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# The Mianyang Pillars: a Case of 6th century Re-use of a Han Que Funerary Gate: Archaism and Regional Innovation

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大足学研究文丛·大足学讲堂

第11卷

◎ 主编 秦臻

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# 复古与地区创新

## ——六世纪时绵阳汉阙被再次使用



魏离雅 伦敦大学

### 背景

#### 四川考古

我今天要用绵阳汉阙的例子，来讲四川汉代的石刻传统和四川唐代以后的石刻传统之间的关系。在四川上古和汉代之间、汉代和唐代之间的物质文化里，有很长时间的空白，所以不断积蓄的传统就很难建立起来，就需要找到四川的特色，看它是如何发展出这样的关系，否则就很难解释是怎样受到一种外来影响的理论。今天就看一下汉唐之间的过程。

这个照片是色伽兰 1914—1917 年拍摄的（图 1）。

色伽兰最近比较受关注，实际上这个人物的身份比较特殊：他是一个诗人，跟着法国的一个考古团队考察中国西南部。他留下的日记，照片较多，但他的文章属于文学性的考古。给人留下的影响最深刻的是他对雕塑艺术的评论。另外从 20 世纪初研究四川考古的人有十几个人：英国皇家地理学院的 Wylie (1868), von Richthofen (1870), Baber (1877), Torrance (1910) and Bishop (1915), Graham, David Crockett. 1932., as well as Japanese anthropologist Torii Ryuzo (1902). 20 世纪 50 年代也有一批学者：Rudolph (1950), Edwards (1954).

抗战时期中国的首都搬迁到被称为陪都的重庆以后，中国的考古学家开始对四川关注：那个时候民族学配合国家意识的努力，和 19 世纪的欧洲考古建立的情况相同。在对四川崖墓的分析里，“汉非汉”的讨论很明显。最近三十年，国家逐渐把权力下放到了区域/省级的考古学院，丰富了中国的面貌，但也带来了考古文献的新的要求。本来要配合国家意识而努力的古代物质文化，现在就要无论如何的属于一些，完全贴近各个省的边界的独立的地区文化。四川考古就是跟着这条线被建立起来的。



图1 | 图2

图1 色伽兰考察团合影

图2 绵阳汉阙

## 目 录

今天的讲座分两个部分。第一部分，通过四川的地理，历史，宗教背景，试着解释汉唐之间这三百年的空白。第二部分是对四川的南北朝佛教雕塑的分析，以绵阳汉阙作为案例。它是一种“有意的杂交”还是一种“再用”的情况？或者说：它是一个创新还是一个复古的案例。（图2）

## 第一部分

这个绵阳汉阙上的题字是梁代的，公元529年。（图3）

当色伽兰发现绵阳汉阙的时候，他认为这是四川最早的佛教石刻。我们现在知道成都万佛寺的佛像，也有带五世纪初（483）的题字。色伽兰当时认为绵阳汉阙直接反映出南朝首都建康（南京）对四川的影响。据说还有另外一个6世纪的带有佛教石刻的汉阙，但是今天看不见实物了，只有在宋代金石学者洪适留下了描述和拓片。沙畹和色伽兰认为这个消息不可靠，这两位对中国文人所编的地理志熟悉的学者，认为洪适是一个过度依靠拓片的金石学者。

### 南 / 北传佛教

汉唐之间的四川分三个阶段。第一阶段受北朝的影响，第二阶段受南朝的影响，第三阶段又受北朝的影响。它真是属于南北之间的一个位置。在这个地图上可以看出四川和南京之间的关系，旁边这三个地图是指这三个阶段（图4、图5）。

在南北传佛教的讨论里，四川的角色不明确。这个是一件在万佛寺出土的梁代的石刻（图6）。其中的两个人被认为是中亚人的面貌，中间一个象头人（图7）被认为是直接受到印度教的影响。对印度以及南亚感兴趣的人可以关注古印度笈多帝国（梵语为 gupta），它最兴旺的时期是4到6世纪（320—534），



图3 绵阳汉阙梁代题刻

那个时候正好中国在汉唐之间，政治混乱，没有一个集中权力中心的阶段。那个时候的中国对笈多帝国的影响较敏感。第二个和南北朝有关的印度王国，就是印度东中部的帕拉瓦王国（梵语为 Pallava），尤其是玛玛拉普蓝（梵语为 Mahabalipuram）石窟寺，经常和北齐的响堂山石窟作为比较。当然，印度本土的佛教雕塑，也是在一个丰富多样的宗教背景里出现的，佛教作为诸多宗派之一，借用了业已存在的建筑，雕塑等视觉文化。

四川的人口数量一直不怎么稳定，分布也没有很均匀。南朝的四川本地人口和外来人口的比例为 1:6。入蜀的主要是受到匈奴的冲击的来自北方的移民；北朝多次迁都，也把北方人口向南边推。当时南朝政府官僚很多是来自北方的大家族。不过到了四川的移民，也不一定会留在四川。文献记载说成百上千家搬到南边来，同时也有成百上千家往东南方向走。由此看来，四川盆地是一个必经之路。为什么强调移民这个问题？中国最早的考古都集中在中原地区和黄河流域，但八十年代的中国考古在边界发现更多的不同的文化以后，开始强调均匀的地区文化。直到今天也还在努力地去寻找“一个地区 / 一个民族 / 一个文化”这样一种关系。一定要慎重地对待这种说法，

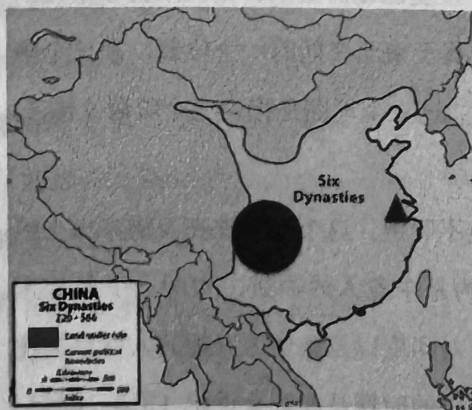
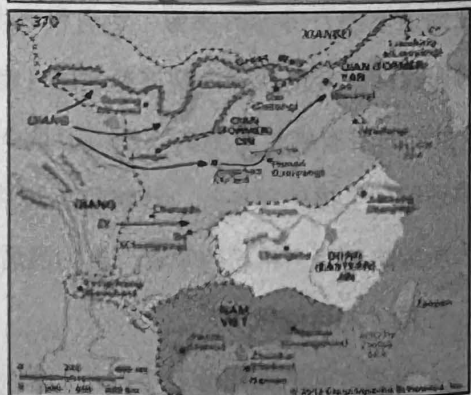
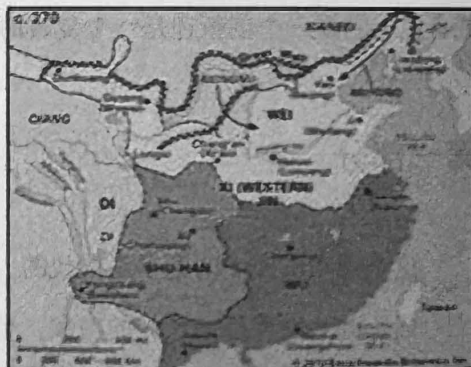


图4 四川地区在南北朝时期的位置关系



图5 古代中国形势图



图6 | 图7 | 图8

图6 成都万佛寺出土梁代石刻

图7 成都万佛寺出土梁代  
石刻·象头人

图8 古代交通线路示意图

一个学者把自己能够纳入的地理面积绝对化，把它当成一个独立文化，把空间设想成时间里，是谁都容易陷进去的错觉。

### 三条路

为了避免这种错觉，我们多注意一下大的历史背景。汉之前进出四川的人，是走那一条路的？可以追溯到蜀国和楚国、蜀国和秦国之间的关系。蜀国和楚国之间是水路来往的，从岷江，沱江下来沿着长江流域往东边走，这片流域比较重要。蜀国和秦国之间的路主要是翻山越岭，从关中到汉中（从北方到四川）有两条路，一条沿河西走廊，另一条从洛阳、长安过来。秦代时因为战争到四川的移民很多，这和波斯的希腊化有相似的地方。公元前316年秦灭蜀，在汉文化形成前，四川已经纳入到中国了，这一点比较有意思。在秦代统治全中国之前把四川当成它的一个实验室。

在南传和北传佛教传播路线里，主要提到了从印度到四川有三条路线（图8）。最长的一条即所谓的“丝绸之路”，被敦煌学关注的一条路，大致通过中亚—新疆—河西走廊。第二条路也称为“海上丝绸之路”，从印度出发，绕道东南亚，从北越南进四川，或分道南京，再沿着长江往上游走（图9）。第三条路从四川直接到印度，穿过东南亚大陆（缅甸）的一条路。这条路很难实地考察，正好在印度与中国西藏、云南敏感的边界上，而且北方缅甸政治情况也不稳定，同时也属于金三角地区。虽然最近关注这条路的人越来越多，但是考古学者很难进行现场考察。

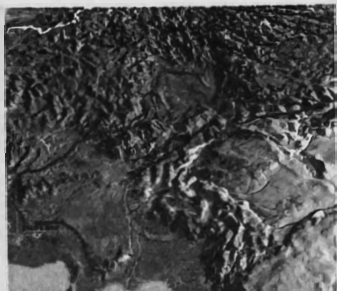


图9 西南地区古代交通线路图



图10 东西方图案的比较

中国早期的带有佛教图像的石刻是在四川出土的，比如在乐山麻浩一号崖墓、柿子湾一号崖墓发现的两个佛像，其样式和印度的马图拉（梵语为Matura）式比较接近。马图拉位于印度北部，恒河上游。释迦一生中最重要的几个地点都集中在恒河流域。

再说一下第三条路。中国和印度早期的交流在《史记·西南夷列传》中就已留下了痕迹。公元前112年张骞在中亚的市场上已经注意到了四川的锦、竹品、漆器，他对这条路线也非常感兴趣。匈奴把北方的“丝绸之路”截断之后，汉人必须通过四川到印度。蜀地的商人和去往印度的路线上的各个王国发生过关系，但汉朝却没有成功的建立起这种关系，当时云南的滇王国、贵州的夜郎国，一直控制着川南的商路。

