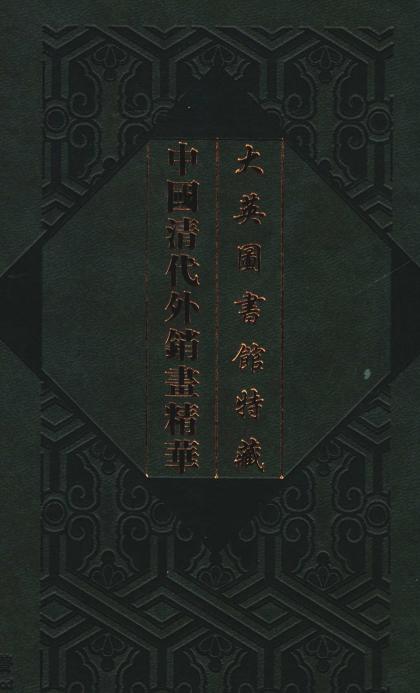
Chinese Export Paintings of the Qing Period in The British Library Volume





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第伍卷

王次澄 吴芳思 宋家鈺 盧慶濱 編著 (接姓氏筆畫爲序)

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# Chinese Export Paintings of the Qing Period in The British Library

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Volume V

Andrew Lo Song Jiayu Wang Tzi-Cheng Frances Wood



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> ·廣州· Guangzhou



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### 法鐘聲遠禪關外 海幢招提煙霧間

——羊城古名刹"海幢寺"圖史考略

宋家鈺 盧慶濱 陶國垣

#### 一 海幢寺組畫的發現及其製作年代

幢影落層臺,江濤挾勢回。 歌尋珠女去,秋帶雁王來。 緑瓦爲誰出,南雲豈自開。 劫途資福地,俺達太非才。

這是清代陳官當年讚詠廣州海幢寺的詩,他在注文中説,海幢寺可比 美江南名刹:"諸殿及臺階,博麗整齊,雖金陵(南京)之承恩[寺]、報恩 [寺],西湖靈隱[寺]、靜慈[寺],未之或過。"①詩中"緑瓦",指平 南王尚可喜申請用緑色琉璃瓦營造府第未獲准許,將磚瓦盡施捨於廣州各佛 寺(詳見本文第四節)。尾聯前句指尚可喜在廣東苦難時期資建海幢等寺院, 後句指繼其王爵的兒子"平南親王奄達尚之信",②後與吴三桂、耿精忠叛 清,即歷史所載康熙時期的"三藩之亂"。

海幢寺,這座興盛於清代、衰泯於民國的羊城古刹,至今只有以它命名的海幢碼頭、海幢公園和僅存的兩座殿堂,尚能讓人們想起这座曾名著一時的叢林。很長的時期,我們只能在類似陳官的詩文、碑誌和遊記中,去尋覓它的蹤迹,不能具體形象地看到它那"博麗整齊"的輝煌盛貌。可以説是一個非常偶然的機會,讓我們看到一組塵封兩百多年的寺廟繪畫。它是東印度公司1807年人藏的清代外銷畫册之一,現藏大英圖書館。自那以後,除阿奇爾 (Mildred Archer) 在《印度事務部圖書館中的公司繪畫》著作中,曾指出此畫所繪是有名的海幢寺外<sup>⑤</sup>,幾乎無人詳細研究、介紹過它。幸有吴芳思博士後來仔細查找,將其列入本書的拍攝、編輯目録,才未遺珠在外。經我們細緻研究該畫册並查閱有關史料後,完全證實它所繪的正是已經消逝的清代廣州四大名寺之一的海幢寺,這不能不令人感到十分振奮。完整而詳盡的寺院繪畫,不僅中國歷代繪畫所無,在各國收藏的近萬幅清代外銷畫中,目前還僅見於大英圖書館藏有此畫,其歷史價值之珍貴不言而喻。

這批海幢寺組畫共有91幅,除"海幢寺建築圖"(Add. Or. 2016) 爲紙本墨水筆畫外,其餘均爲紙本水粉畫。從繪畫來看,是兩個時期不同畫師繪的,相同的是都採用西方透視畫法,部分殿堂基本近似。不同的是所繪殿堂僧舍各有省略,且相同的殿堂僧舍的細部也有差異,因此兩組繪畫可以互補。第一組繪畫 (Add. Or. 2084—2126) 共43幅,其中殿堂等建築畫22幅,全寺建筑素描圖1幅,後園("福場園")1幅,佛像畫19幅。第二組繪畫(Add. Or. 2139—2186) 共48幅,其中殿堂等建築畫23幅,後園("福場園")1幅,佛像畫24幅。各幅畫均無畫題,有的能從殿堂匾額知道建築名稱,有的從內容可以判斷,有的畫面毫無綫索,须據歷史記載考證。

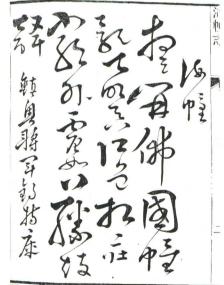
我們確定這批繪畫是海幢寺組畫,主要根據有四:一是部分繪畫右上 角有用英文寫的 "Joss House, Honam" (河南廟宇), 二是兩殿前的燈籠上寫有 "海幢"、"海幢禪院",三是畫中所繪建築、佛像與乾隆五十五年(1790)陳蘭 芝增輯《嶺海名勝記·海幢志》的"海幢寺圖"的記載相符,<sup>4</sup> 四是與西方來 華者所繪海幢寺圖和記載一致。據載這批畫是1807年入藏英國, 我們推測它 的繪製年代至遲應是在18世紀晚期。在此前後,海幢寺的建築有些增改, 故有的建築不見於這批畫中,或與畫中所繪不同。其中第二組畫 (Add. Or. 2139—2186) 繪作的時間可能更早一些。此組畫中的後園只繪有一座"普同 塔"墓地,第一組畫 (Add. Or. 2084—2126) 繪的是兩座墓地。陳蘭芝1790年 增輯《嶺海名勝記·海幢志》的"海幢寺圖",後園中已是兩座墓地。第二 組畫中有乾隆三十一年 (1766) 建成的毗盧閣, 因此這組畫的製作時間應在 1766年至1790年之間。第一組畫 (Add. Or. 2084—2126) 雖晚於第二組畫, 但 兩組畫中大雄寶殿前的韋馱、伽藍兩殿卻同是方形歇山頂建築,不同於陳蘭 芝"海幢寺圖"上的六角形亭式建築,所以第一組畫的繪作時間至遲也應在 1790年以前。(按:東印度公司收藏的一批中國外銷畫,不論入藏原大英博 物館的日期先後,都是在19世紀初登録編號的。因此,海幢寺第二組畫的編 號 Add. Or. 2139—2186 在第一組的編號 Add. Or. 2084—2126 之後, 並不表 示其創作時期比第一組畫晚,也不表示其人藏時期晚於第一組畫。)

