



Harvard & Peking University  
International Conference on Comparative Mythology

# 比较神话学国际会议



Location of the Conference: Hall of Democracy, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor

会议地点：北大外院民主楼，二层

Beijing, May 11-13, 2006

## International Conference on Comparative Mythology

Harvard & Peking University  
Beijing, May 11-13, 2006

May 10, Wed.: Arrival, check-in and enrollment.

- 14:00 (= 2 p.m.) Visit of the University Library. Starting point:  
Lobby of the Shaoyuan 7 Hotel
- 15:30 Tea in Linhuxuan (临湖轩 House at lake)
- 16:30 Walk through the Campus.
- 18:00 Professor Wang Bangwei (王邦维, Director of the Center of Eastern Literature) invites the participants to a welcome dinner at Shaoyuan 2.

May 11, Thurs.:

- 8:30 Opening speech by Prof. Chen Zhaoxing 程朝翔,  
Dean of the School of Foreign Languages of PKU
- 8:50 *Keynote speech* by Prof. Michael Witzel, Harvard
- 9:20 *The Mythological Implication Effect: the Spirits of Western and Chinese Cultures Embodied in Their Mythologies*  
*神话的文化暗示效应与中西文化精神*  
by Prof. Gu Zhengkun 辜正坤 (PKU)
- 9:50 *Keynote speech* by Prof. Huang Baosheng 黄宝生,  
Principal Translator of *Mahabharata* into Chinese,  
(Chinese Academy of Social Science, CASS).

10:20 Teabreak

10: 40 Panel: Western and Eastern

- \* John G. Blair University of Foreign Languages, Beijing  
*Problems of Comparability Involving Myth and Religion*
- \* Liu Shusen (刘树森) PKU  
*Fatherhood as the Godhood: Cases in Egyptian, Greek, and Chinese Mythologies*

12.: 00 Lunch break

13:30 Panel: Western and Eastern (continued)

- \* E. Lyle (Edinburgh U.)  
*A complex Eurasian cosmology: not one duality but three interlocking dualities*

14:10 Panel: East Asian mythology

- \* K. Hirafuji, 平藤きくこ Kokugakuin U., Tokyo  
*Japanese mythology in modern society*

14:50 Teabreak

15:00 East Asian mythology (continued)

- \* K. Matsumura, 松村 一男 Wako U., Tokyo  
*Chinese contributions to the formation of Japanese Mythology*
- \* Chen Ganglong, 陈岗龙 PKU  
*Mangus in the Mongolian Epics and the Tibetan Dharmarāja*  
蒙古史诗中的恶魔蟒古思与藏传佛教护法神

16:20 Teabreak

16:30 Panel: Comparative and historical mythology

- \* B. Oguibenine Strasbourg U. & N. Yanchevskaya, Harvard U.  
*Models and Patterns in Comparative Mythology in Recent Russian Studies*
- \* Lu Wei (吕微), CASS  
*Problems of Malinowski in the research of mythology*  
神话研究中的马林诺夫斯基 Malinowski 问题

17:50 Break

May 12, Fri.

08:30 Comparative and historical mythology (continued)

- \* W. van Binsbergen, Leiden U.

*Further steps towards an aggregative diachronic approach to world mythology starting from the African continent*

- \* M. Witzel, Harvard U.  
*Out of Africa: The spread of our earliest mythologies*

09:50 Teabreak

10:10 Comparative and historical mythology (continued)

- \* S. Farmer Palo Alto, CA  
*Neurobiology, Stratified Traditions, and Comparative Mythology: How Myths Evolve*
- \* Y. Berezkin St. Petersburg U.  
*Why People are Mortal? Indo-Pacific Mythology and the 'Out-of-Africa' Scenario*

12:00 Lunch break

13:30 Comparative and historical mythology (continued)

- \* Ph. Nicholson, Boulder, CO  
*Light visions, Shamanic Control Fantasies and the Creation of Myth*
- \* H. Yamada, Tohoku U., Sendai  
*Mythology of the Taiwan Aborigines: the State of the Art*

14:50 Teabreak

15:00 Comparative and historical mythology (continued)

- \* Shi Yang (史阳), PKU  
*The Flood as Meaningful Rebirth, the Symbolism of Mangyan Filipinos' Flood Myth*
- \* E. Venbrux (K.U. Nijmegen)  
*Social life and the Dreamtime: Clues to creation myth as rhetorical devices in Tiwi ritual (Northern Australia)*

16:20 Teabreak

16:30 Panel: Mythology from China

- \* Liu Zongdi (刘宗迪), CASS  
*Shanghaijing and the Worldview of Ancient China*

《山海经》和华夏古代世界观

- \* Wang Jing (王静), Qinghua University

*Research on Wu Gang Cuts the Laurel*

关于吴刚伐桂

17:50 break

May 13, Sat.

08:30 Mythology from China (continued)

- \* Ye Shuxian (叶舒宪), CASS

*The Totem of Bear and its Myths*

熊图腾神话的源流

- \* Xie Jisheng (谢继胜), Normal University of Capital Beijing  
*Mythological Symbols of the Five Animals on Tibetan rLung-rTa Prayer Flag*

西藏“风马”经幡动物图案神话象征意义分析

09: 50 Teabreak

10:10 Mythology from China (continued)

- \* Yang Lihui (杨利慧), Beijing Normal University  
*Legitimacy of Ritual and Deconstruction and Reconstruction of Myth:  
A Field Study of Transformation of Myths in Contemporary China*

仪式的合法性与神话的解构和重构——

对当代中国神话变迁的研究

- \* Jae-Seo Jung (郑在书), E-hwa University, Korea  
*An Analysis on Chinese Mythological Discourse from the Viewpoint of  
Comparative Culture*

12:00 Lunch break

13:30 Panel: Indian Mythology

- \* Wang Bangwei (王邦维), PKU  
*The Hero Must Be Mute:  
A Hinduistic Story and Its Taoist Transformation*

Panel Central and Western Asian mythology

- \* Chen Yiyi (陈贻绎), PKU  
*Some Observations on Ugaritic Mythology*  
乌加里特神话点滴
  
- \* Duan Qing (段晴), PKU  
*Active in Worldly Affairs*  
——*An approach to the wordly side of Khotanese Buddhism based on  
new materials*  
入世的佛教  
  
——从新发现的于阗佛教文献探讨佛教入世的层面

15:30 Teabreak

15:50 Closing speeches.

18:00 Prof. Chen Zhaoxing 程朝翔, Dean of the School of Foreign Languages of PKU invites the participants to Dinner at Weiminglou (未名楼)

## Further steps towards an aggregative diachronic approach to world mythology starting from the African continent

Wim van Binsbergen  
(Leiden/Rotterdam, the Netherlands)

My argument departs from two seminal ideas:

1. In recent decades, advances in genetics led to the fairly general adoption of an Out-of-Africa scenario for the origin and early spread of Anatomically Modern Humans (AMH). This scenario was subsequently confirmed by archaeology.
2. According to Witzel (2001) comparative mythology may offer, in its own right, a key to humankind's remote cultural history, in a way complementary to genetics, linguistics, archaeology, and ethnography.

This paper is one of a series of explorations (van Binsbergen 2004) in which I attempt to combine these two seminal ideas. I seek to identify (along with other cultural, linguistic and religious elements: AMH's near-universals) some putative 'Out of Africa' original *mythological* package; moreover, I attempt to trace this package's subsequent transformations in the process of global spread. Emphasis is on the development of an explicit methodology, without which the entire exercise would be pointless. Meanwhile, the fact that I have termed the putative original mythical package 'Pandora's Box', is a reminder (cf. van Binsbergen 2003) of the fact that our scholarly approach to myth cannot and should not escape from our own mythopoiesis (myth-making).

To begin with, formal analysis of an extensive corpus of cosmogonic myths attested in sub-Saharan Africa in historical times, suggests that much of their contents may be regarded as the elaboration and transformation of (combinations of) less than twenty different 'Narrative Complexes', each with its own specific minimum story line.

Next, for each Narrative Complex a putative origin is proposed in space and time – in each case prompted by a combination of considerations:

- a) the Narrative Complex's empirical attestation in space and time, not only in texts (which only afford a time depth of 5 ka (kiloyears, millennia) maximum, but also iconographically in archaeological data, which go back much further
- b) any relevant outside material constraints e.g. in astronomy, glaciology, modes of production analysis;
- c) hermeneutics of a Narrative Complex's contents, which may bring out implications that may contain time- and space specific clues.

In the background, my approach is based on a number of assumptions that are highly contentious and whose critical testing, as well as the invitation to critical testing and subsequent

improvement by others, are among the aims of my project. These assumptions include:

- Myth may be defined as ‘telling collectively managed stories about fundamental reality’
- Although AMH have, admittedly, an infinite capability for imaginative invention, hence – on the surface – an potentially infinite repertoire of myth, still that invention is constrained by a limited number of basic thought operations (e.g. distinction, juxtaposition, identity etc.)
- Each Narrative Complex encodes and facilitates one or more of these basic thought operations
- Although myth can be told in music, dance, spatial layouts etc., its typical (more recent?) form is language-based
- It is only partially true that myth expresses culture in language; rather, it is myth that *constitutes* language and culture in the first place (cf. Cassirer 1946, 1953f; Donald 1991).
- Therefore, myth may have been AMH’s principal claim to adaptive advantage
- My proposed aggregative diachronic approach to world mythology therefore amounts to the reconstruction of the sequence of emergence and transformation of Narrative Complexes in time and space (in reflection of AMH’s increasingly complex and diversified tool to articulate reality through myth), along the paths which AMH (according to the reconstructions by genetics and archaeology) appear to have taken since their emergence in Eastern and Southern Africa 200 ka.
- Central myths (composed out of our Narrative Complexes) constitute the ideological/cosmological knowledge component of any mode of production. Therefore it is specific modes of production, and specific changes therein, that power the demographic and mythological processes attending AMH before and after their exodus ‘Out-of-Africa’

My emerging aggregative model of global spread and transformation of world mythology is, in the first place, predicated on the geneticists’ finding that AMH initially migrated east from Africa along the Indian Ocean coast to South East Asia, Australia and New Guinea. Only subsequently, especially in a new migratory wave, were Asia and the other continents populated by AMH. Subsequently, from c. 20,000 BP onwards, a westbound and southbound return migration from Asia ‘Back-into-Africa’ has been attested genetically. This offers further clues as to the situation of specific Narrative Complexes in time and space, through triangulation with the Australian and New Guinean material.

