

安陽府定寺塔

河南省文物研究所
安陽地区文物管理委员会 编
安陽县文物管理委员会

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珍贵的实例

陈明达

安阳修定寺塔是我国建筑史上稀有的用雕砖饰面的一座砖塔。自1973年重新发现以来，经过河南省文物考古工作者几年的辛勤劳动，将塔外壁后抹的灰皮剔剥干净，又翻模补配雕砖，修整完好，使之重现光辉。并清理了塔基四周，发掘了另一座石塔遗址，得到许多早期的雕砖残件和北齐舍利函及残存石雕像，为这座北齐名刹，找到了重要的实物依据。现在又将这批资料编辑出版，供广大文物、建筑史工作者作进一步研究。编者嘱我写一点对此塔的观感，我以未曾深入研究，难以应允。而又因盛情难却，只得将阅读原稿时所感觉到的几个问题写出来，聊供同好继续研究时参考。

修定寺塔仅塔身保存尚完整，其阶基及顶部均残毁不辨原状。四十年代的《河朔古迹图识》曾刊有当时外景，塔顶为琉璃饰面的圆柱体，上置琉璃火珠，但阶基已不明。本书据清理发掘所得的琉璃残件，判明塔顶为明代修缮时所作，并非原有形制。按这种形式的塔，在云冈、敦煌、响堂山等石窟雕刻中，以及唐代的许多砖石塔中是常见的形式，但规模均不大，只有隋大业七年（公元611年）所建的山东历城神通寺四门塔，与之大小相近。而四门塔为石塔，其阶基原状亦已不明。塔顶为方形小叠涩座，四角饰山华蕉叶，座上安石相轮。唐代的此式塔下多作叠涩座或须弥座，塔顶形式大致与四门塔相近，间或有作重叠的两个须弥座上安相轮的形式。但这些塔的外壁或无雕饰，或仅正面稍有雕饰，而似修定寺塔四壁满饰雕砖者，尚属仅见之例。全塔原状如何，是很值得重视的。

此塔外壁雕砖的艺术风格及题材，也是一个稀有的实例。各壁面除上部约占全壁四分之一高的部分雕垂幛璎珞外，其余部分全部划分为菱形小格，每格成一小单元，内作人物、花结、图案等。塔四角各有细长角柱一根，柱两侧又各加一根更为细长的辅柱。此菱形格与角柱构图，使全壁颇俱伊斯兰建筑风味。按这种将壁面划分为菱形小格的构图，曾见于新疆克孜尔等石窟

壁画。那么它是否受西域影响，或者当时有来自西域的匠师参与其事？至于这些菱形小格中的图案、花结等纹饰，新颖多样，实为前所未见。人物中既有金刚、飞天等佛教题材，又有真人、童子等道教形象掺杂其间，其来源及涵义，也是颇难索解的问题。

用模制雕砖作建筑物的饰面，起源很早，东汉时的画像砖，已广泛使用。不过都是用于坟墓的内壁，用于地面上建筑物作墙壁饰面的，则此塔是最早的实例。它究竟创始于何时，是很重要的问题。根据现存的饰面砖，虽然有些年代较晚，有的在构图细节上稍感组合不严密，但大部份雕砖是唐代制作的，后代只是有些增补修配罢了。但是也有两个难于解答的问题：其一是南面塔门的额枋、立颊及半圆形门楣均为石制，门楣上所雕佛像及立颊上所雕“铺地卷成”及“枝条卷成”牡丹花，显然是中晚唐的典型风格，而与雕砖风格大异其趣。这是石作与砖作匠师的风格不同，或是时代的差别呢？其二是塔身四根角柱下的覆莲柱础，显然早于全塔其它雕饰。尤其东北角柱础覆莲之下尚雕有一周忍冬纹饰，至迟应为北齐所作。因此，塔身可能早于饰面雕砖，或为北齐所建？这是需要对塔身作进一步深入研究才能确定的。

最令人感兴趣的是，塔基周围发掘清理出土的一批残雕砖，它们的图案、题材和风格，均与现存塔外壁雕砖完全不同。其中有斗栱、券楣、栏版、蜀柱等，券楣、栏版多用忍冬纹图案，蜀柱上雕砖饰束莲，都可肯定是北朝末期的形式。但这些雕砖的形状、尺度，似不适用于现塔壁面，如蜀柱很短，券楣尺寸过小等。所以它们有可能是属于另一建筑物的。但也不能完全排除为此塔原物，因为它也有可能是用于阶基周围、塔顶或塔内壁面。可见，对这些雕砖的研究，又必然要涉及塔的原状及创建年代。

