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絲綢之路專題



The Twin Springs of the Sea

Sacred Lakes, Fire Temples and their Royal Legends in Sassanian Iran

WU Yunpei (Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences) ^①

Abstract: The paper is a discussion on Lake Čēčast and Lake Sōwar, mentioned in the Middle Persian texts as the two sacred Springs of the Sea, which were interwoven with the emerging system of fire temples, namely Ādur Gušnasp and Ādur Burzēnmīhr of the three great Fire Temples, as well as with the reconfiguration or creation of legends of Kayanian king Kay Khusrow and Sasanian king Yazdegerd I. The legends belonged to the official Sasanian legend-historical narrative, the *Xwadāy-nāmag* tradition in the making, and in turn imparted a newly-defined sanctity and legitimacy to both the lakes and the fire temples. The paper proposes that the two sacred lakes, along with the two fire temples, invoke an image of two eyes of the world, a symbolism of the twofold kingship manifested in the East and the West.

Keywords: Spring, Lake, Fire Temple, *Xwadāy-nāmag*, Sasanian Iran

In Middle Persian literature, the origin of the world's water system can be traced back to the event where the evil forces led by Ahriman invaded the world. Water deities such as Tištar (Sirius) joined forces to resist, bringing thirty days of rain that drowned countless evil creatures (*xrafstar*), thus forming rivers, lakes, and seas (e.g., *Bd* 6b, *WZ* 3). This creation myth can be traced back to the *Tīr Yašt* (*Yt* 8) in the Avesta, but it is only in Middle Persian texts that specific names of the formed water bodies are mentioned,

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including the "two springs of the sea":

two sea-springs appeared: Čēčast and Sōwar, which are connected to the source of the seas. (*Bd* 6b.17, tr. Agostini and Thrope 2020, 46-47)

This raises two key questions: First, how are Lake Čēčast and Lake Sōwar—identified as the "two springs of the sea"—connected to the sea? Second, how did these two lakes come to be regarded as the most sacred among all sacred lakes?

1. Water system

First, we shall define several key terms which all have similar meanings—*čašmag*, *war*, and *zrēh*—and clarify the cultural attributes of these words through textual analysis. This will allow us to outline the broader conceptual framework of the water system and examine the relationship between lakes and the sea within this system.

1.1 *čašm* and *čašmag*

In Middle Persian and Persian, the word *čašm* (meaning "eye") can be traced back to Avestan *cašman*, being cognate with Sanskrit *caṣu* (Bartholomae 1904, 583). And Middle Persian *čašmag* and Persian *čašma* are morphologically derived as adjectival forms of *čašm*, meaning "eye-like." As an adjective, it denotes "famous," while as a noun, it refers to a "spring" or "source" (MacKenzie 1971, 21).

A spring, regarded as the "eye of water" or the "source of water," is also called a lake (*war*). Its metaphorical resemblance to an eye is consolidated in the etymology, and explicitly articulated in Middle Persian texts:

Many water springs appeared that are called lakes; those springs [*čašmag*] of water are like the eyes [*čašm*] of men. (*Bd* 12.1, tr. Agostini and Thrope 2020, 67)

When discussing one of these lakes in particular, the texts provide an even more explicit description of its eye-like resemblance:

Sōwar, which throws every coarseness to the sides, and keeps itself bright and clean, for it's like an eye, which throws every dust and every filth to the sides. [*Sōwar kē har stabrīh be <ō> kustān abganēd ud xwēš grīw rōšn <ud> pāk dārēd čē handāzag*

homānag ī čašm-ē ast kē har gardīh ud har rēmānīh be ō kustān abganēd.] (WZ 3.24)

Thus, this resemblance can be understood on two levels. From a natural landscape perspective, it describes the lake's water as clear and luminous like an eye, with shores lined by accumulated sand, stones, or soil. Culturally, the lake is attributed with the ability to discern truth from falsehood and purify deception—a trait further elaborated in descriptions of other sacred lakes:

Lake Frazdān^① is in Sagestān. They say: “When a righteous man throws something in it, the lake accepts it; if someone who is not righteous does, it throws it back out. (*Bd* 12.6-7)

They say that in Kamindān there is an abyss from which smoke always rises. Nothing thrown into it is accepted, apart from animals. When they throw in an animal, it carries it down. (*Bd* 12.15, tr. Agostini and Thrope 2020, 67)

This demonstrates that the lake's purported ability to discern truth stems from its divine nature as a sacred site of ritual offering. Unlike ordinary sacrificial venues that rely on the judgment of the invoked deities, the lake autonomously decides whether to accept sacrifices. It inherently possesses the power to discern the moral purity of the worshipper, and to differentiate the types of sacrificial offering.

1.2 *war* and *vairi*

In Middle Persian texts, the lake (*war*) is considered synonymous with a spring (*čašmag*) due to its ocular attributes (*čašm*). In many contexts, *war* is a direct translation of the Avestan word *vairi*, although *vairi* more likely originally referred to a bay or gulf. The Avesta distinguishes two types of bays: *vairi* (semi-circular bays) and *apaγžāra*

① Frazdān, derived from the Avestan Frazdānu (Bartholomae 1904, 1005), is possibly identified with the Zereh Depression (Gawd-e Zira, Herzfeld 1947, 62), the lowest part of the Sistan Basin in southwestern Afghanistan. In the Avesta, this lake is the site where Kavi Vištāspa performed sacrifices to the goddess Anāhitā, offering a hundred horses, a thousand cattle, and ten thousand sheep, praying for victory over his enemies, including Arəjaṭ. aspa. Anāhitā granted his wish (Yt 5.108–110). In Pahlavi literature, the lake is associated with further legends. After King Frēdōn divided the world among his three sons—Salm (who received Rome), Tūz (who received Turan), and Erēc (who received Iran)—Salm and Tūz conspired and killed Erēc. Erēc left behind only a daughter, whom Frēdōn hid near Lake Frazdān. There, she bore descendants, and by the tenth generation, a son was finally born. Frēdōn then went to the shores of Lake Frazdān and prayed to Anāhīd to bless this boy, Manuščihr, with divine Glory, so that he might restore Iran (ASS 4–8)

(elongated bays formed at river estuaries, Hintze 1994, 288).

The semantic shift from *vairi* to *war* reflects differing conceptualizations of aquatic systems between Avestan and Middle Persian literature. The Avestan water system is articulated in the myth of the Heavenly River: the goddess Anāhitā, as the celestial river, is commanded to descend from the stellar realm to earth (*Yt* 5.85). She first alights on Mount Hukairyā^①, then cascades into the Vourukaša Sea, whose surging waters form a thousand estuaries (*apayžāra*) and a thousand bays (*vairi*), spreading across the seven continents to purify male sperm and female wombs and milk (*Yt* 5.3–5).

Beyond the Heavenly River myth, the myth of the divine Glory (*x^varənah*) also contributes to the creation of bays. After Yima loses the Glory, gods and demons vie for it. When the dragon Aži Dahāka and the Sacred Fire reach a stalemate, the Glory itself plunges into the Vourukaša Sea, where it is seized by Apam Napāt, the "Offspring of Waters" (*Yt* 19.46–51). The Turanian king Fraŋrasyan, in his pursuit of the Glory, dives into the Vourukaša Sea. As the Glory flees erratically through the waters, it creates three bays: first the Bay of Haosravah (Good Repute), then the Bay of Vaŋhazdā (Good Gifts), and finally the Bay of Aβždānva (Flowing Waters, *Yt* 19.56–64).

The bays (*vairi*) in the Avestan myths were reinterpreted as lakes (*war*) in medieval Iranian tradition.^② Through the Zand (exegesis of the Avesta), Middle Persian literature articulated a new sacred hydrological system. This transformation was crucially influenced by the epithet of Mount Hukairyā—*vīspōvahma zaranaēna* (*Yt* 5.96; *Yt* 12.24), meaning "all-praised and golden"—which the Zand reinterpreted as *sad hazār nāyīzag ī zarrēn* (*Bd* 10.5), or "a hundred thousand golden pipes."

The reconfigured hydrological system presents a distinct circulation pattern: water

① Mount Hukairyā (the "Summit of Good Deeds") is considered the highest peak of Harā bərəzaitī (the "Lofty Watchtower"), the cosmic mountain at the center of the world (*Yt* 10.88).

② Not all instances of *war* in Middle Persian literature derive from Avestan precedents, nor are they uniformly conceptualized as lakes. A case in point is *war ī Sadwēs*, which lacks any Avestan prototype and represents a construct of the Zand. The Avesta describes how water contaminated by contact with corpses and other impurities flows into the Putrid Sea (*Pūtika*, cognate with Sanskrit *pūtika*), where it undergoes purification before entering the Vourukaša Sea (*Vd* 5.18–19). In the Middle Persian reinterpretation, this mythological Putrid Sea became identified with the actual Persian Gulf (*Pūdig*), thus necessitating the creation of a new intermediary body—*war ī Sadwēs*—to fulfill the purification function.

originates from the Spring of Anāhīd (Av. Anāhitā, *čašmag ī Ardwišūr*), ascends through thermal energy (*pad garmīh*, possibly as vapor) via these golden pipes to a lake (*war*) atop Mount Hugar (Av. Hukairya), undergoes purification, and subsequently descends back to earth through additional golden conduits (*Bd* 10.5).

It represents a fundamental departure from the Avestan celestial water system, which shares an Indo-Iranian origin,^① to a subterranean hydrological model in the Middle Persian Zand. The term *nāyīzag*, etymologically derived from *nāy* (reed or flute) as a diminutive form (MacKenzie 1971, 58), likely denotes enclosed piping rather than open channels. While Anāhīd remains the ultimate source of waters, her position has been relocated to the base of Mount Hugar, with water circulating through the mountain's internal piping system. This reconceptualization reflects an adaptation to Iran Plateau's arid and semi-arid climate, potentially drawing inspiration from both observations of subterranean water systems and practical experience with *qanāt* construction.

Corresponding to the shift in the conception of water system, the natural relationship between seas and bays (*vairi*) in the Avesta evolves into an association between seas and lakes (*war*) in Middle Persian literature.

1.3 *drayā* and *zrēh*

In Persian languages, the concepts of "sea" and "lake" share common terminology, differing only in scale. Middle Persian had two primary words for "sea": *zrēh*, and *drayā*, which evolved into Persian as *daryā*, whose diminutive form *daryāča*, meaning "small sea," specifically refers to a lake. For *zrēh*, textual sources clearly distinguish between *zrēh ī meh* (the great sea) for saltwater sea and *zrēh ī keh* (the small sea) for freshwater lake.^②

① In Indian mythology, the celestial counterpart to Iran's Anāhitā is Sarasvatī. However, most attributes of Sarasvatī were later transferred to the Ganges. The myth of the Ganges' descent corresponds more closely to the Iranian version in its narrative structure: The legend states that Bhagīratha performed severe penance to bring the Ganges down from heaven to save his sixty thousand ancestors. The sacred river first descended upon Mount Kailāsa, then flowed through Śiva's matted hair before reaching the earth, merging with the ocean, and finally entering the underworld to purify the ancestors.

② The texts specify three great seas and twenty small seas (*Bd* 6b.17). The three great seas are: the Persian Gulf (*Pūrdīg*), the Caspian Sea (*Kamrōd*), and the Black Sea (*Syābun*, *Bd* 10.7). Of the small seas, only the twentieth

In terms of linguistic usage, *drayā* tends to appear in secular contexts, while *zrēh* primarily occurs in proper nouns and often serves as a direct translation of the Avestan *zrayah*. Etymologically, *drayā* derives from Old Persian *drayah*, whereas *zrēh* originates from Avestan *zrayah*. These terms can ultimately be traced to the same root, representing dialectal variations where the East Iranian (Avestan) "z" corresponds phonetically to the West Iranian (Old Persian) "d".^①

Beyond their linguistic connection, both seas and lakes share a common mythological origin. As previously demonstrated, three distinct myths explain their sacred provenance: they are relics of the cosmic battle between gods and demons, creations of Anāhitā, and dwelling places of the divine Glory. Considering the primordial waters that flooded the entire earth during Tištar's rainfall and the unique golden-pipe water system of Anāhīd's spring, we may speculate that in the Sasanian geographical imagination, the primeval waters had receded into the earth's depths. The seas and lakes remaining on the surface were vestiges of this retreat, still interconnected through subterranean channels.

2. Sacred Lakes

Corresponding to the mythological origins of water, ancient Iranians practiced a religion that sanctified natural elements,^② characterized by open-air sacred sites. This

is named as Kayānsīh (Bd 10.16). Of these great seas, only Pūīdīg borrows its name from Avestan mythological geography, though all three were actual geographical locations during the Sasanian period. The small sea Kayānsīh derives from the Avestan *Kāsaoya* (Bartholomae 1904, 471), likely corresponding to Lake Hāmūn (Daryāčaye Hāmūn, Stein 1886, 21-23). This lake holds central importance in Zoroastrian eschatology. In the Avesta, the Saošyant *Astvaṭərəta* is prophesied to be born here, bringing about the final resurrection (Yt 19.89, 92). Middle Persian texts further develop this tradition: Zoroaster deposited his *xwarrah* (Av. *x'arənah*, divine Glory, here taking the shape of his semen) at this site under the guardianship of the goddess Anāhīd. According to prophecy, during three successive millennia, three maidens will bathe in these waters, become impregnated by the *xwarrah*, and give birth to three future Saošyants (Bd 33.43, 45).

① For instance, Zarang - the location where Peroz, son of the last Sasanian ruler, established the Persian Protectorate in the Tang Dynasty - appears as Zranka in Old Persian inscriptions, preserving its original Eastern Iranian form. Meanwhile, the Old Persian colloquial variant *Dranka or *Dranga underwent transmission through Greek and Latin to become the predominant form in Western languages, ultimately solidifying as Drangiana, the standardized Western designation for this region.

② In Zoroastrianism, the seven natural elements (humans, animals, fire, sky [metal], earth, water, and plants) and the seven Amesha Spentas represent the dual aspects of creation - the manifest and unmanifest

form of worship initially venerated natural features - mountains, rocks, caves, rivers, springs, and trees - as markers of sacred spaces where intangible divine power resided. These natural objects served as tangible manifestations of the sacred.

In the eastern Iranian myths preserved in the Avesta, sacred sites were most commonly located on mountaintops and near water bodies.^① As for Western Iran, Herodotus' description remains generally accurate for the early Achaemenid period: "it is not their custom to erect statues, temples, and altars ...But it is their custom is to go up to the highest summits of the mountains and sacrifice to Zeus, calling the entire vault of heaven Zeus."^② By the Arsacid era, Strabo recorded that Persians still performed rituals by water: "But for water, they go to a lake or a river or a spring, dig a trench and sacrifice (the victim) over it."^③ Even as late as the Sasanian period and early Islamic era, the sacred or mystical qualities of natural landscapes continued to feature prominently in newly emerging legends.^④

The sacred status of lakes in Iran dates back to ancient times, but the elevation

dimensions of existence.

① For example, in Yt 5 (*Ābān Yašt*), specific natural sanctuaries for worshipping *Anāhitā* are documented: *Haošyaŋha* at the foothills of Mount *Harā*; *Yima* atop Mount *Hukairya*; *Kərəsāspa* by Lake *Pišinah*; *Kavi Usan* on Mount *Īrəzifya*; *Kavi Haosravah* at Lake *Čaēčasta*; The sons of *Vaēsaka* at the *Xšaθrō.suka* pass, highest point of the *Kaŋha* range; *Pāurva* along the *Raŋhā* River; *Vistauru* of the *Naotara* by the *Vītaŋ'haitī* River; *Yōišta* of the *Fryāna* on *Paitīpa* Island in the River *Raŋhā*; *Kavi Haosravah* again at Lake *Frazzdān*; *Zairivari* beside the River *Dāityā*; *Arajaṭ.aspa* along the *Vourukaša* Sea.

② Herodotus, *History*, 1.131 (tr. De Jong 1997, 91).

③ Strabo, *Geography*, 15.3.14 (tr. De Jong 1997, 126).

④ For example, *Ardašīr I* (r. 224–241 CE), whose Middle Persian pseudo-biography *Kār-Nāmag ī Ardašīr ī Pābagān* can be dated no earlier than the late Sasanian period (Cereti 2011). The narrative recounts how the young *Ardašīr*, while fleeing from the court of the last Arsacid king *Ardawān*, encounters two mysterious women who immediately recognize him by name, reveal his royal lineage, and instruct him to escape toward the sea for safety (KAP 3.18–19). Upon reaching the coast, *Ardašīr* establishes a sacred fire and names the site "*Boxt-Ardašīr*" ("*Saved Ardašīr*"; linguistically evolvable into modern *Bushehr*, KAP 5.10). Within this episode, one of the women likely represents a manifestation of *Anāhīd*—As *Ardašīr*'s family served as priests at the *Istakhr* fire temple dedicated to her, *Anāhīd* was likely to bestow upon him the divine guidance to the sea, which was her sacred domain. Similarly, *Bahrām V Gōr* (r. 420–438 CE) accumulated numerous legendary accounts during the early Islamic period, particularly regarding his mysterious demise. While the *Šāh-nāma* depicts him passing away peacefully in sleep, alternative traditions describe his disappearance into a mountain cave (*Nizami*), sinking into a swamp, falling into a pit, or drowning (*Mahjūb* 1983/1362 Š.). These locations—caves, swamps, pits, and water bodies—all represent natural sanctuaries. Such enigmatic endings recall the disappearance of the Kayanian King *Kay Khusrow* by a sacred spring (*čašma*) in the *Ferdowsi*'s *Šāh-nāma*. Within Zoroastrian eschatology, *Kay Khusrow* never truly died but will reappear during the final renovation as an instrument of resurrection (*Dk* 7.1.40).

of Lake Čēčast and Lake Sōwar as the two most sacred lakes was a development that occurred no earlier than the late Sasanian period. Originally, these two lakes belonged to different categories. Lake Čēčast was first a mythical lake in the Avesta, whose name later became attached to an actual geographical location that lacked early traces of sanctity. Lake Sōwar, on the other hand, is unknown to the Avesta, though it likely held sacred status historically.

The classification of these two lakes as a pair was closely intertwined with two other historical processes: the standardization of royal genealogies and the construction of fire temples. To fully understand their significance, we must examine how these lakes became connected with these parallel developments - how Lake Čēčast transitioned from a mythical archetype to a politically significant sacred site, how Lake Sōwar maintained its non-canonical yet important cultic status, and how both became tied to the legitimization of Sasanian kingship and the innovated system of fire temples. This requires tracing the complex interweaving of their histories with these broader institutional and ideological transformations of late antiquity.

2.1 Lake Čēčast

The Middle Persian *Čēčast*, derived from the Avestan *Čāēčasta*, meaning "shining white" (Bartholomae 1904, 575), evolved into Late Middle Persian *Čēst* (WZ 10.15), and eventually became *Šīz* in Modern Persian.

Originally a mythological toponym, this lake was later associated with an actual geographical location. Archaeological evidence suggests that during the Sasanian period (particularly after the 5th century CE), the site was identified with the volcanic crater lake at Takht-e Soleyman in Iranian Azerbaijan.^①

2.1.1 Kay Khusrow

In the Avestan tradition, this lake serves as the setting for two distinct legends

^① In Islamic geographical and historical texts, this site was alternatively identified as Lake Urmia (Daryācha-ye Urūmiya), also known as Kabūdān Lake.

about Kavi Haosravah. The first recounts how he worshipped Anāhitā at this sacred lake, offering a grand sacrifice of one hundred horses, one thousand cattle, and ten thousand sheep to petition victory in a chariot race—a boon the water goddess granted (*Yt* 5.49-51). Simultaneously, his rival Aurvasāra performed rituals to the deity Vayu at *razura*, seeking to defeat Kavi Haosravah in competition (*Yt* 15.31). The specific narrative of their chariot race at *razura* did not survive into later traditions.^①

The second legend recounts how Kavi Haosravah slew Fraŋrasyan at the lake to avenge his father Syāvaršan. According to the Avestan account (*Yt* 9.17-19), the deity Haoma first performed sacrifices to the horse goddess Druvāspā on Mount Hukairya, beseeching her aid in capturing Fraŋrasyan at Lake Čāčasta and delivering him bound before Kavi Haosravah for execution - a plea the goddess granted. Subsequently (*Yt* 9.21-23), Kavi Haosravah himself conducted identical sacrifices to Druvāspā at the same lake, petitioning victory over Fraŋrasyan to fulfill his blood vengeance, which the goddess again granted. The legend's enduring significance is evidenced by its transmission through Middle Persian literature into later Persian epic tradition.^②

① The proper noun Aurvasāra appears only once in the extant texts, literally meaning "valiant chief." Some scholars propose it was a title denoting the leader of the Aurva tribe (Old Persian *Arva, Gershevitch 1974, 61). The *Arva tribe itself is attested solely in Babylonian records as an Iranian group during the Achaemenid period (Tavernier 2007, 4.3.12, 373). The meaning of *razura* remains obscure. Its Middle Persian counterpart *razur* was equated with *wēšag* ("thicket, wood"), but as demonstrated earlier, such linguistic correspondences between Avestan and Middle Persian are often unreliable (Hambartsumian 2009 catalogues usage examples of *razura/razur* in both traditions, though his assumption of its meaning as "forest" remains conjectural). The ritual significance of the chariot race is equally ambiguous. The most paradigmatic Avestan horse race carries cosmological implications - exemplified by Kavi Haosravah's ancestor Kavi Vištāspa, whose victory over Arəjaṭ.aspa involves driving the chariot carrying Ahura Mazda and Zoroaster's daēnā (MP. *dēn*, later conceptualized as "religion") from the sacrificial ground to the divine abode. The daēnā manifests as the celestial Milky Way (*Yt* 13.99, *Yt* 19.83-84; see Skjærvø 2013 for analysis). By the Middle Persian period, this celestial race between Vištāsp (Av. Kavi Vištāspa) and Arjāsp (Av. Arəjaṭ.aspa) was reinterpreted as an earthly religious war, with the battleground sometimes located at *razur* (AZ 19, ZWY 6.9). The original setting and symbolic meaning of Kavi Haosravah's race with Aurvasāra - whether interstellar, sylvan, desertic, or mountainous, whether cosmological or pseudo-historical - remain indeterminate in the surviving tradition.

② Regarding this legend, there are two major differences between Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh* and earlier texts. The first major difference is the shift in sacred space. In the original tradition, Kay Khosrow (Av. Kavi Haosravah) performs sacrifices at this Lake to defeat Afrasiab (Av. Fraŋrasyan). However, in the *Shahnameh*, he instead seeks divine aid at the fire temple in Azerbaijan (i.e. Ādur Gušnasp). This change reflects late Sasanian historical realities, as two Sasanian kings—Khosrow I (before his campaign against Rome) and Khosrow II (before his counterattack against Bahrām Chōbin)—also visited this temple to pray for victory. The second is the shift from divine to human agency. In the Avesta, the deity Haoma captures Afrasiab, whereas in the *Shahnameh*, this role is taken by the ascetic Hūm (Av. Haoma), said to be a descendant of Fereydun (whose birth is attributed to his father's performance of the Haoma ritual). This transition from deity to human reflects a broader epic tendency to rationalize mythic elements.

In the Avesta, the title *Kavi* was reserved for a select few heroes who performed sacrifices to the gods.^① When exactly these figures came to be regarded as kings remains unclear, but they were eventually grouped together as the Kayanian dynasty, alongside another set of figures classified as the Pishdadian dynasty, forming the legendary royal lineage that became institutionalized as a legitimizing tradition of kingship by the late Sasanian period. During the early Sasanian era, the royal family derived their legitimacy from claims of divine descent, but by the later period, they began identifying themselves with the Kayanian kings, asserting genealogical ties to them. This ideological shift likely reached its most critical phase during the reigns of Kavad I (r. 488–531 CE) and Khosrow I (r. 531–579 CE), as evidenced by the fact that these two monarchs were the first Sasanian kings to adopt the names of Kayanian rulers as their own regnal titles.

In alignment with the evolving royal ideology of the middle to late Sasanian period, fire temples emerged as the architectural hallmark of Zoroastrianism, while the *Xwādāy-nāmag* (“Kings’ Book”) tradition simultaneously crafted a new royal legend: that of Kay Khosrow establishing the Ādur Gušnasp (the “Stallion Fire”) at Lake Čēčast.

2.1.2 Ādur Gušnasp

The system of fire temples headed by the three great sacred fires was a Sasanian innovation without precedent in the Avesta. In the prehistoric period, Zoroastrianism's distinctive fire rituals—lighting and tending the sacred flame—required no permanent structures, needing only an appropriate ceremonial space. It was not until the historical era of settled civilization that dedicated buildings became necessary to house the perpetually burning sacred fires (De Jong 2013, 25–26). Even late Middle Persian legends acknowledge that sacred fires originally roamed freely, protecting the world, until certain kings constructed fire temples to settle them permanently (*Bd* 18). During the Achaemenid period, while fire temples may have appeared in Central Asia on the

① The term *Kavi*, based on its etymological kinship with the Sanskrit cognate *kavi*, originally referred to seer-poets (and deities performing this function) who possessed divine and ritual knowledge. In the Avestan context, it did not inherently denote kingship—the standard word for “king” being *dañhupaiti* (“lord of the land”). Notably, these two terms were never used interchangeably or in conjunction within the Avesta.

empire's periphery (Wu 2023), most religious sites at the imperial center remained open-air sanctuaries.^① The Hellenistic period introduced two enduring traditions: dynastic cult and indoor temples. The Parthian era likely featured religious architecture characterized by dynastic fires^② and temples dedicated to individual deities.^③

Even in the early Sasanian period, the most significant religious structure was the so-called Anāhīd fire temple in Istakhr.^④ If this building indeed dates back to the Arsacid era, it was most likely originally a temple dedicated to Anāhīd. By the middle to late Sasanian period, as the new religious ideology demoted these temples dedicated the specific gods to the status of "idol houses," it was preserved through conversion into a fire temple. The Ādur Gušnasp, once established, superseded the Anāhīd temple to become de facto the most important fire temple.^⑤ It was only after this development that the system of fire temples—with the three great sacred fires at its apex—became the standard configuration of Zoroastrianism.

① Mary Boyce proposed that after Artaxerxes II (404-358 BCE) introduced temple architecture for the goddess Anahita, orthodox Zoroastrian priests began constructing fire temples to compete for followers, marking the origin of fire temples (Boyce 1982, 216-231). However, archaeological evidence from the Achaemenid period has failed to substantiate this hypothesis (Canepa 2013b).

② Although archaeological and textual evidence from the Arsacid period remains scarce, making definitive conclusions challenging, discoveries at the Nisa—including the circular hall featuring a portrait of Mithradates II (r. 124–88 BCE) and other structures—strongly suggest its role as a center for dynastic cult (Canepa 2013b, 345). Textual sources indicate that the Arsacid dynasty maintained numerous royal fires (each vassal kingdom possessing its own dynastic fire), all of which the Sasanians extinguished upon their rise to power. The pseudo-historical Tansar Nāma—a text purporting to preserve correspondence between Tansar, the high priest of Ardashir I (r. 224–242 CE), and the vassal king of Tabaristan—likely retains a kernel of historical truth: the Tabaristan king opposed Ardashir's usurpation of the Iranian throne, objecting to Ardashir's sacrilegious extinguishing of sacred fires. Tansar's rebuttal asserted that the Arsacids were never legitimate to kindle such fires in the first place (Boyce 1968).

③ Armenia, after its Christianization, preserved extensive written records documenting its pagan history. Given that Armenia was ruled by Arsacid dynasts during both the Parthian and early Sasanian periods, it is the Arsacid-style Zoroastrianism that is most thoroughly attested in Armenian sources. According to these Armenian accounts, Zoroastrian sacred architecture included temples dedicated to Aramazd (Ahura Mazdā), to Anahit (Anāhītā), to Tir (Tištar), to Mihr, and to Vahagn (Vərəθraγna, De Jong 2013, 35–36).

④ According to tradition, the family of Ardashir I (founder of the Sasanian dynasty) served as priests at the Anahita fire temple in Istakhr. Early Sasanian kings continued to hold this priestly office until Bahram II (r. 274-293 CE) transferred the position to the high priest Kerdir—a move marking the transfer of religious authority from kings to clergy and the gradual formation of a hierarchical priesthood. Notably, even the last Sasanian ruler, Yazdegerd III (r. 632-651 CE), was crowned at this same temple, demonstrating its enduring political and sacred significance throughout the Sasanian era.

⑤ As an illustration of this shift, Ardashir I (r. 224–241 CE) offered the heads of defeated rebels to the Anāhītā Temple, while Bahram V Gor (r. 420–438 CE) dedicated war spoils to the Ādur Gušnasp.

The Ādur Gušnasp remains the only one of the three great sacred fires whose physical location has been identified through archaeological evidence. Excavations reveal that during the Achaemenid period, only a small mudbrick settlement existed on the northern shore of Lake Čěčast, while the Arsacid era left merely a watchpost (Huff 2002). The fire temple complex began its transformation in the 5th century CE,^① initially constructed as a large mudbrick compound.^② By the 6th century, it was progressively rebuilt in stone masonry,^③ eventually becoming one of the Sasanian Empire's most magnificent architectural achievements. While serving as a pilgrimage site for common devotees^④ - who reportedly offered gifts to seek the brightness of eyes and heart (*Saddar-e Bondaheš* 44.18, 21; cf. Dhabhar 1909, 115-116), a tradition that subtly echoes Lake Čěčast's identity as the "eye (spring) of the sea" - its paramount significance lay in becoming the royal fire temple of the Sasanian dynasty. Following its establishment, it became customary for every reigning monarch to make pilgrimages to this site, institutionalizing Ādur Gušnasp as the imperial fire sanctuary par excellence.

The *Xwadāy-nāmag* tradition, diverging from archaeological evidence, attributes the establishment of the Ādur Gušnasp to Kay Khosrow, or rather attributes all three great sacred fires to the legendary Pishdadian and Kayanian kings as a means of legitimization. Two versions of this foundation legend exist. One version (*Bd* 18.8) describes Kay Khosrow destroying an idol house (*uzdēs-zār*) by Lake Čěčast with the Fire's aid and establishing the Ādur Gušnasp Fire Temple, while the other version

① Mary Boyce hypothesized that this fire temple was originally established during the Achaemenid period at Ganzak (a site identified with Laylān in the Miāndoāb plain of Iranian Azerbaijan), later relocating to Takht-e Soleyman after the 5th century CE (Boyce 2000). However, pre-Sasanian texts never mention Ganzak as a cultic center, and extensive archaeological surveys conducted in the region have so far failed to uncover any evidence of a sanctuary (Canepa 2013a, 83).

② The mudbrick layers at the site have yielded significant numismatic evidence, including gold coins of Theodosius II (r. 402-450 CE) and silver drachms of Pērōz I (r. 457-484 CE). This archaeological record finds remarkable correspondence with literary sources - the *Shahnameh* identifies Bahrām V Gōr (r. 420-438 CE) as the first Sasanian king to make pilgrimage to this site, a tradition that appears to have been established by the mid-5th century.

③ Archaeological excavations have revealed coins dating from the late reign of Kawād I (r. 488-531 CE) to that of Khosrow I (r. 531-579 CE) in the transitional layers between the mudbrick and stone masonry construction phases.

④ The archaeological site includes lodging facilities designed to accommodate ordinary pilgrims.

portrays him conquering the Bahman Fortress through the Fire's assistance.^① Though typically considered separate legends with different locations,^② these versions likely reflect two competing *Xwadāy-nāmag* traditions - the priestly version emphasizing religious purification, while the royal version dynastic achievements. The "idol house" or "conquered fortress" in these narratives probably represent literary tropes rather than historical structures,^③ with any factual basis at most vaguely recalling the Arsacid watchpost attested archaeologically.

Here we observe how the Sasanians systematically wove their newly constructed fire temples into the fabric of Avestan lineage, thereby creating a fresh corpus of royal legends. Initially, the tradition of natural sacred sanctuaries, as well as the *Xwadāy-nāmag* traditions, may have provided legitimacy for establishing fire temples. However, once these fire temples became officially sanctioned institutions of dynastic ideology, they reciprocally bestowed authority back upon both the sacred lakes and the *Xwadāy-nāmag*.

2.2 Lake Sōwar

① The earliest reference to this tradition appears in the Middle Persian Zand commentary on *Niyāyišn* 5.5 (Dhabbar 1927, 38; Dhabbar 1963, 68). The full narrative is preserved in Persian literary sources, including Ferdowsi's *Shāhnāma*, and a summary recorded in Mustawfī Qazvīnī's 14th-century *Nuzhat al-Qulūb* (tr. Le Strange 1919, 84): "On the summit of Mount Sablān was a strong castle called Diz-i Bahman or Rūyīn Diz: and in the *Shāh Nāmah* it is related that when Kay Khosrow and Farībūrz were fighting together for the sovereignty, it was agreed that it should belong to him who took this castle. Now Farībūrz failed to conquer it; but Kay Khosrow did take it into his possession so the sovereignty came to him. The castle is now a ruin."

② As previously noted, the Bahman Fortress (Diz-i Bahman) has been traditionally associated with Mount Sablān near Ardabil. However, Middle Persian texts uniformly locate the Ādur Gušnasp fire temple at Mount Asnwand (e.g. Bd 18.8), leading to the later conflation of Asnwand with both Sablān and the plateau of Takht-e Soleyman. The Avestan references to Asnavant (Yt 19.5) merely include it in a list of mountains without attaching any specific legends. Only two late Avestan texts—*Niyāyišn* (5.5) and *Sīh-rōzag* (1.9)—connect this mountain with sacred fires.

③ The destruction of idol temples (regardless of whether they actually contained idols) and the establishment of fire temples constitutes a classic narrative trope in Zoroastrian literature to signify religious triumph. Examples include: the future Iranian hero Kay Wahrām leading the destruction of mosques to erect sacred fires and purge places of idol worship (AMWW 14), or Pišōtan, son of Kay Wištāsp, overthrowing idol temples to establish fire altars (Bd 33.33). While such narratives may reflect historical realities—as the demolition or conversion of religious architecture commonly marks the supremacy of one faith over another—in the specific case of Ādur Gušnasp, this appears to be merely a borrowed literary convention. No archaeological evidence supports the existence of any prior religious structure at this site.

Lake Sōwar, known in Middle Persian as *Sōwar* or *war ī Sōwar* (*Bd* 6b.17, 9.27, 12.4; *WZ* 3.24), lacks any direct association with the Avesta, suggesting its name likely originated from an actual geographical toponym. In Islamic-period sources, the name appears in various forms, which suggests its obsolete state—*Sō*, *Sōz*, *Sauz*, or *Sabz* (Monchi-Zadeh 1975, 201–203)—such as *Čašma-ye Sō* ("Spring of Sō") in the *Shāhnāma* and *Čašma-ye Sabz* ("Green Spring") in *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*.^①

Middle Persian texts describe Lake Sōwar as being situated in the eastern region of Khorasan, specifically atop Mount Tus (*Kōf ī Tōs*) within the province of Abaršahr (*Bd* 12.4). Islamic historical and geographical sources consistently locate it between the cities of Nishapur and Tus in Khorasan, though its precise geographical coordinates remain unresolved.

2.2.1 Yazdegerd I

The most significant legend associated with this lake centers on Sasanian King Yazdegerd I (r. 399–420 CE), whose historical reign represented a decisive political shift. Having witnessed a series of his predecessors fall victim to the entrenched power of nobility and Zoroastrian priesthood,^② Yazdegerd deliberately curtailed their influence to consolidate royal authority. His reign was equally remarkable for maintaining peaceful relations with the Roman Empire^③ and implementing policies of religious tolerance that

① In his *Nuzhat al-Qulūb* (tr. Le Strange 1919, 147–148, 234), Mustawfī Qazvīnī provides two remarkable accounts of the Green Spring, or perhaps of two different Green Springs. "Five leagues distant to the north of the city [Nīshāpūr], on the crest of the mountain, there is a pass where is a spring called Chashmah-i-Sabz (the Green Spring), from which pours forth sweet water, but greenish in colour. The Amīr Chūpān built a kiosk on the border of the spring, and going up to the roof of the kiosk, you may look down into the midst of the waters. Every Friday night a terrible voice is heard coming from the midst of the spring, and yet it stands five leagues distant from the nearest inhabited place. Further, saintly persons keeping vigil by night behold on the borders of this spring the forms of water-camels, and water-cows, and water-men, and they are then seen to graze all round and about it." "Lake of the Green spring (Chashmah-i-Sabz). In Khurāsān on the Tūs frontier. It is one league round, and from it two great streams take their origin, which flow respectively to Nīshāpūr and to Tūs. Each stream is powerful enough to turn more than twenty mills. Each stream is powerful enough to turn more than twenty mills. No boatman can cross this lake, nor can any one plumb its depth. The story of the horse which came forth from this lake, and which then killed king Yazdajird I, surnamed the Bad, is well known."

② i.e. Ardašīr II (r. 379–383 CE), Šāpur III (r. 383–388 CE), and Bahrām IV (r. 388–399 CE).

