

仪式、实践与文化表述：以云南弥勒阿细祭火节为个案的人类学研究

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仪式、实践与文化表述

——以云南弥勒阿细祭火节为个案的人类学研究

The Ritual, the Practice and the Cultural Presentation-The

Anthropological Study on the Case of the Axi Fire-sacrifice in Mile Yunnan

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内容提要

本研究以云南弥勒彝族支系阿细人的“祭火节”为个案，探讨无文字民族如何在仪式中进行文化表述。

仪式作为一种载体，承载了族群对自身以及所生活的环境的一种态度，并表达了其最真实的感受以及最颖悟的想法。因此，仪式中的人们把所想象的世界和生活过的世界组成了文化生活本身。

在本研究中，笔者通过大量翔实的文字、录像资料以及连续三年参与观察之所得，从“客位”视角来分析阿细人的“祭火”仪式，旨在揭示仪式之于无文字民族的意义。在一年一度的“祭火”仪式中，人们通过器物、身体绘身、身体实践、生态实践来表达其宇宙观、历史记忆、英雄记忆与生活记忆，并借助仪式共餐中的“人一神共睦态”与“人一人共睦态”来巩固其社会结构。最终，笔者发现阿细人的“祭火”并非简单的仪式，而是阿细人关于新年祭、祖先崇拜、英雄崇拜、生殖崇拜以及生态智慧的仪式性表达，而在大力发展文化旅游业的今天，该仪式正在经历从“密祭摩”（mi³³ɛi²¹mo⁵⁵）到“祭火节”的现代变迁。

本论文由前言、七个章节以及结语构成。

前言主要是介绍思路历程以及内容概要。

第一章绪论对研究的主题、研究现状等方面进行了理论梳理，并提出了对该主题进行研究所采取的方法。

第二章是对研究对象——阿细祭火节的概述，以客位的角度描述了该仪式的两个部分：“祭密枝”活动与“祭火”活动全过程，并分析了此活动的禁忌与特点，使读者对该仪式有一个全方位的了解。

第三章讨论了该仪式与阿细人的生态实践的关系，如自然与人文生态概貌与阿细人的宇宙观的关系、“密祭摩”（mi³³ɛi²¹mo⁵⁵）仪式与阿细人的生态观的关系以及如何在其中展现其生态智慧、仪式与“打平伙”的人文生态的关系，及人与生态如何相互依存的关系。

第四章则讨论在仪式中，阿细人如何通过身体与仪式绘身来表述他们的历史记忆、分类系统；如何通过身体的展演来诠释他们的哲学观以及生殖崇拜；同时，还论述了阿细人如何通过“拟人化”来映射族群文化，以及怎样通过文化形塑的

身体来传递文化记忆。

在第五章中,笔者通过讨论阿细人在仪式中如何通过祭祀物来表述有关祖源记忆、族源记忆、生活记忆的神话传说,并阐释了阿细人在表述中所展示的溯源的特点。

第六章主要是关于仪式的象征表述,强调了仪式表述与族群认同的联系,同时,笔者分析了在仪式共食中形成了的人-神结构以及人-人结构的重要性以及在阿细祭火仪式中的阈限,人们如何在阈限中体验本民族的文化。

第七章主要讨论了此仪式在现代语境下的变迁,特别是从“密祭摩”(mi³³ɕi²¹mo⁵⁵)仪式变为“阿细祭火节”后,政策与社会心理因素对仪式变迁的影响效应。

结语部分总结了仪式对阿细文化的凸显作用,并强调仪式怎样通过实践完成了文化表述,以及在现代语境下,应注意从哪些方面对这种传统的少数民族文化给以动态的保护。

关键词: 祭火仪式 实践 文化表述

Abstract

In this dissertation, the Festival of Fire- Sacrifice (called mi³³ɬi²¹mo⁵⁵ Ritual in Axi dialect) is taken as an example to discuss how the ethnic group uses their practice to present their cultural presentation in the ritual.

