

Meeting the Inhabitants of the Necropolis at Baoshan

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Abstract

In the sixth and seventh centuries, donors and mortuary sculptors at the site known as Baoshan 寶山, near Anyang in present-day Henan, appear to have combined preexisting devotional imagery and eulogistic forms to create a distinctive style of commemoration. There are over two hundred mortuary niches with numerous inscriptions dedicated by monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen for deceased teachers and family members. Arranged in clusters on Baoshan and nearby Lanfengshan 嵐峰山, some of these niches still contain seated images. Some also include inscriptions that refer to the process of making an image of the deceased. In this article, I examine contexts for the innovative enshrinement of these representations in a manner formerly reserved for buddha-images. First I briefly survey the Buddhist background and underpinnings of Baoshan's mortuary practices. The main body of the paper is dedicated to the five extant inscriptions that make references to the image-making process. Finally, I discuss distinctive soteriological concerns in this northern milieu during the sixth and seventh centuries, exploring possible influences on the creation of Baoshan's "necropolis."

Keywords:

Baoshan, Dilun, Sanjie, relics, mortuary portraits

認識寶山塔林的居民

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摘要

在第六與七世紀時期，河南安陽寶山墓塔的捐建者與雕塑師結合已存在的信仰塑像與銘文，創造了一種特殊的紀念方式。有二百多個墓龕刻有由比丘、比丘尼、優婆塞與優婆夷為其已逝的師父與家人所作的碑文。環繞在寶山與附近的嵐峰山上，其中有些墓龕仍然有坐像，有些還有敘述為逝者造像過程的碑文。在本文中，作者分析此種以佛像的雕塑方式來紀念逝者的創新奉祀法的成立背景。首先，先簡單探討寶山墓儀的佛教背景與立足點。然後，詳細分析五篇現存有提到造像過程的銘文。最後，討論第六與七世紀時期於此北方環境的獨特解脫觀，探討其對寶山塔林形成的可能影響。

關鍵詞：

寶山、地論、三階、舍利、墓像

Introduction

In the sixth and seventh centuries, donors and mortuary sculptors at the site known as Baoshan 寶山, near Anyang 安陽 in present-day Henan 河南, appear to have combined preexisting devotional imagery and eulogistic forms to create a distinctive style of commemoration. There are over 200 mortuary niches with numerous inscriptions dedicated by monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen for deceased teachers and family members. Arranged in clusters on Baoshan and nearby Lanfengshan 嵐峰山, some of these niches still contain seated images. Some also include inscriptions that refer to the process of making an image representing the deceased. As Dorothy Wong has shown, the blending of Indian and Central Asian influences, Chinese epigraphic forms, and classic Chinese stone-carving techniques inspired an explosion of new Chinese Buddhist art-forms in the fifth and sixth centuries, and the Baoshan sculptors drew on these techniques.¹

In this article, I examine the innovative enshrinement of representations of the deceased in a place formerly reserved for buddha-images. I briefly survey the Buddhist background and underpinnings of Baoshan's mortuary practices, and then examine the five extant inscriptions that make references to the image-making process. Finally, I discuss distinctive soteriological concerns in this northern milieu during the sixth and seventh centuries, exploring possible influences on the creation of Baoshan's "necropolis."

Baoshan's Mortuary Grove

Most of the remaining mortuary images at Baoshan and Lanfengshan are of monks or nuns sitting within medium-relief niches that range in height from 50 to 200 centimeters, carved in the limestone outcroppings of two mountains. Many of the niches are in the shape of ornate stūpas, reminiscent of the Northern Qi 北齊 (550–577) buddha-niches carved at Xiangtangshan 響堂山 in neighboring Hebei 河北. There are also a few images of laypersons seated within Chinese-roofed buildings. Like Xiangtangshan and the three most famous Chinese Buddhist cave-temple complexes, the Mogao 莫高 caves near Dunhuang 敦煌, the Yungang 雲岡 caves near Datong 大同, and the Longmen 龍門 caves near Luoyang 洛陽, Baoshan was also a site where small groups of donors could dedicate images to benefit the deceased and gain

¹ See Wong.

merit. However, Baoshan's devotional caves and niches were far fewer and smaller. Instead, its individual mortuary niches came to define the site.

Baoshan's enshrined mortuary images are functionally and iconographically distinct from donor-images of clerics and laypersons on stelae and on murals and carvings at cave-temples. Donors were usually represented standing or kneeling in three-quarters view oriented toward a central image, and they were often arranged in family groups. In contrast, the Baoshan/Lanfengshan mortuary images are individual seated or kneeling frontal figures.²

Accompanying inscriptions, which allow us to date many of the images, are shaped by the conventions of both Chinese lithographic memorialization and Buddhist donor inscriptions for devotional purposes. Most of the inscriptions are brief, recording the name, title, and monastery or convent of the deceased, the date of the dedication of the niche, and often the names of the donor-disciples who created the memorial. Significantly, the mortuary networks on the two mountains appear to be divided by gender: Lanfengshan has all the niches for nuns and laywomen, as well as three memorials for monks, while Baoshan's inscribed niches are only for monks and laymen.

The necropolis was not a stable collection of objects, and like all Buddhist sites in China it has sustained damage over time. As noted in some of the inscriptions, Baoshan mountain's southwest exposure was preferable from a *fengshui* 風水 (geomantic) perspective, but its niches are generally more eroded and worn. Baoshan's statues have also been more thoroughly defaced, so that few individualizing features can be discerned. Lanfengshan is oriented toward the northeast, and due to weather conditions or benign neglect, its niches have been better protected from the elements by trees and accumulated debris. When I visited in July of 2005, two previously buried niches had been excavated, and the statues' features were startlingly clear (LFS 34A and 34B).³ However, a large portion of cliff-face that had once contained LFS 44, photographed for a 1991 publication on Baoshan,⁴ had been removed by the

² In a few cases it appears that the donor-mourner has included a self-representation, and these ancillary representations are standing in three-quarters view.

³ Niches are identified according to the numbers given in the catalogue *Baoshan Lingquan si* 寶山靈泉寺 (Lingquan Temple at Baoshan). I use this numbering system for my own catalogue and translations: BS=Baoshan, LFS=Lanfengshan. In this case, LFS 34A & 34B are my provisional designations for newly excavated niches near LFS 34.

⁴ *BSLQS* p. 334.

time I first took photos in 2001. Urgent conservation issues face the site's custodians; Baoshan's niches are protected with a wall and locked gate, while in 2005 Lanfengshan had no such barrier.

Baoshan is considered to have been established as a Buddhist site during the Eastern Wei 東魏 (534–550). Later accounts claim that in 546 the monk Daoping 道憑 (488–559) completed the construction of a cave on Lanfengshan.⁵ The Lanfengshan cave is best known by the name carved outside its entrance, Daliushengku 大留聖窟 (Great Remaining Holy Ones Cave). This name was presumably coined when its more elaborate twin, Dazhushengku 大住聖窟 (Great Abiding Holy Ones Cave) was constructed in 589. Daoping's disciple Lingyu 靈裕 (518–605) is considered the co-founder of the site. Daoping was the disciple of the Northern Wei 北魏 (386–534) master Huiguang 慧光 (468–537), who was later designated as the founder of the Southern Branch of the Dilun 地論 (Stages Treatise) school that flourished in Ye 鄴 under the Northern Qi.

Daoping was said to have died at Baoshan, and inscriptions on two extant Northern Qi pagodas at the site identify them as his reliquary monuments. His disciple and co-founder Lingyu died at Yankong 演空 monastery near Anyang, but it is said that he was buried at Baoshan and a pagoda was erected there for him.⁶ The earliest datable record for Lingyu is his Baoshan mortuary niche and inscription, dated 632.

The site's main cave-shrine is Dazhusheng; its devotional program and scriptural passages referencing "Final Age of the Dharma" soteriology were probably designed by Lingyu and his disciples. It has an inscription over the entrance that lists the contents of the cave and gives a dedication date of 589, the beginning of the Sui 隨 (581–618) reunification of China. In Lingyu's biography, it is said that the temple was renamed Lingquansi 靈泉寺 (Ling's Spring/Numinous Spring Temple) in 591 by Emperor Wen 文 of the Sui (r.

⁵ An entry in the *Anyangxian jinshi lu* 安陽縣金石錄 (Records in Metal and Stone of Anyang District) by Wu Yi 武億 (1745–1799) claims an important dated inscription for Daliushengku whose source can no longer be found. It reads: "On the eighth day of the fourth month of the *bingyin* fourth year of the Wuding era of the Wei dynasty (546), constructed by Dharma Master Daoping" 魏武定四季歲在丙寅四月八日道憑法師造. *AYXJSL* 1, 15 (*SKSL*, series 1, 1977, vol. 18: 13827).

⁶ See *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks), biography of Daoping, T 2060, 50: 484c11; biography of Lingyu, *ibid.*, 497a5–8.

581–604). This was meant to honor Lingyu, who that year conferred precepts on the imperial household.⁷

Relics and Representation

The Baoshan mortuary constructions appear to have included reliquaries for cremation ashes. This practice has roots in India, but immediate precedents may be found in the earliest artifacts at Baoshan, the two above-mentioned Northern Qi free-standing pagodas for the site's founder Daoping. The “West” pagoda bears Daoping's name, a dedication date of 563, and a reliquary cavity, while the “East” pagoda has no inscription or cavity.⁸ Some of the Baoshan/Lanfengshan memorials have square reliquary cavities carved in the base of the niche, and many of the identification inscriptions refer to the mortuary construction as an “ash-remains stūpa” (*huishen ta* 灰身塔). Furthermore, several of the inscriptions describe the disciples cremating the body and gathering the remains.

