

目 录

TABLE OF CONTENTS

一、举办单位	
ORGANIZERS.....	1
二、论坛日程	
CONFERENCE SCHEDULE.....	8
三、论文摘要	
CONFERENCE SUMMARY.....	13
1 山野奇花的旷世魅力——“撒叶儿嗬”简论（刘守华）	
The Charm of a Wild Flower : Brief Survey on “Saye’erhe” (Liu Shouhua)	13
2 通过保护非物质文化遗产创造文化潜能：美国民间生活研究中心的两个个案研究（贝西·彼得森）	
Creating Cultural Capacity through the Preservation of Intangible Cultural Heritage: Two Case Studies from the American Folklife Center (Betsy Peterson)	16
3 谁在生产？怎样保护？——透视中国非物质文化遗产的“生产性保护”（张士闪，耿波）	
Who Produces and How to Safeguard? On “Safeguarding by Producing” for Chinese Intangible Cultural Heritage (Zhang Shishan, Gengbo)	21
4 反思现代性（霍华德·劳伦斯·塞克斯）	
Engaging Modernity (Howard Lawrence Sacks)	25
5 关于非物质文化遗产生产性保护的若干思考（萧放）	
Some Thoughts on the Productive Safeguarding of ICH (Xiao Fang)	30
6 传统实践与社区福祉：一个非物质文化遗产的可持续发展模式（艾米·基奇纳）	
Recognizing the Practice of Tradition in Community Well-being:Towards A Model of Sustainable Intangible Cultural Heritage (Amy Kitchener)	34
7 传承人如何选择？——从主位视角看非遗的生产性方式保护（刘晓春）	
How the Inheritors to Choose? To examine the Reproductive Production From Emic Perspective (Liu Xiaochun)	39
8 “美国”拼布：保存和保护一种传统文化遗产形式的交叉点和挑战（马美莎）	
The “American” Quilt: intersections and challenges of preservation of and safeguards to a traditional cultural heritage form (Marsha MacDowell)	42

第三届中美非物质文化遗产论坛：生产性保护
THE THIRD FORUM ON CHINA-US INTANGIBLE CULTURAL
HERITAGE:PRODUCTIVE SAFEGUARDING

主办单位：

美国民俗学会

华中师范大学国家文化产业研究中心

ORGANIZERS

American Folklore Society

National Research Center of Cultural Industries, CCNU

协办单位：

美国鲁斯基金会

华中师范大学文学院

华中师范大学科研部

华中师范大学研究生院

华中师范大学外事处

SUPPORTERS

The Henry Luce Foundation

School of Chinese Language and Literature, CCNU

Scientific Research Office, CCNU

Graduate School, CCNU

International Office, CCNU

第三届中美非物质文化遗产论坛

THE THIRD FORUM ON CHINA-US INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

一、时间/地点 Time/Location

*时间：2012年11月16-18日

Time: Nov. 16-18, 2012

*会议地点：华中师范大学逸夫国际会议中心

Conference site: Yifu International Conference Center, CCNU

*外地专家住宿地点：桂苑宾馆

Accommodation site: Guiyuan Hotel

二、论坛议题 Forum Topics

*非物质文化遗产的保护与开发

Safeguarding and Development of Intangible Cultural Heritage

*非物质文化遗产的传承与创新

Inheritance and Innovation of Intangible Cultural Heritage

*非物质文化遗产的生产性保护与文化产业发展

Productive Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage and Cultural Industries
Development

三、与会代表 Delegation

(一) 领导代表 Cadre Delegates

*李耀华 湖北省文化厅副厅长

Li Yaohua, Vice Director of Hubei Provincial Department of Culture

*江清和 湖北省文化厅非物质文化遗产处处长

Jiang Qinghe, Director of Intangible Cultural Heritage Center, Hubei Provincial Department of Culture

*张晓慧 湖北省文化厅非物质文化遗产保护中心常务副主任

Zhang Xiaohui, Executive Deputy Director of Intangible Cultural Heritage Safeguarding Center, Hubei Provincial Department of Culture

*黄树清 湖北省文化厅非物质文化遗产处科长

Huang Shuqing, Section Chief of Intangible Cultural Heritage Center, Hubei Provincial Department of Culture

*傅广典 湖北省民间文艺家协会主席

Fu Guangdian, President of Hubei Society for Folk Literature and Art Study

*马敏 华中师范大学校党委书记, 教授、博士生导师

Ma Min, Professor, Doctoral Supervisor, President of CCNU

(二) 专家代表 **Expert Delegates**

1. 美方专家 **American Experts**

*罗仪德 美国民俗学会执行理事长

Timothy Lloyd, Executive Director, American Folklore Society

*威廉·詹姆斯·艾伟 美国范德堡大学国际关系高级理事, 原美国克林顿政府文化艺术基金会主席

William James Ivey, Senior Advisor, International Relations, Vanderbilt University

*艾米·基奇纳 美国加州传统艺术联盟主任

Amy Kitchener, Director, Alliance for California Traditional Arts

*马美莎 美国密西根州立大学博物馆民间艺术馆馆长

Marsha MacDowell, Curator of Folk Arts, Michigan State University Museum

*贝西·彼得森 美国国会图书馆美国民间生活研究中心主任

Betsy Peterson, Director, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress

*霍华德·劳伦斯·塞克斯 美国俄亥俄州甘比尔凯尼恩学院乡村生活中心负责人、教授
Howard Lawrence Sacks, Rural Life Center, Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, Responsible Officer, Professor

*朱迪丝·露丝·塞克斯 俄亥俄州凯尼恩学院美国研究项目参与学者

Judith Rose Sacks, affiliated scholar in the American Studies Program at Kenyon College in Ohio

*胡世德 美国密西根州立大学博物馆策展人, 国会图书馆美国民间生活研究中心董事会董事

Charles Kurt Dewhurst, Curator, Michigan State University Museum, Board member of the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress

*叶 娜 美国国会图书馆之美国民间生活研究中心, 博士

Nora Yeh, Doctor, American Folklife Center at Library of Congress

2. 中方专家 Chinese Experts

*宋俊华 中山大学中国非物质文化遗产研究中心主任, 教授、博士生导师

Song Junhua, Professor, Doctoral Supervisor, Director of Institute of Chinese Intangible Cultural Heritage, Sun Yat-sen University

*萧 放 北京师范大学文学院教授, 国际亚细亚民俗学会中方会长, 博士生导师

Xiao Fang, Professor, Doctoral Supervisor, Chinese President of International Asian Folklore Society, School of Chinese Language and Literature, Beijing Normal University

*谢沫华(白族) 云南民族博物馆馆长, 研究馆员

Xie Mohua (Bai Nationality), Researcher, Curator, Yunnan Nationalities Museum

*张士闪 山东大学文史哲研究院民俗研究所所长, 教授、博士生导师

Zhang Shishan, Professor, Doctoral Supervisor, Director of Institute of Folklore Studies, Literature History and Philosophy Institute, Shandong University

*安德明 中国社会科学院民族文学研究所民间文学研究室研究员、副主任

An Deming, Professor, Deputy Director, Folk Literature Research Office, Institute of Ethnic Literature, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

*林继富 中央民族大学文学院教授, 民俗学专业学科带头人、博士生导师

Lin Jifu, Professor, Doctoral Supervisor, Leader of Folkloristics, School of Chinese Language and Literature, Central Minority University

*刘晓春 中山大学非物质文化遗产研究中心副主任, 中山大学民俗研究中心主任, 教授、博士生导师

Liu Xiaochun, Professor, Doctoral Supervisor, Deputy Director of Institute of Chinese Intangible Cultural Heritage, Sun Yat-sen University

*刁统菊 山东大学文史哲研究院民俗学研究所副教授, 《民俗研究》杂志社副主编

Diao Tongju, Associate Professor, Institute of Folklore Studies, Literature History and Philosophy Institute, Shandong University, Associate Editor of *Folklore Studies*

3. 中方特邀嘉宾 Special Guests

*何红一 中南民族大学文学与新闻传播学院教授

He Hongyi, Professor, School of Chinese Literature and Journalism of South-central University for Nationalities

*向柏松 中南民族大学文学与新闻传播学院副院长，教授

Xiang Bosong, Professor, Associate Dean, School of Chinese Literature and Journalism of South-central University for Nationalities

*肖远平 贵州民族大学副校长，教授

Xiao Yuanping, Professor, Vice President, Guizhou Minzu University

*王霄冰 中山大学非物质文化遗产研究中心教授

Wang Xiaobing, Professor, Institute of Chinese Intangible Cultural Heritage, Sun Yat-sen University

*王学文 文化部民族民间文艺发展中心副研究员

Wang Xuwen, Associate Resercher, Center for Ethnic and Folik Literature and Art Development, Ministry of Culture P.R.C

*蒋明智 《文化遗产》编辑部主任，中山大学中国非物质文化遗产研究中心教授

Jiang Mingzhi, Professor, Institute of Chinese Intangible Cultural Heritage, Sun Yat-sen University, Director of *Culture Heritage*

*李丽丹 天津师范大学文学院副教授

Li Lidan, Associate Professor, School of Chinese Language and Literature, Tianjin Normal University

*侯姝慧 山西大学文学院副教授

Hou Shuhui, Associate Professor, School of Chinese Language and Literature, Shanxi University

*桑俊 长江大学文学院副教授

Sang Jun, Associate Professor, School of Chinese Language and Literature, Yangtze University

*纪军 安阳师范学院文学院副教授

Ji Jun, Associate Professor, School of Chinese Language and Literature, Anyang Normal University

*李 琳 湖南文理学院文史学院副教授

Li Lin, Associate Professor, School of Chinese Literature History, Hunan University of Arts and Science

*陈 熙 中山大学非物质文化遗产研究中心博士生

Chen Xi, Phd. Candidate, Institute of Chinese Intangible Cultural Heritage, Sun Yat-sen University

4.华中师范大学专家和教师代表 CCNU Experts and Faculty Delegates

*黄永林 华中师范大学副校长，中国民俗学会副会长，华中师范大学国家文化产业研究中心主任，教授、博士生导师

Huang Yonglin, Professor, Doctoral Supervisor, Vice President of CCNU, Vice President of China Folklore Society, Director of National Research Center of Cultural Industries, CCNU

*刘守华 华中师范大学文学院教授、博士生导师

Liu Shouhua, Professor, Doctoral Supervisor, School of Chinese Language and Literature, CCNU

*陈建宪 华中师范大学文学院教授、博士生导师

Chen Jianxian, Professor, Doctoral Supervisor, School of Chinese Language and Literature, CCNU

*詹一虹 华中师范大学国家文化产业研究中心常务副主任，教授、博士生导师

Zhan Yihong, Professor, Doctoral Supervisor, Executive Deputy Director of National Research Center of Cultural Industries, CCNU

*胡亚敏 华中师范大学文学院院长，教授、博士生导师

Hu Yamin, Professor, Doctoral Supervisor, Dean of School of Chinese Language and Literature, CCNU

*何 静 华中师范大学工会常务副主席

He Jing, Executive Deputy President of the Labour Union, CCNU

*彭南生 华中师范大学科研部部长，教授、博士生导师

Peng Nansheng, Professor, Doctoral Supervisor, Director of Scientific Research Department, CCNU

*段 锐 华中师范大学研究生院副院长

Duan Rui, Dean of Graduate School, CCNU

*柯常青 华中师范大学外事处处长

Ke Changqing, Director of International Office, CCNU

*石 挺 华中师范大学人文社会科学高等研究院处长

Shi Ting, Director of Higher Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, CCNU

*黄 宇 华中师范大学外事处副处长

Huang Yu, Deputy Director of International Office, CCNU

*盘 华 武汉华中师大资产经营管理有限公司总经理

Pan Hua, General Manager, Wuhan Huazhong Normal University Asset Management LTD, CCNU

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*徐 剑 华中师范大学高研院办公室副主任

Xu Jian, Deputy Director of Higher Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, CCNU

*李 林 华中师范大学国家文化产业中心副教授

Li Lin, Associate Professor, National Research Center of Cultural Industries, CCNU

*纪东东 华中师范大学国家文化产业中心副教授

Ji Dongdong, Associate Professor, National Research Center of Cultural Industries, CCNU

以及文学院、科研部、研究生院、外事处、人文社会科学高等研究院的相关领导和嘉宾。

With other cadres and guests from CCNU.

论坛日程

Conference Schedule

时间 DATE		活动安排 SCHEDULE	备注 NOTES
11/16	Participants Arrival & Hotel Check in 全天 报到 接站	天河机场接机，武昌、 武汉和汉口火车站接 站，入住桂苑宾馆 Reception at Tianhe Airport, Wuchang Train Station, Hankou Train Station and Train Station of Wuhan Hotel Check in (Guiyuan)	报到地点：华中师范大学桂苑宾馆一楼大 厅 Location: Lobby of Guiyuan Hotel in CCNU
	18:00-19:00	晚餐 Dinner	桌餐：桂苑宾馆 Round table meal at Guiyuan Hotel
11/17 AM	7:30-8:30	早餐 Breakfast	桂苑宾馆（一楼中餐厅） Guiyuan Hotel, Chinese dinner room first floor
	8:35 桂苑宾馆前集合，乘车前往逸夫国际会议中心 Meet at the door of Guiyuan Hotel then head for the conference center 会议地点：华中师范大学逸夫国际会议中心 Conference Site: Yifu International Conference Center, CCNU		
	主持：黄永林教授 翻译：张静 陈熙 Host: Professor Huang Yonglin Interpreters: Zhang Jing, Chen Xi		
	9:00-9:40	开幕式 Opening Ceremony	1. 主持人介绍领导和嘉宾 Introduction of leaders and guests 2. 华中师范大学书记马敏教授致辞 Speech by Ma Min, President of CCNU 3. 美国民俗学会执行会长罗仪德教授致辞 Speech by Timothy Lloyd, Executive President from the American Folklore Society 4. 中山大学非物质文化遗产研究中心主任 宋俊华致辞 Speech by Song Jun hua, Director of Institute of Chinese Intangible Cultural Heritage, Sun Yat-sen University 5. 湖北民间文艺家协会主席傅广典研究员致辞 Speech by Fu Guangdian, President of Hubei Society for Folk Literature and Art Study 6. 湖北省文化厅副厅长李耀华先生讲话 Speech by Director of Hubei Provincial Department of Culture

