



中国南传佛教文化丛书

နွေဝိသုသယံသုဝေသဝိဇ္ဇာ

供奉与表达

——傣族南传佛教艺术与“賤”的关系解析

ပူဂာလ်သံဝေဇ္ဇာ

——သေသဝေဇ္ဇာကုဋိကုဋေဝေဇ္ဇာဗျာဝေဇ္ဇာဗျာဝေဇ္ဇာ “မြ” ဘာသာဝေဇ္ဇာ

田玉玲 著



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总 序

佛教起源于印度，后来向国外传播，分成两大系统：向北方流传的，经过中亚传到中国内地及西藏，再传到韩国、日本、越南等地，属于北传佛教；向南方流传的，经斯里兰卡，然后再传到东南亚的缅甸、泰国、柬埔寨、老挝及中国云南等地，属于南传佛教。

南传佛教公元 7 世纪前后传入我国云南西双版纳傣族地区；公元 13 世纪左右传入德宏地区；15 世纪至 17 世纪传入普洱、临沧、保山等地区。信奉南传佛教的主要是傣族以及与傣族毗邻而居的布朗族、阿昌族、德昂族及部分佤族、彝族，具有“民族性、群众性、国际性、边疆性”的特点，现有信众 130 多万。

经过长期本土化的过程，中国南传佛教形成了自己独特的传播特点，它决定着中国南传佛教的演进轨迹，形成独具中国特色的南传佛教。原中国佛教协会会长赵朴初 1990 年在西双版纳召开的第一次南传佛教工作会议的讲话中指出：南传佛教“在佛教发展史上和当今国际佛教中占有重要地位”。这种重要地位首先表现在中国南传佛教是南传佛教文化圈的重要组成部分，也可以说是世界佛教文化圈的组成部分；其次，中国南传佛教是中国佛教三大语系之一，对云南信教各民族的文化、社会政治生活和风俗习惯产生了极为深远的影响，也对中国社会以及哲学、文学、文化、艺术、历史等方面有着深远影响，成为中华民族多元传统文化的重要组成部分。

南传佛教传入中国云南之后，傣族创造了傣泐文、傣那文、傣绷文等几种傣族文字，用以记录各种佛教典籍资料，在此基础上逐步形成了以傣族为代表

的，在道德心理、风俗习惯、文字教育、天文历法、医药卫生、绘画建筑、音乐舞蹈等方面别具特色的中国南传佛教文化圈，并逐步衍生出村村有佛寺的独特教育体系和以“波章”（西双版纳地区的称呼）、“安章”（临沧地区的称呼）、“贺路”（德宏地区的称呼）为主的佛教与村寨佛事活动管理系统。

在中国南传佛教文化传统中，男孩子七八岁起就要“出家”到佛寺里生活学习，由“贺勇”——“帕”——“比库”逐层进阶，持续学习佛教经典及各种民族传统文化知识。除了少部分继续出家担任精神和教育导师外，绝大多数人回到本民族世俗生活中，成为社会精英。比库级别的还俗者被尊称为“康朗”，从康朗中选拔出来的佛寺管理者就被称为“波章”（或“安章”“贺路”）。

波章负责宗教事务的组织和管理工作，作为中国南传佛教管理体系中的主要角色，只有品行端正、能力出众的康朗才能担任。波章的职责主要是：在佛教仪式活动中，承担着仪式主持人的角色，协助僧侣教化信众；也直接参与对小和尚的部分日常管理与教育工作；在信众的管理和佛事活动的安排方面，承担着社会层面的组织者和经理者的功能。与传统佛寺的等级制度相适应，各地也形成了自己独具特色的波章管理体系。以西双版纳为例，传统的波章管理体系表现为四级金字塔形模式：总佛寺波章—勐佛寺波章—中心佛寺波章—村寨佛寺波章。中国南传佛教独具特色的教育系统及“波章”为主的佛教的社会管理系统造就了以“佛教民族化，民族佛教化”为基础的“无嗔”的共同价值观，并构成以南传佛教文化为核心的和谐的民族社会。

因此，作为一种意识形态，中国南传佛教以慈悲、友善、有序为基础的戒律教义和礼仪规范广泛而深入地渗透到所信奉民族的社会体制、社会结构、社会关系和社会规范之中，特别是在生态文明与伦理道德两大领域，已经内化为这些地区民族社会普遍的风俗习惯，并逐渐形成社会共同的价值取向，使得人与自然之间、人与社会之间、人与人之间的关系，长期保持一种和谐、有序的状态。

