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中華研究月刊

CHINESE STUDIES MONTHLY

Chinese Studies Monthly (CSM) is a fully open-access, peer-reviewed academic journal dedicated to advancing global scholarship on China through the publication of high-quality research in English and Chinese. It serves as a premier interdisciplinary forum for scholars, researchers, and practitioners to share original findings, critical essays, and in-depth reviews across the expansive field of Chinese humanities and social sciences.

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《中华研究月刊》（CSM）是一份完全开放获取、同行评审的学术期刊，致力于通过发表中英文高质量研究成果，推动全球中国研究的发展。期刊旨在为学者、研究人员与实践者提供一个高水平的跨学科交流平台，用于分享原创研究发现、评论性文章以及围绕中国人文与社会科学广泛领域的深度综述。

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CHINESE STUDIES MONTHLY

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Research article

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Tea Culture and Social Representation in the Southern Song: A Study of Liu Songnian's Tea Paintings

刘松年茶画研究：南宋茶文化的视觉叙事与社会解读

Yi Guo [1,*], Wenwen Zhao [1]

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Abstract: During the Southern Song period (1127–1279), the relocation of the capital to the south and the concurrent shift of economic power led to the flourishing of tea culture. Tea emerged as both a vital symbol of cultural refinement and an integral component of economic and social life across various strata of society. The tea-themed paintings of Liu Songnian serve as visual representations of this cultural phenomenon, embodying not only exceptional artistic techniques but also distinct social narrative functions. This study undertakes a systematic analysis of Liu Songnian's tea paintings from both artistic and socio-cultural perspectives. On the artistic level, it focuses on the stylistic characteristics reflected in compositional arrangement, the depiction of figures in motion, and attention to detail. On the social level, it explores how the paintings portray interactions among individuals of varied social roles—such as literati, monks, and attendants—revealing the complexities of Southern Song social structures and the richness of its cultural life. By comprehensively examining Liu Songnian's tea paintings, this article aims to uncover their embedded cultural meanings and to deepen our understanding of tea culture's multifaceted role in Southern Song society—ranging from interpersonal communication and economic activity to broader processes of cultural transmission.

Keywords: Liu Songnian's tea paintings; Tea culture; Social culture of the Southern Song

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摘要： 南宋（1127–1279）时期，随着都城南迁与经济重心南移，茶文化日益繁荣，成为社会各阶层的重要文化象征与经济活动组成部分。刘松年的茶画作为这一文化现象的视觉再现，不仅展现了精湛的艺术技法，也承载着鲜明的社会叙事功能。从艺术风格与社会文化两个维度出发，对其茶画进行系统分析：在艺术层面，重点探讨其构图布局、人物动态及细节描绘所体现的风格特征；在社会层面，则关注画中对文人、僧侣、侍从等多元社会身份之间互动场景的描绘，如何反映南宋社会结构的复杂性与文化生活的多样性。通过对刘松年茶画的综合研究，旨在揭示其作品中蕴含的文化价值，并进一步深化对茶文化在南宋社会交往、经济活动及文化传播中多重作用的理解。

关键词： 刘松年茶画；茶文化；南宋社会文化

茶圣陆羽在《茶经》中提到神农氏发现了茶叶，鲁周公为茶做记录才使其得以流传于世间[1]。[1]3b 虽然神农氏时期并无文字记录，但《周礼・地官》中出现了在各级地方设立收集茶叶的“掌荼”一职[2]9a，可以推测有史可记中国茶叶的发展最迟距今已有两千多年的时间[2]。而产茶地最初是起源于西南地区的巴蜀，并且在周武王伐纣（公元前11世纪）时，便有巴蜀已栽种香茗（茶），并且将茶作为贡品献给武王的记录 [3]2b。 汉代初期茶叶产茶区不再集中于巴蜀地区而向东移，出现了因产茶而得名的荼陵一地 [3] [4]4a。根据对马王堆西汉一号墓和三号墓出土文物的分析，整箱的茶曾作为与金玉等物相同地位的随葬品被放置于墓中，可见饮茶已经进入汉代贵族阶层的生活中。西汉景帝（公元前188–前141）阳陵中也出土了至今世界最早的茶叶实物。到了西晋（公元266–316）从左思所作《娇女诗》“心为茶荈剧，吹嘘对鼎鑩”一处，展现了饮茶习俗跨越年龄的普及性。

茶叶发展进入唐朝（618–907）进入勃兴阶段。随着茶叶产区的扩大，产量的提升，饮茶不单单只是一种生活习惯，而是在社会中赋予了精神内涵逐渐形成了独特的茶文

[1] 鲁周公为周朝建立者周武王（公元前1076–前1043）的弟弟，又名周公旦。鲁国为其封地。

[2] 周礼成书时间学界仍有争议，多数学者认为约作于战国后期（公元前5世纪–前221年）。荼是茶的别称。

[3] 荼陵是指今湖南省株洲市荼陵县一带。（宋 乐史《太平寰宇记・江南西道十三》卷一百一十五，宋残本宫内厅书陵部藏本）。

[1] Nanyang Technological University, Singapore 639798.
* Corresponding author. Email: yi011@e.ntu.edu.sg



图 1 | 宋人摹阎立本绘制《萧翼赚兰亭图》 台北故宫博物院藏

化。这时期世界第一部茶叶专著《茶经》诞生，其中较为系统的总结了茶叶的产地与效用、采茶和制茶工具、制茶工艺、煮茶的茶具及方法、与茶相关的文献等内容。自此为茶学奠定了基础，茶从简单的饮品成为了一门文化艺术。并且唐之前饮茶风俗集中于南方地区，但在开元年间（713–741）由于禅学在中国北方地区的传播，僧侣大多饮茶，茶叶也在随即流传开来，极为普及。[5]1a-1b并传入了周边的少数民族地区，真正成为了贯通南北大众生活中的必需品。宋朝开国之后，茶文化发展进入繁盛阶段，呈现以下主要特点：**1）**正式确立贡茶制度，贡茶品目增多，并以“北苑建茶”为最优。蔡襄在《北苑茶》中评价其“年年号供御，天产壮瓯闽”。**2）**点茶的饮茶法的盛行。唐代是以煎煮法为主，后茶叶采摘更加精细化，在碾制的茶粉中加入沸水调匀形成了点茶的饮用方式。在宋代极为盛行，经日本高僧传入日本，由此演变成日本茶道。**3）**宋代初年，榷茶制度正式形成。榷茶是一种国家茶叶专卖制度，是宋代国家税收的重要来源。虽然唐代已经出现，却波动发展，直到宋代才正式化，并延续至清代。**4）**备受皇家推崇。宋代的皇室贵族倡导茶文化，甚至北宋的宋徽宗亲撰《大观茶论》，茶事叙述十分详备。统治阶级的倡导也是宋代茶文化繁荣的重要推动力。

南宋时期，随着都城的南迁以及政治、经济重心的南移，茶文化进一步得到了推广和繁荣，并成为市民阶层和上层社会日常生活的重要部分。茶叶作为重要的商品贸易品，其生产和消费的变化对社会经济产生了深远影响。在这一过程中，制茶工艺的不断改良、饮茶方式的日益多样化以及点茶艺术的兴盛，不仅推动了南宋茶文化的全面发展，也为海外贸易的扩大和开放注入了新的活力，同时也赋予了茶文化更为多重的社会意义。在此背景下，茶文化频繁出现在文学、绘画等艺术创作中，特别是茶画作品成为表现茶文化的重要媒介。南宋画家刘松年的茶画作为茶文化艺术表达的重要载体，具有独特的历史和文化价值。刘松年是南宋宫廷画家，钱塘人，与李唐、马远、夏圭并称为“南宋四家”。《画史会要》记载其“居清波门，俗呼为‘暗门刘’，山水人物师张敦礼而神气过之，宁宗朝进《耕织图》称旨，赐金带，院中人绝品也。” [6]645 他的茶画作品丰富，通过细腻的构图、丰富的场景刻画和鲜明的人物动态，生动展现了茶文化在南宋社会中的多重角色和深远影响。

目前学界关于刘松年茶画的专题研究并不充分，大多只关注于画面本身的整体描述或观点论证。赵冬梅在《茶与宋代社会生活》的 “茶与宋代书法绘画”一章中梳理了刘松年的现存茶画，并对部分题为刘松年所作《卢仝烹茶图》的画作进行辩伪。 [7]260–263 廖宝秀在《宋代吃茶法与茶器之研究》中提到刘松年《斗茶图》 “描绘了当时斗茶的盛况”。[8]34 李霖灿的〈刘松年的撵茶图与醉僧图〉、梁丽祝的〈撵茶图人物续论〉、王元军的〈也论《撵茶图》中的人物及其他〉、沈冬梅的〈《撵茶图》与宋代文人茶集〉均围绕刘松年的《撵茶图》展开探究，关注绘画中的人物身份与图像命名问题，因按时间顺序相扣，均有对上篇论文进行增补或反思之意。[9–12] 但是，学界对刘松年多幅茶画作品进行艺术构图、人物动态及细节处理的综合研究还仍存在研究空间。本文期待在补充刘松年茶画的艺术风格独特性的同时，从社会文化视角探索茶画作为社会叙事媒介，如何反映出南宋社会的文化层级及其互动关系，加深对南宋茶文化以及社会的进一步理解。

因此，本研究通过对刘松年茶画作品的艺术风格、场景构图及社会背景的分析，探讨刘松年的茶画如何通过构图、人物动态及细节刻画体现其独特的艺术风格，并且也将对这些茶画如何通过表现不同社会阶层的互动场景，反映社会结构与文化生活的具体面貌进行考察。



图 2 |（南宋）刘松年《撵茶图》台北故宫博物院藏

刘松年茶画作品艺术分析

中国茶文化发展已久，早期先民即已在意茶事。但画家以茶入画则相对较晚出现，唐代阎立本绘制的《萧翼赚兰亭图》（图1）被认为是最早的茶画，描绘了僮仆正在准备茶汤的场景。[13]150而直到宋代明确以茶为主题的绘画开始广泛出现。茶画可分为“主题茶画”和“非主题茶画”两个大类 [14]79，依据作品和画名的关系，刘松年茶画作品则属于“主题茶画”。

图像：辩伪与重估

现存传名为刘松年的茶事绘画有《斗茶图》（藏于台北故宫博物院）、《茗园赌市图》（台北故宫博物院藏）、《撵茶图》（台北故宫博物院藏）、《卢仝烹茶图》（北京故宫博物院藏）。《南宋院画录》亦著录刘松年《唐子西拾薪煮茗图》。[6]79 这些画作虽在风格或题材上常与刘松年相关联，但未必确为其所作。目前研究多聚焦于《撵茶图》，但尚无确凿文献证实该图出自刘松年宫廷之手。较接近刘松年创作时代且在画风上具备一致性的，应为《茗园赌市图》《撵茶图》与《卢仝烹茶图》；而《斗茶图》的创作年代较晚，可能为明代画家伪托之作。判断依据如下：

1. 《茗园赌市图》《撵茶图》所绘茶具、茶叶标识及茶事场景契合宋代实际，构图成熟规范，尤其《茗园赌市图》疑为后世《斗茶图》等作品的原型，其成图时间应不晚于元代。
2. 《卢仝烹茶图》曾藏于明中期浙东一位张姓文士家中，周边著名文士为其题写画作。根据朱存理《铁网珊瑚》、汪砢玉《汪氏珊瑚网》、卞永誉《式古堂书画汇考》、厉鹗《南宋院画录》等记载可知，都穆、赵郡李复、澍河杨彝、临川赵果、会稽胡维仁、四明山人乌斯道等多位文人题跋。现存题跋仅见李复与乌斯道。鉴于此画的风格与刘松年确证之作（如北京故宫博物院藏《四景山水图》）差异显著，或应归属南宋其他院画家所作。[1]
3. 《斗茶图》虽署刘松年名，但与前述作品斗茶场景明显区别。且明代有署名“晋昌唐寅”的《斗茶图》，构图几乎一致，显示其更可能为明代伪作。

基于上述图像分析和文献比对，《茗园赌市图》《撵茶图》与《卢仝烹茶图》不仅在时代风格上更贴近南宋，真实反映刘松年对茶文化的视觉表达。

人物：身份与阶层

南宋时期，茶饮的受众群体已经相当广泛，“上自王公贵族，下至黎民百姓，业已成为了一种大众文化。”[8]12与宋摹本《萧翼赚兰亭图》构图方式相似，《撵茶图》（图2）同样采用左侧侍从备茶、右侧文士与僧人互动的布局。但在人物比例处理上，《撵茶图》有所不同。《萧翼赚兰亭图》通过刻意缩小侍从形象，以突出三位主体人物的地位，而《撵茶图》则更为平衡地表现左侧的茶事活动与右侧的书写互动。画中人物大小相近，制茶与文会场景在画面中所占比例亦基本对等。这一构图上的调整，反映出制茶活动在文人交游中的地位已显著提升，成为与书写、对话同等重要的文化实践。

