Buddhist State Monasteries in Early Medieval China and their Impact on East Asia

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Abbreviation used in illustrations

- A Pagoda
- B Buddha Hall
- C Middle Gate
- D Lecture Hall
- E Sutra Hall
- F Bell Tower
- G Monk's Quarters
- H Refectory

Introduction

1. Research topic

My dissertation is a study of Buddhist State Monasteries in East Asia. It focuses on the development of the monastery layout seen as the result of the evolution of Buddhist thought and practice leading to modifications in the architectural form.

Up to a few decades ago, material evidences of Early Medieval Buddhist monasteries in China were very scarce, while much more material was available for the monasteries in the Korean Peninsula and in the Japanese Archipelago, where a large number of Early Medieval Buddhist monasteries remains are well preserved. It is in the last few decades that Chinese archaeologists have excavated a number of Buddhist monasteries built from the 5th to the 7th century. These findings supply us with important physical evidences to discuss the monastery layout in China and their impact on Korea and Japan, which derived from China.

I began my professional career by working on the Buddhist caves of Kucha. Over the past decade I was involved in the excavation of the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery*, an early Buddhist monastery in Yecheng, the capital of the Eastern Wei and Northern Qi Dynasties, therefore shifting my research focus from Buddhist caves to surface monasteries. Benefiting from the cooperation with Korean National Institute of Cultural Heritage and Nara National Institute of Cultural Properties, I had the opportunity to visit many monastery sites in Korea and Japan. This dissertation, besides taking advantage of previous scholarship and the tutoring skills of Prof. Ledderose, relies heavily on these first hand experiences.

Buddhist monastery: definition

Monastery is a general term indicating a place where Buddhist monks and believers engage in religious activities. The concept was introduced into China from India at the time of the introduction of Buddhism around the first century AD. In Sanskrit a variety of terms can be used to convey this same meaning, some of which designate the entire monastery, while others, technically speaking, refer to or emphasize one function or one part of the monastery. The followings are some among the most common Sanskrit terms which have been translated into Chinese. 1) *Buddha-stūpa*, (*futu* 浮圖) originally indicating the Indian *stūpa*; however, in the early days of Buddhism in Central China, it became an alternate appellation for

monastery, especially for the monastery centered on a pagoda. 2) Samghārama, (qielan 伽藍) refers to a garden for community living and practicing; it became a popular synonym of monastery in China after the 5th century. 3) Bodhi-maṇḍa, (daochang 道場) initially designating the location in Buddhagaya where Sakyamuni achieved his full enlightenment under the bodhi-tree. Later, it referred to any place where Buddhist practice was carried out, therefore used as a synonymous for monastery. 4) Caitya, (zhiti 支提) refers to a stūpa without relics. 5) Vihāra, (pikeluo 毗珂羅) indicates a residence for religious practitioners. 6) Araṇya, (alanruo 阿蘭若) refers to a secluded place suitable for monks where to practice Buddhism and reside. 7) Cāturdiśa, (zhaoti 招提) means guest-room for wandering monks. Broadly speaking, the first three terms, used in different periods, indicate a complete Buddhist monastery, whereas the last four do not indicate a monastery in the full sense of the term, although they were used as synonymous for it under certain condition and in some historical periods.¹

In Chinese, the term for monastery, *siyuan* 寺院, consists of two characters. Since the Han Dynasty the character *si* 寺 referred specifically to a government office.² In Buddhist literature it is recorded that the earliest monks arriving in China from India or Central Asia were accommodated in the *Honglu si* 鴻臚寺, a government office in charge of foreign affairs. Later, when free-standing Buddhist monasteries were established, the term *si* was retained and used as a general term to indicate a Buddhist monastery.³ In the beginning the character *yuan* 院 indicated a traditional Chinese courtyard surrounded by a wall or a portico. In the mid 7th century, Emperor Gaozong of Tang issued an edict ordering the construction of the *Daci'ensi Monastery* 大慈恩 寺 within which was an enclosed compound for master *Xuanzang* 玄奘, a courtyard for the translation of sutras called *Fanjing Yuan* 翻經院. From that time on, the character *yuan* began to be used as a general synonym for monastery as well.

¹ Lan Jifu 1994, 2076, 2414, 4888, 1331, 3337, 3155, 2843.