从国际视野来看，南传佛教是一种国际性的宗教，在东南亚、南亚各国广为流传。南传佛教作为云南少数民族与东南亚邻邦渊源深厚的传统文化形态，对于习近平主席在亚太经合组织会议上提出的中国与东南亚“命运共同体”的建构具有重要的桥梁作用。云南有 4061 公里的边境线与越南、缅甸、老挝接壤，跨境而居的民族有 16 个，这种复杂而交错跨居的民族分布构成了中国西南边疆特有的地缘政治和文化现象。跨境而居的民族，彼此间有天然的血缘、亲缘、文化缘关系，为文化在不同国度间的传播和交流提供了极大的便利，他们

在中国南传佛教文化圈的形成和发展过程中发挥着重要的作用。因此，南传佛教在云南少数民族地区及漫长的边境线上，为中国的边疆安定、民族团结、社会和谐发挥着不可替代的重要作用。简而言之，中国南传佛教文化的复兴与研究的推进，具有几个方面的重要价值：（1）中国南传佛教是中国与东南亚国家对外文化交流的重要桥梁；（2）中国南传佛教文化建设是中国软实力的直接体现；（3）中国南传佛教文化是建设稳定边疆、和谐社会的重要力量。

与汉传佛教和藏传佛教相比，目前我国对于中国南传佛教的研究成果还不丰厚，研究力量还很薄弱。一是研究者主要是其他民族特别是汉族学者，本民族学者的参与程度还远远不够；二是对中国南传佛教及其相关民族文化的研究，汉族或其他民族的学者受语言文字的限制，往往难以直接阅读和应用丰富的傣文资料文献；三是与东南亚各国的学术研究交流有待持续而深入地推进。

由云南大学出版社策划出版的“中国南传佛教文化丛书”收录了数位研究者近年的相关研究成果，内容既有文献资料辑录，也有中国南传佛教历史、僧伽制度及音乐、艺术、节日、民俗文化等诸多方面的调研与探究。其中，《中国南传佛教资料辑录》是“中国南传佛教文化丛书”的奠基之作。

“中国南传佛教文化丛书”的出版，是对中国南传佛教文化近年研究成果的一次展示，有助于推进中国南传佛教与汉藏语系佛教、东南亚佛教乃至其他宗教文化的交流，并必将推动中国南传佛教研究迈向新的台阶。丛书的出版令人深感欣慰！望后来的研究能以此为起点，进一步挖掘丰富的傣文资料，对中国南传佛教展开更多更深入的研究。也希望有更多优秀学者加入研究行列，期待更多客观公正的研究成果早日面世。

刀述仁

2014年10月

Foreword*

With its origin in India, Buddhism developed into two major branches during the course of its spreading northward and southward to other countries. The former was Tibetan Buddhism which spread through Central Asia to Tibet of China, the mainland of China, then to Korea, Japan and Vietnam. The latter was Theravāda Buddhism that spread through Sri Lanka, Thailand, Cambodia and Laos to Yunnan province of China.

Around the 7th century, Theravāda Buddhism came to Xishuangbanna of Yunnan of China, a place mainly inhabited by the Dai group. In the 13th century it reached Dehong, and from the 15th to the 17th century, it was spread to Puer, Lingcang, and Baoshan. Theravāda Buddhists in China consist mainly of the Dai people as well as some neighboring minorities such as the Bulang, the A'Chang, the De'Ang, the Wa, and the Yi. Theravāda Buddhism in China has the characteristics of being ethnic, mass-based, international and borderland-based. Currently, there are over 1.3 million believers of Theravāda Buddhism in China.

After a long period of indigenization, Theravāda Buddhism has formed its unique Chinese characteristics and ways of transmission, which have determined its progressive route. Mr. Zhao Puchu, the former head of the Buddhist Association of China said at the first meeting of Theravāda Buddhism held in Xishuangbanna in 1990: "Theravāda Buddhism in China occupies an important place in the history of Buddhist development as well as in the contemporary international Buddhist community." First-

* 香港理工大学唐明晰教授翻译；云南大学滇池学院何昌邑教授审译。

ly, Theravāda Buddhism in China is an important part of Theravāda Buddhist community, or in other words, a part of the international Buddhist community. Secondly, Theravāda Buddhism in China is one of the three main Buddhist branches in China. It has made a far-reaching impact on the cultural, social and political life as well as the customs of the ethnic groups in Yunnan, and exerted a lasting influence on the philosophy, literature, culture, art and history of China. It is an important part of the traditional multi-ethnic culture of the Chinese nation.