为理解汉四川的文化遗产，就要关注一下漆器。漆器是四川生产的工艺之中最容易理解的一种，因为大多数漆器带有题字，题字内容包括从哪个作坊出来的，谁造的，哪一年造的，用什么样的方法。这种漆器在韩国，朝鲜，越南，蒙古，阿富汗等地都有发现，而且它的纹样中也出现了和古罗马艺术有关的图案。Anthony Barbieri-Low把古罗马的银盘和一件安徽马鞍山出土的产于四川的漆器的图案做了一个比较（图10）。

我们所描述的这条路，在战国、秦、汉代这三百年空白之间难道一直没有被使用吗？难道北朝移民用的路和前代的路没有关系吗？从地理学的角度讲，这些路一直在用，而且一直在引起一些副作用。

北方的这条路可以用成都万佛寺石刻的三个例子来说明。

这是483年造的双面佛像，一面被刻成阿弥陀佛，另外一面是弥勒佛。我们可以把弥勒佛的这一面（图11左一）和陕西出土的几座造像碑比较。Stanley K. Abe认为陕西产生了和北朝首都（长安、洛阳）不同的一种地区雕塑样式。如果能证明四川和这些？有关系，就能证明四川不只是受到了北方首都洛阳或长安的影响，而且更直接地接受了西域的信息。

这是属于第二个阶段的佛像（图12），529年造，供养人是梁武帝的亲眷，

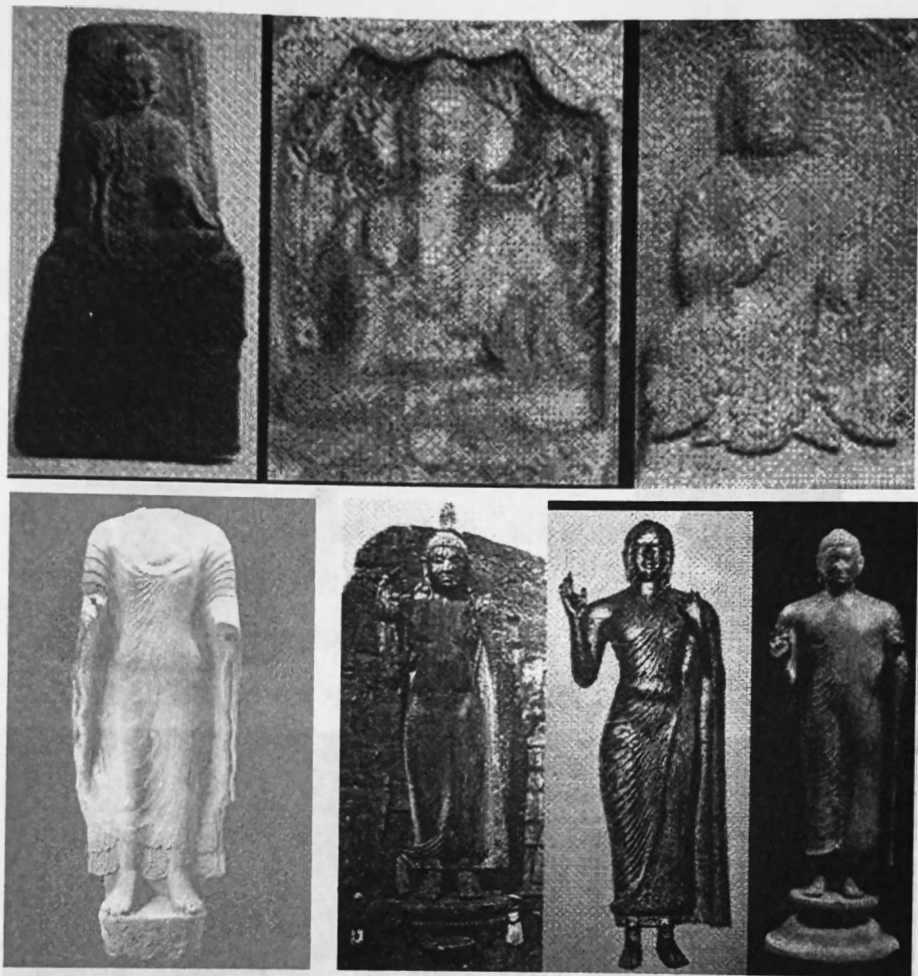


图 11

图 12 | 图 13

图 11 成都万佛寺出土双面佛像

图 12 梁代佛像

图 13 南亚佛教雕塑

属于南朝统治下的四川。可以从衣纹看出和南方的关系，它和这三尊立佛像非常相似（图 13），都是右腿衣纹为曲线，左腿衣纹呈直线。虽然这三个例子属于 7—9 世纪的斯里兰卡，印度和越南临邑的佛教雕塑，比南梁者晚得多。但是我们想比较的地方，不是谁早谁晚，而是对同一种模式的继承。北凉的释迦牟尼像和它们的区别也很清楚：它的肩膀被袈裟盖住，其他几个的肩膀都是露出来的，属于南亚式的佛像。

第三个例子，561—566 年造，供养人为益州长官。它的样式和建康（南京）的小铜像很接近。属于南朝的佛教石刻很少，所以四川万佛寺的石刻显得尤为重要，学者们经常拿这些小型的铜像作比较。

### 阿育王像 / 瑞像

阿育王像（图 14）是比较汉代佛像以及南北朝时期佛像的核心概念。阿育王像（梵语为 Ashoka），是佛传中所记述的一个样式。佛最年轻的一个弟子，称为乌代亚娜（梵语为 Udayana），在佛涅槃之前，就问佛：“你涅槃之前能否给我留下一个记忆，令我能够回忆你？”佛就用樟木刻一尊佛像，留给他的弟子。汉文文献中讲佛像怎么出现的？皇帝做了一场梦，见到了佛。皇帝醒来以后，



图 14

图 15

图 16 图 17

图 18 图 19



图 14 阿育王造像

图 15 犍陀罗石刻·茶毗

图 16 犍陀罗石刻·分舍利

图 17 犍陀罗石刻·守护舍利

图 18 犍陀罗石刻·起塔

图 19 犍陀罗艺术中塔身中的佛龛



让工匠去刻他梦中的佛像。唐代的道宣编的关于阿育王像的奇迹里（《集神州三宝感通录》），记述这种佛像如何在中国的土地上被挖掘，就是已经存在的佛像。所以说汉代的瑞相的出现和南北朝有很大的区别，这种传说不是在描述真实的出土情况，但是能让我们了解人们对早期佛像的态度。

最早的佛像可以从犍陀罗石刻里理解。成系列的佛传故事装饰在奉献小塔的基坛上。这是佛陀遗体火化的场景，亦称荼毗（图 15）。火化完后的骨灰与土混合做成圆团状的舍利，再把这些舍利分到不同的地方，运送到不同的国家（图 16）。

从佛身火化到做成舍利，再到建塔的关系，在犍陀罗雕刻上交待得很清楚。这是有人在守卫被盖住的舍利（图 17）。这是起塔的场景（图 18）。最早的塔都含着舍利，是为了保持和佛身的直接关系。

Behrendt 在他的《犍陀罗建筑史》里讲道，早期的佛像是如何从和塔身上的龕独立出来的，后来成为可以单独礼拜的对象。我们刚分析的浮雕，都是在环绕的过程中被阅读的，但是佛龕是针对的是礼拜对象（图 19）。

## 第二部分

### 杂交

下面，我们进入绵阳汉阙的案例。

第一个疑问，它是简单的材料再用，还是“有意”的在再用案例。在几件不同的“有意”的杂交事例中，我们看一下早期佛像和汉代艺术如何发生关系。巫鸿在山东武梁祠的汉画像石的拓片中举了两个例子，图 20 上的人物正在拜一个坟墓或“社”——汉代土地神的标志，图 21 上的建筑物已经变成塔的形状了，而且崇拜者被仙人所代替了，它已经不再直接表现汉代墓葬文化，而是属于仙界了。汪悦进（Eugene Wang）也举了两个例子。他引用“格义”，一个佛教专用词，来描述这些物体（词？）对宇宙观念的杂交。“格义”原来指一个翻译佛经的语言策略，即梵语里的哪一个概念，要对上哪一个汉字，比方说“空”（梵语为 Sunyata）是和汉语里的“空”，还是和汉语的“无”更近呢？这两个词在道教的哲学语言里已经被讨论过了，当然要慎重地去选择哪一个词更适合于表示相关的梵语观念。另外，汉字也存在着关于“音”的问题，在佛教里属于世界诞生，而汉语体系里，这是文字占的位置。图 22 的左上角是北凉的八面石塔，上层线刻八尊佛像，下层线刻八个神（图 22 右上角），神上方还有八卦，正好和八个方向的佛对准了。下面是山东沂南汉墓的八角形中心

图 20 武梁祠石刻



图 21 武梁祠石刻

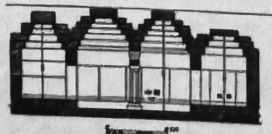
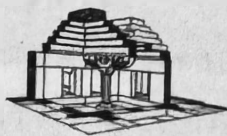


图 22 山东沂南汉墓的八角形中心柱

柱（图 22 左下角），柱子身上发现了类似于佛像或菩萨的人物（图 22 右下角），这种情况下，我们不把它们叫做佛像，而用“类似于佛像”（buddha-like image）这个词，因为它不一定是成熟的崇拜对象。

那么佛教造像和汉阙杂交的历史过程到底是从哪儿开始呢？

这是一个在中国长江中游出土的“魂瓶”的局部（图 23）。“魂瓶”的用法不明，是一种随葬的明器。宿白把佛像在汉阙上的位置分成了两阶段：第一阶段的佛



图 23 长江中游出土的“魂瓶”局部



图 24 贵霜朝迦腻色伽王金币

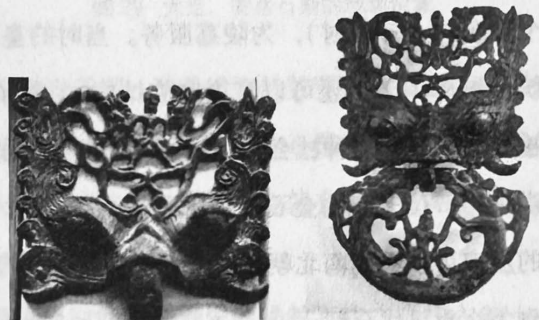


图 25 北魏时期青铜铺首

在汉阙上当护门，第二阶段的佛在汉阙中间当核心人物。第二阶段的佛像已经成为了礼拜对象，已经不是装饰性的瑞像或避邪的标志。可是绵阳汉阙上的佛像能否叫做礼拜对象？它会否更像早期的“相似于佛”的造像呢？

