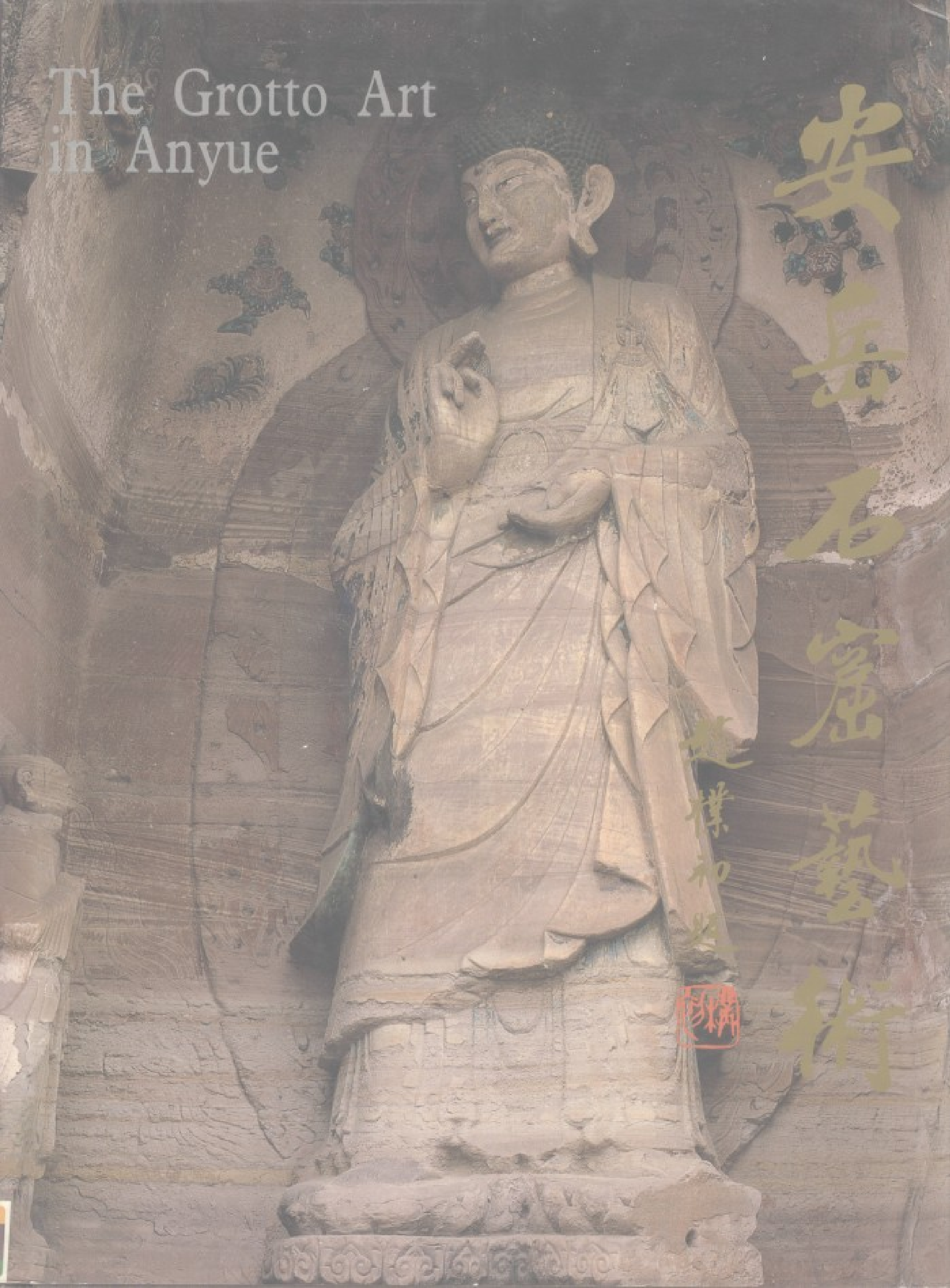


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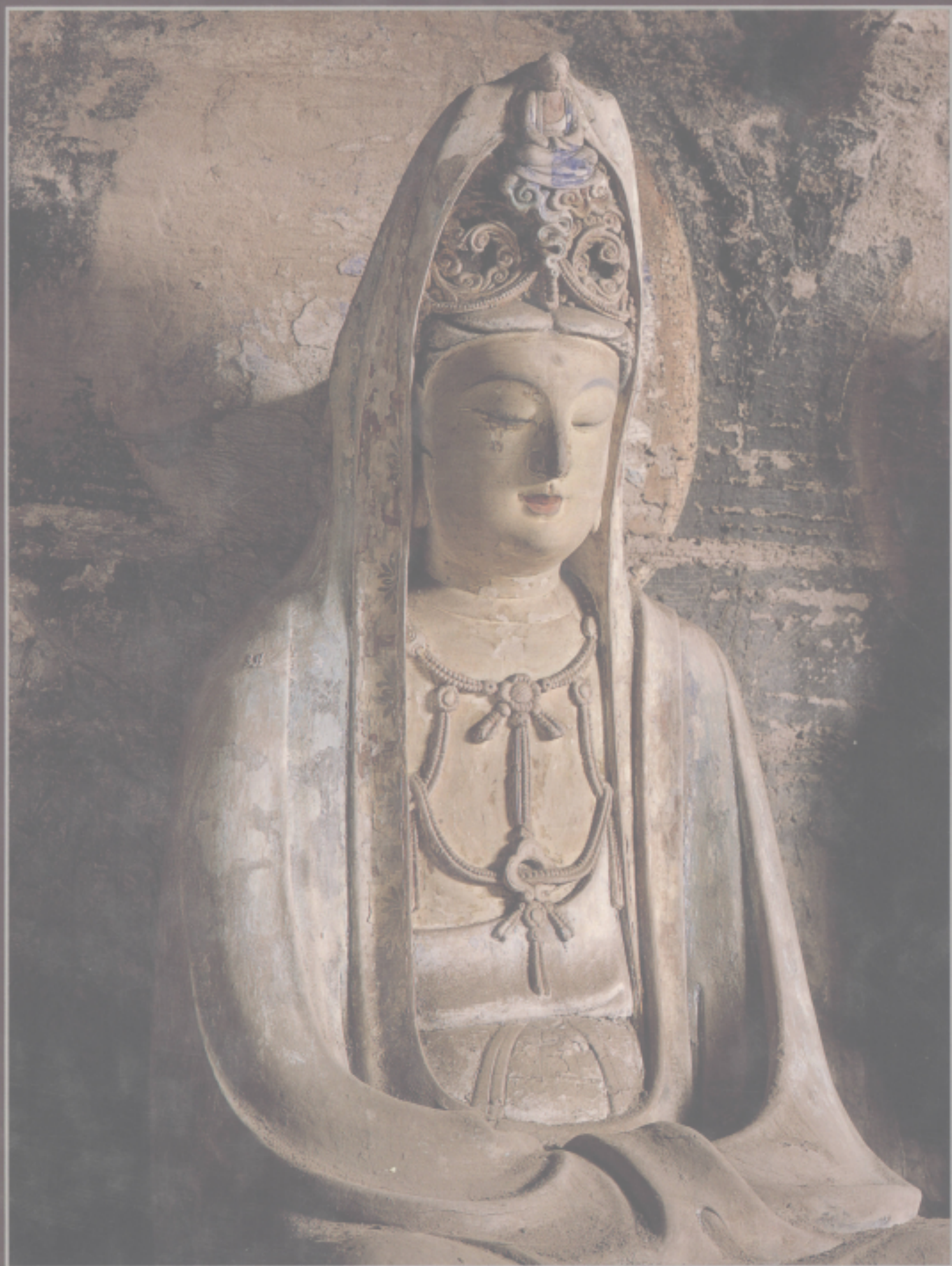
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安岳石窟艺术  
The Grotto Art  
in Anyue  
by Liu Changjiu