	9:40-9:50	会议代表集体合影 Group Photograph 地点: 华中师范大学逸夫国际会议中心 Location: Front door of Yifu International Conference Center
		主持: 黄永林教授 翻译: 张静 陈熙 Host: Professor Huang Yonglin Interpreters: Zhang Jing, Chen Xi
	9:50-10:10	发言 Speech 发言人: 刘守华教授 Speaker: Professor Liu Shouhua
	10:10-10:20	评议 Comment 评议人: 朱迪丝·露丝·塞克斯教授 Commentator: Professor Judith Rose Sacks
	10:20-10:50	互动 Interaction
	10:50-11:00	茶歇 Tea Break
	11:00-11:20	发言 Speech 发言人: 贝西·彼得森博士 Speaker: Doctor Betsy Peterson
	11:20-11:30	评议 Comment 评议人: 安德明教授 Commentator: Professor An Deming
	11:30-12:00	互动 Interaction
	12:00	逸夫国际会议中心前集合, 乘车前往桂苑宾馆 Returns to Guiyuan Hotel
	12:00-12:40	午餐 Lunch 桂苑宾馆自助 (一楼中餐厅) Buffet at Guiyuan Hotel, Chinese dinner room first floor
11/17 PM	12:40-14:10	午休 Noon Break
	14:10	桂苑宾馆前集合, 乘车前往逸夫国际会议中心 Meet at the door of Guiyuan Hotel then head for the conference center 会议地点: 华中师范大学逸夫国际会议中心 Conference Site: Yifu International Conference Center, CCNU
		主持: 罗仪德博士 翻译: 张静 陈熙 Host: Dr. Timothy Lloyd Interpreters: Zhang Jing, Chen Xi
	14:30-14:50	发言 Speech 发言人: 张士闪教授 Speaker: Professor Zhang Shishan
	14:50-15:00	评议 Comment 评议人: 威廉·詹姆斯·艾伟教授 Commentator: Professor William James Ivey
	15:00-15:30	互动 Interaction
	15:30-15:50	发言 Speech 发言人: 霍华德·劳伦斯·塞克斯教授 Speaker: Professor Howard Lawrence Sacks
	15:50-16:00	评议 Comment 评议人: 宋俊华教授 Commentator: Professor Song Junhua

	16:00-16:30	互动 Interaction	
	16:30-16:40	茶歇 Tea Break	
	16:40-17:00	发言 Speech	发言人: 萧放教授 Speaker: Professor Xiao Fang
	17:00-17:10	评议 Comment	评议人: 胡世德教授 Commentator: Professor Charles Kurt Dewhurst
	17:10-17:40	互动 Interaction	
	17:40 逸夫国际会议中心前集合, 乘车前往桂苑宾馆 Return to Guiyuan Hotel		
	18:00-19:00	晚宴 Dinner	桂苑宾馆桌餐 (一楼中餐厅) Round table meal at Guiyuan Hotel, Chinese dinner room first floor
	19:00 桂苑宾馆前集合, 乘车前往武昌码头 Meet at 19:00 at the door of GuiYuan Hotel then head for the wharf in Wuhan		
	20:00-22:00	活动 Activities	武昌码头乘船夜游长江 Boat Tour on Yangtze River
11/18 AM	7:30-8:05	早餐 Breakfast	桂苑宾馆 (一楼中餐厅) Guiyuan Hotel, Chinese dinner room first floor
	8:10 桂苑宾馆前集合, 乘车前往逸夫国际会议中心 Meet at the door of Guiyuan Hotel then head for the conference center. 会议地点: 华中师范大学逸夫国际会议中心 Conference Site: Yifu International Conference Center in CCNU		
	主持: 陈建宪教授 翻译: 张静 陈熙 Host: Professor Chen Jianxian Interpreters: Zhang Jing, Chen Xi		
	8:30-8:50	发言 Speech	发言人: 艾米·基奇纳教授 Speaker: Professor Amy Kitchener
	8:50-9:00	评议 Comment	评议人: 林继富教授 Commentator: Professor Lin Jifu
	9:00-9:30	互动 Interaction	
	9:30-9:50	发言 Speech	发言人: 刘晓春教授 Speaker: Professor Liu Xiaochun
	9:50-10:00	评议 Comment	评议人: 谢沫华教授 Commentator: Professor Xie Mohua
	10:00-10:30	互动 Interaction	
	10:30-10:45	茶歇 Tea Break	
	10:45-11:05	发言 Speech	发言人: 马美莎教授 Speaker: Professor Marsha MacDowel

	11:05-11:15	评议 Comment	评议人: 刁统菊教授 Commentator: Professor Diao Tongju
	11:15-11:45	互动 Interaction	
	11:45-12:00	会议总结 Conclusion	总结人: 黄永林教授 Summarizer: Professor Huang Yonglin
11/18 PM	市内考察负责人: 詹一虹、纪东东 翻译: 张静 陈熙 Principals of the visiting: Zhan Yihong, Ji Dongdong Interpreters: Zhang Jing, Chen Xi		
	12:00 逸夫国际会议中心前集合, 乘车前往东湖鲁磨路午餐 Meet at the door of Conference Center then head for the East Lake for lunch		
	12:00-13:30	午餐 Lunch	东湖农家特色餐 Local cuisine beside the East Lake
	13:30-14:10	考察 Visiting	乘车游东湖 Bus tour around the East Lake
	14:10-15:30	考察 Visiting	游览省博物馆 编钟乐舞表演包场 15:00 Visit Hubei Provincial Museum Chime bells performance Reservation 15:00
	15:30-17:30	考察 Visiting	游览黄鹤楼 Visit Yellow Crane Tower
	18:00-19:00	晚餐 Dinner	吉庆街小吃 Snack in Jiqing Street
	11/19	市外考察负责人: 詹一虹、纪东东 翻译: 张静 陈熙 Principals of the visiting: Zhan Yihong, Ji Dongdong Interpreters: Zhang Jing, Chen Xi	
7:00-8:00		早餐 Breakfast	桂苑宾馆 Guiyuan Hotel
8:20		桂苑宾馆前集合 Meet at the door of Guiyuan Hotel	乘车前往武当山 车程约 5.5 小时, 入住宾馆 Head for Mount Wudang about 5.5 hours Check in the hotel
13:00-13:30		午餐 Lunch	
13:30-17:30		游览 Sightseeing	乘坐景区环保车进入景区, 游览历经唐宋元明清五朝的古建筑群绝壁悬宫——南岩宫, 步入神话传说中的天庭之门——南天门, 参观崇福岩、御碑亭, 烧龙头大香, 品甘露圣茶, 后观看卧虎藏龙取景之地。 Take the green car into the site, visit Nanyan Palace, Nantian Gate, Chongfu Rock, Yubei Pavilion, burn joss sticks, taste tea and visit the shooting sight of Crouching Tiger Hidden Dragon
17:30-19:00	晚餐 Lunch	武当山天禄宾馆 Wudang Tianlu Venue	

11/20	7:00-7:45		武当山天禄宾馆 紫霄宫早课 Wudang Tianlu Venue, ZiXiaoGong Taoist priest doing morning work
	7:45-8:00	早餐 Breakfast	
	8:00-11:30	游览 Sightseeing	乘车赴琼台景区乘索道上金顶，约须半小时可达到海拔 1612 米天柱峰——武当之巅，朝圣祈福，参观太和宫，转运殿，皇经堂以及紫禁城内巍峨雄壮的金殿 Amount the peak by tram rail , and reach the 1612m Tianzhu peak in about half an hour, “ Top of Wudang ” , Praying for blessings, visit Taihe Palace, Zhuanyun hall, Huangjing Hall, and Golden Hall
	11:30-12:40	午餐 Lunch	景区用餐
	12:40-14:00	游览 Sightseeing	游览武当山主神真武大帝修仙十年之地——太子坡景区 Visit the Taizipo scenic area
	14:00-19:30		乘车返回武汉， 18:30-19:20 晚餐 Return to Wuhan, dinner at 18:30-19:20
	20:30		入住桂苑宾馆 Back to Guiyuan Hotel
11/21	全天	离会、送站 Departure	总负责：纪东东 Principal: Ji Dongdong 美国专家：张静、蒋海军负责 Zhang Jing and Jiang Haijun are responsible for the American experts 国内专家：王燕妮、王萍负责 Wang Yanni and Wang Ping responsible for the domestic experts

论文摘要

山野奇花的旷世魅力

——“撒叶儿嗬”简论

刘守华

华中师范大学文学院

中国强劲实施的非物质文化遗产保护工程，从2005年开始，已评审公布三批列入国家级保护名录的代表作1219项，其中列入首批名录的民间舞蹈——湖北长阳土家族的“撒叶儿嗬”，源于土家族先民——古代巴人的“军阵舞”，具有深厚文化传统，它是显现旷世魅力的一朵山野奇花，深受国人喜爱及文化界关注，也是中国非遗保护工程的亮点之一。笔者不仅作为湖北省非遗保护工作中心的专家委员会成员参与过评审活动，还在长阳、五峰、房县、神农架等处几次亲临现场，乃至通宵达旦亲身体验了这项跳丧歌舞的原生态情景，现特作简要评述。

文化部非遗保护中心评介“撒叶儿嗬”如下：

“撒叶儿嗬”是一种传统祭祀歌舞，乡亲们聚在孝家堂屋里的亡者灵柩前，男人载歌载舞，女人们穿戴着鲜亮服装围观助兴，这种活动往往通宵达旦地举行。土家族认为人的生死有如四季变化，是自然而然的，享尽天年的老人辞世是顺应自然规律，值得庆贺。土家人就这样用绝妙的歌腔舞态表达自己旷达的生死观。跳舞时先由歌师击鼓叫歌，舞者随鼓声应节起舞。

“撒叶儿嗬”是歌、舞、乐浑然一体的艺术，它的声腔和歌调仅存于兴山一带，其曲体结构与楚辞体式多有相似，从中尚能看到古代巴楚之地祭神乐歌的影子。歌舞中显示出难能可贵的积极人生态度，贯穿着豁达通脱的生死观念。

CONFERENCE SUMMARY

The Charm of a Wild Flower Brief Survey on “Saye’erhe”

Liu Shouhua

School of Chinese Language and Literature, CCNU

There are 1219 items that have been accepted in the national lists during the safeguarding of ICH project from 2005. “Saye’erhe” from Tujia people in Changyang, Hubei entered into the first list. It originated from “the army dancing” of the ancestors of Tujia people—the ancient Ba People. It has attracted attentions, and is also one of the brightest spots of Chinese safeguarding of ICH project. As a member of the Committee of the Centre of Safeguarding ICH of Hubei, I participated in the examination, and also observed the dancing in the natural context, and even took part in. I will introduce it and comment it briefly.

The introduction from Center for Safeguarding of ICH of the Ministry of Culture follows:

“Saye’erhe” is a kind of traditional funeral singing and dancing. The natives gather in the front of the coffin, the male are singing and dancing, and the female dressed up well are around. Normally, this kind of ritual is held through the whole night. Tujia people believe that the birth and death of human beings is a natural process just like the four seasons. The old who enjoyed their lives passed away, which conform to the laws of nature and are worthy of celebration. They expressed their attitudes towards birth and death through such a kind of singing and dancing. At first, the leading singers begin to drum and to sing, the dancers follows to dance to the drumming.

“Saye’erhe” is a systematic and harmonious art composed of singing, dancing and music. Its tunes and tones only exist in Xingshan, Hubei. Its style and structure are very familiar with Songs of Chu, through which can

这里说它是一种“传统祭祀歌舞”，更简明的说法是“跳丧”或“跳丧歌舞”。在鄂西清江中游土家族居住地区及其周边，老人寿终正寝离世，居民称为“白喜事”，办理丧事时须以歌舞相伴，聚众高歌狂舞一个通宵乃至两三夜，俗称“打丧鼓”或“跳丧”。“撒叶儿嗬”是土家语，来自土家族民间舞蹈音乐中出现频率较高的一个号子，久而久之，人们便把这种舞蹈叫做跳“撒叶儿嗬”了。

“撒叶儿嗬”的独特形态与感人魅力何在？按笔者多年考察体验所得。试从以下三方面给以解说。

首先是聚众治丧，将丧事作为喜事来办。特别的生死观造就了土家人对死亡的坦然与豁达，很自然地形成以聚众歌舞的方式来办理丧事的奇特民俗。

其次是歌、乐、舞的浑然一体。这项跳丧歌舞活动，在停放灵柩的孝家（丧家）厅堂举行，有锣鼓伴奏。场上一人站在棺左侧掌鼓领唱，众人即跟唱起舞。整个场面由掌鼓歌师的鼓点和唱腔随时变换节奏与曲牌。而且掌鼓歌师、舞者和围观者的身份可以自由变换。

再次，土家族跳丧活动还有既高歌狂舞，热烈奔放，又严守丧礼规范井然有序的审美特质。掌鼓的歌师按歌词内容配腔，歌词十分丰富，既可以唱祖先功业，也可以唱亡人生平德行，还可以唱地方风土人情及男女性爱。其中，叙说古人古事的长篇叙事歌，最适宜在跳丧是演唱，如《黑暗传》，人们喜爱的情歌是丧场上最为流行的品种。

这一民俗文化传统并非孤立地自动延伸而来，它是在土家族地区因发挥着积极的社会功能而贯通古今传承至今的。

grasp the ritual music and sing in ancient Ba and Chu areas. Their positive attitudes towards life, birth and death are expressed through the singing and dancing.

We defined it as a “traditional sacred singing and dancing”, actually it is “funeral dancing” or “funeral singing and dancing”. In the areas where Tujia people are living on the middle of Qing River in Western Hubei and neighboring areas, the natives held the funeral as “white happiness” when the old passed away. They gathered one whole night or two or three. In local language, it is “funeral drumming” or “funeral dancing”. “Saye’erhe” is Tujia language, from a highly repeated tune in folk Tujia singing and dancing, so the native called this kind of dancing “Saye’erhe”.

I

What are the unique style and touching charming of “Saye’erhe”? I explained from three points.

Firstly, gather to held funeral as happiness. The special attitudes towards birth and death make them calm and then gather to sing and dance as funeral.

Secondly, singing, music and dancing integrate. It is held in the hall of the house in which gang and drum are accompanying. One person is drumming and leading the singing on the left of the coffin, and the others follow to sing and dance. The leading drumming singer controls the ritual and changes the rhythms and the tunes.

Thirdly, the funeral dancing of Tujia people is not only composed of singing and dancing with enthusiasm, but also strictly abides by the rules of the funeral. They change the tunes according to the contents of the lyrics. The contents of the lyrics are variable, including the feasts of the ancestors, the life story of the departed, the local customs, love and sex. Among them, long ballad song the ancient people and ancient history are suitable for funeral dancing, for an instance The Darkness. The love songs are the most popular.

It continues today with its active social functions in Tujia area.