③ The Roman Emperor Arcadius (r. 395–408 CE) appointed the Sasanian king Yazdegerd I as guardian of his young son Theodosius II (r. 408–450 CE). Yazdegerd formally accepted this responsibility,

protected Christian and Jewish communities.^①

These political measures fueled opposition. Thus, within the historiographical tradition shaped by Sasanian nobility and priesthood—and subsequently perpetuated in Persian epic literature—Yazdegerd I was branded with the epithet *bazahgar* ("the Sinner"), while Lake Sōwar was enshrined as the site of his mysterious demise. This legend, preserved exclusively in Islamic sources with varying details (Shahbazi 2003a, 356, n. 3), universally attributes his death to a supernatural horse. The *Shāhnāma*'s canonical version recounts how Yazdegerd, forewarned of his prophesied death at Čašma-ye Sō, initially suffered from a relentless nosebleed. Priests counseled him to demonstrate submission to the gods by journeying to the fated location. Upon compliance, his hemorrhage miraculously ceased—but when he boastfully declared he would have recovered regardless, a white stallion emerged from the waters. Though none could tame it, the king attempted to master the beast himself, only to be fatally kicked in the head, whereupon the horse vanished back into the lake.

The mythological underpinnings of this legend remain transparent: Yazdegerd's demise resulted from his violation of the sacred covenant binding Iranian kingship. Both Mithra (the god of covenant and kingship) and Apām Napāt (the "Offspring of Waters" who guards the divine glory in the oceanic depths) - deities whose sacred animal is the white horse - orchestrated his downfall by withdrawing his divine Glory through their equine messenger (Shahbazi 2003a).

The underlying logic of this legend reflects the *Xwadāy-Namag* tradition's recurring

sending a letter to the Roman Senate threatening military retaliation against any who would challenge Theodosius' succession—a pledge he honored throughout his reign by maintaining peaceful relations with Rome (Procopius, Wars, 1.2.1–10; Dewing 1914, 8–11).

① The East Roman envoy Bishop Marutha of Maipherqat, stationed at the Sasanian capital of Ctesiphon-Seleucia, enjoyed deep trust from Yazdegerd I, directly facilitating the king's religious policies - most notably the so-called "Edict of Milan for the Eastern Church" which granted Christians freedom of worship, rights of church reconstruction, and episcopal mobility. In 410 CE, Marutha's influence secured royal approval for the Synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon to reorganize the Persian Church hierarchy. Yazdegerd also deployed the Patriarch of Ctesiphon-Seleucia as mediator between the throne and the rebellious King of Fars while sending another patriarch as ambassador to Roman Emperor Theodosius II's court. In addition to Christianity, he cultivated ties with Jewish leadership to the extent that the Exilarch acclaimed him as "New Cyrus" - a relationship allegedly sealed through marriage to the Exilarch's daughter, their son Bahrām V ultimately inheriting the Sasanian throne (Shahbazi 2003b).

narrative pattern of kings losing their divine Glory. Within this framework, both the Pishdadian and Kayanian dynasties feature archetypal examples of rulers deprived of this divine Glory. Jam of the Pishdadians not only rejected Zoroastrian teachings but blasphemously proclaimed himself the creator of all things, and thus lost his Glory, kingship, and immortality (*PRDD* 31a10).^① The mythological narrative of Kay Us of the Kayanians represents a parallel archetype - his fatal hubris manifested when, dissatisfied with earthly dominion, he attempted to conquer heaven by marching his army up Mount Harburz. When he reached the Glory-transformed Mountain and began the assault, the gods recalled the Glory and his entire army crashed from midair to earth (*Dk* 9.22.5-12). Both Jam of the Pishdadians and Kay Us of the Kayanians, serve as the counterparts to Yazdegerd I of the Sasanians. The legendary accounts of Yazdegerd's mysterious death at Lake Sōwar thus function simultaneously as a new chapter in the ongoing Iranian mythology of the divine Glory and as a deliberate intertextual echo of ancient royal archetypes within the *Xwadāy-nāmag* tradition. This dual narrative served to both validate his designation as "the Sinner", and to paradoxically reinforce the legitimacy and continuity of Sasanian dynasty by situating their rulers within this timeless cycle of kingship.

2.2.2 Ādur Burzēnmīhr

Although only one text (*WZ* 3.24) explicitly mentions the Ādur Burzēnmīhr Fire Temple is located near Lake Sōwar, this reference is not isolated. The *Shāhnāma*'s account of Čašma-ye Sō contains a parallel: Yazdegerd swears an oath by "the Kharrād Burzīn and the sun" (*kharrād barzīn/burzīn wa khuršīd*) that he will not visit the Spring

① This claim implies some historical-mythological validity. The figure of Jam (Av. Yima) and his Vedic counterpart Yama can trace back to the Proto-Indo-Iranian period, predating Zoroastrianism's formation. The Indian Yama and Iranian Jam were not merely the mythological "first man", but originally a solar deity. Although his god status is purged through Zoroastrian traditions in Iran, there are still some linguistic traces, such as the shared suffix -šīd in both Jamšīd and khuršīd (Persian for "sun"). This solar connection is also preserved in the Persian poetry (Ms. Suppl. Pers. 1022 of Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris). After Jam lost his divine Glory, he has to hide in a tree trunk. When Zahāk discovers his hiding place and begins sawing, the first severing of Jam's body causes immediate solar eclipse and daylight's disappearance, followed by his miraculous resurrection the next day - a cycle repeating with the second cut before the third finally consigns him permanently to the underworld (Christensen 1934, 72-73).

(ed. Khaleghi-Motlagh and Omidshar 2005, 386). While the meaning of *kharrād* is unclear, given that *khuršīd* (sun) and *mihr* (Mithra) were used interchangeably in Persian, the phrase *barzīn wa khuršīd* likely represents a poetic variation of Burzēnmihr, modified due to metrical requirements.

The compound word *burzēnmihr* probably refers to the divine dyad of Apām Napāt and Mithra.^① *burzēn* is obviously a Parthian word as it contains a Parthian adjective suffix **-ēn*. It corresponds to Middle Persian *burz*, originating from the Avestan *bərəzant*, an epithet ("the Exalted") of Apām Napāt which eventually supplanted his original name in post-Avestan tradition. This lexical evolution mirrors the deity's theological trajectory: once a creator-god of primordial stature in Indo-Iranian religion, Apām Napāt underwent progressive functional redistribution to other gods until becoming a shadowy subordinate—yet his enduring cultic partnership with Mithra is well attested. The *Yašts* preserve their symbiotic relationship: both deities jointly secure the Glory (*Yt* 19.35, 19.51) in the Vourukaša Sea^② and collaborate to uphold kingship and to quell chaos (*Yt* 13.95). Given the Arsacid preference for temples dedicated to specific deities, the Ādur Burzēnmihr likely began as a temple dedicated to this divine pair—its very name encoding their partnership. It was converted into an orthodox fire temple in the middle to late Sasanian period, paralleling Istakhr's Anāhīd temple.

If Lake Sōwar geographically coincided with the Ādur Burzēnmihr, and if this site originally functioned as a temple dedicated to Apām Napāt and Mithra, this would provide a perfect mythological framework for the legend of Yazdegerd's death at the lake, where the divine Glory was reclaimed by the twin deities' white stallion, though this remains hypothetical pending archaeological confirmation.

① Mary Boyce suggests Burzēnmihr is the name of the actual founder of this Fire (Boyce 1983), but without substantial proof.

② The text weaves together various recipients and contenders of the divine Glory. According to *Yt* 19.34-44, the Glory is lost by Yima three times: first obtained by Mithra, then by Thraētaona (Fereydun), and finally by Kərəsāspa (Garshasp) - mirroring exactly the same fixed sequence of Haoma-pressing hero-sacrificers (*Y* 9.1-13): the first pressing yields Yima, the second Thraētaona, and the third Kərəsāspa. Subsequently, the narrative shifts to the struggle between the Sacred Fire and Aži Dahāka, neither of whom is able to claim the Glory. It instead flees into the sea, where Apām Napāt secures it (*Yt* 19.46-52). Thus, if we analytically separate the inserted hero-sacrificer sequence, the core of the Glory myth reduces to two principal divine guardians: Mithra and Apām Napāt.

Ādur Burzēnmīhr's theological significance thus underwent a deliberate Sasanian recalibration. While its Arsacid-era sanctity derived from being a cultic center of dual deity, its later legitimacy was anchored in a newly crafted foundation legend attributing its establishment to Kayanian King Wištāsp.^①

While Wištāsp is celebrated as the first king to adopt Zoroastrianism, the royal genealogies paradoxically sequence the founders of the three great fire temples as Jam (who established Ādur Farrōbay), Kay Khosrow (Ādur Gušnasp), and finally Kay Wištāsp (Ādur Burzēnmīhr). Thus, Wištāsp is both the first Zoroastrian king and the last of the three legendary fire-temple founders. His paradoxical status reveals the reluctance of the Sasanians as they had to acknowledge the preexisting Arsacid prominence, and the complex ideological engineering to weave the new system of fire temples into the ancient royal genealogy. However, this genealogy implies Zoroastrian belief is irrelevant to the establishment of fire temples, as Jam, who defiantly rejected Zoroastrianism, is credited with establishing the first fire temple. Thus, this strategic narrative construction allowed the Sasanians to appropriate the prestige of ancient sites while sidestepping theological inconsistencies, ultimately crafting a synthetic royal ideology where fire temples became emblems of Iranian sovereignty and identity, rather than markers of religious affiliation.

3. Conclusion

The two sacred lakes, Čēčast and Sōwar are regarded as the twin springs—or the twin eyes—of the sea, in which the divine Glory resides. They correspond to the two great fire temples, which are also called the dwelling places of the Glory (*WZ* 3.86). Through their close connection with the myths of the Glory and the legends of kings, these two pairs of sacred lakes and fire temples form a dual imagery of kingship: one

① The foundation mythology of this fire temple presents a dual origination narrative involving both Vištāspa and his father Luhrāsp, reflecting layered traditions about its establishment. According to one version (*Bd* 18.10), Vištāsp founded the Ādur Burzēnmīhr on the Ridge of Vištāsp (Pušt ī Wištāspān) after his conversion to Zoroastrianism. However, an alternative tradition in Ferdowsi's *Shāhnāme* credits Luhrāsp with initially establishing this fire in Balkh, only for it to be extinguished during Arjāsp's invasion. These seemingly contradictory accounts were later harmonized in the Persian *Rivāyats* (Dhabhar 1932, 72): when Arjāsp killed Luhrāsp, the fire autonomously translocated itself from Balkh to the Ridge of Vištāsp.

lake lies in the east (Khurasan), and the other in the west (Azerbaijan), serving as the eyes of the earth, while the two fire temples symbolize the kingship of the Sasanian and Parthian dynasties.^①

In a broader sense, this imagery can even be expressed as the eyes of the earth being the Glory of the East and the West. Thus, in the letter of Khosrow II to the Byzantine Emperor Maurice, we encounter another representation of the eyes as a symbol of kingship—though now framed in Christian terms—where it states: "God effected that the whole world should be illumined from the very beginning by two eyes, namely by the most powerful kingdom of the Romans and by the most prudent sceptre of the Persian state." (Theophylakt Simokatta 4.11.2, tr. Whitby and Whitby 1986). These two eyes likely allude not only to the celestial eyes (the sun and the moon) and the astral order of Sasanian kingship (Panaino 2004), but also correspond to the terrestrial eyes (the Glories of the East and the West)

Abbreviation

<i>ASS</i>	<i>Abdīh ud Sahīgīh ī Sagestān</i> , Utas 1980.
<i>AMWW</i>	<i>Abar Madan ī Wahrām ī Warzāwand</i> , Tavadia 1955.
<i>AZ</i>	<i>Ayādgār ī Zarērān</i> , Monchi-Zadeh 1981.
<i>Bd</i>	<i>Bundahišn</i> , Pakzad 2005, tr. Agostini and Thrope 2020, <i>Bd</i> 12, Cereti 2007.
<i>Dk</i>	<i>Dēnkard</i> , <i>Dk</i> 7, Molé 1967, <i>Sūdgar Nask (Dk 9.2–23)</i> , Vevaina 2007.
<i>KAP</i>	<i>Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān</i> , Grenet 2003.
<i>PRDD</i>	<i>Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying Dādestān ī Dēnīg</i> , Williams 1990.
<i>Vd</i>	<i>Vidēvdād</i> , Avestan version, Geldner 1886–1896, Middle Persian version, Moazami 2014.
<i>WZ</i>	<i>Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram</i> , Gignoux and Tafazzolī 1993.
<i>Y</i>	<i>Yasna</i> , Geldner 1886–1896.
<i>Yt</i>	<i>Yašt</i> , Geldner 1886–1896. <i>Yt</i> 8, Panaino 1990; <i>Yt</i> 10, Gershevitch 1959/1967; <i>Yt</i> 12, Goldman 2015; <i>Yt</i> 19, Hintze 1994, Humbach and Ichaporia 1998.

① The official Sasanian ideology certainly denied the legitimacy of Parthian kingship, yet the significance of Parthian influence during the Sasanian period remains undeniable. For instance, early Sasanian royal inscriptions—when multilingual—always included both Middle Persian and Parthian. When listing the provinces of Iran, they invariably began with the paired provinces of Pārs and Parthia. Among the seven great noble houses of the Sasanian Empire, several were of Parthian descent. Even in the late Sasanian period, Parthian noble houses still claimed a stronger right to kingship than the Sasanians, as seen in the case of Bahrām Čōbīn. Moreover, the Xwadāy-nāmag tradition has a heroic version in addition to the priestly and royal ones, which highlighted the exploits of Rustam and the Parthian noble houses of Kārēn, Sūrēn, and Mīhrān during the Sasanian era. This tradition is so deeply rooted that the very word for "heroes" (pahlavān, pl. of pahlav) originally means "Parthians", and the very word for "the Sasanian and post-Sasanian Middle Persian language" (pahlavī) originally means "the Parthian or the heroes' language".

ZWY	Zand ī Wahman Yasn, Cereti 1995.
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Beyond the Ecstasy: Divergent Paths of Shamanic Calling in Tungusic and Korean Societies

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Abstract

This article conducts a comparative study of the initiation mechanisms, spiritual practices, and cultural contexts of shamanism among Tungusic-speaking peoples in northern China and the Korean peninsula. Focusing on the age of spirit possession, especially its frequent correlation with adolescence, the study engages the “psychopathological” model as an analytical lens to interpret the spiritual crises often underlying the shamanic vocation. While Tungusic shamans typically enter trance states to retrieve lost souls—an act grounded in collective cosmology and devoid of economic incentive—Korean shamans, particularly hereditary shamans (*tang-gi*), often assume the role of ritual practitioners without undergoing classical possession. The profession in Korea tends toward commercialization, with ritual performance replacing personal spirit descent as the foundation of shamanic identity. Through this contrast, the study highlights the cultural and socioeconomic determinants shaping shamanic practices in Northeast Asia. Additionally, the research argues that the spiritual technologies such as trance and altered states of consciousness serve not only religious functions but also provide coping mechanisms during critical life transitions. The findings suggest that despite shared mythological and ritual elements, Tungusic and Korean shamanisms have diverged into distinct religious forms due to their differing social histories, transmission patterns, and understandings of the human–spirit relationship. The article ultimately proposes a model of Northeast Asian shamanism as a fluid and hybrid religious ecology, shaped by historical interactions, economic modes, and cross-cultural syncretism.

Keywords

Tungusic shamanism; Korean shamanism; adolescence; spirit possession; trance; hereditary shamans; religious transmission; psychopathological model; Northeast Asia; comparative religion

Introduction

Shamanism, as a long-standing form of primal religion, has been widely practiced across Northeast Asia and is deeply embedded in the spiritual life and social structures of multiple ethnic groups. The Tungusic language family, which includes ethnic groups such as the Manchu, Evenki, Oroqen, and Hezhe in China, not only shares linguistic commonalities, but also exhibits high degrees of similarity in economic organization, social systems, and cultural customs. This is particularly evident in the consistency of their shamanic belief systems and ritual practices. Meanwhile, the Korean people—historically a unified nation-state in close geographic proximity to the Tungusic populations—have also preserved their indigenous religion, Korean shamanism (*Muism*), which continues to play a vibrant role in folk belief, artistic expression, and ritual life. Korean shamanism holds a central place in shaping the collective consciousness, value systems, and cultural psyche of the Korean nation, forming a shared yet distinct regional religious landscape in comparison with Tungusic shamanic traditions.

In both the Tungusic and Korean shamanic systems, shamans are perceived as intermediaries between the human and spiritual realms. They perform multiple social and religious functions, including healing illness, expelling evil, conveying divine messages, and conducting rituals for blessings and soul pacification. Over time, the shaman has evolved from a primitive spirit-medium into a religious figure possessing integrative social functions. The mechanisms of becoming a shaman, the process of initiation (*naerim-gut* or possession), the experience of shamanic illness, and the system of religious transmission have thus become central topics of academic inquiry. Particularly in the context of rapid social transformation and shifting national cultural policies,

shamanism—as part of vernacular religion—has demonstrated tendencies toward institutionalization, professionalization, and performatization. As such, the mechanisms of cultural transmission are also undergoing significant changes.

Since the early 20th century, scholarly research on Northeast Asian shamanism has yielded rich results. Internationally, S. M. Shirokogoroff conducted ethnographic studies on the Tungusic peoples, offering systematic analysis of the processes and social functions of shamanic initiation. V. G. Bogoraz and M. Czaplicka explored the psychological dimensions of shamanism, highlighting its connections with altered mental states. Mircea Eliade, adopting a global perspective, established foundational theoretical frameworks by introducing key concepts such as trance, possession, and soul journey. In Chinese academia, scholars such as Seyin, Meng Huiying, Guo Shuyun, and Wang Wei have undertaken detailed historical and folkloric investigations into the shamanic practices of ethnic minorities in Northeast China. With respect to Korean *Muism*, Korean scholars including Kim Taegon and Son Jintae, as well as Japanese researchers such as Akiha Takashi and Murayama Chijun, have conducted systematic studies on shamanic illness, spirit possession rites, and religious organization.

In recent years, following the establishment of the “intangible cultural heritage” framework, both domestic and international scholarship has increasingly turned its attention to contemporary transformations of shamanism—focusing on issues such as court ritualization, theatrical performance, and commercialization within the context of cultural tourism. Despite the abundance of existing studies on Tungusic and Korean shamanic traditions, several gaps remain: (1) most research has concentrated on individual ethnic traditions in isolation, lacking a comprehensive cross-cultural comparative framework; (2) there is insufficient attention to the adaptive transformations of shamanism in response to modernity, especially under the influence of intangible heritage policies; and (3) much of the literature remains outdated, failing to incorporate recent theoretical developments and empirical findings from anthropology and folklore studies.

Against this scholarly background, the present study employs a comparative and

literature-based approach to investigate the similarities and differences between the shamanic systems of Tungusic ethnic groups and the Korean people, with particular focus on initiation mechanisms, shamanic illness experiences, religious functions, and ritual structures. Drawing upon theoretical insights from anthropology and the sociology of religion, this research seeks to analyze how the two shamanic traditions have evolved in divergent socio-cultural contexts. By introducing an interdisciplinary perspective that integrates ritual practice, social structure, and cultural change, this study aims to transcend the limitations of static textual comparison and to present a historically dynamic portrait of religious transformation in Northeast Asia.

1. Comparative Analysis of Shamanic Progenitor Archetypes

The emergence of early shamans was closely linked to clan and tribal ancestors as well as the origin of culture, a viewpoint clearly reflected in the myths of shamanic progenitors among many ethnic groups. Among the Manchu-Tungusic peoples, narratives surrounding the origin of the first shaman are widely circulated within their mythological systems. In particular, the legend of “Nishan Shaman” is not only extensively disseminated among Tungusic ethnic groups but also possesses significant artistic value. Its influence extends beyond the religious realm into literature, art, folklore, and linguistics, and even resonates in contemporary cultural expressions such as the field of “Nishanology” and derivative cultural products like mobile games. According to the legend, Nishan Shaman possessed divine communication abilities and could traverse the realms of the living and the dead to rescue souls. The stars that emerged from her mouth transformed into future shamans, establishing her as the progenitor of all shamans.

Similar myths are also found among the Evenk people, in which the first human shaman is portrayed as a female figure living in the land of the rising sun, characterized by large breasts that symbolically nourished humankind. Furthermore, among the Tungusic peoples, many myths describe the transformation of animal spirits into the first shamans, with the eagle deity being especially prominent. The eagle symbolizes the sacred conversion and intimate linkage between animal spirits and human shamans. As

Fu Yugang recorded in his writings.^①

“The heavenly goddess Abka Hehe sent a divine eagle to nurse a female infant, thereby transforming her into the world’s first great shaman. The eagle fed her with divine broth containing the life and wisdom of the Solar River, carried by the Kunjele sacred bird. The light of Ulden Hehe, the goddess of brightness, enlightened the shaman; the flesh of Banamu Hehe, the goddess of the earth, enriched her body; and the miraculous powers of Yeruri granted her mastery over sexual medicine. As a result, the great female shaman became a divine being of a hundred intellects and talents, pacifying the world and serving future generations.”

According to Manchu legends, Abka Hehe sent an eagle goddess to the human world to spread light and fire. The goddess died when her wings caught fire during the journey, and her spirit transformed into a female shaman.^② A similar belief is found among the Hezhe people, where a tale recounts that the first female shaman was transformed from the eagle god Kuri.^③ In Tungusic mythology, besides the eagle, other animals such as snakes, frogs, lizards, and hedgehogs are also believed to possess the potential to transform into shamans.

In Korean shamanic mythology, the most widely circulated narrative regarding the origin of the first female shaman is the tale of Princess Bari (바리공주). In Korea, nearly a hundred shamanic chants recount this story, with the name “Princess Bari” commonly used in the Seoul region, while other areas refer to her as “Bari Maiden.” The Korean word “바리” carries the connotation of abandonment. The tale describes a princess who was abandoned by her parents but undertook a perilous journey to find the sacred water needed to save her ailing parents. Upon resurrecting them, she declined any reward and instead chose to guide the souls of the dead, becoming a shaman. Thus, the Korean

① Fu Yugang. *Shamanism and Mythology*. Liaoning University Press, 1990, p. 242.

② Meng Huiying. *Shamanism of Northern Chinese Ethnic Groups*. Social Sciences Academic Press, 2000, p. 200.

③ Seyin. *Research on Chinese Shamanic Culture*. Minzu Press, 2011, p. 245.

people received their first shaman.^①

A comparative view of the shamanic origin myths of both Tungusic and Korean traditions reveals the consistent centrality of the female figure. This phenomenon is likely tied to the historical context in which shamanism initially emerged within matrilineal societies. In such social structures, women symbolized life and regeneration and fulfilled essential religious and social roles. As mediators of divine power, shamans were believed to possess extraordinary abilities that enabled them to assist humanity and perform rituals to dispel evil. This theme of aiding humanity through divine powers and combating malevolent forces forms a shared narrative feature in both Tungusic and Korean shamanic traditions, underscoring the role of the shaman as a supreme religious figure responsible for safeguarding the tribe and maintaining cosmic and social order.

2. Typological Structures of Shamanic Initiation

The mechanism through which shamans come into being has long been a fundamental issue in academic discussions. The “psychopathological” perspective was an early scholarly conclusion derived from the characteristics of shamanism. Russian scholars such as V. G. Bogoraz and Czaplicka argued that “shamanism was created by selecting individuals with the most unstable mental states, with pathological psychology as its prerequisite.”^② For instance, among the Oroqen, there are several paths to becoming a shaman: some are born as shamans—those whose fetal membrane remains intact at birth and must be cut open are destined to become shamans; some become shamans after recovering from a severe illness by vowing to perform shamanic rites; others suddenly suffer from convulsions or hysteria, speak incoherently, and behave wildly—such individuals may also be considered potential shamans.

In the 1940s, A. Ohlmarks analyzed shamanism from the perspective of religious psychology and gained many followers. He argued that shamanism is established

① Su Hang. *Hanminjok Munhwa wa Tongguseujok* [Culture of the Korean People and the Tungusic Tribes]. Seoul: Northeast Asian History Foundation, 2019, p. 246.

② Fu Yugang, *Shamanism and Mythology* (Liaoning University Press, 1990), p. 242.

precisely on the basis of shamanic illness. In the harsh environment and underdeveloped culture of the far north, people are prone to abnormal psychological reactions. “Especially among high-latitude northern peoples, symptoms such as intense excitement or trance states are particularly evident. As one moves southward to subarctic regions, such symptoms become weaker, and entering a trance state often requires the aid of narcotics. Thus, the initiation condition based on shamanic illness in northern cultures shifts to a training-based practice in southern ones.”^①

However, S. M. Shirokogoroff contended that “only a small portion of abnormal mental behavior among the Tungus peoples can be categorized as pathological, while most are sociocultural phenomena.”^② Among Tungus youths, psychological crises often manifest during adolescence as photophobia, weeping, singing, spasms, wandering, climbing trees and jumping, food refusal, and memory lapses—these behaviors are interpreted as signs of divine possession or being chosen by the spirits. Shirokogoroff believed such behaviors are not rooted in psychopathology but reflect cultural expectations, prompting individuals to enter trance states in search of self-healing. Those who succeed in doing so and receive divine revelations are often recognized as candidates for shamanic roles.

In addition, when a clan experiences a need for a shaman, certain members may be selected through an evaluation process. This includes trials and years of apprenticeship under an experienced shaman to acquire the skills necessary for communicating with spirits, healing the sick, and performing rituals. The candidate must also be recognized by the clan as morally upright and capable. Only upon fulfilling these individual and social prerequisites can one be formally acknowledged as a shaman.

Tungus shamans possess no political authority. Their primary responsibilities involve performing rituals such as hunting guidance, crisis rites, and escorting the dead. Should a shaman fail to produce desired outcomes, they risk being replaced.

① Seyin, *Research on Chinese Shamanic Culture* (Minzu Press, 2011), p. 245.

② S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Truhner, & CD. LTD, 1935, p.251.

Economically, shamans rely on family support, charging fees only when serving external clans. Thus, the Tungus shaman is a figure of self-sacrifice without personal gain. As a core religious tool for maintaining kinship and group cohesion, shamanism holds both functional and symbolic importance in Tungus society.

Shirokogoroff observed two patterns in shamanic succession. First, it is usually passed down within the clan—even if a female shaman marries out, her spirit returns to her natal clan upon death. Among the Oroqen, for example, each clan possesses its own clan spirit (seong), and the clan shaman (Mukkun shaman) can only pass the spirit on to descendants, regardless of gender. This phenomenon is widespread among the Tungusic-speaking peoples. Second, he noted a tendency toward skip-generation succession: since the role of a shaman is long-term, when an elder shaman becomes too old to serve, the next generation may also be aged, making them unsuitable. They are also often burdened with caring for the elderly shaman, limiting their ability to balance hunting and ritual duties.^①

In Mircea Eliade's study of Northeast Asia, he summarized three types of shamanic initiation: divine calling or election, hereditary succession, and clan recommendation. Regardless of the path, the acquisition of shamanic skills through training is essential.^②

In Korean shamanism, shamanic illness (musinbyeong, 무신병) is a common prerequisite. Sohn Jin-tae argued that undergoing a period of shamanic illness is an essential step in becoming a mudang (shaman). During this period, the individual enters a state of divine trance, establishing communication with spirits; without such illness, one cannot become a mudang.^③ Kim Tae-geun used the term “divine illness” and identified shamans who experience it as “spirit-descended intuitive shamans.” He argued that this experience is the moment the shaman receives spiritual power. Such shamans are common throughout Korea. In addition to them, hereditary ritual shamans—prevalent

① Sohn Jin-tae, *A Study on the Wu (Shaman) of the Chinese Nation*, *Journal of Korean National Culture Studies*, Seoul: Eulyu Munhwasa, 1948, p. 282.

② Kim Tae-geun, *A Study of Korean Shamanism*, Seoul: Jipmundang, 1985, p. 194.

③ Kim Tae-geun, *A Study of Korean Shamanism*, p. 196.

in Honam, Yeongnam, and Jeju regions—also exist, and Kim refers to them as “hereditary priest shamans.”^①

Despite regional differences in cultural context and symptoms, the essence of shamanic illness remains consistent. Based on earlier fieldwork by Japanese scholars Akiha Takashi and Murayama Chijun, Kim Tae-geun categorized Korean shamanic illness into five types: spontaneous onset, sudden mental disorder, physical illness-induced, dream-induced, and trauma-induced. Scholars commonly refer to those initiated by divine calling as “calling-type” shamans, a phenomenon widely found not only in Korea and among Tungusic peoples but across global shamanic traditions in varying forms but with similar essence.

In Korea, shamans who experience divine illness without formal training are known as “raw shamans” (saengmu, 생무). Thus, divine election alone does not confer legitimacy. Training in rituals, chants, music, dance, instruments, liturgical order, and prayers is universally required, and such training occurs through a master-disciple lineage.

There are three common types of initiation into Korean shamanhood: hereditary, spirit possession, and economic motivation. Hereditary shamans are linked by blood to their predecessors and are referred to as “Dangol” (단골). Although spirit-descended and economically-motivated shamans lack blood ties, they maintain lineage through spiritual experiences and divine dreams. This transmission creates faith-based networks centered on shamans, forming institutionalized religious communities known as “Dangol sects” (Dangolpa, 단골파). These groups are organized around charismatic leaders and exhibit structured features, often competing within the religious marketplace.

In contrast, among Tungusic peoples, such institutional structures are rare. The initiation of a Tungus shaman is centered on acquiring technical skills from an elder shaman, involving a transformation from unconscious possession to a conscious and controlled communication with spirits. Their relationships are egalitarian, resembling apprenticeship rather than strict hierarchy, and are deeply tied to the existence of stable

① Kim Tae-geun, *A Study of Korean Shamanism*, pp. 196–228.

clans. When clans disintegrate, shamanic succession is likely to be interrupted.

By contrast, Korean shamanic communities have evolved beyond clan structures into quasi-institutionalized religious forms. Nonetheless, whether among the Tungus or Koreans, the production of shamans—hereditary or not—relies on the guidance and training of experienced shamans. Through this structured transmission, a new generation of mediators with the divine is cultivated. Without such training, it is difficult for one to gain societal acceptance as a legitimate shaman.

3. Ethnic Distribution of the Age of Shamanic Illness Onset

Concerning the age at which shamans are “chosen by spirits” (manifested through shamanic illness), scholarly consensus generally identifies adolescence as the most frequent period for this phenomenon. According to Guo Shuyun’s research based on the myths of various ethnic groups, the Hezhe people believe shamanic calling typically occurs around the age of 13, the Xibe people identify it as around 18 (and not beyond 36), while the Oroqen tradition suggests ages between 15 and 16, and the Daur generally between 17 and 18. Research shows that among the Tungusic peoples, the age of being chosen as a shaman largely follows this pattern. In one study involving 22 shamans from the Evenki, Daur, Oroqen, Manchu, and Mongol ethnic groups, 70% experienced the onset of shamanic illness during adolescence, ranging from 8 to 30 years old.^①

The relationship between adolescence and religion is a key concern in the field of religious psychology. The role of primitive religion as a psychological regulator during critical life transitions (such as puberty) may offer a secular explanation for the mystical experience of spirit calling. In *The Psychology of Religion*, psychologist E.D. Starbuck argued that conversion is a normative phenomenon of adolescence, marking a transition from the closed world of childhood to a more rational and spiritual adult life.^② Psychologist E.H. Erikson also emphasized the particular importance of crises

^① Guo, Shuyun. *Shamanic Spirit-Possession Rituals and Adolescent Crisis*. Religious Studies Review, no. 4, 2006.

^② Lü, Daji. *History of Western Theories of Religious Studies*. Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 1994, p. 801.

during adolescence over those of other life stages. Guo further suggested that shamanic illness may be a manifestation of adolescent crisis, while shamanic initiation rituals serve as a religious mechanism to relieve and resolve such psychological tensions—thus highlighting the shamanic tradition’s role in spiritual healing and crisis mediation.^①

However, in this regard, Korean shamanism exhibits notable differences from Tungusic traditions. In his classification study of *shinbyeong* (神病, spirit illness), Kim Tae-geun analyzed 20 Korean shamans’ cases and found that the onset ages ranged from 7 to 55. Specifically:^②

- 2 cases under age 10
- 3 cases between 11–20
- 6 cases between 21–30
- 6 cases between 31–40
- 1 case between 41–50
- 2 cases between 51–60

This study reveals that adolescence is not the most common period for onset of shamanic illness in Korean contexts. On the contrary, the peak appears during adulthood to mid-life, particularly around age 30. Therefore, Erikson’s theory of adolescence crisis, while significant, requires further testing for cross-cultural applicability and universality.

The marked difference in the age of onset between Tungusic and Korean shamans may be attributed to differing socio-cultural contexts and motivations for becoming a shaman. In Tungusic societies, the role of the shaman is deeply embedded within clan-based economic systems. Shamanic activities are generally not motivated by personal gain. For example, among the Oroqen and Evenki peoples, shamans typically perform rituals like spirit-invoking ceremonies without receiving payment, and offerings are provided collectively by the clan. These shamans participate in daily productive labor just like other clan members, and thus the economic motive behind their religious role remains weak. Nevertheless, with the disintegration of clan structures, some Tungusic

① Ibid, p. 146.

② Kim, Tae-geun. *A Study on Korean Shamanic Customs*. Seoul: Chipmundang, pp. 197–220.

shamans have begun to secularize and professionalize, a trend closely tied to external economic pressures and societal transformations.

In contrast, Korean shamanism is more deeply influenced by socioeconomic structures. Historically, Korean *mudang* (female shamans) were viewed as belonging to low social strata. During the Joseon dynasty, they were even classified among the “eight ignoble occupations” (팔천, *palcheon*) alongside courtesans and slaves. Despite this, *mudang* have historically played an important economic role for families through their spiritual services. Even in contemporary times, many Korean shamans maintain a low public profile, conceal their identity, and often discourage their children from pursuing the same profession. However, economic necessity cannot be ignored—especially as *mudang* remain active in marginalized communities and continue to hold a role in traditional culture and religious practice.

Therefore, in Korea, the professionalization of shamanism becomes particularly evident in the 20–40 age range, when career and economic needs are most pressing. This reflects the shamanic profession’s increasing orientation toward livelihood and financial survival, and underscores the strong correlation between the age of initiation and socioeconomic demands. Such patterns illustrate the deep entanglement between Korean shamanism, career timing, and broader social conditions.

4. Types of Trance Experiences and the Shaman–Deity Relationship

In the study of shamanism, scholars have applied a variety of psychological labels to the religious experiences of shamans, such as *trance*, *possession*, *ecstasy*, *fugue state*, *vision*, *dream*, *hysteria*, *hallucination*, *cataplexy*, *epilepsy*, *hypnotic state*, and *somnambulism*. These terms attempt to capture the diverse states experienced by shamans during their communication with deities. Among these, trance is often regarded as a particularly mystical religious experience within shamanic rituals.^①

Hungarian scholar Mihály Hoppál classified trance into two major types: possession

① Meng Huiying, *Shamanism of Northern Chinese Ethnic Groups* (Social Sciences Academic Press, 2000), p. 231.

ecstasy, in which the deity descends and possesses the shaman, thereby enabling the shaman to display the power of the divine; and wandering ecstasy, in which the shaman's soul departs the body to journey into another world.

In Korean shamanism, possession ecstasy constitutes the typical form of spirit descent. Through the use of musical instruments, intense dancing, and other ritual techniques, the *mudang* (shaman) enters a heightened state of concentration. This process is usually accompanied by convulsions, struggling, and frenzied movement—manifestations of divine possession. During such rituals, the shaman often utters divine oracles and eventually falls into a state of trance or sleep. This is understood as one of the main channels through which deities communicate with the human world via the shaman.

In contrast, in Tungusic shamanism, trance typically manifests as soul-journeying, where the shaman's spirit leaves the body and travels to the celestial or underworld realms. This state is marked by a near-complete cessation of physiological activity and a deep level of unconsciousness. Notably, in Korean shamanism, such out-of-body experiences are rarely found; the shaman usually retains basic physiological functions.

Among the Manchu-Tungusic peoples, the common form of trance tends to be a combination of possession and soul-journeying. After being possessed by a deity, the shaman's spirit travels together with the god through the spiritual realms, experiencing complex religious rites and mystical visions. This dual-trance structure distinguishes Tungusic shamanism from its Korean counterpart and constitutes a significant contrast between the two traditions.

In the field of religious studies, shamanic trance is often classified as a form of religious experience and religious emotion, characterized by its highly irrational and individualistic nature. As a major topic in the psychology of religion, the trance state of shamans has long puzzled scholars. Researchers from various disciplines—anthropology, sociology, physiology, neuropathology, and phenomenology of consciousness—have proposed different interpretations. Yet, despite the diversity of perspectives, there is still no unified or standard theory explaining the trance mechanism in shamanism.

Nevertheless, one point remains clear: “*Although the trance may involve the individual’s physiological and psychological conditions, its essence is rooted in the traditional culture of the clan. It is an indispensable procedure in clan religious activity and plays an irreplaceable role. Through it, the entire clan is enveloped in divine light and protection, and both the shaman and the clan members are spiritually unified in ecstasy.*”^① According to Durkheim’s sociological framework, the object of religious worship is not the deity per se, but rather a reflection of collective self-identity. To affirm and reproduce social identity, shamanism enhances group cohesion through trance rituals. The shaman thus becomes not only the mouthpiece of the gods but also a symbolic embodiment of social order and collective values.

In Tungusic culture, the sanctity of the shaman is intrinsically linked to divine possession. Only through the descent of a god and the delivery of oracles via the shaman can one be recognized as possessing religious authority. Believers, with profound reverence, expect the shaman to wield supernatural powers in resolving existential and communal issues. If the shaman fails to undergo the trance of divine possession, their role and function are not acknowledged.

