

漢唐之間文化藝術的互動與交融

BETWEEN HAN AND TANG

CULTURAL AND ARTISTIC INTERACTION
IN A TRANSFORMATIVE PERIOD

巫鴻 主編

Edited by WU HUNG

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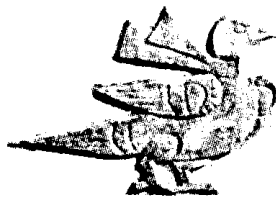
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前 言

這是《漢唐之間的藝術與考古》三卷論文集的第二卷，主題是在這個歷史時期內不同文化、藝術傳統間的相互影響和互動。漢唐之間的四個世紀，或稱三國、兩晉、南北朝和隋，是中國歷史和美術史上極為重要的一個時期。諸種歷史因素，包括地方自治、民族混合和大規模人口遷徙等等，因統一帝國的分裂而在文化和藝術的發展中起到領先作用。許多新的文化和藝術現象出現了，開創了唐代文化藝術高峰的先河。

這些新現象中的突出一項是因國家分裂而形成的文化傳播的新模式：本期內中國文化和藝術發展的主要形式不再是中央文化通過統一行政系統輻射式的擴散，而更多地是通過地方和中心，本土與外域多元文化傳統間的互動。這種互動極大地影響了各種藝術和視覺形式，如建築、繪畫、雕塑、服飾及喪葬藝術等等。這也就是本卷論文集以文化、藝術的互動作為主題的原因。

如同前卷《漢唐之間的宗教藝術與考古》（文物出版社，2000），這本論文集是一個大型學術合作項目的成果。這一研究項目由芝加哥大學發起，其他四個主辦單位包括北京大學考古文博院、中國社會科學院考古研究所、中央美術學院美術史系及哈佛大學建築和美術史系。我們的一個主要目的是通過中外學者的合作，為這一複雜歷史時期中美術和考古的研究打下一個新的基礎。這個基礎的一個因素是對新考古材料的介紹、使用和不斷綜合，另一個因素是對新的研究方法的討論和在考古材料基礎上對傳統歷史概念的反思。這個合作項目計劃出版三卷論文集，已出版的第一卷以宗教藝術與考古為主題，本卷以文化藝術的互動為中心，第三卷的討論對象是漢唐之間的各種“世俗”藝術和物質文化形式，包括器物、書畫、城市、墓葬等等。每卷計劃收入十八至二十篇具有新材料或新觀點的論文，其作者來自不同國家和地區。論文的選題由來自以上五個大學和研究機構的八名學者組成的編輯委員會推薦審核。這些論文首先由其著者在本計劃所組織的三次國際會議上宣讀并由與會學者討論，經修改

後收入文集。

根據這一程序，這卷論文集可說是於 2000 年 7 月在北京大學召開的第二次《漢唐之間的藝術與考古》國際學術會議的成果。文集中所收的十八篇論文歸入五個部分，每個部分反映這一時期中不同文化、藝術傳統間互動的一個重要方面或現象。第一部分以 1999 年山西太原地區出土的隋代虞弘石椁為中心。根據伴隨出土的墓志，虞弘為粟特人，曾奉茹茹國王之命出使波斯、吐谷渾等國。後出使北齊，隨後在北齊、北周和隋為官。由於石椁的裝飾圖像亦包括大量中亞和西亞藝術因素，這一考古發現就為研究這一時期中外藝術的交流提供了極其重要的證據，也為重新理解以往發現的若干重要北朝石刻提供了新的綫索。這部分所收的四篇論文從不同角度討論了虞弘石椁及有關的政治、社會、宗教和文化現象。張慶捷的論文對石椁的裝飾圖像和雕刻技法作了一個完整的描述，並與若干中亞、西亞藝術風格進行了對比。姜伯勤則集中討論石椁裝飾的內在的敘事邏輯和圖像程序，以及若干形象的本源及與祆教的關係。榮新江着眼於粟特祆教美術在東傳過程中的不斷演化：這一外來宗教藝術傳統不但為中原地區的文化帶來了新的因素，而且自身也在這種交流中不斷變化和發展。通過對山東青州出土的一組石椁畫像石的重新研究，鄭岩發現其裝飾與虞弘石椁上的圖像多有相似之處，但墓主服飾和面相則與粟特人判然有別。這種複雜現象為瞭解當時中外藝術的融合，特別是畫像底本的流傳和借用提供了重要綫索，同時也對傳統美術史研究方法提出挑戰。

