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西南人文书系  
Humanity Culture Books in Southwest China



# 丽江白沙壁画

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The Baisha Frescoes  
in  
Lijiang County

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# 出版者的话



“文明”(Civilization)和“文化”(Culture),常常是互用的,不仅汉语如此,西文亦然,均是指人类能力的高度发展。英国格林·丹尼尔将世界文明分为6大文明,德国斯宾格勒举出8个主要文化,英国汤因比列出26个文明,其他还有7个、9个、11个、12个文明等不同的说法。美国塞缪尔·亨廷顿认为当代的主要文明有7个,即中华文明、日本文明、印度文明、伊斯兰文明、西方文明、拉丁美洲文明、非洲文明(可能存在的)。他指出:“人类的历史是文明的历史。不可能用其他任何思路来思考人类的发展。”“文明和文化都涉及一个民族全面的生活方式,文明是放大的文化……文化实际上是所有文明定义的共同主题。”显然,政治、经济、伦理、宗教、民俗、文学、艺术等,乃至科技无不涉及文化问题。因此,今天的人文和科技各门学科的专家、学者均日渐注意从文化切入来深化本学科的研究。

自西汉太史公的《史记》到清代乾嘉学派,二千余年来,不仅以中原汉文化独尊,“以我为主,其余次之;我即文明,其余皆荒”,而且把中原周围的四方称为:东夷、南蛮、西戎、北狄,鄙之为“四方皆荒”。中国西南地处边陲,自然被视为“蛮荒之地”。由于以中原汉文化为本位,故向来多言“黄河流域是中华文明的摇篮”。然而20世纪后半半个世纪,长江流域考古的重大发现,证明长江流域同样有着悠久灿烂的原始文化,也是中华文明的发源地之一。同时,在西南地区的云南开远、禄丰出土的森林古猿和腊玛古猿化石,其时代距今约有800万年。此外又在云南元谋发现早期直立人化石,时代距今 $170 \pm 10$ 万年(另说时代不早于距今73万年,可能为距今50~60万年)。以此说明中国

# 出版者的话



西南地区是人类起源与发展的重要地带。近半个世纪以来，在中国西南各省区相继发现旧石器时代早、中、晚期的遗存达五十余处，新石器时代的文化遗存也相当丰富。四川广汉三星堆青铜文化遗存，震惊海内外，璀璨的古蜀文化业已成为长江上游的文明中心。此后，巴蜀一直在中国西南文化中举足轻重，滇、黔、桂、藏也以其独特的文化异彩纷呈。

一部完整的中华文明史(或中华文化史)并非仅仅是以中原汉族为本位的精英文化的历史(以往的著述大多如此)，还应当包括汉族民间文化(即精英经典知识和思想之外的一般知识和思想)以及除汉族之外的其他各民族的文化，才能构成多元整合的中华文化。鉴此，我们推出“西南人文书系”，旨在全方位地拓展中国西南地区各民族的文化，力主发前人之未发，其次，尽力深化前人之已发。抚今追昔，继往开来。

图文并茂是“西南人文书系”的一大特色，文字揭示各书所描述的文化特征及其历史演变的过程，客观性、知识性、学术性并重；图版形象地展示其文化的多姿多彩，既让读者从中领略其风韵，又给读者以审美享受。现推出几本开拓性著作，欢迎西南文化研究的专家、学者及广大读者批评指正，多提建议，同时也欢迎惠赐有关西南人文研究(并配图片)的力作、新作。让我们共同构建新的西南文化，为中华文化的明天谱写新的乐章。

四川人民出版社人文编辑室

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  67. The Dhanada (or Vaisramana) right beneath the throne of the principal deity of the Namo-Dharmapala-Vajra (part)
  68. The Deity of All Artisans to the left of the principal deity of Padmasambhava (part), the area of the whole fresco being 208 × 195cm, Ming Dynasty, west wall in Dabaoji Palace
  69. The Deity of All Artisans to the right of the principal deity of Padmasambhava (part)
  70. The Green Tara, 208 × 124cm, Ming Dynasty, west wall in Dabaoji Palace
  71. Vajrasadhu and Kalacakra, 165 × 75cm, Ming Dynasty, east wall of the central hall of Dading Hall