#### 二 海幢寺的興建

海幢寺的興建,是在清初嶺南地區的一定政治、經濟和宗教文化的背景下産生的。當時清朝統一全國的軍事行動基本結束,爲了穩定統治,爭取更多漢族縉紳地主、文士的支持,採取了一系列經濟政策和尊儒崇佛政策。在靖南王耿精忠調移福建後,平南王尚可喜成爲獨掌廣東地區軍、政、財大權的一方大藩勢力。耿精忠、尚可喜與雲南的平西王吴三桂,史稱"三藩",他們與清廷的矛盾開始激化。"三藩"除了在軍事、經濟上積極擴大勢力外,還"好士樂施",網羅貧窮的文學人士,資助一些佛寺的興建。在此時期,南明最後一個永曆政權滅亡,嶺南地區曾在地下從事復明活動、支持永曆政權的文士紛紛遁入禪寺爲僧。由於他們有較高文化修養,能與地方高官、富紳交遊,從而促進佛教禪宗在當地的發展。⑤

海幢寺所在地相傳爲南漢時代 (907—971) 之千秋寺,後廢爲居民産業。晚明時期,光半、月池二僧向長者郭龍岳募得一小地,建成佛堂、准提堂,稱爲海幢寺。清初,耿精忠、尚可喜兩藩王和當地官紳曾相繼邀請羅浮山華首臺的空隱和尚 (道獨,1600—1661) 及其嫡嗣番禺雷鋒寺的天然和尚(函是,1608—1685) 主持海幢寺,最後終請得天然和尚推薦的嫡嗣阿字和尚





阿字禪師 (海幢寺方丈今無和尚) 像、讚 清·陳蘭芝增輯《橫海名勝記·海幢志》(1790)、卷六,第2頁下、3頁上。倫敦亞非學院圖書

Portrait of Chan Master Azi (Abbot Jinwu of Ocean Banner Temple) and encomium, from Chen Lanzhi, ed. *Linghai Mingsheng Ji* (Famous places of the Linghai area), *juan* 6, 2b, 3a. Library, School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

(今無,1633—1681) 長任該寺首座。據一些學者的研究,清初的禪僧可分爲附清的"新朝派"(或"在朝派") 和有抗清思想的"故國派"。天然和尚屬禪宗曹洞宗壽昌法系,是"故國派"的代表,其法徒多爲具有抗清意識的明末遺民,不少人成爲清代有名的學問僧、畫僧,留下不少著名詩文和繪畫。天然和尚的"語録"集和嗣徒澹歸的文集均被清廷列爲禁書。⑥

今無和尚自康熙元年 (1662) 開始主持海幢寺,經他與其他僧衆的努力,到康熙十一年 (1672),相次建成佛殿、僧堂、樓閣、諸寶像,奠定海幢寺的基本格局。1673年,他北上請藏經,1675年回海幢。此後僧徒益聚,曾鑄千人大鐵鍋給濟乏解僧,在這方面他經常是傾囊相助,毫無吝色。康熙十七年 (1678),他在去世前,還派遣諸僧外出募資,籌建藏經閣。康熙二十年 (1681)告寂,所度緇白徒衆一千七百餘人,②留有《阿字無禪師光宣臺集》。

今無和尚爲番禺萬氏人,父爲諸生,少時因株連爲禁卒,故也應具有抗清思想。他是一位"有超世之量,拔群之識",極富辯才智慧的僧人。經他與其他僧侣慘淡經營、擴建,在短短十年間,就將海幢寺建成爲廣州四大叢林之一,其壯麗"不獨甲於粵東,抑且雄視宇內","爲粵東諸君子吟賞之地"。<sup>8</sup>海幢寺的建築規劃特色,也確實表現了今無才智。他善於利用海幢寺背山面水的地勢,將全寺建成坐南朝北,而不是通常的坐北朝南,以珠江水路作爲出入寺院的主要交通。但全寺建築佈局,仍然遵循明代形成的"東内西外"佛寺建制,即中路爲山門、大殿等,東側區主要爲寺僧內部用房,西側區主要爲寺外來客用房。今無和尚和其他僧侣慘淡經營,擴建海幢寺的心血,可從下文瞭解一斑。

在《築堤詩》序中,今無寫道: "余以壬寅(1662),首衆海幢,四事荒弛,歲增月補,閱四年(1666)而大雄殿成(按:據王令《鼎建海幢寺碑記》記載,應是1671年建成)。時提督將軍常公、參府吴公,爲覓寺後田三十七畝。又明年冬,鑿渠作堤,蜿蜒周遭,幾及二百丈,欲堤上裁(栽)竹,渠下插柳,池沼波瀾,亭臺蔽輝,徐而治之,城市山林,無難無妨,不獨使王(黄)金城邊,蔚有青蔥秖(祇)樹也,因賦築堤詩。"<sup>⑨</sup>

在致《石鑒西堂大師》信函中,他寫道:"無於海幢六年經營,夜以繼日,始得大殿甫成,正在塑十三面觀音,又欲建鎏金丈六塔,雖費盈萬,然願之所在,自忘其少。此其所以爲癡人而見咻於高風絶俗者也。"<sup>10</sup>

1673年,山門建成,今無有這樣的慨歎: "癸丑 (1673)三月,予以海幢山門畢工,神氣虛耗,厭極人事,思就養羅浮。"<sup>⑩</sup>

募捐方面,也會碰上施主答應之後反悔的情況。這種甘苦自知的心绪 可從今無和尚的一首詩中瞭解:



願乞金剛四座高, 長年一册壓方袍。

問人每爽朱提約,在我殊憐白首勞。[2]

創建海幢寺,池月和尚也有極大的奠基功勞,今無在《池月耆舊五十 又一壽序》裹説:"海幢之爲海幢,視池月則爲前茅,爲始基,經營規劃,揮 汗盈石。予繼先人席,幸得棲遲。歲增月補,行將韙之。"<sup>188</sup>在《壽池月》 詩中,今無表達他與池月合力共建千年名刹的抱負:

十年共建千年刹,一劫同君萬劫心。

擊鼓隔溪猶及響, 莫將閒靜祝高岑。 [4]

