

ELSLEY ZEITLYN LECTURE
ON CHINESE ARCHAEOLOGY AND CULTURE

Carving Sutras into Stone before the Catastrophe: The Inscription of 1118 at Cloud Dwelling Monastery near Beijing

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Dates

- 1093, 1st month, 1st day (hereafter 1093.1.1; all dates given in this form)¹
Great Master Tongli arrives at Cloud Dwelling Monastery, sets up an ordination terrace
- 1093.10.29 Tongli erects a tomb pagoda for Jingwan; Shanyong writes the inscription on the tomb stone
- 1093.10 Tongli's first colophon names twelve collators
- 1094.4.12 colophon to *Dazhidu lun*, scroll 43
- 1094.4.13 colophon to *Dazhidu lun*, scroll 45
- 1095.4.9 last colophon on Tongli's stones
- 1098 Great Master Tongli dies
- 1101 Emperor Tianzuo succeeds Emperor Daozong
- 1107 Tongli's disciple Shanfu continues the stone carvings
- 1115 The Ruzhen invade Liao territory from the east and proclaim the Jin dynasty
- 1117.4.15 Foundation stone for Śākyamuni Pagoda; Shanding and Shanrui bury the sutra stones
- 1118.5.17 Pillar inscription about Tongli's sutra stone production
- 1125 collapse of the Liao dynasty.

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¹ In dates given in this form the year is that of the Western calendar, while month and day are those of the Chinese calendar.

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Actors

Daozong 道宗, Emperor (r. 1055–1100), composes the last scripture in the Qidan canon in 1068; provides funds for carving forty-seven bundles; bestows the purple robe on Great Master Tongli and makes him Lord of Confessions in the Palace

Jingwan 靜琬 (died 639), founder of Cloud Dwelling Monastery and the great sutra carving project

Shandeng 善燈, disciple of Tongli, signs the inscription on the foundation stone of the Śākyamuni Pagoda in 1117 as Commentator of Treatises and Abbot

Shanding 善定, trusted and most prominent disciple of Tongli, one of the twelve collators; receives funds from Tongli for the collating of texts and carving of stones; procures funds for erecting the Śākyamuni Pagoda and signs the inscription on its foundation stone of 1117 as Superintendent

Shanfu 善伏, disciple of Tongli, Lord of Sutra Production and Commentator of Rules when carving resumes in 1107

Shanhui 善慧, disciple of Tongli, a Most Virtuous; supervises the collation of texts in 1093

Shanrui 善銳, disciple of Tongli, Commentator of Sutras; concerned that sutra stones have been damaged, he deliberates with Shanding how to raise funds for erecting the Śākyamuni Pagoda and for burying the stones; signs the inscription of 1117

Shanxiang 善相, disciple of Tongli, Senior Monk and Commentator of Sutras, signs the inscription of 1118

Shanyong 善雍, disciple of Tongli, one of the twelve collators, Commentator of Sutras and Treatises; writes the inscription for Jingwan's tomb pagoda and a colophon to scroll 41 of the *Dazhidu lun*

Tianzuo 天祚, the last Liao Emperor (r. 1101–25), loses the empire to the invading Ruzhen

Tongli 通理 (1049–98), Great Master, a towering figure in his period; erects an ordination terrace at Cloud Dwelling Monastery in 1093 and begins mass production of sutra stones

Weihe 惟和, monk from Yantai, writes the calligraphy for the pillar inscription of 1118

Zhikai 志才, monk from Mount Suoti, composes the inscription of 1118

Zhide 志德, monk, carves the inscription of 1118

Zhike 志珂, Head Monk, signs the inscriptions of 1117 and 1118

Zhimin 志慇, Abbot and Commentator of Treatises, signs the inscription of 1118

Zhixing 志興, Chief Administrator and Commentator of Sutras, signs the inscription of 1118

Introduction

IN 1118, TOWARDS THE END of the Liao dynasty (907–1125), Buddhist monks at Cloud Dwelling Monastery (Yunjusi 雲居寺), about seventy kilometres south-west of Beijing, erected the pillar shown in Figure 1.



Figure 1. Cloud Dwelling Monastery, pillar of 1118, seen from the south.

Engraved on its eight-sided shaft is a lengthy inscription. Figure 2 illustrates rubbings taken from this inscription. It relates how between 1093 and 1095 Buddhist monks engraved scriptures on 4,080 stone slabs, and how they buried the slabs under the earth in 1117 to safeguard them from destruction. Almost half of the inscription on the pillar is made up by a title list of the buried scriptures. This inscription is the topic of the present paper. A translation is appended at the end.

By way of an introduction, the history of the great carving project will first briefly be reviewed. At the beginning of the seventh century AD a certain monk Jingwan 靜琬 in present-day Beijing made a vow to carve the Buddhist scriptures into stone. He founded Cloud Dwelling Monastery in present-day Fangshan 房山 district, and beneath the ridge of a nearby mountain, later known as Stone Sutra Mountain (Shijingshan 石經山), he began to bore caves into the rock under overhanging cliffs (Fig. 3). The caverns are secured with heavy stone doors, but these doors do not open. They do not have any locks. Looking through the door grid into the dark chambers with a flashlight, one can see that they are filled to the brim with stone slabs. Engraved on them are the holy scriptures.

Only one of the nine caves is accessible, the so-called Thunder Sound Cave (Leiyindong 雷音洞).² In this cave the slabs are set in rows into the walls. Engraved on them are nineteen distinct texts.³ The cave was consecrated by depositing relics of the Buddha under the floor in its centre. The relic casket has an inscription dated 616. It is the earliest epigraphic evidence at the site.

When monk Jingwan died in 639, he had filled two more caves. One contained eighty-one stones of the *Da bo niepan jing* 大般涅槃經

² For Thunder Sound Cave and its relics see Luo Zhao 羅焯, 'Leiyindong sheli yu "Fangshan shijing"' 雷音洞舍利與房山石經 (The relics in Thunder Sound Cave and the 'Stone Sutras at Fangshan'), *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 (1987, no. 4), 139–41. Reprinted in Lü Tiegang 呂鐵鋼 (ed.), *Fangshan shijing yanjiu* 房山石經研究 (Research [articles] on the stone sutras at Fangshan), 3 vols. (Hong Kong, 1999), 3:331–5. Luo Zhao 羅焯, 'Fangshan shijing zhi yuan yu Jingwan de chuancheng' 房山石經之源與靜琬的傳承 (The source of the stone sutras at Fangshan and Jingwan's legacy), *Wenwu* 文物 (2003, no. 3): 86–92. See also Lothar Ledderose, 'Thunder Sound Cave. Leiyindong 雷音洞', in Wu Hong 巫鴻 (ed.), *Han Tang zhijian de shijue wenhua yu wuzhi wenhua* 漢唐之間的視覺文化與物質文化. *Between Han and Tang: Visual and Material Culture in a Transformative Period*. (Beijing, 2003), pp. 235–65.

³ Nineteen texts are identified by Kiriya Seiichi 桐谷征一, 'Bōzan Raiondō sekkyō kō 房山雷音洞石經考' (Investigation of the stone sutras in Thunder Sound Cave at Fangshan), in *Nomura Yōshō hakushi koki kinen ronshū 'Bukkyōshi bukkyōgaku ronshū.'* 野村耀弘博士古稀記念論集『佛教史佛教學論集』 (Tokyo, 1987). Translation as Tonggu Zhengyi 桐谷征一, 'Fangshan Leiyindong shijingkao 房山雷音洞石經考'. (Xuefan 學凡 tr.), in Lü (ed.), *Fangshan*, 2, 81–136.



(2nd)

(1st)

Figure 2. Rubbings of the inscription on pillar of 1118.



(4th)

(3rd)

Figure 2. Continued.



(6th)

(5th)

Figure 2. Continued.



(8th)

(7th)

Figure 2. Continued.



Figure 3. Caves 3 and 4 under the cliff of Stone Sutra Mountain, second quarter seventh century.

(Great Nirvāna Sutra)⁴ which he finished in 625, and another 170 stones of the *Da huayan jing* 華嚴經 (Great Flower Garland Sutra)⁵ which he finished in 634. The two sutras were the first of eleven hundred scriptures which the monks carved into stone in the following centuries.⁶ When their project came to an end around 1180 they had produced nearly 15,000 stone slabs with a total of approximately thirty million characters.

Why this enormous effort? The monks had very clear and compelling reasons. They believed that the end of the world was approaching. They saw a catastrophe looming, which would destroy the world and the Buddhist teachings, as well. Fears of the apocalypse also dictated Jingwan's choice of the site. When the end came, the caves promised to withstand the unleashing of the elements, as much as could reasonably be hoped for. Hurricanes would hardly hurt them, nor were similar caves known to have suffered in earthquakes. The firestorms that were going to scorch the surface of the earth could not do harm to the stones hidden beneath overhanging cliffs. These would also protect the sutras from the showers of meteors that would burn the rest. The floods could not reach the caves either. They lie high up on the mountain, 392 metres above sea level. Yet even if the deluge brought waters forty miles (li 里) deep over the flat lands, as one sixth-century source predicted, there was hope that the sutras would still be intact after the waves dispersed.⁷

Buddhism thus teaches its own destruction. The end is near when the holy scriptures begin to disappear. Yet the monks at Cloud Dwelling Monastery hoped their stone sutras would survive the apocalypse. After the days of doom, they would emerge from the earth, having been preserved as in a time capsule. Thus, people of the future would learn about the teachings of the Buddha, and the Buddhist Law would survive.

In four inscriptions monk Jingwan talks about the Decline of the Law (mofa 末法) as his motive of carving sutras into stone.⁸ Jingwan was con-

⁴ A corpus of rubbings of all texts engraved at Cloud Dwelling Monastery has recently been published: Zhongguo fojiao xiehui 中國佛教協會 and Zhongguo fojiao tushu wenwuguan 中國佛教圖書文物館 (eds.), *Fangshan shijing* 房山石經. 30 vols. (Beijing, 2000). Hereafter abbreviated as *FSSJ*. Rubbings of the *Nirvāna Sutra* in *FSSJ*, 1, 149–229.

⁵ Rubbings in *FSSJ*, 1, 230–563.

⁶ 1084 scriptures had been carved up to c.1180. In the Ming dynasty another sixteen texts were added. *FSSJ*, 30, 484, 490.

⁷ *Shouluo biqiu jing* 首羅比丘經 (The Sutra of Monk Shouluo), *T* 2873, 85:1352.2.20, quoted in Erik Zürcher, '“Prince Moonlight”: Messianism and Eschatology in Early Mediaeval Chinese Buddhism', *T'oung Pao*, 68, nos. 1–3 (1982), 1–75, here 38 and 53.

⁸ For Jingwan's five inscriptions see Lothar Ledderose, 'Changing the Audience: A Pivotal Period in the Great Sutra Carving Project at Cloud Dwelling Monastery near Beijing', in John

vinced that the period of the decline had begun in 553. His passionate statements are the earliest narrative inscriptions at the monastery. Many more were to follow. The narrative inscription on the pillar of 1118 is one of them.⁹

After Jingwan's death, his disciples and followers continued his work. In the 660s colophons begin to appear on the sutra stones. They contain an enormous wealth of grass-root information about the story of the project and the social history of Buddhism in general.¹⁰ In 740 the eminent monk Zhisheng 智昇 personally travelled to Cloud Dwelling Monastery from the empire's capital Changan 長安 and presented a handwritten version of the Kaiyuan canon 開元藏 of the Buddhist scriptures, which he had compiled a decade earlier. This gift was a donation by Princess Gold Immortal (Jinxian gongzhu 金仙公主, died 732), the sister of the reigning emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (712–56). From now on the monks carved the scriptures of the Kaiyuan canon. They continued even after the terrible persecution of their faith in the Huichang 會昌 era (841–6), yet the work finally ground to a halt.

The Kaiyuan canon has been hailed throughout the ages as a masterpiece of Buddhist bibliography. All later canons, including the modern standard canon Taishō Daizōkyō 大正大藏經, are indebted to it. The Kaiyuan canon comprised 1,076 texts in 5,048 scrolls (juan 卷). The arrangement is disarmingly simple. First come the scriptures of the Greater Vehicle, Mahāyāna, then those of the Lesser Vehicle, Hīnayāna. Each of these two major categories is divided into Three Baskets (tripitaka; sanzang 三藏), namely sutras (jing 經), precepts (lü 律), and treatises (lun 論). Appended at the end is biographical literature about worthies (xian 賢) and sages (sheng 聖).

The texts of the canon were later counted in bundles (zhi 帙). Each bundle contained ten scrolls on average. The bundles were numbered

Lagerwey (ed.), *Religion and Chinese Society*, vol. 1, *Ancient and Medieval China* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press and Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2004), pp. 385–409.

⁹ The narrative inscriptions at Cloud Dwelling monastery have been compiled by Pu Ru 溥儒, *Baidaishan zhi* 白帶山志 (Gazetteer of White Girdle Mountain), original edition (Beiping, 1948). Revised by Yang Lu 楊璐 (Beijing, 1989). The narrative texts are also transcribed in Beijing tushuguan jinshizu 北京圖書館金石組 and Zhongguo fojiao tushu wenwuguan shijingzu 中國佛教圖書館文物館石經組 (eds.), *Fangshan shijing tiji huibian* 房山石經題記彙編 (Corpus of the Colophons on the Stone Sutras at Fangshan). (Beijing, 1987). Some mistakes are corrected in the revised edition by Chen Yanzhu 陳燕珠, *Xinbian buzheng Fangshan shijing tiji huibian* 新編補正房山石經題記彙編 (Revised and Enlarged Edition of the Corpus of Colophons on the Stone Sutras at Fangshan) (Taipei, 1995).

¹⁰ The colophons are transcribed in Beijing tushuguan (ed.), *Fangshan shijing tiji*.

according to the *Thousand Character Essay* (Qianzi wen 千字文), a kind of alphabet with one thousand different characters which is used to count large quantities of items. The Kaiyuan canon comprised 480 bundles. The Mahāyāna scriptures amounted to 258, the Hīnayāna scriptures to 165, and the writings about worthies and sages to 57 bundles.¹¹

After a hiatus of a century and half, carvings at Cloud Dwelling Monastery resumed in the 1020s under the Liao dynasty. The three Liao emperors, Shengzong 聖宗 (983–1031), Xingzong 興宗 (1032–54) and Daozong 道宗 (1055–1100), consecutively supported the project. The monks were now engraving text versions of the new Qidan canon 契丹藏 which was printed from wooden blocks. The Qidan canon was one of the great achievements in the history of printing in East Asia. Work began in the 1030s in the Southern Capital of the Liao empire Yanjing 燕京, the present-day Beijing, and was brought to completion in 1068. The two giant projects of carving the scriptures of the canon onto wooden blocks, and of carving the same texts into stone at Cloud Dwelling Monastery were conducted in tandem for several decades.

The texts in the Qidan canon were also counted in bundles. Its first 480 bundles were identical with those in the Kaiyuan canon. To them the Liao compilers added another 99 bundles of scriptures, bringing the total up to 579. Figure 4 is a list of the 579 bundles in the Qidan canon.

In 1091 the monks had completely filled the rock caves on Stone Sutra Mountain. From then on they left the engraved stones in the monastery grounds below. Emperor Daozong himself provided the funds for another big batch of texts in forty-seven bundles which were carved on 180 large slabs. By 1093, having worked for almost half a millennium, the monks had produced a total of nearly five thousand stones. They had reached bundle number 187 (*ke* 可) of the Qidan canon which contained the ten scrolls of the *Huashou jing* 華手經 (Flower Hand Sutra; Fig. 5). Although the carvers had already finished a few texts beyond 187, they had left out even more before 187.

Thus, in spite of all their efforts, the monks, to their mortification, were still painfully far from completing the canon with its 579 bundles until the appearance of a certain Great Master Tongli. He taught them

¹¹ The *locus classicus* for the organisation of the Kaiyuan canon and for all the numbers quoted here is chapters 19–20 in Zhisheng 智昇, *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (Kaiyuan Era Catalog of Buddhist Teachings). T 2145, 55:680–700. Antonino Forte is preparing what promises to become the definitive study on the subject: *A guide to Zhisheng's Catalogue of 730*, Publications of the Italian School of East Asian Studies, Kyoto. Reference Series, vol. 2.

Qianziwen1-579

1天tian	51巨ju	101周zhou	151五wu	201景jing	251竭jie
2地di	52阙que	102發fa	152常chang	202行xing	252力li
3玄xuan	53殊zhu	103殷yin	153蒸zeng	203維wei	253忠zhong
4黃huang	54稱cheng	104湯tang	154催cui	204賈jia	254則ze
5宇yu	55夜ye	105坐zuo	155鞠ju	205剋ke	255靈ling
6宙zhou	56光guang	106朝chao	156養yang	206念nian	256命ming
7洪hong	57果guo	107問wen	157營ying	207作zuo	257臨lin
8荒huang	58珍zhen	108道dao	158敢gan	208聖sheng	258深shen
9日ri	59李li	109垂chui	159毀hui	209德de	259窟ku
10月yue	60柰nai	110拱gong	160傷shang	210建jian	260薄bo
11盈ying	61菜cai	111平ping	161女nu	211名ming	261夙su
12晨chen	62重zhong	112章zhang	162慕mu	212立li	262興xing
13辰chen	63芥jie	113愛ai	163貞zhen	213形xing	263溫wen
14宿su	64簾lian	114育yu	164潔jie	214端duan	264清qing
15列lie	65海hai	115黎li	165男nan	215表biao	265似si
16張zhang	66鹹xian	116首shou	166效xiao	216正zheng	266蘭lan
17寒han	67河he	117臣chen	167才cai	217空kong	267斯si
18來lai	68淡dan	118伏fu	168良liang	218谷gu	268馨xing
19晷gu	69麟lin	119戎rong	169知zhi	219傳chuan	269如ru
20往wang	70潛qian	120荒huang	170過guo	220聲sheng	270松song
21秋qiu	71羽yu	121遐xia	171必bi	221虛xu	271之zhi
22收shou	72翔xiang	122灑sa	172改gai	222堂tang	272盛sheng
23冬dong	73龍long	123壹yi	173得de	223習xi	273川chuan
24藏cang	74師shi	124體ti	174能neng	224聽ting	274流liu
25閏run	75火huo	125率shuai	175莫mo	225禍huo	275不bu
26餘yu	76帝di	126賓bin	176忘wang	226因yin	276息xi
27成cheng	77鳥niao	127歸gui	177凶wang	227惡e	277淵yuan
28歲sui	78官guan	128王wang	178談tan	228積ji	278澄cheng
29律lv	79人ren	129鳴ming	179彼bi	229福fu	279取qu
30呂lv	80皇huang	130鳳feng	180短duan	230緣yuan	280映ying
31調tiao	81始shi	131在zai	181靡mi	231善shan	281容rong
32陽yang	82製zhi	132樹shu	182恃shi	232慶qing	282止zhi
33雲yun	83文wen	133白bai	183已ji	233尺chi	283若ruo
34騰teng	84字zi	134駒ju	184長chang	234轡bi	284思si
35致zhi	85乃nai	135食shi	185信xin	235非fei	285言yan
36雨yu	86服fu	136場chang	186使shi	236寶bao	286辭ci
37露lu	87衣yi	137化hua	187可ke	237寸cun	287安an
38結jie	88裳shang	138被pi	188覆fu	238陰yin	288定ding
39為wei	89推tui	139草cao	189器qi	239是shi	289篤du
40霜shuang	90位wei	140木mu	190欲yu	240競jing	290初chu
41金jin	91讓rang	141賴lai	191難nan	241資zi	291誠cheng
42生sheng	92國guo	142及ji	192量liang	242父fu	292美mei
43麗li	93有you	143萬wan	193舉ju	243事shi	293慎shen
44水shui	94虞yu	144方fang	194悲bei	244君jun	294終zhong
45玉yu	95陶tao	145薰xun	195絲si	245日ri	295宜yi
46出chu	96唐tang	146此ci	196染ran	246戲xi	296令ling
47崑kun	97吊diao	147身shen	197詩shi	247與yu	297榮rong
48崗gang	98民min	148髮fa	198讚zan	248敬jing	298業ye
49劍jian	99伐fa	149四si	199羔gao	249孝xiao	299所suo
50號hao	100罪zui	150犬da	200羊yang	250當dang	300基ji

Figure 4. The 579 bundles in the Qidan canon; scriptures carved by Tongli indicated in grey.

