

Consecration of the "White Stūpa" in 1279

This article is written in memory of my friend and former student Anna Seidel. It is a study of the "White Stūpa" (Pai-t'a 白塔) of Peking and its history under the Yüan dynasty. I present a translation of an inscription that describes in detail the origin of the stupa and the tantric rituals performed for its consecration in 1279. This text is therefore of great interest for the study of lamaist Buddhism under Qubilai. In addition, because of the physical description of the stupa, it is a valuable source for the history of Buddhist art in China.

FACTS ABOUT THE WHITE STŪPA AND ITS TEMPLE

Today the stupa is situated in the compound of the Miao-ying Temple (Miao-ying ssu 妙應寺) in the western part of Peking. The Miao-ying Temple stands on the site of the imperial Yüan temple Ta sheng-shou wan-an ssu 大聖壽萬安寺, which was built around the stupa between 1279 and 1288.¹ At about 167 feet, the White Stūpa is the highest pagoda in Peking and also the oldest. It dominates the skyline of the western city and the temple itself, so that both the Yüan temple and its successor, the Miao-ying Temple, were also commonly known as the Temple of the White Stūpa (Pai-t'a ssu), a name that is in popular use today. Most of the European books on old Peking have something to say on the stupa, and it has been photographed many times. A relatively detailed description is given in the standard work of Arlington and Lewisohn, where the history of the monument is summarized.² Another modern work says that the White Stūpa Temple is a "lama temple dedicated to the Bodhisattva Manchushri" and includes an impressionistic account of both temple and stupa.³ A German historian of Chinese architecture has written a scholarly article

¹ See Hok-lam Chan, "Siting by Bowshot: A Mongolian Custom and Its Sociopolitical and Cultural Implications," *AM* 3d ser. 4.2 (1991), pp. 63-65.

² L. C. Arlington and William Lewisohn, *In Search of Old Peking* (1933; rpt. New York: Paragon Books Reprint Co., 1967), pp. 207-8, 352.

³ Juliet Bredon, *Peking* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1922), pp. 197-200.

concerned with the architectural details, as is the case with the standard Japanese work on Buddhist architecture in China by Sekino and Tokiwa.⁴ Some of the older photos show the disrepair into which the monument had fallen during the first decades of our century.⁵ Many histories of Chinese architecture dealt with the stupa, however, briefly and without reference to original sources.⁶ By far the best modern description of the White Stūpa in the Miao-ying Temple is a small booklet with the English subtitle "The White Pagoda at Miao Ying Temple." It contains photos, some in color, and succinctly recounts the monument's history (see appended photograph).⁷

We find quite a few older Chinese sources that touch upon the history of the stupa and its temple.⁸ These are gazetteers of Peking, written in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries by various scholars, sometimes on imperial command.⁹ The fullest treatment of the history of the Miao-ying Temple and the stupa can be found in the monumental description of Peking by Chu I-tsun 朱彝尊 (1629-1709) titled *Jih-hsia chiu-wen k'ao* 日下舊聞考 and the addenda of later editors.¹⁰ It is of particular value

⁴ Ernst Boerschmann, "Pagoden im nördlichen China," in H. H. Schaeder, ed., *Der Orient in deutscher Forschung: Vorträge der Berliner Orientalistentagung 1942* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1944), pp. 198, 200-2. The ground plan derives partly from Sekino Tadashi 關野貞 and Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定, *Shina Bukkyō shiseki* 支那佛教史蹟 (Tokyo, 1928) 5, pp. 223-6 (with a ground plan of the stupa on p. 224).

⁵ See, e. g., Ernst Fuhrmann, *China: Das Land der Mitte* (Hagen: Folkwang-Verlag, 1921), p. 43, with two photos of the "Kloster der weißen Pagode." More recent photos are in Heather Karmay, *Early Sino-Tibetan Art* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1975), illus. 10, p. 22 (with a note on the early history of the monument).

⁶ Chung-kuo K'o-hsüeh yüan, *Chung-kuo chien-chu* 中國建築 (Peking: Wen-wu ch'u-pan she, 1957), p. 75; Gin-dji Hsu (Hsu Ching-chih 徐敬直), *Chinese Architecture Past and Contemporary* (Hong Kong: Sin Poh, 1964), pl. 70; text, pp. 97-98; Liang Ssu-ch'eng, *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*, ed. Wilma Fairbank (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984), table 74a. An excellent color photo of the stupa is in Chinese Academy of Architecture, eds., *Ancient Chinese Architecture* (Peking: China Building Industry Press, 1982), p. 124.

⁷ Yang I-hsi 楊毅習, *Miao-ying su pai-t'a* 妙應寺白塔 (Peking: Wen-wu, 1985). I am grateful to Dr. Peter Mohr of the German embassy in Peking for having obtained this publication, as well as a xerox of the article on the Pai-t'a in the new handbook of antiquities in Peking, Ting Hsi 丁習, ed., *Pei-ching ming-sheng ku-chi tz'u-tien* 北京明勝古迹辭典 (Peking: Pei-ching yen-shan, 1989), pp. 155-57; it includes a very small photo of the monument but is detailed and reliable.

⁸ See Chan, "Siting by Bowshot," p. 65, n. 21.

⁹ These include Hsiung Meng-hsiang 熊夢祥, ed., *Hsi-chin chih* 析津志 (Peking: Pei-ching ku-chi, 1982), p. 117 (only a brief note on the Pai-t'a); Wu Ch'ang-yuan 吳長元, *Ch'an-yuan chih-lieh* 宸垣職略 (Peking: Pei-ching ku-chi, 1981), ch. 8, pp. 143-44, and Miao Ch'üan-sun 繆荃孫 et al., *Shun-t'ien fu-chih* 順天府志 (1884; rpt. Taipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan she, n. d.), vol. 2, ch. 16, pp. 28b-30a [1012-15] (with a full description of the stupa's history).

¹⁰ Chu I-tsun, *Jih-hsia chiu-wen k'ao* (Peking: Pei-ching ku-chi, 1981), vol. 3, ch. 52, pp.

because of the early texts quoted verbatim, with sources indicated. Chu I-tsun also includes transcriptions of the Chinese texts of Ch'ing imperial steles composed by the K'ang-hsi and Ch'ien-lung emperors, along with some comments. The Ch'ing sources have one thing in common: they refer only indirectly, through Ming gazetteers, to the most important Yüan source on the White Stūpa, the "Stele Inscription for the Stupa with Spiritual Influence of the Śākya Relics Built Especially on Imperial Command" ("Sheng-chih t'e-chien shih-chia she-li ling-l'ung chih t'a pei-wen" 聖旨特建釋迦舍利靈通之塔碑文), written by the Buddhist monk Hsiang-mai 祥邁. The stele itself has not survived, and what we have today is a version included in Hsiang-mai's *Pien-wei lu* 辯偽錄.¹¹ This version is the one used for the partial translation, given below. When reading Chinese accounts or modern descriptions of the stupa, it is evident that their authors did not study the stele inscription itself, even though many items in Hsiang-mai's text appear here and there in secondary sources. Although modern authors are aware of it, nobody has, as far as I know, dealt with the long description of the tantric consecration in 1279, also included in Hsiang-mai's stele text.¹²

It is a common opinion that the plan for the monument was made by the Nepalese architect and sculptor A-ni-ko 阿尼哥 (1245-1306), who came to China in about 1261 and played a prominent role for the introduction of Indo-Tibetan art under Qubilai and his successor.¹³ Indeed the bottle-shaped stupa of the Miao-ying Temple is a faithful repetition of the Tibetan type.¹⁴ It is nevertheless surprising that Hsiang-mai's inscription

825-30. The same data as in this work are also to be found in Li Tsung-wan 勵宗萬 (1705-1759), *Ching-ch'eng ku-chi k'ao* 京城古蹟考 (Peking: Pei-ching ku-chi, 1981), pp. 13-14. See p. 80 for similar data.

¹¹ For this text see Hsiang-mai, *Pien-wei lu* (hereafter *PWL*) (printed in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 [Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924-32; hereafter *T*]), vol. 32, ch. 5, pp. 779b-81a.

¹² See Yang, *Pai-t'a*, p. 12, which reproduces a Ch'ing print of *Pien-wei lu*, opened on the page where Hsiang-mai's stele-inscription begins.

¹³ A-ni-ko has a biography in *Yüan-shih* 元史 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1976; hereafter *YS*) 203, pp. 4545-46, which is based on a spirit-path stele by Ch'eng Chü-fu 程鉅夫 (1249-1318) preserved in his collected works. For an annotated Japanese translation of Ch'eng's stele text see Ishida Mikinosuke 石田幹之助, *Tōa bunkashi sōhō* 東亞文化史叢考 (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1973), pp. 371-94. Further Chinese sources on A-ni-ko are listed in Wang Te-i 王德毅 et al., *Yüan-jen chuan-chi tz'u-liao so-yin* 元人傳記資料索引 (Taipei: Hsin-wen-feng, 1979-82; hereafter *YJ*). On A-ni-ko, see also Luciano Petech, *Medieval History of Nepal* (ca. 750-1480) (Roma: Istituto per il medio ed estremo oriente, 1958), pp. 99-101, and Karmay, *Early Sino-Tibetan Art*, pp. 21-22.

¹⁴ For a brief survey of lamaist pagoda architecture, see Siegbert Hummel, *Die lamaistische*

does not mention the name of the architect. A-ni-ko's planning of the Ta sheng-shou wan-an Temple is a fact attested in his biography.