Contrary to my initial hypothesis, the unfolding of world mythology turns out not to be a gradual process evenly spaced out along the migration route of AMH. On the contrary, a limited number of Contexts of Intensified Transformation and Innovation (CITI) can be discerned, in which specific new Narrative Complexes emerge. By and large, these CITI coincide with the contexts in which significant new linguistic families have arisen (among others, proto-Khoi-San, proto-Dene-Sino-Caucasian, and proto-(Mega-)Nostratic (Kaiser & Shevoroshkin 1988), and the further differentiation of the latter into, among others, proto-Indo-European, proto-Afro-Asiatic, proto-Niger-Congo, and proto-Nilo-Saharan. Of course, the latter three languages together with Khoi-San sum up the language map of Africa in historical times.

The most recent of these CITIs is the one preceding and facilitating Neolithic food

production through agriculture and animal husbandry. Here the Narrative Complex of ‘The connection of Heaven and Earth’ emerged (among others), whose richly elaborated ramifications (in such themes as creation, kingship, salvation, human conception and birth, the origin of death, etc.), often with shamanistic overtones, are found – as the paper will demonstrate in some detail – all over the Ancient Near East including Ancient Egypt, the Indus valley, China, Ancient Europe, and (as a result of the ‘Back-into-Africa’ movement) much of Africa. As a result the African continent today combines a genetically highly diverse and relatively ancient AMH population with, largely, a relatively recent mythology that is in striking continuity (pace Witzel) with the rest of the Old World.

The resulting *aggregative diachronic approach to world mythology* might appear to be a mere house of cards – a myth, perhaps, in its own right. However, its claims to scholarly credibility are considerable. It does take into account much comparative state-of-the-art evidence from a variety of disciplines. It throws light onto hitherto unexplained continuities and affinities within and across continents, even if this goes against inveterate geopolitical stereotypes. Contrary to a house of cards, it is internally coherent and will not collapse as soon as one constituent element is replaced or removed; the latter is demonstrated by the considerable changes that had to be made in the model’s details since it was first formulated in 2005. And most importantly, the model suggests fascinating paths for further research, which will surely enhance our insight even at the cost of discarding the present model that prompted them.

The internal consistency of the model persuades us to take one further, audacious step, and to propose which of the Narrative Complexes identified may have been originally part of ‘Pandora’s Box’. The consideration listed above as A0, b) and c) suggests these to have been the Narrative Complexes of

- The Earth;
- The Lightning Bird (also with Rain connotations) and its Egg;
- and the Rainbow as the original Adversary (of Rain).

In an earlier attempt (2005), I distinguished two routes for the Out-of-Africa expansion of AMH, carrying their ‘Pandora’s Box’ including these three mythical complexes:

1. I postulated that the early eastbound trajectory (Route A) along the Indian Ocean, having led to Australia and New Guinea, then curved westward hairpin-fashion, and whilst populating Asia, the rest of the Old World, and the New World, ended in the ‘Back-to-Africa’ return migration;
2. in addition, a Route B was thought to have led, northbound, directly into West Asia, but with a delay of c. 100 ka as compared to Route A.

I projected the unfolding of Narrative Complexes largely onto Route A, which was taken to constitute a crude time axis.

However, further reflection on the contradictory empirical implications of this model, and more extensive perusal of the genetic and archaeological literature, now leads to revision. The early Route A ended in Australia and New Guinea, and was not continued westward. Most of the unfolding of world mythology now turns out to have taken place along the much later Route B,

which also has New World ramifications starting in Central Asia.

*Why did Route A become abortive after reaching Australia and New Guinea? Why was there this enormous delay before Route B successfully made inroads into Asia? Why was Route B so successful and so richly elaborated, both demographically and mythologically? Why did the mythological elaboration along Route B take the form it did? Was there any subsequent mythological contribution from Route A to Route B, in the regions where the two trajectories ultimately converged (South and South East Asia)?* The present paper will try to answer some of these questions, leaving others for further research and for Asianist specialists.

Current wisdom seeks the answer to this kind of questions to ‘windows of opportunity at least partly dictated by fluctuations in sea-levels and climatic conditions’, while stressing the intensive and transformative intra-Africa percolation of AMH during the first 100 ka after their emergence (Forster 2004). Such ‘windows of opportunity’ are intuitively relevant for Route A: on their first sally Out-of-Africa, AMH apparently stuck to a littoral tropical climate familiar from East Africa, and crossed significant sea straits only when the opportunity arose – notably, when glaciation heights at the poles produced low sea levels (which, incidentally, suggests a well established time frame for such crosses).

However, Route B is largely or entirely overland, across a considerable variety of (palaeo-)climatic zones. Therefore less mechanical, less natural factors need to be invoked to explain both the demographic and the mythological processes that characterise it.

In the first place, we can consider the 100 ka which AMH spent inside Africa before embarking on Route B, as some sort of *incubation time*, in which not only great genetic diversity emerged, but also significant steps were taken in the development of new modes of production and, concomitantly, new Narrative Complexes. Probably, the mythological contents of ‘Pandora’s Box’ became already diversified and transformed inside Africa, before Route B started. There is increasing archaeological evidence of graphical representation, both naturalistic and abstract, in the African continent during Middle Palaeolithic times. Some of this evidence may be interpreted in terms of the Narrative Complexes I have identified. And all this evidence precedes by dozens of kiloyears the artistic explosion in the Franco-Cantabrian region (South Western Europe) that Eurocentrically inspired, only two decades ago, the notion of the ‘Human Revolution’. So, as compared to Route A, 100 ka earlier, it was a, linguistically, culturally, mythically, and social-organisationally (and all these dimensions are taken to co-vary together), much more mature version of AMH that embarked on Route B. Hence their capabilities of adaptation and creative response to new climatic and productive challenges were much greater, which partly explains the incomparable success of Route B: it succeeded in ultimately populating the entire earth with AMH, and, in the process, world mythology emerged in all its latter-day variety and complexity.

The extensive inroads, into Africa, of more general Old World later Narrative Complexes in the wake of the ‘Back-into-Africa’ return migration, are associated with all four African linguistic families without exception. Therefore it is difficult to clearly identify the ‘transformed Pandora’s Box’ with which AMH in Africa embarked on Route B. However, it is likely that this ‘pre-Route B’ complex inside Africa survives best in the Westerly part of the continent adjacent to the Atlantic Ocean. Here Frobenius (1931) has identified systematic indications to that effect – converging with my own recent research into leopard-skin symbolism (van Binsbergen 2003 2004b).

In the second place, we may point to a cultural and demographic ‘window of opportunity’

that is recently being rescued from the realm of science fiction, and ushered into the realm of empirical science. From about the same time (100 ka BP) when AMH set out on Route B, and for several dozens of kiloyears onwards, AMH and Neanderthals lived side by side in the Levant. Despite geneticists' claims that they constitute two independent branches of *Homo sapiens*, palaeoanthropologists point to intermediate forms. In recent decades (e.g. d'Errico c.s. 1998) there has been increasing appreciation of the (admittedly still heavily contested) cultural achievements of Neanderthals, ranging from burial to flute music, from flower symbolism to bear-cult ritual, from sculptural representation to stellar maps, from clothing to articulate speech. Regardless of the question of genetic interaction between AMH and Neanderthals, *it is almost inevitable that cultural exchange took place between these groups, in West Asia*, in the very long time span from 100 ka BP till the disappearance of Neanderthals towards 30 ka BP, at a time when the Last Glacial was building up. In Europe and West Asia this disappearance goes hand in hand with the expansion – into a cooling temperate climate – of AMH from subtropical environments – not exactly a climatic window of opportunity. There is no consensus among specialists about what made Neanderthals disappear: genocide on the part of AMH, and inability to adapt to new environmental conditions, are among the scenarios proposed. Mathematically, an only marginally lower reproduction rate as compared to AMH occupying the same ecological niches would have been sufficient to lead to extinction if kept up through dozens of kiloyears.

Inevitably, modern researchers are AMH, and their chauvinism as such has persuaded some to think that any cultural exchange between Neanderthals and AMH, whatever its scope, could only have been a mere one-way process, with the apparently culturally deprived Neanderthals as sole beneficiaries. However, our attempt to construct a diachronic approach to world mythology seems to be better served by exploring the following points:

- For dozens of kiloyears, AMH's expansion into Asia and Europe and further afield was effectively blocked by Neanderthals
- The gradual disappearance of Neanderthals, whatever its causes, opened a window of opportunity which was one of the factors facilitating AMH taking Route B
- Perhaps more was involved that an opening geographical frontier: perhaps, after the dead-end of Route A, AMH's embarking on the eminently successful Route B was partly due to cultural, including mythological, contributions from Neanderthals living due north and northeast of Africa.
- Even though our view of the Neanderthal cultural package is still dim and contested, triangulation within the framework of my model may suggest some possible specific contributions of Neanderthals to AMH in the mythological field; I think the Narrative Complexes with shamanistic overtones are possible candidates.

binsbergen@ascleiden.nl

<http://www.shikanda.net>

## Problems of Comparability Involving *Myth* and *Religion*

Prof. John G. Blair

If one's goal is comparing Chinese and Western Civilizations in terms that do not privilege one over the other, *myth* and *religion* present problems. One of the primary Western concepts of *myth* is as narratives which, though once invested with religious beliefs, now survive as legend or folklore or literature, such as Greco-Roman or Norse "mythologies." But the *religion* implied in such conceptions is distinctively Western, in a world where Christianity and, to a lesser extent, Judaism and Islam define what *religious* means.