二

土家族跳丧活动长盛不衰的原因归纳为三点：

高山深谷，人户稀疏，住地分散的生活环境，使得跳丧适应了料理丧事这种乡村民俗群体活动的需要，具有广泛的大众参与性。

土葬习俗，需要邻里乡亲的协助，因而“一跳丧鼓二帮忙”就成为世代沿袭不变的乡俗了。

此外，淳朴善良的土家儿女为了表达对逝去父母的哀悼思念，众亲友以高歌狂舞、欢声笑语来陪伴孝家并互相取乐，以驱除冷清哀伤就深得民心而世代相承下来。

湖北长阳土族自治县对“撒叶儿嗬”这项非物质文化遗产代表作从普查申报到保护利用都获得了出色成就，可以认定为中国非遗保护的成功典型。

三

就非遗保护须尊重其本真性和整体性而言，以跳丧、哭嫁为例，其整体显然不适宜进行商业性开发。但谭学聪等将其歌舞拆分开来，以土家“撒叶儿嗬”原生态民歌组合形式参加全国青歌赛获得金奖，受到全国观众喜爱赞赏，则是一个文化产业开发的成功事例，它已属于对这项民间传统歌舞的改编与再创造，不是原生态的跳丧表演了。

不少地方的文化部门对已入名录的非遗项目的历史源流与生存背景、文化内涵与形态特征，所知相当浮浅，却急功近利地去搞经济开发，结果往往难以收到满意效果。因而著名文化人冯骥才近期提出：

“开发这个概念绝对不能使用在文化遗产上”，想利用遗产赚大钱的想法和作法，常常造成对遗产的扭曲和破坏。就湖北长阳土家族“撒叶儿嗬”这非遗项目而言，虽然在申报评审利用过程中出现过一些波折和争议，总体来看却是成功的，堪称中国非遗保护工程的一个范例，值得国内外学界认真关注。

II

The everlasting of funeral dancing of Tujia people can be explained from three points.

Firstly, funeral dancing fulfills the need to this kind of rural folkloric group activities in an area where the population density is low, and the living condition is scattered and isolated on mountains and in valleys.

Secondly, the helps from the neighborhood is necessary for the custom of burial in the ground. “Dancing and helping” has become a folk custom from one generation to another.

Thirdly, Tujia people express their missing and love to the departed parents, and the relatives and neighbors accompany them to get rid of sorrow by singing, dancing, and laughter,

Hubei Changyang Tujia Autonomous County made outstanding achievements in the survey, application and safeguarding of “Saye’erhe” as an intangible cultural heritage. So it can be regarded as a successful example.

III

In terms of the authenticity and integrity of safeguarding of ICH, the complete funeral dancing and crying marriage are not suitable for commercial exploiting and development. However, Tan Xuecong separated the singing and dancing, formed an authentic singing team to take part in the National the Youth Singers Competition, and finally gained Gold Medal Award. This is a successful example of cultural development. However, it is the adoption and recreation of traditional folk singing and dancing rather than authentic funeral dancing.

Many cultural departments rushed into commercial development though they just touched the surface of the history, origin, contexts, cultural meanings and features of forms of the items on the list, normally they could not succeed. Feng Jicai pointed out: “the definition of development (exploiting) can never be used connected with cultural heritage”. The ideas and practices to make money through the development of heritage always distort and destroy them. In terms of “Saye’erhe” of Tujia people in Changyang, Hubei, although there were some setbacks and controversies during the application and examination, it is still successful. It can be regarded as an example of safeguarding of ICH in China and need more serious attention from academia in and out of China.

通过保护非物质文化遗产创造 文化潜能：美国民间生活研究中 心的两个个案研究

贝西·彼得森
美国民间生活研究中心
美国国会图书馆

国际上，许多围绕非物质文化遗产的讨论和争论集中在探讨它在社会发展中的作用，或者与知识产权法相关的道德或法律权限问题。谁控制或拥有文化遗产？谁受益于文化遗产的保护或维护？在全球贸易和互动不断升级的当今世界，非物质文化遗产保留和保护的最佳策略是什么？联合国教科文组织指定的“世界遗产保护地”和他们拟定的“人类口头与非物质遗产杰作名录”正是两个这样的“生产性保护”措施，目的在于保存和发展常常被我们忽略的文化传统和宝藏。自1998年以来，世界知识产权组织也一直在试图制定政策，力图在国际知识产权法下保护传统文化表述和知识。

在美国民间生活研究中心，我们也关注非物质文化遗产的保护。但是，与本次座谈会上那些每天与传统艺术家和文化社区面对面打交道的同仁们所不同，为促进和支持文化遗产和实践的传播，我们的手段是纪录和记载文化遗产—我们收集和收藏讲述文化社区故事的各种录音、照片、动态图像、文件、手稿、数码文件等等。这一区别显而易见，但也是很重要的。我们的关注点和所要解答的问题与大家有所不同。保护有关非物质文化遗产的档案并让后代能享有这些宝贵纪录的最佳方法是什么？国家档案机关的指导原则和恰当角色各是什么？在科技日新月异和全球化不断升级的今天，我们怎样才能保持领先一步？尽管有这些不同，美国民间生活研究

Creating Cultural Capacity through the Preservation of Intangible Cultural Heritage: Two Case Studies from the American Folklife Center

Betsy Peterson
American Folklife Center
Library of Congress

In international circles today, much of the discussion and debate surrounding intangible cultural heritage focuses on its role in development or on moral or legal rights issues in relation to intellectual property law. Who controls or owns cultural heritage? Who benefits from the protection or safeguarding of cultural heritage? And what are the best strategies for sustaining or safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in a world of increased global trade and interaction? UNESCO's designation of World Heritage Sites and their List of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity are two such strategies for "productive protection," measures designed to make viable the oft-neglected cultural traditions and treasures in our midst. Since 1998, the World Intellectual Property Organization has also been attempting to formulate policy regarding the protection of traditional cultural expression and knowledge within international intellectual property law.

At the American Folklife Center, we too are concerned with the preservation of intangible cultural heritage. But, unlike my other colleagues on this panel, who work directly with individual traditional artists and cultural communities on a daily basis, to facilitate and support the transmission of cultural heritage and practice, we work with the documentation of this cultural heritage—we house the many sound recordings of all kinds, the photographs, moving images, papers, manuscripts, digital files and more that tell the stories of cultural communities. The distinction is obvious but important. Our questions and concerns are different. What are the best methods for preserving documentation of intangible cultural heritage and making it accessible to future generations? What are the guiding principles and appropriate role for a national archiving institution? As technological change and globalization continue to accelerate, how can we stay one step ahead? Nonetheless, the

中心的关注点与同仁们所关注的问题是密切相关的。

对于我们来说，文化的保护和文化的生命力是联系在一起的。文化遗产的传承延续不仅可以通过实践和文化艺术传统的代代相传；当个人和社区能有效获取有关他们文化遗产的档案，并拥有按照他们自身意愿记载他们文化遗产的知识和技能，文化遗产也可由此得到传承延续。在美国民间生活研究中心，我们致力于建立和维系我们所拥有的档案和这些档案的创造者之间的关系。对民族志档案来说，这通常意味着在文化社区和所记载的传统继承人之间建立积极的关系。更进一步讲，我们有时甚至会部分地通过培训和教育工作很积极地培养这样一种关系。在这篇文章中，我将介绍美国国会图书馆下属的美国民间生活研究中心目前就这些问题的一些想法和做法。在介绍的过程中，我将在很大程度上依赖中心其他工作人员的学术成果，包括 Judith Gray, Guha Shankar 和 Maggie Kruesi。

美国民间生活研究中心由 1976 年的一项国会法案通过成立（尽管我们的馆藏档案可回溯到 1928 年）。该法案—正式名称为“美国民俗保护法案”—将中心的目的概括为“制定和实施项目以保护、支持、振兴和传播美国民间生活”，并建成一个档案馆，收藏“代表或再现某方面美国民间生活”的各类档案。今天，我们的工作集中在四个主要领域：保护；展示和信息服务；特别项目（例如我们的“退伍军人历史项目”）；以及文化政策（主要集中在世界知识产权组织关于知识产权的讨论）。

美国国会图书馆藏有丰富的非物质文化遗产。在美国民间生活研究中心，我们的藏品超过 400 万件，是世界上民族志领域内最大的收藏中心之一。我们藏有美洲印第安原住民从 1890 至 1942 年的蜡筒录音。我们还持有大量美国和其它地方各族

AFC'S concerns are very related to the concerns of my colleagues.

For us, cultural preservation and cultural vitality are linked. Cultural heritage is perpetuated not only through the practice and passing on of cultural or artistic traditions, it is also perpetuated when individuals and communities have access to the documentation of their cultural legacies and the skills and know-how to document their cultural heritage on their own terms. At the American Folklife Center, we are dedicated to establishing and maintaining a relationship between the documents in our possession and the creators of those documents. In an ethnographic archive, that usually means establishing an active relationship with the cultural communities and tradition bearers who are recorded. And, to take this point one step further, we sometimes actively cultivate this relationship in part through training and teaching efforts. In this essay, I will describe some of the current thinking and practices of the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress in the United States regarding these issues. In doing so, I will rely heavily on previous scholarship by other AFC staff members, including Judith Gray, Guha Shankar and Maggie Kruesi.

The American Folklife Center was created by an act of Congress in 1976 (though our archive holdings date back to 1928). The Law—known as the American Folklife Preservation Act—outlines the purpose of the Center to “develop and implement...programs to preserve, support, revitalize, and disseminate American folklife” and to develop an archive of documentation in all formats “which represent or illustrate some aspect of American folklife.” Today, our work focuses in four primary areas: preservation; presentation and information services; special initiatives (such as our Veterans History Project); and cultural policy (focusing mostly on intellectual property discussions within the World Intellectual Property Organization).

The Library of Congress holds immense collections of intangible cultural heritage. At the American Folklife Center, we hold over 4 million items in our collections, making the Center one of the largest collections of ethnographic field materials in the world. We hold wax cylinder sound recordings of Native Americans from 1890-1942. We also hold significant collections of other ethnic groups

裔的收藏品。我们有由人类学家梅尔维尔·赫斯科维茨 (Melville Herskovits) 记录的来自海地的藏品；由作家、作曲家保罗·鲍尔斯 (Paul Bowles) 记录的来自摩洛哥的藏品；以及由作曲家珀西·格兰杰 (Percy Grainger) 收录的毛利人的音乐。以前服务中心馆藏的档案工作者还开展了重要的纪录项目—最有名的该是约翰·洛马克斯 (John Lomax) 和他的儿子阿兰·洛马克斯 (Alan Lomax) 了。他们走遍整个美国，记录无数文化族群的音乐传统，并制作了一个从容量和广度上讲也许举世无双的田野录音集。

今天，我们已经超越了上一代纪实性田野工作者的“收藏”活动，美国民间生活研究中心积极向文化社区提供有关纪实性田野方法的实用培训。自中心于 1976 年创建以来，用中心同事们的话来说，我们“重视标准的收集和纪录社区表达传统的专业实践，但对培训社区成员进行自我纪录和自我再现有同样浓厚的兴趣” (Shankar 和 Kruesi, 第 5 页)。下面的两个案例研究将探讨与文化社区积极互动的策略，讨论档案工作者如何能与传承人合作，以恰当的保存和纪录方法实现有意义的保护。

个案一：奥马哈音乐项目

1979 年，当时新成立的美国民间生活研究中心上马了一个庞大的项目—“联邦蜡筒录音项目”。该项目集合了国会图书馆、史密森尼学会、印第安事务局和其它联邦机构的共同努力，旨在将古老的蜡筒录音上的内容转移成现代录音格式 (录音带)。这些蜡筒录音是已知最早的一批美洲原住民的歌曲和叙事录音。由 Francis La Flesche 和 Alice Cunningham Fletcher 在 1895 与 1897 年间录制的内布拉斯加州奥马哈部落歌曲就包括在这个项目中。在最初的磁带转换完成后，从 1983 年到 2000

in the U.S. and elsewhere. We have collections from Haiti, recorded by anthropologist Melville Herskovits; collections from Morocco, recorded by author and composer Paul Bowles; and Maori music recorded by composer Percy Grainger. Previous archivists associated with the Center's collections have also undertaken significant documentation projects—most notably, John Lomax and later his son Alan Lomax, who traveled throughout the U.S. documenting the musical traditions of countless cultural groups and producing a collection of field recordings that is perhaps unparalleled in its volume and breadth.

Today, as we move beyond the “collecting” impulses of a previous generation of documentary fieldworkers, the American Folklife Center actively engages in providing cultural communities with practical training in documentary field methods. Since the creation of the American Folklife Center in 1976, we are, in the words of AFC colleagues, “as interested in training community members to engage in self-documentation and self-representation as we are in the standard practice of collecting and documenting community expressive traditions ourselves.” (Shankar and Kruesi, p.5) The following two case study examples will examine strategies for active engagement with cultural communities, identifying ways in which archives can collaborate with tradition bearers to employ preservation and documentation methods in service to meaningful preservation

Case Study One: The Omaha Music Project

In 1979, the newly created American Folklife Center embarked on a massive project—the Federal Cylinder Project, which was a joint effort of the Library, the Smithsonian Institution, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other federal agencies to transfer the content of archaic wax cylinders to modern recording formats (audiotape). These cylinders were some of the earliest known recordings of Native American song and narrative. Songs of the Omaha tribe in Nebraska, recorded by Francis LaFlesche and Alice Cunningham Fletcher between 1895 and 1897, were included in this project. After the initial tape transfers were made, AFC staff worked with Omaha tribal elders and council members from 1983 and 2000 to produce a recording for use by the Omaha Tribe and an extensive online presentation on the Library of

年，美国民间生活研究中心的工作人员与奥马哈部落长老和理事会成员合作，创作了奥马哈部落的专属录音，并在国会图书馆的网站上提供了详尽的在线演示。

在为网站准备录音和其它材料的过程中，中心工作人员与部落长老合作，后者提供了重要的历史和文化背景知识，并参与了专辑和网站的歌曲选取。制成的录音也回归到奥马哈部落，有力地促进了部落振兴文化遗产和重新找回流失的部落文化遗产的努力。直到今天，这一项目仍然是美国政府机构与文化社区之间合作的一个独特例子。

个案二：马赛社区文化档案项目

为了将与文化社区的沟通合作更进一步，美国民间生活研究中心多年来通过田野学校提供长达三个星期的，有关纪录方法和民族志田野工作原则的培训。这些课程与当地的文化机构、社区组织或更高层的教育机构合作开办，为参与者提供在民俗学和相关领域内进行有效田野工作所需要的实地培训。课程涉及的主题包括：项目规划、研究伦理、知识产权、访谈、田野日志写作、录音、纪实摄影、档案工作以及汇报研究结果的公开演讲。

2007年，一个位于肯尼亚纳纽基(Nanyuke)，名为“马赛文化遗产”的社区组织找到世界知识产权组织(WIPO)和美国民间生活研究中心，希望得到能帮助保护、保存和纪录其丰富文化遗产的培训。在该项目的实施过程中，马赛文化遗产组织的成员前往华盛顿特区，在美国民间生活研究中心接受培训；随后他们又在杜克大学(Duke University)的纪录片研究中心接受有关影音纪录的进一步培训。一年后，美国民间生活研究中心的民俗学家古哈·尚卡尔(Guha Shankar)与杜克大学的工作

Congress' website.

In preparing the recording and materials for the website, staff worked in collaboration with tribal elders, who provided essential historical and cultural background and participated in selecting songs for the album and website. The return of the recordings to the Omaha Tribe also had a significant impact on the tribe's efforts to revitalize cultural heritage and reclaim cultural heritage separated from the tribe. To this day, the project remains a unique example of collaboration between U.S. government agencies and cultural communities.

