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Patron and Community in Eastern Wei Shanxi: The Gaomiaoshan Cave Temple *Yi*-Society

Among the typical patterns of patronage of Buddhist monuments in medieval China is the phenomenon of collective patronage by a Buddhist charitable organization known as an *yi* 邑, *yiyi* 邑義, or *yishe* 邑社. As these terms suggest, this type of organization appears to have had its roots in village-level worship of the tutelary deity of earth;[1] the term *yi* 邑 originally means "village"; and *she* 社 refers to sacrificial altars to the land, or earth. With the arrival of Buddhism, these collectives (hereafter, "*yi*-societies") were transformed into lay organizations for the collective sponsorship of Buddhism. Inscriptions on fifth- and sixth-century monuments describe organizations with internal hierarchies of titles, some that indicate administrative roles for laypeople (such as *yizhu* 邑主, "leader of the *yi*," and *yizi* 邑子, "member of the *yi*"), others that imply special sponsorship of a particular religious activity (*zhaizhu* 齋主 or "sponsor of the maigre feast," *kaiming zhu* 開明主 or "sponsor of the dedication ceremony," and the like), and still others that illustrate the involvement of the monastic community in an advisory role (in particular *yishi* 邑師, "preceptor of the *yi*").[2]

Common sense suggests that the social impact of these organizations was not solely religious. Among the Dunhuang documents are several Tang-period agreements that shed light on the founding of similar societies, called *she* 社, in the ninth century, and on the responsibilities of the members to one another.[3] It is clear, for example, that Tang *she,* organized as religious societies, could also function as a sort of mutual aid organization in times of economic hardship.[4] But similar documents from the pre-Tang period have not yet come to light, nor do

[1] See Dorothy Wong, *Chinese Steles: Pre-Buddhist and Buddhist Use of a Symbolic Form* (Honolulu: U. Hawai'i P., 2004), p. 15; Jacques Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries*, trans. Franciscus Verellen (New York: Columbia U.P., 1999), pp. 261–62.

[2] See Li Wensheng 李文生 and Sun Xinke 孫新科, "Longmen shiku Foshe zaoxiang chutan" 龍門石窟佛社造像初探, *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 1995.3, p. 44.

[3] Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society*, pp. 253–77.

[4] Ibid., pp. 273–74.

they seem likely to, barring another discovery of the same sort as the Dunhuang library cave. So assessing the social functions of pre-Tang *yi*-societies, and the ways they intersected with other forms of social hierarchy, forces us to depend on other kinds of evidence.

As Liu Shufen has pointed out, inscribed Buddhist monuments are one such resource, particularly useful for the study of rural Buddhism in the sixth century.[5] The Gaomiaoshan 高廟山 cave temple in Gaoping 高平, Shanxi, dating to the Eastern Wei period (534–550), is a collective commission, sponsored by an *yi*-society composed largely of the members of a local extended family surnamed Chen. The tiny cave is noteworthy for the extraordinary number of worshiping donors depicted on its walls, which total around 270 figures; these figures far outnumber, and occupy much more space than, the Buddhist images in the cave. The figures are inscribed with the names of 244 individual patrons: members of the *yi*, and for the most part, members of the Chen family, complete with official titles, family relationships, ranks within the *yi*, and in some cases individual dedications. Little historical documentation exists to identify any one person in this group. But the spatial hierarchy of figures within the cave, together with their identifying inscriptions, make it a significant source for understanding the structure of the *yi*-society and its connections to local society at large.

Recent scholarship on the social history of early medieval China has suggested that a focus on the local community can be a valuable way to understand social relations and collective action during this period.[6] It is in this light that the Gaomiaoshan cave temple becomes a particularly useful study, since members of this Buddhist charitable society represented themselves as belonging to at least three different

[5] Liu Shufen 劉淑芬, "Art, Ritual, and Society: Buddhist Practice in Rural China during the Northern Dynasties," *AM* 3d ser. 8.1 (1995), pp. 19–46. For more of her work on *yi*-societies, see idem, "Zhonggu Fojiao zhengce yu sheyi de zhuanxing" 中古佛教政策與社邑的轉型, *Journal of Tang Studies* 唐研究 13 (2007), pp. 241–99, and "Xianghuo yinyuan, Bei chao de Fojiao jieshe" 香火因緣北朝的佛教結社, in Huang Kuanzhong 黃寬重, ed., *Zhongguo shi xin lun: Jiceng shehui fence* 中國史新論, 基層社會分冊 (Taipei: Academia Sinica and Lianjing Publishing, 2009), pp. 219–72.

[6] Concerning "local community," the concept *kyōdōtai* 共同体 was framed by Japanese social historians such as Tanigawa Michio 谷川道雄 (see his *Medieval Chinese Society and the Local "Community"*, trans. Joshua A. Fogel (Berkeley: U. California P., 1985) and "Rethinking 'Medieval China,'" trans. Victor Xiong, *Early Medieval China* 3 (1997), pp. 1–29). This notion is a valuable way to understand social relations and collective action during China's early medieval period (220–589). Among other things, the idea of community provides a way of accounting for aspects of social life at the local level which were governed by relations other than those of social class or official rank. However, it tends to overemphasize the importance of famous literati clans and their ability to create solidarity through moral and religious means. In contrast, recent scholarship focuses on how early-medieval local communities were formed or fragmented through an extensive system of patronage relations, e.g., the forthcoming book

social communities: the *yi*-society itself, the Chen family, and the hierarchy of local government officials. Thus, the cave is not merely a portrait of any one of these groups, but rather of the way in which they intersected in the lives of a particular group of donors.

What the Gaomiaoshan cave temple tells us is that the fortunes of the Chen family were linked to the fortunes of the county where they served as officials, such that the formation of the *yi*-society and the construction of the cave appear to have been the result of the increased status of local officials in Gaoping during the Eastern Wei. But it is not official status that governs the spatial program of patronage in the Gaomiaoshan cave temple. Rather, even within the boundaries of a Buddhist charitable society, a hierarchy of familial relationships based on age appears to have taken precedence over other forms of social status, such as official rank or even position within the *yi* itself.

THE SITE

The cave temple of Gaomiaoshan is located southwest of the town of Gaoping in southeastern Shanxi province. It lies just west of the Taiyuan-Luoyang railway line, along a route linking Datong 大同 (in other words, Pingcheng 平城, the earlier capital of the Northern Wei dynasty) with the local urban center of Taiyuan (then Bingzhou 并州) and Luoyang 洛陽 (the later capital). There are a number of small-scale sixth-century cave temple sites in the immediate area, including Yangtoushan 羊頭山, Shitanghui 石堂會, Shishishan 石室山, and so on. Of these, Gaomiaoshan is not the largest or most complex, but due to the relatively fine, hard stone from which it is carved, it is one of the best-preserved cave temples in southeastern Shanxi. The cave temple and surrounding cliff-face carvings were first surveyed in 1995.[7] The author visited the cave on two occasions in May and June of 2002.

The site consists of a single cave-temple cut into a cliff face part way up the hillside of Gaomiaoshan, and eight associated niches carved into the cliff face to its left and right.[8] With two exceptions, all these niches appear to be of Tang or later date, which means they were added at least a century after the construction of the cave (figure 1). The entryway to

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by Andrew Chittick, *Patronage and Community in Medieval China: The Xiangyang Garrison, 400–600 CE* (Albany: SUNY P., 2010).

[7] Li Yuqun 李欲群 and Zhang Qingjie 張慶捷, "Shanxi Gaoping Gaomiaoshan shiku de diaocha yu yanjiu" 山西高平高廟山石窟的調查與研究, *KG* 1999.1, pp. 60–73. This is the only published study of the cave to date.

[8] Li and Zhang number six niches but indicate eight on their elevation drawing of the cliff face. I have numbered the two remaining niches 1a and 2a. One of them, my niche 1a, con-

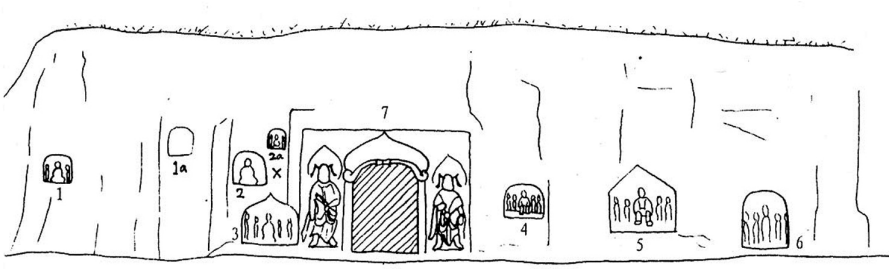


Figure 1. Drawing of Cliff-front Elevation, Gaomiaoshan
After Li and Zhang, "Gaomiaoshan," fig. 2.

the cave is cut into a recessed rectangle carved in the uneven surface of the cliff, which faces east from a sheltered spot between two ridges. To each side of the door are standing *dvārapāla* figures with pointed halos.[9] These are muscular figures wearing long skirts, with scarves draped over their shoulders, somewhat smaller than life size. The doorway to the cave is a rounded arch, framed by a pair of round, tapered columns, with dragons' heads ornamenting the lintel (figure 2).

The cave itself is a roughly cubical chamber, measuring about 2.1 meters on a side (figure 3), with an inverted-dipper (*fudou* 覆斗)



Figure 2. Cave entrance, Gaomiaoshan
Photograph by the author.

tains some unfinished figures of indeterminate date. A badly eroded inscription which appears contemporary with the cave itself is located to the right of niche 2 and below another, smaller niche, which I label 2a. This niche, dedicated by a member of the Chen family, will be discussed later.

9 The left-hand *dvārapāla*'s face has obviously been recarved in more recent times, as have the faces of the Buddha, both bodhisattvas, the disciple Ānanda, and Vimalakīrti and Mañjuśrī.

ceiling. Around the foot of three walls (the rear wall and the two side walls) is a narrow platform, 20 cm in height, on which the large figures stand or sit. The overall sculptural program of the cave is strikingly symmetrical and strongly unified (figure 4).[10] The cave contains five

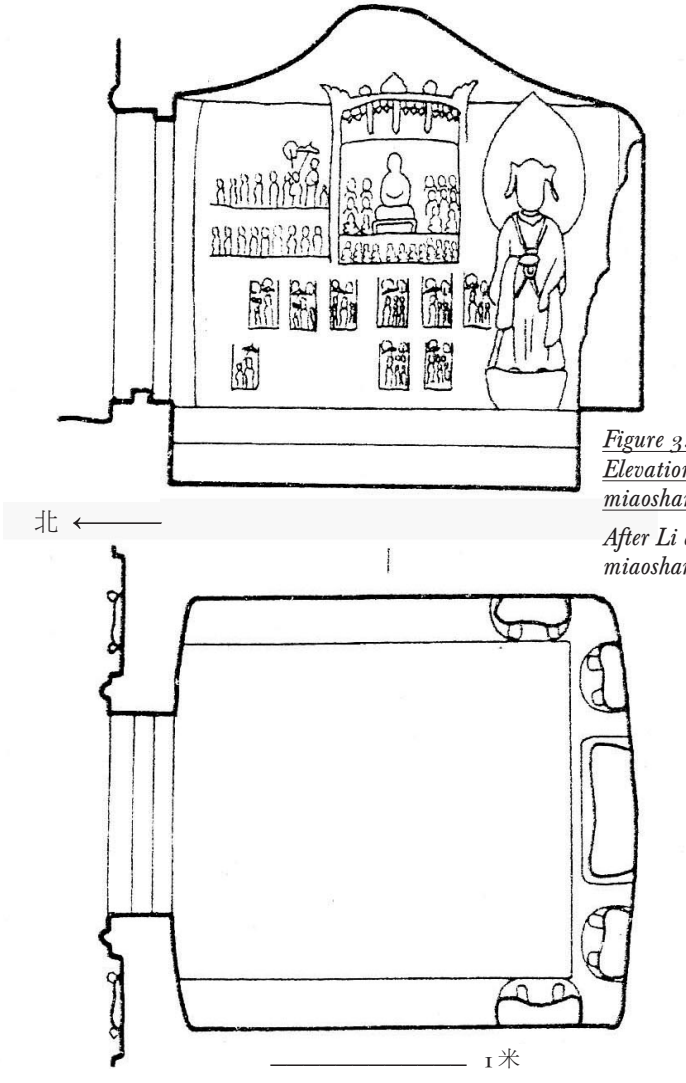


Figure 3. Plan and Elevation of the Gaomiaoshan Cave Temple

After Li and Zhang, "Gaomiaoshan," fig. 5.

It would be difficult to date the recarving by style: the work is quite crude, though not without its own power. The few local residents I was able to talk to confirmed that the cave is still a site of active popular worship, as suggested by the mirrors, banners, candles and other detritus left in the cave, but they could not tell me when the recarving had been done.

