

## 纳西族火葬

摄影 撰文：张旭

一九九零年，我以纳西族传统文化为研究课题，对位于云南、四川与西藏三省交界的纳西族地区进行了定点调查。七月，我在云南省中甸县的三坝村参加了一位八十岁老妇人的葬礼。

实行火葬过去在纳西族中是很流行的。但是，自清朝雍正即位的第二年，随着地区统治被中央集权统治所替代，这一地区的各方面情况，包括殡葬制度，都发生了很大的变化。丽江、维西等地的纳西族已经将过去的火葬改为土葬。然而，在藏族地区三坝村的纳西人至今仍依照古老的传统沿袭着火葬。

我追随拍摄了长达三天的整个火葬仪式，希望这里选出的系列组照能够概括火葬的过程，并使我们可以了解到：有一支强大的、以放牧牦牛为生的游牧部落早在远古时期就迁徙到中国西南边陲的雪山脚下，他们至今仍然在一个村落里保留着从祖先那里流传下来的民族文化传统。

## A Naxi Cremation

Photographer and Writer: Zhang Xu

In 1990, I went to the home of the Naxi nationality at the intersection of the three provinces of Yunnan, Sichuan, and Tibet to undertake an on-site investigation of traditional Naxi culture. In July of 1990, I attended the funeral of an eighty-year-old woman in the village of Sanba in Zhongdian county, Yunnan province.

Cremation was once widely practiced among the Naxi people. But in the second year of the reign of Emperor Qing Yongzheng, (1724), following the replacement of local warlord control by a centralized government, great changes occurred in many aspects of Naxi culture. Funeral customs were affected, and Naxi in areas including Lijiang and Weixi replaced cremation with ground burial. However, the custom of cremation has been maintained among Naxi people living in Sanba village.

After obtaining the agreement of the master of the cremation ceremonies, I took a series of photographs of the funeral over the course of three days. The pictures selected here illustrate the entire course of the cremation ceremony. Through these pictures, we are introduced to a group of people, descended from the nomads who entered northwest China many centuries ago, who have maintained their traditional customs in a certain village through the present day.

### 1 入棺

经过整夜的喊魂仪式后，那口放在屋后的棺材被抬到前门。死者的亲属正在把尸体从屋内的火塘边抬出来，放入棺材，这一过程被称为“入棺仪式”。尸体进入棺材时必须将腿弯起，保持着出生婴儿的形状，整个棺材的长度也不过一百三十公分。



Placing the Deceased into the Coffin

Following a ceremony to call the soul of the deceased that lasts throughout the night, the coffin is moved from the back of the house to the front door. Here the relatives are moving the deceased from inside the house into the coffin. This is called “the ceremony of placing the deceased into the coffin”. The coffin is 1.3 meters long. The deceased must be positioned with the legs bent, like a newly born infant.

## 2 屠牛

依照火葬仪式的规矩，死者的每一位女儿都必须向死去的母亲奉献一头牛，死者的本家则需要提供一头黑白相间的羊。这位死去的老妇有三个女儿，故葬礼仪式上一共宰杀了三头牛。



Slaughtering Oxen

Here the grandchildren of the deceased have led three oxen and one sheep to be sacrificed to their grandmother. According to local Naxi customs, the family of each daughter must sacrifice one ox to her departed mother, while the deceased husband's family is only required to offer one sheep.

## 3 诵经

东巴祭司是整个火葬仪式的主持者。他正在为死者的灵魂超度，默念着东巴经，经文是用东巴象形文字书写而成。东巴象形文字被誉为是当今世界上唯一还在使用的象形文字。



Chanting Scriptures

Here a Dongba shaman, the master of the cremation ceremonies, chants Scriptures for the deceased in order to call back her spirit and direct her on the route to rejoin her ancestors. The scriptures are written in the Dongba language, the only pictographic language still in use in the world today.

#### 4 生祭

被宰杀的三头牛和一只羊的头和皮放在棺材前，称为“生祭”。据说牛和羊的灵魂将伴随死者进入新的世界。



Sacrifice of the Living

The three oxen and one sheep are killed and laid in front of the coffin as the Sacrifice of the Living. It is said that the souls of the oxen and sheep will accompany the deceased into the next world.

