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편찬대 표위원장 蘇杭
편찬대 표부위원장 劉振
편집교정 莊弘泰
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이메일 sejongpublish@daum.net

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《震旦学刊》发刊词

尊敬的各位学人，《震旦学刊》即期与各位见面了。

我们用“震旦”这一中国古称命名学刊，包含了诸多希望。震者，东方之卦；旦者，日出之象。日出东方，既包含东方的独特性，又显示着我们日日求新的学刊宗旨。我们希望通过《震旦学刊》的微薄之力，推动和鼓励新的思想、新的文体、新的学问、新的交流、新的规范。

我们鼓励新思想。物一无文，只有一种思想便是无思想，重复别人的思想同样如此。如果说10年之前，人文社科领域的研究还有相当比重是在消化或者利用西方理论，带有一定的转述、重述色彩的话。那么在这种消化和利用基本完成，我们已经能够同步接收到国外相关领域成果的时代，这种理论重述的价值已经大大降低。数十年来，如福柯这样影响遍及诸多领域的思想家再也没有出现了。思考的特性在于，它对思考的人来说是注定的，是思考的人得以存在的表征之一。思考的人，带着其特定的生活场景、时代精神、历史传统、专业领域。如果在这样许多元素的凝聚中提炼不出自己的思想，那么其对他人理论的解读必然是困难的。只有高峰才能理解高峰，每一种解读也都是新的解读。思想对个体性有最高的要求。我们希望，每一个思考者，都呈现出独特的思想性。

我们鼓励新文体。文体家不一定是思想家，但思想家一定是文体家。论文是最重要的文体之一，但优美的论说文体少之又少。独特的思想必然寻求独特的表达，文体相近，思想难免雷同。历来重要的思想家，均为独特的文体家。孔孟老庄，二程朱陆，一本书就是一种独立的文体。笛卡尔、斯宾诺莎、休谟、康德，其文风也皆非他人能够重复。近年来，在转述、重述外国思想的资源渐趋乏味之际，产生了不少模仿国外汉学文体的论文，文长注富却了无新意，是文体丑陋而思想陈旧的代表。我们认为，每个思考者，都应追求具有个体性的表达。而但凡是个体性的表达，其文体必然是独特的，是长新的。模仿文体的本质是“无文体”，是模仿思想。而模仿思想，归根到底还是无思想。

我们鼓励新学问。随着人类社会的快速发展，大量新的社会现象出现，这为我们提出新思想带来了丰富的资源，也为我们提炼新思想带来了巨大的挑战。研究者们将不得不加大学习的强度，应对诸多领域的新情况。新学问不是针对个别现象的学问，而是能够指向人文社会学科整体的学问。新学问应是“大学问”。人文社会学科本身具有很大的共通性，但是具有共通性的理论研究实际上始终是少数。在学术分工日趋细致的时代，学者的眼光常常趋于细碎狭小。就小问题进行深入研究自然有其价值，但是“词深人天，致远方寸”更应是学人的追求。“方寸”者“心”，我们恰恰也在一个缺少动心之学的“无学问”时代。

我们鼓励新交流。学术交流很重要的一点，就是时效性。通过学术交流，能让最新的学术成果为人所知，进而推动相关领域的发展。而目前人文社会学科的发表机制，常常使得一篇论文的发表周期长过一本专著的发表。我们的学术发表机制已经严重迟滞了人文社会学科的发展。诸多青年才俊，不得不在一个以项目代替交流的极其不健康的学术环境中疲于奔命。他们本该脱颖而出，卓然成家，却不得不依赖于师承门户，匍匐求生。或者，成为学术权力再生产的新版本。而在另一方面，当前各种形式的学术会议层出不穷，但在学术交流上的作用究竟有多少，颇值得怀疑。线上会议的形式产生后，一位学者更是可以在一天内参加数个会议，其质量完全没有保证。会议繁荣而学术落寞的“无交流”状态，也是当前人文社科领域的一大病症。

我们鼓励新规范。学术的规范只有一个，那就是创新。所谓文无定法，文成法立，对于学术研究而言，没有创新就没有规范。我们正处在一个各种出版、发表规范不断推陈出新而实际上却是一个“无规范”的时代。我们看到越来越多规范得千文一面的文章，这种统一文体的努力是可怕的。诚然，人文社会科学领域的创新是困难的，更是珍贵的。但是当这些创新被大量“无规范”淹没的时候，同样会造成学术研究的迟滞甚至扼杀。更何况，在这样“无规范”的环境中，日趋高昂的版面费，使得一篇论文的发表也达到了“一字千金”的程度。这样一种事实上的恶性循环，严重束缚甚至压抑了真正的学术研究，扭曲了学术评价的正常路径。

震旦，是中国古称。我们热爱日出东方的宏伟景象和磅礴气韵。今天，我们有世界上数量最庞大的高等学历群体，有数以千计的人文社科研究机构，却依然面临

一个无思想、无文体、无学问、无交流、无规范的局面。我们真的应该放开手脚，而非强加镣铐。我们真诚地希望，广泛联络各界学人尤其是青年学者，为人文社会科学的研究，开创一种新的风气，希望为学界及时呈现更新锐的思想、更有活力的文体、更击中时代的学问、更便利的交流、更富创新的规范。

《震旦学刊》既以“震旦”为名，我们希望能担负起某种使命。我们希望，能以一己微薄之力，激发出更多的力量，更多地推进中国人文社科学术的发展。

日出东方，是新的希望，新的气象！

《震旦学刊》编委会

2023年4月16日

世俗性专题

A Study of Festivals and Customs in the Song Dynasty

蘇杭^①（浙江海洋大學）

Abstract

As a festival culture that humans co-created to adapt to production and life, we experienced the vicissitudes of various dynasties and the integration and migration of peoples in China. Today, we are also present in the lives of Chinese descendants. It gives individuals and their religioned, political or socioeconomic groups the cohesiveness and meaning of existence. With the prosperity of commodity economy and the change of social and political structure in the Song Dynasty, the cultural customs of the Song Dynasty were very typical in the historical development of the Chinese civilization. This article studies the festival customs of the Song Dynasty in terms of official festivals, season festivals and religious holidays. It can be seen that the Song Dynasty festivals not only played an important role in the dynasty's use of festivals and ceremonies to strengthen internal and external politics, but also used the idea of folks to treat festivals and regulate people's behavior.

Key words:

the Song Dynasty, festival, official, religion

The Chinese civilization is independent from other major civilizations of the world, and has been thriving for thousands of years. Despite experiencing the rise and fall of numerous dynasties and the integration and migration of various ethnic groups, the various forms of Chi-

^① 蘇杭，宗教學博士，浙江海洋大學中文系講師，韓國西伯利亞學會全球合作研究員，研究方向宗教學理論。

nese culture are still vividly displayed in all aspects of the lives of Chinese descendants today. Festivals, as a kind of folk culture created by humans to adapt to production and life, have become an important carrier connecting us, the descendants of China, with our ancestors, and have also become a significant topic for researchers to analyze our great national community that spans thousands of years.

Regarding the definition of festivals, Yin Falu and Xu Shuan have given a relatively objective concept, which is: " Festivals are ceremonies or celebrations held at specific times or seasons each year in accordance with a certain calendar or seasonal order. They are used to celebrate, commemorate, reenact, or preview major events – agricultural, religious, or social and cultural. It endows individuals and their affiliated religious, political, or socio-economic groups with cohesiveness and meaning of existence."^① The concept of " festivals" in Chinese civilization can be traced back to the legend of " Fu Xi's establishment of the first day of the year". Fuxi, also known as Mi Xi, Pao Xi, Bao Xi, and Fu Xi, is one of the " Three Emperors and Five Emperors" in the legend of Chinese ancestors. Legend has it that Fu Xi created the Eight Trigrams of the Early Heaven, taught people to fish and hunt, and was also the founder of traditional Chinese medicine. In the development process of Chinese civilization, he has the credit of laying the foundation and enlightenment and is hailed as the ancestor of humanity. There are many myths and legends about Fu Xi in later generations. " The Complete Library of Four Treasuries" records: " Fu Xi established the concept of New Year's Day, Shennong established the festival of La, Xuanyuan established the two she festivals, Wu Xian established the New Year's Eve festival, and Zhou Gong established the Shangsi festival..."^②, which means that Fu Xi established the concept of New Year's Day. " With the emergence of tribal alliance states, primitive spontaneous seasonal activities gradually rose to the level of tribal or national seasonal customs. The ruling class that controls social power used the lunar ritual to monopolize and dominate people's seasonal life. Primitive religious

① 陰法魯，許樹安著，中國古代文化史，北京大學出版社，2001年，491頁

② 明 董斯張撰，欽定四庫全書 子部 廣博物志卷四，國學大師網

time has evolved into political power time, which is imbued with strong mystery."^① In the Xia and Shang dynasties, the dynasty had created Xia and Shang calendars, and people's work and rest time were influenced by official politics. With the deepening of the ancestors' understanding of nature and the mastery of the changes of the sun, moon, climate, and seasonal changes, by the Warring States period, the eight solar terms of " Li Chun", " Chun Fen", " Li Xia", " Xia Zhi", " Li Qiu", " Qiu Fen", " Li Dong", and " Dong Zhi" had already been determined.^② This is recorded in the " December Records" in the " Lu Shi Chun Qiu" written in the late Warring States period. By the Qin and Han dynasties, the 24 solar terms had been fully established. The earliest record can be seen in the " Huai Nan Zi" in the Western Han Dynasty, which laid an important foundation for the birth of many festivals in later generations.

Since the Qin and Han dynasties, the system of seasonal festivals has gradually formed in China. ^③Many traditional festivals that are still popular today were formed in the Han and Wei dynasties, such as the Lantern Festival, which was formed in the Han dynasty. In order to strengthen the educational function of ceremonial customs, the dynasty not only actively participated in festival activities, but even created new festivals, accelerating the development of important traditional festivals that were officially recognized. Festivals began to appear that were disconnected from seasonal factors, such as when the emperor began to elevate his own birthday to a festival. By the Tang and Song dynasties, due to further ethnic integration and the rapid development of commodity economy, as well as the emergence of multiple economic centers, festival customs became even more diverse and colorful. Research on Chinese festivals and celebrations is already quite extensive. Based on the research of previous scholars, this article focuses on the study of festivals in the Song dynasty, with the aim of making a modest contribution to the scientific research of traditional Chinese festival culture.

① 蕭放，歲時——傳統中國民眾的時間生活，中華書局，2002年，53頁

② Twenty-four solar terms are: Beginning of Spring, Rain Water, Waking of Insects, Vernal Equinox, Clear and Bright, Grain Rain, Beginning of Summer, Grain Full, Grain in Ear, Summer Solstice, Slight Heat, Great Heat, Beginning of Autumn, End of Heat, White Dew, Autumnal Equinox, Cold Dew, Frost's Descent, Beginning of Winter, Minor Snow, Major Snow, Winter Solstice, Minor Cold, and Major Cold.

③ 蕭放，歲時——傳統中國民眾的時間生活，中華書局，2002年，53頁

I. Background

Since the 1980s, Chinese scholars have made significant progress in the study of Song dynasty festivals. Among them, Mr. Zhu Ruixi, the former president of the Chinese Society of Song History, wrote the earliest comprehensive article on Song dynasty festivals, titled "Festivals in the Song Dynasty." In this article, Mr. Zhu classified Song dynasty festivals into four categories: "sacred festivals" for emperors and empresses, important official festivals, seasonal and solar term festivals, and religious and superstitious festivals. He provided detailed explanations for each category and presented a general overview of Song dynasty festivals. ^① This classification laid an important foundation for future research. Other scholars who share the same research perspective, such as the authors of "The General History of Chinese Customs – The Song Dynasty Volume" ^② and "Research on the Eastern Capital of the Song Dynasty," ^③ as well as "The Cultural History of Ancient China," ^④ also described Song dynasty festivals, including the traditional seasonal festivals such as the Spring Festival, Lantern Festival, Cold Food Festival, Qingming Festival, Dragon Boat Festival, Double Seventh Festival, Mid-Autumn Festival, Chongyang Festival, and New Year's Eve, as well as various religious and political festivals. Since Mr. Zhu's research, scholars have made significant achievements in the study of Song dynasty festivals and related aspects, covering a wide range of topics, including the types of festivals, festival customs, and the economic functions of festivals, and presenting various innovative perspectives. Li Chuntang's "After the Collapse of the Neighborhood Walls – A Long Scroll of Urban Life in the Song Dynasty" ^⑤ analyzes the two characteristics of timing and commercialization of entertainment-oriented and religious-o-

① 朱瑞熙, 宋代的節日, 上海師範大學學報, 1987年, 第3期

② 徐吉軍 方建新 方健 呂風棠, 中國風俗通史, 上海文藝出版社, 2001年, 613-688頁

③ 周寶珠, 宋代東京研究, 河南大學出版社, 1992年, 535-555頁

④ 陰法魯、許樹安 主編, 中國古代文化史, 北京大學出版社, 1989年, 490-529頁

⑤ 李春榮, 坊牆倒塌以後——宋代城市生活長卷, 湖南出版社, 1993年, 193-207頁

riented festivals in the Song dynasty. " The Cultural History of the Song Dynasty," ①edited by Yao Yingting, further explains festival customs and polytheistic worship. In addition, there are also some articles that specialize in the study of certain festival customs and festival activities, such as Xiang Bosong's " New Discussion on the Origin and Cultural Connotation of the Lantern Festival," ② Wu Baoqi's " Spring Festival Customs in the Song Dynasty," ③ Yi Yongwen's " Discussions on Dragon Boat Festival Customs in the Song Dynasty," ④and Sun Jiahua's " Zongzi in the Song Dynasty." ⑤Some articles also conduct in-depth research and description of specific festival customs in the two Song capital cities of Bianjing and Lin'an. For example, " The Grand View of Lantern Festival in the Two Song Capital Cities" ⑥ and " The Customs of Lantern Festival in the Song Dynasty Capital Cities" ⑦explore the official and folk festival activities during the Lantern Festival in the two Song capital cities and point out that the Up Yuan Festival was the most lively festival in the two Song periods. " Social Customs and Spiritual Civilization in the Eastern Capital of the Northern Song Dynasty" ⑧and " The Customs of Chongyang Festival in the Eastern Capital of the Northern Song Dynasty" ⑨ discuss the origin, development, and changes in activities related to the Chongyang Festival in the northern Song capital of Dongjing, as well as the original meaning of wearing dogwood leaves. " The Three Major Festivals in the Northern Song Dynasty Capital City" ⑩ and " The Cold Food and Qingming Festivals in the Tang and Song Dynasties" ⑪provide explanations for several major festivals in the northern Song capital of Dongjing, such as the Cold Food Festival, Winter Solstice Festival, New Year's Day, and Qingming Festival.

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- ① 姚瀛艇主編，宋代文化史，河南大學出版社，1992年，536-549頁
 ② 向柏松，元宵燈節的起源及文化內涵新論，中南民族學院學報，2004年第4期
 ③ 吳寶琪，宋代立春風俗，文史知識，1989年，第4期
 ④ 伊永文，宋代端午習俗瑣談，華聲報，1986年6月
 ⑤ 孫家驊，宋代的粽子，農業考古，1989年，第2期
 ⑥ 傅伯星 胡安生，兩宋都城的元宵盛景，旅遊天地，1981年，第1期
 ⑦ 豆敏，宋代都城元宵節習俗，合肥學院學報（社會科學版），2006年，第1期
 ⑧ 周寶珠，北宋東京的社會風俗與精神文明，河南大學學報，1985年，第4期
 ⑨ 劉春迎 吳愛琴，北宋東京重陽節習俗，中州今古，1994年，第3期
 ⑩ 劉春迎，北宋東京三大節日習俗，史學月刊，1997年，第1期
 ⑪ 王明遜，唐宋時的寒食清明，故宮文物月刊，1990年，第8期

The cultural customs of the Song Dynasty are highly representative in the history of Chinese civilization. The renowned sinologist Chen Yinke once said, " The culture of the Chinese nation has evolved over thousands of years and reached its zenith in the Zhao and Song dynasties." ①The discovery and value of Dunhuang manuscripts were first introduced to the Japanese academic community by Naito Konan, ②and the recently deceased French sinologist Jacques Gernet ③also believed that China reached its peak in the 11th to 13th centuries in politics, economy, and social life. Gernet said, " Compared with previous times, in the 11th to 13th centuries, there were fundamental changes in all areas of politics, social class relations, military, urban-rural relations, and economic forms. A new world was born, and its basic features are the characteristics of modern China." ④The renowned scholar of China's history, John King Fairbank, ⑤ who spent half a century studying China, believed that during the 8th to 13th centuries, China made significant developments in its systems and culture. The development was fueled by the leap in China's economy, particularly in commerce, which he called the " commercial revolution" in China. This rapid development raised China's economic level to a level far surpassing previous dynasties, and the economic and social systems established at that time were still intact in many respects until the 19th century. ⑥The material and spiritual civilization reached by the Song Dynasty can be said to be unprecedented in

① 陳寅恪，鄧廣銘宋史職官志考證序，金明館從稿二編，三聯書店，2001年，277頁

② Naitō Konan, August 27, 1866 – June 26, 1934, also known as Torachirō, courtesy name Bingqing, sobriquet Hunan, and other pseudonyms including Yiren Ju Zhu, Hunan Oulu, and Diao Chong Sheng Men Men Xian-sheng. He was born in Motoyama, Kakuno, Akita Prefecture, Japan (now part of Kakunodate City). He was a historian and sinologist. – Wikipedia

③ Jacques Gernet, December 22, 1921 – March 3, 2018, was a renowned French sinologist, historian, and sociologist. He was a member of the French Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres and an honorary professor at the Collège de France. – Baidu Baike

④ 謝和耐著，耿昇譯，中國社會史，江蘇人民出版社，1995年9月，231頁

⑤ John King Fairbank (1907–1991) was a renowned historian and China scholar who served as a professor at Harvard University for his entire career. He is considered one of the most important figures in the study of modern Chinese history in the United States and is often referred to as the " Dean of American China Scholars." Fairbank played a leading role in establishing East Asian Studies as a field of study in the United States and was instrumental in promoting greater understanding between the United States and China. He held numerous leadership positions in academic organizations and was also a consultant and advisor to the U. S. government on issues related to China.

⑥ 費正清著，張沛等譯，中國：傳統與變遷，世界知識出版社，2001年版，149頁

the entire history of feudal society.^①

The rapid development and changes in social and economic aspects during the Song Dynasty led to the transformation of social customs and the further refinement of festival traditions. " Festival customs were quite well-developed during the Song Dynasty." ^②Festivals are closely related to factors such as the economy and society, and with the prosperity of the commodity economy and changes in the social and political structure, the festivals and celebrations of the Song Dynasty demonstrated the shining charm of Chinese civilization. From our research, we can see that this charm not only reflects the dynasty's use of festivals and celebrations to strengthen its political power both internally and externally, but can also be found in the concepts and behaviors of the people towards festivals and their activities during these occasions.

II. Officially Sanctioned Festivals in the Song Dynasty

Religion, customs, and etiquette all have the function of strengthening social education, and all dynasties have fully recognized this. Therefore, " observing customs and questioning habits, proclaiming virtue and intention" ^③ - that is, sending officials to various provinces and military routes to inspect folk customs - is a crucial task for every emperor of the Song Dynasty to emphasize the close relationship between education and the politics of the dynasty. Consequently, participation in the formulation of festivals, regulations on festival activities and etiquette, and the leading role of the government in festival celebrations have all formed the unique and distinctive officially sanctioned festivals of the Song Dynasty, serving the monarchy's power and rule. The official festivals of the Song Dynasty can be divided into imperial and royal festivals, political festivals, and officially sanctioned traditional festivals. We will analyze each one separately.

① 鄧廣銘、漆俠著，兩宋政治經濟問題，知識出版社 1988 年，3 頁

② 張紫晨著，中國民俗與民俗學，浙江人民出版社，1985 年，81 頁

③ 宋 李心傳，建炎以來朝野雜記，甲集卷 宣諭使條，商務印書館，1937 年

(1) Emperor and Empress' Sacred Festival

The Sacred Festival refers to the birthdays of the emperor and empress. The origin of the Sacred Festival is uncertain, as stated in the " Compendium of Ancient and Modern Matters." However, it seems to be related to ancient Chinese imperial mythology. " The name of the birthday festival did not exist in ancient times. It was only with the birth of the Qi people, as recorded in the Book of Poetry, that the time was determined based on the divine bird's prediction. It is said that the divine bird is the Yi bird, referring to the day of its arrival on the Spring Equinox. The commentators say that the Yi bird is the second bird, meaning the day when the Spring Equinox arrives. Moreover, the mention of the long-haired auspicious signs by the ancestors of the Shang dynasty is just a poetic expression, not specifically referring to the festival of birth and sanctification."^① The story of the dark bird giving birth to Shang, the mother of the first emperor of the Yin and Shang dynasties, Jiandi, who swallowed the eggs of a swallow as decreed by heaven and gave birth to Qi, dates back to that period. Although the term " Sacred Festival" did not exist during this time, it can be confirmed that the tradition of Chinese emperors deifying their own birthdays dates back to ancient times. This trend had become a political propaganda tool to strengthen and deify imperial authority by the time of the Han dynasty. For example, the founding emperor of the Han dynasty, Liu Bang, was portrayed in stories as being conceived by his mother after she had intercourse with a dragon, a tale that was even recorded by Sima Qian in " Records of the Grand Historian."^② Another example is the extraordinary scene recorded in the " Compendium of Ancient and Modern Matters" regarding the birth of Emperor Guangwu of the Han dynasty. "^③ Guangwu was born in Changsha, but the record only notes his birthplace. It describes how a red

① 宋 謝維新，古今合璧事類備要，後集卷一，君道門之聖節條，影印文淵閣四庫全書本，北京圖書館出版社，2006年

② 漢 司馬遷，史記·高祖本紀，載“其先劉媪嘗息大澤之陂，夢與神遇。是時雷電晦冥，太公往視，則見蛟龍於其上，已而有身，遂產高祖。”中華書局，1977年

③ 宋 謝維新，古今合璧事類備要，後集卷一，君道門之聖節條，影印文淵閣四庫全書本，北京圖書館出版社，2006年

light illuminated the room during his birth, and a pleasant aura filled the air, but it did not mention the festival of birth and sanctification." Although the practice of deifying the birthdays of emperors was popular among rulers, the term " Sacred Festival" did not appear until the time of Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang dynasty. " It was only after Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang dynasty, who was born on the fifth day of the eighth month, that this day was designated as the Qianqiu Festival." ①According to the " Imperial Annals," it is recorded: " In the customs of the country, there were sacred festival names for the birthdays of the emperor and empress, but later they were abolished, and only the term 'birthday' was used. Only the emperor had a festival name, which originated from Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang dynasty and the Qianqiu Festival." ②The Qianqiu Festival was later renamed " Tianchang Festival" during the Tianbao era. It was then introduced to Japan during the Nara period and remains the name for the Emperor's birthday in Japan to this day, being one of the important traditional festivals in Japan. After Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang dynasty, subsequent rulers followed suit and established their own birthdays as sacred festivals. The celebration rituals and procedures gradually became institutionalized. During the Song dynasty, emperors paid even more attention to the deification of their birth and officially established the Sacred Festival as a political tradition that continued. The " History of the Song Dynasty: Emperor Taizu's Chronicle" records: " Emperor Taizu was the second son of Emperor Xuanzong and his mother was Lady Du. In the second year of Tiancheng of the Later Tang dynasty, he was born in the Jiamaying camp in Luoyang. The room was surrounded by red light, and a lingering fragrance permeated the air. His body had a golden color that lasted for three days without fading." ③The " History of the Song Dynasty: Emperor Yingzong's Chronicle" records: " In the first year of Mingdao, on the third day of the first month, he was born in the Xuanping Mansion... When the emperor was born, the room was filled with red light, and some even saw a yellow

① Ibid.

② 宋 趙升，朝野類要，卷一，故事之聖節條，叢書集成初編本，中華書局，1985年

③ 元 脫脫，阿魯圖等，宋史，卷一，太祖本紀，中華書局，1977年

dragon swimming amidst the light." ①Later, the birthdays of these emperors were designated as sacred festivals. From the Tang dynasty to the Five Dynasties and the Song dynasty, it became a tradition for emperors to establish sacred festivals, and the Sacred Festival of the emperor and empress became a basic and stable national holiday system during the two Song dynasties. With the exception of the last two short-lived emperors of the Southern Song dynasty, Emperor Duanzong Zhao Shi and Emperor Zhao Bing, almost all emperors established their "Sacred Festival," and two empresses also followed this practice. The basic situation is as shown in the table below.

[The table provided by the user is missing, so I cannot provide the specific information from the table.]

宋朝聖節一覽表②

北宋			
節名	聖節時間	皇帝廟號	建節時間
長春節（壽寧節）	二月十六日	宋太祖	建隆元年正月十七日
乾明節	十月七日	宋太宗	太平興國二年五月十四日
承天節	十二月二日	宋真宗	至道三年八月八日
乾元節	四月十四日	宋仁宗	乾興元年二月二十六日
壽聖節	正月三日	宋英宗	嘉祐八年八月二十三日
同天節	四月十四日	宋神宗	治平四年二月十一日
興龍節	十二月八日	宋哲宗	元豐八年五月五日
天寧節	十月十日	宋徽宗	元符三年四月十一日
乾龍節	四月十三日	宋欽宗	靖康元年二月二十六日
南宋			
天申節	五月二十一日	宋高宗	建炎元年五月六日

① 元脫脫，阿魯圖等，宋史，卷一三，英宗本紀，中華書局，1977年

② 朱瑞熙，宋代的節日，上海師範大學學報，1987年第3期

會慶節	九月二十二日	宋孝宗	紹興三十二年八月二十六日
重明節	九月四日	宋光宗	淳熙十六年二月二十一日
瑞慶節	十月十九日	宋寧宗	紹熙五年九月十七日
天基節	正月五日	宋理宗	嘉定十七年十一月二十七日
乾會節	四月九日	宋度宗	景定五年十二月四日
天瑞節	九月二十八日	宋恭帝	咸淳十年七月十二日

The establishment process of the Sacred Festival in the Song dynasty was not simple, as it required three requests before it could be confirmed. " According to the old custom, after the officials sent up the precious imperial edict, the emperor personally performed the ceremonial rituals. Only after three requests were made would it be granted." ① Sometimes, it even required multiple submissions of petitions before obtaining the emperor's approval. Although the complexity of the procedure contained elements of formality and insincerity, it also enhanced the emperor's dignity. After a new monarch ascended the throne, the prime minister would lead the officials in submitting a petition to the emperor to establish the Sacred Festival for the emperor's birthday. For example, during the reign of Emperor Taizu of the Song dynasty, " In the first year of Jianlong, on the 15th day of the second month, the prime minister requested to establish the Changchun Festival." ② Once the Sacred Festival was established for the new emperor, the Sacred Festival of the previous emperor was immediately canceled. However, if the former emperor was still alive and held the title of Taishang Huang (Retired Emperor), both Sacred Festivals would coexist. On the emperor's birthday, civil and military officials would gather in the grand hall to congratulate him, while the people would celebrate throughout the country. On the day of the Sacred Festival, the emperor would sit in the main hall of celebration, and officials would wear flowers on their hats as they took turns to offer birthday wishes and present birthday wine. Afterwards, the emperor would retreat to the side hall and host a banquet to entertain the officials and foreign envoys. " First, the officials

① 清 徐松，宋會要輯稿，禮五八之二九，中華書局 1957 年影印本

② 元 脫脫，阿魯圖等，宋史，卷一，太祖本紀，中華書局，1977 年

would offer wine and congratulations, and then the emperor would bestow food and wine upon the officials, while musicians and performers played and made speeches. The music would stop after a few rounds of wine. The emperor would also grant each official a set of clothing. Apart from the tribute of silver, silk, and horses presented by the military of various provinces, the temples and Daoist temples would establish 'Blessed Sacred Birthday' venues, where local officials would go on pilgrimages, enjoy the royal feast, listen to music, and release animals as a celebration."^① Furthermore, emphasizing the emperor's benevolence, the court issued prohibitions on the slaughter of animals and execution of death row prisoners for several days leading up to the Sacred Festival. Funeral ceremonies were also prohibited during this period. Additionally, the Sacred Festival served as a day for the imperial authority to showcase its power and bestow favors on the religious authority. On this day, temples and Daoist temples could obtain government-issued permits and purple robes, allowing for the ordination of monks and the release of young disciples from religious life, emphasizing the legitimacy of imperial authority granting power to the religious authority. This reflects the traditional Chinese political-religious relationship where the state governs while religion assists in governance.

(2) Political Festivals

Political festivals have distinct characteristics of originality and political significance. They are closely connected to the political environment and strategies of a country. Furthermore, political festivals did not originate from the founding of the Song dynasty by Emperor Taizu but rather from the period of Emperor Zhenzong. "In ancient times, there were no such celebrations, but they began after Emperor Zhenzong."^② Later, various emperors continued to establish similar festivals, which became a tradition in the Song dynasty. In 1004 AD, the Liao army invaded the Song territory, and after negotiations, the Song and Liao

① 朱瑞熙等, 宋遼西夏金社會生活史, 中國古代社會生活史書系, 中國社會科學出版社, 1998年

② 元脫脫, 阿魯圖等, 宋史, 卷一一二, 禮一五, 中華書局, 1977年

signed a treaty known as the " Chanyuan Treaty." Under the treaty, the Song dynasty had to pay tribute to the Liao and acknowledge them as brother states. This treaty, known as the " Chanyuan Alliance," carried great humiliation for the Song dynasty. Emperor Zhenzong said, " The people in the border regions of the Yellow River have just been spared from the calamity of war. How can I do this? We should consider other options." Qin Ruo replied, " Only through the ritual of Fengshan on Mount Tai can we establish authority over the four seas and display our superiority to foreign nations. However, according to tradition, the ritual of Fengshan must be accompanied by signs from heaven before it can take place. Now, I cannot guarantee signs from heaven. In the past, it was achieved through human efforts, but the ruler must deeply believe in and worship it to demonstrate to the world. It is no different from signs from heaven."^① Emperor Zhao Heng (Emperor Renzong) intended to perform the ritual of Fengshan on Mount Tai. Therefore, he instructed his officials to stage a political farce of receiving a divine edict and welcoming the heavenly edict. On the third day of the Lunar New Year in 1008, they received the heavenly edict on the city gate of the palace. The edict stated that Emperor Zhao Heng was appointed by heaven, and the Song dynasty would prosper for 700 years. Subsequently, reports of auspicious signs kept coming from various places. Emperor Zhao Heng immediately decreed that " the third day of the first lunar month, when the heavenly edict descended, shall be designated as the Tianqing Festival."^② The political festivals of the Song dynasty were not fixed to a specific cycle. They were established whenever the political needs of the imperial authority arose. Sometimes, festivals were established multiple times a year, using the pretext of the descent of a divine edict or the birth of an esteemed ancestor. Emperor Zhenzong alone fabricated the descent of a heavenly edict to the mortal realm multiple times. For example, in the first year of the Dazhong Xiangfu era, on the sixth day of the sixth month, a heavenly edict was said to have descended upon Yanzhou, Mount Tai, and Liqian County. In the second year, in the eighth month, it was decreed that on the sixth day

① 宋 朱熹、李幼武，宋名臣言行錄，前集卷一、宋史，卷一一二

② 元 脫脫，阿魯圖等，宋史，卷一一二，禮一五，中華書局，1977 年

of the sixth month, celebrations should be held for the descent of the heavenly edict at Mount Tai. In the capital and other provinces, officials were granted a day off.^① The "History of the Song Dynasty" also records the establishment of the Tianqi Festival in April of the first year of the Dazhong Xiangfu era. In the first month of the Tianxi era, on the twenty-third day, it was decreed, "In the first year of the Dazhong Xiangfu era, on the first day of April, a heavenly edict descended upon the Imperial Academy. Therefore, the Tianqi Festival shall be established, following the precedent of the Tiankang Festival."^② The social and political environment of the Song dynasty was the fundamental reason for the emergence of political festivals, while deepening the portrayal of the divine bestowal of imperial power enhanced the legitimacy and authority of the rulers in the Song dynasty.

宋代政治性節日情況表^③

節名	節日時間	假期	建節時間	原因
天慶節	正月三日	五天	景德五年	降天書
天禎節（天祺節）	四月一日	一天	大中祥符元年	降天書
天貺節	六月六日	一天	大中祥符元年	崇尚道教
先天節	七月一日	未明	大中祥符五年	聖祖降日
降聖節	十月二十四日	五天	大中祥符五年	降延恩殿日
天符節	十月二十五日	未明	政和元年	未明
真元節	二月十五日	未明	政和三年	太上混元上 皇帝降聖日
寧貺節	五月十二日	未明	政和三年	祭方丘
元成節	八月九日	未明	政和三年	青華帝君生辰
天應節	十一月五日	一天	政和四年	出現祥瑞

① 清 徐松，宋會要輯稿，禮五七之三〇，中華書局 1957 年影印本

② Ibid.，禮五七之二九

③ 王樂全，宋代官定節日研究，上海師範大學，2007，碩士論文，據《宋會要輯稿》禮三十一至三十三；《宋史》卷一百十二禮十五諸慶節；《朝野類要》卷一整理

節名	節日時間	假期	建節時間	原因
開基節	正月四日	未明	宣和二年	紀念開國

Political festivals, due to their significant political and educational role, were highly valued by the imperial court and vigorously promoted and popularized among the common people through holidays and celebrations. " It was decreed that the third day of the first lunar month, when the heavenly edict descended, shall be designated as the Tianqing Festival, with a five-day holiday. In the capital, a path shall be built at Shangqing Palace for seven days, with the prime minister staying overnight in rotation. On the last day, all civil and military officials shall gather, and the Xiqing Institute shall be granted special blessings. On the eve of the festival, the capital shall be illuminated with lanterns for five days, and no restrictions shall be imposed."^① The scale of the celebrations, with lanterns and decorations, was quite grand. " With a five-day holiday, all the provinces, prefectures, military garrisons, and institutions in the two capitals shall select paths and flow to local temples or choose palace temples to build ceremonial venues. All necessary items shall be provided by the government. The three ministries shall exempt individuals from taxation and prohibit slaughter. The festival shall be celebrated with special feasts for officials and scholars. On the eve of the festival, the capital shall be adorned with lit lanterns according to regulations."^② On this day, the emperor would host a grand banquet for his officials. " At Shangqing Palace, banquets shall be held, and on the day of dispersal, it shall be the same as the Chengtian Festival. All civil and military officials shall be granted a royal feast."^③ In addition to secular celebrations, monasteries and Daoist temples would hold Buddhist assemblies and ritual venues, accommodating collective religious activities under the government's guidance. " In the second year of the first lunar month, on the Tianqing Festival, all officials would offer incense at Shangqing Palace and also at the Great Grand Duke Monastery. They would then retreat to the

① 宋 李燾，續資治通鑑長編，卷七〇，大中祥符元年十一月壬午條，上海古籍出版社版，清光緒九年（1883年）浙江書局刻本影印

② 清 徐松，宋會要輯稿，禮五七之二八，中華書局 1957 年影印本

③ Ibid.

Zhongshu Temple, and the princes, prime ministers, officials, and military commanders above the level of Du Yu would feast at the Xiqing Institute. The Minister of Rites, Zhou Qizhou, was also ordered to hold a banquet, and the envoy from the Khitan congratulatory mission was received at the capital post station."^① Under the influence of the court, the common people composed songs and praises. " Celebrating the festival, praises resound from all sides, spreading across the land and beyond, gazing towards the southern pole, singing the glory of the southern mountains." ^②The enthusiastic atmosphere embellished the prosperous and peaceful landscape of the Great Song dynasty.

(3) Official Traditional Festivals

Traditional festivals are closely related to agricultural production and daily life, characterized by their periodicity and fixed dates. During the Song dynasty, both agriculture and commerce flourished, and traditional festivals gained widespread recognition and strong participation among the people. As a result, controlling and participating in these traditional festivals became politically significant for the ruling dynasty as a means of educating the populace. The institutionalization and control of traditional festivals played an important role in maintaining the ruling order of the dynasty. Compared to previous dynasties, the Song court placed a greater emphasis on these traditional festivals, even extending the duration of important festivals such as the Yuan Festival. As such, these traditional festivals became political tools for the rulers to implement ritual and music education, alleviate class conflicts, and create a harmonious social atmosphere.

During the Song dynasty, the officially designated traditional festivals primarily included New Year's Day (Yuandan) and the Lantern Festival (Shangyuan).

New Year's Day, also known as Zhengdan, Yuanri, or Danri, is commonly referred to as the Spring Festival or New Year. As mentioned earlier in the legend of " Fuxi's establishment

① Ibid.

② Ibid.

of Yuandan," the Chinese tradition of celebrating the New Year is one of the oldest festivals in Chinese civilization. On this day, the imperial court held the " Zhengdan Grand Morning Assembly." The palace was adorned with ceremonial decorations, and the emperor and officials dressed in court attire and crowns gathered in the grand hall. Four tall and majestic warriors stood at the corners of the hall, known as the " Zhendian Generals." Officials from various provinces presented local specialties, and successful candidates in the provincial examinations and above wore blue-bordered white robes and dual-winged hats, standing in their respective ranks. Foreign envoys from Goryeo, Nanzhao, Huigu, Yutian, and other countries also entered the palace to offer congratulations. After the morning assembly, the emperor hosted a banquet for the officials and foreign envoys. Outside the palace, lantern mountains, also known as Aoshan, were constructed and lit up. When the officials left the palace, the lantern mountain shone brightly, with a dazzling display of gold and jade. On New Year's Day, local officials and literati from various provinces visited their respective provincial yamen to pay their respects, based on their age rather than their official rank. In addition, the court issued benevolent policies on New Year's Day, such as exempting the collection of public and private rents and allowing the people of the capital city to gamble for three days. Each household drank Tusu wine and ate New Year's food.^① Starting from the morning, people wore new clothes to visit each other, offering New Year's greetings and setting off firecrackers. The famous poem " Yuan Ri" (New Year's Day) by Wang Anshi of the Northern Song dynasty vividly describes the scene of New Year's Day in the Song era: " Amidst the sound of firecrackers, a year is ushered out, and the spring breeze brings warmth with the Tusu wine. Thousands of doors and ten thousand households bask in the bright sunlight, exchanging new

① 年餠飴, During the Song Dynasty, one type of food commonly eaten during the Lunar New Year was " nian gao" or sticky rice cake. Nian gao is made from glutinous rice and typically has a rectangular or cylindrical shape. In the Song Dynasty, nian gao held significant importance as a New Year's food, as it was believed to bring good luck and auspiciousness. In addition to nian gao, people during the Song Dynasty would also enjoy various other delicacies during the Lunar New Year, such as dumplings and tangyuan (glutinous rice balls in sweet soup). These foods symbolized reunion, happiness, and blessings in traditional culture.

peach blossoms for old charms." ① People displayed food, daily necessities, fruits, firewood, and charcoal in their neighborhoods. Streets such as Maxing Street, Panlou Street, and Zhou-dong Songmen were adorned with colorful awnings and showcased items such as hair accessories, jewelry, clothing, shoes, and fine goods. Dance stages and singing halls were set up, and there was a flurry of horse-drawn carriages, creating a lively and bustling atmosphere. In the evening, affluent women went out for leisure activities and gambling, visiting market stores and participating in banquets. ②

Among the officially designated traditional festivals, the most grand and lively one is the Lantern Festival (Shangyuan Festival) on the fifteenth day of the first lunar month. "Shangyuan" is a Taoist term, and the festival is also known as the Lantern Festival due to the custom of lighting lanterns at night. The ancient Chinese Lantern Festival originated from the Buddhist practice of lighting lamps, but the combination of lighting lamps with folk entertainment began in the Sui and Tang dynasties and became established in the Song dynasty. According to records, "The lighting of lanterns during the Three Yuan Festivals originated from the Fangwai tradition. Since the Tang dynasty, it has been customary to light lanterns on the night of the fifteenth day of the first lunar month. The Song dynasty followed this practice." ③ It is also mentioned, "During the Shangyuan Festival... before the Tang dynasty, it was not regularly observed. During the reign of Emperor Taizong in our dynasty, the Three Yuan Festivals were no longer forbidden at night. The emperor would go to the Qianyuan Gate for the Shangyuan Festival, the Donghua Gate for the Zhongyuan and Xiayuan Festivals, and later the Zhongyuan and Xiayuan Festivals were abolished, and the Chu Yuan Festival was observed by visiting scenic spots, following the tradition of previous dynasties." ④ The scale of lantern lighting during the Shangyuan Festival in the Song dynasty was magnificent. "On the fifteenth day of the first lunar month, the lantern festival, in front of the imperial palace since

① 李夢生，宋詩三百首全解，復旦大學出版社，2007年，65頁

② 朱瑞熙等，宋遼西夏金社會生活史，中國古代社會生活史書系，中國社會科學出版社，1998年版

③ 元脫脫等撰，宋史，卷一百一十三，禮志，中華書局，1977年

④ 宋江少虞撰，宋朝事實類苑，卷三十二，典故沿革，上海古籍出版社，1981年，410頁

the winter solstice before the New Year, a tall mountain-like structure called Jiaofu Mountain was erected directly facing the Xuande Tower... By the seventh day of the first lunar month, messengers sent their New Year's greetings and lantern mountains were decorated with colorful ornaments, shining brilliantly with gold and jade, dazzling with splendid colors. Facing north, the entire mountain was adorned with colored knots, depicting stories of gods and immortals, and there were people selling medicine and divination in the streets and markets. Three gates were set up, each adorned with colored knots and large golden plaques. The one in the middle was called the Dumen Gate, and the ones on the left and right were called the Left and Right Forbidden Guard Gates. There was a large plaque above them that read 'Xuanhe Celebrating with the People.' On the left and right sides of the colored mountain, there were colored knots representing the Bodhisattvas Manjusri and Samantabhadra, boasting white lions and elephants, and five streams of water flowing from their fingers, with the movement of their hands operating pulleys to raise the lantern mountain to a high point, storing it in a wooden cabinet and releasing it periodically, resembling a waterfall. On the upper parts of the left and right gates, bundles of grass were bound to resemble dragon performances, covered with green curtains. In the early morning, tens of thousands of lamps and candles were placed densely, resembling two winding dragons flying and running. From the lantern mountain to the Xuande Gate Tower, spanning about a hundred zhang, it was surrounded by thorny barriers, called Jipen. Two tall poles were set up, tens of zhang high, wrapped with colored silk, and paper pasted with various theatrical characters hung from the poles, swaying in the wind like flying immortals. There were music pavilions and various performances by musicians and actors, including military performances, in the vicinity of the lantern area."^①

During the Song dynasty, both New Year's Day and the Lantern Festival reached a level of nationwide revelry. The imperial court actively supported and participated in these festivities, which is evident in the literary novels and poems describing the flourishing scenes of the Song era. For example, in the famous Ming dynasty novel "Water Margin," there are multi-

① 宋 孟元老 撰，鄧之誠 注，東京夢華錄注，卷六，元宵，中華書局，1982年，164—165頁

ple mentions of the lively atmosphere of New Year's Day and the Lantern Festival's Aoshan Lantern Fair. These festival activities fully embodied the material and spiritual prosperity of the Song era and contributed to the promotion of a political atmosphere of peace and prosperity. They also played a role in alleviating social conflicts to some extent. Traditional festivals thus became advantageous tools serving political purposes.

3. Festivals of the Seasons in the Song Dynasty

Festivals of the seasons refer to the traditional Chinese festivals that are based on the regular changes of natural seasons. They encompass rich content and ceremonial forms. These traditional festivals reflect the ancestral beliefs of the Chinese people regarding the principles of nature. In the Song Dynasty, there were various festivals of this kind, including Lichun (the beginning of spring), Shedian (the start of summer), Hanshi (Cold Food Festival), Qingming (Tomb-Sweeping Day), Duanwu (Dragon Boat Festival), Qixi (Double Seventh Festival), Zhongqiu (Mid-Autumn Festival), Chongyang (Double Ninth Festival), Lidong (the beginning of winter), Dongzhi (Winter Solstice), and Chuxi (New Year's Eve).

(1) Lichun (The Beginning of Spring)

China has been an agricultural society since ancient times, relying on the cycles of nature for sustenance. Lichun, as an important festival marking the revival of all things and the beginning of spring, holds a special place among the festivals of the seasons. It signifies the start of a new agricultural cycle. Therefore, Lichun not only marks the time for spring plowing but also holds great significance for the traditional Chinese belief in the country's destiny. As a result, the rulers of the Song Dynasty attached great importance to Lichun and often held grand ceremonies to mark the beginning of spring plowing.

On the day before Lichun, the capital city of Kaifeng or Lin'an would offer clay sculptures of a large spring ox, along with farmers and plowing tools, to the imperial court. On the day itself, the emperor would use colorful rods to strike the ox three times, known as " whip-

ping the spring ox," symbolizing the encouragement of agricultural activities. Similarly, the military forces in various provinces below the capital would also create clay oxen and organize farmers to participate in the "beating the spring" ceremony. After smashing the clay ox into pieces, people would scramble for the "meat" (chunks of clay) and bring them back to their own fields, hoping for a bountiful harvest in the coming year.

(2) Shedian (Festival of the Earth and Crops)

The term "Sheji" in China refers to the nation, and its original meaning refers to the gods of the land and crops. According to legend, Ju Long, the son of Gonggong, during a period of flooding, instructed people to dig up soil and build mounds on higher ground. These mounds were called "She." Ju Long was later revered as the god of the land, known as the She God. Zhuzhu, the son of the Leshan clan, was in charge of agricultural affairs in the Xia Dynasty and was revered as the god of agriculture, known as the Ji God. In ancient times, kings would perform sacrificial rites to the gods of the land and crops in order to pray for the well-being of the nation and a bountiful harvest. The "Baihu Tongyi: Sheji" states, "Why do kings have the gods of the land and crops? It is to seek blessings and repay merits for the world. People cannot exist without the land, nor can they eat without crops. The land is vast and cannot be entirely revered, and there are numerous crops that cannot all be individually worshiped. Therefore, the land is symbolized by the establishment of "She," and the crops are honored by the establishment of "Ji" for worship."^①

Shedian (Festival of the Earth and Crops) originated in the Qin and Han dynasties, continued during the Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern dynasties, and flourished in the Tang and Song dynasties. During the Song dynasty, there were two Shedian festivals each year: the Spring Shedian, which fell on the fifth Wu day after the beginning of spring, and the Autumn Shedian, which fell on the fifth Wu day after the beginning of autumn. From the imperial court to the various prefectures and counties, ceremonies were held to worship the gods of the

① 清 陳立, 白虎通疏證, 中華書局, 1994年, 83頁

land and crops. On that day, government offices had a day off, and people in the community exchanged She cakes, She wine, and She rice with their neighbors. Mei Yaochen, a Song poet, wrote in his poem "Spring Shedian": "Year after year, we welcome the rain for the Shedian, lightly washing the forest flowers. Under the trees, the fields compete with drums, and ravens wait for meat by the altar. In the morning, we drink the spring wine together, and in the evening, the old folks make a commotion. When will the swallows arrive, fluttering their wings above Changgao?" This poem vividly depicts the scene of the Shedian ceremony.^① The book "Dreams of the Eastern Capital" recorded the activities during the Spring Shedian in Kaifeng, Northern Song Dynasty. For example, they mixed pork, lamb, kidney, duck biscuits, melons, and ginger, and spread them on rice, calling it "She rice" to treat guests. On the day of the Spring Shedian, married women would return to their parents' homes, and maternal uncles and aunts would give them new gourds and dates, and they could only return home in the evening. Private school teachers would collect money from students to hire performers such as singing girls, white cloth, and singers to organize a "Shehui" event. After the event, the students would bring home flower baskets, fruits, food, and She cakes. The book "Wulin Jiushi" recorded numerous entertainment activities during the Shedian festival in the Southern Song Dynasty, such as sumo wrestling, cuju (a traditional ball game), archery, and stick-fighting. There were also various performances such as dramas, shadow plays, singing competitions, and instrumental music performances as part of the She opera, which primarily showcased music.