[10] The location numbers here and throughout the article refer to the corresponding num-

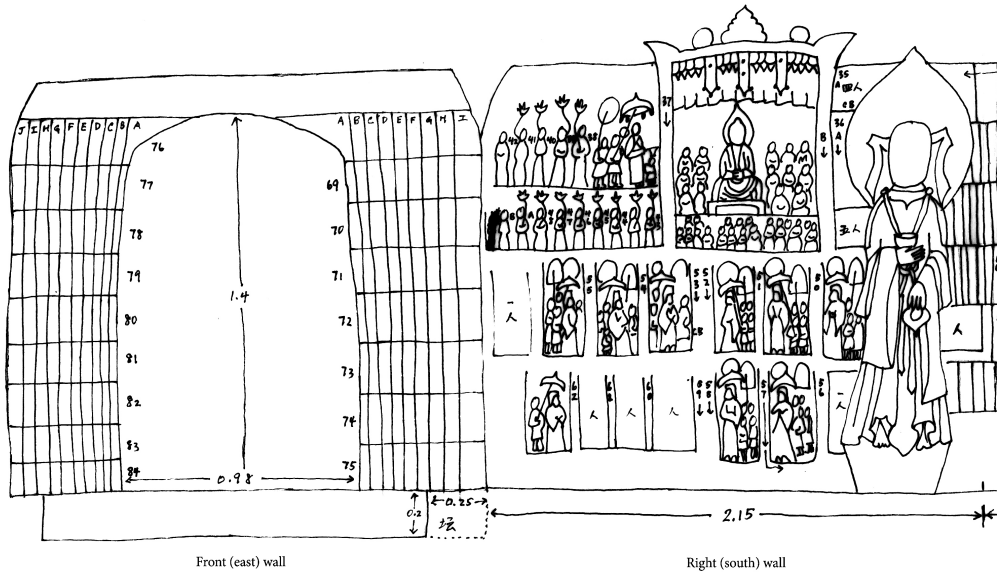


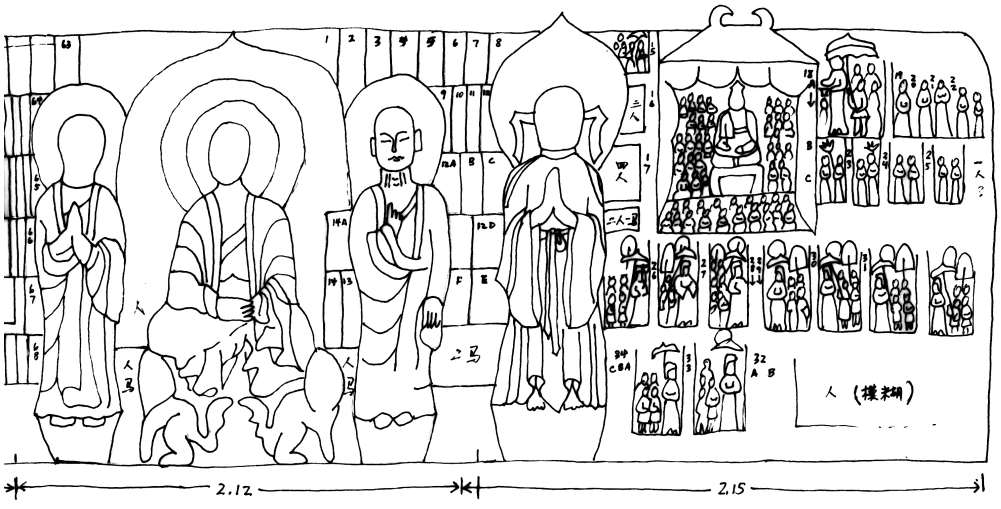
Figure 4. Interior of the Gaomiaoshan Cave
Schematic drawing with numbers indicating the location of inscriptions in appended list. Drawing by the author.

major (over half-life-size) Buddhist figures sculpted in high relief; the principal Buddha figure, the two disciples and the two bodhisattvas are all sculpted nearly in the round, except that they are attached to the walls at the back. In the center top of each of the side walls is a large niche containing a central seated figure surrounded by throngs of much smaller kneeling or seated figures. Beside and below these niches in the side walls are groups of monastic and lay worshiper figures carved in relief, with inscriptions.

Around and between the five main figures are individual worshiper figures and groups of worshipers, all engraved into the surface of the stone with fine lines. These figures and groups are also identified by inscription. In addition, line-engraved worshipers and groups of relief-carved worshipers appear here and there on the side walls, and the front wall to either side of the door is completely covered with individual worshiper figures and their associated inscriptions.

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bers on this schematic drawing of the cave interior. This is a highly condensed description of the cave interior; for a comprehensive one, see Kate A. Lingley, "Widows, Monks, Magistrates, and Concubines: Social Dimensions of Sixth-Century Buddhist Art Patronage," Ph.D. diss. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2004), chap. 4.



Rear (west) wall

Left (north) wall

PRINCIPAL BUDDHIST FIGURES

In the center of the rear (west) wall is a seated Buddha figure, somewhat eroded, seated cross-legged in dhyāna mudrā on a pedestal formed by a pair of addorsed, seated lions. It is dressed in a one-shouldered *saṃkakṣikā* worn under a *kaṣāya*. The figure is not very detailed and the carving is somewhat sketchy, but the *kaṣāya* does cascade over the front of the pedestal in the rhythmic folds characteristic of the first half of the sixth century. The figure's head has been recarved, so the present head is disproportionately small and in a different style from the rest of the figure.

The Buddha is flanked by a pair of standing disciples in monastic dress. These figures are proportionally smaller than the Buddha, though they stand on conical pedestals. The left-hand disciple is the only major figure inside the cave whose face has not been recarved. It has large ears with very long earlobes. Most distinctively, the neck is deeply veined and wrinkled with vertical folds. The authors of the survey speculate that this detail is meant to suggest great age, and that therefore this figure must represent Mahākāśyapa, the senior disciple of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni.[11] This identification is confirmed by an inscription located just to the left of the figure's left hand (at location 12F) in which one Chen Yanbin 陳延賓 is identified as the *Jiashe zhu* 迦葉主 or "sponsor of [Mahā-]Kāśyapa."

[11] Li and Zhang, "Gaomiaoshan," p. 61.

A parallel inscription located, symmetrically, just to the right of the right-hand disciple (at location 67A) identifies Chen Qinglong 陳慶隆 as the *Anan zhu* 阿難主 or "sponsor of Ānanda," confirming that this figure represents the junior disciple Ānanda. (By extension, therefore, we may assume that the central seated Buddha figure represents Śākyamuni.) The Ānanda figure is roughly the same size as the Kāśyapa, and wears the same monastic garb. The head, now recut into an awkward, flattened shape, is set off against a plain round halo.

Flanking the two disciples are the figures of two standing bodhisattvas. These figures are located quite close to the curve of the wall between the front and side walls, so that they face at an oblique angle into the middle of the cave. Nevertheless, they are still effectively part of the side walls rather than the rear wall. The bodhisattva figures were clearly originally only slightly larger than the disciples, though both heads have been completely removed and replaced with later carvings cemented in place. Both figures have "peach-shaped" rounded halos that come to a point at the top. They are dressed in long robes with wide sleeves and flowing skirts, which are arranged in a rhythmic pattern that recalls the "fishtail" skirts of the late Northern Wei.

All five of the principal figures in the Gaomiaoshan cave share a stylistic peculiarity that suggests they were the product of a single craftsman's hand. Like the main Buddha, the disciples and the bodhisattvas wear garments that are depicted logically, though not very elaborately, and which fall in realistic if somewhat formalized folds, while by contrast their hands are little more than crude blocks. The same is somewhat true, though less striking, in the case of the *dvārapāla*s that flank the cave door; the awkward angles and strange, blocky proportions of their hands and feet contrast strongly with the regular sweep of their garments. The figures' visual unity suggests that all five were produced at more or less the same time, as part of the same unified visual program.

The Cave Ceiling

The ceiling of the Gaomiaoshan cave is covered in relief carvings. Above the head of the main Buddha image in this cave is a monster mask that holds the point of the Buddha's aureole in its mouth, teeth bared in a grimace. In the very center of the ceiling is a round double lotus blossom with pointed petals. The stigmatic disk of the lotus, which is nearly undecorated, makes up the characteristic flat central panel of the inverted-dipper ceiling, while the petals extend down the four trapezoidal slopes of the wall. Ranged around this blossom are

eight flying *apsara*s, each with its own musical instrument. A few of the instruments can be identified, such as the *sheng* 笙, panpipe, vertical flute, and *konghou* 箜篌 harp. The empty spaces between and around the *apsara*s are filled with a loopy cloud pattern, while at each of the four corners of the cave, there is a reborn soul emerging from a lotus blossom (*lianhua huasheng* 蓮花化生), bowing its head toward the Buddha with clasped hands.

Vimalakīrti and Mañjuśrī niches

The principal feature of the side walls of the Gaomiaoshan cave is a large figural niche in the top center of each wall. Each niche contains a single larger seated figure surrounded by a large number of small seated or kneeling figures. The iconographic details of the main figures, together with their associated inscriptions, show that these figures represent the wise householder Vimalakīrti and the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, whose debate was a popular subject in early Chinese Buddhist sculpture.[12]

The niche on the left (north) wall is square in shape and the top of the niche is made to resemble the roof of a building in traditional Chinese style, complete with upturned eaves and the ridgepole ornaments known as *chiwen* 鴟吻. The main figure's face has been significantly recut, but his belted robe, scholar's armrest, and distinctive "deer-tail" type fan are sufficient to identify this figure as Vimalakīrti, who was frequently conceived and represented as a Chinese scholar-gentleman. An inscription between the edge of the niche and a line-engraved group of worshiper figures (location 17) identifies the patron Chen Lanhe 陳

12 The figures of Vimalakīrti and Mañjuśrī represent the debate between them that is the subject of the famous *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (*Questions of Vimalakīrti*) There are three translations in Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次朗 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡辺海旭, eds., *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏経 (Tōkyō: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1932); see T. 474, 475, and 476; 475 is the standard translation by Kumārajīva (344–413), which circulated most widely during the sixth century. Briefly, Vimalakīrti was a layman so wise in the dharma and so skilled in debate that when he feigned illness, in order to bring the disciples of the Buddha to debate with him, none dared to go, though Śākyamuni chided them for being unwilling to visit a sick man. The wise Mañjuśrī finally agreed to go, and the body of the sūtra contains their debate on the nature of non-duality, held before the entire host of disciples and deities and with the assistance of the rather hapless monk śāriputra and a clever and wise devī (goddess) as interlocutors. The story of Vimalakīrti was very popular in China perhaps because Vimalakīrti, as an enlightened layman, fit easily the existing Chinese concept of the wise and learned scholar-official. In addition, the built-in binary symmetry of the debate scene fit well the general schematic tendencies of Chinese Buddhist cave temples, niches, and stelae. Images of Vimalakīrti and Mañjuśrī are quite common in the reliefs at the Yungang caves, and equally so at Longmen. See Emma C. Bunker, "Early Chinese Representations of Vimalakīrti," *Artibus Asiae* 30.1 (1968), pp. 28–52; Laura Gardner Heyrman, "The Meeting of Vimalakīrti and Mañjuśrī: Chinese Innovation in Buddhist Iconography," Ph.D. diss. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1994).

蘭和 as the *Weimo dashi zhu* 維磨大士主 or "sponsor of the *mahāsattva* Vimalakīrti;" but even without this information it would be clear that the figure represents the famous Buddhist layman.

The niche directly opposite has an ornamental cornice topped with round ornaments (probably mani-pearls) and the leaf ornaments which are usually called "plantain leaves" (*jiaoye*, 焦葉). Below this, the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī sits cross-legged on a low pedestal. The face of this figure has also been extensively recut, but he has the same halo, dress, and ornaments as the large standing bodhisattva figures. Along the rim of the niche and just beyond it (location 36A and B) is an inscription, with corresponding line-engraved worshiper figures, that identifies Chen Yimin 陳以敏 as the *Wenshu xiang zhu* 文殊像主 or "Sponsor of the Mañjuśrī figure."

THE WORSHIPER FIGURES

The rest of the interior of the cave is carved with hundreds of worshiping donors executed in low relief and in line engraving; there are single figures, couples, figural groups with servants, grooms and horses, and so on. These figures appear in all the interstices between the main images on the rear wall, and around and below the Vimalakīrti and Mañjuśrī niches; and the front wall contains nothing but individual worshiper figures and their associated inscriptions. Nearly all these figures have inscriptions identifying them as specific, named patrons of the cave, and this is in part what makes Gaomiaoshan such an interesting example of its type (the small-scale stone-cut cave temple of the Northern Dynasties). In all, there are over 270 individual figures and figural groups (a few are too eroded to make a precise count), inscribed with the names of 244 distinct individuals.[13] The following is a much-condensed account of their appearance and location, which refers to the schematic drawing of the cave interior (figure 4) for orientation.[14] The numbered locations in figure 4 also correspond with the items in the list of inscriptions at the end of this article.

[13] In total there are 250 names, but six names appear twice. Assuming that these are duplicate instances of the same individual, there are 244 named patrons in the cave. That said, erosion has obscured the names of several patrons (particularly around the door of the cave) and in some cases the corresponding figures as well. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that the figure of 244 patrons represents the entire original group. Clearly, however, it does represent a large majority of the original number; at most it appears that perhaps 20 patrons' names may have been destroyed by erosion, and in any event probably no more than 10 percent of the original total.

[14] Again, for a full account, see Lingley, "Widows, Monks, Magistrates, and Concubines," chap. 4.

The worshipers can be broadly classified in at least two ways: first, they are either single figures or figural groups, and second, they are either carved in relief or line-engraved (see figures 5 and 6). The single monastic figures, found at locations 18B–C, 19–25 and 38–48B, are all relief-carved, while the single lay figures, found at locations 1–12C, 63–66 inclusive, 68A–E, and the entire front wall, are all line-engraved.

The monks' costumes are indistinctly rendered at best, but at a minimum it is possible to say that there is nothing in them that appears inconsistent with contemporary monastic dress. I assume that all these figures represent monks and not nuns, but this is based on the accompanying inscriptions rather than any visual evidence.[15] The great majority of the lay worshipers are dressed in full-length wrap-around robes belted at the waist, with wide, full sleeves in the Chinese style usually referred to as "fine robes and wide sashes" (*bao yi bo dai* 褒衣博帶), and shoes with upturned toes. This robe is common to male and female



Figure 5. Worshiper Figures, Front Wall, Gaomiaoshan Cave
Photograph by the author.