The extant images in stūpa-shaped niches are predominantly seated figures in the robes of monastics, and the robed bodies of nuns are portrayed no differently from those of monks. Prior to this, only buddhas, bodhisattvas, and idealized monks were portrayed in such stūpa-style housings.⁹ I have not yet found other medieval Chinese examples of such niches containing statues representing the deceased.

Reliquary stūpas were among the earliest Buddhist devotional structures. As is well-known, the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* relates that after the cremation of the Buddha his relics were claimed by eight different groups, all of whom promised to build stūpas and hold festivals to honor them.¹⁰ Stūpas said to contain relics of the Buddha, his disciples, and later generations of revered monks and nuns eventually became destinations in pilgrimage circuits. As Gregory Schopen has shown, reliquary stūpas functioned as nodes in Buddhist

⁷ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T 2060, 50: 496b7–c2. I discuss Dazhusheng cave in detail in my forthcoming book, *Practicescape: The Buddhists of Baoshan*.

⁸ See Henansheng gudai jianzhu baohu yanjiusuo 河南省古代建築保護研究所 (Henan Research Institute for the Preservation of Ancient Architecture), 315–17.

⁹ For example, Cave 285 of the Mogao caves at Dunhuang, constructed in 538–39, includes paintings of thirty-five stūpa or cave-shaped niches with haloed images of meditating monks. However, these are paradigmatic figures and are not identified as representations of individuals.

¹⁰ *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, DN II. 166–7, in Walshe, 231–77.

networks, provided economic support for monks and nuns, and sometimes became the focus of violent contestation.¹¹ However, early Buddhist reliquary stūpas did not include images. Traditional scholarship holds that until around the beginning of the Common Era, Buddhists eschewed anthropomorphic representations of the Buddha and his disciples in favor of symbols like the wheel of the Dharma, the Buddha's footprint, and the Buddha's empty seat.¹² Recent reexamination of archaeological and inscriptional evidence suggests that images of the Buddha may have been made much sooner after his death than has been thought, but the matter remains in dispute.¹³

Stūpa-building and relic-veneration were key features of the legend of the first Buddhist ruler, King Aśoka (r. 268–232 BCE). He was believed to have collected the Buddha's relics and built 84,000 stūpas in order to distribute them more widely.¹⁴ Stories of Aśoka's pious fervor and the merit he accrued became sources of inspiration for early Chinese Buddhist devotees. Moreover, it was believed that King Aśoka's stūpa-building mission had extended beyond India, and therefore miracle-working relics of the Buddha could be discovered in China.¹⁵ Notably, King Aśoka was a role-model for Lingyu's imperial patron: Emperor Wen of the Sui instituted Buddha-relic distribution campaigns as a means of celebrating and consolidating his authority as a Buddhist monarch.¹⁶

In Chinese Buddhist hagiographical works and miracle tales, the line between monks and nuns as models for practice and as sources of salvific power is not always easy to draw. These functions are woven together in the notion of "refuge," for the "Three Treasures" of the Buddha, Dharma, and saṅgha were all copied and petitioned. The pivotal role of the ordained as both models and mediators is reflected in Chinese Buddhist representations of monks and nuns. From the sixth century onward, the practice of enshrining representations of deceased masters can be inferred from references in

11 Schopen, "The Suppression of Nuns and the Ritual Murder of Their Special Dead in Two Buddhist Monastic Codes," 329–59.

12 Harvey, 68–102.

13 See Swearer, 14–30 for an overview of early Buddhist sources on Buddhist images and the aniconic/iconic debate. Challenging scholarly assumptions about early Buddhist aniconism, Susan Huntington offers alternative interpretations of key objects and images ("Buddhist Art through a Modern Lens").

14 Strong, 124–49.

15 Shinohara, 119–228.

16 See Chen.

biographies and portrait-eulogies. Sometimes these representations were also relics: lacquered mummies, or statues mixed with cremation ashes.¹⁷

Notably, at Baoshan we see a significant precedent for the veneration of Buddhist masters. Along with life-sized images of buddhas Vairocana, Amitābha, and Maitreya with attendant bodhisattvas and monks, Dazhusheng cave also contains the earliest known (589) representation of a lineal transmission from the Buddha through 24 Indian Dharma masters, who were later incorporated into the Chan transmission lineage.¹⁸ These shallow-relief carvings are not portraits and the Dharma masters are not buddhas, but they provide a precedent for associating buddha-images with images of Buddhist masters transmitting the Dharma.

However, in order to understand why stūpa-enshrined representations of deceased practitioners became a flourishing practice at Baoshan in the sixth and seventh centuries, I believe we need to highlight certain aspects inherited from the Buddhism of the northern dynasties, particularly self-transformation practices attested in votive-image inscriptions of the Eastern Wei 東魏 (534–550) and Northern Qi 北齊 (550–577). Though brief, this period of intense activity influenced subsequent developments in Buddhist art, practice and exegesis.

Art historian Katherine Tsiang makes an intriguing surmise about links between image and practice, based on sculptural developments seen in the recently discovered Qingzhou 青州 sculptures in Shandong and sculptures from the Xiangtangshan caves in Hebei. She suggests a connection between the sculpting of individualized buddha-images “in the round,” seated or standing, with the appearance of prayers that the donor and all beings “become buddhas” (*chengfo* 成佛). In the middle of the sixth century in the Eastern Wei-Northern Qi area, this prayer and numerous variations (such as the wish to achieve enlightenment, *cheng zhengjue* 成正覺) proliferated. These prayers are seen in donor-inscriptions dedicated by ordinary lay practitioners as well as clerics.¹⁹

Tsiang further links these prayers with ordination rituals in which practitioners performed purification practices and received the bodhisattva precepts, which consecrated the devotee’s new identity as a bodhisattva, one on the path to buddhahood.²⁰ According to *tathāgatagarbha* (buddha-matrix)

¹⁷ See Faure, 148–78; Sharf, 1–31; Foulk and Sharf, 74–150; and Adamek, 254–76.

¹⁸ See Adamek, 101–10.

¹⁹ Tsiang, 115–69.

²⁰ Tsiang, 167.

soteriology, this new identity was at the same time held to be a reflection of nonduality: one aspires to realization of buddhahood because the matrix of one's being cannot be anything other than buddha-nature/interdependence. Of the graceful life-sized buddha sculptures found at Qingzhou, Tsiang writes, "The approachable human quality of these sculptures appears on one level to represent the belief in the continuing presence of Buddha nature in this world. On another level, the individualized characteristics suggest that images might also have been made to represent aspiring devotees."²¹

Moreover, lay and ordained devotees may have begun to envision themselves in the ascended forms described in scriptures like the *Śrīmālādevī-sūtra*²² and *Sukhāvativyūha-sūtra*.²³ Early Chinese portraits of the deceased are generally associated with murals in tombs for the elite.²⁴ Notably, murals in the recently excavated tomb of the Northern Qi prince and high official Lou Rui 婁叡 (531–570) show a blend of Han tomb-mural motifs with new Buddhist elements, and may include a representation of the deceased in an ascended form. Lou Rui is depicted seated under a canopy with his wife at a feast, and a scene with two riderless saddled horses amidst a party of horsemen exiting the tomb may signify the presence of the deceased as absence, echoing Han motifs of release. However, paintings in the ventilation shaft may also show him among the figures ascending into Sukhāvati.²⁵ Lou Rui was a committed Buddhist devotee and one of Lingyu's early patrons.

Lingyu matured during the Northern Qi period of Buddhist efflorescence. However, before Dazhusheng cave was created, the whole region underwent invasion and the persecution of Buddhism under the Northern Zhou 北周 (557–581). Subsequently, with a new Buddhist mandate under Emperor Wen of the Sui and reunification of the empire after several centuries of division, northern and southern Buddhist exegetes were attempting to find common ground. Lingyu's practice program amplifies both the renewed fervor and the eschatological anxieties of his times. As I have discussed elsewhere, Dazhusheng cave provides both scriptural and ritual support for practice during the "Final Age" (*moshi* 末世, *mofa* 末法) when the true Dharma was believed to be in decline. This appears to have inspired new forms and levels of intensity of practice, especially confession and repentance (*chanhui* 懺悔).

²¹ Tsiang, 148–49.

²² *Shengman furen jing* 勝鬘夫人經, T 310, 11.

²³ *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經, T 360, 12.

²⁴ Stuart, 201–3.

²⁵ See Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiu suo, 1–23; Eckfeld, 107–8.

An extensive liturgy for repentance and buddha-name recitation is carved on the outside wall of Dazhusheng, and this may have been designed as a space for collective and individual confession and repentance.

Even with the advent of the Tang 唐 (618–906), the continued importance of repentance and purification practices at Baoshan is attested by the mortuary inscriptions. A contributing element in the enshrining of mortuary images at Baoshan and Lanfengshan may have been commemoration of these extreme practices, including self-offering through postmortem exposure of the body, in the ritual of “forest interment” (*linzang* 林葬) carried out by some members of the community. After a period of exposure, the scattered bones of the deceased were collected and cremated.

Liu Shufen has produced important studies of third- through eighth-century materials on *linzang* and the related practices referred to as *shishi yiku* 石室瘞窟 (interment in a stone chamber in a cave).²⁶ Working primarily with biographies and inscriptions, she argues that these practices were more widespread than has been recognized. Accounts set in Central Asia and China were often associated with ascetic (*dhūta*) practitioners, perhaps because one of the traditional *dhūtaguṇas* was residence in a cemetery. In the “Yishen 遺身 (Abandoning the Body)” section of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*,²⁷ Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) expressively conveys the quality of extreme generosity that was attributed to this final offering:

Placing the corpse in a forest can reduce or eliminate miserly thoughts. Creatures that walk, crawl, or fly can eat their fill of it, while spirits and hungry ghosts can be saved by it. It can nourish all manner of living things, allowing them to fully attain what they need. Thus, insects and worms swarm all over the flesh, while the birds peck and swallow at will. Wasting away in the wilds—it is a sight to inspire compassion and pity.²⁸

The practice was promoted in an apocryphal scripture ascribed to the latter half of the seventh century, the *Yao xing sheshen jing* 要行捨身經 (Sūtra on the Essential Practice of Abandoning the Body).²⁹ Liu points out that some of the Dunhuang copies of the text include a supplementary “Vow to [Expose My

²⁶ See Liu Shufen, “Death and the Degeneration of Life”; “Linzang”; “Shishi cuoku.”