As a presentation, the ritual presents the group's attitude towards the relationship between themselves and the environment, their true experiences and their expectation. In the ritual, they can present a cultural life in which they combine the imagined world and the lived world together.

In this research, the ritual is analyzed with the support of the field work during the three times' attending the festival and the daily field work for about 2 months besides a great deal of related written material, video tapes were referred to by the writer. She hopes to search for the meaning of the ritual for the ethnic groups without writing in analyzing the ritual with the etic approach. In the ritual, the worldview, historic memories, the memories about their heroes in their group, the memories about the past are presented by the objects used in the sacrifice, performed with the body practices, embodied by the body-painting, expressed in the relationship with the environment. Moreover, that the *communitas* formed in the Holy Communion between the God and the men and the *communitas* formed in the Dinner between the relatives, friends and the women keep the society in a harmonious state are interpreted. The writer concluded the name given by the people speaking mandarin narrowed the containing of the ritual. It is not only Fire-sacrifice. As the name of Axi's "mi³³ɬi²¹mo⁵⁵ Ritual", which means they hope that they can live a life with more children, more livestock in future. In the ritual, the New Year's expectation, the ancestors' worship, heroes' worship, fertility worship and the wisdom of the group towards the relationship between the environment and the people. However, the ritual is transitting from mi³³ɬi²¹mo⁵⁵ Ritual to the Festival of Fire- Sacrifice.

The dissertation contains the introduction, seven chapters and the conclusions.

In the introduction, both the reason why the topic was chosen and the general idea about the dissertation are introduced.

In the first chapter, the field of the research, the review of the research and the theories of ritual are introduced. And the methods of the research are also presented.

Chapter 2 is mainly about the description of the ritual. From it, the two parts of the ritual are expressed to the readers, which are the Michi-sacrifice and Fire-sacrifice. The whole process of the ritual are presented in details, including the preparation of the ritual, the process of the ritual, the participants who can take part in, and the taboos that the participants should keep. From the introduction, the characteristics are also known to everyone.

In the third chapter, the interrelationship of the ritual and ecology of the Axi people are discussed. In the discussion, the writer interprets why the Axi group has such kind of worldview and wisdom about the ecology with the details that she found in the ritual and daily life of the Axi group. They have the tradition of the dinner-sharing, the food-sharing, the work-sharing and other things' sharing with each others in their daily life. They also have such ideas that they should keep the balance of the environment because they have an interrelationship with each other.

Chapter 4 is about the most attractive phenomenon in the ritual, which is the body-painting and body practice. In this chapter, it is discussed how their history and the system of classification are embodied from the body practice and body-painting. Furthermore, what kind of the philosophies and fertility sacrifice the Axi people have are also expressed through the body practice. Moreover, the anthropomorphism is also used by the Axi People to present their culture and in which the cultural memories are transferred by the embodiment of the body.

Chapter 5 is about the ritual and the memories. The Axi people tell the legends and the myth about where they were from, why they are called the Axi people, and how they lived with the help of the objects appearing in the ritual. In the presentation, the feature that the Axi people liked to date back to the stories about the origin is also presented in the description.

Chapter 6 tells about the symbolic presentation of the ritual. First of all, the identification of the ethnic group is strengthened in the ritual. And moreover, there are two structures or two *communitas* appeared in the ritual, which are the base for the

harmonious society. Although they reached the climax in the ritual during the man share the Holy Communion with the God. In fact such kind of sharing can be seen everywhere in their daily life. In the chapter, the liminal situations are also analyzed as the important part of the ritual because in which the participants can feel the Axi culture themselves in the performance.

Chapter 7 is about the ritual transition in the modernity. Especially after the ritual turned to be a festival, what role are the policies and the social psychological elements played in the ritual transition.

In the conclusion, the important role that the ritual can not only present the culture of the ethnic group but also the cultural presentation is expressed by the ritual practice is emphasized. Moreover, some suggestions are provided to deal with the dilemma in the conservation of the traditional ethnic group.