[15] It is usually impossible to tell monks from nuns in sculpture of this period on iconographic grounds alone, because Buddhist monastics shave their heads, and thus there is no distinctively female headdress or hairstyle to distinguish the nuns. The robes worn by monks and nuns appear to be nearly or completely identical, and at the time there was no convention for distinguishing between male and female figures on physiological grounds (a distinct departure from the Indian Buddhist tradition). In general, if there is no inscription, monks and

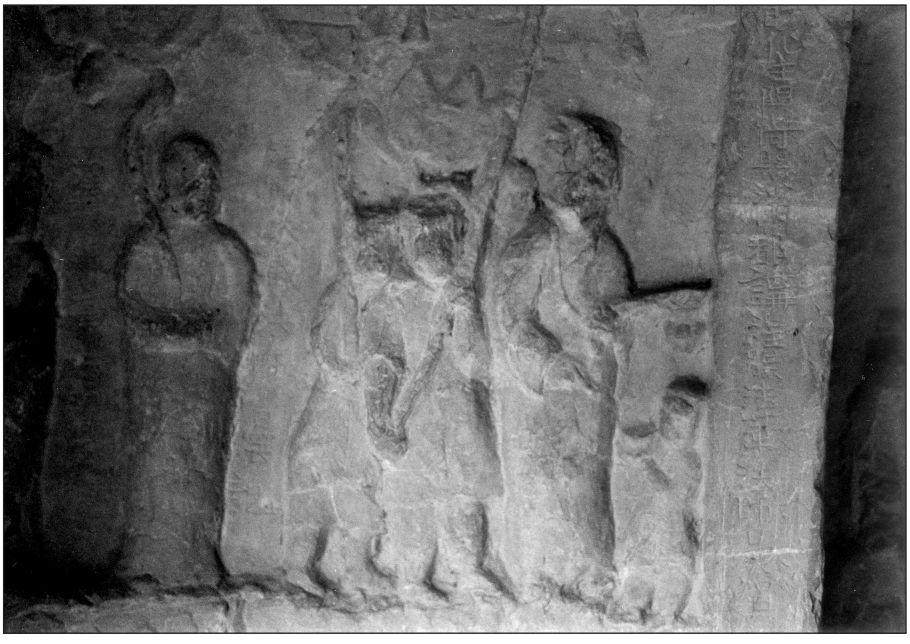


Figure 6. Monastic Worshiper Figures, Gaomiaoshan Cave
Right wall, upper row. Photograph by the author.

worshipers, though in the case of female worshipers the neck may be closed higher on the torso than is the case for male figures. However, for most of the figures, the distinction is negligible. Rather, on the rear wall of the cave, these figures are distinguished by gender through their headgear: plain squarish caps for women and tall gauze hats of the *longguan* 籠冠 type for men. By contrast, all the figures on the front wall (162 single line-engraved figures) wear gender-ambiguous rounded headdresses.

Among the groups of figures, relief groups are found at locations 15, 18A, 26–33, 37, 50–55, 57–58, and 62; everything else is a line-engraved figural group, namely, locations 12D–F, 13–14B (see figure 7), 16–17, 35–36, 56, 59–61, and 67–68, plus some badly eroded groups below locations 30–31. They all consist of at least one standing worshiper, and very occasionally a couple (for example, 13–14 depicts an

nuns can only be distinguished if they accompany lay figures that are separated by gender, a common arrangement for worshiper figures appearing on bases of freestanding sculptures. In such a case, a monastic who accompanies a group of women may be assumed to be a nun, though even this may be debatable in some cases.

official and his wife), accompanied by anywhere from one to six or more attendants. These attendants typically stand behind the worshiper and hold a canopy or a fan over his head. In a few cases there are also grooms in a separate panel below, holding a saddled horse ready to ride. The only figural groups without fans or canopies are the handful that depict kneeling figures, which typically have only one or two attendants standing at the ready behind them. The kneeling figures and several of the monks are the only figures to hold incense burners instead of flowers as an offering (figure 8).

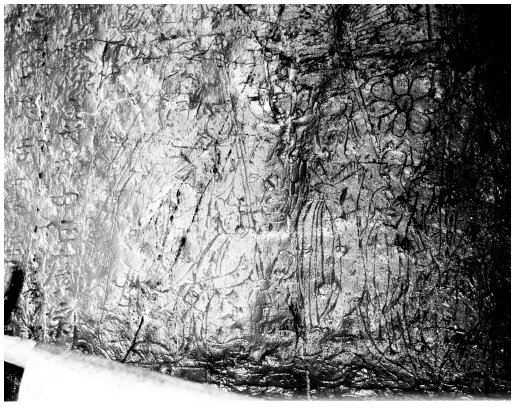


Figure 7. Group of Worshiper Figures, Gaomiaoshan Cave

At location 13–14. Photograph by the author.

There is some variation in dress among the worshipers in the line-engraved figural groups. For instance, two different worshipers wear long round-collared overcoats with narrow sleeves, worn over the shoulders in the Xianbei style (that is, without the wearer's arms being inserted into the sleeves). This coat is worn over a Chinese long-skirted robe in one case (location 36) and full trousers tucked into boots in the other (location 17, figure 9, below).[16] The worshipers at locations 12D–F are also dressed in



Figure 8. Worshiper Figure of Chen Xianguang

At location 36A–B, Gaomiaoshan cave temple. Photograph by the author.

[16] Note that these two figures represent the sponsors of the Mañjuśrī and Vimalakīrti niches respectively, and their locations on the two side walls are exactly parallel. Even their inscriptions are composed in the same unusual form, implying some sort of connection (to be discussed later).

round-collared tunics and trousers. Note that this is also the standard dress for the servants (monastic and lay) who hold the canopies and fans.

The placement of the various types of worshiper figure is almost perfectly symmetrical, with groups of relief-carved worshipers below the Vimalakīrti and Mañjuśrī niches on the side walls, and line-engraved worshipers in a sprawling grid of rectangular cells covering most of the rest of the available space in the cave. All the figures on the front wall face toward the doorway in the center of the wall, which makes them appear to be oriented toward the outside of the cave, but in effect they are oriented in the same way as the figures in the veneration scenes (*lifotu* 禮佛圖) at better-known sites such as Shuiyusi and in the Binyang Central Cave,[17] that is, toward the main Buddha on the rear wall. The figures on the side walls are oriented (roughly) toward the Vimalakīrti and Mañjuśrī niches, while the figures on the front wall are oriented toward the main Buddha figure. There are even three line-engraved figural groups carved directly onto the Buddha's aureole, effectively becoming part of the Buddha-image itself.[18]



Figure 9. Worshiper Figure of Chen Lanhe

At location 17, Gaomiaoshan cave. Photograph by the author.

[17] As concerns Shuiyusi, see Kate Lingley, "The Multivalent Donor: Zhang Yuanfei at Shuiyusi," *Archives of Asian Art* 56 (2006), pp. 11–30. For Binyang, Amy McNair, *Donors of Longmen: Faith, Politics, and Patronage in Medieval Chinese Buddhist Sculpture* (Honolulu: U. Hawai'i P., 2007), pp. 41–42.

[18] There are also two niches outside the cave door, on the cliff face itself, which appear to be roughly contemporary with the cave itself, and one of whose sponsor was evidently another

DATING OF THE CAVE

Although the Gaomiaoshan cave temple is inscribed with the names of hundreds of donors, there is no dedicatory inscription (in other words, no inscription that describes the circumstances and aims of the cave's construction) and no explicit date. In their published survey of the cave, Li Yuqun and Zhang Qingjie argue that the cave should be dated to the Eastern Wei dynasty (534–550), based on its overall form, the style of the carvings inside, and some of the place names found in the inscriptions.

Li and Zhang point out that the basic form of the cave, which is square in plan with an inverted-dipper ceiling and a low platform around three walls, is like that of a number of late Northern Wei caves (ca. 495–534) in Henan and Shanxi, though some of the details of this form persisted into the second half of the sixth century.[19] Moreover, the sculptures in the cave "still preserve the remnants of a late Northern Dynasties period style,"[20] particularly in the ribboned headdresses of the bodhisattvas, which are characteristic of the late Northern Wei in Shanxi. The authors point out that, in contrast, the style of the *kaṣāya* worn by the main Buddha figure has more in common with a number of freestanding sculptures unearthed in Shanxi province and dated to the 540s. The style of the carvings, therefore, appears to be very late Northern Wei or Eastern Wei,[21] implying a date of perhaps 520–550.

To date the cave more precisely than this, Li and Zhang make use of the place names found in the official titles of the cave's patrons.[22] They note that a number of place names found in the Gaomiaoshan cave only existed after the founding of the Eastern Wei dynasty in 534, including Jianzhou 建州,[23] Xuchang *jun* (or, Xuchang commandery) 許昌郡, Yingzhou 穎州, and Linzhang *xian* or Linzhang district 臨漳縣. They further note that several others were abolished with the founding of

member of the Chen lineage. One has a surviving inscription, at location X in fig. 1 and the appendix of inscriptions. The patron it names, Chen Hui<..> 陳迴□, is the 244th donor by my count, although there is a possibility that he could be the same man as the patron named at location 12E, Chen Huizong 陳迴宗.

19 Li and Zhang, "Gaomiaoshan," p. 66.

20 Ibid., p. 66: "高廟山石窟較多地保留了北朝晚期的時代特徵." 21 Ibid., p. 67.

22 Dictionaries of historical place names provide convenient transdynastic "histories" of particular place names, including the dates they were established and abolished. These brief entries can then be cross-checked against the original histories on which they are based. I have used Wei Songshan 魏嵩山, *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian* 中國歷史地名大辭典 (Guangdong: Guangdong jiaoyu chubanshe, 1995) for this purpose.

23 Note that the basic civil administrative structure of north China throughout the Northern Dynasties involved a three-tier system of *xian* 縣 or districts, *jun* 郡 or commanderies, and *zhou*

the Northern Qi in 550, including Xuanshi district 玄氏縣,[24] Changzi 長子, and Tunliu 屯留. The authors thus conclude that the cave must have been constructed between 534 and 550.

In general, Li's and Zhang's reasoning on the dating of the cave is sound. On stylistic grounds, their dating of the cave to the late Northern Wei or the Eastern Wei is entirely believable. The use of place names to date the cave more precisely is a bit more problematic, though the conclusions derived from it are ultimately supportable.[25] The authors assume simply that the presence of a place name in the cave must mean that the cave was constructed while that place name was in use. But the construction of the cave temple certainly took place over a number of years, during which time place names can change; and some inscriptions were probably added after the cave was largely complete. A place name like Yingzhou could not have been added before Yingzhou region was established in 534; but there is no reason why the inscription could not have been made somewhat later than the construction of the cave itself. Therefore, it is not necessarily the case that the cave itself could not have been *constructed* somewhat earlier than 534, despite the fact that some of the place names found in it are first established in that year.

The official titles claimed by the patrons of Gaomiaoshan fall into three categories: current positions, former (*qian* 前) positions, or honorary (*jia* 假 and occasionally *zhiban* 旨板) positions. These distinctions will be discussed in more detail, later, but here suffice it to say that an honorary official title was granted by the government, usually to a local person of advanced age, and that it may have carried a small stipend and some undetermined amount of social prestige, but the recipient had no official responsibilities. In theory, therefore, the government could grant honorary titles connected with places it did not actually control (conceivable in an era of ever-shifting political boundaries), or possibly (though perhaps less likely) to places that no longer existed. Too little is currently known about the granting of honorary official titles to determine whether this was ever done. But it does suggest that honorary titles may be less reliable for this method of dating.

Former officials presumably once held the official post to which they make a claim, but there is no indication of how far in the past this

州 or regions, in increasing order of size, and ascending in status. There was a separate military administration that overlaid this system, and the imperial capital was a system in itself.

[24] Until the late-5th c. it was written 泫氏, with the same pronunciation.

[25] For a more detailed analysis, see Lingley, "Widows, Monks, Magistrates, and Concubines," pp. 170–81.

might have been. Tunliu and Changzi *xian* were abolished around 550; but both of these place names appear in the same inscription – the list of official titles of Chen Baozhou 陳保周; and all of his official titles are "former" titles.[26] So Chen Baozhou may have been magistrate of these two districts while they were still valid (before 550), while the inscription was added later, after his retirement.

Examining the dates for all the place names that appear in the cave (excluding those that are part of honorary official titles, and a few that cannot be found in the historical sources), one finds that some are recent while others are quite ancient;[27] but in general there is a period of overlap of sixteen years from 534–550, the dates of the Eastern Wei dynasty. This certainly suggests that the majority of patrons of the cave held office during the Eastern Wei, even if the construction of the cave may have been started earlier and/or completed later.

THE FORTUNES OF PLACE

The fact that the stylistic features of the cave and the place names found in its inscriptions both seem to belong to the Eastern Wei period leads us to a rather suggestive explanation for why the cave was constructed in the first place. First of all, it is worth noting that most of the cave's patrons have one or more local postings among the various official positions they have occupied. Of 244 named patrons in the cave, 182 are men of whom 119 have official titles. Among the latter are 14 people who are designated only by honorary positions; 10 have titles that are not place-specific (generally military or scholarly titles); and 5 are connected with place names that are otherwise unknown (not found in any historical sources). Of the remaining 90 officials, 72 hold at least one local position (defined as a position in the *xian*, *jun*, or *zhou* where the cave is located),[28] though they may also have held office in other locations. Eight are designated by official positions that are scattered

[26] Chen Baozhou appears at location 29 in the middle of the left (north) wall. His complete titles are: "Former commandery rectifier; [former] regional rectifier; [former] magistrate of the two districts Zhangzi and Tunliu; [former] governor of Shangdang [commandery]." Generally in these inscriptions the adjective *qian* (former) or *jia* (honorary) modifies all following official titles unless another adjective is introduced, as in the titles of Chen Senglong 陳僧隆 (location 52): "Former commandery rectifier; honorary magistrate for the two districts, Shanyang and Xuanshi; [honorary] governor of Jianjun region." Here "former" applies to the first title and "honorary" to the last two. For the full Chinese text of these inscriptions, please see the list at the end of this article.

[27] Most strikingly Wu'an *xian* 武安縣, established in 221 BC and abolished in 1988, excepting only 9–25 AD.