²⁷ T 2060, 50: 678a14–685c9.

²⁸ T 2060, 50: 385a27–b1; trans. Liu, “Death and the Degeneration of Life,” 8.

²⁹ T 2895, 85.

Corpse] in a Cemetery (*Śītavana*)” (*Shituo lin fayuan wen* 尸陀林發願文).³⁰ Both the “scripture” and the vow emphasize the benefit to other beings, including ghosts. Liu notes that Sanjie 三階 (Three Levels) practitioners referred to this relatively late apocryphal text as a source of scriptural authority for their practice.³¹

Earlier impetus may have been provided by the avid interest in relics during the fifth and sixth centuries, associated with the *tathāgatagarbha* soteriology that was central to Dilun and related practice affiliations. Liu implies that Tanqian 曇遷 (542–607), Lingyu’s fellow Dilun-disciple, may have inspired corpse-exposure practices among his disciples.³² However, Tanqian’s biography describes his funerary rites on Zhongnanshan 終南山 in terms that indicate more or less ordinary entombment in the graveyard of his residence monastery, Shengguang si 勝光寺.³³

Though not himself a practitioner of *linzang*, Tanqian’s key role in promoting court-sponsored relic worship during the Renshou 仁壽 era (601–604) may have contributed to heightened focus on the process of transmutation from body to relic. Chen Jinhua, in his in-depth account of Tanqian’s activities, questions the motives behind the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* story that a large number of Śākyamuni’s relics had been given to Emperor Wen of the Sui by an Indian monk twenty years before the start of the emperor’s campaign to build pagodas to enshrine them. Instead, Chen argues that Tanqian himself planted and nurtured the seeds for a series of complicated empire-wide relic-distribution rituals, which blossomed again during the reign

³⁰ Liu, “Death and the Degeneration of Life,” 17.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*, 16. For an overview of Tanqian’s biography and an account of his disciples, see Chen, 11–50.

³³ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T 2060, 50: 574a14–17; see Chen, 20. However, there is a story about the sudden appearance of a white dog who accompanied the coffin, howling when the mourners cried and ceasing when they were silent. It guarded the coffin until the interment, then disappeared (574a17–23). This auspicious appearance of a dog contrasts with an account in the Tang histories; at the beginning of Kaiyuan 開元 era (713–741), the Taiyuan 太原 official Li Gao 李暉 attempted to proscribe the long-standing practice of exposing the corpses of monks who “practiced meditation for a living” (*xi chan wei ye* 習禪為業) at a site known as the “Yellow Pit.” This sustained a large horde of scavenger dogs who also attacked the living. Unsuccessful in his attempt to proscribe the practice, Li had soldiers kill the dogs. *Jiu Tang shu* 112, Zhonghua shuju edition, 3335; *Xin Tang shu* 78, Zhonghua shuju edition, 3531. My thanks to Jessey Choo for pointing out this story.

of Empress Wu.³⁴ Connection with the *dharmakāya*, the “dharma-body” of buddhas, was a crucial aspect of the objects’ aura. When Tanqian and the emperor were unable to tally the number of relics consistently, Tanqian explained: “The dharma-body of the Tathāgata is beyond [the reach of] number and measure. These relics derive from the remains of the dharma-body. It would be futile to count them.”³⁵

Elaborate ritual processes surrounded this and subsequent relic-distribution campaigns. In between arrival of the relics at the prefectural hall and their enshrinement, there was a seven-day or thirty-day ceremony of circumambulation of the pagoda, led off by recitation of an extensive confession and repentance text “spoken” (by proxy) by the emperor. These events inspired large numbers of people to take the bodhisattva precepts. Enshrinement of relics was also said to have been accompanied by auspicious signs and a spontaneous rain of more relics on the emperor and empress.³⁶

While the influences contributing to buddha-relic veneration, repentance practice, and mortuary practices through which relics of the deceased were enshrined cannot all be assembled in a simple equation, it is instructive to consider how these intersecting movements are reflected at Baoshan. While the Śākyamuni-relic element is interesting in its absence, continuing buddha-presence is highlighted. The medium of connection suggested by the layout of Dazhusheng is repentance calling on all buddhas, as individuals and in groups. Reference to relics is reserved for the post-cremation remains of the deceased, whether or not we can establish prior corpse-exposure or “forest-interment.”

At Baoshan there is one explicit reference to forest-interment among the memorials (Sengshun 僧順, LFS 47), and four other descriptions that point to it (Huijing, LFS 25; Huixiu, LFS 26; Jinggan 靜感, LFS 42; and Puxiang 普相, LFS 45). This practice became associated with the Sanjie (Three Levels) sect, and ever since the initial archaeological survey of Baoshan early in the twentieth century, scholars have noted and expanded on the links between Baoshan and Sanjie practices and references. The mortuary inscriptions constitute a contested body of evidence. One question raised in this article is whether *linzang* at Baoshan was common and/or necessarily signified Sanjie affiliation. Liu avers that Sanjie-inspired *linzang* was widely practiced at Baoshan, making it comparable to Zhongnanshan, where many Sanjie practitioners emulated their founder Xinxing’s 信行 (540–594) exposure and

³⁴ Chen, 63–4.

³⁵ T 2060, 50: 573b28–29; Chen, trans., 63.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 68–75; 103–5.

cremation. In connection with Baoshan, she states: “I have located fifty-eight inscriptions from the late sixth century which describe Three Stages monks and nuns whose corpses were exposed in forests. An additional twelve inscriptions composed between the years 645 and 664 concern the forest exposure of lay members.”³⁷

Liu seems to consider the terms *suishen ta* 碎身塔 (disconnected-body stūpa), *sanshen ta* 散身塔 (dispersed-body stūpa), *zhiti ta* 支提塔 (*caitya* stūpa) and *huishen ta* 灰身塔 (ash-body stūpa) all as identifying markers for *linzang*, thus claiming seventy cases of Sanjie-related *linzang* at Baoshan.³⁸ A body disconnected and dispersed does indeed display the marks of corpse-exposure, but there is only one reference to *suishen ta* (Jingzheng 靜證, BS 4, dedicated 594) and one reference to *sanshen ta* (the above-mentioned Sengshun, LFS 47). *Zhiti* is the transliteration of *caitya*, for which there are three references: Daozheng 道政, BS 3; Huihai 慧海, LFS 49; and Shanyi 善意, LFS 69 (referred to as a *huishen zhiti* 灰身支提塔).³⁹

The problem with the claim for numerous cases of *linzang* is that *huishen ta* could refer to stūpa-niches for cremation relics without prior exposure. As noted, five *huishen ta* are accompanied by descriptions indicating exposure: LFS 42, 45, 47, 25, and 26. One is clearly marked with Sanjie references (LFS 47). One additional related example is the inscription at nearby Shanyingshan 善應山 for Lingchen 靈琛, a *huishen ta* with a description of exposure and explicit Sanjie affiliation.

The remaining fifty-five niches identified as *huishen ta* at Baoshan cannot be reliably linked with either *linzang* or Sanjie practice. Fifty-one I have verified *in situ*: fourteen monks, BS 58, 62, 66, 68, 70, 71, 77, 78, 79, 80, 84, 97, 100, 80; four laymen, BS 76, 83, 93, 119; twenty-eight nuns, LFS 16, 18, 28, 29, 31, 34, 34A, 34B, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 44, 52, 54, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 74, 82; and five laywomen, LFS 37A, 41, 48, 56, 81. Four more

³⁷ Liu, “Death and the Degeneration of Life,” 19. She further claims that cloisters prominently named in the Baoshan inscriptions (the monastery Cirun si 慈潤寺 and the convents Guangtian si 光天寺 and Shengdao si 聖道寺) should be considered Sanjie cloisters; Liu, “Linzang,” 28–9. Based on my examination of the range of inscriptions for clerics from these establishments, this claim is not warranted.

³⁸ Liu, “Linzang,” 27.

³⁹ Liu cites the *Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya* as distinguishing between *śarīra*-stūpas, which contain relics, and *caitya*, which do not. See Liu “Linzang,” 31; *Mohosengqi lü* 摩訶僧祇律, T 1425, 22: 498b20–21.

were collected by Ōuchi Fumio from other collections: one nun and three laywomen.⁴⁰

Liu also seems to assume that a gap between death-date and the dedication of the stūpa-niche indicates an intervening period of corpse exposure.⁴¹ However, this would not be the only possible reason for delay between cremation and the dedication of a reliquary-stūpa. Few of the niches record death-dates, and many niches in a given area bear the same dedication date. Delayed stūpa-construction may reflect the necessity of pooling resources to engage sculptors, who could then stay at the site and work on a cluster of niches and images at the same time.

Like the practice of making mummified “flesh-body” icons, the practice of making images of the deceased may have been initiated in order to commemorate especially accomplished practitioners. Sunkyung Kim makes an intriguing suggestion that at the nearby site Shanyingshan, a cave dedicated by disciples of the “Northern branch” Dilun master Sengchou 僧稠 (480–560) not only served as Sengchou’s meditation cave but also as a resting place where his corpse was exposed for a year, prior to the cremation of his bones.⁴² Kim argues, following Liu Shufen and the evidence of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, that this type of cave-exposure interment for monks became common in the north in the late sixth century. She also draws attention to the cave’s shallow-relief standing image of a monk inscribed with Sengchou’s name, and links this with the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* story of a monk who added the portrait of another monk to the walls of the stone meditation chamber where the latter had died and desiccated.⁴³

Though this early example of a named commemorative image serves as a possible precedent for Baoshan mortuary image-making, I am not altogether convinced that Buddhists of the sixth century would have placed the body of a monk, however eminent, within a chamber elaborately carved with buddha-images in order to let it decompose for a year. There are issues of “purity and danger” involved. Nevertheless, in the cave’s exquisitely carved images of rebirth in the Pure Land, performative and devotional aspirations could readily merge. The threads linking meditation and relics, buddha-images and donor-images, purification and corpse-exposure, *chengfo* (attaining buddhahood) and

⁴⁰ See Ōuchi, 334–44, nos. 19, 39, 40, 89.