(3) Han Shi (the Cold Food Festival)

The origin of the Cold Food Festival (Han Shi Jie) has different interpretations, but according to historical records, during the Song Dynasty in the city of Dongjing (present-day Kaifeng), people "made cakes with dough and shaped them like dates, then threaded them on willow branches and hung them on the door lintel, which was called 'zi tui yan' (swallows

^① 宋 梅堯臣, 宛陵先生文集, 北京圖書館出版社, 2004 年

made of dough)." ①This indicates that the Cold Food Festival in the Song Dynasty was associated with the commemoration of Jie Zitui in the state of Jin during the Spring and Autumn period. Jie Zitui was a loyal follower of the exiled Prince Chong'er of Jin, who later became Duke Wen of Jin. When Duke Wen regained power, Jie Zitui refused rewards and returned to seclusion on Mianshan Mountain with his mother. Duke Wen burned the mountain to force Jie Zitui out, but Jie Zitui resolutely stayed hidden and died with his mother while hugging a tree. Duke Wen built a shrine and temple to honor Jie Zitui and ordered a prohibition on fire and cold food on the day of his death to express his mourning. This practice gradually became a custom over time.

The Qingming Festival, also known as Tomb-Sweeping Day, is a traditional Chinese festival that takes place on April 4th or 5th of the solar calendar. It is a time when people visit the graves of their ancestors, clean the tombstones, and make offerings to pay respects to the deceased. During the Song Dynasty, the Qingming Festival was widely observed, and it became an important occasion for people to honor their ancestors and cultivate filial piety. People would gather at ancestral tombs, offer sacrifices, sweep the graves, and offer food and wine to their ancestors. It was also a time for outdoor activities such as flying kites and enjoying the spring scenery. Poets of the Song Dynasty often wrote poems about the Qingming Festival, expressing their emotions and reflections on life and death. The Qingming Festival remains an important cultural festival in China to this day.

In the Song Dynasty, the Cold Food Festival was observed from the 105th day after the Winter Solstice, with the day before called "chui shu" (cooking rice) and the third day known as Qingming. During the Cold Food Festival, people were forbidden from making fires for three days and could only eat cold food.②The third day of the Cold Food Festival coincided with Qingming, which was also known as the "Minor Cold Food Festival" in Song times.③On this day, the palace would give new fire to close attendants and relatives. People would

① 宋孟元老撰，鄧之誠注，東京夢華錄注，卷六，元宵，中華書局，1982年，164—165頁

② Ibid.，卷七，清明節，178頁

③ Ibid.

leave the city to sweep tombs, and instead of burning paper money, they would hang it on trees near the graves. Those living away from their ancestral homes would climb mountains to overlook the tombs and offer sacrifices. They would tear up paper money, letting it flutter into the air, a practice known as "bo qian." City residents would take advantage of this day to bring food and wine for spring outings and engage in various customs and activities such as swings, cuju (a traditional Chinese ball game), pulling hooks, and cockfighting. As time passed, Qingming became one of the most important traditional memorial days in Chinese culture. The famous painting "Along the River During the Qingming Festival" by Song Daoist Zhang Zeduan depicts the scenes of people going out to worship and enjoy themselves during the Qingming Festival in the Northern Song Dynasty. It is considered a national treasure of China.

(4) Duanwu (Dragon Boat Festival)

The fifth day of the fifth month is known as Duanwu, which is a day for dispelling evil spirits and commemorating Qu Yuan, a patriotic poet from the state of Chu who drowned himself in the Miluo River. According to Chen Yuanjing's "Miscellaneous Records of the Seasons," the people in the capital city celebrated "Duan" on the first day of the fifth month, and each day leading up to the fifth was called "Duan One," "Duan Two," and so on, culminating in "Duan Five."^①The term "Duan" signifies the beginning, referring to the fifth day of the fifth month. This is why it is now called Duanwu.^②Chen Yuanjing stated, "Qu Yuan was a Chu person who was not employed and drowned himself in the Miluo River on the fifth day of the fifth month. The people of Chu mourned him. On this day, they would use bamboo tubes to store rice and throw it into the water as an offering."^③Over time, the customs surrounding Duanwu evolved, and in the Song Dynasty, "people nowadays make zongzi (sticky rice dumplings) on the fifth day of the fifth month, and they are wrapped in five-col-

① 宋 呂原明 撰，歲時廣記，卷二十一，端一日

② Ibid., 端五日

③ Ibid.

ored threads and leaves from the catalpa tree, reflecting the local customs of the Miluo River." ①The commemoration of Qu Yuan became a nationwide festival.

During the Song Dynasty, the activities of dispelling evil spirits and warding off disasters were significant and prevalent during the Duanwu Festival. From the first day of the fifth month until the day before Duanwu, markets would start selling items such as peach branches, willow branches, mallow flowers, calamus, and mugwort. On the day of Duanwu, households would display these items in front of their doors, and there were customs of eating zongzi (sticky rice dumplings) and colorful tangyuan (glutinous rice balls) and drinking tea and wine. Scholars and common people would host feasts for each other. Many families would also make clay statues of Zhang Tian Shi (a legendary figure) and hang them on their door lintels to ward off evil and pray for peace. In the imperial palace, there would be music performances and enjoyment throughout the day. In many southern regions, dragon boat races would also take place.

(5) Qixi (Double Seventh Festival)

The Qixi Festival, falls on the seventh day of the seventh lunar month. On this day, it is believed that the Cowherd and Weaver Girl (Niulang and Zhinü) meet on the Magpie Bridge, hence the festival is often associated with the legend of their reunion. People celebrate by arranging fruits in their courtyards and engaging in the custom of "seeking skills" or "begging for craftsmanship." ② During the Song Dynasty, the custom of celebrating Qixi Festival on the seventh day of the seventh lunar month was established. ③The practice of celebrating on the sixth day was an erroneous popular belief and was corrected. People would showcase fruit displays and prepare special dishes like Qianji (chicken cooked with madder root) and Moruo (wax-made dolls) as offerings. Moruo, also known as "Mohouluo" or "Moheruo," are dolls made of clay, wood, or wax in the shape of infants. They are given to children as a

① Ibid.

② 宋 呂原明 撰，歲時廣記，卷二十六，七夕

③ 宋大詔令集，卷一百四十四，建天慶節詔，524 頁

prayer for peace and good fortune. This custom was introduced to China during the Sui and Tang Dynasties by the Sogdians and Persian Zoroastrians. During the Song Dynasty, the tradition spread widely, embraced by people from all walks of life, regardless of gender or age. Elaborate Moruo dolls were decorated with colored wooden railings, covered with gauze, and even adorned with gold, jade, pearls, and gems. Some literati expressed their disapproval of the widespread fascination with Moruo dolls. For example, Sima Guang wrote a poem titled "Observing the Qixi Market at Panlou" to criticize the excessive craze for Moruo dolls among the general public.^①

On the evening of Qixi Festival, women and children dress in new clothes and set up tall bamboo poles adorned with lotus flowers in their courtyards, known as "flower poles." They prepare a table with incense, Moruo dolls, fruits, melons, writing brushes and inkstones, and sewing needles. Young girls present themselves skillfully, burn incense, and offer prayers, a custom known as "seeking skills" or "begging for craftsmanship." Some women thread needles under the moonlight, while others place spiders in boxes and observe their webs' density the next day to determine their level of skill. This is called "attaining skills." The day is also known as the "Sun-drying Books Festival." Below the three central ministries and the six ministries of the imperial court, money is distributed, and banquets are held for book drying events.^②

Qixi Festival is primarily a festival for women, and it is customary to bestow rewards and gifts to the Empress and the concubines in the imperial palace. This practice of granting rewards dates back to the reign of Emperor Taizu in the Song Dynasty. It is recorded that Emperor Taizu issued an edict to reward the Empress on Qixi Festival, stating, "I personally led the army to inquire about the sins in Shangdang, but the matter has not yet been resolved. Now that Qixi Festival is approaching, three thousand guan of money will be given to the Em-

① 宋 司馬光撰，司馬文正公傳家集，卷三，頁二八，清乾隆六年培遠堂刻本：“織女雖七襄，不能成報章。無巧可乞汝，世人空自狂。帝城秋色新，滿市翠帟張。偽物踰百種，爛熳侵數坊。誰家油壁車，金碧照面光。土偶長尺餘，買之珠一囊。安知杼軸勞，何物為蠶桑。紛華不足悅，浮侈真可傷。”

② 朱瑞熙等，宋遼西夏金社會生活史，中國古代社會生活史書系，中國社會科學出版社，1998年

press as play money, one thousand five hundred guan to the Empress Dowager, and seven hundred guan to the concubines as festival expenses." ① Emperor Taizu's edict to reward the Empress with money for festival expenses before Qixi Festival set a precedent, and this practice continued in the subsequent reigns of emperors.

(6) Zhongqiu (Mid-Autumn Festival) and Chongyang (Double Ninth Festival)

" On the fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month, there is the Mid-Autumn Festival. It is called 'Mid-Autumn' because it marks the halfway point of autumn. On this night, the moon shines brighter than usual, hence it is also known as 'Moon Festival'." ② In the Song Dynasty, both the high-ranking officials and the common people enjoyed going out to admire the moon on the night of the Mid-Autumn Festival. " ③ On the night of Mid-Autumn, noble families would decorate their pavilions and the common people would vie for seats in wine taverns to enjoy the moon." In the imperial palace, grand moon-viewing banquets were held, accompanied by musical performances that lasted late into the night. " Those who lived near the palace could hear the sound of music and instruments from afar, as if it came from beyond the clouds." ④ As for the common people, they celebrated by drinking wine. Prior to the festival, new wine would be sold in hotels, and citizens would eagerly compete to purchase it, often selling out by noon. In the evening, under the cool autumn breeze, the fragrance of osmanthus filled the air. Wealthy families gathered on elevated platforms to drink, sing songs, and admire the moon throughout the night. Even the poor would buy wine and refuse to let the occasion pass without celebration. During the Southern Song Dynasty, hundreds of thousands of sheepskin lanterns, known as " Yi Dian Hong" or " One Point Red," were released in

① 宋 蔡條，鐵圍山叢談，卷一，3 頁

② 宋 吳自牧 撰，夢梁錄，卷四，中秋，東京夢華錄（外四種）收，浙江人民出版社，1984 年，181 頁

③ 宋 孟元老 撰，鄧之誠 注，東京夢華錄注，卷八，中秋，中華書局，1982 年，215 頁

④ Ibid.

Zhejiang, floating on the river surface and creating a brilliant scene resembling a starry sky.^①

After the Mid-Autumn Festival, the Double Ninth Festival, also known as the Chongyang Festival, falls on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month. In the traditional customs, people would insert small flags into steamed cakes, embellished with pomegranate seeds, ginkgo nuts, and pine nuts, called Chongyang cakes, and exchange them as gifts. Eating "cake" on the Double Ninth Festival sounds similar to the word "high" in Chinese, symbolizing progress and advancement. Additionally, lion-shaped figures made of powdered rice were placed on the cakes, known as "lion man."^② Buddhist temples would hold vegetarian feasts for worshippers during this time. It is the golden season of autumn when chrysanthemums are in full bloom, and people would admire chrysanthemums and wear them, along with dogwood flowers, in their hair. They would also enjoy dogwood wine or chrysanthemum wine. During the Southern Song Dynasty, it was common for people in Shaoxing Prefecture to eat chestnut dumplings. Friends and family would gather for feasts and enjoy the celebrations, except during times of mourning. On the tenth day of the ninth month, there would be another gathering and celebration known as the "Small Double Ninth."^③

(7) Lidong (the beginning of winter), Dongzhi (Winter Solstice), and Chuxi (New Year's Eve)

After the Double Ninth Festival, the weather turns cold, and three important festivals at the end of the year are approaching.

Both "Lidong" (Beginning of Winter) and "Dongzhi" (Winter Solstice) are among the 24 solar terms in the lunar calendar and are traditional Chinese festivals. Since the Han Dynasty, celebrations have been held on the day of the Winter Solstice. "Lidong" signifies the beginning of winter, and the festive atmosphere in the Song Dynasty would start lively and

① 朱瑞熙等, 宋遼西夏金社會生活史, 中國古代社會生活史書系, 中國社會科學出版社, 1998 年版

② Ibid.

③ Ibid.

bustling five days before the onset of Lidong in October. From the imperial palace to the common people, preparations would begin for storing crops and vegetables to be used throughout the winter. The Winter Solstice in November was highly valued by both the common people and the royal court in the Song Dynasty. Among the people in Kaifeng, it was said that "the Winter Solstice is as grand as the New Year" and "a fat winter brings a lean year." The "Dream of the Eastern Capital" recorded: "In November, on the Winter Solstice, this festival is most important in the capital. Even the poor would accumulate and borrow throughout the year to buy new clothes and prepare food, offering sacrifices to ancestors. The officials would permit gambling, feasting, and socializing. It is just like the New Year."^①

On this day, both the literati and the common people would wear new clothes, prepare food, and eat wontons, rather than the popular dumplings eaten nowadays. Wontons would be used as offerings to ancestors. Shops would close for three days, and people would drink, gamble, and enjoy themselves behind closed doors, known as "celebrating the festival." The government would also allow the people to gamble and exempt them from paying rent for three days. In the imperial court, the emperor would receive the greetings of the officials on this day, known as the "Winter Parade," and all officials would be dressed in court attire. The most important event was the offering to Heaven. In the Song Dynasty, the emperor would personally go to the southern suburbs every three years to perform the important ritual of offering sacrifices to Heaven. "Three days before the Winter Solstice, the emperor would stay overnight in the Grand Celebration Hall, which had a spacious courtyard that could accommodate tens of thousands of people... The chief officials and ministers would wear their ceremonial robes, each with their distinctive headwear."^② Various processions and carriages would be arranged "inside and outside the palace gates, along the imperial street near and far, with tens of thousands of armed guards, surrounding the imperial palace,"^③ creating a magnificent scene.

① 宋孟元老撰，鄧之誠注，東京夢華錄注，卷十，冬至，中華書局，1982年，234頁

② Ibid., 235-236頁

③ Ibid., 236頁

The last festival of the year is the New Year's Eve, also known as " Chuxi." At the end of the twelfth lunar month, it is considered the " culmination of the year" and thus called " Chuye." The 24th day of the month is known as the " Farewell to the Year Festival" or " Little New Year's Eve," and people offer vegetarian dishes, malt sugar, and peeled soybeans as offerings to the Kitchen God. The 30th day is the " Grand New Year's Eve." In folk customs, " regardless of the size of their homes, people clean their doors and thresholds, remove dirt and impurities, tidy up their courtyards and homes, change their door gods, hang up Zhong Kui's portraits, nail peach charms, put up Spring Festival couplets, and offer sacrifices to their ancestors." In the evening, they prepare incense, flowers, and offerings to welcome the gods and pray for a peaceful new year.^①

In the palace, a grand exorcism ritual called " Daqu Nuo" (Expelling Plagues) is held: " Various officials in the imperial city wear masks and colorful embroidered clothes, wielding golden spears, silver halberds, painted wooden swords, five-colored dragon and phoenix flags, and other ceremonial weapons. They portray generals, symbolic messengers, judges, Zhong Kui, attendants, divine soldiers, ghost messengers from the Five Directions, Kitchen God, Land God, door guardians, and divine officers. They move from the Inner Court with music and perform the ritual outside the painted gate, circling the Dragon Pond." This ritual is called " burying the ghosts," ^②and afterwards, the crowd disperses. At the same time, firecrackers are ignited, creating thunderous sounds. Farmers also light torches, known as " lighting the fields." Families gather around the stove, drink wine, sing songs, play music, and stay up all night, a tradition known as " staying up for the New Year."

In conclusion, through the description of the activities during the seasonal festivals in the Song dynasty, it is evident that the festival life of various social classes was rich and diverse. Although the festival activities differed among different social classes, people from all walks of life could actively participate in and interact with each other during the festivals.

① 宋 吳自牧 撰，夢梁錄，除夜，東京夢華錄（外四種）收，浙江人民出版社，1984年，181頁

② Ibid., 182頁

These seasonal celebrations not only maintained good interpersonal relationships but also promoted unity and harmony among the people, which was beneficial for the stability and cultural development of the entire dynasty. In these festivals, people engaged in various celebrations, including rituals, ancestor worship, moon viewing, dragon boat races, and enjoying delicious food. Regardless of their social status, individuals could experience joy and togetherness during these festive occasions and strengthen their connections through interactions. These festivals were not only social and recreational events but also held significant political and cultural meanings. By organizing festival activities, people's sense of identification with the dynasty was enhanced, and social stability and harmony were fostered. Additionally, festivals served as effective means of cultural education and preservation of customs within the society, contributing to the long-term prosperity and cultural development of the dynasty.

IV. Religious Festivals in the Song Dynasty

Religion, as a social ideology and cultural phenomenon, has always been highly regarded by ruling classes throughout history and has become an important tool for dynastic rule and social education. By the time of the Song Dynasty, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism had all undergone thousands of years of development and reached a stable and mature state. Emphasizing the Way, respecting Confucianism, and valuing Buddhism became key political and cultural strategies for Song rulers. Confucianism had been the foundation of governance in traditional Chinese society since the Han Dynasty, and in the Song Dynasty, Neo-Confucianism reached unprecedented heights with the rise of the Song-Ming School of Philosophy. The emperors of the Song Dynasty also adopted a policy of protecting and respecting Buddhism. Notably, Taoism held a special position during the Song Dynasty. Following the Tang Dynasty's practice of venerating Laozi as an ancestor, Emperor Zhenzong appointed Zhao Xuanlang, the Taoist master known as Zhao Gongming in the popular novel "Fengshen Yanyi," as the ancestral deity of the Zhao-Song lineage, honored as the "Holy Ancestor." Emperor Hui-zong not only had great faith in Taoism but even bestowed the title of "Supreme Daoist Em-

peror" upon himself. The " qingci" form of singing and praising the Taoist deities became a literary style pursued by literati. After the Southern Song Dynasty relocated its capital, rulers continued to attach importance to Taoism to deify imperial power. The Song Dynasty's strong support for Taoism contributed to its prosperity during that period. " At that time, there were over 40, 000 temples and Taoist monasteries nationwide, with 913 in the capital city alone. This does not include numerous small unregistered temples with fewer than 30 rooms, as well as a large number of unofficial folk temples. More than 100 temples are recorded and well-known, with the most important ones being the Xiangguo, Kaibao, Taiping Xingguo, and Longxing temples. There were also over 40 Taoist monasteries, including the Yuhuang, Jingling, Huiling, and Xiangyuan palaces, which were relatively large in scale. The capital city of the Southern Song Dynasty, Lin'an, also had a large number of Buddhist temples, Taoist monasteries, and Taoist palaces. According to the " Menglianglu" record, there were a total of 658 temples in the city and its suburbs, and nearly a hundred Taoist palaces."^①

The Song Dynasty had numerous religious festivals, including those of Buddhism, Taoism, and other folk beliefs. The following list presents the religious festivals in chronological order:

(1) Renri (Human's Day)

Renri, also known as the 7th day of the first lunar month, is celebrated as Human's Day. According to ancient Chinese mythology, there is a legend of Nüwa creating human beings. It is said that Nüwa created various animals such as chickens, dogs, pigs, sheep, cattle, and horses on the first six days, and on the seventh day, she created human beings. Therefore, the 7th day is considered the birthday of human beings. Similar creation stories can also be found in the Christian Bible, where God created Adam and Eve in His own image on the sixth day. In comparison to the Judeo-Christian civilization, designating a specific day to celebrate the creation of human beings reflects the human-centered consciousness in traditional Chinese

① 袁志偉，宋代首都的宗教節日，歷史文化，2015年，第二期，36-39頁

culture.

The custom of celebrating Renri appeared during the Han Dynasty and became more widespread from the Wei and Jin Dynasties onward. By the Song Dynasty, it had developed into a well-established festival with its own customs. During the Song Dynasty, people would make paper-cut human figures known as "Ren Sheng" and attach them to screens or wear them on their hair to symbolize a fresh start in the new year, wishing for a year of peace and smoothness. People also made spring rolls stuffed with minced meat or vegetables, with paper or wooden slips hidden inside, on which official ranks were written. They would then choose and eat the spring rolls to divine their future official positions.^①

(2) Zitong Emperor and Cishan Zhenjun's Birthday

Zitong Emperor, also known as Wenchang Zitong Emperor or Wenchang Jun, is celebrated on the third day of the second lunar month. In ancient China, there is a saying "Kong Zi in the North, Wenchang Jun in the South," which means that paying respects to Confucius and Wenchang Jun can bless scholars with academic success and career advancement. Wenchang Jun is regarded as the deity of literature and belongs to the realm of folk beliefs and Taoism. Several classic texts related to Wenchang Emperor are included in the "Zhengtong Taoist Canon" and the "Daoist Canon Collection." The main temple dedicated to Wenchang Emperor is located at Qiqu Mountain in Zitong County, Jianzhou (now northern Sichuan Province). In the Sichuan region, Wenchang Emperor is also worshipped as the Great God of Pestilence, believed to have the power to control epidemics. During the Song Dynasty, Wenchang Emperor was conferred with various honorary titles by the emperors, such as "Loyal, Literary, Martial, Filial, Virtuous, and Resolute King," "Prominent and Eminent King," "Divine, Literary, Martial, Filial, Loyal, and Righteous King," and so on. People in various regions would offer sacrifices to Wenchang Emperor, praying for a smooth career path.

Following that, on the eighth day of the same month, the birthday of Cishan Zhang

① 朱瑞熙等, 宋遼西夏金社會生活史, 中國古代社會生活史書系, 中國社會科學出版社, 1998年

Zhenjun is celebrated. Zhang Zhenjun, also known as Zhang Bo, is believed to have transformed into a pig-dragon and made significant contributions to water control in the Wu and Yue regions. He is revered as a deity associated with water management and belongs to the realm of folk beliefs and Taoism. During the Song Dynasty, he was known as Zhang Wang or Cishan Zhenjun. The main temple dedicated to him is located in Guangde Prefecture (now Guangde, Anhui Province) and is granted the name Guanghui Wang Temple or Cishan Xing-gong (Cishan Palace). The worship of Cishan Zhenjun is widespread in the Jiangsu and Zhejiang regions, with many temples built in his honor. Since the Five Dynasties period, this temple has been known for its spiritual responsiveness, and people often offer cattle as sacrifices. The rulers of the Song Dynasty bestowed him with numerous honorary titles, showing great reverence for him.^① On the occasion of his birthday, people from various regions flock to pay their respects. Both the general public and official institutions offer a wide variety of offerings, including precious artifacts, exotic flowers and fruits, and intricate pastries. Additionally, various social groups perform in the temple, showcasing a variety of entertainments such as dramas, sumo wrestling, storytelling, and puppet shows.^② Due to the association of Zhang Zhenjun with the pig-dragon and water control, people abstain from consuming pork during the worship rituals and recite passages from the " Tao Te Ching."

(3) Flower Festival

China accounts for two-thirds of the world's total number of flower species, and flowers hold a special cultural significance in Chinese tradition. Chinese people not only love to plant and nurture flowers, but also enjoy appreciating and even consuming them. What's more, different flowers have been attributed with distinct personality traits by the Chinese people. Therefore, the Chinese nation is filled with enthusiasm for flowers. Hence, the Flower Festival, also known as the Flower God Festival, is celebrated on the fifteenth day of the second

① Ibid.

② 袁志偉，宋代首都的宗教節日，歷史文化，2015年，第二期，36-39頁

lunar month. It symbolizes the birthday of all flowers and has been celebrated continuously from the Spring and Autumn period to the Ming and Qing dynasties. It holds significant importance, especially during the Tang and Song dynasties.

During the Flower Festival, with the arrival of spring, flowers bloom and compete in their beauty, creating a perfect season for leisure and enjoyment. Local officials would visit the outskirts of their jurisdictions, offering food and drinks to the elderly and advising them on agricultural matters. Monasteries and nunneries held ceremonies commemorating the Nirvana of Gautama Buddha, attracting believers who came to burn incense and pay their respects.^① During the Song Dynasty, people would venture out, riding horses, getting intoxicated, boating, and indulging in a carefree atmosphere. The poet Zhu Jifang once wrote, "Drunk on horseback during the Flower Festival, singing songs by moonlit nights on boats. Once bound by minor official duties, I am no longer free."^② These words express the sentiment of literati who preferred the leisure of appreciating flowers rather than being tied down by official responsibilities. People would gather together and go on outings to enjoy the flowers, known as "treading the green." Young girls would cut colorful paper and attach them to branches as decorations, called "admiring the red." They would also enjoy flower-shaped cakes and flower-infused wines, recite poems and verses about flowers, reflecting the rich aesthetic taste and philosophical outlook of the Chinese people.

(4) Shangsi Festival

The Chinese people proudly call themselves the descendants of Yan and Huang and regard them as the ancestral figures of civilization. Worship of Yan and Huang has a long history. The Shangsi Festival, which falls on the first day of the third month, is specifically dedicated to commemorating the birth of the Yellow Emperor. It holds significant importance in the traditional religious practices of respecting heaven and ancestral rites in China. In ancient

① Ibid.

② 宋 朱繼芳，舊遊，詩詞名句網

times, the Central Plains region had a saying, " On the second day of the second month, the dragon raises its head; on the third day of the third month, Xuanyuan is born." From the Wei and Jin dynasties to the Song Dynasty, it became customary to celebrate the Shangsi Festival on the third day of the third month. As a result, this day became an occasion for people to gather by the water, enjoy feasts, and venture into the countryside for spring outings. Folk customs include washing clothes in flowing water to cleanse away impurities, known as " Xi" or purification. As described in the Analects of Confucius, " In the evening of the last days of spring, one wears spring clothes. A few men wear caps, while several boys sing and dance at the Yishui River." ① This passage depicts the scene of the Shangsi Festival during that time. Additionally, it is also the birthday of Zhenwu Lingying Zhenjun (True Warrior, the Spirit-Responsive Lord). Taoist temples across the country hold grand Tiantao ceremonies to dispel disasters and pray for blessings. Common people make pilgrimages, offer tributes, and organize large-scale " societies" or gatherings.

This day is also considered as China's traditional Valentine's Day and Daughters' Day. In the Spring and Autumn period, the poem " Zhen Wei" from the Book of Songs describes how young men and women gather by the water during the purification ritual and engage in activities of love. " Zhen and Wei, their water is clear. The young men and women, they are abundant. The woman asks, 'Shall we gaze at each other?' The man replies, 'Indeed, let us. 'Shall we go and gaze? Beyond Wei, we shall truly find joy. ' The young man and woman, they play and jest, exchanging gifts of Chinese rose." ② In the Tang Dynasty, Du Fu wrote the famous lines, " On the third day of the third month, the weather is fresh. By the water-side of Chang'an, there are many beautiful people." ③ These lines vividly depict the atmosphere of this day. In the Yuan Dynasty, in Bai Pu's play " Pei Shaojun on the Wall," the first act states, " Today is the eighth day of the third month, the Shangsi Festival. The young men and women of Luoyang gather for enjoyment." It further emphasizes that this day is a ro-

① 孔子 張燕嬰 譯注, 論語, 先進第十一, 中華書局, 2007 年, 166 頁

② 宋 朱熹, 詩經集傳, 上海古籍出版社, 1987 年, 38-39 頁

③ 清 彭定求 等, 全唐詩 (上), 上海古籍出版社, 1986 年, 511 頁

mantic occasion for young men and women to enjoy springtime together.^① However, since the Song Dynasty, Neo-Confucianism became prevalent, and the strictness of ritual and ethics increased. The customs of the Third Day of the Third Month as Daughters' Day gradually declined in Chinese culture. Nevertheless, in the southwestern ethnic minority regions and in Japan, which has been deeply influenced by Chinese culture, this tradition is still observed today.

(5) Birthday of the Emperor of Mount Tai

East Peak Emperor, also known as Mount Tai God, Mount Tai Lord, and Lord of the Five Sacred Mountains, is the leader among the Five Sacred Mountains. According to the book "Shen Yi Jing" by Dongfang Shuo, it is said, "At the end of the era of Pangu, his son was named Hetian. At that time, there were three emperors who succeeded each other. Hetian resided on a mountain, and thus, the mountain was named Mount Tai, the ancestral mountain. Hetian had a son named Qianbo. The son of Qianbo was Xuanmoshi, who had two sons; the elder was named King Jinlun, and the younger was Shaohai. Shaohai married the fairy Milun. The fairy Milun dreamed of swallowing two suns, and upon awakening, she was found to be pregnant. She gave birth to two sons; the elder was named Huang Jinchan, later known as Emperor Donghua; the younger was named Jin Hong. He later became known as Emperor Dongyue."^② According to Chinese Five Elements theory, Mount Tai is located in the east, where the sun rises and everything begins. As the incarnation of Mount Tai, the East Peak Emperor is regarded as the god in Chinese folk beliefs who has the power over the birth of all living beings. Throughout history, emperors have held great reverence for the Mount Tai God, and the "Enfeoffment of Mount Tai" ceremony has been regarded as a symbol of a virtuous ruler. During the Tang Dynasty, the Mount Tai God was enfeoffed as the "King of Tianqi," and in the Song Dynasty, he was enfeoffed as the "Ren Sheng Tianqi Em-

① 元 白樸，裴少俊牆頭馬上

② Baidu Baiku

peror" and the " Tianqi Ren Sheng Emperor." The birthday of the East Peak Emperor is celebrated on the 28th day of the third month.

Since the Song Dynasty, every year during this time, the Dai Temple on Mount Tai holds a temple fair to worship the Emperor of Mount Tai. Devotees from all over gather at the foot of Mount Tai, starting the night before by worshipping along the main road throughout the night. People carry statues of the Emperor of Mount Tai and dress up as gods, immortals, and ghosts, forming teams for a grand procession to the Dongyue Temple, known as the " Morning Ceremony to Mount Tai." They pray for a prosperous agriculture. Along the way, believers burn paper money, incense, and worship to pray for the Emperor of Mount Tai to bless their deceased relatives in the underworld and relieve them from suffering in hell.

(6) The Bathing Buddha Festival

The Buddha's Birthday, also known as the Bathing Buddha Festival, is celebrated on the eighth day of the fourth lunar month, and it is the most important festival in Buddhism. It commemorates the birth of the Buddha, Shakyamuni. According to the legend, when the Buddha was born, he pointed one hand to the sky and the other hand to the earth, proclaiming, " In heaven and on earth, I alone am the honored one." During the " Bathing Buddha" ritual, a statue of the young Buddha is placed in a bronze basin and bathed with scented water, symbolizing the scene of the Buddha's birth. During the Song Dynasty, there were various bathing Buddha ceremonies held in Buddhist temples. Monks and nuns competed to use small basins to hold bronze statues, which were then immersed in sugared water and covered with flower canopies. With the accompaniment of bells and drums, they visited the homes of the wealthy and influential families, pouring water over the statues as a form of blessing.^① In the capital city of the Northern Song Dynasty, various major Zen temples held grand bathing Buddha ceremonies, with the one at the Da Xiangguo Temple being particularly magnificent. Its influence was so great that " people from all walks of life, including men, women, the elder-

① 宋 周密, 武林舊事, 卷三, 浴佛, 浙江人民出版社, 1981年, 41頁

ly, and children, gathered together, and everyone observed a vegetarian diet." In the city of Lin'an (present-day Hangzhou), the Liuhe Pagoda Temple organized a ceremony called the "Tower-Visiting Gathering," where young boys and girls, as well as believers, participated. On West Lake, various animal release activities were held, with numerous boats gathering on the lake. People bought turtles, fish, snails, and clams to release them, attracting tens of thousands of spectators. Nunneries also prepared meals and tea for devotees, known as the "Unobstructed Gathering."^①

The Bathing Buddha Festival was a joyous occasion during the Song Dynasty, celebrated with devotion and various cultural activities, reflecting the reverence and celebration of the Buddha's birth in Buddhist communities.^②

(7) Birthday of Cui Fujun

Cui Fujun, originally named Cui Jue, was born on the sixth day of the sixth month in the fifth year of the Kaihuang era of the Sui Dynasty. During the reign of Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty, he held the position of the governor of Puzhou and the commissioner of the twenty-four provinces in Hebei. He had numerous accomplishments in his career and was regarded as the foremost in governance and conduct. He passed away while serving as an official in the twenty-second year of the Zhenguan era of the Tang Dynasty and was revered as a local deity in Cizhou, Hebei.

Cui Fujun is detailed in chapters ten and eleven of the famous Chinese novel "Journey to the West." The story narrates an incident involving the Dragon King of the Jing River and Yuan Shoucheng, where an accidental rainfall occurred due to their bet. In a dream, the elderly statesman Wei Zheng, a loyal minister of Emperor Taizong, was commanded to behead Cui Jue. The Dragon King demanded Emperor Taizong to compensate for the loss of life. Emperor Taizong fell seriously ill and eventually passed away. As requested by Emperor Taizong,

① Ibid.

② 朱瑞熙等，宋遼西夏金社會生活史，中國古代社會生活史書系，中國社會科學出版社，1998年版

Wei Zheng wrote a letter to his friend, Judge Cui Jue, who served as a judge in the underworld. When Emperor Taizong arrived in the underworld, he presented the letter to Cui Jue, who followed his friend's wishes. Cui Jue used a brush to change the number of years in Emperor Taizong's life in the book of life and death from thirteen to thirty-three. Emperor Taizong was revived, and he granted Cui Jue the title of " Jiaying Hou, the Protector of the Country."

The celebration of Cui Fujun's birthday during the Song Dynasty was a way for people to show their respect and gratitude to him. It involved various rituals, offerings, and prayers to honor his memory and seek his blessings.

After Emperor Taizong, Cui Jue was posthumously granted the title of " Huguoxianying Wang, the Protector of the Country, and the Manifestation of Glory" during the Tang Dynasty. Emperor Zhenzong of the Song Dynasty bestowed the title of " Huguodaishan Huguoxiqi Wang, the Protector of the Country, and the West-Qi King of Mount Tai" upon him. Emperor Gaozong added the title of " Huguoxianling Zhenjun, the Protector of the Country, and the Manifestation of Spirit" during his reign. Emperor Zhangzong of the Jin Dynasty honored him as the deity of Yayue Mountain. Emperor Chengzong of the Yuan Dynasty granted him the title of " Linghuiqisheng Guangyou Wang, the Protector of the Country, and the Auspicious King of Broad Assistance."^① There is also a legend that during the Jin-Song Wars, when the Emperor Gaozong, who was then known as Prince Kang, encountered difficulties in Cizhou, Cui Furen manifested as a divine protector and safeguarded Emperor Zhao Gou. As a result, he was additionally bestowed the title of " Huguoxianying Xingfu Puyou Zhenjun, the Protector of the Country, and the Manifestation of Auspiciousness, Fortune, and Universal Assistance."

During the Song Dynasty, the birthday celebration of Cui Furen was grand in scale, surpassing other festivals dedicated to deities. The imperial court sent people to offer gifts such as slingshots, saddles, and boots for the ritual. The temple festivities featured various folk per-

① 佚名, 繪圖三教源流搜神大全, 上海古籍出版社, 2012年, Baidu Baike

formances, including pole climbing, sumo wrestling, and rope jumping, which added to the lively atmosphere. ①On this day, incense was burned and rituals were conducted in the temple, while the people in the city burned incense and offered sacrifices to seek blessings.

(8) Mid-Yuan Festival and Chongyang Festival

The fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month is celebrated as a festival in both Buddhism and Taoism. It is also one of the traditional ancestral worship festivals in Chinese folklore, known as the Ghost Festival. Buddhists observe the Ullambana Festival on this day to perform rituals for the deceased and offer salvation to wandering spirits. It is also the end of the summer retreat period for monks and nuns, so it is called "the day of lifting restrictions" or "the completion of the Dharma year." After this day, monks and nuns are no longer restricted in their activities.

In Taoism, this day is known as the "Birthday of the Earthly Officials of the Middle Realm," which refers to the birthday of the Earthly Officials who govern the underworld. On this day, the Earthly Officials show compassion and issue a general amnesty, releasing the souls of the underworld prisoners. Therefore, various Taoist temples also hold "general amnesty rituals" to worship the departed souls.

During the Song Dynasty, on this day, there was a large supply of paper-made items such as boots, hats, and clothing in the market, which were used as offerings. Additionally, flowers like cockscomb, lily, and special rice dishes were also sold as offerings. People would visit newly built graves outside the city for tomb-sweeping, and the government would sponsor Buddhist ceremonies to honor fallen soldiers. The streets would also feature theatrical performances depicting Buddhist stories, such as the play "Mulan Saving Her Mother." ②On this day, people generally abstained from eating meat, and the butcher shops closed. This festival showcased a combination of Buddhist and Daoist beliefs with ancestral worship practices.③

① 袁志偉，宋代首都的宗教節日，歷史文化，2015年，第二期，36-39頁

② 朱瑞熙等，宋遼西夏金社會生活史，中國古代社會生活史書系，中國社會科學出版社，1998年版

③ 袁志偉，宋代首都的宗教節日，歷史文化，2015年，第二期，36-39頁

(9) "Laba" and "Sending off the Kitchen God."

The eighth day of the twelfth lunar month is the Enlightenment Day of the Buddha, also known as "Laba." During the Song Dynasty, major temples in the capital held similar "Bathing the Buddha" ceremonies as those held on the eighth day of the fourth lunar month. They also cooked a special porridge called "Laba porridge" using seven treasures and five flavors. In the capital city, common people would also cook Laba porridge on this day to offer to their ancestors and share with family and friends. This tradition has been passed down in folk culture to this day.

Later in the twelfth lunar month, on the twenty-fourth day, there is the traditional folk festival known as "Sending off the Kitchen God," also called "Jiao Nian." On this day, people worship the Kitchen God, commonly known as "Sending off the God." According to folklore, the Kitchen God returns to the heavenly court at the end of each year to report on the good and evil deeds of humanity.^① People would burn paper images of the Kitchen God and invite monks and Taoist priests to chant scriptures during the night. As the year-end approached, people started preparing for the upcoming New Year by purchasing festive goods, creating a lively atmosphere.

The above-mentioned religious and cultural practices, as well as festival customs, in the Song Dynasty were intertwined and developed in a mutually influential manner. Not only did religious festivals become increasingly secularized and popularized, but folk festivals also incorporated more and more religious rituals and elements into their celebrations. These phenomena reflect the growing influence and prosperity of various religions in Song society.

V. Conclusion

Ancient Chinese agrarian society had a long history, and the ancestors understood the

① Ibid.

connection between climate and agricultural growth in their daily lives. They recognized the natural rhythms and linked them to agricultural production, giving rise to traditional festivals and folk customs. Festivals divided people's lives into distinct cycles, giving each stage a specific meaning. The activities during these festivals reflect the traditional customs, moral values, and religious beliefs of the nation. Festivals are a manifestation of social civilization and showcase various patterns within the rich and colorful national culture. The activities in festivals are closely related to various aspects of human civilization. The specific rituals and symbolic meanings of festivals in the Song Dynasty reflect the changes in social structure and functions of the society in which our ancestors lived.

Whether it is the official festivals of the Song Dynasty that have disappeared in the dust of history or the various traditional seasonal festivals and religious festivals that are still celebrated today, they are imbued with the rich cultural significance of Chinese civilization. They contain abundant content and ceremonial styles, serving as a remarkable testament to the evolution of Chinese civilization over thousands of years.

Through the study of the Song Dynasty's official festivals, seasonal festivals, and religious festivals, it can be observed that Song Dynasty festivals played an important role not only in strengthening internal and external politics through celebrations and ceremonies but also in shaping the concepts and regulating the behaviors of people during festivals in the folk context of that time. The festivals of the Song Dynasty reflected the ideals of nature-oriented, equality of all things, harmony as beauty; social ethics of respecting heaven and loving people, commemorating ancestors, and promoting labor; and the traditional values of loyalty, filial piety, integrity, trustworthiness, propriety, righteousness, honesty, and honor that are outstanding in Chinese culture. Even today, they continue to have a profound impact on the cohesion and centripetal force of our country and nation.

The festivals of the Song Dynasty inherited the splendid civilization of the Qin, Han, Wei, Jin, Tang Dynasties, and opened the way for the Yuan, Ming, Qing Dynasties, as well as the current era. They contain the most brilliant cultural elements of Chinese civilization. They not only shine in ancient China but also guide and inspire generation after generation of

Chinese descendants, serving as the bloodline connection for all the sons and daughters of Yan and Huang worldwide.

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Research on the Dilemma and Development Strategy of Hubei Tea Picking Dance Inheritance^①

冯瑶^② (湖北师范大学)

Abstract

Folk dance art is an art form rooted in the masses and a treasure in China's traditional art and cultural system. Promoting the inheritance and development of folk dance art is of great significance for unleashing its social function and activating the vitality of its development. This article takes Hubei Tea Picking Dance as an example to analyze and discuss the difficulties faced in the inheritance and development of folk dance art. It also studies and explores the inheritance and development strategies of Hubei Tea Picking Dance, in order to provide assistance for the improvement of the effectiveness of folk dance inheritance and development.

Key words:

Hubei Tea Picking Dance, inheritance, dilemma and development

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② 冯瑶，舞蹈学硕士，湖北师范大学讲师，研究方向中国民族民间舞蹈传承。

I . INTRODUCTION

After thousands of years of development, tea culture has participated in the whole process of cultural development in China, so tea culture has a relatively complete cultural development system, and the development of tea culture is relatively mature. Tea culture contains many contents. For example, tea culture currently includes tea ceremony, tea set, tea, tea industry, tea painting, tea etiquette, etc., so there are tea picking dance, tea song and other elements in the development of tea culture, which can be linked with dance. In addition, the thought of tea culture is also very progressiveness and ideological, so the common feature of tea culture and dance culture is the influence on people's thought, which has a deep impact on life values, social outlook, world outlook, etc.

The " tea picking" style is a folk art with a long history, including tea picking songs, tea picking lanterns, tea picking dances, and tea picking plays. " Tea picking songs" have been included in the literature of the Tang Dynasty. By the Qing Dynasty, there were many records in local chronicles or poems all over the country. In particular, the " Tea Book" written by Lu Yu in the Tang Dynasty is the earliest, most complete and most comprehensive classic book that introduces tea culture in China and even the world. It can be seen that " tea picking" had been widely spread before the Qing Dynasty. Tea picking " existed in the form of" lanterns " for a considerable period of time, but after historical evolution and development, it gradually shifted to a theatrical form during the late Qing Dynasty, with the emergence of the Tea Picking Tripod. After the establishment of New China, " tea picking" as a folk art received people's attention. After two large-scale rescue excavations and arrangements in the 1950s and 1980s, " tea picking" received protection to a certain extent and extent.

" Tea picking " is a folk art with a long history, which includes tea picking songs, tea picking lanterns, tea picking dances, and tea picking plays. The " Integration of Chinese Ethnic and Folk Dance - Hubei Volume" elaborates on tea picking dance and includes examples. Hubei is a major tea producing province in China. With the evolution of history, the tea

picking culture in Hubei is affected by its environment, folk customs, economy, policies and other factors, and will show different contents and manifestations in different periods, with distinctive inheritance and nationality. Therefore, doing a good job in protecting tea picking dance in Hubei province is the foundation for the inheritance, development, and innovation of folk dance culture.

In recent years, China has attached great importance to promoting the excellent traditional Chinese culture, especially in the inheritance and innovation of Chinese excellent traditional culture, and has proposed corresponding long-term goals and development plans. Chapter 11 of the " 14th Five Year Plan and 2035 Long Range Outline of Hubei Province" proposes: " Adhere to advanced cultural guidance, enhance Hubei's cultural soft power, and promote the construction of a strong cultural province." " Create a Jingchu cultural brand, promote the unity of meeting people's cultural needs and enhancing people's spiritual strength.

Strengthen cultural inheritance and innovation, tap into unique resources such as red culture, Yangtze River culture, Yan Emperor Shennong culture, Chu culture, Three Kingdoms culture, bronze chime culture, Wudang culture, and ethnic minority culture, promote the creative transformation and innovative development of excellent traditional culture, and showcase the unique charm of Jingfeng Chu rhyme The tea picking dance, which is deeply ingrained in the Jingchu culture, highlights the rich historical and cultural connotations and ethnic characteristics of the Hubei region. Promoting and inheriting it is also a necessary part of the topic.

II . Overview of tea culture

Chinese tea culture is an integral part of China's excellent traditional culture. It combines the thoughts of Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism, and is an independent entity, reflecting the labor, art and life culture related to tea. In the process of tea culture from scratch, from fragmentary to gradually forming a system, the statement composed of " material" and " spirit" is a universal understanding, which can also be used as a general understanding of tea

culture. The Definition of tea culture Chen Wenhua pointed out in the book " Basic Knowledge of Chinese tea culture" that " tea culture in a broad sense refers to the sum of material and spiritual wealth in the whole development process. tea culture in a narrow sense refers specifically to its spiritual wealth. Park Kwon chin of South Korea pointed out in the article " The 21st Century and tea culture " that" tea culture refers to the human part. " The sum of material and spiritual wealth related to tea created in the process of historical practice. On the one hand, tea culture includes the natural science of tea and the humanities of tea.^①

Drinking tea has a long history in our country. China is the origin of tea, and the discovery and utilization of tea have a history of thousands of years. Tea has culture and is the result of human participation in material and spiritual creative activities. Although tea is included in tea culture, in a sense, tea is the source of tea culture. It is because of the magic tea tree that the discovery and utilization of tea in later generations has come into being. For thousands of years, many scholars in past dynasties have become accustomed to drinking tea, and the inheritance and expansion of this tea drinking custom has gradually formed China's tea culture.

(1) The embryonic stage of tea culture

During the Qin and Han dynasties, people began to use tea as a beverage, starting from the Bashu region. After the Eastern Han Dynasty, the trend of tea drinking developed in the southern region of the Yangtze River, and then entered the north of the Yangtze River. By the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties, there were gradually more people drinking tea. At that time, there were four types of tea drinking styles and ways: tasting tea, drinking tea with fruit, tea banquet, and tea Congee. These are the material foundations for tea entering the cultural field.

Nourish integrity with tea. During the Jin Dynasty, the harm of extravagance and debauchery was greater than natural disasters. The extravagant and debauched indulgence caused a decline in the world, which deeply saddened some wise people. As a result, there

① 丁以寿, 中国茶文化概论, 科学出版社, 2019, 第2页。

were examples such as Lu Na using tea as a vegetarian industry, Huan Wen using tea as a substitute for banquets, and Emperor Shizuwu of Southern Qi using tea as a symbol of simplicity. A group of politicians, such as Lu Na and Huan Wen, advocated the use of tea to maintain integrity and show simplicity, with the original intention of correcting negative social practices. This reflects the ideological direction of those in power and those with insight: using tea to promote integrity and resist extravagance. One of the most famous stories is the story of Lu Na treating guests with tea; during the Eastern Jin Dynasty, Lu Na had a reputation for honesty. When he was appointed as the governor of Wuxing, the renowned general of Wei, Xie An, once visited him. For this distinguished guest, Lu Na is not extravagant, just a bowl of tea, supplemented by fresh fruits for entertainment. His nephew was very incomprehensible, thinking that his uncle was stingy and losing face, so he made a big table of dishes on his own. After the guest left, Lu Na ordered a staff to punish his nephew with 40 sticks and scolded him, saying, 'You can't give your uncle any more glory, and you will come to tarnish my frugal family style.' Lu Na believes that treating guests with tea is the best etiquette, while also demonstrating his integrity. Promoting honesty and frugality through tea has elevated tea from its pure drinking function to a cultural level.

Tea is the etiquette and custom. During the Northern and Southern Dynasties, tea was used for ritual purposes. In his edict, Emperor Wu of Qi, Xiao Ze, said that after my death, do not sacrifice me with livestock, just provide some cakes, tea, dried rice, wine, and preserved fruits. Since then, the use of tea as a sacrifice has been widely used, indicating that people have long had an understanding of the spirit and character of tea.