In China and elsewhere in Asia cultures show no clear parallels to Western *religion*. My chief example comes from a book published a decade ago which has not received the attention that it merits: S. N. Balagangadhara, *'The Heathen in his Blindness': Asia, The West and the Dynamic of Religion*, (Leiden: Brill, 1994). The author is Sri Lankan by origin, Professor in the Department of the Comparative Science of Cultures in Ghent University, Belgium. This major book shows that when the British took over India in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Indians had no ready answer to their question: "What is your religion?" Thereafter, in response to that colonialist imperative, Hinduism as we know it today came into existence as an Indian addition to the Western-style list of "world religions."

China presents similarly non-Western phenomena in relation to the category *religion*, as witnessed by centuries of dispute and uncertainty within Western circles about the status of "Confucianism," "Daoism," or "Buddhism." Since China does not fit into a Western-style category of *religion*, *myth* as applied to China may be freed from those associations. In the search for a Chinese conception of *myth* we need to take into account the multiple types of popular narratives, legends, anecdotes, and sayings that have survived for many centuries. One formulation might be *narratives with cultural resonance that offer to explain why things happen the way they do*. Thus broadly defined, *myth* would certainly be found in the West as well, but stripped of its long-standing associations with religious beliefs. Disjunctions between Western categories and Chinese practices occur in other cultural domains as well. Finding or formulating concepts to enable non-ethnocentric comparisons of Chinese and Western Civilizations turns out to be more elusive than it might at first appear.

393 words

Prof. John G. Blair

2005-06, Visiting Professor of Western Civilization with Chinese Comparisons

Beijing Foreign Studies University

Beijing 100089, P. R. China

mail to: 532 Foreign Experts Building

direct phone: (86 10) 8881 1221

## 蒙古史诗中的恶魔蟒古思与藏传佛教护法神

### Manggus in the Mongolian Epics and the Tibetan Dharmarāja

陈岗龙

蒙古史诗中的恶魔蟒古思是具有多头一体特征的神话形象。藏传佛教传入蒙古地区之后，佛教护法神信仰渗透到蒙古民间口头传统中，与蒙古英雄史诗的传统主题和神话形象相结合和交融，逐渐形成了恶魔蟒古思的新的特征和内涵。本文通过藏传佛教护法神仪轨文、唐卡、羌姆以及焚毁“梭”的宗教仪式和蒙古英雄史诗恶魔蟒古思形象的比较研究，探讨藏传佛教护法神信仰对蒙古英雄史诗神话主题发展的影响。

## Some Observations on Ugaritic Mythology

Yiyi Chen

Ugaritic study is not a familiar field of study among China's academia. This paper is divided into two parts. The first part mainly targets at the Chinese audience, which explains the importance of Ugaritic study in relation to a better understanding of the Hebrew Bible, as well as the history of Ugaritology. It is a summary of the latest development in Ugaritology in the international scene, with extensive bibliographical information. The second part of the paper devotes itself to a couple of observations related to the mythologies found in Ugarit. The author is not a comparative mythology scholar by training, however, he finds these observed issues are worth raising in such a conference, one reason is that the issue is not discussed in the Ugaritology field extensively, the other reason is the hope to bring mythology specialists' attentions and probably answers to the issues under discussion: (1) explicit and extensive sexual scenes and violence (killing) scenes in the mythology; (2) the missing of a spelled out central theme in these Ugaritic mythologies vs. the intentional utilization of the mythology in the Hebrew Bible to emphasize a central theological point (e.g., Kret's journey vs. Exodus)

### 乌伽里特神话点滴

陈贻绎

乌伽里特研究在中国的学界还不是一个广为人知的学科。这篇文章分为两个部分，第一部分主要面向中国的学者，介绍乌伽里特研究对更好地理解希伯来语圣经的重要性，以及乌伽里特研究的历史，国际上此学科的现状。这个部分提供了比较充足的专业性参看书目的信息。本文的第二部分主要讨论两个作者在阅读乌伽里特神话文学时的观察和感悟。作者并非专业的比较神话学学者，但是，在这样一个会议的环境下提出这些感悟是出于两点原因，一点是这两个问题在乌伽里特学界中讨论并不普遍；另一点是希望有这方面的神话学专家能够注意到这两个现象，或许给予答案和解释。这两点观察是：(1) 大量的、词汇露骨的性交场景和暴力（凶杀）场景的描述；(2) 众多乌伽里特神话中缺乏一个明确的点明出来的中心思想，这一点在同希伯来语圣经文学中的神话作品进行对比后尤其明显（如，克利特的征途相对于出埃及记）。

## Active in Worldly Affairs

### —An approach to the worldly side of Khotanese Buddhism based on new materials

Duan Qing

#### Abstract

This paper is divided into 2 parts. Part I: The author will show some new appeared Khotanese manuscripts of Buddhist content. Part II focuses on *Suvernabhāsa-sūtra*(SBS) chapter *Samjñeya* and *A spell Spoken by Avalokiteśara*.

#### Part I:

Recently, a quite amount of Khotanese manuscripts was brought to the view of the author. Among them there are some documents recording tax income and other official arrangement. Several manuscripts belong to of Buddhist literatures. There are 2 almost complete folios pertaining to SBS, 1 folio of *Jñānolka-dhāraṇī*, 1 broken folio of a sort text of *Buddhacarita*, and 1 broken folio of unknown text. The most interesting one is the manuscript made of paper which has a very narrow and a very long format. Each of the manuscript ought to be worked on carefully and may contribute to restore the real picture of Khotanese Buddhism. However, taking the huge amount of Buddhist literature relating to philosophic texts, *Vinayas* and *Abhidharmas* as the background, the feature of the found new Khotanese materials comes into foreground. In contrast to doctrines which aim at leaving world and striving for Nirvāṇa, the texts reflect the worldly aspect of Buddhism. Godly personalities have functions fulfilling wishes, granting sons and protecting people from bad things such as diseases.

#### Part II:

Judging from the different formats of paper used for SBS, there were at least 5 manuscripts of the same text existent in ancient Khotan which convey the favorite for the text once in Khotan. *Samjñeya* seems to be a godly personality owing his creation to Buddhism. The chapter of *Samjñeya* of SBS tells about the provenance of the *Rakṣarāja* and his ritual. His title 'senāpati' betrays somehow an Iranian nuance and let conjecture of a later origin of the *Samjñeya* chapter of SBS and its accruing environment.

According to the keeper of the *Spell Spoken by Avalokiteśara*, the paper was rolled to a small roll kept in a small ceramic pot which was shelved on the main beam of his old house. In the 1990s, his 90 years old grandfather told him that the pot was on the beam ever since he could remember. The text mentioned 15 sorts of diseases which befall on children, and something to be swallowed for preventing miscarriage. Details need a further research. The text is a good evidence of a popular Buddhism in ancient Khotan.

## 入世的佛教

——从新发现的于阗佛教文献探讨佛教入世的层面

段晴

本文分两部分。一、介绍新发现的于阗语佛教文献。二、重点分析《金光明经·散脂品》与《观音菩萨说陀罗尼经》，在此基础上探讨于阗晚期佛教的入世层面。

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最近看到一批出自和田的古代文献。从此内容，很明显分为两类：一、世俗文书，多是交租交税的记录。二、佛教文献。其中有《金光明经》的两张近乎完整的印度书型纸，一页《智炬陀罗尼经》，一页类似《佛所行赞》的文字，另有一份佛教文书尚不能确定经名。别具一格的是一种细长型纸卷，上书写有一份完整的佛教文献，文中出现陀罗尼的名称，因为是观音菩萨所说，所以暂且名之《观音菩萨所说陀罗尼经》。

所发现的文书每一种都有特殊的意义，如新发现的《金光明经》与义净的译文接近。尚不能确定经名的一页文字中，有古于阗对“蟒蛇”的译法。《观音菩萨经》目前也未发现相应的汉译本。类似《佛所行赞》的文字也有待于定性。

然而，如果考虑到浩瀚的佛教文献中，对法类文献、律部类文献数目十分庞大。如果把和田发现的佛教类文献放到佛教文献的大的背景之下，这些佛教文献的特色便凸现出来。这里反映的是对神的崇拜，尽管这些神是佛教的创造。这些神反映了佛教入世的层面。

二

于阗语《金光明经》的抄本多达五种，在迄今发现的于阗佛教文献中是不多见的，显示出这部经曾在于阗颇为流行。这个完全是佛教创造出的守护神，被称为 *senāpati*，汉译“大将”。这个称谓实际上携带着伊朗神话传说的痕迹，并且显示《金光明经》此一品晚出之实质。《摩诃波罗多》虽然也用 *senāpati* 之衔，但是在《摩诃波罗多》的时代，真正能够反映武士之身份的是 *Mahāratha*，这个词汇也曾反映在《诗经》中，如“元戎”。这些现象为《金光明经·散脂品》的创作年代以及地域提供了线索。《金光明经·散脂品》叙述了罗刹王散脂的诞生，礼拜散脂的仪式。这个神以及礼拜他的功能在于赐福给人类，鲜明地表现出入世的特征。

据提供文书的人描述，《观音菩萨所说陀罗尼经》原卷成一卷，藏于一个小陶罐中，陶罐置于屋梁上。九十年代时，这家爷爷，一位九十多岁的长者，说从他记事时起，家中梁上便有此陶罐。经文中，观音菩萨愿保佑一切众生，令女人生子，并说出安胎药，并 15 中儿科疾病，细节需进一步探讨。若从宏观的角度，这篇经文也体现了佛教入世的层面。

## Neurobiology, Stratified Traditions, and Comparative Mythology: How Myths Evolve

Steve Farmer

### Abstract

This paper describes a cross-cultural model of the origins of myths or anthropomorphic models of the world and their transformations over thousands of years in heavily stratified religious, philosophical, and cosmological traditions. The model draws on recent developments in neurobiology, cross-cultural studies of manuscript traditions (or their mnemonically encoded analogs in South Asia), and computer models of the rise and fall of complex systems. Co-workers involved in constructing the model include the Sinologist John Henderson, of Louisiana State University, the Indologist Michael Witzel, of Harvard University, and the computer modelist Peter Robinson, of NASA-Ames Research Center. The paper takes a genetic approach in introducing the model, attempting to demystify how such diverse fields as theoretical neurobiology, cross-cultural studies of manuscript traditions, and studies of complex systems can be merged in a predictive historical model. The paper begins by discussing studies in the 1980s of puzzling parallels seen in the rise and fall of traditional Chinese, Western, South Asian, and Mesoamerican cosmologies, which first suggested the need for such a model; discusses how neurobiological developments in the 1980s and 1990s eventually shed light on the universal tendency to create anthropomorphic world models and on cross-cultural features in exegetical or commentarial traditions that help explain how these parallels emerged; and describes how models of evolving complex systems first developed in the same decades permit the construction of computer simulations of long-range patterns of growth and decay in the religious, philosophical, and cosmological traditions that eventually grew out of primitive myths. The paper concludes with discussion of predictive uses of the model, including the unexpected challenge it has raised, discussed in a 2004 paper written with Michael Witzel and the computational linguist Richard Sproat, of the University of Illinois (reprint at <http://www.safarmer.com.fsw2/pdf>), to claims that the famous Indus Valley inscriptions were part of a genuine writing system, which had gone virtually unchallenged since the 1870s.