Case Study 2: The Maasai Community Cultural Documentation Project

Taking active engagement with cultural communities one step further, the American Folklife Center has, over many years, provided training in documentation methods and ethnographic field research principles through field schools that may last up to three weeks in length. These programs are carried out in partnership with a local cultural institution, a community-based organization or higher education facility and provide participants with hands-on training needed for effective fieldwork concerning folklore and related fields. Topics covered include: project planning, research ethics, intellectual property rights, interviewing, writing field notes, sound recording, documentary photography, archival methodologies, and delivering public presentations on research findings.

In 2007, a community organization Maasai Cultural Heritage, situated in Nanyuke, Kenya, approached the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) and the American Folklife Center with a training request focused on protecting, preserving and documenting their rich cultural heritage. To operationalize the project, members of the Maasai Cultural Heritage organization traveled to Washington DC for training at the American Folklife Center and then to Duke University at the Center for Documentary Studies for further training in audio visual documentation. A year later, AFC folklife specialist Guha Shankar Duke University staff traveled to Kenya for further training. WIPO provided the Maasai community with digital equipment to record its own traditions and creative expressions. This hands-on practical assistance is part of WIPO's Creative Heritage Project

人员前往肯尼亚提供进一步的培训。世界知识产权组织向马赛社区提供了数码设备，让他们纪录自己的传统和创造性表达。这一实践性的援助是世界知识产权组织“创意遗产项目”的一部分，旨在帮助土著社区在确保自己知识产权利益的同时纪录和保存自己的文化传统。在马赛一案中，马赛人对传统的纪录显然是有多重目的的。他们将纪录工作视为各种产品的素材（例如唱片、录像、日历、贺卡以及其它产品）；同时也将其视为他们下一步希望推进的旅游业的宣传材料。另外，他们也看到纪录工作在针对马赛年轻人的方言保留以及领土纠纷中的作用。该项目让社区能以照片、录音和社区数据库的形式创造自己的知识财产，并以他们自认为合适的方式使用这些纪录品。项目的最终效果和影响将随着时间的流逝变得清晰明朗起来。

上述例子表明，美国民间生活研究中心致力于成为文化社区的一个积极合作伙伴。我们对于馆藏的责任不仅限于图书馆或档案室之内。虽然上述两个案例研究表现了不同的方法和目的，但他们都将保存和纪录看成社区可持续发展不可或缺的一部分。在马赛文化遗产组织的案例中，我们看到纪录技能和专业知能帮助一个组织实现从教育到社区治理、到文化发展的多重目的，从而增强其自主意识并强化其自主权。这些努力表明简单化的经济发展并非首要或唯一的非物质文化遗产策略。社区自身了解文化遗产和传统具有多重、复杂的功能。学者和专业纪录人士也必须明白这一点。

helping indigenous communities to document and preserve their own cultural traditions while simultaneously managing their intellectual property interests. In the case of the Maasai, it is also clear that their intended uses for the documentation are multi-purpose. They see the documentation as providing material to develop into potential products (recordings, videos, calendars, cards and other products) and promotional material for tourism ventures they hope to develop. They also see a role for the documentation in language retention efforts they are developing for Maasai youth as well as land disputes. The program allows the community to create its own intellectual property in the form of photographs, sound recordings and community databases and to use the documentation in ways they deem appropriate. As time unfolds, the eventual or ultimate impacts of the project will become clear.

As the examples indicate, the American Folklife Center strives to be an active partner with cultural communities. Our responsibility to the collections extends beyond the confines of the library or archive. While both case studies illustrate different approaches and aims, they both see preservation and documentation as integral to the community's sustainability. And in the case of the Maasai Cultural Heritage organization, we see an organization who feels empowered to use documentary skills and expertise for a range of purposes, from education, community governance to cultural development. Such efforts rebut simple notions of economic development as the primary or only strategy for intangible cultural heritage. Communities themselves understand cultural heritage and tradition as serving multiple, complex functions. Scholars and documentation professionals must do the same.

谁在生产？怎样保护？

——透视中国非物质文化遗产的

“生产性保护”

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“生产性保护”是非物质文化遗产保护的观念之一，由传统技艺类项目延伸到整个非遗领域。非遗的“生产性保护”，就其实现它自身所设定的目标“实现非物质文化遗产保护与经济社会协调发展的良性互动”而言，绝不是看上去那么乐观。

本文尝试主要以山东省惠民县泥玩具和昌邑市“烧大牛”活动为个案，对民间手工技艺生产的功能、主体身份、语境等予以辨析，并对“生产性保护”在当下社会实践中的效度与限度予以评析。

商品交易与文化赋意：民间手工技艺类非遗的功能辨析

民间手工技艺在功能预设方面有明显的商业性与自洽性。商业性，是指制作者更加看重制品的经济交换价值；自洽性，则是更加注重其精神满足功能。

河南张与火把李，是惠民县城西南部的皂户李乡的两个“对子村”。河南张村有300多年的泥玩具制作历史；每年一度于二月二定期举办的火把李村庙会，不仅被本村村民视为“过第二遍年”，而且名闻遐迩，每每引动鲁冀豫三省十几个县市民众前来赶会。造型古朴的泥娃娃是火把李庙会中最具影响的“吉祥物”，其影响之大，从河南张村俗称“娃娃张”、火把李庙会俗称“娃娃会”中可以想见。两个村落之

Who Produces and How to Safeguard?

On “Safeguarding by Producing” for Chinese Intangible Cultural Heritage

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“Productive Safeguarding” is one of the ideas on how to safeguard the intangible cultural heritages, which has expanded to the safeguarding of all intangible cultural heritages from the range of traditional artifacts. The idea of “Productive Safeguarding” is aimed to make the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage and the economic development positively interact with each other. However, it does not seem to run so positively as what is expected.

Based on the cases of the Clay Toy in Huimin County and the activity of “Shaodaniu (Burning the Big Cattle)” in Changyi City in Shandong Province, this thesis aims to analyze the functions, the inheritor’s identity, and the context of the traditional artifacts and estimates the effects and the limits of the idea “Productive Safeguarding”.

Commodity Transaction and Cultural Meanings: On the Functions of the Traditional Artifacts

First of all, I will discuss the functions of the traditional artifacts, i.e., its commodity nature and its self-consistency. The former leads the artisans to value the exchangeability of the products, while the latter ensures that individuals of the group share the spiritual fulfillment through the products.

Henanzhang and Huobali are two villages in Zaohuli Town, located in the southwest of Humin County. Villagers of Henanzhang have been expert at making clay toys with a history of more than 300 years, while Huobali holds the annual temple fair every year on February, 2nd of the lunar calendar which is celebrated as the second New Year by its own villagers and attracts visitors from more than ten counties or cities inside and outside Shandong province. The clay babies made in Henanzhang are sold at the fair in Huobali and are taken as “mascot”, therefore Henanzhang is called “Wawa Zhang (Baby Zhang)”, and Huobali Temple Fair, “Wawa Hui (Baby Fair)”. The two villages

间的经济协作与文化分工由此实现，并在年复一年的延续中凝结为一种民俗传统。

火把李庙会是在开春之前，当地乡民于此选购农事“工具”的市场。在惠民地区，“拴娃娃”习俗可谓由来已久。就其民俗祈愿而言，表征着对新生的祝望。正是在“春首新生”的意义上，泥娃娃与诸多农事“工具”便拥有了相同的身份。二者的买卖也是仪式，这个过程也是民俗意义的产生与民俗传统的再生产，而不同乡土社区之间的生产关系经此民俗认同而得以固化，获得长久传承的动力。这其实就是非遗“生产性保护”的活生生的形式。

然而，我们在昌邑市的东永安村和西小章村，则看到了与惠民泥玩具在功能预设与意义产生方面差异极大的民间手工技艺活动。据称自建村以来的几百年间，每年一进腊月，村民就要拾掇出专门的场地扎一头“独角大牛”，然后在正月十四抬着大牛游行，最后在孙臆庙（俗称“老爷庙”）前烧掉。所需资金物资大家自愿捐输，扎制者都是义务参与。这期间，每天都有热心的村民前来围观，评头论足，整个村落沉浸在自由创造的社区欢乐氛围之中。

类似“扎大牛”的活动在这一带并非东永安村所独有，在邻村也比较普遍；同在东永安村，除了以吕家、丛家为主举行“烧大牛”仪式外，齐姓人家近年来也会在正月初九这天烧掉一匹“大马”。

问题出来了：为什么要劳民伤财，花大量的金钱财帛与精力时间去扎制大牛，然后一炬燎之？

“扎大牛”仪式的首要特点，在于它场面大，全村参与，人人有份。其次，为村民合力举行的“扎大牛”活动，

cooperate in both economy and culture, which has formed a tradition.

Huobali Temple Fair affords peasants tools for farm work in early spring. The trading of clay babies in Huimin roots from the traditional belief of “Shuanwawa (Praying for Offspring)”, which suggests the reproduction of human-beings. In belief, the beginning of the spring symbolizes the new birth of life, so farm tools and clay babies share the same identity. The trading of tools and clay babies is also a ritual, which embodies the production and reproduction of tradition. Thus the villagers strengthen their long-lasting relationship between different groups. This is a typical case for “Safeguarding by Producing”.

An opposite case takes place in Dongyong'an Village and Xixiaozhang Village, where the function and the meaning of the activities about the traditional artifacts differs greatly from that of Henanzhang in Huimin County. Every December of lunar calendar, towards the end of the year, the villagers prepare a special place for making a huge unicorn cattle, and on January, 14th of lunar calendar, carry it to parade and burn it down before the Sunbin Temple. It is said that this tradition has seen several centuries since the existence of the Village. All the funds needed are from donation and volunteers participate in the activity in enthusiasm without any reward. Throughout the process, the villagers observe and remark in high spirits. The whole village is immersed in the joyful community atmosphere by self creation.

The cattle-making activity is not exclusive in Dongyong'an, but is common in neighboring villages. What's more, even in the same village Dongyong'an, besides the ritual of cattle-burning performed by the Family of Lv and the Family of Cong, there is the horse-burning practiced by the Family of Qi on January, 9 of lunar calendar.

Why people are willing to make the cattle at a high cost just for burning it out at the end?

As a ritual, the cattle-making, together with the process of parading and cattle-burning, is a grand ceremony for all villagers who are both performers and audiences. Through these traditional

仪式意味极为浓厚。花大价钱“扎大牛”，是为了巩固已有的“社会资源”，营造新的“社会资源”。这是非遗保护“生产性保护”的又一个鲜活例子。

往更深一步说，扎大牛、游大牛和烧大牛意味着在年节期间为全村村民搭建了一个加强社会联系的公共交流平台。整个活动是民众对于自身精神世界的文化设置，弥补由现代农村社会变迁所导致的安全感和归属感的缺失，蕴含着乡民浓烈、纯朴的乡土情感的尽情抒发。它担负着连结周边村落、凝聚人心的社会功能，俨然已成为春节体系中的高潮点和乡民精神的情感寄托。在这里，民间手工技艺的自洽性特征，与社区公益性紧密联系在一起。

艺人与农民：民间手工技艺主体的身份辨认

民间手工技艺，在广泛的意义上是与民众生活世界交织在一起的，“生产性保护”的真正生产主体应当是职业身份不明显或无职业身份的“所有民众”。我们在对民间手工技艺进行制度性保护的时候，要特别注意让民间手工技艺生产重新回归到一种与乡土日常生活相联结的、充溢着精神创造旨趣的“副业”活动。

河南张村村民的泥塑工艺以及所制作的泥玩具，并不是每天每时都在进行，而表现为以年度为周期的季节性生产。玩具制作者并不是职业的“艺人”，也很难认定此时他们就是绝对的“农民”。从 20 世纪上半叶以来，河南张村的这一民间手工技艺传承人人数急剧下降。只有对包括火把李庙会在内的整体性保护，泥塑工艺才能得以有效和持久的保护和传承。

相形之下，“烧大牛”活动目前仍处于良性的社区自洽状态，未显疲态。

activities, the villagers get new social resources while strengthen the old ones. This is another vivid case for “Safeguarding by Producing”.

For the villagers, the activities of cattle-making, parading, and cattle-burning, serve for the communication between villagers in Spring Festival and the reinforcement of the social cohesion. They represent the villagers’ great affections for their hometown, and help them to regain the sense of security and the self-identity which have lost with the great social changes in the modern rural areas. Their functions to link the neighboring villages and unite all villagers have become the high light of the Spring Festival and the emotional sustenance of the villages’ spirits. The self-consistency of such traditional activities has been closely related to the welfare of the community.

Artisans and Peasants: On the Identity of the Subject of the Traditional Artifacts

In a broad sense, traditional artifacts have been integrated into folklife, and the actual producing subjects should be all the folks without definite professional identity or without profession identity. So the traditional artifacts should be safeguarded in the cultural places, which are closely related to the traditional folklife and filled with the practitioners’ enjoyment through producing.

In Henanzhang Village, the toy-making is not an everyday activity, and the toy-makers who act as peasants and artisans alternatively in different seasons, are far from being professional artisans. Now this artifact is declining rapidly for the number of toy-makers has reduced greatly since the middle of the 20th century. Only through the integral safeguarding, including the safeguarding of the Temple Fair of Huobali, can the safeguarding of toy-making technique be effective, and can the toy-making technique be reserved in a long run.

On the contrast, the “Shaodaniu (Cattle-burning)” activity is well-developed and keeps its self-consistency. Even more, it has inspired the horse-burning in the same

在东永安村，因为丛吕家族的“烧大牛”仪式的持续举办，反倒引发了村内的烧马仪式以及邻村试图“恢复”本村扎牛烧牛活动的现象。这或许说明，生产性保护并非民间手工技艺在当代社会中实现自救的唯一途径。

许多非遗传承人几乎都期望在产业开发中获得利益。然而，如果将不适合产业化的非遗推向市场，最终结果也可能是对其自身的灾难性破坏。

传统与现代：民间手工技艺的语境认知

在传统社会中，民间手工技艺活动与小农经济大致相适应。一方面，它与多种多样的经济与商贸活动相联系，如庙会、仪式活动中的商贸行为，但就其从属关系而言，这类经贸行为是民俗整体活动的重要部分。真正对民间手工技艺构成威胁的，不是当代社会的产业化冲动，而是以之为重要载体之一的乡土公共秩序的紊乱和民间文化精神的凋敝。自20世纪90年代中期以来民俗产业的畸形发展，已经使得民间手工技艺的神圣性与对于社区生活的自洽性被削平，从而造成中国民俗知识建构在当代的整体失落。而这一切表明，“生产性保护”显然并非万能灵药，难以包治百病。

结语：关于“生产性保护”的延伸思索

在当下现实生活实践中真正发挥“生产性保护”的效度，需要特别注意如下方面：

首先，政府的作用只能是为一定社群的人们提供更多样化的选择，而不是漠视他们的意愿，将保护非物质文化遗产的义务强加给他们。其次，要将非遗的受益面充分扩展到具体的操作者那里。再次，重视农村建设，缩小城乡差距，避免乡村社区的凋敝。

village and the restoring of cattle-burning in neighboring villages. Such a case may illustrate that “Safeguarding by Producing” is not the only way for the traditional artifacts to be self-rescued in the modern society.