In traditions that lack trance practice, the relationship between the shaman and the deity undergoes transformation—from a unified divine-human identity in primitive religion to a more ritualized and one-directional mode of worship. In such cases, the shaman’s role shifts from that of divine medium to a “sorcerer” who relies on formal rituals to establish connection with the divine. This shift marks the loss of the core characteristics of shamanism.

The ritual formalization of shamanic practice reflects a historical evolution: the transformation of shamanism from a primitive and wild religious form into a more institutionalized religious culture. This change is not coincidental but deeply shaped by socio-cultural and historical contexts. For instance, the court rituals of Manchu shamans and Korea’s Gangneung Dano Festival have, through processes of institutionalization,

^① Guo Shuyun. *An Analysis of the Social Causes Behind the Shamanic “Coma Technique”*. Journal of Northeast Normal University (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition), no. 4, 2003.

acquired Confucian characteristics and absorbed the value systems of dominant cultures of their respective eras. As a result, these forms of shamanism gradually diverged from classical Tungusic practices, and their differences became more pronounced.

Thus, the transformation of shamanism not only mirrors changes in religious function but also reveals the profound impact of socio-cultural forces on religious rituals.

V. Localization and Secular Transformation of Shamanic Rituals

In traditional Tungusic shamanism, shamanic rituals are typically performed under three primary circumstances: first, for healing the sick; second, as an initiation rite for new shamans; and third, as a communal ceremony to pray for the prosperity of the clan and livestock. These rituals follow a standardized sequence comprising stages such as inviting the gods, welcoming the gods, possession by the spirits, spirit dance, and sending off the gods.

During the ritual, the shaman prepares sacred trees or poles and offerings, dons ritual attire, and performs rhythmic and reverent dances accompanied by spirit songs, drums, bells, and other instruments to invite the descent of natural deities and ancestral spirits. Through spirit possession, the shaman interacts with the participants under divine influence. After the ritual concludes, the shaman and participants jointly bow to and send off the spirits. While the general sequence is fixed, individual shamans often incorporate personal creative elements into the performance. Each segment embodies symbolic meanings preserved from ancient times.

The most visually arresting aspect of these rituals is the spirit dance, in which the shaman imitates animals or deities to communicate with the divine. For example, Evenk shamans mimic bird movements to signal spiritual possession, while Manchu shamans in wild rituals emulate the behaviors of bears, eagles, or tigresses to exhibit power. Some shamans adopt heroic personas, perform martial gestures with staffs or swords, lead other shamans in fire-jumping acts, or execute aesthetic dances when embodying peaceful deities like the Snow Spirit.^①

① Meng Huiying. Characteristics of the Shamanism among Tungusic-speaking Peoples in China. Manchu

Another particularly mysterious ritual is the trance journey, especially the descent into the underworld (*guoyin*) ritual. During this rite, the shaman's soul is believed to leave the body and travel to the realm of the dead, while the body enters a death-like trance, remaining physiologically inert for days. This process is extremely dangerous for the shaman, whose body cannot eat, move, or eliminate waste during this time. The return is signaled by the sound of ritual bells and mirrors on the costume, after which the shaman awakens and recounts the soul's journey.

As one Oroqen elder described:

“When the shaman enters the underworld, they must cross a river ferried by a lame old man. They encounter several checkpoints guarded by horses, dogs... To pass these, the shaman brings a dog beside them, holding a leash, and two birds to act as negotiators. The shaman can only return once the drum awakens them, and they declare ‘I am back’—only then is it safe.”^①

One of the shaman's core duties is healing, which underscores their central role within the clan. In early tribal societies, illness was often perceived as the loss of the soul. The shaman, through trance and spirit journeying, retrieves the lost soul and restores health—this function reveals the deep-rooted spiritual cosmology of these communities. Healing is thus not merely physiological but reflects a cultural understanding of illness, death, and vitality.

In comparison, Korean shamanic rituals—especially *gut* (굿)—have undergone significant localization and secular transformation. The majority of Korean *mudang* (female shamans) conduct rituals not in wild forests or clan gathering grounds, but in specially designated urban or rural spaces such as *dangjip* (shrines), private residences, community centers, or even rented commercial buildings.

The standard format of a Korean *gut* is highly theatrical and performative. It includes elaborate staging, costumes, props, and audience interaction. While traditional

Studies, no. 1, 2001.

① Meng Huiying. *Shamanism among the Northern Ethnic Groups of China*. Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, 2000, p. 233.

gut consists of multiple ritual segments (*gori*, 고리), involving invocation of gods, possession sequences, dances, offerings, and storytelling, modern performances often adapt these elements into stylized acts for public consumption. The use of musical instruments such as the *jangu* (hourglass drum), *buk* (barrel drum), *piri* (bamboo oboe), and *kkwaengwari* (small gong) heightens the rhythmic and emotional effect of the performance.

A defining feature of Korean shamanism is the dramatic embodiment of diverse deities (*sin*) by the *mudang*, who shifts roles through rapid costume changes and vocal stylizations. This multi-deity impersonation transforms the ritual into a form of narrative theater, allowing the audience—often clients or curious observers—to emotionally engage with the storylines of ancestral gods, generals, child spirits, and mountain deities.

In the case of *naerim-gut* (내림굿), the initiation ritual for a new *mudang*, the process is seen not only as a spiritual induction but also as a form of public spectacle. During the ritual, the novice shaman undergoes intense trance states, symbolizing their acceptance by the spirit world. However, the ritual also serves to publicly affirm the legitimacy of their new identity as a practitioner. In modern contexts, *naerim-gut* has increasingly become a private affair conducted indoors, reflecting the tension between tradition and contemporary society's skepticism or stigma toward shamanism.

Furthermore, Korea's accelerated urbanization and modernization have altered the function and structure of shamanic practices. Shamanism has shifted from a clan-based religious system to a service-oriented profession tailored to urban clients' needs. Rituals now address concerns such as business success, academic achievement, romantic relationships, and health issues. This reflects a pragmatic shift: rather than mediating with ancestral spirits on behalf of an entire community, *mudang* now function as personal consultants or spiritual therapists.

Despite its marginalization in official discourse and legal ambiguity in South Korea, shamanism continues to maintain a visible presence through mass media, television documentaries, and even popular entertainment. At the same time, some *mudang* attempt to reframe their roles through associations, online presence, or by emphasizing cultural

heritage and artistic elements. This ongoing negotiation between tradition, performance, economy, and social perception illustrates the complex secularization trajectory of Korean shamanic rituals.^①

Conclusion

Through a comparative study of the origins and transmission mechanisms of shamanism among the Tungusic-speaking peoples and the Korean nation, this paper reveals the broad applicability of the “psychopathological” perspective in shamanic studies. It further highlights the divergence in the age of spirit possession (i.e., the onset of shamanic illness), particularly in relation to adolescence and religion, where Tungusic and Korean shamanism exhibit distinct characteristics. As a form of spiritual regulation, primitive religion plays a significant role in critical stages of life, especially during adolescence—a dimension central to the comparison of Tungusic and Korean shamanism.

However, the socio-cultural motivations for entering into shamanic practice clearly constitute the fundamental reason for these differences. Religious activity among Tungusic shamans is not primarily driven by economic interests, whereas Korean shamanism commonly takes the form of a professional vocation and means of livelihood. This reflects the impact of differing socio-economic models on the development of shamanism. A further comparison of ritual functions shows that both traditions predominantly serve the needs of their respective ethnic communities, yet the distinct modes of practicing trance-induced techniques serve as a clear point of differentiation.

In Tungusic societies, shamans detach from their physical selves through trance techniques in order to retrieve lost souls—a classic hallmark of the shamanic vocation, where spirit possession is a prerequisite for shamanic identity. By contrast, the rituals of Korean hereditary shamans, which lack actual spirit possession, signify a rupture in the relationship between deity and practitioner. Instead of direct communication or union

^① Pierre Bourdieu, “Genesis and Structure of the Religious Field.” *Comparative Social Research*, vol.13, 1991, pp.1-44.

with the spirits, the Korean shaman engages in ritualized, unidirectional contact. Strictly speaking, this ritualized form of magical practice in Korean hereditary shamanism diverges from the core characteristics of classical shamanism in religious form.

From a historical and cultural standpoint, the vast geographical expanse and rich natural resources of Northeast Asia have shaped the diverse economic and cultural systems of different ethnic groups, thereby influencing the religious traits of their respective forms of shamanism. Long-standing interactions among Tungusic peoples, Koreans, and neighboring Han Chinese have resulted in the mutual exchange and fusion of religious ideas, ideologies, and customs, ultimately forming a cross-cultural religious ecosystem. In this process, the boundaries of shamanism have long ceased to be clear-cut; rather, they resemble the effects of shading in a painting. The mutual influence and absorption among cultures have caused these shamanic traditions to intertwine and impact one another, resulting in a complex and pluralistic religious landscape.

Author Biography

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邊疆儒學初探——簡析建水理學家傅為訥的思想

劉振（寧波財經學院）

摘要：邊疆儒學是儒家思想研究的重要方面，但迄今尚缺少足夠的關注。筆者以雲南建水名儒傅為訥留下的著作手稿為基礎，從遵奉程朱理學、特重薛瑄學說、嚴於程朱陸王之辯、以王佐自期四個方面探討傅為訥的儒學思想，揭示儒學在雲南的傳播和發展。

關鍵字：宋明理學 薛瑄 傅為訥

建水為滇南重鎮，地處邊陲，卻又是文獻名邦。自從元初建水設立孔廟府學開始，理學逐步在此傳播。某種意義上，作為中國傳統社會主流文化的儒學，其流布的範圍所及，常常也檢驗著其進一步發展的潛力。這樣，地處邊疆的建水，就成了這樣一個檢驗理學生命力的一個標杆。在這裏，空間就是時間，地理的邊界就是思想的邊界。這裏我們選取在建水歷史上留下重要印跡的傅為訥（1700—1770年）作為樣本，討論其理學思想的特點。傅為訥主要活動與雍正、乾隆時期，是程朱理學在建水的傳播者，我們通過其對理學的接受和運用，展示理學所能顯現的最後形態。

傅為訥的作品多藏於家，所以多數以手稿的形式存在。這裏我們主要從傅為訥留下的兩部手稿《初學文類》和《斯文易簡錄》對其思想進行梳理概括。《初學文類》彙集了傅為訥自己的文章，多為其閒居建水時所作的應酬文章及遊記、書信一類。^①《斯文易簡錄》編訂於1756年作者閒居建水之時，選定宋代理學五子的文章42篇文章，並附錄五子之外，自董仲舒以至於清代理學家的文章55篇，並隨文作出自己的評論。“手錄是編，以便朝夕誦讀，用為攝伏身心之助，而詞章之文不與焉。”^②這兩部手稿，能夠充分顯示傅為訥的思想特點：其一、尊奉程朱理學；其二、特重薛瑄的學說；其三、嚴於程朱陸王的分別；其四、以王佐自期。

① 傅為訥：《初學文類》，雲南省圖書館館藏手稿。手稿無頁碼，以下引用皆以手稿頁次。

② 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，雲南省圖書館館藏手稿，4頁。

1. 尊奉程朱理學

傅為訥在對理學的接受上，謹守程朱理學的規範，甚至在其書齋中“案奉紫陽遺像，懷若嚴師。”^①他認為“學者入門，不以五子為標準，必流為異學。”^②所謂五子，就是周敦頤、張載、程顥、程頤和朱熹。其中又特別強調二程和朱熹的學說，而對周敦頤、張載還有與二者同時的邵雍，則以為在於“博學之功”。在評論薛瑄的《傳道說》時，他特別講到朱子以二程接孟子，而不與周、張、邵，但又取三子之學。這是因為以為二程以四書為根本，可為後學效法，三子之學，各有所詳，非後學“造次所能窺測”。進修之序，當謹守二程，博學之功，則要兼收三子。^③而至於五子之後，則有宋代的真德秀、元代的許衡、明代的薛瑄等人，這是程朱理學的正脈。^④

而在對理學的認識上，傅為訥主要從“主靜”、“居敬”兩方面進行討論。傅為訥曾與興聖寺僧人可重交往，並且為可重的禪室題寫了“主靜”二字，又說“所謂主靜者，非四大皆空之謂也。”^⑤他極為重視的一句話便是周敦頤《太極圖說》中的“聖人定之以仁義中正而主靜，立人極焉”，認為這句話是“太極點睛”。^⑥“其綱領在無極而太極一語，其功夫在定之以仁義中正而主靜立極一語。”^⑦在評價程顥《定性書》是，傅為訥也認為“所謂定性者，即太極圖定之以仁義中正而主靜立極也。其曰動亦定，靜亦定，無將迎，無內外，即夫子之無意無必無固無我也。其曰內外兩忘，非身如槁木，心如死灰之謂，即中庸喜怒哀樂未發之中，發而中節之和。故朱子以仁立義行四字解之，去私智以求定，是下手工夫。”^⑧主靜，既非空虛寂滅，也非心如死灰，而是在於“中和”二字，得此二字，才能是中正仁義。而去除四勿所針對的私智，莫過於讀經、靜坐，這也是程

① 傅為訥：《初學文類》，52頁。

② 傅為訥：《初學文類》，116頁。

③ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，143-144頁。

④ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，144頁。

⑤ 傅為訥：《初學文類》，42頁。

⑥ 傅為訥：《初學文類》，41頁。

⑦ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，22頁。

⑧ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，47頁。

朱一脈最為講究的。在《答陳紹洙書》中，傅為訥講自己“別後屏應酬、據槁梧究經，暇即靜坐，欲剷除一切雜念，以歸於一，而思仍龐雜。伊川雲：此是不誠之本。橫渠雲：習俗之心未去而實心未完。”^①傅為訥認為“實理不見得，則生死利害關頭，自然打不破，安有壁立千仞之概。欲見實理，必須聞道。為學而不聞道，謂之不學可也。”^②所謂生死利害關頭，就是私智最為明顯的地方，不是切實的體會天理，是不可能去除的。

在程朱理學看來，主靜、居敬是一致的，居敬就是心的恭存，在評論朱子《觀心說》時傅為訥指出，“總是欲學者實地用工，不入於虛無寂滅，而以窮理盡性為希聖之本。思曰睿，睿作聖，九思三畏，心無時不恭存，何用觀焉。噫！”^③這種心的恭存，是學者的下手功夫，而且又和窮理緊密聯繫。朱子在《上寧宗疏》中曾說，“為學之道，莫先於窮理。窮理之要，莫在於讀書；讀書之法，莫過於循序而致精。而致精之本，則又在於居敬而持志，此不易之理也。”^④傅為訥認為“自一身推之家國天下，無非此理。中庸雲：盡己性、盡人性、盡物性、替化育、參天地，皆是從身上做起。子曰：修己敬。孟曰：萬物皆備於我。故窮理者，窮一身之理也。張子知得此意，乃有西銘一篇文字。”^⑤一身以至於天下，居敬而至於萬物，所以“持敬乃下手功夫。”^⑥下手功夫，與上面所說去私智以求定，是同樣的意思。主靜常常從靜坐這樣的方式入手，居敬窮理也是從“身”開始的。明代理學家中，傅為訥還特別推崇胡居仁，“敬齋先生以敬字做成大儒，蓋緣見得真，守得定，身有之故言之親切有味。”^⑦在傅為訥看來，胡居仁可以說是居敬窮理的最好例證。

2. 特重薛瑄學說

傅為訥在評論諸子的文章時，每每引用明代薛瑄的語錄。比如“薛文清曰：

① 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，222頁。

② 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，102頁。

③ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，199頁。

④ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，120-121頁。

⑤ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，194-195頁。

⑥ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，99頁。

⑦ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，148頁。

讀西銘，著不得一毫私意。又曰：西銘立心，可以語王道。又曰讀西銘，不敢慢一人，輕一物。”^①又“疏奏而輔以儒術，告君而敘其已試……文清公謂朱子章疏，有本有末，有綱有目，當時不能行其一二，可勝浩歎。”^②傅為訥認為“延及明代，諸儒輩出，醇正無疵者，首推文清。”^③文清就是薛瑄。“文清者，薛子也。薛子者，續朱子之傳者也。”^④“故繼魯齋以上，續朱子聞知之傳者，必歸之文清公無疑也。”^⑤黃宗羲在《明儒學案》中曾這樣評價薛瑄，“河東之學，悃悃無華。恪守宋人矩矱。故數傳之後，其議論設施，不問而可知其出於河東也。若陽明門下親炙弟子，已往往背其師說，亦以其言之過高也。然河東有未見性之譏。所謂此心始覺性天通者，為非欺人語，可見無事乎張惶耳。”^⑥無論在理學還是進退之際，黃宗羲對薛瑄的評價並不算高。這一方面與黃宗羲的心學立場有關，從心學的角度看，薛瑄是未見性的，特別是其日光載鳥之說，黃宗羲做了深入的批判；另一方面則與黃宗羲“冷風熱血”的氣質有關，難免求全責備，由於薛瑄曾受宦官王振的舉薦，即便不與其為伍，甚至忤逆淫威，也還是被認為“盡美不能盡善”。^⑦傅為訥對黃宗羲這樣的評價自然是不同意的，在《斯文易簡錄》中，他專門錄了魏裔介的《薛子論》，為薛瑄辯護。魏裔介認為“士君子之學術固以深明大本為主，而出處進退辭受取與之際，尤為立身之大防。”^⑧而薛瑄本人在進退之際，更是“光明潔白，皜然不滓”。傅為訥也評論道：“文清克治省察之功深，而從容涵養之味洽，柏鄉公謂其上續朱子聞知之傳，洵非阿其所好。

傅為訥對理學的理解，與薛瑄淵源頗深，在主靜和居敬上尤其如此。如薛瑄《讀書錄》“主靜以立其本，慎動以審其幾。”又“心常主靜，物來應之。”^⑨又

① 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，117頁。

② 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，124頁。

③ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，223頁。

④ 傅為訥：《初學文類》，9頁。

⑤ 傅為訥：《初學文類》，170頁。

⑥ 黃宗羲：《明儒學案》，上海：世界書局，1936年版，43頁。

⑦ 黃宗羲：《明儒學案》，45頁。

⑧ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，169頁。

⑨ 黃宗羲：《明儒學案》，46頁。

“學問實自靜中有得，不靜則心理雜亂，何由有得。”^①這些都是主靜一路，既然強調主靜，也就強調動靜。又“須是盡去舊習，從新做起。張子曰：濯去舊見，以來新意。”傅為訥也曾在文中引用。又“才收斂身心，便是居敬；才尋思義理，便是窮理。二者交資而不可缺一也。”^②這是認為居敬窮理實為一事。“人不持敬，則心無頓放處。”^③

3. 嚴於程朱陸王之辯

傅為訥與薛瑄一樣，都是謹守程朱矩矱的，因而門戶之見頗為濃重，對陸王心學的攻擊也非常激烈。這可以從其對陸象山、陳白沙、王陽明的批評看出。在比較朱熹和陸象山時，傅為訥認為，“譬之行軍，朱子堂堂之陣，正正之旗，陸子則偏師直入者也。故論者曰：陸以奇，朱以平。平者中庸之道，孔門傳授心法、高者可俯而就，卑者可企而及。奇則極其流弊，恐究竟不免墮入漭蕩中。”^④前文傅為訥對二程和周、張、邵三子的分別中，也是以二程以四書為路徑，較三子更為平正，三子之學已經是起點很高了。而陸象山的心學，更是起點過高，後學往往難以承受而墮入異端。

傅為訥甚至以異端稱呼陸王，“知行並進，乃孔門教法，陸王舍致知工夫，專以力行為主，異乎孔門之立法，非異端而何？”^⑤如此，則陸王之害，似乎尤甚於佛老。由於朱熹對陸象山曾經有過不少稱讚，後代理學家對陸象山的批評還是較為節制的。比如被傅為訥高許為“朱子後五百年之一人也”的李光地，^⑥就從三個方面比較了陸象山與程朱理學的異同。“經莫大於易，易莫大於先天。先天之學，不傳久矣。自堯夫發之，而陸氏以為非作易之意。無極之妙，主靜之宗，自濂溪啟之，而陸氏以為是老子之旨。性之所以善，心之所以仁，主敬之要，知行之方，自程氏兄弟明之，而陸氏以為與孔孟之言不相似。”^⑦但陸象山畢竟仍是一

① 黃宗羲：《明儒學案》，48頁。

② 黃宗羲：《明儒學案》，47頁。

③ 黃宗羲：《明儒學案》，47頁。

④ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，223頁。

⑤ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，104頁。

⑥ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，176-177頁。

⑦ 唐鑑：《清學案小識》，上海：世界書局，1936年版，115頁。

代儒宗，有不可輕視的成就。“夫陸氏之論躬行，必先於明理；其言窮理，必深思力索，以造於昭然而不可昧，確然而不可移，此固與朱子知行之學同歸。而其心悟身安，言論親切，雖朱子亦為之感動震矜，而為之左次。然則朱陸之道，豈如一南一北之背而馳哉！”^①

李光地對於陸象山是有所敬重的，不過對心學的另一大宗師王陽明，理學家的批評就無所顧忌了。在評論陸隴其《學術辨上》時，傅為訥認為“程朱與陸王，所謂背道分馳者，而王又甚於陸。他不具論，即如王之良知頓悟，分明是禪。律以夫子之下學上達，與孟子之良知良能，遺卻下學良能一邊，誠如稼書先生‘其源先病’者是也。後人見其功業，並尊其學術，豈不謬哉！”^②他認為陽明為名臣，不得謂名儒。^③又如心學理學關於《大學》古本的爭論，傅為訥當然是維護朱子的，“朱子采輯補缺以成全書，實費一片婆心，後人必欲用古本大學，以疵朱子，所謂蚍蜉撼大樹，可笑不自量矣。”^④這是對心學特別是王陽明說的。在評價另一位心學宗師陳白沙時，還將其與胡居仁做了比較。“敬齋與白沙同門分途，白之後與正道日遠，敬齋老守程朱繩墨，砥柱中流，實為後學梯航。”^⑤傅為訥的《斯文易簡錄》，對於五子之外的文章選擇非常嚴格，自然不會有心學一系的作品雜入，而對於一些學者雜列心學、理學的做法，則做了毫不猶豫的批評。比如對於孫徵的《理學宗傳》，認為其加宋代邵子、陸子，明代則文清外加王文成、羅文恭、顧端文，以其“必欲混而一之，甚覺無謂。”^⑥

4. 以王佐自期

傅為訥是以王佐自期的，因而在其所選諸子文章中，頗多與政事有關。蔡新在《傅岩溪公墓表》中說“辛巳再起……人咸以晚遇為公榮，謂公將大用，得行其志，惜乎公竟迫暮，而遽嬰疾以終也……”^⑦乾隆辛巳為1761年，傅為訥在生命

① 唐鑑：《清學案小識》，114頁。

② 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，182頁。

③ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，192頁。

④ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，141頁。

⑤ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，148頁。

⑥ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，224頁。

⑦ 方樹梅纂輯：《滇南碑傳集》，昆明：雲南民族出版社，2003年版，329頁。

的最後十年回到官場，老病之軀，未能有所施展。然而無論閒居還是為官，他都不斷探究著王佐之道。在其名篇《修燕子洞引》中，開篇就說謂燕子洞雖有絕佳景致卻不為人知，“千古韜光斂跡於深林巨壑”，^①其實這一句頗有自況之意，傅為訥離朝多年，不得其用，卻在山水詩賦之間寄託志向。他提議在燕子洞洞口修蘭若，並於各處設棧道、桃花，以方蜀道、桃源，“隨意點綴，便成古今絕勝，堪與九州名勝爭烈矣。”^②這一段，也頗能見出傅為訥的自負，九州名勝，大約可指那些居朝為官的當世名臣，而傅為訥只須隨意點綴，便足以與之比肩了。傅為訥歸裏其間，讀書靜坐之餘，日登煥山東望，其意自然還是在於朝廷。^③在《靈酒說》中則自言其得到升遷，足見仕意之篤。^④

在傅為訥的評語中，我們很容易發現王佐、本領這樣的用語，其評程顥《王霸疏》，“分別王霸，在審其初念，而先立正志，素講其居，而次第設施，要緊一著，在揀擇王佐之才，而同心同德，然後天道可成也。使以小人廁其間，而惑於更張之論，王道亦不可成。明道先生有此一副本領，故言之鑿鑿如此。”^⑤又如他評價程顥《請修學校尊師儒取士劄子》，“凡敷陳治道，要坐言可以起行，又要根定學術經術，乃見王佐本領。彼腐儒論說，迂闊不切事情，安知酌時務，斟古今以立言。言雖可聽，難以具諸行事，垂諸永久。或切於事情而踈於學術經術，未免墮落俗態一邊，管晏之屬是也。”^⑥一邊是不切實際的腐儒，一邊則是不講經術的管仲、晏嬰一類，要麼沒有本領，要麼不合王道，都不可取。傅為訥頗為程顥鳴不平，認為神宗用安石而不用明道，為宋代一大恨事，而王安石就是所謂的管晏之屬。^⑦

傅為訥對董仲舒有很高的評價，認為“漢儒推董葛”，^⑧“唐諸儒鮮其比

① 傅為訥：《初學文類》，47頁。

② 傅為訥：《初學文類》，48頁。

③ 傅為訥：《初學文類》，102頁。

④ 傅為訥：《初學文類》，163頁。

⑤ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，26頁。

⑥ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，27頁。

⑦ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，34頁。

⑧ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，19頁。

者，信矣。”^①在評論董仲舒《對賢良策第一》時，傅為訥也說“仁義禮樂，治之具也，不更化則治無由成。大儒見地，王佐本領，政謂管晏之屬，殆不及也。諒哉！”^②又如評董仲舒“春秋謂一元之意，一者萬物之所從始也，元者辭之所謂大也。謂一為元者，視大始而欲正本也”一段時，其評曰“說出王道本領，乃百王之大法，管晏對之無色，陸宣公論事雖精密，而本領不及董子。”^③傅為訥認為董仲舒“罷黜百家，表彰六經，推尊孔子，定一學術，如太陽經天，陰翳盡息，功不在孟子之下。”^④在評價諸葛亮時，傅為訥認為，“孔明，一代之伊周也。”^⑤甚者認為諸葛亮所說的“靜以修身”，“即周子定之以仁義中正而主靜意”，^⑥“儒者風規，王佐謀猷，宜襲取哉。”^⑦而儒者與王佐的結合，可以說正是傅為訥最為理想的人生追求。可惜他再起之後，不得其年。

結語

以上我們從四個方面梳理了傅為訥的理學思想。就理學的層面而言，傅為訥並沒有獨特的建樹，但從其在邊疆地區對理學的接受和運用而言，則恰恰成為了理學最後形態的一個標記，理學發展到此時，已經沒有更多的生命力了。

附識：本文是筆者任職雲南社科院哲學所時所寫，至今已有十年。當時我初次接觸儒學在雲南發展的情況，認為邊疆儒學是一個非常值得探討的方向，故而著手收集材料。我在雲南省圖書館看到了傅為訥留下的手稿電子版，做了閱讀筆記，草成小文。後因工作調動，這方面的研究也就終止了。但我始終認為，關於邊疆儒學，仍有大量可以發掘的文獻。收藏在圖書館中的大量前賢手稿，當能得遇知音。期待未來有心的學者能在這方面多所留意，為我們呈現更廣闊的儒學場景。

① 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，27頁。

② 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，10-11頁。

③ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，15頁。

④ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，38頁。

⑤ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，49頁。

⑥ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，54頁。

⑦ 傅為訥：《斯文易簡錄》，545頁。

佛學研究專題



萬像繁興——試論永明延壽禪淨融合思想的建構

昌順（浙東佛教文化研究院）

一、選題緣起與文獻綜述

（一）選題緣起

永明延壽大師（904—976）俗家姓王，字冲元（一作冲玄），非常有影響力的佛教思想家。前面“永明”兩字取自其傳法的主要道場永明寺（今杭州淨慈寺），後面“延壽”為其法號，“智覺禪師”為其諡號。他師承天臺山德韶禪師（891—972年），是法眼宗創始人清涼文益（885—958年）的再傳弟子。大師的佛教思想主張禪教兼重，性相融通的思想。他的主要著作有《宗鏡錄》《萬善同歸集》《唯心決》等。

延壽大師是北宋五代吳越國的一位主張融通佛教諸宗派思想的一代大師，他的著作中充滿着融合各宗派佛學的色彩，其融合的理論基礎則是“心宗旨要”，即真心一元論。他天資聰穎，曾習儒學，十六歲時即作《齊天賦》等獻策於吳越國錢文穆王，而得嘉許。他少時即喜誦讀佛經，據說六十日即能背誦整部《法華經》。

延壽大師一生身兼二祖——禪宗法眼宗三祖和淨土宗六祖，足見其在中國佛教史上的地位，而兩宗祖師的地位又表明了他對於中國佛教的重要性。他行持精嚴，著述不勝枚舉，他宣導和踐行的一心為宗，禪教淨律密諸宗融合兼行，萬善同歸，莊嚴淨土的佛學思想和修行路徑，奠定了宋及宋以後中國佛教發展主流的基礎，對中國佛教和中國文化的發展產生了巨大而深遠的影響。延壽大師一生著述恢宏，詩、偈、賦、詠皆有。思想深邃，文采飛揚。虛雲大師稱他是“中國諸祖中三位最多著述者之一。”

中國佛教的淨土思想，就其大勢而言，大約有三變。第一，從廬山慧遠到唐代淨土宗，此期的淨土思想，大抵以淨土為一客觀存在，客觀的空間，而為修佛者往生之所在。第二，自李通玄創“唯心淨土”之說，後經永明延壽的系統闡

述，淨土遂從客觀變為主觀，唯心淨土、自性彌陀，禪宗將淨土建立在修行者的自性上，公共性的淨土由此轉化為個體化的淨土。第三，近代以來，隨着人生佛教、人間佛教思想的建立，淨土逐漸人間化，從外在的、客觀的或個體的、主觀的淨土，變為人間淨土，注重對社會事業的關注。此期為時尚短，相關理論猶待更深入地建設。就對中國淨土思想的影響而言，永明延壽的淨土思想可以說的最大的。其淨土思想的成就及其中包含的問題，決定了此後近千年中國淨土思想的走向，因此值得加以系統地討論。

在永明延壽的淨土思想中，《華嚴經》所起的作用是無可替代的。這不僅是因為“唯心淨土”出自華嚴宗李通玄的《新華嚴經論》，而更在於《華嚴經》本身。唐代實叉難陀翻譯的八十華嚴，為《華嚴經》最完備的譯本，也是唐代以下修行者閱讀的主要版本。在唐代，華嚴五祖的圭峰宗密，曾從《華嚴經》中闡發其禪學思想，成為華嚴、禪宗融合的典範。而在永明延壽這裏，則充分發掘了《華嚴經》中的“淨土”思想。通過對《華嚴經》的闡釋，永明延壽把禪宗與淨土思想做了巧妙的融合。因而，在某種程度上，永明延壽的華嚴觀，決定了其禪淨思想的根本走向，這一點，值得我們做更加系統的研究。

此項研究的目的與意義如下：

研究目的：永明延壽大師居永明寺時，除了修行、弘法之外，同時也注重於將自己的修行體驗與對佛學的研究心得，整理成文字。數量達一百卷之巨的《宗鏡錄》即是在此時定稿刊行的。其他的著作如《萬善同歸集》六卷、《神棲安養賦》《唯心決》《受菩薩戒》《定慧相資歌》《警世》各一卷等書，也是相續在永明寺寫成而傳於世的。永明延壽大師的著作頗多。從這些著作中抽繹出淨土學的體系進行論述，不僅可以更清晰把握永明延壽的思想脈絡，也可以全面理解隋唐之後淨土的演變和發展。

研究意義：

1. 理論意義：一直以來，對永明延壽大師的討論停留在依文釋義的闡釋階段，缺乏深度和理論支撐。本研究從永明延壽大師的淨土思想出發，具有一定的理論價值。

2. 實踐意義：本研究對僧眾日常實踐有較強的參考價值。為我們反思當前佛教發展、佛教與社會的互動都具有借鑒意義。

（二）文獻綜述

有關此問題，學界業已積累了豐富的研究成果。總體上看，研究主要集中在永明延壽大師的禪教一致思想、華嚴學、戒律學或者唯識方面的問題的討論上，但也有諸多不足。

首先在文獻整理方面，劉澤亮點校的《永明延壽禪師全書》（宗教文化出版社，2008）彙集了永明延壽的全部著作並進行了點校，為研究者提供了完備方便的研讀文本。富世平教授的《〈宗鏡錄〉校注》（中華書局，2025）對《宗鏡錄》做了詳細、全面而又深入的整理。主要工作有：一、標點。在前人整理的基礎上，通過文本細讀，對標點有較大推進，品質有明顯提升；二、校勘。以《高麗藏》本為底本，在通校《磧砂藏》《嘉興藏》本，參校《永樂北藏》和《清藏》本的基礎上，還充分吸收了《大正藏》本、《中華大藏經》本的校勘成果。除版本校外，對所引經、論、疏等根據《大正藏》進行對校，根據《心賦注》《萬善同歸集》等延壽其他著作對相應文字做了訂補。此外，還根據早期的節略本如《冥樞會要》對相應之處作了校正。三、注釋。“校注”不僅對重要佛教術語做瞭解釋，還對較難理解的文意做了疏通，對文本中的疑難問題做了考釋。《宗鏡錄校注》全書共10冊，“校”與“注”緊密結合，是對《宗鏡錄》研究性的深度整理，具有較高的學術價值。

在學術研究方面，學界已從各個方面闡發永明延壽的思想體系及其特點。

1. 永明延壽禪教一致思想方面的研究

方立天先生在《永明延壽與禪教一致思潮》一文中，從永明延壽時代佛教面臨的發展環境立論，指出永明延壽麵對歷史大勢，對佛教理論進行的改造。方立天先生指出，“在五代、宋初，佛教內部的問題主要有三個：一是禪宗修持的驗證問題，二是義理宗派間的理論差異問題，三是禪宗與其他宗派的關係問題。這是三個互相聯繫的問題，其中最重要、同時牽涉其他兩個問題的是禪宗與其他宗派的關係問題。”在此局面下，永明延壽構建了禪教一致的理論體系，為佛教的發展做出了巨大的貢獻。方立天先生的研究高屋建瓴，讓我們從宏觀的層面對永明延壽的思想有了較為清晰的把握。

許抗生的《延壽〈萬善同歸集〉諸宗融通思想》，介紹了延壽為禪宗法眼宗創始人文益的再傳弟子。他的佛教思想主張禪教兼重，性相融通的思想。他的主

要著作有《宗鏡錄》《萬善同歸集》《唯心快》等。延壽是北宋的一位主張融通佛教諸宗派思想的一代大師，他的著作中充滿看融合各宗派佛學的色彩，其融合的理論基礎則是“心宗旨要”，即真心一元論。他的巨著《宗鏡錄》就是找照這一融通的原則，廣為搜集了大乘經論、祖師語錄而編基起來的。正如他在《宗鏡錄序》中就說：“今詳祖佛大意，經論正宗，削去繁文，唯搜要旨，假申向答，廣引證明，舉一心為宗，照萬法如鏡，編聯古制之深義，撮略寶藏之園詮，同比顯揚，稱之曰錄。”可見，《宗鏡錄》就是一部趣和諸宗派，歸宗一心之產物。而《萬善同歸集》則集中地從理論與闡說了這一融合思想，即萬善同歸一心的思想。現就《萬善同歸集》的一些基本思想作一探討。

張煜博士在《教內的融合：永明延壽佛學思想研究》中提到五代末永明延壽禪師其佛學思想重視佛教內部諸派的融合《宗鏡錄》集中賢首、慈恩、天臺三家精義而以“一心”統攝以此來貫通整個佛學體系；並重視從止觀出發達到無心。《萬善同歸集》又提倡理、行並重大、小雙弘對後世禪教合一影響甚巨。他致力於彌合當時理論界與現實生活的各種矛盾與分歧實為唐宋佛學思想轉折時期一承上啟下、集大成之關鍵人物。

任薈嬋在研究生論文《永明延壽禪淨雙修的思想》中提到延壽法師一生致力於禪教合一的圓融思想的宣傳和踐行。而在其中又對禪淨雙修思想的闡述十分詳盡，此文便圍繞這一思想開展。

2. 永明延壽淨土思想研究

李想在以“唯心淨土”為題的幾篇論文中，詳盡梳理了“唯心淨土”概念的產生和發展，特別是永明延壽對“唯心淨土”的闡發，同時批駁了學界關於永明延壽思想的一些不夠深入的看法。如在《永明延壽的淨土信仰及其唯心淨土思想》一文中，李想着重從《萬善同歸集》中梳理永明延壽的淨土思想，指出“延壽以華嚴、唯識、中觀學說論證西方淨土實在性，闡明往生修行合理性。他有關淨土往生的觀點在宋代及以後的淨土類文獻中被頻繁引用，為後世各宗派接納淨土信仰提供了重要的言說範本和理論支持。”同時“延壽在闡釋和使用“唯心淨土”時，以彌陀往生信仰作前提，處處彰顯淨土法門“易行道”的特質，巧妙地將禪宗所求之“心”和往生所願之“淨土”統攝在了一起。”

王公偉教授《永明延壽與中國淨土宗的發展》中說到淨土宗在善導大師的弘

傳下“稱名念佛”“往生淨土”的主張深入僧俗一時蔚為大觀。但是淨土宗的這一主張卻遭到了禪宗的極力反對一時間兩宗勢同水火。後永明延壽大師出世其以法眼宗第三代嫡嗣的身份力主淨土。永明延壽大師傾心淨土是禪宗發展歷史上的的一件大事也是淨土宗發展過程中的重要事件它標誌着禪淨融合時代的來臨。