## The Mythological Implication Effect: the Spirits of Western and Chinese Cultures Embodied in Their Mythologies

Gu Zhengkun

The present paper begins with a new concept: the mythological implication effect upon culture. The term “mythological implication” is not new, but the mythological implication effect” is. According to the point of view based on the effect, all ancient myths have an enormous implication impact upon cultures concerned. The spiritual frame of a culture often finds its rudiments in its ancient mythology. What connotes in mythologies, above all, different values, exert a subtle molding influence on cultures in their development. Comparative mythology thus in essence is comparative culture. The paper discusses how the mythological implication effect functions in specific situations. Even today, the paper holds, the mythological implication effect is great, for instance, the introduction of foreign myths into a country inevitably brings about a disintegration of its native values at different levels and to different degrees. In line with this idea, the author of the paper makes a comparative study of some typical Greek and Chinese myths, extracting from them certain essentials, especially some value genes which, according to the author, are greatly responsible for the later growth of dominant Western and Chinese cultural spirits. The paper furthermore illustrates the evolution orientation of Western and Chinese cultures, focusing on some fundamental differences between Western and Chinese values -- the cores of cultures -- respectively found in their mythologies.

**Key Words:** mythological implication effect; value gene; molding function; Cultural Spirit

Gu Zhengkun: Prof. of Comparative Culture  
Department of English  
Peking University  
Tel: 010-62753361  
E-mail: [guzk@pku.edu.cn](mailto:guzk@pku.edu.cn)

## 神话的文化暗示效应与中西文化精神

辜正坤

**摘要：**本文提出新概念：神话暗示效应。“神话暗示”不是新概念，但是“神话暗示效应”却是新的概念。按照这种概念所展示的观点，一切古代神话都具有巨大的文化暗示效应，因为体现在神话中不同的内涵、尤其是价值观等，对后来的文化建构过程有着相当大的潜移默化化的模塑作用。神话比较从而不可避免地成了文化比较。文章研讨了神话暗示效应在具体环境条件下的是如何发生作用的。作者认为，即使在当代，神话暗示效应仍然起着重大作用。例如，盲目大规模地引进各类异族神话传说，会在不同层面、不同程度地瓦解本族的价值系统。鉴于西方文化的精神源头可以追溯到古希腊神话系统，中国文化的精神源头则可以追溯到《山海经》等神话传说。文章分析比较了古希腊神话和古代中国神话中一些典型实例，尤其是其中包涵的价值基因成分，进而观照、比较、分析了与之相应的中西文化主体精神，勾勒了中西文化的各自的宏观走向，概括了中西文化在文化的核心—价值观—方面的本质差异。

**关键词：**神话文化暗示效应 价值基因 模塑作用 中西文化精神

K. HIRAFUJI

Recently Japanese mythology is frequently used in the popular computer games. So many Japanese young people acquire a knowledge of Japanese myth through playing those games.

There's various deity of not only Japanese myth but also other myth in those games. For example Odin, Loki, Gilgamesh, Shiva is famous character for Japanese young people.

I would like to introduce this situation of Japanese mythology in the modern society, and discuss how game creators puts mythology of all the cultures of the world to use for their work.

## 《山海经》和华夏古代世界观

### Shanhaijing and the Worldview of Ancient China

刘宗迪

Liu Zongdi

《山海经》是一部古老而重要的汉语典籍，但它对于中国上古思想和学术的深刻影响，并没有得到学术界的充分认识。由于书中充满了许多用现代知识和观念无法理解的稀奇古怪的记载，因此，这本书就主要被当作不登大雅之堂的“小说家言”，在中国学者的眼中，远远没有六经和诸子那样崇高和经典的地位。实际上，如果我们撇开偏见，不仅仅着眼于书中那些稀奇古怪的内容，而是对这本书的内容和结构进行整体的把握，并把这本书置于其本己的知识语境中进行理解，就会发现，这本书原本是有着明确而完美的结构，是上古时代一部基于经验和观察的知识性著述，根本不像通常认为的那样是古人无知想像的虚构或者是四方传闻的杂凑。

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前人之所以一直把这本书视为东拼西凑、零杂污秽的杂俎之作，一个重要的原因，是没有认识到，这部书原本是由两种完全不同的著作构成的，整部《山海经》其实可以分为两部分，即《山经》和《海经》。《山经》分东、南、西、北、中五个方位依次叙述了数百座山的方位、里程、物产（包括动物、植物、矿物等）、水文等等情况，对每一种当地特有的物产又详述其形态、习性、功用和巫术作用等等，是一部包罗广泛、体系严密的山川风物志，系统地反映了战国时代中国人的自然博物知识，对于我们了解华夏先民的自然知识（地理学、动物学、植物学、药理学、矿物学等）具有重要的不可替代的作用。这本书的名字原本也不叫《山经》，而叫《山志》，流传至今的本子每一方山经的末尾，就明确标明了这一书名，即：

右南经之山志，大小凡四十山，万六千三百八十里。（《南山经》）

右西经之山志，凡七十七山，一万七千五百一十七里。（《西山经》）

右北山之山志，凡八十七山，二万三千二百三十里。（《北山经》）

右东经之山志，凡四十六山，万八千八百六十里。（《东山经》）

右中经之山志，大凡百九十七山，二万一千三百七十一里。（《中山经》）

《山经》（南山经、西山经、北山经、东山经和中山经）之名，则是汉代刘歆校定此书时所加，刘歆把《山志》五篇与另一种古书合并，并将合并之后的书命名为《山海经》，这就是他校定的《山海经》十八篇，其实，在刘歆并入《山志》之前，原本的《山海经》只包括今本的《海经》十三篇，这就是《汉书·艺文志》所著录的《山海经》十三篇，这才是本来意义上的《山海经》。

其实，《海经》十三篇也并非《山海经》的本来面目，《海内经》四篇中的许多地名，都是秦皇、汉武方始开辟，显然是秦汉时代的窜入，《海内经》四篇中，除去这些后世增饰的内容，原本也只是一篇，这一篇与《海外经》四篇形成了一个由东、南、西、北、中五方组成的整体图式，正如下面的《大荒经》四篇和《海内经》一篇组成了一个完整的五方图式一样。也就是说，《山海经》原本只有十篇，即：

- 《海外南经》第一
- 《海外西经》第二
- 《海外北经》第三
- 《海外东经》第四
- 《海内经》第五
- 《大荒东经》第六
- 《大荒南经》第七
- 《大荒西经》第八
- 《大荒北经》第九
- 《海内经》第十

这十篇其实又分为两组，即《海外经》五篇和《大荒经》五篇，而这两组文献在内容和结构上又大同小异，显然是出自同一个知识传统的产物。

## 二

《海经》的内容和风格与《山经》迥异，较之《山经》，它含有更多的稀奇古怪的记载，尤其海外、四荒中那些触目惊心、匪夷所思的怪人和怪物，正因为这一特点，在西方神话学的影响下，现代学者才主要把《海经》视为一部神话学文献，并视之为中国古代神话的渊藪。

其实，恰恰是这种神话学的眼光，严重妨碍了我们对这部古老典籍的实质和价值的理解。

《海经》固然充满了稀奇古怪的内容，但这些内容并非是古人想像或虚构的产物，也不是道听途说、以讹传讹的结果，而是别有来历。《海经》是述图之作，其文字是对一幅先在的古老图画叙述，因为叙述者已经不了解这幅图画的内容，基于误解和想象对图画进行叙述，图画中出于表现目的而在人物形象和构图上所作的变形、夸张、特写等等，在叙述者笔下就变成了匪夷所思的殊方异类、珍奇物怪。

不过，由于叙述者对画面构成的叙述足够细致和忠实，因此，我们今天仍能够透过这一基于误解的叙述，一窥古图的本来面目。这幅图画，并非像人们一直想当然地认为的那样，是一幅关于四荒海外的地图，而是反映上古时间知识的历法月令图，《海外经》和《大荒经》所谓四方（东、南、西、北），在古图中原本表示四时（春、夏、秋、冬），这从其中的四方神和四方风与四时的关系就可以看出。

《海外经》古图由东而南而西而北，按照春—夏—秋—冬的顺序依次描绘了一年十二个月的岁时仪式、农事活动和物候现象，实为一幅图画月令，《海外经》文中那些殊方异类的内容就是述图者基于误解对图画中月令场景的描述。

《大荒经》古图的内容则稍微复杂，其中除了和《海外经》图相同的月令内容之外，还描绘了四方群山，但《大荒经》图描绘四方群山的目的，并非为了俯察地理，而毋宁说是为了仰观天文，即根据逶迤四方的山峰观察日月的出入方位以确定季节和月份，这些山峰就构成了一个原始的天文坐标系，其中那些被后人视为神话的记载，如夸父追日、烛龙、羲和生十日、常仪生十二月、昆仑山等，都是观象授时活动的反映。