Key words: Fire-sacrifice, ritual practice, cultural presentation

目 录

前言 思路历程与内容概要.....	1
第一章 绪论.....	4
第一节 研究现状.....	4
一、相关概念.....	4
二、相关研究.....	12
第二节 研究问题与理论综述.....	16
一、研究问题.....	16
二、理论综述.....	16
第三节 研究方法与田野点的选择缘起.....	28
一、研究方法.....	28
二、田野点的选择缘起.....	29
第二章 阿细“祭火节”概述.....	32
第一节 “祭密枝”活动的形式与特点.....	32
一、“祭密枝”活动的形式.....	32
二、“祭密枝”活动的特点.....	38
三、“祭密枝”活动的禁忌.....	41
第二节 “祭火”活动的形式与特点.....	42
一、“祭火”活动的形式.....	42
二、“祭火”活动的特点.....	53
第三章 仪式与生态.....	56
第一节 仪式与生态理论.....	57
一、什么是生态.....	57
二、仪式与生态的研究综述.....	57
第二节 仪式与宇宙观.....	59
一、保护自然生态的传统.....	61
二、传统折射宇宙观.....	63
三、“祭密枝”活动展示宇宙观.....	64

四、 谚语表述宇宙观.....	64
第三节 “祭火节”与自然生态.....	65
一、“祭密枝”活动形塑生态智慧.....	66
二、 仪式与生态的相互依存.....	67
三、 仪式形塑的生态智慧与西南旱灾.....	72
四、 仪式促进文化与生态的和谐.....	74
第四节 “打平伙”与人文生态	75
一、 村民“大事”中的“互帮互助”	75
二、 日常生活中的“打伙吃”生态.....	76
三、“白事”或“祝米客”中的“相互帮忙”	77
四、 人文生态与自然生态的依存.....	77
第四章 仪式与身体表述.....	79
第一节 仪式与身体观.....	79
一、 身体的解释.....	80
二、 关于身体的讨论.....	81
第二节 符号与隐喻：仪式绘身与叙事.....	88
一、 仪式绘身叙述的历史.....	89
二、 绘身颜色体现的分类.....	91
三、 仪式绘身中的神圣与世俗.....	94
四、 仪式绘身与叙事的情境性.....	96
第三节 身体的展演：裸体装饰与生殖崇拜.....	97
一、 裸体体现的哲学观.....	97
二、 裸体身体实践体现面子观.....	100
三、 仪式裸体的生殖崇拜与新年祭意蕴.....	101
第四节 身体的拟人化.....	104
一、 神的拟人化.....	104
二、 物的拟人化.....	105
三、 拟人化体现的宇宙观.....	106
四、 拟人化与被拟人化.....	107

第五节	身体的实践表述.....	108
一、	身体实践的体验.....	109
二、	身体传递的文化记忆.....	110
三、	身体实践的模拟表达.....	112
四、	身体实践中的教育与认同.....	114
五、	身体表述的男性地位.....	115
第五章	仪式与记忆.....	118
第一节	神话与仪式学派理论梳理.....	119
一、	神话的定义.....	119
二、	仪式与神话的不解之缘.....	121
第二节	仪式表述的祖源记忆.....	124
一、	祭祀物与祖源叙事.....	125
二、	阿细“先基”与祖源叙事.....	128
三、	祖源记忆与阿细人的思维.....	131
第三节	仪式与族源记忆.....	133
一、	历史与族源神话.....	134
二、	族源神话与英雄历史的并接.....	139
第四节	祭火仪式与生活记忆.....	141
一、	仪式与原初生活记忆.....	142
二、	《阿细的先基》唱出来的火记忆.....	143
三、	政府打造的记忆.....	144
四、	溯源中的记忆.....	146
第六章	仪式与象征表述.....	149
第一节	仪式与阿细族群认同.....	149
一、	仪式的认同与族群认同.....	150
二、	仪式神话与族群认同.....	153
三、	仪式的集体记忆与族群认同.....	154
第二节	仪式共食中的“共睦态”.....	156
一、	仪式共食中的“人-神”共睦态.....	157