[28] The figure 72 is based on the assumption that any holder of a place-specific title in which the actual place name is omitted (such as Chen Daoxing 陳道興, at location 82A, whose title

around the central part of modern Shanxi province, between Gaoping and Taiyuan, about 200 km to the north; 1 has a position in Jincheng, 30 km or so south of Gaoping; 8 more are located in northern or central Henan province, up to about 200 km south of Gaoping, and 1 is located in Shandong province. With that one exception, all the patrons of the cave seem to have held office in southern Shanxi and northern Henan, basically within a 200-km radius of the cave itself.

Following is a table of the changing political status of Gaoping town (known until 550 as Xuanshi town, the seat of Xuanshi district) in the local administrative structure of the sixth century.[29]

Table 1: Political Administration of Gaoping Town, 464–581 AD

DATE	464–530	530–550	550–577	577–581
xian 縣 district	Xuanshi *xian* 玄氏 *seat: Xuanshi town*	Xuanshi *xian* 玄氏 *seat: Xuanshi town*	Gaoping *xian* 高平 *seat: Gaoping town*	Gaoping *xian* 高平 *seat: Gaoping town*
jun 郡 commandery	Jianxing *jun* 建興 *seat: Yang'a xian*	Changping *jun* 長平 *seat: Xuanshi xian*	Gaodu *jun* 高都 *seat: Gaodu xian*	Gaoping *jun* 高平 *seat: Gaodu xian*
zhou 州 region	Sizhou 司州 *seat: Luoyang*	Jianzhou 建州 *seat: Gaodu xian*	Jianzhou 建州 *seat: Gaodu xian*	Jianzhou 建州 *seat: Gaodu xian*

Note that the town of Gaoping was always the administrative seat of the local district, though the name of both changed in 550. However, in the last few years of the Northern Wei (beginning in 530) and through the Eastern Wei period (534–550), the seat of the local district was *also* the seat of the local commandery. Given that most of the patrons of the Gaomiaoshan cave appear to have been career local officials, we may point out that between 530 and 550 they suddenly found themselves the officials of a more important locality than before or since.

Since *jun*-level officials almost invariably enjoyed higher rank and more generous emoluments than functionally equivalent officials at the *xian* level, it is probable that the patrons of the Gaomiaoshan cave shared in the "promotion" of their town from district seat to com-

is "former commandery rectifier" of an unspecified commandery) may be assumed to be a local official. Depending on when Chen Daoxing held his position, he may have been rectifier of either Jianxing or Changping commandery.

29 Source for the dates found in this table: Wei, *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian.*

mandery seat, and that the construction of the cave was one response to their newfound prosperity and rank. In fact, the majority of office-holders held their highest actual rank at the *jun* level (54 of 105 actual office-holders; 27 more held *zhou*-level appointments, while 12 only rose to *xian*-level posts at the highest). Even those who remained *xian*-level administrators must have been affected by the change. Because so many local officials in the Gaomiaoshan cave omit the name of the locality from their official titles, it is impossible to prove conclusively that there was in fact a surge in appointments concurrent with the founding of Changping *jun*;[30] however, given the apparent date of the cave and its inscriptions, it seems likely that this was the case.

ON "COMPLETION" AND "SEQUENCE"

The problem of dating the Gaomiaoshan cave leads to several related problems having to do with the construction of the cave, which was obviously a process that took place over a certain span of years. This is true of all cave temples, even those with dated dedication inscriptions. Cave temples are generally dated to the year of their dedication, even though that date is usually preceded by several years of construction work and followed by centuries, even millennia, of reuse and modification.[31] For this reason, we cannot speak of a date of "completion" for the Gaomiaoshan cave. Rather, we should consider the question of the sequence in which the various elements of the cave temple were added.

The dedication of a cave temple or other Buddhist monument provides a date by which it can be anchored in time, despite the fact that most if not all are altered after dedication, both by human intervention and by natural forces. Presumably the dedication ceremony marked the point in time when the construction of the cave was sufficient for it to begin to serve the purposes for which it was intended. We have little if any direct evidence for what the standard of completion was for cave

[30] Because when the place name is omitted, one would need to know the precise date of the inscription in order to determine whether the term *jun* (for instance) referred to Jianxing, Changping, Gaodu, or Gaoping *jun*. Naturally, these examples cannot be used for the dating of the cave.

[31] See, for example, the Binyang caves, two of which were left unfinished in the Northern Wei and completed and rededicated in the Tang. The Northern Wei phase of their construction is historically documented to have been planned in 500 AD, begun in earnest in 505, and discontinued in 523 (McNair, *Donors of Longmen*, p. 31 ff). Many Dunhuang cave temples were also substantially renovated over time, sometimes by the descendants of their original founders. See Ning Qiang, *Art, Religion, and Politics in Medieval China: The Dunhuang Cave of the Zhai Family* (Honolulu: U. Hawai'i P., 2004).

temples and stelae of the sixth century: most likely it varied with the circumstances of the donation and the patience of the patron(s). But there must always have been a point at which an elaborately cut hole in a cliff face stopped being a cave-temple-under-construction, and started to be a cave temple proper.

The significance of this for the Gaomiaoshan cave temple is that the Buddhist figures in the cave (by whose style and iconography the cave is dated most strongly to the Eastern Wei) were probably part of the original plan and were completed before the cave was dedicated, since it is difficult to imagine dedicating a Buddhist cave temple with no Buddha. The wider variety of historical periods represented by the place names in the donor inscriptions simply suggests that some of these inscriptions (and possibly worshiper figures, about which more, below) continued to be added to the cave after it was already dedicated and in use. This possibility requires us to examine the cave for evidence of both original design and later modification.

Sequence of Construction of the Cave

The overall visual structure of the cave is remarkably unified, suggesting that, at a minimum, the layout of the cave as a whole and the positions of the niches and the worshiper figures on the side walls were all part of an initial master plan. It appears ultimately that the principal Buddhist figures, the niches and all the relief-carved worshiper figures were executed first; that once these were completed, there was a decision made to abandon relief carving and fill in the rest of the figures (some of which may have been part of the original plan, but some of which appear to have been added on an ad hoc basis) in line-engraving. The inscribed names of the worshipers appear to have been added over a period of years, perhaps decades, beginning during the Eastern Wei period, toward the end of the planning and principal construction work on the cave. Furthermore, the fact that some of the worshiper figures remain uninscribed, and that the existing inscriptions are rather haphazardly disposed in places, implies that the project of inscribing the names of donors in the cave proceeded independently (to some extent) from the carving of worshiper figures. There are thus two intertwined timelines of construction for the Gaomiaoshan cave: one involving the figural carvings, both relief-carved and line-engraved, and one involving the inscriptions.

Many Buddhist sculptures of the Northern Dynasties make use of the visual distinction between high-relief sculpture and line-engraved motifs, as in a late Northern Wei or early Eastern Wei stela in the Riet-

berg Museum in Zurich.[32] But most examples of Buddhist sculpture that make use of both carving techniques together tend to show some iconographic distinction between the two. For example, in the Rietberg sculpture, the Buddha image is carved in relief, while the rest of the figures are worked in line-engraving. In the Gaomiaoshan cave, by contrast, the two techniques are distinguished spatially rather than typologically. The principal Buddhist figures are all carved in relief, but the worshiper figures are divided between relief-carved and line-engraved examples. Thus, there is no clear iconographic distinction between relief carving and line engraving. This suggests that the relief-carved images were completed first (because they include the major icons of the cave) and the line-engraved figures were added some time later.[33]

There is one reason to posit a relatively short gap between the completion of relief carving in the cave and the beginning of line-engraving, and this is that many of the officers of the *yi* are represented in the cave by line-engraved figural groups. Only two officials appear in the relief groups: Chen Xianming 陳顯明, the *weina* 維那 or "administrator" (who appears twice in the cave,[34] once as part of a relief group and once in a line-engraved group), and Tanzhi 曇智, the *quanhuazhu* 勸化主 or "conversion sponsor."[35] These two men were the lay and monastic leaders of the *yi* respectively, and were probably among those responsible for

[32] Rietberg Museum catalog number RCh 106; see also the third image discussed by Stefan Balasz, "Die Inschriften der Sammlung Baron Eduard von der Heydt," offprint from *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1934), pp. 83–85; also Matsubara Saburō 松原三郎, *Chūgoku Bukkyō chōkoku shiron* 中国仏教彫刻史論 (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1995), pl. 122b. Any number of additional examples are to be found in Matsubara's volumes, as well as in Jin Shen 金申, *Zhongguo lidai jinian Foxiang tudian* 中國歷代紀念佛像圖典 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1995), e.g., pll. 141, 142, etc.

[33] Interestingly, there is one group of worshipers in the Gaomiaoshan cave that appears to have been begun in relief carving and completed in line-engraving. It appears at location 16, and depicts a kneeling man with a servant standing behind him, and its background has been partially carved away in the same manner as the relief-carved groups. The line-engraved details would have been obliterated by later relief carving, which is another reason to surmise that relief came first and line-engraving, second.

[34] At locations 28 and 35. *Weina,* a title of uncertain meaning, usually indicates the lay leader(s) of an *yi*-society. It is sometimes assumed to be a translation of the Sanskrit *karmadāna*, though other possible translations have also been proposed. For a discussion of the possibilities, see Jonathan Silk, *Managing Monks: Administrators and Administrative Roles in Indian Buddhist Monasticism* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 2008), pp. 128–35. In most of Silk's sources, the *weina* is a monk who acts as an administrative officer in a monastery, while in the context of *yi*-society inscriptions, the *weina* is invariably a lay person, though the specific responsibilities of the position are unclear. At the very least, this suggests that some of the administrative hierarchy of the *yi*-society was borrowed from that of the monastic community.

[35] See location 37. *Quanhuazhu* 勸化主 literally means "the person in charge of urging conversion," but it is unlikely that Tanzhi's responsibility in the *yi*-society involved converting non-Buddhists to Buddhism. Rather, *quanhuazhu* was a monastic position possibly involved in soliciting donations; perhaps his responsibility was to convert nondonors to donors.

initiating the cave project in the first place, so it is not entirely surprising that they should appear among the (earlier) relief-carved worshiper figures. However, it is unlikely that a long period of time elapsed between the initial construction of the cave (and its relief-carved figures) and the addition of the names of the *yi* officers with their particular titles (appended to mostly line-engraved worshiper figures).

It was certainly not unheard of at the time for Buddhist pictorial stelae and cave temples to be constructed before the fact, as it were, perhaps at the initial behest of a monastic teacher or community leader, who would then "make the rounds" in search of sponsors who would join the *yi* and whose names could be added to the piece.[36] Sometimes this process was not entirely successful, as in a Northern Wei stela in the Victoria and Albert Museum, dedicated in 520 AD (cat. no. A. 9–1935), in which titles such as "sponsor of the great image" (*daxiang-zhu* 大像主)[37] are not followed by a name, presumably because no one was found to take this role. A second, Northern Qi, stela in the Victoria and Albert collection (cat. no. A.61–1937) remains unfinished. It already bears the names of a few donors organized into family groups, suggesting that the addition of donors' names to monuments of this kind began quite early. The sculptor in this case did not wait to complete the carving of the piece before beginning to add inscriptions (though he had finished all the major Buddhist figures; the unfinished carving is largely decorative). Most likely the donors' names were added as their contributions came in.

By analogy, then, the inscriptions in the Gaomiaoshan cave may well have begun to be added just as soon as the better part of the relief carving was done.[38] The Gaomiaoshan cave temple does not seem to have suffered for a lack of patronage; although some of the individual worshiper figures on the front wall are uninscribed, the other three

[36] The evidence for this is cave temples like Shuiyusi (see Lingley, "Multivalent Donor"), where the number of worshiper figures vastly exceeds the number of actual patrons. I suggest that it must have been monastic or lay Buddhist leaders who initiated this process, because sixth-century artisans were members of a bound or semi-slave class (see Scott Pearce, "Status, Labor, and Law: Special Service Households under the Northern Dynasties," *HJAS* 51.1 [1991], pp. 89–138), which suggests that they may not have had the autonomy or the resources to construct a cave temple without some prior guarantee of sponsorship.

[37] This could also be rendered as "great image-sponsor," indicating that it is the patron rather than the image that is great; but because in my experience it is inevitably appended to the principal icon of a stela or cave temple, it seems more likely that "great" here refers to the image.

[38] I am assuming here that no inscription in the cave *predates* the particular figure to which it is attached, although certain inscriptions may predate other figural carvings. I assume that inscriptions were either made at the same time as the figures to which they are attached, or were added some time afterward.

walls are crammed with inscribed figures.[39] In particular, it is important to note that nowhere in the cave is there any uninscribed *relief-carved* figure of a worshiper. This supports the argument that the line-engravings were added in order to augment the earlier relief carvings. This particular *yi* seems to have enjoyed a degree of patronage support that was perhaps unforeseen by its original founders.[40]

In sum, the sequence of construction of the cave seems to have been roughly as follows: some time in the decade 525–535, a small group of persons (almost certainly including the *weina* Chen Mingxian and the *quanhuazhu* Tanzhi) commissioned a workshop of stonecutters to construct the Gaomiaoshan cave temple. As construction began, they circulated among the members of the Chen lineage, the monks of the nearby Huishan 迴山 temple,[41] and other local connections, soliciting donations (in the form of membership in the *yi*) to support the work. The original stonecutters completed the excavation of the cave chamber, along with the *lokapala*s flanking the entrance, the door-frame, the relief carvings on the ceiling, the five main Buddhist figures,[42] two wall niches, and all the relief-carved worshiper groups, probably no later than 540 or so. Around that time, or even earlier, the names of individual patrons began to be inscribed next to the various relief-carved worshiper groups in the cave. With the exception of the *weina* and the *quanhuazhu*, none of these patrons has any specific named position in an *yi* hierarchy.