3. 永明延壽禪宗思想研究

程佳琳在其博士論文《禪尊達摩：永明延壽禪學思想研究》（2016）中系統梳理的永明延壽的禪學思想。作為法眼宗的祖師，永明延壽在其著作中表達了非常豐富的禪學思想。程佳琳指出，“延壽禪學思想的內容主要包括：本體上複歸達摩禪的即清淨心是佛，確定禪門正脈；方法上以複歸達摩禪理、行二門為原則建構藉教悟宗的引教入禪，觀心萬善雙行，充實禪門實踐；以本體論與方法論兩個層次，即理、行二門詮釋禪宗理、事不二，體用一致之旨。”程佳琳認為，延壽禪學雖然以恢復達摩禪為宗旨，但客觀上，“通過對達摩禪完整的再詮釋的過程中，形成了新的‘一體兩翼’的新型禪學，也就是也為體，觀也與萬善為兩翼的屯、行二口具備的禪學體系。”

4. 永明延壽華嚴思想研究

對永明延壽華嚴思想的研究，在學界尚不豐富。日本學者吉田剛有《永明延壽的華嚴思想》（2005）對此有專門的研究。江科世在其博士論文《“教尊賢首”：永明延壽華嚴思想研究》（2022）中系統研究了永明延壽的華嚴思想，將永明延壽《宗鏡錄》《萬善同歸集》等著作中有關華嚴的論述做了較為完備的梳理。江科世指出，“永明延壽以“心”為“宗”，其華嚴思想是一種完全“一心”化的華嚴思想。在傳統華嚴“一心二門”思想基礎上，永明延壽進一步提出“一心門”。“心”是“無心之心”同時又是“無盡之心”，“門”是“無門之門”同時又是“無盡之門”。“一心門”是“無心門”亦是“無盡門”。永明延壽的華嚴思想從“緣起”立論，而以“一心”涵攝“緣起”殆盡，“法界緣起”轉成“一心緣起”，最終完成了傳統華嚴思想由“緣起”向“一心”的重心轉移過程。”永明延壽以“一心”歸趣“萬善”，“是華嚴教義開展過程中的一個重要形態，是中國佛教諸宗分流之後內進一步開展過程中的一個重要環節，是中國佛教內在發展邏輯的必然表現和重要成果。”但是這篇論文總體上是就華嚴而論華嚴，對永明延壽華嚴思想與禪宗、淨土思想的關聯缺少足夠的論述，也較少論

及永明延壽對《華嚴經》本身的論述。

張琴在《論永明延壽的理事無閥觀——以〈萬善同歸集〉為中心》中以《萬善同歸集》為中心，梳理了永明延壽如何借助華嚴宗的理事無閥觀念建構其思想體系的内容。張琴指出“‘理事無閥觀’一方面吸收了華嚴宗‘理事無礙’及‘一真法界’的思想，亦有對天臺、唯識、中觀等思想的融會，對禪宗祖師，尤其是法眼宗一系思想的繼承與發展，另一方面又重在以經典所示及前人實踐為例，提醒學人修萬善之行的重要。”

5. 永明延壽其他方面的思想研究

唐思鵬的《〈宗鏡錄〉的中觀思想》，介紹了五代吳越國高僧延壽大師紛集百卷《宗鏡錄》的主要宗旨是：藉教悟宗，由家攝教。藉教悟宗者，由佛語而悟入心宗；由宗攝教者，一切佛語以心為宗。由佛語而悟入心宗者，故廣引天臺、唯識、賢首、中觀諸宗的教理思想，以成其對心宗的“圓信”，一切佛語以心為宗者，將一切事理、性相、空有、真俗等思想咸歸於宗鏡之中（由心宗統攝諸宗）。本文正是在這種“藉教悟宗、由宗攝教”的原則下，圍繞着《宗鏡錄》中引達有關“中道、二帝、畢竟空”等一系列中觀方面的思想，進而以諸法不離心，以心攝諸法的觀點，從“一心中道匯釋中觀中道、以方便門論述真俗二諦、以心境俱空匯釋中觀的畢竟空”三個方面，對《宗鏡錄》的中觀思想作了考察，從而可以窺見延壽心宗思想與中觀思想的交涉與融通。

劉澤亮、田希的《永明延壽戒法思想及其倫理特質》，介紹了永明延壽深達禪宗，稟奉律儀，廣行利益，延壽的戒法思想主要見於《受菩薩戒法並序》一卷，收入《卍續藏》，尾題《梵網菩薩戒儀》。這是延壽以“攝心為戒”為基礎，圓融戒定慧三學，重構、再釋戒法思想的代表作。結合延壽《宗鏡錄》《萬善同歸集》《定慧相資歌》《垂誠》等著述，以闡釋其戒法思想的內涵歸集中，他旁徵博引地論證了西方淨土的殊勝和往生修行的利益。他使用的“唯心淨土”的觀念，則巧妙地將傳統的“理土”問題放置在淨土往生的語境之中，為彌陀淨土信仰爭取到更多的闡釋空間和理並將其置於佛教史視野之下，闡發其理論貢獻及其所彰顯的倫理特質。

張琴研究員在《永明延壽日課修行實踐考論——以〈智覺禪師自行錄〉為中心》中說到永明延壽日課修習一百八件佛事，有常行，也有暇時所行，禪、臺、

淨、密等皆有包容，既體現出勤修不怠的精神，又有始終不離禪宗“心法”本質、終歸淨土的專一。延壽的日課並非一己獨創，而可溯其淵源，尤其是其細密檢覆三業與南朝《淨住子》有關；大量的法華修習，有天臺智者大師的身影；最終皈向西方淨土，既受前人影響，也是延壽廣利群品的願力所成。此日課雖為個人修行實踐的記錄，但從這三個方面的溯源卻可窺見漢傳佛教的歷史演變及於五代宋初的發展趨向。

以上綜述雖然簡略，但基本可以讓我們看到當前永明延壽思想研究的大體面貌。但也讓我們看到其中的諸多不足。特別在其華嚴思想、禪宗思想、淨土思想三者的關聯方面，實際上並沒有足夠清晰的討論。因此本文嘗試從這一方面入手，嘗試揭示其中脈絡。

二、華嚴思想在永明延壽淨土思想中的地位

永明延壽作為法眼宗祖師，卻在禪宗中引入淨土修行法門。其用意所在，正是對治禪宗內部過於強調個體修行，而於菩薩行有所忽略。特別是在晚唐五代，佛教是否應發揮其社會功用，逐漸成為一個需要面對的問題。延壽之後，天臺宗的孤山智圓、禪宗的契嵩，都通過與儒家思想的融合，闡發佛教的社會功用。就此而言，永明延壽是可以作為二者先驅的。而淨土法門對信眾的接引，很大程度上正是社會性的。

同時，廬山慧遠以來那種客觀化的淨土，對於修行者而言，因心理距離相對遙遠，實則也具有較高的難度。而個體化的淨土亦即唯心淨土，大大降低了淨土修行的困難程度，使得淨土思想更易為人接受。^①需要指出的是，這種個體化的淨土，只能在永明延壽這裏建立，而不會在“唯心淨土”這一說法的提出者李通玄那裏建立。這是因為華嚴宗在彼時，尚且缺乏一種個體化的途徑。而禪宗思想對自性的強調，使之很早就突出了個體化、離散化的傾向，很好地呼應了中晚唐那種“潛離暗別”的時代格局。

永明延壽闡發的唯心淨土思想，把淨土思想建立在自性的基礎上，一方面使

^① 淨土思想在歷史上凡經數變，如道綽、善導那裏，一反前人認為淨土為業力感應所生，可憑自力往生的觀點，而以淨土為報土，非他力無法往生，由此將淨土宗思想與其他宗派拉開較大的距離。而在永明延壽這裏，自性淨土的建立，使得自力和他力得以融合，將淨土思想推向新的階段。（參見謝路軍《略論善導往生淨土的境界“報土論”》《發音》，2007年第四期。）

得淨土變得主觀化、個體化，另一方面，也讓自性獲得了一種社會性功用，可謂體用兼得。這種特性，在其《萬善同歸集》中非常明顯。當然，就禪宗淨土思想的發展而言，這種個體化的淨土，終究還是過於強調個體化，其社會性功用始終沒有真正展開。直到近現代的人間佛教，才可說把這種社會功用真正實現了。但是，就今天人間佛教的發展而言，過於注重社會功用，而對了悟重視不夠，同樣產生非常嚴重的問題。因此，我們今天需要更加深入地對永明延壽的禪淨融合思想加以探討，以關照我們今天的時代。

就永明延壽的禪淨融合的思想而論，可謂可謂中國佛教史一重要的轉折，具有非同尋常的思想史意義。而在其中，永明延壽對《華嚴經》的運用，起到了至關重要的作用。那麼，永明延壽是如何借助《華嚴經》、華嚴宗的理論，建構禪淨融合的思想體系，就是本文特別需要加以探討的內容。

儘管學界對永明延壽的華嚴思想已有較為系統的研究，但是相關研究更多集中在其對唐代華嚴宗思想的接納和消化上，而較少觸及《華嚴經》本身對延壽思想的支持。禪尊達摩、教尊賢首（呂澂）的永明延壽，自然對華嚴宗思想有系統的把握。但是華嚴宗和《華嚴經》畢竟有其區別。重論輕經的研究通常是難以深入的。《華嚴經》對永明延壽的淨土思想起到了極為重要的支撐作用。在其《萬善同歸集》中，延壽直接引用《華嚴經》的內容要多於引用賢首、宗密等華嚴宗祖師的論述。那麼，我們首先需要瞭解的問題，即《華嚴經》為何能支持永明延壽的淨土思想。作為華嚴宗的宗經，《華嚴經》為何在永明延壽這裏成為淨土思想的重要支撐呢？

我們認為，《華嚴經》中包含了大量接近於淨土思想的內容，同時，也包含了大量合乎禪宗思想的內容，使得永明延壽可以較為大膽地用起論述禪淨融合的思想。下麵，我們引征《華嚴經》原文，對此加以展示。

（一）《華嚴經》中對神力加持、第二導師的描寫

淨土宗強調他力成佛，與禪宗所強調的自力成佛構成強烈的反差。因而要調和禪宗、淨土宗的思想，首先要選擇一部較能同時支持兩種主張的佛典。而《華嚴經》可以說是除淨土諸經外，較能支持他力成佛的經典。

與其他大乘經典相比，《華嚴經》一個非常重要的特點就是，在這樣一部八十卷的大經中，佛陀親自開口講話的次數並不多。很多時候，都是佛陀以神力

加持菩薩而進行的說法。如“爾時，世尊知諸菩薩心之所念，則以神力加持，智慧攝受，光明照曜，威勢充滿，令青蓮華藏菩薩住佛無畏，入佛法界，獲佛威德，神通自在，得佛無礙廣大觀察，知一切佛種性次第，住不可說佛法方便。”^①這種加持，其力量來自佛陀自身。對於各位菩薩而言，這同樣是一種他力，是一種菩薩最為信任的他力。

得到佛陀神力加持的菩薩，為會眾、眾生講法，在《華嚴經》中，稱之為“第二導師”甚至“第二佛”。如“爾時，文殊師利菩薩告智首菩薩言：「善哉！佛子！汝今為欲多所饒益、多所安隱，哀溷世間，利樂天人，問如是義。佛子！若諸菩薩善用其心，則獲一切勝妙功德；於諸佛法，心無所礙，住去、來、今諸佛之道；隨眾生住，恆不舍離；如諸法相，悉能通達；斷一切惡，具足眾善；當如普賢，色像第一，一切行願皆得具足；於一切法，無不自在，而為眾生第二導師。」”^②在某種程度上，連菩薩都需要佛陀神力的加持，那麼一般的眾生就更是如此。同時，因為佛陀較少出面說話，眾生只能依靠第二導師的指導求法。第二導師，突出了他力的重要性。又如“爾時，大威光童子，承佛威力，為諸眷屬而說頌言：「不可思議億劫中，導世明師難一遇，此土眾生多善利，而今得見第二佛。」”^③這裏說眾生遇到導師的本就是非常罕見的事，只在個別地方能夠遇到。第二佛、第二導師，其含義相當，佛陀加持的菩薩數量較多，增加了眾生預見導師的可能性。

在某種程度上，第二導師、第二佛，都是代替佛陀講法的，是受佛陀神力加持的。同時，也表明了菩薩回向眾生的精神。在永明延壽對當時禪宗風氣的批判中，就包含了禪宗修行者只重了悟而輕視、忽略菩薩精神的情況，將自己與信眾、眾生隔離的狀態。在《萬善同歸集》中，永明延壽曾說“故華嚴經雲。第七遠行地。當修十種方便慧殊勝道。所謂雖善修空無相無願三昧。而慈悲不舍眾生。”慈悲不舍眾生，正是作為第二導師、第二佛的職責所在。只要是大乘佛教，無論是淨土宗還是禪宗如何，都應有此菩薩精神。相對而言，強調他力成佛的淨土宗，對社會大眾的關注是更直接的。而禪宗發展到永明延壽的時代，單純

① (唐)實叉難陀譯：《大方廣佛華嚴經》第46卷，《大正藏》第10冊，第242頁上。

② (唐)實叉難陀譯：《大方廣佛華嚴經》第14卷，《大正藏》第10冊，第69頁下。

③ (唐)實叉難陀譯：《大方廣佛華嚴經》第11卷，《大正藏》第10冊，第56頁上。

重視了悟的弊端已經非常明顯。所以《萬善同歸集》的創作，就是要以萬善彌補禪宗本身菩薩精神淡化的不足。

（一）《華嚴經》中類似淨土的空間描寫

在淨土經典中，對彌陀淨土有着非常豐富的描寫，以淨土的美好景象吸引信眾，增進信心。如《佛說阿彌陀經》“「從是西方過十萬億佛土，有世界名曰極樂。其土有佛，號阿彌陀，今現在說法。舍利弗！彼土何故名為極樂？其國眾生無有眾苦，但受諸樂，故名極樂。又舍利弗！極樂國土，七重欄楯、七重羅網、七重行樹，皆是四寶周匝圍繞，是故彼國名曰極樂。」如“「又舍利弗！極樂國土有七寶池，八功德水充滿其中，池底純以金沙布地。四邊階道，金、銀、琉璃、頗梨合成；上有樓閣，亦以金、銀、琉璃、頗梨、車渠、赤珠、馬瑙而嚴飾之。池中蓮花，大如車輪，青色青光，黃色黃光，赤色赤光，白色白光，微妙香潔。舍利弗！極樂國土成就如是功德莊嚴。」”^①經中對西方極樂世界做了種種描述，成為後世展開淨土想像的基礎。雖然後世對於淨土有化土與報土之爭，但是對於淨土完美的空間形態，都是極為推崇的。如果沒有如此完美的淨土，以及淨土、穢土之間強烈的反差，是很難令眾生敬信佛法的。

而在《華嚴經》中，同樣非常重視佛菩薩所處空間的刻畫，類似的描寫非常豐富，遠較其他大乘經典為多。即便對於淨土經典而言，也有過之而無不及。如“此華藏世界海西，次有世界海，名：可愛樂寶光明。彼世界種中，有國土，名：出生上妙資身具，佛號：香焰功德寶莊嚴。於彼如來大眾海中，有菩薩摩訶薩，名：月光香焰普莊嚴，與世界海微塵數諸菩薩俱，來詣佛所，各現十種一切寶香眾妙華樓閣雲，遍滿虛空而不散滅；複現十種無邊色相眾寶王樓閣雲，複現十種寶燈香焰樓閣雲，複現十種一切真珠樓閣雲，複現十種一切寶華樓閣雲，複現十種寶瓔珞莊嚴樓閣雲，複現十種普現十方一切莊嚴光明藏樓閣雲，複現十種眾寶末間錯莊嚴樓閣雲，複現十種周遍十方一切莊嚴樓閣雲，複現十種華門鐸網樓閣雲……如是等世界海微塵數樓閣雲，悉遍虛空而不散滅。現是雲已，向佛作禮，以為供養。即於西方，各化作真金葉大寶藏師子之座，於其座上，結跏趺坐。”^②再如“爾時，世尊知諸菩薩心之所念，大悲為身，大悲為門，大悲為首，

① （東晉）鳩摩羅什譯：《佛說阿彌陀經》第1卷，《大正藏》第12冊，第346頁下-347頁上。

② （唐）實叉難陀譯：《大方廣佛華嚴經》第6卷，《大正藏》第10冊，第27頁中。

以大悲法而為方便，充遍虛空，入師子頻申三昧；入此三昧已，一切世間普皆嚴淨。於時，此大莊嚴樓閣忽然廣博無有邊際。金剛為地，寶王覆上，無量寶華及諸摩尼普散其中處處盈滿。瑠璃為柱，眾寶合成，大光摩尼之所莊嚴，閻浮檀金如意寶王周置其上以為嚴飾。危樓迴帶，閣道傍出，棟宇相承，窓闥交映，階、墀、軒、檻種種備足，一切皆以妙寶莊嚴；其寶悉作人、天形像，堅固妙好，世中第一，摩尼寶網彌覆其上。於諸門側悉建幢幡，咸放光明普周法界道場之外。階墜、欄楯，其數無量不可稱說，靡不咸以摩尼所成。”^①

類似的華藏世界、莊嚴樓閣，在《華嚴經》中比比皆是，這些空間，都有類似彌陀淨土的特性。因此，《華嚴經》的文本中，包含了許多與淨土經典非常相近的書寫，這對永明延壽而言，自然是非常重要的支持。

（二）《華嚴經》中關於淨土、阿彌陀佛、念佛門的書寫

《華嚴經》中有不少直接論及淨土、念佛法門和阿彌陀佛的描寫，這些自然更加可以直接運用於對淨土思想的支持上。如“佛子！菩薩摩訶薩住此法中，勤加修習，以智慧明，滅諸癡闇；以慈悲力，摧伏魔軍；以大智慧及福德力，制諸外道；以金剛定，滅除一切心垢煩惱；以精進力，集諸善根；以淨佛土諸善根力，遠離一切惡道諸難；以無所著力，淨智境界；以方便智慧力，出生一切菩薩諸地、諸波羅蜜，及諸三昧、六通、三明、四無所畏，悉令清淨；以一切善法力，成滿一切諸佛淨土、無邊相好，身、語及心具足莊嚴；以智自在觀察力，知一切如來力、無所畏、不共佛法，悉皆平等；以廣大智慧力，了知一切智智境界；以往昔誓願力，隨所應化，現佛國土，轉大法輪，度脫無量無邊眾生。”^②這裏說的“諸佛淨土”，顯然超出了彌陀淨土、妙喜淨土，而是諸佛所在，皆為淨土。淨土觀念在《華嚴經》中有這樣的拓展，對於永明延壽而言自然是重要的支持。

又如“善男子！我唯得此憶念一切諸佛境界智慧光明普見法門，豈能了知諸大菩薩無邊智慧清淨行門？所謂：智光普照念佛門，常見一切諸佛國土種種宮殿悉嚴淨故；令一切眾生念佛門，隨諸眾生心之所樂，皆令見佛得清淨故；令安住力念佛門，令入如來十力中故；令安住法念佛門，見無量佛，聽聞法故；照耀諸方念佛門，悉見一切諸世界中等無差別諸佛海故；入不可見處念佛門，悉見一

① （唐）實叉難陀譯：《大方廣佛華嚴經》第60卷，《大正藏》第10冊，第320頁上。

② （唐）實叉難陀譯：《大方廣佛華嚴經》第18卷，《大正藏》第10冊，第98頁上。

切微細境中諸佛自在神通事故；住於諸劫念佛門，一切劫中常見如來諸所施為無暫舍故；住一切時念佛門，於一切時常見如來，親近同住不舍離故；住一切刹念佛門，一切國土咸見佛身超過一切無與等故；住一切世念佛門，隨於自心之所欲樂普見三世諸如來故；住一切境念佛門，普於一切諸境界中見諸如來次第現故；住寂滅念佛門，於一念中見一切刹一切諸佛示涅槃故；住遠離念佛門，於一日中見一切佛從其所住而出去故；住廣大念佛門，心常觀察一一佛身充遍一切諸法界故；住微細念佛門，於一毛端有不可說如來出現，悉至其所而承事故；住莊嚴念佛門，於一念中見一切刹皆有諸佛成正覺現神變故；住能事念佛門，見一切佛出現世間放智慧光轉法輪故；住自在心念佛門，知隨自心所有欲樂，一切諸佛現其像故；住自業念佛門，知隨眾生所積集業，現其影像令覺悟故；住神變念佛門，見佛所坐廣大蓮華周遍法界而開敷故；住虛空念佛門，觀察如來所有身雲莊嚴法界、虛空界故。而我雲何能知能說彼功德行？”^①此段廣說各種念佛門及其功德，足以證明念佛法門在《華嚴經》中的重要性。雖然淨土宗祖師善導對華嚴宗關於淨土的說法多有批評，但就《華嚴經》本身而言，是完全能夠支持淨土思想的闡發的。

又如“善男子！我見如是等十方各十佛刹微塵數如來。彼諸如來不來至此，我不往彼。我若欲見安樂世界阿彌陀如來，隨意即見；我若欲見栴檀世界金剛光明如來、妙香世界寶光明如來、蓮華世界寶蓮華光明如來、妙金世界寂靜光如來、妙喜世界不動如來、善住世界師子如來、鏡光明世界月覺如來、寶師子莊嚴世界毘盧遮那如來，如是一切，悉皆即見。然彼如來不來至此，我身亦不往詣於彼。知一切佛及與我心，悉皆如夢；知一切佛猶如影像，自心如水；知一切佛所有色相及以自心，悉皆如幻；知一切佛及以己心，悉皆如響。我如是知，如是憶念：所見諸佛，皆由自心。”^②這裏的“所見諸佛，皆由自心”，顯然更具有“自力”的色彩，與淨土宗所言一般眾生須得他力方能往生極樂，逢佛接引不同。但是，這樣的說法，能夠很好地與永明延壽“唯心淨土”的思想結合起來。淨土宗與華嚴宗、禪宗在唐代較大的理論分歧，在永明延壽這裏得到了很好的彌合。

由以上三點我們不難發現，《華嚴經》中確實有許多與淨土類似，支持淨

① （唐）實叉難陀譯：《大方廣佛華嚴經》第62卷，《大正藏》第10冊，第334頁中。

② （唐）實叉難陀譯：《大方廣佛華嚴經》第63卷，《大正藏》第10冊，第339頁下-第340頁上。

土觀念的經文。這些經文，不待華嚴宗的解讀，即可用於支持永明延壽的淨土思想。當然，我們這裏必須說明的是，這部被譽為“經王”的《華嚴經》，在八十卷的龐大篇幅中，保留了足以支持各種主張和觀點的文獻。

永明延壽作為禪宗法眼宗的祖師，自然也要用《華嚴經》來支持其禪宗思想。這裏我們略舉樹立加以說明。如“其彼如來未成佛時，十千年前，此大蓮華放淨光明，名：現諸神通成熟眾生；若有眾生遇斯光者，心自開悟，無所不了，知十千年後佛當出現。九千年前，放淨光明，名：一切眾生離垢燈；若有眾生遇斯光者，得清淨眼，見一切色，知九千年後佛當出現。八千年前，放大光明，名：一切眾生業果音；若有眾生遇斯光者，悉得自知諸業果報，知八千年後佛當出現。”^①如果說第二導師、第二佛的書寫，與淨土宗他力成佛的觀念近似。這裏的“心自開悟”，自然就與禪宗的自力成佛觀念相近。又菩提心者，則為住處，一切菩薩所住處故；菩提心者，則為壽行，不取聲聞解脫果故；菩提心者，如淨琉璃，自性明潔無諸垢故”^②，這裏說自性明潔，可以很直接地聯繫到禪宗的明心見性。

三、《萬善同歸集》中的禪淨融合思想的構建

《萬善同歸集》雖然不是一部專門論述淨土思想的著作，但是其中對於唯心淨土的論述，對於淨土修行的論述，對淨土思想此下近千年的發展，起到了至關重要的作用。特別是，在這部篇幅並不大的著作中，永明延壽運用了大量《華嚴經》、華嚴宗的材料論述其思想，其篇幅在其他宗派思想之上，因而值得我們加以較為系統的分析。

在《萬善同歸集》的開篇，永明延壽就講到其主要的宗旨。“夫眾善所歸。皆宗實相。如空包納。似地發生。是以但契一如。自含眾德。然不動真際。萬行常興。不壞緣生。法界恒現。寂不闕用。俗不違真。有無齊觀。一際平等。是以萬法惟心。應須廣行諸度。不可守愚空坐以滯真修。若欲萬行齊興。畢竟須依理事。理事無闕。其道在中遂得自他兼利。而圓同體之悲。終始該羅。以成無盡之行。”永明延壽在《萬善同歸集》中嘗試構建一個包羅萬象的修行體系，寂與

①（唐）實叉難陀譯：《大方廣佛華嚴經》第70卷，《大正藏》第10冊，第380頁上。

②（唐）實叉難陀譯：《大方廣佛華嚴經》第78卷，《大正藏》第10冊，第429頁中-第430頁下。

用、真和俗都能同時並存，而不是按照某種修行原則，有所去取。“是以萬法惟心。應須廣行諸度。”當時禪宗之內，不少高僧認為只要明心見性即可，在此之外的各種法門都是不必要的，甚至是妨礙修道的。但是延壽認為，那種只需明心見性就可成佛的法門，只適合上根之人，資質一般的大多數人，仍然需要以來一些輔助的法門，才能有所成就。延壽這裏特別提到了“自他兼利”。對於歷來強調自力的禪宗而言，承認他力並不是一件容易的事，甚至可以說要冒不少的風險。但是延壽依託《華嚴經》兼談自他的便利，在《萬善同歸集》中以114次問答，較為全面地回應了各種可能產生的疑問。

就《萬善同歸集》的主要內容來說，其中提問的部分實際上頗多雷同，而其回答則往往從不同的角度出發。下麵，我們從以下幾個方面闡述永明延壽在《萬善同歸集》中構建的禪淨融合理論。

（一）祖佛密意與唯心淨土

永明延壽的佛思想是歷來為人忽視的。除方立天先生在其《永明延壽與禪教一致思潮》中有所涉及外，幾乎未得到有效的討論。但祖佛密意恰恰是永明延壽論述的邏輯起點。永明延壽是五代時期論及佛意最多的高僧，在其《宗鏡錄》《萬善同歸集》等均有佛意之例^①。

“問泯絕無寄。境智俱空。是祖佛指歸。聖賢要路。若論有作。心境宛然。憑何教文。廣陳萬善。答諸佛如來一代時教。自古及今。分宗甚眾。撮其大約。不出三宗。一相宗。二空宗。三性宗。若相宗多說是。空宗多說非。性宗惟論直指。即同曹溪見性成佛也。如今不論見性。罔識正宗。多執是非。紛然爭競。皆不了祖佛密意。但徇言詮。如教中或說是者。即依性說相。或言非者。是破相顯性。惟性宗一門。顯了直指。不說是非。如今多重非心非佛非理非事泯絕之言。以為玄妙。不知但是遮詮治病之文。執此方便。認為標的。卻不信表詮直指之教。頓遺實地。昧卻真心。如楚國愚人認雞作鳳。猶春池小兒執石為珠。但任淺近之情。不探深密之旨。迷空方便。豈識真歸^②。”此問說祖師、諸佛都講泯絕無寄，這裏為什麼要有所作為、廣說萬善呢？延壽認為佛門各種宗派中之所以諍論

^① 當代學者之中，僅方立天先生曾於《永明延壽與禪教一致思潮》一文中注意到“佛意”概念，但也僅僅解為意蘊，沒有注意到在佛學中，佛意概念是在隨順時代不斷變化的。劉振博士在其《佛意學初探》（世宗文獻出版社，2025）中對永明延壽的佛思想進行了基本的討論

^② （宋）延壽撰：《萬善同歸集》第1卷，《大正藏》第四十八冊，第959頁上。

紛紛，都是不了解祖師、諸佛的“密意”。祖意、佛意的關鍵，並不在於單純的頓悟，各種教法同樣能夠通向最高的境界。比如淨土宗強調念佛，延壽認為念佛功德無量，同樣是佛意的體現。禪宗的修行者，也不能因為一偏之間而傷害理事圓融的教旨。在延壽看來，理、事是並不隔閡的，不能只中“理”，而把萬善的“事”都加以排斥。^①延壽認為，佛法並無一定之規，“惟取證道為心。不揀入門粗細。”只要能夠解決眾生苦疾，都可以“隨其樂欲。逗其便宜”，而真正的“諸佛密意”，是很難把握的，不能因為禪宗自己的看法就排斥其他法門。^②以上諸例，我們可以看到延壽對佛意、祖意的重視。延壽指出，“故知無有一塵不合理的。未有一法非是佛乘。皆是不了萬法之初源。一塵之自性。遂生情執。滯相迷名妄分自他。強生離合。致令理事水火競生”^③。理事本來圓融無礙，強生分別反而是非法的。

延壽的討論，指向當時“多取理通。少從事習”的修習風尚，延壽認為，佛法是“重實而不重虛。貴行而不貴說。涉有而不住有。行空而不證空。從小善而積殊功。仗微因而成大果。”善雖小，累積而成大，因雖微，卻能得大果，今天的修行者鄙棄小善微因，反而是“乘戒俱喪理事雙亡。墮無知坑坐黑暗獄。不達即事即理之旨。空念破執破病之言。”這是不了解諸佛“深心”的表現^④。而祖、佛的深心、佛意，就在於延壽最為重視的“唯心淨土”之說。

唯心淨土，最早出自唐代李通玄的《新華嚴經論》，李通玄劃分十種淨土，“第九唯心淨土者。自證自心當體無心。性唯真智不念淨穢。稱真任性心無患癡。無貪瞋癡。任大悲智安樂眾生。是實淨土。以自淨故教化眾生令他亦淨故。是故維摩經雲。唯其心淨即佛國淨。欲生淨土當淨其心”^⑤。李通玄用《維摩經》的說法，認為唯心淨土是自證自心。這一說法，延續了華嚴宗祖師認為眾生因其自力可達淨土的說法，與善導等人的淨土宗思想不同。而在永明延壽這裏，唯心淨土融合了自力、他力兩種元素。

① (宋)延壽撰：《萬善同歸集》第1卷，《大正藏》第四十八冊，第964頁中。

② (宋)延壽撰：《萬善同歸集》第2卷，《大正藏》第48冊，第971頁下-第972頁上。

③ (宋)延壽撰：《萬善同歸集》第3卷，《大正藏》第48冊，第986頁下。

④ (宋)延壽撰：《萬善同歸集》第3卷，《大正藏》第48冊，第987頁中。

⑤ (唐)李通玄撰：《新華嚴經論》第6卷，《大正藏》第36冊，第759頁下。

在《萬善同歸集》第28問中，延壽認為，“唯心佛土者。了心方生。如來不思議境界經雲。三世一切諸佛。皆無所有。唯依自心。菩薩若能了知諸佛及一切法皆唯心量。得隨順忍。或入初地。捨身速生妙喜世界。或生極樂淨佛土中。故知識心方生唯心淨土。著境祇墮所緣境中”^①。延壽的唯心淨土，是把淨土建立在自心、自性上，能識自心、自性，就能生起唯心淨土。這種淨土，不再是唐代淨土宗那種純粹外在的報土，而是個體自性上的淨土，報土不在別處，就在於自性本身。而與唐代華嚴宗不同的是，唯心淨土絕非化土，而與善導等人一樣，唯心淨土同樣是報土。唯心淨土，是自性上的報土。了達自性，見性成佛。延壽所構建的唯心淨土，將禪宗與淨土宗的思想，通過《華嚴經》協調在一起，是非常了不起的架構。唯心淨土只能建立在自性上，離開自性、自心，就不可能成立。所以延壽說“是以離自心源。更無別體。維摩經雲。欲得淨土但淨其心。隨其心淨即佛土淨。又經雲。心垢故眾生垢。心淨故眾生淨。華嚴經雲。譬如心王寶。隨心見眾色。眾生心淨故得見清淨刹”^②。這樣的唯心淨土，雖然建立在自性上，帶有禪宗最為突出的個體性，但是並不是只在自性上下功夫。唯心淨土所承載的，恰恰是“萬善”。

如《萬善同歸集》中第62問，“問法句經雲。若能心不起。精進無有涯。何故立事興心。而乖無作道乎。答即心無心。事不妨理。作而無作。性不闕緣。故賢首國師雲。緣起體寂。起恒不起。達體隨緣。不起恒起”^③。佛法強調心寂，延壽卻講“立事興心”，所謂“即心無心。事不妨理。作而無作。性不闕緣。”唯心淨土的建立，不僅沒有隔絕事用，反而更能通達事用。如果說之前的淨土思想，常常是從化土向報土修行，在永明延壽這裏，卻是反其道而行之，在自性報土的基礎上，處處都可視為化土。只要自性、自心上立得住，則處處無礙、事事無礙，可以萬物齊榮、萬像繁興。

第98問中說，“問所修萬善。以何為根本乎。答一切理事。以心為本。約理者。經雲。觀一切法即心自性。成就慧身。不由他悟。此以真如觀真實心為本。約事者。經雲。心如工畫師。能畫諸世間。五蘊悉從生。無法而不造。此以心識

① （宋）延壽撰：《萬善同歸集》第1卷，《大正藏》第48冊，第966頁中。

② （宋）宗曉撰：《樂邦文類》第4卷，《大正藏》第47冊，第200頁上。

③ （宋）延壽撰：《萬善同歸集》第3卷，《大正藏》第48冊，第983頁上。

觀緣慮心為本。真實心為體。緣慮心為用。用即心生滅門。體即心真如門。約體用分二。惟是一心。即體之用。用不離體。即用之體。體不離用。開合雖殊真性不動。心能作佛。心作眾生。心作天堂。心作地獄。心異則千差競起。心平則法界坦然”^①。延壽認為，萬善的根本在於自性、自心，抓住這個根本，可以進入一切理事。天堂、地域、佛與眾生，都可從此心上建立。這裏延壽特別用到《華嚴經》“心如工畫師”的偈頌。同時也用到了《大乘起信論》“一心二門”的理論。但是，延壽的“一心二門”，也可解為“一心二土”，即唯心淨土的報土與化土。報土、化土，在這裏也即體即用了。而要到達報土、化土，就需要自力與他力的融合。如第12問“問即心是佛。何須外求。若認他塵。自法即隱。答諸佛法門。亦不一向。皆有自力他力自相共相。十玄門之該攝。六相義之融通。隨緣似分。約性常合。從心現境。境即是心。攝所歸能。他即是自。……夫因緣之道。進修之門。皆眾緣所成。無一獨立。若自力充備。即不假緣。若自力未堪。須憑他勢”^②。延壽認為，諸佛法門多種多樣，有強調自力的，有強調他力的，二者並不相違，對於自力強的修行者而言，可以直接實現最高的境界。但是絕大多數資質一般的人而言，借助於他力，同樣能夠成就。從理論上，報土、化土一體無二，從修行上，自力、他力皆可成就。這樣的唯心淨土，消弭了不同宗派之間的歧義，方才稱得起祖佛密意。

（二）散善與禪宗的離散性

六祖慧能以嶺南邊民的身份創建禪宗，賦予禪宗一種特別的邊緣性。同時，由於禪宗真正的興起，處在安史之亂之後政治體制“潛離暗別”的背景中，因而也具備了一種離散性的特質。邊緣性、離散性和傾向於個體性的“自性”，使得禪宗與天臺、華嚴、唯識等強調義學的佛教宗派產生了很大的區別。而我們要理解永明延壽的禪宗思想以及其萬善同歸、禪淨融合的理論，也必須從這一點出發去看。《萬善同歸集》中，永明延壽不止一次為“散善”辯護，這一點，如果只從理事圓融的角度看，是不能明其所以的。

如第8問，“問一切眾生不得解脫者皆為認其假名。逐妄輪回。楞嚴經中。唯令以湛旋其虛妄滅生。伏還元覺。得元明覺無生滅性。為因地心。然後圓成果

①（宋）延壽撰：《萬善同歸集》第3卷，《大正藏》第48冊，第991頁上。

②（宋）延壽撰：《萬善同歸集》第1卷，《大正藏》第48冊，第961頁下。

地修證。雲何一向徇斯假名。論其散善。轉增虛妄。豈益初心。答名字性空皆唯實相。但從緣起。不落有無。法句經雲。佛告寶明菩薩。汝且觀是諸佛名字。若是有。說食與人。應得充饑。若名字無者。定光如來不授我記。及於汝名如無授者。我不應得佛。當知字句其已久如。以我如故備顯諸法。名字性空不在有無。華嚴經雲。譬如諸法不分別自性。不分別音聲。而自性不舍。名字不滅。菩薩亦復如是。不舍於行。隨世所作。而於此二無執著。是以不動實際。建立行門。不壞假名圓通自性”^①。問者以《楞嚴經》元明之覺立論，認為各種“散善”只是假名，只能增加虛妄，不利於修行。延壽則指出，假名之中亦具實相，《華嚴經》諸公的菩薩，廣行諸善，隨世而作，並無不妥。並且，這種行諸散善的方式，更加合乎禪宗個體性、離散性的特點。那種單純追求心地修習的方式，恰恰有違本宗“初心”。

