

THE COLLECTION SET OF FOLK ART AND CRAFTS IN GUIZHOU CHINA

中國貴州民族民間美術全集

張行題

傩面

NUO MASK



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《中国贵州民族民间美术全集》编辑部

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序

张 仃
邹 文

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.



贵州傩戏面具略论

顾朴光



商代战争面具（陕西 城固）

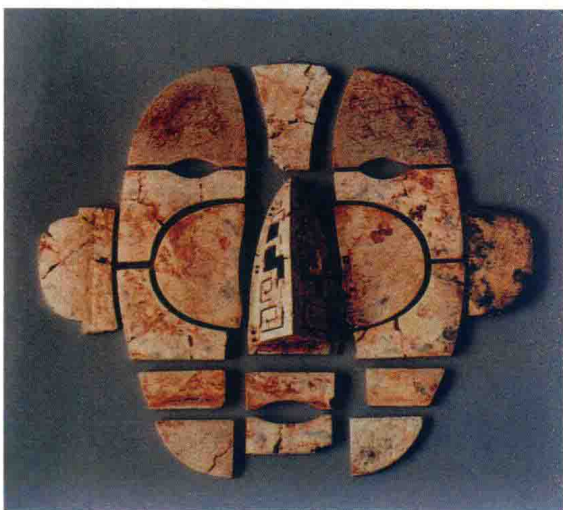
面具是一种世界性的、古老的文化现象，是一种具有特殊表意性质的象征符号。面具渊源于原始先民的狩猎活动、部落战争、图腾崇拜和巫术仪式，其产生的确切时间学术界尚无定论，根据考古材料和史籍记载，当不晚于新石器时代。作为人类物质文化和精神文化相结合的产物，面具在历史上被广泛运用于狩猎、战争、祭祀、丧葬、乐舞、戏剧、镇宅、装饰……具有人类学、民族学、民俗学、历史学、宗教学以及雕刻、绘画、舞蹈、戏剧等多学科的研究价值。

中国是世界上面具历史最悠久，面具遗存最丰富，面具流传最广泛的国家之一。与世界上其他国家和民族的面具相比较，中国面具品类繁多，造型生动，形制独特，具有鲜明的民族特色。毫不夸张地说，它在世界面具家族中名列前茅，占据着显赫的地位。在中国古代繁富多彩的面具品类中，傩戏面具——简称傩面，因角色众多、制作精美、内涵丰富、流布广泛而格外引人注目。傩面是在傩戏演出中使用的面具，而傩戏系从古代的驱傩活动衍变、发展而来。因此，在对贵州傩戏及傩面进行论述之前，有必要先对驱傩和傩戏的历史作简要回顾。

一、从驱傩到傩戏

驱傩又叫“傩礼”和“傩仪”，是古人戴着面具驱鬼逐疫的一种仪式，其本质是借助巫术的力量同自然斗争，以求得自身的生存和发展。从表面看，驱傩活动具有浓厚的迷信色彩，但透过包裹着它的迷信外衣，我们看到了古人不怕鬼、不信邪、敢于斗争、善于斗争的精神和智慧。驱傩之所以从古至今传承数千年而不衰，原因正在于此。关于驱傩产生的年代，学术界众见纷纭，一般认为其起源不晚于商周，甚至可以上溯到史前。

据东汉卫宏《汉旧仪》载：黄帝之孙颛顼有三个儿子夭亡为疫鬼，其中一子居人宫室区隅，善惊人小儿，



西汉丧葬面具（山东 长清）

于是每年十二月，颛顼使方相氏帅百隶及童子行傩仪而驱疫鬼。另据北宋张君房《云笈七签》记载：黄帝执政时带着妻妾周游天下，元妃嫫祖不幸死于途中，黄帝遂令次妃嫫母担任“防丧”即方相氏，监护嫫祖尸体不受鬼魅伤害。这两则记载表明，早在父系氏族公社时期就已经有了驱傩活动。不过，以上两说具有浓厚的传说成分，故今人多以商周为驱傩之始。

商代的驱傩称为“寇”，仅在甲骨文中有所记载，今已难知其详。周代驱傩见于《周礼》的记载：“方相氏掌蒙熊皮，黄金四目，玄衣朱裳，执戈扬盾，帅百隶而时傩，以索室驱疫。”周代将驱傩纳入“礼”的范畴，每年举行三次，时间在气候转换，阴气和阳气交替的季春、仲秋和季冬，前两次只有天子、大臣、贵族能参加，后一次才下及庶人。在民间，人们遇到祸祟丧事，可随时举行傩事，但规模远远不及宫廷和官府举行的驱傩活动。