《撵茶图》左半部分详细描绘了宋代备茶的完整流程，右半则展现三人沉浸于艺事之中的场景：僧人持笔挥毫，二位文士围坐观瞻。结合画面中的湖石与芭蕉环境，可判断为庭园中的一次雅集活动。

对于这幅绘图的题名的争论，部分学者根据文中人物身

[1]此幅《卢仝烹茶图》出自刘松年之手在于《石渠宝笈三编》著录了牟益的《茅舍闲吟图》，著录内容为“绢本设色，画人物屋宇树石，全摹刘松年烹茶图，惟易赤脚婢为童子，款牟益。”

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图 3 | （传）赵佶 《文会图》 台北故宫博物院藏



图 4 | （传）刘松年《茗园赌市图》 台北故宫博物院藏



图 5 | 宋 佚名 《斗浆图》 黑龙江省博物馆藏

份分析认为，执笔者为僧人怀素，正面而坐的文士为其舅父钱起，一旁撵茶备茶的侍从亦被明确识为宾客身份，因此该图亦被称为《怀素染翰图》或《怀素挥毫图》。[9]关于另一位侧坐文士的身份，“侧面而坐的文士，很有可能就是戴叔伦[10]，另有学者论证戴叔伦与钱起湖南交游的《送别钱起》诗是后人伪作，认为《撵茶图》更名为《高僧染翰图》。[11]《撵茶图》将其更名为《高僧染翰图》并不合适。此命名虽强调了僧人书写活动的重要性，却忽视了图中茶事活动的显著比重。因为这样的命名无疑会抹杀茶事活动在该图像中的重要性。“舍‘文’而以茶为题，可见作者敏锐地把握住了茶与文人生活内在共通的一个‘雅’字”[12]，备茶活动与染翰活动虽均是现在进行时，但从图像所呈现的信息来看，染翰之后的下一个雅集活动即是点茶，茶事活动不仅并列于书写艺术之中，更构成文人雅集的重要组成，因此其命名不应削弱茶文化在图像叙事中的核心地位。此外，茶具的描绘细腻、完备且有序，制茶过程也同样严谨详尽，这表明僧人和文士们对茶事活动的高度关注与深度参与。

空间：庭园与市井

刘松年的茶画创作呈现出两种典型的茶事空间：庭园与市井。前者象征文人士大夫的闲适生活与雅集氛围，后者则反映商贾阶层对茶事的日常性与实用性关注。二者不仅体现了不同社会群体对茶的审美取向与文化态度，也揭示了茶在南宋社会中多重身份与功能的并存。画家对这两类空间的呈现，不仅直接影响了画面图像的结构与叙事方式，也在更深层面上决定了其所承载的文化内涵与社会意义。

《撵茶图》中的僧俗互动场景，与《文会图》（图3）所描绘的士人茶会在表现形式上虽有相似之处，但亦存在显著差异。两者皆通过描绘周围植被营造雅集空间氛围，案上器物陈设也呈现出一定的相似性，然而，《撵茶图》所展现的聚会规模更为精简，私密性亦更为突出。该图所描绘的应是发生于某位士大夫私人园林中的小型聚会，画中精致的茶

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图 6 | （传）钱选 《品茶图》 日本大阪市立美术馆藏



图 7 | 《茗园赌市图》局部



图 8 | 《茗园赌市图》局部

器、完整的制茶流程与凝神挥毫的创作场面，共同营造出一种静谧而高雅的氛围。这种画面表达反映出茶事在文人士人交流中的深入融入，不仅作为物质层面的待客之仪，更日益成为雅集中精神互动的重要组成部分。

《茗园赌市图》（图4）虽以斗茶场景为核心描绘对象，但其画题亦揭示出图像背后的空间结构。“茗园赌市”一名暗含空间的双重特征：“园”指涉一个相对封闭、具有特定功能的场所，“市”则象征着开放性与结构的复杂性。画中“赌”即指激烈的斗茶行为，结合画面中可见的木制围栏，表明此场景应设于一处集中贩售茶叶、并为顾客提供饮茶服务的茶肆或市场空间内。图中摊贩流动、人物关系松散，使斗茶场面呈现出一种偶发性，仿佛即兴而生。在这种市井氛围中，斗茶并非刻意安排的仪式活动，而是熟悉茶事的商贾们在日常交往中的技艺较量。他们的服饰打扮表明其商人身份。这种设定凸显出茶文化在市民阶层中的普及与活跃。

后世对刘松年《茗园赌市图》有许多仿作或摹作，如黑龙江省博物馆收藏有宋人绘制《斗浆图》（图5），其中二人之动作、神态与《茗园赌市图》相似，再如大阪市立美术馆藏传元代画家钱选（1235–1350）绘制《品茶图》（图6），但它们显然避开了对斗茶空间叙述的延续，而聚焦于斗茶实践本身。

《茗园赌市图》上可见乾隆时期的三枚御印：“五福五代堂宝”“八征耄念之宝”与“太上皇帝之宝”。《石渠宝笈续编》中对该画的记载为：“签标刘松年《茗园赌市》，白描画茶担二，市者、啜者、观者八人。”此画与前文所述《卢仝烹茶图》均曾收藏于乾隆时期的重华宫。重华宫不仅是乾隆帝每年举办新正茶宴、赐群臣三清茶并进行联句创作的重要场所，也成为皇帝亲身参与与主持茶文化实践的空间。这些画作与乾隆的茶事活动形成深度关联，而刘松年的茶画则无疑为这一帝王茶文化空间增添了独特的艺术色彩与文化象征意义。

刘松年茶画与南宋茶具

蔡襄《茶录》、宋徽宗《大观茶论》均记载了宋代点茶需要用的茶具，如《茶录》记载的茶焙、茶笼、茶钤、砧椎、茶碾、茶罗、汤瓶、茶盏、茶匙；《大观茶论》记载的罗碾、盏、筅、杓等。其中，茶焙、茶笼、茶钤、茶罗、汤瓶、茶盏、茶匙（筅）均出现在刘松年的茶画作品中。而宋代茶书中未专列出的风炉（烧煮开水用的火炉，见图7）、茶则（用以择取茶末，见图8）等茶具在图中出现。

南宋时期茶具图像直接依据来自审安老人于咸淳五年（1269年）所撰《茶具图赞》。该书以拟人化手法描述了当时流行的十二种茶具及其功能特点，即所谓“十二先生”，包括韦鸿胪（茶炉）、木待制（茶杵臼）、金法曹（茶碾）、石转运（茶磨）、胡员外（水瓢）、罗枢密（茶罗）、宗从事（茶帚）、漆雕密阁（盏托）、陶宝文（茶盏）、汤提点（汤瓶）、竺副帅（茶筅）、司职方（茶巾），传世的刘松年茶画中的茶具形制与《茶具图赞》所记录的十二种茶具有许多重合之处。以下呈现刘松年茶画中茶具形制及其与《茶具图赞》的对照关系：

其中，除茶杵臼（砧椎）、茶碾和水瓢未在绘画中呈现外，其他茶具均能在画作中找到对应形象。南宋时期，黑釉兔毫盏依然是最为流行的茶具样式，鹧鸪盏（即油滴盏）亦较为常见。除了建安窑生产的黑釉茶盏外，吉州窑、磁州窑、怀仁窑等地窑口亦广泛烧制黑釉茶具，并在朝廷与民间均有使用。由于宋人斗茶尚白，黑釉茶盏因能衬托茶汤色泽而备受推崇，其釉面往往带有装饰。然而，从现存的宋代茶具实物及相关茶事图像来看，黑釉盏并非唯一选择，青瓷、白瓷、青白瓷等茶具同样占据相当比例，反映出南宋茶具风格的多样性。目前传世的宋代茶具以茶盏、茶托、汤瓶最为常见，而茶碾、茶磨等器具则相对罕见。可能的原因在于，这类器物主要承担功能性作用，使用寿命较短，且不被选作陪葬品保存至今。因此，尽管茶事活动涉及复杂的器具体系，但实际流传下来的茶具类型仍以饮茶相关器物为主。

《茗园赌市图》和《撵茶图》中的茶盏并非典型的黑釉茶盏，而是从墨色判断更接近白釉或青白釉，其中《茗园赌市图》中斗茶者所使用的茶盏或出自民间窑口，沈冬梅指出此系列图像“斗茶的核心内容显然是在于对茶的品味，而不是通过观看茶汤的外形和茶色来品鉴” [7]36，在这幅表现民间斗茶场景的图像中，斗茶充满了随机与激烈，这一点通

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表 1 |《茶具图赞》与刘松年茶画中茶具之对比

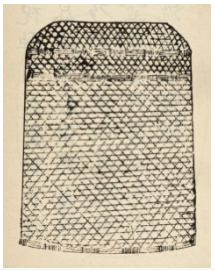
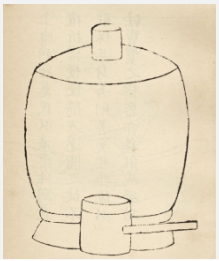
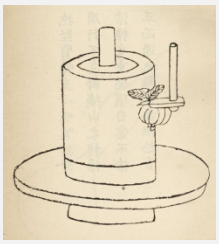
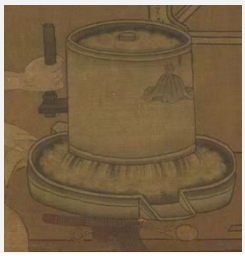
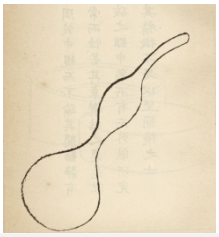
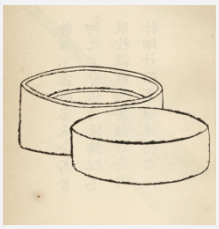
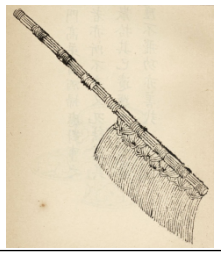
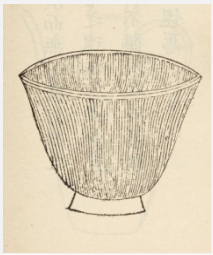
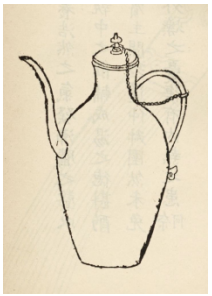
器物名称	功能	《茶具图赞》的图示	刘松年茶画作品图示
茶炉（韦鸿胪）	煮茶		《茗园赌市图》
茶杵臼（木待制）	捣茶		
茶碾（金法曹）	碾茶		
茶磨（石转运）	磨茶		《撵茶图》
水瓢（胡员外）	舀水		
茶罗（罗枢密）	筛茶		《撵茶图》
茶帚（宗从事）	扫茶末		《撵茶图》

表 1 续 | 《茶具图赞》与刘松年茶画中茶具之对比

器物名称	功能	《茶具图赞》的图示	刘松年茶画作品图示		
盏托（漆雕密阁）	托茶盏		 《茗园赌市图》	 《茗园赌市图》	
茶盏（陶宝文）	盛茶		 《茗园赌市图》		
汤瓶（汤提点）	注汤		 《撵茶图》	 《茗园赌市图》	 《斗茶图》
茶筅（竺副帅）	调茶		 《撵茶图》		
茶巾（司职方）	清洁		 《撵茶图》		

本表依据《茶具图赞》和刘松年《撵茶图》《茗园赌市图》作成。

过其中一位斗茶者持握茶盏的方式得以体现。他并未采用附庸风雅的方式将茶盏置于水平台面上注入茶汤，或是用盏托承托茶盏底部，而是将三只相同的茶盏当作盏托，并且茶盏之间呈现一定的倾斜角度（见表1中《茗园赌市图》的茶盏）。这一细节表明，当时的斗茶活动形式更加灵活多变。

注汤用的茶瓶在《茗园赌市图》呈现出不同形态。图中共出现7个汤瓶，其中斗茶者有4个，旁观商贩有3个，只有1个汤瓶被使用，这还不包括被隐去的汤瓶数量，如若统计进来，应超过10个。宋制茶瓶的一大特征是“长流削嘴，近流嘴处通常稍斜作弧线”[8]70，这利于“注汤利紧而不