本卷第二部分的主題是墓葬所反映的不同文化、藝術傳統的互動與交融。對墓葬的重視自古以來就是中國禮儀文化中的一個顯著特點，甚至在佛教藝術盛行的南北朝時期仍不減其勢。但由於這一時期的民族混合、人口遷徙及地方自治等特殊歷史條件，墓葬所反映的文化內涵變得更複雜了。墓葬結構、裝飾和隨葬品不但因地域及墓主籍貫而有別，一些進入中原和北中國的外族也受當地或近鄰墓葬文化的影響而發展出特殊的墓葬建築形式和葬具。對墓葬的比較研究因此可以提供對這一時期內文化和藝術的互動以及由此產生多元模式的最敏感的證據。羅森的論文宏觀地分析了 5 至 6 世紀中國北方中部墓葬中所見的文化影響和交流，特別是這些墓葬以中國傳統宇宙觀念為基本模式的建築原理。夏南悉所討論的墓葬的時空範圍更為廣泛，包括 4 至 7 世紀自朝鮮半島到新疆之間這一廣袤地帶中的各種類型。她進一步把這些墓葬的建築結構與同一時期的北方佛教石窟進行比較，以期發現相似祭祀空間所隱含的共同理念。不同於這種宏觀的比較研究，田立坤與安然以某一地區或遺址的墓葬文化作為特殊案例進行詳細歷史分析。田立坤對慕容鮮卑在遼西地區所建立的前燕、後燕和北燕的墓葬進行了分類和分期，提出這些墓葬是以鮮卑文化為主體，受到漢文化強烈影響，同時也吸收了匈奴、烏桓、夫餘、高句麗和拓跋鮮卑等多種文

化影響的結果。安然則集中分析兩個南方的豪族墓地，提出其墓葬特點敏感地反映了當地舊族與外來的北方大族之間的複雜政治關係。

本卷第三部分所收的四篇論文分別討論遺址、石窟寺與裝飾圖像中所反映的文化、藝術的互動與交融。韓森重新考慮了有關尼雅社會的一些根本問題，包括當地的居民、文字和宗教。她提出爲了真正瞭解尼雅的複雜性，我們不能簡單使用“侵略”或“漢化”這類籠統概念，而應該更多採用互動與交融這一模式來分析歷史上多元社會間的關係。她的研究因此更注重方法論層次上的更新。馬世長以敦煌 249、285 窟爲例，討論東陽王元榮家族統治敦煌期間（約 525 - 545 年）敦煌藝術中出現的中原和西域藝術因素交匯融合的複雜情況。羅傑偉的研究對象是甘肅蘭州東南的拉梢寺，他提出這個建於北周時期的佛教遺址保存了瞭解當時藝術交流的重要證據：拉梢寺巨大摩崖浮雕中的動物圖像無可置疑地反映出中亞和西亞藝術的影響。與這些以遺址爲主要對象的討論有別，卡雷茨基所研究的是中國境內發現的外來器物，特別是這些器物上對薩珊女神阿娜希塔的圖像表現。