² *Zuo zhuan* 左傳, 107, noted by Kong Yingda in Tang Dynasty: "Since the Han Dynasty, the offices of *Three Gong* have been known as *fu*, and the offices of *Nine Qing* have been known as *si*." (自漢以來, 三公所居謂之 府, 九卿所居謂之寺); *Han shu* 漢書, 282, "All places that belong to government offices and the court are all known as *si*." (凡府廷所在, 皆謂之寺).

³ Da Song sengshi like 大宋僧史略, 236, "The monastery, interpreted as *si*. [...] It was originally the name of a government office. The first western monks that came to China dwelt temporarily in government offices. Later they moved to other residences, in order not to forget the origin, still marked the Buddhist monastery with *si*. This is the source of the term of Buddhist monastery." (寺者,釋名曰寺, ……本是司名。西僧乍來,權止公司。移入別居,不忘其本,還標寺號。僧寺之名始於此也).

The concept of monastery was differently understood in different periods. Before the 7th century, the term *si* loosely referred to nearly all types of Buddhist architecture. This is the reason why tens of thousands of monasteries (si) were mentioned in documents of each dynasty, in spite of the fact that the government regularly issued restrictions about their construction.⁴ Strictly speaking, not all Buddhist architecture can be called monastery, since a complete Buddhist monastery should fulfill at least the following three conditions: it should be a fixed space dedicated to worship; a place capable of hosting a substantial number of resident monks or nuns; and also a place where rituals are regularly performed. From this point of view, the most representative Buddhist monasteries in China were those sponsored by the emperor, called State Monasteries 國家大寺. Next were the Official Monasteries, which is monasteries built by local governors, sometimes in compliance with imperial edicts or central government decrees. The construction of Official Monasteries could be financed by eminent Buddhist masters or by donations of prominent officials, aristocrats and magnates. Conversely, Buddhist folk architecture lacked a building code and building standards. In this case it was the common people who built it, those with money gave money and those with strength gave strength. This folk religious architecture corresponds to the Sanskrit aranya, cāturdiśa, caitya, vihāra, or, in Chinese traditional locution, fotang 佛堂. Although often referred to as monasteries, these were not Buddhist monasteries in the full sense of the term. A clear distinction between various types of Buddhist architecture is clearly implied in Tang Dynasty official records, while an even more explicit distinction emerges from Song Dynasty official documents. In the latter case, only the State Monasteries built by imperial edict and Official Monasteries were bestowed the title of monasteries, while those constructed by private citizens were called *cāturdiśa* or *araŋya*.⁵ My dissertation acknowledges this conceptual distinction, and will keep focused on the study of Buddhist State Monasteries.

Defining the spatial and temporal boundaries of the research

Early Medieval China was the golden age of Buddhism. After several hundred years under the auspice of the upper classes and the advocacy of prominent Buddhist

⁴ Bian zheng lun 辯正論, 502-509.

⁵ Zi zhi tong jian 資治通鑒, 3000. "The monasteries officially recognized were granted the title si, those private were called *cāturdiśa* or *araŋya*" (蓋官賜額者為寺,私造者為招提、蘭若).

monks, Buddhism reached its apex between the 5th and 7th centuries, a period of intense construction of Buddhist monasteries throughout the country. However, as the time went on, almost all the monasteries of this period were destroyed and buried underground.

The Chinese Buddhist monasteries discussed in this dissertation were discovered and excavated by Chinese archaeological institutions in recent decades. Almost all of them were located in cities which had been the capitals of successive dynasties in North China between the 5th and 7th centuries: Pingcheng 平城, Luoyang 洛陽, Yecheng 鄴城 and Chang'an 長安. On the basis of archaeological surveys and excavations carried out over the last half century, the following eight monasteries will be analyzed and studied in depth:

1) The *Yungang Monastery* 雲岡佛寺, located on the top of the massif into which the *Yungang Grottoes* of Pingcheng, the early capital of Northern Wei, were carved.

2) The Siyuan Monastery 思遠佛寺, also located in Pingcheng, built by Dowager Feng in 479 AD.

3) The Siyan Monastery 思燕浮圖, also built by Dowager Feng in the late 5th century; it was located in Feng's hometown, Longcheng.

4) The Yongningsi Monastery 永寧寺 in Luoyang, the later capital of Northern Wei, built by Dowager Hu in 516 AD.

5) The *Zhaopengcheng Monastery* 趙彭城佛寺 located in South Yecheng,⁶ the capital of Eastern Wei and Northern Qi.

6) The Linggansi Monastery 靈感寺 in Daxing, the capital of Sui, built by Emperor Wen of Sui in 582 or 583 AD.