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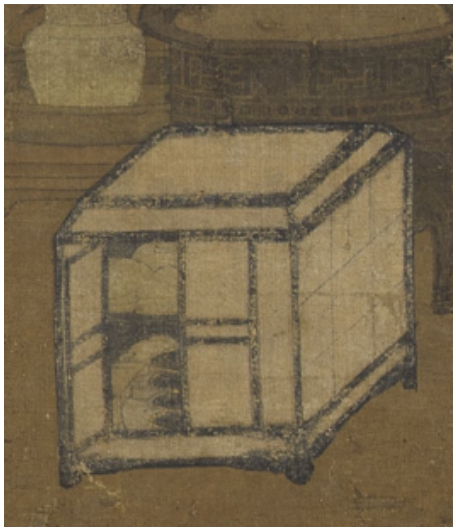


图 9 |《文会图》局部



图 10 |（传）刘松年 《卢仝烹茶图》 北京故宫博物院藏

散”、“用汤有节而不滴沥”，不破坏汤面，适于以竞技为目的、对茶汤外形有着严格要求的斗茶。图中斗茶者们使用的汤瓶相较于商贩们的更为修长，且削嘴的程度更高，显然更适合这种游戏。比较接近《茶具图赞》汤瓶样貌的是《撵茶图》。

《茗园赌市图》和《撵茶图》等作品描绘了宋代茶书中未重点介绍的茶具，如前文提到的风炉。而《茗园赌市图》右侧售卖“上等江茶”的商贩所使用的竹木编织构造的茶担，在同时期的茶画中较为罕见。这种茶担与唐代以来流行的都篮相似，都篮通常以竹蔑为材料，在《文会图》中可以看到（图9）。然而，该商贩的茶担除了利用四个木制脚将箱底与地面保持距离以防潮外，茶担还具有许多建筑特征。例如，木制脚旁像雀替一样的构件、利用类似建筑平座的平台来承放茶具、用格角榫连接担木与箱体、以及使用开间结构区隔不同器物等。商贩可以通过翻盖或平开等方式找到储存于茶担内的器物或商品，而其他商贩和斗茶者们也配备自己的小型茶担。

刘松年茶画中的社会叙事与文化层级

刘松年绘制的茶画明确以茶事为主题，内容相对全面，包括上层贵族的饮茶活动，以及市井百姓之贩茶斗茶事迹等，显示出刘松年本人对茶文化的广泛关注和兴趣，也表现出南宋时期茶饮的广泛普及。《南窗纪谈》记录：“客至则设茶，欲去则设汤，不知起于何时。然上自官府，下至闾里，莫之或废”。[15]12b　在刘松年的茶画作品中出现文人、僧侣、市民等不同阶层在茶文化活动中互动场景，展现南宋时期社会各阶层通过斗茶与点茶活动建构身份认同和社会地位以及南宋社会文化的多样性。

文人阶层

茶文化在南宋文人阶层中，既是一种日常生活雅趣，也成为建构身份认同与社会地位的重要途径。在《撵茶图》中两位坐姿文人身着斜领交裾的素雅道衣，四周有黑色沿边的外袍，这种服饰并不是道士，实际上是宋代文人最为青睐的装束。一位，另一位冠小束发，另一位头戴东坡巾，此款头巾极受文人喜爱。[16]3,19-20,75-89 文人穿着道衣，并非单纯效仿道士，而是旨在彰显其淡泊名利、超然物外的精神追求，同时体现自身的文化修养与雅士形象。文人通过点茶与烹茶活动场景展示其文化修养，彰显茶文化作为高雅生活方式的象征。与《撵茶图》仪式化的细腻茶艺不同的是，《卢仝烹茶图》（图10）中表现为隐逸精神的表达。卢仝作为唐朝后期著名诗人，喜爱饮茶，其《七碗茶歌》不仅是茶文化的经典之作，也成为文人雅士以茶抒怀的象征。画家在《卢仝烹茶图》描绘画中拥书而坐的卢仝，在家闭门饮茶。屋外环绕山与木，环境清幽静谧，远离尘世喧嚣。通过此自然、闲适烹茶场景表达出南宋文人追求隐逸生活的古雅情境，并呈现南宋文人避世独处、返璞归真的精神追求。

并且，南宋文人普遍认为，参与如点茶、雅集等活动，既能展现精致的生活方式与高雅的文化趣味，又能凸显其与普通市民阶层的差异。在《撵茶图》中，左侧侍者的忙碌与右侧文人的闲适形成鲜明对比，进一步凸显了茶事活动作为文人阶层专属雅趣的象征意义。《卢仝烹茶图》中这种对比不仅强调茶文化的实用性，更赋予其文化消费和身份建构的象征功能。画中题跋与图中细节提及婢女烹茶和奴仆取水，而卢仝则在室内等待，这种分工体现了南宋文人在社会阶层中的文化精英地位。文人被视为道德修养与文化品位的象征，其日常活动也表现对高雅趣味和精神修养的执着追求。通过将日常劳作交由婢仆完成，文人得以专注于烹茶、赏书等体现文化价值的活动，这种行为同时强化了文人作为文化领袖与精神象征的社会角色。

此外，点茶作为南宋文人茶事活动的重要组成，其复杂的制法、精致的器具与鉴赏能力，成为彰显身份的重要媒介。宋代点茶做法包括碎茶（需用茶杵臼捣碎茶叶）、碾茶（用茶碾碾碎茶饼，或用茶磨磨碎草茶）、罗茶（将碾碎的茶末筛入茶罗之中，茶末置盒，撮末于盏）、注汤入盏，汤用茶炉煮制、搅拌茶末（需用茶筅调茶）、置茶托的步骤。

这种程序的精细与技艺的复杂，既体现了文人的审美追求，也反映了他们的文化资本。与此同时，《撵茶图》中所描绘的茶具与茶器，进一步表现了文人阶层茶文化活动的的艺术性。例如，茶托呈红色，这是南宋时期漆器工艺高度成熟的体现。南宋漆器常见红黑两色，并辅以精致雕刻，如同表1中的“漆雕秘阁”，进一步在漆器中雕刻纹饰。漆雕工艺“剔犀”也被称作“犀皮”，是指两种或三种色漆，逐层在器物上积累起来达到相当的厚度，用刀刻出云钩、回纹等图案花纹。[17]70 这些漆器不仅具备隔热的实用功能，还通过精致的色彩与装饰，表现出文人生活的艺术品味。此外，《撵茶图》中展示的茶筅与茶磨均带纹样装饰，而风炉上架设的茶铫则为石制，这是宋代文人对石制茶器偏好的具体体现。文人之所以钟爱石铫，与其对茶汤品质的追求密切相关。铜铁制铫因加热时可能产生腥味，难以满足文人的品鉴需求，而石制茶铫则因其稳定的材质与更佳的口感体验备受推崇。苏轼的《试院煎茶》中提到说：“且学公家作茗饮，砖炉石铫行相随。”[18]371 南宋章甫也曾提到石铫为文人所喜爱：“广文唤客作妙供，石铫风炉皆手亲。”[19]8a

僧侣阶层

僧侣通过茶事活动构建宗教身份与社会影响力。僧侣通过茶事活动，将宗教修行与世俗生活相结合，彰显了佛教禅宗在社会中的独特地位。例如，《撵茶图》描绘了僧人与文人在雅集中的互动场景，右侧的僧人身着斜领宽袖长袍，外披袈裟，正专注执笔写字，对面是鉴赏其作品的文人。这种通过茶事和文化活动的交流，不仅展示了僧侣的修行成果，还进一步强化了其宗教身份的社会认同。自南北朝时期（420–589）禅宗初创以来，茶成为僧侣修行生活中的重要部分。茶可用于在佛前供奉、僧徒自饮以助修禅悟道、供僧俗客人饮用以助缘传道。[20]60 在修行中，如《茶酒论》中提及通过饮茶提神，以茶供佛助修禅悟道：“我之茗草，万木之心，或白如玉，或黄似金。名僧大德，幽隐禅林。饮之语话，能去昏沉。供养弥勒，奉献观音。千劫万劫，诸佛相钦。” [21]1171–1172 冯时行[1]在《请岩老茶榜》中提到：“若色若香若味，直下承当；是贪是嗔是痴，立时清净。”[22]11b 可见茶汤可以净化人心，帮助僧人达静安乐，从而实现修行目标。这表明茶不仅是物质上的饮品，更是僧人宗教修行的重要媒介。

僧侣通过茶事活动，广泛传播禅宗思想，并与文人阶层互动，以提升其宗教影响力。首先，茶事活动成为文人与僧侣跨阶层互动的场域。《撵茶图》展示的茶事活动场景，不仅是文人与僧侣之间的简单交往，更是一个具有文化交流的象征意义。茶事活动打破了宗教与世俗之间的身份隔阂，为僧侣提供了融入文人圈层的契机，同时为文人提供了与佛教文化深入交流的途径。茶事活动提供僧侣与文人通过共同品茶、互赠茶叶、吟诗作画等形式，建立了密切的文化联系。禅僧都是文人出身，文化素养较高，通过茶事活动展现其文学素养与艺术修养，赢得文人阶层的认同。如苏轼一生与禅僧交往密切，他将禅宗思想融入诗文创作，为禅宗文化在士大夫阶层的传播起到了推动作用。[23]152 这种互动不仅增强了佛教的社会普及性，还凸显了佛教文化在精英阶层中的影响力。南宋时期，佛教特别是禅宗对士大夫阶层影响深远，茶事活动成为僧侣传播禅宗思想的重要途径。佛教理念与文人追求精神超脱的审美情趣形成契合。其次，文人与僧侣在茶事活动中的互动，完成了双向的身份建构的过程。文人通过茶文化巩固其文化精英地位，而僧侣则通过参与文人文化活动拓展其社会影响力。

市民阶层

市民阶层参与茶文化活动，展现出南宋时期茶叶经济的高度发展。《茗园赌市图》中展现的市井茶市，反映了茶文化在市民生活中的普及程度，也说明茶叶作为商品已在南宋经济中占据重要地位，成为市民阶层日常生活的重要组成部分。南宋茶文化的商品化过程主要体现在以下方面：

茶叶品牌的形成与传播

在《茗园赌市图》中，茶贩挑担上的“上等江茶”字样，展现了市井茶摊借助品牌标识吸引顾客的早期营销实践。江茶是指售卖在东南诸路民间大众的草茶之一，深受大众喜爱。[24]16b 这一细节反映出茶叶品牌在宋代已初具传播机制，茶叶品牌的形成不仅是经济现象，更与文化内涵密切相关。与江茶并列的还有以“建茶”为代表的贡茶品牌，产自福建建州（今福建建瓯），以北苑贡茶为其典型，是当时最负盛名的上品茶。南宋理学家朱熹和张栻就建茶和江茶的优劣展开讨论，揭示了茶叶品牌背后所承载的文化与价值观。张栻认为建茶是“台阁胜地”，江茶是“山泽高人”。[2] [25]8b 认为建茶象征文士气象；而江茶则对应隐逸之风。但朱熹则提出不同观点，认为建茶有中庸之为德[26]26b，其味甘滑，不重不淡。不辅香料，自负茶香。其“中庸”之味恰好对应理学所追求的“天理”与“中道”精神中的至高道德。建茶属贡茶有德，如属民间也因其自有风味，必为精品。因此，茶叶品牌不仅关涉商品价值，也成为理学思想传播与文化认同的媒介，其文化象征性在一定程度上提升了茶叶商品的社会地位与文化影响力。

斗茶风尚的普及与商品化发展

南宋时期，斗茶作为兼具娱乐性与经济性的文化活动，在社会各阶层中广泛流行，逐渐发展为茶文化的重要标志。其起源可追溯至茶商之间为竞卖优质茶而进行的试茶比拼，后南宋演变为全民参与的“茗战”，具有鲜明的竞技与观赏特征， 成为茶文化的标志性活动。刘松年的《斗茶图》和《茗园赌市图》中都展现了民间街巷间斗茶的情景，画中既有围观的老少，也有分工明确的调茶人与品茶者，展现出斗茶在市井社会中的普及程度。斗茶不仅关乎技艺较量，更直接影响参赛者的声誉与茶叶的市场竞争力。正如范仲淹《和章岷从事斗茶歌》中写到“斗茶味兮轻醍醐，斗茶香兮薄兰芷。其间品第胡能欺，十目视而十手指。胜若登仙不可攀，输同降将无穷耻。”“十目视而十手指”，强调其公开透明、众评定胜的特点，斗茶胜者“若登仙”，败者则“无穷耻”。这种文化活动使茶叶商品在审美价值与商业价值之间