⁴¹ Liu, “Linzang,” 30–1.

⁴² This cave is also known as “Xiaonanhai Middle Cave” (Xiaonanhai zhongku 小南海中窟).

⁴³ Kim, 372–95.

sheng Jingtū 生淨土 (rebirth in the Pure Land) were closely intertwined in the religious culture that produced these niches and funerary practices.

At Baoshan the images portray—and perhaps were considered to be enacting—different forms of practice. Some laymen, laywomen, and nuns are shown with rosaries, indicating buddha-name recitation practice. Some laywomen are depicted with joined palms, a devotional attitude which may also represent repentance and confession before buddha-images.

Almost all of the nuns and some of the monks are depicted with small three-legged tables, *pingji* 憑几. *Pingji* are early Chinese items of furniture meant to provide support in sitting upright, but there also are textual and visual references to them as props for reading or meditation. I argue that the images with *pingji* at Baoshan may represent writing, because in several of the remaining statues for nuns, one can see a distinctive disposition of the hands repeated. The right hand is shown lifted with the thumb upwards, the rest of the fingers curled to meet it, in the attitude one would assume when holding a brush. The left hand is shown resting on the table with all the fingers downward, as if holding down a piece of paper. One cannot conclusively prove that scripture-copying was the intended meaning. However, there does seem to have been deliberate care taken with the positioning of the hands, and we may note other options in the Baoshan repertoire: holding rosaries, palms joined, hands flat on the *pingji*, and the meditation *mudra*.

Distinctions in the Baoshan representations of practices reflect normative views of appropriate practices for the four-fold saṅgha. Only the inscriptions for eminent monks refer to scriptural commentaries written by the deceased. Inscriptions for both monks and nuns refer to scriptures mastered, a process that is likely to have involved copying, recitation, and memorization.

Most of the monks are shown in a seated posture that could represent contemplation; however, only one (BS 77) is designated as a Dhyāna Master (*chanshi* 禪師). “Dharma Master” (*fashi* 法師) is the most common title for both monks and nuns at Baoshan/Lanfengshan. Four of the nuns (LFS 36, 37, 42, and 47) are designated as Dhyāna Masters (*chanshi* 禪師). One of them, Jinggan 靜感 (LFS 42), is celebrated for her fasting and for having reached the state of petrification in meditative absorption, described with a phrase that echoes the *Zhuangzi*: “Her form was the same as a withered tree, her mind was like dead ashes (形同槁木心若死灰).”

Distinctions among the four-fold saṅgha are also represented in other ways. Laypersons are portrayed in niches that are generally smaller and less

elaborate but have an intimate proximity to the niches of clerics.⁴⁴ Images of lay deceased are almost always in temple- or house-shaped niches with Chinese tiled roofs rather than stūpa domes. They wear lay clothing rather than robes and have hats and coifed hair rather than shaved heads.

These hierarchies conveyed through the manner of representation and practices of the deceased are altitudinal markings on the topographical map of Baoshan's merit-field. Distinctions signal inclusion in the saṅgha of the necropolis, as well as indicating the extreme heights of bodhisattvic practice, like corpse-exposure, that few would reach. All, however, are rendered as practicing bodies, each according to their capacity.

The soteriological importance of writing is expressed in the *Jueding pini jing* 決定毗尼經 (*Vinayaviniścaya-Upāliparipṛcchā-sūtra*), which appears to have been the organizing template for Dazhusheng cave. Along with repentance, it prescribes generosity as the key practice for both lay and ordained bodhisattvas. Aspiring bodhisattvas are separated into two groups according to their manner of giving. Lay practitioners are enjoined to make two kinds of donation: wealth (*caishi* 財施) and the Dharma (*fashi* 法施).⁴⁵ For the ordained, copying is presented as the main merit-gaining donation: "bodhisattvas who have left the household, gentle and without anger, should practice four donations...the first is paper, the second is ink, the third is a brush, the fourth is the Dharma."⁴⁶ The two groups are thus linked in donation of the Dharma, but the means are differentiated. Finally, it is said that only the ordained who practice the four donations will be able to attain the level of a bodhisattva who has accepted the non-production of *dharmas* (*wusheng ren* 無生忍), the non-retrogressive stage usually associated with the eighth *bhūmi* and above, who attains this by practicing the three extreme sacrifices of kingly throne, wife, and eyes.⁴⁷ In Indian Buddhist literature giving away one's eyes, understood as an offering to be used as medicine for others, is one of the tropes for the gift of the body.⁴⁸ I suggest that one function of the enshrinement of representations at Baoshan is commemoration of the special gifts of the deceased, ranging from chanting and copying scripture to the extreme offering of the body to feed other beings, through post-mortem exposure.

⁴⁴ BS 82, 83, 119, 120; LFS 41, 48, 55, 56, 75, 81.

⁴⁵ *Jueding pini jing*, T 325, 12: 38b26.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, T 325, 12: 38b27–28.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, T 325, 12: 38b29–c3.

⁴⁸ See Ohnuma.

Making Buddhist Ancestors

The earliest datable memorial niche on Baoshan is dedicated to Dharma Master Facheng 法澄 (BS 61). The stūpa-shaped niche is simply carved, the figure sits in meditation posture wearing a clinging Indian-style robe with pleated folds across the front. The inscription states: “*Caitya* (reliquary) stūpa of the late monk, Dharma Master Facheng. Recorded in the first month of the ninth year of the Kaihuang 開皇 era [589].”

A stūpa niche in a similar style on another part of the mountain, dedicated about a year later, has a figure with a halo (BS 3). The inscription reads: “*Caitya* stūpa of Dharma Master Daozheng 道政. Constructed on the fifteenth day of the first month of the *gengxu* 庚戌 tenth year [590] of the Kaihuang 開皇 era of the Great Sui.” There does not appear to be another niche with a haloed figure of the deceased, though there may once have been more; many niches have had their images removed. Daozheng’s is also the earliest datable image with hands placed on a *pingji* table.

The last *in-situ* memorial is from the mid-eighth century, but collections of rubbings include stūpa inscriptions made as late as the fifteenth century.⁴⁹ The most formal type of memorial began with a description of the deceased’s family, meritorious endeavors, and character, and ended with eulogistic verses intended to inspire other Buddhist practitioners. Thus, the social and soteriological functions of these works are linked, a subject to which we will return.

Few of the remaining figures have faces, having fallen prey to weather, vandalism, or the illegal trade in antiquities. However, on Lanfengshan several figures retain faces of startling detail and individuation. Nevertheless, these examples of verisimilitude cannot be assumed to have been intended as likenesses without supporting evidence. Fortunately, corroboration that likeness was desired is found in five of the inscriptions. The disciples who commissioned and dedicated these niches include the following phrases in their descriptions of the image-making process: *kanshi tuxing* 刊石圖形 (carved the stone and modeled her form), *tuxing huaxiang* 圖形畫像 (modeled his form and drew his portrait), *xie shenyi* 寫神儀 (depicted her supernal appearance), and *shitu yingxiang sui le ming* 式圖影像遂勒銘 (modeled his portrait and then engraved a eulogy), and *tu yixiang* 圖儀像

⁴⁹ See Ōuchi, 340–43.

(modeled his image). Let us examine these mortuary inscriptions individually, in chronological order.

LFS 47. Dhyāna Master Sengshun 僧順 (555–639)

Identified as nun. Facing west. 216.5cm. Seated figure with elaborate robes and a small table, holding a rosary.

Middle of the inscription (640):

嗚呼哀哉 / 春秋八十有五以貞觀十三年二月 / 十八日卒於光天寺
門徒巨痛五內 / 崩摧有緣悲慕無不感切廿二日送 / 樞於屍陀林所
弟子等謹依林葬之 / 法汲取舍利建塔於名山仍刊石圖 / 形傳之於
歷代

Alas, such sorrow! Her springs and autumns were eighty-five, when on the eighteenth day of the second month of the thirteenth year of the Zhenguan era [639], she died at Guangtian temple. The followers suffer greatly, they are wracked with inner anguish. Those with a karmic affinity grieve and long for her, and there are none who do not feel it keenly. On the twenty-second day, [we] escorted the coffin to the forest for corpses. The disciples carefully followed the protocol for “forest interment” (*linzang* 林葬), collected the relics (*sheli* 舍利, Skt. *śarīra*), and built the stūpa on this famous mountain. [We] carved the stone and modeled her form (*kanshi tuxing* 刊石圖形) to pass down to successive generations.⁵⁰

This niche, dedicated in 640 for the nun Dhyāna Master Sengshun, is the single example in the Baoshan corpus that explicitly mentions forest interment. The reference to *linzang*, and references elsewhere in the memorial to extreme austerities and to the practices of “acknowledging the evil” (*renwu* 認惡) and

⁵⁰ All of my translations of the Baoshan inscriptions are made from texts extensively amended *in situ*, after a base text was compiled from: 1) the incomplete simplified character transcriptions in the Henansheng gudai jianzhu baohu yanjiusuo 1991 publication, *Baoshan Lingquan si* 寶山靈泉寺 (Lingquan Temple at Baoshan); 2) consulting the photographs of rubbings from the online database of the Jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo 人文科学研究所 (Humanistic Science Research Institute) of Kyoto University (<http://kanji.zinbun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/db-machine/imgsrv/takuhon/>); and 3) checking versions in the early nineteenth century *Anyangxian jinshi lu* 安陽縣金石錄 (Records in Metal and Stone of Anyang County), if available.

universal reverence (*pujing* 普敬), all point to Sengshun having been a Sanjie follower. After gathering the relics, the disciples built the stūpa and then “carved the stone and modeled her form.”

