

Cultural Temporal Space That Constructed By Consumer

-- Take the Primitive Epic "Mei Ge" as An Example

Jiangxiu Shan^{1, 2, a}

¹Institute of Southwest Minority Research, Southwest Minzu University, Chengdu 610041, China.

²College of Humanities, Chuxiong Normal University, Chuxiong 675000, China.

^aCorresponding author e-mail: 31395914@qq.com

Abstract

The change of the Cultural eco-environment deconstructs the cultural significance space that building in the environment. The new cultural significance space is re-constructed through cultural systems. It fits in the new cultural social form. The holy performance-space of the primitive epic "Mei Ge" involutes and faults, when to meet break of cultural diversity and modern civilization. However, the earthen space that fits with modernization broadens the scope.

Keywords

"Meige"; performance-space; cultural consumption; secularization.

1. INTRODUCTION

"Meige" is the Creation Epic of Chuxiong Yi people, which is mainly spread in Yao'an, Dayao and Yongren. According to the concert field, it is divided into "Fu Meige" and "Chi Meige". According to the singer, it is divided into the Meige sung by Bimo and the Meige sung by the singer. In recent years, with the increasing number of Bimo, there are fewer and fewer people who can sing "Fu Meige", and the inheritance space of "Fu Meige" is smaller and smaller. Due to the large number of singers and the wide range of singing venues, the inheritance space of "Chi Meige" has been expanding. It can be seen that the inheritance effect of cultural matters is closely related to the inheritor and the way of inheritance.

2. THE EXHIBITION SPACE OF "HOLY AND POPULAR"

The original epic "Meige" can be passed on and spread by being sung. Different chanters and chanting systems construct two kinds of performance spaces of "holy" and "vulgar". In the sacred exhibition space, the ups and downs of "Meige" singing is always accompanied by the mysterious ceremony. The longer Meige is sung, the more solemn and mysterious the atmosphere in the space is, the more profound Bimo's skill is. In the secular exhibition space, there is a jubilant and lively atmosphere. The singing teams represented by singers are all singing Meige. The passion of the audience and the singers are the keynote of the space, and they shout and cheer for the victory together.

2.1. The Sacred Space Presided Over by Bimo

In the sacred space, Bimo is the only reciter and direct consumer of the epic "Meige". The cultural system in this space is highly normative, and the content of the epic "Meige" is relatively

fixed. Bimo also takes the ability to completely and vividly reproduce the original epic "Meige" as the ultimate goal and magic consideration.

The birth of Bimo can be traced back to the matriarchal clan society. It is the priest and chief in the age of the patriarchal clan commune of the Yi nationality. It is the specific operator and inheritor of the ancestor worship of the Yi nationality. It exists as a medium between heaven and earth, between people, gods, people and ghosts. It plays a great role in social and cultural functions and the exercise of theocracy. As a Bimo, one must be clean [in good health, with a wife, son and daughter. Only the Dharma he practiced and the Scriptures he recited can be effective.

Compared with the randomness and secularization of Yao'an's singing scene, Yongren Zhiju has strict regulations on the singing of "Meige". Its singing space is sacred and not blasphemous. It must be sung by Bimo in a specific scene. It is the theme of Bimo's religious activities to chant the Scriptures. He hopes to move the gods, seek blessings and dispel the evil spirits with the power of the Scriptures. The epic "Meige" has a huge content system, which is a classic recited by Bimo in various sacrificial ceremonies. From the point of view of the chanting field, it can be divided into "Fu Meige" and "Chi Meige".

Meige sung in festivals, marriages and other festive areas is called "Chi Meige", while Meige sung in funerals is called "Fu Meige". The Meige chanted in Bimo's mouth is a tool of communication between human beings and gods, serving the primitive religious belief. Its purpose is not to entertain people but to civilize and entertain gods. Therefore, there are strict regulations on the Scriptures and field of chanting, which must not be confused. In order to maintain the sanctity of the epic Meige, the singer is not allowed to increase or decrease its content without authorization. When singing Meige in religious ceremonies, funerals, weddings and traditional festivals, Bimo is required to memorize a large number of scriptures. When holding the ceremony, the participants should keep quiet, create a solemn and sacred atmosphere to entertain the God, and then realize their demands.

