各异，加上苗族饰银之风甚盛，贵州一省的民族银饰可谓品种繁多，难以悉数。

民族银饰的相关记载首次出现于明郭子章《黔记》。而且自此以后，见载渐多。如“富者以金银耳珥，多者至五六如连环”。“妇人盘髻，贯以长簪，衣用土锦，无襟，当服中孔，以首纳而服之”。妇女“服短衫，系双带结于背，胸前刺绣一方，银钱饰之”。“未娶者以银环饰耳，号曰马郎，婚则脱之。妇人杂海铃、栾珠，结璎珞为饰。处子行歌于野以诱马郎”。从这些记载中，我们可以清晰地看到，出现于明代后的贵州民族银饰，很快分离出头饰和身饰两大类别，而且，当时出现了以“银环饰耳”来作为“未娶者”的标识。也正是随着这种区分婚否的标识作用的产生，标志着民族银饰已经具备了最初的习俗功能。在清代史籍中，有关民族银饰的记载明显多于前朝。首先，是银饰种类增多。清龚柴《苗民考》载：“富者用网巾束发，贯以银簪四五支，长如匕，上扁下圆，左耳贯银环如碗大，

项围银圈，手带银钏。”“妇女服饰银簪、项圈、手镯等皆如男子，惟两耳贯银”。“富者戴大银梳，以银索密绕其髻腰”。其次，银饰逐步普及。不仅不同性别皆有佩戴，而且不拘老少，不论贫富，都以佩戴为荣。“无老少，腕皆约环，环皆银”。实在戴不起手镯的贫者，也竞相仿效，“以红铜为之”。再次，追求银饰数量愈多愈好，在佩戴方式上呈现出堆砌的审美特征及趋向。

“项着银圈，富者多至三四，耳珥垒之及肩”。“项带银圈七八颗，青苗东菜不郎当”。这种追求佩戴数量的心理，不仅延续至今，仍然影响着当代苗族银饰的佩戴风格，而且还直接影响了银饰的造型和款式。当代流行的数圈甚至数十圈为一套的银项圈（俗称排圈），正是这种心理的物化反映。最后，银饰在这一时期开始渗入各族的婚恋生活，银饰的习俗功能进一步得到强化。“孟春合男女跳月，择平壤为月场，皆更服饰妆，男编竹为芦笙吹之而前，女振铃继于后以为节，并肩舞蹈，回翔宛转，终日不倦”。在这里，银铃无疑已在恋俗中起到道具的作用。“花苗新婚男戴银包牛角，妇戴鲜花拜堂”。银饰作为标志和凭证，开始进入苗族的婚俗仪式。

至此，我们应该对贵州民族银饰的历史有个大体的推证。唐宋时期，中央王朝在西南地区设置经制州、羁縻州，加强对这一地区的管理经营，使汉族同各族在经济文化等方面的联系逐步加强。南宋时期，南方更是远离角逐场所，处于相对稳定状态。这一时期，较为集中地记录南方少数民族的私人著述开始出现，较具代表性的有朱熹《记三苗》、朱辅《溪蛮丛笑》、范成大《桂海虞衡志》、周去非《岭外代答》等，但均无出现有关银饰的记载。倒是朱辅《溪蛮丛笑》有载“山婚娶聘物以铜与盐”一段，把铜与在山区无疑天价之物的盐并奉为聘礼，说明当时西南山区尚无在价值上超过铜的金属出现。这进一步证实贵州各族至宋代尚无饰银习俗。

明代史籍首次出现民族银饰以后，相关记载骤增，恍若一夜之间发生了文化突变，现象十分奇特。至清代，银饰在包括苗族的各族中日趋普及和流行，形成饰



俗。因此，笔者认为，尽管苗族流传着运金运银、打柱撑天、铸日造月的古老传说，但苗族银饰的历史远不如那么久远。苗族银饰的历史应该是肇始于明代，普及于清代。当然，这同样也是贵州境内各族饰银习俗的发端及流行的时期。