Not long after the completion of the relief carving, perhaps around 540 or so, it became evident that the number of worshiper figures on the side walls was going to be insufficient to represent a burgeoning number of patrons.[43] The leaders of the *yi* therefore arranged for further work to be done by a second group of stonecutters, who added line-

[39] In fact there are three uninscribed line-engraved figures, one on the right wall at location 55A, one on the left wall at location 31A, and one on the Buddha's aureole at location 14B; there is also an inscription without a corresponding figure at location 34.

[40] Again, this may have something to do with the "promotion" of the nearby county town to head of the local commandery in 530.

[41] To which most of the cave's monastic donors appear to have belonged. See n. 60, below, on the Huishan temple.

[42] Recall that stylistic affinities between the *dvārapāla*s flanking the door and the five major figures inside the cave argue for the work of a single hand or workshop.

[43] This does not necessarily imply that all the relief-carved figures were inscribed by this time, but only that the total number of subscribers looked as though it was going to outstrip the number of existing worshiper figures. To the extent that it is possible to hazard a guess at the temporal sequence of inscriptions in the cave, they seem to have been added in a way which was not entirely systematic. Indeed, what is apparently one of the latest inscriptions in the cave is appended to a relief-carved figure, which evidently went uninscribed for years before having a patron's name added to it. The name is that of the former magistrate of Chang-

engraved worshiper groups wherever they might be fitted in between and around the principal Buddhist figures.

The first line-engraved figures to be added were the large figural groups.[44] At the same time, certain patrons who wished to sponsor specific figures within the cave were given their special titles (such as *Anan zhu* 阿難主, "sponsor of Ānanda"), either because the *yi* had reached a critical size that would allow such hierarchy, or because the patrons themselves, or factions within the organization, had begun to insist that such distinctions be made. Most of the new line-engraved figural groups were ascribed to these special patrons. Subsequently, the ranks of single line-engraved worshiper figures were also added to the cave,[45] and some of them began to be inscribed, either singly or in groups of various sizes.

Most of the work on the cave was probably completed by 550 or shortly thereafter. However, names may have continued occasionally to be added to uninscribed worshiper figures in the cave for as much as another ten or twenty years, as later believers sought to join the earlier organization. It may have been the case that the *yi* was still functioning as a lay Buddhist organization in the area, and that latecomers to the society had themselves added to the cave; or perhaps the organization itself had disbanded, and the later additions sought a kind of retrospective membership.

INTERSECTING COMMUNITIES AND THE VISUAL STRUCTURE OF PATRONAGE AT GAOMIAOSHAN

Having established a sequence of construction for the images in the Gaomiaoshan cave temple, it is now possible to ask what the cave as a whole can tell us about the identity of its patrons. Recorded in the cave are the names and official titles of 244 Buddhist devotees, none of whom was eminent enough to be commemorated elsewhere in history:[46]

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luo district, Chen Daoqing 陳道慶 (location 55), which must date after 560 when Changluo district was founded.

44 These are are located at 12D–17, 35–36, 55A, 56, 59–61, and 67–68.

45 Locations 1–12C, 63A–66G, and the entire front wall.

46 That is to say that none of the names of patrons in the Gaomiaoshan cave temple can be found in any of the official histories of the period, nor are they known from other sources such as epitaph inscriptions. A cluster of the same donor names appears on a possibly related stela in the Shanxi Provincial Museum (cat. no. 57.7.41), another in the Shanghai Museum (cat. no. 26919), and a third in the Palace Museum in Beijing (see Li Jingjie 李靜傑, *Shi Fo xuancui* 石佛選粹 [Beijing: Zhongguo shijieyu chubanshe, 1995], no. 165). At least one of these monuments (the Shanxi Provincial Museum stela) is also traceable to southern Shanxi, though it comes from Ruicheng 芮城 in the southwest rather than Gaoping. These monuments, whose patrons

the Gaomiaoshan cave is their only epitaph. Who were they, and what was the nature of the community to which they belonged?

Information on the identity of the cave's patrons comes from two main sources. Most obviously there are the inscriptions appended to each worshiper figure, which may contain the patron's name, official title, religious title or position within the *yi*, relationship to other patrons, and even in some cases a short dedication. But equally important is the appearance of the figure itself, including the carving technique used to render it, its spatial position in the cave as a whole, its temporal position in the chronology of the cave's construction, its juxtaposition with other figures, and details of its dress and composition.

The spatial position of each figure within the cave as a whole is important for establishing relationships among patrons. Family members are often grouped together, and the sponsors of particular images appear near the figures they donated, in parallel locations on opposite walls of the cave. In addition, it is possible to talk about positions of greater or lesser status in the cave. Broadly speaking, it seems likely that positions near the main Buddha-image are the relatively high-status ones, while positions on the front wall flanking the door are least so; furthermore, between equivalent positions on the left and right walls, the left-hand position is higher in status than the right one. For example, the apparent status of position 13–14 is very high, in part because the patrons are designated as the sponsors of the Buddha-figure itself, but also because their figures are carved, in very detailed and beautiful line-engraving, *directly on the Buddha's aureole*, at his left hand. By contrast, the sketchily engraved small single figures on the front wall appear to be relatively low-status.

The greater prestige of left over right (from the point of view of the main Buddha figure) is a principle that has its roots in the native Chinese concepts of *yin* and *yang*,[47] and which remains in current use today. It may be summed up in a Chinese saying, *nan zuo nü you* 男左女右 or "male, left; female, right," which today may be thought to govern anything from the choice of hand on which one wears one's wedding ring to the incidence of hemiplegia after a stroke.[48] In Buddhist sculp-

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are also largely surnamed Chen, may record additional acts of patronage by a few members of the Chen lineage of Gaoping, but there is no other record of their lives.

[47] See Dorothy Wong, "Ethnicity and Identity: Northern Nomads as Buddhist Art Patrons during the Period of Northern and Southern Dynasties," in Nicola Di Cosmo and Don J. Wyatt, eds., *Political Frontiers, Ethnic Boundaries, and Human Geographies in Chinese History* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), p. 96.

[48] A professor from the Institute of Religions of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

ture, it manifests itself as a tendency to place male patrons on the left and female patrons on the right (when they are divided by gender),[49] and to place the more prestigious patron on the left when the division is not gendered.[50] It plays out in the Gaomiaoshan cave in the placement of the monastic donors: the monk at the head of the rank on the left wall (location 18A) holds a higher official position than the monk in the corresponding position on the right wall (location 37).

The geographic distribution of official posts in the cave has already been discussed. Still more striking than the prevalence of local officials in the cave is the fact that the vast majority of patrons were members of the Chen lineage.[51] Of 244 patrons, 130 are surnamed Chen and 24 are women of other surnames married to Chen men, making a total of 154 patrons from the Chen family or 63 percent of the total. An additional 29 are monks, which is 12 percent of the total. Since monks were required to relinquish their family names at ordination, we have no information on their familial ties, but it seems likely, given that they appear to come from a nearby monastery, that some of them were also members of the Chen lineage whose affiliations are masked by their dharma-names. Beyond this there are a few other family groupings: thirteen Xus, or 5 percent of the total; eight Weis (3 percent), and seven (also about 3 percent) of unknown surname due to the partial erosion of their inscriptions. The remaining 34 patrons (14 percent) include 12 men and 22 women of different surnames.

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explained to me (while on a field trip in May of 2002) that he had heard that when women have a stroke, they are more likely to become paralyzed on the right side, while men are more likely to be paralyzed on the left, which is apparently a modern version of this same belief.

49 See, for example, the stela of 523 dedicated by Gao Shenpo and her family (Jin, *Foxiang tudian*, no. 129); the concept seems to have been current in the South as well, since the stela of the same year dedicated by Kang Sheng and found at the Wanfosi site in Chengdu, Sichuan, shows the same gendered distribution of worshipers: men on the Buddha's left, women on his right. See also Jin, *Foxiang tudian*, no. 116.

50 As is the case among the monastic worshiper figures in the Shuiyusi cave (see Lingley, "Multivalent Donor").

51 By "lineage" here I refer simply to an extended family, comprising all the male descendants of a (sometimes hypothetical) common male ancestor, together with their wives. In traditional China it was assumed that a common surname meant a common lineal or apical ancestor, even if the exact relationship could not be worked out: thus, marriage between two unrelated people of the same surname was still considered incestuous. This view was eventually adopted by the non-Chinese aristocracy as well; among the Sinicizing decrees the Northern Wei emperor Gaozu promulgated was one in 483 which forbade marriage between Xianbei people who had the same surname. It makes explicit reference to the native Chinese prohibition (Wei Shou 魏收, ed., *Wei shu* 魏書 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997] 7A, p. 153). Chances are that a large group of people named Chen living in the same small and somewhat out-of-the-way area were mostly if not all related to each other; but even if the specific relationship could not be traced, they probably *thought* of themselves as being part of the same lineage.

ORGANIZATION OF THE *YI*

Gaomiaoshan is first and foremost an *yi*-society cave, that is, a collective donation carried out by a group of mostly lay believers organized into a charitable society under the leadership of community members and monastic advisors. However, even without the foregoing numerical analysis, the enormous number of patrons named Chen in the Gaomiaoshan cave suggests immediately that the cave must also have been a family cave,[52] that is to say, a cave initially sponsored (and perhaps later maintained) by the members of a particular extended family or lineage as a collective effort. Although not every patron was a member of the Chen family, nearly all the officers of the *yi*, together with the sponsors of specifically named images, were.[53] The attribution and physical distribution of these "special patrons" (who are generally represented by line-engraved figure groups) is summarized in the following table:

Table 2: Major Named Patrons of the Yi, Gaomiaoshan Cave Temple

TITLE	NAME	LOCATION	NOTES
Weina of the cave and leader of the *yi* 石室大維那相邑令	Chen Xianming 陳顯明	28, 35	One of the few patrons to appear twice; it is possible that the two inscriptions were made at different times.
Conversion sponsor 勸化主	(Shi) Tanzhi 曇智	37	A local monastic official and possibly a member of the Chen lineage, or a regular religious advisor to the family.
Sponsor of the main east-facing [Buddha] figure 當陽大像主	Chen Zhongyu 陳忠御	13–14	Inscribed on the Buddha's aureole, lower left. Also on the aureole, at lower right (location 14B), there is another group of worshipper figures that is uninscribed.

[52] See Ning, *Art, Religion, and Politics*, for a study of a Tang-era family-sponsored cave at Dunhuang.

[53] Interestingly, the two villages at the foot of Gaomiaoshan hill are called Bei Chen Cun 北陳村 ("North Chen Village") and Nan Chen Cun 南陳村 ("South Chen Village"). A local resident informed me that these villages are still largely populated by people surnamed Chen, who consider themselves to be members of the same descent group (on account of their common surname). It might not be possible to prove that these are the descendants of the original patrons of the cave, but the coincidence is highly suggestive. Qing gazetteers of the district (*Gaoping xian zhi shi juan* 高平縣志十卷, by Fan Shengzu 范繩祖, ed. Pang Dapu 龐大樸 [1658; held at Beijing Library], and *Xu Gaoping xian zhi* 續高平縣志, by Chen Xuefu 陳學富 and Qing Zhongxiu 慶鍾修, ed. Li Tingyi 李廷一 [1880; held at Peking University Library]) do not record the existence of these two villages, suggesting that in their present locations they may date only to the last century or so; but it seems likely that members of the Chen family have lived at the foot of Gaomiaoshan for a very long time. Ironically, the same informant expressed surprise at the information that the patrons of the cave were also Chens.

Sponsor of Ānanda 阿難主	Chen Qinglong 陳慶隆	67A	Located just below Ānanda's right elbow
Sponsor of Kāśyapa 迦葉主	Chen Yanbin 陳延賓	12F	Located just below Kāśyapa's left elbow
Sponsor of the bodhisattva 菩薩主	Chen Bao<..> 陳寶□	67B	Located just below the right-hand bodhisattva's left elbow
Sponsor of the bodhisattva Taixiang 太稍菩薩主	Chen Huizong 陳迴宗	12E	Located just below the left-hand bodhisattva's right elbow. It is not clear who "the bodhisattva Taixiang" is meant to be.
Sponsor of the Maṇjuśrī image 文殊像主	Chen Yimin 陳以敏	36	Located along the inner (left) edge of the Maṇjuśrī niche
Sponsor of the *mahāsattva* Vimalakīrti 維磨大士主	Chen Lanhe 陳蘭和	17	Located along the inner (right) edge of the Vimalakīrti niche
Sponsor of the maigre feast 齋主	Situ Yuanhe 司徒元和	12D	These two have no corresponding figure on the opposite wall. They are not the sponsors of specific images, but rather of particular activities connected with the consecration of the cave. The meaning of "maigre feast" is clear, but Yuan Biye's title is more obscure. It may have something to do with the copying of sūtras.
Sponsor of wisdom?? 大文惠主	Yuan Biye 原辟耶	12D	

Above, brackets indicate that the two elements of the pair occupy parallel positions on opposite walls.

The lay leader of the *yi* (the *weina* Chen Xianming) and all of the donors of specifically named sculptures in the cave were members of the Chen family. The lineage affiliation of the monk Tanzhi is of course not known, since Tanzhi is a dharma-name (*fahao* 法號) given at the time of ordination; therefore, we cannot tell whether Tanzhi had a particular connection to the Chen lineage beyond acting as religious advisor to the *yi* for the construction of the cave. That said, the full-time financial sponsorship of a particular monk or, for the wealthy, a particular monastery, was a form of religious merit-making on a par with other activities such as charity, vegetarian feasts for the poor, the making of Buddhist images, the copying and reading aloud of sūtra texts, and donations of flowers, food and incense for religious ceremonies. It is possible that Tanzhi and some or all of the other monks who appear

in the Gaomiaoshan cave enjoyed the regular patronage of members of the Chen family, if they were not actually related.