Yang's *Miao-ying ssu pai-t'a* notes that the area covered by the base of the monument is about 8,718 square feet. The umbrella-like disk is made of wood covered by copper plates and has a diameter of 31.8 feet. The center of this disk supports a hollow, stupa-shaped spire, 16.4 feet high and weighing four tons. It is made of cast bronze and was put on top of the monument in 1753. Below, in connection with the Ch'ing inscriptions, I discuss the spire's mid-eighteenth-century contents, which were recovered in the years spanning 1978 and 1980. The stupa itself was repeatedly restored under Yüan rule (1344), Ming (1433, 1457, 1592), Ch'ing (1688, 1753, 1816), and twice under the Republic (1925, 1937). Restorations under the present government have been carried out in the two periods 1961-62 and 1978-80. No Yüan-era inscriptions have been discovered so far with the exception of a graffiti produced during the first restoration. It reads "Again repaired in the second summer month of the fourth year of Chih-cheng,"¹⁵ or, between May 13 and June 10, 1344. The name "Temple of Miraculous Evidence" (*Miao-ying ssu*) was given in 1457 to the new building erected on the site of the largely destroyed Ta sheng-shou wan-an.¹⁶ A 1592 bronze stele commemorating repair work was discovered in 1924.¹⁷

THE CH'ING INSCRIPTIONS

The most important stone inscriptions were executed during the Ch'ing dynasty and deserve a few comments at this point. It is common knowledge that the Manchu emperors actively protected and supported lamaist Buddhism in order to foster allegiance and loyalty among lamaist subjects in Mongolia and Tibet. The Miao-ying Temple was an important center of lamaism in Peking, and it was therefore a matter of some importance to keep the White Stūpa in good repair for the Mongols and Tibetans who made pilgrimage to the capital in order to pay homage to the Buddha relics supposedly preserved in the stupa. At the same time, as a monument

Kunst in der Umwelt von Tibet (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1955); pl. 1 is a photo of the White Stupa based on that of Ernst Boerschmann (see n. 4. above).

¹⁵ See photo in Yang, *Pai-t'a*, p. 10.

¹⁶ Ta sheng-shou wan-an Temple was struck by lightning and totally burnt, with the exception of two halls, June 20, 1368, that is, shortly before the Mongol court had to evacuate Ta-tu (Peking) and withdraw to the north. See *YS* 33, p. 734; and 51, p. 1101.

¹⁷ Photo in Yang, *Pai-t'a*, p. 10.

created under the Mongol emperor Qubilai, the stupa could remind Mongol pilgrims of the imperial grandeur of the Yüan dynasty and thus enhance national pride. Not less than five different steles have been set up on imperial command in the precincts of the Miao-ying. There are two bilingual (Chinese and Manchu) inscriptions commanded by the K'ang-hsi emperor in 1688. Two inscriptions that carry the four languages Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan were ordered by the Ch'ien-lung emperor in 1753. Finally, a monolingual Chinese stele, with a poem of the Ch'ien-lung emperor composed in 1785, commemorates both a miraculous event said to have happened at the stupa and the fiftieth anniversary of his reign. In the poem itself are explanatory glosses in prose. All five inscriptions have been reproduced after rubbings in the sumptuous portfolio edited by Franke and Laufer.¹⁸ It is obvious that these texts are not only valuable as evidence of the Buddhist inclination and propagandizing actions of the Ch'ing emperors; in addition they throw light on the techniques of translation from Chinese into other languages of the Sino-Manchu empire.

Recently the five Miao-ying inscriptions have been studied successfully by Rainer von Franz.¹⁹ The author has transcribed the texts (supplying Chinese characters for the version in Chinese, and romanization for the Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan versions) and given an annotated German translation. Classical allusions in the Chinese versions have been elucidated and major discrepancies between the Chinese and non-Chinese texts noted. As well as providing a well-documented history of the Miao-ying, von Franz also includes a translation of all passages in *Yüan-shih* 元史 that mention the Ta sheng-shou wan-an Temple.²⁰ Of particular interest is the first Miao-ying inscription of the Ch'ien-lung emperor. The first paragraph tells us that the repair work for the Miao-ying and the White Stūpa was begun in the seventh lunar month (July 30-August 27) and completed in the tenth (October 26-November 24) of the eighteenth year

¹⁸ Otto Franke and Berthold Laufer, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus China. Erster Teil: Lamaistische Tempelinschriften aus Peking, Jehol und Si-ngan* (Berlin-Hamburg: Dietrich Reimer, 1914). The two 1688 inscriptions are reproduced on ppl. 15 and 16, the two inscriptions of 1753 on ppl. 17/18 and 20/21, and the Chinese poem of 1785 on pl. 19.

¹⁹ Rainer von Franz, *Die unbearbeiteten Peking-Inschriften der Franke-Lauferschen Sammlung. Asiatische Forschungen 86* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984), pp. 18-94.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 34-39. Yang, *Pai-t'a*, p. 11, reproduces a rubbing of the first 1688 inscription (Chinese and Manchu) but without explanation. For the full text and translation, see von Franz, *Peking-Inschriften*, pp. 20-27.

of Ch'ien-lung (1753).²¹ Then the inscription lists imperial gifts presented to the temple, or rather the stupa itself, for its religious protection (*chen* 鎮). First is mentioned a manuscript copy of *Pan-jo-po-lo-mi-to hsin-ching* 般若波羅蜜多心經, written by the emperor himself. This short text, also called the "Essence Sūtra," or "Heart Sūtra," is a condensation of the long *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra*, one of the most frequently printed and copied texts of Mahāyāna Buddhism.²² Another piece of imperial handwriting, this time in *fan-wen* 梵文 (which here means Tibetan and not, as usual, Sanskrit), was a text that the Chinese version calls "Tsun-sheng chou" 尊勝咒. This name is ambiguous but the Manchu parallel ("Giyolonggo umesi etehe eme gebungge toktobun tarni nomun") and the Mongolian counterpart ("Us-nisa bizay-a eke-yin toytayal tarni nom") make it quite clear what is meant: it is the *Uṣṇiṣavijaya dhāraṇī* (Chin.: *Fo-ling tsun-sheng t'o-lo-ni ching* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經), a magic invocation of the goddess Uṣṇiṣavijaya, who is regarded as the embodiment of supernatural wisdom and much worshipped in lamaist Buddhism. The Tibetan equivalent is, like the Chinese, abbreviated (*rtam-rgyal gzuns*). The Sanskrit original has been repeatedly translated into Chinese. Eight different versions have survived and been incorporated into the Buddhist canon.²³ A third imperial present mentioned in the inscription was a complete set of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka in Chinese, altogether 724 cases. All this was put into the bronze spire on top of the stupa, together with other objects not listed in the inscription, such as a golden Amitābha reliquary adorned with precious stones and a Tibetan inscription on the inside, a five-pointed ritual lama cap and a priest's robe with fine embroidery, a Kuan-yin statue made of yellow sandal wood in an ornamented case with a receptacle for relics, a velvet representation of a stupa, and statues of the Buddhas of the Three Worlds together with many ceremonial scarfs (Tib.: *kha-btags*) in white, blue, yellow, and green, each

²¹ The text is in *ibid.*, p. 44, trans. p. 52; annot. pp. 56-57.

²² For a detailed study of this sutra, its various Chinese versions and the translations into Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan, see Walter Fuchs, *Die mandjurischen Druckausgaben des Hsin-ching (Hridayasūtra) mit Reproduktion der vier- und der funfsprachigen Ausgabe*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 39.3 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1970).

²³ See *T*, vol. 19, nos. 967-974. Von Franz, *Peking-Inschriften*, p. 57, has followed a suggestion of Dr. Kämpfe and reconstructed the Sanskrit title as *Uṣṇiṣavijaya-sādhana*. This is not quite correct because the text is technically a *dhāraṇī* and not a *sādhana* (mystical description and realization of a Buddha or deity). Also the wording of the Chinese title (Chin.: *chou*, a word that translates Sk. *mantra*, or *dhāraṇī*) points to a magical incantation. Yang, *Pai-t'a*, p. 22, calls the text "Li-lo ko" 利樂歌 ("Song of Profitable Joy"), which is misleading.

17.4 feet long and 2.5 feet wide. Photos of most of these finds have been published.²⁴ It is a fortunate coincidence that the data of the inscription on the donated texts could thus be corroborated by the actual contents of the stupa spire.

NON-CHINESE NAMES FOR THE STUPA AND THE TEMPLE

In the first K'ang-hsi inscription of 1688 the Manchu text gives a hybrid translation of the Chinese name (*ṣanggiyan subargan i miyoo ing se*), where "white stupa" is translated but the temple name only phonetically rendered.²⁵ A different approach can be seen in the Ch'ien-lung inscriptions of 1753. Here we have the temple name fully translated in all three non-Chinese versions (Man.: *ferguwecukei acabuha juktehen*, Mong.: *yayiqamsiy belegtü süme*, Tib.: *no mchar rten 'brel can gyi lha khan*).²⁶ The word *belegtü* presents a problem. Literally, it means "to have a present, gift." It is not a very satisfactory rendering of the Chinese word *ying* 應. Von Franz therefore suggests that it be read *belgetü* instead, a word derived from *belge* "sign, omen." The Tibetan translation follows very faithfully the Chinese. The fact that in 1753 the temple name was no longer simply transcribed but semantically translated could be due to the great emphasis placed in the eighteenth century on the propagation of Manchu and the standardization of the language.²⁷ The non-Chinese names of the White Stūpa offer no problems. The difference between the Manchu words *subargan* (1688) and *subarhan* (1753) is negligible and only orthographic. The word is evidently a borrowing from Mongolian and goes ultimately back to Sogdian via Uighur. The Mongolian text has *čayan subur yan*, the Tibetan *mchod rten dkar po*. In any case, the non-Chinese inscriptions give "White Stūpa" as the name of the temple.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 13 ff., where the emperor's ms. of the "Essence Sūtra" is reproduced on p. 13. A colophon states that the emperor wrote the "Essence Sūtra" and the Tibetan *Tsun-sheng chou* and that he gave these texts and a purple "secret" (*pi* 祕, i. e., tantric) hood in order to assure divine protection for the precious stupa.

²⁵ See von Franz, *Peking-Inschriften*, p. 20, for the text.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 44 (text), p. 56 (notes).

²⁷ On the language policies of the Ch'ing, see Pamela Kyle Crossley and Evelyn S. Rawski, "A Profile of the Manchu Language in Ch'ing History," *HJAS* 53.1 (1993), pp. 63-102. This study shows that aside from being a medium for translating Chinese, Manchu was used as the primary language of many documents.