本卷最後兩部分討論這一時期內的繪畫和器物所反映的文化、藝術的互動與交融。第四部分中的三篇論文均以墓葬繪畫和宗教繪畫爲主題，但研究的目的、材料和方法有明顯區別。通過討論涼州地區魏晉壁畫墓，鄭岩希望能把這些墓葬放到一個更大的時空框架中，在縱的方面探討其在中國古代壁畫墓發展史上的意義，在橫的方面思考涼州與中原文化藝術的關係。趙永洪以南北朝時期畫像墓中所見儀仗爲綫索，所牽涉到的問題包括喪儀、墓葬空間以及壁畫與墓俑的配置關係等一系列研究這一時期墓葬藝術中的關鍵問題。與趙文相似，何重華也是通過分析某種特殊圖像進而考慮一系列更爲深入的社會和藝術問題。但她所分析的是墓葬和宗教藝術中對家庭關係和倫理的表現，從而探討南北朝時期巨大社會變化對家庭結構及其藝術表現的影響。丁愛博對南方出土的堆塑罐進行了詳密的探討，發現種種反映六朝時期墓葬概念和儀式發展變化的綫索。孫機根據文獻和實物對北朝的禽獸紋環首刀進行了研究，提出這種刀應是當時的“儀刀”，因此鮮有存世，但傳入朝鮮和日本後則在海東產生了強烈影響。最後，齊東方對中國北方和西北地區出土的金銀器進行了系統分析，將其歸爲匈奴系和鮮卑系兩大類，並論及其與周邊文化之關係，因此通過這些器物探討了不同民族文化的相互影響和融合。

如同前一卷論文集，本卷中所收論文的目的不是下結論，而是希望爲這一時期多元文化和藝術的研究提供新的材料和開拓新的路徑。讀者可以發現這些文章反映了多種研究方法、觀點和解釋。本卷的內容和編輯因此反映了一定的

歷史和史學觀念。以內容而論，這三卷論文集的研究重心從中國文化藝術的某些“巔峰”時刻轉移到混亂時期中重要歷史潮流的產生和初期發展。以編輯思想而論，編輯委員會的主導觀念不是強求方法和論點的一致，而是鼓勵不同方法和立場間的討論與合作，從而把這個領域的研究推向一個新的高度。

《漢唐之間的藝術與考古》合作計劃及三次國際會議由美國路斯基金會提供經費，本論文集由唐研究基金會資助出版。馬世長與李崇峰教授具體組織了在北京大學召開的《漢唐之間文化藝術的互動與交融》會議，導致這一文集的編纂。蔣人和與王豫東翻譯了大部分論文的英文摘要。我們在此對這些機構和個人表示謝意。同時也感謝文物出版社對出版論文集的全力支持。

巫鴻

2001年6月1日

Introduction

This is the second of a series of three volumes collectively entitled “Between Han and Tang: Art and Archeology in a Transformative Period.” The central theme of this volume is the interaction and mutual influence of different artistic and cultural traditions during the approximately four centuries between the Han and Tang Dynasties. This period, also known as the “Three Kingdoms, Two Jins, and Northern and Southern Dynasties,” was one of the most important epochs in the history of Chinese art. The early dynasties of Qin and Han which first unified China had fallen. The break up of the empire brought new forces into play: regional autonomy, foreign incursions, and resettlement of populations. Many important changes in art and visual culture took place and initiated subsequent developments during the Sui and Tang dynasties.

Among these changes, the political division of the country brought about new modes of cultural and artistic exchange. No longer dominated by a single metropolitan tradition and bureaucratic system, Chinese culture and art developed in new directions through the growth and interaction of regional traditions and foreign influences. Such interaction became evident in every art form and in all domains of visual culture, including architecture, painting, sculpture, fashion, and funerary art. This historical reality underlies our choice of the focus for this volume.

Like the previous volume, *Religious Art and Archaeology in a Transformative Period* (Wenwu, 2000), the current volume is the fruit of a large collaborative project. Initiated by the University of Chicago, this project involves four other organizing institutions in China and the United States: the School of Archaeology and Museology at Peking University; the Institute of Archeology at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences; the Department of Art History at the Central Institute of Fine Arts, Beijing; and the Department of Art and Architecture at Harvard University. A general goal of this project is to build a new basis for studying Chinese art and archaeology during this complex historical period through collaboration between international scholars. While synthesizing new archaeological materials, this project and its publi-

cations also encourage serious discussion of research methods and re-examination of historical concepts.