Bimo is generally inherited from the family, only male, not female. But there are also people who have passed the test of the holy ritual of plowshares (barefoot through the red plowshares) and learn from them. In the process of learning Bimo, beginners receive strict training, and each ritual corresponds to a kind of Scripture. After mastering a certain skill, when there is a sacrifice activity, Lao Bimo will take his apprentice as an assistant and continue to teach in practice until he has mastered all the skills of Lao Bimo, then he can independently preside over the ceremony. [1](P122)

At present, Bimo has died one after another. Even the horse tour, which is known as "the hometown of Meige", has no Bimo, so "Meige", as a sacrifice speech, has only some fragments in the collision of modern civilization. At present, no one can recite "Meige" completely. Primitive religious belief is the soil on which "Meige" lives, and Bimo, the worshiper, is its cultural carrier and heritage support. However, when the religious belief is weakened and the worshiper disappears, it is an inevitable trend that "Meige", as an oral sacrifice, moves from the sacred altar to the daily secular life.

2.2. Secular Space Represented By Singers

Singers and chanters in the secular space are not only the inheritors and creators of epic, but also consumers, with dual identities. The singing of "Meige" in the secular space has more randomness and characteristics of the times. The singers have created their own experience of life, hope for the future, thinking about life and other contents into "Meige", integrated their personal temperament and interest, and reconstructed the contemporary "Meige" after deconstructing the traditional "Meige". Participants take delight in lighting the atmosphere of the scene, releasing the joy of life and enjoying the honor of victory.

The emergence of folk singers is the product of social development and the progress of the times. Under the infiltration of modern civilization, the civilization of the times is constantly integrated into the content system of "Meige", which makes "Meige" enter the secular life from the altar. Therefore, the sacred function of praying for gods and entertaining gods gradually recedes, and the secular function of entertaining increases. Marriage ceremony is an important occasion for singers to sing "Meige". At present, there is no Bimo in Yao'an Mayou, and "Meige" has been completely popularized. Its singers are almost singers, and the singers have become the main inheritors of "Meige" in Mayou. This kind of popular "Meige" is mainly the "Qing Nian Meige" sung by singers, presenting a happy and lively atmosphere. Moreover, Meige singing has become routine. Whenever there is a road encounter or a festival or a gathering, someone always comes out to sing several tunes to show his ability, or to find a rival to fight. The winner is recognized and appreciated by everyone, and the winner also enjoys the joy.

The content of singer's competition singing is not fixed completely. After mastering the basic program of "Meige" singing, on the premise of relatively fixed content, it can be recreated and some contemporary civilized languages and popular words can be added. In the course of the competition, the singer, according to his epic knowledge, puts forward questions to the other side and finds out the mistakes of the other side, so as to defeat the other side. Therefore, a respected singer should not only be experienced in the singing field, but also have a strong sense of the times, high creativity, better performance and flexibility. These characteristics determine that the singer's singing is more flexible than Bimo's free singing, and expand the performance space in a higher sense.

Folk singers' singing is not a family tradition, and there is no need to pay homage to teachers. In all kinds of festive occasions, "Meige" duets, fans should listen to and learn from each other, learn to sing through oral communication, and some people will ask for advice from singers who sing well, but they do not need to pay homage to teachers formally. In addition to learning from each other in various festive occasions to improve their singing level, singers will also compete in other villages. According to the old people in Mayou village, in the past, singers from the surrounding villages, such as Zuo men, Pu tao and San jiao, came to Mayou village to compete with the singers in the village. The singers in Mayou village need to go all out, and if they lose, they need to provide food to entertain each other. What's more, if you lose, you will lose face. Therefore, in the duet competition, the old singers will guide the young singers and the audience will work together to support the singers in the village. Such a duet can sometimes be performed for days and nights. Young singers in such occasions, listen carefully, learn carefully and grow up slowly. [2] (P218~219)

3. SPATIAL CHANGES IN MODERN SOCIETY

The cultural system is established in the specific social form, and the specific cultural system constructs the corresponding cultural significance space. Social transformation and institutional change are bound to reconstruct cultural space. The sacred "Meige" exhibition space of Yongren Zhiju was formed in the initial stage of Yi society to meet people's psychological needs under the condition of lack of knowledge and weak power, and existed as the dependent carrier of primitive religion. With the development and change of society, the penetration of modern civilization, the transformation of people's production and life style, the secular space of "Meige" performance is rapidly constructed and expanded, while the sacred space which runs counter to the historical pace is involuted and deconstructed.