從這裏我們也可以見出，永明延壽禪淨融合的理論建構，不但沒有泯滅禪宗的特性，反而“借淨明禪”，把禪宗的特性更加凸顯了出來。延壽指出，“今所論眾善者。祇為成就般若故。教中或訶有為。但是破其貪執。如若取捨不生一切無闕。若未明般若。以萬行為助緣。法華經雲。佛名聞十方。廣饒益眾生。一切具善根。以助無上心。華嚴經雲。譬如一切法。眾緣故生起。見佛亦復然。必假眾善業。若已明般若用眾行為嚴飾。法華經雲。其車高廣眾寶裝校。乃至又多僕從。而侍衛之。故雲。萬善同歸集。離般若外更無一法。如眾川投滄海皆同一味。雜鳥近妙高。更無異色”^②。萬行、萬善，是修道的助緣，通過諸多善業的施行，可以增益無上之心。而萬善同歸，事與理並沒有本質上的區別。延壽特別之處，究竟的法門，只有佛才是完全具備的，菩薩尚且有不知道的地方，何況眾生？所以類似的分別毫無意義，“何專理是寧斥事非”^③。看似離散的事，就如終將歸海的萬川一般，是通向大海的必由之地。

在第57問中，延壽說“是知因凡立聖。凡聖皆空。從惡得善。善惡無性。以無性故萬善常興。以皆空故一真恒寂”^④。建立在唯心淨土上的萬善常興，是諸佛

① （宋）延壽撰：《萬善同歸集》第1卷，《大正藏》第48冊，第961頁上。

② （宋）延壽撰：《萬善同歸集》第3卷，《大正藏》第48冊，第985頁上。

③ （宋）延壽撰：《萬善同歸集》第2卷，《大正藏》第48冊，第974頁中。

④ （宋）延壽撰：《萬善同歸集》第2卷，《大正藏》第48冊，第977頁上。

出世、成熟眾生的歸集所在。

（三）理事無閼與禪宗的局限性

永明延壽借淨明禪，看到的是禪宗本身的局限性。而其通過對《華嚴經》和華嚴宗理論的運用，溝通禪、淨，以理事無閼的理論破除禪宗的局限，使得以個體性、離散性為特徵的唯心淨土同樣具有無所不包的宏大氣象。理事無閼雖然是華嚴宗的理論，但是延壽將其用於溝通禪淨，顯示出巨大的理論構造能力。

在第10問中，延壽分別了理道場和事道場，“道場有二。一理道場。二事道場。理道場者。周遍剎塵。事道場者。淨地嚴飾。然因事顯理。藉理成事。事虛攬理。無不理之事。理實應緣。無閼事之理。故即事明理。須假莊嚴。從俗入真。唯憑建立”^①。延壽認為，理、事是緊密伴隨的範疇，不相或離。無論多麼高深的理論，也不會與事相隔離，無論多麼離散、微笑的事相，也包含高深的理在。打通了理事，實際上拓寬了禪宗的範圍，使得唯心淨土，可以無處不在。

“若約圓門無閼。性相融通。舉一微塵該羅法界”^②。在《萬善同歸集》中，延壽從諸多方面討論了理、事無閼的道理。如第38問，“問事則分位差別。理惟一味湛然。性相不同。雲何無閼。答能依之事。從理而成。所依之理。隨事而現。如千波不閼一濕。猶眾器匪隔一金。體用相收。卷舒一際。若約圓旨。不惟理事相即。要理理相即亦得。事事相即亦得。理事不即亦得。故稱隨緣自在無閼法門”^③。延壽打破理、事之間的隔閼，關鍵之處還在於破除禪宗宗門之內一味枯寂的傾向，一心內求的結果，必然是缺少對外世界的關注，缺少了大乘佛教成熟眾生的精神。唯心淨土，雖然建立在個體的基礎上，但是其最終指向，仍然在於眾生。而在眾生這裏，正應該是萬物齊榮、萬善常興、萬像繁興的。

在第36問中延壽說“菩薩萬行齊興。四攝廣被。不可執空害有守一疑諸。華嚴經雲。受一非餘。魔所攝持。是以舍邊趣中。還成邪見。不可據宗據令認妙認玄。識想施為陰界造作。應須隨機遮照任智卷舒。於空有二門不出不在。真俗二諦非即非離。動止何乖圓融無閼。大凡諸佛菩薩修進之門。有正有助。有實有

① （宋）延壽撰：《萬善同歸集》第1卷，《大正藏》第48冊，第961頁上。

② （宋）延壽撰：《萬善同歸集》第1卷，《大正藏》第48冊，第961頁中。

③ （宋）延壽撰：《萬善同歸集》第2卷，《大正藏》第48冊，第970頁中。

權。理事齊修。乘戒兼急。悲智雙運。內外相資。若定立一宗。是魔王之種”^①。所謂“定立一宗，是魔王之種”，這是非常嚴厲的批評，這種批評，恰恰指向禪宗自身。菩薩是“萬行齊興”，圓融無閼的。因而無論念佛也好，戒律也罷，都是修習佛道的重要途徑，連這些都要排斥，反而是入了魔道。

四、結語：萬像繁興的時代追求

永明延壽所處的時代，正是中國由安史之亂後近二百年混亂局面走向重新統一的時代。儘管統一的主導者並非吳越國，但是永明延壽的思想，還是深刻地表現出當時人心思定，期待重新繁榮的時代特徵。所謂萬物齊榮、萬善常興、萬行齊興、萬像繁興，這些在延壽作品中不斷出現的表達，讓我們窺見其宏大理論建構背後的感性期盼。佛門的修行者，並不能自外於這個即將重新恢復繁榮的時代和社會。永明延壽之後，天臺宗的孤山智圓，以多病之身，謀補天之事，宗釋宗儒，都說明一個新時空的到來。這樣的時空，一方面更加突出了人的個體性——唯心淨土，一方面又突出了人的社會責任——萬善齊興、萬像繁興。

萬像繁興，最早出自唐代華嚴宗祖師法藏的《華嚴經義海百門》，“四通性起者。謂塵體空無所有。相無不盡。唯一真性。以空不守自性。即全體而成諸法也。是故而有萬像繁興。萬像繁興而恒不失真體一味。”^②在延壽的《宗鏡錄》中，有“當知依即正。正即依。乃至一事一法。一毛一塵。各各如是合佛依正也。故知萬像繁興。唯一致矣”^③。《萬善同歸集》第66問中有“非但不生彼相之理。而乃不閼萬像繁興。具足依正該攝理事。人法等圓明。一事遍於十方。一切世界。無不同時影現^④。……不溺實際海。能隨有作波。真俗鎔融有無不滯。可謂履非道而達正道。即世法而具佛法矣”^⑤。

在延壽看來，萬像繁興，是理事、真俗圓融的表現。這種圓融，使得非道、世法也具備了正道、佛法的價值。這其中，顯示出延壽思想巨大的包容性。而這

①（宋）延壽撰：《萬善同歸集》第2卷，《大正藏》第48冊，第970頁上。

②（唐）法藏述：《華嚴經義海百門》第1卷，《大正藏》第45冊，第632頁中。

③（宋）延壽撰：《宗鏡錄》第1卷，《大正藏》第81冊，第866頁中。

④（宋）延壽撰：《萬善同歸集》第3卷，《大正藏》第48冊，第984頁上。

⑤（宋）延壽撰：《萬善同歸集》第3卷，《大正藏》第48冊，第984頁中。

種包容性，正是接下來的時代所必須的。延壽甚至有“儒道先宗皆是菩薩。示劣揚化同贊佛乘”的說法，更期待“眾哲冥會千聖交歸”的盛況。^①在某種意義上，在宋代，延壽的理想確實實現了。

^① (宋)延壽撰：《萬善同歸集》第3卷，《大正藏》第48冊，第988頁中。

試論中國宗教神靈信仰內涵 ——以藏傳佛教“乃瓊護法”文本為例

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摘要：本研究嘗試融合米爾恰·伊利亞德“宗教現象學”的理論架構與羅蘭·巴特神話修辭術中的“涵指符號學”方法，對中國宗教中的神靈信仰內涵展開深度闡釋。通過構建“信仰內涵解析”的理論模型，旨在探索宗教學神靈研究的創新路徑。基於田野調查的實證材料，研究擬在本文及後續系列論述中系統驗證該方法的合理性，其核心關切聚焦於神靈信仰文本的符號語義解碼與現象學闡釋的辯證統一，試圖建立具有中國宗教特質的神靈信仰分析範式。

關鍵字：佛教文本研究；宗教現象學；涵指符號學；藏傳佛教；

一、本文的研究思路

本文筆者擬借鑒米爾恰·伊利亞德“宗教現象學”的思路，同時借助羅蘭·巴特爾神話修辭術中“涵指符號學”的方法對於中國宗教中的神靈信仰的內涵展開探究，力圖實踐一種神靈信仰研究的新方法，並結合筆者的田野考察在本文及以後的系列文章中對這種方法進行檢驗。主要目的是探討一種宗教學神靈信仰研究的新方法——對神靈信仰內涵的討論。

選擇伊利亞德的宗教現象學理論作為主要的思路，是因為中國的宗教中存在一種特有的現象，即某一種宗教中的究極實相與宗教系統中神靈存在特定的聯繫，而這種聯繫又多見於中國的主流宗教之中，非宗教現象學理論無以做現代化的詮釋；而將涵指符號學作為一種研究中所借用的方法論，則是因為中國的宗教文本往往蘊含有內在深意，這種內涵恰巧適用於神話修辭學範疇，且克裏斯蒂安·K·魏德邁教授在《Making sense of Tantric Buddhism》一書中已經實踐過這種方法對於宗教文本的詮釋。在研究對象方面，筆者選擇了藏傳佛教中的“乃瓊護法”信仰作為研究對象，一是乃瓊護法作為我國藏族同胞信仰文化中的一位大神，其具有典型的藏族文化特點，其信仰廣泛分佈藏傳佛教各大教派；二是乃瓊

護法相關文本和相關形象現存較多，適合對其信仰展開深入分析和探究；三是學人對於乃瓊護法研究，受限於神靈的“外形可怖”、“故事離奇”，往往選擇着力於其附屬乃瓊神巫的社會學影響，無人深入研究其信仰內涵，尚有空缺；故筆者選擇這一具有代表性的神靈信仰作為本文的研究對象。

本文中，筆者想嘗試對兩問題展開探討：第一，即中國信仰中特定的世俗信仰對象（與宗教中究竟實相存在聯繫的那些，藏傳佛教稱之為出世間護法，道教稱之為先天神靈，日本東密信仰稱之為權現）能否作為神聖的顯聖對象；第二，即中國宗教中神靈信仰的內涵究竟是怎樣的；當然這兩個問題也可以作為同一個問題來展現，即中國宗教中神靈信仰的內涵是否可以理解為神聖（中國宗教中的究竟實相，即佛教所說的般若智慧，道教所說的大道）在世俗中的一種顯聖。

在接下來我們展開探討時，主要從兩方面下手，一是關於乃瓊護法信仰的種種宗教文本和宗教實踐，二是藏傳佛教所承許的種種顯密理論基礎。因為作為藏傳佛教涵蓋下的乃瓊護法信仰，其信仰承載就是相關的文本和日常的宗教活動；而對於信仰的解釋，一定來源且符合佛教的理論，不然無法作為佛教信仰的派生來成立。

二、本文的思路和方法

在展開正文前，首先我們需要用一小段文字來解釋一下文中所沿用或借助的一些思路與方法論，即米爾恰·伊利亞德“神聖與世俗”的宗教現象學思路和羅蘭·巴特爾神話修辭術中的“涵指符號學”分析方法。

神聖與世俗的宗教現象學思路是近代宗教現象學開創者米爾恰·伊利亞德所最早使用的，在其代表著作《神聖的存在》和《神聖與世俗》中對這一思路展開了深入的討論，粗略的說，這一思路可以說是伊利亞德宗教現象學理論體系構建的前提與基礎。“神聖”這一概念，在西方宗教學看來，一開始就構成了終極意義上的“神”的基本特徵，如魯道夫·奧托在《論神聖》中所論述為人在神面前對其敬畏有加的感情自我呈現；這種神聖恰好也符合宗教現象學的研究思路，即直面宗教本身，研究宗教的原現象，進行宗教體驗相關的研究。在伊利亞德看來，宗教中最为獨特、不可化約的要素就是宗教的神聖性；這種神聖性所帶來的神聖體驗就是對宗教信仰最為直觀的反映，因而伊利亞德認為：“‘神聖’是一是

結構中的一種元素，而不是意識史中的一個階段。”。同時宗教現象學之“現象 Phenomenology”一詞，本就是一個宗教辭彙，內涵就有“顯聖”的意思。因此，當伊利亞德將神聖與世俗的分離作為其宗教研究的開端後，神聖與世俗的樣式也成為了他進行宗教研究的方法論。而宗教人士在信仰中為了構建出神聖空間與神聖時間，將世俗中的呈現物作為了神聖的投射，也就是神聖介入和影響世俗空間的突破口，這也就構成了現象學思路中宗教的“顯聖”，而這種作為神聖投射物的世俗存在，也就成為了“顯聖物”，成為了神聖的象徵。

因而神聖與世俗的思路，以及“顯聖物”的理論，是本文論證所不可或缺的指導思路。

神話修辭術中的“涵指符號學”分析方法是羅蘭·巴特爾所開創的一類理論，即根據神話結構蘊含的目的來享用、欣賞神話，同時將涵指符號學作為一種工具來結構和分析其深層內涵；涵指符號學最終得出神話的潛在意義陳述規律也被稱為神話修辭術。這裏涵指符號學的基礎是索緒爾語言學中記號的理論，即記號是意指作用行為的結果，意指作用則包括了能指和所指，對索緒爾而言，記號被論證為某種深層狀態的縱向延申；而在非同構系統中，作為不容層次的同一記號則具有恒等性。

羅蘭·巴特爾實際上是在索緒爾記號的研究上更進一步，將其從語言學中推向了更基礎的符號學，巴特爾的論證中，符號是潛在的類比性按時某些影響或概念或狀態。巴特爾還提出在按環境研究記號時考慮值項的問題，所謂值項就是語言結構中來源於諸詞項的相互位置；同樣任何符號學都需要在能指和所指這兩項之間設定一種關係，也就是需要考慮潛在的值項，比如在戀人系統中，玫瑰恒等於激情，玫瑰與激情的恒等就構成了一個符號：“蘊含激情的玫瑰”。

而羅蘭·巴特爾致力於把神話當作符號學模式來研究，並得出了如下的分析圖示：

语言 层面	III. 符號		神话 层面	
	3. 符號			II. 所指
	I. 能指			
	1. 能指	2. 所指		

在涵指符號學系統中，語言又被稱為整體語言，神話則是釋言之言；神話中的能指是語言學系統的終端，同時也是神話系統的開端。其中，語言系統中的能

指表達意義；而神話系統中的能指表達形式或概念，因而神話系統中的能指不應有任何模稜兩可之處。

筆者希望嘗試以涵指符號學系統來分析和驗證神聖與世俗的顯聖這一宗教現象，力圖提供更加直觀和充分的論證與探究。

三、本文論證中國神靈信仰內涵方式的可行性辨析

首先，在佛教中有沒有這種“神聖”呢？作為一種宗教，佛教肯定是有神聖這種導向的。但是作為東方歷史所發展出的自己的宗教，在“神聖”這一問題上，佛教不同於西方的宗教，佛教不承許一個所謂造物主，不論是人格化的還是自然意義上的；因此佛教中的“神聖”不像西方一樣來源於對神的信仰與追尋，而是來源於對人內在佛性的依止，即使是大乘密宗所提倡的三身佛、本尊神，其內涵與意義也還是回歸到了內在的佛性如來藏之中；因此佛的境界與佛的智慧才是佛教的信仰與導向。

這種佛教中的“神聖”，筆者以自己淺薄的理解借用大乘和密宗最為核心理念做一個本文語境下的陳述：即人內在本具有的鮮明覺性，及證悟後覺性展現為覺悟的智慧；當智慧的覺悟一覽無餘，那麼就是圓滿的佛的智慧，這也是“究竟實相”^①，這便是佛教之中的“神聖”。

在過去的大量研究中，對於這種神聖與世俗的“顯聖物”討論，往往會先置一個前提，那就是顯聖物是在物質世界可以找尋到的東西，如神山聖湖。但是當我們回到宗教本身的視域下來思考時，我們不難發現，宗教中的“世俗”不一定就是物質世界中的世俗對象。在一些宗教信仰體系中，也會存在精神層面的世俗對象；比如道教之中就有先天的神靈與後天的神靈之分，其中先天神靈是與道教中的“神聖”即先天之道存在本質上的一致性的，而後天神靈中有一部分則被視作了世俗對象；藏傳佛教中也存在類似的理論，即出世間護法與世間護法的不同。在中國宗教中，這種世俗就屬於精神層面的世俗。從這種層次來看，既然世俗的定義或許有擴展到精神世界的討論空間，那麼“顯聖物”能否也是精神世界中的世俗存在呢？筆者想在中國宗教的情境下做一下驗證，故選擇了藏傳佛教神

^① 隆欽燃絳巴尊者 造論，劉立千 翻譯：《實相寶藏論》，[M]，北京：民族出版社，2007年。此書全篇皆是在論證何為佛教中的“究竟實相”，後續下文論證，會大量使用這一辭彙

四、“乃瓊護法”文本所反映的信仰體系

本節筆者將結合文本與田野考察，對藏傳佛教“乃瓊護法”信仰體系進行簡要的介紹，並討論藏傳佛教中對其信仰的詮釋。

乃瓊護法的信仰體系遍及整個藏區，橫跨各大教派：在寧瑪派中，祂是忿怒蓮師手中降伏魔障的鐵蠍，也是最具權勢藏地護法之一；在格魯派中，祂是宗喀巴大師的守護者與事業承辦者；在噶舉派的在《貢珠自傳》中祂被稱讚為威力可毀滅須彌山、守護藏地所有寺院；在薩迦派的《俄強喇嘛傳》裏祂在桑耶寺與阿旺貢嘎仁大師欽談笑風生；甚至在明清藏傳佛教傳入內地受皇室貴族接納後，乃瓊五大神王體系與漢傳佛教關聖帝君伽藍信仰產生了某種結合。在舊西藏的政教事務中，自五世達賴喇嘛時期開始，乃瓊護法及其代言人“乃瓊神巫”更是成為甘丹頗莊政權的官方顧問，上至內政外交、歷代班禪與達賴喇嘛的轉世事宜，下至貴族占卜禍福、拉薩河谷的天氣預報，都需要乃瓊護法降神在乃瓊神巫身上來進行預言^①。而如今，乃瓊寺^②依舊會沿襲這一傳統，藏曆每月初二，乃瓊神巫會在乃瓊寺為拉薩前來朝聖的的百姓加持和祈福。乃瓊護法有兩個最為常用的形象：一面二臂身着甲冑、戴孔雀翎盔、手持寶幢與弓箭、佩戴寶劍的相對寂靜形象被稱為乃瓊，而三頭六臂騎獅明王形象則被稱為事業王白哈爾。

研究一種神靈信仰，首先需要瞭解祂的來源發展，所以我們需要瞭解乃瓊護法的本生傳記。有關白哈爾王在密續典籍中的記載，也頗具神秘色彩。認為它出身魔界，因禍亂三界，其母和胞妹在金剛手菩薩（ཕྱག་ནལ་ལྷོ་མེད།）的指點下，施計將其心臟斬成三瓣，一瓣飄至上空，成為南太嘎布（གནམ་ཐེང་དྭགས་པོ།）；一瓣浮於中空，成為拔太查吾（བར་ཐེང་ལྷོ་མེད།）；另一瓣落至地上，成為薩太那布（ས་ཐེང་ལྷོ་མེད།）。其中，薩太那布就是巴達霍爾地區^③的白哈爾王，從此成為霍爾地的保護神^④。此處的白哈爾王就是乃瓊的另一種身相。

關於乃瓊護法是如何來到西藏，又是何成為藏傳佛教的護法，在藏傳佛教史

① 完曼格桑．乃瓊護法神研究 [D]．中央民族大學，2013．

② 拉薩哲蚌寺山下的一座寺院，即是乃瓊護法所駐錫的寺院。

③ 白哈爾最早是“巴達霍爾”地區的神靈，關於巴達霍爾地區，近代藏族學者往往觀點不一致，有人為在今外蒙地區的，也有認為是我國甘肅與青海二省交界處。

④ 此處來源為《具誓如海護法傳》，特別感謝筆者友人、文化學者布欽·嘎瑪文青先生的翻譯整理。

籍《賢者喜宴》^①和《安多政教史》^②中皆有陳述，行文相差不大且互有補充，大概就是當法王赤松德贊與蓮花生大師建立桑耶寺後，欲為桑耶寺選擇一位總護法，蓮師召喚來具五髻者蘇普阿巴龍王，龍王則婉拒並向蓮師推薦了巴達霍爾地區的白哈爾王即乃瓊護法來擔任這一重要位置；對此蓮師也表示贊許，並作出預言：“霍爾的白山魑大王會一口氣吞併整個西藏；而霍爾族的男系神祇即是‘白菩提天神’白哈爾。所以，如果我們請來白哈爾神，那麼這位鬼王會忠心守護佛殿。”於是大師在桑耶寺內塑造了一尊此神塑像，贊普則派遣元帥恩蘭劄達路恭^③攻破巴達霍爾^④，從禪院迎請走了自然天成的綠松石釋迦能仁佛像、白哈爾神常用的犀皮面具、鎧甲、木鳥、水晶獅，以及其餘用具全部迎請到桑耶寺供奉，因此白哈爾神也就跟隨來到了桑耶寺並被蓮師降伏成為了護法。隨後蓮師召遣毗沙門天王與白哈爾王統領天龍八部鬼神眾共同修建桑耶寺。

那麼在宗教文本以及宗教實踐之中，藏傳佛教的學者們又是如何看待和解釋乃瓊護法的呢？首先我們要知道的是乃瓊護法信仰中最為基礎的部分就是五大神王體系^⑤，何為白哈爾五大神王體系？這指的是在密續和傳記之中其曾經呈現出的五種主要形象，分別是司職東方海螺天宮騎白色母獅的蒙布布紮，司職南方黃金天宮騎白蹄黑馬、有龍相伴的木鳥夜叉，司職西方珊瑚天宮騎着白蹄黑螺、頭戴斗笠的紮拉吉久，在巴達霍爾地所顯現出三頭六臂騎獅子的白哈爾明王，以及成為桑耶寺大護法後所顯現的騎天象伽藍因陀羅王^⑥。

① 巴沃·祖拉陳瓦 著，黃顯、周潤年 譯：《賢者喜宴：吐蕃史》，[M]，青海：青海人民出版社，2017年，第272~273頁。

② 智觀巴·貢卻乎丹巴繞吉 著，吳均、毛繼祖、馬世林 譯：《安多政教史》[M]，蘭州：甘肅民族出版社，1989年，第21~22頁。

③ 《舊唐書》中其漢名作馬重英

④ 楊衛．“白哈爾神”傳入吐蕃時間考辨[J]．中國藏學，2017，(02)：第180-182頁．關於白哈爾神傳入吐蕃的時間可參閱楊衛先生此篇文章。

⑤ 有時也稱為五身法王

⑥ 此處因陀羅王也有作具螺髻梵王稱呼的。



圖 1. 乃瓊五大神王唐卡



圖 2. 雍和宮內關帝唐卡



圖 3. 布達拉宮內乃瓊護法神像

而在藏傳佛教信仰體系中，乃瓊護法和白哈爾神是一致的，如著名學者第司·桑吉嘉措就認為“乃瓊與白哈爾王不僅是同形同性，且乃瓊護法的身語意亦具可震撼三界的無可匹敵之力。”^①，而第五世達賴喇嘛阿旺洛桑嘉措則在其造的《乃瓊護法祭祀文》則言“幻化五身不定於一相，示現化身法王請至此。”^②，認為乃瓊護法就是總攝白哈爾五大神王的化身形象，也可以說是白哈爾五大神王的總集^③。在藏傳佛教的唐卡圖像之中，往往在五大神王下方繪製又乃瓊護法，意為此神是五大神王意趣的總集化身。

藏傳佛教歷代高僧大德對於乃瓊或者說白哈爾王的著述頗豐，其中最具有代表性的如貢唐倉活佛的《乃瓊簡略祭祀文》中所言“如來智慧本性五身中，乃瓊化身法王白哈爾。”又如大堪布益西諾若的《乃瓊簡供文》中所言“圓鏡智相^④護法尊，乃瓊王及眷屬前，祈禱供養令歡喜，囑託事業順速成。”這兩段簡短的表述中我們不難發現，那就是藏傳佛教中乃瓊護法信仰與五方佛體系緊密聯繫在一起；許多藏傳佛教的高僧大德都將乃瓊五大神王作為如來五種智慧的化身來看待。

① 詳情參閱第司·桑吉嘉措《乃瓊白哈爾志·震撼三界之咆哮》，暫無全文漢譯

② 第五世達賴喇嘛所著《乃瓊護法祭祀文》，暫無全文漢譯。

③ 因而在筆者下文的行文中，乃瓊與白哈爾王實指同一對象。

④ 即大圓鏡智，“此智明察三界一切諸法，萬德圓滿、無所欠缺，猶如大圓鏡之能顯一切色相，故稱為大圓鏡智。”

【白哈爾五大神王體系】：

五種化身	五大神王	所屬部類	寂靜部主	忿怒部主
東方身之化身	蒙布布紮	金剛身部	不動佛	文殊身 大威德金剛
西方語之化身	紮拉吉久	蓮花語部	阿彌陀佛	蓮花語 馬頭明王
中間意之化身	因陀羅王	佛部	大日如來	真實意 揚達嘿日嘎
南方功德化身	木鳥夜叉	甘露寶部	寶生佛	甘露功德 大殊勝嘿日嘎
北方事業化身	白哈爾王	事業羯磨部	不空成就佛	普巴事業 普巴金剛

五方五佛是佛教密宗的重要理論支撐，五方五種如來即五種智慧，即將一切佛菩薩智慧歸納為五種：法界體性智、大圓鏡智、平等性智、妙觀察智與成所作智^①；這五種智慧又代表金剛界五部，即金剛身部、蓮花語部、佛部、甘露寶部、事業羯磨部；而在藏傳佛教前譯派中，五部部主寂靜形象為五方佛，忿怒形象則為五大明王。五種智慧除了代表五智、五德外，還是五蘊清淨體性。在密宗修行人通過修習成就證悟之後，一切不淨之五蘊便轉化為了清淨的五種智慧，修行人也就進入了佛菩薩的境界，這也就是密宗信仰之中所說的“即身即佛”。

在藏傳佛教的敘事中，作為出世間護法的白哈爾五大神王，也是五方五佛智慧的化身，象徵着了修行人色、受、想、行、識五蘊相對清淨後，身、語、意、功德、事業逐漸顯露為如來五種智慧；在修行者接下來持續修行的過程中，白哈爾五大神王作為這五慧五德之代表，以忿怒巨大的威力摧毀剩餘尚未清淨的五蘊所幻化出的障礙；直至修行者五蘊完全清淨，並展現為如來的五種智慧，此時的白哈爾五大神王也就不需要繼續顯現出護法的形象了，而是也還原為如來五種智慧，即形象上融入五方佛心中。

以上，便是對於藏傳佛教中“乃瓊護法”信仰體系的略微概述。

五、對於“乃瓊護法”神靈信仰內涵的宗教學解析

筆者認為，對於“乃瓊護法”信仰內涵的宗教學分析，一定要契合宗教現象學的思路，注重上文提及的在乃瓊護法信仰體系中所體現出神聖與世俗概念的對

^① 可參閱如《金剛頂經》、《佛說無二平等最上瑜伽大教王經》、《佛說一切如來金剛三業最上秘密大教王經》等密續經典

應，如作為神聖的如來智慧和作為世俗的五蘊，同時一定需要結合乃瓊信仰的文本材料以及作為一種宗教信仰對象的乃瓊本身來做分析。

這裏我們在眾多乃瓊護法的宗教文本中，選擇一段較為精煉的文本進行涵指符號學的分析，筆者選擇引用著名佛教學者貢唐倉活佛所撰寫的《乃瓊簡略祭祀文》中一段重要內容：“如來智慧本性五身中，乃瓊化身法王白哈爾。”

III. 行者證悟後，五蘊轉化為如來五種智慧，所以乃瓊成為行者自性化現之護法，能夠承辦一切事業	
3. 乃瓊五大神王是智慧的出世間護法 I. 向智慧護法乃瓊祈禱	II. 行者五蘊轉化為五智慧後，乃瓊可以承辦一切事業
1. 如來智慧本性五身中，乃瓊化身法王白哈爾。	2. 乃瓊是如來五種智慧所化現的智慧護法

文本本身即是語言層次中的能指，解釋乃瓊護法（據前文宗教文本的分析可知，乃瓊是白哈爾五大神王共同彙聚顯現的形象，故下文稱其為白哈爾王）是如來五種智慧所化現的智慧護法，語言層次想要表達的是：乃瓊五大神王是智慧的出世間護法。同時，在涵指符號學的層次上，語言層面所表達的“乃瓊五大神王是智慧的出世間護法”也構成了更深層次^①的能指，即向乃瓊這位智慧護法祈禱；這一層次的所指則是當行者的五蘊轉化為了五智慧時，乃瓊護法就能夠作為智慧護法幫助行者了。

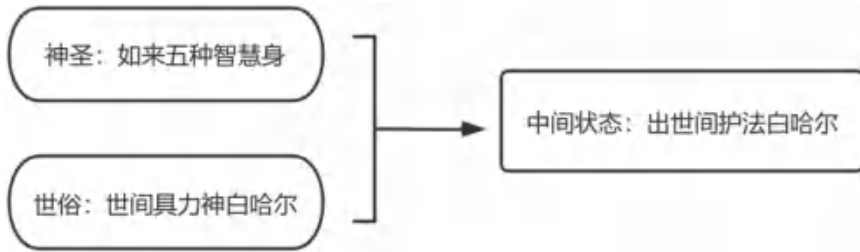
因此，這一段精煉的文本，通過涵指符號學的分析，我們便能夠發現其深藏的宗教信仰內涵，即當行者通過修持證悟後，不淨的五蘊轉化為了清淨的五種智慧，乃瓊也就稱為行者自性化現之護法，能夠承辦一切事業。

當然，從宗教理論上來講，以上的分析是否符合其理論要求呢？為何神聖性的如來五種智慧神可以顯現為世俗性的世間具力神白哈爾呢？因為佛教密宗在佛性論上承許眾生皆有佛性，也就是具有鮮明的覺性；同時藏傳佛教的中觀瑜伽行理論又同樣承許《解深密經》中真俗二諦，藏傳佛教稱之為勝義諦和世俗諦。所以從藏傳佛教的觀念來看，因為無明蒙蔽的原因行者雖有鮮明的覺性但尚未完全展現為覺悟的智慧，所以白哈爾王雖此時作為出世間護法，即雖未如來五種智慧所化現，卻因為行者五蘊尚未清淨所以在行者的覺受中顯現為世間具力神的形象。

而當行者證悟了佛的智慧，鮮明的覺性慢慢展現為智慧的覺悟，白哈爾王也

^① 即涵指符號學系統中的神話層面或者神話系統

就展現為佛的五種智慧身，行者也能夠覺悟到白哈爾是如來五種智慧的顯現。



所以從宗教現象學的思路來看，當行者的覺性隨着次第逐步轉化為證悟的智慧，也就是有了一定的證量但尚未完全成就五種智慧時，白哈爾王對於行者來說便處於一種神聖與世俗之間的狀態，也就是出世間護法白哈爾。此時白哈爾王的顯現與行者一樣，即顯現了神聖的智慧，但也保持了世俗的狀態；因此對於行者而言是無法駕馭白哈爾王狂暴力量的，此時的儀軌會被稱作供贊，即祈禱和祭祀，但同時對護法神充滿敬畏。這許可以解釋為什麼在不同的宗教記載中白哈爾王會顯示出不同的面孔，當蔡公堂寺的僧俗在選址沒有聽從白哈爾王的意見後祂火燒公堂寺，而薩迦的成就者^①俄強啦嘛阿旺貢嘎仁欽在桑耶寺中則能夠與祂像大人與頑皮小孩一樣對話和嬉戲。

在筆者兩次前往我國西藏自治區的寺院進行實地考察時，發現這種對於出世間護法的信仰理論的理解也在僧俗群眾們的社會實踐中有所體現。比如供奉有白哈爾王的護法殿往往會遮住護法神像的臉，據說是出於護法神的敬畏，避免有人被護法神巨大的威力所震懾和傷害，或是害怕護法神生氣；又比如某座供奉有白哈爾五大神王護法殿的寺院中，即使是念誦護法的僧人也不敢在夜晚靠近這座護法殿，據他們陳述是因為害怕護法神強大的能量所帶來的巨大精神震撼；而當筆者詢問一些高僧大德時，則得到了不同的回答，這些高僧大德往往並不會懼怕出世間的護法神，他們認為懼怕出世間護法神的人暫時還沒有理解護法的實際含義。

我們不妨借助現代心理學來理解一下，出世間護法的信仰的宗教實踐類似於某種心理對於實踐的反作用，當信仰者沒有理解出世間護法的真實含義時，雖然知道出世間護法是佛菩薩智慧悲心所化，但是還是無法脫離對於世間具力神形象的執著，所以充滿畏懼，這種崇敬又畏懼的心理，會反作用於實踐，讓他們感到

^① 指證量十分高深的佛教修行人

懼怕；但是對於少數理解出世間護法信仰的人來說，出世間護法在並不是一個外在的世間具力神，而是完全的佛菩薩智慧的化現，此時信仰者處於一種自在^①的狀態，對於出世間護法也沒有世間的畏懼。

所以，接下來我們進行第二個涵指符號學分析，即對於“白哈爾王”這一信仰對象，結合羅布林卡中蓮師降伏護法五王的壁畫^②進行分析。

III. 當通過修行將覺性展現為完全覺悟的智慧，世間萬有的假相轉化為清淨的智慧，境界與佛菩薩無二無別	
3. 世間具力神白哈爾（傲慢） I. 世間萬有的假相（五蘊）	II. “傲慢”被降伏，世間萬有的假相因鮮明覺性故轉化為清淨的智慧
1. 白哈爾（符號意義上的）	2. 世間具力神白哈爾王

如圖所示，語言層面上的所指是符號意義上的“白哈爾”，其能指是世間具力神白哈爾王，所以其語言層面上要表達的就是就是象徵“傲慢”^③的世間具力神白哈爾王。而語言層面上象徵“傲慢”的白哈爾王同時也能夠在更深的層次中，即在涵指符號學的神話層面中作為能指等同於五蘊所帶來的世間萬有的假相；在這更深的層次中，結合白哈爾王的宗教文獻，我們可以發現其宗教內涵，即所指是當“傲慢”被降伏，世間萬有的假相也轉化為了清淨的智慧。

根據涵指符號學的分析，我們也能夠得出白哈爾王信仰的實質內涵，實際上是揭露了一種藏傳佛教中的理念：在世俗諦中，白哈爾王顯現為世間具力神，象徵着世間萬有的假相；當蓮師降伏白哈爾王將其轉化為智慧的護法，也就是覺性展現為覺悟的智慧，世間萬有的假相也就轉化為了清淨的智慧，白哈爾王也展現出其本質——如來五種智慧的顯現。白哈爾王融入蓮師心間，也代表着五蘊清淨並轉化為了五種智慧。蓮師降伏白哈爾五大神王，即是象徵修行人降伏了五蘊的假相；白哈爾五大神王由世間具力神轉化為出世間護法，即是象徵修行人的五蘊複歸為其本質五種智慧；而修行人此時也與蓮師無二無別。

如來五種智慧就是佛的智慧，就是佛教信仰中圓滿的究竟實相，是佛教密宗信仰中最為重要的核心與指向，是與宗教現象學視域下的“神聖”相符合的。

① 佛教所說的自在，非西哲意義上的自在

② 此壁畫位於羅布林卡格桑頗莊的列切央齊殿北壁。

③ 源自“驕慢戰神優婆塞”一詞，出自秋吉林巴的伏藏蓮師祈禱文；為何為“傲慢”，即持有傲慢心，認為五蘊之“我所”和“我所緣”皆是真實不虛，對於解脫來講，此即是傲慢的障礙

而五蘊則是與五種智慧一一相對，當人被無明所蒙蔽，五蘊是人世俗世界構成的主體，這也與宗教現象學視域下的“世俗”相吻合。而在證悟了佛的智慧後，人的五蘊便一一轉化為如來五智慧；所以最本質的神聖與世俗的相對就是作為神聖的五種智慧與作為世俗的五蘊相對，所以密宗意義上，五蘊也是如來五智慧的顯聖物。而藏傳佛教的密宗由於其蘊含豐富的符號學文化，往往會使用象徵性的表達方式。如前文所述，乃瓊五大神王某種程度上便是象徵着五蘊，而乃瓊護法的本生傳記以及其信仰的祈禱文，實際上就是象徵着人的修行過程：修行人降伏了狂暴世間大力鬼神一樣的五蘊，將這種影響和干擾我們覺悟的五蘊在證悟的力量中轉化為了如來五種智慧，修行人也達到了從世俗向神聖的契合，照見了勝義諦的境界，此時的乃瓊護法也就成為了如來五智慧的象徵。因此在這種推導中，我們可以發現，乃瓊護法在其信仰體系和密宗修行的過程中也成為了“如來五種智慧”這一神聖的顯聖物。