Each of the three volumes in the series focuses on a crucial aspect of Chinese art and material culture during the period between the third and sixth centuries. The first volume, published last year, focuses on religious art and archaeology. The current volume has cultural and artistic interaction as its central theme. The third and last volume, which we plan to publish next year, will investigate various forms of “secular” art production and material culture, including painting and calligraphy, artifacts, tombs, and the city. Each volume includes 18-20 articles, which present the most up-to-date scholarship in this field, including new archaeological finds and new interpretations. The contributors are from many research institutions inside and outside China, and have been selected by an Editorial Committee (composed of scholars from the above mentioned five institutions) through a systematic survey of the field and screening process. Before their final inclusion, the papers in each volume have been presented and discussed at one of the three international conferences, and have been revised accordingly.

The current volume results from the second of these conferences, held at Peking University in July, 2000. The 18 papers in the volume are grouped into five sections, each representing a major aspect or direction in research on regional art and architecture during this period. The first section centers on the stone sarcophagus of Yu Hong, excavated in 1999 at Taiyuan in Shanxi. According to Yu’s epitaph found together with the sarcophagus, he was a Sogdian and served as the King of Ruru’s ambassador to Persia, Tuyuhun, and the Northern Qi. He subsequently stayed in China and became an official in the governments of the Northern Qi, Northern Zhou and Sui. Because the decoration of his sarcophagus features many Central and Western Asian elements, the excavation of Yu Hong’s tomb provides crucial evidence for studying the interrelationship between Chinese and foreign art traditions, and also yields valuable clues to understand a group of extant Northern Dynasties stone carvings.

The authors of the four articles in this section study the sarcophagus and related political, social, religious, and cultural phenomena from various angles. Zhang Qingjie’s article is a detailed iconographical inventory of the images carved and painted on the sarcophagus. Jiang Boqin, on the other hand, focuses on the pictorial program of the sarcophagus’ decoration, and pays special attention to the origins of specific motifs and their possible relationship with Zoroastrianism. Complementing

Jiang's argument with a contextual historical interpretation, Rong Xinjiang documents a two-fold development of Sogdian Zoroastrian art when it was introduced to China: while this foreign art brought a new visual vocabulary to the Central Plain, it also gained new visual elements during the process. Zheng Yan's study of a group of pictorial carvings from a stone sarcophagus excavated at Qingzhou in Shandong supports Rong's historical reconstruction. He finds that these carvings show many similarities with the decoration on the Yu Hong sarcophagus, but the central image of the deceased appears as a native Chinese. The complex relationship between the two sarcophagi challenges the traditional iconographic method in art historical studies, and leads the author to consider the role of circulation and appropriation of certain "copy books" in artistic production.

The second section of this volume focuses on cultural and artistic interactions as reflected in burials. From ancient times, Chinese ritual culture developed a strong emphasis on tombs—an emphasis that changed little during the Northern and Southern Dynasties period. But because of the specific conditions of this period including regional autonomy, foreign incursions, and large-scale migration, the cultural implications of tombs became much more complex. Differences in tomb structure, decoration, and furnishing could not only reflect regional variations but could also indicate divergent identities and origins of the tomb occupants. Upon immigrating into north and central China, many non-Han groups of people were influenced by the local or adjacent cultures and developed new types of mortuary architecture and customs. A comparative study of the tombs from this period shows the development of varying but interrelated burial modes, which sensitively reveal cultural diversity and interaction.

In her article in this section Jessica Rawson observes some fundamental characteristics of tombs built in central north China during the fifth and sixth centuries. Based on these characteristics, she proposes that members of foreign elites adopted the basic Chinese tomb type and its cosmological symbolism, while enriching this traditional Chinese system with their own customs and tastes. Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt studies tombs in an even broader spatial-temporal scale, comparing various tomb types dating from the third to sixth centuries in a geographical region stretching from the Korean Peninsula to Chinese Turkistan. Going one step further, she links these tombs with Buddhist cave chapels constructed in north China during the same period—to her, the structural similarities between these two kinds of sacrificial spaces imply shared concepts. Departing from such sweeping comparisons, Tian Likun and Annette Kieser have conducted case studies of tombs excavated in specific

areas. Tian classifies and periodizes burials found in the western Liaoning region, where the Murong clan of Xianbei established the Former Yan, the Latter Yan, and the Northern Yan. He concludes that the Three Yan burials were essentially Xianbei products which, however, betray strong influences from Han culture and the absorption of elements from a number of neighboring cultures. Kieser, on the other hand, focuses on the cemeteries of two powerful clans in the South. One a native southern clan and the other originally from the North, their members' burial arrangements reflect the complex political situation of the Southern Dynasties and the competition between different clans and families in the region.