Delightful and elegant with tea. One reason is that since the Jin Dynasty, the efficacy of drinking tea has been increasingly recognized by people, and tea has transitioned from medicinal use to widespread consumption. At that time, many literature mentioned the "beneficial meaning" of tea and "regulating the mind and activating the interior, relieving fatigue and removing the pond". With the rise of literati drinking tea, poetry and songs about tea are gradually coming out. Tea has broken away from the diet as a general form and entered the cultural circle, playing a certain spiritual and social role, and tea culture has emerged. Dur-

ing the Wei and Jin dynasties, there were already literati praising and drinking tea in poetry and prose, such as Du Yu's " Debate Fu", Sun Chu's " Song", and Zuo Si's " Poem of a Beautiful Girl". In addition, literati and celebrities both drank alcohol and tea, using tea as a means of conversation, leading to a trend of chatting and drinking tea, and some anecdotes of cultural celebrities drinking tea emerged. During the Wei, Jin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties, tea drinking was regarded by some palace dignitaries and literati as an elegant way to enjoy the spirit and express their aspirations. Although this stage is still the embryonic stage of tea culture, it has shown its unique charm. During this historical period, many metaphysicians and talkers also shifted from good wine to good tea.

(2) The formative period of tea culture

The Tang Dynasty was the most prosperous period of China's feudal society. Tea production was further expanded and tea drinking fashion was further popularized, which prepared the foundation for the formation and development of tea culture. The popularity of tea drinking in the Tang Dynasty was mainly manifested in the following aspects: tea shops spread throughout the world; Tea is for people to drink, with the same capital as salt millet; Tea is regarded as a treasure of " bestowing famous officials and retaining guests" (Gu Kuang's " Tea Ode"); Monks generally drink tea and imitate it; Cultural people are particularly fond and fond of drinking. The prevalence of tea drinking, together with the promotion of Buddhism and Taoism, has laid a solid social foundation for the continued development of tea culture.^①

The formation of tea culture in the Tang Dynasty was related to the prosperity and development of the economy and culture of the whole Tang Dynasty. Especially before the Mid Tang Dynasty, the country was prosperous and strong, and the world was peaceful, forming various cultural development conditions. The Tang Dynasty had a vast territory and emphasized foreign exchanges. At that time, Chang'an was not only the political and cultural center of China, but

① 李璐, 茶艺与茶文化, 西安电子科技大学出版社, 2015, 第12页。

also the center of international economic and cultural exchanges. Chinese tea culture is formed in this climate. The formation of tea culture was also related to the great development of Buddhism, the imperial examination system, the flourishing poetic style, the rise of tribute tea and the prohibition measures.

With the expansion of tea drinking fashion, tea culture has gradually formed an independent and complete system. The formation and development of tea culture in the Tang Dynasty are mainly reflected in the following aspects:

The earliest tea industry monograph – "The Classic of Tea" appeared. In the history of Chinese tea culture, Lu Yu, the "tea sage", has his own set of tea learning, tea art, tea ceremony thoughts and his book "The Book of Tea", which is an epoch-making symbol. The Tea Classic is the earliest, most complete, and most comprehensive monograph on tea in China and even in the world, and is known as the "Encyclopedia of Tea". This book is a comprehensive tea industry monograph that comprehensively introduces the tea industry during and before the Tang Dynasty. The entire book discusses in detail the history, origin, current situation, production technology, tea drinking techniques, and tea ceremony principles of tea, summarizing a complete set of knowledge including the natural attributes and social functions of tea. The Tea Classic is not only about tea, but also permeates the essence of various schools and the temperament and artistic ideas of poets, laying the theoretical foundation of Chinese tea culture, and is an important symbol of the formal formation of tea culture.

The Book of Tea: The Third Creation "states: "Anyone who picks tea, between February, March, and April, will pick it on sunny days instead of rainy days." Anyone who picks tea must do so in the morning and not at sunrise. When the sun rises and the dew falls, it is thin due to the yang, but it is consumed internally and not distinct due to water. Therefore, it is often the earliest. When picking, it is necessary to have a clear and bright sky, stir fry and roast moderately, and store it as the saying goes. When picking, wait for the sun to rise and the mountains to clear, and the mist to cover the mountains to collect and clean. Every broken bud must be marked with armor, not with fingers. If you use armor, it will break quickly but not gently, and if you use fingers, it will be warm and fragile. You don't need to be too

meticulous when picking tea. The details are that the buds are budding but the taste is not sufficient; There is no need to be too green, as green tea leaves old but tender in taste. Before and after the grain rain, it is necessary to search for stems with leaves that are slightly green and thick. ^①This is a description of tea picking in the " Tea Classic".

2The core of tea culture is the formation of tea ceremony. Tang Dynasty poet Monk Ran mentioned the concept of " tea ceremony" in the last sentence of his poem " Drinking Tea Song – Eliminating Cui Stone Emperors", making him the first person in China and even the world to propose the concept of " tea ceremony". Jiao Ran compared tea soup to " Qiong Rui Jiang from various immortals", regarded tea as a noble thing, and believed that tasting tea could comprehend Taoism and be a spiritual enjoyment. In Lu Yu's " Classic of Tea", it is said that " tea is for use, with a cold taste, and is the most suitable person for drinking." He defined the spirit of tea people as " refined and frugal virtue," meaning that those who drink tea should have the virtue of frugality. In Lu Yu's view, drinking tea is no longer simply satisfying the physiological need to quench thirst, but rather placing moral demands on tea drinkers. Lu Yu's tea spirit is actually the spirit of the tea ceremony, so he is the earliest founder of the tea ceremony spirit in China and even the world.

3The palace tea culture and other tea customs were formed. The demand for tea by the Tang Dynasty royal family gradually expanded. After the middle of the Tang Dynasty, most emperors were good at tea and searched widely for famous tea from the people, demanding more and more tribute tea. With the increase of tribute tea, the emperor used the surplus tribute tea to reward important officials and relatives as a sign of gratitude and trust, which became a strategy for rulers to maintain and consolidate their rule. The tradition of awarding tea became a grand ceremony in the upper class of the Tang Dynasty. In this culture, folk people also give tea to each other as a gesture of etiquette. Scholars and Taoists often write poems to express gratitude after exchanging tea leaves. It is also common for people to entertain guests with tea, leading to the emergence of " tea banquets". Under the social atmosphere of 'peace

① [清] 刘源长, 王方译, 茶史, 崇文书局, 2018, 第 128 页。

', it naturally embodies the spiritual culture of 'grace', 'loyalty', 'humility', and 'piety'. The Tang Dynasty court valued tea, monks enjoyed tea, literati praised tea, and people loved tea. The custom of drinking tea had already formed and played an important role in their social life, promoting people's social interaction. Tea horse trading and tea taxes also emerged one after another, which had a significant impact on Tang society.

(3) Prosperity of tea culture

As the saying goes, " Tea flourished in the Tang Dynasty and flourished in the Song Dynasty." After years of development in the Tang Dynasty, the trend of drinking tea has spread throughout the country, and tea has gradually become a necessity in people's lives. Since the Song Dynasty, tea has become one of the " Seven Things to Open the Door".

The custom of drinking tea permeates every corner of social life. At that time, the ruling class was enthusiastic about drinking tea, and tea banquets were often held. The development of the tea industry has promoted the development of tea culture. Professional tea tasting associations have emerged among the literati, including the " Tang Society" composed of officials and the " Thousand People Society" of Buddhists. In the lower society, tea culture has penetrated into every aspect of people's life; when people migrate, neighbors should " offer tea"; If guests come, we should pay tribute to 'Yuanbao Tea'; When getting engaged, tea should be served; When getting married, one should " order tea"; When sharing a room, it's important to have tea together. The tea culture of the Song Dynasty inherited the cultural tradition of paying attention to spiritual interests of the Tang people, infiltrated the introspection concept of Confucianism into tea drinking, and penetrated tea tasting into the daily life and etiquette of all classes.

During this period, there were various poems and songs about tea, as well as various other literary genres that discussed tea extensively. A large number of tea books have laid a high level of theoretical foundation for the development of Chinese tea culture in the future. At the same time, the literati in the Song Dynasty incorporated music, chess, calligraphy and painting into the tea business, greatly improving the cultural taste of tea business, which is

also a sign of the maturity of tea culture in the Song Dynasty. Many great literary figures, such as Fan Zhongyan, Ouyang Xiu, Wang Anshi, Su Shi, and Lu You, have always enjoyed this and left behind many famous literary works. There are criticisms of tea politics and detailed descriptions of tea art and ceremony in tea poetry and literature. There were as many as 25 tea studies monographs in the Song Dynasty.

In a word, people in the Song Dynasty broadened the social level and cultural form of tea culture, tea was very prosperous, and tea culture continued to penetrate into the spiritual world, greatly enriching the Chinese tea culture.

(4) Continuous development period of tea culture

In the history of the development of tea culture in ancient China, the Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties were also an important stage. Whether in the consumption and production of tea, or in the level and characteristics of tea drinking techniques, they all exuded intoxicating cultural charm. Compared to the Song Dynasty, tea drinking during the Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties was more simplified, allowing the people to combine tea drinking more closely. Different regions and ethnic groups have extremely rich "tea customs".

During this period, teahouses were even more popular in the streets, and tea culture went deep into the public class. All kinds of tea culture not only continue to continue and develop in the court, religion, literati and bureaucrats, but also the spirit of tea culture is further rooted in the broad masses of people. Scholars, farmers, workers and businessmen all regard tea drinking as a medium for gathering friends and interpersonal communication.

Due to the special era background and national factors, the Yuan Dynasty failed to present the glory of culture, but it still continued the excellent tradition of tea learning and tea culture since the Tang and Song dynasties, and made some development and innovation. At that time, the Chinese tea culture was further popularized in all regions, nationalities and strata, and widely absorbed all positive factors, showing many new features, witnessing and promoting national exchanges and integration.

The tea culture in the Ming and Qing dynasties made great achievements in culture and

art. In addition to tea poems and paintings, there were also many tea songs, tea dances and tea picking operas. Tea picking opera was produced in Jiulong Mountain area in southern Jiangxi Province after the middle of the Ming Dynasty. It flourished in the Qing Dynasty and spread to neighboring provinces, which was a major achievement in the history of tea culture in the Ming and Qing dynasties. Many literati and scholars in the Ming Dynasty have left behind works that have been passed down, such as Tang Bohu's "Tea Cooking Scroll" and "Tea Tasting Map", Wen Huiming's "Huishan Tea Party Record", "Lu Yu Tea Cooking Map", "Tea Tasting Map", and so on. In the Qing Dynasty, tea culture began to become the object of novel description, with countless tea books, tea events and tea poems.

(5) The resplendence period of tea culture

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, all kinds of industries were waiting to prosper. tea culture activities failed to become a major cultural cause and were once hit by the extreme left line. After the reform and opening up, especially since the middle and late 1980s, with the improvement of people's material and cultural life, under the promotion of various factors at home and abroad, China's tea culture has witnessed a vigorous development trend. Compared with the ancient tea culture, the modern tea culture defined after the reform and opening up has more characteristics of the times, which not only makes the eastern tea culture with Chinese tea culture as the core set off an upsurge in the world, but also has a more profound connotation, which has both humanistic history and science and technology; Both academic theory and practical life; It has both traditional culture and innovation.

Since the late 1980s, tea art exchange activities have flourished throughout the country, especially with the rapid emergence of urban tea art venues, forming an emerging industry. At present, many provinces, cities and autonomous regions in China, as well as some important tea culture groups, enterprises and institutions have established tea art exchange groups (teams), making tea art activities an independent art category.

Entering modern times, the creation of traditional tea poetry, tea lyrics, and tea paintings continues, with tea songs, tea dances, and tea music becoming reserved programs for

many literary and artistic performances; Tea related prose is also extremely prosperous, and tea related novels have emerged as a new force. There are also many experts and scholars who have carried out systematic and in-depth research on tea culture and published hundreds of tea culture monographs, as well as many professional tea culture journals and newspapers, reported information, and discussed topics, so that tea culture activities have a high cultural taste and theoretical basis.

III. A Review of the Current Situation of Tea Picking Research in China

(1) Regarding integration and chronicles

The existing literature includes " Integration of Chinese Folk Songs", " Integration of Chinese Ethnic Folk Dance", " Integration of Chinese Opera Music", " Chronicles of Chinese Opera", and relevant provinces (regions) of Jiangxi, Guangdong, Guangxi, Hubei, Hunan, Anhui, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Yunnan, and Guizhou. It provides detailed information on official content such as tea picking songs, tea picking dances, and tea picking operas, and includes a large number of examples.

(2) Research on the History of " Tea Picking"

The research on the history of " tea picking" mainly focuses on tea picking opera, such as " Jiangxi Local Opera" (Jiangxi Local Chronicles Editorial Committee, 2018), " Current Historical Composition: The Kinship of Huangmei Opera" (Zhu Feiyue, 2015), " Baogui Liyuan: Types and Arts of Guangxi Opera" (Xiao Dongfa, 2015), " Development History of Fuzhou Tea Picking Opera" (Huang Jianrong and Gao Yun, 2007) Research on Tea Picking Opera in Gannan " (Liao Jun, 2001), " Research on Music of Tea Picking Opera in Gao'an " (Ma Yanbo, 2016), " The Birth, Spread, and Variation of Tea Picking Opera Music " (Feng Guangyu, 2002), etc., based on different regional characteristics, explore

the origin of tea picking opera and analyze the development process of tea picking opera in various regions. There are also studies on the history of tea picking music and dance, such as "Research on Chinese Tea Picking Music Culture" (Fan Xiaojun, 2014), "Research on Guangdong" Tea Picking " Music Culture" (Fan Xiaojun, 2013), and "Research on Gannan Tea Picking Dance" (Lai Dan and Zhao Yuanze, 2020), which have conducted detailed studies on the origins, formation, development, and artistic characteristics of tea picking music and dance.

(3) Research on the Literary Script of " Tea Picking"

The early researchers on the literary script of " tea picking" were Gannan playwright Zeng Zechang and others. The Literary Characteristics of Gannan Tea Picking Opera " (Zeng Zechang and Yang Yilu, 1991) explores the structure, language, context, rhythm, and other aspects of Gannan Tea Picking Opera from a literary perspective, and summarizes the reasons for its continued popularity. Subsequently, a number of studies on the phonology of tea picking operas emerged, such as " Research on the Phonology of Nanchang Tea Picking Opera" (Wan Liyuan, 2008), " Research on the Phonology of Xingping Tea Picking Opera" (Jiang Wenjuan, 2012), " Research on Hubei Huangmei Opera and Huangmei Opera Phonology" (Shen Shijie, 2015), " Research on the Singing of Fuzhou Tea Picking Opera" (Tan Qianyuan, 2019), " Research on the Phonology of Taizhou Tea Picking Opera" (Chen Qianying, 2020), and so on, Analyzed the appearance of the stage pronunciation of the tea picking opera, as well as the phonetic and pronunciation characteristics of its characters.

(4) Research on the Performing Art of " Picking Tea"

From the literature, it can be seen that the research on the tea picking area in Gannan, Jiangxi is quite mature. For example, " Aesthetic Performance of Ugly Dance Performance in Gannan Tea picking Opera from the Perspective of Lao Zhuang Philosophy" (Xie Yangyang, 2023), taking the Ugly dance performance in Gannan Tea picking Opera as the research object, based on field research, literature analysis, dance form analysis and other research

methods, analyzes the aesthetic performance of Ugly dance performance in Gannan Tea picking Opera layer by layer; Gannan Tea Picking Opera: Kuibao in the Hundred Flowers Garden of Chinese Opera " (Liu Bin, Lv Muquan, and Liu Yanshun, 2021) aims to deeply explore and promote the culture and performance skills of Gannan Tea Picking Opera, and conduct in-depth and comprehensive research on the generation, musical characteristics, core values, performance forms, and inheritance of Gannan Tea Picking Opera; The Integration of Jiangxi Gannan Tea Picking Opera Performance Art Culture and Piano Music Creation " (Wang Rong, 2019) proposes an innovative research that integrates traditional Gannan Tea Picking Opera with piano music, using the piano to play the timbre of percussion and wind instruments, and integrating unique performance techniques and melodies.

(5) Research on the Protection and Inheritance of the Art of " Tea Picking"

The protection and inheritance of the art of " tea picking" has always been a topic of great concern for scholars. The main research articles on the inheritance of tea picking dance include " Exploring the Dilemmas and Development Strategies of Folk Dance Inheritance - Taking Tea Picking Dance as an Example" (Zhao Chaofan, 2023). This article takes tea picking dance as an example to analyze and discuss the difficulties faced in the inheritance and development of folk dance art, And conducted research and exploration on the inheritance and development strategies of folk dance; The Inheritance of Tea Picking Dance Art in Gannan Based on Regional Culture " (Chen Xiaopei, 2018) studied the inheritance of tea picking dance in Gannan from several aspects: the geographical environment of Gannan region, the origin, development process, and current situation of tea picking dance; Research on the Inheritance and Artistic Characteristics of Folk Tea Picking Dance in Southeast Guangxi (Liu Jie, 2016), analyzes the geographical environment and cultural overview of Southeast Guangxi, and summarizes the artistic characteristics of tea picking dance in this region from three aspects: theme content, performance form, and music expression. It focuses on analyzing the inheritance and innovative development of tea picking dance in modern cultural

development.

In recent years, there have been comprehensive studies on the inheritance and protection of tea picking opera, such as " The Inheritance and Protection of Local Drama Culture in the Context of Rural Revitalization – Taking the Tea picking Opera in Cangwu County as an Example" (Ou Ruyan, Wu Chunyan, and Qinyong County, 2023). This article explores the value of tea picking opera and conducts a comprehensive study on the inheritance of tea picking dance in Cangwu County from the perspectives of tea and opera combination, academic exchange, and inheritor training; Research on the Training Path of Local Opera Talents under the Background of Intangible Cultural Heritage Protection and Inheritance – Taking Gao'an Tea Picking Opera as an Example (Lan Qirong, 2022), starting from the development background of Gao'an Tea Picking Opera, analyzes the current talent situation, and explores the necessity and effective path of talent training in Gao'an Tea Picking Opera under the background of intangible cultural heritage protection and inheritance; Research on the Inheritance and Protection of Gannan Tea picking Opera (Chang Junyong, 2022), conducted a field research on the current situation of the inheritance of Gannan tea picking opera, sorted out the three problems found from it, and finally put forward the protection implementation strategy from four aspects; the cultivation of inheritors, the expansion of communication methods, the transformation of content and form, and the creation of distinctive cultural brands; Research on Rural Revitalization Model Based on Intangible Cultural Heritage Inheritance – Taking Qinzhou Tea Picking Opera as an Example (Yang Xinling, 2019), starting from the development background of Gao'an Tea Picking Opera, analyzes the current talent situation, explores the necessity and effective path of talent cultivation in Gao'an Tea Picking Opera under the background of intangible cultural heritage protection and inheritance, and combines the revitalization of traditional opera culture with the goal of rural economic and social development, Propose a rural revitalization and development model suitable for local intangible cultural heritage.

IV. Current Status of Tea Picking Dance Research in China

" Tea Picking" is a Chinese folk song and dance that has been passed down in tea producing areas in southern China, such as Guangdong, Guangxi, Jiangxi, and Fuzhou Provinces such as Jian, Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Anhui, Hunan, Hubei, Yunnan, Guizhou, etc. The tea picking dance has been passed down among the people. The traditional songs and dances between different regions, as well as the tea picking dance, although slightly different, are generally closely related to tea picking. Its content is rich and its movements are graceful.

The research on tea picking dance is the most abundant in the Gannan region of Jiangxi province. Huang Wenhua has published 8 papers on tea picking dance in Gannan from 2003 to 2013, mainly studying the morphological characteristics of tea picking dance in Gannan; In the ten years since 2005, Lai Dan has published 7 papers, mainly focusing on the research of dance style, dance form characteristics, dance teaching, and other aspects of tea picking in Gannan; Wang Min's book " Jiangxi Gannan Tea Picking Opera Song and Dance Art" (2006) provides a scientific and in-depth analysis of Jiangxi's opera, song and dance, and folk music, providing first-hand information for the protection, inheritance, and development of China's traditional culture; Guo Lei's " Gannan Tea Picking Dance Textbook and Teaching Practice" (2013) focuses on the specific dance genre - Jiangxi Gannan Tea Picking Folk Dance; An effective approach - case study under the care of folk culture, objectively and practically sorting out the historical origins of tea picking dance in Gannan, analyzing its dance forms, and creating its teaching materials; The book " Research on Gannan Tea Picking Dance" (2020) by Lai Dan and Zhao Yuanze presents a three-dimensional view of the historical origins, dance forms, and development trends of Gannan tea picking dance.

In addition to the Gannan region, there are also scattered studies on tea picking dance in other regions of China. Zhou Le's Research on Tea Picking Dance from the Perspective of semiotics -- Taking the Tujia Tea Picking Dance in Hubei Province as an Example (2018)

takes semiotics as a perspective to analyze the Tujia Tea Picking Dance from four aspects: its origin, form, national spirit and cultural self-confidence; Jiang Hua's Preliminary Study on Tea Picking Dance in the Three Gorges Area -- Taking the Tea Picking Dance in the Five Peaks as an Example (2020), based on its geographical environment, tea culture and other factors, expounds the morphological characteristics of the tea picking dance in the Five Peaks to highlight its regional cultural spirit.

After sorting out the research on tea picking dance, it was found that the research on tea picking dance in Gannan region is the most abundant. Compared to this, the research on tea picking dance in Hubei region is rarely studied, only sporadic achievements, and mostly focuses on the study of the form of tea picking dance in Hubei. No one has yet paid attention to the systematic inheritance of tea picking dance.

V. The Current Situation of Tea Picking Dance in Hubei Province

"The Collection of Chinese Ethnic and Folk Dance" is the first comprehensive collection in the history of Chinese ethnic and folk dance art. "① The Collection of Chinese Ethnic and Folk Dance - Hubei Volume" records that "Hubei Province has rich content and a wide variety of ethnic and folk dances. According to the census and review data of the province, the editorial department of the provincial volume has conducted a survey of nearly 400 different forms of dance in Hubei Province. This volume has selected 83 representative dance programs.②

(1) Inheritor of Tea Picking Dance

The inheritor of Hubei tea picking dance is the initiator of the dissemination behavior of Hubei tea picking dance, that is, the active instructor in the dissemination process. Hubei tea

① 《中国民族民间舞蹈集成·湖北卷》编辑部，中国民族民间舞蹈集成·湖北卷，1995年，第1页。

② 《中国民族民间舞蹈集成·湖北卷》编辑部，中国民族民间舞蹈集成·湖北卷，1995年，第5页。

picking dance can appear in the form of individuals or groups. The former refers to the individual behavior of inheritors, while the latter refers to the collective behavior of performers. There are three types of inheritance groups for Hubei tea picking dance: first, ordinary large.

Most of them are Hubei tea picking dance enthusiasts who engage in spontaneous or group activities. This type of inheritance group takes physical exercise and moral cultivation as the core driving force, making it difficult to consider the existence and development of Hubei tea picking dance from a rational perspective, and is also difficult to be labeled as a "protagonist" role; Secondly, teachers, researchers, and performers engaged in Hubei tea picking dance in universities and art troupes. These groups mainly focus on teaching, researching, and performing, receive policy or financial support from governments at all levels, have a certain degree of cultural consciousness, but have a clear "observer" perspective; Thirdly, secondary vocational and university students, driven by credit, carry out phased learning, which has the shortcomings of systematic inheritance and the difficulty in deepening the inheritance system.

For example, Xu Junmei, the inheritor of Songzi Tea Picking Dance, was an actress from the Military Art Troupe before 1949. She said she skipped the tea picking dance at that time and later transferred to the cultural department of the Ministry of Things, where she also performed and directed the tea picking dance. Hu Zhishou is the "old culture" of Matsushi, even though he is in his 80s and still has good memory. He introduced and sang several tea picking songs that were once popular in Songzi to the author. Lei Minghua is Hu Zhishou's disciple, who is very familiar with Songzi's folk music and has created a large number of music works. He has also been engaged in the collection and organization of folk music locally for a long time.^①

(2) Hubei Tea Picking Dance Inheritance Method

The inheritance method of Hubei tea picking dance is the process of imparting and inher-

① 范晓君, 中国采茶音乐文化研究, 暨南大学出版社, 2014, 第 225 页。

iting between teachers and apprentices, as well as among the public. From a professional and amateur perspective, there are two types of inheritance: one is professional inheritance, and the other is amateur inheritance. The professional inheritance methods mainly focus on universities, theater troupes, and various stage performances, while the amateur inheritance methods mainly focus on folk customs and ceremonies, park community activities, basic education characteristic courses, etc.

At present, there are two main ways to inherit tea picking dance in Hubei. One is to introduce tea picking dance into universities, such as Enshi and Yichang, where tea picking dance with local regional and ethnic characteristics is taught as a teaching content in dance or physical education courses; Another type is Hubei Tea Picking Dance, which enters primary and secondary schools, mainly in some schools in the central urban area. It adopts a "flexible and random" teaching method, mainly for school holiday activities, where students learn and perform in a short and fast manner at parties.

In summary, from the perspective of the inheritors and inheritance methods of Hubei tea picking dance, there are still many problems with Hubei tea picking dance. Therefore, in the process of inheriting Hubei tea picking dance, more attention should be paid to the inheritance of the local area, and the active intervention of local governments, social organizations, and educators in the inheritance of Hubei tea picking dance should be increased.

VI. The Inheritance Dilemma of Hubei Tea Picking Dance

With the development of the recognition and inheritance of "intangible cultural heritage", traditional art and culture, once considered as "yesterday's yellow flowers", have received widespread attention from the public. The situation of "hidden in the depths of the boudoir and unknown" has been reversed, and folk dance art, including tea picking dance, seems to have a chance to be reborn from the ashes. In this context, the enthusiasm of various social entities to participate in the inheritance of folk dance continues to increase, and promo-

ting the close integration of folk dance art with other cultural and economic forms has become an effective path to promote the inheritance and development of folk dance. However, behind the overlapping moves, the inheritance and development of folk dance still faces numerous difficulties. A deep understanding of these difficulties can provide a basis for exploring optimization strategies for the inheritance and development of folk dance such as tea picking dance.

(1) Insufficient inheritors

Talent is the primary productive force, and talent is the bridge for the inheritance of Hubei tea picking dance. At present, there is a shortage of inheritors in Hubei tea picking dance, with a small number of inheritors concentrated in local inheritance. The training of inheritors plays a crucial role in promoting the sustainable inheritance of folk dances such as tea picking dance. However, in the training of inheritors, there are some bottleneck issues that need to be solved urgently: firstly, the training of inheritors has shown the characteristics of long cycles and slow effectiveness. Although folk dances such as tea picking dance have characteristics originating from the folk and original ecology, it is not easy to systematically master these dance arts, which also determines that the cultivation of inheritors of tea picking dance and other folk dances is a gradual process. During this process, some learners are constrained by their own learning ability and willpower, which can lead to problems such as giving up halfway or difficulty achieving results. The inheritance of some universities, colleges, secondary schools, and primary and secondary schools in Hubei region is as rare as a star, making it the main inheritance group of Hubei tea picking dance in Hubei region; Appreciators or amateur singers in parks, tea picking opera troupes, elderly activity centers, temple fairs, and other places are the main audiences of Hubei tea picking dance. With the development of society, parks, schools, and elderly activity centers have been basically replaced by modern civilization, modern music, square songs and dances, and inheritors, inheritors, audiences, and others have gradually lost their space and motivation for inheritance. The majority of Hubei tea picking dance performers are older and have relatively low cultural levels. Of course,

there are also aspiring individuals who, after working, pursue vocational colleges, undergraduate studies, and graduate studies. From a global perspective, the inheritors are struggling and the cultural level of performers needs to be improved.

(2) Single inheritance method

In recent years, the governments of various cities in Hubei Province have provided financial support and scientific research guidance for the inheritance of Hubei tea picking dance, but the investment in human, material, and financial resources is still not satisfactory. Firstly, the collection and archival work of Hubei tea picking dance needs to be improved. It is understood that the current collection and organization of materials is still biased towards academia, and the inheritance methods of genuine grassroots inheritors need to be further explored; Secondly, the scope of Hubei tea picking dance entering the campus is relatively narrow, limited to the central urban area and some universities. There are few Hubei tea picking dance activities held in the city, and the performers' income is meager; Thirdly, the repertoire of Hubei tea picking dance is too old, and the new repertoire is not down-to-earth, making it difficult for ordinary tea picking opera enthusiasts to learn and inherit their performances; Fourthly, the selection system for Hubei tea picking dance is not perfect enough. The judges are mostly university teachers with strong professionalism, but the tea picking dance itself relies on traditional inheritance and dissemination methods. In order for more enthusiasts to learn, a more targeted selection system that can be widely accepted by different groups should be established; Finally, the promotion, research, and creation of new products for Hubei tea picking dance need to be strengthened. With good Hubei tea picking dance works, inheritors from universities, folk, professional, and amateur fields can inherit Hubei tea picking dance according to their own needs.

In the inheritance of tea picking dance, "oral instruction" is the most important way of inheritance. The emotional understanding of tea picking dance art and the accumulation of stage experience are the main ways to improve the inheritor's tea picking dance literacy. However, the lack of systematic teaching guidelines and comprehensive textbooks is the weak link

in the inheritance process, which to some extent restricts the improvement of tea picking dance inheritance efficiency; Once again, the lack of creative function in the inheritance of tea picking dance hinders the enthusiasm of tea picking dance inheritors. Although inheritors can receive economic subsidies, due to the impact of multiculturalism, the income generated by the form of Quyi is limited, which has led to some inheritors' desire to retreat.

(3) The Social Influence of Hubei Tea Picking Dance Art Continuously Weakens

Tea picking dance is a form of dance art rooted in the folk, originating from the labor scenes of the working people. It demonstrates a strong affinity among grassroots social groups, and it is precisely because of this that the strong vitality of tea picking dance art can be seen from the entire development process of tea picking dance. However, with the development of information technology, the channels of information acquisition available to the general public have been further expanded, and multiculturalism has entered the public's view, bringing impact to traditional cultures such as tea picking dance. Of course, the weakening of the social influence of tea picking dance art has also exposed issues such as low participation of government departments and diverse social entities in the inheritance work of tea picking dance art, and insufficient subjective initiative. Therefore, how to create a good environment for the inheritance and development of tea picking dance has become an important issue that government departments and diverse social entities need to pay attention to and explore. In addition, from the perspective of the influence of tea picking dance among young people, as the pace of life accelerates, the appeal of slower paced arts such as tea picking dance among young people continues to weaken. However, although the development of the times may eliminate some things, excellent art and culture such as tea picking dance cannot be discarded. Therefore, the youthful development of tea picking dance art is essential, It is also an important direction for the inheritance and development of tea picking dance.

(4) Serious loss of audience in the inheritance venue

According to the memories of tea picking opera veterans, during the initial Hubei tea picking dance performance, the audience was packed, and some even climbed onto the walls to watch. Moreover, all the men, women, and children in the village squeezed their heads into performance venues such as theaters and temple fairs, fully enjoying the joy brought by Hubei tea picking dance. Nowadays, it is difficult to see such a scene. Tea picking dance enters the campus, and the audience is also very few. For example, primary and secondary schools only use tea picking dance as an interlude in artistic performances, and it is not the grand finale of the entire evening party. The entire social market and cultural atmosphere have gone forever. The audience loss of Hubei tea picking dance is severe, and the weakness of subsequent strength has been shown.

In summary, the main problems in the inheritance of Hubei tea picking dance are the gradual shrinkage of inheritors, the gradual reduction of inheritance fields, the aging of inheritance audiences, and the gradual weakness of new forces in inheritance.

VII. Strategies for the Inheritance and Development of Hubei Tea Picking Dance

With the development of the times, the integration of culture, and the impact of aesthetic concepts, the inheritance of traditional folk dance in China is no longer limited to oral and personal teaching. By sorting out the current situation of tea picking dance inheritance in various regions of China, the following inheritance and development strategies are summarized.

(1) Utilizing digital technology

In the inheritance work of folk dance, the collection of materials occupies the first place. Hubei tea picking dance has undergone a long evolution, but the once popular tea picking dance culture is facing the dilemma of extinction. In the protection and inheritance of most

folk dances, the collection and preservation of data are of utmost importance. In order to obtain more detailed information, tea picking dance protection workers need to conduct on-site inspections among the people, search and excavate relevant dance materials in detail. The addition of digital equipment greatly facilitates the progress of this work and reduces the burden on the staff. For example, cameras, camcorders, and other devices can objectively and truthfully record the performance forms, vocabulary, props, and other related things of folk dance. Cameras and scanners can copy and scan precious dance literature passed down through the stream. Digital recording devices can record voice data of folk dance in great detail, and a thin laptop and mobile hard drive can store a large amount of data, And it can also be stored for a long time.

The addition of digital equipment and technology has also made the data collection of tea picking dance more detailed and accurate. Hubei tea picking dance is a relatively complex system with a large amount of relevant information. Its content not only includes dance movements and props, but also includes dance culture, history, customs, and some representative tea picking dance artists. The collection of these contents using traditional methods can be time-consuming, labor-intensive, and lacks comprehensiveness and systematicity. However, with the support of digital devices, The staff can collect the information as comprehensively and in detail as possible. For example, after collecting information on representative artists of tea picking dance, staff can record their lives through text and pictures, use cameras and DV machines to record dance performance segments, and take interviews with others to comprehensively and accurately preserve relevant information.

There are many kinds of digital virtual technology, including motion capture technology, character animation technology, motion editing technology and many other aspects. In short, digital virtual technology is to use digital technology to record and digitize the motion track of human motion, and then input it into the computer in the form of binary code for unified storage and processing, and finally present it in analog form. Taking the motion capture technology as an example, it was initially applied to the production of animated films. The recording personnel projected the movements of the dance performers on the computer screen through

motion capture equipment, and the later staff produced the animated pictures according to the projected actors' movements. With the development of technology and the continuous maturity of digital virtual technology, audiences can directly enjoy realistic dance performances through VR glasses, and every dance action is vivid. With special tools, audiences can even participate in it, achieving a collaborative dance with virtual scenes. Therefore, the scene reproduction function of digital virtual display technology provides a new method for the inheritance of traditional folk dance, making the public's perception and experience more profound. Although this technology is not currently widely applied, this novel feature will greatly attract everyone's interest and promote public understanding of Hubei tea picking dance, facilitating the learning of folk dance enthusiasts.

(2) Improving the pertinence of tea picking dance teaching

The art of tea picking dance has extremely high value. It conveys a cultural connotation and realizes the cultural functions required for psychology. It is a living culture closely related to people's lives, a symbol of folk customs and rituals, and expresses widely recognized values and survival needs. Therefore, in terms of the inheritance and development of tea picking dance education in schools, existing institutions should actively promote it in the form of ethnic culture courses, dance elective courses, sports elective courses, school art clubs or dance competitions and performances, so as to enrich campus cultural life while realizing the inheritance of tea picking dance.

Taking the inclusion of tea picking dance in the school physical education teaching system as an example, it can be carried out from the aspects of physical education teaching, physical exercise, physical training, and sports competitions of tea picking dance. In terms of content, it is necessary to select the tea picking dance works for teaching, or start with the classic dance movements of the tea picking dance, combine them with modern physical exercise methods to innovate and adapt them, select techniques, simplify routines, and develop a comprehensive exercise plan centered on the tea picking dance project. Targeted analysis and explanation of the tea work activities and folk culture involved in the tea picking dance should

be conducted, Enable students to comprehensively and systematically understand the traditional cultural and spiritual connotations of tea picking dance while mastering the relevant technical movements of tea picking dance.

Meanwhile, aesthetic ability is an important basic ability for art students studying dance. The artistic appreciation ability of students in dance comes from the cultivation of their ability to discover, recognize, and evaluate beauty in daily teaching. Teachers can organize and lead students to conduct in-depth analysis of the decomposition of tea picking dance movements, while guiding students to actively understand the emotions contained in dance, appreciate the unique charm of dance, and improve the aesthetic ability of dance during learning.

(3) Increase the creative efforts of tea picking dance works

Any form of culture and art requires active innovation. In the process of protecting and inheriting the tea picking dance of the Tujia ethnic group, it should also meet the requirements of the times and integrate more innovative elements to promote its development. In promoting its long-term development, on the basis of retaining the original characteristics of Tujia tea picking dance, targeted innovation is carried out to strengthen the vitality of Tujia tea picking dance. At the same time, innovative Tujia tea picking dance is also reflected in lighting, dancers' facial makeup, performance clothing, and other aspects. Only by innovating the Tujia tea picking dance in a targeted manner and presenting it with a new posture in front of the public can we truly achieve the long-term inheritance and protection of the Tujia tea picking dance. But to achieve this, it requires the efforts of all parties in Chinese society to actively play their own role in innovating Tujia tea picking dance, in order to achieve better inheritance and development of traditional Chinese culture.

The creation of Hubei tea picking dance needs to be based on inheriting and carrying forward the "tea culture of Hubei", and to join the special way of contemporary people to express their feelings with music and dance under different cultures. First of all, by extracting the elements and typification of local tea picking culture, Hubei tea picking culture was choreographed on the basis of modern aesthetics, which changed its traditional artistic form of ex-

pression and made it easier for the masses to accept, naturally solving the problem of where local folk culture should go in the face of the impact of new market culture.

(4) Expand the audience of tea picking dance

Nowadays, square dance is very popular, and elderly people in every household enjoy dancing on the square after dinner to maintain their physical health. The tea picking dance originated from labor and can play a role in strengthening the body. To innovate dance movements in a targeted manner, most of the people who perform square dancing are elderly people who naturally do not learn tea picking dance meticulously. However, it can be simplified based on the tea picking movements and adapted into movements that can be quickly learned by the elderly.

The aging population in our country is becoming increasingly severe, characterized by "accelerated growth of the elderly population, accelerated growth of the elderly, and accelerated empty-nesting", which is a major social issue related to the overall situation. Health is the cornerstone of human survival and development. Elderly people not only need sufficient material life, but also healthy physical fitness and a rich spiritual life. Focusing on solving the health problems of the elderly, enabling them to have a healthy physique and a pleasant physical and mental state, will help alleviate this social problem.

At the same time, there are also requirements for the field of literature and art: "Adhere to the people-centered creative direction, and launch more excellent works that enhance the spiritual strength of the people. In view of this, we can attempt to expand the tea picking dance to the elderly population based on the value orientation of caring for the physical and mental health of the elderly; Integrating ethnic dance art with the overall goals and requirements of a healthy China, to assist the physical and mental health of the elderly population.

(5) Balance the relationship between tea picking dance and cultural ecology

Cultural ecology refers to the environment on which human beings create culture. From the perspective of cultural ecology, the natural space for the emergence and development of culture, human living and cultural creation is a humanistic space with historical inheritance and ethnic characteristics. Therefore, cultural ecology includes the connotation of natural ecology and humanistic ecology. Different landforms and geographical locations have created different agricultural production and lifestyles, and the folk dance art formed in production and life practice has significant regional differences; The cultural space formed under certain historical and regional conditions embodies rich habits and artistic forms of expression, and the differences in natural cultural ecology further lead to the obvious differences in human ecology. Based on the perspective of cultural ecology, this paper examines the inheritance of Hubei tea picking dance, and comprehensively analyzes the natural ecology and human ecology of tea picking dance.^①

Firstly, the natural ecology determines the artistic style and inheritance vitality of folk dance. Different natural ecosystems have nurtured differentiated cultural and geographical environments, resulting in diverse and distinctive folk dances. In areas with inconvenient transportation and towering mountains, the conservative and resilient character of local residents has been cultivated, and their folk dances are simple and steady; But in geographical locations with favorable natural conditions and open communication, people have a friendly and enthusiastic personality, forming a lively and cheerful folk dance style. Moreover, transportation conditions and the level of cultural exchange between regions will affect the vitality of ethnic dance inheritance. Convenient transportation and prosperous economy will play a promoting role in the inheritance of folk dance.

Secondly, the humanistic ecology is a cultural environment composed of specific histori-

① 宋媛, 构建旅游文化新业态营造传统民间舞蹈发展 [J]. 艺术研究, 2017, (04): 24-25 页。

cal conditions and the established lifestyles, aesthetic tastes, and value pursuits of people in a region. The unique wedding customs, sacrificial ceremonies, and celebration customs in different regions will give birth to diverse folk dances, and the regional cultural atmosphere and awareness of traditional culture inheritance will all affect the effectiveness of folk dance inheritance.

With the rapid development of society, local folk dance culture is gradually ignored, which leads to the imbalance between cultural ecology and local folk dance. Therefore, we should strengthen the construction of balanced cultural inheritance methods to promote the dissemination and development of traditional culture. On the one hand, the government should play its own role by building corresponding infrastructure and effectively restoring traditional customs in various regions, in order to build suitable performance venues for local folk dances and promote the dissemination of traditional culture. On the other hand, relevant personnel should create excellent folk dance works. When creating local folk dances, we should pay attention to their reflection of local culture and avoid the emergence of vulgar dance works. With the development of the times, the cultural significance of local folk dance has also been enhanced, and it more represents traditional culture and art. For local folk dance, cultural ecology can promote its inheritance and development, improve the form of expression of local folk dance, and increase the cultural connotation of local folk dance.

VIII. Conclusion

Folk dance has both artistic and cultural attributes, and is the wisdom crystallization of ancient Chinese laborers. The traditional, folk, performative, and collective characteristics of folk dance are distinct, and their contemporary values are diverse. However, from the current situation, there are still some obvious problems in the inheritance of folk dance. In the context of the development of the new era, multicultural trends of thought continue to impact and develop. We should base ourselves on Chinese traditional culture, tap the excellent connotation of Chinese traditional culture, endow it with new forms and elements, better familiarize peo-

ple with folk tea picking opera and tea picking dance, understand the ideological connotation and internal feelings of Chinese traditional tea picking culture, and better realize the inheritance and development of Chinese folk tea picking culture.

In the context of rapid economic development in modern society, people's living standards have significantly improved. After obtaining material satisfaction, people begin to actively pursue spiritual enjoyment. In order to avoid unreasonable phenomena during the development and use of Hubei tea picking dance, effective measures should also be taken to protect it when promoting and innovating traditional folk dance in practice. In the process of developing and utilizing specific tea picking dances, it is necessary to establish a full understanding of the cultural essence, development history, and other factors of tea picking dance, fully understand the humanistic emotions and ideas conveyed in tea picking dance, accurately grasp the main categories that tea picking dance can apply, explore its expression methods and key content, summarize and excavate its ideological connotation and core cultural elements, On the premise of fully understanding and comprehending various factors of tea picking dance, gradually expanding the movements, images, and expression techniques of folk dance, and ensuring the maintenance of the original ideological and cultural spirit of tea picking dance, actively introducing modern and new organizational techniques, promoting the close connection between tea picking dance and current ideology and culture, not only helps to express the cultural connotations contained in tea picking dance in its original form, At the same time, it can also attract more people to participate in the inheritance and development of tea picking dance, ensuring that it can be scientifically and reasonably developed and inherited.

Hubei tea picking dance has a long history, diverse forms, and rich cultural connotations, which is the crystallization of the wisdom created by the working people of Hubei over the years. In the context of the rapid progress of science and technology, a major issue currently facing us is how to find an innovative way to inherit and protect Hubei tea picking dance culture between " tradition" and " modernity". Contemporary people should not only have a broad historical and cultural perspective, but also a sense of mission and responsibility to inherit excellent cultural heritage. They should clearly predict the crisis and potential trans-

formation of Hubei tea picking dance in the modernization process, and also raise awareness of the importance of protecting Hubei tea picking dance. On this basis, active and effective protection strategies should be adopted to achieve innovative development of the long-standing Hubei tea picking traditional dance, Make due contributions to the inheritance and dissemination of excellent traditional Chinese culture.