There are two "special patrons" who were not members of the Chen family: Situ Yuanhe and Yuan Biye. They were also not patrons of specific named sculptures, like most of the others who appear in the above table. Unfortunately, it is unclear exactly what Yuan Biye *did* sponsor:[54] Situ Yuanhe was apparently the sponsor of a maigre (vegetarian) feast, possibly held in conjunction with the dedication of the cave.[55] Evidently, these two men were the sponsors not of sculptures in the cave, but of ephemeral activities associated with the cave's consecration. Many contemporary Buddhist sculptures feature named special patrons who were responsible for supplying incense (*xiang zhu* 香主) or flowers (*hua zhu* 花主) for the consecration ceremony, or for the vegetarian maigre feast (*zhai zhu* 齋主) associated with the consecration.[56] In addition, other sponsors may have paid for the consecration itself (*kaiming zhu, guangming zhu* 光明主, though the latter may also refer to the provision of candles for ceremonial use), in particular the ceremony in which the eyes of the main Buddha figure (and possibly the other figures) were "opened," presumably by the painting-in of the pupils.[57]

The visual structure of the depictions of special patrons and officers of the *yi* within the Gaomiaoshan cave temple is strongly symmetrical, following the arrangement of the main Buddhist images, and weighted toward the rear wall, the most prestigious part of the cave (figure 4). Note that the monastic leader of the society, the *quanhuazhu* Tanzhi, is located at the head of a group of other monks at the top of the right (south) wall (figure 4, location 37). In other words, his position in the cave is governed more by his identity as a monk than by his identity as a leader of the *yi.* Tanzhi's position (at the head of a rank of monks, and accompanied by servants bearing a canopy and fans) is the most prestigious of the monks on the right wall, but it is superseded in prestige by the position of the monk Tanshou 曇壽, who occupies

[54] The badly eroded inscription attached to his name appears to read *Da wenhui zhu* 大文惠主 or something like "sponsor of wisdom," which is difficult to interpret concretely. The use of the character *wen* 文 may suggest it has something to do with the copying of sūtra texts.

[55] The key character in this inscription is a 6th-c. variant of the character *zhai* 齋, or maigre feast, and Situ Yuanhe is the "sponsor of the maigre feast," or *zhaizhu* 齋主.

[56] Examples include a stela dated 520 in the Rietberg Museum collection, cat. no. RCh 110, in which the two kneeling worshiper figures on the front face of the stela are labeled 齋主 and 開明主. See Gernet, *Buddhism*, pp. 259–77, for a discussion of *yi*-societies and the roles of specific members and patrons.

[57] See John Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 2003), pp. 59–63, for a discussion of this practice.

the equivalent position on the left (north) wall.[58] Both were monastic office-holders in the administrative structure of Buddhism established under the Northern Wei. Tanzhi, despite his position as *quanhua zhu*, was only a *xian*-level official (he was the *shamendu* 沙門都 or "Head of śramaṇas" of Yang'a *xian* 陽阿縣).

Tanshou, by comparison, was not only a *shamentong* 沙門統 or "Controller of śramaṇas," which is a higher position than *shamendu*, he also held a *zhou*-level appointment as the *shamentong* of Jianzhou.[59] In addition, he was the abbot of Huishan temple. Huishan is the next ridge beyond Gaomiaoshan, reached easily if one climbs over the summit of the hill in which the cave is located,[60] so presumably Tanshou was the abbot of the local temple. By contrast, Yang'a *xian* was not the local district but the neighboring district, so that whatever Tanzhi's connection with the Chen family, he was not in the strictest sense a local official. But in any event, his role as *quanhua zhu* of the *yi* did not confer on him enough status to overcome the difference in his official rank from that of Tanshou. That is, as far as his position in the visual hierarchy of the cave is concerned, his "local role" in the Buddhist society was in some way less important than his "public role" as a monastic official.[61]

It is less clear what role the other monks played in the *yi*. It was common enough at this time for monastics to be members of such an organization, but at Gaomiaoshan only a few of them bore titles indicating that they played a teaching or advisory role in the *yi*.[62] There is nothing in particular to indicate specifically what role the other monks played: presumably they constituted the regular membership of the *yi*, on a par with, if not exactly equivalent to, the lay patrons who did not have any particular title within the organization. There are 29 monks named in the Gaomiaoshan cave, of whom six held official rank, two at the *zhou* level and four at the *xian* level.[63]

The remarkable thing about the nonofficial monastic titles found in the cave is that they tend to identify a monk's particular area of expertise in Buddhist practice and the particular sūtras that were his special

[58] Because of the greater prestige of left over right, as discussed above. Tanshou is at location 18A.

[59] See n. 23, above, on the statuses of administrative units.

[60] A local resident I talked to pointed out the path leading over the hill to Huishan, but was unsure whether there was still a temple there. I was not able to investigate myself.

[61] Tanzhi is also outranked by Daoli 道力, who appears at location 19, immediately behind Tanshou and his attendants. Daoli was *shamendu* of Jianzhou, that is, he held the same position as Tanzhi, but at the *zhou* level rather than at the *xian* level.

[62] Most typically *yishi* 邑師, "preceptor of the *yi*."

[63] Titled monks appear at locations 18A, 19, 20, 21, 37, and 40.

area of study.[64] Thus, Tanzhi was not only the *shamendu* of Yang'a *xian* and the *quanhuazhu* of the *yi*, he was also a "lecturer on the Nirvāṇa and Lotus [sūtras] and *dharma*-master." A suprising number of monks had these types of title. Of 29 monks, 9 bear the title *biqiu* 比丘 (Skt. *bhikṣu*), meaning simply "monk." The rest are designated by special titles as "*vinaya*-master," "student of the Nirvāṇa [sūtra] and *dharma*-master," "*weina* of the *śrāmaṇeras*,"[65] and the like.

Some of these titles, particularly the last-mentioned, look like ranks that might have had some significance within the structure of a monastery. The use of this kind of title may be a way of ranking the monks relative to each other, though it does not help us discover whether or not they all came from the same monastery.[66] The authors of the survey report, Li and Zhang, see in the use of these titles an indication that the Buddhism of the North was less purely meditation-focused than conventional wisdom of the time would lead us to believe; indeed, for these writers, the primary significance of the Gaomiaoshan cave is as proof of the vitality of Buddhist hermeneutics in North China during the sixth century.[67] It does seem to have been important that the monks who were specialists in particular sūtras be noted as such: of the remaining 20 monks, 11 have such specialties stated; 7 more are designated simply by their specialty of practice, be it *dhyāna*-master, *dharma*-master, or *vinaya*-master; one appears to have been primarily a master of novices; and one has no such "monastic" title (though he is named as *shamendu* of Xuanshi *xian*).

Although we might assume that all the other patrons in the cave (aside from the monks and the "special patrons") were simply ordinary members of the *yi*, only some of them have the specific title *yizi* or "member of the *yi*." It is not clear whether this indicates a difference in status between those patrons who are designated as *yizi* and those who are not. It seems very unlikely that the *yizi* were somehow higher in status than other patrons in the cave, as they tend to be as-

[64] There are three such specializations, corresponding to the Three Treasures of Buddhism: *dhyāna*, meditation (*chan* 禪), corresponding to the Buddha; *dharma*, knowledge of the Law (*fa* 法), corresponding to the Dharma, or truth; and *vinaya*, the monastic rule (*lü* 律), corresponding to the Saṃgha, or community of monastics.

[65] A *śrāmaṇera* is a Buddhist novice, who has not yet undergone full monastic ordination.

[66] On the one hand, only one monastery (the Huishan monastery) is mentioned by name, which might suggest they were all affiliated with it. On the other hand, the monastic office-holders held office in both Yang'a and Xuanshi *xian*, suggesting that they might have been resident in more than one district.

[67] Li and Zhang, "Gaomiaoshan," pp. 67–8. The authors also point out that the cave provides important corroboration for the historical practice of the giving of honorary official titles, a point which will be discussed below.

sociated with single line-engraved figures rather than the presumably more high-status groups. Indeed, most of the patrons who have been designated as *yizi* have no official titles, and presumably held no government office.

Nearly all of these patrons are associated with the single line-engraved figures that appear to have been added to the cave late in its construction: with only one exception,[68] *yizi* appear only among the figures on the front wall, and among the female patrons at locations 64A–66G. These patrons appear to have been relative latecomers to membership in the original *yi*, and may have wanted their membership emphasized for that reason; or they may have been members of an *yi* that was constituted after the dissolution of the original society that commissioned the cave (presumably after the cave was largely complete). In the latter case, the title *yizi* may well have been meant to distinguish these individuals from the original patrons of the cave.

There is some evidence to suggest that in one case at least, the title *yizi* does mark a kind of collective identity within the larger context of the cave's patrons. As noted above, there is a group of twenty female patrons occupying the three rows at locations 64A–66G. This is by far the largest grouping of female patrons in the cave, and it contains almost the only female patrons who are present "in their own right," that is to say, not as part of a family grouping.[69] These twenty women are not designated as wives or daughters or mothers; their only identity in the cave is as *yizi*. As noted above, they are associated with the sort of generic line-engraved single worshiper figures that seem to have been added to the cave late in its sequence of construction. It seems possible, in fact, that these particular figures represent the members of a small group within the original *yi* – a sort of Ladies' Auxiliary – or even the

[68] Chen Xianda 陳顯達, who appears at location 32B. He also appears at location 60, but this time with a string of official titles.

[69] Of 62 female patrons, 23 are not indicated as someone's wife, daughter, or mother. Of these, 20 are in the above-mentioned group. Incidentally, it may be objected that Chinese personal names are often rather gender-ambiguous. My interpretation of these twenty names as all female is based on the fact that there are a high number of unambiguously feminine names in the group (names that include clearly female characters such as *jiang* 姜, *yao* 要, *ji* 姬, *fei* 妃, and of course *nü* 女, along with names like Chunxiang 春香, meaning "spring fragrance," and so on). A few names in the group are certainly ambiguous, like that of Zhou Guixiang 周歸鄉, meaning "return home." However, these twenty patrons, grouped together, are the only ones on the front or side walls without official titles, and the only ones to be given the title of *yizi*. They are clearly set apart as a group; thus it seems likely that the few gender-ambiguous patrons among this group (who do not appear to have any special status to set them apart from their fellows) are also women.

members of a separate, women's *yi* whose patronage activities were independent of those of the patrons of the cave at large.[70]

LINEAGE HIERARCHY AND OFFICIAL RANK

The visual structure of the *yi* and of its membership followed (at first) the visual structure of the cave and its principal sculptures, but was modified over time according to the needs of the growing body of patrons. That said, we know that many of the patrons of the Gaomiaoshan cave had at least one and often two other identities: as noted above, the majority of them were members of the Chen lineage by birth or by marriage; and a great many were also current or former holders of government office, mostly in the immediate local area. It is interesting to examine the intersection of status within the *yi* (as indicated by "special patron" titles and by relative position of figures within the cave) with other forms of social status, in this case the rank conferred by government office on the one hand, and status within the family on the other.[71]

Social status associated with official rank is relatively easy to quantify in this context. Government officials at the time were divided into nine numbered ranks (each with an associated pay grade) based on the third-century Nine Ranks (*jiupin zhongzheng* 九品中正) system, which to a greater or lesser extent was to govern the ranking of officeholders through at least the Song dynasty.[72] It is not necessarily possible to determine an officeholder's exact rank simply from his title, because most titles carried a range of grades depending, among other things, on the population of the administrative unit in question. However, a few general rules do apply: the chief administrator of a given administrative unit (the governor of a *jun*, for example) would clearly outrank his second-in-command (in this case, the vice-governor, followed by the recorder). Similarly, the holder of a given office (for example, recorder

[70] This is known elsewhere, in the Tang documents cited by Gernet, *Buddhism*, pp. 253–77, and in an all-female *yi* that dedicated a niche and stela on the wall of the Guyang cave at Longmen in 502. The inscription is Liu Jinglong 劉景龍, *Guyang dong: Longmen shiku di 1443 dong* 古陽洞, 龍門石窟弟1443洞 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2001), no. 2271.

[71] In the following section, I am deliberately collapsing the span of time (from about 535–60 at a minimum) between the construction and completion of the cave and its inscriptions, and considering the patrons of the cave as a single group. Because it is impossible to date individual inscriptions with any real precision, there is no reliable way to subdivide this period of activity; but the likelihood that the *yi*-society continued to exist in some form throughout this period provides a certain justification for considering the patrons of the cave as a whole.

[72] Miyazaki Ichisada 宮崎市定, *Kyūhin kanjinhō no kenkyū: kakyo zenshi* 九品管人法の研究, 科挙前史 (Kyōto: Kyōto daigaku tōyōshi kenkyūkai, 1956).

at the *zhou* level) would outrank the holder of the same office in an inferior administrative unit (in this case, recorder at the *jun* level).

Within the traditional Chinese family, the structure of relative status is based mostly on two factors: age and gender. Most kinship terms encode both types of information. Some relationships are further complicated by the question of whether the relation is through the mother or father (though this is in some cases reduced to the question of whether there is a shared surname or not, so that one's father's sister and her children are effectively equivalent in status to one's maternal relatives).[73] Again, the actual situation was certainly very complex, and changed over time; but in general we may say that older family members enjoyed higher status than younger ones, and males were higher in status than females. In addition, consanguineal relatives were generally higher in status than affinal relatives.[74]

It is worth noting that the above is a general assessment of the sources of status in the ideal–typical classical Chinese family. The strictly hierarchical relationships of the Chinese extended family were not necessarily characteristic of the Turkic-speaking, formerly nomadic peoples who made up the ruling classes of Northern Dynasties China.[75] There is nothing specific to indicate that the Chen family were necessarily descended from the Xianbei or other Turkic-speaking peoples, but the presence of worshiper images wearing Xianbei-type costume (as noted above) suggests that, at a minimum, the Chens were part of the multiethnic society that was characteristic of most of North China in the sixth century. Thus, it will be important in the following analysis

73 On the question of patrilineal versus collateral statuses in general, see Hou Xudong's article published in this special issue of *Asia Major*.