7) The *Qinglongsi Monastery* 青龍寺, built on top of the aforementioned *Linggansi Monastery* in the mid 7th century by Princess *Xincheng*; it was one of most important Tantric monasteries in Chang'an.

8) The Ximingsi Monastery 西明寺, also located in Chang'an, built in 658 AD in compliance with Tang Gaozhong's imperial edict.

All these Buddhist monasteries had imperial backing and belonged to the class of

⁶ The Site of Yecheng consisted of adjacent two parts. North Yecheng was the capital of the Cao Wei (220-265 AD), Later Zhao (335-350 AD), Ran Wei (350-352 AD) and Former Yan (357-370 AD) Kingdoms, and South Yecheng was the capital of the Eastern Wei (534-550 AD) and Northern Qi Dynasties (550-577 AD).

State Monasteries recorded in ancient texts:⁷ They not only represent a classic monastery type in their respective periods, but also had a profound influence on the neighboring regions.

By and large my dissertation relies on the analysis of archaeological remains of the abovementioned State Monasteries of North China, since not even one Buddhist monastery of the Eastern Jin and Southern Dynasties in South China has been excavated yet, where Buddhism was extremely popular and exerted a strong influence on North China, the Korean Peninsula, and also the Japanese Archipelago. Because of the lack of archaeological evidence from South China it has been deemed inappropriate to dedicate a full section to its monasteries. Instead, the large corpus of textual sources regarding South China Buddhism have been analyzed and compared with the material evidence of North China to trace the origins and development of its monastery layout.

2. Previous research on the layout of Buddhist monasteries in Early Medieval China

The Buddhist monastery, one of the most important elements of ancient Chinese architecture, has repeatedly been the object of research by historians of art and architecture. Before the 1980s, due to a lack of unearthed evidences, the research on Chinese early monasteries paid more attention to some specific buildings, predominantly to the pagoda. Related studies depended mainly on the monastery remains of Japan and Korea. As early as 1942, while discussing the Buddhist architecture of Japan, Soper became conscious of the tremendous difference in architectural form between Indian stone *stūpa* and Chinese multi-story timber pagoda.⁸ From the horizontal comparison, i.e. from a cross-cultural perspective, Seckel analyzed the evolution from *stūpa* to pagoda as a 'translation' of a foreign concept into Chinese architectural language.⁹ Instead, from the vertical comparison, i.e. from the perspective of the architectural tradition, Ledderose advanced the viewpoint that the prototype of Chinese pagoda derived not only from multi-story tower in architectural form, but also from the *Mingtang* 明堂, a building used for state ritual in ancient China in religious function and symbolism. At the same time,

⁷ Bian zheng lun 辯正論, 507, 508.

⁸ Soper 1978, 89-93.

⁹ Seckel 1980, 249-256.

Ledderose emphasized the strong influence of secular architecture, in particular the Palace City, on the monastery layout.¹⁰ His viewpoints have been corroborated by successive excavations.

In the mid 20th century, Liang Sicheng 梁思成, the founder of the modern study of ancient Chinese architecture, touched upon the architectural layout of Buddhist monasteries in his works.¹¹ The archaeological material available at that time for monasteries before 7th century was very scant and therefore it is understandable that he focused on the study of cave-temples and pagodas to analyze Buddhist architecture and monastery layouts. Liu Dunzhen 劉敦楨 continued this same approach, and although he devoted a full chapter to the study of monasteries, pagodas and cave-temples, his discussion about early monasteries was still concentrated on cave-temples and individual pagodas, whereas the descriptions involving the overall structure and layout of the monasteries was limited to the extant monasteries built mainly after 10th century.¹² Due to the different perspective, their works paid more attention to the concrete analysis of building structures and components, rather than discussing the religious implications of Buddhist architecture. Nevertheless, the relevance of their research stays on the fact that they set up a model for the investigation of the architectural layout of early Buddhist monasteries.

In the 1970s, Fu Xinian 傅熹年, a disciple and long-term assistant of Liang Sicheng and Liu Dunzhen, wrote a series of articles about Buddhist monasteries in Medieval China. By comparing the cave-temples of China to the Buddhist monasteries of the Asuka and Nara Periods in Japan, he suggested that the architectural layout of Chinese monasteries underwent an evolution, with a shift of focus from the pagoda to the Buddha Hall, an imitation of the imperial palace and government offices, which reflected the adaptation process of Buddhist architecture.¹³ In a later article, Fu Xinian carefully analyzed the construction techniques, materials and building code of Buddhist architectures in the Asuka and Nara Periods; he discussed how Japanese ancient architecture reflected that of China between the Northern and Southern Dynasties to the Tang Dynasty; at the same time, emphasizing the irreplaceable reference value of Japanese architecture for the recovering of

¹⁰ Ledderose 1980, 238-248.