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神圣性专题



《庄子·内篇》中的时空链条及其意蕴

刘振^①（宁波财经学院）

内容提要：《庄子·内篇》是《庄子》文本中最成系统的思想论述，而其中涉及时间、空间的表达并非随意设置，而是包含了深刻的理路，并构成严谨的叙述链条，不可轻易拆散。庄子对时间、空间表达的运用，丰富而深刻。时间、空间在庄子笔下，从表示空间的广大、事物之间的区分的“有”的时间、空间，逐步提升到“无”的时间、空间，在这种时间、空间中，时间没有长短之别，空间没有大小之分，而只有纯粹程度的差异。庄子将这样的时间、空间运用到人、己关系的讨论中，然后再次提示了偶然的和必然的时间、空间，并对人们对必然时间的轻视、对修道者之间的空间提出严厉的警示。

关键词：时间 空间 人己 偶然 必然

庄子是战国时期道家思想的代表人物，并对中国文化形成了深远的影响。《庄子·内篇》则是庄子思想最集中的体现，在汪洋恣肆的文字中，向我们展示了道家思想的丰厚意蕴。我们知道，所有的思想都产生于一定的时空之中，而思想家在其作品中所表现的时间和空间的意识，是我们理解其思想、了解思想家本人的重要依据，因此，我们将分别从内篇文本中的时间、空间两个维度讨论庄子的思想。

一、庄子内篇中的时间链条及其意蕴

在通常的研究中，《庄子》文本中一些与时间有关的表述常常会被忽视，而我们将看到，庄子关于时间的所有表述，全都蕴含深意，且构成严谨的链条。在这篇文

^① 刘振，宁波财经学院讲师，中央民族大学宗教学博士，武汉大学美学方向博士后，从事中国哲学、美学研究。

章里，我们试图按照篇章次序，对《庄子·内篇》中的时间表达做一次全景式的讨论，以展现其深刻的意蕴。

1. 逍遥游

内篇中第一处与时间有关的文字是“北冥有鱼，其名为鲲。鲲之大，不知其几千里也。化而为鸟，其名为鹏。鹏之背，不知其几千里也；怒而飞，其翼若垂天之云。是鸟也，海运则将徙于南冥。南冥者，天池也。齐谐者，志怪者也。谐之言曰：“鹏之徙于南冥也，水击三千里，抟扶摇而上者九万里，去以六月息者也。野马也，尘埃也，生物之以息相吹也。”在《逍遥游》开篇，庄子就为我们描述了一个极为广阔的时空，鲲鹏之大，皆有几千里，如此巨物，从北冥到南冥，竟也需要“六月”的旅程才结束，其飞腾之高，则上至九万里。“六月”，为一岁之半，既言其久，又引出下面“野马也，尘埃也，生物之以息相吹也。”后人注释，以为野马指“春月泽中游气也。”成玄英认为“青春之时，阳气发动，遥望萼泽，犹如奔马，故谓之野马。”则野马在这里也向我们指示了充满生机的春天。同时，野马尘埃，也是鲲鹏视野之下渺小之物。那么，时间在这里，既是为了说明空间的广大，也借春天生物相吹，并使大、小之间得以关联。而无论大小，皆按天道运转。那么天道，就更是致广大而尽精微了。

然而虽然无论大小皆有其道，大小之间，却仍然是有所分别，小不能为大，大也不能为小。时间既是大、小之间的关联者，又是二者之间的区别者。“适莽苍者三餐而反，腹犹果然；适百里者宿春粮；适千里者三月聚粮。之二虫又何知！小知不及大知，小年不及大年。奚以知其然也？朝菌不知晦朔，惠蛄不知春秋，此小年也。楚之南有冥灵者，以五百岁为春，五百岁为秋；上古有大椿者，以八千岁为春，八千岁为秋。而彭祖乃今以久特闻，众人匹之，不亦悲乎！”因为路途的远近，人们准备粮食所需的时间是不同的，而至于不同的生物，各有其生命的限制，生命限制之外的事情，则无从得知。“小知不及大知，小年不及大年”，那么，时间在此成了知识程度的一种标志。生物如此，人也一样。人的寿命约在百年左右，所以彭祖的寿命，就成了人间的特例。人生有涯，则其知必也有限。庄子在此指示的，正是人的有限性。在空间的广度上，大小之间的辨别并不是非常重要，而在时间的长度上，

这种区隔却是非常残酷的，“不亦悲乎！”既悲众人的无知，也悲人生的限度。这里我们应知，时间既然指示了事物之间的分别，那么也就意味着这分别之外，就是事物“无”的一面了。

然而此种限度，并非毫无可解。下面，庄子就分析了限度产生的根结所在及解决问题的方向。“夫列子御风而行，泠然善也，旬有五日而后反。彼于致福者，未数数然也。此虽免乎行，犹有所待者也。若夫乘天地之正，而御六气之辩，以游无穷者，彼且恶乎待哉！故曰：至人无己，神人无功，圣人无名。”列子虽然远不能像鲲鹏那样飞翔，却仍然可以借助风力做“旬有五日”的飞行，这在人间自然已经是罕有之福。但这种飞行，仍然是有限的，旬有五日是一个明显的时间的限制，但庄子更由此指出一个更深刻的限制，即列子需要凭借风力，而这个限制，不只是对列子的限制，即便是鲲鹏，也同样需要风力。庄子寥寥数笔，就把开篇那种宏大的空间感一并消解了。无论大、小，竟然都是“有待”的。时间、空间都只是限度的标尺而已。然而庄子随即就提出了一种解决方案，以无化有。

庄子将大、小的问题转化为有、无的问题。鲲鹏尺度上的空间，“六月”可以作为一个限度，仍然是有穷尽的。庄子这里却说到了“无穷”，无可穷尽。这种无穷，不仅是空间上的，也是时间上的。在这种无穷的尺度上，有限的事物就无可“待”，也就只能处于一种“无待”的状态。而要做到“无待”，则需要“乘天地之正，而御六气之辩”，如此，则无穷可“游”。其实，这里的天地之正，仍然包含了空间的含义；而六气之变，则含有时间的意味，但这种时空，不是从生物自身的角度规定的时空，而是从“道”的角度规定的时空。从生物角度规定的时空，只能“以物观物”，所以是小大之辩。而从“道”来规定时空，“以道观物”，就可以“以无御有”。这是庄子思想中一个重要的逻辑链条，视角的转变，使得“人”能够获得一个“无穷”的时空，可以“以道观人”。而对于“人”来说，“无”可以从多个方面体现，也就是“至人无己，神人无功，圣人无名”。庄子下面列举了至人、神人、圣人的例子做了说明。

但是，神圣遥远，今人何以用之呢？在庄子与惠施的讨论中，庄子又提出了达到“无”的途径和方式，这种途径和方式，仍然包含了对时间和空间的运用。“庄子曰：“夫子固拙于用大矣。宋人有善为不龟手之药者，世世以泝澠絖为事。客闻之，

请买其方百金。聚族而谋曰：‘我世世为泝澼絇，不过数金；今一朝而鬻技百金，请与之。’客得之，以说吴王。越有难，吴王使之将。冬，与越人水战，大败越人，裂地而封之。能不龟手一也，或以封，或不免于泝澼絇，则所用之异也。”不龟手之药，因为转变了其使用的时空的，而获得天壤之别的效果，而这也正是由无到有的方便法门。以道观物，并不否定物的存在、大小，而是对物进行的转化。“今子有大树，患其无用，何不树之于无何有之乡，广莫之野，彷徨乎无为其侧，逍遥乎寝卧其下？不夭斤斧，物无害者，无所可用，安所困苦哉！”以大小观之则无用，以有无观之则逍遥。

由上面的分析可以看出，时间在《逍遥游》的文本中发挥了重大的作用，既是大小之间的关联者，又是其间的区隔者；既是有无的指示者，又是转化的承载者。时间之义大矣哉！然而，庄子对于时间的运用远不止此。下面我们继续分析其在内篇文本的运用。

2. 齐物论

在《齐物论》中，时间同样发挥了重要作用。“南郭子綦隐机而坐，仰天而嘘，荅焉似丧其耦。颜成子游立侍乎前，曰：“何居乎？形固可使如槁木，而心固可使如死灰乎？今之隐机者，非昔之隐机者也。”子綦曰：“偃，不亦善乎而问之也！今者吾丧我，汝知之乎？”南郭子綦隐机之间，似乎失去了所有的凭借，脱离了形体。文中用到“今、昔”二字表明其状态的变化，今、昔本来都是指示时间的，这里则是其境界的不同，“今者吾丧我”。今昔之间微妙的变化，却引发了以下天籁、人籁、地籁的讨论，这里的讨论，延续了有待、无待的分别，有待的是地籁、人籁，无待的就是使万窍得鸣之物，就是天籁了。天籁不待其窍而得，吾、我之间，也是以有待无待分别的。脱离了形体的窠臼，也是超乎大小而达于有无了。

同样的，《齐物论》也延续了大小之辩。“大知闲闲，小知闲闲；大言炎炎，小言詹詹。”大小之辩，仍然是在显示差异。对于这些无穷尽的差异，庄子用“时间”指出其要害，“其杀若秋冬，以言其日消也”，差异越来越多，人们就越是拘泥其中，越陷越深。今昔的变化显示脱离窠臼，而秋冬的演进显示差异的束缚。但是要寻找这些差异的根源，似乎是毫无办法。“喜怒哀乐，虑叹变愁，姚佚启态；乐出虚，蒸

成菌。日夜相代乎前，而莫知其所萌。已乎已乎！旦暮得此，其所由以生乎！”差异的根源，如果要以时间的久远来推究，是不可能达到的。这种方式是应该终止的。但是对于人来说，“非彼无我，非我无所取。是亦近矣，而不知其所为使。”时间久远之事，难以穷究。然而人的存在，与自然必不相远，从自身出发，也许能体会“真宰”之理，但同样不能使之显现。更何况人身日日与物相接，强行追究，必然南辕北辙。身体如此，心也一样。“夫随其成心而师之，谁独且无师乎？奚必知代而心自取者有之？愚者与有焉。未成乎心而有是非，是今日适越而昔至也。”随成心而师之是可以的，但是找不到根源；如果没有成心，则会陷入是非之中。庄子这里，用了“今日适越而昔至”，在时间上的诡辩，未行而已至，同样是不可能的。

庄子否定了以上对根源的穷究，然后指出，“是亦彼也，彼亦是也。彼亦一是非，此亦一是非。果且有彼是乎哉？果且无彼是乎哉？分则有彼此，合则无彼此。彼是莫得其偶，谓之道枢。枢始得其环中，以应无穷。是亦一无穷，非亦一无穷也。故曰“莫若以明。”“分则有彼此，合则无彼此”，是说在彼此的分别之中，其实就包含了超出分别的途径这个途径就是“环中”。在是非之间，无所取求，处于一种微妙的“无”的形态，这恰恰就是根本所在。有了根本，就可以应用无穷，这个无穷，才是真正的时间和空间，是“无”的时空，是那个无所“耦”的形态，也就是下文“道通为一”的状态，一而无二。这里，庄子再次用到了时间，也就有了“朝三暮四”的典故。“狙公赋芋，曰：“朝三而暮四。”众狙皆怒。曰：“然则朝四而暮三。”众狙皆悦。名实未亏，而喜怒为用，亦因是也。”朝三暮四，朝四暮三，实则还是《逍遥游》中说到的时空的转换，得其环中，才说得上是转换，转换不穷，正是道通为一的表现，只是《齐物论》中的讨论是更为深入和具体了。不过庄子的讨论并不停留在这个“环中”，而是由此进一步推衍。“天下莫大于秋毫之末，而泰山为小；莫寿于殇子，而彭祖为夭。天地与我并生，而万物与我为一。”泰山秋毫，这是空间上的，彭祖殇子，则关乎时间。在“无”的时间与空间中，其间的巨大差别不仅泯灭了，甚至颠倒了。庄子推天道以明人事，道通为一的直接后果，就是对“我”的再次确认。“天地与我并生，而万物与我为一。”“我”在天地、万物的“环中”。而“我”之中更有“至人”，“大泽焚而不能热，河、汉沍而不能寒，疾雷破山、风振海而不能惊。若然者，乘云气，骑日月，而游乎四海之外。死生无变于己，而况利

害之端乎！”这里的至人与《逍遥游》中的神人一样，无物可伤。“乘云气，骑日月”，云气表示空间，日月表示时间，至人在“无”的时空之中，因而能够超越于有形的时空之上。时间的变化区分对于他们而言是毫无用处的，死生的变化也不会发生在他们身上。

死生如此，梦寐亦然。人的活动与梦寐，似乎也并无大异。“丘也，与女皆梦也；予谓女梦，亦梦也。是其言也，其名为吊诡。万世之后，而一遇大圣知其解者，是旦暮遇之也。”梦与醒为一，万世与旦暮同样是一，时间上的差别全然无谓。比如“众人役役，圣人愚春，参万岁而一成纯。”众人便如野马尘埃，春气所发，无须辨别。至于“万岁”，也并不一定就比“一时”更长，只是形容其“纯粹”而已。时间不用来表示长短，而是用来形容纯粹的程度，这种时间的特性，只能是“无”的时间才具有的。那么，既然一时与万岁并无实质的区分，彭祖的八百岁与常人的百年同样没有什么区别，只要纯粹程度相当，一时亦即万岁。一两金子是金子，万两金子仍然是金子。那么又何必追求长生与否呢？各尽其天年而已，各尽其性分而已，所以就有了“和之以天倪，因之以曼衍，所以穷年也。”那么在这里，“无”的时间与“有”的时间又最终获得了统一。而庄子为这种统一赋予了特别的“形象”。

在《齐物论》最后，便是庄周梦蝶。“昔者庄周梦为蝴蝶，栩栩然蝴蝶也，自喻适志与！不知周也。俄然觉，则蓬蓬然周也。不知周之梦为蝴蝶与，蝴蝶之梦为周与？周与蝴蝶，则必有分矣。此之谓物化。”梦觉之间，自然有所谓时间的变化，但庄子与蝴蝶，才是时间本身，是两种不同的时间，“必有分矣”，却又能“自喻适志”，无任奇妙之至。在《齐物论》中，时间的作用得到了升华。时间不仅表示区分，更表示纯粹的程度，也正是这一升华，既使“无”的时间得到显现，又最终与“有”的时间道通为一。

3. 养生主

在内篇第三篇《养生主》中，时间的作用同样重要。庄子一开始就说“吾生也有涯，而知也无涯。以有涯随无涯，殆已；已而为知者，殆而已矣。为善无近名，为恶无近刑。缘督以为经，可以保身，可以全生，可以养亲，可以尽年。”知识的分别最好回避，而生命的涯涘犹可寻求。“有”所谓时间与“无”的时间已然统一，那

么保身全生就是值得重视的。在这样的语境下，庄子讲述了庖丁解牛的故事。这个故事同样有浓厚的时间元素。庖丁首先对文惠君说明，“臣之所好者道也，进乎技矣。”有了道和技的区别，时间在此才获得意义。“始臣之解牛之时，所见无非牛者。三年之后，未尝见全牛也。方今之时，臣以神遇，而不以目视，官知止而神欲行。依乎天理，批大郤，道大窾，因其固然。技经肯綮之未尝，而况大軱乎！良庖岁更刀，割也；族庖月更刀，折也。今臣之刀十九年矣，所解数千牛矣，而刀刃若新发于硎。”庖丁将其解牛的生涯分作三个阶段，最初“所见无非牛者”，三年后则“未尝见全牛”，现在则只需“神遇”。这正是一个由“有”的时间向“无”的时间演进，并最终达到二者统一的过程。虽然解牛本身似乎是一个“空间”的过程，但有无之间的过渡，必须经历相当的时间才能完成，特别是“未尝见全牛”，说明在三年的时间中，“牛”已经在很大程度上“分解”了，用刀之前，已无全牛。或者说，“时间”已经深刻地参与到了解牛的过程中。因此在与良庖、族庖的比较中，另一种时间就产生了，也就是“更刀”的时间。庖丁的刀十九年而若“新发于硎”，时间在这里似乎是停止的。这恰恰是因为，庖丁早已从以刀解牛演进到了以神解牛，庖丁运刀已经能够做到“以无厚入有间，恢恢乎其于游刃必有余地矣”。这正是因为时间的参与，增加了空间的广度。这里的时间，也是增加纯粹程度的时间，而不是长短分别的时间了。而道与技的区别，实际上就是其中所包含的时间是长短区分层面的，还是纯粹程度上的。

下文中，庄子借老聃之死说出了“适来，夫子时也；适去，夫子顺也。安时而处顺，哀乐不能入也，古者谓是帝之县解。”生为其时，死为其顺，安时处顺，这是生死的时间，这种时间无须再做长短的区分，而全然成为一种“纯粹”意义上的时间了。这样的时间，才有所为“薪尽火传”，薪是“有”是时间，火是“无”的时间，薪尽火传，是二者的统一，“不知其尽也”，意味着“纯粹”的程度。这才是养生之道。

4. 人间世

有了《养生主》的养生之道，也就有了《人间世》的人、己之分。“古之至人，先存诸己，而后存诸人。所存于己者未定，何暇至于暴人之所行！”先己而后人，这

样的时间顺序，借孔子之口说出。其实在儒家来说，也有“古之学者为己，今之学者为人”的明训。两者之间，颇有相通之处。而“存”字“为”字中，我们也同样能解出时间的意味。如果自身的“时间”还不纯粹，还处在“有”的时间中，处在长短区分之中，是根本不足以为别人做到什么的，只会增加更多的分辨区隔，甚至殃及自身。所以孔子说“而强以仁义绳墨之言术暴人之前者，是以人恶有其美也，命之曰灾人。灾人者，人必反灾之，若殆为人灾夫！”孔子一再告诫颜回，不可用区分别的方式与人共事，而存诸己的方法，就是斋戒。

“颜回曰：“回之家贫，唯不饮酒、不茹荤者数月矣。如此，则可以齐乎？”曰：“是祭祀之齐，非心齐也。”回曰：“敢问心齐。”仲尼曰：“一若志，无听之以耳而听之以心，无听之以心而听之以气。听止于耳，心止于符。气也者，虚而待物者也。唯道集虚。虚者，心齐也。颜回问孔子，数月不饮酒、不茹荤，是否就可以做斋戒了。“数月”，在这里表明时间的长短，但孔子用另一种划分消解了这种时间的意义。孔子认为，这样的作为，只是能做祭祀上的斋戒，却不是“心斋”。祭祀本身，仍然近似于“存诸人”，并不能做到“存诸己”，存诸己的办法，就是心斋。心斋的特点，不在于时间长短、饮食控制，而在于收视返听，由心达气，达到一种虚灵的状态。我们可以看到，这里的心斋，同样是把“有”的时间转变成“无”的时间，转变成一种“虚”的时间，“虚而待物者也”。这样的时间能“待物”，不是区分事物，而是容纳、承载事物。当然，所谓“事物”，进入“虚”、“无”的时空之中，同样也不再是可分别之物了，而是道通为一，“唯道集虚”。庄子在下文中用“虚室生白”来形容心斋达到的“纯粹”状态。

有了心斋，便可以临事，由己及人。叶公子高出使齐国前，向孔子表达其忧惧之情，“今吾朝受命而夕饮冰，我其内热与！”朝夕之间，形容其忧惧之甚。孔子认为，“是以夫事其亲者，不择地而安之，孝之至也；夫事其君者，不择事而安之，忠之盛也；自事其心者，哀乐不易施乎前，正言之则为易施，倒言之则为施易也。知其无可奈何而安之若命，德之至也。为人臣子者，固有所不得已，行事之情而忘其身，情，实也。何暇至于悦生而恶死！”孔子的意思，就是对于这样不得已的事情，应该安之若命，“且夫乘物以游心，讫不得已以养中，至矣。”心与物游而不为之动，与事俱而无忧惧之情。“形莫若就，心莫若和”，事物在此已经转化为“虚”、“和”的

形态，不足为虑了。庖丁的解牛，花费了三年的时间才达到“目无全牛”，在时间中将牛解体。这里的心斋，则是在朝夕之间达到某种形态，然而“乘物以游心”，但这个“游”所花费的时间，并无一定之数。庄子就这样把朝夕受命的时间转化为游心养中的时间，时间的转换，使人得以从容不迫于不得已之间，这样“无”的时间又再次与“无”时间融合起来，一般无二了。这种从无到有，再从无到有的过程，正是庄子时间的妙用。

颜回、叶公子高有临事之忧，所以孔子告之以心斋、游心。然而最好的状态，应该还是“无用”。“子綦曰：“此何木也哉？此必有异材夫！”仰而视其细枝，则拳曲而不可以为栋梁；俯而见其大根，则轴解而不可为棺槨；啜其叶，则口烂而为伤；嗅之，则使人狂醒三日而不已。子綦曰：“此果不材之木也，以至于此其大也。嗟夫！神人以此不材！”南伯子綦看到的大树，不仅无所用，且能伤人，却又因如此，能成此大木。成为大木说明生长的时间长，能终其天年而不中道夭。那么“不材”，是获得时间最好的方式。一旦于人有用，时间的损害就是不可避免的。这里的时间，只须理解成长短、区分的时间即可。神人与常人的不同，恰恰是借此区分的，而“无”的时间，本来就蕴含在“有”的时间之中。而世人不知，所以便有了楚狂接舆的悲歌。“来世不可待，往世不可追也。天下有道，圣人成焉；天下无道，圣人生焉。方今之时，仅免刑焉。福轻乎羽，莫之知载，易取不取。祸重乎地，莫之知避，当避不避。已乎已乎，临人以德！殆乎殆乎，画地而趋！”未来的时间和过去的时间都无法捕捉，而今天的时间中，之所以“仅免刑焉”，恰恰是人们过分地重视“有”的时间，忽视“无”的时间，遂一步步造成现在的情形。无限而自由的时间，却让让人们以道德的名义挥霍殆尽，画地为牢。

在《人间世》，庄子通过时间的变化，提示人们在人、己之间的抉择，为自己储备充裕的“时间”，而不能恣意挥霍。

5. 德充符

常人惑于视听，每每为形声所蔽。但形声的差别，充满了偶然性。而有道之人，不与物迁化，则是带有必然性的。庄子借孔子之口，说出“死生亦大矣，而不得与之变，虽天地覆坠，亦将不与之遗。审乎无假，而不与物迁，命物之化，而守其宗

也。”变、遣、迁、化，都是变化之义，但这里却能不参与这种形态的变化，那么形态本身，其意义也就不足为贵。这也是兀者王骀能与孔子一样得到人们的尊崇的原因。“自其异者视之，肝胆楚越也；自其同者视之，万物皆一也。”形态的差异，无非是在“有”的时空中显现，无穷无尽；而从道的角度来看，无非都是一气的变化。“有”的时间是偶然存在的，“无”的时间则有必然性。“受命于地，唯松柏独也在，冬夏青青；受命于天，唯舜独也正，幸能正生，以正众生。”松柏冬夏长青，不随它木而凋，似乎并未生存于一般的时空之中。然而松柏也并非无材的大木，无材的大木也并不以冬夏青青为其特征，可见松柏的时间是偶然赋予的。

另外一个兀者申徒嘉，与郑国的子产同师于伯昏无人。子产却鄙弃其躯体的残疾，不愿与之同行。申徒嘉则说“吾与夫子游十九年矣，而未尝知吾兀者也。今子与我游于形骸之内，而子索我于形骸之外，不亦过乎！”申徒嘉之所以成为兀者，无非是在“仅免刑焉”的时代成为一个偶然的意外，子产却拘泥与外在的形象，将偶然的时间视为必然，自然要受到申徒嘉的嘲讽。这段对话另一个重要的时间是“十九年”，这是最外在的一种时间，在其老师伯昏无人那里，这种时间是不存在的，而在子产那里，其随便的一种歧视行为，都会长于这“十九年”，时间成了子产的负累，附着于形骸之外。而“游于形骸之内”的，是根本不受时间偶然形态束缚的。

对于这种必然的时间，庄子借孔子之口，进一步概括为“才全而德不形”。鲁哀公与一名叫哀骀它的恶人交往，而在数月、期年的时间里得到了很大的改变，却不明就里，因此向孔子请教。所谓“才全”，是“使之和豫通而不失于兑，使日夜无郛而与物为春，是接而生时于心者也。”日夜无隙，与物为春，这是必然的时间，连绵不断，生机盎然，不在四时，而在心中。这样的时间，与物为一，不受任何拘束，也就不必显现为明确的形态，这也就是“德不形”。“德不形者，物不能离也”，这种必然的时间，才是天地万物最可依赖的时间，一旦脱离，也就成为某种偶然的时间，而无能长久了。而哀骀它正是如此之人，掌握了这种必然的时间，而使与之接触的人都无法与之疏远。“故德有所长，而形有所忘”，外在、偶然的情形，是不必斤斤计较的。离必然的时间越近，离偶然的时间就越短。

至此，我们可以知道，在《德充符》的文本中，“有、无”的时间转化到了“偶然、必然”的时间，这是一个重要的变化。

6. 大宗师

时间在庄子笔下不断流转，运用到人、物之上，通常还是那个“天年”。“终其天年而不中道夭者”，这样的说法既是很高的成就，也是非常谦虚的期望。在《大宗师》的开篇庄子就说：“知天之所为，知人之所为者，至矣。知天之所为者，天而生也；知人之所为者，以其知之所知，以养其知之所不知，终其天年而不中道夭者，是知之盛也。虽然，有患。夫知有所待而后当，其所待者特未定也。”终其天年确实不是最高的成就，还有隐患，还有不确定的东西在。最高的成就，在“真人”那里，真人的成就种种，用有时间的特点来形容，就是“凄然似秋，暖然似春，喜怒通四时，与物有宜，而莫知其极。”这一点，与《德充符》中日夜无隙，与物为春的说法相类，全是任运自然，如四时的运转，其间的分别不是外在的，而是必然的，春则暖，秋则凄，没有终极。可见在真人那里，时间就是必然的时间、“无”的时间。

“天与人不相胜也，是之谓真人。死生，命也，其有夜旦之常，天也。人之有所不得与，皆物之情也。彼特以天为父，而身犹爱之，而况其卓乎！人特以有君为愈乎己，而身犹死之，而况其真乎！泉涸，鱼相与处于陆，相响以湿，相濡以沫，不如相忘于江湖。与其誉尧而非桀，不如两忘而化其道。”在必然的时间中，天人一体，所以无相胜之理。死生如夜旦，无可违逆，如果违逆，显然是人胜于天了。只要能够进入必然的时间之中，又有什么是不能舍弃的呢？所以相濡以沫不如相忘于江湖，所以誉尧非桀不如两忘而化其道。所谓两忘而化其道，其实也就是“得其环中”。但得其环中，以应无穷，是对是非的舍弃，未必需要“相忘”。相忘，已然包含了人、己的关系。在时间从有、无转为偶然、必然之后，人、己的关系也就从有无、不材转到了“相忘”。当然，相忘于江湖，两忘而化其道，毕竟还有江湖、还有道，这是真人所归之处。庄子也对“道”做了极为深刻的概括，而得道的人、物，莫不在时空中有大的成就，比如“日月得之，终古不息”，“彭祖得之，上及有虞，下及五伯”，这显然是时间层面上的表现。

但是真人不是人人可做，道也不是人人可学。南伯子葵见女偶年长而色如孺子，由此引发了道可学与否、谁能学道的问题，然而女偶则更进一步，把修道的过程告诉了南伯子葵。“吾犹守而告之，参日而后能外天下；已外天下矣，吾又守之，七日

而后能外物；已外物矣，吾又守之，九日而后能外生；已外生矣，而后能朝彻；朝彻，而后能见独；见独，而后能无古今；无古今，而后能入于不死不生。杀生者不死，生生者不生。其为物，无不将也，无不迎也；无不毁也，无不成也。其名为撝宁。撝宁也者，撝而后成者也。”修道的过程，三日、七日、九日等等，是时间的变化，而其中包含的则是外天下、外物、外生、朝彻、见独、无古今直到撝宁这样的一种修道次第。时间在这里，参与了消解各种区分、差异的过程，在某种程度上，也是对时间自身的消解，“无古今”，也就进入了“无”的时间、必然的时间。这是一人修道的过程，而对于修道的人之间，其关系的具体情形，庄子用了两段多人的对话来表现，也就是“子祀、子舆、子犁、子来四人相与语”和“子桑户、孟子反、子琴张三人相与友”，修道而相友，这种友情不同于常人的友情，面对友人的生死，自然也没有常人的表现，“鱼相忘乎江湖，人相忘乎道术”，本为一体，本无分别，这才是人、己之间最高的形态。友人之间如此，师徒之间则有颜回的悟道坐忘，“堕肢体，黜聪明，离形去知，同于大通，此谓坐忘。”废弃了仁义礼乐，达到了“坐忘”的状态。颜回为孔子弟子，无相忘之理，但坐忘却是师徒之间恰当的形态。

《大宗师》的最后说到“霖雨十日”，子舆访子桑，虽霖雨贫病，而安之若命，足见其入道之深。

7. 应帝王

《应帝王》为内篇的最后一篇，向我们展示了一系列的警示，即使高贵如帝王，也不可忽略这些警示。庄子特别讲到列子、壶子与神巫季咸之间的故事。季咸能知人生死，预期如神，使得列子对壶子的道术有所怀疑。壶子让列子带季咸来访，而示之以不同的形态，使得季咸的判断出现重大的矛盾和反复，也使列子重返正道。季咸在这里显然代表了对“有”的时间的掌握，而壶子则掌握了“无”的时间，能够“虚而委蛇”，随时变化，无法预测，这样，季咸的判断失去了其必然性，全然成了偶然而随机的事了。如此，壶子显示了道术之微妙，也是对怀疑道术者如列子的警示。

《应帝王》最后有关时间的文字也是内篇中最后有关的文字，就是浑沌凿七窍而死的故事，浑沌本无七窍，自然也没有视听的分别，而倏、忽以常理度之，为其日

凿一窍，七日而浑沌死。浑沌本来处于“无”的时间之中，却被外力凿出耳目分别，失去了其掌握的“时间”，而失去“时间”，也就意味着死。这显然是庄子所能给出的最严厉的警示。虽有大德，仍然需要与道合一，物莫之伤。浑沌之死，是时间之死。

综上，我们逐一讨论了《庄子·内篇》中有关时间的表述，不难发现，这些表述都有重要的意义，是庄子展开讨论的重要路标，缺一不可。而这些表述所蕴含的不同意义，逐步展示道家思想最为精微奥妙之处，是一个也不能忽视的。我们需要认真品味庄子运用时间的手法，进入庄子的时间之中，才能得其仿佛。

二、庄子内篇中的空间链条及其意蕴

《庄子·内篇》中有关时间、空间的描述非常丰富，这是我们了解庄子时空观念及其道家思想的重要依据，在我们已经讨论内篇中时间表达的内在意蕴之后，我们来讨论内篇文本中的空间表述，以考察其中是否蕴含着我们容易忽略的信息，并比较其与时间表达的关联。我们依然按照篇章的顺序以及空间描述出现的次序进行讨论。

1. 逍遥游

庄子在内篇的开篇就将我们带到一个极为广大奇瑰的空间之中，“北冥有鱼，其名为鲲。鲲之大，不知其几千里也。化而为鸟，其名为鹏。鹏之背，不知其几千里也；怒而飞，其翼若垂天之云。是鸟也，海运则将徙于南冥。南冥者，天池也。齐谐者，志怪者也。谐之言曰：“鹏之徙于南冥也，水击三千里，抟扶摇而上者九万里，去以六月息者也。”似乎只有在这样的空间之中，庄子才能展开其汪洋恣肆的思想，而读者也能暂时发其出尘之想。这里的空间尺度，以千里万里计，而不知其极。而这样超现实的空间仍然遵守平凡之理，“且夫水之积也不厚，则其负大舟也无力。覆杯水于坳堂之上，则芥为之舟，置杯焉则胶，水浅而舟大也。风之积也不厚，则其负大翼也无力。故九万里则风斯在下矣，而后乃今培风；背负青天而莫之夭阏者，而后乃今将图南。”鲲鹏形体巨大，飞翔则必有风，有能承载其体量的力量，才能在广阔的空间的迁徙，而这与水之负舟并无不同。这样的表述，一方面仍然再说明空

间的广大，另一面则又使这个空间向我们靠近，让我们可以理解。而在靠近之后，随即就展开了小、大之辩。“蜩与学鸠笑之曰：“我决起而飞，枪榆、枋，时则不至而控于地而已矣，奚以之九万里而南为？””“斥鴳笑之曰：“彼且奚适也？我腾跃而上，不过数仞而下，翱翔蓬蒿之间，此亦飞之至也。而彼且奚适也？””蜩、学鸠、斥鴳都是小鸟，所能飞跃的范围极为有限，这使它们无法理解鲲鹏数万里迁徙的目的。

其实，但凡超出我们生活尺度的事情，就总是难以理解的。这也是人之常情。庄子借奇特的空间，引发的却是一种“常情”，这种“常情”无处不在。如下文“故夫知效一官，行比一乡，德合一君而征一国者，其自视也亦若此矣。而宋荣子犹然笑之。”一乡、一国，是划分社会空间的方式，人们处在不同的社会空间，其感受也会有变化。而宋荣子却能做到“且举世誉之而不加劝，举世非之而不加沮”，超乎一世之上，足见其境界之高，但这样的境界，也仍然有不足，下面庄子又举了列子御风而行的奇特本领，但随即指出，这样的飞行，必然也如鲲鹏那样，都要借助风力，有“待”。有待则有限，鲲鹏亦然，这样，庄子又从“常情”向超出常情的领域推衍，于是就有了“若夫乘天地之正，而御六气之辩，以游无穷者，彼且恶乎待哉！”从鲲鹏推及斥鴳，又从一乡推至无穷，庄子在空间之中往返游走，无拘无碍。不难理解，如果没有开篇引入北冥的广阔空间，那么这个无穷的空间就很难顺理成章地推衍出来。而一旦无穷的空间展现出来，引发小、大之辩的空间对比便失去了意义。庄子让人们获得了一种无穷的尺度。从“有”的空间进入“无”的空间，这样，虽然常人无法了解鲲鹏那种广大的空间，却竟然进入了一个超乎尺度之上的无穷的空间。而一旦进入这样的空间，平常的空间就再也引不起“人”的兴趣了。

“至人无己，神人无功，圣人无名。”己、功、名，是人在一般空间尺度上可以获得和追寻的，但对于那些进入无穷空间的人，都变成了“无”。“尧让天下于许由”，天下，是社会空间中最大的尺度，但是许由完全无视其大。而接舆之言“大而无当，往而不返。吾惊怖其言，犹河汉而无极也，不近人情焉。”进入无穷的空间，自然往而不返，疏离了在通常尺度下人的感受。至于藐姑射之山的神人，就更是如此，不仅不在通常的空间活动，而且即便在一般空间中，那些灾害也不能对其造成影响。

在下文庄子与惠施的对话中，庄子以越人在不同时空运用不龟手之药而获得巨

大成就揭示了空间转化的可能，“有”的空间完全可以转化为“无”的空间。“今子有大树，患其无用，何不树之于无何有之乡，广莫之野，彷徨乎无为其侧，逍遥乎寝卧其下？”惠施的大树，在通常的空间中毫无用处，实则就是失去了“空间”，而庄子则认为可以将大树放置于一种“无”的空间中，在这种空间中，大树的作用才能显现。所谓无用之用，并不是脱离时空的，而只是在“无”的空间中才能实现的。

2. 齐物论

《齐物论》一开始，就显示了人物进入“无”的空间的状态。“南郭子綦隐几而坐，仰天而嘘，荅焉似丧其耦。”这是一个非常具有空间感的表达，南郭子綦隐几而坐，却忽然如解体般离开了身体的寓所。南郭子綦把这种变化叫做“吾丧我”，其实就是脱离“有”的空间，进入“无”的空间。随后南郭子綦向其弟子解释了这种变化，这种解释，仍然从空间入手。“夫大块噫气，其名为风。是唯无作，作则万窍怒呿。而独不闻之蓁蓁乎？山林之畏佳，大木百围之窍穴，似鼻，似口，似耳，似枅，似圈，似臼，似洼者，似污者；激者，謦者，叱者，吸者，叫者，号者，突者，咬者，前者唱于而随者唱喁。泠风则小和，飘风则大和，厉风济则众窍为虚。风止则万窍寂然。而独不见之调调、之刁刁乎？子游曰：“地籁则众窍是已，人籁则比竹是已。敢问天籁。”子綦曰：“夫吹万不同，而使其自己也，咸其自取，怒者其谁邪！”能随风发出声音的窍穴，具有不同的空间特征和声音的特征，但这些都只是地籁，人籁则是人使用乐器时发出的声音，乐器本身，包含一种空间，但是那种天籁，却并不以特定的空间为特征，没有人知道天籁赖以产生的空间，天籁产生于“无”的空间中。

“无”的空间，自然不必以可见的形态做判断的标志，但也不必完全与有差异的事物区别开来，“有、无”之间，同样可以构成一定的“空间”。就如在《逍遥游》中，庄子以水之负舟来解释鲲鹏对风力的凭借，“无”的道理仍然可以用“有”来表示出来。这就是“彼亦一是非，此亦一是非。果且有彼是乎哉？果且无彼是乎哉？分则有彼此，合则无彼此。彼是莫得其偶，谓之道枢。枢始得其环中，以应无穷。”是非本身，是较为抽象的，但庄子用了“得其环中”这种空间样式加以概括。“无”不仅可以用“有”来表示，甚至就存在于“有”之中，有、无达到了统一，在这种

空间结构中，也就不难得出“天下莫大于秋毫之末，而太山为小”的结论了。“天地与我并生，而万物与我为一”，既然是一体，空间上的大小就没有实质的分别。当然，这样的空间观念首先是圣人获得的，而圣人以“无”的空间进入各种空间之中“以应无穷”。“六合之外，圣人存而不论；六合之内，圣人论而不议。春秋经世，先王之志，圣人议而不辩。”六合之外，没有人世各种分别的干扰，本来无事，因而可以存而不论。六合之内，天地万物的整体空间，人虽居其一，并不占据主要的位置，圣人处于“环中”即可，随四时运转。而在春秋之世，人类活动日益为各种分别搅扰、伤害，此时的圣人，自然不能陷入分辨之中，而是要将人们从分辨的空间引导进“无”的空间之中。圣人对于不同的空间，有不同的处置，但归结起来，在圣人这里，各种空间同样是道通为一的。

庄子在此举尧舜故事为例。“故昔者尧问于舜曰：“我欲伐宗、脍、胥敖，南面而不释然。舜曰：“夫三子者，犹存乎蓬艾之间。若不释然，何哉？昔者十日并出，万物皆照，而况德之进乎日者乎！””尧为圣王，而生征伐之心，征伐之心，显然出于对事物的差别认识。但这又与其内在德性产生了冲突，南面而不释然，便问舜原因何在。舜的解释其实就是说圣王之德如太阳普照万物，三个小国只是蓬艾之间的小事，却不能感其德泽，是自违其心。征伐，是在一定空间中进行的，而尧这样进入了“无”的空间的圣王，却有堕入“有”的空间的危险。足见有、无的空间是何等微妙。有、无的空间虽然可以达到统一，但稍有不慎，便有堕落的可能。

3. 养生主

“吾生也有涯，而知也无涯。以有涯随无涯，殆已。”生命的涯涘，既可以是空间的，也可以是时间的。就如知识的涯涘，在空间和时间上都是无可穷尽的，也就是说，各种各样的分别、区隔，是不可穷尽的。那么在有限的人生空间中，不应如此地陷入各种差异之中。在庖丁解牛的故事中，庖丁通过长期的修习，逐渐将自己从解牛的各种差异中解放出来。解牛本身，就是对这种命名为“牛”的空间的分解，按空间的构成来解牛。但庖丁则逐渐将各种区别的空间统一为“神遇”，以神遇而不以目视，因为目视就是对空间差异的辨别，取消这种辨别，这种命名为“牛”的空间便失去“牛”的特性，而成为一般的、纯粹的空间，进而从有而无，从目无全牛，

到全以神遇。“彼节者有间，而刀刃者无厚，以无厚入有闲，恢恢乎其于游刃必有余地矣”，空间的分别消失，其结果恰恰是获得了更广阔、更纯粹的空间，游刃有余。而那些普通的庖厨，越是分别空间，其空间越是杂乱、狭小，损折其刀无数，庖丁则完全没有这样的问题，因此在解牛之后，可以“提刀而立，为之四顾，为之踌躇满志”，这正是空间广阔的外在表现。这样的空间，不仅能够扩充，而且能够流转。“指穷于为薪，以指析木为薪，火传也，不知其尽也。”薪尽火传，薪是有的空间，易于穷尽，而火则是纯粹的空间形态，能够如“环中”一样，在不同的薪上流转无穷，这样的空间，就成为纯粹的、无尽的空间了。

4. 人间世

“人间世”从字面上已有空间的意味。“古之至人，先存诸己，而后存诸人。”这里讨论的，正是人、己之间的空间，这种空间，先“存”诸己，后“存”诸人。“存”字本身，也包含了空间的含义。这种空间，是纯粹的空间，“无”的空间，只有自己获得这种空间，才可能向他人传递这种空间。否则，反而会将自己陷于危险的境地。孔子为颜回讲述了“心斋”之理。“一若志，无听之以耳而听之以心，无听之以心而听之以气。听止于耳，心止于符。气也者，虚而待物者也。唯道集虚。虚者，心齐也。”这里的“心斋”，就是存诸己的空间，这种空间需要“一若志”，“一”即统一而不杂乱，使之纯粹。“无听之以耳而听之以心，无听之以心而听之以气。”耳目皆有分辨之义，是对各种时空的分辨，所以要尽量避免，而从更为纯粹的心、气进入“空间”。“气”的特点是“虚而待物”，虚是空间的特征，其中毫无障碍杂乱，便是“虚”，也就是“心斋”。心斋相对于祭祀之斋戒而言，那种斋戒，只是在饮食上的控制，无法获得纯粹的空间。孔子告诫颜回，在人、己的空间中，“若能入游其樊而无感其名，入则鸣，不入则止。无门无毒，一宅而寓于不得已，则几矣。”一切不得已而为之，不强求特定的结果，强求两种空间的统一，这样才能保持自身空间的纯粹，则即便不能“存诸人”，却也不会危及自身的空间。如此，就能达到“瞻彼阒者，虚室生白”的高度，“白”表明自身空间的高度纯粹。

心斋确保在人、己的交接中自身空间的纯粹，但是如果无须与人交接，就更容易保持这种纯粹。“匠石之齐，至于曲辕，见栌社树。其大蔽数千牛，洁之百围，其

高临山十仞而后有枝，其可以为舟者旁十数。”依后文的描述，这种大树，无材可用，甚至于人有害，而恰恰如此，使之能够不断生长，占据广大的空间，引人惊叹。这种空间，是不材的空间，无法因人的用途将其分解，因而这种空间，是一种纯粹的空间。“神人以此不材！”神人虽然不比有这样庞大的身躯，但能在人世的广阔、无穷尽的分别中保持自身的存在，不为这种分别伤害，这就是纯粹空间的运用。同样的，支离疏形貌不全，视觉上的空间支离破碎，却也仍然能够在人、己之间获得存在的空间，终其天年。庄子指出，“夫支离其形者，犹足以养其身，终其天年，又况支离其德者乎！”这里的“支离”，是对“有”的空间的支离，这种空间本质上是杂乱的，这种空间越是支离，那么完整而纯粹的空间越容易获得。其他的人都在追寻“有”的空间，也就把更多“无”的空间留了下来。

5. 德充符

外在形态的支离，在《人间世》已经得到论述，而在《德充符》中，所讨论到的人物，基本上都是这种支离其形支离其德的人。而支离是为了统一。“自其异者视之，肝胆楚越也；自其同者视之，万物皆一也。”肝胆同在一身之内，但却只从差异的角度去看，而忽略其在一身之内的事实，那么也可以视之为楚、越之别。庄子非常善于从切近的事物出发，去承接或引出宏大的命题，一身之内的肝胆如此，那么反之，世上的万物，不也有可能本为一体，却让我们充满差异的视角将其分崩离析。所以需要支离的，就是我们充满差异的成见。是我们的成见先支离了一体的世界，现在则要支离掉这种支离。其实就如后人对庄子的研究，不也同样是各种角度对其文本进行不断的支离么？道术将为天下裂，道术如此，庄子也如此。而要支离掉这些支离，已经是非常困难的事情。我们分别从时间、空间的角度进行的，也是一种支离，但我们试图达到的，是发现庄子文本中严格的时空链条及其同一性，“万物皆一也”。即便只是在成见中支离某些成见，仍然是有价值的。

从这样寻求“一”的角度去看，那么对各种差异的强调，都是充满偶然性的。正如各种成见的构成，本质上就是偶然性带来的结果。兀者申徒嘉，与郑子产同师于伯昏无人，而子产就因其残疾而形成成见，不愿与之共处。申徒嘉就为子产指出了这种偶然性的成见，“知无可奈何而安之若命，惟有德者能之。游于羿之彀中，中

央者，中地也，然而不中者，命也。人以其全足笑吾不全足者多矣。”而面对这种偶然性，最恰当的态度就是“知不可奈何而安之若命”，“安”是因为看到了差异之中的统一，偶然中的必然。“命”，则是二者的统一，犹如前文“有”的空间与“无”的空间的统一，这里则是偶然的空间与必然的空间的统一。申徒嘉因为为人歧视而来到伯昏无人门下，在这里“与夫子游十九年矣，而未尝知吾兀者也”，在必然的空间中，忘掉了自身空间的残缺，这种残缺，是偶然的。

在《德充符》中，庄子两次借孔子之口说到水的平止状态。“人莫鉴于流水，而鉴于止水，唯止能止众止。”“平者，水停之盛也。其可以为法也，内保之而外不荡也。”水平可以为鉴，即便是丑陋的人也不会因此发怒。显然的，就常识而言，水永远是流动的。水的静止反而是非常偶然的事。但这种偶然并未违背水的原理，并且是可以效法的。因为所谓必然的时间、必然的空间，也是诸多偶然性中的一种形态，但这种形态又是一种消除偶然的偶然，是一种达到统一的偶然。水平静止的状态，不就如圣人一样少见么？圣人也是偶然的，是处在必然之中的偶然。《德充符》里形体残缺的人，比一般的人更接近这种必然的空间。而形貌具完的惠施，却是以坚白之说伤害其内在空间的。

6. 大宗师

《大宗师》的文本，一开始就与《逍遥游》形成呼应，在环环相扣又来到结尾的论述中，这种呼应是必要的。这种呼应从“知”开始，呼应了小知、大知的论辩。不同之处在于，《逍遥游》是从小、大之知推出一个无穷的时间、空间，《大宗师》则从一开始就是真人、真知了。真人的特征也呼应了《逍遥游》，还是那个“登高不栗，入水不濡，入火不热”的真人，真人自身构成一个“无”、环中、必然的空间，这种空间无论处在任何其他的空间之中，都不受其影响。而《大宗师》特别强调的，是人、己的空间，这又呼应了《人间世》的讨论。庄子指出，“泉涸，鱼相与处于陆，相响以湿，相濡以沫，不如相忘于江湖。与其誉尧而非桀，不如两忘而化其道。”单纯在有、无的空间中，人、己的关系似乎还难以达到这种“相忘”的状态，“环中”仍然是与外相应的，“不材”还是需要外人评判的。而“两忘”则说明人、己之间共同构成的无尽空间，这个空间不是独自构成的。

“夫藏舟于壑，藏山于泽，谓之固矣。然而夜半有力者负之而走，昧者不知也。藏大小有宜，犹有所逝。若夫藏天下于天下，而不得所逝，是恒物之大情也。特犯人之形而犹喜之，若人之形者，万化而未始有极也，其为乐可胜计邪！故圣人将游于物之所不得逝而皆存。”藏舟于壑，藏山于泽，只是把一个小的空间放在一个大的空间之中而已，但这些空间都是有限的，都能通过某种办法加以破坏。但是“藏天下于天下”，就无可破坏了，这是最大的空间。这句话中包含了两个“天下”，不应简单视为同一空间。这仍然是两个空间，但两个空间同样伟大，同样具有某种“必然”的性质，这样才能相互合为一体而不觉其变。“圣人将游于物之所不得逝而皆存”，“皆存”，就是相忘而两存，这种“物”，这种同质却有别的空间，就是“道”。“道”“自本自根，未有天地，自古以固存”，而能够与道“皆存”的人、物便获得非凡的成就，“豨韦氏得之，以挈天地；伏戏氏得之，以袭气母；维斗得之，终古不忒；日月得之，终古不息；堪坏得之，以袭昆仑；冯夷得之，以游大川；肩吾得之，以处大山；黄帝得之，以登云天；颛顼得之，以处玄宫；禺强得之，立乎北极；西王母得之，坐乎少广，莫知其始，莫知其终；彭祖得之，上及有虞，下及五伯；傅说得之，以相武丁，奄有天下，乘东维，骑箕尾，而比于列星。”以上这些，都是得道者在时间、空间上取得的成就，这就是“皆存”的状态。

这种“皆存”的状态，需要一系列的修习才能达到，这个过程包括外天下、外物、外生、朝彻、见独、无古今直到撝宁，这里的“外”，包含空间的含义，其实就是对区别之物的一种“支离”，支离掉这些有限的空间，逐步进入“道”的空间。庄子在这里特别分离了圣人之道与圣人之才，有圣人之道的不一定能成圣人，能成圣人的却不一定懂得如何成道，这就需要二者的配合，这就是一种人、己的关系了。人和道的关系需要通过某种人、己的关系才能完成。下文子祀、子舆、子犁、子来四人，子桑户、孟子反、子琴张三人之间的相互激励，就是如此。这也正是前文“夫道，有情有信，无为无形；可传而不可受，可得而不可见”的原因所在。这里的人、己关系，就是道的传、得关系。是两种同质空间的融合，但要融合，又应相忘。而受、见，显然以为者不能相忘的状态，这是不能得道的。“鱼相忘乎江湖，人相忘乎道术”，这才是修道者所应有的人、己关系，是修道者之间的空间形态。

7. 应帝王

内篇的主要讨论，在《大宗师》已经完成，《应帝王》的设置，包含了一种最后的警示。这是对修道者最后的警示。特别是浑沌凿七窍而死的故事，警示那些修道者取友不慎而为之所败的情形。“南海之帝为倏，北海之帝为忽，中央之帝为浑沌。倏与忽时相与遇于浑沌之地，浑沌待之甚善。倏与忽谋报浑沌之德，曰：“人皆有七窍，以视听食息，此独无有，尝试凿之。”日凿一窍，七日而浑沌死。”七窍，是人的空间，“有”的空间，偶然的空间，杂乱的空间，这些空间越多，那种“无”的空间，必然的空间，纯粹的空间就越少，七窍成而浑沌，以为着其丧失了所有的空间。

以上，我们将《庄子·内篇》中有关空间的部分逐一进行分析，庄子对空间的运用，如同其对时间的运用，都是从区分的空间、“有”的空间转变到“无”的空间，然后提升为必然的空间，并讨论了人、己之间，修道者之间的空间关系并提出严厉的警示。这些空间的表述，环环相扣，缺一不可，这是我们阅读庄子文本尤其应该注意的。

参考文献：

《庄子》，《二十二子》，上海：上海古籍出版社，1986年版。

寄禅法师诗歌美学及其承续研究

释普明（宁波七塔寺）

一、绪论

（一）选题缘起

释敬安（1851~1912），字寄禅，俗姓黄，名读山，生于湖南湘潭。自幼父母早亡，经历坎坷，出家以后为悟道，以苦行闻名。寄禅《八指头陀诗集·自述》中称出生于咸丰辛亥（1851）十二月初三日，对出家的经过记录云：“一日，见篱间白桃花忽为风雨摧败，不觉失声大哭，因慨然动出尘想，遂投湘阴法华寺出家，礼东林长老为师。时同治七年，余方成童也。”^①其出家时间，据其《嚼梅吟·自叙》：“十七岁出家于湘阴法华寺，礼东林长老为师。”^②所以一般认为，寄禅法师十七岁出家。

寄禅法师曾于宁波阿育王寺燃左手两指示佛，并剃臂肉奉佛，因自号八指头陀。寄禅法师德行高卓、交游广泛，先后主持大罗汉寺、上封寺、大善寺、密印寺、神鼎寺、长沙上林寺、宁波天童寺等寺院。辛亥革命之后，中国佛教总会成立，寄禅法师被公推为第一任会长。他践行“头陀行”到笃行“菩萨行”，身体力行推动了佛教的近代化和世俗化，是中国佛教史上一位承前启后的重要人物。^③

寄禅是充满传奇色彩的一代高僧。他凭借高卓的悟性，由目不识丁到自学成才，成为一代诗僧，并以诗传法，以诗会友。以多重身份、复杂的心境面对动荡时局。^④寄禅法师经常往来于湖湘与江南两地，远游山水、驻锡名寺之同时，参与两地的多个文学社团。寄禅法师以诗著称，为中国诗僧传统最后的高峰。著作有《八指头陀诗集》十卷、《八指头陀诗续集》八卷等。处在历史转变的重要关头，寄禅法师的诗歌创作思想带有明显的时代特征和很高的美学价值。对此，学界已经有了较为丰富