我们再一次回到早期佛教，在公元前一世纪古印度的贵霜帝国（Kushan）。这是一枚贵霜朝的金币（图24），正面是迦腻色伽王（Kanishka），背面是世上带有年号的最早的佛像，文字是用希腊文，而不是梵语，写的佛名（古希腊语为  $\text{BO}\Delta\Delta\text{O}$ ）。这一枚金币可以说明的是：最早的佛像可能和宗教、舍利、塔等等没有关系，而是可能与当时王朝的需要有关。我们仔细看一下迦腻色伽的脚，他穿的向外撇的皮靴，下摆宽大的衣服，再观察佛的脚和衣服，可以看到王和佛像的面貌是同时发展起来的，他们之间是合作关系。

中国的北魏也有相似的杂交。这是门上的“铺首”（图25），也叫“饕餮”，在它的头上站着一个“相似于佛像”的戴着发髻（梵语为 *Usnisha*）的人物。大英博物馆和宁夏固阳博物馆收藏有相似的两件。

在四川的汉代艺术里也有佛像和铺首争夺中心位置的例子。下面我们比较一下绵阳汉阙和乐山地区的几座崖墓的前堂。绵阳汉阙的顶下面，在斗拱的层次？上，佛龕刻在铺首跟前。麻浩一号墓与柿子湾一号墓的两个大型的前堂里，墓门上的“相似于佛像”，正好和铺首，还有其他瑞像在一个层次上。

看完了这几个杂交的例子，我们要考虑一下，汉阙作为杂交的工具，有什么好处？

## 争夺地盘 / 神圣地理

今天绵阳汉阙在博物馆广场上。在 20 世纪六七十年代的四川也用飞机播种，整个地形植被改变了。色伽兰的照片（图 26）中，两个汉阙之间能看见陵墓的形状。双阙属于复杂的墓葬区域的一部分，墓葬区还带有神道，围墙，排水沟网。

再看一下汉画像砖上的车马图与汉阙的关系（图 27）。汉阙是山水里视觉冲击力较强的标志。汉阙所在的陵墓区里会有特殊的几家人（守陵人），或一个整个村（守陵村），为陵墓服务。当时的皇帝认为这是个很好的办法，可以统治城外乡下，还可以渲染家族结构。到了南北朝，祖先崇拜越来越衰弱，被代替成另外一种社会结构，另一种神圣地理代替了汉墓葬对山水的占有。在洪适，一位宋代的金石学者的眼里，汉阙像“佛教、道教的经幢、塔”。从他的反应可以看到南北朝以后山水里佛教石刻的重要性。从中世纪往后看，影响到怎么看汉代石刻。

汉阙不单是独立的建筑物，有的在陵墓外，也有的在崖墓里，直接刻在山崖上的立体汉阙（图 28），如在乐山地区的车子镇。崖墓的地理位置很特殊，四川崖墓的分布主要在水边。例如在安岳附近，水边的崖墓可以走水路到达。四川地区的汉代石刻最显眼的建筑物，就是崖墓。为理解绵阳汉阙和南北朝石刻之间的关系，崖墓是一个可以继续追寻的线索。

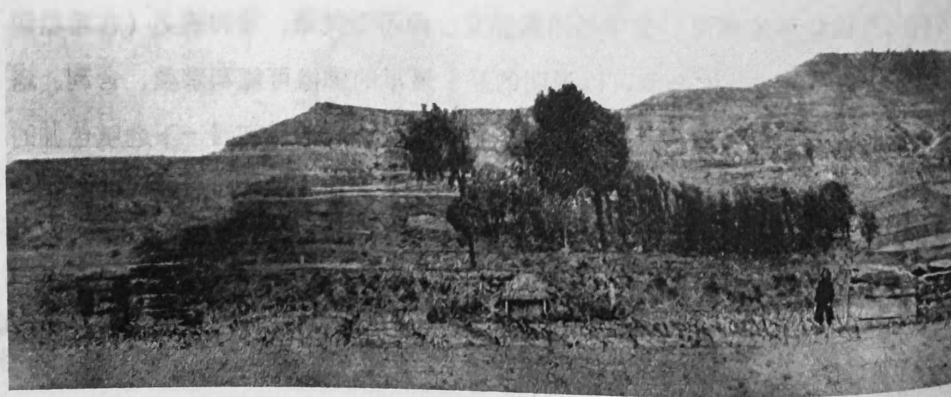


图 26 色伽兰所摄的绵阳汉阙



图 27 汉代墓葬中的马车出行与墓阙

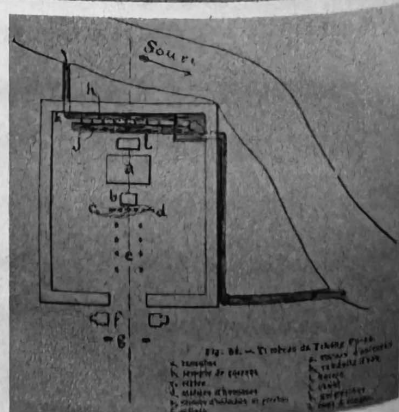




图 28 崖墓中的汉阙图像



图 29 大足、安岳石刻的地理位置

汉唐之间，统治城外的方式发生了变化了。7世纪的佛教要占有自己的神圣地理，要建庙造窟，它可能会向崖墓学习。主要的宗教中心搬到城外，而一旦到城外，可能会遇到水边里面很天然的标志——崖墓，也就有可能在此基础上再建。

Angela Howard 是西方学术界里研究四川唐到宋的佛教石窟寺最投入的一位学者。她在1988年已经认为四川的石窟寺之间，存在着一个整体的联系，而且和汉崖墓群有关。对她而言，大足属于第二批石刻，安岳石刻早于大足。安岳在成都和重庆之间的这条路上（图29），它之所以发展得早，是因为它的供养模式。而它供养模式，也影响了大足的供养模式。为理解汉唐之间的石刻传统，一定要关注安岳。绵阳汉阙的地理位置正好在我前面提到的“汉中—关中”这条路上，也就是洛阳到成都的路。

2009年，我开始研究崖墓的时候，其实最早是在考察的佛教石窟寺。在考察安岳毗卢洞的过程中，突然发现了旁边有一座空的窟。为什么会在这么高的位置，造一座不带佛像的窟呢？它的性质也比其他佛龕小一点，还含着一个长方形的横龕。它如果与石窟寺无关，那为什么会离其他佛龕这么近呢？后来，我猜想这个东西应该是崖墓。问题是：这些崖墓是后来被空出来了吗，还是到了唐初已经是空的了？带着佛像的窟，是不是被再利用的崖墓？四川的佛教雕塑，有没有受到汉崖墓里原来的纹样的影响呢？

除了南北朝、唐代会对汉崖墓再利用外，现代人的日常生活亦不例外，例如在汉崖墓里存放柴禾，甚至当作住宅的一部分。红砂岩里的石刻空间提供的良好温度，湿度，包括高级的排水系统。这种空间其实很舒服，很适合于生活。它不只是建造给死人的墓穴，也是给活人的活动场所。大型崖墓里的前堂，闭墓之后还留在外面给后人用。

安岳的卧佛院石窟寺，也是在以前的崖墓群里雕凿出来的。当然唐代也有新刻的窟，数量肯定也不比崖墓少。像卧佛院如此重要的石窟寺，也不一定会

选一个大型的崖墓群来再利用。

前几天又去了一趟卧佛院。现在还要通过水路过去，不过马上就要建一条高架桥，如果想去研究地形的话，最好早一点去。这是进入卧佛院的河湾的一条路（图 30），对面就可以看到汉代的一群崖墓。往里走，有十几个洞窟，位置都很高，也没有佛像。在卧佛院被改造成石窟寺的崖墓好像主要是用来刻经的，这点也比较有意思。

石刻艺术的好处，是不需要很长的考古发掘出土过程，但得到的信息也不那么可靠。要找出再建刻石的程序，前后的关系，最好是能发现一个重叠的镌刻事例。卧佛院 71 号和 72 号窟之间的墙壁，可能在造窟的过程中裂了。裂面上刻了一尊佛像（图 31），和窟里面的佛像是一样的，也好像是同时刻的。刻佛像的时候，这两个窟之间的墙已经坏了，佛像是开窟之后刻的。我现在也不能证明开窟和刻佛像之间的时间有多长。有可能造窟的工匠，经验不足，二窟造的太近，中间就断了。否则很难解释，为什么要先造窟，再拆，然后再刻佛像。我猜测的是：像这个 L 型痕迹有可能是封崖墓门的痕迹，可能这两个窟，本来就是已经存在的汉崖墓。

崖墓的再利用为石窟寺，不仅仅是在唐代。乐山地区的靠水的白岩洞（图 32），是明代再用的大型崖墓：三座墓通用的一个上百平米的前堂。两个墓门之间，刻的主佛像，边上十二对佛像。一直到清末，几乎每一年有人来参观留字。

也有属于道教或文人的汉崖墓的再用。我想这种跨时代情况，是最适合被艺术学研究。一代代之间怎么建立自己的历史，通过再用，复古，或创新，这也是在西方学术界很受关注的一点。最近一周都在谈四川美术学院要怎么建立“大足学”，用什么方法能和考古学院有不一样的角度？那么这个是很好的例子。

南北朝，唐以后，也有崖墓，不过数量很少，而且性质比较简单。墓里基本上没有石刻，我们现在不知道它们和邻近的石窟寺的关系。刻崖墓的工匠是谁，他们和石窟寺的雕凿的难道没有关系吗？后期的崖墓里偶尔出现的图像，也比较奇怪，被一些学者称为“非汉系”崖墓。



图 30 安岳卧佛院远景图



图 31 安岳卧佛 71 号、72 号窟



图 32 乐山白岩洞崖墓

这种独特的墓葬的方式，值得考虑一下。在南北朝、唐时，被再用后的汉代崖墓，已不属于汉文化。所以我们又要追问四川的石刻传统的来源问题。研究一个石刻传统的起源，不一定要找简单的传流关系，但可以和用同一种技术，同一种石料的传统比较。印度东北部的 Bihar 地区，也是公元 3 世纪开始造红砂岩窟。