72. Samvajra and Guhyapada, 165 × 75cm, Ming Dynasty, east wall of the central hall of Dading Hall
73. Mauna Duzhi, 165 × 75cm, Ming Dynasty, north wall of the central hall of Dading Hall
74. The Manjusri Bodhisattva, 196 × 135cm, Ming Dynasty, north wall of the central hall of Dading Hall
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95. The Devas in the Various Law-Protective Devas (part)
96. The Devas in the Various Law-Protective Devas (part)
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102. The Taoist deity to the right of the principal deity of the Realm of Buddhas (part)
103. The Bodhisattva on the lower left part of the Realm of Buddhas (part)
104. The Bodhisattva and Deva on the lower right part of the Realm of Buddhas (part)
105. The law-protective Deva at the lower right part of the Realm of Buddhas (part)
106. The Nine Arhats, 216 × 137cm, Ming Dynasty, west wall of Dajue Palace
107. The Various Law-Protective Devas, 216 × 137cm, Ming Dynasty, west wall of Dajue Palace
108. The Eight-Armed Avalokitesvara in the Various Law-Protective Devas (part)
109. The Devas in the Various Law-Protective Devas (part)
110. The Asparas in the Various Law-Protective Devas (part)
111. The Asparas and law-protecting Vajras in the Various Law-Protective Devas (part)
112. The law-protecting warriors in the Various Law-Protective Devas (part)
113. The six-armed law-protecting Deva in the Various Law-Protective Devas (part)

# 丽江白沙壁画概述

李 锡

丽江纳西族自治县地处云南省西北部，与四川接壤，与西藏邻近，是中国纳西族最集中的聚居地。自20世纪60年代以来，在丽江市境内先后发掘出“丽江人”化石(约5~10万年)及新石器时代文化遗址，说明纳西族的先民很早就在这片土地上生息繁衍。

具有悠久历史和传统文化的纳西族，在隋末唐初就创造了被称为“森究鲁究”(纳西语，意为“木石之标记”)的象形文字，这种文字主要用于东巴教巫师所写的经书，故又被社会上称为“东巴特额”(意为“东巴文”)。后来东巴弟子们又创制并使用一种被称为“哥巴”(意为“弟子”)的标音音节文字。这两种文字的广泛使用可能始于宋代，尽管从文字学意义上讲纳西族的文字属于原始的象形文字，并局限于本民族的宗教东巴教经书范围，但今天仍然活着于民间，这在当今世界范围内是极为鲜见的。同时，也标志着纳西族东巴文化的发展和社会进步。

东巴教是一种具有纳西族文化特质的宗教，它既不完全同于原始巫教，也不完全同于人为宗教。东巴教没有人为宗教活动场所、教会组织、法规、财产和职业教徒。但它有统一的教祖(祖师)丁巴什罗、三尊大神萨英畏登、依古阿格和恒丁窝盘，以及龙、鹏、狮、尤玛、根空、卡冉等护法神；也有卷帙浩繁的东巴经书、大小法会以及手鼓、板铃、法锣、法杖、法螺、五佛冠等法器；还有东巴跳神舞、神轴画和木牌鬼神画等东巴教艺术。此外，尚有一批学问很高的非职业祭司“东巴”。<sup>①</sup>

东巴教正式形成，大约是在唐、宋之际。由于当时纳西族先后受吐蕃和南诏统治，因此，纳西族文化受有藏文化和南诏文化的影响。特别是吐蕃王朝赤松德赞时期(755~797年)掀起的“扬佛灭苯”运动，迫使西藏大批苯教徒逃亡，一些苯教徒逃至纳西族地区继续从事苯教活动。这就使得西藏本土宗教苯教与纳西族本土宗教东巴教产生了密切关系。据说东巴教祖师“丁巴什罗”与吐蕃后期尊奉的教主“东巴先饶”实为一人。东巴教三尊大神萨英畏登、依古阿格、恒丁窝盘、九头神恒衣根空、四头神卡日、三位一体护法神龙、鹏、狮、塔拉米布神、胜利神高劳等均来自苯教。东巴教不少法器和象征符号也与苯教相似。东巴教有8部专用藏语读的经书，可能与苯教经典有关。东巴教关于宇宙卵生说，光明与黑暗、黑与白、善与恶等哲学思想，都与苯教教义接近。东巴教祭司自称“本补”，与苯教祭司自称“苯波”语音相类。<sup>②</sup>