現在，我們可以來對於“乃瓊護法”神靈信仰的內涵做一個較為合適的宗教學解析了。以乃瓊白哈爾王為代表的藏傳佛教出世間護法信仰，其在宗教理論核心便是佛的智慧顯現為出世間護法。以宗教現象學的思路來詮釋，藏傳佛教理論承許世俗與勝義二諦，世俗諦中在二元分別念頭下有着現象的、思維的東西，這便是世間萬有的假相，在這種世俗諦看來，護法神是有血有肉的世俗神靈對象；而勝義諦境界中則是清淨智慧下智慧的、覺悟的究竟實相，是如來五種智慧，在勝義諦境界中，護法神是智慧本覺的顯現。這種世俗諦，也就是宗教現象學語境下的世俗；而勝義諦的境界則是宗教現象學語境下的神聖，或是神聖的狀態。勝義諦的境界，也就是宗教現象學中所想要論證的“神聖空間”與“神聖時間”，只不過在藏傳佛教的修行觀中，這二者被統一在了成就的勝義境界中。

因此，在宗教現象學語境下的藏傳佛教的視域中，出世間護法這些特殊的世俗神靈就是作為佛菩薩智慧的顯聖或者說投射對象；這一顯聖物的描述也頗為符合藏傳佛教理論中對於出世間護法是佛菩薩智慧化身的表述。唯一稍有不同的是，這裏作為顯聖對象的世俗物，並非某一物體，如神山聖湖，而是宗教信仰中的某些神靈^①對象。

^① 作者注：這裏的神靈指的是超自然的生命體

六、未來展望

本文中，筆者在神聖與世俗的宗教現象學思路指導下，運用涵指符號學的分析方法，結合藏傳佛教中“乃瓊護法”信仰的文本與實踐，對“乃瓊護法”信仰的內涵進行了深入的探討。最終發現，“乃瓊護法”信仰的核心架構實際上就是藏傳佛教修行導向的象徵，其核心出發點就是將乃瓊及五大神王體系作為藏傳佛教中如來五種智慧的“顯聖物”；而以宗教理論來分析，這種顯聖物並非體現在現代科學意義上的物質世界內，而是體現在現代科學意義的精神世界中。雖然“乃瓊護法”信仰會在社會文化中表現為寺院、塑像、壁畫等諸多所謂物質形式，但從根本上來講乃瓊五大神王這一神聖於世俗中的“顯聖”是在精神信仰層面的顯聖，“乃瓊護法”作為信仰對象本身本身並不是一個物質化的顯聖物；而像五大神王塑像、乃瓊神巫這些物質世界中的顯聖物，則是將乃瓊護法作為與如來五種智慧無別的神聖之後，所顯聖於世俗中的物質對象上。這種神聖與世俗關係中顯聖物的次第性體現為宗教信仰中意義的先後上，而非體現在現實世界時間的先後上。

筆者以為，藏傳佛教中“出世間護法”類的神靈信仰的內涵都可以以這種方式來進行理解，將這一類藏傳佛教特有的信仰體系通過宗教現象學思路和涵指符號符號學方法，做出宗教哲學意義上的分析和思考。進一步來講，不僅僅是在藏傳佛教中，我國道教神靈信仰裏也存在與“出世間護法”神靈信仰相類似的情況，即“先天神靈”；那麼道教信仰中“先天神靈”的信仰內涵，甚至是日本韓國佛教“權現”的信仰內涵，能否也以神聖在世俗中的顯聖來理解呢？筆者猜測是可以的，並且也希望能在一篇文章中做出論證。筆者希望我們可以超越過去將這些神靈信仰簡單歸為神話故事的思路，也能夠打破某些西方學者將中國和東亞傳統宗教當作巫術的偏見，並進一步發現我國甚至東亞傳統宗教獨特的宗教思想內涵。

文藝學專題



月亮意象在佛教藝術中的轉譯與重生： 基於《楞嚴經》的多重視角

林詩好（同濟大學人文學院）

緒論

0.1 選題緣起

從古至今，月亮始終是一個充滿神秘性與象徵張力的核心意象。自先秦以來，月亮便被視為天地節律與陰陽迴圈的重要標誌，承載着對時間、生命與變化的哲學思考。在道教體系中，月亮常與“太陰”相連，象徵柔和、內斂之意，是修煉者內視與靜觀的自然鏡像；在佛教文化中，月亮更具深刻的宗教象徵意義，常被用來比喻佛性圓明、覺照無礙；同時，月亮也是中國古典詩學中最具情感深度的意象之一，寄託着孤獨、思親、懷古與超脫的情感體驗，詩人們以月為信使，實現人與人之間的超越時空的精神共振。

但隨着天文學與媒介技術的發展，月亮的神秘面紗層層褪去，在當代視覺文化中已成為一個高度日常化、情緒化乃至消費化的圖像符號。月亮這一古老意象似乎已逐漸喪失其象徵的深度與哲學厚度，成為被廣泛美學化、情緒化乃至去語義化的視覺元素。正因如此，本文選擇以“月亮”這一意象作為研究對象，並非出於其當代視覺的新穎性，恰恰相反，是為了通過《大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經》（以下簡稱《楞嚴經》）中關於月亮的哲學性闡釋，連接佛教象徵、美學經驗與當代藝術實踐，揭示一個已被視覺文化過度使用的最樸素、最古老的佛學意象如何能在精神層面恢復其作為“通往不可見世界”的象徵功能，回應當代圖像文化中象徵匱乏與空洞化的危機。重新啟動其深層象徵邏輯，並在當代轉譯中探索其“重生”的可能性。

在眾多佛教經典中，選擇《楞嚴經》作為文本研究月亮意象的思想基礎，並非僅僅因其在佛教思想史上的重要地位，更因為其獨特的視覺哲學特徵與象徵表達方式，使其在當代藝術語境中具有高度的可轉譯性與再詮釋潛力。《楞嚴經》

以感官覺知作為修行起點，通過層層月喻遞進，不僅揭示了佛性本覺與迷妄分別的關係，也在視覺上構築了佛教象徵系統中“空”“圓”“明”的意象核心。這些象徵既是哲理的表徵，為後世的佛教藝術提供了豐富的視覺母題。系統地揭示了眾生如何在“見聞覺知”中陷入妄想執著，從而遮蔽本有的佛性。在這一感知—妄執—覺照的結構中，視覺成為一個核心通道，月亮則作為高度凝練的視覺象徵反復出現。這種介於真實與虛幻之間的象徵邏輯，恰與當代藝術中對觀看、幻覺、空性以及主體感知的反思相互契合。同時，相比其他經典中月亮作為“圓滿”或“清淨”的固定象徵，《楞嚴經》中的月亮更具張力——它既代表照見本心的智慧之光，又體現幻相世界的迷離之影，這種雙重性為其在當代圖像語言中“轉譯”與“重生”提供了廣闊的空間。

進入視覺文化語境，月亮意象作為佛性、智慧、空性等概念的象徵，在佛像壁畫、繪畫等視覺作品中不斷被轉譯、再現與演繹。例如，佛像背後的圓形頭光——其形式之美與象徵之義交織，指向本覺、無垢與明照的佛性觀。這一圖像的演化也從側面反映出佛教如何以視覺形式回應深層的哲學命題。

然而，圖像的再現不總是通向哲學意涵。在當代視覺文化中，圖像愈發游離於原初語境，轉化為一種可被消費與操控的“美學形式”。正如法國哲學家斯蒂格勒（Bernard Stiegler）所言，當象徵性的貧困與符號空轉成為文化表徵的常態，傳統意象也面臨“被消費化”的風險^①。在此背景下，重新考察《楞嚴經》中月亮意象的哲學根基，並探討其在佛教藝術中的視覺轉譯與當代表現，有助於厘清圖像、哲學與文化再生之間的張力。

本研究正是立足於此種張力之中，試圖在哲學義理與藝術表現之間架設橋樑，探討月亮意象從佛教經典文本到佛教圖像系統的遷變軌跡，並在此過程中提出批判性反思：今日月亮，還能否照見“見月忘指”的根本初心？

0.2 文獻綜述

國內關於《楞嚴經》的研究，主要集中於其義理體系、修行路徑與“圓通”法門的實踐維度。交光大師的《楞嚴經正脈疏》^②、圓瑛法師的《楞嚴經講

^① [法]貝爾納·斯蒂格勒（Bernard Stiegler）著，張新木、龐茂森譯：《象徵的貧困》，南京大學出版社，2021年，第11-17頁。

^② （明）交光真鑒：《楞嚴經正脈疏》第2卷，《續藏經》第12冊。

義》^①、南懷瑾的《楞嚴大義今釋》^②等都對其思想有系統性的講解，強調其在修行次第與實證智慧上的指導意義。近年來，學界也逐步從哲學語言學、佛性論、心性論等角度重新審視《楞嚴經》的思想地位。如陳兵在《佛教心理學》^③中，從佛教心性轉化與修行心理機制入手，揭示經文所體現的深層認知邏輯；賴永海則在《中國佛性論》^④中，探討《楞嚴經》關於“見性成佛”及本體論命題的哲學深度。這些研究為經文的義理解讀奠定了堅實基礎，但多聚焦於文字語言系統、哲學範疇與修行操作層面。

在佛教藝術研究領域，已有部分學者關注敦煌壁畫中的“光相”結構、虛實表現與禪宗美學的結合，如李玉璿曾就“頭光”“身光”與“法界觀”的圖像建構展開分析。她在《敦煌藥師經變研究》中指出，莫高窟藥師佛壁畫中“光相元素”（如寶蓋、日月菩薩、背光等）不僅具有裝飾作用，更是在視覺層面承載了教義引導與觀想修習功能^⑤。然而，目前學界尚缺乏系統研究《楞嚴經》中複雜象徵系統，尤其是“月亮意象”在佛教視覺傳統中的演化路徑，以及其在當代視覺媒介中的再生產和文化異化。有關佛教意象如何在藝術中被轉譯、重構甚至被消費化的問題，依舊缺乏從視覺文化與宗教傳播相結合的綜合性研究視角。

此外，本文也引入了若干國外理論資源，用以建構跨學科的分析框架。例如，法國哲學家貝爾納·斯蒂格勒（Bernard Stiegler）在《象徵的貧困》中提出的理論^⑥，可用以分析月亮意象如何在當代視覺語境中脫離其原始宗教語境，轉化為一種裝飾性、消費性的視覺元素。德勒茲（Gilles Deleuze）在《差異與重複》中區分了“機械性重複”與“生成性重複”^⑦，為理解佛教藝術中月亮意象的多次複現如何承載不斷深化的哲學意涵提供理論基礎。鮑德里亞（Jean Baudrillard）在

① 圓瑛法師：《大佛頂首楞嚴經講義（上）》，華東師範大學出版社，2014年。

② 南懷瑾：《楞嚴大義今釋》，復旦大學出版社，2016年。

③ 陳兵：《佛教心理學》，陝西師範大學出版總社，2015年。

④ 賴永海：《中國佛性論》，商務印書館有限公司，2022年，第524-526頁。

⑤ 李玉璿：《敦煌藥師經變研究》，《故宮學術季刊》，1990年第7期。

⑥ [法]貝爾納·斯蒂格勒（Bernard Stiegler）著，張新木、龐茂森譯：《象徵的貧困》，南京大學出版社，2021年。

⑦ [法]吉爾·德勒茲（Gilles Deleuze）著，安靖、張子嶽譯：《差異與重複》，華東師範大學出版社，2019年。

《擬像與擬仿》中所提出的“第三階擬像”概念^①，則有助於揭示當代媒介環境中佛教圖像如何在“去現實化”與“去宗教化”中被過度再現與消費。

綜上所述，儘管學界已在佛教哲學、修行思想與圖像傳統方面取得一定成果，但仍缺乏聚焦《楞嚴經》特定象徵意象（如月亮）在圖像史與媒介語境中的動態變遷的跨學科研究。本文試圖在佛教哲學、宗教美術史與當代視覺文化批評之間，搭建一座理論橋樑，以深化對佛教象徵語言的理解，並回應當代文化語境中宗教經驗與視覺再現之間的張力。

第1章 《楞嚴經》中的月亮意象及其哲學象徵

《楞嚴經》中月亮意象的運用，貫穿於其“見性”與“觀心”教義的多個層面，不僅具有鮮明的象徵意味，更承載着深刻的哲學意涵。從“水中月影”到“空中月”，再至“本來月”，經文通過一系列層層推進的月亮譬喻，展現了由妄執幻象而入如實觀照的修行軌跡。月亮既象徵真如本性，又作為“圓照”與“無住”的修證標誌，成為通達“圓通”與“如來藏性”的核心視覺隱喻。

本章將從《楞嚴經》的文本結構與語義系統出發，梳理月亮意象在其中的基本形態與核心寓意，並聚焦“觀照”與“十番顯見”^②等修行法門探討月象如何轉化為修行路徑上的認知引導。同時，也將參照其他佛教經典中相關象徵的異同，進一步揭示《楞嚴經》中月亮意象的獨特構造與意義生成機制。

1.1 《楞嚴經》中月亮象徵的總體結構與核心譬喻

作為佛教經典中的重要著作，《楞嚴經》以其深邃的哲學體系與高度象徵化的語言風格著稱。其中，月亮意象不僅作為自然現象出現，更在象徵系統中佔據

^① [法]讓·鮑德里亞（Jean Baudrillard）著，洪凌譯：《擬像與擬仿》，時報文化出版企業股份有限公司，1998年。

^② “十番顯見”系《大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經》第1卷和第2卷中佛陀與阿難、波斯匿王的對話，通過十種方式反復開示“見性”不變、離一切相的真諦。此段經文強調“見性”並非依賴外境，而是眾生本具的覺性，是佛性之體現。見於《大藏經》第19冊。交光真鑑大師將經文十段教示提煉為“十科”，構建出由淺入深的詮釋框架。其內容涵蓋明暗離合、動靜生滅等對立範疇，最終指向真心見性的超越本質。初科顯其脫根、脫塵，迴然靈光獨耀；二科顯其離身、離境，凝然本不動搖；三科顯其盡未來際，究竟常住不滅；四科顯其從無始來，雖然顛倒不失；五科顯其無往、無還，挺物表而常住；六科顯其不雜、不亂，超象外以孤標；七科顯其觀大、觀小，轉物自在無礙；八科顯其無是、無非，見真妄情自息；九科顯其諸情不墮，遠越外計、權宗；十科顯其自相亦離，轉入純真無妄。見於其《楞嚴經正脈疏》第1卷，《續藏經》第12冊。

核心地位，成為揭示佛法修行路徑與覺悟境界的重要符號。通過層次分明、寓意深遠的比喻系統，月亮意象被賦予了“空性”與“實相”、幻象與覺悟之間的內在聯繫，從而體現出佛教認識論與實踐論的統一。

經文中關於月亮的描述尤為突出，主要可歸納為兩大象征結構：一是“指月”譬喻，二是“三重月喻”。

1.1.1 “指月”譬喻

“指月”的比喻出現在《楞嚴經》卷二“如人以手指月示人，彼人因指當應看月，若復觀指以為月體，此人豈唯亡失月輪，亦亡其指。何以故？以所標指為明月故。豈唯亡指，亦復不識明之與暗。何以故？即以指體為月明性，明暗二性無所了故。”^①引文中的“手指”與“月體”區分比觀，揭示了佛法中“法不自法”的觀念，即法門作為方便，若執其為究竟，反而墮入妄執，不僅失其指引之義，亦障蔽於真理之現前。此譬喻強調，修行者應透過語言與教義的“指”，觀照其所指之“月”——即本性、實相，而非執著於教相本身。

值得說明的是，“指月”的譬喻並非僅見於《楞嚴經》。在《大智度論》等佛典中亦有類似用法。然而，《楞嚴經》在該喻體的基礎上有更富有結構性的象徵系統，即“三層月喻”，以更為精細的哲學圖式揭示修行的層級與見性的遞進。

1.1.2 “三重月喻”結構

《楞嚴經》中關於“三重月喻”的闡釋，主要見於卷二兩處重要開示：其一為“佛告阿難：且汝見我見精明元，此見雖非妙精明心，如第二月；非是月影。汝應諦聽！”；其二更深入指出“此見妙明與諸空塵，亦復如是。本是妙明無上菩提淨圓真心，妄為色空及與聞見，如第二月，誰為是月？又誰非月？文殊！但一月真，中間自無是月、非月。”^②這一精妙譬喻通過“水中月影”（緣塵分別之識心）、“空中第二月”（見精明元）與“本來月”（妙明真心）的三重象徵體系，系統展現了從虛妄分別到清淨正見，最終徹證真如的修行次第。圓瑛法師在《楞嚴經講義》中精準詮釋道：“以第一月喻純真無妄之妙明真心，第二月喻見

^①（唐）般刺蜜帝譯：《大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經》第2卷，《大藏經》第19冊，第111頁上。

^②（唐）般刺蜜帝譯：《大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經》第2卷，《大藏經》第19冊，第111頁上。

精明元，水中月影喻緣塵分別之識心。”^①此三重要義不僅清晰呈現了佛教修證的階次邏輯，更深刻體現了佛法“離二邊、契中道”的認知特質，為修行者提供了明晰的見地指引。

1.2 《楞嚴經》的“三重月喻”與修行心境的轉化結構探析

《楞嚴經》中的月亮意象的“三重月喻”展現了修行者心境的不同層次，揭示了修行的漸進過程以及從無明到覺悟的轉變。

1.2.1 傳統注疏中的三重象徵

“水中月影”象徵五陰虛妄、緣起幻現之性。圓瑛法師指出：“非是月影，非同水中月影，與真月有虛實之殊，天淵之隔。”^②水中之影雖似真月，實則虛妄，隨波動蕩，不具真實性。此象喻修行初始階段，眾生心識為妄想遮蔽，認妄為真，未能契入實相，是未修行前的迷離心態。

“空中月”乃“捏目所見”，雖非真月，但亦非全然虛妄。圓瑛法師道：“捏目所見之第二月，雖非真月，而與真月原無別體，但多一捏而已，放手即真。”^③此象徵修行之初，見性已顯，但仍夾雜執着，未能徹證。經中佛陀引導阿難觀照“見精明元”，以次第示悟，因“唯佛獨證”真心，而等覺菩薩尚有一分無明未破，況凡夫小乘，更需借“第二月”導入真見。

“本來月”象徵究竟覺悟，真月現前，無複遮蔽，乃真如實相之顯現。此境中，修行者已破諸妄惑，回歸清淨本性，超越一切幻象與執着，親證如來藏自性之圓明光照，達涅槃與無上覺悟的終極目標。

1.2.2 現代語境中的再解讀：媒介與月喻結構的轉譯

在現代媒介語境中，本文嘗試對月喻三層結構作一番重新理解：其漸進性可逆向解讀為“空中月——水中月影——本來月”。《楞嚴經》曰：“見見之時，見非是見，見猶離見，見不能及。”^④空中月（第二月）象徵對“見性”的誤認，

① 圓瑛法師：《大佛頂首楞嚴經講義（上）》，華東師範大學出版社，2014年，第112頁。

② 圓瑛法師：《大佛頂首楞嚴經講義（上）》上冊，華東師範大學出版社，2014年，第112頁。

③ 圓瑛法師：《大佛頂首楞嚴經講義（上）》上冊，華東師範大學出版社，2014年，第112頁。

④ （唐）般刺蜜帝譯：《大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經》，第2卷，《大藏經》第19冊，第113頁上。

是尚未徹悟的“非見”狀態。它既不同於本覺之月，又區別於完全虛妄的倒影，是見性初顯但未明的階段。水中月影則在此重構中代表修行過程中的覺察。水作為媒介，雖仍反映虛幻之像，但亦預示覺知的可能。若援引麥克盧漢（Marshall McLuhan）“媒介即信息”之理論，水之投影不僅反映主體認知結構，更可視為修行者心識之動態顯現。正如他所言“一切媒介均是感官的延伸，感官同樣是我們身體能量上的固有電荷。人的感覺也形成了每個人的知覺和經驗。”^①由此，水月雖歷來為佛教虛妄象徵，但在《楞嚴經》中，亦可理解為修行中“幻中悟真”的過程表現。

最終的“本來月”依然是修行的終點與佛教所追求的覺悟境界。彼時，修行者徹破無明，返歸真性，如南懷瑾在《楞嚴大義今釋》中所言：“客觀之物理世界，與心性自體所生功能，本為一體；俱為靈妙光明、圓滿真心正覺之性。”^②此境不離幻妄，亦不執幻妄，明見本來，圓證無礙。

1.3 與其他佛典的月亮意象的聯繫和比較

《楞嚴經》中的月亮意象具有多重象徵功能，其獨特之處在於並非停留於單一寓意，而是呈現出高度層次化的象徵結構，映射出修行過程中由迷而悟、由幻入真的漸進轉化路徑。在整個佛教經典體系中，月亮亦常作為高度抽象的哲理象徵被反復使用，與《楞嚴經》中的表達方式既相互呼應，又各自展現出不同的思想重心與象徵側向。

1.3.1 語言超越與實相指引的象徵：月亮作為“真理”的隱喻

《大智度論》出現了類似《楞嚴經》中“指月”喻相似的表達：“聽者心即取相，著是諸法平等；如人以指指月，不知者但觀其指而不視月。”^③此處同樣強調語言與概念只是引導眾生趨近真理的方便手段，若執指為月，則不僅迷失了所指的本義，也誤解了語言本身的功能。這一比喻進一步深化了佛教中“言語道斷”的思想核心，表明真正的智慧必須超越表像，契入實相。

① [加拿大]馬歇爾·麥克盧漢（Marshall McLuhan）著，何道寬譯：《理解媒介：論人的延伸》，譯林出版社，2014年，第73頁。

② 南懷瑾：《楞嚴大義今釋》，復旦大學出版社，2016年，第55頁。

③（姚秦）鳩摩羅什譯：《大智度論》第95卷，《大藏經》第25冊，第726頁上。

《維摩詰經》中雖少有具象的月亮比喻，但其強調“寂照”與“無言的智慧”本質上與《楞嚴經》中的“本來月”形成哲學呼應。《維摩詰經》中維摩詰居士以默然示法，代表不可說的般若，與《楞嚴經》中“月在水中，不動本月”的意象呼應，強調修行者須安住本性，非依語言得道。中則強調不可說、不可執之“空寂智慧”，與《楞嚴經》提出“見性圓明”“非見見之見”構成互文關係，也使得月亮成為“非對待智慧”的象徵。

1.3.2 空性思想與虛幻象徵：水月喻與諸法無自性

《大般若波羅蜜多經》中則使用了“水中月”的譬喻：“以一切法皆如水月，不可執取故。”^①這一譬喻揭示了諸法本無自性、緣起性空的根本觀念，強調世間萬象雖有其相，實則如幻似影，不可執着。

《大方廣佛華嚴經》中也多次出現“水月”的譬喻：“如幻、如夢、如電、如響、如鏡中像、如熱時焰、如水中月修，於一切法無所著故”^②來形容事物的虛幻和不實，從而提醒我們放下對物質世界的執著，從而達到內心的平靜和自由。它更強調着眾生與佛性之間的關係——眾生若能淨化心性，就能顯現佛性，否則則如水中倒影，虛而不實。

《楞伽經》中如此表達水月喻：“言如水月不出不入者，月喻應身，水喻眾生之心；眾生心淨，如來即應，如月在水。然月在空，影現於水，月不下降，故雲不入；亦不離水，故雲不出也。”^③以月亮比喻佛陀的應化身，以水比喻眾生之心，指出“月在空而影現於水”，旨在強調如來應化雖感應眾生而現身，但其實並無真實來去，其本體超越生滅，“不出不入”。這一比喻着重表達了如來應身與眾生感應是無自性的緣起顯現，體現了佛教中關於“如幻而非虛”的應化觀。

這幾種“水月喻”與《楞嚴經》中象徵修行初階的虛妄境界相呼應，皆以“月”之虛實關係來引導眾生體悟真如實相之不可得。但在《楞嚴經》中，“水中月影”則用以象徵眾生對真理的錯認，即因識心作用所顯現的虛妄之境。《楞嚴經》的“水月”並非真實法性的顯現，而是一種認知錯覺，強調修行者須透過妄象，歸於“本來月”所代表的真心本體。雖同取“水月”之象，卻分別體現了

①（唐）玄奘譯：《大般若波羅蜜多經》第598卷，《大藏經》第7冊，第1099頁上。

②（東晉）佛馱跋陀羅譯：《大方廣佛華嚴經》第40卷，《大正藏》第9冊，第655頁下。

③（劉宋）求那跋陀羅譯：《楞伽阿跋多羅寶經》第4卷，《大藏經》第39冊，第406頁上。

佛教中“如來應化”與“修行覺悟”兩種不同向度的哲學主題，一個側重於佛之無礙應現，一個聚焦於眾生破妄歸真的修證歷程。

1.3.3 慈悲普照與教化象徵：月亮作為佛陀悲願的顯現

《法華經》中雖沒有明確提出過單獨的月亮意象，卻將日月並提，經文中寫道“其國中間幽冥之處，日月威光所不能照，而皆大明。”^①比喻佛陀說法能如日月般照亮世間無明。這與《佛說月喻經》的目的相似，整篇經文中的月亮意象則更側重於慈悲教化的功能。經中以月亮照臨眾生、不舍一切的形象比喻佛陀普照無邊、平等無差的悲願，強調眾生皆有成佛之種，猶如夜空中無論高低遠近皆能被月光普照^②。而《楞嚴經》的月亮意象更強調轉向內在修行層面，更側重於“真妄之間”的區分，強調“水中月”雖現不實，引導眾生返觀自性。兩者皆以“光明”象徵佛法。《法華經》和《佛說月喻經》更種教化作用和情感撫慰，而《楞嚴經》則重“實證路徑”，偏向哲學性與心性論的抽象思辨。

1.3.4 象徵整合與圖像轉譯的哲學深化：《楞嚴經》的獨特構型

綜上可見，《楞嚴經》中的月亮意象融合了多重佛教意涵——既有《大般若波羅蜜多經》的“不可執”、也有《楞伽經》的“不出不入”，又有《法華經》的“普照化度”，亦與《維摩詰經》的“默觀智慧”，以及《華嚴經》《佛說月喻經》的“圓滿性”交織共鳴。然而，《楞嚴經》更突顯月亮的“虛實之間”的哲學張力，使其成為揭示“顯見性”、破除妄執、重返本覺的重要圖像象徵。這種圖像轉譯的多義性和潛力，正是後續佛教藝術與當代藝術在轉譯月亮意象過程中可再生、可批判的基礎所在。

1.4 月亮與修行之道：觀照、圓通與“十番顯見”

在《楞嚴經》中，月亮的意象不僅出現在經典的譬喻中，更深入地與交光真鑒大師在《楞嚴經正脈疏》中提煉的“十番顯見”等修行要義相呼應。佛陀通過“第二月”的比喻，指出修行者在覺悟過程中所見雖非究竟之“真月”，但已非完全虛妄，代表着介於妄與真之間、漸趨本真的心性狀態。這正如交光真鑒大師

① （姚秦）鳩摩羅什譯：《妙法蓮華經》第3卷，《大正藏》第9冊，第23頁上。

② （宋）施護譯：《佛說月喻經》，《大正藏》第2冊。

在《楞嚴經正脈疏》中所說，“示妄中有真，顯迷處即悟”。^①

“十番顯見”是《楞嚴經》中極為重要的一段內容，佛陀通過十個層次的譬喻，逐步引導阿難理解“見性”的本質。比如，“顯見不動”通過客塵動搖來說明見性本身並不隨境而轉；“顯見不滅”則借身體變老、河水常流的對比，說明見性始終不滅；“顯見不失”用手臂左右擺動、視線不失為例，指出見性不增不減；“顯見無礙”更進一步，說明即使器物有限，見性卻不被限制，其本性本自圓通、無礙無礙。圓瑛法師在其《楞嚴經講義》中也特別指出，“十番顯見，重在破妄顯真，使修行者了知‘見性’非因緣所生，乃本自具足、不假外求。”^②

這些比喻不僅僅是理論上的分析，更是修行中的引導。通過這樣的層層推演，佛陀最終引導修行者認識到“見性”就是眾生本具的“如來藏性”，它不因生滅而改變，是覺悟的根本所在。

月亮的象徵也正好呼應了這一過程。在“水中月”這一意象中，月亮雖映於水中，卻不真正落入水中；同樣，見性雖映於六塵之境，卻並不被境界染汙。修行者若能觀照“第二月”，便能一步步透過妄境，回歸真實。這也正是《楞嚴經》中“六根圓通”所強調的修行方法：通過不斷觀照自心、破除妄想，最終契入“不二法門”，證得真如。

1.5 了義與不二：月亮的終極隱喻

1.5.1 “了義”與“不了義”之辯

在佛教教義體系中，“了義”與“不了義”的區分具有重要的詮釋學意義。“了義法”指的是能夠直接揭示究竟實相、無二無別的圓滿教義，適用於根器成熟的眾生；而“不了義法”則多為權宜施設，借助假說引導眾生，未能直接通達佛法的究竟本旨。

從《楞嚴經》的月亮意象來看，其三重月喻體系恰可作為“了義”與“不了義”之辨的象徵圖式。其中，“本來月”象徵圓滿的真如自性，代表徹證實相的“了義法”；“空中月”雖非真月，但接近實相，為修行過程中可資依憑的“帶妄顯真”之境，仍屬引導之門，兼具權實之用；而“水中月影”則喻示凡夫

① （明）交光真鑒：《楞嚴經正脈疏》第2卷，《續藏經》第12冊，第249頁上。

② 圓瑛法師：《大佛頂首楞嚴經講義（上）》，華東師範大學出版社，2014年，第45頁。

心識中的顛倒妄見，是尚未入道之初的虛妄相，屬於不了義之教。此三者之間的差異，恰恰展現出佛法在不同根器和修行階段中的層次遞進，亦契合“漸次而頓悟”的修行邏輯。

此外，《楞嚴經》自身即明確標舉其為“了義”經典。該經全稱中即標明“了義”二字，顯示此經所詮之理為究竟無上之法，意在揭示如來果地之密因與修證之圓道，堪為通達第一義諦的典範經典。正如《楞嚴經秘錄》中所言：“因能詮經，會所詮理，如因指見月也。以其能詮，是了義者，故雲清淨標指。”^①意即，《楞嚴經》之文字教相如指向月的手指，雖非實相本身，卻能如實通達第一義諦，具有“清淨標指”的了義性格。

由此觀之，《楞嚴經》不僅在結構與義理上契合“了義法”的標準，其月亮意象更以三重象徵，形象呈現了從不了義到了義的漸進過程，既為義理之陳述，亦為修證之指南，深刻體現了佛教教義體系與修行實踐之間的內在一致性。

1.5.2 “不二”之門與月喻

在大乘佛教中，“不二法門”是通向究竟真理的重要概念，意指破除一切對立與二元分別（如生滅、有無等），從而契入無分別智，體悟諸法實相。“入不二法門”即超越一切分別與對立，達到無分別的絕對平等。^②《維摩詰經》中，三十二位菩薩各陳“入不二法門”之見，維摩詰居士則以“默然無言”示入，表示真正的不二，唯可親證，不可言說^③，正是對“不二法門”的終極詮釋。這一思想強調超越語言、觀念與對待思維，直指圓成實性，是大乘修行的深層智慧。

《中論》中，龍樹菩薩以“諸法不自生，亦不從他生，不共不無因，是故知無生”^④，提出緣起性空的根本思想，進而打破“有”與“無”的二元執見。這種否定性的哲學路徑，非落空無，亦非執實有，而是以中道智慧，洞察諸法本性不可得，由此進入“不二”之理。這種“空而不無，有而不實”的思維模式，與《楞嚴經》中所宣導的“不住於妄，亦不取真”之修證觀正相契合。

在《楞嚴經》中，佛陀通過層層的觀見教導，引導修行者識破妄相、超越能

①（明）一松大師：《楞嚴經秘錄》第10卷，《續藏經》第13冊，第190頁中。

② 王雅琳：《〈維摩詰經〉中的概念整合研究》，湖南大學碩士學位論文，2015年。

③（東晉）僧肇：《注維摩詰經》第9卷，《大藏經》第38冊，第404頁中。

④ 龍樹菩薩：《中論》第1卷，《大藏經》第30冊，第2頁中。

所，從而體悟“見性”不依於外境、不隨緣而變。例如“十番顯見”中的“顯見不動”“顯見無礙”等論證，即強調“妙明見精”超越一切對待法，不隨客塵而動、不為色身所限，最終歸於無二無別的真見本性。這種超越分別、直指本心的智慧，正是不二法門的實踐形態。

不二，不只是哲學命題，更是修行方向。《楞嚴經》將一切妄相當作方便之門，通過觀照與顯見，引導眾生由迷入悟、由執入空，最終回歸“如來藏”之清淨自性。正如經中所言：“見見之時，見非是見”，指出連“能見”之心也不可執著，唯有透徹“見性”非屬能所對立之法，方能契入不二。

在這一意義上，月亮成為了“不二”的象徵，不是以其層次結構來說明修行過程，而是作為終極的清淨明體，寓意如來藏不變不動、不一不異、非有非無的實相之性。它既可被“指示”，卻不可被“執取”；如真月在天，水影可現而終非實有，唯有不執其象，方得其意。

1.6 小結

月亮在《楞嚴經》中並非僅為靜態的譬喻形象，而是貫通本經“真妄”辨析、“知見”重構與“圓通”修證的深層結構。通過“水月”“空月”與“本月”的象徵遞進，經文引導眾生由虛妄影相入無住實相，完成從感官經驗到內在心性的轉化歷程。與“十番顯見”“觀照法門”等修證路徑相結合，月亮不僅照見心識之變動，也昭示覺性之常明。正是在這一意義上，月亮意象不僅是佛教認知哲學的核心媒介，更呈現出“了義”與“不二”的終極象徵深度，成為佛法中通向解脫智慧的重要隱喻。

第2章：月亮意象的轉譯：從《楞嚴經》到藝術

《楞嚴經》中的“月亮三喻”在佛教哲學中既展現如來藏“性見圓明”的認知邏輯，也提供了高度圖像化的思想模型。本章將探討這一哲理結構如何由語言文本向視覺圖像轉譯，進而在中國佛教藝術，尤其是壁畫、造像與禪畫傳統中，演化為具有象徵性、觀照性的視覺母題。藝術並非對經典的被動再現，而是積極詮釋和創造意義的方式：月亮意象的演繹，正是“以色顯空”的藝術化法義展開。

2.1 從經典到圖像：月亮意象的佛教藝術演化

在印度早期佛教藝術中，月亮圖像尚不常見，但其象徵已隱現於“光”“圓”“照明”等視覺元素中。犍陀羅石刻與阿旃陀壁畫中，佛陀頭光、背光的放射形設計，不僅作為神聖性的表徵，也間接呼應了“圓月無缺”的本覺象喻^①。隨着佛教傳入中國，這種象徵性逐漸從抽象的哲義演化為具象的視覺形式，尤其在北魏、唐代以後的佛教圖像中，月亮作為實體圖形逐步出現，並與修行、覺悟、清淨心等內涵緊密結合。

例如在部分學者對敦煌莫高窟藥師經變壁畫的觀察中指出，也“光相元素”（如寶蓋、日月菩薩、背光等）不僅具有裝飾作用，更是在視覺層面承載了教義引導與觀想修習功能^②。在禪宗水墨繪畫中，“孤月”“殘月”“水月”等意象，則以簡筆寫意之法呈現修行者“照見不動”“無住而住”的內在體悟。這些圖像與月亮相關的構圖與意境，表明月亮不僅是自然審美對象，更是一種“視覺法義”的呈現方式，使得抽象哲理在視覺中得以現前。

因此，月亮意象在佛教藝術中的演化，並非單純的自然模仿或裝飾性圖形，而是深受佛教哲學尤其是《楞嚴經》、中觀與般若思想影響的視覺詮釋工具。其從教義比喻到圖像轉譯的路徑，體現了“色不異空，空不異色”的思想，也為佛教藝術在中土的發展提供了可持續的象徵母題與構圖靈感。

① 董亮夫：《犍陀羅藝術與佛教圖像符號研究》，《宗教學研究》，2012年第4期。

② 李玉璠：《敦煌藥師經變研究》，《故宮學術季刊》，1990年第7期。

2.2 頭光圓光：月亮意象的視覺符號化

在佛教藝術圖像體系中，佛陀頭光與身光的形象具有高度象徵性與視覺識別性。這些以圓形、放射形為基本構圖的光環，不僅表現佛身之莊嚴、超越與神聖，更深層地承擔了宗教哲學意義的轉譯功能，成為佛性“圓滿覺悟”“清淨不染”“本覺常明”的視覺隱喻。而這一視覺結構，也正與《楞嚴經》中“月亮”三重比喻的哲學意涵深度契合。

從視覺符號的角度來看，頭光與圓光的“圓”形設計，與圓月之“無缺”“遍照”之象相互映照，在形式上呈現出宇宙性、永恆性與完整性。在內容上，這些光環象徵的是如來藏的本體光明，體現了“本覺常照”的佛性論思想。《楞嚴經》強調“見性”非從外得，而是眾生本具、妄念所覆的圓明之心，此“性見圓明”即是“妙覺明體”，常以“月喻”表達其寂照不二、離妄獨明之性。因此，當佛像被賦予“圓光”時，這一圖像不僅象徵神格化，更是在視覺語言中實現教義中“本具覺性”的象徵轉譯。