### 复古

最后的一个部分。最近在东方学或东亚美术里，复古是比较受欢迎的一门学科。中国古人通过什么样的方式整理自己的过去，金石学，古物学……还有其他途径，这种分类是怎样影响了后来的创意。最近，考古也证明了从新石器、青铜器时代，已经有收藏上一个时期的文物的习惯。上古的收藏品，有时又会被再刻。像在安阳殷墟的妇好墓里，商代的女王收藏着良渚的玉琮。不只是时代的差别——从新石器到青铜时代，也是地理上的距离。收藏者是否知道这个器物的原来意义，而再刻后的新意义和原来的有没有关系？也有可能只是形式，材料，刻法的流传，但这些都属于一个艺术传统。

KoIn 博物馆藏的北齐的石床，属于粟特人的一种墓葬方式。为什么要在北朝的墓葬石刻里，再用汉阙这个模式呢（图 33），尤其是为一位外国人呢？这也是南北朝复古汉代的模式的一个案例。

绵阳汉阙上的佛龛和下面线刻的汉代人物的关系，令色伽兰很神奇。他认为“大汉”的宏伟石刻艺术、南朝帝陵神道体量宏大的辟邪，是佛教的“涂鸦”工艺没法可比的。据说佛教给中国带来了人体造像，但色伽兰认为不如汉代的“神秘面貌”。不过这个典型的“神秘面貌”是否汉人自己的，还是其他民族的，像霍去病墓前雕刻上被马踩的人物（图 34）。

色伽兰还认为佛脸是“非汉系”的，一次一次重复的脸，大批量生产的佛像。其实他这种感觉也有准确的一面：佛，这种没有特点的脸，很难达到。他的这种脸到底翻译成了多少国家的神的面貌？佛像的过度标准是一种国际语言，一

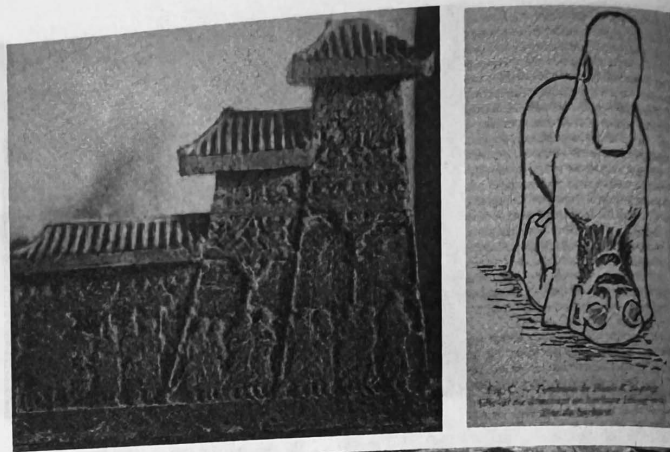


图 33 | 图 34

图 35

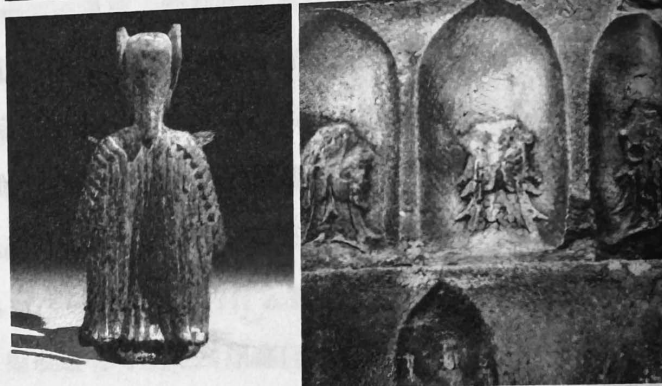


图 33 Köln 博物馆藏北齐石床棺

图 34 马踏匈奴石雕

图 35 绵阳汉阙

种公分母，是他的一个策略，不一定是它的一个缺点。对色伽兰来讲，大批量生产是佛教带来的。其实要看汉崖墓里出土的陶俑，都是从一个模子里形成的。对批量生产感兴趣的，可以读 Ledderose(雷德侯)写的《万物》。

色伽兰还提出了一点，他认为绵阳汉阙上的佛像和汉人表现人物的样式有关系。南朝的“褒衣博带”服装样式是影响过来的，不过有一点不一样。Katherine Tsiang 也认为佛像的飘衣和汉代的仙人相同。比较一下绵阳汉阙上的两个汉代仙人浮雕和旁边六世纪的线刻僧人的衣服(图 35)。

“复古”是谈及北魏的汉化活动时常用的概念。北魏把首都搬迁到洛阳时，当时洛阳还残留着东汉首都的遗址。按照郦道元的《水经注》的记载，汉代的墓、祠堂，可能还在用，至少还是能看得到。

### 创新

四川石刻中最常提到的是它的山水的表现与透视点。

绵阳汉阙上有线刻的山水图(图 36)和万佛寺造像碑的拓本(图 37)相似。

第二个创意是中心透视点。这个视觉方式受到净土教思想的启发。本来在时间里排着队的过去佛，现在佛，未来佛，突然同时在一个空间里存在。每一个世界有它的佛，无数世界，无数个佛。绵阳汉阙上的佛龕两边，有成对的几排信徒(图 38 左)，虽然不像万佛寺造像碑上的极乐世界图(图 38 右)，但透视线角度和方向是一样的。

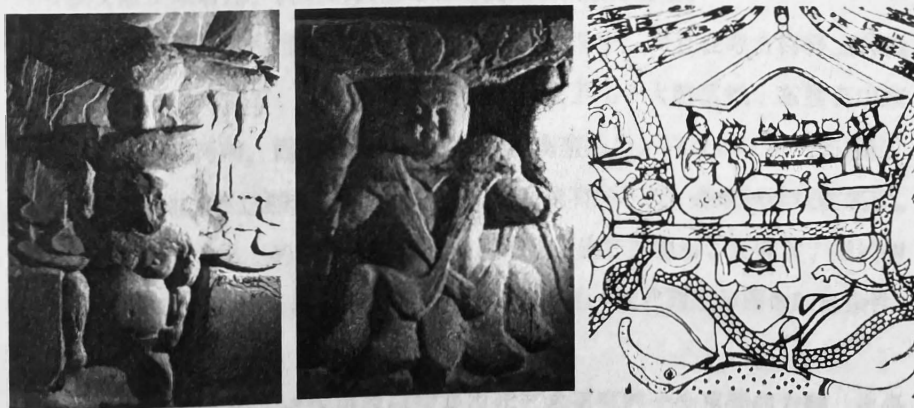
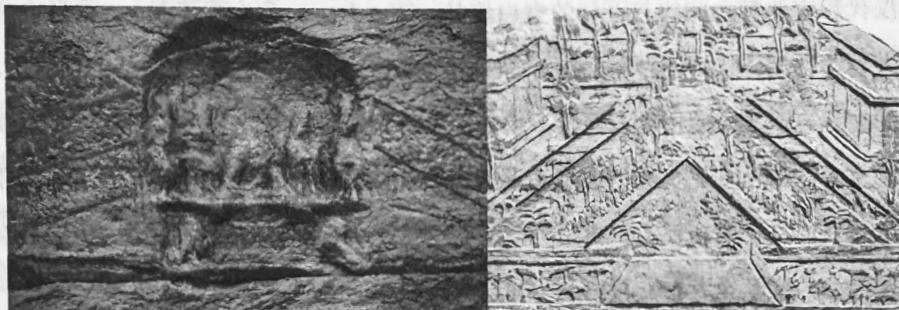
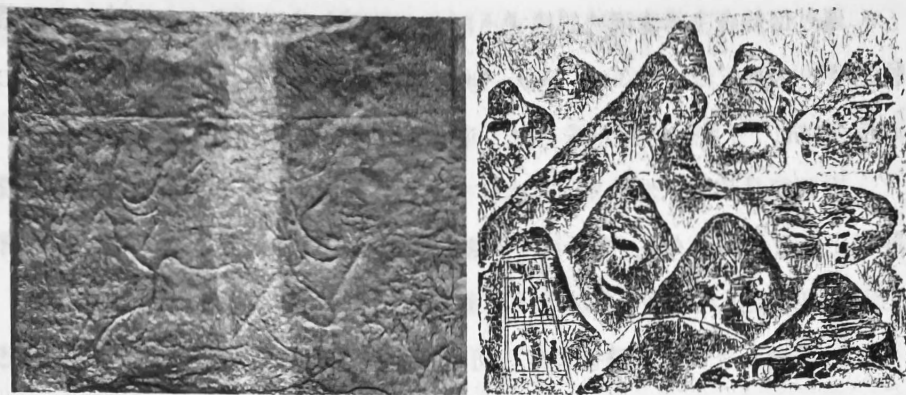


图 36 | 图 37

图 38

图 40 | 图 41 | 图 42

图 36 绵阳汉阙线刻山水图

图 37 万佛寺造像碑的拓本

图 38 成都万佛寺出土造像碑

图 39 三峡博物馆藏佛教石刻

图 40 北朝雕塑

图 41 北朝雕塑

图 42 长沙马王堆汉墓 T 形帛画托举人物

通过信徒在主佛像两边的模式，再举一个离我们更近的一个例子，三峡博物馆藏的龙潭石刻（图 39），是从三峡大坝工程中被抢救过来的一片山崖，上面是唐代的一个龕，台座下方斗拱，斗拱两边的人物和佛教的关系不明确。

有可能是和极乐世界里的再生有关系。它和北朝的托举人物（图 40），或莲花化生童子（图 41），两种再生的表现相似。但这种边界上的人物，也许有更遥远的痕迹，马王堆汉墓的 T 形帛画上也有同样的托举人物（图 42）。

只要进入复古这个联想方式，可以把不同资料重新看一遍，也许可以把汉代和南北朝之间的三百年的空白填补一下。Jenny So（苏芳淑），香港中文大学的教授，认为三百年是复古的“起码要求”。当然这三百年只是一个概念，为能够忘记之前的用处，还留下改变，重新再用的时间。宋代的学者，吕大临在《考古图》里把文物的出现和瑞相比较。这已经不是佛像的出现了，而有可能是任何文物的出现的。再用 / 复活，这就是金石学者的任务。我们今天跟踪色伽兰的文学性考古，再体会到之前的古物学的经验，是为了寻找对过去的一种阅读方法。