301箝ji	351比bi	401壁jian	451設she	501家jia	551扶fu
302莩shen	352兒er	402持chi	452席xi	502給gei	552傾qing
303無wu	353孔kong	403雅ya	453鼓gu	503千qian	553統tong
304竟jing	354懷hua	404操cao	454瑟se	504兵bing	554迴hui
305學xue	355兄xiong	405好hao	455吹chui	505高gao	555漢han
306優you	356弟di	405爵jue	456笙sheng	506冠guan	556蕙hui
307登deng	357同tong	407自zi	457陟sheng	507陪pei	557說shuo
308仕shi	358氣qi	408糜mi	458階jie	508鞏nian	558感gan
309攜she	359連lian	409都du	459納na	509驅qu	559武wu
310職zhi	360枝zhi	410邑yi	460陞bi	510穀gu	560丁ding
311從cong	361交jiao	411華hua	461弁bian	511振zhen	561俊jun
312政zheng	362友you	412夏xia	462轉zhuan	512纓ying	562又yi
313存cun	363投tou	413東dong	463疑yi	513世shi	563密mi
314以yi	364分fen	414西xi	464星xing	514祿lu	564勿wu
315甘gan	365切qie	415二er	465右you	515侈chi	565多duo
316棠tang	366磨mo	416京jing	466通tong	516富fu	566士shi
317去qu	367箴zhen	417背bei	467廣guang	517車che	567實shi
318而er	368規gui	418隴long	468內nei	518駕jia	568寧ning
319益yi	369仁ren	419面mian	469左zuo	519肥fei	569晉jin
320詠yong	370慈ci	420洛luo	470達da	520輕qing	570楚chu
321樂le	371隱yin	421浮fu	471承cheng	521策ce	571更geng
322殊shu	372惻ce	422渭wei	472明ming	522功gong	572霸ba
323費fei	373造zao	423據ju	473既ji	523茂mao	573趙zhao
324賤jian	374次ci	424溼jing	474集ji	524實shi	574魏wei
325禮li	375弗fu	425宮gong	475墳fen	525勒le	575困kun
326別bie	376離li	426殿dian	476典dian	526碑bei	576橫heng
327尊zun	377節jie	427盤pan	477亦yi	527刻ke	577假jia
328卑bei	378義yi	428鬱yu	478聚ju	528銘ming	578途tu
329上shang	379廉lian	429樓lou	479群qun	529礪pan	579滅mie
330和he	380退tui	430觀guan	480英ying	530溪xi	
331下xia	381顛dian	431飛fei	481杜du	531伊yi	
332陸lu	382沛pei	432驚jing	482槁gao	532尹yin	
333夫fu	383匪fei	433圖tu	483鍾zhong	533佐zuo	
334唱chang	384虧kui	434寫xie	484隸li	534時shi	
335婦fu	385性xing	435禽qin	485漆qi	535阿a	
336隨sui	386靜jing	436獸shou	486書shu	536衡heng	
337外wai	387情qing	437畫hua	487鑿bi	537奄yan	
338受shou	388逸yi	438彩cai	488經jing	538宅zhai	
339傅fu	389心xin	439僂xian	489灼fu	539曲qu	
340訓xun	390動dong	440靈ling	490羅luo	540阜fu	
341入ru	391神shen	441丙bing	491將jiang	541微wei	
342奉feng	392疲pi	442舍she	492相xiang	542旦dan	
343毋mu	393守shou	443傍bang	493路lu	543孰shu	
344儀yi	394貞zhen	444啓qi	494俠xia	544營ying	
345諸zhu	395志zhi	445甲jia	495槐huai	545桓huan	
346姑gu	396滿man	446喉hous	496綱gang	546公gong	
347伯bo	397遂sui	447對dui	497戶hu	547匡kuang	
348叔shu	398物wu	448楹ying	498封feng	548合he	
349猶you	399意yi	449肆si	499八ba	549濟ji	
350子zi	400移yi	450筵yan	500縣xian	550弱ruo	

Figure 4. Continued.

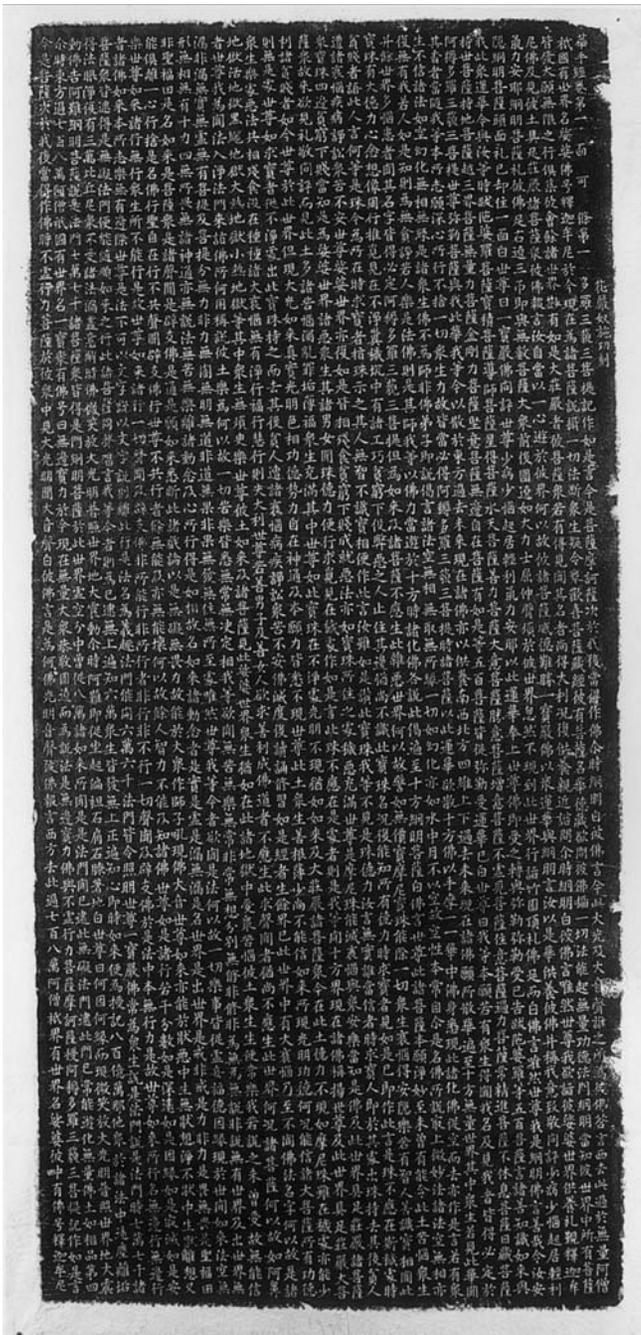


Figure 5. *Huashou jing*, scroll 1, front side of stone 1, rubbing.

how to mass produce sutra stones which enabled them to finish 4,080 slabs in two and a half years. The pillar of 1118 tells the story.

In 1117 the monks decided to bury Tongli's stones and the stones given by Daozong in the monastery precinct. They erected a large brick pagoda for the occasion, the Śākyamuni, or so-called Southern Pagoda (Fig. 6). This time the reason for safeguarding the stones under the earth was the fear of the decline of the dynasty, rather than the fear of the Decline of the Law. In 1117 the Liao dynasty was eight years away from its demise.

After more than eight centuries, the stones were excavated in 1957. Figure 7 shows the open pit which contained about ten thousand slabs.¹² Storerooms were built with metal racks. The stones were arranged on them like books in a library, and they were given call numbers (Fig. 8). In 1999, however, the monastery decided to bury the stones once more. They are now inaccessible again, stored away in a newly built crypt at the site of the original pit.

1. The Pillar

Shape

The inscription of 1118 is engraved on the shaft of a pillar (chuang 幢; Figs 1 and 9). It is 463 cm high and its octagonal base has a diameter of 105 cm. The base consists of three superimposed tiers in the usual hour-glass arrangement, in which the middle tier has the smallest cross-section (Figs 10 and 11). Each tier is made of one single stone. Reliefs fill the rectangular fields on the eight sides.¹³ Pairs of frolicking and jumping lions are seen below. Above this joyful animalistic sphere, but separated by a

¹² One of the excavators has recorded the details: Huang Bingzhang 黄炳章, 'Fangshan Yunjusi shijing' 房山雲居寺石經 (The Stone Sutras in Cloud Dwelling Monastery at Fangshan), *Fayin* 法音 (1986, no. 1), 19–27. Reprint in Zhongguo fojiao xiehui 中國佛教協會 (ed.), *Fangshan shijing zhi yanjiu* 房山石經之研究 (Research on the Stone Sutras at Fangshan), *Fayin wenku* 法音文庫 4 (Beijing, 1987), here 93–6. Reprint in Lü, (ed.), *Fangshan*, 2, 137–59, here 144–8. For a record of the excavation with new illustrations see Chen Yanzhu 陳燕珠, *Fangshan shijing zhong Liaomo yu Jindai kejing zhi yanjiu* 房山石經中遼宋與金代刻經之研究 (Research on the Engraved Sutras from the End of the Liao and the Jin Period among the Stone Sutras at Fangshan) (Taipei, 1995).

¹³ In his monumental study on the monastery Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆, 'Bōzan Ungoji to sekkoku daizōkyō' 房山雲居寺と石刻大藏經 (Cloud Dwelling Monastery at Fangshan and the Canon Carved into Stone), *Chūgoku kinsei bukkyōshi no sho mondai* 中國近世佛教史の諸問題 (Issues of Buddhist History in Early Modern China), *Tsukamoto Zenryū chosakushū* 塚本善隆著作集 (The Collected Writings of Tsukamoto Zenryū), (Tōkyō, 1975), 5, 291–611 (first edn., 1935), here 503, first identified the figures in relief simply as immortals (仙人), apsaras (飛天) and birds and animals (鳥獸).



Figure 6. Śākyamuni Pagoda, 1117, photograph before 1942.

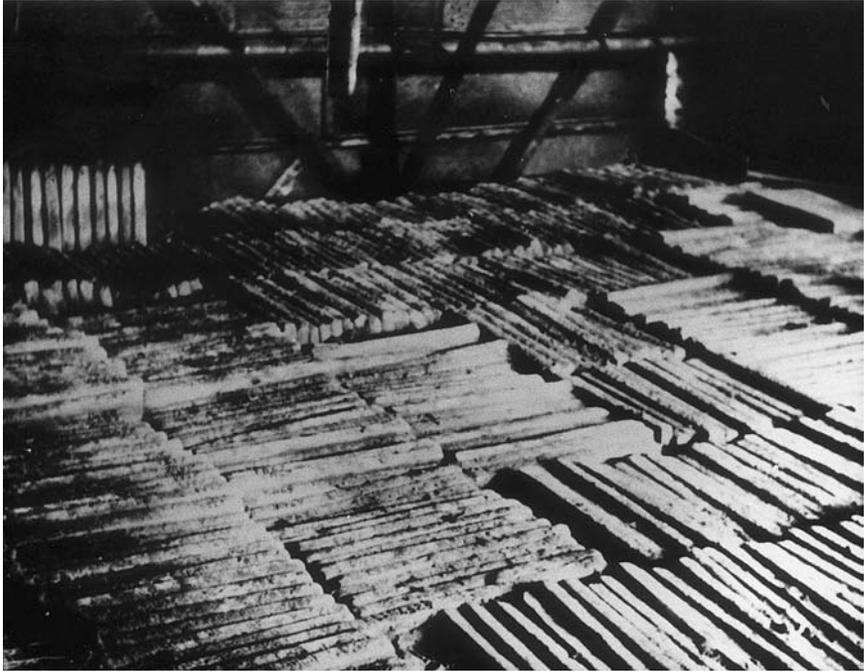


Figure 7. Pit with stones buried in 1117 during excavation in 1957.

crest of lotus petals, a small orchestra of seven musicians and one dancer in official garments adorn the second tier. With their melodies and their dancing they teach humans how to overcome greed and anger. Four paradise birds with human faces and melodious voices (*jialingpinjia* 迦陵頻伽) and four flying heavenly beings (*apsaras*; *feitian* 飛天) hover above in the third tier. These two kinds of ethereal beings are best known from representations of the Western paradise.¹⁴ The three tiers thus represent the ascent to the Buddha realm.

The base supports a flat lotus bud with fleshy petals, again in three tiers. The octagonal shaft rests on the bud like the figure of a Buddha on a lotus throne. It is the centre piece of the monument. Its eight panels measure 116 by 25.5 cm each. The holy scriptures, whose titles are engraved on the shaft in a long list, embody the sphere of the Buddha. The calligraphy is written in standard script (*kaishu* 楷書), with some

¹⁴ Similar heavenly beings are seen on a Liao pillar in the Kyôto National Museum, whose shaft is believed to date from 1084. Inoue Tadashi 井上正, *Ryôdai tahô senbutsu seki sho* 遼代多寶千佛石幢 (A Stone Pillar with Prabûhtaratna and the Thousand Buddhas from the Liao Period). Edited by Kyôto kokuritsu hakubutsukan 京都國立博物館 (Kyôto, 1973).



Figure 8. Racks with excavated stones.

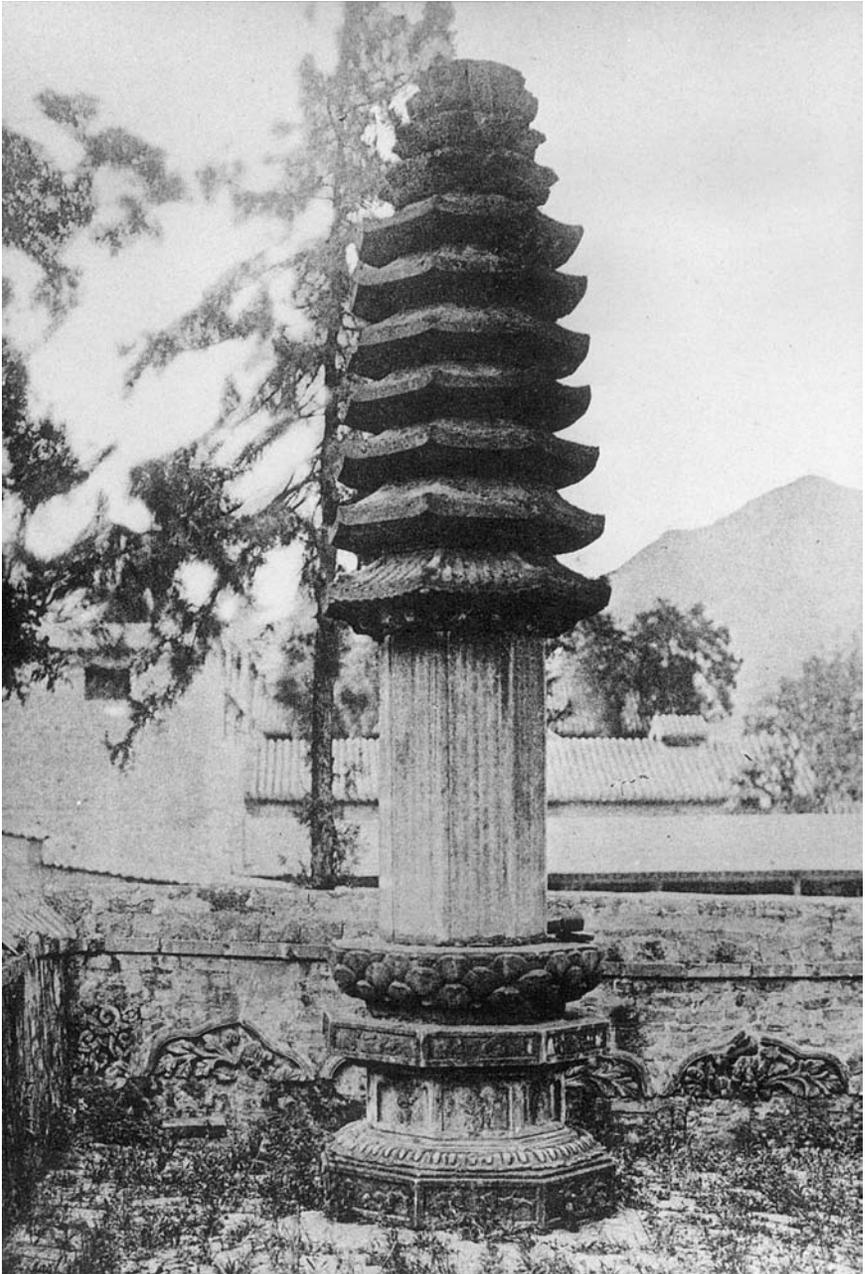


Figure 9. Pillar of 1118, seen from the south, photograph before 1942.



Figure 10. Base of pillar of 1118, photograph of 1988.

cursive, almost ornamental ligatures. The writing is crisp, well preserved, and easily readable (Fig. 2).

Two kinds of layout can be identified. The first four panels with the narrative text have five columns with thirty-four characters each. A switch occurs in the fifth panel after the second column. Here begins the list with the titles of the scriptures which were deposited in the adjacent pit. The characters are now smaller. Forty fit into one column and less space is left between the columns. The last three panels have seven columns each.

The shaft is surmounted by seven octagonal disc-like roofs, whose diameters slightly diminish towards the top. Detailed shapes of false tiles and eaves are carved into stone. A two-tier lotus flower (*yanglian*



Figure 11. Base of pillar of 1118, seen from the south, photograph before 1942.

仰蓮) with eight petals each, caps the roofs. The photo which the Japanese archaeologists Sekino and Tokiwa took in the early twentieth century, still shows a third tier, but by then the treasure jewel (*baozhu* 寶珠) which originally crowned the very top, had been lost (Fig. 9).¹⁵ This pillar is a monument in its own right. With its impressive silhouette and its elaborately carved details it is a proud testimony to the monks' achievements.

Type

Pillars as a rule do not have as many roofs as this one.¹⁶ The seven stacked roofs together create a slender, pine cone-like silhouette and make the pillar resemble a pagoda. Typologically, the monument is thus a combination of a pillar and a pagoda. A pillar was the proper carrier for an inscription, and a pagoda was a fitting monument to memorise the buried stones. Iconologically speaking, a pagoda rises atop the tomb of the Buddha. The Buddha is here manifest in the sacred scriptures. Indeed, the inscription on the pillar itself calls it 'a stone pagoda' (panel 4, column 5; hereafter 4/5).¹⁷

That a narrative inscription is carved onto the shaft of this pillar is also unusual. Often one finds dhāranī, spells, on pillars, which is why they are known as dhāranī sutra pillars (tuoluoni jingchuang 陀羅尼經幢). The inscription fills the eight panels of the shaft in clockwise sequence. It begins in the east. As the visitor reads the text on the free-standing pillar from beginning to end he performs the cardinal Buddhist ritual of circumambulation. The writing on this public monument emanates outwards. From its eight sides the power of the script projects laterally into eight cosmic directions. Yet today it can no longer be ascertained into which of the eight directions the various sculptured reliefs originally faced, because in dismantling and reassembling the pillar, the arrangement of its stones has been changed.

¹⁵ Sekino Tadashi 關野貞 and Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定, *Chūgoku bunka shiseki* 中國文化史跡 (Historic Relics of Chinese Culture), 2 vols. text, 13 vols. plates (Tōkyō, 1939–41). Reprint (Kyōto, 1975–6), 12:76.1.

¹⁶ Inoue, *Ryōdai tahō senbutsu*, pp. 113–17, lists more than 350 pillars from AD 536 to 1344. Tsukamoto, 'Bōzan', 526–8 lists thirty-two Liao dynasty dhāranī pillars from 1061 to 1120.

¹⁷ See below, n. 150.