① 梅季点辑：《八指头陀诗文集》，长沙：岳麓书社，1984年，第453页。

② 梅季点辑：《八指头陀诗文集》，长沙：岳麓书社，1984年，第449页。

③ 李文兴：《晚清诗僧寄禅研究》，吉林大学博士论文，2015年，第6页。

④ 李文兴：《晚清诗僧寄禅研究》，吉林大学博士论文，2015年，第7页。

和全面的研究。但由于诗僧创作，处于佛学与文学之间，相关研究，能兼得两面者甚少。又因特殊的时代因缘，其诗歌美学的呈现与时代之间更有复杂的呼应，更是一般研究所不易触及。因此，寄禅法师的诗歌美学，犹待更为深入的挖掘。

（二）寄禅法师诗歌创作的相关研究

目前关于寄禅法师的研究主要集中在其生平活动、诗歌创作、诗歌意象、诗风特征等方面，以下略为陈述。

一、佛教活动方面。韩焕忠的《八指头陀的孝悌之思》^①写了寄禅法师对于所生父母、同生兄弟姊妹、有恩义之乡党邻里的尊崇和关爱之情。寄禅法师出家之后，在佛门中获得了安身立命的机遇，逐渐成长为一代高僧，并最终为佛教的利益献出了宝贵的生命，表达寄禅法师无缘大慈、同体大悲的精神。周冠明的《东南佛国天童寺》写了寄禅法师临危受命，振兴祖庭，成立中华佛教总会的一系列事件。伊岚的《“八指头陀”寄禅与北京法源寺》^②通过寄禅法师与法源寺的诸多关联，写了寄禅法师深为佛教寺庙之废置而忧虑，奔波于世俗，成为一代佛门师表。何崇恩的《清代湘潭诗僧——八指头陀》^③指出寄禅法师亦诗亦禅，亦僧亦俗的多重身份，揭示出其在动荡世间的复杂心境。其经历的曲折起伏，其心态的悲欣交集，其性情的激越或淡然，都在其诗歌中得到了充分体现。李岱松的《近代诗僧八指头陀》^④概括了寄禅法师一生的出世入世，忧国忧民、保教扶宗、卫教兴学，将佛教悲天悯人的情怀、普度众生的理想与知识分子的忧患意识以及悲壮的献身精神融合杂糅，指出其佛禅意识逐渐淡化，而入世思想逐渐完成。

二、诗歌活动方面。李文兴的《晚清湖湘诗僧寄禅的诗歌交游考》^⑤写了寄禅法师与文人的交往。寄禅法师比较集中出现在几个诗歌团体的活动中，如其在宁波与四明诗人杨灵荃、徐酞仙、胡鲁封、吕文舟结成的四明诗社，与地方官员以诗结缘，僧俗两界名望日隆，名声与品行被时人推重，表现出寄禅法师是一位世出世间

① 韩焕忠：《八指头陀的孝悌之思》，《湖北工程学院学报》：2017，卷号：第37卷，第2期。

② 伊岚：《“八指头陀”寄禅与北京法源寺》，《北京档案》，2015，第4期。

③ 何崇恩：《清代湘潭诗僧——八指头陀》，《湘潭大学社会科学学报》，1980，第2期。

④ 李岱松：《近代诗僧八指头陀诗》，《佛教文化》，2006，第4期。

⑤ 李文兴：《晚清诗僧寄禅研究》，吉林大学博士论文，2015年。

广受崇敬的名僧。何湘《“高士莲花还结社”中的创作与传播——以清末诗僧八指头陀为例》^①写了八指头陀在清末的结社活动，指出其以文字相交，在社集活动的创作成长。

三、诗歌主题方面。耿法的《爱国诗僧八指头陀》^②写了寄禅法师在民族危亡和民生疾苦方面的诗歌创作，表现寄禅法师的爱国情操。梅季坤的《八指头陀及其爱国诗》^③写了寄禅法师面对国家破碎、家园飘摇，他的目光开始逐渐投入到济世救民之中，表现出了浓烈的慈悲救世的情怀。梅季的《八指头陀的爱国诗篇》^④从寄禅法师的诗歌出发，阐发了其信教必须祖国富强，护教必先卫国思想，表现八指头陀的爱国精神。谭桂林的《“我虽学佛未忘世”——论八指头陀的佛教诗歌创作》^⑤指出八指头陀的佛教诗歌创作有两个基本主题：一是哀百姓之多艰，对现实人间具体苦难的注视和关怀；二是救国和救教的结合，救教须先救国，救国才能救教。这两大主题是其真性情的流露，真人格的展示。

四、诗歌风格方面。吴章燕、王晚霞的《对贾岛诗歌艺术风格之继承》^⑥从创作态度、诗体、意象、语言、意境、结构等六个方面，对寄禅法师的诗歌艺术风格进行了考查，指出寄禅法师在传承贾岛诗歌艺术风格的同时有所创新。孙海洋的《八指头陀诗风初探》^⑦写了寄禅法师的生命历程，表现了他的人生志趣和自性本觉的佛禅旨趣。阳晓的硕士论文《八指头陀诗风嬗变研究》^⑧将八指头陀诗歌创作分为早、中、晚三个时期：早期诗风、清丽古雅的中期诗风、清苍悲沉的晚期诗风。他还从个人经历与交游、从师的变化、时局变迁和佛禅思想的演变等四个方面对八指头陀诗风的演变原因作出分析。哈斯朝鲁的《诗情澎湃的人生——论八指头陀的

① 何湘：《“高士莲花还结社”中的创作与传播——以清末诗僧八指头陀为例》，《古典文学知识》，2014，第3期。

② 耿法：《爱国诗僧八指头陀》，《新闻爱好者》，2007，第10期。

③ 梅季坤：《八指头陀及其爱国》，《求索》，1984，第4期。

④ 梅季：《八指头陀的爱国诗篇》，《法音》，1985，第5期。

⑤ 谭桂林：《“我虽学佛未忘世”——论八指头陀的佛教诗歌创作》，《武陵学刊》，2012，第3期。

⑥ 吴章燕、王晚霞：《八指头陀对贾岛诗歌艺术风格之继承》，《文学界（理论版）》，2011，第9期。

⑦ 孙海洋：《八指头陀诗风初探》，《船山学刊》，1998，第1期。

⑧ 阳晓：《八指头陀诗风嬗变研究》，湘潭大学硕士论文，2017年。

禅诗》^①写了寄禅法师有着精深的禅法修学体验，爱国爱教，悲天悯人。寄禅法师以禅入诗，以诗会禅，将禅学思想与诗歌艺术完美融合；表现其禅诗展现出佛教诗歌艺术的独特美感及融合哲思的特质。罗丽娅的硕士论文《论八指头陀的禅诗》^②分析了寄禅法师的禅诗类别、艺术特色和诗风成因，“将寄禅的禅诗分为山居、咏物、纪游、题画以及赠和五类，将艺术特色定位为“浅淡清冷的色调、幽独寂静的氛围、宏观立体的视角、精工自然的语言”四个方面，认为“山水游历”、“坐禅”、“苦吟”和“转益多师”是其禅诗诗风形成的因素”。与哈斯朝鲁相似，罗丽娅也认为寄禅法师以诗的形式表达佛理。但这一点与部分评家认为的寄禅法师不以佛理标榜的观点有明显的不同。

五、诗歌意象方面。王晚霞、吴章燕的《八指头陀诗歌中的梅意象》^③写了对梅花静态美和动态美的塑造，也有对孤寂寥落心态的抒怀，自性清净的禅悟，表现了八指头陀孤独的生命意识、丰富的情感体验和佛禅体验。陈望衡的《前身多半是梅花——八指头陀咏梅诗的意境》^④对寄禅法师诗歌中的梅意象进行了更为深入的讨论，是关于寄禅法师诗歌研究中难得一见的美文。陈望衡认为梅花诗即是八指头陀人格的自白，“八指头陀的咏梅诗自有他特殊的地位。根本的在于他的咏梅诗有他独自的情感体验以及独自的境界，因而也就自成一格”。八指头陀咏梅在写梅，同时他是借梅来抒写心中的情怀。八指头陀咏梅诗，我们可以深切地感受到八指头陀丰富的情感世界。

六、综合研究方面。李文兴的博士论文《晚清诗僧寄禅研究》^⑤是目前为止有关八指头陀诗歌创作最为系统的一项研究。李文兴从寄禅法师与湖湘诗派的交流、佛禅思想及流变、其诗歌类型及审美特征等几个方面梳理和分析了寄禅法师的诗歌创作，认为寄禅法师引领了诗僧创作的第三次高潮。李文兴还指出，寄禅法师以大慈大悲的真挚之心，完成与他生命历程；以高尚的品行、高深的修为和积极的救法

① 哈斯朝鲁：《诗情澎湃的人生：论八指头陀的禅诗》，《内蒙古民族大学学报》，2004，第1期。

② 罗丽娅：《论八指头陀的禅诗》，华中师范大学硕士论文，2003年。

③ 吴章燕、王晚霞：《八指头陀诗歌中的梅意象》，《贵州大学学报》，2011，第5期。

④ 陈望衡：《前身多半是梅花：八指头陀咏梅诗的意境》，《书屋》，2012，第1期。

⑤ 李文兴：《晚清诗僧寄禅研究》，吉林大学博士论文，2015年。

救民之举为自己树立了一座丰碑。贾国宝的《传统僧人文学近代以来的转型》^①非常全面地总结了传统僧人文学的传统，并以寄禅法师为此千年传统的殿军，并给以高度评价。同时他也指出，随着太虚法师等“学僧”的出现，诗僧的传统已经失去了影响力。贾国宝在论文中对太虚诗歌也作了一定分析，但认为太虚诗不事雕琢，较为粗糙，没有美感，情感亦相对空洞。这种评论，在我们看来是并不公允的。作者虽然对近代诗僧传统的转变多有分析，但对寄禅法师与太虚法师之间时代变迁、思想扭转缺少深刻的认识，其对太虚诗歌的品评是较为粗浅的。

（三）角度与方法

此论文研究的目的在于：通过整理阅读寄禅法师的著作和相关研究，系统梳理和总结寄禅法师的佛学诗歌创作思想，并通过与太虚大师文学创作的比较，从更深层面揭示其诗歌创作的美学内涵。

本文的研究角度有二：1. 本文运用刘振博士对中国美学史分期的新理论，将寄禅法师与太虚法师放在同一个美学阶段内进行考察，从太虚法师对寄禅法师的承续中更全面地把握寄禅法师诗歌的美学特质。2. 从人间佛教的佛学观念出发，讨论人间佛教时期佛教诗歌、文学发展的脉络及其新的可能性。

此论文的研究方法如下：一：文本细读的方法。从寄禅法师、太虚法师具体诗歌文本出发，比较并揭示其中的美学意蕴；二：文学史的方法：特别对从晚清到五四前后文学风向的转变进行分析，揭示此种转变中禅宗诗歌的内外变化；三：美学的方法：从美学史的宏观层面把握寄禅法师诗歌的美学特质及其在人间佛教时代延续和发展的可能性；四：宗教学的方法：关于禅境、禅机在寄禅法师诗歌中的地位，学界有不同的看法，需要从禅宗发展和寄禅法师佛学思想的角度进行辨析。

由于笔者学力有限，此文并未对寄禅、太虚同时代的诗僧创作做出全面的梳理，不能见其全貌。对太虚之后佛教诗歌、文学的创作缺乏足够的了解，因而对人间佛教时代佛教文学发展的可能性仅能做出一般性评价。

^① 贾国宝：《传统僧人文学近代以来的转型》复旦大学博士论文，2011年。

二、寄禅法师的诗歌美学

刘振博士在其专著《感性修辞学》中将孔子以来的中国美学史划分为四个阶段，分别是空间开辟（孔子至西汉）、形质积累（东汉至中唐）、心的统摄（晚唐至晚明）、人的凸显（清初至今）四个阶段。^①佛教从第二阶段进入中国，在形质积累、心的统摄两个阶段都产生了重要的作品。而就禅宗文学特别是禅诗的创作来说，其主要阶段都在“心的统摄”一段。其中尤以北宋初年的雪窦重显、北宋末期的慧洪觉范、元末明初的楚石梵琦最为著名。与楚石梵琦之后中国禅诗创作趋于衰落不同，日本五山文学也以禅诗的蓬勃创作为其特征，其中又以义堂周信、绝海中津、一休宗纯等为其代表。一休宗纯之后，中日禅宗诗歌的创作都进入衰退期。直到寄禅法师崛起于晚清，为禅诗创作迎来了新的局面。其后太虚法师继承寄禅宗风，以人生佛教、人间佛教的佛学观念进行禅诗创作，开创了人间佛教时代禅宗文学的新天地，也使禅诗创作具有了更明显的“人的凸显”阶段的特质。但是太虚之后，由于历史原因，禅宗文学特别是禅诗创作，进入一个低潮时期。晚清以来，寄禅、曼殊、太虚等佛门高僧开创的局面，没有得到良好的发扬。因此，本论文在研究寄禅、太虚禅诗创作的同时，也试图对人间佛教时代禅宗文学发展的可能性作出初步的讨论。

（一）寄禅法师的主要创作经历

据目前研究，寄禅法师是在同治七年（1868）出家后，受到仁瑞寺精一律师的影响，开始接触诗歌。而后同治十年（1871），郭菊荪授以《唐诗三百首》，自此开始学习和创作诗歌。光绪十五年（1889）至民国元年（1912）期间，寄禅法师历任衡阳大罗汉寺等七寺住持，与地方官员、乡绅多有往来，创作了大量酬唱诗歌^②。

寄禅法师跟文人交往酬唱则集中在几个诗歌团体的活动中。如其在宁波与四明诗人杨灵荃、徐酩仙、胡鲁封、吕文舟结成四明诗社，与黄大华、陆廷黻结成的四明酬唱团体。其中又以在长沙与王闿运、郭嵩焘等名士结成的碧湖诗社最为突出。另外，寄禅法师与陈三立、郑孝胥等“同光体”诗人，以及樊增祥、易顺鼎等中晚

^① 刘振：《感性修辞学》，昆明：云南人民出版社，2021年。

^② 李文兴：《晚清诗僧寄禅研究》，吉林大学博士论文，2015年，第8页。

唐诗派诗人的交往也非常频繁。

光绪二年（1876）冬，寄禅法师驻锡宁波，与杨灵荃、徐酡仙、胡鲁封、吕文舟游四明山水，结社吟唱。在光绪七年（1881），寄禅法师著名的《嚼梅吟》在宁波刊刻，以上四人皆有题跋。如胡鲁封的题跋：“予为次第披读一过，觉如满山梅雪间清磬一声，迥绝凡响。绝次之律，更逼近唐人，于岛佛尤似。”吕文舟则说：“其淋漓感慨，沈郁顿挫，又岂寒瘦之郊、岛所能望其项背哉！”徐酡仙跋：“不执一体，不泥一格，而洋洋洒洒，非若世之拘拘于吐唐茹宋。”杨灵荃跋：“其诗带云霞色，无烟火气，盖有得乎山川之助云。”以上题跋，从题材、风格等方面，基本概括了寄禅法师早期诗作的特点。^①

寄禅出自湖湘，其与湖湘诗人的最为广泛唱和，特别是曾专门与湖湘诗派领袖王闿运学习诗歌创作。光绪二十一年，《八指头陀年表》中记：“冬，与王闿运诸社人士集长沙浩园。”光绪十八年十二月廿九日《湘绮楼日记》载寄禅来长沙请王闿运改诗，称衡州无人商量，王闿运称之为“诗魔”。汪辟疆《近代诗派与地域》云敬安“早年作诗，自谓得之顿悟。又时时就商湘绮老人，湘绮亦多窜易，别出手眼，读者罔觉为湘绮笔墨耳”。不难推想，寄禅曾多次向王闿运请教诗歌创作。同样立足于湖湘的中晚唐诗派，与寄禅的年龄相近，其间交往也更从容，性情也更贴近。

寄禅法师与“同光体”诗人交往也非常深入。同光体诗人多源自黄庭坚开创的江西诗派，而寄禅本人又是黄氏后人，此中关联自然紧密。同光体领袖陈三立即为江西修水人，寄禅法师和陈三立、其子陈衡恪都有深厚的情谊。光绪二十九年（1903），陈三立为寄禅法师《白梅诗》题跋：“师好苦吟枯索，半字未安，或应时改定，或废寝忘食以求其是。”^②陈三立对寄禅法师的诗歌创作给予了高度评价。《八指头陀诗文集》中有关于陈三立的诗歌共41首。光绪二十七年（1901），寄禅法师作《闻陈考功穷居江南，尚能周恤死友黄蓉瑞大令。感其风义，作此寄之》，当时戊戌事变已经三年，陈三立父亲陈宝箴为清廷赐死已经一年，陈三立移居金陵，在自身生活艰难的情形下仍然接济家人旧友，寄禅法师深为感动。“天上玉楼传诏夜，人

^① 李文兴：《晚清诗僧寄禅研究》，吉林大学博士论文，2015年，第8页。

^② 梅季点辑：《八指头陀诗文集》，长沙：岳麓书社，1984年，第539页

间金币议和年。哀时哭友无穷泪，夜雨江南应未眠。”在割地赔款时局之中，故人的义举，更让人产生激愤之感。^①

从寄禅法师文学交游关系来看，其与晚清诗坛的诸多流派都有深入交往。尽管诗派之间创作主张各异，但在交游之中，诗人们大多宽容平和，各呈风采。自光绪十年（1884）起，寄禅法师还与日本来华的冈千仞、伊藤贤道等僧人也有一定的交往，其诗歌也由日僧带至日本，颇加传颂。^②

（二）寄禅法师的深远之味与自契自荣

前文我们已经述及寄禅法师的诗学渊藪以及时人对其的评价，这里我们先来看寄禅法师自己对诗学的探求。从家谱来说，寄禅是江西诗派创始人，宋代诗人黄庭坚的后代。其对黄庭坚也表达了由衷的敬意。如《寄题陈伯严吏部散原精舍诗集》“吾家诗祖仰涪翁，独辟西江百代宗。”^③又《王益吾祭酒以二绝句题余吴中游草即次韵书怀》“虚掷空门闲甲子，祇依山谷作诗孙。”^④同光体的领袖陈三立为江西人，同样尊崇黄庭坚，故而寄禅与其有深入的交往。前文提到的慧洪，也是黄庭坚的崇慕者，并曾从黄庭坚学诗。在禅宗的谱系中，黄庭坚也在其法脉之中。可见，禅宗诗歌的传统，与江西诗派很早就混融在一起了。

寄禅诗歌的特色之一，是其以梅花自喻，对于梅花有无限的诗情。《自题击钵苦吟图三首》其三“青年白髮小头陀，啸月吟风寄兴多。料得梅花应笑我，不能降伏一诗魔。”^⑤《前年岁杪朱古薇侍郎游天童许题词相赠迟迟未报戊申残腊余由白门还取道姑苏奉访戏投一绝句以代索逋之役》“云衲冲寒索旧逋，残年风雪过姑苏。梅花一树朦胧月，此是诗人避债图。”^⑥《欠梅花诗债》“雪下推敲愧少才，坡公为我笑颜开。正愁风月无钱买，又欠梅花诗债回。”^⑦作诗成癖成魔，是很多禅宗诗人的特点，慧洪、一休宗纯都曾如此自况。这在寄禅身上也是一样。而就其以梅自喻，以梅为

① 李文兴：《晚清诗僧寄禅研究》，吉林大学博士论文，2015年，第20页。

② 李文兴：《晚清诗僧寄禅研究》，吉林大学博士论文，2015年，第23页。

③ 释敬安著，段晓华校点：《八指头陀诗文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第418页。

④ 释敬安著，段晓华校点：《八指头陀诗文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第374页。

⑤ 释敬安著，段晓华校点：《八指头陀诗文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第564页。

⑥ 释敬安著，段晓华校点：《八指头陀诗文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第392页。

⑦ 释敬安著，段晓华校点：《八指头陀诗文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第547页。

债而言，则又带上了个体的特色和时局的影响。梅花是诗债，又何尝不是时局之债。

1. 深远之味

就寄禅诗歌最明确的特点而言，是其深远之味。其实历代禅诗，并不乏深远之味。寄禅诗歌自然有所继承。这种特点在其早期诗作中更为明显。如果不是因为时局所迫，不得不为佛教的存亡争一头地，寄禅法师的诗歌可能会愈发深远，愈发远离尘世。如《暮秋偕诸子登衡阳紫云峰》“紫云最高处，飞锡共登临。秋老山容瘦，天寒木叶深。西风孤鹤唳，流水道人心。坐久林塘晚，寥寥钟梵音”。^① 时入深秋，万木凋零，落叶堆积。这里的深，不只是落叶堆积之后，也表明天寒之时，人迹罕愿至此。唯有孤鹤、道人才不避其深远，共味禅理于其中。又《偶作》“长啸返林壑，息心了无求。盈虚有真宰，得失忘喜忧。怀此得真趣，因之绝世游。烟霞最深处，麋鹿皆吾俦。”^② 山林之志，本是禅僧本色。烟霞最深处，对修行者是最适合不过的。即便有四明酬唱的团体存在，但是寄禅对于尘世还是有所回避的。其《将之天童结茅》“山僧性爱山，不乐人间住。欲持瓢笠行，更入山深处。”^③ 即是如此。有时，这种深远之味又会与时间关联在一起，如《重阳后一日偕水月上人登慈溪驃骑》“重阳后一日，结伴此登临。万壑白云满，千山红叶深。寒潮明远浦，疏磬散空林。凭眺斜阳里，茫茫愁古今。”而这里的“茫茫愁古今”，并非对久远历史的惆怅，而恰恰是对时局悲凉的感慨。千山红叶之深，不过是春秋一季之事。而国家衰落，已非一日之寒。

以上诗篇，都体现出寄禅诗歌的深远之味。这种深远之味，贯穿寄禅一生，无论其一生有何等复杂、传奇的经历，都以此为其底色。但这种深远，不是寒山诗歌中的绝世之远，也不是雪窦颂古的孤绝之味。虽然深远，却还是在人间的。

2. 自契自荣

这里的自契自荣，则更见出寄禅禅诗禅学的特色。自契的一面，自是禅家对自性的体悟。自荣的一面，则显出特别的时代感。前者契理，后者契机。

表现其自契的诗歌，如《题常人吉居士默庵诗一首（并序）》“至人冥知见，

① 释敬安著，段晓华校点：《八指头陀诗文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第10页。

② 释敬安著，段晓华校点：《八指头陀诗文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第13页。

③ 释敬安著，段晓华校点：《八指头陀诗文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第16页。

高馆越塵障。寂默證元常，妙悟釋言相。內心貴自契，外物靡所尚。聖解悅不存，俗諦誰能誑。區中得祕要，焉用栖巖嶂。”^① 對外在事物、知見的去，對自性的契合，是禪家修行的一體兩面。這種自契，也可以說是“深遠”的，不是塵世的、外在的。《感事二首》其一：“寂寥湘水上，身世共誰論。落日青山遠，浮雲白晝昏。衣冠一時盛，肝膽幾人存。何日拂衣去，千峰獨閉門。”“感事”，多因時事而發，而青山之遠，白晝之昏，總之是令人失望的局面。那麼，在這樣的時局之下，歸隱山林，仍然是較為明確的選項。千峰獨閉門，自契自性，不是更好麼？而其對於同道高僧的稱許，也往往在此。如《逢祖印上人辛巳》^②“百花深處一逢君，杖履飄然迴出群。不改山中真面目，衲衣猶補嶺頭雲。”所謂山中面目，自然是山林禪修之力。寄禪以嶺頭白雲喻其衲衣，同樣是山林之風。同時，其對祖印上人的贊頌，也是從自性自契向個體之人的贊頌。“人”的面貌，在寄禪的詩歌中得到了更多的體現。比較起來，雪竇頌古、楚石梵琦的淨土詩，都多是對某種境界的體認。慧洪放意入万象，万象也依然是“境”而非“人”。所以，時代的發展、美學的發展，依然不可阻擋地進入寄禪的創作之中。

再如《寄曾公子》“一別曾公子，名山受累深。惟修平等行，自契妙明心。真賞固已在，沈吟遂至今。聊將無着意，寄入沒弦琴。”^③ 此詩也是思念友人之作。“青青子衿，悠悠我心”，在《詩經》中，這就是“空間開辟”之句；在曹操《短歌行》中，這就是“形質積累”之句；而在寄禪這裡，實則就是“人的凸顯”之句。雖然“自契”，却難免仍然感到不見友人的缺憾。自契自性的深遠，在這裡為友人遠別的深遠取代。從美學史的角度看，“自契”，是“心的統攝”，心的統攝不足，方才需要人的凸顯。可以說，這首詩的創作，鮮明體現出了寄禪詩歌美學意味。

寄禪表現其自榮的詩歌並不多，但即便只有一首，卻足夠重要。如《詠白梅》“了與人境絕，寒山也自榮。孤烟淡將夕，微月照還明。空際若無影，香中如有情。素心正宜此，聊用慰平生。”^④ 梅花，特別是白梅，最得寄禪喜愛。可說是其本人的

① 釋敬安著，段曉華校點：《八指頭陀詩文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第114頁。

② 釋敬安著，段曉華校點：《八指頭陀詩文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第23頁。

③ 釋敬安著，段曉華校點：《八指頭陀詩文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第156頁。

④ 釋敬安著，段曉華校點：《八指頭陀詩文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第176頁。

一种象征。诗中的“了与人境绝，寒山也自荣”，这种自荣，当然是包含了自契的，这种自契甚至是深远的。但是这种自契又是开放的、是光明的、是有情的。而结尾的“聊用慰平生”，恰恰也正说明了白梅是寄禅一生之写照。这里的一生，不但是一个自契自性的一生，也是开放、光明、有情的一生。从这样一首诗中，我们也多少能读到其后太虚法师倡导“人生佛教”的味道。

晚清的佛教，已到了十分衰弊的境况。禅宗的处境同样如此。这种情况下，自契自然必要。但是自荣，更表明对佛法的信心。这种信心，不只是一个佛教高僧的信心，同样也可以是那个时代所有僧人甚至所有国人的信心。每个国人，也都可以是开放、光明和有情的。而惟其如此，国家、民族、佛教，也才有重新振作的可能。寄禅诗中的白梅，既开放于百花凋敝之后，亦开放于百花盛放之前。这种自荣，不只是白梅的，实则是百花的。

（三）寄禅法师的爱国情怀与冷香意象

1. 国运与法运

寄禅以爱国诗僧闻名。而其对时局的关注，也秉承了宋代以来，禅宗对儒家道德观念的消化。这种观念经过长期发展，更是逐渐将国运与法运紧密关联在一起。而在晚清这样的时代，这种关联就更能激发寄禅的澎湃诗情。

如《挽彭刚直诗八首》“忽下天门诏，秋屯粤海营。徒闻马尾战，敢近虎门行。铁舰随风远，金戈耀日明。筹边空画策，恨未斩长鲸。”^① 诗中所挽彭刚直，当然是镇守粤东的将军。在马尾海战失利之时，他在粤东严密布防，使得法国军舰不敢靠近。可惜彭刚直现已去世，而列强并未退去。国难思良将，寄禅忧国之情跃然纸上。又如《哀时次乱仙真一子原韵》“秋风吹过雁，落叶正纷纷。大地无全局，遥天有片云。时危思作将，世乱岂论文。独向仙人语，凡夫未遣闻。”^② 时局为难，山河破碎，以至于寄禅已有上阵杀敌的渴望。这样的寄禅，再不是山林深远之处的高僧，也不是痴心文字的诗僧。再如《感事呈叶吏部》“时事已如此，神州将陆沈。宁堪忧国

^① 释敬安著，段晓华校点：《八指头陀诗文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第136页。

^② 释敬安著，段晓华校点：《八指头陀诗文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第190页。

泪，忽上道人襟。春色何高下，浮云自古今。君聊一笑，各宝妙明心。”^① 此是前四句说忧国之时，后四句反而要“各宝妙明心”，看似矛盾，实则是对时局的无奈无力。较之单纯说忧国忧民，反而显得更加令人心痛。在《八叠韵送实公人郎》中，寄禅写道，“好凭造化回旋力，重补山河破碎痕。我已辞家犹悯世，公勤王事复何言。”^② “我已辞家犹悯世”，正是寄禅心境所在。佛法的命运是与国家的命运紧密联系的。出家之人，也想着国家重新恢复安定的局面。这本身就是佛教慈悲的应有之意。

而与这种亡国之感相应的，就是寄禅诗歌中特别的夕阳意象。如《江亭》江亭聊远眺，暝色郁苍苍。孤屿吐寒翠，万山争夕阳。旋看秋月朗，空使野云忙。万古潇湘水，东流接海长。^③ 夕阳将落，虽然万山争之，终究无可挽回。而潇湘之水，东流入海，这里的海，实则包含了列强环伺之义。虽在潇湘，不忘国事危局。犹如《还山书怀叠前韵二首》其二：“觉皇邈矣余生晚，不见应真灵鹫游。佛海深深谁悟入，世波汨汨竞分流。云中挂锡非无树，泽畔行吟别有愁。回首中原堪涕泪，青山一髮夕阳留。”^④ 国家危亡，中原残破，此时的夕阳，多给人悲壮之感。此外如《怀义甥陈吏部三立再叠前韵》中“旧游可忆白云侣，近事应伤碧海魂。弹指沧桑纷万变，中原一片夕阳存。”^⑤ 碧海应伤，是海战失利，而中原夕阳，已在弹指之顷。在为自己所立的冷香塔题诗时，寄禅写道《感事二十截句附题冷香塔》“法运都随国运移，一般同受外魔欺。踏翻云海身将老，独立人天泪自垂。”^⑥ 列强侵袭的，不只是国家，同样包括佛教在内的中华文化。而“独立人天”的垂暮老僧，终究期待夕阳落下后新的光明的到来。

虽然夕阳意象在禅诗中并不少见，但是在寄禅这里，其时代感显得尤其强烈。无论国运法运，都由此意象托出。同时也只有在对国运法运的忧思中，我们也才真的能够体会白梅所蕴含的自契自荣之理。冷香塔，是梅花之塔，是寄禅之塔，也是

① 释敬安著，段晓华校点：《八指头陀诗文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第195页。

② 释敬安著，段晓华校点：《八指头陀诗文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第230页。

③ 释敬安著，段晓华校点：《八指头陀诗文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第182页。

④ 释敬安著，段晓华校点：《八指头陀诗文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第200页。

⑤ 释敬安著，段晓华校点：《八指头陀诗文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第269页。

⑥ 释敬安著，段晓华校点：《八指头陀诗文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第421-422页。

国运、法运之塔。

2. 冷香先返魂

寄禅一生，都面临佛法与国运的衰颓。但是正如其所爱的梅花那样，深深期望佛法、国运有“还魂”的一天。禅法可自契自荣，梅花则是冷香先返魂。如《腊月望日于桑铁珊兵备园中观梅戏诗一首》“兵戟森卫地，不闻鸟雀喧。寒园草木枯，冷芳先返魂。深红间浅白，点缀云霞痕。高枝贮微月，密蕊倾朝曦。横斜虽异趣，贞静元同根。乃知君子德，不以仕隐论。纓冕荣外观，山海道存器。长谣契真赏，聊用纪幽言。”^① 此诗记其在兵备园观梅花。兵备之地，自然关乎家国安危。而此处的梅花，在春天到来之前，先行开放。在某种程度上，这也是要求每一个国人，在国家尚处危局之时，先做梅花一样的人，为国家抗击寒冬，以待春天的到来。此诗虽言戏作，感慨实深。

而对于国势不振、法运难继的原因，寄禅在诗中也有表达。如其早年诗作《东西梁山》“江南锁钥扼双门，一样青山各自尊。莫恃当关能据险，秣陵风雨共谁谗。”^② 东西梁山，如江南锁钥。但如果各自尊贵，不能一心，那么只依靠天险也是没有用的。寄禅的晚年，已经倾向于团结各种力量，振兴佛法、国运。如《八月二十日与夏复穗卿狄楚青黄益斋吴彦复陈鹤柴小集沪滨酒楼》“黄浦江边百尺楼，海山当槛酒盈瓯。一时良会岂易得，抵掌开襟话五洲。高楼回首望中原，满目河山破碎痕。尘世何方安乐国，诛求今亦到空门。时事须臾万变更，浮云应妬月孤明。维持像教赖公等，莫许波旬扰化城。”^③ 寄禅法师的四处奔走，是希望有更多的人一起来维护佛教的发展。

而对于为维护佛教献身的高僧，寄禅更是给予了最高的礼敬。这些高僧的牺牲，同样预示了佛法国运的“返魂”。如《杭州白衣寺松风和尚哀词二首》“

末劫同尘转愿轮，那知为法竟亡身。可怜流血开风气，师是僧中第一人。西湖回忆早凉天，红树青山共放船。一别便成千古恨，春风吹鬓泪潸然。”^④ 松风和尚为了

① 释敬安著，段晓华校点：《八指头陀诗文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第406页。

② 释敬安著，段晓华校点：《八指头陀诗文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第104页。

③ 释敬安著，段晓华校点：《八指头陀诗文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第311页。

④ 释敬安著，段晓华校点：《八指头陀诗文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第372页。

兴办僧学，而造反对者打死殉教，引发寄禅的悲痛之情。但也正是这样的殉教高僧，为佛教的重新振兴作出了最大的努力。

与此同时，寄禅更是对世界宗教会的召开充满期待。《壬子秋仲龙虎山嗣汉天师张晓初君来沪世界宗教会开会欢迎与会者西士李佳白梅殿华及会员曾吉人张袞龙陈喆甫夏小谷李体干陈植生姚志梁诸君余忝陪座撰为伽陀以纪胜会》“胜流集如云，欢迎张天师。秋风吹海色，湛如碧琉璃。远闻鸾鹤鸣，同瞻龙虎姿。至理阐微言，宏抱开神颺。俱融水乳交，永忘种族歧。释耶与孔老，相见咸嬉嬉。百川既入海，一味夫何疑。由来宗教会，未有胜于斯。”^① 时代的力量使得中国佛教不得不与世界各种佛教进行接触，寄禅正逢其时，也从世界宗教会的召开，看到了佛教发展新的可能。世界性的大视野，已经在寄禅面前展开。

同样的，辛亥革命的成功，也使寄禅看到了国运重开的希望。如《次前韵再赠陈参议》“兴亡良有以，何问彼穹苍。荣茂三春干，萧条九月霜。终成大革命，不负好时光。”^② 《山居漫兴仍叠前韵四首兼答陈参议》其三：“手持一片石，欲补天苍苍。万派潮争海，千林木落霜。法云期广荫，慧日更流光。洗净贪嗔秽，莲花生火汤。”^③ 辛亥革命给寄禅带来了希望。但是他的希望却在辛亥革命之后迅速破灭。寄禅也因维护佛教而不幸圆寂。正如其《为见闻禅友题枯梅》“甘心冷淡住林泉，历尽冰霜节更坚。莫道枯枝生意少，开来还在百花前。”^④

寄禅法师及其禅诗，都是这样的“开来还在百花前”。

三、寄禅法师诗歌美学的承续

对于寄禅法师诗歌创作本身的研究已经较为丰富和全面，但是研究者的视野仍然受到较大局限。特别是较为忽视其同时或稍晚的诗僧创作。比如作为寄禅法师弟子的太虚法师，其诗歌创作明显受到其师影响而有较大的发展。但因其人间佛教思想影响深远，其诗名反而不彰。更有甚者，仅以其诗歌“不事雕琢”而采取轻视

① 释敬安著，段晓华校点：《八指头陀诗文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第452页。

② 释敬安著，段晓华校点：《八指头陀诗文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第455页。

③ 释敬安著，段晓华校点：《八指头陀诗文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第456页。

④ 释敬安著，段晓华校点：《八指头陀诗文集》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2016年，第568页。

的态度。笔者认为，太虚法师是传统意义上的最后一位诗僧，其创作有着不可磨灭的美学价值。特别是在其对寄禅法师诗学的集成和发展上，更有无可替代的研究价值。因此，我们将着重对寄禅法师与太虚法师之间的诗学美学关系进行讨论，揭示寄禅法师诗歌美学中更深的意蕴和潜在的可能。

（一）太虚法师诗僧身份的确定

1. 诗僧与学僧的概念辨析

据目前研究“诗僧”一词，现在最早出现的典故，是皎然《酬别襄阳诗僧少微》一诗，我们都清楚皎然是中唐诗僧，说明“诗僧”之名已在此时产生。其后，“诗僧”一词多次出现在诗人的创作中。中唐诗人刘禹锡在《澈上人文集纪》一文中就写到：“世之言诗僧，多出江左。灵一道其源，护国袭之；清江扬其波，法振沿之，如么弦孤韵，警入人耳，非大乐之音。独吴兴昼公，能备众体。昼公后澈公承之。”这里提到的诗僧有：灵一、护国、清江、法振、皎然、灵澈等，他们活动地域、时代都较为接近，可以说是中国第一代的诗僧团体。中唐以后，晚唐五代诗僧有贯休、齐己等。到北宋“九僧”、惠洪、道潜等著名诗僧。近代则以寄禅、苏曼殊、太虚为其殿军。同时，国难教危的现实，救教的忧患意识与佛学研究的兴起，也使得近代僧人重新沉潜于学佛研佛，成为“学僧”。

“学僧”一词，最早出现在《海潮音》1930年第11卷第3期太虚的三篇演讲稿中：“现在在院求学的学僧，……就是同时住在闽学院读书求学，做闽南佛学院的学僧。”这里，“学僧”一词指在佛学院求学修学的出家僧人。这两篇演讲稿的记录分别是署名为“学僧慧童”和“学僧岫庐”，表明他们对学僧身份的认同。此后，“学僧”一词开始流传，比如《海潮音》曾推出“学僧文艺”、“学僧集”“学僧园地”等栏目，1948年还曾出现以“学僧”来命名的佛教刊物。

不少研究者，敏感于诗僧和学僧含义的不同，认为近代以来，是学僧取代诗僧的时代。而一般而言，人们更多的认为太虚法师是一位学僧，而这在某种程度上实际上掩盖了其诗僧的身份。我们认为，太虚法师不仅是一位诗僧，而且是传统意义上的最后一位诗僧。学僧的身份，并不能凌驾于诗僧的身份之上。其实，在早期的禅宗语录中，禅僧就常常自称为“学人”，学人，实际上就是学僧。无论作诗与否，

他们都是“学人”。也就是说，学僧，是一切禅僧的底色。这种底色，并不因是否出身佛学院而改变。相对的，诗僧则是学僧之中独特的一群，通过诗歌创作而表现禅机，参悟佛理。

太虚法师的文学特别是诗歌创作，至今较少受到人们的重视和研究，是令人遗憾的事。特别是作为寄禅法师的高足。太虚的诗歌创作与寄禅之间有着紧密的联系，且对寄禅诗歌美学有所发展。很多在寄禅诗歌中刚刚发展出来的东西，是在太虚诗歌中得到继承和充实的。可以说，离开对太虚诗歌的研究，我们就难以认识寄禅诗歌的全部美学价值。^①

2. 太虚法师的文学观

就文化的根柢而言，太虚较寄禅更为深厚，其对佛教文学的认识也较为全面系统。在《佛法与美——十七年冬在法国巴黎佛教美术会讲》^②认为，“佛陀流布为人间之美的文学，有其次第。佛陀住世之时，虽已有贝叶书之写诵，且以有文饰才之大迦旃延，为十大弟子之一，然重在悦可众心之佛陀说法妙音，及一般听众对于佛陀之称赞歌诵，犹未具体表现于文学。已而有第一次、第二次、第三次之三藏结集，尚传持于口诵，及着为质朴说理之经、律、论等。佛灭后五百年，有大诗人马鸣，着佛本行赞，文辨斐然，为一般印度人所传诵；于是佛教遂于印度民族中，发生伟大之美的文学。已而大乘之法华经、华严经、及称赞诸佛净土经等次第流传，在印度文学中乃呈深博雄丽之奇观。传入中国，于中国浓厚之文学风气中，演生为天台宗、华严宗、净土宗诸派之学说，类皆臻文学作品之上乘，其影响于中国六朝、隋、唐以来之学者殊钜。尤以中国之禅宗文学为最奇特：一方则超脱一切经、律、论、疏之学说拘束，直探赤裸裸地佛陀真觉界；一方则应用风光景物，细语粗言显第一义。故既用当时的通俗话，以表其当时妙悟之真理，创成极优美之语体文学，又创成许多诗歌等形式的玲珑活泼韵文，开出一中国文学中特殊之面目。朝鲜、安南、日本等，皆承此流风。至由佛教之文学，成为西藏、蒙古、及锡兰、缅甸、暹罗等之民族文学，更不待言矣。”又《建设现代中国佛教谈——二十四年十二月在广州

^① 贾国宝：《传统僧人文学近代以来的转型》，中国文史出版社，2013年，第17-19页。

^② 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第24册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第412-419页。

作》^① 中指出，“至于汉唐的文学，由秦代统一以前的列国文字，乃表现出汉代文学；至唐代、则因汉晋六朝来受了佛学的影响，更加光彩焕发，故成为二代最优美的文学；而其渊源亦由周秦子学，以及隋唐佛学糅合而成的。由此、可知中国文化的精华，便在周秦诸子与隋唐佛学；则隋唐佛学在中国文化中的地位，自然是一望可知。那末、今后讲中国固有文化的人，就不能不注意隋唐的佛学。”而在《佛教对于中国文化之影响——二十年十月在西安高级中学讲》^② 中，他的论述更加完整。他从切音、文法、名词、文体、诗歌、语录、小说传奇杂剧等七个方面作出了全面的说明。其对文学的了解和重视可见一斑。

太虚对整个佛教文学的发展和传播，其在不同时代、地域的特点，都有深入的了解。而其又特别说到“佛陀流布为人间之美的文学”，正呼应其人间佛教的思想。人间佛教，离不开人间之美的文学。

（二）太虚法师的诗歌创作

1. 太虚法师与寄禅法师的唱和

作为寄禅的高足，太虚与寄禅之间颇多唱和。即便在寄禅圆寂之后，太虚也屡屡作诗追怀。以下是太虚与寄禅有关的所有诗作。这些诗作，可以看出二者佛学和诗学精神的传承。

如《登太白山呈八指头陀（丙午）》“巍巍一太白，独冠万山雄！云压金峨白，霞蒸玉几红；松杉青掩映，岩石碧玲珑。苦行感星宿，深林涌梵宫；钟声流远籁，花雨散遥空。大法宏临济，单传继少崧；甬中称佛地，宇内仰禅宗。棒喝谁能会，诸方拜下风。”^③ 此诗以太白山的壮观，比喻寄禅禅法的高深。又《雨后同八指头陀作》“雨过秋山净，寒生夜月微；老禅从定起，浑欲着棉衣。”^④ 这是与寄禅一同雨中坐禅的情景。又《次八指头陀闻江北水灾韵》“客自江北来，未言泪先垂，为述灾荒状，惨然异恒时。斗金易斗粟，一粟一珠玑；眼看秋收至，聊以慰衷私。波臣复为虐，横流淹没之；舍宅皆无存，飘泊失所栖。一片渺茫里，四顾绝烟炊；哀哀怀

① 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第18册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第191-243页。

② 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第22册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第85-100页。

③ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第3页。

④ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第3页。

中孩，号号向母啼，哭声震天地，死生悲别离！死者葬鱼鳖，生者熬寒饥；贫男并鬻女，博得升斗资；隔日粮又尽，空肠转若雷。辗转殒沟壑，谁为掩其尸？髑髅弃荒野，祇供禽兽肥。斯民亦何辜？上天胡不慈？我悯饥谨苦，欲化稻粱施！嗟兹众苦宅，满目皆疮痍，未能出三界，低徊空自悲！”^① 此诗次韵寄禅因江北水灾所作诗，也是悲痛人间苦难。晚清时期的天灾人祸，本就是人间佛教发端的重要因缘。只是人间佛教真正的提出，还需要更加宽阔的视野，而太虚正其人也。又《和八指头陀月夜泛太湖》“乘兴携禅侣，扁舟泛太湖；潮痕平两岸，水势汇三吴；月皓沙弥净，风恬浪不粗；扣舷聊自咏，此乐世间无。”如此乐事，或许更希望天下人皆得，而非只有禅僧能得。^② 又《寿八指头陀六十》“几经吟座拜翩翩，染得衣香久更鲜。黄面老今年六十，白毫光满界三千，偶从禅意得诗趣，不住中流况两边！八指名成寿无极，恒河沙数未能诠！”^③ 太虚此诗，充满趣味，也可见其与寄禅之间，师徒情深。《答八指头陀所示公案》“前三三与后三三，诸佛群生共一龕，弄巧文殊成大拙，惹人今古费疑参。”^④ 此诗是与寄禅参禅。《随侍天童八指和尚将有联全国佛徒北请护教之行》“秋雨初晴佳气增，松阴三里侍陪曾。携将太白山头月，要续玄黄佛性灯；法运能回凭大愿，枫宸得达幸中兴！澄清局定归来日，高卧青云第几层。”^⑤ 这首诗大概是寄禅生前太虚为其所写的最后诗篇，寄禅到京之后不久，就因护教圆寂。看似看到了“中兴”的希望，却终究没有归来之日。

寄禅圆寂之后，太虚追怀之作如下：《心丧八指头陀二绝》“相随学道白云层，棒喝当头领受曾；从此更无师我者，小窗垂泣泪如绳。万树梅花竟埋骨，一轮明月孰传心？遗诗自足流千古，翠冷香寒忆苦吟。”^⑥ 太虚此诗回忆向寄禅求法的经历，万般伤心。《天童扫八指头陀冷香塔》“三冬爱日有余温，（师寂已六冬矣）峦翠微微熨晓昏。青风山高隐灵塔，白梅香冷读遗文。耳根寒漱一溪玉，心海深藏万壑云。

① 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第3页。

② 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第3页。

③ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第3页。

④ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第255页。

⑤ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第31页。

⑥ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第39页。

岁暮林空风亦静，更无黄叶落纷纷。”^①这是寄禅圆寂六年后，太虚为其扫塔所作。《至太白山礼八指和尚冷香塔》“却忆乘槎粤海归，梅花明月记依稀。出山杖履追随去，阅世沧桑志愿违。北上何堪骸骨返，今来已是物华非！青葱墓木微蒙雨，凭吊难禁涕泪挥！”^②此诗同样是太虚回到太白山敬礼冷香塔所作，更忆及北上护教之事，其悲痛之情，历年而未销。又如《宿天童寺》“巍巍太白峰，两浙冠名胜；峨峨天童寺，千古宅贤圣。翠嶂界晴空，寒云生幽谷；溪流乱清籁，岩花吐奇馥；岚光荡曦阳，钟声破晓发；百万青琅玕，掩映玲珑石。曾忆十年中，染衣初来此，以之数往还，猿鹤皆伴侣。一别今三载，得得重相顾。山色浑如昨，自怜颜非故。何况哲人萎，空余冷香塔！展礼一惆怅，林樾惨然白。净师主禅席，两岁今云余，道风播远近，气象日开舒。圆兄大心士，华座绕龙象，七处心何在？三界空情想。反闻何所闻？我来刚一宿，自笑非永嘉，都无觉不觉。明朝入尘去，回首松关远；天末青芙蓉，夕阳遥指点。”^③此诗也忆及寄禅，无边惆怅。只是此诗佛教已多少有了新面貌，气象开舒，不似往日的绝望了。《岐山口号》“岐岭恒禅一代宗，曾留八指苦吟踪。到来我也无余说，抛与人人棘栗蓬。”^④《读八指老人住持泐山诗感和》“此亦千年古剧场，兴兴废废感无常！僧园已历三灾劫，佛土仍留五分香；恰似世家遭变没，更须因地集资粮。却怜泐水久枯涸，应续灵源一派长！踢倒净瓶山入深，食余橡栗贱黄金；慧泉石筍引成沼，禅窟玉枝抽满林；孤月光吞空即色，群峦翠锁古犹今。牯牛牧得全身白，大地山河总是心。自从裴相叩禅来，祐祖堂堂法席开；峰顶毗卢吞刹海，镰头波若辟蒿莱。宋清重建兴朝运，新旧三烧痛劫灰！八指老人遗句在，于今一读一回哀。袈裟一拭泪痕新，瓦砾堆中转法轮。蛇虎遮留怀古德，象龙围绕待何人？曾闻优钵香如海，传说梅檀枝又春；最是吉祥殊胜地，福田谁种大雄因？”^⑤此诗是读到寄禅当年所作诗歌而兴发感慨。但同样的，佛教的春天已经到来，这才是足以告慰寄禅的事情。《太白颂八指》“德本多生植，禅风一世高；性须缘起尽，