据元代李京《云南志略·诸夷风俗·末些蛮》称：末些蛮(即纳西族)“不事神佛”。<sup>③</sup>说明元代佛教并未流行于纳西族地区。明代以降，佛教开始在纳西族地区盛行。如明末《滇南纪略》所载：“丽江土官自明朝开国以来，俗多好佛，常以金银铸佛，大者丈余，次者八九尺，再次者二三尺不等，如是罗列供养。”又据吴大勋《滇南闻见录》所言：木氏土司“崇信佛教，所有营建寺庙极华丽。有藏经楼藏经，全部经文皆楷书所缮……”其佛教的来源有二，一是藏传佛教，自西藏经由川西进入纳西族地区；二是汉地佛教，从内地或云南省内传入纳西族地区。近人方国瑜先生在《明十合院墓葬考》一文中说：“土司木氏，盛于明，多留遗迹唯宗教以喇嘛教为最多。”<sup>④</sup>以此说明藏传佛教(俗称喇嘛教)在纳西族地区的影响较汉地传入纳西族地区的佛教更大。约在明代中叶，道教也传入了纳西族地区。不过，据光绪《丽江府志稿》看，“佛寺颇多，道观次之。”足见道教在丽江的兴盛程度又远逊于佛教。

以上观之，东巴教作为纳西族文化的主干，具有多源和多元的文化特征。这不仅表现在东巴教的

发展轨迹中,而且也明显地体现在绚丽多彩的丽江白沙壁画艺术中。

丽江壁画主要绘制于明代,少量为清初绘制,其历史有三百余年。原有壁画分布于琉璃殿、大宝积宫、大定阁、大觉宫、真武祠、皈依堂、县圣寺、雷音寺、护法堂、福国寺、寒潭寺、万德宫、光碧楼、雪松寺等明清佛教、道教寺庙和宫观中。现存壁画仅有距丽江县城北10公里白沙乡之琉璃殿、大宝积宫、大定阁,以及白沙乡束河村之大觉宫,其余均已毁坏。由于现存壁画都在白沙乡,故统称为“丽江白沙壁画”。

丽江白沙壁画,琉璃殿内现存16堵,计12.52平方米;大宝积宫内现存12堵,计61.48平方米;大定阁内现存19堵,计71.31平方米;大觉宫内现存6堵,计26.40平方米。总计53堵,171.67平方米。其中保存较完好且绘画艺术最精美者,当首推大宝积宫的明代壁画,其次是大觉宫中的明代壁画。

琉璃殿始建于明初,洪武十五年(1382年)明王朝举兵南下,丽江土酋阿甲阿得率众先附,明太祖朱元璋嘉之,欲赐阿甲阿得姓木名得,并授世袭土官知府。<sup>①</sup>由于土司木得崇信佛教,上任不久便建琉璃殿。洪武十七年(1384年)开始在琉璃殿内绘制壁画,从现存琉璃殿内的《南无大威德海会》、《南无道师如来海会》、《南无阿弥陀佛会》等壁画中发现有木初、木仲、木昌的题名,其中木初于洪武二十四年(1391年)继任丽江土知府,作为第二任土司。可见琉璃殿的壁画是由土司木得主持,并由他的儿子亲自组织画师绘制完成的。琉璃殿原有的壁画分为三台,下台壁画已毁,仅有3幅临摹品现存于云南省博物馆;中、上两台壁画原有21堵,现存16堵,每堵120×60厘米,各绘主尊和二胁侍,多为佛、菩萨等圣众集会题材,如“佛会”或“海会”。从题材和壁画手法看,多系汉传佛教(主要是密宗)和汉地壁画艺术风格。