二、世俗共餐中的“人-人”共睦态.....	159
三、神圣共餐与世俗共餐的异同.....	161
第三节 仪式中的阈限.....	163
一、人类学界的阈限研究.....	163
二、仪式中的阈限.....	167
三、阈限期内展示的民族文化.....	171
四、仪式中阈限期的意义.....	174
第七章 仪式变迁.....	175
第一节 政策因素在仪式变迁中之作用.....	175
一、政策背景介绍.....	176
二、仪式的某些变迁现象.....	177
三、仪式的再仪式化.....	179
四、政策导向之作用.....	181
第二节 社会心理因素在仪式变迁之作用.....	182
一、渴求被认知的心理因素.....	182
二、渴求把仪式影响扩大化的心理因素.....	183
三、渴求获取更多游客的心理使仪式去圣化.....	184
结 语.....	188
一、仪式实践的功能表述.....	188
二、仪式实践的文化表述.....	190
三、无文字民族的仪式在现代语境下的机遇与挑战.....	191
参考文献.....	193
附录.....	208
后 记.....	229

Contents

Preface	1
Chapter 1 Introduction	4
1.1 Literature Review	4
1.1.1 The Explanation of the Key Words.....	4
1.1.2 The Review of Related Research	12
1.2 The Introduction of the Topics and Review of Theories	16
1.2.1 The Topics.....	16
1.2.2 The Review of Theories.....	16
1.3 The Introduction about the Method and the Field	28
1.3.1 The Introduction about the Method	28
1.3.2 The Reason Why the Field Is Chosen.....	29
Chapter 2 The Description about the Festival of Fire- Sacrifice	32
2.1 The Description about the Michi-sacrifice	32
2.1.1 The Introduction of the Michi-sacrifice.....	32
2.1.2 The Features of the Michi-sacrifice	38
2.1.3 The Taboos of the Michi-sacrifice	41
2.2 The Description of the Fire-sacrifice	42
2.2.1 The Introduction of the Fire-sacrifice.....	42
2.2.2 The Features of the Fire-sacrifice	53
Chapter 3 The Ritual and the Ecology	56
3.1 The Theory about the Ritual and the Ecology	57
3.1.1 What Is Ecology.....	57
3.1.2 The Review of the Research on the Ritual and the Ecology	57
3.2 The Ritual and the Worldview of the AXi People	59
3.2.1 The Tradition of Protecting the Natural Ecology.....	61
3.2.2 The Worldview Reflected from the Tradition	63
3.2.3 The Worldview Presented in the Michi-sacrifice.....	64
3.2.4 The Worldviews in the Proverbs.....	64
3.3 The Ritual and the Natural Ecology	65
3.3.1 The Axi's Wisdom Shaped in the Michi-sacrifice	66
3.3.2 The Harmony of the Michi-sacrifice and the Ecology.....	67
3.3.3 The Wisdom Shaped in the Ritual and the Drought	72
3.3.4 The Power and the Strategies Constructed in the Ritual.....	73
3.3.5 The Ritual Accelerates Harmony of the Culture and the Ecology	75
3.4 The Dinner-sharing And the Humanity Ecology	76
3.4.1 Helping Each Other in the Villagers' Matters.....	76
3.4.2 The Dinner-sharing in the Daily Life.....	77