① 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第98页。

② 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第51页。

③ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第51页。

④ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第231页。

⑤ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第246页。

心肯有情抛；愿力超侪辈，慈怀靖怒涛。高吟起沉寂，松下细推敲。”^① 此诗赞颂寄禅愿力宏大，而太虚也正是这一愿力的继承者。

以上的唱和与追怀，都表明太虚对寄禅的深厚情感，以及对继承其志愿的决心。这一点，无论如何是不能忽视的。

2. 太虚法师诗歌的特点

(1) 太虚法师诗歌的时间性

相对于寄禅诗歌“深远”之味的空间感，主要活动于都市禅林的太虚法师则更多一种强烈的时间感。如《漂母祠怀古》“漂母一双千古眼，独从寒苦识王孙。”^② 这个“千古眼”，实则也是太虚所有。在千古的时间尺度中，一时的衰落并不可怕，振兴的契机恰在目前。

又如《入太白山口占》“青松万树锁禅关，迷径樵夫入未还；修到白云知几世，寻常出没不离山。”^③ 入山修禅，不论人世沧桑变化。禅机本身，就足以抗衡时间。再如《送别岐师》“忆自明州发脚行，俄将一月寄蓬瀛，游怀宽处归心急，屈指犹须十日程。古人八十犹行脚，六十于今亦赵州；漫道古今相去远，一杯沧海几曾浮。无心雁影度寒潭，作客非关客味耽，已是天涯同作客，客中分别更何堪！芙蓉乍放菊初残，眉月又将初夜看；再待风霜经一月，腊梅归咏雪香寒。”^④ 《荆州承天寺》“一径凄迷瓦砾场，劫灰堆里辟人荒；忍看残碣承天寺，犹记前朝裂土王；漫向废兴来感慨，尽将哀乐付微茫。欲回宇宙清宁纪，好拥天龙护觉皇。”^⑤ 世间兴亡，虽然有佛法断其虚妄，但各种杂感，仍不免杂陈于心。《崑仑村》“东方民族式微多，古物凋残半逝波，却藉西人广收检，碎金断石供摩挲。”^⑥ 此诗写西方考古者收集东方古物，陈列研究，反而重新唤回古物之上所沉积的时间，也给出了古老民族别样的出路。

千古之眼给了太虚更广阔的心量，使其面对时局时有了更多的从容。

① 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第29页。

② 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第5页。

③ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第5页。

④ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第81页。

⑤ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第110页。

⑥ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第136页。

（2）太虚法师诗歌的革命性

太虚法师是以“革命”著称的。吕大任〈太虚大师早年生活之片段〉说：“「元年春，在上海云南路仁济堂，开社会主义研究会。中有年轻和尚，发言独多，与余意亦独惬。询之，始知为太虚法师。而其立言旨趣，则亦谓：欲真正解除人民痛苦，非于种族革命、政治革命而外，同时实行社会革命不可！」大师以佛教徒去参加政治活动，这当然不是「光复汉河山」、「取销帝制」就以为满足。革命的真正目的，在乎解除人民痛苦，那非实行社会主义不可！」与太虚同时的高僧，很多都有参与革命的经历。印顺法师也说：“和尚也来革命，这似乎有点希奇，或者现在还有人作如此想。其实，在辛亥革命中，和尚革命，非常平凡。李栖云、许铁岩、苏曼殊，这是大家知道的。（黄）宗仰以经济接济革命党；玉皇组僧军去参加攻南京；连天台宗谛闲法师（时年五十四岁），也撇开上海龙华寺，赶到绍兴去当僧军统领（僧军是铁岩组织的）。大师那样的年轻和尚，参加革命，有何希奇？希奇在年轻和尚对于革命也还有些意见。”

在其《说革命》^①一文中，太虚法师说到“偶然的的关系，我与许多种的革命人物思想接近了，遂于佛教燃起了革命热情，在辛亥革命的侠情朝气中，提出了教理（那时叫学理）革命，僧制（那时叫组织）革命，寺产（那时叫财产）革命的口号——这三句口号，曾为当时佛学丛报所批驳，我又作“敢问佛学丛报”的反驳——；与若干曾受新教育的僧青年为中心，设立了佛教协进会。我虽为理论的启导，而在镇江金山寺等处的实行者，则另有一群。因实际的行动太轻率散乱了，未几招来巨大的反击，即归夭折。然我的佛教革命名声，从此被传开，受着人们的或尊敬、或惊惧、或厌恶、或怜惜。”这里太虚法师也说到其参与革命并宣扬佛教的革命，带给人们各种不同的感受。只是在当时的情景下，若没有太虚等人对革命的激扬，那么佛教的春天恐怕要更晚到来。太虚法师有穿越时间的千古之眼，也看到了佛教振兴不可错失的时机。

因为太虚法师的革命热情，其对革命事件、革命人物多有认同，其诗歌自然有所表现。如《重游慈邑观音寺》“林峦却喜此幽深，两度来游兴不禁。万木萧森余态

^① 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第24册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第214-220页。

好，九秋风雨峭寒侵。遥闻汉水繁生杀，只盼中原早起沉。笑我人天忘管带，隐山未解辨薇吟。”^① 这是听闻武昌辛亥革命而作的诗，辛亥革命，使佛教高僧看到了国运法运同时扭转的希望。而同时，那些因为革命而献出生命的人们，也引发太虚法师的礼敬。如《三潭月影》“淋浪涕泪平生感，破碎湖山烈士坟；到此未能坐忘去，却从潭影玩天痕。”^② 《游岳麓山》“晓拂湘江渡，微闻款乃音；逆流能入性，向上不传心。深静观山色，丹青绘树阴；蔡黄凭吊处，城郭渺烟岑。时势造雄鬼，干戈泣剩氓。初欣息尘扰，便作入山行。尚有林泉趣，微存佛火明。虎岑堂寂寂，来觅大虫声。”^③ 此时写其在岳麓山凭吊蔡锷、黄兴之墓，一面感慨二人颠倒乾坤的伟力，一面也为革命之后民生依然多艰而悲叹。革命本为民生，但民生并未因革命有所好转。所以太虚法师的人间佛教，带着更多革命后的悲悯。《纽约赴芝加哥车次闲吊时哲[己已]》“补陀山上题诗录，社稷坛中吊哲魂。华族勋高洪武帝，英年秀毓翠亨村。权分政治三民贯，学阐知行一说存。身仆党兴能建国，同呼不死有精神。[孙中山]”^④ 这是在美国期间凭吊孙中山的诗歌。孙中山幼年求学美国，回国之后进行不屈不挠的革命，终于改换天地，引发太虚赞颂。又如《中山先生游普陀作此即呈道正》“卓犖风云万里身，廿年关系国精神！舒来日月光同化，洗出湖山看又新。佛法指归平等性，市民终见自由人。林钟送到欢声壮，一惹豪吟起比邻。”^⑤ 革命是为了自由，而有了自由人，佛教自然要有新面目。《成都十咏》“帝子当年创建成，明清遗迹尚纵横，民权君主今非昔，百姓寻常掉臂行。”^⑥ 这首诗这些民国之时社会的新气象。革命造就了新的人间，虽然还多有艰难，但新的气象毕竟已经展露，而佛教同样如此。

(3) 太虚法师诗歌的人间性

继承寄禅志愿的太虚法师，在新的时代，为佛教指明了“人间佛教”的发展方

① 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第32页。

② 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第41页。

③ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第100页。

④ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第140页。

⑤ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第243页。

⑥ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第158页。

向。在《中国之佛教——三十三年在复旦大学社会系讲》^①中，太虚认为“佛教精神原基于导善世人再进为与出世一贯之道，然因中国旧时环境关系，人们一入佛教即注重出世而忽略了化导世间，故弄成佛教与社会脱离的怪象。因此，我们应提倡善导人世，注重社会事业，改进人民生活，提高人民知识水平，使能即由国家富强人间美善中，通达到法界圆明的佛境。”对人间的关注，可谓太虚对寄禅精神最好的继承。特别是反思晚清以来国运法运的衰颓，佛门高僧深刻认识到，必须将国运与法运结合起来，积极化导世间，为国运的振兴出力，如此，法运才能同时振兴。

太虚认为：“以今日征服天然、发达自我之科学的人世，已打破向神求人天福德，及向未有以前求外道解脱之印度群众心理；正须施行从佛本怀所流出之佛的人乘，以谋征服天然后欲望炽盛，及发达自我后情志冲突之救济。且可施行此佛的人乘，俾现时科学的人世，基之以进达人生究竟，以称佛教本怀，以显示佛教之真正面目”！^②在解释太虚“堕世年复年，忽满四十八。众苦方沸煎，遍救怀明达！仰止唯佛陀，完就在人格。人成佛即成，是名真现实。”印顺指出：“释尊出在人间，所以是即人成佛的，是净化人性而达到正觉解脱的。……释尊是人而佛、佛而人的。人类在经验中，迫得不满现实而又着重现实，要求超脱而又无法超脱。……崇高的超脱、平淡的现实，不能和谐合一，确是人间的痛事。到释尊即人成佛，才把这两者合一。由于佛性是人性的净化究竟，所以人人可以即人成佛，到达“一切众生皆成佛道”的结论”。^③印顺认为：“人类学佛，只是依于人的立场，善用人的特性，不碍人间正行，而趋向于佛性的完成。太虚大师的‘人成即佛成’，即是——‘即人成佛’——人的学佛法门”。^④太虚法师倡导的人间佛教、人生佛教，契理契机，也将中国美学“人的凸显”的阶段特征纳入佛教的思想中。可以说，寄禅以来中国佛教文学、禅宗诗歌，都是向着“人的凸显”而进行的。进入人间的佛教文学，是佛教文学必然的趋向。由此，我们也可知道，如果不是太虚法师对人间佛教的提倡及其禅诗的创作，我们极有可能忽略寄禅诗歌中此类重要的信息。这恰恰也是太虚诗歌

① 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第2册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第290-320页。

② 释印顺著：《太虚大师年谱》，北京：中华书局，2011年，第123页。

③ 释印顺著：《佛法概论》，北京：中华书局，2010年，第10页。

④ 释印顺著：《佛在人间》，北京：中华书局，2010年，第66页。

对我们理解寄禅的重要性所在。

太虚的诗歌，表现出了充足的人间风味。如《赠杨一放次原韵》“造化小儿何足贵，还须自做自由人。”^① 自由人，是新人间的自由人。不必自契自荣的自由人。《宿鸣鹤场金仙寺》“即此人间开佛国，扶摇直上作南图。”^② 佛国也只能开在人间，脱离人间，佛教也不能作鲲鹏之远举。^③ 在《偕杨一放王芝如杨紫林释却非泛舟游石屋》中，太虚说“社会本无性，习俗相沉浮”，^④ 在《赠孔肥西和丙辰仲秋东游杂咏六绝原韵》中，又说“玄黄血战起群龙，尽入浮云变态中；料得曾经沧海客，悲天悯世此心同。端正故乡归去休，故乡净土非神州，神州火宅不堪住，落叶哀蝉又报秋。”^⑤ 社会的沉浮、人间的战乱，时时都在太虚心头。晚清以来不断劫难，就像一个又一个秋天一样，落叶哀蝉，向人悲鸣。

但是同时，人间的新气象也更能引发太虚的兴趣。如《由芝加哥至旧金山》“晓车帘卷小窗寒，玉野银山入卧观。一路白埋岩石罅，数峰青露柏松端。晶光冉冉浮云散，木洞疏疏落叶斑。意逐轻烟成薄雾，邈然清味与天宽。昨日曾从水面行，今朝山顶路尤平。远峰深谷来窗几，浅草长松作镜屏。百物纷陈春气象，一车移动活棋枰。修途得此堪愉快，努力加餐慰客情。春迟北美先南美，一入嘉州万象新。带在温和宜动植，地多生趣洽天人。牛羊遍野纷眠食，花鸟迎风各笑颦。何碍境迁心亦变！无边光景倍精神。飞车忽在金峰顶，四望群山落海濱。才喜云光回白日，俄惊雾气薄青门；顷刻阴阳易昏照，霎时升降变凉暄。月湾花坞俱清绝，一片禅心印碧痕。”^⑥ 此诗描绘了其在美国的诸多见闻，新的人间气象令人精神振奋。而这种气象总是能够为中国带去些许改变。《新京游踪》“朱暮昔年杰，孙陵现代尊；一杯灵谷水，暂以息征轮。后湖五洲景，晓庄联治村，两般新建设，物资与精神。”^⑦ 革命之后的诸多建设，也让太虚振奋。但他同时也认为，新的建设，需要物资与精神并

① 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第67页。

② 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第175页。

③ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第35页。

④ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第42页。

⑤ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第70页。

⑥ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第140页。

⑦ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第144页。

重，不可偏于一端。此外如《无锡纪游》^①“锡山无锡密人烟，遍地清涟涌惠泉，毓秀钟灵源有自，工农商茂溯农田。”也都写出新社会的气象。

但是，日寇的侵略轰炸，阻碍了新的可能。《贵阳杂咏》“南城迎曦阳，忽惊飞炸狂！东山趁明月，深悲烧夷伤。”^② [被轰炸]《答王太蕤原韵》“辟寒曾忆浴南泉，高咏欣邻摩诘贤；话别江城惊岁月，游归海国倦车船。杀机真欲弥天地，火宅空期息毒烟。一卧缙云秋又晚，漫吟清句沃心田。”^③直到战火褪去，太虚又感到更多的希望。《乙酉元旦试笔》^④“战火延烧十五年，人间阿鼻苦熬煎！木鸡喔喔一声叫，已到升平庆祝前。”只是这种希望，并没有留给太虚更多的时间。《宿灵隐听涛轩丙戌端午晓起》“一抚西湖劫后痕，十年重宿听涛轩，小康民族大同世，次第冷然入梦魂。”^⑤寄禅看到了辛亥革命的成功，却看不到佛教春天的到来。太虚看到了抗战的胜利，却看不到人间佛教全面的建设。两代高僧的愿力，在其诗歌中不息地回荡。

在《题佛心丛刊》中，太虚写到“本佛心，观世音，宣法音，度人心。佛心人心无二心，世音法音唯一音，二心非真心，一音即圆音，真心灿灿超今古，落落圆音贯古今。”^⑥以上诗歌，无论是人间战乱之苦，还是建设的新气象，都体现了太虚的人间情怀。寄禅那里自契自荣的意境，到这里全都变成了对新人间的期望。这个新的人间，容得下一切的自契自荣，而所有人又都有着共同的事业。这正是对寄禅晚年精神的发扬。

（3）太虚法师对寄禅法师诗歌美学的承续和发展

1. 旭日意象

寄禅诗歌，夕阳的意象特为沉重。太虚诗歌里，同样有不少夕阳意象，但沉重感已经为革命感所代替。而更特别的，是其诗歌中有丰富的旭日意象，体现出对新的时代的向往，对生机萌发的期待。这种意象，不也正是寄禅所期待的吗？

① 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第182页。

② 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第195页。

③ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第222页。

④ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第233页。

⑤ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第235页。

⑥ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第268页。

如《山楼晓望》“危楼插半空，倚眺最高峰，树锁朝烟碧，山含旭日红。”^①《晓行》“出门犹自问西东，笑我无端入路中，隔岸芦花飞欲尽，朝霞引着一轮红。”^②《答僧度感怀》“翩翩散去怜飞鸟，落落相看惜晓星；闲狎白鸥忘岁月，遥观红日浴沧溟。无心石女春难动，入梦金仙睡欲醒；莫向色声边上觅，性天风月本无形。”^③又如《东游和韵答王吟雪二律》“东方日出红光满，挂在珊瑚第一枝。人是少年都有兴，诗逢佳节且争为。”^④《岁除》：“无语那堪窗渐白，冻梅浑欲向阳舒。”《赠别庄櫻痴》一窗红旭吐东隅，明月曾窥贮玉壶，多谢净名分丈室，还应说法愧文殊！^⑤《长崎观鸥》众生业力不相同，羡尔能行水陆空，浪雪涛花天上下，白棉飞破晓烟红。^⑥《飞渝晓观日出》“凌空俯视昆明，乍睹东山日出，隆隆天鼓声中，一球渥凝丹血。”^⑦《楞伽峰顶佛迹赞》“锡兰全岛即楞伽，绝顶曾来佛足加；菩萨雨迎禅侣屐，药叉云护律僧家。峰讹野荡徒貽笑，雷震高空可息哗；一宿风涛鼓心海，起观山影耸曦霞。”^⑧《祝融峰观日出》“冲寒直上祝融巅，犹是霞绯月落前；劈破冥蒙红日出，苍茫眼底豁山川。”^⑨

以上诸诗，不劳详解，即可看出太虚法师对旭日东升的赞叹。尽管时事艰难，但是每一轮旭日都带来新的希望。毕竟，革命之后，旧的人间是一去不复返的。

2. 世界眼光

在《建立人间的永久和平》^⑩中，太虚指出，“实在的、人间战争的广大而剧烈，至今日已达于空前未有的阶段了。中国固然在眼前蒙受着残暴的侵略，在抗战中受尽了各种痛苦，即西洋各国亦同样的都在生死存亡的争斗中，差不多整个世界人类都已形成了最广阔的残酷战争。自古以来的流血事件，很少有像现在这样纵横

① 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第4页。

② 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第9页。

③ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第18页。

④ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第73页。

⑤ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第90页。

⑥ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第93页。

⑦ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第202页。

⑧ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第218页。

⑨ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第230页。

⑩ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第27册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第422-433页。

于海陆空中，作最强烈的厮杀格斗的。所以、人类的自相残杀，实已达于极度了！然人类的生性毕竟是爱好和平的，所以我国和英、苏、美各友邦，为国族的生存独立与国际的平等自由，虽尚在必须求得战胜的途路上，而各种战胜后的和平拟议，已应时风起云涌。”

从上文所引诗歌我们就可以看到，太虚是一位有世界眼光的诗僧。其诗境虽然不以空间感著称，而更多强调时间感。但是其对世界局势的了解，其对世界各地的巡游，在很大程度上补充了其空间感。当然，这种世界眼光，仍然是“千古眼”。二次大战，是全人类的一场大绞杀。东方西方，莫之能外。而佛教自此，也不只是东亚的一种宗教，而是对着整个世界和人间，有了一种使命。

如《答黄卧松居士》“战国世重开日局，杀人场欲辟星球。”^①《题湘乡佛学社》“灾难遍全国，杀机充五洲；如何超苦海？端仗佛慈舟！”^②这是对时局的描写。《赠元白居士》“一例华夷大相斫，侧身天地怕逢人；偶从海上成知识，便许环中共道真。觉世让君先觉士，平心还我太平民；好期携手登灵石，悟未生前佛性因。”^③此诗则道出对“太平”的期望。而在下面几首诗中，太虚则表达了对佛教在全世界传播并对人类精神发挥作用的期待。如《日本赠友》“蓬莱仙岛昔曾游，九载重来值暮秋；漠漠京尘新旧雨，一堂相聚大亚洲。（木村泰贤）当年西渡话唐僧，今日新修一切经；握美擒欧吾辈事，法轮西转万山青。”（高楠顺次郎）年来沙碛隔重重，地底潜流水自通；今日凭君新努力，还将佛法换欧风！（水野梅晓）”^④佛教如能传播到西方，也能帮助西方洗涤物欲、杀伐之气。就如《和潘对皁居士》“重阴剥复忽闻雷，世界光明一线开。欲起沉眠破长梦，笑从前劫证余灰。东方德化全球遍，有脚阳春大地回。人海慈航谁驾得？天行不息健翁来。”^⑤东方的德化遍及全球之时，人类才真的有大同之世。

大同之世，是平等、自由的世界。如《星洲赴杨云溪君别墅》“闲驾风车向郊野，忽从尘市入山林；幻形偶在人间寄，乐土还宜海外寻。一路蕉香薰欲醉，两行

① 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第82页。

② 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第232页。

③ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第97页。

④ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第124页。

⑤ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第186页。

椰叶绿成阴。混然不用华夷辨，涵盖乾坤只此心。”^①《巴黎纪游》“一百年前拿破仑，武功喧赫凯旋门；微温电火埋新骨，士女纷来吊战魂。[凯旋门]自由平等发源地，纪念碑成监狱空；佛言三界如牢狱，超出之时成大雄。[石龙室]五洲百国车同轨，异兽珍禽聚一园，莫谓狮豹无佛性，术人能与话亲恩。[郊外车]”^②这些诗歌都表达了太虚对新世界、新人间的期望。这一期望，超出了一国的范畴，而成就一种世界性的眼光。

寄禅的时代，还只能了解中国国运与法运的衰歇。而在太虚这里，看到的整个世界的杀戮和希望。这种世界的眼光，同样是对寄禅精神的一种延展。

结语：人间佛教时代禅宗诗歌的可能性

寄禅法师与太虚法师在诗歌美学上的传承，与其在佛教事业上的传承，是紧密关联和呼应的。新的时空背景，总会产生新的触觉。秉持寄禅志愿，开创人间佛教的太虚，为我们展示了一个新人间的途径。新的人间，需要新的文学。在这一点上，太虚不仅是传统意义上的最后一位诗僧，也是现代意义上的第一位诗僧。寄禅自契自荣的梅花，到太虚这里，终于可以开遍人间。正如太虚《和章盈五君见赠原韵》“却从温故获知新，作个镕今铸古人。交遍两方文化线，转成一致法音轮。言思尽处非空有，现实超然出幻真。好向微尘剖经卷，生无生义与重伸。露堂堂地无遮隔，物理人情亦圣师。未许小成纷至德，从来大悟出深疑。忽知火在灯非别，现证桥流水不移。一霎心光吞太极，乾坤何处着贪痴？”^③“好向微尘剖经卷”，类似的表达，在太虚诗歌中多次出现。这其实正是人间佛教的另一种表达。而佛教文学的发展，正是在这新人间的每一粒微尘中，显现大乘经卷。也唯有如此，才能“镕今铸古”，有大的创造。

这个新的人间，需要的必然不会只是学僧，而一定需要有伟大创造力的诗僧。需要如《摩星岭晚眺》“寸心渐共孤云远，只手舒援大陆沉。”《寓爱丽园与白慧同作》“乾坤寂寞人天老，入世当弹霹雳琴。”《春宵感事与玉皇式海同作》“忽然横刀

① 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第126页。

② 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第135页。

③ 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第137页。

向天笑，万星今夜属狂夫。”太虚法师向新的人间传递了寄禅的诗意，禅宗的文学必然还会重新振兴。

当然，正如我们知道的，太虚之后，由于历史的原因，佛教文学的创作，进入低潮。确实出现了学僧压倒诗僧的局面。但是就对佛教的发展而言，如果没有出现新的诗僧团体，则可以说，人间佛教的建设就还没有达到理想的状态。诗歌、文学，比起艰深的佛理，总是应该更接近于人间的。没有在人间的文学，便不足以说明佛教在人间达成了足够的教化。学僧多数毕竟是在就“经卷”而剖经卷。只有诗歌、文学，才能真正的面对人间的微尘剖出经卷。苏曼殊的小说、太虚的禅诗都是如此。太虚也尝试了现代诗的创作，虽然为数极少，却弥足珍贵。

因此我们认为，在人间佛教的时代，佛教文学需要在文学形式、题材等方面进行多方面的探索。如创作佛教小说、佛教现代诗等等。而其题材，则应面对现实社会本身。改革开放以来，多种佛教佛学刊物面世，其中就有不少开辟了佛教文学的栏目。诗词、散文、现代诗的创作逐渐丰富起来。但就总体来说，还更多的是面向寺院而非面向社会，旧的文学形式多于新的文学形式，对现代社会缺少充分的关照。即便是佛教居士所作，对社会的深入也远远不够。所以我们理应期待，在人间佛教的时代，应该创办专门的佛教文学刊物，激发佛教信众特别是僧人的创作。让佛教的文学走出寺院，走进人间。

最后，我们以太虚《戊辰立春偶成》来结束本文。“微雪明明见，寒云密密封；远山增黯澹，流水自叮咚。人已度新岁，天犹滞旧冬。乾坤不终蛰，一震起潜龙。”^①

^① 释太虚著：《太虚大师全书》第34册，北京：宗教文化出版社，2005年，第134页。

地方性专题



文化资本视域中的学术出版高质量发展

——以《傅筑夫文集》为例

潘飞^①

(High quality development of academic publishing from the perspective of cultural capital

——Taking the Collected Works of Fu Zhufu as an Example)

摘要：本文从资本和市场的基本特性出发，考察文化资本的价值功能及其增值场域——思想市场，并在此基础上论述学术资本这一文化资本的特殊形态及其增值场域——学术市场。进而，将学术市场细分为学术思想市场和学术出版市场，从而引出学术出版高质量发展这一主题。围绕这一主题，本文论证得出学术出版高质量发展的关键在于激活、贯通学术思想市场与学术出版市场，并在此基础上实现这两个市场的良性双循环。更进一步，本文以《傅筑夫文集》的出版为例，阐述了学术民主在学术出版高质量发展乃至学术共同体建设中的功能和作用。

关键词：文化资本；学术资本；学术市场；学术出版；高质量发展

Abstract

At the first, we analyzes the value and function of the cultural capital and market for ideas, based on the characteristics of capital and market. Secondly, we take the academic

^① 潘飞：首都经济贸易大学出版社编辑，博士，副编审（PAN FEI, editor of Capital University of Economics and Business, Ph. D., Deputy Senior Professional Title in editing major）。

capital as a special form of cultural capital, and the academic market the special form of market for ideas as well. Thirdly, we subdivide the academic market into market for academic thoughts and market for academic publishing, then following the concept of high quality development of academic publishing. Then, we analyze this concept and conclude that the key point of realizing the high quality development of academic publishing is inspiring and opening up the market for academic thoughts and the market for academic publishing, then promoting them into a healthy dual circulation. Based on the above analysis, we take as an example, expounding the value and function of academic democracy in high quality development of academic publishing and academic community as well.

Keywords: cultural capital; academic capital; market for academic thoughts; academic publishing; high quality development

一、文化资本综述

（一）文化资本的概念与特性

1. 文化资本的概念

在本文中，文化资本被理解为一种“象征性资本”，是指能为个人、组织和社会带来持续收益的特定观念或观念体系（即“思想”）及其积累增值的过程，这一过程表现为既有观念在与异质观念互动与融合中的不断更新和拓展，从而成为个人成长和社会进步的内生力量和长期解释变量^①。文化资本的积累增值需要在特定场域，即思想市场内进行^②。

要厘清文化资本的概念，首先要明确“文化”和“资本”动态运动的基本属性，即文化是一种通过不断“生产—再生产”而实现自我持续更新的进程^③，资本是一种通过不断地“积累—投资”而寻求自我不断增值的进程。其次，本文所指“文化资本”中的文化，被限定于文化的核心层——人的观念和思想。

文化资本最初是作为一个社会学命题而提出的，它站在后现代的视角，对西方

① 刘拥华. 布尔迪厄的终生问题 [M]. 上海: 上海三联书店, 2009: 104.

② 李艳培. 布尔迪厄场域理论研究综述 [J]. 决策与信息 (下半月刊), 2008 (6): 137.

③ 李富强. 让文化成为资本: 中国西部民族文化资本化运营研究 [M]. 北京: 民族出版社, 2004: 28.

工业化以来的社会流弊进行了一种文化评判^①。简言之，就“能带来增值的价值就是资本”这个意义上而言，文化已经成为一种能带来巨大增值的资本^②。这为人们从经济现象及其规律的视角去认识和理解文化，释放其潜在的资本价值提供了一个全新的机会。由此，文化资本也开始具有某种较强的经济学和文化学前沿交叉的命题属性，并逐渐成为许多人所接受的一个新的资本理论研究范式^③。

文化资本理论的深层动力来自单因单果的机械经济观向多因多果的复杂经济观之“经济学理论升级”，即从传统增长理论向新增长理论的演变^④。

新增长理论的代表性成果“索罗剩余”的出现就是其中一个经典案例。无论是索罗对哈罗德-多马模型的修正，即：

$$Y=AF(K, L)^{\textcircled{5}}$$

还是阿罗、谢辛斯基在索罗模型基础上建立的以内生技术进步为特征的新增长理论模型，即：

$$Y=F(K, AL)^{\textcircled{6}}$$

或是贝克尔、舒尔茨所提出的“人力资本”这一著名理论概念及其对索罗剩余的解释^⑦……无不诠释了经济学家对于“人”在经济增长中的伟大作用和价值的探索与求证。

既然包含技术、知识指标在内的人力资本可以作为重要的解释变量而被纳入经济学理论框架，那么就必须面对有关于人的另一个重要问题，即劳动者的价值观、信仰、社会风尚等文化因素是否也同样可以作为一种解释变量纳入经济学？^⑧正是在这样的追问中，文化资本开始浮出水面^⑨。

进一步来看，文化资本作为一种能带来持续收益的特定的心理认知和价值观念

① 陈治国. 布尔迪厄文化资本理论研究 [D]. 北京: 首都师范大学, 2011.

② 厉无畏. 文化资本与文化竞争力 [J]. 文汇报, 2004 (5): 24.

③ 帕尔格雷夫. 新帕尔格雷夫经济学大辞典 (卷3) [M]. 北京: 经济科学出版社, 1992: 851-852.

④ 高波, 张志鹏. 文化资本: 经济增长源泉的一种解释 [J]. 南京大学学报 (社会科学版), 2004 (5).

⑤ 李永刚. 文化资本与浙江现代经济增长 [J]. 财经论丛, 2007 (1): 1-2.

⑥ 李永刚. 文化资本与浙江现代经济增长 [J]. 财经论丛, 2007 (1): 2.

⑦ 李永刚. 文化资本与浙江现代经济增长 [J]. 财经论丛, 2007 (1): 2.

⑧ 李永刚. 文化资本与浙江现代经济增长 [J]. 财经论丛, 财经论丛, 2007 (1): 2.

⑨ 思罗斯比. 什么是文化资本? [J]. 潘飞, 编译. 马克思主义与现实 (双月刊), 2004 (1): 50.

体系，可以被理解为一种决定经济增长的关键性生产要素和最终解释变量。实际上，在人类的经济社会实践活动过程中，进行文化资本方面的投资是普遍存在的^①，而对文化资本投资的多寡，造成了个人、组织、地区乃至国家经济社会发展方面的重大差异^②。特定的文化资本不仅指引人们合理安排自己的生产与消费，而且最终决定着人们需求的变化与观念的创新。正是从这个意义上而言，文化资本是人类经济增长得以实现的“第一推动力”^③。

2. 文化资本特性之一：人的主观模型的主动、持续建构与报酬递增性

文化资本之所以被视为一种能够实现边际报酬递增的稀缺要素，是因为文化具有强大的自组织的能力，而这来自人对思想这一主观模型的主动、持续建构。正如道金斯在文化基因（meme）理论中所说的那样，文化是一种有生命力的结构，它一旦形成就会不断地自我强化，不断地进行进化和传播。因此，只要人们发现某一文化的偶尔资本累积带来了利润，就会自发、迅速地学习、复制这一特定的文化资本，使之势不可挡地传播开来。接下来，这一特定的文化资本又会进一步同各种相近乃至异质性的文化理念相融合，进行文化资本的自我强化和再生产（即文化进化或文化迭代）及进一步传播，从而形成很强的“溢出效应”^④。

3. 文化资本特性之二：影响人对资源、技术、制度等要素的选择

文化资本作为一类“独特而重要”的资本要素的独特性和重要性恰在于：文化资本是通过制约其他生产要素而起作用的。例如，它以信仰、伦理、习俗等形式制约对特定资源的开发和利用；以文化融拒的形式在技术引进中对伴随技术而进入的异质性文化进行本土化调适；以惯习、意愿、信念、愿景等文化心理和价值观念的模式影响人力资本作用的发挥；在制度设计中，它则以“非正式制度”^⑤的形式影响经济体制变迁和制度创新路径，换言之，人们文化信念的差异将造成不同社会组织结构的形成，从而衍生出不同的制度安排^⑥。

① 高波，张志鹏. 文化资本：经济增长源泉的一种解释 [J]. 南京大学学报（社会科学版），2004（5）.

② 高波，张志鹏. 文化资本：经济增长源泉的一种解释 [J]. 南京大学学报（社会科学版），2004（5）.

③ 高波，张志鹏. 文化资本：经济增长源泉的一种解释 [J]. 南京大学学报（社会科学版），2004（5）.

④ 高波，张志鹏. 文化资本：经济增长源泉的一种解释 [J]. 南京大学学报（社会科学版），2004（5）.

⑤ 孙波，张凤山. 论意识形态、文化观念与经济绩效 [J]. 理论探讨，2003，05.

⑥ 陈萍. 文化软实力的经济学分析 [D]. 吉林：吉林大学，2010：12.

（二）文化资本的基本价值形态与衍生形式

正如货币资本以“货币”为基本形态，文化资本则以“思想”为基本形态，其价值体现就是“思想价值”（concept value）^①。在本文中，将思想价值进一步分为：理性价值，其功能表现为合作效用；知识价值，其功能表现为创意效用。

1. 思想的理性价值与合作效用

所谓思想的理性价值，是指人的既有思想与异质思想之间所可能达成的价值共识的能力和程度。思想理性价值的特点包括：

第一，共识性。理性价值更强调人在基本理念层面的共识。一种理性价值的形成，往往是人们在长期社会交往与合作中经过重复博弈后产生的^②；是建立在对“为了我们共同的未来”^③这一“命运共同体”理解基础之上的“最大公约数”或者共同愿景^④。

第二，稳定性。在一定的文化背景和发展阶段等特定时空环境中的人群，其理性价值一旦形成，则具有相应的稳定性，这种稳定性有助于凝聚社会共识，形成推进社会进步的积极合力。

理性价值的功能体现为“合作效用”。这是人们得以开展社会分工与合作的基础。以市场经济为例，人们只有对自由竞争和公平交易达成理念共识，才会愿意进入市场并开展合作。再以公共治理为例，人们只有对从权力本位的“统治”理念走向民主法治本位的“善治”理念达成共识，政府、社会和公众才有可能在公共治理的有序参与问题上开展合作。

思想的“合作效用”随其“理性价值”的不断增值而提升。因此，思想理性价值的增值过程，也就是人们在社会中不断扩大价值共识，从而在合作博弈中走出“囚徒困境”，扩展彼此合作秩序的过程^⑤。

2. 思想的知识价值与创意效用

① 厉无畏. 文化资本与文化竞争力 [J]. 文汇报, 2004 (5): 24.

② 张维迎. 博弈与社会 [M]. 北京: 北京大学出版社, 2013.

③ 《我们共同的未来》(Our Common Future or Brundtland Report) 是世界环境与发展委员会关于人类未来的报告。

④ 赵汀阳. 天下体系: 世界制度哲学导论 [M]. 北京: 中国人民大学出版社, 2011.

⑤ 吴富伟, 魏军娜. 哈耶克的“人类合作的扩展秩序”观初探 [J]. 理论观察, 2006 (4).

所谓思想的知识价值，是指人们为了实现某个具体目标而采用的各种富有成效、创意的理论和方法。例如，在互联网经济时代垂直细分不断增强的市场里，创意效用越高，产品去同质化能力越强，个性化水平越突出，对目标群体的吸引度就越大，可实现的商品价值也就越高^①。再以学术领域为例，针对各类学术议题，创意效用常常体现在学术研究的方向制定和执行创新之中：学术共同体成员围绕学术议题群策群力，联系文化传统和现实实际，有针对性、有创造性地提出学术计划和学术方案。

理解思想同时具备理性价值（合作效用）和知识价值（创意效用）的作用之一在于：我们可以主动打开心胸去拥抱异质文化及其观念。因为我们知道，自己可以从异质文化和异质思想中选择自己所需要的效用，并与自己的文化和思想进行关联，由此形成一种新的思想组合，满足开展行动的需要；既不必全盘照抄，也不用全盘反对，而是在“自知之明”的基础上“加强文化转型的自主能力，取得决定适应新环境、新时代文化选择的自主地位”。这样就有机会避免陷入“文化冲突”的心理纠结，以开放的心态和对话的姿态面对、观察新鲜观念并与之充分交流合作，取其长处为我所用，在文化融汇中不断扩展自己的思想平台，在增值自身文化资本的过程中拓展与他人、社会和合作世界的合作秩序。这就是费孝通先生所谓之的“文化自觉”^②。

3. 文化资本的衍生与分支

作为一种描述、分析思想价值及其增值运动的统摄性概念，文化资本还可以根据其研究对象和领域的不同而衍生出不同的形式及表现。

例如，当其聚焦于个人的思想价值及其增值运动时，文化资本即衍生为“心理资本”（psychological capital appreciation, PCA）的概念。正如《心理资本》一书的著者路桑斯博士（Luthans）所言，心理资本是指个体在成长和发展过程中表现出来的一种积极心理状态，是超越人力资本和社会资本的一种核心心理要素，是促进个人成长和绩效提升的心理资源^③。

又如，当其聚焦于组织的理性价值与创意价值及其增值运动时，文化资本即衍

① 厉无畏. 文化资本与文化竞争力 [J]. 文汇报, 2004, 05: 24.

② 费孝通. 费孝通论文化与文化自觉 [M]. 北京: 群言出版社, 2005: 226-233.

③ 路桑斯. 心理资本 [M]. 北京: 中国轻工业出版社, 2008.

生为“组织文化资本”（包括政治组织文化资本与企业文化资本等）这一概念。其具体表现为组织自我迭代、更新的创新水平与迭代能力，以及组织内与组织外合作秩序的有序、持续扩大。

再如，当其聚焦于学术领域时，文化资本即衍生为“学术资本”的概念。其具体表现为学术思想价值的不断提升与学术共同体内外合作秩序的不断扩大，而这也是本文接下来要重点讨论的。

（三）思想市场：文化资本的增值场域

如同任何资本一样，文化资本积累增值的运动过程，也需要在一定的“场域”，即一定的社会文化环境或空间内，通过人的主动实践才能实现^①。一般来说，对文化资本而言，社会公共领域是其最重要的场域，因为文化资本的积累增值主要来自行动者在社会实践中持续、主动的建构^②。

从观念自我更新和拓展的特性来讲，一个理想的“文化资本”场域应当具有“开放平等、交流充分、价值共享”的人文环境特征^③。换言之，如果说一个物质资本生产与再生产的理想场域是自由公正、充分竞争的有形市场，那么一个文化资本得以蓬勃孕育的场域，则是一个充分自由开放，允许各类思想平等进入的“象征性市场”，这个市场最大的特征和价值在于：它是一个链接“异质思想观念”“共同参与、共同分享的价值网络”。在本文中，我们把这样一个以“思想”为基本流通品的市场称为“思想市场”。

思想市场（Market in Ideas）较早由已故美国芝加哥大学教授科斯提出^④。科斯被誉为20世纪最具原创性的诺贝尔经济学奖获得者（1991年度）之一，也是最关注并支持中国经济改革的西方学者之一。2011年，这位百岁老人在为《财经》年会发表视频致辞中提出：“回顾中国过去30年，所取得的成绩令人惊叹不已，往前看，未来光明无量。但是，如今的中国经济面临着一个重要问题，即缺乏思想市场，这

① 王海岳. 文化资本理论研究述评 [J]. 南通职业大学学报, 2012 (1): 18.

② 王海岳. 文化资本理论研究述评 [J]. 南通职业大学学报, 2012 (1): 20.

③ 邬锦雯. 打造企业的可持续竞争力：“组织文化资本”研究 [M]. 北京：人民出版社，2009：55.

④ 韦森. 读科斯有感 谁来管制思想管制. 凤凰网财经频道 <http://finance.ifeng.com/opinion/zjgc/20101118/2905845.shtml>

是中国经济诸多弊端和险象丛生的根源。”^① 科斯的发言，在国内引起了关于思想市场经久不息的热议。

二、文化资本视野中的学术资本与学术市场

如前所述，在本文中，将学术资本定义为一类特殊的文化资本。其既具有文化资本的一般特性，又具有文化资本之“资本”的独特属性。学术资本的增值场域是学术市场。因为只有学术市场中，学术思想才有可能通过生产加工和流通而成为学术产品，进而通过其增值运动（即学术价值的资本运动）而不断实现学术思想的价值增值。恰如学术资本之于文化资本，学术市场也是一类特殊的思想市场。其既具有思想市场的一般特性，又具有思想市场之“市场”的独特属性。

（一）学术资本

1. 学术资本^②：一类特殊的文化资本

学术一词，就其狭义而言，目前通常是指系统专门的学问，即对存在物及其规律的学科化论证，与之对应的英文 academic 这个词也可以用来指“知识的累积”；就其广义而言，还包括观点、主张、学说等^③。

由此可见，无论是从狭义或广义的角度来理解学术，其核心都是一种思想——学术思想/学术观点^④，也都属于如前所述文化的核心层，即思想观念层。因此，从

^① 科斯进一步提出：开放、自由的思想市场，不能阻止错误思想或邪恶观念的产生，但历史已经表明，就这一方面，压抑思想市场会遭至更坏的结果。一个运作良好的思想市场，培育宽容，这是一副有效的对偏见和自负的解毒剂。在一个开放的社会，错误的思想很少能侵蚀社会的根基，威胁社会稳定。思想市场的发展，将使中国经济的发展以知识为动力，更具可持续性。而更重要的是，通过与多样性的现代世界相互作用和融合，这能使中国复兴和改造其丰富的文化传统。<http://finance.ifeng.com/news/special/2012cjnh/20111215/5276266.shtml>

^② 胡钦晓. 何谓学术资本：一个多视角的分析 [J]. 教育研究, 2017 (3).

^③ 在本文中，如无特殊说明，则取其广义。

^④ 学术思想与学术观点在定义、具体内容等方面都有区别。一是，学术思想是指相对完整的理论体系；学术思想是人脑对现实事物间接的、概括的加工形式，以内隐或外隐的语言或动作表现出来。思想是由复杂的脑机制所赋予的。学术思想对客观的关系、联系进行着多层加工，揭露事物内在的、本质的特征，是认识的高级形式。思想由生命进化而产生。物质的化学反应构建生命，生命在生存过程中进化出意识、思想。二是，学术观点一般是指对学术问题具体看法；观点处于一定立场，分析事物利弊和适用性的表达。三是，学术思想包括学术观点，这些观点相互联系构成思想体系。

这个角度来看，学术资本也是一类文化资本，具有前述文化资本的各种特性和增值规律。

学术资本在文化资本中的特殊性，在于学术思想作为“观点之观点”和“思想之思想”这一“知识集聚与综合”的特性。简言之，学术思想称得上是许多社会思潮、社会文化、社会变革的源头活水。从这个角度来看，亦可将学术资本视为文化资本之“资本”。

2. 学术资本与学术资本主义^①

当前，“学术资本”是一个颇具争议的话题。一些观点中往往将其同“学术资本主义”“学术资本化”等概念等同起来，以此将“学术资本主义”定义为“院校及其教师为获取外部资金而进行的市场活动或具有市场特点的活动”^②；还有人提出，“‘学术资本’并非没有价值取向”^③，“资本的社会关系属性、‘学术资本’的社会政治经济与意识形态背景是不容忽视的”^④。

在另外一些观点中，则将“学术资本”与“学术资本主义”加以区分，认为“学术资本”是价值中立的概念。因“学术资本”与其他资本形式一样，是一个不含特殊情感或者价值倾向的中性词，因而是与“学术资本主义”“学术资本化”有着截然不同性质的术语，不能因为批判“学术资本主义”，就否定“学术资本”^⑤。

上述两类观点，看似立场鲜明，非此即彼，实则都陷入了一个误区，即将学术资本加以“物化”，将其等同于诸如货币、土地等物质资本，却忽略了其作为一类文化资本而特有的核心价值——“思想价值”。换言之，物质性的资本之所以容易导向资本化或资本主义，其根源在于有形资源的占有排他性，也就是传统经济学理论中所说的资源稀缺性。反观学术资本等文化资本，其是经由人的头脑不断运动、占有思想资源而实现思想增值的。思想资源的重要特性之一，在于其典型的公共属性，即思想可为任何人同时占有。因此，以思想为核心价值来源的学术资本，因其自身

^① 胡钦晓. 从学术资本到学术资本主义：以美国高校为中心 [J]. 南京师大学报（社会科学版），2020（5）.

^② 斯劳特. 学术资本主义 [M]. 黎丽，译. 北京：北京大学出版社，2008.

^③ 杨善发. 也谈学术资本：马克思主义视角的分析：兼与胡钦晓教授商榷 [J]. 江苏高教，2019（2）.

^④ 杨善发. 也谈学术资本：马克思主义视角的分析：兼与胡钦晓教授商榷 [J]. 江苏高教，2019（2）.

^⑤ 胡钦晓. 何谓学术资本：一个多视角的分析 [J]. 教育研究，2017（3）.

不具有排他性而不会走向“学术资本主义”或“学术资本化”。现实中之所以出现“学术资本主义”或“学术资本化”现象，乃是有形学术系统中的权力与财货相纠缠并不断放大的结果，即学术资本的异化。

（二）学术思想与学术产品

1. 学术思想与学术观点

如前所述，一般而言，学术思想是指相对完整的理论体系，学术观点则是指对学术问题的具体看法。换言之，学术思想包括学术观点，相互联系的学术观点构成学术思想，进而构成学术思想体系。

学术观点与学术思想的关系恰如人的观念与思想的关系。现实中，观念与思想^①常常被混为一谈。事实上，两者虽然同属于人的主观精神世界，但却分属于不同的层面。在通常理解中，观念被视为组成思想的基本元素，常常被称为“思想的碎片”^②或思想的“一砖一瓦”^③；某个思想则可以被理解为是建立在一组特定观念之上的观念集合、观念体系或观念网络。^④观念常常可以通过一个或几个关键词来表达某种意义，进行思考、交流、写作，并在与他人沟通的过程中使其社会化，从而形成普遍的意义，并建立起更复杂的观念体系，即思想^⑤。

为方便陈述起见，本文中学术思想和学术观点统称为学术思想。

2. 从学术思想到学术产品

学术思想只有进入流通，形成交换，方可转化为学术产品，而这也是学术思想最终得以凝练为学术资本的中间环节和必经之路。

（1）学术产品。如前所述，学术资本如果要产生增值，其核心形态——学术思想必须进入学术市场，转型为学术产品，如此方可在学术市场的供需关系中产生学

① 金观涛，刘青峰. 观念史研究：中国现代重要政治术语的形成 [M]. 北京：法律出版社，2009：2.

② 金观涛，刘青峰. 观念史研究：中国现代重要政治术语的形成 [M]. 北京：法律出版社，2009：2.

③ 汤志杰. 从一砖一瓦炼起：本土概念/观念史研究的提议 [J]. 台湾：中央研究院社会学研究所 <http://www.docin.com/p-42632765.html>

④ 金观涛，刘青峰. 观念史研究：中国现代重要政治术语的形成 [M]. 北京：法律出版社，2009：2.

⑤ 金观涛，刘青峰. 观念史研究：中国现代重要政治术语的形成 [M]. 北京：法律出版社，2009：2.

术价值^①。此处所谓学术产品，可以被理解为人们通过思维过程所产生的，并且以文字符号等形式存在的、可以传播的所有学术观点或知识体系，常以学术论文、学术专著或研究报告的形式生产出来，所以它的基本单位可以是一篇论文、一部专著或一份研究报告，等等^②。

(2) 学术产品有如下一些特点。

第一，学术产品属于公共精神产品范畴，是广义思想产品中的一种。公共性是指观念产品在消费中不具有排他性。例如，当斯密的自由贸易主张被英国经济学家接受之后，并不意味着其他国家的经济学家便无法再接受它。在这一点上，学术产品与路灯等物质性公共产品有相似之处。

第二，学术产品的价值实现和增值来自于相互交换，即不同学术思想之间进行相互表达与传播。学术产品的交换体现了学术思想从头脑到表达，从个体向社会的呈现过程，在人与人的互动过程中实现学术思想的社会化，从而形成普遍的意义，并建立起各式各样的学术体系^③。

可见，某一学术思想要想成功转化为学术产品，产生学术价值，生成“学术生产力”，则必须获得某种“主体间性”，即参与学术生产的学者有意愿并有机会共享学术思想及其的解释^④。因此，通过激活不同学术思想之间的充分交流是实现学术价值增值，即学术资本积累的最佳途径。否则，其积累增值的过程不仅将漫长，而且极易停顿。人类文明的发展史也证明了这一点：闭关自守不断为对外开放所代替^⑤。

学术产品的流通过程即学术思想的传播过程。从某种意义上而言，社会之所以成其为社会在很大程度上仰赖传播^⑥。正如库利在 100 多年前所说：传播是人类关系赖以存在和发展的机制，是一切心灵符号及其在空间上传递、在时间上保存的手

① 张旭昆. 思想市场论：分析知识产品演化的一个模式：以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州：浙江大学出版社，2001.