The Mongolian name for the temple is quite old. The early-fourteenth-century colophon to the commentary on *Bodhicaryāvatāra* states that the text was printed in 1312 in the "great temple with the white stupa in Daidu (Ta-tu, modern Peking)" *daidu-daki čayayan suburyatu yeke süme*.²⁸ For later Mongols, the stupa must have seemed a symbol of their former imperial grandeur. A seventeenth-century chronicle records a moving poetic lament of the last Yüan emperor Shun-ti 順帝 (Toyon Temür) before he withdrew to the north in 1368. The emperor deplures, among many losses, leaving "my eight-sided white pagoda, completed in diverse fashions" *eldeb jüil-iyer bütügsen naiman tala-tu čayan suburya minu*.²⁹ During the eighteenth century the White Stüpa and its temple played a prominent role among Mongol Buddhists as a place of pilgrimage. A guide to the stupa was published shortly after 1753 under the title "Description of the White Stüpa on the Inner Side of the Western Gate of the Great City of the Emperor, Which Promotes Devotion" ("Qayan-u yeke baiyasun-a örüne-yin qayalya-daki čayan suburyan-u garčay süsüg-i nemegülügči kemekü orusiba"). It contains a summary history of the monument based largely on Chinese sources, and the construction is dated to Chih-yüan 8, twenty-fifth day of the eleventh lunar month (December 28, 1271), which must refer to the start of the building activities. The three repairs under the Ming are mentioned, as well as the restorations in 1688 and 1753. An interesting feature of the guide is the fact that the Chinese signature on the printing blocks is the character Yüan 元, perhaps an homage to the Mongol dynasty under which the White Stüpa was built.³⁰

²⁸ See Francis W. Cleaves, "The Bodistw-a čari-a awatar-un tayilbur of 1312," *HJAS* 17 (1954), pp. 55 (text), 86 (English trans.), and 128-29 (n. 347). Cleaves has correctly identified this as the Yüan Ta sheng-shou wan-an Temple. A new edition is in Dalantai Cerensodnom and Manfred Taube, *Die Mongolica der Berliner Turfansammlung*, Berliner Turfantexte 16 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), p. 95. Yang I-hsi has been aware that this Middle Mongolian text mentions the name of the temple because he reproduces folio 167b in his *Pai-t'a*, p. 10. But he uses a Chinese name that differs from the standard *Pu-t'i hsing ching* 菩提行經 (see *T*, vol. 32, no. 1662). On p. 5 Yang mentions that the temple was a center of Mongol and Uighur Buddhist learning under the Yüan.

²⁹ Charles R. Bawden, *The Mongol Chronicle Altan Tobči*, Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1955), p. 66 (text in sect. 57), p. 152 (translation). Cleaves too has drawn attention to this passage (see previous n.).

³⁰ The work is 30 pages; several copies are in European collections (British Library, Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg). See Walther Heissig, *Die Peking'er lamaistischen Blockdrucke in mongolischer Sprache: Materialien zur mongolischen Literaturgeschichte*, Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1954), pp. 116-18. Heissig's summary incorrectly equates the "first year *sio čang*" of the Liao with 1032, the first year of Ch'ung-hsi.

We also know the Uighur name of the White Stüpa Temple. Among the Turfan finds in Berlin is a printed fragment of an early-fourteenth-century Uighur translation of *Mañjuśrī-nāmasaṃgīti*. According to the colophon, the text was translated (and also perhaps printed) in the "great temple with the white stupa in wonderful Taydu (Ta-tu, modern Peking)" *adinčiy mungadinčiy taydu-taqi aq stup-luy uluy urxar*, that is, the Ta sheng-shou wan-an Temple. The date corresponds to a "tiger year" – either 1314 or, more probably, 1302.³¹ All these facts demonstrate the importance of the stupa and the temple for not only Buddhist Central Asians, but also for religious Tibetan literature, especially guide books for pilgrims. The latter point should be looked into by scholars who possess the necessary tools.

HSIANG-MAI'S STELE-INSCRIPTION

Hsiang-mai (t. Ju-i 如意) is chiefly known as the compiler of *Pien-wei lu*, a text of five chapters that is our most detailed source on the controversies between Buddhists and Taoists under the Mongols. It has been studied many times by western and Asian scholars, although some parts have been regarded as not authentic, due perhaps to later interpolations.³² The authenticity of his stele-inscription is, however, beyond any reasonable doubt.³³ Most of the few details on Hsiang-mai's life and works come from either the colophons in *Pien-wei lu* or the preface to this work written by the reverend Kuei 貴, known also as Hsüeh-ch'i yeh-lao 雪谿野老, abbot of the Ta yün-feng Temple 大雲峰寺.³⁴

The Mongolian transcription of the Liao reign-name points rather to Shou-ch'ang 壽昌 (1095-1100).

³¹ For the text and a German trans. from the Uighur, see Peter Zieme, *Buddhistische Stabreimdichtungen der Uiguren*, Berliner Turfantexte 13 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1985), p. 179, text no. 50. The Uighur version is the work of Karunadāsa, whose biography in *YS* 134 is trans. into German by Georg Kara, "Weiteres über die uigurische *Nāmasaṃgīti*," *Allorientalische Forschungen* 8 (1981), pp. 231-36. The text was first studied by Peter Zieme, "Zur buddhistischen Stabreimdichtung der alten Uiguren," *AOASH* 29 (1975), pp. 197-99 (facs. on pp. 205-6).

³² See Kubo Noritada, "Prolegomena on the Study of the Controversies between Buddhists and Taoists in the Yüan Period," *MTB* 26 (1968), pp. 39-61. On the stele inscription, see pp. 53-54. For Hsiang-mai's text in the Buddhist canon, see above n. 11.

³³ This is also the opinion of Kubo, "Prolegomena," pp. 39-40.

³⁴ *PWL*, pp. 751C-52A. Other sources, such as those listed in *Y*, vol. 4, p. 2159, are secondary and do not go beyond what reverend Kuei says in his preface. A slightly abbreviated version of this preface is in the Buddhist chronicle *Fo-tsu li-tai l'ung-tsai* 佛祖歷代通載 by Nien-ch'ang 念常 (*T*, vol. 49, ch. 21, pp. 710C-11A). Kuei's preface must have been written after 1294 because Qubilai is referred to as "the former emperor."

Hsiang-mai was born in T'ai-yüan (Shansi) into the Hu-yen 呼延 family. Many of his ancestors were military leaders, among them Hu-yen Tsan 贊 (d. 1000), who served as a cavalry commander under Sung T'ai-tsu 太祖 and T'ai-tsung 太宗.³⁵ The date of Hsiang-mai's birth is not known. At nine he joined the Buddhist clergy and spent time as a mountain recluse. Later we find him as senior (*chang-lao* 長老) in the monastery at K'ai-chüeh Temple 開覺寺 near Yung-p'ing 永平 (Hopei). In the time spanning 1286 and 1291 Hsiang-mai is mentioned as senior and also as abbot (*chu-ch'ih* 住持) of Ta yün-feng in the Tao-che Mountains 道者 northwest of Ch'ang-li 昌黎 county (Hopei).³⁶ Reverend Kuei's preface to *Pien-wei lu* praises Hsiang-mai's literary accomplishments and compares him to such prominent historians as Pan Ku and Ssu-ma Ch'ien. He is also said to have studied the works of Mo Ti and Taoist scriptures. Apart from *Pien-wei lu*, Hsiang-mai was a prolific author. His works cover many different fields of learning. He wrote a commentary to Lu Chi's *Wen-fu* 文賦,³⁷ a preface to the Four Books (*Ssu-ching hsü* 四經序), which might concern either Confucian or Buddhist scriptures, and a text titled *Han-wen pieh-chuan* 韓文別傳. The latter was probably a private biography of the famous T'ang author Han Yü 韓愈 (768-824). While it is surprising that a monk wrote about Han Yü, who was something of a *bête noire* for Buddhists, we must also note that Han's family came from Ch'ang-li – the vicinity of the monastery. Hsiang-mai also wrote a prose-poem on fundamental nature, "Hsing-hai fu" 性海賦, a title that suggests a specific Buddhist content, that of *hsing-hai* as the immaterial nature of the Buddha's dharma body (Sk.: *bhūtatathatā*).³⁸ All of these texts seem no longer to be extant.

One other work by Hsiang-mai survives. It is a commentary to the preface of the *Lotus Sūtra* by Tao-hsüan 道宣 (596-667). The full title is *Miao-fa lien-hua ching hung-chuan hsü chu* 妙法蓮華經弘傳序註, and it is included in the continuation of the Buddhist canon compiled in Japan

³⁵ See Hu-yen's biog.: *Sung-shih* 宋史 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1977) 279, pp. 9488-89; other sources are in Ch'ang Pi-te 昌彼得 et al., *Sung-jen chuan-chi tzu-liao so-yin* 宋人傳記資料索引 (Taipei: Ting-wen shu-chü, 1974-1976), vol. 2, p. 1415.

³⁶ *PWL* 2, p. 764A; 3, p. 771A; and 4, p. 775C; also *PWL* pref. by Han-lin historiographer Chang Po-shun 張伯淳 (1243-1303), p. 751A. Sources for Chang are in *Y*, vol. 2, pp. 1132-33.

³⁷ See Achilles Fang, "Rhyme-prose on Literature: The Wen-fu of Lu Chi (A. D. 261-303)," *HJAS* 14 (1951), pp. 527-66.

³⁸ See William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (rpt. Taipei: Chung-kuo Fo-chiao yüeh-k'an she, 1961; hereafter *SH*), p. 259A.

between 1905 and 1912.³⁹ A pious anecdote in the gazetteer of Yung-p'ing says that when Hsiang-mai wrote the commentary he was overcome by doubt in his ability to convey the gradual perfection to buddhahood and to realize the great dharma.⁴⁰ To achieve this would be like cutting the text to pieces and to reassemble them later. Indeed he cut up his manuscript and threw the single pieces around. Shortly afterwards a gentle wind came and blew the fragments together so that not a single character was misplaced or lost. "Everybody regarded this as a miracle and thus the work was printed and transmitted." We do not know when Hsiang-mai died, but can deduce that it occurred during the 1290s.

SOME REMARKS ON STÜPA CONSECRATION

In order to understand Hsiang-mai's text we have to remind ourselves that the stupa originated in India and was used first as a receptacle for relics of the Buddha. Later, in Tibet and the Far East, including China, a stupa could also be built as a visible sign of the Buddha's mystical presence and therefore as a representation of the Buddhist creed. It did not necessarily contain Buddha relics or remnants of a saint. The White Stüpa, in any case, contained relics, as did its predecessor built under the Liao. This called for a correct ritual consecration. One was performed in 1279 by a Tibetan cleric and followed tantric precedents. The idea underlying the rituals (Sk.: *pratiṣṭhā*; Tib.: *rab gnas*) was to establish the holy and sacred character of the building, or of single images, and to make it fit for religious worship. On a higher level of meaning the stupa was regarded as a receptacle of the Buddha's body (Ch.: *shen* 身; Tib.: *sku*), speech (Ch.: *yü* 語; Tib.: *gsun*) and mind (*i* 意; *thugs*). In Sino-Japanese tantrism these three are also called the "three secrets," *san-mi* 三密, corresponding to the Sanskrit *triguhyā* trinity of the secret of body (*kāyaguhya*), speech (*vāgguhya*), and mind (*manoguhya*). The scriptural basis is several texts, including *Pu-t'i hsin-lun* 菩提心論, translated by Amoghavajra (Pu-k'ung 不空; 705-770, or 774), and *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, translated by Shan-wu-wei (善無畏; d. 735) and his

³⁹ *Zokuzōkyō* 續藏經 (rpt. Taipei: Hsin-wen feng, 1968-1970), vol. 47, pp. 532-37. The undated colophon calls the author "Ju-i yeh-lao 如意野老 Hsiang-mai of the Tao-che shan." The index to *Zokuzōkyō* (Taipei, 1977), p. 78, mistakenly calls Hsiang-mai a Sung author. For the text of Tao-hsüan's pref., see *T*, no. 262, vol. 9, p. 18-C.