3.4.3	Helping in the Funerals and the Childbirth Feast	78
3.4.4	The Mutual Dependency between the Natural Ecology and the Humanity Ecology	78
Chapter 4	The Ritual and Body Presentation	80
4.1	The Ritual and the Body	80
4.1.1	What is the Body	81
4.1.2	The Research about the Body	82
4.2	The Symbols and the Metaphor: The Body-painting and the Narrative	89
4.2.1	The History Presented by Body-painting	90
4.2.2	The Classification Embodied by the Color of Body-painting	92
4.2.3	The Sacred and the Secular in the Body-painting	95
4.2.4	The Context of the Body-painting and Narrative	97
4.3	The Performance of the Body: The Ornament of the Naked and the Fertility Worship	98
4.3.1	The Different Philosophies Embodied by the Naked	98
4.3.2	The Face Embodied in the Body Practice	101
4.3.3	The Fertility Sacrifice and the Implication of New Year's Celebration	102
4.4	The Anthropomorphism	105
4.4.1	The Anthropomorphism of the God	105
4.4.2	The Anthropomorphism of the Objects	106
4.4.3	The Worldview Expressed in the Anthropomorphism	107
4.4.4	The Anthropomorphism and Being the Anthropomorphism	108
4.5	The Presentation in the Body Practice	109
4.5.1	The Experience from the Body Practice	110
4.5.2	The Cultural Memories in the Body	111
4.5.3	The Presentation of the Body Practice in the Imitation	113
4.5.4	The Education and Identification in the Body Practice	113
4.5.5	The Status of the Male Expressed in the Body Practice	116
Chapter 5	The Ritual and the Memories	118
5.1	The Review of the Theories of the Myth and The Ritual	119
5.1.1	The Definition of the Myth	119
5.1.2	The Close Relationship Between the Ritual and the Myth	121
5.2	The Memory of the Origin Presented by the Ritual	124
5.2.1	The Objects in the Sacrifice and the Memories of the Origin	125
5.2.2	The Axi Xianchi (The Group's Epic) and the Memories of the Origin	128
5.2.3	the Memories of the Ethnic Group and The Axi's Mind	131
5.3	The Ritual and the Memories of the Ethnic Group	133
5.3.1	The History and the Myth of the Ethnic Group	134

5.3.2The Conjuncture between the Myth of the ethnic group and the History of the Heroes	139
5.4 Fire-sacrifice and the Past Memories	141
5.4.1 The Fire-sacrifice and the Memories of the Past	142
5.4.2The Memories about the Fire Expressed by the Axi Xianchi	143
5.4.3The Memories Created by the Governnor	144
5.4.4The Memories in the Dating back	146
Chapter 6 The Ritual and Symbolic Presentation	149
6.1The Ritual and the Identification of the Axi Ethnic Group	149
6.1.1The Identification of the Ritual and Identity of the Ethnic Group	150
6.1.2The Myth of the Ritual and the Identity of the Ethnic Groups	153
6.1.3The Collective Memory Formed in the Ritual and the Identity of the Ethnic Groups	154
6.2 The Communitas Formed in the Holy Communion of the Ritual	156
6.2.1The Communitas between the God and the male in the Holy Communion of the Ritual.....	157
6.2.2 The Communitas between the Human and the human in the Secular Communion of the Ritual	159
6.2.3The Difference between the Holy Communion and the Secular Communion	161
6.3The Liminality of the Ritual	163
6.3.1 The Research about the Liminality in the Anthropology.....	163
6.3.2The Liminality in the Ritual.....	167
6.3.3The Ethnic Culture Expressed in the Liminality	171
6.3.4The Significance in the Liminality of the Ritual	174
Chapter 7 The Transition of the Ritual	175
7.1 The Role Played by the Policies in the Transition of the Ritual	175
7.1.1 The Brief Introduction about the Policies.....	176
7.1.2Some of the Phenomena in the Transition of the Ritual.....	177
7.1.3 The Ritual of the Ritual.....	178
7.1.4The Guidance of the Policies in the Transition.....	181
7.2 The Role Played by the Social Psychological Elements in the Transition in the Ritual	182
7.2.1 The Desire Longing for being Known by the Others	182
7.2.2 The Desire Longing for Enlarging the Influence of the Ritual	183
7.2.3The Desacralizing of the Ritual	184
Conclusion	188
The Function of the Ritual Practice Presented in the Ritual.....	188

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