Most intangible cultural heritage inheritors hope to benefit in the industrial exploitation, however it will turn out to be a destruction of itself at the end if the unreasonable exploitation of the given heritage are encouraged enter the market.

Traditional and Modern: the Context of the Traditional Artifacts

In traditional society, the activities of traditional artifacts accord with small-scale peasant economy roughly, and their commodity nature is in keeping with their self-consistency. What really threatens them is not the preference to production in modern society, but the declining of both the traditional peasant life and the folk spirits. The distorted development of the folklore production since the middle of 1990s has eliminated the sacredness and self-consistency of the traditional artifacts, which results in the overall loss of the folklore. It has been demonstrated that “Productive Safeguarding” is not practical in all cases.

Conclusion: Further Reflections on “Productive Safeguarding”

To make “Productive Safeguarding” effective, the following suggestions need serious attentions:

Firstly, the government should afford the folk various choices, rather than impose the safeguarding obligation on them while their will is virtually ignored. Secondly, the inheritors should benefit from their work, which can help them work more actively. Thirdly, the development of rural areas should be taken into consideration to fill the gap between the urban and the rural to avoid the decline of the rural.

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反思现代性

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非物质文化遗产保护是对现代性挑战民间文化的一种回应。长期以来，传统社区一直与大社会保持互动，但是现代性的影响尤为深刻，触及传统社区生活的方方面面。生产性保护是一个民族通过将其民间文化融入现代生活来主动保护民间文化。那么接下来的问题就是：这一努力需要以什么样的社区和社会架构为基础？该架构对我们可能会采用的方法又有怎样的影响？

我自己过去 40 年的研究工作主要受美国哲学实用主义的影响。作为一个社会理论，实用主义将人类行为视为以理性智慧克服障碍并最终实现个体与集体的福祉。如果这一过程能以广泛的社区对话形式展开，便能在最大程度上发现问题，并最终得到有效的和符合伦理的解决方案。实用主义采用开放、渐进的社会改革模式；在当今瞬息万变的社会中，每克服一个问题便创造新的发展机遇，并提出新的挑战。

作为对 20 世纪初现代化所带来的社会问题的回应，美国实用主义另辟蹊径，既不同于自由主义民主的自由放任政策，也有异于马克思主义的激进社会结构重组。实用主义的学术理念源于美国芝加哥大学，其视角影响了当地居民生活的诸多方面。特别值得注意的是赫尔大厦 (Hull House)，其创建灵感来源于十九世纪晚期的英国“安居学派” (settlement school) 运动。其时欧洲移民大量涌入美国城市，成为快速工业扩张的一部分。赫尔大厦旨在满足移民少数族裔生活中的种种需要。它所提供的社会服务、教育和文化活动在促进移民融入美国社会的同

Engaging Modernity

Howard L. Sacks

Rural Life Center, Kenyon College, Gambier

Protecting intangible cultural heritage represents a response to the challenges that modernity poses for folk culture. Traditional communities have long interacted with the broader society, but the influence of modernity is particularly profound, touching every aspect of local life. Productive protection constitutes a deliberate national initiative to preserve folk culture, in part by integrating it within the modern milieu. What model of community and society underlies this effort, and what does that model suggest about the approach we might employ?

My own work over the past forty years is informed by American philosophical pragmatism. As a social theory, pragmatism understands human conduct as the use of rational intelligence to address obstacles to individual and collective well-being in the environment. This process, when undertaken through broad community dialogue, holds the greatest promise for fully identifying problems and arriving at effective and ethical solutions. Pragmatism thus employs an open-ended, progressive model of social reform; overcoming each problem creates new opportunities for growth and poses new challenges in an ever-changing society.

As a response to the social issues brought on by modernization in the early 1900s, American pragmatism sought an alternative to liberal democracy's laissez faire approach on the one hand and Marxism's radical structural reorganization on the other. With its intellectual home at the University of Chicago, pragmatism exerted its influence in many aspects of local civic life. Of particular note is Hull House, an establishment inspired by the English settlement school movement of the late nineteenth century. Hull House addressed the needs of immigrant minorities flocking from Europe to join the city's rapid industrial expansion. Hull House's social service, educational, and cultural activities facilitated immigrant acculturation into American society while simultaneously affirming the legitimacy of native cultures.

时，亦肯定了移民本土文化的合法性。不久，美国东南部的民间学校开始通过记载和市场化传统工艺“振兴”当地社区，“安居学派”模式也就由此快速被引入乡村社会。

我所创建和管理的乡村生活中心（RLC）进一步发展了受实用主义影响的“安居学派”传统。坐落于凯尼恩学院（Kenyon College），中心力求促进俄亥俄州诺克斯县的教育、学术和其它多项公共事业。仰仗与周边社区活跃的伙伴关系，我们力求在社会变迁的大背景下确保乡村生活的活力。

始建于1800年，诺克斯县的自然景观和日常生活模式一直都富于乡郊特色。蜿蜒波谲的田野和牧场，其间点缀着乡居农舍及其独特的附属建筑群，凸显出小规模家庭农业的特殊意义。这里的社会生活亲密和个人化，邻里们常常聚集在当地的教堂、学校和各种志愿活动中。这一紧密的社区架构支撑着长久以来强调独立、勤恳、睦邻友好的乡村价值。

这里，传统艺术和文化与现代生活的方方面面交融并存。两百年来，伴着当地弦乐队音乐的广场舞蹈是周六晚上的一项重要娱乐。手工缝制的被单装点着许多家庭的公共领域和私人角落。木雕艺人和工匠或建造梁柱结构的谷仓，或创造再现农场牲畜和农具的精致雕塑。口述传承的经验构成一个丰富的知识宝库，涵养和传播当地的饮食文化、耕作方式、狩猎和诱捕技巧以及民间传说。

但是，像许多农村社区一样，诺克斯县的传统遗产面临着重大的挑战。小规模的家庭农业在全球化经济的浪潮下无法匹敌大规模农工企业；县城里富有历史特色的家庭五金店和服装店也不得不让位于城乡边界上的大规模全国连锁店。延长的上班通勤时间，网上购物，和新的家庭娱乐形式威胁着公共生活的活力。从州首

The settlement school model was soon introduced into a rural context, as folk schools in the southeastern United States presumed to “uplift “native communities by documenting and marketing traditional crafts.

The Rural Life Center (RLC), which I founded and direct, extends this settlement school tradition rooted in the pragmatist vision. Located at Kenyon College, the center promotes education, scholarship, and public projects about Knox County, Ohio. In active partnership with the surrounding community, we seek to ensure the vitality of rural life in a changing society.

First settled in 1800, Knox County continues to exhibit a rural character in its landscape and the patterns of everyday life. Rolling fields and pastures, punctuated by the occasional farmhouse and unique cluster of outbuildings, offer testimony to the significance of small-scale family farming. Social life remains intimate and personal, with neighbors regularly gathering at the local church, school, or volunteer activity. This close-knit community sustains longstanding rural values of independence, hard work, and neighborliness.

Here, traditional arts and culture coexist with facets of everyday modern life. Square dances have been a source of Saturday-night recreation for two hundred years, to the music of a local string band. Handmade family quilts adorn the public and private quarters of many households. Woodcarvers and builders construct post-and-beam barns or create intricate sculptures of farm animals and agricultural implements. A rich storehouse of orally transmitted knowledge informs foodways and farming practices, hunting and trapping, and local lore.

But like many rural communities, Knox County faces significant challenges to its heritage. Small-scale family farmers can't compete with corporate agribusiness in a global economy, and the family-owned hardware and clothing stores in the historic county seat are giving way to high-volume national chain stores on the edge of town. Longer commutes to work, online shopping, and new forms of home entertainment threaten the vitality of public life. Urban sprawl from Columbus, the state capital, destroys farmland and renders neighbors

府哥伦比亚市蔓延开来的城市化破坏着农田，让邻里更似路人。

这些压力引发了当地居民的担忧。在乡村生活中心的协助下，他们发起了广泛的公众对话，试图找出并着手解决种种社区问题，最终确定一个全县范围内的长远规划。针对这一规划所阐释的各项事业的优先性，乡村生活中心已经开始了一系列涉及当地粮食系统、音乐传统、物质文化、种族多样性，和公共生活的纪录、解释、以及市政项目。

广泛的社区参与对这一项目的实施至关重要。我们通过在本地农民、农产品加工者、分销商、机构买家、消费者和农业专家之间建立联系努力在区域市场内推广当地农产品。只有这样才能帮助所有这些不同的利益方解析一连串相互抵触的利益和需要，并最终达成能促进共同利益的解决方案。十年后的今天，这一地方粮食理事会已在全州范围内成为一个典范，各城乡社区可以其为模板，再根据自身情况进行项目调试。

我们在将文化保护工作植根于当地社区的实践中强调了地域在传统文化中的深刻意义。这一地域归属感可以对生产性保护产生多种多样的，甚至是相互矛盾的影响。在某些情况下，它会抑制在自由市场上的广泛参与。例如，诺克斯县 200 年来的音乐传统对美国流行文化有过深远的影响。但是，出于对出生地的依恋，当地许多优秀音乐家排斥职业音乐人的生涯，而是选择在铁路或工厂工作。另外，在我们推广地方农产品的过程中，一些农民不愿挂靠在一个让城市消费者容易认同的县级品牌之下，认为这一标签会破坏他们作为个体农户的独特身份。为解决这一问题，我们让参与项目的农民在网站上创建自己的页面来推广县里的农产品。

strangers to one another.

These pressures stimulated increasing concern among local residents, who with RLC assistance initiated a broad public dialogue to identify and address community problems, resulting in a countywide long-range plan. In response to the priorities articulated in this enterprise, RLC has conducted a variety of documentary, interpretive, and civic projects involving the local food system, musical traditions, material culture, ethnic diversity, and public life.

Generating broad community participation has been fundamental to this process. We began our effort to sell locally produced foods to a regional market by bringing together area farmers, processors, distributors, institutional buyers, consumers, and agricultural experts. Only in this way could all of these constituencies understand the array of competing needs and interests and arrive at solutions designed to advance the common good. A decade later, this local food council has been embraced statewide as a model that urban and rural communities may adapt to their particular circumstances.

Our emphasis on grounding cultural conservation efforts within the local community speaks to the profound significance of place in traditional culture. Connection to place can have quite varied and even contradictory implications for productive protection. In some cases it precludes broad participations in the marketplace. For example, Knox County boasts a 200-year-old tradition of musicianship and songwriting that has occasionally exerted a profound influence on American popular culture. But many of the area's finest musicians have rejected professional careers in order to remain close to their place of birth, choosing instead a life of railroad or factory labor. And in our local foods initiative, some farmers have resisted plans to create a generic county brand that would be easily recognized by urban consumers, feeling the label would undermine their distinctive identities as individual farm operators. To address this issue, we've enabled participating farmers to create their own pages on a Web site designed to promote the county's agricultural products.

但这一地域归属感在阿米希人中恰恰产生了一个反例。阿米希是一个日耳曼分离主义的宗教社区。他们抵制绝大部分的现代科技和大众文化。然而许多阿米希人以一种“家庭手工业”的方式积极推销自家缝制的被单和手工制作的家具，并邀请外人到家庭农场做客消费，因为这一策略能让他们留在自己的社区内，而不必为增加收入外出就业。在这种情况下，地域归属感促使一个传统社区在保持与世隔绝生活的同时参与到现代社会的市场化过程中。

地域归属感也可以成为一个推广地方艺术和文化的营销工具。为激发人们对当地食品的兴趣，我田野工作上的学生们开设了一个研究课题，研究饮食文化如何表达和促进乡村特色。他们在县城报纸上发表了一系列文章，主题包括狩猎、诱捕、制作罐头和腌渍食品，介绍与宗教仪式相关的食物，以及与各主题相关的食谱和传记。该系列促使公众就我们的地方食品项目展开讨论，并在县城历史悠久的商业中心促成建成了一个新的农贸市场。对于流动性强、常常感叹缺乏地域归属感的城市消费者来说，将传统文化实践与其文化背景联系起来具有特别的吸引力。

地域的重要性也影响到学院派民俗学家在这些公共项目中所扮演的角色。就像许多学术机构中的学者一样，凯尼恩的学者所研究的主题通常远离他们自己的生活圈子，由此造成了他们对自己所在社区冷漠和漠不关心的形象。县民们历史上一直对外人持怀疑态度——无论是商务旅行销售人员、艺人、周末到诺克斯县度假放松的城里人，还是移居到地方高校的学者。如果学界人士想以被当地人认可的方式参与到建设性的社会变革中，我们必须

Yet this commitment to place yields a contrary example among the Amish, a Germanic separatist religious community that rejects much of modern technology and mass culture. Many Amish actively market their quilts and handmade furniture in a “cottage industry” fashion, inviting outsiders onto their farms for a retail experience, because this strategy enables them to stay within their community rather than take on off-farm employment to supplement income. In this case, connection to place motivates a traditional community to observe separatist living yet market goods within modern society.

Connection to place can also be an effective marketing tool for promoting regional art and culture. To build community interest in locally produced food, students in my fieldwork class conducted a project to investigate how floodways express and contribute to rural character. Articles on topics including hunting and trapping, canning and preserving, and ritual foods appeared in the county newspaper, along with recipes and biographies tied to each topic. The series generated public discussion about our local foods initiative and helped promote a new farmers market in the county seat’s historic business center. Linking traditional practices to their cultural context is particularly attractive to highly mobile urban consumers who often lament their own lost ties to place.

The significance of place affects the role of the academic folklorist in these public-sector initiatives. As in many academic institutions, Kenyon’s faculty generally pursue subjects far removed from their proximate surroundings, contributing to their image as aloof and uninterested in the community in which they live. Longtime residents have historically been wary of outsiders--whether they are traveling salespeople or entertainers, urban dwellers who retreat to Knox County for weekend recreational activities, or transplanted academics at the area colleges. If academicians hope to legitimately contribute to constructive social change, we must become active community participants who are prepared to make an ongoing investment in the places in which we work.

首先成为积极的社区成员，做好长期、持续投身于我们工作所在地的准备。

综合来看，这些例子阐明了一个与社区自身紧密相关的社会重建模式。塑造传统文化的力量可能是全球性的，我们所作出的反应亦可能反映了整个国家的议事日程。但面对这些挑战，实用主义强调依照当地具体情况拟定解决方案。作为民俗学家，我们也可以推进这一进程，主要通过促进不同团体之间有意义的合作，借助我们的专业知识针砭时弊，并为社区项目贡献各类资源。归根结底，任何对非物质文化遗产的保护都应该是一个长期的努力，都必须确保孕育了我们宝贵传统的社区可持续发展。

Taken together, these examples illustrate an exercise in social reconstruction that is deeply connected to the community. The forces shaping traditional culture may be global in origin, and the responses we undertake may reflect a national agenda. But a pragmatist approach to these challenges underscores the importance of tailoring solutions to the local context. As folklorists, we can contribute to this process by facilitating meaningful collaborations among diverse constituencies, raising issues informed by our academic training, and contributing resources to community initiatives. Ultimately, any attempt to protect intangible cultural heritage should involve a long-term effort to ensure the sustainability of the communities that give life to the traditions we value so greatly.