石窟	造像	
石窟		
石窟	石窟	石窟

唐代山崖石刻造像龕 石窟

北齐山崖石刻造像龕 石窟

北齐山崖石刻造像龕 石窟

石窟

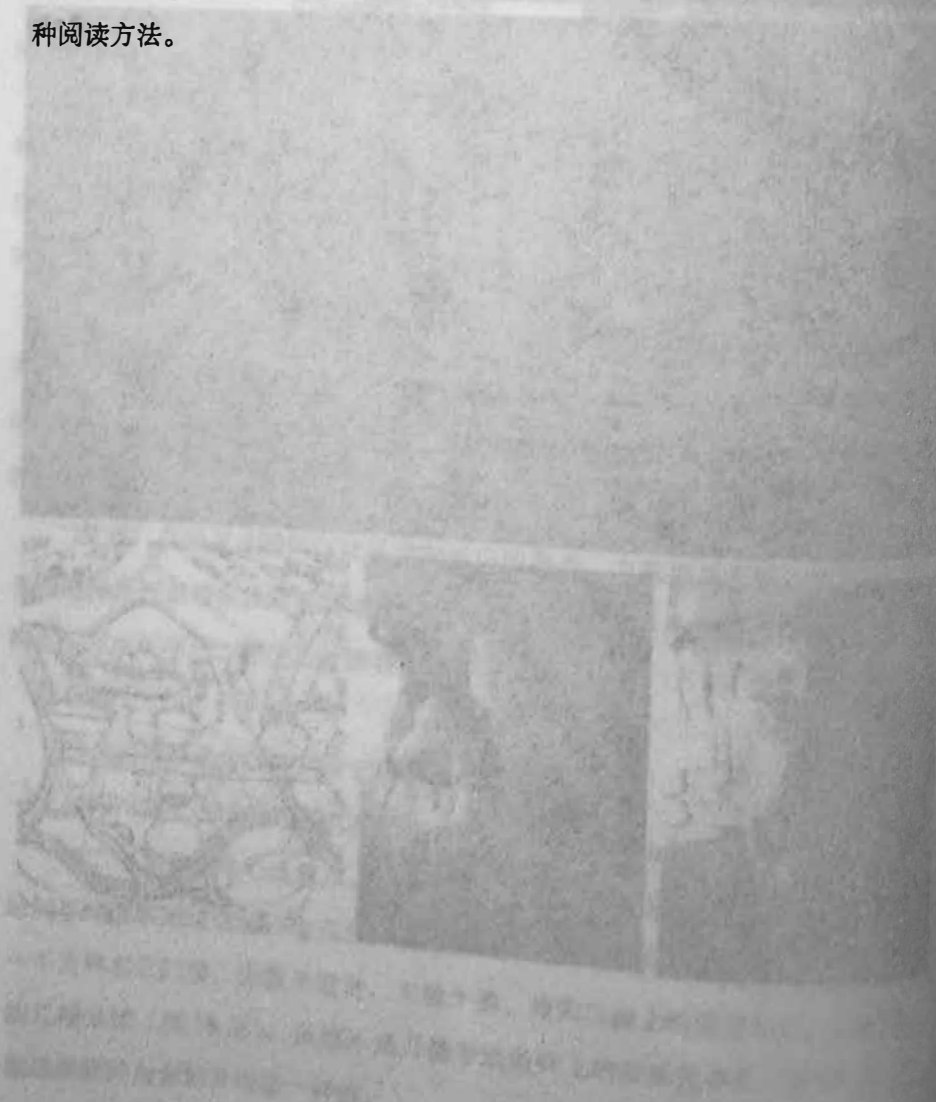
北齐山崖石刻造像龕 石窟

石窟

石窟

北齐山崖石刻造像龕 石窟

石窟



## The Mianyang Pillars:

### A Case of 6th century Buddhist Re-use of an Eastern Han *Que* Gate<sup>1</sup>

The Pingyang fu *que* gate (平陽府闕門), in present-day Mianyang city, Sichuan province, was built in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE as part of a burial mound's spirit alley. It has been re-carved in 529 CE with Buddhist niches. Together with the group of sculptures unearthed in the Chengdu Wanfosi monastery, these constitute the only production attributed to the period from the Sichuan region, and from the Southern Dynasties as a whole. The only preceding Buddha-like images integrated in a funerary context date back to the Eastern Han period. Although a three centuries gap separates the first and second wave of Buddhist images in Sichuan, the much debated roads of transmission show some consistency.

We will investigate the motivations behind the re-use of the Mianyang gate, and provide evidence to expand this example into a regional trend. If proven, intentional continuity and archaism in local styles would support Howard's affirmation that « Sichuan is the only place in China where Buddhist art can be studied in uninterrupted sequence from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> century ». <sup>2</sup>



Figure 1 : Mianyang east pillar, front<sup>3</sup> and rear.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Chinese language report of this conference was published as 復古與地區創新——綿陽漢闕在六世紀佛教中的再利用. In Qin Zhen 秦臻 (ed.) 理論、方法與實踐——美術考古與大足學研究. Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe: 160-178.

<sup>2</sup> Howard 1988:4.

<sup>3</sup> Segalen 1923:Pl.XXXIV.

<sup>4</sup> Plate 9 in Segalen 1972:58.

## 1. CONTEXT

### • *The Debate on Transmission*

Circa a hundred 'Buddha-like' carved, sculpted and appliqué images appear in Eastern Han tombs (125 CE earliest date)<sup>5</sup> of the Yangzi river upper and middle reaches. Most of these hybrid objects disappear in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, with the transformation of funerary practices and the development of Buddhist devotional activities.<sup>6</sup> The Sichuanese images play an important role in the « debate between southern and northern transmission (南/北傳) ». <sup>7</sup> Stylistic elements such as the spiral ushnisha, shallow folds, abhaya mudra and lion-headed throne, are according to some, not Gandharan, but suggest a Mathuran origin for the Sichuan images.<sup>8</sup> Others instead, argue that Sichuan linked Central Asia and the lower Yangzi : due to the closure of the Gansu corridor, northern routes leading to Chang'an and Luoyang were diverted into a southern alternative (河南道) which coincides with the Min river earliest remains, and figural representations of a Central Asian population.<sup>9</sup> Those who oppose the northern hypothesis believe that heavy Indian influences detectable in Sichuanese sculpture arrived through Southeast Asia,<sup>10</sup> part of it from Nanjing and other havens on the Sea route, part of it from the Yunnan-Burma route. This last route was already mentioned as a strategic alternative to the northern Silk Road being cut off by the Xiongnu by Zhang Qian in 122 BCE.<sup>11</sup>

Medieval times Sichuan was exposed to both Northern and Southern dynasties rules, a succession visible in the patronage and style of the Wanfosi reliefs, together with a few pictorial steles excavated in Wenchuan<sup>12</sup> We will see how complex and multidirectional stylistic influences, successively enter and come out of Sichuan through the Northern and Southern routes.

In the first phase, Sichuan seems less submitted to political dictates, « compared with Nanjing and Luoyang, capital cities where ritual art at the service of a state ideology remained an imperative ». <sup>13</sup> This relative freedom may have encouraged stylistic innovation and regional variants. In a now lost Wanfosi pictorial stele dated 427 CE, Soper notices that the 'scarf-trailing style' of the apsaras predates of one century its apparition in the North, showing that influences go both ways.<sup>14</sup> The earliest extant Wanfosi statue, a janiform Maitreya-Amitayus dated 483, shows a garment style different from Longmen examples, but close to the Northwestern caves of Maijishan (cave 117) and Shaanxi pictorial steles. In his attempt at understanding 'provincial' styles in the Northern Wei orbit,

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<sup>5</sup> Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens 1997: 233.

<sup>6</sup> Kuo Li-ying. 2008:109.

<sup>7</sup> Dien 2007:391-6.

<sup>8</sup> Ruan Rongchun 1990: 33-45.

<sup>9</sup> Wu Zhuo 1992:40-50.

<sup>10</sup> He Zhiguo 1994:107-17.

<sup>11</sup> Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens 1974:5.

<sup>12</sup> Xue Yuhua et alii. 2007:92.

<sup>13</sup> Wong 1998:56

<sup>14</sup> Plate 18 in Soper 1960:22. and Note n°243 in Soper 1960:107.

Abe concludes that in the 5-6<sup>th</sup> centuries, Chang'an is spared by the sinicizing measures exerted in Yungang.<sup>15</sup>



Figure 2: Maitreya-Amitayus (483 CE, Wanfosi),<sup>16</sup> Yungang cave 6 (east wall),<sup>17</sup> Shaanxi pictorial stele (501 CE, Xi'an).<sup>18</sup>

After 502 CE, the region falls under Southern Liang rule, as shown by the 529 CE standing Shakyamuni donated by a prince of Liang.<sup>19</sup> Although its robe covers both shoulders in a Gandharan mode, it features arcs on the right side, and suddenly vertical folds towards the left shoulder, like in the Guptan examples in Amaravati style of Ceylon, and of the Vietnamese site of Dong-duong, the former Han colony of Linyi.<sup>20</sup> This line of influence which excludes Northern sculptures, is more than a mere 'provincial misunderstanding', since it transcends regional boundaries.<sup>21</sup>



Figure 3 : Standing Shakyamuni (529 CE, Wanfosi),<sup>22</sup> Avukana Buddha (455-473 CE, Kekiwara, Sri Lanka),<sup>23</sup> Shakyamuni (4-6<sup>th</sup> or 8-9<sup>th</sup> c. CE, Don-Duong, Vietnam).<sup>24</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Abe 2001:8-9.

<sup>16</sup> Fig.122 in Watt 2004:216-7.

<sup>17</sup> Fig.12 in Abe 2001:8.

<sup>18</sup> Fig.13 in Abe 2001:8.

<sup>19</sup> Reverse of plate 163 in Matsubara and Akiyama 1969:236.

<sup>20</sup> Soper 1960:92.

<sup>21</sup> Soper 1960:80.

<sup>22</sup> Fig.123 in Watt 2004:218-9.