二

人类服饰文化的发展有一个共性的规律，即从简单到复杂，从朴素实用到追求华美。民族银饰的出现，标志着贵州各民族的服饰文化观念进一步把重心从实用转移到更偏重审美价值的展示上，这对于研究各族服饰的发展都具有阶段划分的意义。

自明代以来的几百年中，民族银饰，特别是苗族银饰从无到有，从简到繁，至今已发展为民族文化艺术的一大门类，并成为苗族最有特色的文化门类。

民族银饰的种类很多，从头到脚，无处不饰。计有头饰、胸颈饰、手饰、衣饰、背饰、腰坠饰，个别地方还有脚饰。

(一) 头饰

头饰包括银角、银扇、银帽、银围帕、银飘头排、银发簪、银插针、银顶花、银网链、银花梳、银耳环、银童帽饰等。

1. 银角

苗族银角分三种类型，即西江型、施洞型、排调型，皆为苗族。西江型银角两角分叉，主纹通常为二龙戏珠形象，龙身、珠体均为凸花，高出底面约1厘米。西江型银角因体积大而颇具特色，其宽约85厘米，高约80厘米，饰件高度超过佩戴者身高的一半，即使在上也堪称一绝。姑娘们佩戴时还要在银角两端插上白鸡羽，鸡羽随风摇曳，使银角显得更为高耸，巍峨壮观中兼有轻盈飘逸之美。西江型银角造型简朴，线条明快，最具古风。施洞型银角又称银扇，因其分叉的两角间均匀分布四根银片颇类扇骨而得名。银角主纹亦为二龙戏珠，龙、珠皆单独造型制作，用银丝同主体焊连，两角顶端为钱纹，四根银片高过两角；顶端为蝴蝶，蝶口



衔瓜米垂穗；银片间立六只凤鸟，展翅欲飞。各型银角中，施洞型银角造型最繁缛奢华，制作亦最为精细。佩戴者行走时，银角上龙凤颤动，跃然髻顶。同为银扇形的舟溪苗族银角，两角间有数根扇片不等，无装饰，薄而轻。排调型银角，两角同上述两种银角有所区别。其一，佩戴不是靠插针，而是靠银片紧裹头帕起到固定作用。其二，银角似角似羽，两角一分为二，远观似角，近观如羽；正中升出一支，顶端则明显为变形银羽；突出三支皆插白鸡羽。造型主题的含混冲突，是根植于造型者宗教观念中万物有灵意识的物化。经实地考察，排调为巫术发达地区，当地敬奉的神祇共一百四十八种。

三都水族戴的角冠为双角冠。大角其外，角弧内平行一小角，略高于大角，角正中耸一根银羽。银角两端皆分三叉，呈羽状，扎饰红、绿小绒花。其小于苗族银角，造型却更繁杂，色彩也更热烈。

2. 银帽

苗族银帽分为三种类型，即重安江型、雷山型、革东型。银帽为苗族盛装头饰，由众多的银花及各种造型的鸟、蝶、动物和银链、银铃组成，给人以满头珠翠、雍容华贵的印象。重安江型银帽为半球形，全封顶。分内外两层，内层用缠布铁丝编成适于顶戴的帽圈；外层分三段，上段为帽顶，通冠由成百上千的银花组成，簇簇拥拥，十分繁密。帽顶正中，银扇高耸。银扇四周，有数只凤鸟、蝴蝶、螳螂高伫花簇之上，或翔或踞，形态逼真。中段帽箍为压花银片，上有二龙戏珠纹样，两侧有孩童嬉戏形象。下段沿帽箍垂下一排吊穗，皆以银链相连，银铃叮当。冠后拖三级银羽，共十二根，羽长及腰。雷山型银帽上大下小，无顶，通高约30厘米。其特点是注重突出帽围的平面装饰，帽围约10厘米高的银片上布满凸纹动物及花卉形象，帽围前叠饰蝶、鸟等单体银片，并以银丝焊连，层次感极强。帽顶为颤枝银花，银光闪烁，花姿绰约。银帽下部为齐眉流苏，密匀整齐。革东型银帽，半封顶，是银抹额和银簪的组合体，较为简单。