In the third section of this volume, four authors discuss cultural and artistic interactions as seen, respectively, in a large archaeological complex, two Buddhist sites, and excavated objects. Valerie Hansen reconsiders some essential problems in interpreting the society of Niya—problems concerning the local population, language, and religion. She argues that in order to understand the complexity of this society, we should not simply rely on vague concepts such as “foreign invasion” or “sinification.” Rather, we should utilize the subtler modes of cultural interaction to analyze the complex relationship between pluralistic societies. Her study thus aims to raise methodological consciousness among researchers. Through analyzing Dunhuang Caves 249 and 285, Ma Shichang explores a complex transformation of Dunhuang art during the twenty years from 525 to 545. Fusing divergent elements from the metropolitan center of China and the western regions, this new art may have been patronized by Prince Dongyang and his family, who ruled the Dunhuang area during this period. Focusing on the Lashao Temple located southeast of Langzhou in Gansu, Roger Covey demonstrates that this Northern Zhou Buddhist site preserves important evidence for artistic influences from Central Asia and western Asia: among the painted relief carvings on an enormous cliff, rows of animal images were unmistakably based on prototypes found in Central Asian or western Asian art. Also employing an iconographical method but focusing on objects and their decorative images, Patricia Karetzky traces the origin of the Sasanian goddess Anahita and the introduction of her images to China and Japan.

The last two sections of this volume discuss cultural and artistic interactions as seen in different types of painting and ritual artifacts. The three articles in the fourth section all focus on tomb murals and religious paintings, but the authors' purposes, materials, and methods differ. Zheng Yan's article analyzes murals found in Wei-Jin tombs in the Liangzhou region; but he hopes to interpret these paintings in a larger


spatial-temporal context—to understand their significance in the development of Chinese murals on the one hand, and to speculate on their relationship with contemporary art in the Central Plain on the other hand. Finding clues from images of ceremonial processions in Northern and Southern Dynasties tombs, Zhao Yonghong tackles important problems concerning mortuary rites, spatial construction of tombs, and the relationship between murals and figurines in a single burial. Similarly, Judy Ho explores some fundamental social and artistic issues through a focused study of specific images. In this case, the images from funerary and Buddhist art represent family relationships and moral conduct; the different emphases and styles of these images reveal the changing social reality and people's concerns.

Albert Dien offers a careful treatment of ceramic “figured jars” found in the South. Instead of forging a straightforward typology, he sees changing concepts of the afterlife and mortuary custom in the metamorphic designs of these ritual vessels. Based on textual and archaeological evidence, Sun Ji reconstructs the history of a type of exquisite bronze sword, whose ring-shaped handle is decorated with bird and animal motifs. Produced as court ceremonial paraphernalia, few examples of this type of sword have survived in China; but the design enjoyed popularity in Korea and Japan after the sword was introduced to these two countries. Finally, Qi Dongfang has conducted a systematical study of gold and silver objects found in North and Northwest. He classifies these finds into two large categories he calls the Xiongnu System and the Xianbei System, and discusses each system's relationship with adjacent cultures. His study is thus again concerned with the diversity and fusion of regional cultural traditions.

Like the papers in the previous volume, the purpose of these articles is not to provide well-formulated conclusions, but to provide research materials and to open up new ways in studying regional art during this important period. In fact, readers will find different research methods, approaches, and interpretations throughout the volume. Instead of emphasizing uniformity, the Editorial Committee believes that such differences will encourage discussion in this field and will lead to a renewed understanding of art and material culture during this period. The significance of the three volumes thus both lies in their subject matter and editorial approach. In terms of content, the volumes depart from the traditional emphasis on a few “Golden Ages” in Chinese art, and focus instead on the emergence and early development of

historical trends in an era of political chaos and instability. In terms of editorial approach, they promote the exchange of ideas and collaboration between scholars, because in our view only such exchange and collaboration will propel scholarship in the field to the next stage.

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