海幢寺建成後,由於禪院林木幽美,成爲廣州城區士民近郊常遊勝

維 殊何而無稱維 摩 形則無灰也摩 詰 並夫不議其詰 應聖為超自不後厥 至智商羣淵思泰說 韻無知數玄議長経無知所之非経安序 而以表 言者釋 而萬然絕象 盖僧 玄品而有灰是肇 籍俱能心測窮迷 弥照然之道微 布法者境越盡 身常眇三化 思莽 空 象議無非妙 謀而也為

海幢寺經坊印《維摩詰所説經》序頁 後秦·鳩摩羅什譯《維摩詰所説經》三 卷。康熙已未年(1679)姚今澍刻本,海幢 寺藏板。倫敦亞非學院圖書館藏。

Preface to Kumārajīva, trans. Weimojie Suoshuo Jing (The Sutra of Vimalakīrti [Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra]). Yao Jinshu edition of 1679, woodblocks stored in Ocean Banner Temple. Library, School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

中智慧圓足 **鞏固壽算綿長現生之內事事吉祥** 摩 契真如各各同 次已未上元吉旦 詰 所 說 經 全 圓 部 油 性 謹 海 廣 同 板藏廣州海幢 俚 為 縁 流通 我 胡 湖今引 听 51 生寺經坊 人盡 來 石品 世

海幢寺經坊印《維摩詰所説經》尾頁 後秦·鳩摩羅什譯《維摩詰所説經》三卷。 康熙已未年(1679)姚今謝刻本,海幢寺藏 板。倫敦亞非學院圖書館藏。

Kumūrajīva, trans. Weimojie Suoshuo Jing (The Sutra of Vimalakīrti [Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa sūtra]), end page. Yao Jinshu edition of 1679, woodblocks stored in Ocean Banner Temple. Library, School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

地。嘉慶二十一年(1816),清政府應英國商人要求,批准"十三行"中的外國人,每月可有三天前往遊覽海幢寺。這是當時中國第一座對外國人開放

的佛寺。1822年,英國特別使團大使阿美土德公爵 (Lord Amherst) (1773—1857) 和團員,因不願住"十三行"商區,經廣州官府安排,在海幢寺裹住了幾個星期。這使海幢寺拓展了在外國人心目中的知名度,因而在國外留傳下許多外國旅遊者關於海幢寺的珍貴遊記和繪畫。1829年在廣州的美國商人亨特 (William Hunter),就在後來寫的《舊中國雜記·海幢寺》中說:"到商館對岸河南的大廟一遊,總是很有意思的。這座廟宇是華南各省中最大最漂亮的寺廟之一。"5

除此之外,海幢寺的印經坊還是當時廣州最大的印刷工廠之一,它除了印刷佛經外,也出版其他一些書籍。英國倫敦大學亞非學院圖書館就收藏有八十多种海幢寺出版的圖書。這都是研究當年海幢寺和廣州地區歷史的寶貴資料。

#### 三 海幢寺各殿堂建築歷史

關於海幢寺各殿堂的建造歷史,我們根據海幢寺方丈今無和尚和方丈 朗如和尚的文集、廣州地方志史料、康熙十八年(1679)王令撰寫的《鼎建海 幢寺碑記》、金甡1766年撰寫的《鼎建海幢毗盧閣功德碑記》、1790年陳蘭 芝增輯的《嶺海名勝記·海幢志》,以及西方人士的記載,可以初步考證出 比較清楚的概貌。

#### (一) 關於王令《碑記》記載的部分殿堂建築

王令於康熙十八年 (1679) 撰寫的《鼎建海幢寺碑記》(以下簡稱王令《碑記》),是研究海幢寺各殿堂建造歷史的首要史料。但收録在梁鼎芬等1911年纂修的《番禺縣續志》内的王令《碑記》, 每録文多有遺漏和誤植。現據1790年陳蘭芝增輯的《嶺海名勝記·海幢志》所録王令《碑記》,參照《番禺縣續志》,其主要部分校録如下:

當郡城都會大河之南,昔曰盧城,今曰河南(《續志》爲"海南")。考古迹,蓋萬松嶺福場園地也。舊有千秋寺,地址頗曠,相傳爲南漢(905—971)所建,久廢爲居民産。前有僧光半、月池,蔡於長者郭龍岳,稍加華治,成佛堂、准提堂各一,顏曰海幢,蓋取"效法於海幢比丘"之義,以比丘在昔,能修習《般若波羅蜜》,入百萬阿僧祇劫,了無障礙故也。

乙未 (顺治十二年,1655) 春,長慶空老人應平、靖雨藩請,偶憩於此,樂其幽靜,遂一寄迹,尋返錫華首,四衆思慕,亡何入滅。飯禮諸檀越如大中丞李公瑞梧、侍郎王公園 (《續志》爲"圓")長、總戎張公葵軒、方伯曹公秋岳輩,謂主法不可無人,相率禮請其嫡嗣雷鋒天和尚繼席。和尚癖於嚴壑,不往而難於辭,適阿公承心印、受衣鉢囑,囑(《續志》爲"屬")以首座,遂命



主海幢院事,事無巨細,率稟教焉。公豎大法幢, 撾塗毒鼓 (按:毒鼓之聲能 殺害衆生之五逆十惡,使入於佛道也),吸西江而翻東海,緇素聞(《續志》爲 "文")風,四方雲集,上而王公大人,下而販夫稚子,莫不泥首皈命,發大歡 喜, 隨地佈金, 因緣輻輳, 遂於丙午 (康熙五年, 1666) 之夏, 首建大殿, 廣七 楹, 高三尋有咫, 矢棘暈飛, 碧紺萬狀, 望若天半彩霞。殿後右角, 則地藏之 閣, 聳峙巍峨, 八角鐘臺, 聲徹雲表。

逾年丁未 (康熙六年, 1667), 平南尚王 (?-1676) 就大殿 (《續志》多一 "前"字)二百餘武,建四大天王殿,金碧掩映,像設莊嚴,見者竦然生敬。 入山門, 過天王殿, 左右肅立爲韋馱、伽藍兩殿, 更十餘武, 窗楹相間, 兩翼

枕斯堂後, 傑閣重廊, 連雲並捲者, 則庫司兩座, 以貯米鹽零雜。又後爲 彌陀院, 環院而拱列者, 若察舍, 若閒房, 乃不可殫述。而牆外彌望, 率爲藝植 圃,圃之盡處,爲普同塔。……若僧光半、池月始基所建,則今之禪堂、客堂者 是。以其緊附右廊, 庇而存之, 而 (《續志》爲"以") 志不忘。如是而海幢之壯 麗,不獨甲於粤東,抑且雄視宇内,土木之功,亦云殫矣。而後衛未聳,則形勢 不全, 侈觀(《續志》爲"視")者猶以爲病。於是信施諸公, 群然而興, 乃就後 方餘地,築土成臺,出地數尺,周甃以石,臺上建藏經閣,廣九楹,其高逾於大 殿者三之一,碧瓦朱甍,侵霄爍漢,叢林創建之盛,至是蓋無以加矣。即

根據以上王令《碑記》的記載, 我們可以討論以下各點:



王令《鼎建海幢寺碑記》(1679) 殘碑 (今廣州市海幢公園海幢寺内) Incomplete stele of Wang Ling, "Dingjian Haichuangsi Beiji" (Stele inscription of the construction of Ocean Banner Temple), 1679. (Now in Ocean Banner Temple, Ocean Banner Park, Guangzhou.)