# The Grotto Art in Anyue

by Liu Changjiu

刘长久 主编

安岳石窟藝術

趙樸初題



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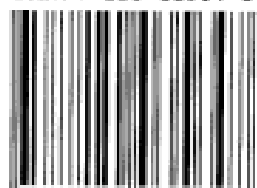
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## List of the Anyue Grottoes and Stone Sculptures



# 安岳石窟艺术概论

刘长久

四川石窟(主要是摩崖造像)就其数量多、分布广而言,堪称中国石窟之冠。而安岳石窟分布之广,又可谓四川石窟之最。特别是安岳石窟中极为精美的宋代造像,可以说是中国晚期石窟艺术的一颗璀璨的明珠。

## 一 安岳历史地理沿革

安岳县位于川中腹地,东邻大足,南接内江,西毗乐至,北连遂宁。安岳县,春秋战国时为巴蜀之境;秦时为巴蜀二郡地;两汉时为资中、牛鞞、垫江、德阳四县之境。晋代因之。梁时于此置普慈郡。北周建德四年(公元575年)置普州,并置安岳县。因县治地在铁门山,安然于山上,故名安岳。隋大业元年(公元605年),省普州入资中(治地在今四川资中县重龙镇)。大业三年(公元607年)罢资州,改为资阳郡,安岳县属资阳郡。唐武德二年(公元619年),分资阳郡复置普州。天宝元年(公元742年),改普州为安岳郡。乾元元年(公元758年),复为普州。两宋仍置普州安岳郡。元代末期,明玉珍在重庆建大夏国,复置安岳县。明洪武四年(公元1371年),于安岳县复置普州;洪武九年(公元1376年),降潼川府为州,直隶布政司,废普州,安岳县属潼川直隶州。清顺治初年,因袭明制。康熙元年(公元1662年),安岳县省入遂宁县;康熙十六年(公元1677年),又省入乐至县。雍正七年(公元1729年),复置安岳县;雍正十二年(公元1734年),潼川直隶州升为潼川府(治地在今四川三台县潼川镇),安岳县属潼川府。民国初,废府州厅,改为道制,安岳县属嘉陵道管辖;民国二十四年(公元1935年),将四川省划分为18个行政督察区和西康行政督察区,安岳县属第十二行政督察区。1949年10月,中华人民共和国成立后,将四川省划分为川西、川东、川北、川南四个行署区,安岳县属川北行署区遂宁专区。1958年,撤销遂宁专区,将安岳县划入川南行署区内江专区。1968年,改专区为地区,从此至今,安岳县属内江地区管辖。<sup>①</sup>

## 二 安岳石窟造像缘起

从古代文献看,安岳县虽然“土瘠民贫”,但“其民朴厚而俗美,士雅素而笃学”,且“土常比旁郡为多”,“冠带之盛与西眉并称”。<sup>②</sup>可见文人云集,曾在这里生活过名家不少,唐有著名诗人贾岛,宋有诗人、画家文同,著名道教学家陈抟,著名数学家秦九韶等。以此可称“人杰”。

“地灵”呢?据《郡志》载:“眉(眉山)之秀以水,阆(阆中)之秀

以山,普(安岳)之秀以石,故俗称石秀。”<sup>③</sup>这里所谓“石秀”,并非指安岳县的石材之多,也非指石质之自然美,而是说安岳县摩崖石刻造像之精美。

近年来,在安岳县发掘出东汉崖墓石刻造像,证明石刻造像在安岳县兴起较早。但就石窟(或摩崖造像)意义的石刻造像来说,到底肇始于何时?迄今为止,大致有以下三种意见:

(一)开创于南朝梁武帝普通二年(公元521年)。此说依据是《安岳县志·古迹附金石》所载:“梁《招隐寺刹下铭》,萧纶书,普通二年,在普州”。该碑铭与石窟造像毫无关系,此说不能成立。