History

When the pillar was first recorded in the early twentieth century, it stood in the north-western corner of the terrace of the Śākyamuni Pagoda.¹⁸ The old photographs in Figures 6 and 9 show it in this location. This may well have been the very spot where the pillar was erected in 1118.5.17. When the Japanese air force bombed the monastery in 1942 the brick pagoda collapsed, but the stone pillar remained unharmed. In 1959 it was taken to pieces and transferred into the south-eastern courtyard of the monastery which served as its main entrance until 1999. In this process the position of the three stones forming the tiers of the base was changed. Figure 10 shows the arrangement made in 1959.

In the 1990s the pillar was moved again and brought back close to its original location. It now stands south of the former Śākyamuni Pagoda, atop the new crypt with the sutra stones (Fig. 1). The pillar was reassembled here in the same arrangement as in 1959. On the old Japanese photograph of the base the lower part of the third panel is faintly recognisable (Fig. 11). As this photo was taken from the south, the text began in the east at that time, as it does today. Yet the juxtaposition with the recent photograph reveals that the other stones of the base have been rotated (Fig. 10).¹⁹ A lute player originally seen above the two lions in the south now faces north-east. The paradise bird in the third tier now faces north-west.

2. The Text

Personalities

The author of the pillar inscription simply calls himself ‘monk Zhicai from [Mount] Suoti 莎題沙門志才’ (1/1), which can refer to Cloud Dwelling Monastery or another nearby monastery in the mountainous area known as Suoti. One other inscription by him is known for a relic pagoda dated 1120.²⁰

The calligrapher identifies himself as ‘monk Weihe from Yantai 燕臺沙

¹⁸ According to Tsukamoto, ‘Bōzan’, 306. The information is missing in Tsukamoto’s original publication of 1935. Cf. the photos in Sekino and Tokiwa, *Chūgoku bunka shiseki*, 12:71 and 12:76.1.

¹⁹ Photograph of the base in Sekino and Tokiwa, *Chūgoku bunka shiseki*, 12:76.2 1.

²⁰ Tsukamoto, ‘Bōzan’, 503.

門惟和' (8/5) which refers to the Southern Capital Yanjing 燕京. Monk Weihe was an esteemed and prolific calligrapher. His first colophons are dated 1115.²¹ He wrote the last Liao dynasty stones in 1121,²² but continued after the Jin dynasty had come to power and still wrote colophons in 1132 and even 1135.²³

Several monks, whose names, like that of the author Zhicai, begin with the character *zhi* 志, signed the pillar inscription: the Abbot and Commentator of Treatises Zhimin, the Chief Administrator and Commentator of Sutras Zhixing, and Head Monk Zhike. A monk Zhide carved the inscription. The name of Head Monk Zhike appears also one year earlier in the inscription on the foundation stone for the Śākyamuni Pagoda.²⁴

Content

As has been pointed out, the text has two main sections that are distinguished by a different layout. The first section, filling more than four panels, is a narrative account in the well-known tripartite scheme with introduction, main part, and concluding remarks. The second section, covering almost another four panels, is the list of the scriptures buried in 1117. Tongli's texts in forty-four bundles are enumerated first. The scriptures on the 180 slabs donated by Daozong are only listed in second place, although they were produced before Tongli's time, and although Daozong was an emperor. This shows the monks' high regard for Great Master Tongli.

As usual, the introduction opens a wide perspective. Yet unlike earlier inscriptions at the monastery, which first evoke the Buddhist Law or direct the reader's view to India, Zhicai begins by extolling the merits of stone as a material to carry historical information. He starts in a dim, pre-Buddhist antiquity in China and, referring to the *Liji* 禮記 (Records of the Ritualist), adduces the anthropologically interesting theory, that early men wrote their records on wooden slabs which they erected on occasions

²¹ Beijing tushuguan (ed.), *Fangshan shijing tiji*, pp. 388, 391.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 404, 405, 408.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 414, 416, 418, 419, 422.

²⁴ That text is published in Pu, *Baidaishan zhi*, pp. 37, 90; Beijing tushuguan (ed.), *Fangshan shijing tiji*, pp. 26–7; Chen Yanzhu 陳燕珠, *Fangshan shijing zhong Tongli dashi kejing zhi yanjiu* 房山石經中通理大師刻經之研究 (Research on the engraved sutras of Great Master Tongli among the stone sutras at Fangshan) (Taipei, 1993), p. 361. Illustration of rubbing in Lothar Ledderose. 'Massenproduktion angesichts der Katastrophe' in: *Asiatische Studien—Etudes Asiatiques*, 44.2 (1990), 217–45, here pl. 5 (only front); Chen, *ibid.*, p. 202, fig. 29.

of social and historical importance such as ‘funerals, sacrifices, banquets, and diplomatic encounters’ (1/2). Whereas the writers of earlier narrative inscriptions at the monastery highlight the importance of sutras for the salvation of humankind, Zhicai points to the Confucian stone classics of the second century AD as prototypes for the stone sutras.

Zhicai continues his introduction with a historical review of the project. He talks about the monastery’s founder Jingwan and his followers in five generations, but bypasses Jingwan’s true motive, his fear of the Decline of the Law. Zhicai then skips the remainder of the Tang period and immediately comes to his own dynasty Liao. He recalls the work done under the emperors Shengzong and Xingzong, and he acknowledges the memorial by the two high-ranking lay officials which prompted emperor Daozong to contribute funds for carving forty-seven bundles.

‘Then came the LATE REVEREND, GREAT MASTER TONGLI’ (3/1–2).²⁵ With these words Zhicai opens the central part of his text. In three paragraphs he expounds on Tongli’s achievement. The first paragraph praises the Great Master. Like a Buddha he ‘exuded unconditional compassion,’ and like a Bodhisattva he ‘acted as a friend who did not have to be solicited’ (3/3). In the second paragraph Zhicai presents details about the stone production including some exact numbers. The third paragraph of the central part tells the story of how one generation later Tongli’s disciples buried the stones.

Zhicai concludes with the usual modest disclaimer as author, alluding to a passage in which the great Tang poet Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846) celebrates the durability of stone sutras. Inserted into the conclusion is the voluminous list of the titles of the buried scriptures.

After the titles, the concluding part continues with the date and the name of the calligrapher. Inserted before the names of the other signatories is a paragraph about the advantage of storing inscribed stones under the earth, as evidenced by stones excavated from tombs: ‘Now, if one sees inscribed stones that were retrieved from ancient tomb vaults, the stones are fine and smooth, and the characters are clear and bright’ (8/6). Monk Zhicai here presents himself as someone who appreciates the insights to be gained from archaeological discoveries. Epigraphic studies of inscriptions on metal and stone (jinshixue 金石學), had just begun in the Northern Song dynasty (960–1126).²⁶ Zhicai must have known about those, and

²⁵ Capital letters in the translation indicate honorific blanks in the inscription.

²⁶ A particularly insightful study on the topic is Robert E. Harrist, Jr., ‘The Artist as Antiquarian: Li Gonglin and his Study of Early Chinese Art’. *Artibus Asiae*, 55 (1995), 237–80.

he applies the new erudition to his own situation: 'When a subterranean pit is now dug for the secret storage of the sutra slabs, it is [also] done for the purpose of securing them for a long time and avoiding their destruction' (8/6). No word any more about the Decline of the Law and about preserving the scriptures for another world age.

Occasion

The occasion for the erection of the pillar and the writing of its inscription in 1118.5.17 was provided by the burial of the engraved stones in the preceding year. The interment may have taken place when the foundation stone for the Śākyamuni Pagoda was put down in 1117.4.15. The completion of the pillar eleven months later on the terrace of the pagoda may have coincided with the completion of the imposing eleven-storeyed brick structure (Fig. 6).

The situation for the dynasty was desperate. Already under Daozong the political and economic stability of the Liao empire had begun to erode, and the process continued under his successor Tianzuo (1101–25), the dynasty's last emperor. Internal difficulties were aggravated by pressure from outside. Beyond the north-eastern frontier the Ruzhen had become united and strong. They invaded the eastern part of Liao territory, and in 1115 proclaimed their own dynasty, which they called Jin. Tianzuo led a massive army against the invaders and was defeated in the same year.²⁷

Worried that the enemies who had begun to undermine their dynasty from the north-east would come down and destroy their sutra stones, the monks at Cloud Dwelling Monastery buried them two years later. The situation became ever more hopeless. In 1118 'in the various prefectures of the Eastern circuit, thieves and rebels rose like bees, plundering the people at will to replenish their food',²⁸ and in the area of Yanjing 'people stripped the bark from elm trees and ate it. Later men even ate each other.'²⁹ To some at least the Decline of the Buddhist Law must have seemed imminent. An inscription of 1110 bemoans the plight in the age of the Decline of the Law (mofa 末法).³⁰

²⁷ For the collapse of the Liao see Denis Twitchett and Klaus-Peter Tietze, 'The Liao', in Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank (eds.) *The Cambridge History of China*, VI: *Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 43–153, here, pp. 139–53.

²⁸ *Liaoshi* 遼史 (History of the Liao), compiled by Tuotuo 脫脫 (1344). Zhonghua shuju (ed.) (Beijing, 1974), 28, 336.

²⁹ *Liaoshi*, 28, 338. Translation by Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1125)* (Philadelphia, 1949), p. 396. See also Tsukamoto, 'Bōzan', 524.

³⁰ Pu, *Baidaishan zhi*, p. 89.

Yet in the face of the impending catastrophe the monks at Cloud Dwelling Monastery demonstrated amazing strength. They procured funds for erecting the proud Śākyamuni Pagoda, and they may also at the same time have built the undated Northern Pagoda which is also made of bricks and shows the same style.

The monks were even carving scriptures again. Tongli's enormous efforts of the years 1093 to 1095 had temporarily exhausted the strength of the monastery, and his disciples did not yet have the standing to push ahead by themselves. Yet in 1107, nine years after Tongli's death, they took up the master's legacy. Carving resumed and continued at a regular pace, yet the monks were aware of the possibility of imminent dynastic collapse.

In this situation Zhicai's public account on the pillar was inevitably a political statement. The monk emphasises the clergy's independence and cautiously distances himself from the Liao administration. In relating the recent history of the sutra carving project, Zhicai stresses what the clergy achieved without relying on government help. He explains how the monks made their project financially independent, and how they could continue forcefully even after emperor Daozong's support dried up. Only two laymen appear in Zhicai's account; all other actors are monks.

Zhicai gives no clue that at the very time of his writing the production of new stones by Tongli's disciples had already gone into its second decade. Yet this was pure modesty. The monks obviously hoped that their project might carry on even after a political catastrophe, and this is one of the reasons for Zhicai's glorification of Tongli. By evoking their master's past deeds, the monks drew strength and legitimation for their present and future efforts. That Zhicai lists Tongli's stones before those of Daozong is extraordinary and was politically daring. Weihe, the calligrapher of the inscription, pays homage to Tongli by leaving the space of two characters empty before his name. Honorific spaces were normally only granted to emperors and the Buddha himself.

When recalling Tongli's accomplishments in the sutra carving project Zhicai emphasises the master's steadfastness in adverse circumstances. While the monastery's founder Jingwan had confronted the decline of the Buddhist Law by carving scriptures into stone, Tongli carved scriptures in the face of a looming political catastrophe. The enormous outburst of religious zeal engendered by Tongli was a proud testimony to the resilience of the Buddhist faith. Zhicai makes the point that Tongli attracted countless donors, which could be read as a proof that the monastery commanded the sympathy and support of the populace at large.

By adamantly clinging to their avowed otherworldly task, the monks at Cloud Dwelling Monastery hoped to survive political disasters in this world. Just to be on the safe side they hid the products of their efforts under the earth. Yet the monks did not conceal everything from view. By erecting the mighty Śākyamuni Pagoda in 1117 and the gorgeous pillar in 1118, they created landmarks. These highly visible monuments demonstrated the continuous support of the common people, the monks' ongoing religious zeal, and the monastery's economic strength; qualities which the Jin, being fervent Buddhist themselves, might appreciate. Were the monks in their pillar inscription already wooing their future lords?

3. Great Master Tongli

The monk

In his days Great Master Tongli (1049–98) was a towering figure in the Buddhist circles in Yanjing. When the pillar inscription was written in 1118, he had been dead for twenty years, but he was still spoken of with utmost respect. Tongli was the only individual in the history of the great sutra carving project whose impact can justifiably be compared to that of the patriarch Jingwan. Tongli himself may have felt a personal karmic bond to Jingwan who lived five hundred years earlier. In 1093 Tongli laid the patriarch's bones to rest in a proper tomb pagoda. Tongli felt he was entitled to do so, because he was fulfilling Jingwan's unfinished vow to produce scriptures in stone. This, at least, is the explanation given by Tongli's disciple Shanyong in his inscription on Jingwan's tomb stone.³¹

For a long time hardly anything was known about Great Master Tongli.³² A few years ago, however, an undated stele from the end of the Liao period³³ was discovered in the monastery Yanfusi 延福寺 in the mountainous north-western part of Fangshan prefecture, about fifty kilometres west of Beijing.³⁴ It contains new and detailed information about

³¹ The stone was discovered in 1978 in Jingwan's tomb pagoda. Illustration in Chen, *Fangshan shijing zhong Tongli dashi*, p. 43, fig. 24; partial transcriptions, *ibid.*, p. 42.

³² See e.g. Tsukamoto, 'Bōzan', 510 f.; Chen, *Fangshan shijing zhong Tongli dashi*, pp. 38–41, both bemoan the lack of historical records.

³³ 1104 is the latest year mentioned in the inscription.

³⁴ In the village Daanshan 大安山. The stele has been transferred to the Bureau for the Administration of Cultural Relics in Fangshan Region (房山區文物管理所) in Fangshan city. Transcription in Bao Shixuan 包世軒, 'Liao "Daanshan Lianhuayu Yanfusi Guanyintang ji" pei. Shuzheng 遼 "大安山蓮花峪延福寺觀音堂記" 碑. 疏証' (The Liao dynasty stele 'Record of the Guanyin Hall of Yanfu

three Chan masters whose careers were connected to this monastery, and who played important roles in introducing Chan Buddhism into the Liao empire. One of them was Tongli. The master enjoyed the retreat in Yanfusi, where ‘from morning to night he never felt tired’.³⁵

Tongli was born in 1049³⁶ into a peasant family called Wang 王 in a small place³⁷ in Fengsheng Prefecture 奉聖州, corresponding to present Zhuolu District 涿鹿縣, Hebei province, about one hundred kilometers north-west of Beijing. When he was seven, the young boy entered Baofengsi 寶峰寺 (Treasure Peak Monastery) in the present Mentougou Region 門頭溝區 west of Beijing.³⁸ Zhicai mentions a stele in Baofengsi, which recorded Tongli’s deeds (3/2).

According to the stele in Yanfusi, Tongli ‘later studied the nature and the characteristics, and he was nothing but encompassing and penetrating (后習性相，靡不圓通)’.³⁹ This refers to the ‘dharma nature’ (*faxing* 法性), which is essentially void, and the ‘characteristics of dharmas’ (*faxiang* 法相), which manifest themselves in infinite varieties. As will be shown below, the scriptures which Tongli carved embody doctrinal traditions centred on these two concepts.

Later Tongli studied Chan Buddhism.⁴⁰ The Chan school had so far not enjoyed Liao imperial patronage and had not yet flourished in this northern empire.⁴¹ Under the Song dynasty, by contrast, Chan had already begun its rise to prominence which would eventually make it the dominant Buddhist tradition in China.⁴² By choosing this lineage, Tongli

Monastery in Lianhua Valley, Daan Mountain’. Factual Commentary) in *Beijing wenpo* 北京文博 (1997.3), 72–7, here 76–7. Fang Guangchang 方廣鎔 ‘Jingang li’ 金剛禮 (Diamond Ritual) in Fang Guangchang 方廣鎔 (ed.), *Zangwai fojiao wenxian* 藏外佛教文獻 (Buddhist Texts Outside the Canon) 7 (Beijing, 2000), 63–7, here 63, summarises the main facts.

³⁵ Bao, ‘Daanshan’, pp. 77a–b.

³⁶ The stele says, that Tongli was 50 sui 歲 when he died in 1098, Bao, ‘Daanshan’, p. 77b.

³⁷ Xin’an 新安 in the Upper Valley (shanggu 上谷) of Fanshan district 磐山縣.

³⁸ Baofengsi 寶峰寺 was a sub-monastery of present Lingyuesi 靈岳寺, and is located ‘on the slope of the hills, one kilometre north-west of Western Zhaitang village 西齋堂村, Zhaitang town 齋堂鎮.’ Identified by Bao, ‘Daanshan’, p. 73b. He says that Baofengsi is about 25 km away from Yanfusi 延福寺.

³⁹ Bao, ‘Daanshan’, p. 77a.

⁴⁰ The stele text in Bao, ‘Daanshan’, p. 77a does not specify when this happened.

⁴¹ When the great Korean monk and bibliographer Ŭich’ŏn 義天 (1055–1101) came to China at the end of the 11th century, he learned that the Liao Emperor Shengzong (聖宗 983–1031) ordered monk Quanxiao 詮曉 to compile a new list of canonical scriptures, in which Chan texts were still eliminated. See *Shimen zhengtong* 釋門正統 (Correct Lineage of the Buddhist Order), ch. 8, Z 130:902b.

⁴² On the establishment of a distinct Chan tradition in the Song see T. Griffith Foulk, ‘Sung Controversies Concerning the “Separate Transmission” of Ch’an’, in Peter N. Gregory and Daniel A. Getz, Jr. (eds.), *Buddhism in the Sung* (Honolulu, 1999), pp. 220–94.

deliberately placed himself into a minority and an avant-garde movement. This may have been one source of his strength.

Tongli rose to prominence in the capital, where Emperor Daozong and his mother respected him highly. The emperor made him Great Master and chose for him the name Tongli 通理 which means ‘the one who permeates the principle’. It was an homage to the master’s encompassing learning, which the stele from Yanfusi also emphasises. The two characters occur in Chan scriptures, such as in the *Transmission of the Lamp* of 1004.⁴³ Daozong further bestowed on Tongli the purple robe and made him ‘Lord of Confessions in the Palace’ (neidian chanhui zhu 內殿懺悔主). More than eighty male aristocrats and court officials, and more than fifty princesses and palace ladies revered him as their teacher.⁴⁴

When Tongli came to Cloud Dwelling Monastery in 1093, he was forty-four years old. An inscription of the tenth month of that year calls him monk Hengce 恆策⁴⁵ and confirms that he wore purple (Fig. 12).⁴⁶

The author

According to the stele from Yanfusi, Tongli was the author of two texts, *Fanxing zhishi* 梵行直釋 (Straight Explanations about Celibate Conduct) in three scrolls, and *Jiwen* 記文 (Recollections) in four scrolls. Both works have been lost,⁴⁷ but two short texts by Tongli have come to light on the stones at Cloud Dwelling Monastery.

One text of four and a half columns fills the otherwise empty last portion on the last stone of the *Foshuo pusa benxing jing* 佛說菩薩本行經 (Sutra Spoken by the Buddha about the Fundamental Conduct of a Bodhisattva; Fig. 13).⁴⁸ The stones of this bundle 190 (*yu* 欲) lack dates, but the preceding bundle 189 (*qi* 器) was produced in 1110 and the following bundle 191 (*nan* 難) in 1111. Tongli’s text thus was carved within these two years, more than a decade after his death.

⁴³ *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (Jingde era Record of the Transmission of the Lamp). T2076, ch. 2, 51:211b, and ch. 3, 51:219c which says ‘Many understand the way, few practise it. Many speak about the principle, few permeate it 明道者多, 行道者少, 說理者多, 通理者少.’

⁴⁴ Bao, ‘Daanshan’, p. 77b. It does not imply that these followers took the Buddhist precepts.

⁴⁵ On the stone the character *ce* is written in an unusual form.

⁴⁶ Bundle 205 (*ke* 剋), back of the last stone of the *Pusa shanjie jing* 菩薩善戒經 (Sutra with the Precepts for Goodness of the Bodhisattva) ch. 9, following sheet 21. FSSJ, 14, 325b. Beijing tushuguan (ed.), *Fangshan shijing tiji*, p. 442. Illustration in Chen, *Fangshan shijing zhong Tongli dashi*, p. 41, transcription and discussion, *ibid.*, pp. 206 f.