森列者爲迴廊,周折而整齊。由是迤邐而行,以盡寺之右方,稍近裏者爲叢現 堂。堂前楝宇相連,上下各五楹,窗楹對啓,上則香積廚,其下則齋堂。由齋 堂而右, 則大悲闊與藥師、佛母堂, 參差並峙, 蓋鼎足而三焉。其俯而平, 揖 而内向者, 則職事諸察也。退而稍後, 則有持福堂, 因地勢而建, 其地之址, 視前楹瓴脊有加,爲諸檀信尸祝之所。

(1) 大雄寶殿:據王令《碑記》記載,始建於1666年,1671年八月完 成,前後費時六年。但在前引《築堤詩》序中,今無卻說:"余以壬寅 (1662), 首衆海幢, 四事荒弛, 歲增月補, 閱四年(1666) 而大雄殿成。" 這就 是説建築大殿歷經四年,竣工日期是1666年。據前引今無致《石鑒西堂大 師》信函,曾稱大殿經六年經營始克建成。今無在另一文中也明確說:"康



#### 大英圖書館特藏中國清代外銷畫精華 Chinese Export Paintings of the Oing Period in The British Librar

熙戊辰 (1688), ……予時方建海幢大雄殿, ……庚戌 (1670)、辛亥 (1671) 兩歲, 承大中丞劉公弘護, 殿遂落成, 此辛亥秋八月也。中丞諱秉權, 三韓人, 由學士出巡撫廣東。" 這均與王令碑文的記載一致, 即大雄殿落成日期是1671年。因此, 今無《築堤詩》序所説建殿時期應是記憶之誤, 當以王令《碑記》所載爲是。

(2) 四大天王殿和山門: 1667年平南王始建四大天王殿,完工之年應爲1672年。李福泰1871年修纂的《番禺縣志》記載: "康熙十一年 (1672) 平藩建天王殿,其山門則巡撫劉秉權所建也。"<sup>®</sup>但是,王令《碑記》並未記載劉秉權建山門之事。平南王似曾捐金建立山門。今無《與彭雲客明府》信中説:"山僧自二月來,爲藩王發心,出府金三千餘爲建山門,故應酬無暇晷。"<sup>®</sup>

除此之外,參考1790年陳蘭芝增輯的《嶺海名勝記·海幢志》所附"海幢寺圖"(以下簡稱陳志"海幢寺圖")<sup>②</sup>,我們可以確切瞭解王令《碑記》所記海幢寺大部分建築物的位置,惟以下各殿宇的建築歷史和位置,還需進一步考證:

- (1) 王令《碑記》稱大悲閣、藥師堂、佛母堂鼎足而三。在陳志"海幢寺圖"上,與大悲樓"鼎足而三"的是西歸堂、老堂,没有藥師堂、佛母堂。西歸堂似爲老、病僧人住處,可能就是舊的藥師堂。因爲大雄寶殿三世佛中已有藥師佛,所以藥師堂被改爲西歸堂。依此推測,在相同位置上的老堂,也可能是由佛母堂改建而來。這都有待進一步研究,姑且存疑。
- (2) 王令《碑記》提到兩座庫司之後爲彌陀院。陳志"海幢寺圖"中, 庫司和穀倉之後有一長方形建築物,不知是否爲彌陀院。
- (3)《海幢寺阿字無禪師行狀》中稱,今無1678年始發諸衲募藏閣,<sup>22</sup>而 王令1679年《碑記》中已提到藏經閣是海幢寺最高的建築物,可見藏經閣是 在這兩年之內建成。在陳志1790年"海幢寺圖"上,未見有藏經閣。1774年 任果、常德主修的《番禺縣志》説:"康熙二十五年(1686),從堪興家言, 改藏經閣爲後殿。"<sup>23</sup>據此,藏經閣應被改爲陳志1790年"海幢寺圖"中的 觀音殿。王令1679年撰寫的《碑記》裏並没有提到觀音殿,所以,觀音殿應 該是1686年改建藏經閣而成。香港副主教葛雷(John Henry Gray) 1873年遊覽 海幢寺後,曾記載觀音殿的情況是:"這所殿宇的兩旁放置好幾座大書櫥, 門扇是可以折疊的。書櫥裏,則安放佛教經書。"<sup>23</sup>這或許可以作爲藏經閣 被改爲觀音殿的旁證。

海幢寺的藏經是1675年從南京請回的。今無和尚弟子記載說: "康熙十四年(1675)三月十五日,師(今無和尚)自金陵請藏經歸寺,蒙平南王、

闔省文武宰官紳衿延禪僧四十衆諷誦全藏,長期祝國庇民。"為

#### (二) 陳志 "海幢寺圖" 所繪部分建築物

1790年的陳志"海幢寺圖"上,有部分建築物在王令《碑記》中未見記載,現據"海幢寺圖"從右到左依次説明如下:

- (1) 靜遠堂。這大概是僧人用來閉關打坐的地方。參見本組畫 Add. Or. 2147 "靜遠堂" 圖考釋。
- (2) 王令《碑記》未記載陳志"海幢寺圖"中的諸天閣,是因爲今無和 尚在世时有願建一個諸天閣(又稱毗盧閣),但未成功。實现其遺願的是下 兩代的僧侣們。金甡1766年撰寫的《鼎建海幢毗盧閣功德碑記》記載:

余以乾隆甲子歲 (1744) 衡恩命典廣東鄉試。……泛小艇珠江,觀所聞海幢寺者,因得識住持正目和尚,率其徒朗如上人 (法真,?—1773) <sup>36</sup>導余以遊。遊竟,則指殿西隙地,告余曰:"此創寺祖阿字和尚 (今無) 所欲構爲毗盧閣而未遂者也。於今六十餘年矣。毗盧佛相已就,今猶權供天王殿。"所言已,其師弟皆若有不自得者。余既罷遊,旋亦去粤。越二十有三年 (1766) ,朗如上人書來以閣成告,且乞余言以落之。