74 Note, for instance, that the lineage structure of *zhuan* 傳 biographies in the imperial histories lists a man's sons in birth order, omitting daughters, while mothers and wives are also omitted except where necessary to document a significant marriage alliance (see, for example, the biography of the statesman Qiumuling Liang 丘穆陵亮 (Mu Liang 穆亮), which is contained in a chapter framed as the biography of his ancestor Mu Chong 穆崇, but which actually recounts the lives of several generations of Chong's male descendants. *Wei shu* 27, p. 667). In particular, the Han-era filial piety tales that remained popular as subjects in fifth- and sixth-century art (as in the lacquer screen from the tomb of Sima Jinlong and the line-engraved stone coffins from the Luoyang region) attest to this general pattern as well. See Wu Hung, "Private Love and Public Duty: Images of Children in Early Chinese Art," in *Chinese Views of Childhood*, ed. Anne Behnke Kinney (Honolulu: U. Hawai'i P., 1995), pp. 79–110.

75 See, for example, Wolfram Eberhard, *Das Toba-Reich Nordchinas: Ein soziologische Untersuchung* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1949), pp. 276–79 (on the status of women), and pp. 298–302 (on clan alliances). See also Albert E. Dien, "A New Look at the Xianbei and Their Impact on Chinese Culture," in George Kuwayama, ed., *Ancient Mortuary Traditions of China* (Los Angeles and Honolulu: Los Angeles County Museum and U. Hawai'i P., 1991), pp. 40–59; and Jennifer Holmgren, "Women and Political Power in the Traditional T'o-pa Elite: A Preliminary Study of the Biographies of Empresses in the Wei-shu," *MS* 35 (1981–83), pp. 33–63.

to remember that the classical Chinese model of status within the family was not the only one available to contemporary families.

As it turns out, the question of official status leads us directly to that of family status. There are three basic types of official titles recorded in the Gaomiaoshan cave temple: current officials, former officials, and honorary officials. As mentioned already, of 119 male office-holders, 14 are indicated by honorary titles, 6 both honorary and former titles, and 2 by a current and an honorary title. Fifty-four are listed only with former titles. This leaves only 43 current office-holders (plus the two mentioned above, who also hold honorary titles, for a total of 45). In other words, only 38 percent of officeholders in the cave were currently in office at the time their names were inscribed in the cave. A total of 60, or just over 50 percent, had presumably retired from official life (as implied by the word "former" appended to their titles), or died in office. The remaining 14 (or about 12 percent of officeholders) held only honorary titles, implying that they had never seen active government service at all.

The significance of this distribution lies in historical records on the granting of honorary official titles during the Northern Dynasties. The surveyors, Li and Zhang, go into some detail on this subject.[76] They note that the bestowal of honorary official titles has long been known from the historical records, but until their survey of the Gaomiaoshan cave, it has been poorly attested in the archaeological record. Apparently the practice of giving honorary official titles to commoners began with the Northern Wei emperor Xiaowen 孝文帝 (Gaozu 高祖, r. 471–499). On several occasions in the late-490s, he reportedly bestowed official titles in descending rank to all the commoners in a given area who were above a certain age.[77] The practice was evidently continued by other emperors through the end of the dynasty and well into the late-sixth century. Honorary official rank may have carried with it a stipend of some sort and certainly some degree of officially sanctioned honor, but the holders of honorary official titles had no official responsibilities or direct political power. However, since the main criterion for the bestowal of honorary rank was advanced age, we know that the

[76] Li and Zhang, "Gaomiaoshan," pp. 68–69.

[77] For example, see *Wei shu* 7B, p. 177. It is interesting to note that the practice of bestowing honorary titles on commoners who enjoyed unusual longevity first appears during the last decade of the fifth century. It is easy to imagine that the first such decrees were part of Gaozu's overall program of Sinicization. Giving honor to the aged is a practice connected with filial piety in the indigenous Chinese tradition, and Gaozu may have chosen to institutionalize it in this way as part of his attempt to bring his government more in line with his understanding of Chinese culture.

holders of honorary official titles in the Gaomiaoshan cave were men whose longevity was noteworthy.

The same may be true of the former officials in the cave. It is not clear what constituted "retirement age" for a sixth-century government official, but presumably to outlive one's official career must have counted as longevity of a sort at the time. In any event, it is probably safe to assume that former officials at Gaomiaoshan were on the whole older than current officials. If they were indeed dead by the time their names were inscribed on the walls of the cave (the other implication of "former" official), still, in the context of ancestral worship, death does not neutralize the senior status that comes with age, nor does it alter the hierarchical relationships between family members.

Knowing this, it becomes immediately evident that the first group of patrons associated with the more prestigious locations on the rear and side walls (including all the "special patrons" and the various relief-carved groups) are, collectively, *older* than those who were added later on the front wall. The distribution of actual, former, and honorary officials in the cave itself is striking. Leaving aside the monastic officials, only seven of the patrons on the rear and side walls of the cave are current officeholders.[78] The remaining forty-five officials are either former or honorary officeholders, and sometimes both.[79] The ratio of current to former/honorary officials on the front wall is much higher: there are twenty-nine current and thirty-one former or honorary officials on the front wall.[80] In other words, there are *over six times* as many former and honorary officials as current officials on the rear and side walls of the cave, while the proportion of the two groups on the front wall is nearly equal.

Given that Gaomiaoshan was in large part a family cave, and that one of the principal sources of status within the Chinese family was relative age, it cannot be insignificant that the large majority of patrons who occupy the prestigious positions on the rear and side walls of the cave are generally older than those who are relegated to the front wall. It follows that within the Gaomiaoshan cave, and perhaps also within the Chen family *yi* that sponsored its construction, relative age was probably a greater determinant of status than official rank.

78 They appear at locations 12D, 14A, 16, 30, 67B, 68B, and 68D.

79 This includes two patrons who hold both current and honorary titles, at locations 2 and 4. For the purposes of determining age, the honorary appointments are probably more significant than the current ones in these two cases.

80 There is also a current official who is the sponsor of the niche outside the door of the cave, niche 2a, but who may be set aside for the purposes of this analysis.

This holds true even when we consider that the worshiper figures on the front wall were probably added later than those on the other three walls. If the figures on the front wall were not part of the original *yi*, it is if anything more strikingly true that honorary and former officials vastly outnumbered current officials among the cave's early patrons in general, and among its leading patrons in particular.

Indeed, while most of the officials on all four walls of the cave held one or more of a handful of local administrative ranks,[81] there are a few current military officials on the front wall who may well have outranked those who occupy more prestigious physical positions on the rear and side walls. At location 76C, on the left side of the front wall, Chen Huo'an 陳霍安 bears the title of "commander of the Taihang Army" (*Taihang jun zhu* 太行軍主). "Commander" was the title of the chief officer in control of a field army during this period.[82] Further down on the same side of the wall, at 79E, Chen Zhen 陳珍 is the "adjunct commandant to the general for subduing the waves" (*fubo jiangjun biejiang* 伏波將軍別將). This rather baroque title appears to indicate the second-in-command of a ranking general.[83] Finally, at 79J, Chen Ji 陳季 is the "senior aide to the commander-in-chief" (*dudu zhangshi* 都督長史). Here the title indicates the executive administrator under the military commander of a group of neighboring *zhou*.[84] As latecomers to the patronage of the cave, they appear in this context clearly subordinate to men whom they would have outranked in the world of government service.

Thus we see that in this family-dominated *yi*-society, the initial group of patrons, those who sponsored the construction of the cave and donated funds for specific major images, was made up of senior members of the family regardless of current official rank. Few of the "special patrons" or those who are depicted in the most high-status positions had achieved high official rank, and most of them were clearly past the prime of their careers. Although some of the patrons who came later to the project were themselves of relatively high official rank, they were relegated to more or less peripheral positions on the front wall of the cave.

[81] The most common are district magistrate (*xianling* 縣令), commandery governor (*taishou* 太守), rectifier (*zhongzheng* 中正) at either the *jun* or the *zhou* level, and recorder (*zhubo* 主簿) at either the *jun* or the *zhou* level.

[82] Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1985), p. 201; Yu Lunian 俞鹿年, *Zhongguo guanzhi dacidian* 中國官制大辭典 (Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 1998), p. 1007.

[83] Yu, *Guanzhi dacidian*, pp. 965 and 976.

[84] Hucker, *Official Titles*, pp. 544 and 112; Yu, *Guanzhi dacidian*, pp. 1001 and 171.

INDIVIDUAL RELATIONSHIPS

Within the overarching and general structure of the *yi* as a Chen family organization, there is a certain amount of evidence for specific familial relationships. That is, some of the patrons seem to have found it important to record not only their own identities as patrons of the cave and members of the *yi*, but also to note their relationships to each other. The evidence is neither consistent in form nor available for all patrons, but it is nonetheless of interest, particularly as the patrons associated with the later line-engraved figures on the front wall seem to have been added in piecemeal fashion in smallish family groups, rather than coherently as part of an overarching *yi* hierarchy.

First, however, it is possible to identify several "nuclear" family groups, that is, groups centered on a given male donor and his wife. Many of the inscriptions that accompany these groups include the name of the donor's wife and sometimes their children, though they are not depicted in the figural group. In the most elaborate example of this type, the group at location 28 enumerates the entire family of the *weina* Chen Xianming: "The great *weina* and *yi*-leader Chen Xianming, [his] wife Zhang Zhentan, [their] sons [Chen] Qingde and [Chen] Qingyun; [his] wife Liang Shiguang, [their] son [Chen] Qingshu and [their] daughter [Chen] Afei." In this case the inscription is ordered in such a way that the children of each of Chen Xianming's wives follow their mother in the family hierarchy, as adjuncts to their father's patronage.

Family groups of patrons appear quite differently on the front wall of the cave. A husband and wife may appear next to each other horizontally in a row of figures, or one above the other in a column. For example, the inscription at 79I reads "The honorary governor of Zhao commandery, Chen Yanhe," while just below it at 80I the inscription reads "[and his] wife, the *yizi* Dong Fei." These particular inscriptions are not only arranged in a logical sequence, they are contiguous, so that they effectively form a single inscription running from the figure above to that below, and not contained by the gridlines that box in each figure. The largest such group contains three generations: at 73D–I, the inscriptions in sequence read: "The former Magistrate of Duanshi [district], Wei Lingzong;" "[his] wife, He <..>Fei;" "[their] son, Wei Jinghe;" "[their] son, Wei Shihe;" "[their] son, Wei Guihe;" "[their] grandson, Wei Anxing."

Such groupings of single worshipers into family groups on the front wall lends credence to the idea that it was completed last; in setting themselves apart as a family group, these patrons (whether or not

they belong to the Chen family) are on some level setting themselves apart within the *yi* as a whole. It seems unlikely that this should have happened in the first years of the organization's existence, while the cave was still largely under construction. Rather, these groups seem to have been added by twos and threes, into available empty spaces. The grouping of figures on the front wall works along with the fact that not all the figures on the front wall are inscribed, to suggest that these figures were laid out *en masse* in a large grid at the end of construction, and then inscribed over the next several years in a piecemeal fashion.

The Wei family group gives us an insight into a practice that became quite common in later centuries, but which was relatively unsystematic in the period during which the cave was made: the use of particular characters as generational markers or *zibei* 字輩 in a large extended family. The three sons of Wei Lingzong are named Wei Jinghe 衛敬和, Wei Shihe 衛始和, and Wei Guihe 衛貴和. All three share *he* 和, "harmony," as the second character of their personal names. This is a deliberate choice, made by whoever named these three brothers, to indicate their relationship to each other. The choice of a character to be shared among the same-gender siblings of a particular family is the simplest form of this practice, and was practiced as early as the Han dynasty, and possibly even earlier.[85]

There are several locations in the cave where patrons who share what appears to be a generational character in their names are juxtaposed, and this suggests that they may have been brothers, even though the relationship is not made explicit by the use of kinship terms in the inscriptions.[86] One group of Chens have personal names beginning with the character *xian* 顯, "eminent." There are eight occurrences of such names, but three are duplicates, suggesting that only five individuals are involved. Two of these might be coincidental, but the three that appear twice each are unusual in so many ways that it seems very likely that they were brothers, or at the very least, cousins in the same generation. The following table summarizes their apparent relationships:

85 Xu Jianhua 徐建華, *Zhongguo de jiapu* 中國的家譜 (Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 2002), p. 41.

86 A few examples include, at locations 3 and 4, Chen Wenjing 陳文敬 and Chen Wenhao 陳文好; at locations 9 and 10, Chen Yuanbao 陳元保 and Chen Yuanshi 陳元士; at 12A and 12B, Chen Zujing 陳祖敬 and Chen Zuxian 陳祖顯; and numerous others, particularly on the front wall.

Table 3: Chens Sharing the Personal Name "Xian" in the Gaomiaoshan Cave

LOCATION	PATRON'S NAME	NOTES
28	Chen Xianming 陳顯明	Named as *weina* of the cave and leader of the *yi*, he appears below the Vimalakīrti niche
35	Chen Xianming 陳顯明	A second appearance just above the right-hand bodhisattva. Here he is also identified as *weina* of the cave.
15	Chen Xianguang 陳顯光	This location is parallel to Chen Xianming's at location 35, but on the opposite wall, just above the left-hand bodhisattva. This patron has no official titles, but only the title *youposai* 優婆塞 (a Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit *upāsaka*), meaning a lay disciple of Buddhism.
56	Chen Xianguang 陳顯光	This location is not physically parallel to any other, but here the same name appears a second time with no official titles, only the title *jushi* 居士, which is not a transliteration but rather a translation of the same Sanskrit title, *upāsaka*.
32B	Chen Xianda 陳顯達	He appears at the bottom center of the left (north) wall with only the title *yizi*.
60	Chen Xianda 陳顯達	Here the same name appears at the parallel location on the opposite wall, at bottom center, but now with a string of official titles.
78I	Chen Xianye 陳顯業	Appears alone, with a current official title.
81D	Chen Xianhan 陳顯漢	His *father* is the patron at 81C, Chen Qingda 陳慶達; since Chen Xianming's *sons* all share the *zibei* character *qing* 慶 in their names, this is either evidence that the two are not related, or evidence that "family characters" might be reused across generations.