⁴⁷ Bao, ‘Daanshan’, p. 77b.

⁴⁸ Ch. 3, sheet 16. FSSJ, 12, 264b. Also illustrated in Chen, *Fangshan shijing zhong Tongli dashi*, p. 45. Discussion, *ibid.*, pp. 44–6.

添續成辦石經功德主當寺
 通理大師賜紫沙門 恆榮
 提點善慧大德沙門 崇敷
 校勘沙門 志妙
 校勘沙門 可近
 校勘沙門 志經
 校勘沙門 崇育
 校勘沙門 志瑕
 校勘沙門 玄敷
 校勘沙門 善定
 校勘沙門 志鮮
 校勘沙門 善雍
 校勘沙門 道寔
 校勘沙門 慧濟
 校勘沙門 善伏
 大安九年十月 日

Figure 12. Stone listing Tongli's collators, 1093.

菩薩本行經下 十六 欲
 求何等菩薩答言我亦不求轉輪聖王天帝
 魔王及梵天王色聲香味亦不求羅漢辟支
 佛持是功德用求無上正真之道普為十方無
 量眾生施慧光明照除眾生三毒癡冥令離
 眾苦至泥洹安樂時天帝釋復問王言身
 多千燈得無為痛頰而有悔耶王答天帝不
 以為痛亦無悔恨天帝重問若無悔恨以何
 為證於是國王便自誓言而我今日為於法
 故身多千燈持是功德用求無上正真之道
 審當成佛者千燈諸瘡即當除愈身即平
 復無有瘡癩作是語已身即平復無復瘡
 癩端正姝好過踰於前時天帝釋無數諸天
 國王群臣夫人姝女無量庶民異口同音悉
 讚歎言善哉善哉歎未曾有歡喜踊躍
 奉行十善之 教佛言尔時國王者則我身
 是時婆羅門者調達是菩薩求習智慧精進
 如是
 菩薩本行經卷下 欲
 大方便佛報恩經七卷此三卷共十卷同
 快馬鞍山洞裏已有鑿了京西三十里
 小石經亦有是靈溝河東垠上
 先師通理三制律 財念無交見性
 乃真常寶藏名心花卒我嶽之高峯
 自摧色貪不染靈心是清淨法身
 惜竿頭上一池水方圓八十里深處沒脚
 投淺處不得底

Figure 13. The Three Restraining Precepts of Late Master Tongji, carved c.1110-11.

The text is called *Xianshi Tongli san zhilü* 先師通理三制律 (The Three Restraining Precepts of Late Master Tongli). It could be an excerpt from the master's 'Straight Explanations about Celibate Conduct'. Its place at the end of a scripture about the conduct of a Bodhisattva was certainly fitting. Tongli begins by extolling precepts against the two evils of wealth and sensual desire, and he chooses terms which Chan Buddhists like to use. He talks about *jianxing* 見性 which in Chan means 'to see one's own originally enlightened mind' or 'seeing or manifesting one's Buddha nature'. This is a key concept in the *Xiuxin yaolun* 修心要論 (Treatise on the Essentials of Cultivating the Mind), attributed to the fifth Chan patriarch Hongren 弘忍 (600–674),⁴⁹ and in the *Platform Sutra*, the seminal scripture of the sixth patriarch Huineng 慧能 (638–713).⁵⁰ Tongli further mentions the 'clear and pure dharma body' (*qingjing fashen* 情淨法身), again an old concept, and one dear to Chan Buddhists. The most famous Chan scripture of the period, the *Biyuanlu* 碧巖錄 (Emerald Cliff Records), expounds at length on this term.⁵¹

Then Tongli comes to his third precept. He urges the reader to keep going, even when it seems utterly impossible and conjures up a typical Chan image: 'The tip of a flag pole is all one pond with a circumference of 80 *li*. Where it is deep the sole of your foot is barely immersed, where it is shallow its depth cannot be fathomed 幡竿頭上一池水，方圓八十里，深處沒腳板，淺處不得底'. This kind of vivid, paradoxical imagery is characteristic for the style of the 'public cases' (*gongan* 公案), the unfathomable sayings which Chan masters give to their disciples as stuff for meditation. The image of the flag pole, in particular, alludes to the *gongan* given by Chan master Nanquan Puyuan 南泉普願 (748–834), who tells his disciple to climb beyond the tip of a hundred span high flag pole.⁵²

⁴⁹ It is likely that the text was written by one of Hongren's disciples. See translation and study by John R. McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism* (Honolulu, 1986), pp. 18–47. For the concept 'Buddha nature', see *ibid. passim*, especially p. 317, n. 79.

⁵⁰ *Liuzu dashi fabao tanjing* 六祖大師法寶壇經 (Platform Sutra of the Jewel of the Law by the Great Master Sixth Patriarch). T 2008, 48:345b–365a. The classical study is by Philip B. Yampolski, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch. The Text of the Tun-huang manuscript with Translation, Introduction, and Notes* (New York and London, 1967). More recent is John R. McRae, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (Berkeley, 2000).

⁵¹ By Yuanwu Keqin 圓悟克勤, example 39 on the lion with the golden hair (*jinmao shizi* 金毛獅子), T 2003, vol. 48, 177b–178a. Translation and interpretation in Wilhelm Gundert, *Bi-yän-lu. Meister Yüan-wu's Niederschrift von der Smaragdenen Felswand*, 3 vols. (München, 1960–73), 2, 129–41. Yuanwu Keqin compiled the *Biyuanlu* around 1125 by adding explanations to one hundred examples which he quoted from older texts.

⁵² *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄. T 2076, ch. 10, 51:274b.

The few sentences by Tongli indicate that he was deeply involved in Chan thought, and that he had a high regard for precepts. This agrees with the biographical information, that he became a Chan monk, and with the choice of the scriptures that he carved. As will be shown, he began with a sutra that Chan Buddhists esteemed highly, and he engraved all the Mahāyāna precepts.

The other, slightly longer text by Tongli is a ritual chant of repentance called *Jingang li* 金剛禮 (Diamond ritual). It covers the back side of the last stone in one of the first scriptures which Tongli's disciples carved when they resumed production in 1107 (Fig. 14).⁵³ Two modern scholars, who have so far commented on this text, stress its importance as a rare document of medieval Buddhist ritual.⁵⁴

The first line instructs the believer how to perform the ritual. He must make an offering (*zuo gong* 作供) before the Buddha, e.g. of fine food or flowers, and chant the Buddhist praise as usual (*fantan ruchang* 梵歎如常) in the rhythm of the Maitreya ritual (*yi 'Cishi li' sheng* 依慈氏禮聲).⁵⁵

The first half of the ritual chant consists of the thirty-two headings with which commentators partition the text of the *Jingang jing* 金剛經 (Diamond Sutra). The earliest commentator to do so was the sixth Chan patriarch Huineng. In Tongli's time the scheme was still rare.⁵⁶ Huineng was his model. Yet Tongli changed the sequence of the thirty-two headings and arranged them in three groups according to the Three Jewels, the Buddha (*fo* 佛), the Law (*fa* 法), and the clergy (*seng* 僧).

In its second part the ritual chant continues with vows of repentance in poetic verses again making use of words culled from the Diamond Sutra. The entire text confirms Tongli's high regard for the Chan tradition as well as his emphasis on rules and ritual.

⁵³ Bundle 188 (*fu* 覆), *Da fangguang yuanjue xiuduoluo liaoyijing* 大方廣圓覺脩多羅了義經 (The Great Means Expansive Explicit Scripture of the Sutra on Complete Enlightenment), after sheet 27. *FSSJ*, 12, 92b. Study of the text by Charles Muller, *The Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment. Korean Buddhism's Guide to Meditation* (With the Commentary by Son Monk Kihwa) (New York, 1999).

⁵⁴ Analysis by Chen, *Fangshan shijing zhong Tongli dashi*, pp. 47–52 (illustration p. 48), and Fang, 'Jingang li.'

⁵⁵ According to Fang, 'Jingang li', 64, this tune is lost.

⁵⁶ In his comprehensive study of 80 commentaries to the Diamond Sutra, Mayer lists 27 commentaries with these 32 headings. Apart from Huineng's, only one other commentary in a Dunhuang manuscript precedes Tongli's text. See Alexander L. Mayer, *Das Vajracchedikā-sūtra und die chinesische Auslegung der prajñā. Ein Beitrag zur Expositorik, Exegese und Hermeneutik im sino-buddhistischen Sūtra-Kommentar*, unpublished Habilitationsschrift (Heidelberg, 1999), p. 197.

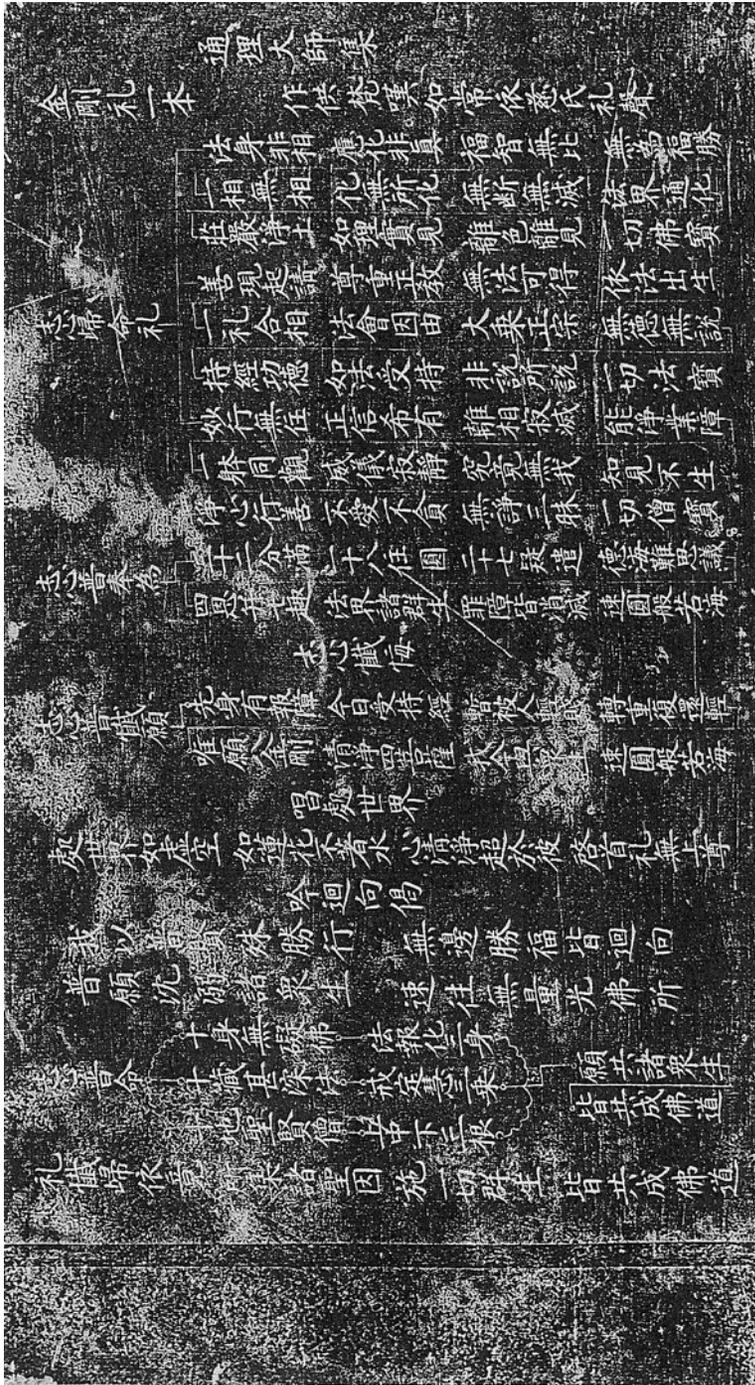


Figure 14. Diamond Ritual by Tongli, carved c.1107.

Tongli's disciples

According to the stele from Yanfusi, Tongli had more than one hundred high-ranking disciples (*shangshou xuezi* 上首學資) whose names begin with the character *shan* 善. Forty-eight among them were his disciples from the beginning (*tidu mentu* 剃度門徒) to whom he had personally given the tonsure.⁵⁷

Tongli brought twelve monk collators (*jiaokan shamen* 校勘沙門) to Cloud Dwelling Monastery. Their job was to establish the correct versions of the texts that were going to be carved. Their names and the date 1093 are engraved on the stone illustrated in Figure 12. The names of four of them begin with the character *shan*, among them the supervisor 'The Most Virtuous Shanhui, monk Chongxiao 善慧大德沙門崇教'.

Among the other three, Shanding was the most prominent. He was apparently well versed in financial matters, because Tongli entrusted him with spending the enormous amount of money which he had collected from ordination fees. A generation later it was Shanding who procured funds for erecting the Śākyamuni Pagoda. He signs the foundation stone of 1117 as 'Superintendent of the Central Buddhist Registry in the Right Administrative District of Yanjing, Great Master Tonghui Yuanzhao (Penetrating Wise, Fully Illuminated), who has been bestowed the colour purple, monk Shanding 燕京右街管內僧錄通慧圓照大師賜紫沙門善定'.⁵⁸ Superintendent in Yanjing was one of the highest positions in the Buddhist clergy of the Liao empire.

Monk collator Shanyong, an accomplished calligrapher, was the author of the inscription for Jingwan's tomb pagoda and wrote it out in his own hand. Monk collator Shanfu was Lord of Sutra Production (*kanzao jingzhu* 勘造經主) and Commentator of Rules (*jiang lü* 講律) when carving resumed in 1107.⁵⁹

Three more of Tongli's disciples whose names begin with *shan*, but who are not listed among the collators in 1093, later held leading positions at Cloud Dwelling Monastery. Abbot Shandeng signs the inscription of 1117, and Senior Monk Shanxiang signs in 1118. The Commentator of Sutras, Shanrui, took the initiative together with Superintendent Shanding in building the Śākyamuni Pagoda and in burying the

⁵⁷ Bao, 'Daanshan', p. 77b.

⁵⁸ Above, n. 24.

⁵⁹ Bundle 188 (*fu* 覆), *Dafangdeng tuoluoni jing* 大方等陀羅尼經 (The Great Means Widespread Dhāraṇī Sutra) in one scroll, end of sutra sheet 12. *FSSJ*, 12, 6b, Beijing tushuguan (ed.), *Fangshan shijing tiji*, p. 359. Chen, *Fangshan shijing zhong Liaomo*, p. 117.

stones in 1117. Tongli must have been proud of his many disciples who reached influential positions and continued the legacy of their master.

4. Scriptures carved by Tongli

The list in the pillar inscription with the titles of the scriptures carved by Tongli follows the sequence of the Qidan canon, and this was also the chronological sequence in which Tongli worked.⁶⁰ The Great Master had the courage to pass over large portions of the canon. This the monks at Cloud Dwelling Monastery had ceased to do after they had begun engraving the Kaiyuan canon in 741. Although not producing every single text, they had, by and large, followed the sequence of the canon. Tongli's bold decisions in his choice of scriptures to be carved indicate that he had a master plan when he started, and that he had definite preferences, as the following survey will show.⁶¹

Sutras

Emperor Daozong's large slabs had ended with bundle 187 (*ke* 可). Tongli omitted the following nine bundles with twenty-eight sutras, which the Kaiyuan canon classifies as esoteric teachings (*mijiao* 密教), and jumped ahead to bundle 197 (*shi* 詩).⁶² The bundle is entirely filled by the ten scrolls of the *Da Foding rulai miyin xiuzheng liaoyi zhupusa wanxing shoulengyan jing* 大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經 (Great Buddha's Topknot Sutra of the Paramount Heroic March, and the Myriad Practices of the Bodhisattvas for Cultivating and Realizing the Complete Meaning of Tathâgata's Secret Cause), shortened to *Lengyanjing* 楞嚴經.⁶³ The sutra is now recognised as apocryphal.⁶⁴ It was highly esteemed

⁶⁰ Chen, *Fangshan shijing zhong Tongli dashi*, pp. 108–62 lists all sutras carved by Tongli, based on the list on the pillar and the excavated pieces. Synopsis of the bundles, *ibid.*, pp. 163–5; explanation, *ibid.* pp. 177–97.

⁶¹ The bundles with scriptures carved by Tongli are indicated in the table Fig. 4.

⁶² Chen, *Fangshan shijing zhong Tongli dashi*, p. 179 lists the sutras which Tongli omitted.

⁶³ *FSSJ*, 13, 162a–236b. *T* 945, 19, 105–55. Chen, *Fangshan shijing zhong Tongli dashi*, pp. 209–54 compares in detail other textual versions, and pp. 190–6 lists 73 commentaries to the *Lengyanjing*. For an in-depth study of the sutra see James A. Benn, 'Another look at the pseudo-*Sûragama sūtra*', in Kuo Li-ying (ed.), *Études d'apocryphes bouddhiques: Mélanges en l'honneur de Monsieur MAKITA Taïryō*, École française d'Extrême-Orient, forthcoming.

⁶⁴ Japanese scholars were the first to doubt the authenticity of the sutra. For a recent study see Lü Cheng 呂徵, 'Lengyan baiwei 楞嚴百偽 (One hundred Reasons why the Lengyan Sutra is

in Tongli's time, for example by the great poet Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036–1107). Although the sutra is subsumed in the canon among the esoteric teachings, it is one of the most important scriptures in Chan Buddhism. Even in our times its verses are still recited daily in Chan monasteries. When Tongli began his work at Cloud Dwelling Monastery by carving this text he made a programmatic choice as a practitioner of Chan Buddhism.

After the *Lengyanjing*, Tongli skipped six bundles, 198 (*zan* 讚) to 203 (*wei* 維) with about one hundred scriptures, most of them consisting of one scroll only.⁶⁵ These scriptures are also classified as esoteric sutras, and many contain dhāranī spells. Some of them were among the last texts that had been produced under the Tang dynasty in the ninth century. Tongli did not care for these esoteric sutras. Having produced only one single sutra, he proceeded directly to bundle 204 (*xian* 賢), where the second basket of Mahāyāna scriptures, the precepts, begins.

Precepts

So far the monks at Cloud Dwelling Monastery had almost exclusively concentrated on sutras. Apart from some texts with precepts in Thunder Sound Cave, in the Tang dynasty they had only produced one complete but short text with precepts, the *Pusa jiefa jiemo wen* 菩薩戒法羯摩文 (Text about the Karma for the Law of Bodhisattva Precepts).⁶⁶ No precepts had been carved in the Liao dynasty so far.

In contrast to the large basket of precepts in the Hīnayāna portion of the canon which regulate the life of monks, the bulk of the Mahāyāna precepts is meant for lay believers. Those were the very people who provided the lion's share of Tongli's funds.

The Mahāyāna precepts are considerably less voluminous than the Mahāyāna sutras. The twenty-six texts only fill the five bundles from 204 (*xian* 賢) to 208 (*sheng* 聖). The master carved them all. The most comprehensive text of the group stands at the beginning. With its ten scrolls the *Pusa dichi jing* 菩薩地持經 (Sutra about Holding on to the [Ten] Stages of a Bodhisattva) fills the entire bundle 204.⁶⁷ The following *Pusa shanjie jing* 菩薩善戒經 (Sutra with the Precepts for Goodness of the Bodhisattva)

Apocryphal), in *Lü Cheng foxue lunzhu xuanji* 呂澂佛學論著選集 (Selected Works in Buddhist Studies by Lü Cheng), 5 vols. (Jinan, 1991), 1, 370–95.

⁶⁵ Chen, *Fangshan shijing zhong Tongli dashi*, pp. 180–1, lists the omitted sutras.

⁶⁶ *FSSJ*, 2, 415–16.

⁶⁷ *FSSJ*, 14, 140–236.

in nine scrolls fills all of bundle 205 (*ke* 剋).⁶⁸ Engraved on its last stone is the list of the twelve compilers of 1093 (Fig. 12). These two large scriptures contain the essentials of the Mahāyāna precepts, yet the master carved the following smaller scriptures, too. Most of them consist of one scroll only. Tongli even engraved the short text again which had already been done once in the Tang dynasty. That this version was already stored in the caves on Stone Sutra Mountain had perhaps been forgotten.⁶⁹ Doubtless, precepts were dear to the master's heart.