大宝积宫,据殿额题署纪年“万历壬午年端阳”,又据清代光绪《丽江府志稿》载,大宝积宫“明万历年木土司建”。以此说明大宝积宫建于明代万历十年(1582年),时在木旺土司任内。另据现存壁画上之藏历母水羊年题记,说明大宝积宫壁画始于明代万历十一年(1583年)。大宝积宫取名出自《大宝积经》,大乘深妙之法,谓之“宝”,聚集无量之法门,谓之“积”,故称“宝积”。在现存的12堵壁画中,以正壁(也称西壁)一铺和南、北二壁正中一堵画面最大且最精美。正壁一堵面积为367×498厘米,是丽江壁画中最大的一幅,题材取自唐代菩提流志译的《大宝积经无量寿如来会》(简称《无量寿如来会》),表现主尊无量寿如来(即阿弥陀佛)聚集圣众(菩萨、罗汉、帝释、诸天、护法神等)说法的场面,气势磅礴,所绘佛与圣众达一百余尊。南壁正中一堵面积为203×446厘米,从主尊座下的金书藏文题名“南无孔雀明王大佛母海会”,可知题材出自唐代不空译的《佛母大金耀孔雀明王经》。主尊为孔雀明王,表示灭除一切毒害、怖畏、苦恼、灾厄而得安乐。据不空所译《大孔雀明王画像坛场仪轨》载,孔雀明王呈慈悲相,结跏趺坐于白莲花上,四臂各持莲花、俱缘果、吉祥果、孔雀尾。莲花表示敬爱,俱缘果表示调伏,吉祥果表示增益,孔雀尾表示息灾,白莲座表示摄取慈悲之本誓。此明王为毗卢遮那佛之等流身,具有摄取、折伏二德。壁画中的孔雀明王形象与上述仪轨略异,为三面八臂另持有宝剑、法轮、幡幢等,但内容与经典大体符合。画面围绕主尊配置了诸神仙、星宿、龙王、雷公、药叉、罗汉、天女、护法神将等一百余尊神像,场面宏大,绘画技艺精湛,为大宝积宫壁画之佳构。北壁正中一堵面积为203×446厘米,主尊莲座间有金书藏文题记,意为“最古的,为释迦佛做的,伟大的佛的住处——清净无垢的大寺庙。母水羊年六月。三宝,吉祥如意”。<sup>②</sup>藏历母水羊年,相当于明代万历十一年(1583年),此纪年题记为大宝积宫壁画的断代提供了可靠的依据。从画面所表现的内容来判断,其题材出自于后秦鸠摩罗什译的《妙法莲华经·观世音菩萨普门品》(亦有单行本之《观世音菩萨普门品》),内容叙述观世音菩萨普门示现之妙用,即众生受一切苦恼灾难,只要一心念诵观世音菩萨名号,观世音菩萨即时观其音声,皆得解脱。因此,壁画中描绘了“遭王苦难”、“临刑寿终”、“砍刀寸断”、“途中逢盗”、“深山遇虎”、“莲池火难”等难。画面上方绘有十圣观世音菩萨,正中主尊不是以显教的一面两臂观世音菩萨的形象,而是以密教的三面七臂观世音菩萨形象出现。除以上三堵壁画外,《无量寿如来会》壁画后壁还有《南无护国善金刚》(208×121厘米)、《红教祖师》(208×195厘米)、《莲花生》(208×195厘米)、《绿度母》(208×124厘米);南壁还有《南无五色毫光圣母》(207×123厘米)、《南无大海一样慈悲观音》(即《四臂观音》207×123厘米);北壁还有《天尊与三官》(207×119厘米)、《金刚亥母》(207×119厘

米)。从上述壁画内容看,大宝积宫壁画以藏传佛教密宗题材和祖师题材为主,兼有道教题材。

大定阁,据清代乾隆八年(1743年)纂修的《丽江府志略》载,“大定阁,在白沙。大定二字,书法遒劲。阁四面缭以铜罽,簷以文石,备极精功。”<sup>②</sup>又据现存金刚殿内清代乾隆八年《重修金刚大定二刹碑记》载,大定阁“创于世守土府木增,规模峻丽,绘饰精工。”可见大定阁建于土司木增任内,即明代万历二十六年至天启三年(1598~1623年),清代乾隆八年重修。其壁画亦始绘于明代万历至天启年间,有少量壁画可能为清初补绘。现存壁画仅正殿正壁(又称东壁)、南壁、北壁6堵较完好外,南、北侧殿内壁画毁坏严重。正殿正壁2堵面积均为165×75厘米,皆绘藏传佛教密宗之“乐运双修”题材,如胜乐金刚、时轮金刚、喜金刚、密集金刚等拥抱明妃的双身像。正殿南、北壁4堵面积均为196×135厘米,分别绘观音、大势至、文殊、普贤四大菩萨像,配以山石花木、飞天等,不失为大定阁壁画之精品。

大觉宫,建于明代隆庆三年至万历七年(1570~1579年),土司木东任内。正壁原有3堵壁画,现已毁坏殆尽。东、西两壁各绘3堵,均以《佛会图》(216×320厘米)为中心,左右两侧各绘《九罗汉》(合为《十八罗汉》,每堵216×137厘米)、《诸天护法神》(每堵216×137厘米)。这6堵壁画以汉传佛教为题材,主要描绘菩萨、十八罗汉、诸天、帝释、天王、天女等圣众礼佛的场面。其中融入了密宗的三面八臂观音,以及道教的仙真。

由上观之,丽江白沙壁画兼容藏传佛教密宗题材和汉传佛教显宗题材,以及某些道教题材,既体现了佛教的显密双修,又反映出佛、道融合的多元文化特点。同时,在绘画艺术风格方面兼收并蓄汉式壁画和藏式壁画的表现手法,如勾勒、设色、堆金沥粉、黑底彩绘等。从画面的总体效果看,造型准确,刻画细腻,笔法多变,线条流畅,构图合理,均衡协调,设色既有清丽又有厚重,动态生动,妙相庄严。