佛像背光的起源可以追溯到印度佛教藝術。早在西元1世紀晚期，印度就出現了佛像的背光形式。隨着佛教傳入中國，背光的形式逐漸豐富，從最初的簡單光環發展為複雜的裝飾圖案。到了隋唐時期，背光的裝飾更加華麗，出現了火焰紋、蓮花紋、化佛、飛天等多樣化的圖案。^①從雲岡石窟到龍門石窟，再到敦煌壁畫。其視覺結構逐步由“表相神聖”過渡至“顯相指性”，即不僅表現佛之光耀，更以“圓”之象徵性回應大乘佛教中關於圓覺、性淨、實相的哲理教義。

佛像藝術中的“頭光圓光”並非單純的裝飾性元素，而是融合了佛教教義、哲學思想與視覺策略的複合性符號。它通過“圓”之形、光之象、月之喻，實現了從經典語言到視覺隱喻的“法義視覺化”，在圖像中呈現出佛性圓明、寂照不動、清淨無染的中道智慧，也為後續敦煌壁畫與禪宗繪畫中“月亮”意象的演變奠定了視覺母題基礎。

2.3 壁畫與造像中的月亮意象表現

在中國佛教藝術的圖像傳統中，月亮意象透過壁畫與造像語言被廣泛地視覺

^① 盧秀文：《敦煌莫高窟早期的背光》，甘肅人民出版社，2000年。

轉譯與象徵演繹。其往往會出現在對於佛、菩薩的表現中。通常以放射性、圓形或火焰紋表示。^①尤以敦煌莫高窟為中心的石窟藝術體系中，《楞嚴經》中月喻所蘊含的佛教認識論與修行觀，得以以圖像形式深入展開。在這些藝術創作中，月亮不再只是自然天象的描摹，而成為“見性成佛”“不二智慧”“妄盡真顯”等宗教理念的視覺化表達。

在敦煌壁畫中，與“月亮”意象相關的表達主要體現在三個層面：其一，是前面提到的以佛陀頭光、背光等“圓光”構圖象徵“真月”般的本覺圓明。

其二，月亮意象的直接描繪，例如敦煌莫高窟第35窟描繪的場景中，極樂世界上空繪有一輪皎潔滿月，懸於虛空蓮池之上，映照淨土諸佛。該圖式不僅呼應《楞嚴經》中“水中月影”的譬喻，也象徵眾生在因緣起幻中漸入真理之門，體現“帶妄顯真”的修行中介狀態。



圖 1 手托日月的十一面觀音菩薩 莫高窟第35窟 五代

其三，“月光菩薩”“水月觀音”圖像的出現，尤具轉譯意義。“水月觀音”最早見於五代至宋代之間的壁畫與絹畫中，如敦煌第112窟《水月觀音圖》，畫中觀音盤坐於澄澈水面之上，身後一輪巨大圓月皎然升起，水中倒影與月體相映成趣。這種構圖明確將“月”作為覺性象徵，以“水中之月”的虛幻映像引導觀者反觀自性。正如《楞嚴經》所言：“以諸眾生從無始來，循諸色、聲逐念流

① 趙聲良：《光與色的旋律——敦煌隋代壁畫裝飾色彩管窺》，《敦煌研究》，2021年第3期。

轉，曾不開悟性淨妙常。不循所常，逐諸生滅，由是生生雜染流轉。”^①水中之月雖非實相，卻成為引導迷者入道之門，藝術上亦體現出“以假引真”的中觀邏輯。

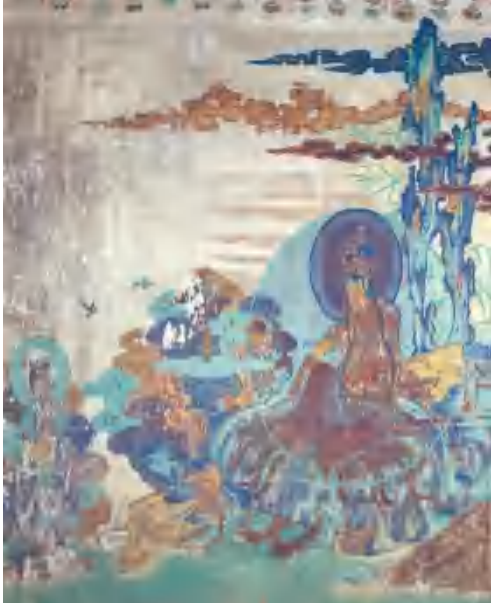


圖 2 榆林窟第2窟 水月觀音 西夏



圖 3 月光菩薩 莫高窟第384窟 中唐

此外，在北魏至隋唐間的佛教造像藝術中，諸多石刻佛像亦沿用圓相光背，甚至將佛陀安置於月輪之中，如龍門石窟賓陽中洞的釋迦坐像，其身後以月輪般的圓光包覆，邊緣雕有蓮瓣與火焰紋，使佛身仿若皎月懸空，象徵圓滿覺性之光遍照十方。這些光背的構圖不僅呼應“月體”之形，亦暗合佛教中“法身不動而恒照”“真如不二而能應”之哲理。

^①（唐）般刺蜜帝譯：《大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經》，第4卷，《大藏經》第19冊，第124頁中。



圖 4龍門石窟賓陽中洞的釋迦坐像 北魏

2.4 佛教繪畫中的月亮意象

禪宗藝術以“無相”“直指人心”為核心精神，其繪畫實踐亦深受大乘佛教尤其《楞嚴經》思想的影響。在禪畫中，月亮意象作為“真如”“本覺”“照見不動”的象徵，成為超越語言的直觀載體，指向不可說、不可執的悟境。尤其自宋代起，月亮不僅在形式上被簡化為空靈、孤遠的圓形，更在禪宗語境中承載了豐富的哲理意涵。月亮的圓形也不僅是形式上的極簡凝煉，更是哲學上的“圓成實性”的具象轉譯。它讓觀者在“非畫”之畫中直觀佛法，進入“無見之見”的觀照之境。與《楞嚴經》中的月喻法結構遙相呼應。

禪畫中最典型的月亮意象表達，常見於山水孤舟、水月空林、獨行僧影之圖式。如南宋禪畫《水月觀音圖》，明代禪畫《拾得笑月圖》與清代禪畫《鏡影水月圖》等，均以月為主線，引導觀者由“境”入“心”。在這些作品中，月亮往往不以真實描摹出現，而是借助留白、虛空、倒影等方式象徵無相之實。這與《楞嚴經》中“非相中見相”的表達相呼應，在禪畫中被具體實現為“空境藏月”與“影月難尋”的畫面策略，強調觀者需以“自心之眼”觀照空性本體。再

例如南宋梁楷《潑墨仙人圖》中，畫面以大塊墨團潑灑表現山石，人物形貌隨意潦草，但遠方空白中隱現一輪孤月，使整幅畫在無形中建立“動中見靜”“有中顯無”的觀照結構。禪畫借助“不描繪”而達“具象”的方式，引導觀者進入無住之境。

更具象征性的是水墨中對“水中月”的反復引用，將圓月倒映於水面，與觀音坐姿呼應，形成“真”與“影”的視覺對照。此種表達方式，既映射《楞嚴經》中關於“見與所見皆無自性”的中觀義理，也體現出禪宗“不立文字，以心印心”的教義精神。畫面不言之教，實為指月之指：不在於繪月，而在於啟觀。

由此可見，《楞嚴經》中月亮三重比喻所展現的“妄中見真”與“不二智慧”，在禪畫中並未以教義文本方式重述，而是通過圖像語言實現了轉譯與再生。這種轉譯不只是圖像表層的再現，更是一種視覺層面的“見性”修行，使藝術創作本身成為禪觀的媒介。觀畫即是觀心，畫月即是指月，最終歸於“真月自現”的證悟之境。

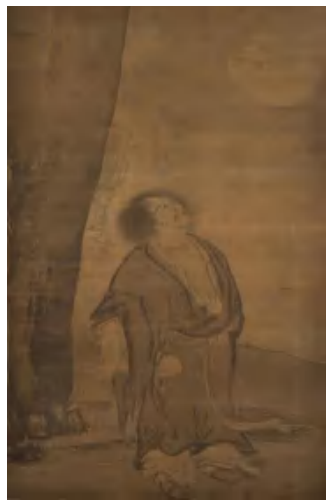


圖 5 清代禪畫《鏡影水月圖》 圖 6 明代禪畫《拾得笑月圖》 圖 7 南宋禪畫《水月觀音圖》

2.5 小結

本章圍繞《楞嚴經》中極具哲理深度的“月亮三喻”，追蹤其在中國佛教藝術中的視覺轉譯過程。從頭光圓光的符號化演變，到敦煌壁畫、佛教造像，再到禪宗繪畫中“水月”“孤月”之象的象徵性表達，月亮作為視覺母題，逐漸承載

起“見性”“不二”“圓通”等佛教核心思想的圖像化表達。

在這一轉譯過程中，藝術並非僅是教義的附屬或再現，而成為佛教思想展開的另一種“語言”：圓光之“圓”不僅喻指佛性的圓滿清淨，更在形式上傳遞“空性即現”的哲理結構；水月觀音、水中倒影的視覺構造，則以“虛實對照”的方式再現《楞嚴經》中“妄中見真”的修行路徑；而禪畫中的殘月孤舟，更是引導觀者以“觀畫”入“觀心”，借圖像進入觀照與修證的維度。

值得一提的是，近年來亦有西方學者關注佛教視覺文化中月亮意象的意識形態功能，探討其在“意識照明”“觀照機制”等層面的象徵意義，體現出該圖像母題的跨文化研究潛力。^①不過，本文仍聚焦於中國語境中該意象的藝術轉譯路徑，側重其在本土視覺傳統中的展開與生成。

由此可見，《楞嚴經》的月亮意象在視覺文化中完成了一場從“語言喻法”到“圖像觀心”的深度轉譯，使佛教藝術不僅是感知的對象，更成為“見性”的媒介與修行的助緣。

^① Bruce Ross: *The Moon as an Artistic Focus of the Illumination of Consciousness*. Burlington College, 2014.

第3章：月亮意象的重生：藝術轉譯中的批判性思考

在當代藝術場域中，月亮意象被廣泛使用，它既可能成為冥想美學的視覺符號，也可能淪為空洞而重複的“視覺快感”元素。在去語境化、去宗教化的轉譯過程中，我們不禁要問：當月亮成為當代裝置藝術中的“沉浸式體驗”或社交媒體下的“精神消費”，它是否還保有與“本性空寂”“緣起無我”相關的哲學深度？抑或，這種轉譯已進入符號迴圈的空轉階段？

因此，本章將從“重生”的角度出發，分析當代藝術如何接受、重構甚至消解《楞嚴經》中月亮意象的傳統意義，嘗試揭示其中潛藏的文化張力與美學危機。正是在對這種再生的批判性追問中，我們得以進一步辨析，月亮意象在當代藝術中的存在，是一種有機延續，還是一種象徵的貧困與意義的空耗。

3.1 月亮的再現與象徵主義的困境

在佛教經典中，月亮意象不僅是自然的比喻，更是精神與智慧的象徵。《楞嚴經》中“水中月”“虛空月”等喻體指向的是“本覺妙明”“離妄即真”的覺性體證，具有深刻的哲學維度和宗教功能。然而，當這一意象被反復運用於視覺藝術之中，並延伸至當代媒介環境中，它是否仍然承載原初的精神內涵，還是已經淪為一種審美符號？這是象徵主義在當代表達中的困境之一。

讓-鮑德里亞（Jean Baudrillard）在《擬像與擬仿》中指出，現代社會中的符號逐漸脫離其所指，進入“擬像”的階段：它們看起來仍在“表達”，實則只是形式的空轉。^①從這一角度來看，佛教藝術中月亮意象的頻繁再現，若只是圖像美學上的複製與形式修辭，就極可能陷入“象徵的貧困”——即符號不再通向超驗的意義，而僅僅成為一種文化消費中的裝飾符號。^②

在當代博物館、展覽、文創乃至網路圖像中，我們可以輕易看到類似“光環照頂”“禪意月景”等符號化的意象。例如日本藝術集體teamLab的部分作品《懸

^① [法]讓·鮑德里亞（Jean Baudrillard）著，洪凌譯：《擬像與擬仿》，時報文化出版企業股份有限公司，1998年。

^② [法]貝爾納-斯蒂格勒（Bernard Stiegler）著，張新木、龐茂森譯：《象徵的貧困》：南京大學出版社，2021年。

浮》（圖8）^①和《絕對前環面》（圖9）^②雖然並未明確表示以佛教為直接題材，但在視覺結構與象徵隱喻上，與月亮意象高度契合，體現佛教美學相關的特徵。其對“空”“無常”“圓滿”之概念的空間化與感官化處理，常常借助光影、鏡像與時間的動態迴圈，引發觀者的沉浸體驗。這種近似於禪宗“頓悟”或《楞嚴經》中“見性”結構的視覺邏輯，使其成為現代藝術中佛教意象潛在的承載體。它們往往被包裝為“東方審美”或“冥想意境”，但背後真正的宗教實踐與哲學思辨卻被遮蔽。這種“美學化”的再現，使得月亮意象逐漸脫離了“覺悟”與“觀照”的功能，成為一種可流通的文化資本，一種“看起來有意味”的視覺裝飾物。

此外，象徵主義本身也在這一過程中遭遇邊界的挑戰。傳統象徵強調“以形示義”，通過具象圖像喚起觀者對於超驗意義的直覺聯想；但在當代藝術與視覺媒介中，象徵往往轉向了“設計化”“樣式化”，甚至是一種“意象即商品”的機制操作。這種機制中，象徵的“深度”被壓平，圖像成為消費場域中可被複製、傳播與消費的視覺單元，導致原本具有指向性的象徵，變成了去語境的視覺符號。

因此，月亮意象的再現，不僅是一種藝術選擇，更是一次文化意義的重構過程。若缺乏足夠的哲學承載力與宗教語境的支撐，象徵就可能流於空殼，成為現代擬像體系中的一個“偽象徵”。這一現象不僅挑戰着佛教圖像的當代表達，也提醒我們思考：視覺的盛世背後，是否是精神象徵的沉寂？



圖 8 teamLab, Levitation - Flattening Red and Blue & Blurred Violet (《懸浮——平面化的紅與藍與模糊的紫》)，裝置與聲音作品，展出於 2025 年

① 圖片來源：<https://teamlab.art/w/levitationvoid>

② 圖片來源：<https://teamlab.art/w/fronttorus>



圖 9 teamLab, Absolute Front Torus (《絕對前環面》),
裝置與聲音作品, 展出於2025年

3.2從重複到再生：哲學維度中的象徵再生產

在佛教藝術中，“月亮”這一意象的反復出現，似乎構成了某種視覺傳統的延續。然而，這種重複是否只是圖像層面的再現，抑或具有更深的哲學意涵？法國哲學家吉爾·德勒茲（Gilles Deleuze）在其代表作《差異與重複》中強調：“重複即差異的創造性再現”。^①從這一角度出發，佛教藝術中的“月亮意象”不僅是對經典文本的視覺轉譯，更可以是佛教哲學意涵的不斷再生過程。

《楞嚴經》中月亮意象強調了“性月恒圓，眾生妄見有虧缺”的佛學理念，其本質指向的是“真如本性”的恒常不變與眾生錯覺中的變化。月亮既是“佛性”的象徵，也是“妄識”的映射。藝術中的月亮圖像，如佛頭後的背光、壁畫中的圓月、禪畫中的意境，不斷被繪製、雕刻、重塑，但這些重複卻並非靜態的複製。在德勒茲的理論框架中，這種重複本身即是“差異的生產”，在看似相似的再現中，展現出觀念的遷移、接受者的轉化以及圖像語境的變化。^②

舉例而言，敦煌壁畫中的“月亮”通常出現在法華變、維摩詰經變等場景中，作為佛陀智慧的隱喻，象徵法光照世。而至宋元時期，禪宗畫作中的“明月”則更具內省性質，成為“照見五蘊皆空”的自我證悟之鏡。儘管圖像形式相似，這些月亮所承載的文化語境、觀看方式、宗教語彙卻都發生了質的變化。正

^① [法] 吉爾·德勒茲（Gilles Deleuze）強調：“重複從來不是簡單的複製，而是在每一次看似相似的形式中生成新的意義與差異。”出於《差異與重複》，安靖、張子嶽譯：華東師範大學出版社，2019年。

^② [法] 吉爾·德勒茲（Gilles Deleuze）著，安靖、張子嶽譯：《差異與重複》，華東師範大學出版社，2019年，第129頁。

是在這種“重複”之中，藝術不斷進行着“意義的轉譯”與“哲學的再生產”。月亮的圖像成為一種“動態的象徵”，不斷反映着佛教思想在不同歷史時空中的回應與流變。

德勒茲區分了“機械式的重複”和“生成性重複”^①，後者正好可以用來理解佛教藝術中月亮意象的演化軌跡。在這一意義上，月亮意象並不是“宗教意象的封閉迴圈”，而應該是一種開放的、生成性的象徵系統。它容納了地域文化的交融、藝術媒材的創新與宗教哲學的演變。例如，在中亞地區的佛教藝術中，月亮與太陽常並置，形成“二元照耀”的圖像結構，而在東亞禪宗中，月亮則更多被內化為“空性”的投射。這種跨文化與跨語境的“象徵變形”，正體現出德勒茲意義上的“差異中的重複”。

從視覺傳播的角度看，這種不斷重複出現的“月亮”也形成了一種視覺文化中的“認知穩定器”——它在提供信仰穩定性的同時，又在細微中不斷發生變動。這種“在重複中生成差異”的機制，也恰恰反映出佛教藝術並非靜態的宗教宣傳手段，而是一種具備動態思維、能夠生成新意義的符號體系，在每一次視覺表現中都攜帶着“思想的更新”。

因此，月亮意象的“重複”並非是佛教圖像傳統中的一種墨守成規，而是包含了深刻的哲學邏輯與宗教再創造的動力。在這一語境下，“月亮”才能突破佛陀智慧的比喻或空性的象徵，實現佛教思想自身“流動性”與“生成性”的圖像體現。這種生成性的象徵機制，也為我們理解佛教藝術中“象徵”與“思維”的關係提供了一個非結構主義的可能路徑。

3.3月亮的“模擬化”：佛教意象在視覺媒介中的迷失與再認

在現代社會中，圖像與符號被大量生產、複製、傳播。法國思想家讓·鮑德里亞在其重要著作《擬像與擬仿》（*Simulacra and Simulation*）中指出，現代媒介時代已經不再以現實為中心，而是進入了“擬像支配”的階段——圖像不再是對現實的再現，而是自我迴圈、自我生成的“超真實”。從這個角度回望佛教藝術中頻繁出現的“月亮意象”，我們不得不警惕：在離開《楞嚴經》的哲學語境

^① [法] 吉爾·德勒茲 (Gilles Deleuze) 著，安靖、張子嶽譯：《差異與重複》，華東師範大學出版社，2019年，第475-478頁。

後，這一古老的象徵是否正滑向一種“符號空轉”的文化境地？

傳統佛教藝術中的月亮意象，如《楞嚴經》所強調的宗教哲理內涵。然而，在當代視覺文化與商業語境中，這一意象逐漸被“脫宗教化”，轉而成為一種“唯美化”的東方符號。就像剛才提到的teamlab的案例，表面上似在弘揚東方傳統文化，實則往往缺乏對其原始哲學背景的理解與還原。這種視覺上的“月亮意象”，更多是一種“感性表徵”的快消費，而非思想觸達。

鮑德里亞將這種現象稱為“第三階擬像”——即符號已經完全脫離了其所指對象，僅憑符號自身進行流通和交換，成為“真實的仿真物”。^①當月亮意象從佛教哲學系統中被剝離，僅作為裝飾性符號被反復複製與消費，其原初所承載的“真如”“無住”“照見”的修行邏輯也隨之被遮蔽。最終，觀眾面對“月亮”的圖像，並不是接近智慧的開顯，而是在“美學表面”的幻象中迷失。我們也可以進一步指出，這種“意象的商品化”與當代消費主義邏輯密切相關。月亮作為“東方性”的文化投影，在當代設計、展覽等領域被大量引入，成為一種“擬佛教”的視覺符號，被貼上“空靈”“神秘”的標籤。這種表面化的美學傾向，使得原本深邃的佛教意象退化為“視覺標籤”或“文化背景板”，其結果正如鮑德里亞所說：我們不是活在真實中，而是被真實的影像所包圍，被“神聖圖像的複製物”所統治。

當然，並非所有現代語境中的“月亮意象”都屬於淺層的“擬像”。關鍵在於圖像的生成路徑與語境回溯能力。如果藝術創作能夠重新啟動月亮象徵背後的哲學原型——如《楞嚴經》中“空性觀照”與“性月不動”的思想——那麼“轉譯”仍可能成為“重生”而非“墮化”。在這一點上，鮑德里亞的理論也可作為雙刃劍：既批判擬像的空洞，也提醒我們如何通過意義的重建來避免符號的徹底消解。

從文化批判的角度來看，對佛教藝術中“月亮意象”的當代表達我們需始終保持清醒：警惕將深層宗教圖像簡化為可消費的視覺景觀。鮑德里亞的文化分析也時刻提醒我們，在圖像氾濫的時代，唯有深入理解“圖像背後的哲學結構”，才能防止象徵的貧困化，守護那些尚未完全消失的“真實之光”。

^① [法]讓·鮑德里亞（Jean Baudrillard）著，洪凌譯：《擬像與擬仿》，時報文化出版企業股份有限公司，1998年。

3.4小結

在當代藝術的多重語境中，月亮意象經歷了一場從宗教象徵向視覺景觀的轉化旅程。從佛教經典中的“性月恒圓”到沉浸裝置中的“視覺快感”，這一意象逐漸游離於其原初的哲學根基與宗教指向，滑入鮑德里亞所言的“擬像”迴圈。視覺形式的再現若缺乏意義的支撐，即可能陷入象徵的貧困與精神的空耗。

然而，正如德勒茲所強調的“差異中的重複”，月亮意象的每一次當代表達也蘊含着再生的契機。在形式的重複中生成差異，在圖像的遷移中延展思想，佛教藝術中的象徵系統並非註定崩解，而是需要更具哲學敏感度與文化自覺的重新啟動。

因此，本章不僅揭示了月亮意象當代轉譯中的美學危機，更呼籲一種“批判性的再生”：在圖像的時代，我們應重返象徵的深處，重拾那份精神密度，使月亮意象不只是視覺的幻影，而是思想再生產的起點。

結語：回望“月影”與“覺性”的當代表達

本文以《楞嚴經》中的月亮意象為核心線索，深入探討了其在佛教哲學中的象徵意義，揭示了“空性”“無常”與“覺悟”之間的內在邏輯與精神旨歸。月亮不僅是佛教經典中常見的譬喻載體，更是聯結個體覺知和宇宙法則的重要視覺象徵。在這一意象中，澄澈、圓滿、照見與不可執取等多重寓意交織，構成了獨特的宗教美學結構與形上思辨路徑。

在視覺文化與藝術史的脈絡中，月亮意象也經歷了從宗教象徵到藝術轉譯的演變軌跡。從敦煌壁畫到禪畫，再到跨文化藝術創作，它不斷被重塑、被演繹，獲得了超越時空的文化生命。本文特別關注這種意象在不同歷史語境中的“轉譯”機制，指出它並非僅是佛教內部的圖像繼承，而是在多重媒介與文化系統中的再生過程。在這個過程中，月亮意象擺脫了純粹宗教圖騰的束縛，成為啟發現代人自省與觀照的精神象徵。

更為關鍵的是，本文嘗試引入文化批判的視角，探討月亮意象在當代媒介環

境中的存續狀態。在影像氾濫、圖像日常化與消費邏輯占主導的時代語境中，月亮的“神秘性”與“象徵性”被不斷稀釋，甚至淪為情緒表達與商品意象的一部分。然而，正是在這種視覺飽和與符號泛化的背景下，月亮意象也擁有了新的可能性——它能夠被重新啟動為跨文化對話的語碼，成為連接古老智慧與當代表達之間的橋樑。

展望未來，圍繞《楞嚴經》月亮意象的研究，不應僅止步於文本解讀或藝術史述，而應進一步整合佛教思想資源與當代視覺文化理論，從語言哲學、媒介理論到生態美學等多維度展開，探尋其在數字時代的生命延展路徑。唯有在持續的理論重構與創意實踐中，月亮意象所承載的宗教哲學精神與文化記憶，方能獲得真正的“重生”，繼續照見眾生心性與時代之影。

數字化背景下民俗社火認知交互的體驗建構與美學嬗變 ——以浚縣社火為例^①

李卓然（貴州民族大學） 陳歡（寧波財經學院）

摘要：隨着用戶的審美標準和儀式觀念逐漸提高，民俗活動在交互設計、技術運用和內容創新等領域面臨諸多挑戰。本文以浚縣社火為研究對象，圍繞在數位化時代，民俗社火藝術的認知交互現狀、提升策略與美學嬗變進行探討。同時將浙江省傳統手工藝賦能文旅的成熟模式引入，並進行跨領域驗證。旨在為民俗藝術的數位化傳播提供借鑒，推動文化認同由地域性向全域性轉變，最終實現傳統藝術在教育傳承和產業化方面的可持續協同發展。

關鍵字：浚縣社火；認知交互；美學；數字化

引言

2025年12月4日，“中國人慶祝傳統新年的社會實踐——春節”成功申報為非物質文化遺產，榮獲聯合國教科文組織人類非物質文化遺產代表作名錄的榮譽。中國年逐漸演變成世界年，河南省浚縣的民間社火民俗表演活動作為一項非遺傳承專案更是受到了越來越多人的關注和期待。每年的正月初七初八、十五十六是浚縣社火的集大狂歡，活動由村民自發組織，男女老少共同參與，強化了社區認同感。社火凝聚了浚縣人民的集體記憶，承載着農耕文化、信仰習俗和藝術審美。浙江作為非遺資源大省，正積極探索傳統手工藝與文旅產業的深度融合模式，實現手工藝從生產端到消費端的價值鏈跨越，從而為區域文旅產業的升級提供理論框架與實踐對策。

^① 基金項目：本文系浙江省哲學社會科學研究課題（24NDJC053YB）“浙江傳統手工藝賦能區域文旅產業發展的路徑與對策研究”，階段成果。

一、浚縣社火的美學特徵

浚縣社火，作為豫北地區民間藝術的集大成者，深植於鄉土文化的沃土，它不僅彙聚了世代的審美追求和生活哲學，還成為了農耕文明記憶的實體象徵。在浚縣社火的表演中，內容豐富且形式多變，包括背閣、舞獅、高蹺、秧歌、旱船跑、竹馬、龍舞等多種形式。融合了豫北地區的民間藝術精髓，展現出其鮮明的地域特色、深厚的象徵意義、獨樹一幟的裝飾風格以及濃烈的群眾參與感。它通過多樣化的舞蹈和戲劇表演，以及精心製作的服飾和社火角色的臉譜、唱詞，映射出浚縣各個歷史時期的文化印記，蘊含了極高的藝術、歷史和文學價值。

（一）視覺符號系統：平面化與象徵性的美學語言

在社火表演中，高蹺表演者畫的臉譜的色彩與服裝造型設計獨具匠心。角色多取材於民間傳說、戲曲故事，經過民間藝人的再加工而賦予人物嶄新的生命，活躍在浚縣民眾的精神世界裏，高蹺節目有《白蛇青蛇鬧許仙》、《梁山伯與祝英臺》等。畫臉譜時常用對比鮮明的色彩，每一張臉譜都以一種主要色彩為基調，搭配紅、白、黑等輔助色彩，藝術家細緻地在人臉上繪製出獨特的圖案，使得觀眾能夠通過臉譜的花紋來辨別不同的角色及其背後的故事情節。臉譜的色彩對比強烈，加之其動作上的誇張手法，帶來了極大的視覺衝擊效果。在社火臉譜的創作中，所採用的繪製顏料與漆藝領域中所運用的礦物顏料有着類似的選用原則。特別是源自浙江的漆器工藝中的“磨顯”技術，其對色彩層次細膩的把握，或許為臉譜繪製者提供了一種隱含的借鑒和啟示。在高蹺演出中，紫衣常常綴以金色刺繡元素，以增強角色的豪華感。服裝上佈滿了精美的刺繡、鑲嵌細節和流蘇裝飾，這些元素賦予了極高的裝飾性，同時也提升了表演的整體藝術魅力。妝容與道具體現的色彩及形態構造，其目的不僅在於追求視覺上的衝擊，更蘊含着深厚的象徵含義。這些色彩與形態的巧妙設計，構建了社火藝術的美學表達，映射出人們對美好生活的渴望以及對生命力量的頌揚。對浙江地區歷史悠久的木雕、竹編與漆藝等傳統手工藝進行調研後可以發現，這些技藝可能曾通過古代的商貿通道——如著名的京杭大運河以及陸路商貿線路——在不知不覺中為浚縣社火道具的製作方式注入了靈感，並在技藝上傳遞了重要影響。

（二）動態與節奏：身體美學的狂歡表達

在社火藝術中，舞獅、高蹺、背閣等表演形態彰顯了動態與節奏的和諧交融，它們揭示了民間藝術的深厚根基和鮮明的民族文化特色。舞獅的每一個動作都蘊含着力量與靈動的美感，表演者需依據鑼鼓的節拍，完成“獅躍”“獅騰”等一系列程式化的動作，步調與鼓點的協調，營造出一種剛柔相成的韻律美。

“公子撲蝶”作為高蹺表演中的經典角色，以其優雅翩躚的身姿和細膩傳神的動作著稱。紫衣公子常以摺扇或花束為道具，在眾人的幫助下，以“鷓鴣翻身”、“大鵬展翅”等動作為觀眾呈現其輕盈之態，這些動作充滿魅力和細膩。他們在街頭巷尾遊走，跳躍、翻滾、共舞，每一個動作都充滿了活力與美感，讓觀眾目不轉睛。而背閣表演則以其獨特的造型和技巧，讓觀眾感受到了一種超越時空的藝術體驗。背閣是浚縣社火流傳最久的一項傳統表演，背閣由上中下三部分組成，上是由體型較小的兒童固定坐在背閣架上，裝飾上不同角色的戲服，畫上妝容，拿上道具，展現出騰空的樣式。下層由壯年背負鐵制的背閣架以及架上的兒童，通過甩動身體帶動上層兒童的動作，形成“下甩上扭”的同步律動。背閣將表演者背部的動作與節奏感緊密結合，形成了一種獨特的身體美學。例如孫悟空蕩秋千這個角色的扮演者，就要一直伴隨下方武士的節奏進行翻滾的動作。扮演穆桂英角色的小演員，也要根據節奏進行搖頭、擺袖、舞弄道具等，形成上中下一體的韻律美、戲劇美。

二、數字化背景下民俗的認知交互

（一）儀式觀的情感交互

浚縣社火通過其熱烈歡慶的表演風格和深厚的文化內涵，成為全球瞭解中國民俗的重要窗口。它從“中國狂歡節”逐步向世界傳遞情感共鳴，而這種共情的形成源自其集體慶典的普世性。社火通過視覺和聽覺符號打破了語言的障礙，激發了跨文化的情感共鳴。例如，背閣的驚險技藝被國外媒體譽為“空中芭蕾”，而舞獅和武術結合的演出則突顯了中國傳統身體美學的獨特魅力。這樣的情感傳播不僅僅是文化符號的輸出，更通過“祈願國家昌盛、民眾安康”的共同願景，促成了人類命運共同體精神的對話。相較於陝西血社火利用血腥畫面震懾邪惡的儀式理念，浚縣社火則一直以歡慶與教化為核心。陝西血社火通過重現殘酷的開膛破肚場景、家暴等來展現暴力美學的威懾效果，而浚縣社火則借助《白蛇

傳》、《趙匡胤送京娘》等經典戲劇，傳達孝順、誠信等傳統倫理觀念。在背閣藝術展示中，小朋友們扮演着諸如穆桂英、孫悟空這樣的歷史名人，置身於鐵架之上。這種行為既是對家族輝煌歷史的回顧，又通過“高聳、驚險、奇異”的視覺震撼，引發了一種敬畏與驕傲並存的情感共鳴。這種多維度的情感交互不僅延續了社火的儀式生命力，更使其成為中華文明創造性轉化的時代樣本。

（二）數字內容的空間交互

媒介技術的不斷融合，重新塑造了社火文化的傳播方式。在非遺數字化方面，浙江取得了顯著成果。以德清縣78歲的竹編技藝傳承人馬吉林為例，他利用竹篾編織出可以被掃描的亞運二維碼，讓遊客通過掃碼參與線上火炬傳遞，將傳統工藝巧妙轉化為數字互動的入口。受到浙江傳統工藝數字化經驗的啟發，浚縣社火也借鑒了“非遺薪火行動”的傳播思路，將數字技術與非遺傳承結合起來。浚縣社火通過縣級融媒體中心，融合電視、短視頻與社交媒體資源，打造了以“直播引流+短視頻擴散+話題互動”為一體的全方位傳播網，2025年央視報導進一步助推其破圈。在抖音平臺上，#浚縣社火話題的播放量已超過2.3億次，彰顯了數字時代傳播的強大影響力。直播中的即時彈幕和虛擬禮物，不僅打破了地域界限，還將傳統民俗表演轉化為全民參與的數字盛宴。

短視頻平臺的碎片化傳播將社火表演解構成例如“高蹺絕技”“舞獅點睛”等視覺盛宴，15-30秒的精彩內容實現了文化的跨界傳播。B站的UP主通過製作社火科普動畫，以“賽博社火”的創新形式吸引了Z世代的目光。這種二次創作的生產和傳播，使得傳統民俗成為具有標誌性的文化符號，完成現代化表達。空間交互不僅改變了傳播方式，也重構了文化生產的模式。社火老藝人在直播平臺傳技收徒，年輕創作者利用AR技術創造社火主題的數字藏品，當地人則在短視頻評論區分享社火背後的家族故事。這種多維度的數字互動，正在重塑非物質文化遺產的傳承系統，讓傳統民俗在數字世界中煥發新生。

（三）地域文化的符號交互

浙江通過空間重構打造“非遺生活場域”，寧波的民宿嵌入非遺體驗，如奉化區“紅幫裁縫”民宿、“鄉見古月”民宿提供量體裁衣、釀酒體驗，讓遊客沉浸式“學藝”，深入瞭解非遺。推動非遺從節慶符號轉為日常消費場景，浙江的“全域文旅”理念重塑了社火的展演邏輯。浚縣社火通過“文化符號+場景營造”

的模式，將傳統民俗轉化為可感知的文旅消費新形態。浚縣古城以社火元素為核心打造沉浸式夜遊場景，利用燈光秀、非遺展演等現代技術重現“不夜黎陽”的盛景，使社火中的高蹺、舞獅等符號突破節慶限制，成為常態化文旅體驗的一部分。景區還推出“社火主題遊線”，沿途設置互動打卡點，遊客掃描二維碼即可獲取社火符號背後的文化故事，如社火巡遊路線的歷史變遷、表演道具的象徵意義等，這種文旅場景中的符號交互，既提升了遊客的遊覽體驗，也增強了地域文化的傳播力。中國計量大學團隊為浚縣社火設計核心IP形象“小社”“小火”，採用浚縣泥咕咕的橙藍配色與虎頭帽元素，並衍生出高蹺、竹馬等角色變體。這一設計借鑒了浙江“國潮美學”經驗，如餘杭紙傘的漫畫跨界，通過年輕化符號重塑社火的視覺表達。基於浚縣非遺“泥咕咕”泥塑，浚縣引入3D列印等技術，傳統符號搖身一變成為時尚的“巳巳如意蛇”潮玩IP，開發了一系列實用的文創商品。同時將社火中的角色動態轉化為盲盒玩具，既具有藝術性又具有收藏意義。高校積極賦能數字化手工藝，創辦課程共建與設計賽事模式，引進非遺進校園機制，浚縣職業中專引入社火課程盤鼓、高蹺、竹馬等，並成立“古城社火非遺演藝合作社”，複製浙江“非遺工坊+研學”模式，如寧波財經學院藝術設計學院與松畧鎮政府校地共建鄉村美育中心和共富工坊的體驗設計模式。深度參與品牌設計，線下調研、IP開發及空間改造方案。青年通過“身體實踐+數字創意”的方式，既保留了社火的情感凝聚力，又用Z世代的表達方式激發大眾對社火文化的認同。通過文化與旅遊、創意產業的融合發展，促進了地方經濟的增長，增強了浚縣的城市IP，為傳統文化的現代轉型和可持續發展開闢了一條新的道路。

三、民俗藝術數字化交互的優化策略

浚縣社火的傳承與發展需以“人”為核心，既要通過數字化手段吸引年輕群體“主動創造”，又要守護傳承人對文化的主導權。在數字媒體傳播過程中，流量驅動的思維模式常常引導內容創作者生產內容，這容易讓浚縣社火這樣的非遺民俗步入“形式追求新奇”的誤區。一些短視頻為了吸引觀眾注意力，將社火表演分解為“高蹺特技”和“全民狂歡”等片段，社火深層儀式觀意義和祈福文化被剝離出來。民俗非遺傳承人是我國非遺技藝的傳遞者，但他們大多數年歲較長，在數字化交互中中老年傳承人雖掌握核心技藝，卻因數字技能不足，難以主