¹¹ Liang Sicheng, 2011, 80-92. ¹² Liu Dunzheng, 1984, 87-101, 128-155, 202-214.

¹³ Fu Xinian 1998.

information about Chinese Buddhist monasteries buried for over a thousand years.¹⁴

A valuable approach was promoted by Xiao Mo 蕭默, who specialized in the study of ancient architecture as displayed in the Dunhuang 敦煌 wall paintings. Because of the abovementioned lack of archaeological material, he speculated that the architectural drawings in Dunhuang provide us with precious information about ancient architecture before the Tang Dynasty. The first chapter of his book discusses the typology and the layout of Buddhist monasteries in the Sui and Tang Dynasties on the basis of the analysis of a large number of wall paintings with the depiction of monasteries. In a word, he classified the layouts of the Sui and Tang monasteries into three types: 'one hall and two pavilions' layout (yita erlou shi 一塔二樓式), 'U-shaped' layout (aozi xing 凹字形) and 'courtyard-style' layout (yuanluo shi 院落 式), the latter could be further subdivided into 'sole-court' (danyuan shi 單院式), 'double-court' (shuangyuan shi 雙院式) and 'triple-court' (sanyuan shi 三院式) layout. Moreover, he believed that the monastery layout in the wall paintings not only described Buddhist monasteries in the Dunhuang area, but also contemporary monasteries from Chang'an and Luoyang the two Capitals, as well as other monasteries throughout the country.¹⁵ The author has also cautioned us to keep in mind that in the drawings is often depicted only part of the scene, rather than the complete panorama of the monastery. Furthermore, it cannot be excluded that fictitious elements might have been inserted by initiators or limners in order to better represent the theme or the background in the light of the text of the Buddhist Sutras. At any rate, his work provides us with abundant visual evidence that remains an important reference for the study of the Buddhist monastery in the Sui and Tang periods.

One last work approaching the study of Buddhist monastery from the perspective of architecture is *Lectures on Chinese Buddhist Monastery Architecture* by Zhang Yuhuan 張馭寰. Based on decades of experience, the author made a comprehensive introduction to the development of the Chinese monastery, including the history of Buddhist monasteries, monastery layout, the structure of the main and auxiliary buildings, and some representative monasteries around the country.¹⁶ Though some

¹⁴ Fu Xinian 1992.

¹⁵ Xiao Mo 2003, 35-81.

¹⁶ Zhang Yuhuan 2008.

important conclusions and controversial issues lack supporting data and annotation, it can be considered a work for the general public that may help us realize the history and status quo of Chinese Buddhist architecture.

In recent decades, several medieval Buddhist monasteries have been discovered and excavated, providing new material for research in this field. Since 1980s Chinese archaeologists, benefiting from the excavation of various sites, began to study the layout of early Buddhist monasteries. Su Bai 宿白, a prominent archaeologist of the Peking University, issued two seminal papers in relation to the layout of medieval monasteries by linking textual records to archaeology discoveries, essential and enlightening even today. In the first paper, Su Bai divides the evolution of the monastery layout from the Eastern Han to Northern and Southern Dynasties in two periods.¹⁷ The first period (25 - 280 AD) includes the Eastern Han and Three Kingdom; on the basis of textual sources, he presumed that the main monasteries features derived from India, and that the stūpa occupied the center of the Buddhist monastery, although the stūpa had already evolved into a multilayer square wooden structure, also known as Chinese-style pagoda. At the centre of the stūpa was installed a large bronze gilded statue of the Buddha, provided with a passage to allow devotees to carry out ritual circumambulation. The second phase (307 - 589 AD) corresponds to the period of the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties, as witnessed by the archaeological remains of the Siyuan Monastery and the Yongningsi Monastery which were surveyed and excavated between the 1970s and the 1980s. Su Bai demonstrated that though the pagoda was still located at the center of the monastery, another religious building begun to gain prominence after the 4th century: a Chinese-style hall, which could either be a Buddha Hall or a Lecture Hall. In the meantime, other auxiliary buildings, such as Meditation Halls and Monks' Quarters, were also mentioned in the documents. The typical monastery layout of the second phase consists of buildings aligned along the central axis, with the Pagoda set at the center of the monastery and the Buddha Hall behind it. This is the so-called 'Central Pagoda and one Hall in the rear' layout.