② 张旭昆. 思想市场论：分析知识产品演化的一个模式：以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州：浙江大学出版社，2001.

③ 金观涛 刘青峰. 观念史研究：中国现代重要政治术语的形成 [M]. 北京：法律出版社，2009：2.

④ 汪丁丁. 连续性假设的社会科学含义 [J]. 中国社会科学（季刊），1994（冬）.

⑤ 高波 张志鹏. 文化资本：经济增长源泉的一种解释 [J]. 南京大学学报（社会科学版），2004，05.

⑥ 施拉姆，波特. 传播学概论 [M]. 2 版. 何道宽，译. 北京：中国人民大学出版社，2010：3.

段^①。在一个充分开放的学术市场上，学术产品经由市场流通，不断传播学术思想，同时回收学术消费者的意见和建议并引入今后的学术生产。接下来，附着了更新后学术思想的学术产品再次进入市场流通，参与下一轮“学术传播—学术回收”的循环，从而形成学术产品的迭代与升级^②。

从传播的形式来看，学术产品的传播可以分为两种：一种是单向度的线性传播，即封闭的学术思想制造与“灌输—接受”系统；另一种是多向度的网络式传播，即开放的学术思想生成与“流通—反馈”系统。尽管二者都会产生一个复杂程度不相上下的传播过程，但是结果却不大一样^③。

无论何种学术传播，都需要借助传播媒介（学术出版机构就是其中一类重要的传播媒介），它是实现学术传播的工具和约束条件。媒介的观念、效率和规模对于学术传播的效果、效率和影响范围有着重要约束作用^④。

（三）学术市场

1. 学术市场的供给特征

（1）学术市场的产品层次和供给主体。学术产品的供应主体主要是学者、学术团体（包括政府中的各类政策研究机构），以及各类体制外的学术机构和“草根学者”^⑤。在中国，现实中学术产品的供给主体无疑主要是体制内的学术团体。当然，这并不意味着一般公众和一般机构无法成为学术产品的生产者。事实上，历史地看，许多精辟独到的理论往往产生于思想碎片化时代下的“边缘人”和所谓的“体制外”机构。现实地看，随着全球化、城市化、互联网三位一体这一全球文化大时代的到来，各种文化、观念与思想更有机会在碰撞与对话中相互激荡，“草根”中也完全有可能孕育出思想巨人。

（2）学术产品投放的功能指向性。学术产品集合作效用和创意效用于一身，而

① 施拉姆，波特. 传播学概论 [M]. 2版. 何道宽，译. 北京：中国人民大学出版社，2010：3.

② 思罗斯比. 什么是文化资本？[J]. 潘飞，编译. 马克思主义与现实（双月刊），2004，01：53.

③ 李普曼. 阎克文. 公众舆论 [M]. 江红，译. 上海，上海人民出版社，2006.

④ 江潜. 数字家园：网络传播与文化 [M]. 上海：复旦大学出版社，2001：13.

⑤ 张旭昆. 思想市场论：分析知识产品演化的一个模式：以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州：浙江大学出版社，2001.

无论哪一种效用，都有其明确的功能指向。还是以“市场经济”为例，正如哈耶克所言，“市场经济”这一思想的合作效用在于“体现了人的自由和权利”这一现代社会的价值基石，其创意效用则在于“提供更好的、更有效的资源配置效率”^①。学术产品的“合作效用”体现了其在社会化过程中“普遍共识”的效用特征。也就是说，某种学术产品的理念效用到底有多大，主要体现在这种学术产品所能引起的“社会共识”的范围有多大、程度有多高，具有意识形态属性^②。学术产品的“创意效用”则主要体现在其学术思想之实现方式方法上的创新和创意。也就是说，一种学术产品的创意效用到底能有多大，主要体现在人们为“普遍共识”而努力的过程中，所能迸发出的新颖的、具有启发性的见解或方案，具有产业属性^③。

学术市场之愿景，是为学术多元时代各种蓬勃涌流的学术思想和观点提供一个自由表达的环境，鼓励百家争鸣、百花齐放。从学术治理的角度，“学术善治”的表现之一就是不但禁锢观念，反而着力创造学术自由的“文化生态”，鼓励不同学术思想和观点同台论争，治理者则“择其善者而从之”^④。正如科斯所说：“一个生机勃勃的思想市场不仅是取得学术成就的必要条件，也是一个开放社会与自由经济不可或缺的道德与知识基石。”^⑤ 简言之，学术市场在供给方面的功能就是促进多元学术主体自由、有序地表达和传播学术思想。

2. 学术市场的需求特征

生产者向市场提供产品的动力来自消费者的需求，或者说来自满足消费者需求后的回报（收益）。学术市场上的消费者大体包括公众、政府和专业学术团体^⑥。三

① 秦晓. 在亚布力中国企业家论坛第十二届年会上的发言：不公平的根源是制度 变革的共识需要思想市场. 凤凰网财经频道. <http://finance.ifeng.com/news/special/2012yabuli/20120206/5539386.shtml>

② 金观涛，刘青峰. 观念史研究：中国现代重要政治术语的形成 [M]. 北京：法律出版社，2009：2.

③ 朱相远. 科斯“思想市场”涵义正解. 北京日报 http://bjrb.bjd.com.cn/html/2014-04/14/content_169720.htm

④ 袁刚. 思想市场会使中国更有前途. 人民网理论频道 <http://theory.people.com.cn/n/2012/1107/c112851-19520527-2.html>

⑤ 科斯，王宁. 变革中国：市场经济的中国之路 [M]. 徐尧，李哲民，译. 北京：中信出版社，2013.

⑥ 张旭昆. 思想市场论：分析知识产品演化的一个模式：以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州：浙江大学出版社，2001.

者在思想市场中各取所需，以满足其消费需求。

（1）公众的需求。或许出乎一些人意料的是，公众是学术市场中颇为活跃的“淘宝”群体之一。仅就学术出版的经验而言，许多公众对于各类学术主题都有不同程度的兴趣。当然，对于绝大多数公众来说，往往并不需要太过高深的思想或理论，而是需要一种通俗化的解释（通俗化的标准随公众知识和文化水平的变化而会相应变化）。换言之，他们大多选择的是一种能够帮助他们解决现实问题的观念和方法（也可以称之为行动建议）^①。

（2）政府的需求。毫无疑问，政府一直是学术市场的“大主顾”。政府对学术市场产品中的政策建议更感兴趣。作为政策的制订和执行主体，政府需要不断从学术市场中获取政策建议资源，以供决策之用。以国家经济政策及其相关政策为例，历史地看，如何增加政府的财政收入乃至整个国家的财富，一直是古今中外各种类型政府所最为关切的重大议题之一，也是政府决策活动的重头戏。与之相关切，有关发展经济和促进民生的政策建议，一直以来也是学术市场中最为活跃的产品之一。实际上，大量被投入学术市场的观念、观点、理论和政策建议，常常都是以政府为潜在客户的^②。

（3）学者的需求。学术机构是学术市场上类专业消费群体。他们很像是物质产品生产过程中的“企业部门”，一方面生产供公众和政府使用的最终产品——行动或政策建议及其中间产品——学术理论；另一方面又在学术机构内部相互之间产生对中间产品——学术理论——的供求关系^③。

既然企业想要市场中生存，无论是在管理协调和生产协作方面都需要具备降低成本的功能，因此企业必须通过不断创新以持续具备这种能力^④。也就是说，企业要有能力不断向市场提供创新产品，这一点在学术市场上的体现尤为明显。

① 张旭昆. 思想市场论：分析知识产品演化的一个模式：以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州：浙江大学出版社，2001.

② 张旭昆. 思想市场论：分析知识产品演化的一个模式：以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州：浙江大学出版社，2001.

③ 张旭昆. 思想市场论：分析知识产品演化的一个模式：以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州：浙江大学出版社，2001.

④ 邬锦雯. 打造企业的可持续竞争力：组织文化资本研究 [M]. 北京：人民出版社，2009：4.

和物质市场不同，学术市场中的产品具有“单件性”（或“斥重复性”）的特征。也就是说，相同的面包可批量重复生产，但完全相同的思想产品只要一件便能满足需求，不需要第二件。因此，可以说学术产品是从第二件开始其边际效用便等于零的产品^①。所以，学术机构或团体如果想要保持其在学术市场上的专业甚至权威地位，需要不断扩充自身的学术体系，以随时对新学术观点进行整合，创造新的学术思想。

历史的经验告诉我们，除了学术机构本身，大量的学术资源乃至学术观点是由普通公众所提出的。这些最初由“边缘人”提出并实践的“边缘观念”，经过学者的理论化后，成为重要的学术产品，其中许多以各种形式（如理论和政策建议）而成为推动社会变革的力量^②。



图1 专业学术团体的需求与公众和政府的需求的差异与联系^③

三、学术出版高质量发展与学术市场的良性双循环

解析中共二十大报告中可知，中国式现代化的本质要求是“高质量发展”^④，其最终落脚点则在“创造人类文明新形态”。换言之，中国式现代化以“高质量发展”作为首要任务、必由之路；以“全体人民共同富裕，物质文明和精神文明相协调”为国内目标导向；以推进人类命运共同体建设，“创造人类文明新形态”为国际目标导向^⑤。高质量发展是创新协调绿色开放共享的发展，是以提高质量效益为中心的发

① 张旭昆. 思想市场论：分析知识产品演化的一个模式：以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州：浙江大学出版社，2001.

② 张维迎. 思想市场推动中国变革 [J]. 中国新闻周刊，2014（4）：11.

③ 虚线箭头1和2分别表示公众和政府对政策建议的需求，虚线箭头3表示学者（包括学术团体）对学术产品的需求。张旭昆. 思想市场论：分析知识产品演化的一个模式：以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州：浙江大学出版社，2001.

④ 秦晓明，方小双. 中国式现代化的理论渊源、实践逻辑、价值意蕴 [J/OL]. 长江师范学院学报. <https://kns.cnki.net/kcms/detail/50.1195.Z.20230404.1827.002.html>.

⑤ 宁吉喆. 中国式现代化的方向路径和重点任务 [J]. 管理世界，2023（3）.

展，是依靠科技进步和改革开放的发展。

耐人寻味的是，原本聚焦于经济领域的“高质量发展”迅速成为一个遍及中国政治、社会、文化、外交、教育、生态等各个领域的“跨界”热词。尤其是“思想解放”与“高质量发展”之逻辑关联的提出^①（所谓“思想大解放，发展高质量”）。这似乎在提示人们，中国正开始步入一种全新的发展阶段，需要以一种不仅仅局限于“经济指标”，而是更加开阔的眼光来理解中国式现代化。由此，文化资本作为一种新颖的分析范式，得以进入人们的视野。

何谓学术出版高质量发展？简而言之，就是实现学术资本的可持续增值。那么，如何实现学术资本的可持续增值？关键在于学术市场的高质量发展。

如前所述，所谓学术市场，顾名思义就是进行学术产品交换（交易）的市场。如果进一步细分，又可将其具体化为学术思想市场和学术出版市场。大体而言，前者是学术产品的开发和生产市场，后者是学术产品的交易和增值市场。因此，所谓学术市场的高质量发展，主要是指学术思想市场的高质量发展和学术出版市场的高质量发展。在这两类市场中，学术出版机构均扮演了重要而特殊的角色。换言之，学术出版的高质量发展，与学术出版机构的积极推动是密不可分的。

（一）学术思想市场与学术出版市场

1. 学术思想市场

本文中所述的学术思想市场，是指学术思想由此转型为学术思想产品的场域。通常而言，学术思想市场上的供应者主要是学者，其负责学术思想的生产；需求者则包括政府（决策机构）、企业、各类社会机构以及某些特定的个人（如学者）等，其中一类重要而特殊的需求者，即学术出版机构。

理想中的学术思想市场基本运行逻辑很简单：

学者投放学术思想产品——需求者购买学术思想产品

然而，现实中学术思想市场的运行要复杂得多。这主要是因为，一方面，由学者主动投放的学术思想产品往往并不完全符合市场需要；另一方面，有的学者因为各种原因（如有顾虑或离世等）不愿或不能投放其思想产品。

^① 何勇. 在解放思想中推动高质量发展 [N]. 人民日报, 2018, 11 (20).

因此，在实际运行的学术思想市场中，往往有一个至关重要的因素（即变量）在起作用，就是对学术思想的评估和开发。以学术出版为例，真正成熟或有“野心”的学术出版机构一般不会仅仅满足于成为学术思想的“搬运工”，而是会积极参与学者的学术生产过程，为其提供精准的市场需求信息，以协助其锚定需求，从而生产出具有真实问题导向、满足现实世界需求的学术产品，而这正是推动学术思想市场高质量发展的关键一招。

然而遗憾的是，现实中有不少学术出版机构自甘成为“搬运工”，既无心于开发学术增量，也无心于开发学术存量，一心只想“躺平吃皇粮”。可是，这种“好日子”能维持多久，显然是一个问题。

2. 学术出版市场

此处所谓学术出版市场，主要是指由学术出版机构与学术出版产品消费者所构成的市场，其产品主要为学术出版产品。在学术出版市场中，学术出版机构是学术出版产品的主要生产者和供应者，消费者则是对学术出版产品有需求的个人或机构。

理想中的学术思想市场基本运行逻辑也很简单：

学术出版机构投放学术产品——消费者购买学术出版产品

同样，现实中的学术出版市场也要复杂得多。一方面，学术出版机构需要应对市场风险，即学术出版物的市场响应度问题；另一方面，学术出版机构需要应对盗版风险。换言之，学术出版产品市场前景不佳，是风险；市场前景看好，也是风险。当然，相比后者而言，前者的风险更现实，也更具有威胁性。因为，前者是因发展不利而造成的，后者则是属于“发展中的问题”。

综上所述，学术出版的高质量发展，关键在于两个方面，一是学术出版机构能正确理解市场逻辑，投放为市场所需的学术出版产品；二是国家对知识产权的保护真正落地，以起到保护学术原创的积极作用。

在这之中，于学术出版机构而言，其主要可做的在内容和形式两个方面。内容方面，就是要准确理解市场需求，并围绕市场需求“倒逼”学术思想市场——在其中开发、选择合适的内容产品。形式方面，是指要围绕用户的消费习惯，设计合适的产品形式，如纸质出版物、多媒体出版物、互联网出版物等，此外也包括符合学术内容产品调性的装帧、开本、款式，以及周边文创，等等。

（二）学术市场的收益特征

任何市场的参与者都是为了从中获益，学术市场也不例外。为了相对准确地说明学术市场上的供给和需求行为，我们需要建立广义经济人假设，即假设人们追求的是货币收益和非货币收益的某种加权平均值的最大化^①。假设：货币收益和非货币收益可以折算为相同的计量单位，则令货币收益为 y_m ，非货币收益为 y_n ，权数为 α 和 $1-\alpha$ 。则广义经济人追求的是综合收益 Y 的最大化，如下式所示：

$$\max: Y = \alpha y_m + (1-\alpha) y_n \quad 0 < \alpha \leq 1$$

随着人文因素在经济发展中的重要性日渐显露，人们对于非货币收益在其收益评价中的价值也在相应递增，即 $1-\alpha$ 向 0 更加趋近^②。

大体而言，学术市场中的收益可分为供给收益和采纳收益两个方面。

1. 供给收益

事实上，经济学中关于“经济人”的经典假设同样适用于学术市场上的供给者，正如它适用于其他任何在市场游戏的参与者一样。只是在“广义经济人”假设中，学术市场与物质市场相比最大的特点之一在于：需求者向供给者支付的报酬有时是非货币性的。并且，这一非货币性的报酬，常常体现为社会对其供给行为和产品的积极反馈，包括批评和认同^③。

供给者对于市场反馈的积极响应，会令他获取更多的非货币收益，其中学术声誉是其中最重要的收益之一。学术声誉代表了学术市场对于该学者的信任，从而肯定其学术产品作为社会文化积累（即文化资本）的价值。在学术市场的供给者中，学者追求声誉的主要目的更多在于体现其作为专业学术人士的社会价值^④。正如美国科学史专家默顿所言：“（学者们）一个重要的考虑就是在一种社会声望和知名度不

① 张旭昆. 思想市场论：分析知识产品演化的一个模式：以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州：浙江大学出版社，2001.

② 张旭昆. 思想市场论：分析知识产品演化的一个模式：以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州：浙江大学出版社，2001.

③ 正面、善意的批评参与也反映了来自市场的一种积极反馈，所谓君子和而不同，是值得欢迎的。

④ 张旭昆. 思想市场论：分析知识产品演化的一个模式：以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州：浙江大学出版社，2001.

断增长的领域内获取成就的状态能得到改善。”^①

2. 采纳收益

所谓采纳收益，是指通过采纳某种学术产品而使公众、政府或专业机构所增强的解决问题的能力^②。一方面，这种能力体现为其在解决问题过程中合作意识与合作能力的增强；另一方面，这种能力体现为其在面对问题时，知识准备更充分、思路更开阔，因而表现出更积极的创新意识和更强的创造力。通过前述对学术价值的考察不难发现，合作能力的增强体现出学术价值中的理性价值及其合作效用的增强；创新能力的增强体现出学术价值中的知识价值及其创意效用的增强。可见，采纳收益的获得反映出的正是学术价值，亦即学术资本的增值。

（三）学术市场的良性双循环与双侧（供给侧、需求侧）改革

通过前述对学术思想产品在学术市场中的供给、需求和收益特征的考察，我们可以对学术资本的生成和增值过程进行一番简要回顾。大致而言，学术资本是学术思想经由学术市场提出成为学术产品后，经过一个类似“迂回生产（Roundaboutness）”的过程而形成并产生增值的。这个过程涉及三个环节：生产环节、交换（表达和传播）环节、实践（再生产）环节^③。在这样的市场循环中，既有学术思想通过对其他学术思想的采纳或吸收而实现学术边界的扩充或更新，从而实现学术思想价值（理性价值和知识价值）的增值，并不断向社会提供合作效用和创意效用。可见，学术资本的积累和增值的过程，即是学术创新的过程，而这一切都需要在自由、开放、公正的学术市场中来完成。

1. 学术市场的生产可能性集合与生产可行性集合

（1）生产可能性集合。和物质市场一样，学术市场中的资源存量，即学术产品供给者（通常是学者）的数量和先前已经供应给市场的学术产品^④构成了对生产新

^① 默顿. 十七世纪英国的科学、技术与社会 [M]. 成都：四川人民出版社，1986：250-252.

^② 张旭昆. 思想市场论：分析知识产品演化的一个模式：以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州：浙江大学出版社，2001.

^③ 张维迎. 思想市场推动中国变革. 中国新闻周刊网 <http://politics.inewsweek.cn/20140411/detail-80815.html>

^④ 张旭昆. 思想市场论：分析知识产品演化的一个模式：以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州：浙江大学出版社，2001.

的学术产品的投入，决定了新学术产品的“生产可能性集合”^①，成为生产新的学术产品的必要条件。这一必要条件既表明了其生产新的学术产品的能力，也表明了其局限，即能够解释哪些社会现象，解决哪些社会问题；无法解释哪些现象，解决哪些问题。

通过图2可知，新的学术产品就出现在“生产可能性集合”与“问题集合”的交集之中，两个余集则表明在新的学术产品生产过程中，学者、学术产品存量同学术市场需求之间的相互依存关系^②。

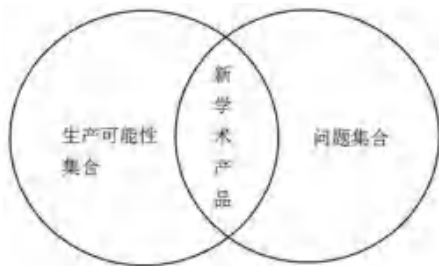


图2 生产可能性集合^③

通过图2很容易看到，对“生产可能性集合”而言，其大小由学术产品供给者人数及其量决定。供给人数越多，学术产品的数量越大（即产品差异越大），则生产可能性集合中包含的可能生产出来的新学术产品也就越多。

（2）生产可行性集合。除了受到学者和学术产品存量的约束外，“生产可能性集合”还进一步受到学术市场性质的约束。经由学术市场的特点可知，学术市场同样可以根据其从自由到计划的不同程度被划分为若干类型，其两端分别为完全自由的学术市场和完全计划的学术市场。学术市场的性质决定了学术产品的生产可行性集合。在完全自由的学术市场中，生产可行性集合与生产可能性集合相等；在不完全自由的学术市场中，前者是后者的真子集。如图3所示。

① 张旭昆. 思想市场论：分析知识产品演化的一个模式：以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州：浙江大学出版社，2001.

② 张旭昆. 思想市场论：分析知识产品演化的一个模式：以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州：浙江大学出版社，2001.

③ 参考张旭昆. 思想市场论：分析知识产品演化的一个模式：以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州：浙江大学出版社，2001.

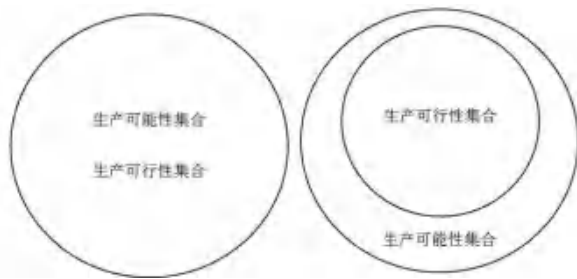


图3 生产可能性集合与生产可行性集合的两种关系^①

由图3可知,在自由度和开放度不充分的情况下,即“生产可行性集合”小于“生产可能性集合”时,生产出高质量的学术产品的概率较低。在短期(即“生产可能性集合”既定)情况下,这是由于高质量的学术产品因为受到管制而无法自由进入市场;就长期而言,则是因为计划和垄断会妨碍市场上学术产品的流通,从而降低了“生产可能性集合”的外扩性。这也是为什么自由的学术市场存在更高效率(即有能力提供更多学术产品)的原因所在^②。

至于在“生产可行性集合”中究竟有哪些新的学术产品有机会被实际生产出来,取决于该集合与“问题集合”形成的交集有多大^③。而这一交集就是为社会各方所普遍公认和关注的“公共学术议题”^④。也就是说,只有当公众围绕共同关切的“公共学术议题”进行观念交流和碰撞时,才有机会生产出数量更多、质量更高的新学术产品。

可见,无论是如何才能形成具有普遍共识的高质量“公共学术议题”,或是如何围绕“公共学术议题”进行学术交流才能形成更多更好的新学术产品,在很大程度上都取决于学术市场的“可能性生产集合”“可行性生产集合”“问题集合”三者的交集有多大;而采取何种方式去形成三者更大的交集这一问题,实际上也就是采取

^① 张旭昆. 思想市场论: 分析知识产品演化的一个模式: 以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州: 浙江大学出版社, 2001.

^② 张旭昆. 思想市场论: 分析知识产品演化的一个模式: 以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州: 浙江大学出版社, 2001.

^③ 张旭昆. 思想市场论: 分析知识产品演化的一个模式: 以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州: 浙江大学出版社, 2001: 31.

^④ 秦晓. 在亚布力中国企业家论坛第十二届年会上的发言: 不公平的根源是制度 变革的共识需要思想市场. 凤凰财经网. <http://finance.ifeng.com/news/special/2012yabuli/20120206/5539386.shtml>

何种方式来培育一个健康的学术市场的问题。

2. 供给侧：学术思想市场的改革

在经历了 40 多年的市场经济改革之后，相信许多人都对有形物质产品领域的市场和计划这两种体制的特征有了一定的了解。中国的市场化进程表明，作为一个独立、自由的横向交换体系，市场体制可以引发更大的创造力和生产力，从而改善民众的福祉，提高国家的综合能力^①。同样，就像物质产品市场可以划分为从完全竞争这一头到完全垄断那一头的若干种类一样，在学术思想所活动和发生作用的场域中也存在类似在经济领域中从计划到市场的若干体制和种类。其划分依据来自治理者对各种学术思想的包容度^②。如表 1 所示。

表 1 不同类型的学术市场^③

类型	自由有序的学术市场	完全计划（或完全垄断）的学术市场	有限自由的学术市场
特征	政府允许各种学术产品的生产；不压制新学术思想。在这种学术市场上，各种学术产品之间存在着竞争，竞争出版物等传播媒体，竞争政府、公众和专业学术团体的青睐。由于学术产品的单件性、斥重复性，竞争的主要手段便是创新 ^④	政府通过全面控制传播媒体，只允许某些学术思想、某些学术体系、某种标准解释得到传播和发展。这种标准解释成为评价或检验其他学术产品的惟一标准。在这种学术市场上，自由竞争不复存在，所谓学术创新也在事实上处于“劣币驱逐良币”的境地 ^⑤	政府除了限制某几类学术产品之外，允许其他各种学术产品的生产及其相互竞争

① 秦晓. 在亚布力中国企业家论坛第十二届年会上的发言：不公平的根源是制度 变革的共识需要思想市场. 凤凰财经网. <http://finance.ifeng.com/news/special/2012yabuli/20120206/5539386.shtml>

② 张旭昆. 思想市场论：分析知识产品演化的一个模式；以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州：浙江大学出版社，2001.

③ 表格制作的内容来源：张旭昆. 思想市场论：分析知识产品演化的一个模式；以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州：浙江大学出版社，2001.

④ 张旭昆. 思想市场论：分析知识产品演化的一个模式；以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州：浙江大学出版社，2001.

⑤ 张旭昆. 思想市场论：分析知识产品演化的一个模式；以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州：浙江大学出版社，2001.

类型	自由有序的学术市场	完全计划（或完全垄断）的学术市场	有限自由的学术市场
短期表现	竞争压力在短期内会带来伪创新活动等负面影响。当然，这大多只是在短期中给人带来声誉和货币等报酬 ^①	有效	过渡
长期表现	有效	失效	——

从表 1 中不难发现，完全计划的学术市场短期或许有效，但从长期来看其边际效用一定是递减的，因为这是一个文化封闭和思想垄断的场域，其最后的结局一定是：同质化的学术产品投入越多，观念越发陈旧和保守，即学术产品的效用越发递减。自由有序的学术市场则长期一定有效，因其边际效用一定是持续递增的^②。

在一个文化开放和不同观念同台竞秀的场域中，由于不同的观点、信仰、理念、学术思想、主张同时并存，且彼此之间可以有平等和自由的竞争，因此市场会作出最佳选择^③。尽管由于人类的有限理性，开放、自由的思想市场并不能完全阻止错误思想或邪恶观念的产生，但历史已经表明，就这一方面而言，压抑思想市场会遭至更坏的结果^④。因此，作为一种公共精神产品，学术产品之创造、传播和选择时所依赖的外部制度环境也应该是一种充满科学之怀疑精神和自由选择与合作的市场体制，而非盲从于那种看似面面俱到，实则顾此失彼的计划体制^⑤。

3. 需求侧：学术出版市场的改革

学术出版市场的改革主要包括两个方面：一是学术出版机构自身的改革，二是

① 张旭昆. 思想市场论：分析知识产品演化的一个模式：以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州：浙江大学出版社，2001.

② 秦晓. 在亚布力中国企业家论坛第十二届年会上的发言：不公平的根源是制度 变革的共识需要思想市场. 凤凰网财经频道. <http://finance.ifeng.com/news/special/2012yabuli/20120206/5539386.shtml>

③ 张维迎. 理念的力量. <http://www.fyeedu.net/info/196602-1.htm>

④ 科斯. 在 2011 年《财经》年会上的致辞：缺乏思想市场是中国经济险象丛生的根源. 凤凰网财经频道 <http://finance.ifeng.com/news/special/2012cjh/20111215/5276266.shtml>

⑤ 秦晓. 在亚布力中国企业家论坛第十二届年会上的发言：不公平的根源是制度 变革的共识需要思想市场. 凤凰网财经频道. <http://finance.ifeng.com/news/special/2012yabuli/20120206/5539386.shtml>

学术出版市场对学术思想市场改革的“倒逼”。在这之中的关键变量是学术出版机构，因其乃是推动学术思想市场与学术出版市场形成良性双循环的枢纽。所谓学术思想市场与学术出版市场的良性双循环，是指以下这种理想状况（见图4）。

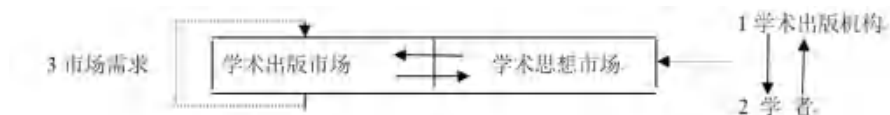


图4 专业学术团体的需求与学者和学术出版机构的需求差异与联系^①

第一轮循环：首先，学术出版机构和学者经过有效互动，在学术思想市场上选定相应的思想产品；其次，由学术出版机构将该思想产品打造成学术出版产品并向学术出版市场进行投放。

第二轮循环：首先，学术出版机构通过市场调研，搜集学术出版物的市场数据并进行分析；其次，将市场分析结果及时向学者进行反馈，并商议下一轮学术思想和学术出版物的生产方案。

在这个理想的双循环中，经由学术出版机构充分发挥枢纽作用，打通了学术思想市场和学术出版市场的壁垒，使之充分互联互通，使学术思想产品转化为成功的学术出版产品，从而在真正意义上实现产学研用的一体化。

回到学术出版市场的改革，具体包括以下两个方面。

(1) 学术出版机构自身的改革。高质量发展对学术出版事业的发展提出了新要求。对于学术型出版团队而言，如何因应新时代的要求，重构自身的核心竞争力及与之相应的人文内核，是其在顶层设计中必须认真思考的重要课题。由此引出了学术出版高质量发展背景下学术型出版团队的文化治理问题，即应在认真调查研究，实事求是评估团队知识需求的基础上，通过务实创新的举措建设团队的文化基础设施，营造团队的文化上层建筑，从而淬炼学术型出版团队的核心知识谱系与核心文化导向，并在此基础上打造其核心竞争力。

具体而言，学术出版的高质量发展对学术出版机构提出了以下现实问题，即在

^① 图中，虚线箭头1和2分别表示学术出版机构和学者对学术产品的需求，虚线箭头3表示市场对学术产品的需求。张旭昆. 思想市场论：分析知识产品演化的一个模式：以经济学为例 [M]. 杭州：浙江大学出版社，2001.

“互联网+”与移动智能时代，学术出版行业的产品将如何转型与融合？“互联网+”的兴起与移动智能时代的出现是科技进步的产物，即所谓科技赋能或科技赋权。科技赋能催生了媒介形式的迁移，引发了出版内容和形式的转型与融合，也造就了编辑出版行业新一轮的产业升级。以学术出版为例，基于互联网科技强大的链接效应，其产品形式正由既往单一的纸质出版物向媒介形态更加丰富的数字出版物转型；其内容则正在由分散性学术出版物向聚合性知识成果转型，包括面向公众的知识普及读物、面向企业和社会机构的支持性知识产品，以及面向政府的决策类知识成果，等等。相比前者而言，后者更加体现了学术成果与公共需求（社会）和公共政策制定（政府）的对接及在此基础上的成果落地，从而实现学术产品的使用价值，并由此产生社会效益和经济效益。

（2）学术出版市场对学术思想市场改革的“倒逼”。这一问题亦可转化为：作为知识产品的重要生产参与者和供应者，学术出版机构如何在思想市场中实现功能转型？伴随出版产品的转型，编辑出版的功能也在相应进行转型。同样以学术出版为例，从目前趋势来看，专业类智库是其实现功能转型的重要方向之一，即由传统的学术出版平台和单一、线性的出版功能，向新型智库平台和提供综合网络知识服务的功能转型。在智库平台的功能背景下，学术型出版人更多秉持学术合作伙伴的身份定位与融合出版思维，即主动参与学术成果的策划、准备和创作过程，并通过参与数据库等学术基础设施建设，为学者提供综合性、网络化的知识服务。由此，学术出版之功能由传统的末端跃至前端，其出版的目的性、准确性和在思想市场中的参与程度、效率和预期收益也将大大提升。

四、学术出版高质量发展的具体实践：以《傅筑夫文集》为例

（一）傅筑夫先生与《傅筑夫文集》

1. 傅筑夫其人其事

傅筑夫（1902—1985），名作楫，字筑夫，生于河北永年，籍贯浙江上虞，中国著名经济学家、经济史家和教育家，中国经济史学界宗师级人物。1924年，傅筑夫入读北京师范大学理化系，在旁听梁启超、鲁迅、黄侃、钱玄同等名师的课后心有

所属，便于第二学期转入国文系，系统学习了文字学、音韵学、训诂学等，选修了古典文学、文艺理论和外国文学名著等。同时，还在鲁迅先生的建议与指导下从事中国古代神话的研究与资料搜集工作。这样的训练，无疑为傅筑夫从浩瀚古籍中搜集、整理与甄别资料，为其后来主要从事中国经济史的研究和教学奠定了坚实基础。此后，受大革命洪流的影响，傅筑夫正视社会现实，走出象牙之塔，投身经济学领域。他自日本邮购三卷本《资本论》英译本，尝试运用马克思主义的经济理论来分析和研究中国的社会经济问题，并于1928年出版了专著《中国社会问题的理论和实际》。

1930—1949年，傅筑夫先后在河北大学、中央大学、重庆大学、东北大学、南开大学等校任教，讲授经济学概论、农业经济学、中国经济史、外国经济史等课程。新中国成立后，傅先生在南开大学又增开了“《资本论》研究”这一课程，其间亦在中国人民大学研究生班任教，直至1978年调往北京经济学院（今首都经济贸易大学）。在半个多世纪的从教生涯中，傅筑夫有数十位弟子已先后成长为我国经济史研究与教学的领军人物。正如中国经济史学会会长魏明孔教授所言，“傅筑夫先生深刻影响了四代学人，且今后还会深远影响国内外学术界，尤其是经济史学界”。

学术界公认，傅先生治学有“三绝”。一是极佳的古文底子和英、日、德等多种修养。二是极好的经济理论修养：1937—1939年，傅先生赴英国伦敦大学政治经济学院留学，专攻经济理论和经济史，这为他后来的研究提供了中、欧比较的广阔思路和视野。三是扎实的文献搜集和研究功底：据说傅先生一生积累了约220万字的学术资料，这使他的著作材料翔实，立论有据；有学者认为，直到20世纪80年代末，傅先生积累的经济史资料居全国之冠是没有异议的。

在近一个甲子的学术生涯中，傅筑夫先生著作等身。据粗略统计，傅筑夫一生发表论文30多篇，约55万字，出版论著14部，近380万字，出版史料近90万字，译著34万字，已整理待出的史料约40万字，积累资料中尚未整理的约90万字……

1985年傅先生逝世时，北京大学陈振汉教授在敬赠的挽联中写道：

博通古今，学贯中西，经济史界推前辈；

门墙桃李，等身著作，举国学子悼大师。

可以说，此联道尽了傅先生的治学人生。

2. 《傅筑夫文集》（辑一）概要

本次由首都经济贸易大学出版社策划出版的《傅筑夫文集》（辑一），为傅先生最具代表性的著作《中国封建社会经济史》（一至五卷），共270余万字。总体来看，“通古今之变，成一家之言”是这部著作的鲜明特点。对此有学者提出，此前有关中国封建社会的经济史，虽有些断代性的研究成果，但没有人作贯通性的研究，唯有本书是一部通史性成果。诚如中国经济史学会会长魏明孔教授在为本书申请国家出版基金所写的《推荐意见》中所言，傅筑夫先生在书中全面探讨了自西周至宋代2000多年间中国经济发展、经济制度演变的历程，并在充分占有材料和深入研究的基础上，就中国经济史的分期以及一些重大问题的性质和原因等提出了一系列独具特色的见解，填补了我国经济史领域的一项空白，也实现了傅先生“通古今之变，成一家之言”的夙愿。

本书的核心观点包括：

第一，中国封建社会一个影响后世千年的重要转折和重大特点，即典型封建制度的崩溃和变态封建制度的形成。这一大转折发生于东周时期，并绵延于此后的整个封建时代。典型封建制度的核心是领主制经济，其特征是土地世袭；变态封建制度的核心是地主制经济，其核心是土地私有。

第二，早在战国时期，中国的社会经济结构中已经有了商品经济，有了资本主义因素的萌芽，比欧洲早了近2000年。然而，在此后的整个封建社会中其发展却极其缓慢，始终没有越过萌芽阶段。究其原因，小农经济是总的根源。小农经济之所以产生，则来自地主制经济下对直接生产者的生产资料（主要是农民的土地）之彻底的封建性剥夺，这与欧洲资本主义萌芽阶段的情形完全不同。

第三，中国自形成变态封建制度以后，总体而言，其整个传统社会的经济发展处于一种“发展迟滞+动荡反复”的状态，造成一种“发展—逐步达到高峰—陡然跌入低谷—萧条凋敝—再发展”之不断循环的曲线，恰如海面上起伏连绵的波浪，动荡不定，轮回往复。特别是，其由盛而衰（即由波峰向波谷）之转换非常剧烈，并因此造成朝代更替，兴衰更迭。

上述观点自成体系，独树一帜，足见“作者对中国历史发展演变的整体把握，对中国在世界地位的准确判断，对理论体系的严谨构建”，对此有学者感言：“众所

周知，同行中没有人能从根本体系上对傅先生提出批评。”

（二）《傅筑夫文集》策划出版经过

1. 开展市场调研

本次首经贸大学出版社之所以选择傅筑夫先生的这套作品，是基于学术思想市场和学术出版市场的双重考量。

第一，就学术思想市场而言，本次出版项目的缘起是对首都经济贸易大学学术存量的开发需要。多年前，傅筑夫先生的这套《中国封建社会经济史》（五卷本）曾于20世纪80年代由人民出版社陆续出版。一晃三四十年过去，此次重新出版，是首都经济贸易大学出版社挖掘自家宝藏的重点成果之一。

第二，就学术出版市场而言，是对当前国内市场上有关经济思想史类学术产品的需求调研后的结果。其一，从学术大类来看，目前市场上对历史类、经济类学术产品的需求始终高涨；其二，再对上述两类产品进行垂直细分和跨界分析可知，“历史+经济”类学术产品领域是一片颇有前景的“蓝海”，且目前成熟产品很少。

综上，正是基于上述对学术思想市场和学术出版市场的双重考量及论证，首经贸大学出版社最终选择推出傅筑夫先生“中国经济思想史”方面的著作作为重点出版项目。更具体而言，此次选择和论证主要围绕以下几个关键因素展开。

（1）学术产品之价值。通常意义上而言，学术产品价值水平可从以下几个方面来考察。

其一，贡献了有价值的资料或数据。《中国封建社会经济史》（五卷本）的一大特色就是言必有据，文必有引，信息量极大。据张汉如教授的统计，傅先生论著中所引证的史料和当代考古资料达万余条，平均每万言引证史料约33条。有学者指出，综观目前有关国内古代经济史研究的各类著述，就文献资料而言，尚无出其右者。正如魏明孔教授所言，这充分体现了傅先生学术根基之深，也足见其养心治学的擎括功夫与老而弥坚的探索精神。

其二，贡献了新理论、新视角、新方法。魏明孔教授曾有言：傅筑夫先生作为研究中国经济史的大家，兼蓄经济学家的眼界与历史学家的胸襟。例如，他通过对英国历史的研究，提出尽管中国早在战国时期就已经大量使用金银做货币，有大量

商业资本，又有雇佣劳动，但为什么资本主义萌芽没有发展为资本主义生产方式这一问题。并指出，中国自秦汉以来中国主要是地主经济，商业资本没有转化为产业资本，而是用来兼并土地，这成为中国历代统治者面临的重大难题。阻碍中国经济发展的主要因素是封建统治者实行了抑商政策，用限制市场经济的办法限制商品经济的发展，连军队装备和供应宫廷需要的东西也要抛开市场，成立专门机构来供应。这扼杀了中国的商品经济，是使中国经济长期停滞的始作俑者。不仅如此，傅筑夫先生的论著多有独到见解，如他谈到思想意识上“谋生”与“谋利”是有根本区别的，“谋生”基本上属于自然经济的范畴，“谋利”则属于市场经济的范畴。傅筑夫先生的这些经济史结论，实为老一代学者学贵自得，不望风阿世，成一家之言的心得记录^①。

(2) 作者治学之个性与德性。关于傅筑夫先生作为国内经济史学界之巨匠宗师，其专精博览，笃行惟实，兼蓄经济学家的眼界与历史学家的胸襟这一点，前面已有提及，此处不再赘述。

2. 组建编辑团队

针对《傅筑夫文集》项目，首经贸大学出版社成立专班，由社长、总编辑牵头，组织骨干编辑，历时两年余，始告功成。

在拣选编辑团队成员时，特别注意了以下几点。

(1) 知识素养。知识的概念是哲学认识论领域最为重要的概念之一，是指通过学习、实践或探索所获得的知识、判断、技能。传统的学术型编辑，其知识素养主要集中在稿件编辑、出版物质量控制等方面，至多在出版营销和软文推介等方面有所介入；而在学术出版高质量发展的背景下，对学术型编辑的综合知识素养提出了全面要求，包括但不限于：促进学术交流与推广，增进学术普及，支撑学术研究，发掘学术前沿，推动学术创新……在这种情况下，学术型编辑需要保持终身学习的意愿和动力，自始至终保持对知识的热情与好奇，方可不断激活自身的知识活力，保持知识迭代的活性，成为学术出版中最活跃的成长因子之一。

(2) 策划素养。传统学术型出版中，编辑的策划更多是在围绕一个“假想的”

^① 详见魏明孔教授为《傅筑夫文集》（辑一）所作之序。

市场。与其说是在策划，不如说是在作者既有学术成果的基础上，尽可能找到一个与之相应的出版需求。高质量发展背景下的学术出版则不同。首先，编辑要确立出版的用户思维。也就是说，用户在哪里，就在哪里策划出版；而非出版物在哪里，才在哪里寻找读者。其次，编辑需要培育为作者提供全方位学术选题及内容策划的素养。简言之，编辑不能再像以往那样坐等作者的成果，而是要在知识服务的思维基础上，基于出版物的市场导向，有目的地进行约稿和组稿，并成为作者的解决方案提供者（solution provider）。

（3）运营素养。所谓运营，其本质是指将产品与用户加以有效链接，从而发掘、引领、激活用户的消费需求，并以此倒逼生产者的产品迭代与升级。学术出版高质量发展时代，随着编辑与用户的直接交集，以及学术出版机构智库化的发展趋势，运营俨然已成为编辑的基本素养要求。作为学术型编辑的运营素养，主要包括如下方面。一是极致思维。就是把出版、服务和用户体验做到极致，超越用户预期。二是迭代思维。就是将出版物视为一种有机存在，不断地推出新的主题、新的内容、新的思想，不断给用户带来新的思维与体验，在持续迭代中推陈出新，完善出版质量，保持出版活力。三是社会化思维。借助网络的社会影响和参与，优化和整合学术出版物的策划、编辑加工、出版、营销等整个过程，从而产生学术出版的溢出效应，打造学术出版的优质附加价值。

（三）由《傅筑夫文集》（辑一）得出的几点学术出版高质量发展的心得

1. 全面考察学术思想市场和学术出版市场，激活学术存量的市场价值

此处所及的学术存量价值，是指既有学术产品因其深邃的思想性，历经学术思想市场的反复检验而历久弥新，不断焕发时代价值。时下的学术市场中，有不少出版人想当然地认为，一个有价值的学术产品，首先必须是新的作品。因此，他们对学者的一大要求，往往就是“写一本新的”。

实际上，如果了解学术价值的运动规律就能知道，学术产品的价值并非必然体现在“一本新的”，而是应以学术思想市场和学术出版市场为标准加以双重检验，从而判定其生命力和价值高度。否则，极易出现“为赋新词强说愁”的现象。正如吴

敬琰先生所言，一些专家为了“显得深奥”而把大量时间花在“造新词”上，其所谓“成果”却乏善可陈，甚至将人引向歧途。

如前所述，《傅筑夫文集》（辑一）即遵循了市场的逻辑。一方面，在学术思想市场上客观进行同类学术思想产品的价值评估，以确定其学术思想价值；另一方面，在学术出版市场上客观进行同类学术出版产品的家长评估，以确定其学术出版（传播）价值。二者的最大公约数，即其综合价值。

2. 发扬学术民主，开展选题论证与协商

发扬学术民主，充分开展选题协商，是本次编辑出版项目的又一特点。2年多的项目实践证明，这是实现此次高质量学术出版工作的重要保障。

民主实践的重要体现就是协商。协商的基本含义是人们聚集或组织起来就公共议题进行讨论、对话、交流、辩论、审议等。学术领域的协商民主，简单而言就是学术共同体成员通过自由和平等的协商进行决策^①。从制度经济学的视野中来看，协商民主的文化内核是：在偏好转换中谋求最优理性决策^②。放在学术领域中，即学术共同体中的成员，通过参与学术议题的过程，提出自身观点并充分考虑其他人的偏好，根据条件修正自己的理由，实现偏好转换，批判性地审视各种方案建议，在达成共识的基础上赋予学术决策以科学性与合理性，从而实现学术自治与学术合作^③。

一个理想中的现代学术治理，是一个学术共同体成员就学术议题从理念到方案进行众筹众议，在达成理念共识，实现方案优化的过程中从“学术统治”向“学术善治”转型的过程。所谓学术善治，就是使学术价值最大化的学术治理过程。学术善治的本质特征，就在于它是学术共同体成员建立在协商民主基础上的合作管理，是学术管理组织同学者之间的一种新颖关系，是两者的最佳状态^④。换言之，就是通过渐进式地扩大学术领域各类主体的参与度，从而不仅在增进共识和创新观念的基础上实现决策优化，同时不断形成“学术增量”和“学术红利”。

① 韩冬梅. 西方协商民主的概念与特征解析 [J]. 中国人民政治协商会议理论研究会 <http://www.cppcc.gov.cn/2011/11/21/ART11321842150531295.shtml>

② 季燕霞. 偏好转换的协商民主及其政治价值 [J]. 中国人民政治协商会议理论研究会 <http://www.cppcc.gov.cn/2011/11/21/ART11321842150421283.shtml>

③ 陈家刚. 协商民主：概念、要素与价值 [J]. 中共天津市委党校学报, 2005: 03.

④ 俞可平. 治理与善治 [M]. 北京：社会科学文献出版社，2000：引论.