[1]冯时行，字当可，巴县人。因忤逆秦桧被贬官，十八年后才被再次启用。

[2] 张栻（1133—1180），字敬夫，号南轩。南宋理学家、哲学家，为“东南三贤”之一。

实现有机结合，不仅提升了茶叶品质的市场认知度，也有效推动了茶文化的社会传播与商品化发展。

从上述内容可知，市民的斗茶活动与文人的雅集形成鲜明对比，体现出茶文化活动在南宋体现出共享性与分层性并存的特征。这种茶文化的双重性，反映出南宋社会文化的多样性和包容性。共享性在于：无论是文人还是市民，都通过茶文化活动参与到社会文化生活中。茶成为连接不同阶层的共同媒介，不仅在上层文人雅集中表现出高雅的文化追求，也通过市民阶层的斗茶活动展现出民间的热情参与和实用价值。而分层性在于：尽管茶文化在各阶层中共享，但其表现形式和社会意义却有所不同。文人雅集注重精神性和艺术性，而市民斗茶更加强调娱乐竞争性和商业性。

结语

本文从艺术风格和社会文化的双重视角，对刘松年茶画进行了综合分析。艺术分析方面，目前传刘松年绘制的茶画有《撵茶图》（台北故宫博物院藏）、《茗园赌市图》（台北故宫博物院藏）、《斗茶图》（台北故宫博物院藏）、《卢仝烹茶图》（北京故宫博物院藏），属于非主题茶画，但《斗茶图》应是明代作品，其他三幅更接近于刘松年的时代。从《撵茶图》的创作来看，茶事活动在文人雅集中的地位较前代有所提高。这表现于茶具的精确与全面、不同阶层共同参与茶事等方面。换言之，茶在南宋成为联结士、僧、民、商的纽带。《茗园赌市图》虽重点在于“斗茶”场景，但画题强调的空间性却一直被忽视。这与后世聚焦式摹作或仿作其中的斗茶场景有关，这种摹仿忽略了斗茶者竞技环境的特殊性，割舍了器物、形象与市井空间的联系。《茗园赌市图》、《撵茶图》出现了一些宋代茶书如蔡襄《茶录》、宋徽宗《大观茶论》、审安老人《茶具图赞》中并未专门介绍的茶具，同时《茶具图赞》可以与刘松年茶画进行相互对照。

社会文化方面，刘松年的茶画作品生动展现了南宋时期不同社会阶层在茶文化活动中的互动场景。《撵茶图》《卢仝烹茶图》中展现出南宋文人阶层，茶文化不仅是日常生活的雅趣，更是身份构建与文化修养的象征。点茶作为文人茶事活动的核心，其繁复的制作技艺、精致的茶具运用及品鉴能力，成为展现个人文化素养与社会地位的重要方式。并且，以宁静、闲适的烹茶场景描绘出文人通过茶事活动营造隐逸意境，追求避世独处、返璞归真的精神境界。僧侣则通过茶文化活动构建宗教身份，并在社会文化交流中发挥积极作用。《撵茶图》描绘了僧人与文人交流互动的场景，茶事活动成为文人与僧侣跨阶层互动的纽带，文人借助茶文化巩固文化精英地位，僧侣则通过文人社群扩大宗教影响力。与此同时，市民阶层的广泛参与茶文化活动中。在《茗园赌市图》中所描绘的热闹斗茶景象，反映了茶文化在市井社会的深入普及，进一步凸显了南宋茶叶经济的繁荣发展。市民阶层的斗茶活动与文人雅集形成鲜明对比，展现出茶文化的共享性与阶层分层性的共存。共享性在于茶成为连接不同阶层的重要媒介。无论文人还是市民阶层，都通过茶文化活动融入社会文化生活；而分层性则表现在文人茶事活动强调精神性与艺术性，而市民阶层的斗茶更偏向于娱乐性和商业价值。

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Dissolving Loneliness and Rebuilding Relationships: The Profound Empowerment of Pet Companionship in Active Aging

消解孤独与重建关系：宠物陪伴在积极老龄化中的深度赋能

Xuehao Huang [1, *]

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Abstract: In the context of population aging, loneliness among older adults has become a critical bottleneck constraining the advancement of active aging. With the weakening of traditional family-based care for older adults, the demand for emotional support and social connection among older adults is increasingly prominent. In this setting, pet companionship, as a non-institutional form of support for care of older adults, is playing a role that cannot be overlooked. This study employs the active aging theoretical framework to systematically examine the internal mechanisms by which pet companionship dissolves loneliness among older adults, the practical pathways for reconstructing social relationships among older adults, and, in combination with China's local sociocultural context, analyzes its logic of empowerment for active aging as well as directions for localized development. The study shows that pet companionship achieves systematic intervention in loneliness among older adults through alleviating emotional loneliness, expanding social connections, reshaping life meaning, and maintaining psychological health. It further promotes the network reconstruction of multiple social relationships among older adults by adjusting family relations, activating neighborhood networks, linking community resources, and stimulating social participation. Ultimately, it realizes comprehensive empowerment for older adults across the dimensions of health, participation, and security, thereby fostering the reconstruction of their agency. This research not only enriches the localized connotations of active aging theory but also provides new sociological perspectives and practical insights for improving China's diversified support system for care of older adults.

Keywords: Pet companionship; Active aging; Loneliness; Relationship reconstruction; Profound empowerment

摘要： 在人口老龄化背景下，老年孤独已成为推进积极老龄化过程中亟待回应的重要问题。随着传统家庭养老功能的弱化，老年人对情感支持与社会联结的需求日益凸显。在这一语境下，宠物陪伴作为一种非制度化的养老支持形式，其作用不容忽视。本文以积极老龄化理论为分析框架，系统考察宠物陪伴缓解老年孤独的内在机制，探讨其重构老年人社会关系的实践路径，并结合中国本土社会文化情境，分析其对积极老龄化的赋能逻辑及本土化发展方向。研究认为，宠物陪伴能够通过缓解情感性孤独、拓展社会交往、重塑生活意义和维护心理健康，对老年孤独形成系统性干预；同时，它还能够通过调适家庭关系、激活邻里网络、连接社区资源和促进社会参与，推动老年人多重社会关系网络的重构。最终，宠物陪伴在健康、参与和保障三个维度上为老年人提供综合支持，并促进其主体性的重建。本文不仅丰富了积极老龄化理论的本土化内涵，也为完善中国多元化养老支持体系提供了新的社会学视角和实践启示。

关键词： 宠物陪伴；积极老龄化；老年孤独；关系重构；深度赋能

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Introduction

Population aging constitutes a major structural issue confronting Chinese society in the 21st century and represents the most emblematic practice field in the global aging process. As the degree of aging continues to deepen, actively responding to population aging has been elevated to a national strategy (Feng & Gu, 2025). The effective implementation of the active aging concept hinges on resolving the multi-

[1] School of Sociology, Beijing Normal University, Beijing 100875, China.
* Corresponding author. Email: huangxuehao@mail.bnu.edu.cn

ple developmental challenges faced by older adults, among which the widespread prevalence of loneliness among older adults is particularly prominent. Against the backdrop of the continuous weakening of traditional family-based care for older adults and the expanding scale of empty-nest and solitary-living older adults, reliance solely on institutional material provision and daily care can no longer fully address the complex emotional needs and social connection demands of this population.

In this social context, pet companionship, as a non-institutional form of social support, is assuming an increasingly important role in the lives of older adults in both urban and rural China. More and more older adults are transforming pets from traditional functional rearing objects into emotional family members and spiritual companions, seeking to combat late-life loneliness and rebuild connections with the external world through routine cross-species interactions. However, existing studies have largely focused on the intervention effects of pet companionship on older adults' physiological health or single psychological indicators (such as depression scale scores) (Saraiva et al., 2026; Sharpley et al., 2020). Few works systematically elucidate, from the macro-theoretical framework of active aging, how pet companionship achieves comprehensive empowerment for older adults through specific sociological mechanisms, let alone provide a localized analysis of the phenomenon within China's particular sociocultural context.

On this basis, the present study is grounded in the real national conditions of population aging in China. It introduces active aging theory as the analytical framework to systematically explore the mechanisms by which pet companionship dissolves loneliness among older adults and the practical pathways through which it promotes the reconstruction of social relationships among older adults, thereby revealing the logic of pet companionship's empowerment for active aging. The research aims to enrich the localized connotations of active aging theory and to furnish new theoretical foundations and practical implications for building and improving China's diversified support system for care of older adults.

Theoretical Foundations and Core Concept Definitions

Evolution and localized connotations of active aging theory

The formation of active aging theory has progressed from successful aging and healthy aging to productive aging, ultimately establishing a comprehensive analytical framework that is both inclusive and practical. In 2002, the World Health Organization (WHO) formally proposed the concept, defining it as the process of enhancing older adults' quality of life and maximizing opportunities for health, participation, and security (Paúl et al., 2012; Principi et al., 2014). This definition marked a paradigm shift from a problem-oriented perspective that viewed aging as a social burden to an asset-oriented perspective that emphasizes older adults' agency and developmental potential.

Within this theoretical framework, health serves as the foundational premise, encompassing favorable states at physiological, psychological, and social adaptation levels. Participation functions as the key driver, stressing that older adults continue to engage in socioeconomic and public affairs according to their abilities and willingness, thereby breaking the traditional role assumption of societal withdrawal. Security constitutes the institutional support, ensuring that older adults receive necessary care, economic assistance, and rights protection when functional decline occurs. These three elements are organically unified, forming the complete system of active aging.

As the national strategy of actively responding to population aging advances, the theory has undergone continuous reconstruction and deepening in the Chinese context. Domestic scholars have gradually moved beyond the simple transplantation of Western theory, integrating the ethical traditions of family-based care for older adults and the institutional environment in China. They argue that the essence of active aging in the Chinese context lies in realizing the construction of agency among older adults (Tao & Deng, 2025). This requires a shift in models of care for older adults from passive caregiving to active empowerment, activating older adults' self-development potential while respecting indigenous cultural ethics and constructing practical pathways aligned with China's national conditions.

Theoretical connotations and interpretation of loneliness among older adults

Loneliness, as a key issue in older adult psychological health research, is not merely physical isolation in essence but a negative emotional experience arising from the discrepancy between an individual's subjective expectations of social relationships and the reality obtained (Akhter-Khan et al., 2023; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine et al., 2020). This discrepancy stems from both the absence of intimate relationships and the alienation of social networks, rendering loneliness among older adults a complex sociopsychological phenomenon characterized by interwoven multiple connotations.

Among existing theories, the most explanatory power lies in the binary classification framework of emotional loneliness and social loneliness (Weiss, 1975). Emotional loneliness originates from an individual's lack of stable and reliable attachment figures and results from frustration of intimate relationship needs. For older adults, the primary triggers are the disruption of original emotional bonds caused by spousal death or structural spatial separation from children. Social loneliness arises from an individual's lack of broad and meaningful social networks and participation channels and reflects the unmet need for social integration; it directly corresponds to the secondary bond disruptions resulting from the loss of social roles after retirement and the contraction of social networks.

In addition, loneliness among older adults possesses life-cycle-specific characteristics. Beyond universal needs for intimacy and socialization, older adults also carry developmental expectations of being respected, needed, and achieving self-

worth. The frustration of these expectations produces significant additive effects, not only readily inducing psychological problems such as depression and anxiety but also accelerating physiological functional decline, becoming the primary risk factor impairing older adults' late-life quality of life (Ong et al., 2016; Vespa et al., 2023).

Theoretical support system for pet companionship

The positive intervention effects of pet companionship on older adults can be explained by a multidimensional theoretical system. Attachment theory constitutes the primary foundation: individuals' need for secure attachment persists throughout the life cycle, and pets provide unconditional, non-evaluative emotional support, facilitating the establishment of stable cross-species attachment (Bowlby, 1969; Zilcha-Mano et al., 2012). This attachment relationship is unaffected by older adults' physical frailty or loss of social capital and can effectively fill the emotional vacuum caused by the absence of intimate relationships, satisfying the fundamental needs for security and belonging.

Social support theory further elucidates the social effects of pet companionship, viewing it as a special form of non-human social support (Barker et al., 2020; Cohen & Wills, 1985; Meehan et al., 2017). This support is characterized by stability, continuity, and lack of pressure, forming an effective complement to human social support networks. When older adults' traditional networks weaken, pet companionship serves as an important buffer; at the same time, pets act as social lubricants, assisting older adults in expanding real-world social networks and realizing spillover and transformation from non-human to human support.