Treatises

Having finished all the Mahāyāna precepts, Tongli then turned to the Mahāyāna treatises, which were going to absorb most of his efforts. After the precepts in the Kaiyuan canon, treatises follow and form the third of the three baskets in the Chinese tripitaka. Except for one very short text in Thunder Sound Cave,⁷⁰ no complete treatise had ever been carved.

The Mahāyāna treatises fall into two groups, Treatises with Exegesis of Sutras (*shijing lun* 釋經論), which are commentaries on specific sutras, and Treatises of Collected Meanings (*jiyi lun* 集義論), which are independent discourses. The Treatises with Exegesis of Sutras fill fifteen bundles from 209 (*de* 德) to 223 (*xi* 習).

The first scripture in the group was again the most voluminous. It was also the largest text which Tongli had tackled so far, the mighty *Dazhidu lun* 大智度論 (Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom). Its hundred scrolls fill ten bundles from 209 (*de* 德) to 218 (*gu* 谷). The encyclopaedic *Dazhidu lun* is a foundational scripture for Mahāyāna Buddhism and, like all treatises, written by an historic figure, in this case the eminent Indian philosopher Nāgārjuna (Longshu pusa 龍樹菩薩, second to third centuries AD).⁷¹ It is his commentary to the *Mohe bore boluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 (Mahā prajñāpāramitā sūtra; Great Sutra of the Perfection of Wisdom). This sutra as well as the *Dazhidu lun* were among the major scriptures which Kumārajīva (Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什; 344–413) translated into

⁶⁸ FSSJ, 14, 237–326.

⁶⁹ The title of Tongli's version differs slightly: *Pusajie jiemo wen* 菩薩戒羯摩文 (Text about the Karma of Bodhisattva Precepts), FSSJ, 14, 509–12.

⁷⁰ *Wuliangshou jing youbotishe yuansheng ji* 無量壽經優婆塞願生偈 (Gatha with the Vow for Rebirth as Argued in the Sutra of Limitless Long Life). FSSJ, 1, 108.

⁷¹ Translation and study of the first part and chapter 20 of the second part by Étienne Lamotte, *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna* (Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra), vols. 1–2 (Louvain: Bureau du *Muséon* 1944, 1949), vols. 3–5 (Louvain: Université de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste, 1970, 1976, 1980).

Chinese. Xuanzang 玄奘 (600–64) later translated the entire corpus of *prāṇā* literature in 600 scrolls under the title *Da bore boluomi jing* 大般若波羅蜜經. To carve this corpus into stone had taken the monks at the monastery exactly three centuries, from 741 to 1041.

After the *Dazhidu lun*, Tongli immediately tackled the second largest text in the group, the *Shidijing lun* 十地經論 (Treatise on the Sutra of the Ten Stages) in twelve scrolls, filling bundle 219 (*chuan* 傳). It is a commentary by Vasubandhu (Tianqin pusa 天親菩薩; fourth to fifth centuries), on the ten stages of becoming a Bodhisattva as expounded in the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 (Flower Garland Sutra). Thereafter Tongli carved the remaining eighteen Treatises with the Exegesis of Sutras down to bundle 223 (*xi* 習).

The second group, the Treatises of Collected Meanings, fills the thirty-five bundles from 224 (*ting* 廳) to 258 (*shen* 深). Again, the most comprehensive scripture opens the group. It is the huge *Yujia shidi lun* 瑜伽師地論 (Treatise on the Stages of Yoga Practice) whose hundred scrolls fill bundles 224 (*ting* 廳) to 233 (*chi* 尺). The *Yujia shidi lun*, written by the brother of Vasubandhu Asaṅga (Wuzhu pusa 無著菩薩; fourth century), or by the Bodhisattva Maitreya himself, was translated by Xuanzang. It is the main scripture of the so-called Yogācāra literature of which Xuanzang was the main propagator.⁷²

After the *Yujialun* the second largest text in this group, the *Xianyang shengjiao lun* 顯揚聖教論 (Treatise on Spreading the Holy Teachings), follows in twenty scrolls in bundles 234 (*bi* 璧) and 235 (*fei* 非), also written by Asaṅga and translated by Xuanzang. Among the subsequent smaller scriptures are more works by Nāgārjuna and the *Wangfa zhengli lun* 王法正理論 (Treatise on the Correct Principle of the Law for a King). This scripture in bundle 236 (*bao* 寶) is also associated with Maitreya and was translated by Xuanzang.

Having completed eighteen of the thirty-five bundles with Treatises of Collected Meanings, from 224 (*ting* 廳) to 241 (*zi* 資), Tongli skipped bundles 242 (*fu* 父) to 254 (*ze* 則). These thirteen bundles belong to the 217 within the 480 bundles of the Kaiyuan canon which were never carved at all at Cloud Dwelling Monastery.⁷³

Tongli produced two more bundles from the Treatises of Collected Meanings, 255 (*jin* 盡) and 256 (*ming* 命). They again contain seminal

⁷² For Xuanzang see Alexander Leonhard Mayer, *Xuanzangs Leben und Werk*, Teil 1: *Xuanzang, Übersetzer und Heiliger*, Teil 2: *Cien-Biographie VII* (Wiesbaden, 1991–2).

⁷³ Complete list of bundles in the Qidan canon that were not carved in Chen, *Fangshan shijing zhong Liaomo*, p. 177.

Mahāyāna scriptures translated by Xuanzang, including the *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論 (Treatise on Establishing Consciousness Only) with ten commentaries, the main one allegedly written by Dharmapāla (Hufa 護法), and the *Dacheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 (Treatise on the Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna), attributed to Aśvaghōṣa. The last two bundles of treatises, 257 (*lin* 臨) and 258 (*shen* 深), were not carved.

The survey of the treatises has shown that Tongli omitted portions of them, whereas he had carved the precepts in their entirety. Considering, however, that the treatises are ten times as voluminous as the precepts (fifty as opposed to five bundles), and taking into account that they include the *Dazhidu lun* and the *Yujia shidi lun* with one hundred scrolls each, it emerges that Mahāyāna treatises accounted for about 90 per cent of the entire texts carved by Tongli. The shift of emphasis from primary sutra texts to scholastic literature is one of the Great Master's remarkable innovations.

Within the exegetic literature, Tongli displayed an encompassing view. The *Dazhidu lun* and the *Yujia shidi lun* are the most comprehensive and representative scriptures of two principal schools of thought within Mahāyāna Buddhism, the Mādhyamika tradition of the 'middle view' (zhongguan 中觀) spelled out in the works of Nāgārjuna, and, on the other hand, the Yogācāra literature with its 'consciousness only' (weishi 唯識) doctrine, translated and expounded by Xuanzang. As a Chan Buddhist, Tongli was attracted by the core notion of the emptiness (kong 空) of the dharma nature (faxing 法性) in Nāgārjuna's treatises, while at the same time recognising the concepts of existence (you 有) of the characteristics of dharmas (faxiang 法相) in Xuanzang's translations. The master's choice of treatises thus confirms the observation of his biographer noted above that he thoroughly studied 'the nature and the characteristics (xingxiang 性相)'.

With bundle 259 (*lü* 履) the Hīnayāna scriptures begin in the Kaiyuan canon. Several Hīnayāna texts had been carved in the Tang period, yet Tongli did not attempt to fill in gaps, indeed, he did not carve any Hīnayāna text at all. He chose scriptures instead that lay far ahead in the sequence, beyond the last bundle 480 (*ying* 英) in the Kaiyuan canon.

Qidan canon

The Qidan supplement begins with bundle 481 (*du* 杜) and ends with bundle 579 (*mie* 滅). The great project of printing the Qidan canon had been

brought to completion in 1068, and the texts of the Qidan supplement were all available to Tongli. Yet the master only selected three bundles, 481 (*du* 杜), 487 (*bi* 壁), and 568 (*ning* 寧).⁷⁴ The pillar inscription lists them in reverse order. Towards the end of his production Tongli may have deliberately deviated from the sequence of the canon, because his funds were drying up. He began with a scripture which he definitely wanted to complete, and only thereafter turned to other scriptures in diminishing order of importance. Tongli was the first to venture into the Qidan portion of the canon. He thereby gave recognition to more recent translations and highlighted the contribution of his own dynasty.

Tongli first carved another scripture by Nāgārjuna, the ten scrolls of the *Moheyān lun* 摩訶衍論 (Treatise on Mahāyāna) in bundle 568 (*ning* 寧).⁷⁵ The text had been lost after the Tang dynasty, but was rediscovered on emperor Daozong's initiative and inserted into the Qidan canon around 1062.⁷⁶ Bundle 568 was the highest number in the canon ever to be carved at Cloud Dwelling Monastery.

Bundle 487 (*bi* 壁) is also filled in its entirety by a single text, the eight scrolls of the *Dasheng bensheng xindi guanjing* 大乘本生心地觀經 (Mahāyāna Sutra on Visualising the Mind Ground of the Buddha's Former Lives). The sutra was not included in the Kaiyuan canon, because it had only been translated in the beginning of the ninth century by Bore 般若. It is first mentioned as belonging to the canon in the *Zhenyuan* 貞元 era (785–804).⁷⁷

In bundle 481 (*du* 杜), Tongli carved all four texts, the largest being the *Dasheng liqu liu boluomiduo jing* 大乘理趣六波羅蜜多經 (Sutra of the Sixfold Perfection of the Mahāyāna Essence) in ten scrolls translated by Bore in 788. These very last items in Tongli's production belonged once more to the Prajñāpāramitā literature.

The Great Master's grand view over the mass of scriptures enabled him to make informed choices. Some of the texts which he left out, were never carved at all, yet Tongli's encompassing perspective drove it home to his followers, that the great project could some day be brought to completion.

⁷⁴ List of the texts in Chen, *Fangshan shijing zhong Tongli dashi*, pp. 159–62. Cf. also Chen, *Fangshan shijing zhong Liaomo*, pp. 153, 162.

⁷⁵ *FSSJ*, 28, 484–598.

⁷⁶ Tsukamoto, 'Bōzan', pp. 515–19.

⁷⁷ *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定教釋教目錄 (A catalogue of [the texts about] Buddhist teachings, newly compiled in the Zhenyuan era [785–804]), written by Yuanzhao 圓照 in 799–800. *T* 2157, 55:1036a.

5. Fund raising

‘Since the Master travelled to this mountain and lodged in this monastery, he sighed that the stone sutras were incomplete and pondered continuing the work’ (3/3). Tongli’s pondering proved enormously effective. The Great Master initiated a scheme of rationalised production of thousands of new stones. To do this, two conditions had to be met. The necessary funds had to be raised, and a system of mass production had to be devised.

Ordination campaign

The master raised funds through an ordination campaign. He set up an ordination terrace at Cloud Dwelling Monastery, on which he administered the precepts for a limited amount of time, from the first day of the year 1093 until the end of spring.

Two records about Tongli’s campaign exist. Tongli’s disciple Shanyong says in Jingwan’s tomb inscription of 1093: ‘In the beginning of spring in the ninth year of the *Daan* era [1093], Great Master Tongli surveyed Jingwan’s extraordinary feats and subsequently continued his work. He administered the precepts for the ten good deeds of Mahāyāna and converted several hundred thousand followers, who donated fees in large amounts.’⁷⁸

In his pillar inscription of 1118 Zhicai relates: ‘In the ninth year of the *Daan* era [1093], on the first day of the first month, he then opened an ordination terrace in this monastery. Officials and commoners, clergy and laymen came into the mountain to receive the precepts. Their numbers cannot be known. Who would have the temerity to assess this ocean-like assembly? Indeed, the Master’s fund raising was only secondary. Only at the very end of spring did he finish’ (3/3–5).

The main difference between these two accounts is that, according to Shanyong, Tongli administered the ‘precepts for the ten good deeds of Mahāyāna 大乘十善戒’. These Bodhisattva precepts (pusajie 菩薩戒) were taken by lay people, and not by those who left the world to become monks or nuns. According to Zhicai, however, clergy, too, came into the mountain to receive the precepts.

Shanyong’s account is more reliable, because it was written in 1093 when the ordination took place. It is also more convincing, because it can

⁷⁸ For Jingwan’s tomb inscription, see above, n. 31.

explain, how Tongli could amass the enormous sums of money that he did. When lay people took the Bodhisattva precepts, the state could not and did not interfere with their donations. Ordination fees were small and could go to the monastery directly. Yet those who wanted to leave the world and enter the monastic order, first took the ten precepts of a novice monk or nun (shami jie 沙彌戒 or shamini jie 沙彌尼戒), and later the complete precepts (juzujie 具足戒), usually 250 and 348, respectively, for monks (biqu jie 比丘戒) and nuns (biquini jie 比丘尼戒).⁷⁹ In these cases the monastery did not receive donations. On the contrary, the government sold the ordination certificates (dudie 度牒) and collected considerable ordination fees, in order to compensate for the future loss in taxes from these individuals.⁸⁰ Setting up an ordination terrace had been an age-old remedy of the state to replenish its empty coffers. A famous case was the official sale of ordination certificates during the An Lushan rebellion in the middle of the eighth century.⁸¹

Great Master Tongli thus was probably the most successful fund raiser in the entire history of Cloud Dwelling Monastery. By appealing to the common people he enabled the monastery to liberate itself from dependence on imperial allocations and subsidies. Supervision by local administrators was no longer necessary either. The imperial administration merely had to agree that an ordination terrace could be set up. Given Tongli's good standing at court, the approval must have been easy to obtain.

In this respect Tongli acted like Jingwan, who received uncounted small donations from troops in the army of the Sui emperor.⁸² Great Master Tongli, again like Jingwan, could be so independent because of his extraordinary personal appeal: Shanyong asserts, that the Great Master converted several hundred thousand followers in three months! Perhaps not too much for a master who in his life administered the Bodhisattva precepts to more than 1.5 million individuals.⁸³

The people who flocked to the ordination terrace each only offered a small amount. One such contribution was not sufficient to produce an entire stone. These donors gave anonymously to the great cause and not

⁷⁹ The numbers can vary.

⁸⁰ A Liao dynasty ordination certificate from the *Qiantong* 乾統 era (1101–10) is illustrated in *Wenwu* 文物 (1982, no. 6), plate 3, fig. 3, following p. 16.

⁸¹ Jacques Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society. An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries*, trans. Franciscus Verellen (New York, 1995) (originally published as *Les aspects économiques du bouddhisme dans la société chinoise du Ve au Xe siècle*. Saigon: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1956), pp. 52–7.

⁸² Ledderose, 'Thunder Sound Cave', pp. 245–6.

⁸³ According to the stele from Yanfusi. Bao, 'Daanshan', p. 77b.

a particular share. Most stones which Tongli produced therefore do not carry donors' names. The lack of donors' inscriptions is another point of similarity between the operations of Tongli and Jingwan. No visible trace of ambitious individuals interfered between the arcane scriptures and their material manifestation.

Other donors

Two exceptions exist, however. On the slabs with the hundred scrolls of the *Yujia shidi lun* one finds twelve colophons in which donors specify the amount of money and the number of stones which they donated.⁸⁴ Curiously, their donations add up to 1,000 stone slabs, although only 866 slabs needed to be carved.⁸⁵ In seven cases the benefactors were monks in a particular monastery. The monks in Cloud Dwelling Monastery gave money for 150 stones. Six other monasteries contributed fifty stones each. Among the five individual donors the largest amount was given by one female supporter: 'The wife of the Grand Mentor in Yi prefecture still raised offerings in the city and donated a total of 700 strings of cash to produce altogether 350 slabs 易州太傅夫人并在城檀越，共施錢柒佰貫文，辦碑共三百五十條'.⁸⁶ No space is left before the two characters *furen* 夫人, 'wife', indicating that the colophon is not talking about two persons, but that the wife was the only donor. Among the other four individual donors was still another woman: 'The wife of Vice Director Ma in Yanjing donated one hundred strings of money to produce fifty slabs 燕京馬侍郎夫人施錢一百貫，辦碑五十條'.⁸⁷ Five donor groups lived in Yanjing, two in Yi prefecture and five more in different adjacent places, the furthest being the Western Capital, near present Datong 大同, Shanxi.

The second exception is the *Cheng weishi lun* in ten scrolls. A woman donor paid single-handedly for fifty of the eighty-eight stones needed for this text. Her colophon reads: 'The wife of the Gentleman of the Interior Sun in the Palace Guard in Yanjing donated money, one hundred strings of cash, to have fifty slabs made 燕京孫衛內家郎中娘子施錢一百貫文，造碑五十條' (Fig. 15).⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Beijing tushuguan (ed.), *Fangshan shijing tiji*, pp. 483, 487–9. Chen, *Fangshan shijing zhong Tongli dashi*, p. 189.

⁸⁵ *FSSJ*, vol. 13. For a detailed list of all stones see Chen, *Fangshan shijing zhong Tongli dashi*, pp. 136–47.

⁸⁶ Bundle 230 (*yuan* 緣), end of scroll 66, *FSSJ*, 18, 579a.

⁸⁷ Bundle 231 (*shan* 善), end of scroll 47, *FSSJ*, 18, 641a.

⁸⁸ Bundle 255 (*jin* 盡), end of scroll 6, *FSSJ*, 20, 148b. Beijing tushuguan (ed.), *Fangshan shijing tiji*, p. 495. Chen, *Fangshan shijing zhong Tongli dashi*, p. 189.

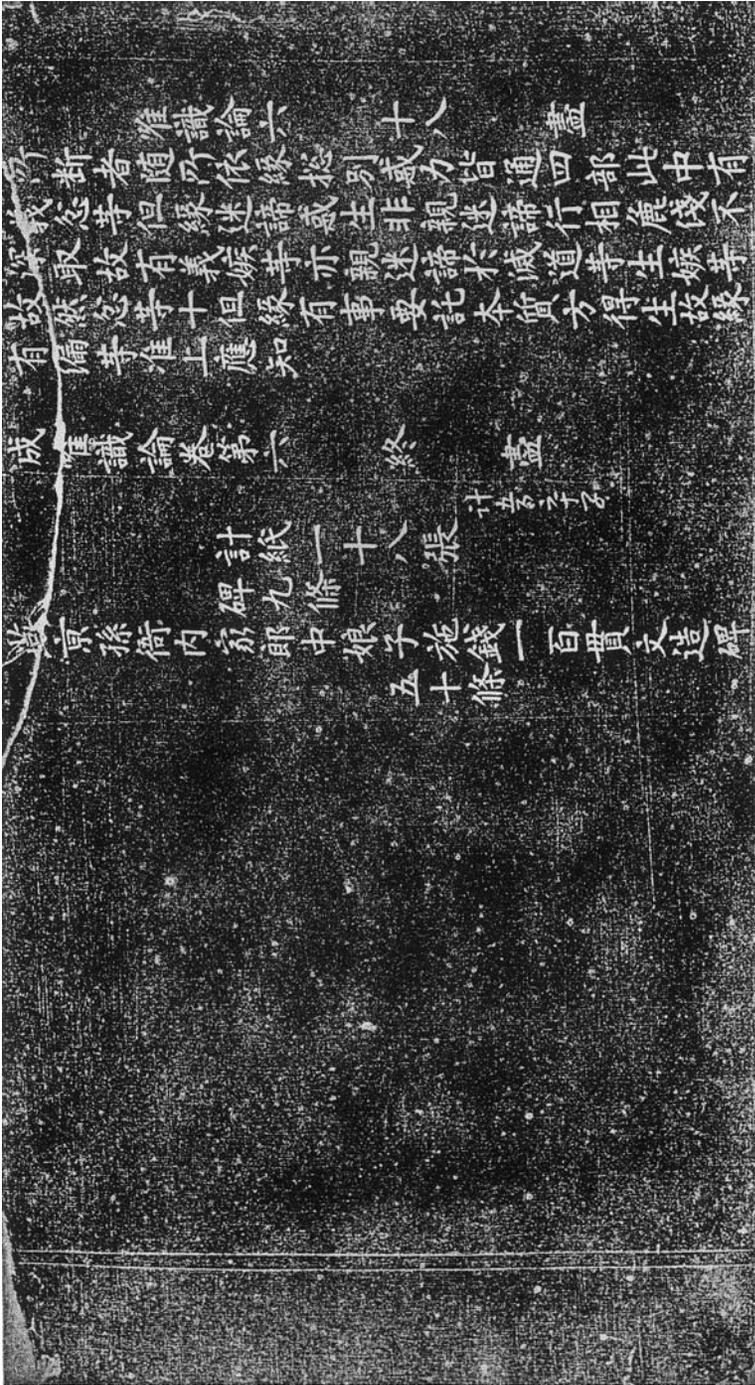


Figure 15. *Cheng weishi lun*, scroll six, last stone, sheet 18.