Even after Yizhou was conquered by the Western Wei in 552 CE, and occupied by the Northern Zhou in 560 CE, connections with Jiankang endure. An Asokan image donated by the governor of Yizhou in 561-6 CE is thought to be a stone imitation of a much smaller bronze equivalent from Jiankang, but it is also close to northeast Indian bronzes brought back by pilgrims or monks, possibly using the Magadha-Sichuan route.<sup>25</sup> Its symmetrical robe folds show central Asian influences which dominated the Wei production before sinicization. Sichuanese traits may have been incorporated by the Northerners when they occupied Chengdu in 560, as a kind of feedback influence.<sup>26</sup>

As we can see, medieval times provide instrumental notions in deconstructing center-periphery schemes, through the study of polycentered trade routes, styles and migrations.<sup>27</sup> The scale of migration, an important factor of change, exceeded that of any other historic period : 1/6 of the southern population came from the North, resulting in an unprecedented cultural and ethnic mix in the Sichuan basin.<sup>28</sup> While in the North, the balance between *Hu* and Han change due to migrations and deportations,<sup>29</sup> the southern administration was in great part constituted by northern aristocratic families.<sup>30</sup> Hundreds of thousands of households enter Sichuan, following the same Hanzhong-Guanzhong road used by the Qin army in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE during its massive colonization of the region.<sup>31</sup> A similar number exits Sichuan towards the Yunnanese South and downstream Yangzi : the region was not only a final destination, but also a migrational hub.<sup>32</sup> These movements of population coincide with the rising importance of geography and landscape descriptions,<sup>33</sup> from rhapsodies (*fu*) to local records, showing the rise of regional awareness.<sup>34</sup> They have also left their trace in the sculptural repertoire of Sichuan.



Figure 4 : Foreigners and Ganesh-headed attendant on a pedestal (502-557 CE, Wanfosi),<sup>35</sup> « barbarian archer » (Eastern Han, Chen east pillar, inner side, drawing by Segalen).<sup>36</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Courtesy Sharrock 2012:41.

<sup>24</sup> Fig 15.2 in Brown 2011:320.

<sup>25</sup> Howard 1988:64.

<sup>26</sup> Howard 1988:12.

<sup>27</sup> Nylan 2001:309.

<sup>28</sup> Luo Kaiyu 2008:76.

<sup>29</sup> Hu Axiang 2010:590.

<sup>30</sup> Crowell 1990:204.

<sup>31</sup> Sage 1992:196.

<sup>32</sup> Hu Axiang 2010:585.

<sup>33</sup> Hu Axiang 2010:607

<sup>34</sup> Lewis 2009:90.

<sup>35</sup> Fig.125 in Watt 2004:222.

- *Innovation - Continuity*

Sichuanese sculpture presents unique features seen either as inventions, or as continuations of previous traditions. Both cases are represented in the Mianyang gate pictorial content. Convergent perspective was used to depict an auditing assembly on the east pillar. The dynamic distribution of a « hierarchy of beings »<sup>37</sup> can be immediately related to the innovating paradize representations proper to Sichuan, which respond to the doctrinal orientation of Pure land Buddhism. These new trends have been attributed to the rise of gardening and landscape painting based on cosmological theories developed by a new aristocratic intelligentsia after the fall of the Han.<sup>38</sup> Sichuanese themes carved in soft sandstone carvings are usually painted in the North, « as if paintings had been transposed into stone ».<sup>39</sup>



Figure 5: Mianyang east pillar (inner side),<sup>40</sup> reverse of stele n°2 (Wanfosi).<sup>41</sup>

A faded representation of line-drawn landscape on the Mianyang east pillar allows us some comparison with a rubbing of a now lost Wanfosi stele.<sup>42</sup> Bird-view representations of hilly landscapes are practiced in Sichuan since Han printed tomb tiles, « in a style known for naturalism and lyricism, for bold explorations of space, movement, and landscape motifs».<sup>43</sup>



Figure 6: Mianyang east pillar (inner side),<sup>44</sup> rubbing of a Han funerary tile with salt mines in a landscape setting.<sup>45</sup>

The rock carving tradition of Sichuan fed on a variety of influences stretched on a long time scale, which constituted a rich regional substratum hard to synthesize into a coherent narrative.

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<sup>36</sup> Segalen 1972:74.

<sup>37</sup> Howard 1988:19.

<sup>38</sup> Cai Zhongqi 2004:7.

<sup>39</sup> Howard 1988:49.

<sup>40</sup> Photograph by the author. 2010.

<sup>41</sup> Fig.124 in Watt 2004:221.

<sup>42</sup> Fig.1 in Li Jingjie 2010:102.

<sup>43</sup> Wong 1998:71.

<sup>44</sup> Photograph by the author. 2010.

<sup>45</sup> <http://www.flashcardexchange.com/cards/c7-burial-art-of-sichuan-and-the-rise-of-the-queen-mother-of-the-west-2114803>

Stylistic analysis alone does not provide decisive arguments to relate the first Buddha-like images and their medieval successors, or Han funerary art and its traces in Buddhist sculpture. The Mianyang gate provides a rare opportunity to look at a direct encounter of carving traditions in space, although separated by temporal boundaries. By replacing it within the smaller geography of rock-carving activities in Sichuan between Han and Tang, we will see whether any continuities can be found. If established, a continuity between Sichuan Han stone sculpture and the Southern Dynasties would act as a missing link to counter the hypothesis of decadence and loss of an artistic tradition.

## 2. RE-USE

Re-use, a common phenomenon in the history of architecture, « refers to the attempt by conquering groups to appropriate the sacred sites, buildings and images of those who have lost power and transform them in a manner in which they could serve as symbols of their power».<sup>46</sup> In the Mianyang case, later Buddhist niches literally erase the underlying Han low relief motifs. Segalen describes the intervention as 'Buddhist iconoclasm' or 'graffiti', the pillar being « mutilated by buddhist overdecorations »<sup>47</sup>. Writing under the ambiguous identity a poet following an archaeological mission, Segalen is not an impartial viewer. To him, these are « neither chinese, nor beautiful, (but) the repetition of a monotonous type, innumerable replicas of a well-known model ».<sup>48</sup> However, he intuitively points out at essential differences between Han carvings and Buddhist 'serial' production. According to his 'iconoclastic' views, any available raw material, especially one that could spare the effort to erect a stone monument, provided the opportunity to make a few merit-rewarding images. The repetitive, modular images would rather suit a votive function than devotional purposes.



Figure 7 : side of Maitreya-Amitayus stele (483 CE, Wanfosi),<sup>49</sup> Mianyang west pillar (front side).<sup>50</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Hegewald and Mitra 2008:3-4.

<sup>47</sup> Segalen 1923:85-97.

<sup>48</sup> Segalen 1972:128-9.

<sup>49</sup> Fig.122 in Watt 2004:217.

<sup>50</sup> Photograph by the author. 2010.

Hybrid objects such as the Mianyang pillars are emblematic of periods of disunion and early stages of state formation, when channels to a religious geography are being renegotiated. Indeed, such re-use of an Eastern Han overground funerary structure in medieval times is not an isolated case in the region. The now lost 'Wang Tche-tsseu gate', dated 105 CE, may also have been re-carved with Buddhist motifs. We only know it through the records of Song scholar Hong She (1117-1185 CE), who assimilates the *que* gate to Buddhist and Daoist sacred sutra pillars *zhuang*. However, Hong himself speaks of an 'undecipherable mixture', and his information was dismissed by Chavannes and Segalen as he probably worked only from rubbings.<sup>51</sup>

### • *Competing sacred geographies*

An example of a *que* gate integrated into a Han cliff vestibule in Figure 8b shows connections between free-standing and rock-cut funerary architecture. The gates were oriented and integrated into a complex ensemble, sometimes within a walled enclosure including a water drainage network, a spirit alley, a small temple, ect.<sup>52</sup> Both *que* gates and cliff vestibules convey a sense of place, they are immovable elements acting as landmarks. Han tombs are carved into good quality sandstone, possibly not too far from settlements, in order to be regularly visited for familial observances. They are often provided with water-drainage canals, and remain dry through the year. They do not block any arable land, which makes them unlikely to be disturbed in the long term. They are usually located on riverside cliffs, highly visible and often accessible only by waterway.



Figures 8 : photograph and groundplan of a Han *que* gate aerea,<sup>53</sup> rock-cut *que* gate in Chezi zhen tomb 2 (Leshan county).<sup>54</sup>

The former Han Emperor Yuan (r. 48-32 BCE) saw the establishment of ancestral temples in the countryside as « the best expedient by which power is established, subversive intentions eradicated, and the people unified». <sup>55</sup> Multichambered graves for a single household, often provided with rock-cut offering shrines, and necropole-like groupings of smaller scale caves, show extended kin

<sup>51</sup> Segalen 1923:123.

<sup>52</sup> See Fig. 88 in Segalen 1923:194.

<sup>53</sup> Pl.XXXI and Fig.18 in Segalen 1923:47.

<sup>54</sup> photograph by the author. 2011.

<sup>55</sup> Wechsler 1985:124.

families graveyards. These were often annexed a whole district for their upkeep, in an effort from local elites to build their self-image.<sup>56</sup> In medieval times, the classificatory character of ancestral cults, representing selfish, sectional interests and power divisions is abandoned for a more inclusive type of cult.<sup>57</sup> New doctrines and practices displace the pre-existing boundaries between living and dead.<sup>58</sup>

Cliff caves are still being excavated after the fall of Han, through the Southern Dynasties until the Tang, with examples of Song and Ming caves, too. When consistent ensembles of contemporary Buddhist caves and cliff tombs are both present, like in Dazhu, the gap between carvings in quality and content makes it unlikely that they were executed by the same craftsmen. Late cliff tombs are of simple facture, they are usually left plain, with few burial goods. Evidence for secondary burial and scattered typology, including some awkward figures carved in a summary fashion, have led some authors to suggest that these tombs belonged to a « non-Han » population or at least, did not constitute the mainstream type of burial.<sup>59</sup> However, due to the poor knowledge we have of Shu-Han to Six Dynasties burials in the region, this affirmation seems hazardous.<sup>60</sup>

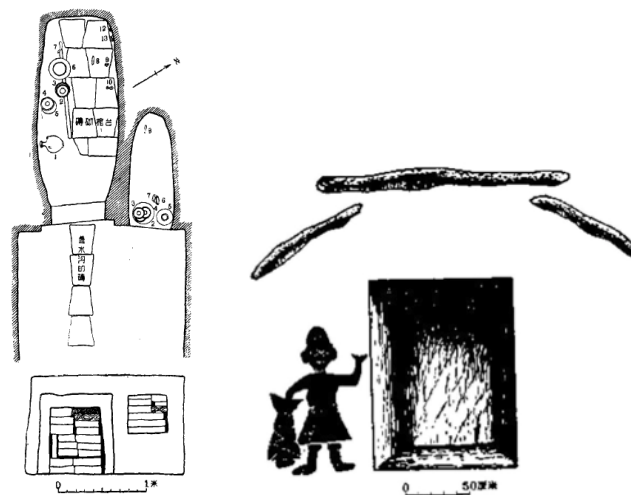


Figure 9 : Zhaohua Southern Dynasties cliff tombs 5-6 (Baolun district),<sup>61</sup> Kejiu cliff tomb 1 (Gao county).<sup>62</sup>

The rock-cut spaces may have been looted and emptied at the fall of Han, by «militarized religious societies promising a millenium of Great Peace in Sichuan and Shandong alike».<sup>63</sup> They may also have served the need of new religious communities for their own spaces, distinct from those of the state, lineage and household cults. Indeed, regional religious authorities rose in importance as « sources of cosmic power against the old urban centers », <sup>64</sup> and the conquest of extra-urban landscapes was launched through temple building and eremitic activities. Post-Han times may not have been as dramatically resented everywhere in the collapsing empire : « Bureaucratic administration (...) was preserved in the Han valley and Sichuan unlike many other regions, in unbroken continuity ». <sup>65</sup> Although the anarchic disposition of the niches on our Mianyang pillar speaks

<sup>56</sup> Wechsler 1985:145.