丽江白沙壁画多种艺术风格的融合,显然与来自汉地、藏区、白族地区的画家有很大关系。据清代乾隆八年纂修的《丽江府志略·方技》载:“马肖仙,江南人,工图画山水,臻神品,花卉人物,靡不精妙,识者称为马仙画。西域闻其名,延去数载,后复归丽。”<sup>③</sup>相传明代天启年间,丽江土司木增从浙江宁波聘请马肖仙,先是在云南剑川鸡足山作壁画,后来又在丽江作壁画。时逢西藏噶玛派红帽系六世活佛噶旺·曲吉旺秋来丽江,很赏识马肖仙的画,于是将他带回西藏,后又去印度。数年后,马肖仙又返回丽江,死后葬在白沙。又据现存丽江漾西万德宫石碑上载:“铸匠云南石凤翼,画工古宗古昌。”“古宗古昌”即藏族古昌之意,说明藏区画家当时曾参与壁画绘制,这从现存壁画中的藏传佛教题材和藏式壁画艺术风格得到佐证。另据《丽江府志略·艺文略》所载明嘉靖七年(1528年)土司木公《建木氏勋祀白记》说:“其土木砖石,采绘之类,乃大理巧工杨得□氏成之。”说明当时有来自大理白族的画家参与丽江壁画绘制。此外,还有从中原来丽江的张道士,以及世代由东巴教和姓耕种的白沙“画匠旧”,也与丽江白沙壁画有一定关系。

丽江白沙壁画内容丰富,艺术精美,风格独特,不仅是中国壁画史上的一朵绚丽的奇葩,而且也是世界文化遗产中的一颗璀璨明珠。

① 参见和志武、郭大烈《东巴教的派系和现状》,载《东巴文化论集》,云南人民出版社1985年6月第1版,第50~51页。

② 参见杨福泉《多元文化与纳西社会》,云南人民出版社1998年1月第1版,第11~18页。

③ 王叔武校注《大理行记校注 云南志略辑校》,云南民族出版社1986年12月第1版,第93页。

④ 见《丽江文史资料》第二辑,丽江县政协文史组编印。

⑤ 参见《木氏官谱》,载《丽江文史资料》第五辑,丽江县政协文史资料委员会编印。

⑥ 参见陈兆复《中国古代少数民族美术》,人民美术出版社1991年7月第1版,第446页。

⑦ 见《丽江府志略·礼俗略》,丽江县志办公室翻印,第204页。

⑧ 见《丽江府志略》,丽江县志办公室翻印,第181页。

# A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO THE BAISHA FRESCOES IN LIJIANG COUNTY

By Li Xi

The Lijiang Autonomous County of the Naxi Nationality lies in the southwest part of Yunnan Province, neighbouring with Sichuan and Tibet and being the most concentrated habitat of the Naxi Nationality in China.

The Lijiang frescoes having a history of more than 300 years were mainly painted in the Ming Dynasty with a few made in early Qing Dynasty. The original frescoes were distributed in the Buddhist and Taoist monasteries or palaces built in the Ming and Qing Dynasties such as the Liuli Palace, the Dabaoji Palace, the Dading Hall, the Dajue Palace, the Zhenwu Temple, the Guiyi (Conversion) Hall, the Jusheng Temple, the Leiyin Temple, the Hufa (Law-Protecting) Hall, the Fuguo Temple, the Hantan Temple, the Wande Palace, the Guangbi Tower and the Xuesong Temple. However, the existing frescoes are only found in the Liuli Palace, the Dabaoji Palace and the Dading Hall of the Baisha Township 10 km north of the Lijiang County seat and in the Dajue Palace at Donghe Village, Baisha Township while the rest were all ruined. As the existing frescoes are all kept in Baisha Township, they are called the "Baisha Frescoes in Lijiang County".

Of these frescoes, 16 are preserved in Liuli Palace, talling 12 square metres; 12 are kept in Dabaoji Palace, talling 61.48 square metres; 19 are found in Dading Hall, totalling 71.31 square metres; and 6 are seen in Dajue Palace, talling 26.4 square metres. There are 53 frescoes in all totalling 171.67 square metres, of which the better preserved and best painted are those of the Ming Dynasty in Dabaoji Palace and the second best are those of the Ming Dynasty in Dajue Palace.