(二)始于隋代。此说根据《安岳县志·寺观·古迹》所载:“奉圣寺罗汉,相传隋代塑像”;“封门寺,寺肇于隋”;“郡北小千佛院,开皇十三年建。”这三条论据均不能说明安岳石窟造像始于隋代,因为奉圣寺之罗汉塑像,即使可以准确断定为隋代,但寺观雕塑毕竟不属于石窟造像。其次,封门寺虽建于隋代,但并不能因此说明该处一定有隋代开凿的石窟造像,现存只有少量宋代摩崖造像。再者,建于隋开皇十三年(公元584年)的郡北小千佛院,是否即是现今所称的安岳千佛寨?值得研究。因为这里所说的郡,当指普慈郡。宋代王象之《舆地纪胜》卷第一百五十八“州沿革”说:“《旧唐书·志》:置普慈郡于此。按:《梁史》:普通中,益州刺史临汝侯萧猷赐铁券镂书,文云:今为尔置普慈郡,可率属子弟奉官租以时输送。后周武帝于郡立普州。《隋志》安岳县下注云:后周置安岳县,并置普州。《寰宇记》云:周武帝建德四年于郡立普州。《隋志》又云:周置普慈郡。象之谨按:《梁史》普通中已置普慈郡,周置普州非置郡也。又置多叶县于此……隋初郡废,改多叶县为普慈县。《隋志》云:开皇十三年,改多叶县曰普慈。”普慈郡在今乐至县东北龙门乡。因此,“郡北小千佛院”应在乐至县境内,而非今之安岳千佛寨。千佛寨在安岳县城西北2.5公里之大云山上,《舆地纪胜》“普州·景物下”载:“大云山,在铁山门外二里许,上为栖岩寺,唐李洞读易洞在焉。”又,《安岳乡土志》云:“栖岩寺,在治西北五里大云山,唐开元中僧元(玄)应建。康熙间重修,因岩间有石像千馀,更名千佛寺”。可见,千佛寨在唐代开元年间称为栖岩寺,清代康熙年间改名为千佛寺,后来才改称千佛寨的。此处现存摩崖造像尚未发现有隋代作品,所存碑刻铭文或造像题记最早的是唐开元十年(公元722年)普州刺史韦忠所建的《唐西岩禅师受戒序》,这也是安岳石窟中现存最早的镌记。

(三)发端于唐代。持此说者主要是通过对安岳石窟现状分析,从窟龕形制、造像艺术风格,最早的镌记等判断,得出安岳石窟始

那末,安岳县凿窟造像的原因是什么呢?笔者以为有如下几点:

(二)安岳县自唐以来,就有“土多于民”,“独惟人物之富甲于蜀东”之说,这就为在安岳传播当时之社会主流思想和文化奠定了良好的基础。就儒、释、道文化而言,首先,安居人“尚礼义,尊爱贤者”蔚成风气,人们“有无相通,忧患相恤”,“无倦于教育”,足见儒家思想在安岳影响之深广。其次,唐开元年间,玄应禅师等在安岳弘扬佛法,对安岳凿窟造像之兴起功不可没。再次,唐代的李玄则法师等在安岳玄妙观营造道像,对安岳凿窟造像的发展作出了贡献。

(三)僧侣信仰和民间信仰是安岳凿窟造像的重要原因。不论是佛教或是道教,僧侣们出自于宗教信仰,在宣传教义理方面都是不遗余力的。除刊行经籍和讲经说法外,最具大众化的传媒方式,莫过于借助造型艺术(主要是绘画、雕塑)图像进行“以像教化”,借以达到使人归信的目的。因此,僧侣信仰对于凿窟造像的发端,无疑起到了极为重要的作用。而民间信仰则包括两个层面:一是来自官方,统治者和官僚利用宗教作为治理的手段之一,大力提倡建寺修塔,凿窟造像,而且不少地方军政官吏和眷属身体力行。二是来自百姓中的善男信女,他(她)们上祝皇封永固、国泰民安、亡灵升天;下祝自身清吉、消灾祛病、无仇无怨。因此,以凿窟造像为功德,损资出力,甚至割田舍地。同时,以“义邑”(即一种民间组织)形式结社造像,以示信仰虔诚,让神灵护佑而解脱苦难,达到精神净化和进入理想境界。

据安岳县文物管理所近年来文物普查结果统计,在全县境内共有石窟及石刻造像217处(详见本书附录《安岳石窟及石刻造像一览表》),窟龕1298个,大小造像22272躯。其中属国家级保护单位1处,省级保护单位6处,余皆为县级和待批县级保护单位。

(一)卧佛院摩崖造像 位于安岳县城北40公里八庙乡卧佛村,现存窟龕139个,大小造像1613躯,开创于唐代。1985年1月13日,中华人民共和国国务院公布为第三批全国重点文物保护单位。

造像的题材内容主要有:释迦说法图、涅槃变、三身佛、弥勒佛、凉州瑞像、千佛、千手观音、经幢等。

卧佛院除摩崖造像外,尚存唐代摩崖石刻佛经15窟,共刻有佛经22种(含《大唐东京大敬爱寺一切经论目序》),约有40余万字,可辨者约有26万馀字。所刻内容除密宗和禅宗的一些经典外,多为《大般涅槃经》。这对于研究佛经的版本具有很高的价值。

从现状看,千佛寨的造像风化剥蚀较为严重,有的窟龕已崩圯,有的窟龕造像由于经后代改刻,失去原貌。如第1号西方三圣窟,内存有唐天宝四载(公元745年)造像题记,也有南宋绍熙三年(公元1192年)造像题记。从前一题记知道所造的像是药师佛,后一题记所说的“重修长寿王如来”,即指西方三圣之主尊阿弥陀佛。可见,该号初为唐天宝四载所开之药师佛龕(现已不存),盛唐时又相继开有几龕佛、菩萨像(现残存于第24号窟内右侧壁);宋代改凿为大窟造西方三圣像,同时在侧壁保留了唐代的部分龕像。过去,有人将该号断为隋代造像,显然不妥。

该处现存最早的造像题记为第71号天尊龕左壁：“□□□□□□□□/□月□□五日，前州仓督安岳县录/事骑尉勋官五品黎令宾，愿/平安，敬造天尊像一龕，永为供/养。栖岩寺上座释沙门玄应书。”此记虽纪年已磨泐，但据安岳千佛寨第38号龕右壁所存造像题记：“开元廿年岁次壬申十二月庚□朔十八日丁卯，前安岳县骑都尉勋官五品黎令宾，愿造东西三世诸佛□□□□亡父亡母及亡□造西面救苦观世音菩萨一龕三身，并永为□□。前安居县市令普州□助教岌恪，男 前州市□尉勋官七品处运□□供养。寺上座玄应书。”又据安岳卧佛院第46号右壁残记：“佛顶尊胜陀罗尼咒 闍宾国沙门佛陀波利奉诏译 大唐开元二十一年□月二十日沙门玄应书”。从后两则题记中的纪年，可证圆觉洞第71号造像题记的纪年应在唐开元二十年左右。圆觉洞现存最晚的题记为第7号净瓶观音窟之南宋绍兴二十三年(公元1153年)题记。