总之，修定寺塔是近年来一个重要的新发现，它为建筑史研究增添了一件珍贵的实例，也给我们提出了一些新的问题。我相信，这批资料的出版，于对建筑史和宗教艺术的研究是会有极积意义的。

一九八二年二月于北京

Pagoda at the Xiuding Temple near Anyang

Of the ancient Chinese buildings now in existence, pagodas assume a large share. The best known among them include the Great Pagoda of Wild Geese and Small Pagoda of Wild Geese at Xi'an in Shaanxi, Four-gate Pagoda at Licheng in Shandong, Three Pagodas at Dali in Yunnan, Iron Pagoda (or Glazed Pagoda) at Kaifeng in Henan, and Wooden Pagoda at Yingxian in Shanxi. The one introduced here is called Xiudingsi Pagoda, a single-storeyed masonry structure notable for its unique form and the relief that coats its facades. The pagoda is listed among the monuments under the national protect.

The Taihang Mountain district west of Anyang where the pagoda is located came to be a pilgrimage place during the Northern and Southern Dynasties and the Sui-Tang period. It boasts now the famous Xiantangshan Cave-temples some 33 km north of, and the Lingquan Monastery Temple and the Mo'ai Colossal Statues at Wanfogou, about 20 km south of the pagoda.

The Xiuding Temple, as is recorded in a stele, was erected in the Northern Wei Dynasty by a monk named Zhang Meng. It entered its prime during the Sui and Tang Dynasties, but the succeeding centuries, generally speaking, seemed quite inimical, and by the end of the Qing Dynasty nothing but the pagoda was left of it. The only survival, however, soon became prey of the evil warlords, officers and dealers in antiques. Scores of its relief-bricks dropped out of sight after their visits. In order to protect this valuable monument, the local people covered up its facades with lime clay. This prevented it not only from destruction by man but from erosion by the elements.

From 1973 archaeological works, sponsored by the governmental departments in charge of ancient monuments, both of Henan Province and Anyang Prefecture, were conducted upon the pagoda. A lot of incomplete relief-bricks and carved stones were uncovered, which are helpful in dating this pagoda and tracing its vicissitude. In the meantime work got underway to restore the damaged and missing bricks, on the basis of repeated experimental reproduction of the originals.

The pagoda owes its importance chiefly to the relief that coats its four walls. The whole relief, with a total area of 300 sq. m, is made up of 3,775 impressed bricks of varying shapes and sizes, and shows 72 designs such as figures, animals, plants, rosettes and so on.

The general layout of the relief is found similar in the western, eastern and northern walls, which seem to form into a luxurious bed-cover or canopy. The impressed bricks are arranged in 13 layers. The first or the topmost layer consists of 20 bricks, with the alternation of two Buddhist mighty men with one

animal mask. There are 14 mighty men and 6 animal masks on the northern wall, while those on the western and the eastern are too destroyed. The second layer shows alternatively-arranged animals with rings in the mouth and lotus flowers, both 13 in number. The third, fourth and fifth layers show tassel, lotus flower, rosette, bell and something hanging and spiked, forming something like a canopy trapping. Further below are six layers. Six vertical rows of six rhomboidal bricks seem to run down this part of the wall, reminding one of six hanging ribbons. The topmost brick of each row bears an animal mask holding a ring in the month. Each wall is divided by the vertical rows into five sections. The central section shows a lotus flower flanked by *apsarases* and musicians; the two sections on the sides of the central one, elephant, horse, lotus flower and pearl, interspersed with mighty men and the donors of the monument; the two outmost ones, mighty men, lions and dragons.

In the middle of the southern wall is provided with an arched doorway. The door-frame, lintel, threshold and plinths for holding threshold are all carved out of green stone. The doorway measures 330 cm in height and 195 cm in width. The lintel and the beam above are carved from a single block. The semicircular tympanum, also from a single block, 112 cm high and 192 cm wide, represents a nich with the seated Buddhas of the Past, Present and Future, accompanied by two of their disciples (Ananda and Gayakasyapa), two assistants and two deva kings. A Tang style manifests itself in both carving and composition of this relief, as is collaborated with the inscription by a local officer on it that gives the 11th year (A.D. 870) of the Xiantong reign of the Tang Dynasty. So, it is safe to have this pagoda dated prior to the very year.