总之，《海经》其书，与其说一部地理书，不如说是一部“失落的天书”。根据这一认识，我们可以从根本上解决《海经》的地域范围问题，历代学者根据其不同时代的地理知识，任意夸大《海经》的地理范围，现代学者甚至已经把《海经》的范围夸张到了整个地球。其实，《海经》的范围很小，《大荒经》罗列群山，既然旨在构建一个据以进行观察的坐标系，那么，这些群山就必须是在人的视野范围之内的，也就是说，《大荒经》的地域范围也就是人的目力所及范围，大概不会超过方圆百里。《大荒经》其书，可以说是典型的地方性知识，

是上古时期某个群山环抱的蕞尔小国的时空知识的反映。

### 三

时过境迁，这个时空图式流传到了战国时代知识分子的眼界中，已经丧失了其固有的地方性和草根性，被战国知识分子视为整个世界图式的写照，于是，这个地方性时空图式就成为战国知识分子想像、建构和规划天下的现成框架，从而深刻地塑造了战国时代的世界观和宇宙观，可以说，中国传统世界观和宇宙论就是从这个地方性的时空图式中生发和引申出来的，基于这一图式的世界观和宇宙观引导着中国传统思想和学术的那些最基本、最普遍的图式，对中国传统思想和学术发生了巨大而深远的影响。

这些影响主要体现于如下几个方面：

(1) 稷下学者（邹衍）的“五行说”和“大九州说”作为战国人想像历史和世界的时空模式，就是从《海经》时空图式中引发出来的。

(2) 《尚书·尧典》：羲和四人分赴四方，分司四时，“历象日月星辰，敬授民时”，以及舜巡守四方，“望秩于山川，协时、月，正日”等故事，显然出自《大荒经》。

(3) 先秦典籍中关于华夏世界疆域的想像，尤其是关于四海荒服的想像，也出自《大荒经》，古书所称先王巡守或者教化所及的边界，就是《大荒经》的边界。

(4) 《尚书·禹贡》关于边远地区的地理叙述本自《山海经》，《禹贡》地理是揉杂关于中原地理的实证知识和《大荒经》关于远方地理的“想像”的产物。

(5) 汉武帝开拓三边，并“案古图书”为新开之地的命名，其所据之书，就是《山海经》。其中最著名者，当属昆仑山的实定和命名。正由于《山海经》的地名被陆续从书本落实到四方疆域，因此，在后人的看来，《山海经》其书就成了四方地理的真实写照。

(6) 《山海经》地名一旦被前人落实，整个《山海经》地理图式就成为后来的地理学家考证华夏历史地理的经典依据，如《水经注》。

总之，可以说，《山海经》奠定了中国传统世界观和宇宙观的基础，与其说是不登大雅之堂的小说家言，不如说是中国古代学术和思想的一部最重要最基本的“原典”。

（以上观点的详细论述，请见拙著《失落的天书：山海经与古代华夏世界观》。）

## A complex Eurasian cosmology: not one duality but three interlocking dualities

Emily Lyle

I argue that there are 10 major gods in the Indo-European pantheon and that they correspond to the 10 heavenly stems in Chinese tradition. In my view, there is only one complex Eurasian system centered on kingship although it developed in different ways. The system is built up with three dualities and we can see them encoded in the 8 trigrams, which correspond to 8 of the gods. The other 2 of the 10 are the king of the gods and a brother of his who is king of the dead (Zeus and Hades in Greek mythology).

The 8 gods emerge as the trigrams do in a series of three dualities which I call A, B and C. A = the hot / the cold or above / below (forming the pair heaven and earth which are male and female); B = the dry / the wet (mixing with the first two and forming the 4 seasons), and C = light / darkness or the living / the dead (forming the 8 trigrams). 2 of the deities are goddesses (equivalent to keng and hsin in the heavenly stems series) and the other 6 connect with Georges Dumézil's Indo-European set of 3 functions, with the first 2 relating to the sacred, the second 2 to physical force and the third 2 to fertility.

The dualities are interlocking and can be looked at in different ways. In the order C, A, B there is a division of the total society into the living and the dead (C), and then the living are divided into the "male" half (first two functions) and the "female" half (goddesses and third function) (A). This division can create a hierarchy which is very evident in India with the brahman (priest) and ksatriya (warrior) castes in the "male" half superior to the vaisya (herder and cultivator) caste in the "female" half. Within the male half the next division (B) is into the opposed groups of priests and warriors.

The system is centred on the king, and we have the evidence to develop a deeper understanding of it if we work with material from the whole of Eurasia.

## Chinese Influences on the Formation of Japanese Mythology

K. Matsumura

It is well known that culture of ancient Japan was formed under the strong influences of China: Writing system, city plan, political system etc. Japanese mythology found in the *Kojiki* (712 AD) and *Nihon-shoki* (720 AD) was no exception. In 1980s', Japanese scholar Koji Fukunaga, formerly professors of Chinese Civilization at the University of Tokyo and specialist in Taoism, argued that in the *Kojiki* we could detect the traces of Taoist ideas. His argument was readily accepted, and so people thought that the issue was settled. Not much advance of research in this field could be seen since then. Recently, however, Shigeru Mezaki, professor of anthropogeography at Nanzan University in Nagoya, took up the issue once more, arguing that the ideas of Ying-Yang and Five Elements could elucidate still more of the Chinese influences in Japanese mythology than hitherso noticed. Taking inspiration from Mezaki's argument, I hope to show such possibility in the story of Izanagi and Izanami, and in the story of Ohokuninushi and the White Hare of Inaba.

## Light Visions, Shamanic Control Fantasies and the Creation of Myths

Ph. Nicholson

Internally-generated light sensations ("geometric phosphenes," "entoptic images") play an important role in many myth-systems, including the myths of the world's major religious traditions. References relating to these light visions are often encoded in symbolic form and include descriptions of the following: the behaviors known to induce light visions, the characteristics of light images a practitioner can expect to see, the links between specific light images and particular spirits or deities, the kinds of extraordinary powers bestowed on someone who induces light visions, and the metaphysical significance assigned to cultivation of light visions. Light visions are easily induced, even without instruction, which means this capability could have been discovered independently in many different contexts. In many cultures the ability to induce visions of strange, unworldly lights is a prerequisite for becoming a shaman or healer. The shaman's reliance on self-induced light visions enhances his or her confidence in the efficacy of the ritual performance by reference to a criterion that does not depend on the ritual actually producing a discernible effect in the external environment. Moreover, this increase in self-confidence then increases a practitioner's charismatic authority in the eyes of audiences who believe in the efficacy of the same rituals and myths. Belief in the efficacy of rituals increases the likelihood that healing rituals will produce some notable successes among those clients who are susceptible to ritual-induced hypnosis and its related placebo effects. In this way, the human capacity to self-induce light visions can bolster the credibility of a myth-system.

The goal of this presentation is to encourage researchers to consider what role, if any, light visions might play in the myth-systems they study. The presentation will begin with slide illustrations of the predictable sequence of light images generated by common induction techniques, then shift to a brief explanation of causal mechanisms, then move on to focus on two specific light visions - "receding rings" and "white lightning flashes" - in order to show how these images have been incorporated in selected myth-systems. Some examples will be drawn from cultures in which light visions appear to fit Witzel's hypothesis of an early, out-of-Africa "Gondwanan" myth-family (e.g., San Bushmen in Africa, Dani tribes in New Guinea, and Australian Aborigines). Other examples will show light visions embedded in complex storylines of the sort that Witzel attributes to the "Laurasian" myth-family (e.g., Indo-Aryan *Rig Veda*, *Shangqing* "Highest Clarity" Daoism, Tibetan Buddhist "Highest Yoga Tantra," contemporary remnants of Mayan shamanism in Mexico, and the Tukano Indians of Amazonia).

This analysis of light visions suggests the hypothesis that light visions *need* myths (to explain why such visions appear and what they mean) and, conversely, that

myths *need* light visions (to reinforce belief in the continued potency of the myth).

[Note: Researchers interested in a detailed analysis of the neurology of meditation-induced light visions or a discussion of light vision metaphors in mystical texts can download articles in PDF format from:

<<http://homepage.mac.com/philipnicholson>>].

## **Patterns and Models in Slavic and Comparative Mythology. Search for Origins in Russian Comparative Studies.**

Boris Oguibénine and Nataliya Yanchevskaya

The paper is focused on theoretical and practical aspects of how the oldest Slavic mythology and its Indo-European background can be reconstructed. Special attention is given to semiotic and linguistic methods that until recently have strongly dominated comparative studies and attempts to uncover the core meaning of the main motifs of Slavic mythology. The concept of the fundamental myth and its cosmogonic correlates is presented and explained.

## **The Flood as Meaningful Rebirth**

### **——the Symbolism of Mangyan Filipinos' Flood Myth**

The Flood Myth, or the Deluge Myth, is widely distributed among peoples in the whole world. Its contents are related with the recreation of the world, the destruction and renaissance of human beings, as well as the origins of different peoples. Thus it occupies significant and profound position in the culture history of human beings, having aroused various attractions of many scholars, so it can be called the most attractive type among all myths on the earth. Nowadays, as the modern industry and information civilization has already expanded to almost every piece of land and sea dwelled by mankind, the uncivilized traditional indigenous people is considerably scarce. However, in the Philippines, flood myths are abundant and various. Inside the vast tropical jungles and faraway isolated isles, there still exist uncivilized aborigines far from our modern times. The Mangyan ethnic group in the mountain area of Mindoro, located at central part of the Philippines Islands, serves as a good example. Fabulously, they have been richly conceiving myths and cherishing oral tradition in the traditional manner. Therefore I'm able to observe and research the vivid modality of their flood myths and oral traditions in the natural context of field. This research base on two field research of the author in 2004 July and 2006 April, when the author went to Philippines and trudged into the jungle forest, in order to collect and record the flood myths of indigenous people at Mangyan Alangan. In these two field researches, more than 20 flood myths combined with creation myths were collected, and these materials can be used to indicate the meaningful symbolism of rebirth inside the langue. So this research is firstly based on that imbibes classical theory of international academia and uses field research as the anthropology method; and then colligate text materials and first-handed field research collections and informants record; finally from the point of view about the detailed context of Philippines folk culture, sum up the contents of Mangyan flood myth, and finally unscramble its symbolism. Thus it can be discovered that, in the belief of native Mangyan Alangan, flood is intricately connected with the origin of gender, the separation of land and sky, and the origin of the pattern of human beings' multiplying. Therefore such ideas of origin can make their flood myths to be called a MEANINGFUL REBIRTH.