Beyond these, relational ecology theory and the biopsychosocial model provide supplementary perspectives for understanding the comprehensive effects of pet companionship. Relational ecology theory situates human-pet relationships within a broader social ecological system, emphasizing that their interaction is a dynamic process of mutual influence and co-growth capable of driving older adults to reconstruct self-identity within relationships. The biopsychosocial model integrates the mechanisms of pet companionship across physiological, psychological, and social dimensions, revealing its systemic influence on older adults' health and well-being (Gee et al., 2021; Gee & Mueller, 2019).

Core connotations of profound empowerment in the older adult context

Profound empowerment forms the analytical pivot of this study. The essence of empowerment lies in achieving fundamental enhancement of an individual's capabilities, autonomy, and agency through systematic intervention, rather than remaining at superficial satisfaction of single-dimensional needs (Mouchrek & Benson, 2023; Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995). In the aging context, profound empowerment aims to break the traditional perception that positions older adults as passive recipients of aid, advancing the philosophy of care for older adults from relief-style caregiving to developmental empowerment. It seeks to activate older adults' self-development potential and strengthen their sense of control over life.

Specifically, profound empowerment in the older adult context encompasses four interrelated core dimensions. The first is self-determination, whereby older adults maintain control over decisions affecting their own lives and possess the right to autonomously choose their lifestyle. The second is perceived control, the sense of mastery older adults have over their lives and surrounding environment, which is a core predictor of psychological health and life satisfaction. The third is capability building, through which older adults sustain and enhance their ability to cope with life challenges via continuous practice and learning, thereby dismantling the stereotype that aging equals capability decline. The fourth is agency construction, whereby older adults reconstruct positive older adult identity through social connections with others and achieve confirmation and enhancement of self-worth. These four dimensions progress layer by layer, forming the complete connotations of profound empowerment. The role of pet companionship in active aging is precisely realized through its systematic influence on these four dimensions.

The Loneliness Dilemma Among Older Adults in China's Aging Context and the Rise of Pet Companionship

China's population aging process exhibits distinctive features of large scale, rapid speed, getting old before getting rich, and getting old before getting prepared, profoundly reshaping China's social structure and system of care for older adults. As the scale of the older adult population continues to expand, population aging has shifted from an individual lifecycle event to a major social issue affecting national development as a whole. The transformation of traditional models of care for older adults has also rendered the loneliness dilemma among older adults increasingly salient.

China's traditional model of care for older adults centers on family-based care, with filial piety culture providing profound cultural support. Children not only bear economic support responsibilities for older parents but also assume core functions of daily care and spiritual solace (Liu, 2023). However, with the advancement of modernization and urbanization, China's family structure has undergone fundamental changes. Family size has continued to shrink, average household population has declined steadily, and nuclear families have become the dominant form. The popularization of the "4-2-1" family structure has placed enormous pressure on the middle generation in providing care for older adults (Jiang & Sánchez-Barricarte, 2011), making it difficult for them to fully shoulder spiritual companionship responsibilities for older parents. At the same time, the normalization of population mobility has led to large-scale geographic separation between children and parents, causing the proportions of empty-nest and solitary-living families to rise continuously. More and more older adults face solitary living in physical space and, even more so, empty-nest dilemmas at the emotional level.

The transformation of family structure has directly resulted in the continuous weakening of traditional family-based care for older adults, whose most immediate conse-

quence is the widespread spread of loneliness among older adults. For Chinese older adults, the emergence of loneliness stems not only from the absence of intimate relationships but also from the comprehensive transformation of social roles—from producers in the workplace to retirees who have withdrawn from social production, and from core decision-makers in the family to objects needing care. Such role shifts are often accompanied by a loss of self-worth, further intensifying the negative effects of loneliness. Urban-rural disparities make the loneliness dilemma more pronounced among rural older adults. Large-scale migration of rural young and middle-aged laborers to cities has caused the proportion of empty-nest older adults in rural areas to far exceed that in urban areas, while rural facilities and social resources for care of older adults are even scarcer, further amplifying the impact of loneliness.

It is precisely against this real-world backdrop that pet companionship, as a non-institutional solution to loneliness among older adults, has gradually emerged among Chinese older adults. China's pet economy has achieved rapid development over the past two decades, and pet ownership has evolved from a fashionable choice among urban youth to a universal lifestyle spanning all age groups, with the proportion of older adults keeping pets rising steadily. More importantly, older adults' pet-keeping concepts have undergone a fundamental shift, from traditional functional rearing for guarding homes and yards to emotional companionship-oriented rearing. Increasing numbers of older adults regard pets as family members, gaining emotional solace and spiritual sustenance through daily care and companionship.

Behind this shift lies an upgrading of older adults' demand structure. With the continuous improvement of China's social security system, the basic economic and daily care needs of the vast majority of older adults have been met. Spiritual solace and social connection have become the core demands of late-life living. Pet companionship precisely matches this demand by providing stable emotional support while creating opportunities for social participation, serving as an important supplement following the weakening of traditional family-based care for older adults. Of course, older adults' pet-keeping behavior also faces numerous practical challenges, including limitations imposed by their own health status on pet-keeping capacity, economic costs associated with pet ownership, the absence of pet-friendly facilities at the societal level, and generational differences in attitudes toward pet keeping. These factors constrain the full realization of pet companionship's positive effects.

Mechanisms by Which Pet Companionship Dissolves Loneliness Among Older Adults

The intervention of pet companionship in loneliness among older adults is not confined to surface-level emotional soothing but constitutes a multidimensional psychological mechanism operating process. From the reshaping of cross-species attachment to the reconstruction of life meaning and the maintenance of overall psychological health, it achieves systematic dissolution of loneliness in a layered progression.

Cross-species attachment and direct interruption of emotional loneliness

Pet companionship's dissolution of loneliness first manifests in the direct alleviation of emotional loneliness, which constitutes its most core and immediate function (Li & Wong, 2025). The root of emotional loneliness among older adults lies in the disruption of core intimate relationships and the absence of emotional attachment figures. Pets provide older adults with an unconditional, non-evaluative emotional connection. This connection transcends the complexities of human social interaction and remains unchanged by shifts in older adults' socioeconomic status or physiological functional decline, thereby effectively avoiding evaluative pressure and potential conflict in interpersonal interactions. In this sustained emotional interaction, older adults and pets form stable secure attachment relationships (Friedmann et al., 2026). For empty-nest older adults who are widowed or whose children live apart, pets not only fill the emotional vacuum created by incomplete family structures but also awaken older adults' deep sense of being needed through concrete daily care behaviors such as feeding and grooming. Many older adults treat pets as anthropomorphized family members; this sense of being needed based on caregiving responsibility constitutes the key psychological force resisting late-life meaninglessness and emotional loneliness.

Daily order empowerment and reconstruction of life meaning

The core driving force behind the deeper evolution of loneliness lies in the loss of life meaning in late adulthood. With the withdrawal from social roles and the weakening of family decision-making power, older adults readily fall into a negative cognitive cycle of low self-efficacy, which in turn exacerbates the intertwining of loneliness and meaninglessness. The presence of pets endows older adults' daily lives with stable goals and order. Fixed daily routines of feeding, cleaning, and interaction break the loose and disordered state of post-retirement life and help older adults reconstruct the rhythm of daily living. More importantly, in witnessing the healthy growth of pets, older adults continuously receive positive value feedback, effectively repairing damaged self-efficacy and dismantling the negative stereotype that aging equals uselessness (Hui et al., 2020). In addition, to better care for pets, many older adults proactively learn pet care and medical knowledge. This active cognitive investment and learning process not only activates cognitive function but also keeps older adults in a state of continuous mental growth, thereby blocking the generative logic of loneliness at its root.

Physiological-psychological resonance and maintenance of overall psychological health

Ultimately, the profound dissolution of loneliness by pet companionship is externalized as significant improvement and maintenance of older adults' overall psychological health.

Cross-species interaction can trigger positive physiological-psychological resonance. Intimate contact such as stroking effectively lowers stress hormone levels such as cortisol, alleviating physiological tension responses, while simultaneously promoting the secretion of pleasure neurotransmitters such as dopamine and serotonin, achieving natural emotional regulation (Beetz et al., 2012; Nagasawa et al., 2023). For long-term solitary older adults, pet companionship not only alleviates nighttime anxiety and insecurity and improves sleep quality but also comprehensively enhances psychological resilience in coping with aging and life changes. This positive cycle of psychological and physiological states is not only the direct outcome of pet companionship's dissolution of loneliness but also lays a solid micro-level foundation for further expansion of external social networks and realization of social empowerment.

Practical Pathways by Which Pet Companionship Promotes Relationship Reconstruction among Older Adults

The significance of pet companionship extends beyond individual psychological dissolution of loneliness to its role as a relational medium that drives the reconstruction of multiple social networks among older adults. This process exhibits a circle-expansion feature progressing from inside to outside and layer by layer, from micro-level private family adjustment, to meso-level semi-public neighborhood network integration, to macro-level public social participation, ultimately helping older adults re-embed themselves in social structures.

Adjustment of intergenerational communication and family relationships in the micro-level private field

In the micro-level family field, pets often serve as emotional lubricants that break intergenerational alienation. As family structures become increasingly nuclear, differences in values and lifestyles between generations frequently lead to the absence of deep emotional exchange. The introduction of pets creates low-pressure, non-utilitarian common topics for intergenerational interaction, significantly increasing both the frequency and quality of communication and effectively repairing previously alienated intergenerational relationships. For empty-nest older adult couples, jointly assuming pet care responsibilities reshapes internal family interaction scenes. In collaborative processes such as feeding and nursing, the two partners form a new life community, effectively activating emotional interaction and enhancing the stability and tacit understanding of late-life marital relationships. Although differences in pet-keeping attitudes or allocation of care responsibilities may induce brief family friction, through reasonable negotiation and interaction such surface-level conflicts can often be transformed into new opportunities for optimizing family relationships.

Breaking spatial isolation and rebuilding neighborhood networks in the meso-level semi-public field

In the atomized residential patterns of modern cities, high-rise buildings and gated communities sever traditional natural interactions. The "neighbors who do not know each other" isolation leaves older adults highly prone to social network disruption. Daily pet care, especially outdoor activities such as dog walking, forces older adults out of enclosed private spaces and into the semi-public field of neighborhoods. Pets thus become an extremely friendly and low-threshold social medium. They create natural opportunities for encounters between strangers without requiring complex identity preparation; shared pet-keeping experiences alone can break social defenses. Such interaction often follows a gradual logic from shallow to deep, beginning with simple greetings about pets and gradually extending to mutual assistance in daily life, steadily transforming older adults' community interactions from accidental weak ties into mutually supportive strong ties. This not only effectively alleviates social loneliness but also markedly enhances older adults' sense of community safety and belonging.

Community network integration and expansion of social capital

Building on initial connections at the neighborhood level, pets further drive the expansion of older adults' community social capital. On one hand, older adult pet owners frequently form online or offline interest-based communities based on shared hobbies. Such community networks break rigid boundaries of age and occupation, promoting cross-generational interaction and greatly enriching older adults' communication dimensions. On the other hand, pet-keeping behavior naturally links older adults with professional networks inside and outside the community. In the process of accessing and utilizing these professional resources, older adults not only acquire new knowledge but also broaden the boundaries of social interaction. By participating in community activities such as civilized pet-keeping advocacy and stray animal rescue, older adults achieve a shift in identity from bystanders in community life to participants in community governance, completing deep integration of community networks.

Role reshaping and stimulation of social participation in the macro-level public field

At the macro-social level, pet companionship fully activates older adults' willingness for public participation, providing diverse and sustainable pathways for their return to public social life. Retirement typically means the stripping away of traditional social roles and the narrowing of participation channels, whereas social participation based on pets is driven by individuals' autonomous interests and lacks compulsory utilitarian goals, thus possessing extremely high intrinsic motivation. Through involvement in broader animal protection public welfare activities or volunteer services, older adults achieve a role reversal from passive recipients of social welfare to active creators of social value. This public

participation not only powerfully refutes the traditional stereotype that aging equals societal withdrawal but also constitutes a core pathway for older adults to construct positive identity and reconfirm self-worth, marking their genuine social integration and return of agency.

Profound Empowerment Mechanisms of Pet Companionship for Active Aging

Pet companionship's intervention in the aging process is not limited to single-dimensional improvement of physical and mental health but is deeply embedded in the core theoretical framework of active aging. Through synergistic activation of the three pillars of health, participation, and security, it achieves all-round empowerment for older adults and ultimately leads to the reconstruction of their agency.