此处虽存有碑刻18块,大多为明、清时的培修或重修妆彩题

记,无一则纪年造像题记。不过,从明、清碑记中可知该处造像“创自宋初”。

窟龕形制较单一,均为敞口矩形平顶窟。

造像题材内容主要有:柳本尊十炼图、柳本尊三身像、观音经变、华严三圣、十八罗汉、功德主像、三皇像等。

堪称造像艺术精品者,当推第19号观音经变窟中的水月观音像。题材内容最具地方特色者,要算表现“川密”祖师行化题材的第8号柳本尊十炼图窟。

(五)华严洞摩崖造像 位于安岳县城东南56公里赤云乡华严洞村之箱盖山上,现存2大窟,大小造像159躯,开创于宋代。1961年,四川省人民政府公布为省级文物保护单位。

这里虽有南宋、明、清时的碑刻题记24处,但多为重修题记,尚无纪年造像题记。从造像艺术风格看,与毗卢洞大体相同。以此可以判断华严洞的造像最早为北宋,最晚为明代。

该处仅2窟,题材内容:一是华严三圣(含万乘土地菩萨、普贤五十三参),二是三教会同。

窟龕形制简单,第1号华严三圣窟,时代为北宋,矩形平顶大洞窟,平面呈方形,三面凿有高坛,窟内尚存两圆拱形浅龕(明代);第2号三教会同(大般若洞),时代为南宋,窟形与第1号窟相同,只是规模要小些。

特别是第1号华严三圣窟,造像艺术之精美,可谓安岳石窟中的极品。

(六)玄妙观摩崖造像 位于安岳县城西北20公里鸳大镇黄楠乡玄妙村之集圣山腰,现存窟龕79个,大小造像1293躯,开创于唐代。1994年,四川省人民政府公布为省级文物保护单位。

此处尚存唐开元、天宝年间的碑刻4块。从第6号所存唐天宝七载(公元748年)镌刻之《启大唐御立集圣山玄妙观胜境碑》文中,可知玄妙观最初之造像,是由法师李玄则于开元十八年(公元730年)营造的。

造像题材内容,除少数佛道合龕外,均为道教造像,主要有:三清、天尊、老君、真人、护法神将等。

该处不仅是安岳县道教造像数量最多、时代最早的石窟点,而且也是四川道教造像数量最多、时代较早的石窟点。可惜大多数造像在“文化大革命”中,遭到严重毁坏。近年,有部分龕像又被村民以油漆涂绘,丧失原貌。因此,现存龕像较完整的极少。

(七)茗山寺摩崖造像 位于安岳县城东南60公里顶新乡民乐村之虎头山上,现存窟龕20个,大小造像63躯,开创于宋代。1994年,四川省人民政府公布为省级文物保护单位。

该处虽存有碑刻题记23处,但多属清代装修佛像或培修庙宇的题记,未有明、清以前的纪年造像题记。对于造像年代的判断,只能从现存造像的特征、服饰、艺术风格等,以及与安岳他处的造像相比较,大致可以断定为宋代。

造像题材内容主要有:毗卢佛、观音、大势至、文殊、十二护法神将,毗卢佛与东岳大帝合龕等。

窟龕形制几乎全是方形(或矩形)平顶窟龕。

该处造像较大,主要为单尊或双尊并坐(或立),刻工精细,但布局显得较刻板。

除上述7处外,属于县级文物保护单位,造像时代为唐、五代、宋且有一定规模的,有侯家湾摩崖造像、木鱼山摩崖造像、庵堂寺

摩崖造像、净慧岩摩崖造像、孔雀洞摩崖造像、大佛岩摩崖造像、仙洞摩崖造像等。有的保存现状较好,有的风化较严重,有的已被村民用油漆彩画。特别是庵堂寺的五代造像被彩画后,已失原貌,无法辑入本书图版,令人遗憾。

## 四 安岳石窟的窟龕形制分期

按照安岳石窟的历史发展,拟将窟龕形制划分为三期:

第一期:唐代,是安岳石窟的形成期,受广元、巴中、通江等川北石窟的影响。该期的窟龕形制主要有以下四种:

(1)重檐屋形帐幕(或帷幕)双重龕:其特点是龕额凿为一层,第一、二层合为重檐,装饰有蕉叶、山花;第三层刻为帐幕(或帷幕),龕内三壁刻像。这种龕主要见于安岳卧佛院。

(2)单口略呈弧形顶龕,龕楣似莲瓣形,门楣装饰有缠枝卷草纹或变形莲花纹,龕底部凿有马蹄形层基,上设佛像。主要见于安岳卧佛院。

(3)单口平顶(或略呈弧形顶)龕,龕楣略呈莲瓣形,或装饰有山花,或素面无装饰,龕内三壁刻像。主要见于安岳千佛寨。

(4)方形平顶龕,底部凿低坛,其上三壁刻像,低坛立面正中刻双狮和博山炉。主要见于安岳木鱼山。这种刻有双狮和博山炉的窟龕在安岳石窟中不多。

第二期:五代,是安岳石窟自成体系的过渡期。该期的窟龕形制较单一且规模较小,主要为平顶双重龕,内龕三壁刻像,龕口左右各一刻一力士,龕口左右上角大都刻有雀替。主要见于安岳圆觉洞和庵堂寺。

第三期:宋代,是安岳石窟自成体系的极盛期。该期的窟龕形制也较单一,但规模较大,主要为方形(或矩形)平顶窟(龕),窟(龕)平面呈方形(或矩形),三壁设像,也有三壁凿坛,其上设像。主要见于圆觉洞、毗卢洞、华严洞、茗山寺等处。

## 五 安岳石窟的题材内容

安岳石窟的题材内容可分为佛教、道教两大类,以下分别按唐、五代、宋三个时代叙述:

### (一)佛教造像题材

1. 唐代。属于显教题材的主要有:释迦说法图、释迦多宝说法图、一佛二弟子二菩萨一力士、阿弥陀佛、弥勒、观音、西方净土变、观经变、涅槃变等。属于密宗题材的主要有:华严三圣、千手观音、地藏、药师经变等。这些题材,在四川广元、巴中、通江、夹江、丹棱、蒲江、邛崃、资中等石窟中出现过,只是安岳在某些题材内容的表现方面有其独特之处。如卧佛院第3号涅槃变窟、千佛寨第96号药师经变窟等。

在四川石窟中,表现“涅槃变”题材的,唐代有广元、安岳、乐至,宋代有大足,民国时期有潼南。安岳卧佛院第3号窟是唐代规模最大的涅槃变造像,依山凿就,卧佛全身长23米,头东脚西,左胁而卧。这种卧姿有悖于佛经所谓“北首右胁卧,枕手累双足”。左胁卧的涅槃像在四川凉山不意瓦衣石刻画南区第4号上层正中亦有一例,时代为大理国,相当于宋代。卧佛院第3号窟的内容,由“释迦临终说法”和“释迦涅槃”两部份组成。前者位于后者