⁴⁰ *Yung-p'ing fu-chih* 永平府志 (1879; rpt. Taipei: T'ai-wan hsieh-sheng shu-chü, 1968) 72, p. 18a.

disciple I-hsing 一行 (683-727) and generally known as *Ta-jih ching* 大日經. The Buddha Vairocana is a central deity in esoteric Buddhism and therefore plays a prominent role in tantric rituals.⁴¹

The "three secrets" were instrumental for the consecration of the White Stūpa in 1279. The author Hsiang-mai clearly distinguished which actions on the phenomenal level have taken place: Buddha's body is first of all represented by the Buddha's relics, over which the stupa was built, and also by the images put up for their protection; his speech is represented by the recitation of certain texts and their deposition in the stupa; and finally his mind is symbolized by certain offerings in the interior of the monument and also by describing the decorations on the exterior of the stupa. Also the architecture of stupas in general reflects religious symbolism. For example, lamaist stupas usually have a square basis representing the cosmic mountain Sumeru, which is thought to be the place where the Buddha Vairocana resides. Also the thirteen tiers of the White Stūpa have a symbolic meaning. They correspond to the thirteen Buddha worlds (*shih-san ti* 十三地) in each of which an esoteric Buddha resides, presided by the central figure of Vairocana.⁴² Some of the above-mentioned practices are reflected even in the contemporary culture-sphere of Tibet and Nepal, where we have greater opportunities to witness rituals.⁴³

⁴¹ For the "three secrets," see *P'u-t'i hsin-lun* (T'edn., vol. 32, no. 1665), p. 574B, and *Ta-jih ching* (T'edn., vol. 18, no. 848), p. 17B. The biographies of Amoghavajra and Shan-wu-wei are translated by Chou Yi-liang, "Tantrism in China," *IJAS* 8 (1944-1945), pp. 284-307, and pp. 251-72; and p. 257 n. 29, for "three secrets"; and also Nishimura Akira 西村明, ed., *Mikkyō daijiten* 密教大辭典 (Tokyo: Mikkyō jiten hensankai, 1983; hereafter *MD*), pp. 839B-40B.

⁴² For Buddha worlds and the Buddhas, see *MD*, pp. 863C-64B.

⁴³ A recent well-documented study by Yael Bentor of Indo-Tibetan consecration rituals shows that the basic ideas underlying the consecration of stupas or images are the same for Tibetan and Sino-Japanese tantrism. Bentor uses a wealth of Tibetan sources and also adduces contemporary observations of such rituals in the Tibetan cultural sphere; Bentor, "Sūtra-style Consecration in Tibet and Its Importance for Understanding the Historical Development of the Indo-Tibetan Consecration Ritual for Stupas and Images," *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989* (Narita: Naritanshinshoji, 1992) 1, pp. 1-12. The custom to deposit scriptures in stupas or images, one of the "three secrets," is studied competently on the basis of a Tibetan text discovered in Tun-huang and a comparison with Chinese data. See Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, "Some *dhāraṇī* Written on Paper Functioning as *dharmakāya* Relics: A Tentative Approach to PT 350," *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Fagerness 1992* (Oslo: Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1994), pp. 711-27. In 1980 I witnessed the placing of scriptures in images in the monastery Tikse near Leh (Ladakh). The Dalai Lama had announced a visit to Tikse and in order to welcome him the monks were constructing a gigantic Buddha image made of clay (about 50 ft. high).

ON THE HISTORICAL PERSONS MENTIONED IN HSIANG-MAI'S STELE-INSCRIPTION

Apart from the emperor Qubilai,⁴⁴ three historical persons appear in the inscription. The first is a Liao monk who was author of a stele-inscription for the predecessor of the White Stūpa dated Shou-ch'ang 壽昌 2, fifteenth day, third lunar month (April 10, 1096). The stele itself has long disappeared, but Hsiang-mai quotes a few passages on the Buddha's relics deposited in the old Liao stupa. The monk's name is given as Tao-chen 道晨, Dharma-Teacher expert in exoteric and esoteric doctrines (*hsien-mi yüan-t'ung fa-shih* 顯密圓通法師, an official title). Tao-chen was a prominent Buddhist of the eleventh century, born into the Tu 杜 family of Yün-chung 雲中 (Shansi). After joining the clergy he resided in the Chin-ho Temple 金河寺 on Mount Wu-t'ai 五臺 (Shansi). His courtesy name was Fa-ch'uang 法幢. Tao-chen wrote a compendium of esoteric Buddhism called *Hsien-mi yüan-t'ung Ch'eng Fo-hsin yao-chi* 成佛心要集 in two chapters and a handbook on tantric rituals for obtaining health, *Kung-Fo li-sheng i* 供佛利生儀. Both works have been reprinted in the Taishō canon.⁴⁵ The few biographical data available on Tao-chen come from the postface to his works written by the monk Hsing-chia 性嘉, of whom nothing is known. He must have lived under the Yüan because he mentions the Tangut monk Kuan-chu-pa 管主八, who was active around 1300. A preface to Tao-chen's work was written by Ch'en Chüeh 陳覺, a well-known Liao official and Han-lin scholar who lived in the eleventh century. In 1067 he was assistant condolence-envoy to the Sung court after the death of emperor Ying-tsung and in 1069 wrote a funerary inscription for an imperial concubine.⁴⁶ The fact that a prominent Chinese scholar-offi-

Into each of the big fingers of the statue a copy of the Tibetan *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* was placed before sealing and decorating the clay fingers.

⁴⁴ See Morris Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times* (Berkeley: U. of California P., 1988).

⁴⁵ T'edn., vol. 46, no. 1955, pp. 989B-1006B. On this work, see also *MD*, p. 485C. An early-12th-c. woodblock print of no. 1955 has been discovered in Khara-khoto; see L. N. Men'shikov, *Opisanie kitaiskoi chasti kollektitsii iz Khara-khoto (fond P. K. Kozlova)* (Moscow: Nauka, 1984), no. 202, p. 245.

⁴⁶ See *Liao-shih* 遼史 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1974) 22, p. 266. His condolence mission to the Sung is also recorded in *Sung hui-yao chi-kao* 宋會要輯稿 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1957), vol. 2, p. 1089C. The exact date is July 16, 1067. Ch'en Chüeh's preface to Tao-chen's work is also reprinted in Ch'en Shu 陳述, *Ch'uan Liao wen* 全遼文 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1982), pp. 194-95. Biographical details for Ch'en Chüeh are in *ibid.*, p. 413; Ch'en's funerary

cial like Ch'en Chüeh wrote a preface to Tao-chen's work shows that this monk must have played an important role in the Khitan state of Liao.

The Tibetan lama who organized the tantric consecration of the White Stūpa in 1279 is a well-known figure who at that time held the office of state teacher (*kuo-shih* 國師). His name is written by Hsiang-mai as I-lin-chen 益鄰真, which with a prothetic vowel (thus, Irinjin) is a mongolized form of the Tibetan name Rin-chen. I-lin-chen/Irinjin is, however, an abbreviated form because his full name was Ye-šes rin-chen ("precious wisdom"). In Chinese sources his name occurs also as Yeh-lien 葉釐, which in turn is an elliptic form of the full Tibetan. I-lin-chen was born in 1248 into the Šarpa family and became a pupil of the famous Sa-skya patriarch 'Phags-pa (1235-1280). His office as state teacher is already attested in 1277. From 1285 to 1287 he was a member of the multinational committee that produced a new catalog of the Chinese Buddhist canon and was appointed in 1286 as imperial teacher (*ti-shih* 帝師), an office held previously from 1270 to 1274 by 'Phags-pa. In 1291 he was dismissed, probably in connection with the fall and execution of the Tibetan statesman Sangha, and retired to Mount Wu-t'ai, where he died in 1294.⁴⁷ An original document issued by Ye-šes rin-chen's chancery in 1290 has been found in the monastery Ža-lu. His name appears there as Ye-šes rin-chen ti-šrī (*ti-shih*).⁴⁸

The third person mentioned in Hsiang-mai's text is the major-domo (*feng-yü* 奉御) T'u-lieh 秃列. The major-domos at the Yüan imperial court were close personal servants of the emperors and usually recruited from the imperial bodyguard.⁴⁹ With the orthography for T'u-lieh as 秃烈, we find him as a *feng-yü* in 1281 transmitting an imperial order that forbade actors to dress and mask themselves as the four heavenly kings (*t'ien-wang* 天王;

Sk.: *devarāja*).⁵⁰ He is perhaps the same person as the close servant T'o-lieh 脱烈, who in 1283 recommended that the learned Uighur Arḡun Sali debate a western (Indian or Tibetan?) monk.⁵¹ In 1277 the major-domo T'o-lieh is attested twice: he transmitted an imperial order to Buddhist monks and an order concerning a stupa to the Central Chancery.⁵² T'u-lieh ended badly. He was executed in 1291 after having been tortured: a wild fox was made to lacerate his belly. This detail is told in a literary gloss by Wang Yün 王惲.⁵³ Hsiang-mai tells us that it was T'u-lieh who brought to Qubilai's attention the miraculous light emanating from the old reliquary stupa. Also the other data in Chinese sources show that he must have been an active Buddhist – probably a follower of the notorious Sangha who eventually shared Sangha's fate.⁵⁴ We do not know his nationality. The name can be reconstructed as *Töre or *Türe. Both forms are attested as Mongolian personal names. It is possible that *Töre refers to the older form of *törö*, "law or order," and in turn is derived from the Uighur *törä*.⁵⁵ Our major-domo could therefore have been a Mongol or Uighur.