Cornerstone of healthy aging: Systematic maintenance of physiological, psychological, and social functions

Maintaining the integrity of an individual's physiological, psychological, and social functions is the primary premise of healthy aging. Pet companionship precisely forms a mutually supportive intervention loop across these three dimensions. At the physiological function level, pet care creates continuous embodied practice. Regular moderate-intensity activities such as daily dog walking and cleaning effectively delay the decline of older adults' muscle and cardiopulmonary functions while helping them rebuild healthy, rhythmic daily routines. At the psychological health level, in the face of frequent late-life stressors such as bereavement and serious illness, pets provide an irreplaceable emotional buffer, significantly lowering depression and anxiety levels and enhancing psychological resilience. At the same time, human-pet interaction activates individuals' cognitive functions and exerts positive intervention effects on delaying cognitive decline. At the social function level, daily socialization based on pets offers older adults ongoing opportunities to exercise interpersonal communication and social adaptation skills, preventing the deterioration of social interaction functions.

Expansion of participatory aging: Intrinsic-driven social participation and cross-generational integration

Participatory aging aims to break the negative role assumption of withdrawal from social production and encourage older adults to continue creating social value. Unlike traditional top-down social activities for older adults that often carry task-oriented characteristics, pet companionship constructs a low-threshold, intrinsic-driven pathway for social participation. This participation is entirely driven by older adults' spontaneous interests and inner emotions without compulsory goals and therefore possesses extremely high sustainability. By engaging in public affairs such as animal protection and community civilized pet-keeping advocacy, older adults achieve a leap from welfare recipients to value creators. More importantly, pets serve as a universal medium that crosses social circles, breaking age barriers in social interaction and promoting deep cross-generational interaction. This interaction helps older adults update social cognition in a timely manner, dissolve intergenerational barriers, and achieve genuine return to social networks.

Supplement to security in aging: Micro-level compensation of informal support networks for institutional systems

Within the macro system of care for older adults, although state-led formal institutional security is continuously improving, enormous structural gaps remain in non-formal security concerning micro-level emotional support and daily companionship. As a flexible micro-level support mechanism, pet companionship provides effective compensation for the formal security system. In emotional and psychological security, pets fill the spiritual support functions stripped away by family structure changes, offering a bottom-line sense of security and belonging. In daily life and safety security, service dogs and even ordinary pets can play a key sentinel role in assisting daily activities and warning of sudden illnesses or accidental falls. At the same time, the neighborhood mutual assistance networks and pet medical service systems established around pet-keeping behavior weave a resilient informal social support web for older adults. When older adults face life difficulties, this network can promptly provide information mediation and practical assistance, becoming an important safety line beyond formal institutions.

Reconstruction of older adult agency

The profound empowerment of pet companionship for active aging ultimately converges on a core focus: the reconstruction of agency among older adults. This is the essential meaning of the empowerment concept. In this process, older adults thoroughly escape the object status of passive aid recipients under traditional models of care for older adults. From autonomously planning pets' diet and medical care (self-determination), to coping with various challenges in the caregiving process (capability building), to relying on pets to return to community public life (social integration), this series of practices continuously strengthens older adults' self-efficacy and sense of life control. It is precisely this re-establishment of dominance over their own lives and even the surrounding micro-environment that declares the completion of positive older adult identity construction and marks the realization of the ultimate goal of active aging.

Particularities and Localized Pathways of Pet Companionship Development in China's Local Context

The empowerment effects of pet companionship on active aging do not float in a vacuum but are profoundly embedded in China's specific sociocultural structure and system of care for older adults. Therefore, it exhibits unique developmental

opportunities while also facing localized practical constraints, urgently requiring exploration of support pathways aligned with China's national conditions.

Cultural tension between traditional intergenerational ethics and modern individualized demands

The primary particularity of pet companionship in China's local context lies in its position at the intersection and collision of traditional filial piety culture and modern individual emotional demands. Traditional family ethics center on "raising children to provide for old age" and intergenerational reciprocity, viewing children as the natural providers of spiritual solace for older parents. Within this traditional cognitive framework, pet companionship is sometimes misinterpreted as a secondary substitute for children's caregiving deficiencies, causing some older adults' pet-keeping behavior to bear dual moral pressure from both inside and outside the family. However, with societal modernization and individualization, older adults' self-awareness continues to awaken, and their demand structure is shifting from material dependence at the survival level to the pursuit of independent emotional experiences and self-realization. In today's context of normalized intergenerational spatial separation, pet companionship, as an autonomously chosen form of emotional support, is gradually having its legitimacy socially reconstructed. How to resolve intergenerational conceptual friction and promote the organic integration of traditional filial piety ethics with modern individualized concepts of care for older adults constitutes the core cultural context for pet companionship development in China.

Practical constraints and fostering anxiety under family structure transformation

Unlike Western pet-keeping models centered on the individual, Chinese older adults' pet-keeping behavior often carries distinct family attributes and is frequently used to fill relational voids left by children leaving the nest or the end of grandparenting. However, the rapid miniaturization and empty-nesting of family structures also create practical dilemmas for older adult pet keeping. As older adults age and face increasing risks of disability, their independent capacity to care for pets gradually declines. The absent family network cannot provide necessary assistance, leaving many older adults in the predicament of wanting to keep pets but lacking the ability to do so. In addition, due to the lack of comprehensive pet trust and follow-up fostering mechanisms, many high-age older adults develop intense fostering anxiety over fears that their pets will become strays after their own death. This has become a core micro-level obstacle hindering pet keeping among Chinese older adults.

Institutional exclusion by the formal system of care for older adults

China is accelerating the construction of a system of care for older adults that coordinates home, community, and institutional care and integrates medical, nursing, and rehabilitation services. However, the current system exhibits significant institutional exclusion toward the needs of pet companionship. On one hand, the vast majority of formal institutions providing care for older adults maintain strict no-pet environments, directly excluding older adults with pet-accompanying residency needs from institutional care systems. On the other hand, community-based facilities supporting care for older adults lack pet-friendly spatial planning; the existing medical security system also cannot share the high costs of pet medical care, intensifying economic deprivation among low-income older adults. Furthermore, subdivided services adapted for older adults such as pet walking, door-to-door medical care, and end-of-life care remain market blanks. The lag in institutional and service supply severely constrains the release of pet empowerment effects.

Construction pathways for localized pet-friendly support networks

Based on the above real-world challenges, advancing the profound empowerment of pet companionship in active aging requires the construction of a support network aligned with local national conditions. First, strengthen conceptual advocacy and cultural inclusion. At the societal level, it is necessary to clarify the value of pet companionship, viewing it as a beneficial supplement to rather than an antagonistic substitute for traditional family-based care for older adults, and to cultivate a social cultural atmosphere of intergenerational understanding and harmonious human-pet relations. Second, promote inclusive design of the policy system. Explore the inclusion of pet-related auxiliary services in home- and community-based service lists for care of older adults; pilot pet-friendly zones in the construction of institutions for care of older adults; and explore targeted subsidies for pet keeping among special vulnerable groups such as childless older adults. Third, cultivate an older-adult-adapted pet service market. Encourage market forces to develop pet fostering, door-to-door care, pet trust, and will-based fostering services targeted at older adults, fundamentally eliminating fostering anxiety among this group; at the same time, standardize and promote the professional application of animal-assisted therapy in interventions for older adults with dementia and depression. Finally, activate non-formal empowerment at the community level. Rely on community governance networks to incubate mutual assistance groups for older adult pet owners; incorporate civilized pet keeping into community residents' covenants to resolve potential neighborhood conflicts; and build resilient pet-friendly support communities at the grassroots level.

Conclusion

Grounded in the macro reality of population aging in China, this study introduces the pet companionship phenomenon into the overall theoretical framework of active aging and constructs an integrated analytical model of loneliness dissolution, relationship reconstruction, and profound empowerment. The research demonstrates that pet companionship is not only a systematic intervention in loneliness among

older adults from surface to depth but also a powerful catalyst for reshaping family, neighborhood, and public social relationships. It fully aligns with the three pillars of healthy, participatory, and secure aging and ultimately realizes the return of older adults' agency from passive care recipients to active controllers of life. At a time when a diversified support system for care of older adults urgently needs improvement, pet companionship, as a low-cost and sustainable non-institutional support network, provides highly valuable localized sociological imagination for addressing aging challenges. It cannot be denied that this study mainly focuses on the construction and logical deduction of theoretical mechanisms and still lacks validation through large-scale empirical data. Heterogeneity among older adults and differences in pet types may lead to significant variations in empowerment effects. Future research urgently requires nationwide scale surveys and longitudinal follow-ups to empirically validate the theoretical model proposed herein and to conduct cross-cultural comparative studies, thereby providing more solid and precise empirical evidence for localized policy support of pet companionship in China. As aging societies develop in depth, the spiritual connection needs of older adults will inevitably become a core issue in public policy. Recognizing the positive value of cross-species companionship, breaking down practical barriers, and enabling every older adult to regain life meaning through connection constitute the necessary path to achieving dignified and high-quality active aging.

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The Pure Return and Narrative Jailbreak of Magical Girls in the Post-Deconstruction Era

后解构时代魔法少女的纯洁回归与叙事越狱

Haochuan Yang [1,*]

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Abstract: Since *Puella Magi Madoka Magica* initiated a wave of "dark deconstruction," the magical-girl genre in ACG culture has often been caught in a paradox between cruel narration and suspended logic. To explore possible pathways for the return of fairy-tale narration, this article takes the online co-created text *Chronicles of the Magical Girl Century* as a digital ethnographic sample and examines how it achieves "narrative jailbreak." At the macro-structural level, the work establishes a solid physical barrier for purity through a "dual-track inner/outer world system" that separates magical girls from secular power, and through a "psychic force field" and "socialized retirement" that complete the logical closure between disaster and power. At the level of micro-subjectivity, the work uses multiple-personality settings and reflections on gendered social discipline to deeply deconstruct the traditional thresholds of biological sex and age. The study shows that, in the post-deconstruction era, the dual perspectives of "systemic deduction" and "subject deconstruction" enable creators not only to build a robust logical defense for magical girls, elevating their "purity" into a universal spiritual hymn that transcends body and age, but also to reveal, as a generative mechanism, how online co-creation reflects contemporary audiences' deeper cultural self-rescue and emotional compensation: an attempt to resist nihilism through collective rationality in a postmodern context.

Keywords: Magical girl; Post-deconstruction era; Narrative jailbreak; Online co-creation; Systemic deduction; Gender discipline

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摘要： 自《魔法少女小圆》开启“黑暗解构”风潮后，ACG魔法少女题材常陷于残酷叙事与逻辑悬浮的悖论。为探寻童话叙事的回归路径，本文以网络共创文本《魔法少女世纪录》为数字民族志样本，剖析其如何完成“叙事越狱”。在宏观架构上，该作以“表里双轨制”隔绝世俗权力，以“唯心力场”与“社会化退役”完成灾害与力量的逻辑闭环，确立了纯洁性的坚固物理壁垒；在微观主体上，通过多重人格设定与社会性别规训反思，深度解构了传统的生理性别门槛与年龄桎梏。研究表明，在后解构时代通过“系统推演”与“主体解构”的双重视角，创作者不仅能为魔法少女构筑坚固的逻辑防线，将其“纯洁”内核升华为跨越躯壳与岁月的普遍性精神赞歌；同时作为一种生成机制，该共创实践更折射出当代受众在后现代语境下，试图以集体理性对抗虚无主义的深层文化自救与情感补偿。

关键词： 魔法少女；后解构时代；叙事越狱；网络共创；系统推演；性别规训

引言

作为日本ACG[1]文化谱系中最具代表性且历史悠久的品类之一，魔法少女题材早期的核心叙事始终紧密锚定于“纯真、爱与希望”的价值母题[1]。从20世纪90年代的《美少女战士》[2]到《魔卡少女樱》[3]，古典主义视域下的魔法少女往往被塑造成一种神圣、不可侵犯且充满浪漫主义色彩的文化符号[4]。在这些经典文本中，少女们被赋予了无法被现代科学解释的神秘力量，在温馨的校园日常与对抗邪恶的战斗中无缝切换。为了维系这种纯粹的美好，早期的创作者往往会刻意在世界观中制造一个“叙事真空”，即对成人世界的复杂性、政府的军事干预、资本的利益算计以及人性的幽暗面进行战略性地隐去或模糊处理[5]。这种将叙事主体置于温室环境中的设定策略，在特定历史语境下完美契合了受众对美好事物的心理投射，但也为该题材日后在现实主义逻辑推敲下面临的设定悬浮感埋藏了深层隐患。