In his second paper Su Bai focuses on the layout of monasteries of the Sui Dynasty. Sui Bai affirms that the 'Central Pagoda and one Hall in the rear' layout was still dominant at this stage, while at the same time he analyzed the beginning of a new

¹⁷ Su Bai 1997 a.

type of Buddhist monastery layout, the 'Central Hall and Twin Pagodas', with two pagodas in front of the Buddha Hall.¹⁸

Li Yuqun 李裕群 supported Su Bai's analysis and research method. He published an article discussing the characteristic monastery layout before the Sui and Tang Dynasties. He particularly emphasized the emergence of large scale Buddhist monasteries which might have intentionally replicate the imperial palace between the end of 5th and the beginning of 6th centuries, as well as the impact of Southern China cultural elements in the North in the late Northern Dynasty period.¹⁹

By the end of the 6th century the capital of the Sui and Tang Dynasties, Chang'an, had became once more the national Buddhist center. On the basis of textual sources and new material evidences emerging from the excavation of the Qinglongsi Monastery and the Ximingsi Monastery, as well as reports on the surveys of other Buddhist sites in Xi'an, Gong Guoqiang 龔國強 published his Studies in Chang'an Buddhist Monasteries of the Sui and Tang Dynasties.²⁰ He took up and studied in-depth three issues: firstly, the regular distribution of Buddhist monastery and their relationship with the grid plan of Chang'an; secondly, the different monastery layouts and their periodization; thirdly, the source of Chang'an monasteries and their contact with those of East Asia.

By careful analyzing several Buddhist monasteries that were excavated in recent decades, I have discussed the evolution of Chinese monastery layout from the 5th to the 7th century in several articles. Focusing on the relationship among Pagoda, Buddha Hall and Compound; I confirmed that the developmental process of monastery layout changed from single compound focusing on a pagoda to multiple compounds and halls. At the same time, I proposed that the change in monastery layout during this period might have a close relationship with changes occurring within the Buddhist doctrine.²¹

3. The significance of the topic and research methods

The significance of the topic can be briefly pointed out. In the Early Middle Ages, Buddhism had already become a highly developed religion and culture throughout the Asian continent. The Buddhist monastery, as a vehicle of Buddhist thought and

¹⁸ Su Bai 1997 b.

 ¹⁹ Li Yuqun 2009.
 ²⁰ Gong Guoqiang 2006.
 ²¹ He Liqun 2010, 2011.

practice, carries profound and complex implications. In other words, in the Buddhist monastery various traditional elements of the Chinese civilization come together, a fact that calls for interdisciplinary investigation, extending to the fields of archaeology, history, art history, architecture, theology and philosophy. Buddhist State Monasteries, which replicate the layout of the imperial palace, represent the highest architectural standard; at the same time, the evolution of monastery layout reflects also changes occurring in the field of religious creed. Therefore, State Monasteries are the main object of my research, a special angle from which to explore early Buddhist thought and architecture.

Due to various reasons, none of the early Buddhist monasteries before the 7th century in China have been preserved to date. In the past, research on ancient monasteries was carried out on copious written records, at times giving rise to controversies born out of different interpretations of these same records. Under these circumstances, new archaeological evidence brings irreplaceable value to our research.

In the Early Medieval period, the Korean Peninsula and the Japanese Archipelago where undergoing a phase of social reforms and transitions, and increasingly absorbed the more mature laws and institutions of China. Buddhism, as part of Chinese civilization and religious belief system, was introduced first in Korea and then in Japan, and was increasingly appreciated by the royals of both states. Thereafter, numerous Buddhist monasteries sponsored by royals and dignitaries were built according to the contemporaneous Chinese style. Many of these monasteries have come down to the present well-preserved or were excavated in recent decades: they offer exceptional material for the investigation of the origins and the diffusion of the Chinese monastery.

The archaeological and art historical research on Chinese medieval monasteries have just begun. Although some records in China suggested a probable link with the monasteries of Korea and Japan, the lack of suitable comparative data hindered the possibility of pinpointing when, how, in which aspect and in which way the Chinese monastery impacted its neighbors.

Since the 1960s, and especially in recent years, several ancient monastic settings have been discovered and partially excavated by Chinese archaeologists. Although most of them were not completely excavated, in most cases the main buildings, such as the Pagoda, the Buddha Hall and the Compound have been unearthed; it has become possible to weigh historical sources against archaeological material. Today we are not only in a position to carry out research on the evolution of the monastery layout between the 5th and 7th centuries, but also to discuss the early Buddhist contacts among China, Korea and Japan by comparing the architectural layout of medieval monasteries.