導數字化內容創作。更無法獨立完成線上教學視頻製作，多數需依賴第三方團隊，而團隊常因商業邏輯偏離文化本真性。

在未來的傳播中，新媒體應積極創作技藝科普系列短視頻，如高蹺、背閣的安裝工藝、泥咕咕捏制手法等，以專業視角展現非遺細節，避免過度娛樂化剪輯。同時建立“老對新”結對模式，由青年舞者負責動作編排創新、外出學習，傳承人把控文化內核，確保表演專案改編既符合現代審美，又保留原始意義。浚縣新東興舞獅團團長熱衷於使用數字化技術傳播舞獅文化，他都精心錄製每個視頻發佈，耐心講解，讓那些對舞獅感興趣的愛好者能夠輕鬆跟上學習的節奏，他的帳號吸引了大量愛好者前來學習傳承，讓舞獅文化通過網路走進了更多人的視野。浙江經驗的本質是通過數字化重構傳播鏈、設計力啟動符號價值、場景化拓展消費邊界，為浚縣社火提供了一套可複用的“技術-創意-運營”工具箱。未來可進一步探索兩地聯合申遺、社火版權保護等深度協作，推動傳統民俗在現代文旅生態中持續煥新。

浚縣社火作為豫北地區重要的民俗文化遺產，構建了兼具地域特色與符號的藝術語言。在數字化背景下，民俗活動正經歷從實體向虛擬空間的延伸與重構，認知交互模式呈現多維變革，這種認知交互的革新，既延續了民俗活動的歸屬感，又通過技術賦能實現文化符號的現代轉譯，為傳統民俗在數字時代的傳承與創新提供了實踐範式。未來應在保持關注度的同時，注重提升傳播內容的文化品質，通過深入挖掘非遺民俗藝術的歷史背景、文化內涵和藝術特點，以故事化、場景化的方式呈現，使傳播內容更具吸引力和教育意義。通過數字化手段，浙江為浚縣社火在傳播、參與體驗及產業化方面所面臨的難題提供瞭解決思路；與此同時，浚縣對社火的活態傳承也反哺浙江，為其文化韌性建設提供了生動範例。兩地實踐互為支撐，展現了“以技術為工具、以文化為核心”的當代非遺保護新路徑。

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經濟學專題



從國際標杆看寧波跨境貿易宜商環境的系統短板： 基於規則、效率、生態的三維診斷^①

段餘君（寧波財經學院）

摘要：本研究選擇了在全球貿易規則對接、效率協同、多式聯運等方面均全球領先的新加坡作為標杆。綜合借鑒國際和國內評價跨境貿易宜商環境的指標體系，並結合2022年至2024年寧波市近3年來的政策實踐與跨境貿易發展趨勢，對寧波跨境貿易宜商環境進行診斷評估。結果顯示，寧波在港口基礎設施、港口吞吐能力等指標中優勢明顯，說明寧波已在跨境貿易的“硬件能力”上積累了領先經驗；在貿易規則對接、跨部門效率協同效率、跨境貿易軟硬件適配度等存在顯著短板。因此，進一步理清規律、效率、生態在跨境貿易宜商環境打造中的關聯機制和影響短板突破的原因後，提出系統性優化的路徑建議。

關鍵字：國際標杆；跨境貿易；宜商環境；系統短板；三維診斷

寧波作為連續16年貨物吞吐量居全球第一的貨物大港，既是“一帶一路”戰略的支點，也是 RCEP 區域合作的前沿陣地。但是，跨境貿易規模的持續領跑，並未解決寧波在國際貿易規則對接、跨部門效率協同、跨境運輸生態整合等涉及打造跨境貿易宜商環境相關維度的深層矛盾。例如，外部邊境機構合作與國際標杆有近30%的差距(OECD, TFI 2022 edition)；物流服務能力、物流服務品質、海關等軟性指標的全球排名分別為第20位、第30位、第31位(World Bank, LPI 2023)，與貿易便利化立法且已實現全流程數字化的新加坡（全球第1）相比，顯示出寧波陷於“規模有餘而效能不足”的悖論中。其本質是基礎設施建設漸趨飽和後，規則、效率、生態“三輪驅動”的系統性短板尚未找到關鍵突破口，而與國際標杆進行“鏡像對照”尋找跳出本土視角的發展邏輯，是一條可行的實踐路徑。

^① 課題項目：本文系寧波市哲學社會科學重點研究基地“數字經濟創新與樞紐自貿區聯動研究基地”資助的成果（課題號：JD6-313）

一、國際標杆的選擇與研究維度確定

（一）國際標杆的選擇

國際標杆選擇的核心邏輯在於對國際貿易規則無縫對接、跨部門高效協同、跨境運輸生態完善的系統分析與比較，挑選出在這個維度中具備全球領先水準、能夠為寧波優化跨境貿易環境提供借鑒和啟示的典型案列。基於此選擇邏輯，本研究選擇了可以在貿易規則對接、效率協同、多式聯運等方面均領先全球的新加坡作為標杆。

（二）構建“三輪驅動”的分析框架

綜合借鑒國際和國內評價跨境貿易宜商環境的指標體系，並結合2022年至2024年寧波市近3年來的政策實踐與跨境貿易發展趨勢，在維度選取時從國際貿易規則適應性、效率協同（含貿易便利化水準、通關及口岸運行兩方面）、物流與運輸體系等三項與跨境貿易活動直接相關的核心要素中尋找交集與並集，構建規則高對接、全鏈條高效協同且生態強適配的“三輪驅動”維度。

在規則適配性方面，從預裁定制度、AEO企業便利措施執行等考察寧波與國際貿易規則的對接能力。通過聚焦跨部門數據共用與協同的效率、跨境貿易全流程中軟硬件系統集成度、智能化設施覆蓋範圍等分析寧波全鏈條協同效率。最後，從多式聯運網路的國際聯通程度、港城空間耦合度來評估寧波跨境貿易宜商環境的生態整合。

二、寧波跨境貿易宜商環境的系統短板

在對寧波跨境貿易宜商環境進行診斷評估的結果顯示，寧波在港口基礎設施、港口吞吐能力等指標中優勢明顯，說明寧波已在跨境貿易的“硬件能力”上積累了領先經驗；在貿易規則對接、跨部門效率協同效率、跨境貿易軟硬件適配度等存在顯著短板，亟需系統性突破。

（一）國際規則對接執行有落差，“邊境後”規則彈性不足

1、國際規則對接執行與國際標杆有一定落差

首先，在兩地的執行效率方面，新加坡海關執行的預裁定制度是利用TradeNet中企業歷史報關數據，結合全球供應鏈動態風險要素，非受管制貨物通

過海運或空運出口可在出口後3天內提交准證申請，對低風險貨物自動生成裁定結果。寧波海關執行的預裁定以《中華人民共和國海關預裁定管理暫行辦法》為依據，包括商品歸類、原產地和完稅價格三類海關事務中申請預裁定，一般在貨物擬進出口3個月之前提出，申請人確有正當理由的特殊情況可以在貨物擬進出口前3個月內提出申請，採取人工審核流程，受理後60日內書面回復。

其次，兩地在AEO企業便利措施執行進度有落差。寧波2025年持續深化跨境貿易便利化的20條改革措施中提及要推進AEO高級認證企業的信息歸集共用以及與貿促會基礎信用認證、出口商品品牌認證等融合發展，加強海關信用培育。新加坡AEO企業由關稅局直接認定為STP-Plus企業，而此類企業在跨境貿易中也在TradeNet申報，能實現較低比例查驗，予以快速通關；對需要進行查驗的貨物優先予以查驗；在通關過程中給予優先處理待遇；如果國際貿易發生中斷，盡力提供快速通關。

國際規則對接執行落差的本質是“風險防控優先”與“貿易便利優先”的理念衝突，寧波若能落實《深化跨境貿易便利化的20條改革措施》各信用認證部門實現相互背書，建立信用動態關聯機制，必將有利於國際規則執行。

2、“邊境後”規則深水區改革進展緩慢

近年來，國際高標準經貿規則在不斷發展演進變化，從關稅、非關稅壁壘等“邊境”規則拓展至更廣泛的“邊境後”規則。2023年底，國務院印發《全面對接國際高標準經貿規則推進中國（上海）自由貿易試驗區高水準制度型開放總體方案》，這是國內首次開展全面對接國際高標準經貿規則先行先試，而此次試點的80條措施中，有一半以上涉及“邊境後”規則。

寧波在實施“邊境後”規則與基本代表國際最高標準的CPTPP（全面與進步跨太平洋夥伴關係協定）和DEPA（數字經濟夥伴關係協定）對標時發現：國企比民企更易貸款且利息相對較低，使得國企在市場化運作中比民企更具優勢，大型企業易比中小微企業更易快速接軌國際規則；寧波自貿區推出的“負面清單”管理、“兩步申報”等政策，試點跨境數據白名單企業（僅限自貿區）需通過安全評估，使具有該資質的企業數量有限；負面清單縮減至27項，但金融、教育等領域外資持股比例有限，如證券外資 $\leq 50\%$ ；在知識產權跨境保護中尚未針對商業秘密保護、專利鏈接制度等建立相應保護。

寧波在通關便利化、知識產權審查速度、“海外倉+退貨中心”跨境電商監管等領域已達國際先進水準。但是，國企中性、跨境數據流動等“邊境後”規則需緊跟國家監管政策，與國家部署統一。這反映出程式性規則進展較快，實體性規則還需進一步攻堅。

（二）全鏈條效率協同有中斷點，系統集成限於“局部突破”

1、部分環節仍有人工干預慣性

從寧波海關《進出口貨物人工查驗》檔中明確規定：“海關實施查驗可以徹底查驗，也可以抽查”、“在特殊情況下對進出口貨物予以免驗”、“按照操作方式，查驗可以分為人工查驗和機檢查驗，人工查驗包括外形查驗、開箱查驗等方式”。即雖有部分特殊情況的進出口貨物可以免驗，但人工查驗在進出口貨物查驗中不可或缺。究其原因在於風險評估技術滯後。調研中發現，新加坡進出口貨物近99%能夠運用 IoT 傳感器即時監控貨物溫濕度、位置軌跡，結合區塊鏈技術追溯供應鏈全流程，實現“風險因數動態建模”，從而降低人工查驗與干預比例。

2、“單一窗口”中各部門數據有可訪層級許可權

匯於“單一窗口”平臺上的15個單位，其數據共用受到保密和合規性的限制，均設有不同層級的訪問，使得各部門的信息並非完全透明。例如，自助辦稅服務廳辦理跨境貿易涉及到的增值稅、進口稅和出口稅等稅務數據依照國家稅務總局設定的標準格式進行，可以訪問到稅務相關的即時數據，但海關信息的獲取許可權可能需要額外的授權或通過專門的介面進行獲取，尤其涉及出口退稅或其他敏感信息等環節時，系統會根據不同企業的身份和授權等級來控制數據的訪問許可權。信息的不透明與訪問的層級許可權均可能導致流程冗餘、責任推諉，使跨境貿易全鏈條效率低下，各部門難以協同。

3、智能化局部有突破，但尚未完成系統集成

2023年底，寧波舟山港梅山港區集裝箱碼頭作為全球唯一單體超千萬混線作業自動化集裝箱碼頭“上線”，通過數字孿生系統，實現了船舶自動配載、集卡智能調配等。但是，由於遠控作業必須要讓整體運作貼合港區生產實際，加上有別於大部分自動化碼頭的軌道式龍門吊，在其作業自由度增大的同時，智慧化難度也更大。因此，你也會發現，目前還只是在梅山港區集裝箱碼頭作為樣板工

程在打造，寧波舟山港尚未實現整體集成起來。但從《全球港口自動化發展報告》(2022)，新加坡的裕廊港採用全電動自動化引導車和自動化堆場系統，已實現集裝箱裝卸作業完全由機器人和自動化設備完成。因此，局部的智能化突破為全鏈條效率協同帶來了希望，但要真正實現效率最大化，應考慮“港口-物流-監管-企業”整個系統的“四鏈融合”智能化（甚至可以包含金融，形成“五鏈融合”）。

（三）多式聯運陸向輻射明顯，國際聯運多樣性整合有限

物流與運輸體系因其串起跨境貿易全鏈條中各個環節，因此在優化跨境貿易宜商環境時，提升物流與運輸體系完善程度顯得尤為重要。

1、“量”的領先與“質”的差距限制了多式聯運國際拓展

寧波雖已實現13.7億噸的貨物吞吐量、3930萬標準箱的集裝箱吞吐量、開通300餘條航線，彰顯了其持續增強的港口集疏運能力和良好的國際海運網路。但是，從寧波“固定班列27條，覆蓋16省67市，涉及華東、中西部重點節點城市”這一數據看：寧波“海鐵聯運+內河聯運”陸向輻射特徵明顯。此外，跨境貿易活動受到市場行情、FOB貿易模式、國際海運規則以及鐵路端在外貿全程運輸中費用占比低、話語權弱等因素影響，鐵路向國際海運段延伸不易(晁玉光等，2025)。

2、國際“空橋運輸”處於探索初期，“海-陸-空”一單到底不易

2024年6月底，寧波完成浙江首票海空聯運業務，開始海空聯運（又稱“空橋運輸”）的實踐探索。但是，現階段，寧波空港與海港間並無專門的貨運通道，空港也在此類業務發展中考慮籌建海港前置貨站。對標新加坡樟宜國際機場，它與巴西讓集裝箱碼頭、裕廊港實現了“海-空-陸”一體化無縫銜接，也與鄰近的馬來西亞柔佛州之間已實現港口無縫協同作業，共同構建跨國聯運走廊，且在國際貨物運輸中廣泛採用“一單到底”操作機制，構建了高效的海空聯運網路。並在此基礎上，實現多層立體堆場在港口周邊佈局，有效整合城市空間與產業功能區。相比之下，寧波雖已在北侖港區等地佈局現代物流園區，但整體規劃與城市產業功能區的融合度仍顯不足，尚未形成高度整合的多功能港口綜合樞紐體系。

三、三維診斷的交叉驗證與成因分析

（一）規則、效率、生態在系統中的關聯機制

首先，在規則短板中發現跨部門數據共用缺乏法律保障，這會影響流程受阻，從而導致效率難以提升；而低效勢必增加企業的合規成本，使得參與企業對規則優化需求進一步增強。這就是規則與效率的聯動效應。

其次，“人工干預”下通關時間長，這一低效操作會使企業傾向於選擇操作更純粹的單一運輸方式，避免多式聯運無法實現“一單”到底的困境；這又使得多式聯運需求萎縮；而實踐的減少又會進一步缺少經驗，進而多式聯運相關基礎設施利用率降低或無法發展。

再次，在生態與規則對接的拉扯中，國際聯運能力與多樣性不足，會增加企業對接如CPTPP等高端規則的惰性，即生態短板可能導致規則對接的滯後，進而使區域產業鏈整合能級受限，影響港城空間協同。

因此，在規則、效率、生態的三維交叉驗證中會發現：三者相互依賴、相互制約，跨境貿易宜商環境的打造絕不可能把某一方面優化就能完成，一定得有系統的思考與設計。

（二）制度、組織和技術壁壘是難突破的主要因素

在制度層面看，現有政策多以“部門規章”為主，如信息共用的許可權是否可能通過專項立法的方式來增加其穩定性？明確數據權屬問題。此外，國際規則的落地是否有明確的轉化機制或標準，如RCEP等協議的實施，每個區域、每個企業會有自己的理解。

在組織層面上，口岸管理涉及海關、港務、稅務等十多個部門，目前大多以“領導小組會議”的方式進行協調，是否有可能將緊急事項決策機制常態化？進而形成更為高效的協調機制。此外，傳統物流企業對多式聯運執行中可能帶來的利益轉移，如集卡司機擔心其長途運輸業務被鐵路運輸替代，使其對本可提升社會效益的多式聯運產生抵觸。

在技術層面，在現有數據存在權屬問題時，基於傳統信息架構的公共數據平臺可能難以支撐部門高頻次的數據交互。對於跨境貿易生態整體智能化，更不可能一蹴而就，需要在實際操作中一次次上機、一點點調試。有嘗試，實現的希望就在路上。

四、跨境貿易宜商環境系統性優化的路徑建議

（一）構建“立法+信用”的制度體系

參考新加坡推出的“數據沙盒”，試點推動有利於跨境貿易便利化與數據共用的相關法律的出臺，據此明確部門數據介面的標準、開放的範圍以及法律責任。

此外，利用大數據對經營不同類型商品的企業進行信用評級，一方面經營不同類型商品的企業屬於不同的預裁定歸類，另一方面結合AEO高級認證企業評級實行“白名單”管理，在不同預裁定歸類中再對同一歸類企業的信用進行評定。例如A企業經營的產品不屬於特殊歸類商品，再加之大數據從企業平時經營活動、納稅情況評定該企業信用級別高，基本表示A企業的風險等級較低，可以對其進一步降低查驗比例，甚至實現免查驗。這一路徑的難點是確定評判標準。這需要大量的現實運算元據為基礎，採用試點實驗的方式，分析企業活動，才可能建立“企業信用-->風險等級-->查驗比例”的動態關聯機制。

（二）打造“標準統一+數據共用”的效率系統

若“企業信用-->風險等級-->查驗比例”的動態關聯機制能夠成功設立，那麼標準統一下的數據共用，以國內現有的AI技術，基本能夠快速實現海關、稅務、外匯等跨境貿易活動相關部門建立統一的數字身份，進而實現“一次錄入，全域共用”。更進一步還能考慮以信用評級為基礎，以跨部門數據中心為支撐，打造智能查驗系統，通過建設“無感化查驗”減少查驗中的“人為干預”，提升跨境貿易活動效率。

（三）培育“多式聯運+舒適軟環境”的生態體系

在空橋運輸初次成功實踐的基礎上，嘗試開通寧波空港與海港間貨運專道；根據空港需求，建設海空聯運所需的海港前置貨站。與鄰近國家共同構建跨國聯運走廊，在海鐵聯運中嘗試開展“一單制、一箱制”，在監管機制、退稅機制、金融輔助等方面予以支持。此外，根據城市產業分佈情況，對北仑港區等地現已建成的物流園區進行整體規劃與改造，結合產業特徵打造高度定制化的物流園區或佈局高密度、高效率的多層立體堆場，整合為多功能、更便利的港口綜合樞紐體系。

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教育學專題



Rethinking Sino-U.S. Higher Education Partnerships in the Post-Pandemic Era: Challenges and Future Pathways^①

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Abstract:

China-U.S. higher education cooperation has long played a significant role in talent cultivation and scientific innovation. However, in recent years, this collaboration has encountered unprecedented challenges due to geopolitical tensions and the COVID-19 pandemic. Drawing on literature review and interviews with five Chinese scholars based in the United States, this study systematically analyzes the primary dilemmas in current cooperation and their underlying causes. The findings identify limited research funding, technological communication barriers, and restricted personnel mobility as the key constraints, which are fundamentally rooted in a trust crisis driven by the rise of scientific nationalism. To address these issues, this article adopts the theoretical perspectives of “scientific nationalism” and “scientific globalism,” and proposes a multifaceted pathway to foster a more diversified and resilient model of educational exchange through multilateral cooperation mechanisms, interpersonal networks, and localized strategies.

Keywords: Sino-U.S. higher education cooperation; post-pandemic era; scientific nationalism; cooperation challenges; pathway optimization

Introduction

In an era characterized by unprecedented technological advancement and deepening global interdependence, the internationalization of education has emerged as a critical

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force shaping the scientific, economic, cultural, and public health dimensions of our interconnected world. This transformation reflects the evolution of education from a primarily national concern to a strategic instrument for addressing transnational challenges and fostering global public goods. Within this context, institutions of higher learning have assumed a pivotal role as hubs of international academic networks, facilitating not only scientific progress but also intercultural understanding and collaborative solutions to shared global problems.

The longstanding partnership between Chinese and American higher education institutions, historically marked by mutually beneficial exchanges in talent cultivation and scientific innovation, currently faces significant challenges. Recent years have witnessed a marked increase in geopolitical tensions, with the United States implementing restrictive measures including stringent visa policies for Chinese STEM scholars, the closure of Confucius Institutes, and enhanced technology export controls. These developments, compounded by the disruptive effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on global academic mobility, have substantially weakened the institutional foundations of bilateral cooperation. Empirical data from the Open Doors Report (2023) reveals a concerning 15% decline in Chinese student enrollment in U.S. institutions compared to pre-pandemic levels, reflecting a broader paradigm shift from depoliticized academic engagement to increasingly politicized interactions.

At the heart of these challenges lies a fundamental ideological tension reshaping the landscape of international education cooperation. The growing prevalence of scientific nationalism, which frames research and innovation as strategic assets tied to national security, stands in contrast to the principles of scientific globalism that have traditionally underpinned international academic collaboration. This dichotomy has become particularly salient as pressing global issues - from climate change to pandemic preparedness - demand cooperative solutions while national policies increasingly emphasize sovereign interests. The resulting friction creates complex barriers to the free exchange of knowledge and expertise that has long characterized Sino-U.S. higher education relations.

Building upon this conceptual framework and drawing on extensive empirical research including in-depth interviews and comprehensive literature analysis, this study systematically examines three key structural barriers impeding post-pandemic Sino-U.S. higher education cooperation. Through rigorous theoretical analysis and evidence-based investigation, the paper not only elucidates the root causes of these impediments but also proposes feasible policy solutions to navigate the evolving landscape of international academic relations. The findings contribute to ongoing scholarly discussions about balancing national interests with global collaboration in an increasingly fragmented world order.

I. Research Design

This study employs a robust mixed-methods research design that strategically integrates comprehensive literature analysis with in-depth qualitative interviews to provide a multi-dimensional understanding of contemporary Sino-U.S. higher education cooperation. The research methodology was carefully structured to capture both macro-level policy trends and micro-level experiential perspectives, thereby enabling a holistic examination of the complex dynamics shaping academic collaboration between the two nations.

It first systematically reviewed policy documents, academic articles, and research reports on China–U.S. higher education cooperation from 2010 to 2024. Based on purposeful sampling, five Chinese scholars working in the U.S. were selected for semi-structured interviews. These scholars represent both STEM and social sciences, with academic experience in the U.S. ranging from 3 to 15 years.

The interviews focused on changes in collaboration patterns before and after the pandemic, specific challenges faced, and their coping strategies. To ensure the validity of the study, triangulation was applied—interview data were cross-referenced with literature and policy texts. All interview recordings were transcribed and analyzed using Nvivo12 software. Three core themes were identified: limitations in research funding, technological communication barriers, and personnel mobility obstacles.

II. Practical Challenges in Cooperation

Sino–U.S. higher education cooperation faces various challenges, including differences in political systems and policy orientations, language and cultural barriers, a lack of mutual trust, and talent drain. Insufficient financial support further restricts the scale and depth of cooperation and increases its unpredictability (Li & Xue, 2024; Simon, 2022). Analysis of interview data from this study reveals that previously documented challenges persist in actual collaborative practices. However, with the introduction of the pandemic as a variable, more concrete and nuanced issues have emerged.

Among the most pressing post-pandemic challenges are restrictions on research funding for projects involving Chinese scholars, which have significantly hindered joint initiatives. Equally critical are the persistent barriers to effective remote communication and technological integration, particularly in collaborations with Chinese institutions, where differences in digital infrastructure and platforms amplify logistical difficulties. Compounding these issues are heightened limitations on Chinese scholars' international mobility, whether for academic exchanges or personal travel, alongside increasingly stringent work visa policies targeting this demographic. Collectively, these factors not only reflect the pandemic's enduring disruption but also signal systemic shifts in the geopolitical landscape of academic cooperation.

(1) Restrictions on Research Funding

Since the pandemic, major U.S. universities and research institutions have significantly tightened policies. The 2020 “U.S.–China Research Protection Act” prohibits federal funding for collaborations with Chinese institutions. Projects funded by agencies such as the National Science Foundation (NSF), National Institutes of Health (NIH), and the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) are explicitly barred from involving Chinese researchers or institutions (Congress.gov, 2024).

At least two interviewees mentioned these funding restrictions. Interviewee 1, Chang Lu, a tenured professor with over ten years of experience, stated:

“After the pandemic, the change became stark. At my university, any project involving Chinese collaborators or China-related topics is no longer eligible for NSF or

NIH funding.”

She added that restrictions are particularly strict in sensitive fields like AI and quantum computing, while relatively less stringent in the humanities and social sciences. Three STEM scholars also noted their departments had suspended joint collaborations with Chinese institutions. A materials science professor at a prestigious university in Los Angeles mentioned:

“The NSF proposal form now includes a mandatory question on whether there’s any Chinese collaboration. If you say yes, the application gets rejected outright.”

Interviewee No.2, Yasu, with a social sciences background, said that while her research faces less scrutiny, she has shifted her focus from studies on Chinese society to topics related to Asian-American communities to increase her chances of securing funding.

(2) Technological Communication Barriers

In the post-pandemic period, many U.S. universities have banned the use of Chinese apps like WeChat and DingTalk on campus networks, creating day-to-day obstacles for Chinese scholars. Two STEM scholars noted that their institutions prohibit using WeChat over campus Wi-Fi, severely limiting cross-border communication.

Interviewee Quan Pan, a post doctoral fellow in Nutriology at a public university in Texas explained: “we’re forced to use mobile data to call on WeChat, and use Teams to share documents. Communication efficiency has taken a serious hit.”

Simultaneously, scrutiny over data security has increased. Chinese scholars must ensure the security of digital devices storing research data, especially when traveling internationally. A couple of Chinese scholars interviewed in this study, especially in sensitive fields, mentioned that they are frequently targeted by systemic reviews. Interviewees reported that even naturalized U.S. citizens in these areas face intense scrutiny. Some scholars have even been wrongfully accused of espionage, investigated, dismissed, or criminally charged. These incidents not only create immense psychological pressure but also serve as a strong deterrent, posing serious structural barriers to academic collaboration.

(3) Obstacles to Personnel Mobility

The pandemic has severely disrupted global mobility, with far-reaching implications for Sino–U.S. academic exchange. Four out of five interviewees noted a dramatic drop in Chinese visiting scholars after the pandemic. The U.S. has also increased restrictions on inbound personnel.

Interviewee Quan Pan from the field of nutrition stated that post-pandemic visiting scholars have nearly disappeared. Li Shen from materials science noted the complete suspension of scholarly exchange. Interviewee Xiao Ai said that since 2021, no Chinese visiting scholars have joined his lab, and co-authored projects with Chinese institutions have ceased—what many scholars called a “structural rupture.” The number of Chinese international students has also significantly declined. Interviewee Chang Lu remarked: “I barely see Chinese students in class anymore.”

In addition to entry restrictions, some U.S. states (e.g., Texas) have introduced rules requiring scholars in sensitive research areas to submit detailed travel plans—even for family visits—discouraging return trips to China. Visa processes have also tightened: application review has expanded, processing time extended, visa durations shortened (sometimes to a single year), and some applicants outright rejected.

Interviewee Xiao Ai, shared: “although I’ve worked at a U.S. university for six years, I still can’t secure tenure due to identity and research topic limitations. If nothing changes in three years, I may have to end my academic career here.” This convergence of institutional barriers and policy tightening has become the core obstacle to personnel mobility, shrinking collaborative space and exacerbating career uncertainty and talent loss.

III. Multidimensional Analysis of Root Causes

The challenges facing Sino–U.S. higher education cooperation stem from a complex interplay of multiple factors. Existing studies have pointed to differences in political systems, cultural clashes, limited funding, inefficient resource use, difficulty in recognizing academic credentials, and policy restrictions as contributing obstacles (Hu Zhongbo, 2016; Li Huashu, 2013; Li & Xue, 2024). However, in-depth interviews

with the five Chinese scholars in this study revealed deeper structural contradictions underlying these surface-level problems. Nearly all respondents emphasized that the pandemic acted merely as an accelerator; the fundamental driver behind the deterioration of cooperation is the shift in both countries' policy logics—from “collaboration” to “competition.”

This shift has qualitatively changed the nature of Sino–U.S. higher education cooperation. What was once a technical, functional issue has now become a matter of ideological and structural conflict.

Among these issues, the dichotomy between “academic freedom” and “national security” has become the most pronounced focal point of tension. At its core, this conflict manifests competing philosophies of knowledge governance - the Western Enlightenment ideal valuing knowledge dissemination and intrinsic worth, contrasted with America's contemporary “techno-strategic convergence” approach that prioritizes security imperatives (Suarez, 2023).

This policy shift is evident not only in legislative actions like the Foreign Influence Transparency Act but also in concrete mechanisms such as restrictions on federal research funding and cross-border data flows. Interviewees referenced NSF application restrictions and bans on joint authorship as real-world manifestations of these trends.

Importantly, this policy shift is bilateral. On China's side, the notion of “scientific sovereignty” is gaining ground, with policy directives increasingly emphasizing independence, substitutability, and controllability. Zha (2022) characterizes this trend as “defensive autonomy”—maintaining the appearance of openness while substantially pushing for technological self-reliance. These bilateral adjustments confirm Lee & Haupt's (2020) forecast of a “cooperation decoupling” trend, which is now evident not only in reduced personnel exchanges but also in strategic avoidance of politically sensitive research topics.

Analysis of interview data reveals that scientific nationalism is reshaping the cognitive framework of Sino–U.S. academic relations. As interviewee Chang Lu put it: “while the U.S. treats China as a strategic competitor, it is also becoming cognitively

closed off.” Quan Pan added: “The U.S. securitizing scientific collaboration reflects fears that academic exchange could strengthen China’s soft power.”

This zero-sum mentality around scientific output is a hallmark of scientific nationalism. As Xiao Ai insightfully concluded: “the pandemic was just a catalyst; political factors are the decisive variable.” This indicates that even in a post-pandemic world, institutional exclusion mechanisms will likely persist.

At a deeper level, the current challenges reflect a fundamental collision between knowledge governance paradigms. As scientific nationalism gains traction, the traditional model of global scientific collaboration is giving way to a state-centric model, sidelining the open-sharing ethos of scientific globalism. In this new paradigm, personnel barriers, funding restrictions, and surveillance mechanisms are no longer merely administrative issues—they represent the politicization of scientific governance itself.

This transformation carries profound implications. When scientific knowledge is redefined as a national security asset instead of a global public good, the space for China–U.S. cooperation will inevitably contract. This paradigm shift not only disrupts the self-organizing mechanisms of global research networks but also exerts multifaceted pressure on Chinese scholars in the U.S.—impacting their careers, academic freedom, and even personal identity. Thus, beyond the geopolitical surface, we must be vigilant about the politicization of scientific governance itself.

In summary, the core barrier to China–U.S. higher education cooperation lies in a fundamental shift in the science governance paradigm. Under the growing influence of scientific nationalism, U.S. elites increasingly adopt a zero-sum mentality toward educational collaboration with China—one that is in stark contradiction with the essence of science in a globalized world. Rebuilding a cooperative relationship will require not only policy adjustments but also a broader restoration of shared values within the global scientific community centered on openness, interconnectivity, and mutual benefit. This shift in cognitive perspective should form the theoretical foundation for optimizing cooperation pathways in the post-pandemic era.

IV.Recommendations for Pathway Optimization

To foster sustainable Sino-U.S. academic collaboration, this section proposes four key strategies: establishing multilateral frameworks to circumvent bilateral constraints, developing innovative models like virtual research platforms, implementing institutional safeguards including streamlined visa systems, and enhancing cultural understanding through structured exchanges.

(1) Build Multilateral Cooperation Mechanisms

Given the challenges inherent in bilateral arrangements, the establishment of multilateral cooperation frameworks presents a particularly promising alternative. One effective strategy involves triangular collaboration, wherein institutions from China and the U.S. partner with educationally advanced and politically neutral third countries, such as Singapore or Switzerland. A notable example is the MIT–National University of Singapore joint research center, which demonstrates the potential for successful cross-border academic partnerships. Chinese universities could explore similar collaborative platforms with U.S. counterparts to foster innovation while mitigating geopolitical tensions.

Additionally, existing multilateral platforms offer valuable mechanisms for facilitating academic cooperation. For instance, the UNESCO-led “Global Alliance for Higher Education,” launched in 2022, has already enabled collaboration among more than 200 universities in critical areas such as climate change and public health. According to UNESCO (2023), institutions engaged in such multilateral initiatives experience a 27% increase in research impact, underscoring their efficacy.

Furthermore, the development of robust quality assurance systems is essential to support these efforts. By adopting unified academic standards for credit recognition—akin to the EU’s Erasmus+ model—a tailored credit transfer system could be designed to accommodate multilateral projects involving Chinese and U.S. institutions. Such a framework would enhance transparency, streamline academic exchanges, and reinforce the sustainability of international partnerships.

(2) Innovate Collaboration Models

In light of increasing restrictions on traditional academic exchange channels, the

development of innovative collaboration models has become imperative. One promising approach involves leveraging virtual research platforms, which can facilitate cross-border cooperation without the constraints of physical mobility. The Max Planck Institute's pioneering "virtual lab" model exemplifies this strategy, combining remote equipment control, real-time data sharing, and collaborative writing tools to support over 500 international research teams. Such platforms could serve as a scalable solution for sustaining academic partnerships amid geopolitical tensions.

Another critical consideration is the implementation of risk-tiered discipline management, wherein regulatory scrutiny is calibrated according to field-specific sensitivities. High-risk domains, such as artificial intelligence and aerospace engineering, may require rigorous oversight, while lower-risk disciplines—including humanities and basic medicine—could benefit from streamlined approval processes. Empirical evidence from the Association of American Universities (AAU, 2023) indicates that this differentiated approach enhances administrative efficiency by more than 40%, without compromising research integrity.

Finally, the establishment of offshore research zones in neutral third-party jurisdictions presents a viable mechanism for circumventing export control risks. The Sino-Swiss Institute of Intelligent Manufacturing offers a successful precedent, demonstrating how joint research initiatives hosted in politically neutral locations can mitigate legal and technological transfer barriers. By adopting such models, institutions in China and the U.S. could maintain productive collaboration while navigating complex regulatory landscapes.

(3) Strengthen Safeguard Mechanism

The long-term viability of transnational academic partnerships necessitates robust institutional safeguards. Drawing lessons from established frameworks such as the U.S.-EU Atlantic Academic Agreement, we propose a comprehensive bilateral trust mechanism incorporating three key elements: (1) an expedited visa processing system granting project participants five-year multi-entry privileges, (2) a jointly administered academic dispute resolution body, and (3) a certified whitelist protocol for secure

cross-border data transfers. Such structural foundations would significantly reduce administrative barriers while ensuring compliance with national security considerations.

Financial infrastructure represents another critical component, with the proposed establishment of a Sino-U.S. Higher Education Cooperation Fund. With an initial capitalization of RMB 2 billion (approximately \$280 million), this dedicated funding mechanism could strategically support early-career scholar exchanges and collaborative curriculum development initiatives. The inclusion of private sector stakeholders offers additional promise, as evidenced by Tencent's Open Research Initiative partnership with the National University of Singapore (China Daily, 2025). This successful model demonstrates how corporate philanthropy and research funding can effectively bridge institutional gaps while generating measurable social impact.

These multi-layered safeguards - encompassing legal frameworks, sustainable financing, and public-private partnerships - would collectively create the necessary ecosystem for enduring academic cooperation amidst complex geopolitical realities. The implementation of such measures would not only mitigate operational risks but also foster an environment conducive to breakthrough innovations and meaningful scholarly exchange.

(4) Enhance Cultural Communication

Persistent cultural misunderstandings continue to impede academic collaboration between China and the United States, necessitating targeted interventions across multiple levels. Institutionalized dialogue mechanisms represent a foundational approach, as exemplified by the proposed annual "Sino-U.S. University Presidents Forum." This high-level platform, jointly administered by the China Education Association for International Exchange and the American Council on Education, would facilitate direct communication between educational leaders to align strategic priorities and address systemic challenges.

At the operational level, structured cross-cultural competency programs have demonstrated particular efficacy. The "Understanding China and U.S." curriculum, collaboratively developed by Harvard University and three Chinese Double First-Class

institutions, has already engaged over 100,000 participants, establishing a replicable model for bilateral pedagogical cooperation. Complementary to formal coursework, experiential learning initiatives such as Tsinghua University's "Sino-U.S. Young Tech Leaders Program" have successfully fostered interpersonal connections through 120+cross-national team projects, effectively bridging cultural divides among emerging scholars.

Media engagement constitutes another critical dimension, where establishing formal content-sharing partnerships between educational media outlets could counter prevailing narratives with evidence-based reporting on collaborative achievements. Such mechanisms would not only enhance mutual understanding but also create a more conducive environment for sustained academic partnership by highlighting tangible outcomes of bilateral cooperation.

Collectively, these multi-tiered interventions - spanning leadership dialogue, educational programming, hands-on exchange, and strategic communications - offer a comprehensive framework for overcoming cultural barriers while building the social capital necessary for long-term collaboration success.

V.Conclusion and Outlook

In today's complex and ever-shifting global political and economic landscape, Sino-U.S. higher education cooperation is undergoing a structural shift from a period of expansion to one of contraction. Through a combined theoretical and empirical approach, this study reveals the deep-rooted challenges facing this cooperation, which encompass both institutional barriers—such as research funding, visa constraints, and data flow restrictions—and structural psychological challenges, such as ideological bias, trust deficits, and strategic misjudgments.

Despite the increasingly constrained environment, the space for cooperation has not entirely closed. This paper argues that future Sino-U.S. higher education cooperation should transition from a state-centric model toward one of shared governance by diverse actors. Specifically, this includes advancing desensitized collaboration mechanisms, developing multilateral platforms, and strengthening regional education networks.

In this transformation, education should not only be seen as a channel for knowledge dissemination but also as a bridge for global peace, mutual understanding, and cooperative governance. Only by reinvigorating the core values of openness, inclusivity, and mutual benefit within the global academic community can China and the U.S. find a sustainable and forward-looking path toward renewed educational collaboration.

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