进入21世纪第二个十年，2011年播出的《魔法少女小圆》[6]无可争议地构成了该题材演进史上的核心分水岭

[1] 即Animation（动画）、Comic（漫画）和Games（游戏）的缩写，常用于统称源自日本的二次元核心流行文化产业。

[1] Hunan Agricultural University, Changsha, Hunan 410128, China.
* Corresponding author. Email: 13627418347@163.com

[7,8]。该作以前所未有的冷峻视角打破了原有的“叙事真空”，巧妙地将热力学熵增定律、等价交换原则以及极其现实的功利主义引入魔法体系，彻底撕裂了古典魔法少女的温情脉脉。它将魔法少女的诞生重新定义为一种充满欺骗的宇宙能量剥削，让原本代表希望的少女们在绝望、背叛与不可逆的死亡中痛苦挣扎[9]。自此，魔法少女题材全面开启了长达十余年的“黑暗解构”时代[10]。在此期间，不仅涌现出海量竞相比拼残酷现实主义的同质化衍生作，业界还进一步对魔法少女的“性别身份”发起了颠覆式解构[11]（例如探讨男性变身为魔法少女的猎奇向作品，如《老子是魔法少女》[12]《美男高校地球防卫部LOVE！》[13]以及《这就是僵尸吗？》等[14]）。这种试图通过打破神圣性、施加主体折磨以换取剧情深度的路径依赖，虽在初期释放了强烈的戏剧张力，但随着套路符号的过度泛滥，该品类逐渐背离了其诞生之初的疗愈属性，陷入了一场虚无的解构主义狂欢。

时至今日，置身于“后解构时代”的市场受众与创作者正共同身陷一种深刻的审美悖论之中。所谓“后解构”，并非对黑暗解构的简单否定或对古典叙事的原样复归，而是一种辩证的扬弃，即承认解构主义对传统宏大叙事的祛魅，却拒绝滑入虚无主义。然而，悖论恰恰在于：一方面，长期的精神内耗促使观众对千篇一律的残酷解构产生了严重的心理倦怠，大众潜意识开始强烈呼唤向治愈系英雄主义的本真回归[15]；另一方面，历经十余年复杂叙事洗礼的受众群体，其逻辑思辨阈值已获得不可逆的提升，他们难以再对缺乏底层架构支撑、社会运作机制虚假的低龄化设定照单全收[16]。若创作者只是简单复刻古早的真善美，必将面临受众对于“超自然力量为何不被政府接管”、“战斗残酷性为何不影响少女心智”的现实拷问。此外，在性别平权意识全面觉醒的当下，如果“纯洁”强绑于特定年龄段的女性群体，其普适性亦将受到质疑。因此，如何在维系世界观严密性、确保社会系统顺畅运作的前提下，运用严谨的规则壁垒使“纯洁”成为一种具备物理必然性的客观存在，并从精神内核层面超越单纯的生理性别，已成为“后解构时代”魔法少女亟待填补的理论盲区。

然而，现有关于魔法少女主题的学术研究多聚焦于对“黑暗解构”文本的文化批判——涵盖伦理创伤[10]、性别博弈[17–19]、剥削隐喻[8]及空间心理叙事[20]等维度的剖析，却鲜少在理论层面试图给出一套逆向的建构性方案，未能解答如何在严苛的现代逻辑下重新保全“纯洁性”的绝对合法地位。由于市面上的商业作品与学术理论均未能有效解决上述审美与逻辑悖论，御宅群体开始寻求自我救赎，《魔法少女世纪录》等网络共创文本由此应运而生。该文本诞生于百度贴吧，其核心设定并非出自单一作者，而是在“楼主”抛出初始框架后，由众多匿名参与者通过“安价[1]”的互动机制，在数百页的讨论回帖中不断推演、质疑和补充而逐步完善的。这种诞生于集体智慧、以严苛逻辑自洽为目标的创作模式，本身就是对资本简化、异化魔法少女符号的文化反抗。相较于受制于商业考量的动画，此类共创文本更直观地反映了受众“想要什么”，构成了一种自下而上的“叙事越狱”。

针对这一由受众自发驱动的“叙事越狱”现象，本研究以《魔法少女世纪录》[21]为数字民族志样本，尝试解剖御宅族群体的集体心理诉求。通过“系统推演”和“主体解构”两大板块，文本旨在阐述一种兼具社会严谨性与身份突破性的设定模板，以回应前述审美与逻辑悖论构成的时代痛点，为魔法少女构筑更为坚固的童话防线。

研究对象与方法

《魔法少女世纪录》是一场发生于百度贴吧“演绎吧”这类亚文化社群中，由几十名网友长期参与的动态网络共创实践。本研究采用数字民族志方法，对该企划的三个关联子帖进行了长达两年的持续观察。在研究伦理方面，本研究遵循互联网公开数据使用规范，相关文本均取自公共领域；为尊重共创者的署名权与社区传统，文中引用的成员ID均保留其社区原始称谓，并在涉及隐私敏感信息时进行了必要处理。为准确还原这一集体叙事机制，研究将以下三个场域作为“数字田野”进行非参与式观察。

规则协商场域，即世界观设定帖，共215楼，是构成此企划系统的“底层法典”。观察时段为2020-05-13至2020-06-26。该系统呈现出架构师引导—参与者校验的特征。楼主[2]（ID：喵爷之星）确立底层逻辑，而吧友[3]通过细节质询进行逻辑压力测试。例如，针对世界观严密性，吧友（ID：巴巴塔）质询力量的保存机制，吧友（ID：天蝎星simon）则针对多重人格与非纯粹心灵的极端案例提出设定容错性测试。这种质询虽未动摇底层框架，但通过架构师的逐一回应，完成了对规则边界的集体确认。

身份建构场域，即角色招人帖，共118楼，是受众实现自我投射的微观切口。观察时段为2020-06-04至2020-07-13。在楼主提供的统一架构下，吧友自主填写角色小传与设定。这一过程打破了官方创作者垄断角色生成权的局面，大量吧友自发设定的、跨越传统性别与年龄界限的边缘角色得以涌现，为下文的“主体解构”提供了丰富的实证样本。

文本实践场域，即剧情演绎帖，共1015楼，是该企划机制的运行核心。观察时段为2020-06-26至2022-08-06。剧情推进采用了类似于TRPG[4]的“安价/互动演绎”机制。楼主仅扮演关键NPC[5]与裁判，提供情境与行动选项；吧友则代入自身填写的角色做出行动选择甚至自定义选项。楼主根据吧友的集体选择进行逻辑判定并编写后续剧情。这种“情境发放—角色选择—规则判定—剧情生成”的循环，确保了所有脱轨的解构冲动都会被严密的系统规则所规训，使得“魔法少女必须保持纯洁”等核心设定在长达千楼的互动中得到了极其严苛的实操验证。

下文将从“系统推演”与“主体解构”两个维度，具体剖析这一集体智慧是如何构筑其逻辑防线。

[1] 源于日本网络论坛的互动机制（“安価”，即英文Anchor的音译简称）。指创作者在发帖时指定特定的回复楼层（即“锚点”），由该楼层读者的回复内容来决定后续的剧情走向或角色行动。在本研究中，特指该企划实现集体共创与文本推演的核心互动规则。

[2] 社区原生语境术语，指代网络帖子的发布者。在本研究中，特指《魔法少女世纪录》企划的发起人与核心逻辑架构师。

[3] 百度贴吧社区对参与讨论用户的统称。在本研究中，代表参与企划共创、提供逻辑质询与角色演绎的受众群体

[4] 全称Tabletop Role-Playing Game，即“桌上角色扮演游戏”。本文指代《魔法少女世纪录》所借鉴的、基于规则判定与文字交互的动态叙事模式。

[5] 全称Non-Player Character，即“非玩家角色”。在本作的演绎机制中，指由企划发起人（楼主）操控的、用于推动剧情和提供情境的工具性角色。

系统推演

创世危机的叙事原点

在宏大叙事语境中，时代的极端危机往往是救世英雄登场的逻辑前提。

以《魔法少女小圆》为例，其世界观建立在宇宙热力学熵增的宏大危机之上，外星高等文明“孵化者”为延缓宇宙热寂，将地球少女的情感波动视为最高效的能量来源，从而确立了魔法少女作为“宇宙电池”的残酷必然性。而在《结城友奈是勇者》[22]中，人类已被名为“Vertex”的异界生命体逼至四国岛一隅，魔法少女（勇者）的诞生是神树为了维持人类最后生存结界而建立的防线。

而《魔法少女世纪录》设定于2100年，地球遭遇来自异世界邪恶生物“魔物”全面入侵的时代。面对这种维度之外的威胁，现代尖端科技与地球本土异能体系均告失效，致使全球三分之一领土沦为焦土，人类文明濒临灭绝的临界点。正是在这令人窒息的存亡关口，蕴含净化魔物超验力量的“魔法少女”群体应运而生，为人类社会的继存注入了希望与曙光[21]。

这种将全人类逼入绝境的末日背景，赋予了魔法少女降临现实世界不可替代的历史必然性，确立了其高度正当化的神圣救世主光环。

现实语境的悖论

《魔法少女小圆》和《结城友奈是勇者》[22]虽然都赋予了少女救世的历史使命，却将她们卷入了宏大却无情的功利主义系统，为后续的悲剧解构埋下了伏笔。这说明当童话被置入现实逻辑的放大镜下，“纯洁性”面临着难以在复杂成人世界中自保的系统性悖论。具体而言，至少存在三个层面的悖论。

首先是权力冲突悖论。在现实地缘政治逻辑中，超自然力量极易招致国家机器的收编（如《魔法少女特殊战明日香》[23]中被纳入军事暗杀体系）、资本财阀的人体实验（如《魔法少女奈叶StrikerS》[24]中对魔法资质的兵器化克隆），或被隐秘组织彻底工具化（如《穿透幻影的太阳》[25]中的物化消耗）。系统设定必须首先论证“独立正义符号”免于世俗权力干预的合法性。

其次是人性磨损悖论。魔法少女的“纯洁”若仅被视为脆弱的性格特质，极易在血腥战斗中扭曲（如《小圆》中的灵魂浑浊）或在生存竞争中异化（如《魔法少女育成计划》[26]中的残杀）。因此，亟需在物理法则层面将“纯洁”设定为获取力量的核心通行密文。

最后是价值存续悖论。若灾害仅为物理性存在，随着常规军备的迭代，魔法少女终将被科技产物取代（如《魔法少女奈叶》[27]中魔导力的科学化解析）。系统必须在灾害的本体论成因与魔法少女的唯心力量之间完成闭环，确立“未成年少女”作为终极防线的不可替代性。

规则壁垒的构建

为使“纯洁神圣的魔法少女”在世俗社会中合理存续，单纯的道德赞美显得苍白无力。针对上述三大悖论，《魔法少女世纪录》通过严密推演，在社会学、地缘政治学与形而上学三个维度构筑了高度严密的规则壁垒。

其一，建立空间与制度的双重隔离层。不同于传统作品中强行制造的“叙事真空”（如《魔卡少女樱》）或向国家机器妥协（如《魔法少女特殊战明日香》），该作构思了“表里双轨制”。通过引入高维异世界“安德里大陆”作为唯一力量端口，并缔结具备战略威慑力的《魔法少女保护法》，形成基于文明存续的恐怖平衡，迫使世俗权力不敢僭越。这种物理与制度的隔离，为少女们打造了免受政治污染的无菌培养皿。楼主在设定感言中明确指出，构建隔离层的初衷，正是为了对抗“黑暗解构”带来的叙事惨剧。这种创作自觉，直观体现了受众通过逻辑补全来实现“叙事越狱”的心理动机。

其二，确立唯心力场的因果律防线。不同于《魔法少女小圆》中机体分离的保护措施，该系统把魔法少女的力量定义为极致的唯心力场，在底层法则上与宿主的心灵状态锁死。一旦滋生邪念并付诸实践，力量将瞬间触发不可逆的因果律剥离。这一设定将“纯洁性”从道德期许转化为客观物理事实，从底层逻辑上阻断了堕落或黑化的路径。同时，辅以绝对伤害免疫与时空回溯机制，抽离了战斗中的血腥重压，实现了高烈度叙事与轻盈日常的缝合。