TRANSLATION OF THE STELE-INSCRIPTION

Hsiang-mai's text begins with an excursus on the spread of Buddhism in China and, naturally for the author, its culmination under Qubilai. The following translation omits this part and begins where Qubilai's personal piety is praised. Next is a brief history of the old Liao stupa and the miracles said to have happened in about 1271 that eventually persuaded Qubilai to order the construction of the White Stūpa. The monument is briefly described and praised in poetical terms. After this the state teacher Ye-šes

inscription of 1069 is at pp. 193-94; biographical data on Tao-chen are at p. 417; an excerpt from the lost Yung-an ssu stupa inscription of 1096 is rpt. p. 252 (after Hsiang-mai's text).

⁴⁷ *YS* 14, p. 294; 202, p. 4518; Wang Yün 王惲, *Ch'iu-chien hsien-sheng ta ch'üan wen-chi* 秋澗先生大全文集 (SPTK edn.) 67, p. 18a. For Tibetan biographical sources, see Luciano Petech, *Central Tibet and the Mongols: The Yuan-Sa-skya Period in Tibetan History* (Roma: Istituto per il medio ed estremo oriente, 1990), pp. 29 (where n. 10 misprints "1296" for "1286"), pp. 73-74. *YJ* vol. 4, p. 2177, errs in dating I-lin-chen's death to 1282; see Petech, above.

⁴⁸ The document has been edited and studied in Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Roma: Istituto per il medio ed estremo oriente, 1949) 2, p. 670.

⁴⁹ David M. Farquhar, *The Government of China under Mongolian Rule: A Reference Guide* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1990), p. 97, says that the office of major-domo (altogether 24) was established in 1308. But they were mentioned earlier, e. g., in Hsiang-mai's text and elsewhere. Actually, the mistake can be traced to an error in *YS* 22, p. 496; and *YS* 88, p. 2224, says that the major-domos were first established in 1329-1330, which is even more erroneous.

⁵⁰ *Yuan tien-chang* 元典章 (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1976) 57, p. 33b.

⁵¹ *YS* 130, p. 3175.

⁵² Wang, *Ch'iu-chien hsien-sheng* 67, p. 19a; and 95, p. 5b. ⁵³ *Ibid.* 20, p. 17a.

⁵⁴ On Sangha, see Luciano Petech, "Sang-ko, a Tibetan Statesman in Yuan China," *AOASH* 34 (1980), pp. 193-208 (rev. rpt. in Luciano Petech, *Selected Papers on Asian History* [Roma: Istituto per il medio ed estremo oriente, 1988]), pp. 395-412; and Herbert Franke, "Sangha (? - 1291)," Igor de Rachewiltz et al., eds., *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yuan Period (1200-1300)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), pp. 558-83.

⁵⁵ For Mongol names with Töre, see Paul Pelliot and Louis Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1951), pp. 90-91, and the name index in John Andrew Boyle, trans., *The Successors of Genghis Khan: Translated from the Persian of Rashid Al-Din* (New York: Columbia U. P., 1971), p. 370.

rin-chen is introduced as organizer of the tantric consecration. The description of the rituals follows the "three secrets," as outlined above. Several passages are enigmatic, chiefly names of Buddhist scriptures and deities.

In his (the emperor's) spare time from attending government he concentrated his mind on Buddhism. He followed the old statutes of his ancestors and enacted benevolent edicts of clemency. All believers in Buddha therefore enjoyed respect and peace. Frequently he summoned famous monks to preach and to discuss mysterious secrets. He sincerely believed in the Buddha's dharma and had the precious texts of the manifold treasures (of the canon) recited. He investigated what was not yet known and listened to the mysterious meanings of the Three Vehicles.⁵⁶ Constantly he made plans for the new capital (Ta-tu, Peking) which was then built for eternity after suitable divination. In order to provide blessing for a foundation nothing can be compared to building a stupa. He hoped for the protection of the divine *nāgas*⁵⁷ and relied on the gods of the Soil and Grain⁵⁸ for everlastingness. In the southwest corner of the walled capital within a palace garden he cleared and amplified a spacious and even area where this precious stupa was built like polished jade and gems.

Formerly, in the old capital north of T'ung-hsüan kuan 通玄關 there was the Temple of Eternal Peace (Yung-an ssu 永安寺),⁵⁹ where the halls were completely in ruins and only a stupa still standing. According to the temple's name-board it was a stupa for the relics of Śākya. Scrutiny of its stone inscription shows that it had been built under the Great Liao in the second year of Shou-ch'ang, third lunar month, fifteenth day (April 10, 1096) by Tao-chen, dharma-teacher expert in exoteric and esoteric doctrines. Inside were twenty "ordination pearls" (*chieh-chu* 戒珠, 2,000 small stupas made of perfumed

clay, five copies of the sutra *Wu-kou ching-kuang ching* 無垢淨光經 and other *dhāraṇīsūtra*. The knobs of the roller (of the scrolls) were made of crystal. Because of war and fires the place was desolate and overgrown with weeds, but in every clear night there appeared a divine light so that those living nearby became afraid and feared that a fire had broken out. However when they looked up, there was neither smoke nor flame. In this way the awe-inspiring spiritual power of the relics became known, and the people began to worship them.

This passage describes the site and the history of the Liao stupa, which was to be replaced later by the White Stūpa, and lists the relics and other contents deposited within the monument, apparently according to a lost Liao inscription. Ch'en Shu regards the passage from "Inside there were. . ." until ". . . made of crystal" as a quotation from the Liao inscription.⁶⁰ What I tentatively translate as "ordination pearls" might refer to rosary beads. Or they may refer to metamorphic remnants of a saint or the Buddha after cremation that were shaped like grains of rice or millet. They had a brilliant color and were regarded as extremely auspicious, indestructible by water or fire.⁶¹ The "stupas made of perfumed clay" are obviously the votive gifts called *tsha-tsha* in Tibetan (orthographies vary). They were produced in great numbers from models and placed inside stupas or images, which is a widespread practice among lamaists up to this day. Some *tsha-tsha* show a relief image of a Buddha or Bodhisattva, with or without a short inscription, and others are in the shape of a small stupa. The word itself occurs in Chinese orthography as *ts'a-ts'a* 擦擦. The *Yüan History* says that Tibetan monks produced them, sometimes in quantities of up to 300,000.⁶² The *dhāraṇīsūtra* placed into the stupa can be identified as *Wu-kou ching-kuang ta* 大't'o-lo-ni ching in one chapter that was translated into Chinese by the Tokharian monk Mi-t'o-hsien 彌陀仙 (*Mitraśanta), who resided in Ch'ang-an between 690 and 704 and later returned to his country.⁶³

⁵⁶ On Three Vehicles (Sk.: *triyāna*), see *SH*, p. 58A-B. Explanations for the term differ.

⁵⁷ The *shen-lung* 神龍, "divine *nāga*," were regarded as protectors against water disasters and resided in the subterraneous sphere.

⁵⁸ These were recipients of one of the major rituals in the traditional imperial ritual system of China.

⁵⁹ Under the Chin the northern gate of the capital was called T'ung-hsüan men; see *Chin-shih* 金史 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1975) 24, p. 572. The Yung-an Temple was located on "Fragrant Mountain" (Hsiang-shan 香山) and was completed 1186. The emperor Shih-tsung visited the temple, which he endowed liberally and named Great Temple of Eternal Peace (*Chin-shih* 8, p. 192). The old Liao stupa was within the precincts of this temple.

⁶⁰ See n. 46, end of note.

⁶¹ See Paul Demiéville, *Le concile de Lhasa* (Paris: Collège de France, 1987) 1, pp. 254-55. For Indian and Tibetan parallels, see Scherrer-Schaub, "Some *dhāraṇīs*," p. 718 and n. 99.

⁶² *IS* 202, p. 4523. An informative study on stupas and *ts'a-ts'a* is that of Giuseppe Tucci, "Mc'od rten e Ts'a-ts'a nel Tibet Indiano ed Occidentale," *Indo-Tibetica* (Roma: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1932) 1, esp. pp. 57-60, for the ceremonies of *ts'a-ts'a* making. For stupa-shaped *ts'a-ts'a*, see tables 41-42.

⁶³ See *Tedn.*, vol. 19, no. 1024. On Mi-t'o-hsien and his trans., see *MD*, pp. 2104B and 2133C-34A.

The major-domo T'u-lieh reported this auspicious omen, and the emperor when he was informed regarded it as truthful. He wished to make the old stupa more beautiful, had it opened and closely inspected. Indeed there were the small stupas made of perfumed clay. A stone chest between them was opened and inside stood an iron stupa that contained a bronze vase filled with fragrant water. It was brilliantly fresh and white and had a color like fluid jade. The relics were well preserved and complete, lustrous like grains of gold. In front, two *nāga* kings were kneeling for their protection. On a stand, the five sutras were complete and without damage. As an offering ten kinds of strange fruits made of gold, pearls, and precious stones had been displayed. At the bottom of the vase a single bronze coin was found that had been cast with the four-character inscription *Chih-yüan t'ung-pao* 至元通寶. Thereby one could know that the Holy Man (Buddha), when he regulated the dharma, predetermined in advance what was still hidden, and when the right time arrived it became manifest and was realized according to the will of Heaven.

This passage concerns the stupa contents. The iron receptacle seems to have contained the relics in the form of twenty "ordination pearls," or pellets, that looked like grains of gold, discussed above. The *nāga* kings kneeling in front were guardians of the relics because in religious lore the *nāga*, or dragons, were thought to preside over treasures. The inscription on the bronze coin is, of course, Qubilai's reign period, from 1264 to 1294. A modern critic might suppose a kind of *pie fraus* because the coin could not have been genuine. Prior to Qubilai no such reign name was ever given, and no such name existed under the Liao. The discovery of the relics in 1271 is also briefly alluded to in a gloss to the Ch'ien-lung emperor's poetic inscription of 1785, where the emperor quotes from Chu I-tsun's *Jih-hsia chiu-wen k'ao*.⁶⁴

Thereafter on the twenty-fifth day, third lunar month, of Chih-yüan 8 (May 5, 1271), the emperor and the empress viewed (the relics), which increased the intensity of their devotion. He then greeted the relics in person and had this precious stupa built. (The construction) was in the hands of selected soldiers, and its shape symbolized the form of a

form of a sacred element (*t'o-tu* 馱都; Sk.: *dhātu*). This extraordinary achievement was wonderful to the extreme, and the sculptor's art came to profound perfection. Above, its beauty shone like engraved precious stones and, below, it manifested completely the dharma. The pattern of the basis was shaped with sculpted birds and quadrupeds projecting from the corners. Jade pestles (*vajra*) were distributed in tiers on the stone balustrades and hung down from the eaves. Colored tassels covered the body (of the stupa); there was a net with pearls and precious little bells, which chimed harmoniously when a wind came, and a golden disk shone brilliantly when facing the sun. (The stupa) stood isolated and high and seen from a distance it glistened in the purple palace (Heaven); it stood alone and lofty like a hill against the blue sky. The ingeniousness of its planning is rare indeed, for both past and present.