3.1. The Involuted Sacred Space

In the sacred space of Bimo performance, participants are the relevant personnel of the ceremony, Bimo is the host and operator of the ceremony. In this space, Bimo is the center and participants are the outer space of the ceremony. In the course of the ceremony, Bimo recited

the Scriptures, performed the Dharma, prayed for the gods and comforted the ancestors. The other participants listened to the Scriptures in a quiet and devout manner, observed every detail of the ceremony in awe and curiosity, and formed a one-way ritual exchange in which Bimo sang, everyone listened, Bimo did and the audience watched. In terms of the selection of inheritors, they are required to be born in Bimo family, or to have inheritance qualification after a long period of learning from teachers and various rituals.

However, under the impact of modern civilization, the sacred space presided over by Bimo is shrinking. In previous weddings and funerals, especially in funerals, family members should do their best to ask Bimo to recite scriptures and guide the way for the dead even if they have lost their money. Otherwise, they think that the soul of the dead cannot go back to their ancestors, and their families will be condemned by the people and the public opinion. However, Bimo's chanting of scriptures has become insignificant or even dispensable in today's funerals. And Bimo's singing in the occasional ceremony is not as comprehensive and rich as before. In the traditional society of Yi nationality, Bimo, who belongs to the upper class, has rich knowledge and is respected by people, and who has strict teachers, no longer enjoys such a noble identity. With the death of Bimo and the long-term and strict cultivation of Bimo, the existing Bimo is decreasing year by year, even the horse tour known as "hometown of Meige" has no Bimo. Accordingly, the part of the epic of Meige that Bimo mastered was in decline or even lost.

3.2. The Expanding Secular Space

In the secular space where singers sing, singers and audience are participants in the competition. The audience is usually the villagers who care about the competition and support singers. A close link with singers as representatives and audience as supporters is formed in the competition arena. Because the success or failure of the competition song is closely related to the close cooperation between the singer and the audience, the singer tries his best to play his talent to the extreme in the competition singing process, and the audience also tries their best to make suggestions for the success of the competition singing. It can be said that singing Meige by singers is a two-way interactive process in which singers and audience work together to participate. At the same time, it is in the process of two-way interaction that the singer's competitive singing level has been demonstrated and improved, and the next generation of small singers have also been trained and exercised in this immersive atmosphere. After several times of the influence of the singing field, they gradually grow up and enrich themselves into the singer team of the village.

Meige's secular space is expanding with the progress of society. In the competition arena, the singer is only the representative, not the monopolist. He comes from the audience, represents the audience and is also urged and influenced by the audience. Only with the full support of the audience can singers give full play. The audience's shouts, cheers and applause are the source of the singer's competitive singing and the catalyst to stimulate the singer's talent. The singer's singing content is not as fixed as the Scriptures recited in Bimo's mouth. On the basis of mastering the basic singing procedure of "Meige", the singer can recreate it and add new terms reflecting the style of the times. The audience also brainstormed to enrich the singer's singing content and tune. From the scale of the audience and the "heat" of the scene, we can deeply feel the villagers' enthusiasm for the "Meige" competition singing and their love for the singers.

From the perspective of continuous expansion of space, singer inheritance is not as strict as Bimo inheritance in terms of entry conditions and requires long-term training. In daily life, fans listen to and memorize by ear in the arena, sing and memorize repeatedly and then gradually get out of the arena. Therefore, the audience who still listens to songs today is probably the potential singer of tomorrow. Compared with the sacred space inherited by Bimo, the secular space of singer singing competition is larger in terms of personnel scale, inheritor training and on-site interaction, and the inheritance mechanism is more flexible and interactive.

3.3. The Power of Spatial Change

The change from sacred space to secular space is attributed to the joint action of multiple forces. First of all, the impact of social development and transformation, economy and other aspects has reduced Bimo's noble status, and the ritual procedure presided over by Bimo has been simplified. Secondly, with the penetration of modern civilization and the popularization of education, the singer and singing content of "Meige" gradually generalized, the singing style changed, the characteristics of colloquialism were obvious, and the trend of language modernization was enhanced. Thirdly, because of the mastery of knowledge and skills, the strength and status of human as the main body can be embodied and emphasized, so as to change the solemn and sacred atmosphere of singing space into the lively atmosphere of entertainment and recreation, and change the passive and pure audience in the sacred space into the active and diversified audience.