永作皈依之地。

天复六年(公元906年)正月,柳本尊烧炼两膝,发愿与众生同见于龙华三会。自此,四方僧俗云集于柳之座下,听法者愈来愈多。

天复七年(公元907年)七月十四日半夜,柳本尊将弟子袁承贵、杨直京叫到跟前,付嘱:“我将离开人世,你们务必总持秘密摧邪显法之所有咒法,共同弘扬密教。”说毕便圆寂了。享年53岁(一说法寿八十四,一说八十八)。

据说蜀主王建曾授予柳本尊“唐瑜伽部主总持王”称号(可能为南宋赵智风杜撰)。宋熙宁元年(公元1068年),神宗赐院额为“圣寿院”。成都持瑜伽教贾文确件其事,命草泽张纳为之记。

宋时,已有数本关于柳本尊的传记流传于民间,但“猥丑鄙俚”、“疑信相半”。南宋绍兴十年(公元1140年)春,冯谢、王直清以沙门释祖觉修订的《唐柳本尊传》为正本,眉山安养居士张岷为之作《跋》,由弥蒙圣寿院住持尼仁辩资助,刻碑立于柳本尊墓之左。

南宋淳熙元年(公元1174年),大足县米粮里僧赵晋风云游弥蒙,历时三载。回到大足后,在今宝顶山命王建圣寿本尊殿,并营造石窟,主持造“柳本尊十炼图”窟,复刻《唐柳本尊传》碑等。自谢“六代祖师传密印”,以弘扬柳本尊之遗教。

从柳本尊行化事迹中,可以见出他所持大轮五部咒,虽与唐开元年间金刚智、不空所传金刚界密法有关,但他烧炼身躯却属头陀行为,与“纯密”无关。因此,沙门释祖觉在《唐柳本尊传》中评道:柳“居士尝为金刚藏,而非金刚藏之化也。”并指出:唐末由于礼崩乐坏,致使佛教宗派真伪相混。尽管如此,柳本尊于唐末五代在四川以密教为宗本,自创与唐开元三大士之“纯密”相左的“川密”,为瑜伽密教的地方化发展作出了杰出的贡献。

笔者之所以不惜笔墨谈论柳本尊问题,是因为安岳毗卢洞(包括大足宝顶山)之柳本尊行化十迹题材内容与之关系太密切,而且该题材的出现,对于四川石窟地方化特质的形成和发展起到了极为重要的作用,也有助于推动对柳本尊及其“川密”问题研究之深化。

4.明、清时代。其造像题材基本上是因袭唐、五代、宋出现过的题材,零星杂乱,日渐衰颓。

#### (一)道教造像题材

道教造像题材较之佛教造像题材要简单得多,主要有:元始天尊、太上老君、三清、四御、天尊老君并坐、一天尊二胁侍(或加上二力士)、仙真、护法神将等。

1.唐代。其龛像主要见于玄妙观,零星见于圆觉洞、菩萨湾。题材内容较有特色的是玄妙观第11号老君龛、第61号三清龛、第62号救苦天尊乘九龙龛。

第11号老君龛是四川石窟中同类题材规模最大的。其内容为:内龛正壁刻主像老君手执宝扇,趺坐于仰覆莲台上,胸前有三脚夹轼;左右各刻一戴宝冠侍者双手执笏立于莲台上。左右侧壁各刻一女真,其上方刻有十二时神。龛下部正中刻十二道像,其左右角各刻一蹲狮。内龛外沿左刻一真人,右刻一护法神将。外龛左右壁各刻一侍者;下部刻有九真人立像。这样造像众多的老君龛,在四川石窟中实属鲜见。可惜该龛近年被村民用油漆涂绘,已失原貌。

第61号三清龛,是四川石窟中表现三清题材最早的,其内容为:龛内正中刻道教三清境最高尊神:元始天尊、灵宝天尊、道德天尊。居中的元始天尊左右各刻一侍者手执玉圭而立。正壁和左右壁共刻有四女真。该龛在“文化大革命”中遭到严重破坏,令人惋惜。

第62号救苦天尊乘九龙龛,在四川石窟中仅此一例。其内容为:龛内正中刻救苦天尊(即东极青玄上帝所化太乙救苦天尊)立于莲台上,台下浮雕有九龙;天尊右边刻一力士,左边刻一护法神将脚踏地鬼。有人将该龛定为“九头鸟龛”,理由是:“巴蜀神话‘九头鸟’,是巴人祖先三皇兄弟九人的象征,又是道教‘人鸟山’传说的具体物化。”<sup>④</sup>天尊脚踏之莲台下方究竟刻的是“九头鸟”,还是“九龙”?可从玄妙观第6号唐天宝七载(公元748年)所刻《启大唐御立集圣山玄妙观胜境碑》中得知:“……至开元十八年七月一日父□□化后相一天尊次一王宫龛□□□□救苦天尊乘九龙……”以此可证,第62号龛题材应为“救苦天尊乘九龙”。

2.五代。其道教造像很少,仅零星见于菩萨岩。

3.宋代。其道教造像在安岳石窟中亦不多见,仅花石岩、香口岩有一龛三清像,老君、天尊合龛像。

4.明、清至民国。其道教造像较五代、宋代略多一些,主要题材有:天尊、老君、三清像、玉皇、紫微大帝、金仙、陈抟像等。

#### (二)佛道融合、三教会同题材

自东汉以来,儒、佛、道关系,时面对立,时而和解。至盛唐至明、清,佛道融合和三教会同渐成定势。因此,在石窟造像题材中必然会反映这种文化大趋势。

在安岳石窟中,表现佛道融合和三教会同题材的造像数量不及大足石窟多。唐代有玄妙观第63、65、67、71、75、77号;西禅寺、石锣寺两处各有一龛。五代,在寂光寺有一龛。宋代,在华严洞第2号大般若洞有三教合龛。明、清,见于茗山寺第1号毗卢佛与东岳大帝合龛,佛洞岩之佛道合龛,孔家庙之老君、释迦、孔子像。