<sup>57</sup> Wechsler 1985:123.

<sup>58</sup> Lewis 2009:4.

<sup>59</sup> Luo Kaiyu 2008:76.

<sup>60</sup> for a summary of burial types on the area see Lewis 2007:154-161.

<sup>61</sup> Fig.2 in Shen Zhongchang 1959:111-2.

<sup>62</sup> Fig.4 in Luo Kaiyu 2008:76.

<sup>63</sup> Lewis 2009:24.

<sup>64</sup> Lewis 2009:24.

<sup>65</sup> Sage 1992:197.

of individual small-scale action compared to the monumentality of the *que* gate, the site of familial observances could have kept some of its previous connotations. Indeed, the Southern Dynasties promoted a popular form of Buddhism emphasizing virtuous conduct and encouraging family sentiment.<sup>66</sup>

Howard notices that Buddhist cave temples were usually incorporated into peasant's hamlets,<sup>67</sup> an implantation that repeats the earlier Han cliff tombs distribution pattern.<sup>68</sup> Soper also evokes similarities between the layout of Dunhuang cave 118h and the late Han tomb of Yinan, but lacking evidence, he dismisses the hypothesis of monks converting tomb architecture for Buddhist needs.<sup>69</sup> In Sichuan, the similarity may be more significant: Howard believes that most of the famous Buddhist cave shrines ensembles in the Sichuan basin have been carved in previous Han necropoles. Most Buddhist sites are situated along the rivers, which constitute the main transportation system for the basin. Their disposition, reaching an height of 40 meters distributed in thirteen stories of privative spaces, like in Qianfoyan, opposite to Guangyuan Huangzesi, brings up the question of accessibility. Although no textual record of pilgrimage routes is available, Howard has proposed that the Dazhu and Anyue counties Song cliff carvings are an attempt at transforming a network of Sichuan hills and waterways into a Mandala, attaching cave temples to each major station. The smaller Baodingshan ensemble would be its center, supplied by the larger Baodingshan, then surrounded by an outerfield of dispersed sites all aiming towards the pilgrim's enlightenment, with recurrent themes and iconographic homogeneity.<sup>70</sup>

Anyue had a more prominent role than Dazhu earlier on, due to its strategic position on the *Yu dao*, connecting Ba to Chengdu, and linked to Northern Sichuan by the Suining-Bazhong road. Written evidence attributes the earliest Buddhist intervention in the area to the Liang and Northern Zhou in 521 CE,<sup>71</sup> establishing sponsorship patterns to be re-used 4 centuries later in Dazhu.<sup>72</sup> In Anyue county, both the Piludong and Wofoyuan ensemble present untouched (but emptied) Han tombs in the immediate proximity of Buddhist niches.

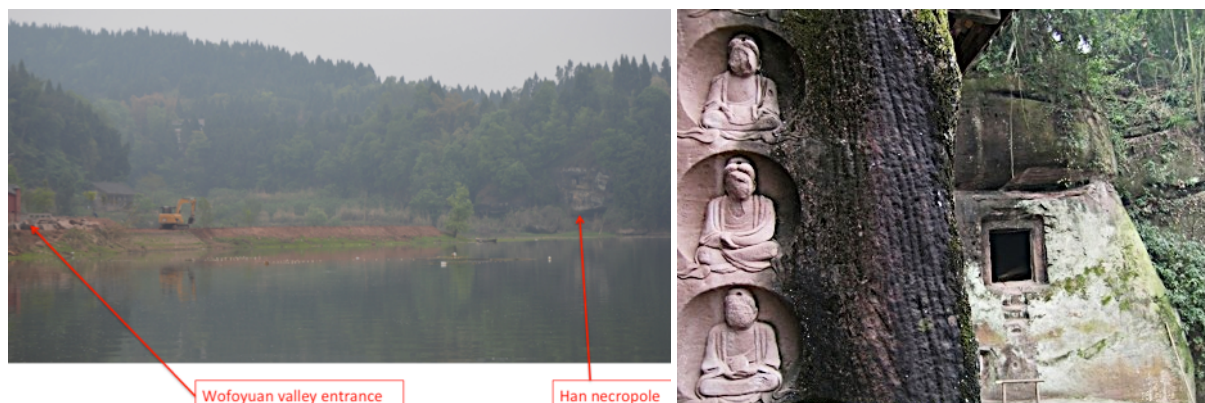


Figure 10 : Wofoyuan site entrance,<sup>73</sup> Piludong cave 8.<sup>74</sup> (Anyue county).

<sup>66</sup> Jenner 1981:133.

<sup>67</sup> Howard 1988:4.

<sup>68</sup> Howard 1988:6.

<sup>69</sup> Soper 1958:163.

<sup>70</sup> Howard 2001:121-2.

<sup>71</sup> Howard 1988:39.

<sup>72</sup> Howard 2001:124.

<sup>73</sup> Photograph by the author. 2013.

A few caves in Wofoyuan have clear traces of a previous closure system which may have meant to lock a former tomb door. Some of them have been apparently enlarged, sometimes by uniting two neighbouring cells, which former contours can be retraced by following the volumes broken edges. In some cases, the Buddhist carvings have obviously been realized after the initial cubic volumes were broken apart.



Figure 11: Wofoyuan caves n°71-72 (Anyue county).<sup>75</sup>

Leshan is the most monumental of the importance of landmark positions for both cliff caves and Buddhist niches. The giant Buddha stands at the confluence of the Min and Dadu rivers : on both sides of this protruding cliff are the well-known ensembles of Mahao and Shiziwan, where early Buddha-like images have been discovered. Later interventions in its immediate proximity follow the re-use pattern : the nearby Baiyashan cave 16 has long been recognized as a 1542 CE re-use of a previous cliff tomb monumental vestibule. This 17,5 by 8 meters cave by the riverbank is carved with 30 Buddha images, with 24 facing each other on both side walls. The central Buddha image is of a larger size, it has been carved between two Han tomb doors and faces the cave opening. Repeated epigraphic interventions among the 96 caves of Baiyadong show an almost year-to-year frequentation of the site from the Song to the Qing.<sup>76</sup>



Figure 12 : Baiyashan cave 16 and its relation to the river.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Photograph by the author. 2009.

<sup>75</sup> Photograph by the author. 2012-3.

<sup>76</sup> Xiao Ping 2001:84-6.

<sup>77</sup> Photograph by the author.

Overground funerary remains such as the *que* gates and cliff tombs underwent a 'change in audience from the dead to the living', recuperating ancient symbols to act upon contemporary society.<sup>78</sup> The *que*, who was already a commemorative landmark, by incorporating Buddhist niches, would just keep fulfilling its agency among passers by. The *que* gates and cliff caves may have acted as a visual link to the past, with a certain historical awareness, probably not reviving their past use, but still being the result of a conscious selection.<sup>79</sup> So can we find any written record that would confirm the intentionality of these interventions ?

### 3. ARCHAISM

Archaism (*fugu* 復古) has a long history in Chinese artistic practice, in accordance to the often quoted Confucius' word : « I transmit rather than create ; I believe in and love the ancients ». <sup>80</sup> Zhuxi comments that the Sage « made a Great Synthesis (...), his merit was twice that of making ». <sup>81</sup> With the emergence of aesthetic theories and the historicization of Chinese art, the Six Dynasties appear as a fertile ground to reinterpret the Past. <sup>82</sup> Two tendencies have been identified in archaistic painting: the unconscious continuation of models, and conscious revival. <sup>83</sup> Intentionality thus marks the difference between archaic and archaistic styles, although both participate in the non-historical continuum of models, « in which the later man suddenly emerged as an equal rather than as a follower ». <sup>84</sup>

To Segalen, the floating garments of the figures back on our Mianyang *que* are very different from the 'greco-buddhic style' : he attributes their large, non folded, symmetric shape to the Han immortal figures sculpted on the same pillar. <sup>85</sup> Later authors agree in seeing the flattening of the garments into symetric folds as a revisitation of the floating feathers of Han immortals, <sup>86</sup> which corresponds to a revival of the *xian* (transcendents) ideal in Six Dynasties apocryphal texts and lyric genres. <sup>87</sup>

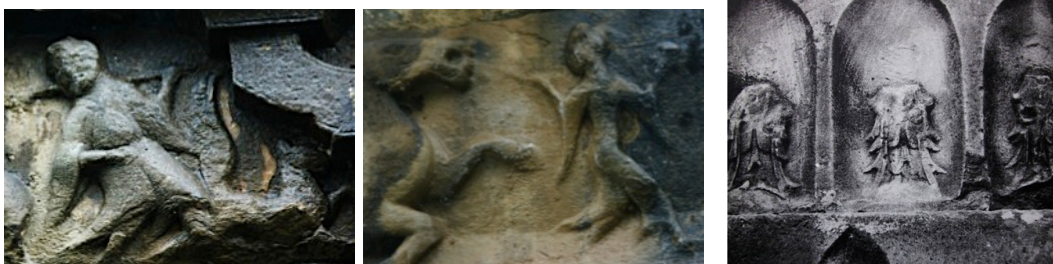


Figure 13 : Mianyang west pillar (right side),<sup>88</sup> Mianyang East pillar (front side).<sup>89</sup>

<sup>78</sup> So 2008:14.

<sup>79</sup> So 2008:32.