Compared with Yongren Zhiju's "original" and "complete" versions of "Meige", Yaoan's "Meige" is more secular. However, the current situation is that the "Meige" of Yongren Zhiju disappears faster with acceleration steps, while the "Meige" of Ma you survives in another form. The main reason is that the more primitive the epics are, the more closely they are related to Bimo's existence and his mastery of Meige. But the fact is that Bimo passed away one after another, and the young people lack of people who are competent for Bimo's duties or interested in Bimo's behavior, so Bimo's inheritance is broken. In addition, the content of the epic "Meige" sung by Bimo is fixed, so it seems ancient and out of time compared with the changed social form, so the loss of the content of the epic "Meige" is inevitable.

The "Meige" of Ma you, which has strong secularity, still survives under the rapid transformation and rapid development of social form and shows more and more strong vitality, which just proves that the saying "success is also Xiaohe, failure is Xiaohe". First of all, the "Meige" of Yao'an Mayou exists in various folk songs in different styles. Everyone can sing, and sing at any time with his mouth open. It extends the time and space for the survival of "Meige", strengthens the vitality of "Meige", and embodies the three-dimensional vitality of the epic. Secondly, the content of Mayou "Meige" is flexible. The singer and audience are not only its singers but also its composers. The content and tune of "Meige" in Mayou have obvious characteristics of the times, reflecting the sense of the times with the times. Finally, through the singing competition of "Meige", the voice of "Meige" is spread to the village, and the enthusiastic audience from all sides also becomes the carrier of the activities inherited by "Meige".

4. SECULAR SPACE IN THE ERA OF CULTURAL CONSUMPTION

When cultural consumption becomes a kind of taste pursuit and fashion consumption, people will use these cultural symbols to exchange, continue and develop their knowledge about life and attitude towards life [3] (p95), to reflect people's living status, express their inner world and communicate the material world. At this time, this kind of culture has already descended from the spiritual level to the material life level and entered the secular space.

4.1. The Construction of Cultural Secular Space of Meige in Yao' an Ma you

When people's material needs are met and material civilization reaches a certain degree, spiritual civilization becomes people's pursuit and spiritual needs are highlighted. In the modern society, which respects cultural diversity and emphasizes the diversity of life, people actively construct innovative life style, pursue new taste and new feeling, and attach importance to cultural cultivation. The "Meige" of Yao'an Mayou is sung into the daily life of the general public. It is passed on among the villagers. The villagers are eager to promote life to the artistic level and popularize art to the living level.[4](p27) On the one hand, singing by singers leads to the generalization and variation of epics, on the other hand, enriches the contents of epics and

expands the inheritance of epics. This change directly stimulates the arrival of the era of cultural consumption, activates the public's desire for consumption of "Meige" culture, and creates a fierce and exuberant atmosphere in the arena.

Just as the original epic is brewed and sprouted in a specific cultural ecosystem, its survival and development also need a specific parent environment. The rapid disappearance of "Meige" of Yongren Zhiju and the continued survival of "Meige" of Yao'an Mayou are the best demonstration of the saying that "life is the root of culture, and people are the living carrier of culture". The more primitive "Meige" of Yongren Zhiju was born in the primary stage of Yi's social form, which was in line with people's psychological needs at that time. Today's modern society has no social environment of that era, and people no longer need the pure and pure original epic. In the case of losing the basis of survival and dependence, the ending of the original epic "Meige" is an irreparable history. "Meige" of Yao'an Mayou not only survives to today, but also increasingly exudes strong vitality and vigorous vitality. First of all, this is due to the fact that "Meige" of Yao'an's Ma you was adjusted in time with the social changes and the pace of the times. Secondly, from the point of view of the carrier of culture - people, its singers and inheritors are no longer limited to Bimo alone, and the singers and audience in the competition field are its singers and inheritors. In a word, Yaoan Mayou's "Meige" has realized the adjustment and change with the times. It has entered the daily life of the people from the elite culture mastered by Bimo in the primitive society, and become the mass culture sung by countless people. It has transformed from a small tradition to a big one, and has moved to the synecdoche culture and even the post ecdoche culture in the "post Meige" era.