Most of the above passage is self-explanatory. The new stupa is praised for its beauty and religious symbolism. A minor problem is the date when Qubilai is reported to have visited the relics in the old Liao stupa. According to Hsiang-mai it was May 5, 1271. But according to the *Yüan History* the emperor had left Ta-tu for the summer capital Shang-tu already on May 1, 1271.⁶⁵ No explanation exists for the chronological discrepancy. The word *t'o-tu/dhātu* has been translated as "sacred element." It can refer to a sacred locality, but in this context another meaning is more appropriate, that is, Buddha relics, for which East Asian tantrism contains several rituals of worship and mystical representation.⁶⁶

At that time there was the state teacher I-lin-chen, a Tibetan. He was intelligent, had a divine understanding, and the range of his abilities was very profound. There was nothing in the exoteric and esoteric doctrines that he did not fully penetrate; he apprehended clearly the Great and Small Vehicles (Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna). His victory over causation was fulfilled, and his virtue influenced the emperor's heart. He constantly remembered the august ruler's belief in Buddha and

⁶⁵ YS7, p. 134, entry for the day *chia-shen*, third lunar mo.

⁶⁶ E. g., Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨, *Bukkyō daijiten* 佛教大辭典 (Tokyo: Sekai shoten, 1958-1963; hereafter *BD*), vol. 4, pp. 3479B-81A; *SH* 430A, and above all *MD*, pp. 1559B-C and 1560A-B.

⁶⁴ von Franz, *Peking-Inschriften*, p. 73.

that he had established this religious merit (by building the stupa). In order to profit the state and bring peace to the people it was necessary to rely on divine mantras (*shen-chou* 神咒). He therefore followed the secret doctrines (tantra) and organized imposing features for the placement of the Tathāgata (the Buddha relics). The functions of body, speech, and mind encompassed what was above and below, so that everything was regulated in orderly sequence.

Here I-lin-chen (Rin-chen) used tantric ceremonies for the consecration. What has been translated as "divine mantras" also refers to tantrism (Chin. *shen-chou* translates Sk. *ṛddhimantra*). These mantras are called divine because their recitation or deposition in written form was believed to have immediate magic efficacy. The term *shen-chou* is also sometimes used for dharanis.⁶⁷ The functions of body, speech and mind – the "three secrets" – in consecration ceremonies were explained above. It is not quite clear what "above and below" means in our context. One could interpret this as, for example, gods and men, or monks and laymen, but it could perhaps also indicate the stupa structure above the earth and what was at its bottom, namely, the relics. The following passage in Hsiang-mai's text is a rather confusing enumeration of all the images placed into the stupa for protecting the Buddha's bodily remnants.

First, what was followed regarding the body. First, a stone chest carved with the Buddhas of the Five Directions was placed at the bottom of the stupa, and images of white jade-stone (marble?) were then set up and distributed in order. Nearby was put a wheel (?) of the 8 Great Demon Kings and the 8 Demon Mothers. Jointly their images afforded stability. Below these were placed on stone Sumeru-thrones sculptures of the gods who protect the dharma, the Lord of Riches, the 8 Great Gods, the 8 Great Brahma Kings, the Four Kings, the 9 Luminaries, and the Heavenly Nāga Guarding the 10 Directions. Later there were put into the vase shape (the vase-shaped part of the stupa?) printed pictures of all the saints (Buddhas). These were the Buddhas of the 10 Directions, the Controller of the Three States of Existence Buddha-mother Prajñā, the White Parasol Buddha, the Honored and Victorious Undeiled Clear Radiant Marīci-deva, the Vajra Destroyer

Pu-k'ung and the Net Bearer Pu-tung, the honored Kings of Knowledge, the Bodhisattva Vajra-bearer, and the Mañju Friendly Words. These all were distributed one after the other in a circle.

The identification of these statues is not an easy task and must remain tentative. One reason is the uncertainty about just which Buddhas or gods belong to the numerically grouped figures. It is a well-known fact that the names given to the constituent members of such a group vary greatly between individual sects and traditions, even within one and the same cultural sphere. On the other hand, the disposition of the statues in the stupa is described by Hsiang-mai in so detailed a fashion that we obtain at least a rough picture of what the stupa looked like inside. When he speaks of a "wheel" (*lun* 輪, Sk.: *cakra*) he seems to mean a ceremonial placement like that on an altar or in a mandala. At the end of the passage he expresses himself more clearly by calling the placement circular. Both sentences might therefore mean the same. The Buddhas of the 5 Directions (*Wu-fang fo* 五方佛) preside in esoteric Buddhism over the 4 cardinal points, and the center in the "Diamond World" (*vajradhātu*) and the "Matrix World" (*garbhadhātu*). The central figure is always Vairocana. For the other four the most frequent enumeration is as follows: the east is ruled by Akṣobhya, the south by Ratnasambhava, the west by Amitābha, and the north by Amogha-siddhi, or Śākyamuni. These five are also known as Meditation Buddhas (Dhyānibuddha).⁶⁸ The 8 Great Demon Kings (Pa ta kuei-wang 八大鬼王) are the Yakṣa Kings who act as fierce protectors of the Dharma.⁶⁹ Their female counterparts are the 8 Demon Mothers (Pa kuei-mu 八鬼母). Kuei-mu, or Kuei-tzu 子 mu, was originally the deity Harīti, a child-devouring demon who was later converted to Buddhism and became a defender of the religion. Here they appear as a group of eight and may be connected with the 8 demons called Ma-mo in Tibetan lamaism (*ma-mo* means "grandmother" in Tibetan and is a euphemism for these potentially malevolent beings).⁷⁰

Lord of the Riches (Chu ts'ai-pao t'ien 主財寶天) is one of the names

⁶⁸ *SH*, p. 113A, 119A; *MD*, pp. 633C-34A.

⁶⁹ E. g., *BD*, vol. 10, pp. 814B-15A; and *MD*, p. 1813A-B.

⁷⁰ See *BD*, vol. 1, pp. 516C-18A; and *MD*, p. 1812B. On the Tibetan Ma-mo, see Eva Neumaier, "Mātarāḥ und Ma-mo: Studien zur Mythologie des Lamaismus," (Ph. D. diss., U. of München 1966).

⁶⁷ See, e. g., *SH*, p. 334B, and *MD*, p. 1281C.

for Kubera, the Indian god of riches, who appears in esoteric Buddhism also as Vaiśravaṇa, the protector of the north. Also the 8 Great Gods (Pa ta t'ien-shen 八大天神) and the 8 Great Brahmā Kings (Pa ta fan-wang 八大梵王) are protectors of Buddhism. The 8 Great Gods are the 8 *devaloka* and therefore important as guardians. The Brahmā Kings appear here as a group of eight, perhaps in analogy to the 8 Gods.⁷¹ The 9 Luminaries (Chiu-yao 九曜) were originally Indian astral deities who later became associated with 9 different Bodhisattvas.⁷² They were believed to have a supernatural influence on worldly and religious affairs. The Four Kings (Ssu-wang 四王) are evidently the heavenly guardian-kings (*catur-mahārāja*) who protect the world as *lokapāla*.⁷³ The Heavenly Nāga (T'ien-lung 天龍; Sk.: *devanāga*) are, in our context, guardians of treasures, that is, the Buddha's relics. The Ten Directions (*shih-fang* 十方) are the eight points of the compass with zenith and nadir to each of which a Buddha is associated.⁷⁴ It is not impossible that in our text "guardians of the ten directions" refers to these Buddhas, and the Nāga are a different entity. The Buddhas of the Ten Directions are, however, mentioned separately in the same passage. They are followed by the name San-shih l'iao-yü p'an-jo Fo-mu 三世調御般若佛母, where P'an-jo Fo-mu is "Buddha-mother Prajñā"; and indeed Prajñā "metaphysical wisdom" is regarded as the originating mother of all Buddhas. Icons of Prajñā in female shape are very common, particularly in lamaism. The term "three worlds" 三世 can refer to the three dimensions of space or of time.⁷⁵

The next deity listed is Ta pai san-kai Fo 大白傘蓋佛, the White Parasol Buddha (Sk.: Śītātapatrā), which is also one of the titles of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in female shape.⁷⁶ The following name (or names) is not quite clear to me. My translation of Tsun-sheng wu-kou ching-kuang Mo-li-chih t'ien 尊勝無垢淨光摩利支天 regards the first part as an epithet for the well-known astral goddess Marīci ("rays of light"). She

became a Buddhist protecting deity who could assume a terrifying aspect.⁷⁷ After Marīci follow Pu-k'ung 不空 and Pu-tung 不動. They both belong to the category of *ming-wang* 明王, "kings of knowledge" (Sk.: *vidyārāja*), who play a great role in esoteric Buddhism. The Indian names for Pu-k'ung and Pu-tung are Amogha and Acala respectively. In East Asian Buddhism the *ming-wang* may form a group of five or eight according to the sectarian tradition.⁷⁸ The Bodhisattva Vajra-bearer Chin-kang shou p'u-sa 金剛手菩薩 is Vajrapāṇi, much worshipped as one of the transcendental Bodhisattvas.⁷⁹

The last in the enumeration of supernatural beings is Mañju Friendly Words (Wen-shu ch'in-yin 文殊親音). This must be one of the many forms of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, perhaps identical with Miao-yin p'u-sa 妙音菩薩 (Mañjughoṣa) or the Tibetan 'jam dbyaṅs, which means "kind response" and corresponds to some extent to the Ch'in-yin "friendly words" in our text.⁸⁰

The next passage in Hsiang-mai's text concerns the "secret of speech," the texts recited and deposited in the stupa. Here, the identification of dharanis and other sacred scriptures is open to some doubt, as discussed below. The text reads as follows:

Second, words that followed the *dhāraṇī*: the *Fo-ting wu-kou*, *Pi-mi pao-ch'ieh*, *P'u-t'i ch'ang chuang-yen*, *Chia-lo-sha pa-ni*, *Ch'uang-ting yen-chün*, *Kuang-po lou-ko*, *San-chi chü-chou*, *P'an-jo hsin-ching*, and *Chu-fa yin-yüan sheng chieh*, together over one hundred great *sūtra*. Of each of these more than a hundred or a thousand copies were made and bound together between iron clasps and arranged in strict order.