<sup>80</sup> Analects VII.1 tr.by Legge 1865-95 I:195.

<sup>81</sup> Mote 1976:7.

<sup>82</sup> Harrist 2004:47-8.

<sup>83</sup> Wen C. Fong 1976:98.

<sup>84</sup> Wen C. Fong 1976:93.

<sup>85</sup> Segalen 1972:137.

<sup>86</sup> Tsiang 1998:73.

<sup>87</sup> Huntington 2004:216.

<sup>88</sup> Photograph by the author. 2009.

These sinicizing features have also been attributed to robe styles of the Southern Dynasties, with 'loose robes and wide girdles' (褒衣博帶 *baoyi bodai*). Textual evidence supports the idea of flourishing State sponsored arts in the South, and Soper believes that the two periods of Northern florison, 480 AD and end of 550 AD, are due to a Southern input.<sup>90</sup> The writings of Sui dynasty Confucian philosopher Wang T'ung (584-617 CE) confirm this transfer of culture and institutions from the South between the Liu Song and Northern Wei dynasties in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>91</sup> He goes against a view of the North vitalized with fresh barbarian blood, while the South declined, and denies that the few bronzes of the South can be attributed to emigrated Northern Wei sculptors.<sup>92</sup> Many believe that the South experiences no break in tradition, but continuity, in an effort of building up a legitimate dynastic succession, a reinvented nation in which self-conscious traditionalism was one crucial element.<sup>93</sup> The reformulation of tradition aimed at solving a crisis, and new formulas were not only the fact of Indian influence.<sup>94</sup>

The most cited example of medieval « archaistic campaign » is the sinicization campaign of the Northern Wei emperor Xiaowen, beginning around 399 CE.<sup>95</sup> Already before 493 CE,<sup>96</sup> when still in Pingcheng, the Northern Wei constructed palaces, ancestral temples and altars modelled on Ye, Luoyang, and Chang'an.<sup>97</sup> They chose Luoyang as a new capital in 494 AD against the other possibilities, Ye and Chang'an, because of it being the former capital of the Eastern Han, but also of the Eastern Zhou, Jin and the remote legendary Xia. Cultural and symbolic attraction may have acted more than any other reason, including strategic ones.<sup>98</sup>

The ruins of this centre of civilization form the Northern Wei landscape, only separated from the fall of Han by less than three centuries<sup>99</sup>. As recorded by Li Daoyuan (active 498-523) in his 6<sup>th</sup> century *Shuijing zhu* (Annotated Classic of Waterways), overground funerary sculpture and ancestral halls were still visible,<sup>100</sup> and ritual family observances may even been still carried.<sup>101</sup> According to Li, the tombs were being visited and appreciated: « In front of the tomb is an ancestral shrine and worship hall,(...) those who go in to look all carry candles,(...) the stone construction is highly refined». <sup>102</sup> 'Scholar-architect-designers' studied the ritual functions, spaces and objects described in ancient texts, and tried to match those with available visual models to be adapted, combined, re-named.<sup>103</sup> The Northern Wei dynastic cosmology was constantly paralleled with the great Han, and its style juxtaposed contradictory elements out of different worlds.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Plate 38 in Segalen 1972:127.

<sup>90</sup> Soper 1960:19-21.

<sup>91</sup> Wechsler, 1985:16-7.

<sup>92</sup> Soper 1960:35-6.

<sup>93</sup> Wechsler 1985:16.

<sup>94</sup> Holcombe 1994:2.

<sup>95</sup> Wang 1999:58.

<sup>96</sup> Jenner 1981:16.

<sup>97</sup> Jenner 1981:21.

<sup>98</sup> Jenner 1981:21. She adds that « the Indian tradition of cave temples, which had come through central Asia, coincided with the T'opa tradition of cutting rock shrines for their pre-dynastic rulers. » Jenner 1981:26.

<sup>99</sup> Tsiang 2010:233.

<sup>100</sup> Tsiang 2010:233.

<sup>101</sup> Tsiang 2010:233.

<sup>102</sup> *Shuijing Zhu* 8:34-35. cited in Tsiang, 2010:135.

<sup>103</sup> Tsiang 2010:232.

<sup>104</sup> Wang 1999:64.



Figure 14 : Bronze pushou with standing Buddhas, Northern Wei, Guyang museum (Ningxia province).<sup>105</sup>

According to So, a three centuries gap provides freedom of reinterpretation : « true ‘archaic revivals’ require a hiatus or clean break in that tradition, i.e. the ‘revived’ artifact must have disappeared from the people’s lives and had its role or function replaced by something else for a significant period of time before their revival can have the requisite effect ». <sup>106</sup> This seducing view postulates that as long as an ancient structure is still visible, and a time lapse of ‘incubation’ has been provided, it could feed new productions. <sup>107</sup>

- **Interpreting pre-existing images**

As mentioned before, the Han Buddha-like figures of Mahao and Shiziwan have mainly been considered as opportunistic appropriations of a strategic position in the tomb. They dispute their location with auspicious images such as the *pushou* animal head. The two images are situated in the ‘vestibule’, a part that remained accessible to the living and served ritual purposes after the closure of the tomb. The central position of the Buddha-like images in the vestibules complicated the debate on their function. Su Bai argues that « the early versions of Buddha-images on *hunping* are replacing the *que* gate guards, while later ones are placed between the pair of pillars, assuming a central position of worship ». <sup>108</sup> Others have proposed that *que* gates represented monastery architecture. The shift from auspicious to devotional Buddha images, however, may not have followed such a strict evolutionary model. Indeed, niches are carved on both sides of a *pushou* on our Mianyang pillar timber-frame, as if the Buddha image still functioned on an auspicious mode instead of serving a direct worship purpose.



Figure 15 : Mianyang West pillar (front side),<sup>109</sup> Mahao cliff tomb 1,<sup>110</sup> Shiziwan cliff tomb 1.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Fig.73 in Watt 2004:164.

<sup>106</sup> So 2008:3.

<sup>107</sup> Pirazzoli 1994:26.

<sup>108</sup> Su Bai 1974:46. cited in Yamada 1991: 52.

<sup>109</sup> Photograph by the author. 2010.

Two late Han apocryphal versions of Udayana's legend<sup>112</sup> mention the first Buddha images appearing in Han emperor Ming's dream: « after he dreamed of a man crowned with the sun, a Buddha with jet-black hair was painted in the emperor's tomb». <sup>113</sup> While Han texts favour dreams and apparitions, most medieval accounts allude to the finding of pre-existing statues, thus Indian statues 'discovered' on Chinese soil. Asokan images, present for centuries on Chinese soil, remained hidden since the time was not ripe.<sup>114</sup> Daoxuan's account (664 AD)<sup>115</sup> witnesses the climate of « religious propaganda starting and spreading in the 4th century », <sup>116</sup> when statues of presumed Asokan origins are brought to China, lost or buried, and re-excavated again. The concept of 'auspicious' image affiliates our Han Buddha-like images to later production. The idea of continuity with the early stages of Buddhist imagery, whether metaphoric or physical, is also present in Guyang cave's dedicatory inscription (488 or 498 CE) : « the true visage of the previous age, and the forms inherited from the past are handed down». <sup>117</sup>

An unbroken line seems to run between medieval archaistic concerns and the later movements of antiquarianism. Song scholar Lu Dalin (1046-1092 CE) , in his commentary on the *Kaogu Tu* 考古圖 confers agency and intention to the antiquities. Pretty much like omens, they emerge at a definite, purposive time. <sup>118</sup> Lu believed that visualizing ancient shapes, reciting inscriptions and describing their appearance, « suffice to empower the antiquities ». <sup>119</sup> The antiquarianist uses the term 'auspicious' when talking of these alien objects he stumbles upon and gets revelations from, narrowing the comparison « between studying and refashioning the past ». <sup>120</sup>

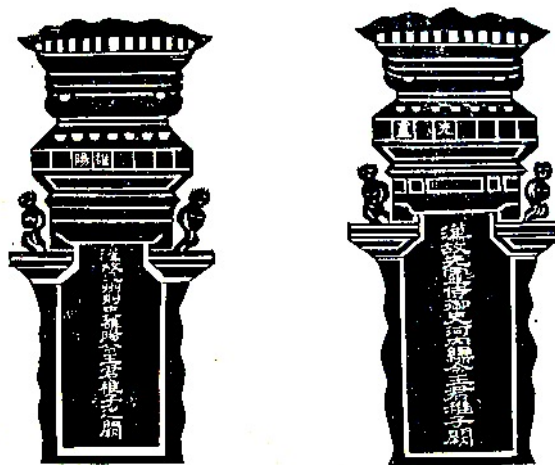


Figure 16 : Wang-tche tsseu que gate, ink drawing by Hong She.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>110</sup> Timpermann 2012-3. 14:18.

<sup>111</sup> Fig.1 in Luo Erhu 2005:68.

<sup>112</sup> 作佛形象經 (T 692, 788) later Han and 造立形象福報經 (T 693, 788-9) in Soper 1959:263.

<sup>113</sup> Jenner 1981:141.

<sup>114</sup> Soper 1960:93.

<sup>115</sup> «Records of Stimulus and fulfilment of the Three Jewels Collected from the Spiritual Realm » (集神州三寶感通錄). T 2106

<sup>116</sup> Lippiello 1995:158.

<sup>117</sup> Soper 1959:102.

<sup>118</sup> Moser 2012:277.

<sup>119</sup> Moser 2012:279.

<sup>120</sup> Wu Hung 2010:12.

<sup>121</sup> Fig.52 in Segalen 1923:123.

## CONCLUSION

The Mianyang pillar acted along the essay as a catalyser to interrogate the Han legacy in the Buddhist carving activity of the Southern Dynasties. The *que* gate has proven to belong to a wider movement of reappropriation of landmark sacred positions and resources for Buddhist purposes.

Migrations, successive northern and southern rule, and Sichuan's peculiar geographic position may have favoured ruptures in artistic traditions and diversified sources of inspiration. Sichuanese sculpture shows connections with the Han past, due to both a general tendency to reappropriate symbols of the archaic past in medieval artistic traditions, and to Sichuan's preexisting stone carving tradition. Although occurring in a more mature stage of Buddhism, medieval Buddhist art still takes advantage from to funerary structures.

The influence of the « Han prototype » may not have been a direct stylistic contagion imposing itself on the craftsmen, but strategies for the present manifestly needed past infrastructures, which in Sichuan were abundant and available for re-use.

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