五、几点结论

回溯上述论证，本文重申以下几点结论。

第一，文化资本以思想价值为基本形态。其积累和增值集中反映了人的思想合作与思想创新的过程，从而成为推动个体和社会获得持续收益和进步的内生力量和长期解释变量。学术资本作为一类特殊的文化资本，其具有文化资本的各种特性和增值规律。同时，因为学术思想具有“观点之观点”和“思想之思想”这一“知识集聚与综合”的特性，所以学术资本亦可被视为文化资本之“资本”。

第二，实现学术资本积累增值的理想方式是学术思想的“市场化”。也就是通过培育“学术市场”这一理想的公共思想文化交流空间，扩大学术主体的有序参与，扩大不同学术思想之间自由、平等、充分、有序的交流 and 互动。学术市场的健康、活跃，是学术建设高质量发展得以实现的文化生态和文化土壤。

第三，学术市场又可进一步细分为学术思想市场和学术出版市场。所谓学术思想市场，是指学术思想由此蝶变为学术思想产品的场域，其主要参与者是学者和学术出版机构；所谓学术出版市场，是指学术思想产品转换为学术出版产品的场域，其主要参与者是学术出版者和学术产品消费者。由此可知，所谓学术出版的高质量发展，是指学术出版者努力将学术思想市场和学术出版市场融合贯通，促进这两个市场的良性循环，从而实现学术市场的一体化建设，进而推进学术建设的高质量发展。

第四，实现学术出版高质量发展的关键一招，是推进学术民主。实践证明，协商民主作为一种成熟的公共议事制度和议事文化，可以充分发挥其制度层面的比较优势，从而成为培育学术市场，提高学术价值，增值学术资本过程中现实可行的制度安排和文化生态。

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社会力量助力图书馆阅读推广的实践与思考

——以宁波图书馆“我和我的城”系列沙龙为例

彭佳 冯若楠^①（宁波图书馆）

摘要：全民阅读推广作为一项系统性较强的公共文化服务，仅仅依靠政府或者图书馆很难做到精准全面定位、服务普及大众，需要各级社会力量的参与和支持。本文立足全民阅读推广和社会力量合作，通过分析宁波图书馆在宁波建城 1200 周年推出的“我和我的城”系列沙龙，总结社会力量参与公共图书馆全民阅读推广活动的特色和优势，展望未来活动的实施方向，在讲好宁波故事的同时提升市民文化自信，确保全民阅读推广的可持续发展。

关键词：宁波建城 社会力量 我和我的城 宁波图书馆

社会力量在法律层面上指能够参与、作用于社会发展的基本单元，包括自然人、法人（社会组织、党政机关事业单位、非政府组织、党群社团、非营利机构、企业等）。全民阅读推广作为一项系统性较强的公共文化服务，仅仅依靠政府或者图书馆很难做到精准全面定位、服务普及大众，需要各级社会力量的参与和支持。《中华人民共和国公共文化服务保障法》（2017 年）明确社会力量在公共文化服务方面的重要作用，支持和鼓励社会力量参与公共文化服务，并为社会力量参与全民阅读推广提供了法律依据和保障。本文立足全民阅读推广和社会力量合作，结合宁波图书馆“我和我的城”系列沙龙，分析社会力量参与图书馆阅读推广活动的特色和优点，展望该项活动的实施方向，确保全民阅读推广的可持续发展。

^① 彭佳（1982-），宁波图书馆阅读推广部副主任、馆员。研究方向：阅读推广与公共文化服务。冯若楠（1990-），宁波图书馆馆员。研究方向：阅读推广。

1 活动背景

2021年,正值宁波建城1200年,同时也是宁波被公布成为国家历史文化名城35周年。从“千年府城”到多中心发展的现代化滨海大都市,1200年的发展,孕育了独具宁波特色的地域文化。四明学派、浙东学派、宁波港、宁波帮、王阳明、沙孟海……这座城市有着丰富的历史文化积淀,在漫长的岁月中展现出独特的优势。可以说,2021年是对所有新老宁波人开展乡土文化教育和提升城市文化自信力的绝佳契机。

基于此,宁波图书馆于2021年4月(宁波读书月)推出了“我和我的城”系列文化沙龙,该系列立足宁波本土题材,并与宁波市海曙区作家协会合作,邀请宁波文史专家、作家联袂讲述,向广大读者普及宁波历史文化名人、文化地标、对外交流史、宁波“四知”精神等内容,在后疫情时代,采取线上直播和线下参与相结合的方式,受众读者接近10万人次。活动定位鲜明、选题鲜活、甬城特色浓郁,旨在让读者们能更直观、更深刻地了解这座历史文化名城,走近宁波,热爱宁波。

2 活动简介

2.1 活动主题

“我和我的城”系列文化沙龙每期主题都围绕具有宁波地域特色的文化和名人展开,由中国文艺评论家协会会员、海曙作协主席赵淑萍作为主讲人,邀请文史专家、本地作家一起做客甬图。通过讲述这些甬城故事,激发和带动新老宁波人对宁波的兴趣和热爱。

2.1.1 文化地标

对于一个城市而言,文化是印记,是精髓,是灵魂。最能体现一个城市文化传承和内涵的就是文化地标,它们展示着一个城市的历史和风貌,凝聚着一个城市的品格和精神。

鼓楼作为宁波重要的人文地标,对于整个宁波市来说有着非同寻常的意义。如2021年4月9日推出的“我和我的城”系列文化沙龙第一期主题为《鼓楼的前世今

生》，赵淑萍老师邀请宁波文化研究会会长、宁波市文史研究馆馆员、海曙作协文史顾问张如安，甬上青年学者、中国民间文艺家协会会员周东旭共同讲述“鼓楼的前世今生”。老师们旁征博引，介绍有关鼓楼的传说、修建和重修史、功能以及历来与鼓楼有渊源的文化名人。朝代更迭，鼓楼历经多次重建、修建，今天大家看到的楼阁建筑是清咸丰五年（1855年）由巡道段光清所督建的，是宁波唯一仅存的古城楼遗址，亦是三江口城址落成时的见证。鼓楼的钟仍然准时报时，为市民提供方便。读者们纷纷留言表示感同身受。

又如8月15日第三期《十洲风月话月湖》，讲述的就是宁波地标月湖的故事，宁波大学外国语学院日本研究所所长李广志，宁波市文化旅游研究院副书记、《天一文苑》主编黄文杰与赵淑萍老师为读者们带来了这场沙龙。月湖被誉为景观之湖、水利之湖、书香之湖、文化之湖。历来，月湖就是宁波的文化中心。千年月湖，人文荟萃。嘉宾就月湖的名人文化、藏书文化进行了重点讲述。黄老师讲述了庆历五先生、淳熙四君子在月湖边的学术轨迹。大儒黄宗羲曾来宁波讲学，其主要足迹在月湖一带。儒释道在月湖都有人文地标。李老师则分享了月湖周边的宁波文人与日本的交往，以及日本人眼中的月湖。三位老师最后讲到了近代文教事业和月湖的关联。在总结了月湖文化的厚度和高度后，他们提出，在当下的名城名都和一带一路建设中，要解码月湖文化基因，发掘月湖文化，使月湖这张名片更加靓丽。

2. 1. 2 地方名人

有着深厚历史文化底蕴的宁波，历史遗存丰富、历史名人众多。宣传弘扬这些文化名人的丰功伟绩，有利于提升宁波的知名度、美誉度，有利于提升市民的认同感、自豪感。6月20日，主讲嘉宾赵淑萍联合《鄞州文史》主编、宁波文史专家戴松岳，宁波文化研究会会员、南宋石刻公园原负责人刘平平共同讲述了“宁波两宋时期的名人”。宋代，以王安石、曾巩、吴潜为代表的一批名臣学者使得宁波开始确立“耕读传家、商儒并生”的传统，农业生产和文化领域都有了长足的进步。明州港跻身全国四大港口之一，成为海上丝绸之路的出发点。戴老师分享了几位宋代主政宁波的官员和宁波本地的名人，重点介绍了王安石的懿德美行、治鄞功绩以及遗世独立、不甘流俗的个性。刘老师则讲述了南宋最显赫的望族四明史氏的来历及崛起的原因，同时讲了史家对宁波城市发展和地方文化的影响。史料和传说穿插，重

大历史事件和人物轶事结合，增加了沙龙的趣味性。不少读者表示通过本场沙龙知道了一些鲜为人知的历史故事和细节，为宁波城市的历史感到骄傲。又如第五期活动《风烟深处说舒亶》。当时的监察御史舒亶等人以谤讪新政的罪名逮捕了苏轼，史称“乌台诗案”。舒亶的行为固然有“过头”之处，特别是将苏轼的一些诗句与文章“上纲上线”，确实有悖“君子之道”，为后世所鄙视。但是，他与苏轼主要是由于政见与观念不同而导致的矛盾。12月10日，张如安、戴松岳和赵淑萍三位嘉宾细说北宋时期宁波名人舒亶，同时也讲述了他和王安石、苏东坡及张商英的关系。以大量生动的例子剖析舒亶的才情、性情，向读者呈现了一个立体、多元的历史人物——舒亶。

2. 1. 3 甬城文化

“四知精神”（知行合一、知难而进、知书达礼、知恩图报）体现了宁波深厚的文化底蕴，是对宁波人文精神、城市特质的高度概括。第四期《以“四知”精神解读宁波文化》邀请海曙区文联副主席陈鸿与海曙作协秘书长丁萍主讲。10月23日，两位老师从读者们对宁波文化最直观的印象谈起。宁波文化的多元性、开放性在全国城市样板中十分罕见，这和历史上的三次衣冠南渡有关，也与宁波特殊的地理位置分不开。陈老师对阳明心学、浙东学派“知行合一”的内涵思想，宁波帮“知难而进”的拼搏敢闯精神，院士、学者“知书达礼”的气质以及宁波人心怀家国，“知恩图报”的良善本性逐条进行生动具体的解读。“四知精神”作为宁波城市的精神坐标，提振了宁波人的精气神和自信。沙龙旨在让广大读者了解宁波文化，读懂并践行“四知”精神。

2. 2 活动形式

2. 2. 1 嘉宾汇聚甬图，线下沙龙交流分享答疑解惑

本系列沙龙由中国文艺评论家协会会员、宁波市海曙区作家协会主席赵淑萍为主讲嘉宾，同时与内业各社会组织、高校联合，如宁波文化研究会、宁波市海曙区作家协会、宁波大学等，邀请宁波本土文化研究领域中的专家学者，倾囊相授。

活动地点放在宁波图书馆新馆一楼多功能厅，沙龙读者可通过公众号进行线上预约报名。线下沙龙，主讲人至关重要，抛出问题、衔接主题、引导嘉宾，通过互

动，让这些文史话题趣味鲜活，易被读者接纳理解。受邀而来的业内专家通过联袂讲述，让新老宁波人对自己的家乡有了更深层次的了解。面对面的交流分享使得沙龙现场激情澎湃，热火朝天。

2. 2. 2 读者相聚云端，后疫情时代共享精彩沙龙

在这重要的历史节点，为广大市民读者带来真实而精彩的宁波往事和甬城故事，不仅是这些专家学者所期望的，也是读者们所期盼的。“我和我的城”系列沙龙，受疫情反复的影响，四期为线上直播，一期为线下交流访谈同步线上直播。在线上，老师们用大量生动的例子剖析人物性格，梳理历史成就，还原历史事件，展现地标建筑。读者们在以上内容直播分享结束后，亦可回放收看学习，方便大家随时随地享用文化大餐。评论区读者纷纷留言，反响热烈。

3 活动特色

3. 1 政策支持，拓展阅读推广工作途径

2015年，由中央办公厅、国务院办公厅印发的《关于加快构建现代公共文化服务体系的意见》指出，“加大对跨部门、跨行业、跨地域公共文化资源的整合力度。以行业联盟等形式，……实现区域文化共建共享”^[1]；而2016年发布的《全民阅读“十三五”时期发展规划》^[2]和2017年审议通过的《全民阅读促进条例（草案）》^[3]则强调了政府主导、鼓励社会力量参与全民阅读推广的原则。

社会力量参与公共图书馆服务可以满足人民群众的多元化文化需求^[4]。社会力量是完善公共文化服务重要依靠力量，通过激发各类社会主体的参与积极性，提供更加多样化的全民阅读产品和服务^[5]。读者因受教育程度、年龄大小、个人爱好、经济能力等方面的不同，对公共文化服务的需求也各不相同，呈现出多方面、多层次、多样性的特点。在倡导加大公共文化资源整合力度的时代背景下，公共图书馆更需要社会力量的广泛参与以作为其有益补充，“引入社会力量有助于进一步拓展阅读推广工作深度和广度，提升公共图书馆服务体系的服务深度与广度，促进公共图书馆服务的均等化、优质化发展”^[6]。

3. 2 机制健全，保障社会力量顺利合作

此次系列沙龙，宁波图书馆所合作的社会力量——宁波市海曙区作家协会成立

于2009年。现有会员160人，其中，国家级会员7人，省级会员42人，市级116人。成立13来，会员共出版散文、诗歌、报告文学集50余本。协会常年与各企事业单位、学校开展文化合作及各类文化志愿活动，通过讲座沙龙、书籍推介等形式致力于丰富广大市民的精神文化生活。

宁波图书馆在与宁波市海曙区作协合作的过程中，通过多次沟通，顺利达成合作意向，迅速确定合作方案，依据《宁波图书馆规章制度汇编》签订合作协议，并做好可持续发展计划，这不仅有利于以后的长期合作，同时也是对合作双方的一种保障机制。

3.3 合作默契，社会力量积极参与

系列沙龙在2021年宁波读书月期间顺势推出，通过共享现有文化传播平台，内容涉及宁波重要的人文地标和历史文化名人，旨在宁波建城1200年之际，向广大新老宁波人讲好宁波故事，科普宁波人文历史。

海曙作协负责设定每期沙龙主题，搭建分享框架，邀请本地文保专家、相关领域专家，以访谈的形式开展。宁波图书馆负责提供活动场地、宣传活动信息、提供活动录制及传输等内容。嘉宾们娓娓道来，既有专业性，也不失趣味性。有严谨史料的引用，也有精彩传说的讲述，大历史中择取小细节，富有启发性。经过两方的通力合作，系列文化沙龙获得读者的一直好评。

3.4 形式灵活，参与读者覆盖面广

后疫情时代，常规的阅读推广活动形式被打破，读者们在闲暇时间急需文化活动的滋养却又害怕去到公共场所参与其中，这种矛盾心态是宁波图书馆及时转变阅读推广活动参与形式的出发点和落脚点。宁波图书馆从“引流量”到“送资源”，在原有线下活动线上直播的基础上，发掘线上直播平台的用户新需求，邀请嘉宾在线分享，读者利用手机参与平台收听，与嘉宾在线互动交流。这种将活动放到网络上的直播模式虽非疫情期间首创，却在特殊时期发挥关键性作用^[7]。读者可以足不出户，尽享文化资讯。

通过统计线下参与和线上收看的读者人群及数量，分析线上直播媒介里读者们的留言，工作人员们发现这些参与读者既有尚在求学的学生，也有刚来宁波的新宁

波人，还有对宁波有着深厚感情的地地道道的老宁波人；有亲子家庭一起参与，也有和同学伙伴一起参加，甚至还有单位社团组织群体参与的。这些不同个体组成的读者群像构成了活动的参与主体，他们在这个活动中汲取文化的养分，同时也给予了这个活动更多的想法和主题，他们的反馈与鼓励是活动开展的动力和支撑。

3.5 甬城元素，宁波地域特色鲜明

8000多年前，在东海边的井头山，人们以海洋捕捞为业。一柄完整精致的木桨，划向史前的岁月。井头山遗址的东边，是田螺山遗址，南边则是河姆渡遗址和连绵起伏的四明山^[8]。宁波人文积淀丰厚，历史文化悠久，是典型的江南水乡兼海港城市，是中国大运河南端出海口和“海上丝绸之路”的东方始发港。

沙龙内容涉及宁波重要的人文地标和历史文化名人，如鼓楼的前世今生，月湖的宋韵文化、南宋石刻公园的重要遗存，王安石、吴潜、舒亶、史氏三丞相（史浩、史弥远、史嵩之）对宁波的影响，作为运河城市、海丝古港的宁波的对外交流史以及宁波“四知”精神的全面解读等。“宁波帮，国内独特的地域文化，大写的宁波精神，是一张金名片，宁波人的骄傲”“新宁波人听了很骄傲”等。一方水土养一方人，每一个地方都有自己独特的历史文化、心里沉淀和精神特质，铸就自己独特的地域特质。

3.6 建城节点，提升市民文化自信

习近平总书记在十九大报告中指出：“文化自信是一个国家、一个民族发展中更基本、更深沉、更持久的力量”，“没有高度的文化自信，没有文化的繁荣兴盛，就没有中华民族伟大复兴，要坚持中国特色社会主义文化发展道路，激发全民族文化创新创造活力，建设社会主义文化强国。”^[9]

从“千年府城”到多中心发展的现代化滨海大都市，1200年的发展，孕育了独具宁波特色的地域文化。千年港城宁波三江相汇，五洲通融，水运发达，文脉赓续^[10]。2021年是对所有新老宁波人开展乡土文化教育和提升城市文化自信力的绝佳契机。从历史的文化积淀中开采学习，用学习的成果造就现在，以现在的创造进步引领未来，处理好历史、现在和未来三者之间的关系，才能继往开来，在建设未来的道路上自信前进。对于这些耳熟能详的甬城地标、文化元素、名家大家等的推广

与科普，令读者们纷纷表示为生活在这座城市而自豪。

4 分析与展望

4.1 实地教学，讲好宁波故事

宁波这座城市有着丰富的历史文化积淀。如四明学派，主要指中国南宋时期的一个儒家学术派别，学派活动区域近似于现在的浙江东部宁波即明州一代，是谓“浙东学派”之主力之一。宁波地区有四明山脉，故该区域四明学派亦称“四明”或四明地区，学派以山得名。四明学派是南宋时期以传陆九渊心学为宗旨，以尊德性为目的的学术派别，其主要代表人物为杨简、袁燮、舒璘、沈焕。位于宁波海曙区和义路106号的宁波教育博物馆就陈列有四明学派“淳熙四先生”浮雕及相关内容的展览，在开展四明学派主题的沙龙时，可以选择以游学的方式寓教于乐，在宁波教育博物馆实地教学，为沙龙增添生动趣味。

4.2 注重传播，讲响宁波故事

疫情改变了很多人的阅读方式，也让阅读推广活动的形式不再单一。从传统的室内活动到如今的线上活动、户外活动，甚至宣传的途径也发生了一系列的改变，从原先的纸媒到现在的多媒体矩阵、交通工具上循环播放的视频新闻、广播电台的线上传播、还有以喜马拉雅为代表的APP的宣传途径，我们的信息接收渠道已越来越多元化和不固定。一档阅读推广活动如果单纯依靠图书馆的自我宣传，传播面非常有限，覆盖面很小。如果图书馆负责提供阅读推广活动资源，各宣传媒介联合发布活动资讯，社会机构协同合作，借助上述方式，将活动资源最大化利用。在积极开展阅读推广活动传播的基础上，扩大宁波故事传达范围，让更多读者知道宁波，深入了解我们的城市，是把故事讲响讲好的重要途径。

4.3 多方合作，共述宁波故事

文化因交流而丰富，文化因交融而多彩。系列文化努力为甬城的读者带去了极具地方特色的文化沙龙，深受市民朋友和读者的喜爱。通过这次活动，我们发现与组织、集体的合作形式比单一与老师合作的形式更有利于资源的互通和内容的传播，每位老师可以找到适合自己的讲题且不重复，通过这些紧密围绕大主题的沙龙，使

得“我和我的城”系列更加圆满和丰富；协会内部的老师相互熟悉，有一定的交流基础，且在各自的研究领域有独到见解、研究透彻，在开展访谈类互动类活动时不拘谨更放松，活动进行流畅效果显著。基于此，宁波图书馆在后续的相关活动中会积极挖掘合作组织，通过多方合作集结社会力量，积极响应习主席关于讲好中国故事，传播好中国声音的号召，继续讲大讲深阿拉宁波故事。

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口述史



践行“知行合一”的张寿镛

(口述者：张元方，国务院参事 整理者：吴睿娜)

寻根活动 追寻先辈足迹

2013年10月，在北京举行了一次家族聚会，来自北京、上海、重庆、秦皇岛、香港以及美国、澳大利亚、印尼等国的三代、97位亲友欢聚一堂。聚会后，多位亲友建议要追寻曾祖父及祖父留下的印记，在我堂兄（张钦南）的指导下，启动了上海、杭州、宁波的“寻根活动”。

据仅有的资料记载，曾祖父嘉禄公墓在浙江宁波鄞县黄麻山，“前有笔架山，后有洗砚池”。但此地名已被音转为“鸿毛山”，加之五十年代兴建水库，地貌改变，线索难寻。经多方寻找、几经打探，幸有村中老伯指点，得知山上确有座大坟。

在守林人的带领下，我们在深山中找到一座荒墓，虽具有规模，但已被盗空，墓外仅剩残碑，墓志铭已丢失，仔细查看，两柱联石上刻有“不以声气文章表褻当世，只此孝悌忠恕启牖后人”对联，根据“给諫”字样，疑似曾祖父墓穴，但又没有确凿的依据，后经查阅鄞县文管会文物普查资料，确定此坟就是曾祖父之墓，又经宁波大学图书馆俞信芳教授鉴别，碑上的诗文内容就是曾祖父所写，由此确认了墓主就是曾祖父张嘉禄。

鄞县文管会主任谢国旗提供了另一线索。我们在鄞州区姜山镇新张俞村的俞家祠堂，见到了贴有张嘉禄公的翰林捷报。宁波天一阁博物馆的工作人员通过专业技术，把这张贴了140多年的榜单揭了下来，并进行了修复留存。这是寻根中的一大惊喜。

（这张捷报为何会贴在俞家祠堂？谢国旗主任分析：张俞村在清乾隆年间张、俞两姓聚族而居，均设有各自的祠堂。当时榜单印有多张，分别贴在两家祠堂以示荣耀，贴在张家祠堂的榜单未能保存，而贴在俞家祠堂的榜单历经一百多年确是幸

存。)

祖父寿镛公墓最初位于上海静安公墓（现为静安公园），1950年国民党飞机轰炸时被毁。家人将墓迁至杭州玉屏山，如今，玉屏山的名字已被淡忘，墓葬之处也变成茶山。据当地老人回忆，此地确有一座张家大墓，文革时惨遭破坏，墓地石块被拉走修筑水库，现已无墓地痕迹。最庆幸的是当时祖父的学生张令杭先生带领几个学生，冒着文革的风险将三块墓碑埋藏，几经周折，经赵朴老题字，现陈列于杭州孔庙碑林之中。找到祖父墓地原址，也实现了父辈的遗愿。

这次“寻根”，虽找到了曾祖父和祖父的墓地，又得知因地方的开发原因，墓地原址可能被占用，通过家庭会议决定迁坟移墓，经多方工作分别于2014年12月与6月在宁波深溪公墓与杭州第二公墓为曾祖父与祖父建成两个衣冠冢，完成了晚辈妥善安葬先人的心愿。同时将曾祖父的七块墓碑、《寸草庐赠言》与《寸草庐奏稿》以及祖父、祖母的印章捐献给宁波天一阁博物馆。

祖父生前酷爱读书、藏书、写文章；他崇尚素淡，一口宁波话，爱吃咸菜“宁波三臭”。他共生育了16个子女，特别注重对孙辈的家庭教育，我的三个堂兄（最小的堂兄比我大16岁）很是幸运，他们都曾当面聆听祖父讲授国学，遗憾的是，我没有见过他老人家的面，更没有当面受过教诲。通过这次寻根，包括到西南财经大学、华东师范大学、宁波天一阁等地参加纪念活动和查阅相关资料，我对先辈们有了更深的了解。这是寻根过程中的最大收获。

传承家风 参悟阳明心学

曾祖父嘉禄公是前清进士，翰林院编修，曾任山东、云南等道的监察御史、兵科掌印给事中等职。曾祖父曾参疏反对签订马关条约、弹劾李鸿章在甲午战争中贻误军机、行事不规；反对意大利索租浙江三门湾，建议自开商埠、抵制外辱等，却都未被采纳，抑郁愤懑、身心交疲。1900年3月26日，曾祖父去世，年仅56岁。临终前留下“养身、砥品、齐家、砺学”八个字，并让子女们写一幅对联挂在厅堂：“尧舜之道孝悌而已矣，夫子之道忠恕而已矣”作为临终遗言。

曾祖父家境贫寒、单丁相传，十岁时父亲福佑公离世，全靠母亲李太夫人十指

制衣苦苦支撑，并以“秋灯课读”督学读书，后考得进士。尽管在京做官，但仍不忘节俭作风，在家书中常过问家庭事务，对于怎么花钱，关注很细。比如嫌钱花得太快了，五百两银子没多久又花完了；给孩子做衣服，不要用太好的布料等。祖父受曾祖父的影响，掌家后善于理财。

祖父寿镛公的前半生是在晚清度过的，受的是传统教育，是废除科举制前两年的举人。祖父中举后被派往安徽正阳关充颖岸分销，三间茅屋，官事清闲，可以有更多时间读书。他每日看《王阳明全书》，半年读完。照他的说法，“一生学问最得力者，在此半年中”。

为什么祖父会受阳明心学如此深刻的影响？这与时局有关。清末政局动荡、外国势力入侵、原有社会价值体系崩溃，各种矛盾深化，对于一个从传统思想教育下培养出来的知识分子，思想上发生着震荡，奋起挽救祖国、“民族独立，国富民强”成为他们的共同目标。从《皇朝掌故汇编》的序文中可以看到，当时祖父与兄弟友人等对国事岌岌可危的状态感到忧虑，认为不能“拘拘焉执一格以自律”。宋儒那种“格物致知”的方法已无能使用。那么应当如何去辨别是非，处理国事、家事呢？他从王学中体会到：“忽悟格物致知，当自求诸心，不当求助事物，喟然叹曰：道在是矣，遂笃信不已……”读至此，祖父豁然开朗，大觉大悟，认为找到了自己不断寻求的钥匙，时年28岁。

二十多年后，祖父在建立光华大学时，首以王阳明的“知行合一”作为校训。他向光华学子讲解阳明学，写下了《王学发挥》。《王学发挥》共有十篇，在“良知”篇中，祖父解释良知这是一种“不虑而知”的人之本性，良知就是天理，对祖父来说，“良知”就是继承祖宗遗训“行善、积德”。正是这种信念，指导他一生“凭良心办事”、无愧于心行事。也正是这个“良知”，成为他实践曾祖父“孝弟忠恕”遗言的一把尺子。在“知行”篇中，祖父强调知行合一并进。他既反对“不知而行”，更反对“知而不行”。他提出“知是行之始，行是知之成”，“吾辈为学，重在实践，不实践不足为学也”，“能知，尤贵能行，但行亦宜本于知”。他针对时弊，反对那种“唯求利我”的风气。他说：“吾之发挥阳明之学，吾固不惧世之非笑诋毁也，虽今日非笑诋毁，他日自有深知笃信者矣。”

教育救国 创办光华大学

1925年5月30日，“五卅惨案”发生，祖父履职沪海道尹刚刚第三天。美国教会学校圣约翰大学美籍校长卜舫济禁止学生参加爱国运动，该校17名教员及大中学生553人集体愤然离校（其中包括我的大伯父和二伯父），以示抗议。

上海数名贤达人士支持学生的爱国行为，主张国民教育不可寄托于外人、创办中国人自己的大学。祖父钦佩王省三先生慨捐校基之义举，立即捐助办学经费三千元，并提出：“筹备新大学，当先募捐三万元以为建筑之费。同时租定校舍，先期开学，使离校学生无中途辍学之虞！”朱经农先生则提出新大学之名为“光华”，取自古诗中“日月光华，旦复旦兮”。这就是光华大学的来由。

不到3个月时间，师生就以光华大学名义开课。祖父被推为首任校长。那年他正好50岁，在《光华二首》中，他写道：

金榜与洞房，人生唯两喜。宾朋聚一堂，恍如少年事。

自我涉官涂，不复存此意。翰林未可求，学台今忽值。

所期光国华，名驹千里驶。誓将与终身，中途岂弃置。

祖父在上任沪海道尹一百天后卸任，把办学作为自己今后的终身事业，作为与“金榜”、“洞房”并列的第三快事，直至1945年祖父辞世。

建校时，光华大学的校训是“知行合一”，1930年改为“格致诚正”。在光华大学成立十周年的庆典的致辞上祖父讲到，光华之精神约有四点，其一，“光华之成立具有一种革命史”；其二，“光华之使命在应世界之潮流”；其三，“光华之教育在心理建设”；其四，“事业之成功端赖团结之力量”。“爱国”成为光华精神之首，这反映了祖父“深沉纯挚之爱国观念，由光华启之”，“收回教育权之光华，发荣滋长则皆与有责焉”，“教育青年不能终委之于外人也”的教育救国思想。

“教育为立国之基础，以充实人民生活，扶持社会生存，发展国民生计，延续民族生命为目的”是祖父教育兴国的理念，强调“是以设学主旨，首勉诸生以用事报国之道，艰苦卓绝以为学，特立独行以植品，悬鹄以赴，期于必达”。“学校者，所以植人才、应事变也”。

就是在爱国、育人的思想指导下，翻开了光华大学的第一页。值得一提的是，“六三”离校的神约翰学生中有陈训恕等九位同学是应届毕业生，他们出于爱国与义愤，不愿领取圣约翰大学毕业证书，而要获取当时刚刚草创的光华大学毕业证书。

当年的教师苏公隽教授回忆时讲到：“兹提出两件事实，可见一斑：一、初办时课室因陋就简，设备不周，而每一班的学生人数众多，常有长期立着听课者，从无怨言；二、第一学期开学未久，即届中秋，先一日，校长室按照各校惯例，布告是日休假一天，同学们认为国事方殷，无欢度佳节的闲情逸致，推派代表晋谒校长，请求取消假期，校长大为感动勉予同意。这些虽是琐碎小事，但在那个年代多么难能可贵呀！”

校友邢鹏举在他的《茅屋下的生活》中写道“靠了王省三先生的热心捐助和张詠霓先生（祖父字詠霓）的惨淡经营，日月交辉的光华旗帜，居然在大西路上飘扬起来了。”“我永远忘不了那个茅草屋底下的生活，它使我随时想起可爱的母校。”

这些事例说明，光华大学在艰苦创业的环境下，靠强烈的爱国主义凝聚力，焕发出师生们及支持光华的社会人士的热情与力量，奠定了继续前进的基础。

抢救古籍 编印《四明丛书》

1938年，江南各地沦陷后，藏书家的古籍善本散出，聚集在上海待售。当时日本、伪满、美国等各方势力纷纷携款抢购，古籍外流非常严重。时任暨南大学文学学院院长郑振铎同祖父、张元济、何炳松、张凤举诸先生商量，希望能为国家收购古籍，并于1940年1月成立“文献保存同志会”，在与民国政府联系后，教育部拨中英庚子赔款，开始秘密收购古籍。

在这个组织中，祖父主要负责财务工作，政府款项划拨经常不及时，需要自己垫资，经费保管与使用都有风险。后因张元济先生退出，祖父又承担了版本鉴定工作。整体收购著名藏书家如铁琴铜剑楼、嘉业堂，其中最大一笔支出是收购适园藏书，当时收购的古籍都存放在祖父的寓所觉园中。从1940年至太平洋战争爆发的两年间，“文献保存同志会”共收存文献4864部，其中善本3800余种，宋元刊本300余种，相当于北平图书馆全部馆藏古籍数量。仅靠几个文人、在战乱之中，抢救出

如此众多的珍贵文献，实属不易，反映出我国知识分子的爱国情怀和对传承中华优秀传统文化的担当。

编印《四明丛书》的想法，祖父早在民国初年就有。他广取博收，藏书十六万册，命名为“约园藏书”，成为编纂《四明丛书》最重要的底本来源。祖父还给约园的具体藏书点起了各类风雅的名字。这些书房雅字，也许只是一间小屋，或者是一个书柜，比如独步轩、双修庵、临流簃、带草堂、葆光斋、三益庐、思进阁、听雨楼、燕翼榭、鸡鸣馆等。1952年祖母将家藏的3768种、45417册书籍全部捐献给国家，现分藏于国家图书馆与中国社科院文学研究所。

鄞县乡贤、被称为“浙江三杰”之一的张美翊将《沧水集》相赠，勉励祖父编辑四明文献，将宁波地区历代文人散佚的集子收集、整理、保存、校勘、出版，以垂后世。祖父坚信，在这个乱世中，这些诗文将起到坚定国人自信心和凝聚力的作用，用他自己的方式加入到民族救亡中来。

《四明丛书》不重宋元刊本，而独重乡邦文献和抄本，选择了大量宋元之交、明清之交的忠义节烈之士之作，尤其是把当时能搜罗到的投身明末清初抵抗运动的浙东知识菁英，如张苍水、钱肃乐等人的诗文尽数收入其中。

《四明丛书》是民国最大的郡邑类丛书。原计划出十集，从1930年开始编印至1948年，共出版八集，收书178种、1177卷。遗憾的是，1945年，祖父故去，第八集为伯父、叔叔星联、悦联、芝联续写完成，而第九、十两集仅留下拟目27种，未及编成。

这么庞大的工作量，祖父一个人是不可能完成的。他邀请了几位宁波学人共同完成，给予最大帮助的是伏跗室主人冯贞群。冯先生提出博采群书、四部兼备、经史子集无所不包的收录原则，并将伏跗室所藏的百余种孤本贡献出来，以供选刻。除了冯氏外，先生又礼聘了忻江明、夏同甫于1931年在上海组织四明文献社，专门负责《四明丛书》刊刻事宜。同时，光华大学的学生也帮他整理文献，誊抄底本，撰写基本资料等，祖父付给他们相应的薪酬以补贴学业。

2015年1月，天一阁的古籍普查员带领复旦大学古籍所的硕博实习生，对部分未编书进行整理、编目、上架，这批书大多为鄞县文管会等机构多年收集的资料文献。当编目员打开箱子，小心翼翼捧出一叠用毛笔写成的书稿时，当时所有人的眼

睛都直了：这难道就是民国间最著名的《四明丛书》底稿么？经过编目员的查询、比对、甄别，共整理出关于《四明丛书》的稿抄本 29 种。祖父编纂《四明丛书》每一部书都要写前序、后序，详述其著者、内容、版本、价值。尤其是《四明丛书第七辑序稿》，可以看到祖父改了一稿、两稿，不满意再写，从中看出一位民国学者坐冷板凳做出来的学问是如此坚实深厚，揭示了祖父缜密的学术思维、严谨的治学态度和他曾付出的心血。

这批文献中《张寿镛至姜文卿书》非常重要，从而确认了《四明丛书》的承刻人，正是清末民初，与黄冈陶子麟齐名的南京著名刻工姜文卿。雕版刻印在当时非常昂贵，而请姜文卿刻板更是花费不菲。乱世之中，人们连饭都吃不饱，谁还会去买书？最后，书印了卖不出去，祖父财力耗尽。尽管如此，他仍然坚持着，直到去世前还在校刊。

《四明丛书》是宁波历史上规模最大、编印最精的丛书，具有极高的文献价值。

知行合一 贯穿一生实践

对“知行合一”祖父有深刻的理解，他提出“知是行之始，行是知之成”，“贵在实行，不尚空谈”，“学贵有用，最重要在济世”。“知行合一”的理念在他一生的经历中多有体现。

践行“苍生为心”。在祖父任职浙江、湖北、江苏财政厅长和财政部次长为官期间，他主张藏富于民，通过兴业、节流、废除苛捐杂税，不仅使省财政转亏为盈，而且支持了北伐军的军饷。“五卅”惨案爆发后，为保护爱国志士、拯救被捕学生，身为沪海道尹的祖父在第二天就坐夜车赶往南京向省政府报告，同时与捕房及英国领事交涉要求“释放在押学生，惩办开枪巡捕，偿恤被害学生”，经多种努力，瞿景白等 17 名被捕者一律具结开释。在光华大学办学时，为帮助贫困学生解决学费困难，以勤工俭学的方式资助如张令杭、周有光等许多同学完成学业。

践行“培养实用人才”。在教学方面，聘请了张东荪、钱基博、罗隆基、潘光旦等顶尖学者与胡适、吕思勉、钱钟书、萧公权等大师作为教授（专职与兼职）讲学，提倡“以哲学为体，科学为用，取中西融合方法，而不可分离”；在育人方面，强调

“心理建设”，“取心理建设，而不可仅是物质建设”，“宇宙观、人生观是不可缺少的”，指出实用人才的要求，第一在于为、第二在于精、第三在于切、第四在于贯、第五在革故、第六在鼎新；在管理方面，主张学生自治、鼓励课外活动、注重校区建设、维护学术自由、严格校纪校风、在成都建分校，实现“东西辉映”。曾在光华大学就读过的知名人士有中科院院士张青莲、工程院院士林华、学部委员邓拓、诗人田间、古典文学家赵善诒等大家以及乔石、姚依林、尉健行、王道涵等国家领导人。据介绍在日军偷袭珍珠港时破译电报密码和在美国为航天员发明尿不湿者均毕业于光华大学。

践行“爱国观念”。1941年底日军偷袭珍珠港，英美向日本宣战。在上海日军占领了租界，实行包括文化与教育领域的军事统治，光华大学面临着被取缔或接管的前景，经校董会商定，为避免日方管制停办光华大学，将其拆为“诚正文学社”、“格致理学社”、“壬午补习社”继续进行教学活动；1942至1944年，祖父在上海自宅觉园设立“养正学社”，一方面讲授国学，一方面推脱与拒绝日伪的威逼与骚扰；1945年7月15日，距抗战胜利仅有27天，祖父与世长辞，临终遗言是“复兴中华、复兴光华！”

从正阳关读书悟道，到创办光华大学，再到他抢救古籍、编写《四明丛书》，祖父用一生实践着“知行合一”。他留下的家风家训，他的爱国情怀、敬业精神、严谨作风和修身理念，成为留给张氏家族非常珍贵的遗产。

（宁波天一阁博物馆馆长庄立臻，华东师范大学档案馆馆长汤涛、副馆长魏明扬，鄞县文物专家谢国旗等对本文亦有贡献）

书评



A New Masterpiece in the Construction of Religious Studies Theory with Chinese Characteristics: Thoughts on Reading *New Exploration of Religious Studies Theory*

高梦琪^①

Socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era requires the formation of discipline system, academic system and discourse system of philosophy and social sciences with Chinese characteristics in the new era. This system, just like the Chinese modernization explained by General Secretary Xi Jinping, not only has the common characteristics of modernization of all countries, but also has Chinese characteristics based on its own national conditions. This requires scholars engaged in philosophy and social science research in the new era to base themselves on China's national conditions and have a solid theoretical foundation. Moreover, they need to face up to the discourse of western philosophy and social sciences, actively think dialectically, and find a breakthrough on the basis of understanding differences and finding a correct position. Religious studies is a new subject, which is a scientific and rational discussion about what religion is. If we regard religious studies as a modern discipline, we should not shy away from its western discipline origin. It originated in 1873, marked by the publication of Max Mueller's *Introduction to Religious Studies*. However, from the perspective of the development of a modern discipline, we do not admit that only the West has religious studies theory, and we also have socialist religious studies theory with Chinese characteristics, which

^① Gao Mengqi, teacher of Ethnic and Religious Teaching and Research Section of United Front Theory Teaching and Research Department of Central Institute of Socialism

is in the process of maturity and perfection. Moreover, the perfection of socialist religious studies theory with Chinese characteristics is not self-enclosed, but open and inclusive.

As a scholar who has been engaged in religious studies theory research for a long time, Professor Jin Ze has witnessed the development and changes of religious studies theory in China for 40 years. Now, the research of religious studies theory in China has officially entered the "year of no doubt", and China in the new era is embarking on a new journey of socialist modernization. Religious studies theory is coordinated with the development of Chinese modernization, which requires an effort and exploration of upholding integrity and innovation. The publication of "*New Exploration of Religious Studies Theory*" coincides with the eve of the 20th National Congress of the Communist Party of China. I think that this new book is also a tribute, which adds a bright color to the construction of Chinese philosophy and social science system in the process of Chinese modernization. It is worth savoring the author's thoughts on the construction and development of religious studies theory with Chinese characteristics.

1、The Scientific Connotation and Research Methods of Religious Studies Theory

Religious studies theory is a subject with religion as its research object, but it does not necessarily take religion as its research starting point. Pro. Jin believes that it is necessary to go back to the logical starting point of religious studies theory research, that is, belief. "Religion is the social result and cultural product of belief, especially the development of religious belief to a certain stage. Human beings have faith not because of religion, but because of faith."^① From this point of view, the author's research is not only upright and innovative, but also intensive. The difference and connection between religion and belief is summarized as "religion is the product of systematization of belief concept, standardization of behavior and organization of members, and it is also the product of the evolution of individual belief into

^① Jin Ze, *New Exploration of Religious Studies Theory*, Beijing: Commercial Press, 2022, p. 3.

belief community." ① In short, the scope of belief should be wider, including religion. Therefore, religion must have the relevant characteristics of belief, and this is more important for religious studies research. What are the important characteristics of faith for religious studies? " Faith is the unity of knowing and doing, and it regards a certain 'thought' as the 'criterion' and motive force of believers' actions, which determines that faith is different from philosophy and scientific knowledge." ② The research on Chinese religion in religious studies circles focuses on the research and interpretation of the internal teachings of religious belief, and it is necessary to continue to follow up the ideas and behaviors of believers connected by religion, and further deepen the research on the interaction between religion and other levels of society. Marxist classical writers always regard religion as a social phenomenon and study the interactive relationship between religion and other social phenomena, especially in opening up a critique of religion from a political perspective. Socialist religious studies theory with Chinese characteristics also puts forward the important thought of religious governance. Religion is not only an act, but also has a real carrier, which can unite religious believers, just like the "religious form" discussed by the author in the book. Religion is a social phenomenon with both religious nature and religious form. Therefore, whether from what religion is or from the proper meaning of religious studies theory research, it is the requirement of religious studies theory research to pay attention to the multi-level of religion in an all-round way. In the first chapter, the author also discusses the belief dimension and behavior dimension of religion many times, and dialectically analyzes the law of religious existence and continuation, and the relationship between religious structure and function, which undoubtedly has important paradigm significance for promoting the current research of religious studies theory in China.

The book is saturated with the important methodology of Pro. Jin's scholarly research. "A basic level of religious studies theory innovation is methodology, which inevitably involves the relationship between religious studies and philosophy." ③ The author thinks that it is nec-

① Jin Ze, *New Exploration of Religious Studies Theory*, p. 3.

② Jin Ze, *New Exploration of Religious Studies Theory*, p. 5.

③ Jin Ze, *New Exploration of Religious Studies Theory*, p. 52.

essary to emphasize clear boundaries and pay attention to mutual interaction. " Although there are different schools, different positions and propositions in philosophy, they all focus on the ideological level, the conceptual level or the theoretical level. Religion, besides the level of thought, idea or theory, also has the level of emotion, action and ceremony."^① Therefore, religious studies from the perspective of religious studies theory can only talk about a certain level of religion, but it cannot only regard a certain level as the whole of religion, and even need more perspectives, that is, to see that the level of ideas will definitely be reflected in the level of behavior. If religious believers do not embody their behaviors, they only stay at the level of language, such as " I believe in God" or " I believe in Buddhism", and their behaviors are completely out of touch with their beliefs, so they will not be regarded as true religious believers. From the methodology of religious studies, the key point is that there is a clear boundary between Philosophy of Religion and philosophical theology, but this difference is often ignored in religious studies. The author points out that " religious studies must have their own adherence, which is the basis for its settlement and the legitimacy of its discipline."^②

2. Regarding Chinese Religion as an Organic Part of Chinese Culture from a Strategic Perspective

In the report of the 20th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, General Secretary Xi Jinping put forward " promoting cultural self-confidence and self-improvement, and creating new glory of socialist culture". Under this background, we carefully savor the earnest words of Pro. Jin, " If we don't study a place at a time, or a certain event and a certain sect (which is of course a very necessary and important case study), but have a long-term and overall understanding and grasp of religion, so as to see both 'trees' and 'forests', we must comprehensively study the position and role of religion in China's social development

① Jin Ze, *New Exploration of Religious Studies Theory*, p. 53.

② Jin Ze, *New Exploration of Religious Studies Theory*, p. 64.

from a strategic perspective, especially the height of cultural strategy."^① This first needs to clarify the relationship between Chinese religion and Chinese culture, and the more secret relationship is the relationship between religion and culture.

Our academic circles often study religion as culture directly, but how to understand religion as culture from the perspective of Marxist religious view is often missing. And it is very necessary to make clear the orientation of religion as ideology and religion as culture at present. Returning to the texts of classical Marxist writers, the author thinks that "Marx not only analyzes religion from the perspective of essence and social function, but also puts forward that religion is one of the ways for human beings to master the world from the perspective of epistemology."^② In his new book, the author quoted Chen Rongfu's evaluation, and thought that Marx listed religious ways as the way for human beings to master the world, which actually showed that Marx had regarded religion as a complex social and cultural phenomenon. The consensus that religion is regarded as a kind of culture means that "religion adapts to China's socialist society, providing rationality, possibility and a platform for making a difference."^③ General Secretary Xi Jinping put forward the development path of Chinese modernization in the report of the 20th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, which needs to unite the great power of the Chinese nation to realize together. In this context, it is clearer to understand the realistic goals and historical tasks of adhering to the sinicization of religion in China, and to work together to realize the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. However, how Chinese religion can make a difference in the journey of Chinese modernization needs the guidance of methodology. The author puts forward that taking religion as a kind of culture, especially Chinese religion as an organic part of Chinese traditional culture, can help to construct and highlight the cultural subjectivity of the Chinese nation, and can become a "social capital" and cultural resource to make a difference, which undoubtedly has important enlightening significance for actively guiding religion to adapt to socialist society and inherit it

① Jin Ze, *New Exploration of Religious Studies Theory*, p. 214.

② Jin Ze, *New Exploration of Religious Studies Theory*, p. 170.

③ Jin Ze, *New Exploration of Religious Studies Theory*, p. 169.

healthily.

The author not only clarifies the cultural orientation of religion, but also analyzes how religion as a culture can make a difference from a strategic point of view. It is necessary to dialectically analyze " which aspects will fade out and which factors will gradually enter in the multi-levels of religion. " ^① At the same time, the author also analyzes the first premise of looking at religion from a strategic perspective, that is, the long-term characteristics of religion. " Religion will exist for a long time at least in socialist society, and it is not only one of many forces in society, but also a world in the cultural field. " ^② This is in line with the understanding of Marxist religious view. Pro. Jin's views in the book are just like the title of Chapter 4, " Based on the national conditions, keeping pace with the times, upholding and developing Marxist religious view " .

3、The Construction Path of the Discourse System of Philosophy and Social Sciences with Chinese Characteristics: from Discipline Category to Discourse System

In the report of the 20th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, General Secretary Xi Jinping pointed out that " the discipline system, academic system and discourse system of philosophy and social sciences with Chinese characteristics should be constructed". In 2016, General Secretary Xi Jinping pointed out in his speech at the Symposium on Philosophy and Social Sciences that it is necessary to speed up the improvement of disciplines that support philosophy and social sciences, among which religion studies is included in one of the eleven disciplines. How to construct the discipline system, academic system and discourse system of Chinese religion is a long-term strategic project. Pro. Jin believes that " religious studies has made considerable achievements both at home and abroad, in the research of major religions, countries and sects in the field of religious history, and in the fields of Philoso-

^① Jin Ze, *New Exploration of Religious Studies Theory*, p. 222.

^② Jin Ze, *New Exploration of Religious Studies Theory*, p. 223.

phy of Religion, Sociology of Religion, Anthropology of Religion and Psychology of Religion. Religion studies in contemporary China are faced with promotion or breakthrough, that is, they are advanced in the first stage of the existing achievements. Efforts must be made to realize this wish. Perhaps, we should do such a job: write religious keywords. "① A mature discipline should have corresponding discipline categories, which are like a dictionary of a discipline and constitute an important foundation of a scientific discourse system. In the book, the author sets a target for us, and combs the category of Phenomenology of Religion from its origin, academic course of development, basic contents, related representatives and their main viewpoints. The essence of combing the related categories of religious studies is to make an academic review, which does not shy away from the development of disciplines in Western history. The key is how to look at it and evaluate it from the perspective of historical materialism and dialectical materialism. Therefore, this academic review is also a kind of exchange and mutual learning between Chinese and Western civilizations. In fact, the arrangement of religious studies categories is to lay a solid foundation for the system of Chinese religious studies. As the author said, " It will also be of great help to academic recruits and popularize religious 'common sense 'in society."② The construction of this foundation is not only to establish a theoretical building, but to give back to the development of Chinese academics and the progress of religious cognition at the social level in a down-to-earth manner.

Pro. Jin's new book " *New Exploration of Religious Studies Theory*" closely focuses on new theories, new fields and new problems, and makes a series of innovative explorations, including re-exploring folk beliefs, combing the relationship between religion and politics, religion and the rule of law. In recent years, folk belief in China not only attracts the attention of academic circles, but also has a close relationship with practical religious work. " The relationship between religion, politics and the rule of law" is related to the actual effect of religious governance and the healthy inheritance of religion, and it is also related to whether reli-

① Jin Ze, *New Exploration of Religious Studies Theory*, p. 101.

② Jin Ze, *New Exploration of Religious Studies Theory*, p. 101.

gion cooperates with the times and truly realizes localization and modernization in China. As a new masterpiece in the exploration of socialist religious studies theory with Chinese characteristics, the book not only discusses religious studies theory rationally, but also reveals heartfelt words between the lines. It is an example for our younger generations of scholars and a driving force for us to move forward.

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