#### 5 洗马

“洗马仪式”开始时，东巴的助手用一碗纯净的水依次浇灌一匹马的头、身体和尾巴，马被冷水一激，会剧烈地抖动身体，按照传统说法，就在这一时刻意味着死者的灵魂骑上了马背，它将会依照东巴经指出的方向，回到祖先居住过的遥远北方。



The Ceremony of Washing the Horse

The Dongba shaman's helper sprinkles a bowl of "pure water" on a horse's head, body, and tail. When the horse feels the cold water, it shakes its body. According to Naxi tradition, this signifies that the soul of the deceased has mounted the horse's back, ready to start the journey back to the land of the ancestors in the far north under the guidance of the Dongba Scriptures.

## 6 人桥

按规矩，女人是不准许进入火葬地的。所以，妇女们最后在村口跪下为死者的灵魂搭起“人桥”。途中若遇到沟壑，男人们也要搭起“人桥”让灵魂通过。纳西人认为，死者的灵魂在返回祖地时，一定会象祖先南下时那样碰到无数的艰难，所以要帮助它战胜途中的鬼怪。



The Human Bridge

According to the rules of the Naxi, women are not allowed to enter the cremation grounds. So when they reach the edge of the village, the women kneel down to build a "human bridge" for the deceased to pass over. As the procession continues, the men will also build a "human bridge" for the departed at rough and bumpy spots on the road. The Naxi people believe that the soul will meet many difficulties as it returns to the land of the ancestors, just as the ancestors did on their journey from the north. Therefore the living should help the soul to vanquish the devils it meets along the way.

## 7 送魂

护送死者的人们正走向大山深处的火葬地。火葬地的选择要严格按照一定的环境因素：山势的走向、地理的自然特征、树木位置和土壤等等。



Sending the Soul

The people escort the deceased to the cremation grounds deep in the mountains. This spot is carefully chosen according to environmental factors including the layout of the mountains, geological features, placement of trees, and soil characteristics.

#### 8 净身

尸体在火葬前被通体涂上酥油。按照火葬的规矩，女性死者的脸要朝地。死者若为男性，则要面朝天，因为纳西人人们认为天与地、男与女等均有阴和阳之分。



Cleansing the Body

The deceased is stripped and butter is applied to the entire body. According to Naxi cremation customs, the deceased is placed facedown if female and faceup if male. This is because the Naxi believe that the sky is Yang (male), and the earth is Yin (female).

#### 9 点火

火葬师根据风向开始点火。因为死者是女性，所以要砍七棵树放在棺材下作木柴；如果死者是男人，则需要九棵树。按照东巴经书“人类迁徙记”中的说法，纳西族以及整个世界都是由“九兄弟和七姐妹”创造的。



Lighting the Fire

The master of the cremation ceremonies lights the fire after examining the direction of the wind. Here the coffin is placed on seven pieces of wood because the deceased is female. If the deceased is male, nine pieces of wood are required. This symbolizes the Nine Brothers and Seven Sisters who created the world and the Naxi people according to "The History of Human Migration" recorded in the Dongba Scriptures.

#### 10 焚化

尸体正在火化。棺材四周顶端的四只小柱子，上面被砍有阶梯状的花纹，象征着灵魂登天的梯子。



The Cremation

The body is given to the flames. The four short posts that support the corners of the coffin are incised with a step pattern, representing the ladder the soul will climb on the way to Heaven.

#### 11 助燃

棺材燃烧到一定的时候便倒塌了。为了加快燃烧，火葬师要不断翻转燃烧的棺木。



Stirring the Flames

The burning coffin has collapsed. The master of the cremation ceremonies constantly turns the wood of the coffin in order to hasten the burning,

## 12 回归

两个小时后，尸身与棺木一起化为了灰烬。只有头骨形象犹存。白地纳西族人的生死观是：尸体化为清烟，直升天空并融入白云，便预示着死者进入了一个新的光明的世界。重新与自然融为一体，这就是火葬所体现的最高境界。



Ashes to Ashes

After two hours, the body and coffin have been reduced to ash. Only the skull remains. The deceased has turned into smoke to rise into the sky and merge with the clouds. The Naxi people believe that in this way, the soul of the dead rises to enter a new, bright world. The deepest significance of cremation is that it allows the deceased to become one with Nature.

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