The pagoda is also structurally interesting, as it aims not only at beauty but at sturdiness and durability. Four elaborate methods, for example, were involved in laying or inlaying of the ornamental bricks.

1. The bricks were tenoned on the back and wedged into the inner wall. Or, the plain bricks of the inner wall would be laid stepwise so as to press against the tenons of the relief-bricks.

2. Different concavities were made on the inner wall of plain bricks, into which different relief-bricks were inserted. Taking for example the rhomboidal concavity, it is formed by four long narrow bricks plus four small rhomboidal bricks, which are themselves inserted into a circuitous slot.

3. The back tenons of relief-bricks were made dovetailed with each other, as in the case of bricks of four corner columns and of arched bricks of the doorway.

4. Big iron nails and sheets were employed for reinforcement, as in the case of the bricks bearing four-armed mighty men on both sides of the door.

It is indeed ingenuity that the builder of the pagoda demonstrate, in their making into an artistic and solid whole of so many bricks of different shapes.

The plinths of the four corner columns are of different ages, as indicated by their mouldings. The reversed-lotus plinth with honey-suckle of the northeastern column, apparently of the pre-Sui style, would be not later than the Northern Qi Dynasty (A.D. 550-557). The other three plinths show a style typical of the Tang

times. The relief-bricks moulded with lotus-petals are most of them from the Tang Dynasty, with a small number added during later repairs. Some fragmentary relief-bricks were uncovered near the pagoda, including the representations of bracket, lintel, balustrade panel, strut and the like. They are different from those on the wall in motif, design and style. There is no question that they belong to the late Northern Dynasties. Thus, it can be inferred that the pagoda was first built in the Eastern Wei or the Northern Qi Dynasty. The inscription on a casket for Buddhist relics goes like this: "On the 12th day of the 1st month of the 7th year of the Wuping reign, Northern Qi Dynasty, Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou Dynasty issued a decree to clear away Buddhism from his land. It was not until the 20th day of the 1st month of the 10th year of the Kaihuang reign, the Sui Dynasty, that Buddhism was assured of a revival and the temple was built anew." On the other hand, the stone relief with Buddhas and peony design are characteristic of the middle and late Tang Dynasty. Now, we can come to the conclusion that the pagoda had been rebuilt before the 11th year of the Xiantong reign of the Tang Dynasty and underwent a large-scale renovation during the Jiajing reign of the Ming Dynasty. The pagoda, except its superstructure, is basically a Tang one.

What is given above is by no means all-embracing. Many problems remain to be settled. For example, the four corner columns and the rhomboidal bricks are quite Islamic, bearing a parallel to the frescoes of the cave-shrines at Kizil in Xinjiang. The coexistence of both Buddhist and Taoist figures is interesting too, and yet requires further study.

It is quite certain that the rediscovery of the pagoda will throw new light upon the histories of Chinese architecture, religion and art.

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一 修定寺的历史和现状

安阳县西北35公里的太行山余脉，有一座海拔609.6米的清凉山。修定寺就位于山东南麓的砂岩峡谷台地上，现仅存一用雕砖饰面的方形砖塔(图版一)。寺院四周群山环抱，峰峦起伏。山脚下有两处山泉，形成两条小溪，分别自寺前和东侧蜿蜒流过。寺后有高山作屏(图版二)。关于修定寺及清凉山的情况，金人曹昶在《游清凉山》诗中有所描述，节录如下：

“……

四山回抱开翠屏，中有招提曰修定。
主人载酒邀我游，石径崎岖度重岭。
羸骖垂耳鞭不前，挽葛攀藤历参井。
白云晦雾无处寻，路转峰回意方省。
亭亭孤塔认高标，满谷松杉密相映。
半天金碧照双眸，人道经营自师猛。
豁然到此脱羈回，尘梦悠悠一朝醒。
雄楼突出倚晴空，万壑千岚归引领。
逸兴翩翩不可收，拟著新诗状烟景。