## 作为再生的大洪水——菲律宾芒扬人洪水神话的象征意义

史阳

摘要:

洪水神话至今已有百年多的研究历史,作为世界各民族各地区共有的一类神话,它也是比较神话学的研究对象。其中,菲律宾各民族洪水神话的分布异常丰富,而且作为东南亚洪水神话流传区域的一部分,菲律宾洪水神话与我国南方少数民族、其他南岛语系民族的洪水神话有相关联之处。此外,菲律宾还有众多“活形态”的洪水神话,因为在人类文明巨大发展的 21 世纪,在菲律宾偏僻的山区和海岛上,还有着为数不少的少数民族原住民,他们依然口耳传承和虔诚信仰着祖先流传下来的关于原始大洪水的民间叙事。笔者于 2004 年 7 月和 2006 年 4 月在菲律宾民都洛岛中部哈尔空(Halcon)山脉的山地民族——芒扬族的阿拉安部族中进行了两次田野调查<sup>1</sup>,先后共采集了 20 多篇洪水神话的异文。笔者的田野考察共有两个目的,一方面采集芒扬人的洪水神话,一方面考察神话流行的活形态,在田野真实语境中检验从文本研究中得出的结论。芒扬人把大洪水称作 Pureres,把相应的关于大洪水的传说称为 lumang kuwanto ng pureres,意为“关于 Pureres 的古老的故事”;或者称作 lumang-lumang kuwento,强调它们是为“非常非常古老的故事”。虽然这些故事情节光怪陆离、充满了奇幻色彩,但原住民都非常一致的认为“这些是非常古老的故事”,“全都是我们芒扬人的历史”,“都是千真万确的”,“事情当初就是这样发生的”,“这里所有的人都知道,村社里面每个人都可以讲”。在芒扬人看来,祖先流传下来的关于洪水的种种说法是非常古老的故事,都是祖先们所亲身经历的,是一段远古时代的真实的历史,是曾经确实确实发生过的。在当地人的认知中,也就是在芒扬人的“地方性知识”中,关于洪水的种种叙事依然是具有神圣性的,而且这一神圣性是表现为在朴素的叙事表演形式中蕴含着深刻而神圣的内容。阿拉安—芒扬人的洪水神话,在表面的言语层面之下,在深层语言层面上还蕴含着一系列的象征内涵,这种内涵除了常见的兄妹婚使得人类得以再殖,是洪水事件标志了一系列的起源事件:天与地的分离、地形地貌的变化、两性的起源和分离、人类繁衍方式的起源。即洪水神话和众多至关重要的起源事件密切联系在了一起,于是从文化史的角度,洪水神话也就成为了一次意味深长的伟大事件和伟大再生。

北京大学外国语学院东语系  
菲律宾语教研室

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**Social life and the Dreamtime:**  
**Clues to creation myths as rhetorical devices in Tiwi ritual**  
(northern Australia)

Eric Venbrux (Radboud University Nijmegen)

The visual arts of the Tiwi Aborigines from Bathurst and Melville Islands in northern Australia have their origin in mortuary rituals that entail a re-enactment of creation myths. Simultaneously, the ritual performances are part and parcel of an ongoing social discourse. Before commencing with the ritual, a performer can say, "I have a lot of stories to tell" (*ngirramini-ingati-nuruwani*, literally "story-big mob-I got it"). The concept of *ngirramini*-meaning "story, talk, word, argument and trouble"-frequently turns up in the context of Tiwi rituals. These stories then are "told" in ritual performances by means of lyrics, dance, gestures, bodily art and the plastic arts.

The Tiwi artistic system puts a premium on individual originality and creativity. In mortuary ritual the narrators fit their stories into the frame story or central narrative representing the transition of the deceased from the world of the living to the world of the dead. A script-inherited from the mythological ancestor Purakupali, who introduced death into Tiwi society and had the death rites performed for the first time-has to be followed, but the participants link the conventional ritual events with their own stories and personal experiences put in metaphorical language and action. The multivocal symbols employed have reference to the cosmological identities and the concrete social lives of the participants.

In this paper, based on long-term anthropological fieldwork in Melville Island, I address the ways in which the verbal and the visual arts meet and interact in creation myths acted out in ritual. The artistic process draws on creation myths, but it does so by offering clues that reveal worlds to the audience. The requirement that Tiwi singers compose entirely new songs for every occasion-and that the makers of carved and painted mortuary posts produce unique works-has its impact on how creation myths interact in narratives and in the visual arts. Their interrelatedness can be studied in a more systematic way in the performative arts, I argue, by taking the actors' current social and political concerns into account.

## Research on Wu Gang Cuts the Laurel

Wang Jing

Wu Gang cuts the Laurel is a tale of *You Yang Za Zu* 酉陽雜俎, the tale has abundant connotation. The word *Yuegui* (Laurel in the moon) appeared in Chinese historic documents of Han and Jin Dynasty. In *Avesta*, because laurel can show the renascent **immortalile**, haoma created by Zoroaster become its symbol. And haoma is just the moon. Even though we can not conclude the spread of Zoroastrianism, maybe it is just the same idea of ancient world.

Wu Gang cuts the Laurel with axes also consists in sutra. It has been probably enlightened by the latter, for example, the *Seng Jia Zha Jing* (僧伽吒經) of Northern Wei and *Yin Ming Ru Zheng Li Lun Shu* (因明入正理論疏) of Tang dynasty. Duan Chengshi 段成式, who was the author of *You Yang Za Zu*, had the opportunity to know the sutra very well, and he also read many books of sorts. So he knew the book and mixed them together.

The compiling of Wu Gang cuts the Laurel probably reflected the history of Duan Wenchang 段文昌, Duan Chengshi's father. The reason is the following.

First, Duan Wenchang and Wu Gang were both from *Xihe* (West River) region.

Second, Duan Wenchang had fancy manner of sacrifice in *Yingtang* (影堂). After the sacrifice to his ancestor, he made some people played the music, sung and danced, like serving upon the living. The irrational behavior of Duan Wenchang did not agreed with the rite of Confucianism. Furthermore, Duan Wenchang also was accomplished in the ritual of Confucianism. However, it is not be affected by Buddhism. And then, according to the historic documents, Duan Wenchang believed in Buddhism. However, the behavior was not the amenity of Buddhism. As we know, Zoroastrian from Sogdia practice magic, song and dance as part of their rituals. Maybe the behavior of Duan Wenchang was influenced by the latter.

Third, judging by recordation, Duan Wenchang make acquainted with the magician, furthermore, he was regarded as a man with the magic power. In another word, he was likely a magician.

Last, it was considerably odd that Duan Wenchang died. When he was Sixty-three years old, Duan Wenchang died, just after having received the emissary. That must be doubtful. As the Military Commissioner of Jing Nan (荆南), the behavior of sacrifice not only the ritual of Confucian, it was more important such behavior other religions in the Jing Nan region. Buddhism is fairly prosperous, and the Manichean constructed the Da Guangming temple (大雲光明寺) there. Being a local chief of military and government, the behavior of Duan apparently brought bad influence. Therefore, we presume, Tang Wen Zong had sent the emissary and bestowed the death on Duan.

To sum up, at some points, we think the tale of Wu Gang cuts the Laurel reflected the life of Duan Wenchang.

As for Wu Gang, Li He 李賀 called as "Wu Zhi" 吳質. By the Ming dynasty, a

difference opinion appeared. Besides Wu Gang, there was Song Wuji 宋無忌, which should come from 吳質, because the same pronunciation of them. It is remarkable that Song Wuji was regarded as Huojing 火精 or HuoXian 火仙, which may show the connection between 吳剛 and Zoroastrianism. It is an interesting question need a further study.

## 吳 剛 伐 桂

王 靜

吳剛伐桂是見於《酉陽雜俎》的一則故事。這個故事有著豐富的內涵。自漢晉以來，月宮便有月桂之說。在 *Avesta* 經，因為能顯示新生的不死力量（Immortalile），月桂樹（Laurel）Gökarn 的象徵符號是 Hom。《火教經》的贊頌說 Hom 在世界創造過程之中，是由教主查拉图斯特拉締造的。haoma 有許多地方簡直是代表月亮。若然，即便不能因此而判定早期祆教的傳播，似乎也可說明古人的一種共同的觀念。

吳剛以斧伐樹一事，亦見於佛經。它可能來自後者的啓發，如北魏《僧伽吒經》和唐《因明入正理論疏》等佛經。段成式深於佛書，祕閣書籍，披閱皆遍。故得以經眼如上佛經，並將之雜糅附益於其間。

吳剛伐桂的編撰恐與段成式以之影射其家族史有關。原因如次：

其一，段文昌與吳剛皆為西河人。

其二，段文昌奇特的影堂祭祀方式。段文昌在祭祀祖先之後，繼以音聲歌舞，如事生者。這是不符合禮法的。段文昌是精通古今禮法的。於是，他祭祀祖先的獨特方式就益發讓人困惑了。從文獻記載可知，段文昌是信奉佛教的。但是，顯然此舉並非受到佛教儀軌的影響。流傳至中國的粟特係祆教在祭祀後，有幻術及歌舞等表演活動，一個可能就是段文昌此舉受到它的影響。

其三，從文獻的記載來看，段文昌是一位跟術士有過接觸的人，而且他本人亦被視為有神通。可以說，他是一位修道之士。

其四，段文昌的死頗為蹊蹺。段文昌卒時年方六十三歲，且恰在受宣之後，其中當有問題。作為荊南節度使，段文昌影堂祭祀形式不僅違背了他所熟知的儒家禮教，更為重要的是此舉可能觸犯了當時荊州地區的其他宗教勢力，特別是摩尼教。安史之亂以後，依恃對唐政府的政治影響力，回鶻在荊州等地區請建大雲光明寺，以發展摩尼教和商業貿易。當時，荊州等地是胡人雲集經商之處，他們