关于非物质文化遗产生产性保护的若干思考

萧放

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非物质文化遗产生产性保护是一个新的遗产保护概念，非物质文化遗产的性质决定了它在生产性保护方面有着独特的优势。非物质文化遗产的生产性保护是当前社会环境下非物质文化遗产活态传承的有益实践。

一、非物质文化遗产生产性保护的概念、范围与对象

联合国教科文组织《保护非物质文化遗产公约》中将非物质文化遗产概括为五大类别：口头传说与表述，包括作为非物质文化遗产媒介的语言；表演艺术；社会风俗、礼仪、节庆；有关自然界和宇宙的知识和实践；传统的手工技能等。对于内容如此丰富而形态十分复杂的非物质文化遗产的保护，就决定了我们的保护方式应根据不同对象采取不同的保护方式。非物质文化遗产的生产性保护是其中的方式之一。

所谓非遗的生产性保护，“是指在具有生产性质的实践过程中，以保持非物质文化遗产的真实性、整体性和传承性为核心，以有效传承非物质文化遗产技艺为前提，借助生产、流通、销售等手段，将非物质文化遗产及其资源转化为文化产品的保护方式”。也就是说，是说非物质文化遗产中的绝大多数部分是不可以生产性保护的，生产性保护只限定在技艺、美术、医药等显见的部分。

但作为学者来说，我们可以对这一政策进行讨论，发表我们对非遗生产性保护工作的意见，以供相关部门参考。我觉得非物质文化遗产的生产性保护应

Some Thoughts on the Productive Safeguarding of ICH

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Productive safeguarding of ICH is a new concept in heritage safeguarding, and the quality of ICH decides that it has unique advantages in productive safeguarding. The productive safeguarding of ICH is a beneficial practice of active inheritance in the current social environment.

1. The Concept, Ranges and Objects of Productive Safeguarding of ICH

UNESCO's Convention classifies the ICH into five categories: oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the ICH; performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; traditional craftsmanship. The classification contains all the contents of ICH, and the abundant and complicated safeguarding of ICH determines that we should choose proper methods for specific objects. Productive safeguarding of ICH is one of these methods.

The so-called productive safeguarding of ICH “refers to the safeguarding method, which focuses on authenticity, integrity and inheritance of ICH in the safeguarding-oriented practical process, and it transforms ICH and its resources into cultural products by producing, circulating and marketing on the premise of the efficient inheritance of artistry of ICH”. That is to say, most of ICH cannot be safeguarded in the mode of productive safeguarding, and it only restricts to the self-evident parts such as craft, painting and medicine.

But as a scholar, we can discuss about the policy and deliver our opinions toward productive safeguarding of ICH in order to offer some suggestions to the related departments. As far as I'm concerned, productive safeguarding of ICH should be implemented as a major method to the safeguarding of ICH, and it can also be

该作为非物质文化遗产主要保护方式。我们在理解生产性保护概念的时候，应该突破技艺等狭义的物化生产保护方式范围，将文化的再生产纳入广义的生产性保护范围。非物质文化遗产的口头传统、艺术表演、风俗、节庆、礼仪等的保护与传承都需要强调广义的生产性保护方式。但我所说的生产性保护不是让这些项目参与一般概念的生产性竞争，而是强调它们通过文化再生产的方式，使传统文化样式重新回到日常生活之中。如口头传统中的史诗、故事、歌谣、谚语除了在原初环境中传承外，在今天，我们也应该采取多种新媒体手段进行传播，这种传播与传统的口耳相传在形态上会有差异，但其社会影响不仅不会降低，而且其传播范围会更广，也会收到更好的传播效果。同样的保护方式也适合传统戏剧和城市节庆庙会。

非物质文化遗产生产性保护的动态方式让我们今天的国民能够亲近、感受、体验并享受非物质文化遗产。在社会生活中进行活态传承，是非物质文化遗产最有效的保护传承方式。

二、非物质文化遗产生产性保护的基本原则

《中华人民共和国非物质文化遗产法》对非遗保护工作有明确的原则规定：“保护非物质文化遗产，应当注重其真实性、整体性和传承性，有利于增强中华民族的文化认同，有利于维护国家统一和民族团结，有利于促进社会和谐和可持续发展”。真实性、整体性和传承性是非物质文化遗产保护的基本原则。

非遗生产性保护的真实性问题，我

combined with the method of rescue safeguarding. When it comes to the comprehension over the definition of productive safeguarding, one should breakthrough the narrow range of materialized productive safeguarding such as craft, and take cultural reproduction into a wider range of productive safeguarding. The safeguarding and inheritance of oral tradition, artistic performances, conventions, festivals and etiquettes, etc. of ICH all need to emphasize the sense of the wide range of productive safeguarding. But the productive safeguarding proposed by the author is to bring traditional culture back to daily life by focusing on the method of cultural reproduction, rather than indulging the items in general productive competitions. For example, epics, tales, ballads and proverbs in oral traditions should be transmitted by various agencies of new media nowadays besides the original modes in primitive background. The new mode of transmission would be different in form compared with the traditional oral mode, but it would be better and more widely transmitted if we attach enough importance to the cultural meaning of the heritages by reducing the deformation and loss as much as possible. The same safeguarding mode is also suitable for traditional dramas and city temple fairs.

The dynamic mode of productive safeguarding of ICH can drive us closer to ICH, and feel, enjoy ICH. The most efficient mode of the safeguarding and inheritance of ICH is the active inheritance in social life.

2. Basic Principles of Productive Safeguarding of ICH

We should take three principles—authenticity, integrity and inheritance into account during the process of the productive safeguarding of ICH

I think it is necessary to emphasize the top principle—the authenticity. It must be totally authentic in both the cultural

觉得作为首要原则强调是必要的，它必须在成品的文化内涵与核心技艺上完全真实，在成品形式上尽量符合传统。但文化是流动的，非物质文化遗产也要随着时代变化而作出适应性的调整，非物质文化遗产在生产性保护过程中会在因应社会环境或非遗传人的代际差异等因素影响下自然发生变化，比如民间工艺技术类的非物质文化遗产，它既要继承传统题材，制作完全真实的传统作品，同时它又不是文物古董的复制，它就可以以传统技艺生产新的题材的工艺品，既适应民众的欣赏习惯的变化，又满足社会需求。

如果我们作群体性节庆非遗活动的开展，其真实性原则必须坚持，但更加困难。它不像工艺产品制作有核心技艺与较为固定载体形式。节庆类非遗是人的群体互动，是特定时空下的人们的情感、精神、欲望、利益的交汇。它的真实性把握就应该在注意节庆庙会的基本形式，如时间、空间、参与方式外，偏重文化内涵的理解。

整体性原则是非物质文化遗产保护的另—重要原则，非物质文化遗产不仅是内涵完整的有机构成，同时它与外部环境也有着密切关系。非物质文化遗产的整体性的保持在现代社会面临较大困难。社会环境的巨大改变，让非物质文化遗产机体之外的环境保护成为更大的难题。当然非物质文化遗产与当代社会环境的关系，它如何与现代社会机体的协调，是一个新的整体性问题。

传承性是非物质文化遗产保护的根本性原则，非遗保护的目的是通过特定手段实现文化传承，传承性是非遗的内在特性。因此我们在进行生产性保护时应明白我们是在为传承非遗才进行的生产活动，这种生产的目的是为了社会大众能够感知我们的非物质文化遗

connotation of products and core artistry, but its form conforms to tradition as much as possible. However, culture is dynamic, thus ICH should also be adjusted properly with the times. Meanwhile, ICH would change naturally because of different social environment or successors of ICH in the process of productive safeguarding. Take folk arts and crafts for example: it should inherit the traditional themes to produce completely authentic traditional works; meanwhile it is not the duplication of cultural relics and antiques. It should produce craftworks of new themes using traditional skills and artistry so as to cater for the people's appreciation and meet the needs of society.

If we advocate festival activities of ICH, the principle of authenticity must be obeyed, even it is more difficult. We need to pay attention to time, space, participating methods of temple fairs, and focusing on their cultural connotations.

Integrity is another important principle of ICH safeguarding. ICH itself is not only a complete organic composition of form and connotation, but it also closely related with external environment. The preservation of ICH integrity is confronted with difficulty, especially the great change of social environment that makes the environment safeguarding a greater problem which is outside the organism of ICH. The relation between ICH and contemporary social environment, namely how it coordinates with modern social organism is a new integrated question.

Inheritance is the essential principle and inherent property of ICH safeguarding, and the purpose of ICH safeguarding is to realize cultural inheritance via special methods. When we are conducting productive safeguarding we should know that we are doing it for the inheritance of ICH which will let social public be able to perceive our ICH and ICH can enrich our daily life as well. The material consumption and economic benefits of ICH are the natural results of production, and it can contribute to the self-safeguarding and self-development

产，同时非物质文化遗产也丰富了我们的日常生活。非物质文化遗产的物质消费与经济收益是生产过程中的自然结果，它有助于非物质文化遗产自我维护与发展。

二、非物质文化遗产生产性保护应注意的几个问题

非物质文化遗产的生产性保护也面临许多实际问题。

第一，非物质文化遗产的生产性保护有特定的对象，不是所有的非物质文化遗产都可生产性保护。我们必须根据非物质文化遗产的不同性质，确定它是否能够进行生产性保护。

第二，非物质文化遗产生产性保护应根据不同对象实行不同的生产性保护方式。

第三，非物质文化遗产生产性保护应合理、适度。非遗的保护性生产，其最终目的是实现技艺的动态传承，服务与丰富民众的社会生活。

非物质文化遗产的生产性保护工作是我们面临的新课题，我们并无实践经验，理论探讨更加不足，我们还有许多实际的工作问题需要进一步研究。

of ICH.

II

Some Questions about Productive Safeguarding of ICH

Productive Safeguarding of ICH is facing some practical problems now.

Firstly, not all ICH can be productively protected, only certain objects are suitable for productive safeguarding. Whether it can be productively protected or not is to be determined by the different properties of ICH.

Secondly, different modes should be adopted according to different objects in productive safeguarding of ICH.

Thirdly, productive safeguarding of ICH should be reasonable and moderate. The aim of safeguarding is not the economic benefits but the dynamic inheritance and its service and enrichment to social life.

Productive safeguarding of ICH is a new topic which we are facing. With insufficient theoretical discussion and no practical experience, we still have a lot of practical problems that need to be further studied.

传统实践与社区福祉： 一个非物质文化遗产的可持续 发展模式

艾米·基奇纳

美国加州传统艺术联盟

我在本文中提出一个不同于“生产性保护”的非物质文化遗产保护模式。参与到本文化艺术实践的人常常会发展出一种社会认同感、文化自豪感、以及个人成就感，这不仅提升了他们的幸福感，并最终可能有利于他们作为个人和社会成员的健康。来自不同文化传统的艺术家深明文化保护的意义和影响；当被问及他们的参与动机时，他们也常常从健康和福祉的角度评论这些影响。与其冒着干扰社区日常生活和艺术实践的风险引入外部市场，我们可以通过识别和支持当地积极从事非物质文化遗产实践和保护的文化领袖来促进更深层次的社区健康。

识别文化领袖，并以小额基金、组织会议、及个别援助的形式提供直接支持是建立联盟以帮助社区保护其非物质文化遗产的有效方式。我们加州传统艺术联盟（ACTA）正是采用了这样一个积极的、以实践者为中心并由社区驱动的模式，并以此保护文化价值和习俗。这一由我合作创立和领导的非政府组织是加利福尼亚州政府指定的、服务加州所有民间艺术、传统艺术、以及艺术家的实体。

加州传统艺术联盟的项目都基于对社区进程的了解。我们已经通过观察了解到，为了让非物质文化遗产得到保护和茁壮成长，主要驱动力需要植根于当地的社区实践。我们力求发现不同知识形式的闪光点，认识和理解不同的实践形式、审美形式和

Recognizing the Practice of Tradition in Community Well-being:

Towards A Model of Sustainable
Intangible Cultural Heritage

Amy Kitchener

Alliance for California Traditional Arts

In this paper I will offer an alternative to the “productive protection” model of safeguarding ICH. People who engage in the traditional art forms of their cultures develop a sense of community, cultural pride, and personal achievement that improves their sense of well-being and may ultimately benefit their health, as individuals and as members of a community. Practitioners from diverse traditions are well aware of the meanings and effects of cultural maintenance and often articulate these impacts in terms health and well-being when asked about their motivations for participation. Instead of potentially interrupting community-based processes and aesthetics by introducing external markets, we can recognize and offer support to bolster the deep dimensions of community health that are maintained by cultural leaders engaging the practice and active preservation in ICH.

Identifying cultural leadership and offering direct support, in the forms of small grants, opportunities to convene, and individualized assistance are effective manners of building alliances in helping communities maintain their ICH. This approach, in which we employ an active, practitioner-centered and community-driven process towards maintaining cultural values and practices, defines the work of the Alliance for California Traditional Arts (ACTA), the NGO, I co-founded and lead, which serves as the state-designated entity for all folk and traditional arts and artists in California.

ACTA's programs are designed to understand community processes. We have learned, through observation that in order for ICH to be maintained and thrive, the principal driver needs to be based in the community of practice. We make effort to celebrate the different ways of knowing, recognizing different forms of practice, aesthetics, and communication. While we feel there is much value in the efforts to

交流形式。虽然我们看到对传统进行记录和分类的价值，我们的努力主要集中在识别和了解传播过程、保护方式（不是单纯的保存形式，而是传承发展的模式）以及对社区的影响。这一模式让我们能更密切地了解人，而不仅仅是形式。作为民俗学家，我们认识到传统形式千姿百态的持续变迁皆源于人的变化运动，人与人、社区与社区之间跨文化的交流互动，以及实践活动在空间和时间上持续不断的语境转换。

加州传统艺术联盟的两个标志性项目——“学徒项目”和“生活文化资助项目”——向个人、非正式团体和非政府组织提供小额资金，以延续和促进加州众多文化社区中的传统艺术实践活动。在“学徒项目”下，加州传统艺术联盟借鉴州内30多个类似项目的模式，以3000美元邀请并签约一个大师级别的传统艺术家在六个月到一年的时间内深入指导一个有经验的学徒。有兴趣的艺术家们要经历一个竞争激烈的申请和选取过程；评审委员会成员包括学者和传统艺术的从业人员。一旦选定胜出者，联盟工作人员会与每年得到资助的17—20个团队密切合作，帮助他们建立和维系支持性的关系，并监测和记录每组的进展。在“生活文化资助项目”下，我们向小型非政府组织和社区组织提供略为高额但不超过7500美元的资助，以帮助他们开展各种自决的活动。这些活动旨在促进文化实践与参与，并最终保护加州绚丽独特的文化遗产。这些项目的资金虽少，但在为参与者提供有形资源、财政奖励以及价值确认上意义重大。我们并不把参与者看成“得款者”，而是将其视为类似小额借贷关系中的“投资伙伴”，唯一不同的地方是我们不求回报。这些相对小额的投资在社区驱动的保护项目中收效颇大，涉及的模式主要有四个：演示和参与（例如艺术节，音乐会，展览等）；记载（例如记录和档案保存，音

document, classify and categorize traditional forms, our efforts are focused on recognizing processes of transmission, manners of preservation (more along lines of lineage rather than form), and the effects on community. This leads us to a closer engagement with people, rather than the form. As folklorists, we recognize the myriad of continuous transformations of traditional forms due to the movement of people, the cross-cultural interaction of people and communities and the continual recontextualization of practices in space and time.