The last two patrons, Chen Xianye and Chen Xianhan, have little beyond their names to suggest that they might be related to the first three. However, the first three, appearing as they do in various reduplicated forms and parallel locations, seem to share a kind of ubiquity that suggests a connection. Indeed, the meanings of the names Xianming and Xianguang are nearly identical, since *ming* 明 and *guang* 光 both essentially mean "light." The three paint a picture of considerable devotion, given that only Chen Xianda has any sort of secular official title, and then only in one of his inscriptions; in the other he is simply an *yizi*, "member of the *yi*." His brothers are known by their various religious titles alone.

Since Chen Xianming held the title of *weina* of the *yi*, one wonders whether he brought his brothers into the project early on, which might account for their multiple appearances. Given that only six patrons appear twice,[87] it is striking that three of them appear to be so closely related. Indeed, it is tempting to speculate that at the heart of this family *yi*-society, there were the three brothers Xianming, Xianguang, and Xianda, possibly serving as the motive force behind the cave's construction and even the organization of the *yi* itself.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE COMMUNITY

In sum, the Gaomiaoshan cave is a physical representation of the relationships between a number of people who all held membership in one or more of a number of groups over a period of several decades. Most, we assume, belonged to some version of the *yi*-society with its officers and "special patrons" and its ranks of *yizi*. Many also belonged to the Chen lineage, an overarching family hierarchy within which we can make out the individual relationships of the nuclear family. And two-thirds of the men took their place in the world of government officials, with its graded scale of ranks tied to salaries paid in grain.

Yet even within these shifting webs of collective patronage, some patrons appear to have found a space for private devotion. Several patrons have inscriptions that contain not only the usual information on their names and official titles, but also include a dedication (*yuanwen* 願文) of the sort more commonly found on individually sponsored works, in which the donor explicitly expresses his or her aims in donating the work in question, often as part of a devotional vow (*yuan* 願) taken earlier. Eight inscriptions within the cave include such wishes,[88] while ten others consist simply of the patron's name followed by the word *gongyang* 供養,[89] which means "to give reverence and make offerings."

All of these dedications are fairly standard in both form and content: that is, they fall well within the usual range of dedications found on sixth-century Buddhist sculptures, and indeed are less poetical and long-winded than many. The vows they express are simple: the patrons at locations 11–12 and 14A hope to "reverence the Buddhas of the ten directions." The inscriptions at 16, 34 and 35 are variations on this

[87] Besides the three mentioned already, there are also Chen Ji 陳季, at 79J and 82E; Huo Renji 霍人姬, at 82F and 83C; and Wang Nüsheng 王女勝, at 76H and 81E.

[88] If we count the inscription at location X, appended to niche 2a on the cliff face outside the cave, there are nine such dedications; but since the niche is in some sense an individual donation, it does not properly belong to this category.

[89] Almost all of the ten are members of the group of female *yizi* at 64A–66G.

same theme. The *upāsaka* Chen Xianguang, at location 15, hopes that "all the sentient beings of the many *dharma*-worlds may come directly into the Buddha's presence and hear the *dharma*, and that Maitreya may be born into the world."

The remaining two, interestingly enough, are the sponsors of the Vimalakīrti and Mañjuśrī niches, Chen Lanhe (at location 17) and Chen Yimin (in the parallel position on the opposite wall, at location 36). These two patrons are the only ones to make a dedication to a specific deceased family member, a practice which is quite common in other contexts, such as individual niches.[90] Chen Lanhe dedicates the Vimalakīrti niche to his deceased parents and his two deceased uncles, while Chen Yimin dedicates the Mañjuśrī niche to his deceased grandparents and to his own parents (it is unclear whether they are living or dead) "that they may be reborn in a miraculous country." These two inscriptions are alike in other respects as well, including word order and the distinctive use of the verb *sui* 遂, "consequently," to connect their intentions and their actions. Such parallelism of language is yet another tie linking these two patrons into the physical network of group patronage that is the Gaomiaoshan cave: and yet, within the context of such collective action, they have managed to establish their own personal memorials in honor of particular family members. Thus also, the patrons of the Gaomiaoshan cave, members of a collective, are nonetheless memorialized as individuals through its inscriptions and worshiper figures; each occupies a particular place in a community of relatives and colleagues and neighbors, perhaps much as they did in life.

[90] The inscription beneath niche 2a on the cliff-face outside dedicates the niche to the donor's deceased younger sister and younger brother, in the hopes that they might "both come into the presence of the many Buddhas."

List of Inscriptions from the Gaomiaoshan Cave, Numbered by Their Locations

LOCATION	INSCRIPTION
1	前穎州太守陳可
2	中書博士假何南太守陳□都
3	前上黨太守陳□仁息陳文敬
4	恭縣令假上黨太守陳文好
5	假建興太守陳楚之
6	前郡中正上黨太守陳清奴
7	前平□中正司州都郡功曹陳道
8	前察孝玄氏令陳晚
9	前司州戶曹□建郡中正功曹太原太守陳元保
10	前上黨太守陳元士
11-12	假高都太原太守陳方聞明供養十方佛
12A	前上黨太守陳祖敬
12B	前郡孝陳祖顯
12C	前郡□□□□顯
12D	大文惠主前郡中正太學□正原辟耶□□齋主都功曹司徒元和
12E	太稍菩薩主前太學中正州主薄陳迴宗
12F	迦葉主前郡中正州主薄陳延賓
13-14	當陽大像主前郡中正廣宗太守陳忠御妻陳世姜
14A	郡中正陳敬並妻供養十方諸佛
15	願共法界眾生值佛聞法彌勒下生願在衫首優婆塞陳顯光
16	司馬陳及祖願供養十方諸佛菩薩及眾賢盡未來者
17	前郡功曹陳蘭和爲亡父母二亡叔遂維磨大士主
18A	建州沙門統講涅盤法華勝鬘太義法師禪師迴山寺主曇壽
18B	律師法蘭
18C	涅盤法師曇承
19	建州沙門都大義法師道力
20	玄氏縣沙門都律師法文
21	玄氏縣沙門都法華法師法進
22	禪師曇達　比丘法濟
23	誦法華法師普業禪師曇超
24	學涅盤法師曇神　禪師智廣
25	禪師曇熊沙彌□維那
26	前二代州主薄萇平太守建州都孟主陳□買
27	假萇社衛國玄氏三縣令督護許昌太守陳道淵
28	大維那相邑令陳顯明　妻張真檀息慶德慶雲　妻梁世光息慶叔女阿妃
29	前郡中正州都長子屯留二縣令上黨太守陳保周
30	萇平都承玄氏縣令後上黨太守陳□秀妻薩□
31	前儀陽縣令舉秀才太學博士陳進
32A	前萇平郡功曹陳□顯妻王愛妃
32B	邑子陳顯達息□□
33	前郡功曹州主薄陳尊御　妻李尚妹　妻王阿□
34	前郡主薄督護玄氏令原僧景願共法界眾生供養十方諸佛菩薩及眾賢聖
35	石室大維那陳顯明供養　合家供養佛時
36	前州主薄陳以敏爲亡祖父母所生父母遂文殊像主願生妙洛
37	勸化主陽阿縣沙門都講涅盤法華法師曇智　義學涅盤誦法華勝鬘法師曇因

LOCATION	INSCRIPTION
38	涅盤大義法師曇記
39	涅盤維磨法師曇稚
40	玄氏縣沙門都曇建
41	比丘曇品
42	比丘曇逞
43	比丘曇念
44	義學涅盤法師曇顏
45	禪師曇瑤
46	比丘曇侑
47	比丘曇歸
48	比丘曇楞
48A	比丘曇□
48B	比丘曇貴
50	前郡功曹假洛陽林漳二縣令陳慶宗
51	假廣陽令玄氏令汝南太守陳枇弓妻司徒好
52	前郡中正假山陽玄氏二縣令建郡太守陳僧隆
53	假陽阿令郡中正建州別駕高都太守許永安　妻張□
54	假二代萇子二縣令西征別將上黨太守陳侯叔
55	前昌洛令假南陽太守陳道慶
56	居士陳顯光供養
57	前郡中正征虜將軍建州□中陳景尙妻□□□息明□息□□
58	前郡中正州都旨板安平太守陳令尙妻閻郎軍
59	前太原太守野王令陳令秀妻崔曇姬
60	前玄淦中正郡孝征胡別將定陽太守陳顯達
61	前何南上黨二郡太守陳度生妻魏征姜
62	前高城玄氏二縣令陳買妻王銀

LOCATION	INSCRIPTION
63A	前郡中正楞香郡太守陳僧□
63B	前陽阿令政魏郡太守陳汾周
63C	旨板上黨太守陳家□
63D	前建郡孝陳天舉
64A	邑子許男香
64B	邑子李輝男供養
64C	邑子浩女仁供養時
64D	邑子周歸鄉
64E	邑子浩妙羅供養時
65A	邑子焦娥供養
65B	邑子焦惠勝
65C	邑子梁磨生供養
65D	邑子周秀姜供養
65E	邑子李買輝供養
65F	邑子楊阿金供養
65G	龍直姜
65H	邑子董春香
66A	邑子杜芳姬供養
66B	邑子陳銀玉供養
66C	邑子李寶光
66D	邑子陳雙玉
66E	邑子陳法光供養
66F	邑子司徒金□
66G	邑子馮要趙
67A	阿難主假上黨太守陳慶隆
67B	菩薩主建郡中正陽平太守陳寶□□妻張□妃
68A	和妻張□仁
68B	行台郎中陳□恭
68C	秀妻張
68D	清陵郡功曹□□□

LOCATION	INSCRIPTION
68E	前州主薄陳□□
69F	前司州牧王中正陳楻士
69G	前河內太守陳轉進
69H	天寧太守陳榮興
70A	前南須太守陳歡
70B	穎州太守陳蓋宗
70C	宗妻和龍花
70D	息州主薄陳文紹
70E	弟邑子陳清奴
70F	妻浩要姜
70G	弟州主薄陳道建
70H	前司州中正高都武安二縣縣令陳釋善
70I	前玄氏縣陳僧
71B	□□從事許顯進
71C	邑子許蘭房
71D	長孫□□許蘭景
71E	前郡功曹陳靈和
71F	前上黨太守陳世奴
71G	邑子違續
71H	妻元法陵
71I	息萇平太守陳紀宗
72B	□□首許顯祥
72C	□□許景祥
72D	邑子許□
72E	邑子許尙
72F	邑子許思業
72G	邑子許思和
72H	息州主薄陳子開
72I	妻王□女息□建明
73A	□□太守陳元秀
73B	前州主薄陳愔
73D	前端氏縣令衛領宗
73E	妻何□妃
73F	息衛敬和
73G	息衛始和
73H	息衛貴和
73I	孫息衛安興
74B	父建興郡功曹陳紹
74C	母王定光
74D	前州秀陳洪景
74E	妻李暈姜
74F	假河陰玄氏二縣令陳道隆
74G	息高都郡太守陳敬顯
75B	邑子馬姬
75C	邑子林尉如
75D	邑子李白椀
75F	妻張維妾
75G	妻郭清女
76A	旨假相□玄氏二縣良□中正清河太守陳引
76B	前州主薄陳胡奴
76C	太行軍主陳霍安
76D	安女端□供養
76E	平元太守陳法司
76F	邑子陳道祥
76G	邑子馮祥
76H	邑子王女勝
76I	女景妃
76J	女世妃
77A	上黨太守妻杜迎男
77B	弟前郡功曹陳相國

LOCATION	INSCRIPTION
77C	息郡中正陳子王
77D	邑子浩道安
77E	平東□□陳曇憘
77F	邑子陳榮顯
77G	邑子陳伏憘
77H	前郡中正假陳留太守陳道智
77I	前郡中正假上黨太守陳士隆
77J	假廣州太守陳還周
78C	前高都郡中正許征胡
78D	前建郡中正玄氏令陳輔
78E	邑子前舉秀□陳光
78G	前郡功曹州主薄陳龍威
78H	息郡中正陳敬尙
78I	前郡中正陳顯業
79C	奉朝請陳伯和
79D	前郡功曹陳季慶
79E	伏波將軍別將陳珍
79F	前郡中正陳顯珍
79G	弟郡中正州秀陳黑威
79H	前州主薄別駕陳慕
79I	假趙郡太守陳延和
79J	都督長史陳季
80C	妻李愛姬
80D	息陳孟歡
80E	弟陳□祥
80F	弟陳□歡
80G	東平太守陳思遵
80H	邑子李滿姬
80I	妻邑子董妃
80J	邑子陳醜
81B	主妻張買女

LOCATION	INSCRIPTION
81C	息太元太守陳慶達
81D	達息陳顯漢
81E	邑子王女勝
81F	前州都陳洪樹
81G	郡中正陳敬和
81H	邑子陳高良
81I	息邑子陳□□
81J	息陳□保
82A	前郡中正陳道興
82B	高都令陳暢
82C	妻杜酒香
82D	息汲郡太守陳景祥
82E	弟陳季
82F	叔妻霍人姬
82G	前洛郡太守陳社仁
82H	仁妻鮑阿元
82I	息並州陳永興
82J	興妻孫阿姜
83A	弟陳興成
83B	前州主薄陳小成
83C	假玄氏令陳大□叔妻霍人姬
83D	邑子陳小□
83E	假長子令西□太守杜蓋宗
84A	龍威息陳洪則
84B	息太學中正陳洪□
X	... 學中正州主薄陳迴□□培 □□ ... 爲 亡姊亡弟敬尙造像 一區願皆遇諸佛