此碑爲主持朗如上人乾隆三十一年 (1766) 所立,碑當時藏於海幢寺。<sup>38</sup>據此,可知海幢寺毗盧閣建於1766年。

- (3) 陳志"海幢寺圖"中的塔殿(意珠圓),目前不能斷定何年建成, 王令《碑記》也未提及。今無文集中有《送吼萬維那、慧均典客請佛舍利 於棲賢》詩四首、《喜吼萬、慧均二公從匡廬奉佛舍利還》詩四首。其第 一首詩序文説:"予欲建寶臺,中奉丈六鎏金之塔。"<sup>29</sup>據此可以確定塔殿建 成於今無在世之時或逝世後不久,即王令撰寫《碑記》之後(1679),今無 去世之前(1681)或稍晚。《廣州文物志》認爲建於康熙十八至三十五年間 (1679—1696)。<sup>20</sup>
- (4) 塔殿旁邊的蘭林亭。參見本組畫 Add. Or. 2143 "舍利塔殿" 圖考釋。
- (5) 地藏院後面的淨(靜?) 業堂,於1664年建成。今無和尚文集中記載:"[甲辰年(1664)]六月初四日,淨(靜?)業堂成,阿彌陀佛上座。"<sup>3</sup>
- (6) 光宣臺。今無和尚文集中書名爲《阿字無禪師光宣臺集》。此臺大概是紀念今無對海幢寺的貢獻而建的。
- (7)四山堂。南本《涅槃經》卷二七:"有四大山,從四方來,欲害人民。四大山者,即生老病死也。"别譯《雜阿含》卷四則說:"四山,喻老病死衰之四相。一老山,謂人老邁,則形色枯悴,精神昏昧,老山能壞一切壯年之盛色也。二病山,謂人之四大不調,病山能壞一切之强健也。三死



山,謂人之壽盡命終,死山能壞一切之壽命也。四衰耗山,謂人之富貴榮華衰耗,衰耗山能壞一切之榮華富貴也。"<sup>愈</sup>此堂應爲放置風燭殘年老僧人的屋宇。

(8) 西歸堂。香港副主教葛雷 (John Henry Gray) 1873年的介紹如下:

從花園回來的時候,我們去參觀西歸堂。這座堂宇是爲淹淹待斃的僧人而 設的。風燭殘年的僧人也住在這個堂宇。是一個小院子,一邊是一排黑暗、陰 濕的小房間。這類僧人就住在這些陰沉的房間裏,過最後的日子。這批不可挽 救的僧人被安排在這裏等死,是爲了靈魂放棄大地,回歸西天極樂世界的時 候,不須長途跋涉。

過世後十二個小時,僧人遺骸被載到茶毗爐焚化。之前,首先穿上寺院宗派的袈裟,然後放在一頂兩邊仔細密封的轎子裏。遺骸的姿勢,正像過去佛一般的姿勢一樣,也就是說,兩腿交盤,腳板朝天。遺骸的兩隻手則合掌作祈祷姿勢,跟衆所周知過去佛兩手的姿勢有别。

之後,運送遺骸的轎子通過一道門 (死門關),離開西歸堂,擡送到附近的神殿,放在祭壇上。在舉行喪禮祭祀的時候,被選參加喪禮儀仗隊伍的僧人會儘快聚合在祭壇前,像對着神像一樣,向遺體唸誦幾篇簡短的經文。之後,轎子的兩邊用繩子繫上長棍子。所有的都準備好之後,僧人就沿着一條用花崗石鋪得很好的道路,把遺體擡送到茶毗爐。這條路兩邊是一堵高高的磚牆。另外,這條道路大概可稱之爲死亡之路,一般世人永不會踏上,除非是像現在的場合。道路兩端都有一道厚門。在我們提到的神殿的一個角落永遠備有三、四頂木轎子,爲了在以上悲痛的場合使用。<sup>②</sup>

- (9) 老堂。性質應該跟四山堂一樣。
- (10) 義鹿亭,原稱瘗鹿亭,意爲埋鹿之亭。因"瘗"與"義"音同,後來傳稱爲義鹿亭。參見 Add. Or. 2162 "福場園"圖考釋。

#### (三) 傳教士比治滿1834年的記載

傳教士比治滿 (Elijah C. Bridgman) 1834年有以下的遊覽海幢寺記載:

寺院有不少建築物,主要是磚蓋的,加上花園,面積為六至八英畝。那裏有一道高牆把寺院土地圍繞起來。從洋行以東十幾碼,過(珠)江上岸之後,就踏進外門,經過一個長院子,就到山門。門上有"海幢"兩個大字。這裏,你會看到兩尊巨大的神像,是尊嚴的武士神像。左右各一尊,守衛通向内院的入口。再往前走,經過另一院落,你就踏進四大天王殿,裏面是古代英雄的神像。

再往前走,一條寬道帶領你到雄偉的大殿。你們不敬神的,走開,走得遠遠的!你們現在面對着三尊寶佛。這三尊神像代表過去、現在和未來佛。供奉神像的佛殿大約一百方尺,裏面有不少神壇、神像等等。每天晚上五點左右,

僧侣們都在殿裏舉行晚課。再往前走,還有其他的殿堂放置其他神像,而其中 最引人注意的就是慈悲觀音殿。

進入寺院之後,右邊有一長排屋宇,其中一間是用來做印刷局,其他的則 爲狹窄的僧察,或是養豬、養雞鴨的地方。這些動物是虔誠的信徒帶來寺院 的,當時他們來寺院是向佛像許願或是還願。左邊則有另外一套房宇。那裏有 關夫子堂,他是像神一樣的武士。還有接待客人的殿堂;一間庫房;地藏王 殿,他是地獄的王;方丈室;齊堂和廚房。

這些堂宇外面是一個寬敞的花園。花園畫頭是一個陵墓,裏面一年一度存放僧侣焚化後的骨灰。另外,還有一個焚化遺骸的爐子和存放骨灰鰻子的小屋子。這些鰻子一直存放到每一年開啓陵墓的時候。另外,也有付錢安葬遺骸的墳墓。現在寺院大概有一百七十位僧人左右。他們的生活,一部分依靠寺院的資産收入,一部分靠私人的資助。其中,只有少數的僧人受過很好的教育。<sup>③</sup>