After Theravāda Buddhism came to Yunnan, the Dai people created their own writing systems, such as Daili, Daina, and Daipeng, in order to record all kinds of Theravāda Buddhist materials. This gradually formed the basis of the cultural essence of Theravāda Buddhism in China, represented by the Dai group, including the Buddhism-related morality, psychology, customs, traditions, literary education, astronomical calendars, health, medicine, drawing, architecture, music, dance, etc. As a result, there appeared a unique educational system, that is, each Dai village has one Buddhist temple, and a village-based Buddhist management system called “Bozhang” in Xishuangbanna or “Anzhang” in Lincang or “Helu” in Dehong.

The tradition of Theravāda Buddhism in China requires a boy at the age of 7 or 8 to live and study in a Buddhist temple. They progress from a “Heyong” (apprentice) to “Pa” (a middle rank in the temple) and then “Biku” (a teacher) in order to study Buddhist classics as well as the knowledge of ethnic minority cultures. Except a few of them remaining in the temple as spiritual leaders or instructors after having finished their studies, most students will “return” to a secular life, while some will become social elites. A Biku-granted person returning to a secular life is honored with the title of “Kanglang”. In Xishuangbanna this is called “Bozhang”, or “Anzhang” in Lincang, or “Helu” in Dehong.

“Bozhang” is responsible for organizing and managing religious affairs. As a key figure in the management hierarchy of Theravāda Buddhism in China, only those “Kanglang” with high moral standards and capability can take such responsibility. The duties of “Bozhang” include the following: chairing various ritual events and ceremonies in the temples, helping to educate believers, and participating in the management of daily life and education of young students. In terms of the management of believers and the arrangement of Buddhist affairs, they take the responsibility as a social

organizer and manager. In consistency with the traditional temple's hierarchy, different "Bozhang" management systems with their own features have been established in different places. For example, in Xishuangbanna, the traditional "Bozhang" system has a pyramid of four levels: the one in charge of the head temple is above the one in charge of "Mengfo" temple (a prefectural level), who in turn is above the one in charge of the central temple (a district level), who in turn is above the one in charge of the temple at the village level. The unique education system of Theravāda Buddhism in China and the "Bozhang" Buddhist social management system have helped cultivate the shared "anti-hatred" values that integrate our national culture with Theravāda Buddhism, thus forming harmonious minority communities based on Theravāda Buddhist culture as the core value.

Therefore, as an ideology based upon mercy, friendship, order, religious principles and rituals, Theravāda Buddhism in China has penetrated deeply into the social system, social structure, social relations and social norms of the ethnic minority believers. Especially in the two aspects of ecology and ethics, Theravāda Buddhism in China has made its fine elements internalized into the commonly accepted social customs, gradually forming a common value system. It helps to maintain a harmonious and orderly relationship between man and nature, between individuals and society, and among human beings.

From an international perspective, Theravāda Buddhism is also an international religion, especially popular in Southeast Asia and South Asia. As a traditional cultural form that has age-old relations between Yunnan's ethnic minorities and their counterparts in the Southeast Asian countries, Theravāda Buddhism is important for bridging and constructing "a community of common destiny" between China and Southeast Asian countries, as proposed by Chinese President Xi Jinping at the APEC Summit. Yunnan province has sixteen cross-border ethnic groups, and a boundary line of 4,061 kilometers bordering Vietnam, Myanmar, and Laos. This complex distribution of ethnicity has formed a unique geopolitical and cultural phenomenon in the frontier region of southwest China. These cross-border ethnic groups have natural familial bonds, kinship, and cultural connections with their counterparts in other countries, and thus can help promote the cultural exchanges among different countries. They have played an important role in forming and developing Theravāda Buddhism in

China. Thus, Theravāda Buddhism has played an irreplaceable role in safeguarding the borderland security, the national unity and social harmony in the ethnic minority areas and borderlands of China. In short, the development and revival of Theravāda Buddhism in China has great value in the following aspects: it is a bridge for cultural exchanges between China and Southeast Asian countries; the cultural construction of Theravāda Buddhism in China is a concrete embodiment of China's soft power; Theravāda Buddhism in China is an important force for maintaining China's borderland security and social harmony.

In comparison with the studies of Mahayana Buddhism and Tibetan Buddhism in China, the research findings of Theravāda Buddhism in China are inadequate. The weaknesses find expression in the following aspects: most researchers are Han people or scholars from other ethnic groups rather than the scholars from the local Dai group, who are unfamiliar with the Dai language and unable to understand the Theravāda Buddhist literature written in the Dai language. There is also a need to promote the academic exchanges with Southeast Asian countries.