LFS 25. Dharma Master Huijing 慧靜 (573–641)

Identified as a monk. Facing northwest, farthest east on mountain. 160cm. Simply carved, seated robed figure with small table.

End of inscription (643):

弟子□□□□□法演早 / 蒙訓誘幸得立身陟岵銜恩展申□誠孝闡
維 / 碎骨遷奉靈灰鑿鏤山楹圖形起塔銘諸景行 / 寄山雕鐫盛德微
猷庶傳不朽其銘曰 / 弈葉冠蓋蟬聯世襲有覺煩籠簪纓羈繫四生難
寄三 / 寶傷依通人憬悟落髮爰歸戒定慧□聞思克勵彼岸 / 未窮奄
辭人世孝誠追感圖形畫像覲覲神儀時申敬 / 中山虛谷靜松勁風□
〔清？〕勒諸巖岫永播鴻名

I, his disciple Fayān 法演, was from a young age favored with his instruction and guidance, and thanks to him have achieved a position in life. I “climb the wooded hill” [i.e. yearn for him as for a father], carrying my gratitude. To express my sincere filial piety, I cremated the disconnected bones, respectfully moved the numinous ashes, engraved the mountain column, modeled his form and set up a stūpa, and inscribed all his noble deeds. I entrust to the carving on the mountain [the memory of] his great virtues and exemplary services, so that they will be transmitted imperishably. His eulogy says:

Generations of official caps and canopies, a hereditary post --

He felt them to be as vexing as a cage, hairpin and tassel were as if
bridle and fetter.

It is difficult to trust in the four kinds of birth,⁵¹ it is easy to rely
on the Three Treasures.

A person of penetration, he was awakened; he took the tonsure and
thereupon took refuge [in the Three Treasures].

He was [a vessel of] *śīla*, *samādhi*, and *prajñā*; his “hearing and
reflecting” [on the Dharma] was inspirational.

I have not yet reached the other shore, and he suddenly took leave
of the human world.

⁵¹ The four kinds of birth (*catvāro yonayaḥ*) are: viviparous, oviparous, born of moisture, and metamorphic.

Moved by feelings of filiality and sincerity, I have modeled his
form and drawn his portrait.

I crave an audience with his supernal appearance when I come to
pay my respects.

The mountain is empty and the valley still, the pines are vigorous
and the wind is [fresh?].

I have engraved [this inscription] amid these majestic peaks to forever
proclaim his illustrious name.

In this second example, dedicated in 643 for the monk Dharma Master Huijing, there are intriguing references to the enshrinement process and the role of the image. The disciple Fayan twice cites his feelings of filiality toward his master as the motivation for making an image. Furthermore, when he says that he “cremated the disconnected bones, respectfully moved the numinous ashes,” this undoubtedly refers to the “forest interment” practice mentioned in Sengshun’s memorial. Fayan then says that he “engraved the mountain stone,” modeled Huijing’s form, set up the stūpa, and inscribed the master’s deeds; this would mean that he had the stonework done by an artisan but directed the contents and design. At the end of the epitaph, he again notes that he had an image made, and says that he craves an audience with the supernal appearance (*jijin shenyi* 覬覦神儀) when he visits the niche.

The phrase *shenyi* is appropriately ambiguous, signifying both representation or outward appearance (*yi*) and a kind of immediate spiritual or superstantial presence (*shen*). In the later Han there was an important factionalized debate over whether or not *shen* could function independently of *xing* 形, body/form, and this debate extended into the realm of post-Han aesthetic theory.⁵² The codependence of *shen* and *xing* is expressed in Gu Kaizhi’s 顧愷之 (*ca.* 345–406) essay, “Wei-Jin shengliu hua zan 魏晉勝流畫贊” (Eulogies on Famous Paintings of the Wei and Jin Dynasties):

If a painter seeks to depict [a subject’s] *shen* by means of the *xing* but leaves out the thing(s) actually faced by the subject, he does not correctly use the living body as the fish trap [for catching the spirit]. What comes out of his hand is bound to be faulty. It is a big flaw to leave out the thing(s) faced by a subject. It is a lesser flaw to incorrectly align [the subject’s eyes] with the thing(s) being faced. Therefore, one cannot afford not to observe carefully. The shades of

⁵² Cai, 315.

brightness and darkness in a portrait are not as important as the communion of the spirit (*shen*) through eye contact.”⁵³

Zongqi Cai associates this with the notion of *anima*: “If the subject can establish an intense eye contact with concrete things, then the innermost of his personality—that is, his *anima*—will reveal itself.”⁵⁴ However, Cai also suggests that in other contexts *shen* comes closer to the Western notion of *daemon*, which “travels between the supernatural and human worlds as it seeks to mediate between gods and men.”⁵⁵ In references to *rushen* 入神, we find the notion that the *shen* nurtured through the body or vital essence (*jing* 精) may develop into a transcendent secondary *shen* that roams free of the body and integrates with the *shen* of heaven and earth, the numinous processes of transformation.⁵⁶

This may be the sense of *shenyi* alluded to by Falin 法琳 (572–640) in his *Bianzheng lun* 辯正論 (Treatise on Determining Orthodoxy). Although the tenor of the work as a whole is repudiation of Daoist practices, he also provides this lyrical description of Daoist purification rituals: “Circumambulating and chanting, innate vital energy (*zhenqi* 真氣) spontaneously arises. Burning incense and offering flowers, *shenyi* coalesces. Mind and body together fuse, sympathetic resonance is surely attained. Host and guest identify in harmony, self-tallying with great blessing.”⁵⁷

LFS 45. Dharma Master Puxiang 普相 (566–643)

Identified as a nun. Facing west. 127cm. Seated robed figure with small table.

End of inscription (644):

乃依經上葬收其舍利 / 粵以貞觀十八年歲次甲辰十一月十五日於
此名山鐫高 / 崖而起塔寫神儀於龕內錄行德於廣側觀劫盡山灰形
名 / 久嗣乃為銘曰□〔邊？〕彼遙津萬古紛綸會燃智炬乃滅煩薪
/ 捨恩棄俗入道求真持律通經開悟無聞松生常翠竹挺恆 / 青如何
法匠忽爾將傾近雕素石遠署嘉聲千秋萬古留此 / 芳名□□弟子普
閏善昂愛道及諸同學等為亡師敬造

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 319.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 319.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 326.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ T 2110, 52: 497b10–11.

In accord with the scriptures she was “interred above”⁵⁸ and we collected her relics. On the fifteenth day of the eleventh month of the *jiachen* eighteenth year of the Zhenguan era [644], on this famous mountain we carved the lofty cliff and set up the stūpa, depicted her supernal appearance in the niche, and recorded the virtues of her conduct in the adjoining space. We earnestly wish that until the *kalpa* comes to an end and the mountain turns to ash, her form and name will be long passed down. We made a eulogy saying:

Making that far crossing, [though] for ages past tangled in the threads [of causality].

Once the torch of wisdom is lit, then the fuel of defilements is extinguished.

Bestowing mercy and renouncing lay life, she entered the Way and sought the true.

Maintaining the Vinaya and penetrating the scriptures, she experienced enlightenment “without hearing.”⁵⁹

The living pine is forever emerald, the upright bamboo is always verdant.

How is it that the Dharma-artisan⁶⁰ is so quickly overturned? [Those] nearby carve the blank stone, [those] afar write of her excellent reputation.

For a thousand autumns and ten thousand ages, may this fragrant name remain.

The disciples Purun 普閏, Shanang 善昂, Aido 愛道, and all the fellow-students reverently made this for their deceased teacher.

⁵⁸ *Shangzang* 上葬; Liu Shufen cites this as a reference to corpse-exposure, 1998: 29.

⁵⁹ Regarding the phrase *wuwen* 無聞; this could refer to liberation as free from any dependence on conceptualization or the senses, as in the *Āgama* passage T 104, 2: 500c15–20. *Wen* could also be a mistake for *xian* 閒, as *wuxian* is a common Buddhist epithet for unobstructed realization.

⁶⁰ The term “Dharma-artisan” (*fajiang* 法匠) is related to other metaphorical uses of the term artisan or craftsman. For example, in the *Biqiuni zhuan* biography of Faquan 法全, Faquan is referred to as a “master artisan” (*shijiang* 師匠) in the secret methods of *samādhi*, T 2063, 50: 943b12. In the biography of Jinghui 淨暉, it is said that after ten years of hard study of Buddhist exegesis, she became a *zongjiang* 宗匠, a craftsman of the clan/school, T 2063, 50: 943b23.

This third example is one of the longest and most elegant of the Lanfengshan inscriptions for nuns. It refers to corpse-exposure and collection of the relics, and also says that the image represents her *shenyi*. The niches for Puxiang and Huijing were dedicated only a year apart, and hers is the only other Baoshan/Lanfengshan niche to use the term *shenyi*.⁶¹

BS 106. Dharma Master Zhan 瞻 (644–686)

Identified as a monk. Facing south. 155 cm. No extant figure.

End of inscription, before the eulogy (691):

嗚呼哀哉雖靈心湛然去畚 / 無在而世間攀戀有慟□□□□□□□□
 十人等追慕教緣以大周而天授二年四月八日於相州城西五十里寶
 山別谷敬焚靈骨起塔 / 供養式圖影像遂勒銘

Alas, such grief—even though the numinous mind is deep. Going or staying, no one is there—yet with profound sorrow those in the world regret his stepping down. [...] ten persons. Recalling and esteeming the karmic connection of his teachings, on the eighth day of the fourth month of the second year of the Tianshou era of the Great Zhou [691], fifty *li* west of Xiangzhou city in a separate valley of Baoshan, we respectfully burned his numinous bones, erected a stūpa and made offerings. We modeled his portrait and then engraved a eulogy.