……”①

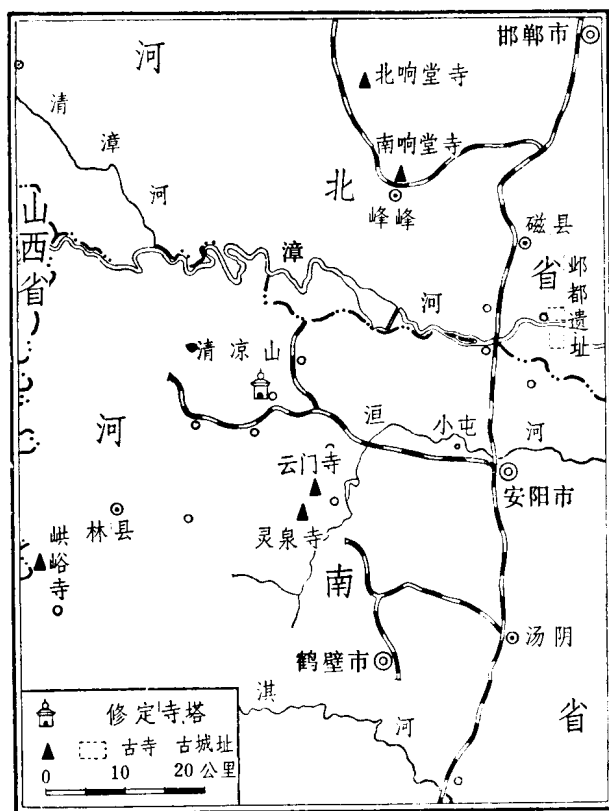
诗虽平平，却可以帮助我们了解一点这座古刹的历史面貌。同时从中还可以得知，唐代时原有的三座佛塔(即《河朔访古新录》中所述的“塔一，方浮图二”)②，至金代时已毁两座，仅剩下现存这座砖塔了。

安阳县西部的太行山区，是东魏、北齐、隋唐以来的佛教胜地。如南距修定寺20公里的灵泉寺，东魏至隋唐间规模巨大的万佛沟摩崖造像，以及附近的小南海北齐开凿的石窟寺等，均与距寺北33公里的南北响堂山石窟遥相呼应，构成一处重要的佛教活动中心(图一)。当时高僧多出上述诸寺中。

据侯外庐《中国思想通史》第三卷记载，“北齐时，邺都佛寺，多至数千”。当时安阳一带名寺林立，高僧云集。其中位于邺都西山的著名寺院，有修定寺、宝山寺、响

① 金曹昶：《游清凉山》，载《河南通志》卷七十三 艺文二。

② 《河朔访古新录》卷二载《县西北七十里清凉山修定寺，唐贞观时建。今圯，寺旧有塔一，方浮图二，唯方浮图一尚存。



图一 修定寺塔地理位置图

堂寺、云门寺等。著名的高僧有法上、僧稠、道凭、灵裕等，《续高僧传》中均有其传。其中法上就是北齐时修定寺的大和尚。据唐代僧人道宣编的《续高僧传》卷十《大统合水寺释法上传》记载：“法上……齐魏二代历为统帅，昭玄一曹，纯掌僧录……所部僧尼二百余万。……敕住相州定国寺，而容德显著，感供繁多，所得施利，造一山寺，本名合水，即邺之西山，今所谓修定寺也。山之极顶，造弥勒室，众事庄严，备殫华丽，四时供养百五十僧。……卒于合水故房，春秋八十有六，即周大象二年七月十八日也。……当有齐之盛，每年三驾皆往山寺，有所觐礼。六军即至，供出僧厨，存，

随事指伪，前后给济，三官并足。后始于隋初。灵裕法师资学有承，具之本传。”法上卒于北周大象二年（公元580年）。他的弟子法存则死于隋朝初年，著名法师灵裕为他师兄道凭（系有名高僧）的弟子，他继承了法上和尚的学说。隋唐时期，虽全国的政治中心转移，但位于相州西部山区的著名佛寺修定寺、宝山寺和响堂寺等，仍为当时北方佛教僧侣活动的中心之一。因而修定寺在我国的佛教史上，占有重要地位。同时，隋唐时期随着整个佛教的兴盛，修定寺的建筑规模也曾得到进一步的发展。

如上所述，修定寺是一所历史悠久的大型寺院，为名僧法上所创立。但另一说为僧人张猛创建于北魏太和十八年（公元494年），原名天城寺。唐碑《大唐邺县修定寺传记》载：修定寺“沙门释僧猛之所立也，法师俗姓……名城天寺”（图版一二五）。另一唐代残石亦有“初立为天□寺□□僧猛射鹿”等语。二说何者为是，现尚无从确定。但可知此寺初名天城寺。