以上可见,安岳石窟中佛教造像题材内容的多样和丰富,以及地方化和世俗化的嬗变,当推宋代。而道教造像题材内容最具特色的,无疑要数唐代。

## 六 安岳石窟的艺术特色

毋庸置疑,安岳石窟艺术的鼎盛期是在宋代。这与当时以文氏家族为代表的工匠娴熟的雕刻技术不无关系。他们自成体系的造像艺术风格,不仅为安岳石窟艺术谱写了辉煌的篇章,而且影响了大足和邻近县的石窟造像艺术。真可谓鬼斧神工,神人合一。

安岳石窟的兴起已是北方、中原石窟处在极盛期属尾声的时代,又是四川广元、巴中等川北石窟进入鼎盛期的时代。因此,作为初创期的安岳唐代石窟,其造像艺术风格主要是受广元、巴中等川北石窟艺术的影响。但总体上不如广元石窟唐代造像那样恢宏,也不及巴中石窟唐代造像那样华美。由于地域文化使然,安岳唐代石窟艺术风格相对而言,显得更质朴、更人性化。造像的布局,主要以主尊为中心,两侧对称的程式化构图形式,为了克服板滞的构成关系,匠师们对两侧辅像的处理,采用动态、法器等变化以及横竖相破等表现手法,即在对称、均衡中寻求变化。单尊龛像,则着力于细部刻画。雕刻艺术手法,以半圆雕为主,辅之以浅

浮雕和线刻。造型采用线、面结合,形象塑造以丰润为其时代之审美特征,同时又以“三十二相”、“八十种好”为庄严妙相的定型原则。对衣褶的处理,多半是借助线条来表现其疏密的转折关系。在安岳唐代石窟造像中,构图富有变化的,如卧佛院第3号涅槃变窟,千佛寨第96号药师经变窟。造型较美的,如卧佛院第45号千手观音龕、千佛寨第56号一佛四菩萨窟中残存的菩萨像、玄妙观第15号道教二护法神等。

安岳五代造像,就艺术性而言,不及唐代造像,虽然对唐风有所继承,但已失去了唐代富丽堂皇和恢宏大度。神性的减弱和世俗化的增强,使五代的石窟艺术风格趋于平实。在安岳石窟中五代造像艺术之佳作,有圆觉洞第59号西方三圣龕、第63号十六罗汉摔跤图、第65号毗沙门天王龕等。

如果说安岳唐、五代石窟艺术尚处于对川北石窟的借鉴和融合的渐变过程的话,那么,安岳宋代石窟艺术则进入了自成一格的成熟期。综观其艺术特点:一是雕刻手法的多样化,如圆雕、半圆雕、浅浮雕(薄肉雕、剔底起凸)、透雕、线刻等。二是造型写实,形体比例准确,形象刻画细腻。三是衣纹的处理突破过去以阴线刻和阶梯式表现衣褶的简单而生硬的手法,衣褶随形体结构而转折变化,宛如塑出,这对于石雕要达到如此高超的技巧是很不容易的。四是布局构成较前期更胜一筹,特别是对多尊像的组合,既讲求对称、均衡、和谐,又注意在整一中见出大小、高低、起伏、疏密等变化。

安岳宋代造像艺术最精彩的是毗卢洞第8号柳本尊十炼图窟、第19号观音经变窟;华严洞第1号华严三圣窟。其次是圆觉洞第7号净瓶观音窟、第10号释迦拈花微笑窟、第14号莲花手观音窟等。

毗卢洞第8号和华严洞第1号窟在大的布局上均未摆脱程式化的构图形式,即同样把主像雕刻得大而庄严,将左右及左右壁之对称辅像雕刻得小一些。工匠们为了克服呆板的对称排列弊病,对每一辅像的动态及手的印契等均加以区别,寓变化于整一之中,以此增强了这些辅像的生动感。乍一看,似乎觉得佛、菩萨等的造型雷同,匠师们虽然不可能完全脱离“三十二相”和“八十种好”的定型化审美原则,但细致观察就可见出匠师们对不同的佛、菩萨形象的刻画,均有不尽相同的细微变化。而且这些形象或多或少都融进了世俗形象的审美特征,这在宋代造像中尤为突出。特别是毗卢洞第19号窟中的主像水月观音,宛若民间的靓女,妩媚动人,温馨亲昵。神人合一,正是宋代造像的审美追求。同时,匠师在处理这尊像时,成功地把握到了造像与观赏者视角的最佳

关系,她那悲悯的目光恍若无处不在观照众生。有人把这尊美丽的观音像比喻成“东方维纳斯”,这种比喻虽然牵强附会,但这尊造像的艺术魅力却是永恒的。

黑格尔曾经说过:“雕刻的最适合的题材是静穆的具有实体性的沉思的人物性格,他的精神个性完全渗透到肉体存在里而流露出来,而精神的这种体现所有的感性材料单从形象本身上看就是适合于表现精神的。”因此,他认为雕刻艺术最适合表现神,而且“雕刻所表现的神对于观照者是一个纯粹与观照者自己对立的形象……”<sup>⑤</sup>同时,黑格尔又把雕刻称为“古典型理想的艺术”。所以,安岳石窟中的宋代造像尽管写实性较强和人性化较浓,但毕竟是在塑造神。因此,必然要采用象征和暗示手法去表现神性。这在佛教、道教造像的题材、形象、服饰、手印、坐式、台座等均暗示出一定的象征意义。此外,对于某些形象也不排除采用夸张和变形手法。如表现明王、天王、天龙八部、力士等护法神。为了突出这些护法神像的威猛忿怒,匠师尽量夸张其粗壮的体魄和强健的肌肉;尤其是面部的夸张变形,如豹眼、狮鼻、厚唇、龇牙裂口、二牙上出等。这些夸张变形的形象配置在窟龕中,与佛、菩萨的庄严妙相形成鲜明对比,不但不使观赏者感到别扭,反而更增强了艺术的感染力。

石窟雕刻尽管自宋以后日渐衰落并让位于绘画,但我们从安岳石窟艺术中,不难见出古代安岳人民的智慧和创造力。其宗教的流变、雕刻艺术的发展、民俗的衍化以及区域文化历史演进等诸多方面的价值,将永远闪烁着无际的光焰。

#### 注释

①参见唐·李吉甫《元和郡县图志》、宋·王象之《舆地纪胜》、宋·祝穆《方輿胜览》、民国·龚煦春《四川郡县志》、蒲孝荣《四川政区沿革与治地今释》。

②③参见宋·王象之《舆地纪胜》卷第一百五十八“普州·风俗形胜”。

④参见王家佑《四川道教摩崖造像概述》,见《中国美术全集·雕塑编12四川石窟雕塑》,人民美术出版社1988年6月第1版,第34页。

⑤参见[德]黑格尔《美学》第三卷上,商务印书馆1979年11月第1版,第221—222页。



# An Introduction to the Art of Grottoes in Anyue

by Liu Chang jiu

In terms of their number and geographical distribution, the grottoes in Sichuan (mainly cliff sculptured images) claim the championship of Chinese grottoes. Among the Sichuan grottoes, those in Anyue are the most widely distributed. In particular, the exquisite sculptures of the Song Dynasty there are like a resplendent pearl of the grotto art of the later period in China.