The fourth example, dedicated in 691 for Dharma Master Zhan, is the only niche designated as an image-stūpa (*yingta* 影塔), and the inscription has the most specific descriptions of the process: cremation, the making and dedication of a reliquary niche, and the inclusion of a portrait-image (*yingxiang* 影像). Like Fayan, the ten disciples present their post-mortem devotions in the style of filial sons, in the context of a Dharma relationship. The phrase “recalling and esteeming the karmic connection of his teachings” (*zhumu jiao yuan* 追慕教緣) evokes this relationship.

In the final verse of the eulogy that follows this description, there is a line linking the image and the master’s *yan* 嚴, majestic or imposing demeanor: “Because of our admiration for his imposing demeanor we carved his portrait

⁶¹ The term *shenyi*, with references to corpse-exposure and image-making, also coincide in the 629 memorial for the Sanjie disciple Lingchen 靈琛, which was located at Shanyingshan 善應山 and is now lost. See *AYXJSL* 3, 1 (*SKSL*, Series 1, 1977, vol. 18: 13840)

(*yin chongyan er louxiang* 因崇嚴而鑲像).” *Yan* is a term often applied to monks in contexts where the English idiom “commanding presence” would be appropriate. Linking it with the portrait seems to mean that the image is intended to convey the effect of the master.

BS 110. Master ? (d. 723).

Facing south. 165.5 cm. Large, finely carved stūpa, no figure.

Inscription on the left side of spire (725):

開元十 / 一年臘月十七日道從禱 [=幡?] 化春秋六 / 十二夏凡
 冊□□□□門等攀慕無 / 迨開元十三年□□□□廿日於靈泉 / 寺
 西懸壁山□□□□一期之嚴事 / 報萬□之□□□□云伊族姓 /
 之間士實□□□□綱悲代閑之淪 / 溺違〔普?〕〔+母+水〕之
 舟□□金經之法寶修 / 梵宇之淨坊夫□呆而必往痛處生 / 而必亡
 有門人之報德圖儀像於山 / 陽禱徽音於幽谷傳永永之芬芳

On the seventeenth day of the twelfth lunar month of the eleventh year of the Kaiyuan era [723], the [banners] along the Way were changed. His springs and autumns were sixty-two, his summers [as a monk] were altogether forty [...]. The disciples [...] render our admiration. Without delay, on the twentieth day of the [...month] of the thirteenth year of the Kaiyuan era [725], at Lingquan temple on the west cliff of the mountain [...] [...] one season of solemn work, recompense ten thousand [...]. [The eulogy] says:

Among his clan members were scholars, real [...] net.

Grieved that the age was sinking into idleness, he broke with
 [universal] the [...] boat of [...]

[...] the Dharma-treasure of golden scriptures, he repaired the
 temple’s pure mill.

A man [...] stay, yet must go on; the pain of life yet must end in
 death.

There are disciples [wishing] to repay kindness who modeled his
 image on the sunny side of the mountain.

The sound of banners [flapping] in the secluded valley, our
 master’s eternal fragrance.

The fifth example is badly eroded and the presumed monk’s Dharma name has been lost. However, among the remaining traces of the inscription there seems to be a reference to the deceased begging for alms. This appears to have been

for meritorious works like repairing the monastery's grain-mill, which would then become a form of continuing financial support for the disciples. They cite "repaying kindness" in connection with having his image made.

Representing Relationship

In each of these five inscriptions, making an extra effort to capture a likeness is represented as part of a devotional ritual. Representing the forms of the "special dead" laid claim to special relationships and special debts, and were the highest expression of the Dharma and blood-kinships that are recorded across both mountains. Likenesses of the deceased were implicated in the establishment of networks and hierarchies, and could have played a role in the construction of both familial and monastic lineages. When the disciple Fayan expressed a desire for an audience with his master when he visited the stūpa, was this a rhetorical performance or performative rhetoric, and can these aspects be separated? These public and somewhat ostentatious monuments of spiritual filial piety were undoubtedly means of raising symbolic capital, yet must this be antithetical to carving words in order to evoke the effect described, to experience connection with the deceased? I suggest that we may view rhetoric and representations as supporting both social reproduction and soteriological agency. They function in the manner of the Two Truths, both conventionally instrumental and intrinsically empty, which are the bases of efficacy.

François Jullien has argued that Chinese aesthetic principles for both rhetorical and visual arts were more attuned to activating the natural efficacy or responsiveness of things than to mimesis or technical virtuosity.⁶² Likewise, though the phrases used in the Baoshan inscriptions refer to processes of making a likeness, physical resemblance may have been ancillary to the mediating "presence" of the consecrated image, activated by devotional evocation. Above, Gu Kaizhi's emphasis on depiction of the subject's gaze in order to create a "fish-trap" to capture the spirit is an early example of the aesthetics of presence. Later, in a passage in the ninth century *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (Record of Famous Paintings Through the Ages), connection with the subject as the medium of a true painter's practice is prescribed:

⁶² Jullien, *The Propensity of Things*. The work has been criticized for "Orientalist" essentializing, but this and subsequent works have also opened up new avenues of cross-cultural aesthetic criticism.

Some ancient paintings could transmit semblance in form *and* innate pneuma (*guqi* 骨氣). What is beyond semblance was deployed in seeking its depiction. This is very difficult to explain to ordinary people. Present-day paintings may achieve semblance, but *qiyun* 氣韻 (vital-energy tone) is not produced. If they deployed *qiyun* in seeking its depiction, then the semblance would be there in its midst.⁶³

Behind the aesthetics of capturing vital essence was the venerable metaphysics of correlation. Han philosophers developed the notion of sympathetic resonance or action-and-response (*ganying* 感應) based on the widespread belief that this was the basic operating principle of relationship among things in the world and between Heaven (*tian* 天) and earth (*di* 地). Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179–104 BCE) has been commonly though perhaps mistakenly credited with an all-encompassing system of correlations—between colors, emotions, plants, organs, political phases, etc.—based on a universal principle that like things resonated with like.⁶⁴ Phenomena were thought to develop complex functioning through *yin-yang* (陰陽) polarity and the five phases (*wuxing* 五行) of its transformations. Metaphors of sound and tuning to convey the idea of natural sympathetic responsiveness: “Suppose the seven-stringed and the twenty-five stringed lutes are tuned and played. When the note F in the one is struck, the note F on the other will respond to it, and when the note G in the one is struck, the note G in the other will respond to it.”⁶⁵ One could also compare the Baoshan eulogies to tuning instruments, skillful means of establishing resonance between the merit of devotion to the deceased and the merit of the deceased. Merit was the mirror or the resonating tone or rhyme (*yun* 韻), the medium and form of spiritual relationship.

In the seventh and eighth centuries, eulogistic form developed a meta-feature drawing attention to both the subject and the eulogist’s efforts by calling attention to the representation of the subject. This generated a separate genre, the “portrait eulogy” (*zhenzan* 真讚, *xiangzan* 像讚), which could be addressed to the representation of a living subject. Literary play evoking the subject’s representation of what is beyond representation by addressing the

⁶³ *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (Record of Famous Paintings Through the Ages), fascicle 1: 22; in *SKQS* fascicle 812: 289. Translation modified from Acker, 148–149.

⁶⁴ See Queen, *From Chronicle to Canon*.

⁶⁵ From the *Chunqiu fanlu* 春秋繁露 (Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals), Chan, trans., 282–283. Though traditionally attributed to Dong Zhongshu, scholars question this attribution; see Queen 1996.

representation of the subject became an increasingly sophisticated genre from the eighth century onward.⁶⁶

At Baoshan we see poetic play on the interchanging roles of representation and presence in the eulogy for Dharma Master Linghui 靈慧 (d. 716), dedicated in 717 (BS 109). In the first verse, in a conventional manner, the sculpted representation is found wanting: “Even with a skilled artisan, what is true still cannot be compared” 粵有良匠寔亦難倫. In the third and final verse the stone representation itself could be the immanent/transcendent subject: “Above taking refuge on the marvelous mountain, below gazing down on the numinous spring” 上依奇岫下瞰零泉. Poignantly, the lofty eulogy is weather-worn and the final words have faded into blank stone: “With no regrets...” 無悔.

However, we should note that it is not the abiding essence of the subject that the Buddhist eulogist hopes to contact by calling on (naming and visiting) the representation. In this and other eulogies, including the eulogy for Huijing, we see Baoshan evoked as the lonely mountainous landscape of eremitic imaginings. Each recluse in the increasingly crowded necropolis gazes beyond, in the presence of those who come to recall. In this landscape the eulogized master, the idealized realized subject, is venerated as one who is beyond the delusion of essence or non-essence, being or non-being.

The “substance” of this presencing was relational: Dharma, merit, filial-karmic connection and debt, embodied in carved words and forms. Each stone edifice created from literary and representational templates, as well as the bodily relics it enshrined, could be a unique medium of relationship. Each was “codependently arisen,” and thus as much an instantiation of ultimate emptiness as any other form. In this context, realization of the fundamental emptiness of apparent phenomena is the potential offering of any form, which is thus the medium of freedom from the delusions that lead to suffering, death, and rebirth. The memorials for deceased masters, male and female, affirmed the possibility of successful transformation, and these “special dead” provided contact-points of access to the merit-field.