其三，完成灾害与退役机制的逻辑闭环。不同于《小魔女DoReMi》[28]等古典文本将“魔法随青春期结束而剥落”仅作浪漫化的模糊处理，也不同于《魔法少女奈叶》系列任由超自然力量被科学解析并纳入世俗官僚体制，该世界观从本体论层面完成了破局。其将魔物定义为人类集体负面情绪值突破临界阈值后的唯心具象化灾害。由于灾变源于世俗的精神污染，那么唯一具备净化资质的介质必然是未受社会规训的纯净心灵。基于此，该作确立了深植于生命周期的强制退役机制（18至22岁），不仅自洽了"为何英雄永远冠以少女之名"，更在逻辑链条的末端庇护了她们免遭成人岁月的精神侵蚀。

主体解构

生理性别解构

在后现代“黑暗解构”语境中，业界在拆解魔法少女“真善美”神话的同时，亦涌现出大量针对“性别身份”的深层叩问，提出了“为何男性群体无缘魔法少女之力”的尖锐质疑[7]。

近年来部分商业作品开始尝试模糊这一边界。例如《美男高校地球防卫部LOVE！》以戏谑的方式让男性角色穿上传统魔法少女的华丽服饰，而《这就是僵尸吗？》中的男主角也阴差阳错获得了变身能力。然而，这些作品大多停留在恶搞或喜剧效果的表层，并未从学术或世界观的底层逻辑上严肃探讨“跨性别魔法力量”的合理性。

《魔法少女世纪录》的底层架构在此基础上，借由极端个案的沙盘推演作出了极具学术张力的回应：假若一名罹患分离性身份识别障碍的生理男性，其分裂衍生的女性副人格具备了绝对的“纯洁”属性，该生物学躯壳是否具备变身为魔法少女的可行性？置于本作唯心主义力量法则的标尺下，答案是肯定的。这深刻意味着，触发变身机制的前置门槛已

被高度压缩、提纯为一种跨越生理特征的“纯洁精神特质”，而非拘泥于生物学维度的女性肉身。这一理论推演从根基上瓦解了传统魔法少女的生理性别门槛，论证了力量的本源始于对自我心灵纯粹度的深度认识，而非外在肉身形态的表象束缚。

这一逻辑在社群互动中得到了实质性的确认。当吧友（ID：与我何殊）质询“魔法猛男[1]是否存在”时，楼主回应称其存在但“变身后是女性躯体”，随后获得吧友“妙啊”“突然有了兴趣”等正面反馈，这进一步证明了在该共创语境下，魔法少女的符号合法性已从生理肉身转向了被高度提纯的“纯洁精神特质”。

符号与规训

既然承载纯洁特质的少年亦能跨越界限完成变身，为何其力量具象化后的最终视觉呈现依然定格为“少女”形态而非“少年”？这一设问指向的并非力量获取的门槛，而是力量显化时的符号生成逻辑。

首先，在视觉符号的生成逻辑上，这契合了荣格心理学提出的“集体潜意识”中的原型[29]。在人类漫长曲折的文化演进史中，“少女”这一原始意象早已脱离了单纯的生理概念，跃升为沉淀于人类集体潜意识深处、象征着纯洁、孕育、希望与无暇的原型。因此，当这股极致的唯心救赎之力发生物理具象化时，它必然遵循阻力最小的路径，选择迎合并显化为人类集体潜意识中最具共鸣的原型形象。这也解释了为何即便在商业逻辑驱动下诞生的视觉符号，如《光之美少女》[30]系列中由蕾丝、缎带、短裙构成的“可爱”装束，在不断的文本迭代中，仍会被重新挪用并强化为这一原型的当代显化，因为它们既是女性赋权的武装战袍，也是集体潜意识在外观层面的必然投射。

然而，这一视觉符号逻辑的确立产生了新的疑问：既然变身的唯一门槛是“纯洁特质”，而变身后的形态统一为“少女”，那么变身前的主体构成，即“少女少男哪个群体成为魔法少女的概率更高”，便成为一个需要进一步解释的问题。若该群体在统计层面，仍像古典魔法少女作品以未成年女性占绝对主导，则意味着“纯洁特质”在少女与少男之间的分布存在显著差异。

针对这一差异的成因，《魔法少女世纪录》对此提供了双重解释机制。其一指向生理与社会层面的结构性因素。青春期女性的内分泌机制使其情感感知与共情能力较早发育，加之传统社会对女性的规训往往更强调“纯洁”“善良”等品质的内化，使得少女群体在统计学意义上更易保有并显现这一特质。其二则指向更为深刻的社会规训机制，即所谓的分布失衡在某种程度上是一种统计幻觉。当极少数拥有该特质的边缘少年觉醒为魔法少女时，传统社会性别规范施加于其身心的巨大羞耻感，会迫使他们对外界（如媒体、公众）隐瞒真实生理性别，宣称或默许自己是女性。近年来的商业作品如《美男高校地球防卫部LOVE！》《这就是僵尸吗？》等，虽多以戏谑方式呈现男性变身的可能性，却无意中揭示了这一隐形化机制的存在。

这一解释机制的双重性，恰构成了《魔法少女世纪录》对古典设定的继承与超越。一方面，它在宏观表象上维系了魔法少女群体“以少女为主体”的符号统一性，使作品得以接续古典魔法少女题材的意象传统；另一方面，它又通过揭示“隐形者”的存在，以一种极具痛感的方式，隐喻了当代社会中非传统性别气质拥有者、突破刻板印象的个体，在主流社会秩序边缘挣扎求存的真实社会图景[31]。

精神价值的普适化

同样遭到颠覆的，还有依附于社会化进程的严苛年龄铁律。

在商业ACG领域，年龄焦虑始终是魔法少女难以逾越的鸿沟。《魔法少女奈叶StrikerS》虽然罕见地描绘了成年后的魔法少女，但她们更多地被编入了体制内的教官或官僚系统，其早期的纯粹与浪漫感不可避免地被现代职业化所稀释；而更多作品则默认魔法力量会随着青春期的结束而自然剥落。

在《魔法少女世纪录》的设定中，尽管其系统框定了魔法少女的净力通常在18至22岁期间因世俗摩擦而无可挽回地走向消亡，但这并非毫无转圜余地的逻辑死局。系统保留了极小一部分的例外：那些在步入错综复杂的成人社会熔炉后，依然能够抵御精神异化、坚守纯洁本心的个体，即便跨越了22岁的生理界限，依然保有召唤魔法少女之力的资格，甚至因其在世俗冲刷下磨砺出的心性坚韧，其净力不减反增。

通过对服役年龄上限的强行撕裂以及生理性别界限的暧昧化处理，《魔法少女世纪录》完成了对古典设定的深度升华。作品试图向受众传递一项极具普世价值的核心观念：人类文明中普遍向善的正向精神特质，是不受生理性别与年岁更迭所钳制的。只要个体有能力在光怪陆离的后现代社会中守御住那份未被污染的初心，那么无论其身处何种躯壳、无论岁月车轮如何碾压，每一个生命主体皆能唤醒并执掌独属于自身的“魔法少女”伟力。

讨论

《魔法少女世纪录》的系统构建，标志着魔法少女题材从单纯的“视觉战斗叙事”向复杂的“社会学与心理学沙盘”演进。在此框架下，“纯洁”不再是面对残酷世界一触即碎的性格弱点，而是被底层物理法则与精密地缘政治系统层层武装的最强防御机制。主体解构更是为该文本赋予了不容忽视的当代现实关怀。作品通过引入受困于性别刻板印象的边缘群体与抵御社会规训的大龄特例，从性别与年龄双重维度深度重构了“少女”符号。这说明，“纯洁”并非特定生理躯壳或青春期的专属，而是跨越了性别沟壑与岁月流转的人类普遍性美德认同。这种将宏观社会系统推演与微观少女主体解构深度结合的创作模式，为后解构时代的魔法少女文本生产，提供了极具学术启示与实践价值的破局路径。

然而必须警惕的是，这种近乎无敌的规则壁垒在抹除逻辑漏洞的同时，也极易招致缺乏现实张力的批评。一旦人物失去了在道德困境中试错的权利，被物理法则锁定在绝对纯洁的框架内，便可能面临着形象扁平化与另一种维度上的“叙事悬浮”风险。但这并非意味着戏剧冲突的彻底消

[1] ACG社群中对于“强壮男性获得魔法少女变身能力或穿着魔法少女服饰”这一反差设定的戏称。

亡，而是标志着叙事重心的深层转移，即冲突的焦点从“黑暗解构”模式下“主角是否会堕落”的外在道德威胁，转向了“如何在绝对纯洁的前提下承受救世重压”的内在挣扎，以及“如何面对注定因社会化而退役”的存在主义悲剧。

在剧情演绎帖中，这种叙事重心转移得到了高水平的文本呈现。一方面，吧友（ID：佐佐木小次郎Ω）在面对系统假设的“不死性保护消失”时，拒绝歌颂虚无的奇迹，将其清醒地定义为“前辈们拼上性命换来的特权”，这种从“神赐恩典”向“人为契约与历史承接”的认知迭代，展现了纯洁设定下个体对责任的内在叩问。另一方面，针对“退役悲剧”，角色易鸟观因从小罹患绝症而藉由魔法少女的力量续命，一旦触及退役界限，便面临物理与社会意义的双重死亡。面对救世与救人的伦理悖论，吧友（ID：银河）拒绝宏大牺牲叙事，而是通过重构生存锚点引导角色找回“纯洁”并浴火重生，确立了存在作为目的本身的绝对价值。这种以存在主义式的自觉对抗系统性宿命的张力，恰恰呼应了后解构时代受众对“治愈系英雄主义”的心理诉求。

如果说文本内部的叙事转移是对后解构时代的一剂心理愈疗，那么《魔法少女世纪录》作为一部典型的网络共创文本，其本身的生成机制更折射出深刻的现实动因。从“情感转向”的视角审视，这种共创实践不仅是受众对商业资本过度消费、解构“魔法少女”神圣符号的集体反叛，更是一种深层的精神防御与情感补偿机制。创作者与参与者们在贴吧等社群空间内，通过海量的文本交互与逻辑论辩践行硬核的“系统推演”，试图重新找回被商业解构主义撕碎的“疗愈感”。这种对逻辑闭环与童话防线的极度渴望，折射出当代御宅族群体追求的已不仅是一个合理的故事，更是一个能够在充满不确定性的现实社会中提供确定性和掌控感的心理锚点，以此重构理想主义信仰，以此对抗现实中无处不在的无力感。

进一步而言，这种文化现象的生成根植于更为宏大的社会历史语境。在低欲望社会与动物化[1]的后现代背景下，青年群体普遍面临意义系统瓦解和价值锚点漂移的困境。当现实世界难以提供稳定、可预期的上升路径和精神慰藉时，他们便自然转向虚拟世界试图重建秩序。《魔法少女世纪录》的共创实践，正是这一社会心理的症候式表达。受众不再单向地忍受商业资本投喂的同质化黑暗系或萌系[2]叙事，而是开始通过集体理性推演，自主创造契合自身精神需求的理想文本。这种从被动接受向主动建构的范式转型，不仅是一次虚构文本的叙事越狱，更是御宅族群体在后现代语境下借助“参与式文化”与“安价”互动机制，进行自我疗愈与意义生产的文化自救。

结论

综上所述，为矫正近年来ACG文化中魔法少女题材因过度猎奇黑暗残酷而陷入的叙事僵局，本文通过对《魔法少女世纪录》的剖析，验证了一种全新的世界观架构：

（1）在宏观架构层面，创作者尝试通过设定物理空间隔离、绝对伤害免疫法则与社会学意义上的退役机制，成功搭建出一个免受世俗政治阴谋污染的闭环运转系统。

（2）在微观主体层面，创作者能够通过拆解生理性别的刻板锚定与退役年龄的自然桎梏，将这一题材的精神内核从特定边缘群体的专属标签，升华为超越生物躯壳与岁月变迁、全人类共通的向善价值追寻。

不仅如此，以严密逻辑护航童话的共创模式，更在文化受众与心理动因层面，折射出当代御宅群体在后现代语境下的深层精神诉求。它标志着受众不再是被动接受商业虚无主义残酷叙事的客体，而是主动运用理性推演对抗意义消解、呼唤疗愈叙事回归的文化重构者，完成了一场从虚拟叙事越狱到现实精神自救的跨越。

[1] 指东浩纪提出的后现代消费特征。即随着宏大叙事瓦解，受众不再探求作品的深层意义，转而对“设定数据库”进行本能、碎片化且即时满足的感官消费。

[2] 源自日本亚文化用语“萌（Moe）”，指能够唤起受众强烈保护欲、喜爱感与情感投射的可爱化角色设定及轻量化叙事风格。

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