ACTA's two signature programs – the Apprenticeship Program and Living Cultures Grants Program – provide small grants to individuals, informal groups, and NGOs to further the continuance of traditional arts practice in the array of California cultural communities. With the Apprenticeship Program, following a parallel model to over 30 other state programs, ACTA offers a contract of \$3,000 (U.S. Dollars) to a master-level traditional artist to work intensively with an experienced apprentice over the course of six months to a year. The artists are selected in a competitive application process adjudicated by a review committee including academics and practitioners. Once the awards are made, ACTA's staff works closely with each of the 17-20 annual teams to establish a supportive relationship and to monitor and document each pairs' progress. In the Living Cultures Grants Program, a larger grant up to \$7,500 is invested in small NGOs and community-based organizations to undertake a wide range of self-determined activities with the goal of furthering the practice, engagement, and ultimately, the preservation of California's unique mosaic cultural patrimony. In each of these programs, the funding is small, but significant in providing tangible resources and financial rewards to participants as well as a validation. Rather than as "grantees," we consider these "investment partners" in a relationship similar to micro-lending without the required payback. These relatively small investments yield large results in community-driven preservation projects involving four principal modes: Presentation and Engagement (festivals, concerts, exhibitions, etc.); Documentation (recordings and archival preservation, audio and video production); Gatherings and convenings; and

频和视频制作); 聚会; 传播 (例如提供课程, 工作坊, 实习机会等)。在每一个模式中, 联盟首先强调社区内非物质文化遗产的保护成果。例如, 加州某一原住民部落为部族成员开办的语言和编篮工艺的工作坊将比一个多文化艺术节得到优先资助。

传播表达性文化是我们工作的核心。与本文化的文化遗产保持密切联系是推动许多人投身于传统艺术的一个强大动因; 而这种联系也可以为实践者提供一种重要的认同感和幸福感。当一个人的身份认同感和幸福感与实践和参与某种传统艺术形式相互关联, 那么这个人与该文化遗产的联系也就有了牢固的基础。对于一些人来说, 这可能涉及重新确认他们在自己移民或跟随父母移民并同化到美国文化的过程中已经流失的某种身份; 当然这种身份的流失也可能由其它形式的文化错位造成, 例如殖民, 又或者, 以加州原住民为例, 文化的灭绝。

学习传统艺术不仅涉及培训有关一种艺术形式的技能和技术, 更包括体验各种知识、价值观、礼节、和精神性的深层次文化底蕴。在传统中学习实践的人可以开始了解他们的艺术形式是如何与其他文化价值观和习俗相互关联的。著名民俗学家 Barre Toelken 描述了在加州 Hupa 原住民区向编篮艺术大师埃尔维拉·马特 (Elvira Matt) 夫人学艺的故事。她首先教她的学生们唱一些原住民的歌曲, 然后在收集天然植物材料和随后繁复的制备编篮材料的过程中吟唱这些歌曲。当她终于开始教授编篮技术时, 她的一个学生问为什么花这么多时间学唱歌, 而不是编篮。她回答说: “其实呢, 一个篮子就是一支看得见的歌。”当对某种表现形式的领会和体验与其它文化概念、实践和传统相交时, 它也就具备了更深层和深刻的意义。

当我发现在不同的文化群体中, 实践

Transmission (classes, workshops, apprenticeships, etc.). In each of these, ACTA emphasizes in-group outcomes on the preservation of ICH. For example, a project based in a California indigenous tribe's workshops in language and basketry for tribal members would take higher priority than would support for a multi-cultural festival.

The transmission of expressive culture is at the heart our work. Staying or becoming connected to one's cultural heritage is a strong motivation for many learners to engage in a traditional art form, and can also provide an important sense of identity and well-being. One's connection to cultural heritage is often based upon the reconnection or maintenance of identity and the establishment of well-being and a knowledge base that is fortified through participation and engagement in traditional art practices. For some, this could involve reclaiming an identity that may have become dormant during their own or their parents' processes of migration and assimilation into U.S. cultures, or as a result of other forms of cultural dislocation, such as colonization, or cultural genocide in the case of California Native Americans.

Learning traditional arts does not only involve training in the skills and techniques of an art form, but requires experience in the deeper cultural aspects of knowledge, values, protocol, and spirituality. Those who learn in a traditional mode can begin to understand how their art form intersects with other cultural values and practices. The eminent folklorist Barre Toelken wrote about hosting a residency in Native California Hupa basket-making with master artist Mrs. Elvira Matt. She first taught her students to sing a number of Native songs, which were sung during the gathering of native plant materials and the arduous preparation of weaving materials. When she finally began teaching the weaving, one of her students asked why so much time was spent on learning songs, rather than on making baskets. She replied: “Well, after all, you know, a basket is a song that's become visible.” There is a much deeper significance in an expressive form when it is understood and experienced at the intersection of other cultural concepts, practices and traditions.

Recognizing the frequency and consistency across different cultural groups, where practitioners articulated the

者们一致并反复表明传统文化参与与他们的健康和福祉之间的潜在联系时，我终于在2006年请美国加州大学戴维斯分校的健康专家们开启了一个历时的研究项目，正式评估我们联盟“学徒项目”和“生活文化资助项目”对参与者的健康及其它方面的影响。

从加州大学戴维斯分校研究人员的阶段性研究报告中，我们在个人、家庭、社区和更广泛的社会层面上都发现了反复出现的有关成长、健康、和整体福祉的主题。这些主题的分享体现了深刻的个人见解，并且反复出现在不同艺术领域，不同文化、语言背景，以及不同的年龄和代际层。同时，参与者生动描述了参与的多方面好处，无论是作为教师或学生，还是作为传统艺术的表演者。参与者汇报了个人层面上的意义和收获，包括增加自尊，增强个人与传统和社区的联系，增强身心互动意识和健康，以及传统艺术其它的康复效果。在家庭层面上，我们看到代际间互动带来的愉悦和裨益，对长者和传统的尊重，文化遗产和实践的传播，以及历史创伤的平复。再向外延展，在社区层面，参与者讲到公共空间对代际间沟通交流的助益，并自然而然地提到更广泛的社会层面的影响：包括将艺术家视为社区领导者和组织者，将文化活动视为跨越社区间鸿沟的桥梁和联系某单一文化或族群内几代人之间的纽带。

让世人更多了解个人和社区福祉的强大影响力可以激发非物质文化遗产在社区内的保护，并提高外部政策制定者、政府资助机构和私人慈善机构对这一保护的重视。在2011年10月加州传统艺术联盟的研究简报公布后，人们对研究文化和健康之间关系的兴趣已经开始提升，并提出新

connections between engagement in their traditions and health and wellbeing, led me, in 2006, to commission a multi-year research project with health researchers based at the University of California, Davis, to formally evaluate health effects and other outcomes experienced by participants in ACTA's Apprenticeship Program and the Living Cultures Grants Program.

The phased research reported by the UC Davis investigators revealed recurring themes of growth, health, and holistic well-being at the individual, family, community, and wider societal levels. The themes were remarkable both for the deeply personal insights shared and the consistency of the responses across domains of artistic undertaking, diverse culture, array of languages, and disparate age and generational bands. As well, participants vividly described the multi-directional benefits of participation whether as a teacher or learner, or as a performer of the traditional art. Participants reported personally meaningful individual-level benefits, including increased self-esteem, connection to tradition and community, and interconnected mind-body awareness and wellness, along with the healing qualities of the traditional art. At the family level, the joy and benefit of intergenerational activities, a sense of respect for elders and traditions, the transmission of cultural heritage and practices, and the mitigation of historical trauma were among the observations shared. Turning outward, at the neighborhood level, participants touted the benefit of a gathering space in which all generations could commune and communicate, leading naturally to the wider community-level impacts: perceiving the artist as a community leader and organizer, the activity as a means to bridge gaps across communities, and between generations in a single cultural or ethnic group.

Perpetuating the knowledge about the powerful effects of individual and community well-being can be a pathway to stimulating the preservation of ICH within communities as well as with external policy-makers, government funding agencies and private philanthropy. After ACTA's report was released in October 2011, there has been heightened interest and new funding initiatives calling for research at the intersection of culture and health. The potential for reaching a broad understanding

的研究筹资举措。跨部门和国家的、对传统艺术实践强大健康功效的广泛共识可以给致力于保护其非物质文化遗产的社区带来社会认可，提升其价值，并最终助其获取资源。我相信这是一个较之“生产性保护”更为健康的策略。正因为后者所倚赖的外部市场需求通常由外力引入，而那些外力可能干扰和破坏非物质文化遗产的自然过程、审美体系和社区环境。美洲 Pomo 原住民编篮人 Luwana Quitiquit 的话为本文提供了一个恰当的结语：“...讲故事能带来福祉，是因为它让我的孩子们了解和认识我的祖母，让他们了解和认识那些他们从来没有见过的人。讲故事激励着他们进行自身文化的传承。从这个意义上讲，它就是福祉。”

crossing both sectoral and international borders about the powerful productive health-related effects of traditional arts engagement could bring greater recognition and value, and ultimately resources, to communities maintaining their ICH. I believe this is a healthy alternative to “productive protection” efforts in which external market demands are introduced by outside forces potentially disrupting the processes, aesthetic systems, and community contexts of ICH. Pomo Native American Basket Maker, Luwana Quitiquit’s words provide a fitting reflection with which to close: “...storytelling is wellness, and the reason it’s wellness for my family is because it puts my kids back in touch with my grandmother, with people that they never got to see. It inspires them to carry on their culture. That’s wellness.”

传承人如何选择？

——从主位视角看非遗的生产性方式保护

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现代社会的技术手段、信息传播、人员流动、资源交换以及消费者、市场等等复杂因素，都促使传承人在保守传统与适应创新之间做出适应现代社会变迁的选择。基于非遗保护的现实经验以及对非遗保护“完整性”与“活态性”的认识，“体系外的文化与体制外的文化持有者”对于完整保护非遗文化生态具有重要意义，在具体的保护过程中，需要区分传承母体共享的“非遗”与脱离传承母体的“非遗”，应该在充分认识到非遗“活态性”特点的基础上理解非遗的“本真性”原则。

传承人在传承非遗的过程中，究竟是保守传统还是适应创新？这是非遗保护的核心问题之一，也是学术界以及非遗保护的利益各方争论最为激烈的问题。迄今为止，有影响的保护方式有抢救性保护、整体性保护、生产性方式保护等等。但是，上述保护方式都是从政府、学者、商人或者传媒的角度出发，即从“局外人”而不是传承人（“局内人”）的视角提出相应的保护传承措施。

我们着眼于传承人本身，从传承人的生存状态及文化传承现状出发，考察传承人对于传统与创新所持的不同态度，最终目的是期望我们的保护范式实现从“‘局外人’与‘局内人’各自分立”到“‘局外人’与‘局内人’对话交流”的转换。

How the Inheritors to Choose? To examine the Reproductive Production From Emic Perspective

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In the modern society, a few complicated factors motivate the inheritors to make choice between remaining tradition and adapting innovation in order to adapt themselves to the modern social changes, such as technical methods, dissemination of information, personnel flowing, resource exchange, as well as patrons, marketing and so forth. Based on the experiences, as well as the understanding of “integration” and “living” of safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, it is significant for “culture out of the system and the cultural bearers out of the system” to safeguard integratedly the cultural ecology. During a specific process of protection, it is necessary to differentiate ICH shared with the inheritance matrix and those detached from the inheritance matrix, and to understand the principle of “authenticity” on fully understanding of “living” of ICH.

It is a core problem that the inheritors remain the tradition or adaption and innovation in the process of transmitting ICH, and is also a most conflicting problem among the academia and all interested parties. To this day, there are a few effective methods-- rescuing safeguarding, overall safeguarding and productive safeguarding. However, all above methods are from the perspective of the governments, scholars, businessmen and mess media, from “outsiders” rather than from the “inheritors” (insiders).

We focus on the inheritors themselves, examine the different attitudes towards tradition and innovation from their living condition and the transmission of culture. Finally, we hope that our protective pattern change from the conflict between or separation of “outsiders” and “insiders” to dialogue and communication between them.

个案 1: 顺德地区的广绣--在当代社会, 非遗传承正在经历从传统家庭式作坊生产到现代规模化集中生产的转型

传统广绣一直分散在千家万户进行, 广东地区掌握广绣技艺、愿意从事广绣的绣工越来越少。从上世纪 90 年代至今, 顺德富德工艺品有限公司在全国共 11 个省 100 多个县, 开办广绣厂。公司配备了一支 30 人左右的技术队伍, 常年分布在新绣区组织广绣培训、集中生产。迄今为止, 经过广绣培训的人员超过 3 万, 仍在从事刺绣的约有 8000 人, 稳定的广绣厂有 30 家左右。广绣的生产方式从零星分散的家庭式作坊生产, 进入到现代规模化集中生产阶段; 这一经营模式改变了非遗的传承方式, 非遗的传承从传统封闭的特定地域范围内的传承、特定群体如家族成员之间的传承, 发展到现代工厂、企业的职业化传承, 传承人的身份由原有的“手艺人”, 发展成为现代的“企业工人”。

个案 2: 山西省长子县西南呈村响铜乐器制作技艺-- 非遗传承引入现代技术, 以损害传统非遗的手工艺特性作为现代文明的代价

随着现代技术的引进与运用, 制作技艺从传统的手工艺到现代的半机械化技术的运用, 提高了响铜乐器的制作质量, 产量, 扩大了生产规模。响铜乐器的传承人实际上分化为三种类型: 第一类, 家族传承人, 第二类, 公私合营企业或村办企业的学徒, 他们是在 1949 年以后经公私合营、村集体办厂渠道进入到这一行业第三类, 半机械化时代的传承人,

但是, 机器的介入导致传统生产传承方式的断裂, 新的学艺者仅仅只是某个工序、某个环节的机械操作者, 缺乏对整个过程的宏观把握, 没有传承的历史荣耀感与责任感, 不再将“全把式”作为学艺的目标。

Case study one: Guang Embroidery in Shunde, Guangdong—from traditional family workshop to modern scale production

Traditionally, production of Guang embroidery scattered in many families, but less and less workers took part in it from 1990s. Fude Handicraft Limited Company in Shunde has opened embroidery factories in more than one hundred counties in eleven provinces around the country since 1990s. The company organized a team with about thirty members to train workers and to arrange production in such new factories. There have been more than thirty thousand people who have been trained, eight thousand workers and about thirty factories working with it. The traditional production of Guang embroidery developed from scattered family workshop to modern scale production, which changed the way of inheritance of ICH—from inheritance in traditional, enclosure and specific area, and in specific groups, for a instance family, to occupational inheritance in modern factories and enterprises. The inheritors have changed from original artisans to modern enterprise workers.