Responsiveness

As noted, most of these constructions were referred to as *huishen ta*, “ash-body stūpas” or reliquaries for cremation ashes. To explore another dimension

⁶⁶ See Rao Zongyi; Foulk and Sharf, 74–150; Adamek, 254–76.

of the notion of “presence” at Baoshan, we turn to associations between response-bodies and ash-bodies. The *Lotus Sūtra* and *Śrīmālā-sūtra* passages carved at Dazhusheng cave convey a message of the responsiveness of the Buddha in the phenomenal world, accessible through pure faith. Above the door of the cave on the outside there is a passage from the *Lotus* chapter entitled “Rulai shouliang 如來壽量” (The Life Span of the Tathāgata), which concludes:

I am the father of this world, saving those who suffer and are afflicted. Because of the befuddlement of ordinary people, though I live, I give out word I have entered extinction. For if they see me constantly, arrogance and selfishness arise in their minds. Abandoning restraint, they give themselves up to the five desires and fall into the evil paths of existence. Always I am aware of which living beings practice the way, and which do not, and in response to their needs for salvation I preach various doctrines for them. At all times I think to myself: How can I cause living beings to gain entry into the unsurpassed way and quickly acquire the body of a Buddha?⁶⁷

This message is reinforced on the outside wall in passages in the register above the inscribed repentance liturgy. Moving westward away from the door, the first section of the upper register is a passage from the *Shengman shizihou yisheng dafangbian fangguang jing* 勝鬘師子吼一乘大方便方廣經 (*Śrīmālā’s Lion’s Roar One Vehicle Great Expedient Means Far-Ranging Sūtra*) that begins: “World-Honored, the Tathāgata has no limit in time. He abides in the Tathāgata-response level, the perfect enlightenment utmost level. Abiding in the Tathāgata’s limitlessness, his great mercy is also without limits to comfort the world.”⁶⁸ This is followed by the names of the twenty-five buddhas, then a passage from the *Candragarbha-sūtra* chapter “Famiejin 法滅盡” (The Extinction of the Dharma) in which the Buddha promises that the True Dharma will endure.⁶⁹ Finally, there is a long passage from the *Lotus*, from the chapter “Fenbie gongde 分別功德” (The Distinction of Merit), again

⁶⁷ *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*), T 262, 9: 43c22–44a4; Watson, 231–32. The passage carved at Dazhusheng is the entire concluding verse of the chapter, T 262, 9: 43b12–44a4.

⁶⁸ One might expect use of Bodhiruci’s translation, T 310, 11. However, the inscribed passage corresponds to Guṇabhadra’s translation: T 353, 12: 220c27–221a4.

⁶⁹ *Yuezang fen jing* 月藏分經, in the *Daji jing* 大集經, T 397, 13: 374c27–375a22.

promising inconceivable blessings for those who believe in the Buddha's indeterminably long "life-span" (*shouming* 壽命), his continued efficacy:

If this person for a hundred, a thousand, ten thousand, a million kalpas should carry out these meritorious practices as I have described above, still those good men and women who hear me describe my life-span and believe it for even a moment win blessings that surpass those of such a person.⁷⁰

We find this emphasis on generating faith in buddha-response throughout the Northern Qi Buddhist world. Wei Shou 魏收 (505–572), an official of the Eastern Wei and Northern Qi, is famous for writing the *Shi-Lao zhi* 釋老志 (Treatise on Buddhism and Daoism), included in his *Wei shu* 魏書 (Wei History) completed in 554. A contemporary of Lingyu's, Wei Shou clearly had Buddhist sympathies and moved in Buddhist circles, but he could also be scathingly critical of Buddhism. His account of the rise and fall of the Northern Wei is keenly attuned to the follies of excessive devotion. In the following passage from the *Shi-Lao zhi*, Wei Shou gives an explanation of the *dharmakāya* that brings together many of the elements we see at work at Baoshan:

“The buddhas' body of the Law” means two things. One is the true body, the other is that of momentary response. “True” means the ultimate substance, wondrously surpassing all bonds and impediments, not to be restricted to place or direction, not to be delimited in form or measure. When there is a stimulus, it responds, but the substance is ever tranquil. However, the “body of momentary response” refers to the one that blends its light with the six paths of existence, that shares defilement with the myriad kinds, whose birth and extinction accord with the times, whose length or shortness is in response to beings. Its form comes into existence because of a stimulus, but its substance is not truly existent. Although the temporary form may take its leave, the true substance does not move. It is only because at times there is no great stimulus that it cannot always be seen. It is clear that the Buddha's birth is not a real birth, his death is not a real death. When the Buddha had already taken leave of the world, his corpse was burnt in a flame of fragrant wood, and his sacred bones, both large and small, crumbled to the size of rice kernels. When struck they would not

⁷⁰ The full inscribed passage corresponds to T 262, 9: 44c19–45b25; Watson, 240.

disintegrate, when kindled they would not scorch. Some had bright light and miraculous efficacy. In the barbarian tongue they are called *sheli* 舍利. His disciples gathered them up and placed them in a jeweled jar. Then, with all due incense and flowers and observation of respect, they lovingly built them a tabernacle (*gongyu* 宮宇), which they called a *ta* 塔. *Ta* is also a barbarian word; it is like a family tomb (*zongmiao* 宗廟). Therefore they are commonly called *tamiao* 塔廟.⁷¹

Here we see a multivalent understanding of buddha-efficacy. Wei Shou combines basic Two Truths doctrine with Chinese theories of stimulus-response (*ganying* 感應) to present a buddha-body theory in which both ultimate and provisional levels are responsive. The “buddhas’ body of the Law” (*dharmakāya*, *fashen* 法身) is unimpeded spontaneous response as the true nature of reality (*zhenshi* 真實), while the body of momentary response (*quanying* 權應) works through manifestations within conditions. In Wei Shou’s account of relic-worship, the miraculous obduracy of post-cremation relics is linked to the illusory nature of the Buddha’s birth and death.

The notion that the Buddha’s death is “not a real death” but an *upāya* to motivate beings to make more effort is stressed in the *Lotus Sūtra*, particularly in the “Life-span” chapter quoted above. However, Wei Shou seems to be drawing from the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra* as his immediate source. Just before his explanation of buddha-body theory, he gives an account of the Buddha’s life and death, concluding: “*Nirvāṇa* is translated as ‘extinction-and-passing-over’ (*miedu* 滅度), and some say it is permanence, joy, self, and purity (*chang le wo jing* 常樂我淨), which is explained as without transmigration or any kind of suffering.”⁷²

This is echoed at Dazhusheng, for on the east wall outside the cave there is a verse-elaboration on the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* account of the *Brāhmana Jātaka*. According to this story, the Buddha in a former birth is an ascetic youth of the Snowy Mountains (Xueshan tongzi 雪山童子) who is willing to give up his body to feed a seeming demon (actually Indra) in order to obtain the second half of a verse on the meaning of *nirvāṇa*. Having obtained it, he writes it on the mountainside for the benefit of beings. The verse states that in contrast to

⁷¹ *Weishu* 114, 3027–3028; Hurvitz, 41–2.

⁷² *Wei shu* 114, 3027; consulted Hurvitz, 41.

the impermanence, joylessness, lack of self, and impurity of compounded things, *nirvāṇa* is permanence, joy, (true) self, and purity.⁷³

In the sixth-century northern milieu shared by Wei Shou and Lingyu, the means of contact with buddha-efficacy were matters of both mundane and ultimate concern, in which the desire responsive mercy from buddha-bodies was interwoven with the desire to become one. As seen in Tanqian's participation in the relic-distribution campaign of Emperor Wen, political ideology and networks constituted a contiguous arena in which access to merit, buddha-response, and ultimate transcendence were undergoing continual processes of negotiation.

Buddha-body theories were not yet rationalized or systematized, but in the seventh century a number of clerics were inspired to develop more rigorous theoretical arguments regarding the buddha-body nature of Amitābha, animated by the question of whether or not his Pure Land was accessible to ordinary people. Particularly in the works of Xuanzang's 玄奘 (*ca.* 600–664) disciple Kuiji 窥基 (632–682), we find an array of sophisticated context-specific arguments regarding the nature of Amitābha and his Pure Land.⁷⁴

In spite of exegetes' efforts to find a unified field theory, it appears that for practitioners there were advantages to moving among images and sacred texts with multiple referents and unfixed, coinherent natures. Coinherence and co-constitution were theorized as the conditions of the efficacy of the buddhas and the merit-field, represented in the non-obstructive differentiation and ever-emergent power of Vairocana celebrated in the *Avataṃsaka*, as well as the permanence, joy, self, and purity provocatively offered in the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra*. At the same time, this utopia of stable groundlessness generated innumerable variations and hybrids.

When Wei Shou observed that Buddhists enclosed the relics of the Buddha in a jeweled jar placed inside a princely edifice, he could as well have been describing a scene from the practicescape at Baoshan, and we may imagine the incense and flowers. Devotees took the relics of their masters, male and female, and then “they lovingly built them a tabernacle, which they called a *ta* 塔.” Wei Shou compared these containers for buddha-relics to family tombs, and at Baoshan, *ta* did in fact become family tombs, enshrining the merit of

⁷³ *Da banniepan jing* 大般涅槃經, T 375, 12: 691b3–693b6.

⁷⁴ Kuiji was later designated as the founder of the so-called Faxiang 法相 (Dharma Characteristics) school of Chinese Yogācāra. His theories about buddha-bodies are found primarily in his *Dasheng fayuan yilin zhang* 大乘法苑義林章, T 1861, 45.

Dharma and kinship relations. Unlike the inhabitants of family tombs, however, the residents of this necropolis kept their doors open. Housed in a fashion that reverently copies their more opulent neighbors, the buddhas and bodhisattvas, these faces and forms welcomed all who came to call.