This shows that a considerable collection of tantric texts was deposited in the stupa. *Fo-ting wu-kou* 佛頂無垢 is probably the abbreviated title of *Fo-ting fang wu-kou kuang-ming ju p'u-men kuan-ch'a i-ch'ieh ju-lai hsin t'o-lo-ni ching* 佛頂放無垢光明入普門觀察一切如來心陀羅尼經. This *dhāraṇī-sūtra* (which has a Tibetan translation) was translated into Chinese by Shih-

⁷¹ *SH*, p. 35B; and *MD*, pp. 1539c, 2070A-C.

⁷² *SH*, p. 18A, *BD*, vol. 1, pp. 731C-33A; and *MD*, pp. 333A-C, 356C.

⁷³ *SH*, p. 173B; and *MD*, pp. 1007C-8B. ⁷⁴ See *SH*, pp. 50B and 148A.

⁷⁵ See *SH*, p. 337B; and *MD*, pp. 813A, 1838C. On the Buddha-mother, see also P. Demiéville, S. Lévi, J. Takakusu, eds., *Hōbōgirin: Dictionnaire encyclopédique du bouddhisme d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises* (Tokyo: Maison Franco-Japonaise, 1929-1930; hereafter *HG*), p. 209A.

⁷⁶ *SH*, p. 113B; and *MD*, p. 1530B.

⁷⁷ See *BD*, vol. 5, pp. 4764C-65C; *SH*, pp. 23A and 435A; *MD*, pp. 2087C-88A. In Tibetan Buddhism she is frequently worshipped under the name of 'Od-zer can-ma.

⁷⁸ For Pu-k'ung, see *BD*, vol. 5, pp. 4387B-89B, and *MD*, pp. 1896C-1900B; for Pu-tung, *BD*, vol. 5, pp. 4486A-89B, and *MD*, pp. 1955A-57B.

⁷⁹ See, e. g., *SH*, pp. 281B, 283B; *MD*, p. 695B-C; and *HG*, p. 48A.

⁸⁰ For Miao-yin p'u-sa, see *MD*, p. 2113B-C.

hu 施護 (fl. 982-1017).⁸¹ *Pi-mi pao-ch'ieh* 祕密寶篋 (*Precious Treasure-Box*) must also be an abbreviated title. The full title is *I-ch'ieh ju-lai hsin pi-mi ch'üan-shen she-li pao-ch'ieh yin* 一切如來心祕密全身舍利寶篋印 *t'o-lo-ni ching*. It had been translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra (705-770 or 774) and included in the Buddhist canon.⁸² The inclusion of it in the stupa library was apt, because it deals with the miraculous efficacy of Buddha relics. The identification of *P'u-t'i ch'ang chuang-yen* 菩提場莊嚴 (*Ornaments for the Enlightenment Site*) offers little problem, since the title of this *dhāraṇī-sūtra* is given in full. The text was translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra and is included in the canon.⁸³

Chia-lo-sha pa-ni 迦囉沙拔尼 presents a problem. The name is evidently the transcription of a Sanskrit name that I tentatively reconstruct as *Kalaśapāṇi, meaning "vase-bearer" (from Sk.: *kalaśa*). No such title can be found in the canon. Vases or bottles are frequent attributes of deities, thus, provided my reconstruction is correct, the name is too general to allow assignation to a god or Bodhisattva. A possible solution is to equate the enigmatic "vase-bearer" with Chün-t'u-li ming-wang 軍荼利明王, one of the devas, whose full name is Kan-lu 甘露 chün-t'u-li ming wang, the "king with the ambrosia vase" (Chin. *chün-t'u-li* transcribes Sk. *kundali* "vase, bottle"). This "ambrosia king" is one of the devas but also the name of the Bodhisattva Amṛtaprabha. The name of the "ambrosia king" is Amṛtakuṇḍali, "ambrosia vase." He can appear in a fierce aspect, is regarded as a protector of the south and the subject of several dharanis, mantras, and rituals included in the canon.⁸⁴

Problematic also is the text *Ch'uang-ting yen-chün* 幢頂嚴軍, which can be translated as "stern soldier with a flag on the head" (Chin. *ch'uang* usually renders Sk. *dhvaja*, "standard, flag, sign of victory"). It is not clear who among the fierce protector gods is meant. No sutra with a similar title is found in the canon. Perhaps the text in Hsiang-mai's inscription refers to Vaiśravaṇa, who is usually represented as a soldier with a helmet bearing a

flag, or the Great General Ta yüan-shuai ming-wang 大元帥明王, a deity especially worshipped in Japanese *shingon* and sometimes counted as one of the demon (*yakṣa*) generals. Concerning both, we have invocations and dharanis in the canon.⁸⁵ The identification of *Kuang-po lou-ko* 廣博樓閣 is less problematic. It is perhaps *Ta-pao* 大寶 *kuang-po lou-ko shan-chu* 善住 *pi-mi t'o-lo-ni ching*. It was translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra and deals with icons and mandalas. The text was also translated into Tibetan.⁸⁶ The title *San-chi chü-chou* 三記句咒 is somewhat enigmatic. Possibly, *Ch'ih-chü shen-chou ching* 持句神咒經 is meant here. This text had first been translated into Chinese by Chih-ch'ien 支謙 (fl. 220-252) and is included in the section on tantrism in the canon. There exist other, later, translations with different titles. Basically it was a collection of dharanis.⁸⁷ What *san-chi* means is not quite clear – possibly "thrice recorded." This may refer to three different translations of the sutra, or to a version in the three languages Chinese, Sanskrit, and Tibetan. *P'an-jo hsin-ching* is of course the "Essence Sūtra."⁸⁸ Last, *Chu-fa yin-yüan sheng chieh* 諸法因緣生偈 is the famous "verse on interdependent origination" (Sk.: *Pratītyasamutpāda*), a short basic credo of Buddhism that used to be deposited or recited at the consecration of stupas or images. There are many, slightly different, versions of this gāthā preserved in Buddhist scriptures. The verse is also known as *Fa-shen chieh* 法身偈 (*dharmakāyagāthā*), *Fa-sung she-li* 法頌舍利, and under other names. It occurs also in the sutra on the merits of building a stupa titled *Tsao-t'a kung-te ching* 造塔功德經, by the Indian monk Divākara, and translated in 681 by the Korean monk Yüan-ts'e 圓測 (613-696), a disciple of Hsüan-tsang 玄奘.⁸⁹ In any case without this Buddhist credo the consecration of the

⁸⁵ For Vaiśravaṇa texts, see *T* edn., nos. 1244-1250, vol. 21, and for the Great General nos. 1237-1239 in the same vol. For the latter, whose Indian name is Ātavaka, see also *MD*, pp. 1446C-51A, 1449C-51A.

⁸⁶ See *T* edn., no. 1005 (a), vol. 19; also *MD*, pp. 1536C (with full titles in Sanskrit and Tibetan) and 2039A. The "precious pavilion" that figures in the title is thought to be on Mt. Sumeru; *MD*, pp. 2038C-39A.

⁸⁷ Chih-ch'ien's translation is *T* edn., no. 1351, vol. 21. The later translations are nos. 1352-1355. On the first translator, see also *MD*, p. 2340B.

⁸⁸ See n. 22, above.

⁸⁹ See *T* no. 699 in vol. 16, p. 801B. Other versions of the verse are in *Ta chih-tu lun* (no. 1509 in vol. 25, *ct.* 11, p. 136C; and 18, p. 192B), in *Fo pen-hsing chi ching* (no. 190 in vol. 25, *ct.* 48, pp. 876B and 877A), in *Ch'u-fen shuo ching* (no. 498 in vol. 14, *ct.* *hsia*, p. 768A-B), and in *Ken-pen shuo i-ch'ieh yu-pu p'i-na-yeh ch'u-chia shih* (no. 1414, in vol. 23, *ct.* 2, p. 1027B-C). This list is by no means exhaustive. See also *BD*, vol. 8, pp. 338-34B, and *MD*, pp. 2012B and 2020C. For the Tibetan version and its use in consecration rituals, see Scherrer-Schaub, "Some *dhāraṇī*," p. 712 n. 50; and Bentor, "Sūtra-style Consecration," pp. 3-4. There exist

⁸¹ *T* edn., no. 1025, vol. 19, and *MD*, pp. 1941C-42A.

⁸² *T* edn., no. 1022 (a), vol. 19. See also *MD*, pp. 78C-79A, where the original Sanskrit title and the Tibetan title are given.

⁸³ *T* edn., no. 1008, vol. 19. See also *MD*, p. 2050C. The "site of enlightenment" (Sk.: *bodhimanda*) refers to the place where the Buddha obtained enlightenment; see *HG*, p. 196A. For Amoghavajra's trans., see also Chou, "Tantrism in China," pp. 309-10.

⁸⁴ *T* edn., nos. 1211, 1213 and 1214, vol. 21; cf. *SH*, pp. 163B, 195B, 287A, 314B, and *MD*, pp. 41A, 259B, 424C-26B, 1717A; for the Ambrosia Bodhisattva, 2147B-C.

White Stüpa would have been incomplete. It is interesting to note that our text does not say in which language all the deposited scriptures were written. It was probably Chinese and not Tibetan, although some of the abbreviated titles suggest retranslation from Tibetan titles.

The next passage of Hsiang-mai's text concerns the third of the three secrets, that of the mind:

Third, the actions followed for (the Buddha's) mind. On the exterior of the vase shape (of the stupa or the reliquary?) there were engraved the Buddhas of the Five Directions to proclaim the Dharma visibly, for the eastern direction (a Buddha) with a single *vajra*, for the southern direction with a precious pearl, for the western direction with a lotus flower, and for the northern direction with a crossed *vajra*. On the four half-points of the compass, on the sides, were the Four Great Gods but without holding attributes. In addition yellow, lustrous, genuine earth from under the *vajra* seat where the Buddha in the west had reached perfection was taken, and also earth from the sites with holy traces in the east and west of this our country (China), namely, Wu-t'ai and Tai Mountain. Camphor, purple and white aloe, sandalwood, storax, curcuma, and other perfumes were pounded together with gold, silver, pearls, coral, and precious stones and mixed together into fragrant clay from which perfumed stupas were made, altogether 1,008 pieces. Also perfumes like mastic, liquid ambar, frankincense, thoroughwort, and spikunard were mixed with fragrant clay and molded into small perfumed stupas, together 130,000, which were all placed into the stupa. If thus the Three Jewels (Buddha, Dharma, Sangha) are for ever in existence and not extinguished, and the divine achievement and the holy virtue (of the Buddha) in the realm of space are immeasurable, the state will be protected and the people assisted because this (stupa) is there.