秦汉以迄隋唐，驱傩一直盛行不衰，但在形式上发生了诸多变异。汉代的宫廷傩不再有“百隶”出现，而增加了由120个儿童扮饰的侏子队伍，并由成人身披皮衣，头戴凶猛的兽形面具，装扮成“十二兽”。当驱傩进入高潮时，方相氏与十二兽伴随着侏子所唱的“食鬼歌”，跳起带有浓厚戏乐成分的舞蹈，舞毕，持火炬将鬼疫送出宫门，弃于洛水。在唐代的宫廷傩中，十二兽被改成了十二执事，他们挥动麻鞭发出尖啸声，口中呼叫着十二兽的名字，使之前来吞食各种鬼疫。此时的侏子已增至500人，脸上都戴着面具。无论汉代还是唐代的宫廷傩，方相氏仍是驱逐疫鬼的主角。三国魏晋南北朝时因战乱频仍，宫廷傩一度被废止，民间傩遂大为流行；军傩亦因演军的需要盛行起来。值得重视的是，梁朝荆楚一带的民间傩中，驱鬼的主角方相氏已被佛教护法神金刚、力士所取代，并且傩队中还出现了逗人发笑的醉酒角色“胡公头”。而唐代在陕西等地的民间傩中，更出现了傩公、傩母两个角色——他们被附会为再造人烟的始祖神伏羲、女娲。驱傩活动这种世俗化、娱人化的倾向，在宋代得到了进一步发展，从而为傩戏的诞生做好了准备。

北宋的宫廷傩规模较汉唐有过之而无不及。北宋孟元老在《东京梦华录》中写道“至除日，禁中呈大傩仪”，由文武官员和教坊演员装扮成将军、门神、判官、



中国传入朝鲜的方相氏面具（朝鲜新罗王朝）



中国传入日本的伎乐面醉胡王（日本奈良时代）



中国传入日本的舞乐面拔头（日本镰仓时代）



中国传入日本的舞乐面兰陵王（日本江户时代）

钟馗、小妹、土地、灶王等角色，共千余人，“自禁中驱祟出南薰门外，转龙湾，谓之‘埋祟’”。孟元老的记载表明，自商周以来驱傩的主角方相氏已从北宋宫廷傩中消失，从汉至唐一直没有中断的傩子队伍也不复存在，取而代之的是千余名化装成不同角色的驱傩队伍，他们佩戴的面具形貌各异，这与唐代500名傩子皆佩戴同一类型面具的做法迥然不同。对此南宋陆游的《老学庵笔记》可以作为旁证：“政和中大傩，下桂府进面具。比进到，称‘一副’，初讶其少；乃是以八百枚为一副，老少妍陋，无一相似者，乃大惊。”南宋时宫廷傩的规模亦不亚于北宋，面具又增加了六丁六甲神兵、五方鬼使等角色，显得更加丰富多彩。宋代的民间傩俗称“打夜胡”，多在春节期间进行，由贫丐者装扮成鬼神、判官、钟馗、小妹等角色，“敲锣击鼓，巡门乞钱……亦驱傩之意也”（南宋吴自牧《梦粱录》）。为吸引观者和取悦施主，行傩者自然要表演一些带有逐除性质和娱人色彩的傩舞，并念唱一些祈福纳吉的祝辞，这种有舞有唱的表演已经非常接近傩戏，或者说已经具备了傩戏的雏型。

傩戏作为中国戏剧的一个重要品类，它的形成与中国戏剧文化的发展紧密相关。与希腊、印度相比，中国戏剧成熟较晚。一般认为，中国戏剧萌芽于汉代的角抵戏，到了唐代出现了两个人表演的以滑稽讽刺为目的的参军戏，以及用歌舞表现简单故事情节的歌舞戏。但无论角抵戏还是参军戏、歌舞戏，都系以“古剧”形态而存在，还不能算是成熟的戏剧。北宋末年，随着宋杂剧和金院本的出现，我国戏剧才开始走向成熟。促使我国戏剧走向成熟的原因很多，其中商品经济的高度繁荣，市民阶层的大量存在，艺术经验的充分积累，是最重要的因素。这些因素对傩戏的形成，同样起到了助产催生的作用。不过，傩戏与宋杂剧、金院本不同，它并不是纯粹的戏剧文化，而是戏剧文化与宗教文化相结合的产物。汉代以来驱傩活动的日益戏乐化和世俗化，宋代儒、道、佛三教的合流，以及不断有巫、道、佛神祇加入到傩仪之中，这些都为孕育傩戏提供了肥沃的土壤。以上分析表明，北宋末年已经具备了傩戏产生的条件，但学者们迄今未找到北宋确实已有傩戏的证据；也许傩戏的诞生还需某种契机，需要有一个较长的妊娠过程。