

# 玉樞經和道教圖像學

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本文的研究焦點為玉樞經，它是現代道教的重要文獻，與表達神霄雷法傳統的主要經典。該經成書於 1200 年左右，以「雷聲普化天尊」，道教最高的雷神為中心，作者若不是內丹派南宗的第五代教主白玉蟾（1194-1229）本人，便是其周遭的相關人士。歷經明清二朝，該經書不但被道教、也被儒教，以及受三教合一觀點下，用於自我修煉的群眾所特別推崇。至今，玉樞經仍為重要經典之一，被吟誦和演出，存在於許多道教儀式的體系中。

2009 年春天我於臺北漢學研究中心的獎助期間，繼續探討關於玉樞經的幾個面向，特別是，版本內容上的差異與出版時間；經書形成的地區環境與屬於何種道教派別的問題；具圖繪版本的畫像，對這個歷史研究與一般道教圖像學的含意為何。今日我將對這些面向就以下順序進行探討。

首先，我將指出版本內容差異研究的重要性，比較 1444-45 年道藏中的相關經書「謝雷真經」，與現存臺北故宮博物院圖書館中更早成書的版本。經由比較，顯示在編輯道藏的過程中經書內容曾被明顯竄改，以建立更符合皇權思想體系的意旨。

其次，我將評論在蘇州地區，官吏徐道齡於 1333 年編的玉樞經與所附的四份註解，一份由白玉蟾，另三份則顯然經由扶鑾而書。值得注意的是，在扶鑾活動之外，此地區在傳譯經典上有「精神化」的傾向，此為繼承自白玉蟾並與三教合一的潮流有關。這個版本的後序為第三十九代天師張嗣成所作，該版本並重新編成數種具圖繪的版本。一般認為，現藏大英博物館的木刻圖籍即為 1333 年的版本，但我將證明該圖籍的年代無法如此斷定。

第三，我將討論在玉樞經經文前，繪有各種道教傳統的教主（與女教主）圖像系列，並評估屬於何種道教派別的問題。該經書是「新神霄」傳統的主要範例，特色是以雷法結合內丹，形成具「體」、「用」概念的結構。我將指出這些概念如何在經書的結構中呈現，及在圖繪中決定神的形象。玉樞經自元與明初以來對道教壇場的發展與神祇的形象有非常大的影響，因此在我的道教圖像計畫中佔有重要的份量。這是我（並與臺灣的道教學者合作）正在進行的計畫，我將藉此機會介紹一下這項計畫的主旨。

最後，我將對道教中圖像的地位作一簡短的討論。深入檢視該宗教（與普遍的中國文化）中圖像的重要性令人訝異的發現，東西方人文學科普遍注重文字遠超過視覺的傾向，也在道教研究歷史的領域中佔有主要地位。然而事實上，如我所示，許多道教中的神起初是透過視覺形象來定義，之後才透過傳說的形式和其它敘事方式來表現。道教傳說這類的文字，有時與神的連結關係較為鬆散且偶然。更重要的是，如此將使道教研究開闢一個新的視覺研究取徑。

**The Scripture of the Jade Pivot (玉樞經) and Daoist**

# Iconography

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## Abstract

The focus of this paper is the *Scripture of the Jade Pivot*, *Yushu jing* 玉樞經, one of the crucial texts of modern Daoism, and the main scriptural expression of the Thunder Rites of the Shenxiao (神霄) tradition. The scripture is the central vehicle of the Celestial Worthy Who Transforms All through the Sound of Thunder, Leisheng Puhua Tianzun 雷聲普化天尊, the supreme Daoist god of thunder. It appears to have been written around 1200, if not by Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾 (1194-1229) himself, then certainly in a milieu associated with Bai, the so-called Fifth Patriarch of the Southern School of inner alchemy. Throughout the Ming and Qing dynasties, it has been revered, not only by Daoists, but also by self-declared Confucians, and not the least in circles dedicated to self-cultivation framed by the notion of the unity of the Three Religions (三教合一). To this day, it continues to be one of the most important scriptures chanted, and indeed performed, as part of many different kinds of Daoist liturgy.

During my stay at the Center for Chinese Studies in Taipei in the spring of 2009, I have continued my research on several aspects of this scripture, notably, on the textual variants and the dating of the various editions of the text; on the local context in which the scripture originated and the question of the specific religious affiliation of the text; and on the significance of the illustrations of the text, both for this historical work and for Daoist iconography in general. I shall touch today on all of these issues, and in the following order:

Firstly, I shall demonstrate the great importance of the study of textual variants by showing the discrepancies between the versions of an associated scripture, the *True Scripture of Showing Repentance toward Thunder*, *Xielei zhenjing* 謝雷真經, found both in the Daoist Canon of 1444-45 and in a printed collection of Daoist texts that is kept at the library of the National Palace Museum in Taipei and that predates the printing of the Canon. The comparison reveals that significant manipulation of the text occurred during the process of editing it for the Canon, apparently in order to establish a closer accordance with basic tenets of imperial ideology.

Secondly, I shall make some comments on the milieu in Suzhou in which a sub-official by the name of Xu Daoling 徐道齡 in 1333 edited a version of the *Yushu jing* with four commentaries, including one by Bai Yuchan and three others that clearly were transmitted by spirit writing. In addition to the focus on spirit writing,

this milieu appears to have been dedicated to a certain “spiritualizing” tendency in the interpretation of the text, inherited from Bai Yuchan and associated with the trend toward the unification of the Three Religions. The edition contains a colophon by the thirty-ninth Celestial Master, Zhang Sicheng 張嗣成, and it has been transmitted in several spectacular illustrated versions. It has generally been assumed that the illustrated block print version found in the British Library is, in fact, the original edition from 1333, but I shall demonstrate that this dating of the illustrations cannot be taken for granted.

Thirdly, I shall discuss the significance of the series of portraits of patriarchs (and matriarchs) of various Daoist traditions found in the beginning of the illustrated versions for the assessment of the precise religious affiliation of the text. The scripture is a prime example of what has been called the “new Shenxiao” tradition, which is characterized by a trend toward combining inner alchemy with thunder rites and integrating them in a structure that may be conceptualized by means of the concepts of *ti* 體 and *yong* 用, essence (or substance) and function (or use). I shall demonstrate how these concepts are manifest in the structure of the scripture itself, and in the representations of deities found in the illustrations, and I will continue by discussing the role that they have played for the visual representations of Daoist gods up to the present. The *Yushu jing* had an enormous impact on the development of the Daoist pantheon and its visual representations in Daoist sacred areas since the Yuan and early Ming dynasties, and it therefore also plays a major role in the Daoist Iconography Project that I am currently developing (also in collaboration with Daoist scholars here in Taiwan). I shall take this opportunity to give a brief introduction to the goals of this project.

Finally, I shall conclude with a brief discussion of the status of images in Daoism. Given the great focus on images in this religion (and in Chinese culture in general), it is striking that the general tendency of the humanities, both in the East and in the West, to valorize the verbal over the visual, has been allowed to dominate also in the history of the field of Daoist studies. In fact, as I shall show, many Daoist deities are defined primarily through their visual representations, while their discursive manifestations in the form of legends and other narratives often are quite secondary, and associated with the deities in a somewhat perfunctory and haphazard manner. All the more important it is, of course, to give priority to a new visual studies approach to the study of Daoism.