的信仰各不相同。作為地方的軍政首腦，段文昌此舉在宗教信仰方面顯然起著表率 and 影響。這種引導不僅跟唐政府對摩尼教在該地區的優待相悖，而且也觸犯了其背後的商貿利益。因此，我們推測，大和九年三月，唐文宗派遣了賜衣中使，將段文昌賜死。

綜上，我們有理由認為吳剛伐桂是段文昌生活的影射。

關於吳剛，唐時李賀稱之為“吳質”。到了明朝，已經有了不同的意見。月中除了吳剛之外，又出現了宋無忌。推測“無忌”當為“無質”之同音而訛所致，而所謂的“宋”則是后加的。無怪乎到了清代，便有學者對此感到困惑。值得注意的是，宋無忌被稱為火之精，火仙。不知吳剛（質）的本意是否為此，如果是這樣的話，是否寓示著它跟祆教有著某種關係？這是一個有待進一步研究的問題。

## Out of Africa : The spread of our earliest mythologies

M. Witzel

This paper deals with the comparison of ancient and modern mythological cycles, even with that of the *complete* mythologies of tribes and peoples. As such, it proceeds beyond the common approach of comparing individual myths, and establishes an underlying pattern that is found in most of Eurasia and in the pre-Columbian Americas (Laurasia). This pattern is characterized by a unique *story line*, from the emergence of the world and of humans to an eventual destruction and a hoped-for new world.

The Laurasian pattern was established by some of the early emigrants *out of Africa*, some 60,000 years ago. After its discovery (Kyoto 1990), several fields of the sciences and humanities have developed approaches that overlap with the proposed scenario: the dynamic development of human genetics (Cavalli-Sforza, 1994, etc.) and of long-range linguistic comparisons (Ruhlen 1994, etc.).

The three fields of mythology, linguistics, and genetics, are further supported by archaeology and by the study of the oldest as well as the geographically most isolated modern texts available to us. They all indicate an early spread of present *homo sapiens* out of Africa, along the shores of the Indian Ocean up to Australia (Gondwana); this was followed by another wave which brought the Laurasian pattern to most of Eurasia and the Americas. It can now be correlated with certain genetic markers (mtDNA M,N,R descendants; Y chromosome haplogroups V - X) and certain language families (Nostratic, Sino-Tibetan, Austric, Amerindian, etc.)

Consequently, the field of historical comparative mythology lends itself perfectly to cooperation and combination of the humanities and the sciences.

Humans apparently cannot live without myths, of whatever nature. The Laurasian pattern underlies the mythologies of most modern peoples, by now also of most parts of Africa and of Australia. Laurasian mythology thus guides people --and politicians-- whether they are aware of it or not. Even some of our scientific ideas about the cosmos and living beings follow the pattern closely. The study of our shared mythologies will allow us to perceive our common spiritual origins and to discover our underlying common patterns of thought.

## Mythological Symbols of the Five Animals on Tibetan *rLung-rTa* Prayer Flag

XIE Jisheng  
Capital Normal University

This paper is to analyze the meanings of the five animals painted on the Tibetan *rLung-rta* prayer flag and try to point that which cultural sources these meanings originated in.

- a) [Lion]. There is no lion in Tibet. The introduction of lion into Tibet was related with the religions of Central Asia, especially related with the fact that Indian and Chinese Buddhism spread in the snow land. The popular type of lion in Tibetan Buddhism, the white lion with green mane, was the result from the influences of both Indian and Chinese Buddhism. The prototype originated from the images seen in the lion decoration of seats, which belonged to Varocana and the Eight Bodhisttvas. The kind was gradually become a sign of Tibetan Buddhism. Excepting for Buddhist meaning, the reason why the lion played an important role in Tibetan upper class was that the lion had taken the place of female Yak in Tibetan myth. It is impossible for a symbol of the religion was a female so the lion is male.
- b) [Garuda]. It is another sign of Buddhism and an important carrier that *rlung-rta* as a Buddhist ceremony. The animal, together with lion, are 50% of Buddhist content in the pattern. However, Garuda occupied the place of eagle. The animal can represent the typical myth which is the same as the parallels in the steppe of Central Asia and Siberia.
- c) [*Brug*]. The animal is complicated. The *dragon* in *rlung-rta* pattern is written in Tibetan as '*brug-sngon-po*, meaning *blue dragon* in the four directive deities of *Han-Chinese*. The '*brug* also was spelt as *klu*, corresponding to Naga in India, is a spirit living in water or under the earth surface. From which we know that the pattern is closely related with *Han-Chinese's* concept of direction, Naga cult of India and Tibetan myth. Both Garuda surrendering Naga and eagle gaining *klu* symbols separately the two meanings of myth and Buddhism. The union also divided the pattern into the two parts of *Yang*-upper and *Yin*-down.
- d) [Tiger]. Tiger is one of four directive deities also. In Tibetan myth the belief for tiger is so weak that the tiger on left corner of *rlung-rta* is just symbols one direction as pure directive god. In *Han's* belief tiger is white but Tibetan tiger is red since it resided in west.
- e) [Horse]. Horse derived firstly the mount for the dead to heaven. After melting with *auspicious horse* in Buddhist decorative motifs it produced Buddhist concept. In

five elements horse belongs to earth. So the number *five*'s handwriting just likes Tibetan term *sa* (earth) as well as Tibetan *sa-bon* (earth *bon* religion) means *semen*. Horse symbols an origin and end of a life, which reminds us pay attention to the earth funeral rite in Tibetan Kingdom. The key horse gathered different meanings for symbolizing the movement of the five elements.

Conclusion: from the different meanings of which the five animals represent we can track a history of Tibetan culture.

## 西藏“风马”经幡动物图案神话象征意义分析

谢继胜

首都师范大学

“风马”是意译的藏语词汇 *rlung-rta*，其作用及意义笔者已有过专文讨论，但未就整个风马图案整体进行分析。本文重点分析风马幡所绘五种动物及其蕴涵的神话学意义。指出其背后的文化渊源。

- (1) 狮子。藏地本无狮，狮子的传入与中亚宗教和汉印佛教的传入有关。藏王墓前石狮样式或与中亚火袄教及本教的形成相关。藏传佛教造像中现今流传的“绿鬃白玉狮”是印汉佛教影响的结果，原型当为汉藏边境地区大日如来及八大菩萨造像的狮座样式，如榆林窟 25 窟，更多融合了汉地早已流行的狮子图样。此种狮子日后演变为藏传佛教的象征，但其中仍可见来自汉地游戏狮子的特质。除了佛教象征之外，狮子在藏族统治文化中占有重要地位的原因是狮子取代了藏族土著或地域神话中的雪山母牦牛的地位。狮子吼不能是阴性，故风马图案中狮子居右下方，性属阳。
- (2) 大鹏。作为金翅鸟的大鹏也是佛教的象征，被认为是风马佛教寓意的重要支撑，与狮子构成图案 50% 的佛教旨意。大鹏取代的是西藏神话中鹰的位置，鹰则代表西藏神话中与中亚草原及西伯利亚萨满信仰相似的类型神话。同样展示佛教取代土著宗教的趋势。
- (3) 龙。龙的情形更为复杂，风马的“龙”藏文作 *'brug-sngon-po*，指“苍龙”，对应汉地四象神的“东方苍龙”，反映了形成风马图案框架的四方位神，但并非金木水火土五行之一。此龙在风马幡文字上藏文亦作 *klu*，被指与印度 *naga* 相同，实际上是藏族神话中生活在地面以下及水中的精怪。可见风马“龙”与汉人方位观、印度那伽信仰、及藏族原始宗教皆息息相关。以金翅鸟降服那伽与鹰捕食“鲁”分别构成对立统一体，表现神话与佛教两层递进的寓意，并将风马分割为上下关系，以右伏左，以阳制阴。
- (4) 虎，又是风马框架中的四象神之一，汉人为“白虎”。藏族信仰中虎的因素最弱。故风马中位于左下角的虎是单纯为四象神留存的例证。虎居于西方，藏族色方西方决不能白色，故改称“红色汉虎”(*rgya-stag dmar-po*)。既然居西方，又与左侧红虎相对，相互构成阴阳。下方平行狮克虎与上行平行鹰克龙形成左右阴阳关系。狮虎词汇的组合成为“大食”*stag-gzigs*，从中引起新寓意，与狮具有的中亚信仰元素交集。
- (5) 马，最初的马属于藏族神话中的送魂马，逐渐与佛教象征马宝结合，产生佛教指向。风马中的马是整个图案运动的动力，马属土，藏文手写数字 5 即类似 *sa*，*sa-bon* “土

苯”，即“精液”，生命的起源和中止，与藏区最早的土葬有关。作为五行元素之一的“马”自然将其他元素派发到原本属于方位神系统的四象神，使之具有了五行元素的属性，并将风马图整个转变为五行图，以五行循环象征气运的周而复始，从而将风马所具有的其他含义压抑至不见。

结论：风马及图案五兽的神话象征意义本身代表了藏族思想文化的演变史。

## Why People are Mortal?

### Indo-Pacific Mythology and the "Out-of-Africa" Scenario

**Yuri E. Berezkin**

Statistical processing of more than 1200 folklore and mythological motifs selected from about 35,000 texts suggests the existence of major dichotomy between Indo-Pacific and Continental Eurasian sets of motifs (the status of Western European data is still unclear). A series of motifs which explain the origin of death is widespread across Indo-Pacific part of the Globe, unknown in continental Eurasia but finds parallels in Africa to the south of Sahara.