#### 四 海幢寺歷史的傳説

經過幾百年的歷史, 圍繞着海幢寺產生了不少傳說, 下面介紹兩種。

- (一) 李福泰修《番禺縣志》記載:"初,兩藩營造府第,咨請部示,懇 照王貝勒制式,得用琉璃磚瓦,以及臺門、鹿頂,嗣奉部駁 '民爵與宗藩 制異,察平(平南王)、靖(靖南王)兩藩,均由民間立爵,所請用緑包磚瓦 之處,礙難准行。'時粵東啓窰營辦磚瓦皆成,至是未敢擅用,乃盡施諸 佛寺。若粵秀山之觀音閣、海幢寺及大佛寺,皆此種瓦也,書福晉所佈施 云。"<sup>⑤</sup>(按:"臺門",指高大的門;"鹿頂",指廂房。"民爵",指君王賜給民間 有功者的爵位。"福晉",指兩藩王的夫人。)
- (二) 據傳教士比治滿 (Elijah C. Bridgman) 記載,平南王尚可喜 (?—1676) 與阿字和尚 (今無) 之間有以下一段傳説:

河南的寺院從前是一座私人的庭園。後來,在幾百年前,一位名叫池月的僧人開始建立一個寺院,稱為千秋寺,奉獻給佛祖。但是這個寺院並不特别有名。直至1600年左右,一位特别虔誠的僧人和他的徒弟阿字,遇上種種特别的機緣巧合,把寺院擴建到目前那麽雄偉壯觀。在康熙時代,一直到1700年,廣東省還沒有完全被清朝征服。皇帝的女婿被派去征服中國所有的土地,最後完成任務,被封為"平南王",駐紮在河南這個寺院。

那時候島上有十三個鄉村對抗清軍,平南王奉命剿滅這些村子。在未執行任務之前,平南王,一個殘忍好殺的人,注意到阿字和尚,一位開心的肥胖僧人。平南王説既然他是吃素的,就不可能這麼胖,所以一定是傷君子,應該殺



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掉。他正想拔劍親手處決,可是突然之間手臂殭硬起來,不能作任何舉動。當晚夢裏一位天神出現在他面前,向他保證阿字禪師是一位聖僧,另外說,"你不能無緣無故地殺害他。"第二天早上平南王去見阿字禪師,向他懺悔。之後,手臂立刻恢復正常。平南王馬上向阿字禪師禮拜,認他作導師,從早到晚侍候。

十三個村子的村民聽到這個奇迹之後,請求阿字禪師為他們說情,免去被 剿滅的厄運。……平南王果然遵守諾言,村落得救。村民對禪師感激無盡,大 量捐獻土地、香火和金錢。平南王亦勸服軍官們向寺院捐獻,所以從此寺院就 興旺起來。

那時候,寺院還沒有天王殿。在山門外有一個水塘,主人很富有,雖然阿字禪師出了高價,他還是拒絕出售。有一天,平南王跟阿字閒談說,"這個寺院

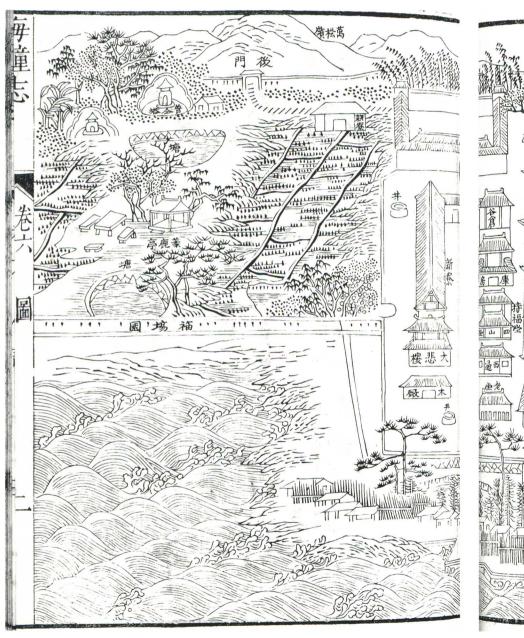
缺少了一樣東西,就是天王殿。"阿字回答說: "殿下,建立天王殿的人,應該是人間世的王。"平南王得到暗示,馬上奪了這個池塘,主人也樂意無償奉獻。 平南王下了一道命令,天王殿要十五天之内蓋成,可是經過阿字禪師勸說,允 許工匠們一個月之內完成。果然,經過日以繼夜的趕工,一個月之後就建立起來了。<sup>69</sup>

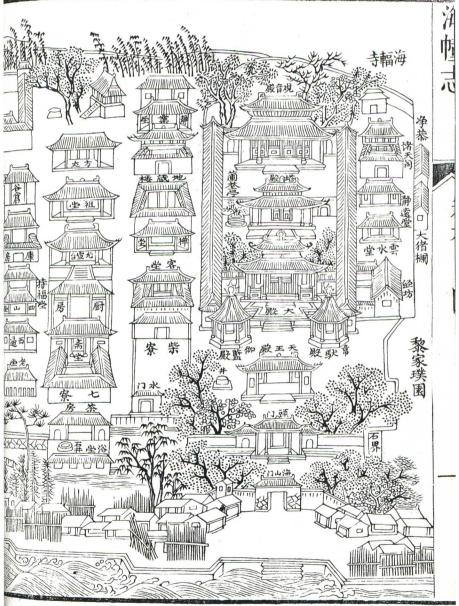
\*依據本文第一節"海幢寺組畫的發現及其製作年代"中的考證,第二 組海幢寺組畫,實早於第一組畫,故於本卷《圖畫與考釋》部分,若兩組中 有内容相同的圖畫,則連續陳列,第二組的畫在前,第一組的畫在後,以便 讀者參照。