Cost of one stone

The ratio between the amount of cash and the number of stones given by the donors is always the same. If one hundred strings of cash paid for fifty stones, one stone cost two strings. Each string contained one thousand coppers which equalled one piece of silver. The price included the collation as well as the writing of the text, the preparation of the stone slab, and the engraving proper. A sum of 2,000 coppers for this work was quite high; in 1073 the daily wage of a person given into bondage was ten coppers.⁸⁹

The figures in the inscription of 1118 allow a similar calculation: ‘The donations he had received amounted to more than ten thousand strings of cash. He entrusted them to his disciple, the present Superintendent of the Central Buddhist Registry in the Right Administrative District, Great Master Tonghui Yuanzhao, [monk] Shanding, for the collating of texts and carving of stones’ (3/5–4/1). More than ten thousand strings of cash was a considerable sum, the equivalent of more than ten million copper coins. As Zhicai notes, 4,080 stones were produced with this money. They cost 8,160 strings of cash. Tongli thus still had almost two thousand strings left over. Those he could use for building the tomb pagoda for monk Jingwan or for other necessary expenses in his carving project which have gone unrecorded.

6. Production

The stones

Not only is the speed at which Tongli collected money astonishing. Equally astonishing is the speed, at which he spent it. It took Tongli only two and a half years to produce more than four thousand engraved stones. Such an achievement was only possible in a rationalised system of production.⁹⁰

Zhicai gives precise numbers of the stones which were lowered under the earth in 1117: ‘180 of the large stone sutra slabs commissioned by Emperor Daozong and 4,080 small stone sutra slabs commissioned by Great Master Tongli were both buried in this earthen pit’ (4/4–5). Zhicai

⁸⁹ Cf. Wittfogel and Feng, *History of Chinese Society*, pp. 124, 147, 386. It is difficult to ascertain, however, how much statistical value this information has.

⁹⁰ For a preliminary discussion of Tongli’s production see Ledderose, ‘Massenproduktion’.

also says what Tongli's production meant in terms of bundles: 'Of steles there were 4,080 slabs, of sutras there were forty-four bundles' (4/1–2). When the stones were excavated in the 1950s, these numbers were confirmed—almost. The excavators found 163 of Daozong's large steles and 4,137 of Tongli's small stones.⁹¹

The older slabs before Tongli are sometimes quite large, and their shapes and sizes are irregular. One stone of the *Nirvāna Sutra* which Jingwan finished in 625 is 242 cm high,⁹² the rubbing of one stone of the *Huashou jing*, the last sutra to be carved before Tongli, is 152 cm high (Fig. 5). Both sides of that particular stone have thirty-four columns with about seventy-five characters each. A note on the back of the stone says that a total of 2,530 characters is engraved on that side.⁹³ Front and back of the slab thus have about five thousand characters.

Tongli's stones are considerably smaller, which makes them lighter and easier to handle. One slab can comfortably be carried by two people (Figs 8 and 25). All stones are of uniform size. They are between 41 and 45.5 cm high, between 73.5 and 78 cm wide, and between 4.5 and 9 cm thick.⁹⁴ Standardisation of size made cutting the slabs easier and further facilitated their transportation. All stones are engraved on front and back in a standardised layout. Figure 16 shows a rubbing taken from the front side of one stone of the *Yujia shidi lun*.⁹⁵ The rectangular field measures 71 by 29 cm. After the title column follows the text block with twenty-eight vertical columns on all stones in this text. The columns contain seventeen characters each, as was standard for sutra texts. Yet four columns each have sixteen characters only.

Tongli's numbering system is detailed and precise. The first line on a stone contains the title of the text (here abbreviated as *Yujialun*, 瑜伽論), the number of the particular scroll (here 97, 九十七), the number of the sheet or stone face in this scroll (here 22, 二十二), and the character in the *Thousand Character Essay* referring to the respective bundle (here bundle 233, *chi* 尺, for scrolls 91 to 100 in the *Yujialun*).

The text of scroll 97 happens to end on the back side of this stone (Fig. 17). The column following the body of the text contains the title

⁹¹ List of texts on the large steles excavated from the pit in Chen, *Fangshan shijing zhong Tongli dashi*, pp. 102–4. List with numbers of Tongli's stones, *ibid.*, pp. 163–4.

⁹² Zhongguo fojiao xiehui 中國佛教協會 (ed.), *Fangshan Yunjusi shijing* 房山雲居寺石經 (The Stone Sutras of the Cloud Dwelling Monastery at Fangshan) (Beijing, 1978), p. 85.

⁹³ *FSSJ*, 11, 547–8.

⁹⁴ Sample measurements taken by the author in 1988.

⁹⁵ *FSSJ*, 18, 862a.

於奢摩他樂修觀行彼即應於內奢摩他
 所攝自心取如是相謂我今者何所思惟云
 何思惟令奢摩他所攝受心為奢摩他所治
 身心愠沉下劣之所惱亂復我今者何所思
 惟云何思惟令奢摩他所攝受心不為彼法
 之所惱亂若彼苾芻不取如是自心相貞但
 自了知此隨煩惱深汗心已便於外緣取淨
 妙相由是為因雖能暫時除遣現在現前
 隨感然於後時若復如前攝心內聚還為
 如是隨感所惱不得靜定如先不取自心相
 緣由是因緣為隨煩惱數數擾亂又不能得
 所欣求義復為憂愁之所損惱又經長時不
 能獲得內心寂止不能獲得依奢摩他毗鉢
 舍那為先清淨增上第一正念正知由不獲
 得內心寂止故不能得四增上心現法樂住
 由不獲得增上第一正念正智故不能得先
 所未得無上安隱究竟涅槃與上相違應知
 即是一切白品乃至獲得先所未得無上安
 隱究竟涅槃此中典厨譬喻伽師主即譬於
 內奢摩他所攝受心其有膳味喻執取相上
 妙衣食喻於內心奢摩他等當知黑品喻諸
 愚夫所有白品喻諸智者復次有諸苾芻於
 諸念住正勤修習而是異生或有勝妙可愛
 境界正現在前或復獨處得諸相狀由失
 念故不如理想以為依止率爾發起猛利貪
 纏彼於此纏深心狀取謂如自身墮於厄難
 極鄙穢處發起猛利思遠離心由如是行便
 於彼纏心得解脫既解脫已心生歡喜從此

Figure 16. *Yajñatanu*, scroll 97, rubbing of sheet 21.

已後起猛利獸猛利獸後得無常想如見
 大犁發諸行塊便於聖諦如實現觀以其
 依止依附涅槃又即有學觀察作意觀勝
 妙境思惟淨相由未永斷貪隨眠故貪纏
 率尔生起現前尋復於彼深見過患為欲
 斷此纏及隨眠入無相定如是能斷餘未
 斷法從定起已如實了知一切已斷領受
 微妙解脫喜樂如實觀見自己成就大智
 力故名為強盛諸魔羅品其力羸劣復次
 修四念住所引功德當知能感最勝增上
 究竟果故名有大果當知能感最勝增上
 樂勝利故名有大利

瑜伽師地論卷九十七 尺
 計二十二紙
 背面計六百五十六字
 邵師教刻

Figure 17. *Yujitatan*, scroll 97, rubbing of sheet 22.

once more (here in its full form, *Yujia shidi lun* 瑜伽師地論), the full number of the scroll (here scroll number 97, 卷第九十七), and the character of the bundle (here *chi* 尺). The next column reads: ‘total of twenty-two papers, 計二十二紙’, which means for this scroll the text on twenty-two paper sheets was transferred onto the front and back sides of eleven stones. The next to last line lists the exact number of characters on this particular stone: ‘On front and back together a total of 656 characters 背面計六百五十六字’. The last line says: ‘Carved by Shao Shijiao 邵師教刻’. Tongli’s system of identification thus was exact and even somewhat redundant. It must have given the supervisors a clear view of how the labour was being carried out, and efficient control of what each carver accomplished.

Carving the Qidan canon

Of special interest is the information that texts from twenty-two paper sheets were engraved. This ties in with a passage in the pillar inscription: ‘The stones resembled printing blocks. Back and front were both used, so that two sheets of paper with sutras could be engraved on each 石類印枚，背面俱用，鐫經兩紙’ (4/1). The printing blocks of which Zhicai is thinking here must have been the wooden blocks for printing the Qidan canon. Normally printing blocks are engraved on both sides in order to save space and make best use of the precious wood. Zhicai’s observation has been taken as proof that the monks at Cloud Dwelling Monastery engraved the printed texts of the Qidan canon.⁹⁶

It seems to follow, that the paper sheets which Zhicai mentions as being engraved on each stone were precisely those of the Qidan canon. The information on the *Cheng weishi lun* stone ‘total of eighteen paper sheets 計紙一十八張’ (Fig. 15), or on the *Yujialun* stone ‘total of twenty-two papers 計二十二紙’ (Fig. 16), would then refer to printed sheets of the canon. This however, was not the case. The visual evidence will show that the paper sheets printed from the wooden blocks of the canon were not the same paper sheets whose writing was transferred onto the stones.

The Qidan canon was long thought to have been lost completely, but in 1974 ten scrolls were brought to light from the inside of the Śākyamuni statue in the fourth floor of the famous wooden pagoda at Yingxian (Yingxian muta 應縣木塔).⁹⁷ The characters of the *Thousand Character*

⁹⁶ Chen, *Fangshan shijing zhong Tongli dashi*, p. 206.

⁹⁷ A total of 47 printed scrolls was discovered in the statue. They are published in full in Shanxi-sheng wenwuju 山西省文物局 and Zhongguo lishi bowuguan 中國歷史博物館 (eds.), *Yingxian muta*

Essay that are used to number the bundles in these prints, match those on the stones at Cloud Dwelling Monastery.⁹⁸

The ten scrolls in the pagoda are only a tiny fraction of the printed canon. Its 579 bundles contained scrolls more than fifty times this number. It would have been good luck if one of the ten scrolls had contained a text also carved by Tongli. Yet none of his texts is found among the Yingxian Pagoda scrolls. A direct juxtaposition between the layout on Tongli's stones and the printed layout is therefore impossible. Comparisons can, however, be made with later stones that were carved according to standards established by Tongli.

Figures 18 and 19 show the last two sheets of printed scroll 1 of the *Da fangbian fo baoen jing* 大方便佛報恩經 (The Great Means Expedient Sutra about the Buddha Requiring Grace).⁹⁹ Figures 20 and 21 illustrate the corresponding two stone faces in Cloud Dwelling Monastery.¹⁰⁰ The stone sutra has no date, but it was likely made in 1110 or 1111, because the preceding and the following texts in the sequence of the canon were produced in these years.¹⁰¹

The printed scroll is 28.4 cm high and has been pasted together from nineteen paper sheets. Their length varies from 53.8 to 55 cm. The sheets are about one-third smaller than the stones¹⁰² and therefore cannot have been transferred onto the stone mechanically. Calligraphers had rather to enlarge the characters through copying them by hand. In the process they allowed themselves to deviate stylistically from their model. The strokes in the printed characters (Figs 18 and 19) are more angular and brittle than those on the stones (Figs 20 and 21).

Liaodai micang 應縣木塔遼代秘藏 (Secret Liao Dynasty Sutra Depository in the Timber Pagoda at Yingxian) (Beijing, 1991). 37 of the scrolls are not part of the Qidan canon, but single printings. Cf. Luo Zhao 羅紹, "“Qidanzang” de diaoyin niandai 契丹藏的雕印年代" (The Date of the Carving of the Qidan canon), *Zhongguo lishi bowuguan guankan* 中國歷史博物館館刊 (1983, no. 5), 15–17. Luo Zhao 羅紹 "Zai tan “Qidanzang” de diaoyin niandai 再談“契丹藏”的雕印年代" (Once more on the date of the carving of the Qidan canon), *Wenwu* 文物 (1988, no. 8), 73–81. Reprint in Lü (ed.), *Fangshan*, 3, 79–103.

⁹⁸ Scholars have often referred to the matching numbers as proof that that Cloud Dwelling Monastery carved the texts of the Qidan canon. However, only six of the ten printed scrolls have texts that were carved into stone in the Liao and Jin dynasties. In those six cases the numbers match. In the list in Shanxisheng, *Yingxian muta*, pp. 11–12, those are nos. 7–12. Texts nos. 1–4 in the list were already carved into stone in the Tang dynasty and do not carry *Thousand Character Essay* numbers. Texts nos. 5–6 are not believed to belong to the Qidan canon (cf. preceding note).

⁹⁹ Shanxisheng, *Yingxian muta*, pp. 51b and 52a.

¹⁰⁰ Bundle 190 (*yu* 欲), *FSSJ*, 12, 183b–184a.

¹⁰¹ Dated colophons in Beijing tushuguan (ed.), *Fangshan shijing tiji*, pp. 366–8.

¹⁰² Above, n. 94.

勢微聲響語六言汝欲戰我隨意取食何為身恐怖
 耶六今時天帝釋言我非師子虎狼也是天帝釋
 故來試汝
 今時太子見天帝釋歡喜無量今時天帝釋
 問太子言汝是難捨能捨身體血肉供養父
 母如是功德為願生天作魔王梵王天王人
 王轉輪聖王須闍提報天帝釋言我亦不願
 生天作魔王梵王天王人王轉輪聖王欲求
 無上正真之道度脫一切眾生天帝釋言汝
 大愚也何釋多羅三藐三菩提久改動苦然後
 乃成汝云何能受是苦也須闍提報天帝釋
 言假使執鐵輪在我頂上旋終不以此苦退於
 無上道天帝釋言汝唯成言誰當信汝須闍
 提即立誓願若我欺誑天帝釋者令我身瘡
 始終莫令若不令者令我身體平復如故
 血當變白為乳即時身體平復如故血即
 反白為乳身體形容端正倍常是為天帝釋
 頭面禮足今時天帝釋即歎言善哉善哉吾
 不及汝汝精進勇猛會得阿耨多羅三藐三
 菩提不久若得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提時願
 先度我時天帝釋於虛空中即波不現今時
 王及夫人得到隣國時彼國王遂出奉迎供給
 所須稱甚與之
 今時大王向彼國王說上事因緣如吾子身肉
 孝養父母其事如是時彼隣國王聞是語
 已感須闍提太子難捨能捨身體肉供養
 父母孝養如是感其慈孝故即合四拜還與

Figure 18. *Da fangbian fo baoen jing*, scroll 1, printed sheet 18. From Yingxian pagoda.

彼王伐羅睺羅九今時大王即將四兵順路還
 歸與須闍提太子別處即自念言吾子亦
 當死矣今當收取身骨還歸本國舉聲悲
 哭隨路求覓遇見其子身體平復端正倍
 常即前執持悲喜交集語太子言汝猶活也
 今時須闍提具以上事向父母說父母歡喜
 共載大象還歸本國以須闍提福德力故
 伐得本國即立須闍提太子為王佛告阿難
 今時父王者今現我父輸頭檀是今時母者
 今現我母摩耶夫人是今時須闍提太子者
 今則我身釋迦如來是今時天帝釋者阿
 若橋陳如是說此孝養父母品時眾中有二
 十億菩薩皆得樂說辯才利益一切復有十
 二萬億菩薩皆得無生法忍復有十方諸眾
 微塵等數皆得陀羅尼門復有恒河沙等
 微塵數諸聲聞緣覺捨離二乘心究竟一乘
 復有微塵數優婆塞優婆夷或得初果乃
 至二果復有百千人發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提
 心復有諸天龍鬼神凡闍婆阿脩羅惡魔
 羅刹那羅摩睺羅伽人非人等或發菩提心
 乃至發聞辟支佛心佛告阿難菩薩如是為
 一切眾生故難行苦行孝養父母身體血肉供
 養父母其事如是一切大眾聞佛說法各得勝
 利歡喜作禮而退
 大方便佛報恩經卷第一 啟

Figure 19. *Da fangbian fo baoen jing*, scroll 1, printed sheet 19. From Yingxian pagoda.

大方便佛報恩經卷第一 十六 啟
 孝養品第二
 化作師子虎狼之屬張目曠眈地大吼波
 彌騰躡來欲搏啣尔時須闍提見諸禽獸作
 大威勢微聲語言汝欲敢我隨意取食何為
 見恐怖耶尔時天帝釋言我非師子虎狼也
 是天帝釋故來試卿 尔時太子見天帝釋
 歡喜無量尔時天帝釋問太子言汝是難捨
 能捨身體血肉供養父母如是功德為願生
 天作魔王梵王天王人王轉輪聖王須闍提
 報天帝釋言我亦不願生天作魔王梵王天
 王人王轉輪聖王欲求無上正真之道度脫
 一切衆生天帝釋言汝大愚也阿耨多羅三
 藐三菩提久受勤苦然後乃成汝云何能受
 是苦也須闍提報天帝釋言假使熱鐵輪在
 我頂上旋終不以此苦退於無上道天帝釋
 言汝唯空言誰當信汝須闍提即立誓願點
 我欺誑天帝釋者令我身瘡始終莫合若不
 令者令我身體平復如故血當變白為乳即
 時身體平復如故血即反白為乳身體形容
 端正倍常起為天帝釋頭面礼足尔時天帝
 釋即歎言善哉善哉吾不及汝汝精進勇猛
 會得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提不久若得阿耨
 多羅三藐三菩提時願先度我時天帝釋於
 虛空中即現不現尔時王及夫人得到隣國
 時彼國王遠出奉迎供給所須攝意與之
 尔時大王向彼國王說上事因緣如吾子身
 肉孝養父母其事如是時彼隣國王聞是語
 已感須闍提太子難捨能捨身體血肉供養

Figure 20. *Da fangbian fo baoen jing*, scroll 1, rubbing of sheet 18.

大方便佛報恩經卷第一 十九 欲
 孝養品第二
 父母孝養如是感其慈孝故即合四兵還其
 彼王伐羅睺羅爾時大王即將四兵順路還
 歸與須闍提太子別處即自念言吾子亦當
 死矣今嚙取身骨還歸本國舉聲悲哭隨
 路求覓遇見其子身體平復端正倍常即前
 抱持悲喜交集語太子言汝猶活也爾時須
 闍提具以上事向父母說父母歡喜共載大
 象還歸本國以須闍提福德力故伐得本國
 即立須闍提太子為王佛告阿難爾時父王
 者今現我父輸頭檀是爾時母者今現我母
 摩耶夫人是爾時須闍提太子者今則我身
 釋迦如來是爾時天帝釋者阿若憍陳如是
 說此孝養父母品時眾中有二十億菩薩皆
 得樂說辯才利益一切復有十二萬億菩薩
 皆得無生法忍復有十方諸來微塵等數皆
 得陀羅尼門復有恒河沙等微塵數諸聲聞
 緣覺捨離二乘心究竟一乘復有微塵數優
 婆塞優婆塞或得初果乃至二果復有百十
 人發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心復有諸天龍
 鬼神乾闥婆阿脩羅迦樓羅緊那羅摩睺羅
 伽人非人等或發菩提心乃至聲聞辟支佛
 心佛告阿難菩薩如是為一切眾生故難行
 苦行孝養父母身體血肉供養父母其事如
 是一切大眾聞佛說法各得勝利歡喜作禮
 右遠而去
 大方便佛報恩經卷第一 十九 欲
 施主修武故尉吳經 妻宮氏男眾讚歎

Figure 21. *Da fangbian fo baoren jing*, scroll 1, rubbing of sheet 19.