Legitimacy of Ritual and Deconstruction  
and Reconstruction of Myth:  
A Field Study of Transformation of Myths in Contemporary China<sup>2</sup>

Lihui Yang

One of the most remarkable features of comparative mythology, is to collect various myth versions all over the world and then put them together and compare them cross-regionally, cross-nationally, and cross-temporally. It should be adequately confirmed that comparative mythology has made great contribution in the past two centuries to international mythology in collecting and interpreting myths. In China, the term “Comparative Mythology” was first translated from Japanese into Chinese in 1903, under the social circumstance that myth was conceived as a useful new tool to open Chinese people’s mind and to probe into the origins of Chinese nationality, literature, and history. From then on, through efforts of many Chinese scholars, such as Mao Dun (1896-1981), Wang Xiaolian, Ye Shuxian, Chen Jianxian, and others, comparative mythology gets fundamentally constructed.

However, in spite of its great contributions, comparative mythology, both as a branch of mythology and as an approach to myth study, has some limitations. One of its limitations, for example, is that its research products generally focus on “classical,” “ancient,” or “primitive” cultures. Their basic sources mainly come from ancient world or primitive tribes and aborigines. Though there is exceptions, for instance, Mircea Eliade ( 1907-1986 ) tries to break through the boundaries between the ancient and modern, and to secure a firm place for myth in the modern world (Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, 1968 [1959]), but generally speaking, scholars of comparative mythology seldom pay sufficient attention to how myths are re-used and reconstructed in modern society. Correspondingly, these questions are infrequently found to be studied in comparative mythology: Why modern people still tell those old stories of myth? How does the transformation of myth illustrate mythteller’s need and creativity? How do mythtellers actively utilize myth to serve their current need in a contemporary society?

As a reflection on the limitations of comparative mythology, based upon a field

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study project I directed in 2000-2005 on the transformation of myth in contemporary China, this paper looks into the relationship between myth and ritual as a “dynamically interacting process.” By analyzing three cases from the Han people in central China, it explores how myths or mythical elements are deconstructed and reconstructed over the last 20 years to revive and further to testify the legitimacy of temple fairs, which were once considered by the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) as “feudal superstitions” and thus were suppressed and prohibited during the “Cultural Revolution” (1966-1976).

The basic conclusions of the paper include: 1. The strategies and means of reconstructing and deconstructing myths to get legitimacy during the “folk culture revival tide” are varied, which show the wisdom and creativity of “the folk”. 2. The process of getting legitimacy is full of interaction and negotiation of various powers of the nation-state, local government, scholars, outstanding folk leaders, and common people. Meanwhile “the folk” are not homogeneous toward the legitimacy of temple fair. Comparatively, folk leaders pay much attention to the political legitimacy. 3. Both myth and ritual are kept changing and reconstructing in different social and cultural contexts. Therefore, mythology today should not only look backward to the past to seek after the possible origins of myth types, gods and heroes, but also investigate how myth means, functions, and is utilized and reconstructed in contemporary society. In this way, it will definitely help to more effectively understand the vitality of myth, and further to advance its communication with other humanities and social sciences.

Professor of Mythology and Folklore  
Institute of Folklore and Cultural Anthropology  
Beijing Normal University

## 仪式的合法性与神话的解构和重构 ——对当代中国神话变迁的研究<sup>3</sup>

杨利慧

北京师范大学文学院，北京 100875

**[中文摘要]** 比较神话学的显著特点之一，在于广泛搜集世界各地流传的同类神话异文，然后对之进行跨地域、跨民族、跨时间段的比较。应当说，自 19 世纪以来，比较神话学对世界范围内神话的收集、比较和研究做出了巨大的贡献。

在中国，“比较神话学”一词于 1903 年首次从日本翻译进来。在当时的社会文化语境下，神话的比较研究被作为启迪民智的新工具，用以探讨民族之起源、文学之开端、历史之原貌。以后，经由茅盾、王孝廉、叶舒宪、陈建宪等学者的努力，比较神话学在中国取得了相当丰硕的成就。

但是，总的说来，比较神话学关注的核心是“古典的”、“原始的”或者说“土著的”，来自古代以及土著世界的神话资料成为比较神话学倚赖的基础。虽然也有例外——例如 Mircea Eliade (1907-1986) 就试图打破古代和现代的界限，而将比较的眼光投入当代社会，但是总体而言，比较神话学对当今“现代”社会中的神话相对忽视，对产生于遥远过去的古老神话如何在现代社会中被重新利用和再生产缺乏充分的重视。这进一步造成了几个方面的问题：一、容易给人这样的误解：似乎神话只存在和存活于古代或者原始的文明中，只有远古的神话才是纯洁的、本真的 (authentic)，而后世传承的神话都是不同程度上对古老神话的扭曲和污染 (pollute)。神话的生命活力在当代现实生活中已经枯竭。二、只关注神话文本本身的比较，而忽略了创造和传承神话的主体。人们为什么讲述神话？神话的传承、变迁与这些主体的需求、创造力之间有何内在联系？神话在现代社会中的功能和意义如何？比较神话学很少对这些问题进行探讨。三、由于对现代社会中的神话缺乏足够的关注，削弱了当代社会对神话学的兴趣以及神话学参与其他社会科学对话的能力。

有鉴于此，本文将通过近 5 年来的田野研究成果，对中国大陆民间庙会在近 20 年来复兴的过程中，为谋求更充分的合法性而对神话或者神话要素进行的解构和重新建构，来探讨当代中国神话的传承与变迁。本文的目的是：1、关注神话在当代社会的生命力，它们如何传承与变迁，如何被利用和解构、重构。2、探讨各种力量利用神话或者神话要素以建构合法性的不同策略。3、透视神话的变迁以及神话与仪式之间关系的演变与中国社会文化变迁之间的内在联系。

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<sup>3</sup> 本课题得到教育部首届“高等学校优秀青年教师教学和科研奖励基金”的资助。

通过对山西、河北等地的案例分析，本文认为：1、在近 20 来民间文化复兴的浪潮中，以往常常被视为“封建迷信”、“旧文化的余孽”的庙会为了求得更充分的现实合法性而利用各种手段，神话的解构和重新建构就是其中的一种。而各地利用神话作为资源以谋求合法性的方式和策略又是多种多样的，充分显示出了民间的智慧。2、神话总是处在不断变迁和重塑的过程中，所以，今天的神话学不应该一味将眼光投向遥远的古代，同时还应该关注神话与当下现实生活的联系，关注神话在当下社会文化语境中呈现出何种形态？具有何种新的内容、功能和意义？经历了怎样的生产和再生产过程？人们如何主动地、创造性地传承和利用神话以服务于其当前的社会生活？其目的何在？笔者以为：这样的探讨，不仅有助于对神话的生命力的研究，也有助于使神话学跳出自身狭隘的小圈子，而参与到与活生生的现实对话、与更多学科的对话中。3、在谋求和建构合法性的过程中，充满了多种力量的互动和共谋。在侯村和范庄的案例中，国家政策、地方政府、社区外部的知识分子、社区内部的民间精英（包括社区内的知识分子）都在谋求和论证合法性过程中扮演着不容忽视的角色。这在某种程度上成为反映当代中国社会民间文化生产和再生产复杂图景的一个缩影。

关键词：神话 解构与重构 仪式 合法性 动态的互动过程 策略

## 熊图腾神话的源流

叶舒宪

## Totem and the Origin of Bear Myths in Euro-asia

Ye Shuxian

内容提要：熊图腾的产生是欧亚大陆史前宗教信仰的中心主题之一。作为女神宗教的史前信仰之所以崇拜熊，是由于熊的冬眠春出习性，非常明显又有规律性地体现着大地母神的自然节律。熊作为死亡与再生女神的信仰的普遍性，给欧亚美三洲北方萨满教传承现象的整体审视，以及各地熊祖神话的系统关照，提供了重要理论契机。从“龙的传人”到“熊的传人”之新认识，为华夏及北方大陆的文化寻根带来新的纵深视野。

## 一、熊图腾与史前女神宗教

考古学家在石器时代造型艺术中发现的众多动物形象中，熊具有特殊的地位。有一些反复呈现的动物形象，除了作为偶像而单独出现，还会作为其它象征的隐喻关联物而出现。例如，美国考古学家金芭塔斯在系统分析了欧洲新石器时代陶器图案模式后发现：“这种网纹象征经久不衰地反复出现。在方形、卵形、圆形、菱形、膀胱形、三角形（女阴三角形）和带状纹中均有表现，还常常与动物形象相联系，如蛇、熊、蛙、鱼、公牛头和山羊头。”在金芭塔斯看来，这些动物都是作为女神象征而出现的，并不代表该动物本身。

熊神的神格是再生、复活之神。由于复活总是以死亡为前提条件的，所以熊神也顺理成章地兼任起死亡之神的职能。自石器时代进入文明时代，古老的熊神的身影依然时常闪现出来。在布劳罗尼安·阿尔威弥斯节庆上，一位女性仪式主持人，身穿黄色长袍，将阿尔忒弥斯女神扮演为一只熊。参看 Dexter (1980, 26)。在中国南方民间傩仪上，披上熊皮而舞蹈的师公俨然以下凡的熊神自居，只不过其女神的性别早已经不再明确罢了。

## 二、欧亚大陆的熊祖先神话

从世界范围看，熊祖先神话的流传十分广阔。以欧亚大陆为例，西起西班牙，东至芬兰，再东至西伯利亚、中国北方、韩国和日本，熊祖先神话的叙事模式基本是大同小异，应该属于基于同样一种图腾信仰所衍生出的神话类型。故事的核心是确认本族人的祖先与熊这种动物有着血缘上的直接联系。作为族群认同与文化认同的执照或者证书，熊祖先神话不只是讲来欣赏的文学故事，它更发挥着实际的社会建构与整合功能。檀君神话与朝鲜人的文化认同，黄帝神话与华夏的认同，背后潜伏着的都是同一种熊神信仰。

“熊龙”说与女神宗教的对应：华夏第一图腾动物——龙，从发生学意义看，当与熊有直接关系。新石器时代红山文化女神庙的发现给龙的起源研究带来崭新局面。解读女神庙出土的熊与鹰泥塑的神圣蕴涵，提出从熊女神崇拜到熊龙雕像的发生线索，揭示在后代父权制的中原文明中失落的女神神话传统，及其在北方萨满文化中的遗存。

中国社会科学院文学研究所