The Liuli Palace was first built in early Ming Dynasty. In the 15th year of Emperor Hongwu (1382A.D.) the Ming court sent army to invade South China and Ajia Ade, the headman of Lijiang, was the first to lead his tribe to surrender. This was highly praised by Zhu Yuanzhang, the first emperor of the Ming Dynasty, who bestowed the name Mu Deon Ajia Ade and conferred on him the hereditary title of "Prefectural Headman".<sup>(1)</sup> A believer in Buddhism, the headman Mu De, began to build the Liuli Palace as soon as he took post. The 17th year of the Hongwu Emperor (1385 A. D.) saw the making of frescoes in the Liuli Palace and from the existing frescoes in the Palace such as the Namoyamantaka Preaching Conference, the Namoyanargatathagata Preaching Conference and the Namoyamita Preaching Conference are found inscriptions by Mu Chu, Mu Zhong and Mu Chang. Of the three sons, Mu Chu succeeded the Prefectural Title as the second Prefectural Headman in the 24th year of Emperor Hongwu (1391A.D). From the above, one can see that the frescoes in Liuli Palace were completed under the auspice of Mu De, the Headman, and the whole work was organized by his sons. The frescoes in Liuli Palace were originally divided into three layers, of which those on the lower layer were ruined and only three imitations are now preserved in the Museum of Yunnan Province. The frescoes on the middle and upper layers used to have 21 pieces, of which only 16 pieces are now existent with 120 × 60 cm each. On each of these frescoes were painted a principal Buddha with two attendants

and the subject-matters were mainly of Buddha or Bodhisattva Preaching Conference such as the Realm of Buddhas or Dharma-Preaching. Seen from the subject-matters and their painting skills, these frescoes mostly belong to the style of the Han Buddhism (mainly of the Esoteric Sect) and the Han Nationality fresco art.

The inscription date on the palace board and the records of *Lijiang Prefectural Annals* show that Dabaoji Palace "was built in the 10th year of Wanli Emperor of the Ming Dynasty by the Mu-named headman (1582A.D.) when Mu Wang, the Headman, was in office. Besides, according to the inscriptions on the existing frescoes, the frescoes in Dabaoji Palace were first painted in the 11th year of Ming Emperor Wanli (1583A.D.). The Dabaoji Palace was named after the Dabaoji Scripture. As the profound law of Mahayana (the Greater Vehicle) is called "values" and together unlimited law-acquiring skills is meant "accumulating", the Palace was named Baoji (Values-Accumulating). Of the 12 existing frescoes, the one on the front wall (also called the west wall) and the ones in the centres of the south and north walls are the biggest and the most exquisite. The fresco on the front wall with an area of  $367 \times 498$  cm is the biggest of all the Lijiang frescoes, whose subject-matter is derived from the Sukhavativyuha-utra (the Amitayus Preaching Conference) of the Dabaoji Scripture translated by Bodhi-lyuca in the Tang Dynasty. It shows the grand scene of the principal Buddha Amitayus preaching to the various saints (the Bodhisattvas, the Arhats, the Indras, the Devas and the law-protectors). The Buddhas and deities painted in this fresco are up to over a hundred. The fresco in the centre of the south wall with an area of  $203 \times 446$  cm is entitled Namomahamayuri Preaching Conference with the gold-gilded Tibetan inscriptions on the throne of the principal deity. The subject-matter comes from *Golden Mahamayuri Scripture* translated by Amogha in the Tang Dynasty. Its principal Buddha is Mahamayuri indicating the extinction of all evils, terrors, sorrows and disasters and the attainment of peace and happiness. According to the *Mandala Rules in Portraying Mahamayuri* translated by Amogha, the Mahamayuri was seated cross-leggedly on white lotus with the four arms holding the lotus flower, the Bijapuraka, the auspicious fruit and the peacock-tail feather respectively, showing a benevolent complexion on the face. The lotus flower indicates respectful love; the Bijapuraka expresses coordination; the auspicious fruit shows benefit; the peacock tail feather embodies the extinction of disasters; and the white lotus throne explains the instinct pledge to take in benevolence. This Mahamayuri is the incarnation of the Buddha Vairocana, having the two virtues of taking in and coordinating. The image of Mahamayuri in the fresco is slightly different from the above description, being three-faced and eight-armed (and holding sword, wheel of law and streamer etc.), but the content remains somewhat the same with the scriptural rules. In the fresco, around the principal deity are painted over a hundred holy images such as the various deities, constellations, dragon kings, thunder-gods, yaksas, arhats, asparas and law-protectors. The fresco, its scene being grand and workmanship exquisite, proves to be the best structured of all the frescoes in Dabaoji Palace. In the fresco painted in the centre of the north wall, whose area is  $203 \times 446$  cm, there are gold-gilded Tibetan inscriptions meaning "the oldest great dwelling place constructed for the Buddha Sakyamuni---- a grand temple of serenity with the three auspicious treasures."