## PART ONE

### Historical and Geographical Evolution of Anyue

Anyue County is situated in the heart of Sichuan Province, bordering Dazu in the east, Neijiang in the south, Lezhi in the west and Suining in the north. It was the territory of the Ba and Shu States during the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period; of the Ba *Jun* (*Jun*—a term for ancient Chinese administrative division higher than county after the Qin—Han Dynasties) and the Shu *Jun* in the Qin Dynasty, and of the four counties—Zizhong, Niubei, Dianjiang and Deyang in the period of the Western and Eastern Han Dynasties, and also in the Jin Dynasty. In the Liang Dynasty, Puci *Jun* was set up in the place. In the fourth year of the reign of the Jian De Emperor of the Northern Zhou Dynasty (575 A.D.), Pu *Zhou* (*Zhou*—the name of a prefectural administrative division in ancient China higher than county) was established together with Anyue County. As the county seat was located steadily on the Iron Gate Mountain, the county was named Anyue (meaning “standing steady on the mountain” in Chinese). In the first year of Daye in the Sui Dynasty (605 A.D.), Pu *Zhou* was merged into Zizhong (whose seat was set in the present Chonglong Township in Zizhong County). Two years later (607 A.D.), Zi *Zhou* was changed into Ziyang *Jun*, to which Anyue County belonged. In the second year of the reign of Wude in the Tang Dynasty (619 A.D.), Ziyang *Jun* was divided and Pu *Zhou* was re-established. In the first year of the reign of Tianbao (742 A.D.), Pu *Zhou* was changed into Anyue *Jun*, which was changed back into Pu *Zhou* again in the first year of the reign of Qianyuan (758 A.D.). In the period of the Northern and Southern Song Dynasties, Anyue *Jun* remained under the administration of Pu *Zhou*. In the late years of the Yuan Dynasty, when Ming Yuzhen founded the Daxia State in Chongqing, Anyue County was re-established. In the fourth year of the reign of the Hong Wu Emperor of the Ming Dynasty (1371 A.D.), Pu *Zhou* was set up again in Anyue. Five years later (1376 A.D.), Tongchuan *Fu* (*Fu*—an ancient Chinese Administration one level higher than county from the Tang to Qing Dynasty) was lowered to be a *Zhou*, which was directly under the administration of the Central Government. At the same time, Pu *Zhou* was cancelled and Anyue County became the territory of Tongchuan *Zhou* directly under the Central Government. In the early years of the reign of Shun Zhi in the Qing Dynasty, the administrative system of the Ming Dynasty was followed. In the first year of the reign of Kang Xi (1662 A.D.), Anyue County was merged into Suining County. Fifteen years later (1677 A.D.), it was again merged into Lezhi County. In the seventh year of the reign of Yong Zheng (1729 A.D.), Anyue County was re-established. Five years later (1734 A.D.), Tongchuan *Zhou* directly under the Central Government was promoted to be a *Fu* (whose seat was set in the present Tongchuan Township in Santai County), which Anyue County belonged to. At the beginning of the Republic of China, the system of *Fu* and *Zhou* was replaced by the system of *Dao* (an administrative division equal to the present prefecture). Anyue County was under the administration of Jialing *Dao*. In the 24th year of the Republic of China (1935 A.D.), Sichuan Province was divided into nineteen superintending regions, including Xikang, and Anyue County fell in the twelfth region. When the People's Republic of China was founded in October 1949, Sichuan was divided into four administrative regions, namely West Sichuan, East Sichuan, North Sichuan, and South Sichuan. Anyue County was under Suining *Zhuanqu* (Special District or Prefecture before 1958 after the founding of New China) of the North Sichuan Administrative Region. In 1958, Suining *Zhuanqu* was cancelled and Anyue County was merged into Neijiang *Zhuanqu* of the South Sichuan Administrative Region. Since 1968, when *Zhuanqu* was changed into *Diqu* (the name for a prefecture since 1968), Anyue County has been governed by Neijiang *Diqu*.

## PART TWO

### The Origin of the Grotto Sculpturing In Anyue

The stone sculptured images on the cliffsides or in the tombs of the Eastern Han Dynasty excavated in Anyue in recent years have proved that stone carving started rather early in the County. Yet, in regard to the date of stone carving in the sense of grotto (or cliffside) sculpturing generally, there have been so far three different views:

I. Grotto sculpturing began in the second year of the reign of Putong, Emperor Liang Wu of the Southern Dynasties (521 A.D.). This view is based on *Annals Of Anyue County: Historical Sites With Stone And Metal Inscriptions*, which states:

“*Inscriptions At Zhaoyin Temple of the Liang Dynasty* was written by Xiao Lun, in the second year of the reign of Pu Tong, in Pu *Zhou*”. As these tablet inscriptions are different from grotto sculptures, this view is clearly untenable.

II. Grotto sculpturing began in the Sui Dynasty. Holders of this view get their arguments from *Annals Of Anyue County: Temples And Historic Sites*, which records: “the *Arhats* at Fengshen Temple were said to have been carved in the Sui Dynasty”; “Fengmen Temple came into being in the Sui Dynasty”; “the Lesser Thousand—Buddha Temple in the north of the *Jun* seat was built in the thirteenth year of the reign of the founding emperor”. These three arguments likewise fail to prove that grotto sculpturing in Anyue County began in the Sui Dynasty for the following reasons: Firstly, even if the Buddhas at Fengshen Temple can be ascertained to be of the Sui Dynasty, sculptures at temples are not the same as grotto sculptures. Secondly, Fengmen Temple was indeed built in the Sui Dynasty, but since there are only a small number of cliffside sculptures of the Song Dynasty existing there now, it can not be determined that there must have been grotto sculptures carved in the Sui Dynasty. Thirdly, whether the Lesser Thousand—Buddha Temple in the north of the *Jun* seat built in the thirteenth year of the reign of the founding emperor of the Sui Dynasty is the present Thousand—Buddha Stockaded Village in Anyue County is still questionable. The above mentioned *Jun* must be Puchi *Jun*. In his *Evolution of Zhous*, the 158th volume of *Records Of Historical Sites*, Wang Xiangzhi of the Song Dynasty said: “According to *Book On*