因山脚有两水相汇，清凉山亦名合水山，所以北齐时改名为合水寺。天保五年，文宣帝高洋和尚书平阳王高淹，还在该寺建立“释迦牟尼佛舍利塔”供养（图版一四二）。

据修定寺石塔基址出土的舍利函刻铭记载，“武平七年正月二十日逢周武帝破灭佛

法，至大隋开皇十年正月十日佛法重兴，修营建立此处伽蓝……”（图版一四二）。又据元皇庆二年碑文记载，修定寺“其寺之源，乃沙门张猛古道场也。考诸石刻，始建于元魏，见毁于后周，逮贞观间，天下废寺勅修理之”（图版一二八）。明嘉靖二十八年碑还记载，“后周废教……隋为修定禅寺……”。由此可知，修定寺之名自隋代始。由于唐太宗发了修复废寺的诏令，该寺才得以全面修复。

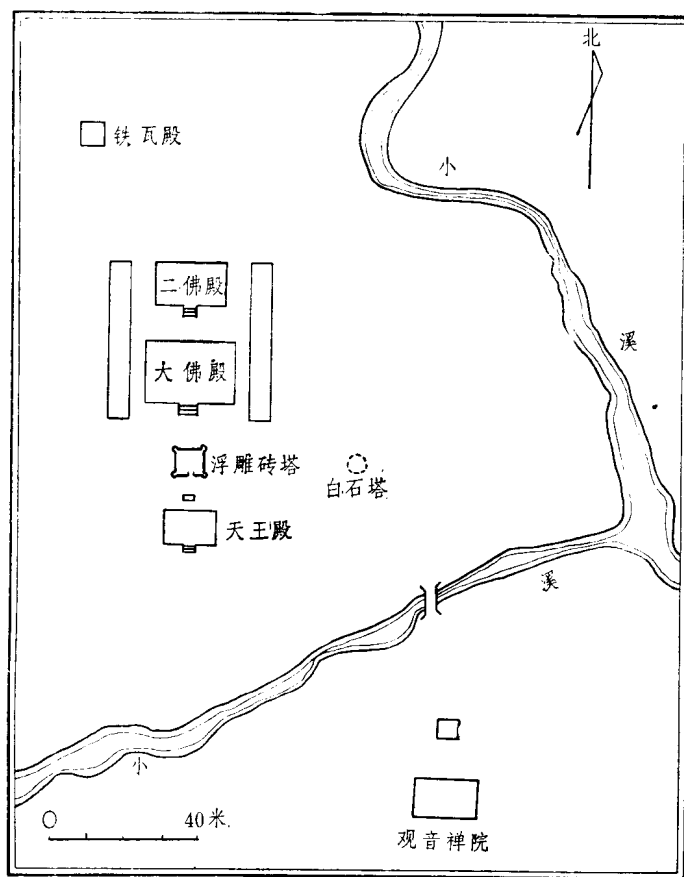
根据现存遗址和碑文记载，修定寺系依山而建，座北向南，山门对面隔溪与观音禅院相望。在清末废弃前还有三进院落和四进殿宇，由前往后依次为天王殿、大佛殿、二佛殿及建于最高处的铁瓦殿，塔就矗立在原来的天王、大佛两殿之间（图二）。

各殿依山势逐步升高，殿宇两旁均有配殿和钟、鼓两楼。四周是僧房客舍及法堂、寮舍、庖厨等（图版一二八）。加上一塔二浮图，使寺院益加壮观。

魏晋南北朝以来，由于统治阶级的提倡，佛教在我国广泛流行，到隋唐时更形成了前所未有的崇佛热潮。但因统治阶级内部政治力量的消长，也发生过佛道两教相争和扶道灭佛的情况。修定寺就是在北周武帝下令灭佛时首次被毁的。

虽然在现存的碑铭上，只有北周武帝时毁寺的记载，但从石塔座基中清理出的大量残石造像看，皆系缺首断肢，显然是人为的破坏。其时代除有北朝及隋代的遗物外，还有许多唐代造像。据此推测，修定寺除在北周武帝灭佛时曾被毁外，还遭过一次大的破坏。明嘉靖年间，修定寺曾作过一次较大的修缮，使整个寺院一直延续到清代末年（图版一三一）。

这所古刹，前后经历了一千三百多年。在这漫长的岁月里，由于各个时代的政治、经济以及自然灾害等原因，时兴时废。到了清代末年，寺院的建筑物，除这座



图二 修定寺平面示意图