Case study 2: Copper music instrument making skill—the introduction of modern technology in the inheritance of ICH as modern culture at the cost of traditional hand-making skills

With the introduction and application of modern technology, as well as semi mechanization technology, the quality and quantity of copper music instrument are increased and the production scale is enlarged. The inheritors are classified to three parts: those learned from family, the apprentices learned in enterprises from 1949, and those in semi mechanization era.

However, the intervention of machines broke the traditional inheritance chain. The inheritors are only operators who know some parts of the whole process, lacking of the overall knowledge, without the historical sense of honor and responsibility, and lose the goal to be an “overall operator”.

个案 3: 顺德永春拳--现代社会的信息传播、人员流动、资源交换, 日益消解非遗传承的地域性、群体性特征。

顺德永春在外界的影响与声名却远不及佛山咏春。当前, 顺德永春虽然已经形成了老中青三代的传承梯队, 但实际上潜藏着深刻的传承危机。

其一, 武术门派的拟宗族特点, 使得顺德永春的保留套路仅只掌握在掌门人之手, 并且从不轻易示人。其二, 传承方式保守, 对外宣传乏力。

非遗传承的地域性、群体性特征往往表现为非遗传承的家族传承、地域传承。如何处理好非遗传承的封闭性与发展的开放性之间的关系, 非遗传承人应该审时度势, 做出适合非遗传承发展的正确选择。

个案 4: 广东吴川泥塑--现代社会的高度市场化特征, 使非遗传承人受到消费者(受众)、市场(传承空间)等因素的深刻影响。

广东吴川泥塑的发展变化, 正是传承人、消费者(受众)、市场(传承空间)长期互动、相互作用影响的结果。传统信仰市场(用于节日庆祝, 庙宇)和新兴市场(用于艺术欣赏), 前者衰落, 后者长足发展。传承人会根据受众、市场的要求, 对非遗本身的内容、形式做出相应的改变。吴川泥塑内在的“民间信仰”日渐式微, 泥塑作品越来越朝“艺术化”方向转型。但是, 吴川泥塑在发展中逐渐失去传统的信仰内核, 远离传统的风格与神韵。

讨论

1、本真性问题: 固守传统还是传承创新?

2、传承母体共享的“非遗”与脱离传承母体的“非遗”

Case study 3: Yongchun boxing in Shunde—the dissemination of information, personnel flowing, resource exchange dispelling gradually the characters of locality and group of ICH

Yongchun boxing is less well-known than Yongchun boxing in Foshan. At present, they have their complete echelon of inheritance, including the old, the middle and the youth, actually the crisis underlies.

Firstly, the clansman like feature of the Kongfu schools make the whole series of skills and tricks are only known by the leader, and seldom be seen by others. Secondly, the methods of inheritance are conservative and the publicity is weak.

Normally the inheritance of ICH is limited to a specific family and area. It is important for the inheritors to make right choice in accordance with the situation, in order to keep the balance between the closeness of traditional inheritance methods and the modern opening development.

Case study four: clay sculpture in Wuchuan, Guangdong—the inheritors influenced by the patrons, markets because of its highly marketization

The variation and development of clay sculpture in Wuchuan, Guangdong is the result of influence between the inheritors, patrons and the markets. Traditional religious markets for festival celebrations and temples declined, and the new markets for artistic appreciation emerged and have developed quickly. The inheritors adapt the contents and forms of ICH according to the requirements of the market. Folk religion in clay sculpture of Wuchuan, Guangdong declines gradually, and moves further towards “art”. However, it loses its core of religion in the development, and is going far away from its traditional style and charm.

Discussion:

1. The problem of authenticity: remaining stubbornly the tradition or innovation?

2. ICH shared with the inheritance matrix or ICH detached from the inheritance matrix?

“美国”拼布：保存和保护一种传统文化遗产形式的交叉点和挑战

马美莎

密西根州立大学博物馆民间艺术馆

在这篇文章中，通过对“拼布”（quilts）这种艺术表达形式有形和无形层面的检视，我将探讨与文化遗产保存和保护有关的诸多问题。拼布是纺织品的一种形式，有时也由其结构类型（即杂布拼缝）或用途（即毯子或壁毯）得名。在这篇文章的写作过程中，我将汲取我作为一个民俗学家和艺术史专家，在田野、博物馆、档案馆和图书馆所作的大量研究工作。文章也会体现我在大学长期的博物馆馆长和教师经验——我的工作要求我在与学术界同仁展开持续性对话的同时也要面对公众。此外，这篇文章会反映我作为密歇根州传统艺术项目主管的经验。该项目是一个全州范围内致力于记载、保存、展示、并支持本州传统艺术家和艺术形式以及我在南非和泰国的文化遗产工作的艺术服务项目。

在美国被称为“拼布”的这一艺术形式来源于世界各地的纺织传统。拼布最基本的要素——包括把面料拼、补和嵌合在一起，然后把多层面料缝合在一起——已经在不同的地域和文化内存在了几百年。例如，中国已经发现了最早可追溯到公元前 770 年东周时代的以丝绸制成的装饰性拼布。

在美国，拼布可以追溯到 200 多年前的殖民时期。现在普遍认为，在美国东海岸定居的西欧移民最先将拼布技术引入北美大陆，而这一艺术形式也正是伴随着这一迁徙

The “American” Quilt: intersections and challenges of preservation of and safeguards to a traditional cultural heritage form

Marsha MacDowell

Folk Arts, Michigan State University Museum

In this essay I will examine issues of preservation and safeguards to cultural heritage through the lens of the tangible and intangible dimensions of one expressive art form – quilts, a form of textiles also sometimes known by its type of construction (i.e. patchwork) or by its use (i.e. blanket or wall hanging). In constructing this essay I will draw on my experience as both a folklorist and an art historian, as one whose research takes place in the field and in museums, archives, and libraries, and as one who has long held a university-based museum curatorial and faculty position that demands constant engagement with both academic and public audiences. Furthermore this essay will be informed by my experience as the director of Michigan’s traditional arts program, a statewide arts service program devoted to documenting, preserving, presenting, and advocating for the traditional artists and art forms of our state as well as my cultural heritage work in South Africa and Thailand.

The art form known as quilt in the United States draws from textile traditions around the world. The techniques of piecing, patching, and appliquéing fabrics together and then binding layers of fabric together with stitches—the fundamental elements associated with quilts—have been known to exist for centuries in different locales and cultures. For instance, decorative quilts made of silk dating back as far as 770 B.C., during the Eastern Zhou dynasty, have been discovered in China.

In America, the presence of quilts dates back over 200 years to colonial times. Most likely quilting was first introduced to the North American continent by the waves of Western Europeans who settled the eastern American seaboard and it is within this transported Western European culture that

中的西欧文化在美国首次兴盛起来。日复一日，这些外来的拼布传统受到本地土著文化和随后移民到美国的多种文化的影响。对图案、形式、制作工艺、颜色、面料和拼布用途的选择有时能明白无误地表明制造者的民族、地区、宗教、职业以及部族背景及其艺术创作所在的社区。

在 21 世纪伊始的今天，数以百万计的人对拼布艺术充满兴趣。根据美国工艺产业 2010 年的报告，美国有超过 2100 万人从事某种形式的拼布，另有数百万人在世界各地从事拼布。这个数字不仅包括那些制作、使用、收集、出售拼布的人，也包括那些制作、买卖、收集拼布所需工具、图样和面料的人，以及那些举办拼布节庆，主办拼布展览，参加真实或虚拟的拼布俱乐部和社区，交流、买卖与拼布有关的信息，以及纪录和研究拼布的人。1978 年，女权主义学者和艺术批评家 Patricia Mainardi 将拼布称为“伟大的美国艺术”。自此，这一在很大程度上由女性从事的纺织艺术成为女权主义者、民俗学家、艺术史专家、收藏家、博物馆策展人等的重要研究对象。20 世纪 80 年代初以来，成千上万的人们——主要是志愿者——已投身于州和地区的基层纪录工作，记载了成千上万拼布制品的信息，而这不过是美国拼布制品的一小部分。这些和其它记录逐步可以通过“拼布索引”（www.quiltindex.org）获取。“拼布索引”是一个在线信息库，收集了来自拼布制造者的有关制造者本人和他们所制拼布用途的分布式数字数据。截至 2011 年底，该索引已经展示了超过 7 万件历史和当代拼布。

拼布通常被认为是典型的美国艺术形式。对许多人来说，它象征着我们国家的价值观以及我们对手工艺和传统工艺的尊重。与拼布有关的故事、习俗和信仰不仅出现在众多的纪实类文学作品中（如日记、口述史、

the art form first flourished in America. Over time, these imported and introduced quiltmaking traditions have been influenced by both the indigenous cultures already present on the continent and by the cultures of all peoples who have migrated to the United States. Choices of patterns, forms, construction techniques, colors, fabrics, and functions of quilts may bear unmistakable references to the ethnicity, region, religion, occupational, and tribal affiliations of their makers or the communities in the art is made.

Today, at the beginning of the 21st century, interest in this art numbers in the millions. According to a 2010 American craft industry report, there over 21 million individuals in the U.S. engaged in some aspect of quiltmaking and millions more in countries around the world. This number includes not only those who make, use, collect, and sell quilts but also those who make, market, and collect the tools, patterns, and fabrics associated with making quilts, produce quilt festivals, curate and show collections, participate in real-life or on-line clubs and communities, market and communicate information regarding quilts, and document and study quilts. In 1978, Patricia Mainardi, feminist scholar and art critic, declared quilts the “great American art” and the history and traditions of this largely female textile art has become the focus of studies by feminists, folklorists, art historians, collectors, folklorists, museum curators, and others. Since the early 1980s, thousands of individuals, largely volunteers, have engaged in state and regional grassroots documentation efforts have recorded information on tens of thousands of quilts, a fraction of the number that have been made in America. Slowly those records and others are being made accessible through The Quilt Index (www.quiltindex.org), an online repository of distributed digital data about quilts and related stories from and about their makers and their uses. As of the end of 2011, the Index already showcases more than 70,000 historical and contemporary quilts.

Quilts are often considered the quintessential American art form and, for many, a symbol of our country’s values and our respect for the handmade and traditional. Accounts of quilt-related stories, customs and beliefs can be found in numerous non-fiction (i.e. diaries, oral histories, letters) as well as in fiction written by some of America’s most well known authors. The

信函等)，也出现在一些美国最知名作家的小说中。“拼布”和“拼凑的东西”已经渗透到我们的语言和说话方式中，经常作为不同个体形成一个统一整体的象喻，或者被用来代表诸如家庭生活、爱国主义、护理和培育、多样性和统一性等概念。有些学者甚至将拼布和拼布工艺视为一个超越了实体性的文化概念。

人们可以以美国的拼布制作和使用作为一个广袤的大背景，探讨一些有关文化遗产的，最根本、最棘手的问题。这包括本真性、文化错位、对传统的定义、市场带来的影响等。如有需要，人们亦可讨论适当的策略和干预措施，以保障和维护与拼布有关的无形和有形遗产。

在这篇文章中，我将首先就“什么是拼布”作一个基本的描述。然后我会通过具体的美国案例作进一步分析，包括检视在民俗节庆、博物馆、国家遗产研究奖（由美国联邦文化机构“国家艺术基金会”颁布）、州级奖励计划、网上数字资源库等各领域，拼布是如何与传统有形和无形文化遗产的保护相交集的。接下来，我将以具体个案为例，更深入地描述、分析和反思保存和维护文化遗产的战略在何时何地最有必要。讨论的案例将包括：1) 1991年由史密森学会授权中国制造商复制和销售四件史密森收藏的拼布所引发的所谓“史密森拼布争论”；2) 来自 Gees Bend 的拼布在纽约市惠特尼博物馆的展览；3) “密歇根传统艺术学徒项目”和“密歇根文物奖项目”；4) 由洪族和亚米希人共同制作的拼布的生产与销售；5) 批量生产的夏威夷拼布；6) 以“拼布索引”（Quilt Index）和“Q.S.O.S.”为例，讨论有关拼布及其故事的数据资料库的开发；7) 广泛流传和深为人们笃信的一个有关美国黑奴在 19 世纪美国南北战争期间利用拼布追求自由的故事。

words quilt and patchwork have permeated our American language and speech and are frequently employed as metaphors for anything in which disparate pieces form a unified whole or to represent and reflect such concepts as domesticity, patriotism, care and nurturing, and diversity and unity. Some scholars have even considered quilts and quiltmaking as a cultural concept that transcends their physicality.

It is within this vast landscape of the making and use of quilts in America that one can explore some of the most fundamental and thorny issues related to traditional cultural heritage, including issues of authenticity, cultural dislocations, definitions of traditional, impact of marketplace, and, if needed, appropriate strategies and interventions to protect and safeguard intangible and tangible heritage related to quiltmaking.

Within this essay, I will first provide a basic description of what constitutes a quilt and then I will examine include, both broadly and with specific American examples, i.e. folklife festivals, museums, National Heritage Fellowship Awards (presented by the National Endowment for the Arts, a U.S. federal cultural agency), state award programs, and online digital repositories as arenas in which quilts and issues of preservation of traditional tangible and intangible cultural heritage coincide. I will then describe and examine more in depth case studies that provide important opportunities to reflect on when and where preservation and safeguarding strategies are needed. The cases will include: 1) the so-called “Smithsonian quilt controversy” caused in 1991 when the Smithsonian Institution licensed Chinese manufacturers to reproduce and market four American quilts from the Smithsonian’s collections; 2) the mounting of the Gees Bend quilt exhibition at the Whitney Museum in New York City; 3) the Michigan Traditional Arts Apprenticeship and Michigan Heritage Awards programs; 4) the production and sale of quilts jointly made by Hmong and Amish; 5) factory made Hawaiian quilts; 6) the development of the Quilt Index and Q.S.O.S., repositories of data on quilts and their stories; and 7) the widespread circulation of and belief in a story about quilts being used by African American slaves seeking freedom during the Civil War in 19th

上述的每一个案例都可以用来检视与非物质文化遗产相关的问题，例如传统该如何定义，什么样的社会结构被用来推广对这些艺术形式的了解和支持，权威声音的存在，什么是本真的，等等。此外，这些案例让我们研究什么样的策略在减缓对传统的正面或负面影响时是有效或无效的，什么是维持和保护传统的最佳实践，以及什么构成了保存和保护非物质文化遗产新的挑战或机会。

century.

Each of the above cases allows an examination of issues associated with intangible cultural heritage, such as how or what determines what is traditional, what societal structures are being used to promulgate interest in learning about and supporting these art forms, the presence of authoritative voice, what is authentic, etc. Moreover, these cases enable an opportunity for examining what strategies have been effective (or not) in mitigating influences that negatively or positively impact a tradition, what are best practices utilized in sustaining and protecting a tradition, and what are emerging challenges or opportunities for preservation and safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage.