

# 西藏佛教的系譜學與近現代中國：宗教、知識和權力

馬蒂

美國密西根大學亞洲語言及文化系博士候選人

漢學中心獎助學人

1990年代末，西藏語中誕生了一個新名詞。這個「*bod brgyud nang bstan*」即為漢語的藏傳佛教。二十世紀中，伴隨著西藏研究與佛教研究的全球化，學術交流拓展到更多領域。此外西藏文化、宗教相關的重要著作亦被廣為翻譯成多種語言。然而，西藏語的「*bod brgyud nang bstan*」和漢語的藏傳佛教這兩個詞彙，在此一風潮中殊途同歸地被再詮釋為同一個英語語詞「Tibetan Buddhism」。

我的演講將呈現有關西藏佛教在現代中國的初步論文研究成果。佛教起源於印度，但早已消失於該地，在民國時期（1912至1949年）佛教開始被視為世界性的宗教，中國與鄰國對佛教都發展有自己的教義：如中國佛教、韓國佛教、日本佛教等。同樣身為中國的鄰居之一，獨立西藏（Independent Tibet，1912至1951年）亦即西藏，也有其獨特的佛教教義，漢語稱之「西藏佛教」，即是英語所稱 Tibetan Buddhism。

時至今日，西藏在政治與主權上已不復往昔的獨立自主。民國時期用來論述 Tibetan Buddhism 的「西藏佛教」一詞遭到廢棄，如非出自口誤，就是過去的錯誤此時被修正。新詞彙「藏傳佛教」出現並取而代之成為最有力的用法。於是西藏的佛教變成僅是中國佛教三個支派之一，而非具有自身歷史發展脈絡的複雜實體。不過此種定義上的轉變與對佛教的再分類自文化大革命（1966至1976年）後才迅速展開，更精確的說，新詞彙約於1980年產生並取代舊詞彙，而舊的「西藏佛教」仍在中共建國後使用了十五年之久。

宗教上的論述，為中共與西藏之間新權力架構的運作主軸提供動力。我將討論「西藏佛教」、「藏傳佛教」這兩字在思想史層面的流變，並從不同於現今學界研究重

點的角度切入探討西藏佛教的系譜學。我也將嘗試藉由敘述「西藏佛教」轉變至「藏傳佛教」的經過，能夠釐清承襲自知識變遷的權力運作如何成為論述主流，以及民國、中共兩政權在文革之前的定位，以期更瞭解學界對今日藏傳佛教的看法。

## **The Genealogy of Tibetan Buddhism and Modern China: Religion, Knowledge, and Power**

Martino Dibeltulo

PhD Research postgraduate, Department of Asian Language and Cultures,  
University of Michigan, USA

Visiting Fellow, Center for Chinese Studies (CCS),  
National Central Library, Taiwan

Toward the end of the 1990s, a new word has appeared in the Tibetan vocabulary. The term bod brgyud nang bstan is a direct rendering of the Chinese zangchuan fojiao 藏傳佛教. Over the course of the twentieth century, as the field of Tibetan and Buddhist studies has gradually become globalized, scholarly exchanges have been fostered on many levels. Moreover, the translation of important works on Tibetan culture and religion has been encouraged from and into many languages. However, in this endeavor, both the Tibetan and the Chinese words bod brgyud nang bstan and zangchuan fojiao have been retranslated into other European and Asian languages by what we commonly mean in English with the word “Tibetan Buddhism.”

In this talk I will present the preliminary results of my dissertation research on Tibetan Buddhism in Modern China. During the Republican Period (1912-1949), Buddhism began to be identified as a world religion: it originated in ancient India, where it had long disappeared, and China had its own national variant, so as China’s neighboring countries had their own local versions of the teachings of the Buddha: Chinese Buddhism, Japanese Buddhism, Korean Buddhism, etc. Independent Tibet (1912-1951), that is, Xizang, as a neighbor of the Chinese nation, also had its own version of the teaching of the Buddha:

its referent in the Chinese language was xizang fojiao 西藏佛教, what we still commonly call Tibetan Buddhism.

Today, old Tibet, that is, Xizang, no longer enjoys the same political condition and territorial extension as over Tibet's period of independence. The word employed during the Republican Period in the discourse on Tibetan Buddhism, xizang fojiao 西藏佛教, is no longer in use in the Chinese language, if not as a slip of the tongue, or a mistake that is promptly rectified. The new word zangchuan fojiao 藏傳佛教, instead, has appeared and has become naturalized as the hegemonic term to talk about Tibetan Buddhism. The Buddhism of Tibet has become only one of the three branches of Chinese Buddhism, rather than a complex entity with its own historical development. But this shift of meanings and the new taxonomy of Buddhism for the new Chinese Communist state appeared immediately after the Cultural Revolution (1966-76). More precisely, the new word arose around 1980 and replaced the old word that was still in use during the first fifteen years of the People's Republic.

The new term functions as the fulcrum of those dynamics of power between China and Tibet that originate from the discourse of religion. The intellectual history of the two Chinese terms that I will talk about here, the genealogy of Tibetan Buddhism that I propose to explore, are far from being primarily concerned with today's discourse. On the contrary, I seek to understand today's discourse by exposing the technologies of power that it has inherited from the formations of knowledge of the discourse that it has replaced, as well as by showing how the transition between the two words and between the two epistemic regimes took place before the Cultural Revolution.

### 主講人介紹：

馬蒂（Martino Dibeltulo），義大利薩丁島籍，美國密西根大學亞洲語言與文化系博士候選人，主要研究領域為佛教、民國以後的西藏佛教、西藏學等。