(2) The date of the inscriptions equals to the 11th year of the Ming Emperor Wanli, that is, 1583 A. D.. These inscriptions have provided reliable grounds for the history of the frescoes in Dabaoji Palace. From the content expressed in the frescoes, it can be decided that the subject-matter was originated from the Saddharma-pundarika-sutra; Avalokitesvara on Samantamukha translated by Kumarajiva in the late Qing Dynasty (There was also separate edition for *Avalokitesvara on Samanta-mukha*). The sutra tells how Avalokitesvara displayed his saddharma on the Samantamukha, i. e. all the creatures who suffer every kind of distresses and disasters could get rid of all their miseries if they call the name of Avalokitesvara who would come to help them immediately. Therefore, the fresco described the various disasters such as the "seeing the sufferings of the king", "death before the torture", the "breaking of the sword", "confronting the bandits on the way", "meeting the tiger in the forest", and the "fire disaster of the lotus pond".

On the upper part of the fresco are painted the Avalokitedvaras in ten places. But the principal deity in the centre shows not the image of the one-faced and two-armed Avalokitesvara of the exoteric Buddhism but that of the three-faced and seven-armed one of the esoteric Buddhism. Apart from the above three frescoes, there are also the Namodharmapala-vajra (208 × 121cm), the Supreme Master of the Red Religion (Shamar) (208 × 195 cm), Padmasambhava (208 × 195 cm), the Green Tara (208 × 124 cm) on the back wall of the fresco Sukhavativyuha-utra; the Namodaryatara with five-coloured light (207 × 123cm), the Namodavalokitesvara with sealike benevolence (the Four-armed Avalokitesvara) (207 × 123 cm) on the south wall; and Ganapati and Three Officials (207 × 119cm), the Vajradhupa (207 × 119cm) on the north wall. The above shows that the frescoes in Dabaoji Palace are mainly of the subject-matters of the esoteric Tibetan Buddhism and its supreme masters together with some subject-matters of Taoism.

The Dading Hall, as recorded in *Lijiang Prefectural Annals* compiled in 8th year of Emperor Qianlong of the Qing Dynasty (1743 A. D. ), “lies in Baisha Township. The two characters Da-Ding were vigorously written. The four sides of the Hall were decorated with copper rings and inscribed stones in exquisite workmanship”.<sup>(3)</sup> Again, according to the records of the Tablet Inscriptions for the Reconstruction of the Jingang (Vajra) Temple and the Dading Hall in the eighth year of Emperor Qianlong of the Qing Dynasty, which are now kept in the Jingang (Vajra) Temple, the Dading Hall “was first built by Mu Zeng the Prefectural Headman with splendid scope and exquisite paintings and decorations.” This shows that Dading Hall was constructed during the rule of Mu Zeng the Headman, that is, in the period from the 26th year of the Wanli Emperor to the 3rd year of the Tianqi Emperor in the Ming Dynasty (1598–1624 A. D. ), and was rebuilt in the 8th year of Emperor Qianlong in the Qing Dynasty. The frescoes in the Hall were also first painted in the period from Emperor Wanli to Emperor Tianqi with a few probably painted in early Qing Dynasty. Among the existing frescoes, only those on the front wall (also called east wall), the south wall and the north wall of the main hall are better preserved while those in the south and north side halls are badly ruined. The two frescoes on the front wall of the main hall with an area of 165 × 75 cm each were painted with the subject-matters of “practising for the purpose of both spiritual attainment and worldly pleasure as advocated by Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism such as the double portraits of Samvajra, Kalacakra, Vajrasadhu and Guhyapada with their Saivife in arms. The four frescoes on the south and north walls of the main hall have an area of 196 × 135 cm each, on which are painted Avalokitesvara, Mahasthamaprapta, Manjusri and Samantabhadra, the four major Bodhisattvas with mountain rocks, flowers and trees or flying Asparas. They are the gems among all the frescoes in Dading Hall.