- ①郭棐著,陳蘭芝增輯:《嶺海名勝記》卷六,第36頁下。
- ② 參見清聖祖撰:《聖祖仁皇帝御製文集·初集》卷六,第6頁下。"奄達",解作"結拜兄弟"。 又,"俺達公之信,尚王可喜之長子也,酗酒嗜殺。"見鈕琇《觚縢》卷八,第152頁。
- ③阿奇爾 (Mildred Archer): 《印度事務部圖書館中的公司繪畫》(英文版), 第260頁。
- ④郭棐著、陳蘭芝增輯:《嶺海名勝記·海幢志》附"海幢寺圖"。
- ⑤ 清初禪宗在嶺南地區的發展情況和近人研究,參見姜伯勤:《石濂大汕與澳門禪史——清初 嶺南禪學史研究初編》。
- ⑥ 參見姜伯勤:《石濂大汕與澳門禪史——清初嶺南禪學史研究初編》。
- ⑦今無著, 古正, 古雲編: 《阿字無禪師光宣臺集》, 第2頁下—5頁下。
- ⑧ 參見惲敬:《同遊海幢寺記》,王令:《鼎建海幢寺碑記》,見梁鼎芬等修:《番禺縣續志》,第581、493頁。
- ⑨今無著,古正、古雲編:《阿字無禪師光宣臺集》卷一八,第24頁下—25頁上。
- ⑩今無著, 古正、古雲編: 《阿字無禪師光宣臺集》卷九, 第19頁。
- ⑩今無著, 古正、古雲編: 《阿字無禪師光宣臺集》卷一九, 第1頁上。
- ②今無著,古正、古雲編:《阿字無禪師光宣臺集》卷二〇,第29頁上。
- ③今無著, 古正、古雲編: 《阿字無禪師光宣臺集》卷六, 第17頁。
- ⑭今無著, 古正、古雲編:《阿字無禪師光宣臺集》卷二四, 第19頁上。
- ⑮[美]亨特 (William Hunter) 著,沈正邦譯:《舊中國雜記》,第176頁。
- ⑯梁鼎芬等修:《番禺縣續志》,第492—494頁。
- ⑩郭棐著,陳蘭芝增輯:《嶺海名勝記》卷六,第1頁—3頁上。

- ⑱今無著,古正、古雲編:《阿字無禪師光宣臺集》卷七,第18頁上—19頁上。
- ⑩李福泰修:《番禺縣志》,第297頁。
- ⑩今無著, 古正、古雲編: 《阿字無禪師光宣臺集》卷九, 第8頁下。
- ②郭棐著,陳蘭芝增輯:《嶺海名勝記·海幢志》附"海幢寺圖"。
- ②今無著, 古正、古雲編: 《阿字無禪師光宣臺集・海幢寺阿字無禪師行狀》, 第4頁上。
- 四任果、常德主修:《番禺縣志》卷五,第5頁上。
- 24 葛雷 (John Henry Gray): 《廣州城漫步》(英文版), 第51、57—58頁。
- ⑤今無著,古正、古雲編:《阿字無禪師光宣臺集》卷四,第17頁。
- ⑩法真生平,見中國佛教人名大辭典編輯委員會編:《中國佛教人名大辭典》,第421頁。
- ②梁鼎芬等修:《番禺縣續志》,第507頁。
- 28 梁鼎芬等修:《番禺縣續志》,第508頁。
- 四今無著,古正、古雲編:《阿字無禪師光宣臺集》卷二四,第22頁下—25頁下。
- ⑩廣州市文化局等編:《廣州文物志》第三章《文物建築·海幢寺》,第105頁。
- ③ 今無著, 古正、古雲編: 《阿字無禪師光宣臺集》卷一, 第21頁下。
- 32 丁福保:《佛學大辭典》,第377頁。
- 33 葛雷 (John Henry Gray): 《廣州城漫步》, 第73—75頁。
- 函 比治滿 (Elijah C. Bridgman): 《廣州城市描述》(英文版), 第72—74頁。
- 35 李福泰修:《番禺縣志》,第659頁。
- 36 比治滿 (Elijah C. Bridgman): 《廣州城市描述》, 第69—71頁。







海幢寺圖 (1790)

清·陳蘭芝增輯:《嶺海名勝記·海幢志》(1790),卷六,第1頁下、2頁上。倫敦亞非學院圖書館藏。 Plan of Ocean Banner Temple (1790), from Chen Lanzhi, ed. *Linghai Mingsheng Ji* (Famous places of the Linghai area), *juan* 6, 1b, 2a. Library, School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

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# The sound of the Buddhist bell spreads afar from the gate of meditation; the Ocean Banner Temple stands yonder in the mist — A study of illustrations and history of the Ocean Banner Temple, a famous ancient temple of Canton

Andrew Lo Song Jiayu Tao Guoyuan

#### I. The discovery and dating of the paintings of the Ocean Banner Temple

The shadow of the banner falls from the terraces;
The river waves return with the force of the tide.
For songs, one seeks out the maidens of Pearl River;
Autumn brings back the king of the geese.
Who paid for the green tiles?
And did the monk halls appear out of nowhere?
In those difficult days, [Shang Kexi] brought resources to the temples,
But [his son] the "sworn brother" truly had no talent.

This was a poem written in praise of the Ocean Banner Temple by Chen Guan of the Qing (1644-1911) who in his notes said that the temple could rival any of the great sites of the Jiangnan area. "All its beautifully laid out halls and terraces are unsurpassed even by the Cheng'en and Baoen temples in Nanjing, or the Lingyin and Jingci temples at West Lake, Hangzhou." The "green tiles" refers to Shang Kexi (1604-1676), "Prince who Pacifies the South," who was refused permission to use green glazed tiles to build his mansion, and which were then donated to various temples in Guangzhou (see Section 4 of this preface). The "sworn brother" refers to Shang Kexi's son Shang Zhixin (1636-1680) who assumed his father's title. He was an excessive drinker and enjoyed killing. In official communication from the Kangxi emperor (r. 1662-1722), he was referred to as the "Prince who Pacifies the South and sworn brother Shang Kexi." Later, he joined forces with Wu Sangui (1612-1678) and Geng Jingzhong (?-1682), and rebelled against the Qing, and this was known as the "Rebellion of the three feudatories."

All that remains of the Ocean Banner Temple, one of the ancient temples of Guangzhou which flourished in the Qing dynasty and fell into disrepair in the Republican period, are the Ocean Banner jetty, the Ocean Banner park and two halls, which hardly convey its past glories. For a long time, it was only through poems like those of Chen Guan, stele inscriptions and the written accounts of travellers that we could know anything about the temple, and there was no way to visualize the splendour of its beautifully laid out halls and terraces.

It must be said that it is by pure chance that we are able to see these paintings of a temple kept in storage for over two hundred years. They are found in an album that entered the collections of the East India Company (now in the British Library) in 1807. Since then, apart from Mildred Archer who pointed out that they were depictions of the Ocean Banner Temple, <sup>3</sup> no one has done any research on them. Thanks to Frances Wood's efforts to provide photographs for this book and our research into the paintings themselves and related materials, it was possible to determine with absolute certainty that they showed the Ocean Banner Temple, once one of the four glorious sights of Guangzhou and now no longer in existence. This has been truly inspiring. Such a complete and detailed series of paintings of a temple are not only not to be found amongst Chinese paintings, and we have not found any other examples amongst any of the collections of Chinese export paintings that we have surveyed, thus their historical value is immense.