Apart from stylistic changes, transferring onto stone engendered substantial changes in the layout. Differences between the printed and the engraved versions can be identified on three levels: the number and arrangement of the characters in one column, the layout of the columns on one paper sheet or stone face, and the number of sheets within one scroll. In the printed version the number of characters per column varies from sixteen to eighteen, whereas in the stone version all columns have seventeen characters, resulting in a grid pattern of vertical and horizontal lines. In the printed version a new paragraph starts with a new column. Two paragraphs beginning with the phrase ‘at that time (ershi 爾時)’ are seen in Figure 18. In the stone version in Figure 20 the beginning of the two paragraphs is merely marked by one blank space. In this way the calligrapher saved space as he was approaching the end of the scroll, and so avoided having to start a new stone for just a few columns. Up to his sheet fifteen he had still started each new paragraph with a new column as the carver of the wooden printing blocks had done.¹⁰³ As a result of these various rearrangements, the characters on top of the columns in the two versions hardly ever match.

A text body of twenty-seven columns fills each sheet of the printed scroll. (The sheet in Figure 19 with twenty-three columns is an exception, because it is the last one in this scroll.) An abbreviated title and the sheet number are inconspicuously printed in small characters at the beginning (here: *Baoen jing*, one, 報恩經, 一) followed by the sheet number (here: 18, 十八 and 19, 十九, respectively). The number of the *Thousand Character Essay* is indicated below (here: number character *yu* 欲字號; only Fig. 18).

On the corresponding stone faces the body text has, respectively, twenty-seven and twenty-five columns. In both cases the main text is preceded by two title columns. The first contains the full title of the text and the scroll number (here: *Da fangbian fo baoen jing*, scroll number one 大方便佛報恩經, 卷第一), followed by the number of the sheet (here: 18, 十八 and 19, 十九, respectively), and the bundle number (here: 190, *yu* 欲). The second title column contains the title and number of the chapter (here: ‘Chapter on Filial Piety and Care’, number two, 孝養品第二). This detailed identification of the stones was deemed necessary to avoid confusion about their sequence when they were shuffled around. The identification of the sheets could be less elaborate, because their sequence was fixed once they had been pasted together consecutively and made into one scroll.

¹⁰³ *FSSJ*, 12, 182a.

Still other variants occur in the layout of the stone version. In seven cases in this scroll, an additional column with the names of the donors follows after the body of the text, which may then only have twenty-six or even twenty-five columns.¹⁰⁴ Figure 21 shows an example with twenty-five columns. The printed version has no donors' names, and each sheet uniformly has twenty-seven columns. On the stone version the two title columns may be contracted into one, and the title of the chapter may be missing.¹⁰⁵ The Thousand Character number may be given as 'Number character *yu* (*yu zi hao* 欲字號)', as '*yu* (欲)' or not at all.¹⁰⁶ As a result of all these inconsistencies in the layout not a single one of the nineteen printed sheets in this scroll corresponds exactly to one of the nineteen stone faces.

The discrepancies between printed sheets and stones can accumulate over the length of one scroll to such a degree, that even the numbers of sheets cease to be identical. An example is scroll 36 of the *Zhong Ahan jing* 中阿含經 (The Middle Āgama Sutra). The printed version from the Yingxian Pagoda¹⁰⁷ and the stone version carved in Cloud Dwelling Monastery around 1154¹⁰⁸ both have seventeen characters in all columns. Yet the printed version has twenty-seven columns per sheet, while the engraved version has twenty-eight columns plus an additional title column on the back side of each stone. This adds up to twenty-one printed sheets compared with twenty stone faces.

In his inscription of 1118 monk Zhicai seems to suggest a one-to-one relationship between paper sheets and stones: 'So that two sheets of paper with sutras could be engraved on each' (4/1). Yet the analysis of the layout has merely shown a rough conformity between printed sheets and stone faces, and this was likely to have been so at Tongli's time. The explanation is that we are dealing with two different sets of paper sheets. One set are the sheets printed from wooden blocks. This set was copied and enlarged, resulting in a second set which served as the master copy for the stone engravings. The 'papers' whose numbers are recorded on the stones (Figs 15 and 17) and the 'two sheets of paper with sutras' in Zhicai's quotation, refer to sheets from this second set. These sheets of the master copy corresponded exactly to the stone faces and the rubbings made from them (Fig. 25).

¹⁰⁴ 27 columns: *FSSJ*, 12, 180a; 26 columns: *FSSJ*, 12, 182b; 25 columns: *FSSJ*, 12, 181a.

¹⁰⁵ Only one title column: *FSSJ*, 12, 185a; no chapter title: *FSSJ*, 12, 177a.

¹⁰⁶ *Yu zi hao*: *FSSJ*, 12, 175a; *yu* *FSSJ*, 12, 179b; no number: *FSSJ*, 12, 178b.

¹⁰⁷ Shanxisheng, *Yingxian muta*, p. 12, no. 9, illustrations pp. 53–63.

¹⁰⁸ Bundle 387 (*qing* 清), *FSSJ*, 21, 353a–62b. Colophons on scrolls 13 and 57 of the sutra are dated, respectively, to 1153 and 1155. Beijing tushuguan (ed.), *Fangshan shijing tiji*, pp. 503 and 514.

Division of labour

The preparation of the master copy was only one step, albeit an important one, in the carving project. Producing stone inscriptions required many skills and many participants, who worked together in an organised system and with a division of labour.

Great Master Tongli played the role of an entrepreneur. He was ‘Lord of merit and virtue for the stone sutras 石經功德主’ (Fig. 12, column 1). His disciple, the Most Virtuous Shanhui, supervised (tidian 提點) the production, and the collators (jiaokan 校勘) established the correct text versions. Stone masons cut the stones to standardised size which was a precondition for a successful division of labour. Their names are not recorded. Yet the two principal skills for the production proper were those of the calligrapher and of the carver.

The calligrapher who prepared the master copy had to have a fine hand, but his main responsibility was the layout. He made all the changes observed above, adding title columns and names of donors in appropriate places. He had to parcel out the entire text of one scroll on, say, a dozen stone slabs with more than twenty stone faces on front and back. The decisions on the layout demanded considerable skill and had to be made by the same person. The same calligrapher therefore always wrote at least one entire scroll. One scroll was his unit of work.¹⁰⁹ Thus he could allow himself irregularities in the numbers of characters per column, such as the sixteen character columns in Figure 16. A calligrapher could have written directly onto the stone, as it is still sometimes practised today. Yet as argued above, the term ‘paper (zhi 紙)’ seen on a stone refers to the sheets of a master copy, which a calligrapher prepared. The master copy was in turn copied onto the stone, possibly by the same calligrapher.

Because of his responsibility the calligrapher is allowed to sign his name in prominent places, often at the beginning of a scroll. Figure 22 shows sheet 1 of scroll 97 of the *Yujialun*.¹¹⁰ The first information to catch the eye in the opening column reads: ‘Calligraphy by the untrammelled scholar Zhang Longtu 逸士張龍圖書’.

While one scroll was the unit of work for the calligrapher, one stone was the unit for the carver. The division of labour did not go further. Two carvers never worked on the same stone. Scroll 97 of the *Yujialun* can again serve as example. After the main text on sheet 1 follows: ‘Carved by

¹⁰⁹ The at times unreliable Beijing tushuguan (ed.), *Fangshan shijing tiji*, p. 487 claims that two calligraphers signed stones in scroll 68 of the *Yujialun*. Their signatures are not visible on the published rubbings in *FSSJ*, 18, 588–94.

逸士張龍圖書

瑜伽師地論卷第九十七 尺

弥勒菩薩說
沙門玄奘奉 詔譯

攝事分中契經事菩提分法擇攝第四之一

如是已說緣起食諦界擇攝菩提分法擇攝

我今當說揔盟柁南曰

念住與正斷神足及根力覺道支息念學證淨為後

別盟柁南曰

沙門沙門義喜樂一切法梵行數取趣超二染為後

依四念住修習增上由四因緣應知內法有沙

門道及有究竟外法決定無沙門道亦無究

竟當知他論諸沙門道及以究竟一切皆空云

何名為四種因緣一者依止四處得四證智

故二者解脫四種外隨煩惱故三者內法第

子與外道弟子不同品類故四者內法大師

與外道師不同品類故云何名為內法沙門

謂諸沙門略有四種一者勝道沙門二者論

道沙門三者命道沙門四者行道沙門是四

沙門若略若廣如聲聞地已辯其相內法道

者云何為道謂八支聖道若處施設八支聖

道是處施設行道為後四種沙門若有其道

自行邪行非生道器由是因緣容有行道是

故外法尚無行道况得有餘內法究竟者云

何究竟謂斷諸取諸取斷已嘗業畢竟無復

相續云何名為依止四處云何復名得四證

智謂四處者一三結永斷蘇息處二無退墮

法勢力處三定趣菩提種類處四極七反有

吳志全 刻

Figure 22. Yujialun, scroll 97, rubbing of sheet 1.

Wu Zhiquan 吳志全刻 (Fig. 22). At the end of the second sheet the carver counts the numbers of characters on this stone: ‘Total of 868 characters 計八百六十八字’ (Fig. 23).

As noted above, Shao Shijiao 邵師教 carved the 656 characters on sheets 21 and 22 of the same scroll (Figs 16 and 17), yet Wu Zhiquan and Shao Shijiao were only two of six carvers who worked together on this particular scroll. The preceding scroll 96 was also produced by six carvers, four of them are identical with those of scroll 97. Scroll 98 had four carvers, two of whom also worked on scroll 97. Ten different carvers thus produced the sample of the three scrolls 96–8. The calligrapher, however, was always the same untrammelled scholar Zhang Longtu.¹¹⁰ Although the six carvers of scroll 97 reproduced the writing of the same calligrapher, one can still make out stylistic differences between them. Wu Zhiquan (Figs 22 and 23) carved characters in a slightly more cursive manner than Shao Shijiao (Figs 16 and 17). Carver Shao Shijiao signs thirteen additional stones of the *Yujialun*. Other carvers of this text include Shao Shiru 邵師如, Shao Shining 邵師寧, and Shao Shijin 邵師僅 who share the first and second character of Shao Shijiao’s name and therefore were his brothers or cousins.¹¹² Another relative, carver Shao Shiyan 邵師嚴, worked on scroll 41 of the *Dazhidu lun*.¹¹³

One reason why carving work had to be divided up between several artisans working simultaneously, was to prevent the calligrapher from becoming bored while waiting for the carver to finish his task. Altogether 124 carvers have been identified on Tongli’s stones, but only thirty-four calligraphers.¹¹⁴ The numbers suggest, that a calligrapher wrote out a text with his brush about four times faster than a carver carved it with his chisel.

One stone was also the unit for calculating the carvers’ wages. The total number of characters engraved on one slab is often recorded at the end (Figs 17 and 24). Based on these numbers it was easy to figure out exactly how much money a carver had to be paid by the end of the day.

¹¹⁰ *FSSJ*, 18, 852a.

¹¹¹ Colophons in Beijing tushuguan (ed.), *Fangshan shijing tiji*, pp. 490–1.

¹¹² Colophons, *ibid.*, pp. 482–91.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 466.

¹¹⁴ Names given in Chen, *Fangshan shijing zhong Tongli dashi*, p. 207. Huang Bingzhang 黃炳章, ‘Fangshan shijing Liao Jin liangdai kejing gaishuo’ 房山石經遼金兩代刻經概說 (General Remarks about the Carved Sutras of the Liao and Jin Dynasties in Cloud Dwelling Monastery at Fangshan), *Fayin 法音* (1987, no. 5): 11–21. Reprinted in Zhongguo fojiao xiehui (ed.), *Fangshan shijing zhi yanjiu*, pp. 108–34, here pp. 124–5 lists the names of all calligraphers and stone masons from the Liao and Jin dynasties.

隨行處依此四處於佛法僧及於淨戒得
 證淨智云何名為解脫四種外隨煩惱一者
 解脫現法外隨煩惱二者解脫後法外隨煩
 惱三者解脫展轉互相違戾所作外隨煩惱
 四者解脫於諸聖諦不能宣說不能覺悟所
 作外隨煩惱當知此中諸外道類闕念住故
 其念忘失不正知住領納諸受或樂或苦或
 非苦樂於樂起染於苦起恚於非苦樂發
 起愚癡如是名為第一現法外隨煩惱彼由
 如是染恚癡故以受為緣生後有愛以愛為
 緣發生諸取有愛取故以取為緣成辦於有
 廣說乃至純太苦聚積集增長如是名為
 第二後法外隨煩惱又諸外道薩迦耶見以
 為根本種種見趣意各別故彼此展轉互相
 違戾是名第三外隨煩惱又諸外道遍於一
 切四聖諦中尚無有能施設其教况當覺悟
 是故彼於自師宗智雖得增上而實無知墮
 無明趣是名第四外隨煩惱住內法者於是
 一切皆能解脫云何內法弟子與外道弟子
 不同品類謂外道弟子或墮有見邊或
 墮無見斷邊長夜積集深起藏護由聞親近
 由思深著由修深著內法弟子行處中行遠
 離二邊云何內法大師與外道師不同品類
 謂外道師於一切取雖同宣說斷遍知論而
 於諸取不能施設正斷遍知由彼本契出家
 捨欲故於欲取立斷遍知非於自見自戒我
 語若有與他諸餘沙門婆羅門等見不同分
 戒禁同分彼於見取亦能隨分立斷遍知非

計八百六十六字

Figure 23. Yujialun, scroll 97, rubbing of sheet 2.

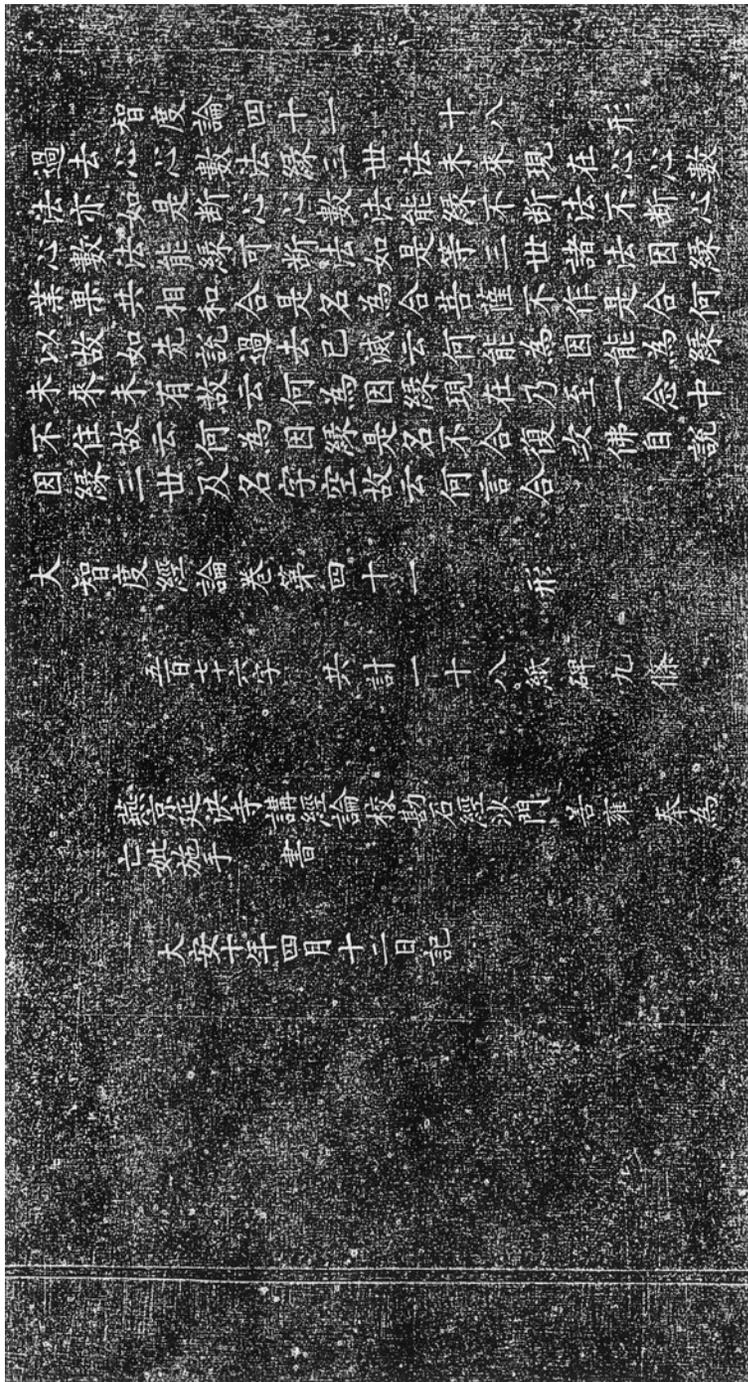


Figure 24. Dazhidu lun, scroll 41, rubbing of sheet 18.



Figure 25. A rubbing is taken of one stone of the Yujialun.

Dated colophons in the *Dazhidu lun* 大智度論 provide another kind of specific evidence for a division of labour. Monk Shanyong, one of the compilers who accompanied Tongli to the monastery in 1093 and wrote the tomb inscription for monk Jingwan, also wrote the calligraphy for scroll 41. He signed five of the eighteen sheets in this scroll. Six carvers worked on the stones. Shanyong's colophon on the last stone is dated to 1094.4.12 (Fig. 24): 'Commentator of Sutras and Treatises from the Monastery Yanhongsi in Yanjing, Collator for the Stone Sutras, monk Shanyong as offering for his deceased mother donates the calligraphy of his own hand 燕京延洪寺講經論校勘石經沙門善雍 奉為亡妣施手書'.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ Bundle 213 (*xing* 形), *FSSJ*, 15, 415b, Beijing tushuguan (ed.), *Fangshan shijing tiji*, p. 466.

Another calligrapher and different carvers worked on the next two scrolls. Scroll 43 was finished one day after scroll 41. The colophon on its last stone is dated to 1094.4.13.¹¹⁶ It is inconceivable that scrolls 42 and 43 were begun and finished within one day after the completion of scroll 41. They must have been produced in parallel by different teams. About seventy to eighty carvers worked on the hundred scrolls of the *Dazhidu lun*.¹¹⁷

It is amazing that Tongli seemingly had no difficulty in finding skilled carvers. One wonders what they did before and after the two and a half years during which they worked for the Great Master. This instance shows the extent that money mattered in the great sutra carving project at Cloud Dwelling Monastery. When funds were available, skill was abundant.¹¹⁸

Great Master Tongli's successful mass production was grounded in the ability to divide the work process into single, standardised steps and to coordinate and control the efforts of a great number of participants. Tongli and his advisers were capable of solving these problems. They could draw on a long accumulated experience of mass production in China.

In Tongli's epoch in particular, the development of production methods of standardised items on a large scale can be observed in several fields. In the Song empire, the treatise *Yingzao fashi* 營造法式 (Building Standards) of 1103 formulated and codified a sophisticated and pervasive system of measurements in the realm of architecture which paved the way to an ever more efficient production of standardised wooden members.¹¹⁹ Great progress was made during the Northern Song in the mechanisation of ceramic manufacture, as well as the spinning and reeling of silk.¹²⁰ Advances in production methods in the Song did not go unnoticed in the Liao, in spite of the official hostility and a no-contact policy between the two empires. In 1071 the Liao launched a law that forbade cloth in sizes that did not conform with the standard measurements.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ Bundle 213 (*xing* 形), *FSSJ*, 15, 437a, *ibid*.

¹¹⁷ Ren Jie 任杰, 'Fangshan shike "Dazhidu jing lun" zhengli ji 房山石刻 "大智度經論" 整理記' (Report about Tabulating the 'Great Treatise on the Sutra of the Perfection of Wisdom' in the Stone Engravings at Fangshan), in *Fangshan shijing zhi yanjiu*, edited by Zhongguo fojiao xiehui, pp. 15–51, here p. 50.

¹¹⁸ In the wider area of Cloud Dwelling Monastery which is rich in excellent lime stone, hundreds of factories sprang up in the 1990s, churning out thousands of stone lions and assorted other sculptures. When and where did these craftsmen learn their trade?

¹¹⁹ Lothar Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things. Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art* (Princeton, 2000), pp. 132–7.