The Culture Series of Theravāda Buddhism in China published by Yunnan University Press is a collection of several researchers' relevant works in recent years and rich in academic value, including the history of Theravāda Buddhism in China, the monk system, the anthologisation of the relevant literature, music, art, festival, folk culture, etc., among which *A Collection of Literature on Theravāda Buddhism in China* is the foundational work.

The publication of *The Culture Series of Theravāda Buddhism in China* is an embodiment of the recent search achievements concerning Theravāda Buddhism in China. It will help promote the exchanges among Theravāda Buddhism, Mahayana Buddhism, Tibetan Buddhism, Southeast Asian Buddhism as well as other religions, and will bring the research on Theravāda Buddhism in China to a higher order of existence. It is an encouraging and praiseworthy event, and will inspire more researchers to dig out more valuable Dai materials and achieve more on the studies of Theravāda Buddhism in China.

Dao Shuren

October, 2014

前 言

傣族南传佛教艺术主要包括佛教文学、建筑、雕塑、绘画、民族民间工艺与音乐、舞蹈、戏剧等几个大类，具有突出的民间性、地方性色彩。傣族南传佛教艺术的这种独特风貌，与“賸”有密切关系。

“賸”是佛教十波罗蜜（亦称六度）之一，意为布施、供奉、施舍，是以供养佛教三宝为中心的宗教实践活动。经过长期的地方化、民族化，傣族的賸佛活动已经吸纳了大量的傣族民间民俗活动，一部分大型賸佛活动还转化成了重要的节日庆典，衍生出多元宗教与社会功能。在这个进程中，“賸”与傣族南传佛教艺术活动密切融合，相互促进、共同发展，成为影响和推动傣族南传佛教艺术发展的核心要素。二者关系的解析也因此成为研究傣族南传佛教艺术的重要线索。

本书在对傣族南传佛教艺术及其“賸”主题作品进行整体把握的基础上，以“賸”作为傣族南传佛教艺术研究的一个核心要素，从艺术活动的起点——创作动机出发，通过追溯艺术活动的整个脉络：艺术创作——艺术作品——艺术的传播与接受，层层剖析“賸”与傣族南传佛教艺术的密切关联，在鲜活立体的宗教文化生态中，对傣族南传佛教艺术进行立体的展示与解析。当然，这种解析必然要建立在对“賸”的宗教内涵、宗教地位及其本土化的全面观照的基础之上，以确保下文对二者关系的探讨不会变成空中楼阁。

本书分为三个部分。第一、二章为第一部分，首先展示傣族南传佛教艺术的全貌，介绍傣族南传佛教艺术中大量存在的以“賸”为主题进行创作的艺术作品，凸显“賸”主题在傣族南传佛教艺术中的重要地位；第三、四章为第二



部分，挖掘“賧”的宗教内涵，认识賧佛活动在南传佛教中的重要地位，并对賧佛活动在傣族地区的本土化及其现状、功能进行全面介绍，为下文的解析奠定基础；第五、六章为第三部分，第五章通过追溯傣族南传佛教艺术活动的全过程，剖析“賧”对傣族南传佛教艺术活动的影响和参与，深化对傣族南传佛教艺术及其风格的理解。概而言之，“賧”是傣族南传佛教艺术创作的根本动机所在，全面主导着傣族南传佛教艺术的创作活动；賧佛活动使相关艺术作品获得了神圣的身份，得以跻身佛教艺术殿堂。傣族的賧佛传统也直接影响并塑造了傣族南传佛教艺术的独特风格，并全面推动了傣族南传佛教艺术的传播与接受。在此基础上，第六章更进一步解析和阐释二者的相互融合，从宗教与社会层面深化对傣族南传佛教艺术的研究：二者相互融合的原因在于“賧”是沟通僧俗的上佳桥梁媒介，而佛教艺术则是僧侣频繁使用的传教工具；二者相互融合的根本目标就是推动南传佛教的传播与发展。这种融合经历了三个阶段，由局部的有限联合逐步发展成为全面的融合互助，并最终溢出了南传佛教本身的边界，把南传佛教及其艺术活动扩大到傣族日常的世俗生活领域，加深了南传佛教对傣族日常世俗生活的影响，也促进了傣族传统文化对南传佛教的浸润，不断推进傣族佛教化、佛教傣族化。傣族南传佛教艺术与“賧”的相互融合不仅有效促进了南传佛教在傣族地区的全面传播与发展，促进了傣族南传佛教艺术的全面发展，也同时推动了傣族民间艺术乃至傣族传统文化的全面发展。

本书所用图片均来自于作者的田野调查。文后彩图附录部分的图片分章节编号，统一编排；另有部分黑白图片，直接穿插在文中，以便于阅读。

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