The Dajue Palace was first built in late Ming Dynasty. On the front wall there used to be three frescoes, which are now already ruined. There are also painted three frescoes on the east and west walls respectively, all centred on the Realm of Buddhas (216 × 320 cm) with the Nine Arhats and the Various Dharma-dharaka-devas painted on both the left and right sides respectively (the arhats on both sides are eighteen altogether with one side having an area of 216 × 137 cm and each of the Various Dharma-dharaka-devas is of an area of 216 × 137 cm). The subject-matters of the above 6 frescoes being Han-nationality Buddhism mainly describe the scene of the Bodhisattvas, the 18 arhats, the various devas, the indras, the heavenly kings and the asparas worshipping the Buddha, among which are also seen the images of the three-faced and eight-armed Avalokitesvara of esoteric Buddhism as well as some deities and saints of Taoism.

The above shows that the Baisha frescoes in Lijiang County have integrated the subject-matters of Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism with those of the Hanregion exoteric Buddhism together with some Taoist content, embodying both the dual character of exoteric and esoteric Buddhism and the plural cultural characteristics of the integration of Buddhism with Taoism. At the same time, the artistic style of the frescoes is also an integration of the skills of the Han frescoes and the Tibetan frescoes such as sketching, colour-laying, gold powder dripping and colour painting against



black background. The overall effect of the frescoes is achieved by their accurate composition, minute depiction, variable strokes, smoothlines, proper layout and balanced coordination, and the application of colours is imbued with light prettiness and thick richness to make the painting vividly dynamic and exquisitely solemn.

The integration of various artistic styles of the Baisha frescoes of Lijiang obviously owed much to the painters coming from the different regions inhabited by the Han nationality, the Tibetan people and the Bai nationality respectively. According to the records of the *Brief Annals of Lijiang Prefecture: Local Skills* compiled in the 8th year of Emperor Qianlong of the Qing Dynasty, "Ma Xiaoxian, born in the south, was good at landscape painting and especially skilled in drawing flowers and figures and holy subjects, whose works were exquisitely wonderful, known as paintings of celestial Ma. He was well reputed in West China and went to live there for several years and then returned to Lijiang."<sup>(4)</sup> It was said that in the period of the rule of Emperor Tianqi of the Ming Dynasty, Mu Zeng, the Headman of Lijiang, invited Ma Xiaoxian to come from Ningpo of Zhijiang Province to paint frescoes first in Jizushan of Jianchuan, Yunnan Province and then in Lijiang. At that time, Kewang Qujiwangqiu, the Sixth Living Buddha of the Red Hats of the Karmapas in Tibet came to Lijiang and held highly Ma's painting. He brought Ma back to Tibet, who later went to India. But several years later Ma Xiaoxian returned to Lijiang again and was buried at Baisha after death. Besides, as recorded in the inscribed tablet kept in Wande Palace in Yangxi Township of Lijiang County: "The stonemason: Shi Fengyi of Yunnan; the painter: Guzong Guchang." Guzong Guchang means Guchang of Tibet. This shows that Tibetan painters participated in the making of the frescoes at that time. This can also be proved by the Tibetan Buddhist subject-matters of the frescoes and their artistic style of Tibetan frescoes. What is more, as recorded in *Brief Annals of Lijiang Prefecture: Art and Literature*, the Personal Note of Mu Gong, the Headman, on the Construction of the Memorial Temple of the Mu Family in the 7th year of Emperor Jiajing (1528A. D. ) reads: "the earth, wood, bricks and stones as well as the colour-painting of the frescoes were completed by Yang De, a skilled artisan of Dali." This explains the participation of the painters of the Bai nationality of Dali in the making of the Lijiang frescoes. In addition, Zhang the Taoist who came to Lijiang from Central China and "the Painter Tian" of Baisha who believed in Dongba Religion generation after generation and was named Gengzhong were also involved with the Baisha frescoes in Lijiang County.

The Baisha frescoes in Lijiang County, rich in content, exquisite in art and unique in style, are not only an exotically beautiful flower in the history of Chinese frescoes but also a brilliant pearl of the world cultural heritages.

(1) Refer to the Official Genealogy of the Mu Family, carried in *Literary and Historical Materials*, 5th Edition, printed by Commission of Literary and Historical Data under the People's Political Consultative Conference of Lijiang County.

(2) Refer to *Fine Art of the Chinese Ancient Minority Nationalities* by Chen Zhaofu, p. 446, first edition, July 1, 1991, People's Publishing House of Fine Art.

(3) Refer to *Brief Annals of Lijiang Prefecture: Rites and Customs*, Reprinted by Office of County Annals of Lijiang County, p. 204.

(4) Refer to *Brief Annals of Lijiang Prefecture*, reprinted by the Office of County Annals of Lijiang County, p. 181.