This describes more works of art and sacred objects outside and inside the stupa. As seen, images of the Buddhas of the Five Directions had also been placed inside the stupa. Here Vairocana as the central figure is not mentioned, only the attributes of the other four.⁹⁰ In addition, earth from the

also several exegeses of the "verse of interdependent origination."

⁹⁰ For the attributes of the five Buddhas see *BD* 2, pp. 1283B-85A; 9, pp. 234A-35B. Illustrations according to Tibetan traditions are given in Hans Wolfgang Schumann, *Buddhistische Bilderwelt* (Köln: Eugen Diederichs, 1986), pp. 88-105. Akṣobhya in the east

places in India and China sanctified by the Buddha was placed inside the stupa. The earth or clay of Indian origin must have come from Bodhgayā, where according to tradition, the Buddha reached enlightenment. For China two sites are mentioned. The first is Mount Wu-t'ai in western China (Shansi), where in T'ang times a footprint of the Buddha was displayed.⁹¹ The second is Mount Tai (Tai yüeh 岱嶽), the T'ai-shan of eastern China (Shantung). I do not know which site on this mountain was so sacred that earth from there was put into the stupa.⁹² The Four Great Gods (Ssu ta-t'ien 四大天), whose images were sculpted on the four half-points of the compass and thus filled the space between those of the four directional Buddhas, are the guardians of the world (*lokapāla*).

The names in this group of four gods, which is identical with the Four Kings, may differ according to local or sectarian tradition; in Tibetan Buddhism their names are sometimes given as Dhṛtarāṣṭra, guardian of the east, Virūḍhaka, guardian of the south, Virūpakṣa, guardian of the west, and Vaiśravaṇa, guardian of the north.⁹³ As to the bigger and smaller stupas formed of perfumed clay, it must be observed that the figure 1,008 for the former is surprising. The holy number in Buddhism is 108. The 130,000 smaller stupas put into the monument are of course *ts'a-t's'a*. The remainder of Hsiang-mai's inscription may be left untranslated. The author compares the relics of the sage emperors in ancient China with those of the Buddha; the former are, in his opinion, defective and do not have the supernatural power of the Buddha relics. He also quotes three eulogies on Buddha relics, one by the T'ang emperor T'ai-tsung and two by Sung Jen-tsung. There follows the inevitable praise for the ruling emperor Qubilai and the expression of his belief that this "precious stupa" will guarantee blessing and welfare for ever.

CONCLUSION

Hsiang-mai's impressive text describes many works of art that decorated the interior and the outside of the stupa, not to mention the

holds a single *vajra*, Ratnasambhava in the south a jewel, Amitābha, or Amitāyus, in the west a lotus flower, and Amoghasiddhi in the north a double-crossed *vajra*.

⁹¹ For Buddha footprints in India, Central Asia, and the Far East, see *HC*, pp. 187B-90A, and on Wu-t'ai shan, *ibid.* p. 189A.

⁹² The article on T'ai-shan in *BD* 4, p. 3223A-C, does not mention a particularly holy site but lists the Buddhist temples of the mountain.

⁹³ See n. 73, and Schumann, *Buddhistische Bilderwelt*, pp. 167-70.

huge number of *ts'a-ts'a* as votive gifts. The sculptures on the outside of the stupa disappeared long ago, perhaps already during the reconstruction of 1344, or the various restorations under the Ming and Ch'ing. Neither the eighteenth-century gazetteers nor the modern photographs show a trace. Today we may only imagine the pomp and circumstance accompanying the consecration of the stupa in 1279.⁹⁴ The objects of gold, silver, and precious stones in the reliquary crypt of the monument must have been impressive specimens of imperial splendor. Modern archaeology has brought to light a similar treasure from the T'ang dynasty. The pagoda of the Fa-men Temple 法門寺 in Sian was excavated in the 1980s, and the finds were published in great detail. They include golden caskets, stupa-shaped cases, and painted smaller stupas. There were also found four finger bones, purportedly of the Buddha. Sacred scriptures, however, were not among the finds. It should be remembered that the Fa-men was the housing of "Buddha bones" that provoked Han Yü's famous essay against Buddhism.⁹⁵ The excavation of the Yün-chü Temple 雲居寺 pagoda in the Fang Mountains 房山 southwest of Peking is also of interest. There the contents were Buddhist scriptures on stone deposited in the expectation of the approaching end of the world. The idea underlying this type of deposit is, of course, similar to the storage of books documented for the White Stūpa: the dharma should be preserved forever.⁹⁶

A last question must be asked: what became of the sculptures, objects of art, and books that were put into the White Stūpa in 1279? None of the

later texts on the stupa and its various restorations has anything to say in this respect. It appears therefore that the contents of the White Stūpa might still be hidden somewhere in the foundations of the monument. If this were true, future excavation might make clear the achievements of religious art and printing under the Yüan.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

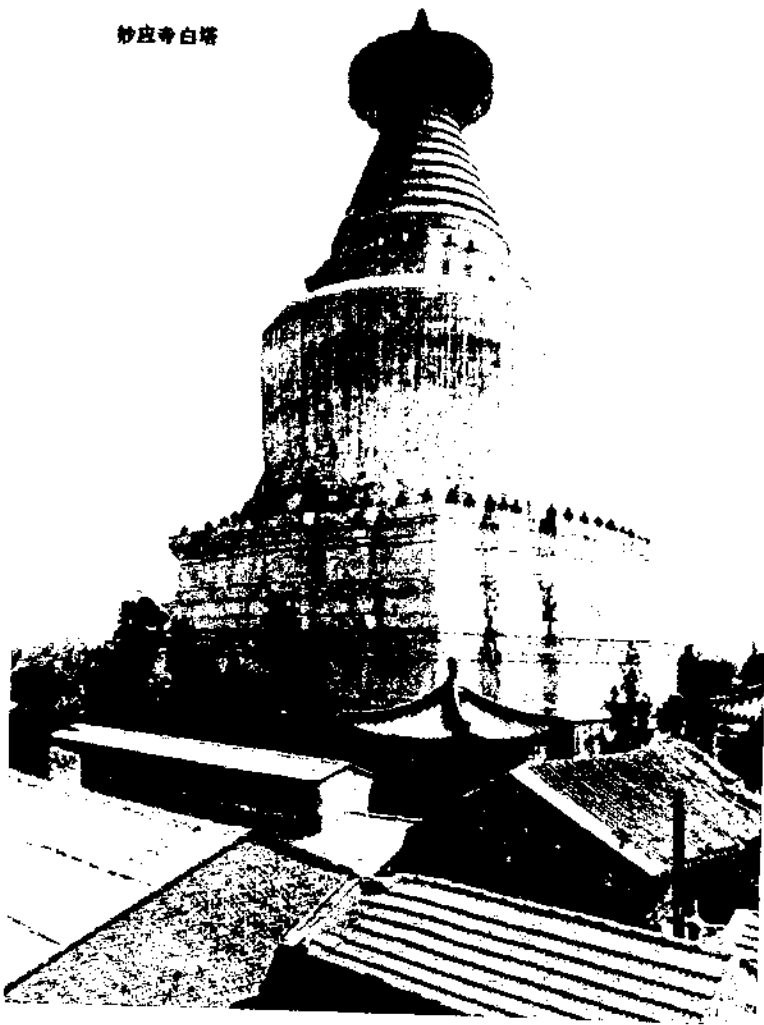
BD	Mochizuki, comp., <i>Bukkyō daijiten</i> 佛教大辭典
HG	Demiéville et al., eds., <i>Hōbōgirin: Dictionnaire encyclopédique du bouddhisme d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises</i>
MD	Nishimura, ed., <i>Mikkyō daijiten</i> 密教大辭典
PWL	Hsiang-mai 祥邁, <i>Pien-wei lu</i> 辯偽錄
S/H	Soothill and Hodous, <i>A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms</i>
T	<i>Taishō shinshū daizōkyō</i> 大正新修大藏經
YJ	Wang et al., comps., <i>Yüan-jen chuan-chi tzu-liao so-yin</i> 元人傳記資料索引
YS	<i>Yüan-shih</i> 元史

⁹⁴ For a general account of the Buddhist ceremonies in the capital, see YS 77, pp. 1926-27; and for an English trans., see Liu Ts'un-yan and Judith Berling, "The Three Teachings in the Mongol-Yüan Period," in H. L. Chan and Wm. Theodore de Bary, eds., *Yüan Thought: Chinese Thought and Religion under the Mongols* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1982), pp. 482-89.

⁹⁵ For a beautifully illustrated account, see Shih Hsing-pang 石興邦, *Fa-men ssu ti-kung chen-pao* 法門寺地宮珍寶 (*Precious Cult Relics in the Crypt of Fa-men Temple*) (Sian: Shen-hsi jen-min mei-shu ch'u-pan she, 1989). I am grateful to Michael Friedrich of München University for having lent me a copy. Some objects from the crypt were exhibited in Dortmund (Germany) in 1993. For an illustrated description of the finds and a full bibliography, see Dieter Kuhn, ed., *Chinas goldenes Zeitalter* (Heidelberg: Edition Braus, 1993), pp. 157-71.

⁹⁶ For an account based on Chinese archaeological literature, see Lothar Ledderose, "Ein Programm für den Weltuntergang: Die steinerne Bibliothek eines Klosters bei Peking," *Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 36 (1992) (Berlin-Heidelberg: Springer Verlag, 1992), pp. 15-33. An earlier description with a list of the scriptures is that of Commandant Vaudescal, "Les pierres gravées du Chê King Chán 石經山 et le Yün Kiū Sséu 雲居寺," *JA* 1914, pp. 375-459.

妙应寺白塔



*The White Stūpa; reproduced from Yang, *Pai-t'a*, p. 6 (see n. 7, above).*