4.2. Mass Culture of Meige Produced By Consumption

From the perspective of consumer groups, the Yongren Zhiju "Meige" culture, which is recited by Bimo alone and listened to by all, is an elite culture, while Yaoan's "Meige" culture, which is sung by numerous audiences, belongs to a popular culture and grass-roots culture rooted in the masses. Because of their different cultural attributes, they lead to the fate of one existence and one death. As Jean Baudrillard said in <consumer society> : "consumption is not only the result of production, but also the form of production. Consumption is not the" mirror image "of production. It constitutes the mode of cultural production with a symbolic order." [5] (p23) people are consuming "Meige" culture, but they are also producing "Meige" culture in another way.

Yao'an Mayou's "Meige" culture has absorbed the products of modern civilization, and its tunes have also enriched some popular elements of modern music, thus becoming a popular culture based on the core of traditional "Meige" culture. The popular "Meige" culture uses its own powerful exchange logic to eliminate the elements from other cultural forms and integrate them into the ideology of daily life. Therefore, no matter where it appears, and no matter what its appearance is, there will be a sense of *deja vu*. On the surface, people are consuming different cultural products, but in essence, they are consuming homogeneous goods.[6]p(162)This process of cultural transformation and replacement not only does not break or weaken the cultural heritage chain, but also continues the cultural heritage on a higher level and in a wider space, strengthening the internal function of culture. After the growing consumer subject acts on the consumer object, it further expands the consumer object, which is the mutual promotion function of the subject and object in the era of cultural consumption.

4.3. The Continuous Expansion of the Secular Space of Mayou Meige Culture

With the development of society, tourism has become people's practical life style and taste pursuit, and the essence of tourism is to realize the consumption of culture in the form of physical practice, which is a deep cultural interpretation to meet the vision and desire of heterogeneous culture, and an important means for people to obtain cultural cognition and

realize cultural rights. The symbolic consumption of tourists' cultural psychological needs is creating conditions for the transformation of cultural differences into cultural capital and finding a market. It can be seen that the development of intangible cultural heritage tourism is a cultural capitalization operation in line with the symbolic consumption of tourists. [7] (P39)At the same time, it is also the transition of traditional Meige culture from cultural field to economic field. Compared with the sacred space of Yongren Zhiju's "Meige" performance, the secular space of Yaoan Mayou's "Meige" performance is beyond the sacred space no matter from the size of scale, the number of audiences, the enthusiasm to participate in interaction, the depth of recognition and understanding, etc. In the competition of Mayou "Meige", the singers' passionate singing is the carrier display and symbolic meaning interpretation of "Meige" culture by modern people. The generalization of the singers, the modernization of the content, the popularity of the tunes and the expansion of the singing space are the results of people's creative planning, reasonable allocation and integration of various cultural elements on the basis of grasping the essence and core of the traditional "Meige" culture, and recoding the unique national cultural symbols in the new context.

Today, when traditional culture encounters modern civilization and all kinds of civilizations collide, we emphasize to protect traditional culture by exploitation. Only in this way can we make the ancient culture survive in modern society. The successive "Meige" cultural festivals, the "Meige" song contest, and the development of yaoanma's tour "Meige" cultural ecological protection zone are exactly the countermeasures to protect the traditional culture from the perspective of cultural consumption in the context of the development and change of the emergency drama. The development of cultural consumption can not only promote the prosperity and development of cultural industry and the whole tertiary industry, but also help to maintain the sustainable development of society, promote social civilization and social progress, promote regional cultural construction, and play a direct role in the current construction of new socialist countryside. In the process of Chuxiong's construction of cultural tourism city and building a famous Yi culture state, the development and protection of yaoan ma you's "Meige" culture is conducive to enhancing cultural competitiveness.

From the postmodern point of view, the mother of the original epic "Meige" has disappeared, and "Meige" has reached its postmodern stage. In the new cultural ecological environment, the epic "Meige" cannot refuse to change in order to maintain the "original" nature of the "traditional" culture, and inaction in front of the powerful mainstream discourse. [8] (p187) The rolling forward historical wheel requires it to carry out self-renewal and development to adapt to the new cultural significance space. The secular space of Yao'an Mayou's singing "Meige" is the traditional sacred space self adjusted and re established cultural system space in the new era, so the change of Mayou's "Meige" is inevitable and necessary.

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