¹²⁰ Dieter Kuhn, *Die Song-Dynastie (960–1279). Eine neue Gesellschaft im Spiegel ihrer Kultur* (Weinheim, 1987).

¹²¹ Wittfogel and Feng, *History of Chinese Society*, p. 155.

Speed of production

Among the more than four thousand stones which Tongli produced, only four carry a date, one stone in 1093, two in 1094, and one in 1095. Even these few dates allow us to trace the speed of his production.

Tongli opened the ordination terrace on the first day of the first month of the year 1093, and ‘only at the very end of spring did he finish’ (3/5). During the three months of his ordination campaign, when the master was busy administering the precepts to hundreds of thousands of believers, he would have been too occupied to begin production. Carving probably only started after the end of spring, i.e. after the third month of 1093.

The earliest of Tongli’s dated stones was made in the tenth month of 1093. It is the stone with the names of the twelve collators in bundle 205 (*ke* 剋; Fig. 12).¹²² According to the list on the pillar of 1118, bundle 205 was the third bundle which Tongli carved. It thus took the master half a year to finish the first three bundles.

The second and third dated stones were finished in the fourth month of 1094. They are the last stones of scrolls 41 and 43 in the *Dazhidu lun* mentioned above.¹²³ The two scrolls belong to bundle 213 (*xing* 形),¹²⁴ which was Tongli’s eleventh bundle. In half a year, between the tenth month of 1093 and the fourth month of 1094, Tongli thus finished eight bundles, thereby more than doubling the speed of the first half year.

The fourth and last of Tongli’s stones with a date was finished in 1095.4.9. Tongli’s disciple Shanding supervised the carving. The text is the *Wangfa zhengli lun* 王法正理論 (Treatise on the Correct Principle of the Law for a King) in one scroll in bundle 236 (*bao* 寶).¹²⁵ According to the list on the pillar, bundle 236 was the thirty-fourth bundle which Tongli carved. In the span of one year, between the fourth month of 1094 and the fourth month of 1095, Tongli thus completed twenty-three bundles, again more than twice the amount which he had produced in the preceding twelve-month period. In the eighteen months since he started, his speed of production thus increased exponentially.

Tongli still had ten bundles ahead of him. If he continued at the same speed, those took him less than half a year. The Great Master thus finished his forty-four bundles in the fall of 1095, having worked for only

¹²² Above, n. 46.

¹²³ Above, nn. 115–16.

¹²⁴ Bundle 213 contains scrolls 41 to 50. *FSSJ*, 15, 399–510.

¹²⁵ *FSSJ*, 19, 187a, Beijing tushuguan (ed.), *Fangshan shijing tiji*, p. 493. Chen, *Fangshan shijing zhong Tongli dashi*, pp. 150, 200; Chen, *Fangshan shijing zhong Liaomo*, p. 117.

two and a half years.¹²⁶ This calculation contradicts Zhicai who claims that Tongli finished the forty-four bundles in the year that followed his arrival at the monastery: ‘By the tenth year of the *Daan* era [1094], the money was completely spent and work temporarily halted’ (4/1). Tongli, in fact, worked for another year. His speed is amazing, nevertheless. Within two and a half years he produced more than four thousand stones. Admittedly, they were much smaller than the earlier slabs, but their overall number approached that of all stones that had been carved in the preceding five centuries.

No stones with Tongli’s colophons exist after 1095. By the end of this year the more than ten million coppers which he had collected, were spent. Tongli’s campaign was a unique event, more funds were not available. The Great Master died in 1098.

Epilogue

The last three sections have described Tongli’s extraordinary achievements in three areas. In selecting scriptures the Great Master deviated from the sequence of the canon and made informed choices, instead. He confined himself to Mahāyāna scriptures and emphasised Chan 禪 and Lü 律 Buddhism at the expense of the esoteric schools. He only carved one single sutra in the Kaiyuan canon, skipping the esoteric Mahāyāna sutras as well as all Hīnayāna scriptures. Yet meeting the expectations of his many lay donors he carved the precepts in their entirety, he produced large quantities of scholastic literature (*lun* 論) where he struck a balance between two major traditions, and he was the first to venture into the Qidan supplement of the canon.

Tongli was the most successful fund raiser in the monastery’s history, rivalled only by the founder Jingwan. Jingwan enjoyed the support of members of the Sui imperial family, but he collected funds from the emperor’s army of more than one million men.¹²⁷ Tongli, likewise had imperial sup-

¹²⁶ For a similar but less precise assessment see Chen, *Fangshan shijing zhong Tongli dashi*, p. 200.

¹²⁷ The main source is Tang Lin 唐臨, *Mingbaoji* 冥報記 (Records about Miraculous Retribution). *T* 2082, 51:789c. English translation of the passage on Cloud Dwelling Monastery in Donald E. Gjertson, *Miraculous Retribution: A Study and Translation of T’ang Lin’s Ming-pao chi* (Berkeley, 1989), pp. 165–6. Japanese translation in Kegasawa Yasunori 氣賀澤保規, ‘Tōdai Bōzan Ungoji no hatten to sekkyō jigyō 唐代房山雲居寺の發展と石經事業 (The Development of Cloud Dwelling Monastery at Fangshan during the Tang Period and the Stone Sutra Project), in *Chūgoku bukkyō sekkyō no kenkyū: Bōzan Ungoji sekkyō wo chūshin ni* 中國佛教石經の研究：房山雲居

port, but he accumulated widows' mites given by hundreds of thousands of believers. By turning to the populace at large Tongli made sutra carving financially independent from high placed donors and paved the way for a continuation of the project after the collapse of his own dynasty.

After the arrival of Great Master Tongli, Cloud Dwelling Monastery engraved more than four thousand new stones within less than two years, thereby almost doubling the amount of stones that had existed so far. The text volume of Tongli's forty-four bundles amounted to almost one-fourth of the some 187 bundles carved before him. Tongli's extraordinary output and his speed were grounded in his organised mode of production. His stones set standards of size and layout that were followed ever afterwards.

One year after they had buried Tongli's stones, the monks erected the pillar of 1118. At that time they were already busy carving away at new texts. As the demise of the dynasty became reality, the monks feared the worst. In his inscription Zhicai stated apprehensively 'It is not yet known who in future generations will resume this work' (4/2). As it turned out, the monks' anxieties were utterly unfounded. The Jin overthrew the Liao, but left Cloud Dwelling Monastery unharmed. Rather, being good Buddhists themselves, the new lords took up work again within a few years. They continued exactly where the Liao had left off and, adopting Tongli's systematic *modus operandi*, produced another five thousand stone slabs in the following decades. They buried them in the pit next to the stones of Great Master Tongli. But that is another story.

Translation¹²⁸

[Title, first panel, first column:] Pagoda Inscription from the Great Liao dynasty regarding the Continuation of the hidden Storage of Stone Sutras in Cloud Dwelling Monastery on Mount Zhuolu in Zhuo Prefecture.

Composed by monk Zhicai from [Mount] Suoti.¹²⁹

寺石經を中心に (Research on Chinese Buddhist Stone Sutras, with Special Reference to the Stone Sutras of Cloud Dwelling Monastery at Fangshan), edited by Kegasawa Yasunori (Kyôto, 1996), pp. 23–105, here p. 39. For Jingwan's patrons see Ledderose, 'Thunder Sound Cave', pp. 245–6.

¹²⁸ Transcriptions: Sekino and Tokiwa, *Chûgoku bunka shiseki*, text 2,12:92–5; Tsukamoto, 'Bôzan', pp. 601–3; Pu, *Baidaishan zhi*, pp. 37, 91–5; Beijing tushuguan (ed.), *Fangshan shijing tiji*, pp. 28–30; Chen, *Fangshan shijing zhong Tongli dashi*, pp. 362–4; Xiang Nan 向楠, *Liaodai shike wenbian* 遼代石刻文編 (Texts of Stone Inscriptions in the Liao Period). (Shijiazhuang, 1995), pp. 670–3; Chen, *Xinbian puzheng*, pp. 15–16. Illustrations: Tsukamoto 'Bôzan' (1935), p. 187, pl. 17; Ledderose, 'Massenproduktion', pl. 3, pp. 4a–b; Chen, *Fangshan shijing zhong Tongli dashi*, 39, fig. 21.

¹²⁹ A fragrant grass, *cyperus rotundus*, which was used as another name for Stone Sutra Mountain.

[Main text:] In ancient times the stele was made of wood. It was a large piece of wood erected on the occasion of funerals, sacrifices, banquets, and diplomatic encounters.¹³⁰ However, the character [for the word 'stele' (bei 碑)] was written with the stone radical to evoke its solidity and durability. On those, descendants inscribed merits, being unwilling to let them go. From the Qin and Han dynasties onward, those who achieved merit and virtue in government service during their lifetime were also commemorated on steles. Seeking that they should become imperishable, people replaced them with stone. The original [material of the steles] was thus lost, yet what is esteemed throughout all time cannot be destroyed. Ah, when after the burning of the books under the Qin dynasty, the greater part of the classical texts of the Sages were carved onto pristine stones, this, too, was no more than a parallel with steles.¹³¹

Later, when the BUDDHA'S teachings in the sutras came from the countries of the West, the Sanskrit texts on palm leaves were translated here into the Chinese language and written down in their entirety on bamboo and silk.¹³² Some were destroyed by heinous foes of Buddhism, some were washed away and drowned in water torrents, some went up in flames during military conflagrations, [second panel:] and some were eaten by insects in the course of time. Yet who is there now to seek them once more in India? In this way the teaching has been destroyed, its principle obscured, its pious practice lost, its ultimate aim vanquished. The muddled masses of living beings have all sunk deep into the path of suffering. How truly sad this is indeed!

During the SUI DYNASTY, MONK JINGWAN pondered these things deeply. Then he strengthened his resolve and made a vow. In the *Daye* era [605–16], he came to Mount Zhuolu where he carved the scriptures of the Canon onto pristine alabaster-like stones and stored them in mountain cavities. But before he could complete his great vow, he was transfigured. His disciples, Lord [Xuan]dao, Lord Yi, Lord [Hui]xian, and Lord

¹³⁰ Reference to Zheng Xuan's 鄭玄 (127–200) commentary to *Liji* 禮記 (Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849) (ed.), *Shisanjing zhumin* 十三經注釋 10:188), which talks about great steles made of wood for use in funeral ceremonies. Cf. translation of main text by James Legge, *Li Ki*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1885), 1, 184.

¹³¹ Refers in particular to the critical edition of the Confucian classics that was engraved into stone by Cai Yong 蔡邕 (132–92) between 175 and 183. Those 'stone classics' (*shijing* 石經) were erected in front of the university of the capital Luoyang so that they might be seen and studied by everybody. Cf. Tsien, Tsuen-Hsuin, *Paper and Printing* (Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 5, part 1) (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 28, 141.

¹³² 'Bamboo and silk' is used here as an old-fashioned expression. The early sutra translations were, in fact, almost exclusively written on paper.

[Xuan]fa followed on each other's heels. For five generations they produced sutras, but still could not fulfill their master's vow.

With the advent of THE GREAT LIAO DYNASTY, the Master of the Law, Lord Liu,¹³³ wrote a memorial TO EMPEROR SHENGZONG [983–1030], who then bestowed the interest from the fees paid for ordination certificates and the work was resumed once more. Then EMPEROR XINGZONG [1031–54] bestowed money, and further work was done. The Minister of State, Lord Yang Zunxu¹³⁴ and Lord Liang Ying¹³⁵ wrote a memorial TO EMPEROR DAOZONG [1055–1100], who then bestowed money to produce forty-seven bundles of sutras. [Third panel:] All of the stones from the beginning onward amounted to 187 bundles,¹³⁶ and were deposited in the seven¹³⁷ rock chambers of the Eastern Peak. But even so, less than half of the present-day canon had been completed.¹³⁸

Then came the LATE REVEREND, GREAT MASTER TONGLI. In the monastic congregation he distinguished himself, and his fame and deeds were equally supreme. With one movement of his fan, the grasses in the eight directions bent under the breeze of his teaching.¹³⁹ The rest of his virtuous deeds are all recorded on the memorial stele in his own Treasure Peak Monastery.¹⁴⁰

Since the Master travelled to this mountain and lodged in this monastery, he sighed that the stone sutras were incomplete and pondered continuing the work. He exuded unconditional compassion¹⁴¹ and acted as a friend who did not have to be solicited.¹⁴²

¹³³ About Lord Liu nothing else is known; cf. Tsukamoto 'Bōzan', p. 496.

¹³⁴ Biography in *Liaoshi*, 105:1464. His ancestral home was Fanyang 范陽 district, where Cloud Dwelling Monastery is located.

¹³⁵ Not mentioned in *Liaoshi*. According to a colophon to the *Baoxing tuoluoni jing* 寶星陀羅尼經 (bundle 104; *tang* 湯) he was Minister of Justice and Vice Director of the Secretariat-Chancellery. Cf. Beijing tushuguan (ed.), *Fangshan shijing tiji*, p. 335.

¹³⁶ Bundle 187 (*ke* 可) is the last bundle in the Qidan canon whose texts were engraved on large stone slabs. Beginning with bundle 188 (*fu* 覆) small stones were used.

¹³⁷ Refers to monk Jingwan's original seven caves. In reality, nine caves existed.

¹³⁸ Refers to the 579 bundles of the Qidan canon.

¹³⁹ Refers to *Lunyu* 論語 12.19: 'The moral power of the gentleman is wind, the moral power of the common man is grass. Under the wind the grass must bend.' Translation by Simon Leys, *The Analects of Confucius* (New York and London, 1997), p. 58.

¹⁴⁰ See above, n. 38. The whereabouts of the memorial stele are not known.

¹⁴¹ Unmotivated is the great compassion of the Buddha. It is without cause, impartial and has no particular object. Many references, see e.g. *Dasheng bensheng xindi guanjing* 大乘本生心地觀經 (The Mahāyāna Contemplation Sutra on the Mind Ground of the Former Existence), T 159, 3:0295b.

¹⁴² Like a Bodhisattva who acts as saviour without being asked to do so. Many references, see e.g. *Weimojie suoshuo jing* 維摩詰所說經, T 475, 14:537a.

In the ninth year of the *Daan* era [1093], on the first day of the first month, he then opened an ordination terrace in this monastery. Officials and commoners, clergy¹⁴³ and laymen came into the mountain to receive the precepts. Their numbers cannot be known. Who would have the temerity to assess this ocean-like assembly¹⁴⁴ Indeed, the Master's fund raising was only secondary.

Only at the very end of spring did he finish. The donations he had received amounted to more than ten thousand strings of cash. He entrusted them to his disciple, the present¹⁴⁵ Superintendent of the Central Buddhist Registry in the Right Administrative District, Great Master Tonghui Yuanzhao [fourth panel:] [monk] Shanding, for the collating of texts and carving of stones. The stones resembled printing blocks. Back and front were both used, so that two sheets of paper with sutras could be engraved on each.

By the tenth year of the *Daan* era [1094], the money was completely spent and work temporarily halted. Of steles there were 4,080 slabs, of sutras there were forty-four bundles. The list of titles is fully arrayed to the left.¹⁴⁶ It is not yet known who in future generations will resume this work.

Later there was another disciple, the Commentator of Sutras monk Shanrui, who was concerned that the lingering breeze of his LATE MASTER[’s teachings] could no longer be fanned,¹⁴⁷ and that, as the sutra slabs had not yet been concealed, some had been damaged and broken. Therefore he deliberated together with Master [Shan]ding on the raising of funds. As a result, in the seventh year of the *Tianqing* era [1117], a pit was dug in the southwestern corner of the monastery compound. 180 of the large stone sutra slabs commissioned by EMPEROR DAOZONG and 4,080 small stone sutra slabs commissioned by Great Master Tongli were both buried in this earthen pit. Above-ground,¹⁴⁸ a terrace was formed and dressed

¹⁴³ According to the inscription in Jingwan's tomb pagoda, Tongli administered the ordination only to laymen. See above nn. 31 and 78.

¹⁴⁴ A mighty assembly of Bodhisattvas and common believers who together listen to the Buddha. The assembly is called ocean-like, because its participants are countless and their virtuous conduct equals that of the Buddha. Cf. the description in the Tang period commentary to the Flower Garland Sutra, by Chengguan 澄觀 *Da fangguang Fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, T 1736, ch. 1, 36:5c. The term does not occur in the Flower Garland Sutra itself, but Chengguan briefly mentions it in the preface of still another of his commentaries to the Sutra, the *Da fangguang Fo huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T 1735, ch. 1, 35:503a.

¹⁴⁵ *Jian* 見 read as *xian* 現.

¹⁴⁶ The list is engraved on the vertical panels that follow clockwise around the pillar.

¹⁴⁷ Again reference to *Lunyu*, 12.19. Cf. above, n. 139.

¹⁴⁸ The terrace lies north of the pit.

with bricks,¹⁴⁹ a stone pagoda was constructed,¹⁵⁰ and a text was engraved marking and recording [the place], so that the location of the sutras would be known.¹⁵¹

Formerly, [fifth panel:] Bo Letian [Bo Juyi; 772–846] was asked to compose a stele text regarding the sutras in the stone wall of the Fahuayuan court in the Monastery Chongxuansi in Suzhou. The text reads: ‘Fire cannot burn them, and water¹⁵² cannot wash them away, nor can wind and sun shake or extinguish them’ and so on.¹⁵³ He was a national hero—a great talent! Now when I was asked to write a record, I ought to have laid my brush to rest in shame. But as this was for a good cause, I exerted myself and wrote forthwith.

[Now follows the list of all engraved sutras. It is not translated.]

Erected in the 8th year of the *Tianqing* era, *wuxu* [1118], in the 5th month, *wuwu*, on the 17th day, *wuxu*, in the *jiayin* hour.¹⁵⁴ Calligraphy written by monk Weihe from Yantai.¹⁵⁵

Now, if one sees inscribed stones that were retrieved from ancient tomb vaults, the stones are fine and smooth, and the characters are clear and bright. When a subterranean pit is now dug for the secret storage of the sutra slabs, it is [also] done for the purpose of securing them for a long time and avoiding their destruction.

Carved by monk Zhide.

Head Monk of this monastery, monk Zhike.¹⁵⁶

Abbot and Commentator of Discourses, monk Zhimin.

Senior Monk and Commentator of Sutras, monk Shanxiang.

Chief Administrator and Commentator of Sutras, monk Zhixing.

¹⁴⁹ Refers to the Śākyamuni Pagoda, which was a brick construction.

¹⁵⁰ Tsukamoto, ‘Bōzan’, p. 523, argues that this refers to the stone pillar with the inscription of 1118.

¹⁵¹ Refers to the information given in the inscription on the foundation stone for the Śākyamuni Pagoda of 1117 (above, n. 24) which says: ‘One step in front of this pagoda, within a subterranean crypt, are sutras in stone on 4,500 stele slabs 此塔前相去一步，在地宮有石經，碑四千五百條。’

¹⁵² All transcriptions listed in note 127 have *shui huo* 水火 instead of *huo shui* 火水.

¹⁵³ The two quotations are with minor variations found in a stele inscription written by the Tang poet Bo Juyi 白居易 (772–846) for the Monastery Chongxuansi 重玄寺 in Suzhou, where several sutras had been engraved into a stone wall of a building in the years 822–9. Cf. *Suzhou Chong xuansi fahuayuan shibijing beiwen* 蘇州重玄寺法華院石壁經碑文 in *Bo Juyi ji* 白居易集 (Collected Works of Bo Juyi). 4 vols., edited by Gu Xuexie 顧學頴 (Beijing, 1975), 69, 1449. The source of the quotation within Bo Juyi’s quotation is not clear.

¹⁵⁴ The *yin* 寅 hour is in the morning between 5.00 a.m. and 7.00 a.m., i.e. at the time of sunrise.

¹⁵⁵ Yantai refers to the Golden Terrace (*huangjin tai* 黃金臺) in Yanjing (Beijing). In the period of the Warring States King Zhao of Yan once built a terrace to which he invited scholars from different other states. It was later called Golden Terrace.

¹⁵⁶ Zhike was already head monk in the year before. Cf. above, n. 24.

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