There are altogether ninety paintings in gouache on paper and one pen and ink on paper. They appear to have been done by two different hands at two different times, yet they are similar in that they have chosen western perspective and some of the halls depicted are similar. There are differences in which buildings and monk's quarters are included, and differences in details between similar paintings, and in this way the two series of paintings complement each other. There are forty-three paintings in the first series (Add. Or. 2084-2126), with twenty-two paintings of buildings, a plan of the whole temple, a painting of the rear garden, and nineteen paintings of Buddhist images. In the second series (Add. Or. 2139-2186), there are forty-eight paintings of which twenty-three depict buildings, one the rear garden and twenty-four portray Buddhist images. None of the paintings have titles, but the identification of buildings can sometimes be made on the basis of the name plaques of the halls when they are depicted in the paintings; some can be identified on the basis of the contents and others are difficult to identify without recourse to historical records.

There are four main reasons for our identification of these paintings as depictions of the Ocean Banner Temple. One is that a very small number have a note on the top right-hand corner in English as "Joss House, Honam"; another is that in front of two of the halls are lanterns with the inscriptions "Ocean Banner" and "Ocean Banner Chan Temple." A third reason is that the architecture and the Buddhist images depicted can be closely identified with the plan of the temple and description in Chen Lanzhi's 1790 edition of *Haichuang Zhi* (History of the Ocean Banner Temple) included in the *Linghai Mingsheng Ji* (Famous places of the Linghai area). <sup>(4)</sup> Finally, the depictions of the temples fit the drawings and

descriptions of western visitors to the temple.

As the paintings were acquired in 1807, we estimated that they were painted around the late eighteenth century. Some changes were made to the buildings in the Ocean Banner Temple before and after those dates, thus some buildings are different from those shown in the paintings and some are not seen in these paintings. It would appear that the second set of paintings (Add. Or. 2139-2186) may have been painted slightly earlier than the first set, for in the depiction of the rear garden, there is only one common burial stupa shown, whilst in the second set of paintings (Add. Or. 2084-2126) there are two. In Chen Lanzhi's 1790 "Haichuangsi Tu" (Plan of the Ocean Banner Temple), there are two burial stupas. In the second set (Add. Or. 2139-2186), the Hall of Vairocana, built in 1766, is shown, suggesting that the painting was made after 1766 but before 1790. Although the first set (Add. Or. 2084-2126) is later than the second, in both sets, the two halls of Skanda and the Temple Guardian in front of the Precious Hall of the Most Majestic are square structures with combined hip-and-gable roofs, different from the hexagonal pavilion structure in Chen Lanzhi's plan of the temple. Therefore the first set must also have been completed before 1790. (Note: It appears that all the Chinese export paintings in the East India Company were assigned a series of numbers and listed at roughly the same time in the early nineteenth century, regardless of what time they had been taken into the collections. As a result, it should be noted that the sequence of numbers where the apparently earlier series have higher numbers than the later series, bears no relation to the date of the artefacts, or to the date of their arrival in the India Office Library.)

#### II. The construction of the Ocean Banner Temple

The Ocean Banner Temple was founded at the beginning of the Qing and its foundation was a result of a combination of political, economic and religious circumstances in the Guangdong area at the time. The Manchu Qing military conquest of China was all but over and, in order to stabilize the government, it was necessary to win the support of Chinese officials, landlords and intellectuals through the use of various economic policies, and policies which gave precedence to Confucianism and Buddhism. In the southern provinces of Fujian, Guangdong, and Yunnan, large areas of territory, known as the "Three feudatories," had been given over to the control of strong pro-Manchu Chinese leaders Geng Jingzhong (?-1682), Shang Kexi (1604-1676) and Wu Sangui (1612-1678), and when the Kangxi emperor attempted to abolish their fiefs, the three feudatories rose in rebellion and a very disruptive war ensued between 1673 and 1681. Shang Kexi held absolute power over Guangdong's military, government and economic affairs but also recruited poor scholars, and supported the building of Buddhist temples. After the suppression of the Southern Ming Yongli emperor (1647-1661) in the Guangzhou area, many of his local supporters amongst the gentry and intellectuals entered monasteries and became monks (to escape punishment by the Manchus). Because of their high intellectual level and good contacts with local officials and notables, they were able to promote considerable local development in Chan Buddhism. 5

The Ocean Banner Temple is said to have been founded under the Southern Han (907-971) as the Temple of a Thousand Autumns, but later fell into disuse, and was taken over by the local inhabitants. In the late Ming period (1368-1644), two monks, Guangban and Yuechi, were given a small amount of land by the local headman, Guo Longyue and built a Buddha Hall and a Cundī Hall, and called the whole the Ocean Banner Temple. At the beginning of the Qing period, Geng Jingzhong and Shang Kexi, two of the three feudatory princes, together with local officials and gentry, repeatedly invited the monk Kongyin (Daodu, 1600-1661) from Huashou Temple, Luofu Mountain and his disciple, the monk Tianran (Hanshi, 1608-1685) from the Thunder Peak Temple in Panyu District to take over the Ocean Banner temple. Finally, they persuaded Tianran's successor, the monk Azi (Jinwu, 1633-1681), who had been recommended by Tianran, to become abbot of the temple. According to some scholars, at the beginning of the Qing, the Chan sect was divided between the "New Court" group which supported the Oing dynasty, and the "Former Nation" group which opposed it. Tianran followed the Chan teachings of Shouchang, the Caodong Sect, which represented the "Former Nation" group, many of whose followers were forced into exile at the end of the Ming because of their anti-Qing sentiments. Some became scholars and painters and left behind a considerable volume of writings and paintings. Tianran's collection of collected sayings, and the collected works of his disciple Dangui were all proscribed by the Oing. 6

When the monk Jinwu became abbot of the temple in 1662, thanks to his efforts and those of the monks, in the period up to 1672, the basic layout of the temple with Buddha hall, living quarters, other halls and Buddhist images was created. In 1673, he went north to get the Buddhist canon, returning in 1675. From then on, the community of monks grew, to the point where they had to make the "Thousand monk" iron cooking pot to feed the community. He himself gave everything he had and spared no effort to support the temple. In 1678, not long before he died, he sent the monks out collecting funds to build the Sutra Library. He died in 1681, having converted over seventeen hundred monks and lay believers. The has left for us his collected works entitled Aziwu Chanshi Guangxuantai Ji (The Guangxuan Terrace Collection of Chan Master Aziwu).

Jinwu was from the Wan family of Panyu District. His father was a student, and in his younger days had fallen foul of the law and became a prison guard, which had turned him against the Qing government. Jinwu was "an exceptionally able and wise abbot," and was also very good in argumentation. With the support of his monks, he worked very hard, and in ten short years, he built the Ocean