*Old Tang: Annals*, Puchi *Jun* was established here. Comment: According to *History of Liang*, during the reign of Pu Tong, the imperial awarded inscriptions on iron board to the governor of Yi *Zhou*, the Marquis of Linru, Xiao Qiu, says: Puchi *Jun* has been established for you today, and you should lead your subjects to pay the governmental rents in time. In Later Zhou Dynasty, Emperor Wudi set up Pu *Zhou* in this *Jun*. A note to the part on Anyue County In *Annals Of Sui* puts: Anyue County was established in Later Zhou Dynasty, together with Pu *Zhou*. *The Huanyu (Universe) Records* says, Pu *Zhou* was set up in the fourth year of the reign of Jiande, Emperor Zhou Wu. The *Annals Of Sui* also says: Puci *Jun* was established in the Zhou Dynasty. (Xiangzhi) here comments: since Puci *Jun* was established during the reign of Pu Tong according to the *Annals Of Liang*, what was set up in the Zhou Dynasty was not a *Jun* but a *Zhou*. Duoye County was also established here...At the beginning of the Sui Dynasty, when the *Jun* system was abandoned, Duoye County was changed into Puci County. The *Annals Of Sui* records: in the thirteenth year of the reign of the founding emperor, Duoye County was renamed Puci. As Puci *Jun* was in the present Longmen Township in the northeast of Lezhi County, “the Lesser Thousand—Buddha Temple in the north of the *Jun* seat” was not the present Thousand—Buddha Stockaded Village in Anyue County; it should be in Lezhi County instead. The Thousand—Buddha Stockaded Village is located on the Dayun Mountain, two and half kilometers northwest of the Anyue County town. “Pu *Zhou*: Scenery” in the *Records Of Istorical Sites* reads: “Dayun Mountain was about one kilometer away from the Iron Mountain Gate; on the mountain was Qiyan Temple, the site of the cave where Li Dong of the Tang Dynasty once studied *The Book of Changes*.” Again, the *Local Annals Of Anyue* reads: “The Qiyan Temple, was on the Dayun Mountain, two and half kilometers northwest of county seat, was built by Monk Yuan (Xuan) Ying during the reign of Kaiyuan of the Tang Dynasty. It was rebuilt during the reign of Kang Xi of the Qing Dynasty, and Later changed into Thousand Buddha Temple because there were more than one thousand Buddhist stone images carved on the cliffside.” From the above, it can be reasonably concluded that the present Thousand—Buddha Stockaded Village was originally called Qiyan Temple during the reign of Kaiyuan of the Tang Dynasty, renamed Thousand—Buddha Temple during the reign of Kang Xi of the Qing Dynasty, and later changed into Thousand—Buddha Stockaded Village. Among the existing cliffside sculptures, no work of the Sui Dynasty has been found so far; and the earliest of the tablet inscriptions or records about the stone carvings existing today is the *Introduction To The Initiation Of Monkhood Of The Buddhist Master*, built by Wei Zhong, governor of Pu *Zhou*, in the tenth year of the reign of Kai Yuan in the Tang Dynasty (722 A.D.). This is also the earliest inscriptions in the Anyue grottoes existing today.

III. Grotto sculpturing in Anyue began in the Tang Dynasty. Holders of this view analysed the present condition of the Anyue grottoes, including the shapes of grotto niches, the artistic styles of carving and the earliest inscriptions etc., and decided that Anyue grottoes began to appear in the Tang Dynasty and prevailed in the Song Dynasty. I, the writer of this article, support this view as it is closest to the facts.

In my point of view, the reasons for carving grottoes and sculpturing statues in Anyue include the following:

I. In Anyue, a county renowned for “the beauty of stones” and endowed with mountains and valleys, cliffs were abundant and easy to be carved, which provided a favorable carrier condition for cutting grottoes and carving statues.

II. After the Tang Dynasty, there were sayings in Anyue like “scholars outnumber common people”, “only the number of distinguished people tops East Su” etc., which laid a good foundation for the spread of the mainstream social thoughts and culture of the time in Anyue. Regarding the cultures of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, first of all, “upholding etiquette and respecting people of virtue and talent” was the order of the day in Anyue; people “supplied each other’s needs and shared each other’s sorrows and adversities”; and “were never tired of education” ... all lead to the conclusion that Confucian thoughts had deep and far-reaching influence in Anyue. Secondly, by preaching Buddhism in Anyue during the reign of Kai Yuan in the Tang Dynasty, the Buddhist master Xuan Yin and others did undeniable credit to the rise of grotto cutting and statue carving in Anyue. Thirdly, by constructing Taoist images at Xuanmiao Temple in Anyue, the Taoist Master Li Xuanze etc. also made contributions to the development of grotto cutting and statue carving.

III. The religious beliefs of the monks, the priests and the populace are an essential cause of grotto building and statue carving in Anyue. Out of their religious beliefs, monks and priests, be they Buddhists or Taoists, spared no efforts in publicizing their religious doctrines. Apart from publishing religious books and preaching scriptures, their most popular medium was to “enlighten with images” through plastic arts (mainly painting and sculpturing). Therefore, the religious beliefs of the monks and the priests undoubtedly played a very important role in starting the grotto building and statue sculpturing. Popular beliefs included two aspects: One was from the official side. The rulers and bureaucrats, taking religion as a means of governance, vigorously advocated building temples and pagodas, cutting grottoes and carving statues. And many local military officers and administrative officials as well as their families earnestly participated in this kind of practice. The other aspect came from the pious men and women of the populace, who wished that the country would be stable and prosperous, the people could live in peace, the souls of the dead could enter the Heaven, and they themselves would be immune from misfortunes and illnesses, and be innocent of hatred and blame. They considered it a virtue to build grottoes and carve statues, and contributed money and labour, or even gave up their fields to this end. In addition, they formed such societies as “Yiyi” (a local organization) to build grottoes and carve statues, to show their piety, in the hope that the gods and deities would protect them from disasters, purify their souls and lead them out of miseries and into the ideal world.

## PART THREE

### The Distribution of the Anyue Grottoes

According to the surveys conducted by the Relics Administration Office of