Conclusion

At Baoshan and Lanfengshan, as long as the stones can hold them the words of long-dead eulogists will return captured likenesses to chipped-away faces. This presents us with a unique opportunity to catch glimpses of the many skillful means that went into these variations on the making of efficacious images. Enshrining the relics of eminent monks and nuns in stūpas was a practice with Indian antecedents, yet Baoshan's elaborate niches also invite associations with the housings of buddha-images seen at nearby sites. References to extreme purification practices and the awe-inspiring generosity entailed in corpse-exposure point to bodhisattvic attainments and the apotheosis of the individual. In the carved inscriptions, we see literary forms blending Buddhist merit-records with the eulogistic practices of ancestral filial devotion. Finally, these records of the disciples' desire to capture a likeness of the deceased provide us with valuable confirmation that reference to the appearance of the deceased, however stylized or virtual, was considered a meaningful aspect of the transmutation of these special dead into continued co-respondents.

It is hoped that this sampling of the inscriptions shows something of the ways that the representations of the deceased at Baoshan carry on the work of representing and mediating relationships. Like the "three natures" of perception in Yogācāra philosophy, these responsive relationships function at least three ways at once. There is the constructed nature of conventional rhetoric and mortuary ritual where the necessary work of mourning goes on, transmuting the deceased into the beyond and the beyond into social capital. There is the dependent nature of the work of representation that points, in the manner of skillful means, to the fact that these truly *are* constructions. And finally there is the absolute lack of anything as such that is represented. Who could attempt to separate these inhabitants of the necropolis?

APPENDIX A: RELIQUARY NICHEs WITH SURVIVING REMNANTS OF MEMORIAL IMAGES

Note: I have photos for most of these images taken in 2005, when I made an *in situ* record of images and transcriptions with the invaluable help of Shen Ruiwen 沈睿文, a professor in the archaeology department of Peking University, his wife Wang Jing 王静, a professor at Renmin University, and Frederick Smith of the University of Iowa. However, there were some niches we could not locate even with the help of the site's custodian. For these I rely on the *BSLQS* photos and drawings published in 1991. Otherwise unidentified deceased are assumed to be monks on Baoshan and nuns on Lanfengshan, because the identifiable deceased largely conform to this pattern. However, we cannot entirely rule out the possibility that there were more exceptions. (Identifiable exceptions are the niches for monks on Lanfengshan: LFS 25, 26, and 80.)

I. Baoshan (63 out of 85):

BS 1. Monk (572–649)

BS 3. Dharma Master Daozheng 道政, niche dedicated 590

BS 4. Jingzheng 静證, niche dedicated 594

BS 24. Monk

BS 25. Monk

BS 29. Monk

BS 30. Monk

BS 32. Monk, niche dedicated 656

BS 34. Monk

BS 35. Monk

BS 36. Monk

BS 38. Monk

BS 39. Monk

BS 51. Monk

BS 52. Monk

BS 54. Monk

BS 58. Dharma Master Fazhen 法珍, niche dedicated 650

BS 59. Dharma Master Lingyu 灵裕, co-founder of site, niche dedicated 632

- BS 60. Dharma Master Darong 大融, niche dedicated 593
BS 61. Dharma Master Facheng 法澄, niche dedicated 589
BS 62. Dharma Master, niche dedicated in the Tang
BS 63. Monk
BS 65. Treatise Master Zhijiong 智迥 (d. 642), niche dedicated 644
BS 66. Dharma Master Huideng 慧登, niche dedicated 654
BS 67. Lesser (Lay) Master Lü 呂, niche dedicated 658
BS 68. Bhikṣu Daoji 道寂 (d. 601)
BS 69. Monk
BS 71. Dharma Master, niche dedicated in the Tang
BS 72. Monk, niche dedicated 649
BS 73. Inscription identifies this as a stūpa for two laymen, but the figure is a monk. Inscription added later?
BS 74. Bhikṣu Ciming 慈明 (566–594), niche dedicated 603
BS 75. Vinaya Master Zhi— 智□ (d. 642), niche dedicated 644
BS 76. Upāsaka Zhang Kezi 張客子, niche dedicated 650
BS 77. Dhyāna Master Xiuxing 修行, niche dedicated 647
BS 78. Vinaya Master Mingxin 明歆
BS 79. Dharma Master Haiyun 海雲 (583–645), niche dedicated 646
BS 80. Dharma Master Kan 堪 (d. 637), niche dedicated 638
BS 81. Monk
BS 82. Exam Candidate Xiao Jian 蕭儉, niche dedicated 650
BS 83. County Magistrate Sun Baiyue 孫佰悅, niche dedicated 646
BS 84. Monk
BS 85. Dharma Master Daoyun 道雲, niche dedicated 651
BS 86. Monk
BS 87. Monk? Layman? Figure with hat, in stūpa
BS 88. Monk? Figure seated in meditation posture, no stūpa.
BS 89. Monk
BS 90. Layman
BS 91. Monk
BS 92. Monk
BS 93. Layman Feng Rengang 馮仁剛, niche dedicated 657
BS 94. Monk
BS 95. Monk
BS 97. Monk Yuanzang 元藏 (d. 744?), niche dedicated 747

- BS 98. Monk
- BS 100. Dharma Master Xuanqi 玄起, Abbot
- BS 101. Monk
- BS 102. Monk
- BS 115. Monk
- BS 116. Monk
- BS 117. Monk? Layman?
- BS 118. Monk
- BS 119. Layman Zhen Baowen 珍寶文 (face still discernible)
- BS 120. Layman?

II. Lanfengshan (51 out of 90):

- LFS 11. Nun
- LFS 12. Nun
- LFS 25. Dharma Master Huijing 慧靜 (573–641), niche dedicated 643
- LFS 26. Dharma Master Huixiu 慧休 (547–646), niche dedicated 647
- LFS 31. Dharma Master Huizheng 慧澄, nun, niche dedicated 657
- LFS 32. Nun
- LFS 33. Nun
- LFS 34. Dharma Master Dashan 大善, nun, niche dedicated 655
- LFS 34A. Dharma Master Faguang 法光, nun, niche dedicated 658 (face intact)
- LFS 34B. Dharma Master Fahui 法回, nun. (face intact)
- LFS 35. Dharma Master Mingxing 明行, nun, niche dedicated 654 (face intact)
- LFS 36. Dhyāna Master Haide 海德, nun, niche dedicated 654
- LFS 37. Dhyāna Master Dazhi 大智, nun, niche dedicated 651
- LFS 37A. Upāsikā Zhang 張, laywoman, niche dedicated 648
- LFS 38. Abbess Yuanzang 圓藏, niche dedicated 648
- LFS 39. Dharma Master Zhihai 智海, nun, niche dedicated 648
- LFS 40. Dharma Master Shanxing 善行, nun, niche dedicated 648
- LFS 41. Upāsikā Fan 范, laywoman, niche dedicated 648
- LFS 42. Dhyāna Master Jinggan 靜感, nun (561–646), niche dedicated 646
- LFS 43. Now buried beneath LFS 42; *BSLQS* photo shows seated person in robes with standing attendant.
- LFS 44. Dharma Master Nazheng 那延, nun, niche dedicated 648. Now missing; *BSLQS* photo shows niche intact.

- LFS 45. Dharma Master Puxiang 普相, nun (566–643), niche dedicated 644
LFS 47. Dhyāna Master Sengshun 僧順, nun (555–639), niche dedicated 640
LFS 48. Upāsikā Shen 申, laywoman, niche dedicated 645
LFS 49. Dharma Master Huihai 慧海, nun
LFS 51. Laywoman? Image underground in 2005. *BSLQS* drawing on fold-out (p. 168, Fig. 78) shows figure with the clothing of a laywoman
LFS 52. Dharma Master ?, nun, niche dedicated 661
LFS 53. Figure with clothing of laywoman
LFS 55. Figure with clothing of laywoman
LFS 56. Yu 玉, laywoman, niche dedicated 655
LFS 62. Dharma Master Sengmin 僧愍, nun, niche dedicated 658
LFS 63. Dharma Master Miaoxin 妙信, nun, niche dedicated 658
LFS 64. Laywoman and nun or monk
LFS 65. Dharma Master Zhengxin 正信, nun, niche dedicated 658
LFS 66. Dharma Master Miaode 妙德, nun, niche dedicated 658
LFS 67. Dharma Master Huiyun 慧雲, probably nun, niche dedicated 658
LFS 69. Shanyi 善意, nun, niche dedicated 666 (face intact)
LFS 70. Dharma Master Zhishou 智守, nun, niche dedicated 659
LFS 71. Dharma Master Xiuxing 修行, nun, niche dedicated 660
LFS 72. Benxing 本行, nun, niche dedicated 676 (face intact)
LFS 74. Fasi 法思, nun, niche dedicated 668
LFS 75. Figure with clothing of laywoman
LFS 76. Nun
LFS 77. Nun
LFS 80. Dharma Master Yuanzhao 員照, monk, niche dedicated 666
(Could not locate LFS 81–86 niches in 2005; *BSLQS* 1991 photos and drawings show niches with extant figures.)
LFS 81. Upāsikā Zhang 張, laywoman, niche dedicated 658
LFS 82. Daozang 道藏, nun, niche dedicated 663
LFS 83. Figure with clothing of laywoman
LFS 84. Figure with clothing of laywoman
LFS 85. Figure with clothing of laywoman
LFS 86. Two laywomen seated side-by-side

References

Abbreviations

AYXJSL = *Anyangxian jinshi lu* 安陽縣金石錄 (Records in Metal and Stone of Anyang District). Citations from *SKSL* Series 1, Vol. 18 (see below).

BS = Baoshan

LFS = Lanfengshan

BSLQS = *Baoshan Lingquan si* 寶山靈泉寺 (Lingquan Temple at Baoshan). Henansheng gudai jianzhu baohu yanjiusuo 河南省古代建築保護研究所 (Henan Research Institute for the Preservation of Ancient Architecture), eds. Zhengzhou: Henan Renmin, 1991.

SKSL = *Shike shiliao xinbian* 石刻史料新編 (A New Edition of Historical Materials Carved on Stone). Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望, ed. Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1966–1986.

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