Research methods

A few words will adequately indicate the research method applied to the abovementioned material. Data from different fields have been interrelated, such as the combination of textual evidences and archaeological discoveries. It is well know that China has a long tradition of recording its history, going back several thousand years: Chinese history relies on a vast corpus of textual sources. Generally speaking, Chinese ancient literature consists of texts written on paper and epigraphic sources. Official histories were normally written by scholars of a later period, so that they might contain events and explanations occurred in a later period, inserted for various reasons; for example, many Buddhist documents describing the exact date of the introduction of Buddhism into China are quite unlikely, but they might be used once they have been analyzed and purified of some questionable elements. On the other hand, epigraphic sources and manuscripts were often material contemporaneous with the events described and therefore disclose more reliable data, but by their nature, the information they disclose is usually disorganized or incomplete, and therefore in need of being identified and interpreted carefully as well.

Traditional historiography has been widely utilized to restore the original appearance of ancient society by Chinese scholars. Moreover, from the Song Dynasty, the development of the studies of epigraphy (*jinshixue* 金石學) could make up for the shortage of historical document to a certain extent. Nevertheless, it is still a vexing problem how to understand and interpret ambiguous even contradictory records. As mentioned above, many controversies were born out of different interpretation of a same document, an issue which has led to a debate concerning the reliability of Chinese ancient documentation lasting for several decades.

The emergence and development of modern archaeology provided a new approach for historical research. In the early of 20^{th} century, Wang Guowei 王國維, a prominent master of Chinese learning in the 20^{th} century, put forward his famous

'method of dual attestation' (*erchong zhengju fa* 二重證據法). In his works and lectures, Wang Guowei repeatedly emphasized that the progress of sinological research often profited from the discovery of new materials. The core of his thought was that texts and excavated material could mutually authenticate each other, the texts that could be verified by archaeological material are to be considered undoubtedly reliable and reflecting the historical facts, while at the same time we cannot deny thoughtlessly those records that have not been verified thus far.²² After nearly a hundred years, this theory has been widely accept in the academic world, and proved to be an effective research method for Chinese history.

In recent decades, a lot of buried materials have been discovered and unearthed; it has offered abundant information to supplement textual sources and can be used to reconstruct historical events. My dissertation rests on archaeological materials, and all typical monastery layouts taken into consideration were based on excavated material evidence. It should be mentioned that for most of them, especially the State Monasteries, there exists a more or less detailed written record. Using the method of dual attestation, that is connecting written records with archaeological discoveries, many important issues about these monasteries, such as the date of their construction, the historical background, the religious belief system, the monastery system, the architectural scale and style, the origin and evolution of architectural layout will be discussed in detail.

A second methodological tool used throughout the thesis is that of typological comparisons. Typology is a classification method based on types or categories widely used in archaeology, architecture, anthropology, linguistics and other fields. Because of different research objects and purposes, various disciplines have different ways to define typology. In nature, they all derive from the taxonomy of biology, and the basic principle is alike. For example, archaeological typology is a method for the classification of artifacts according to their characteristics.²³ Architectural typology is the taxonomic classification of (usually physical) characteristics commonly found in buildings and urban places. Mention should also be made of stylistic analysis, one of the basic research methods in art history, where artifacts need to be classified and compared prior to further analysis. Undoubtedly, typology can be applied to the classification of Buddhist monasteries in the light of their architectural form.

²² Wang Guowei 1994, 2-3.

²³ Dunnell 1986, 149-151.

However, though typology enables us to determine a chronological sequence, its authority rests on the classification of materials obtained from stratigraphyic sequences.

Archaeological excavation and typological research have led the famous Chinese archaeologist Su Bingqi 蘇秉琦 to bring forward a new theory that was named 'Regional divisions, Cultural series and Types in Archaeological Culture' (*kaoguxue wenhua de quxi leixing* 考古學文化的區系類型). The leitmotiv of this theory is that some typical sites are selected, through scientific excavation, to obtain representative analysis materials. On the basis of the exact division of cultural types, some cultural series are summarized in a larger area according to similarities and differences of cultural connotation.²⁴ Although this theory was originally used for the analysis of prehistoric cultures, it can be equally applied to the study of late ruins and relics.

The Chinese, Korean and Japanese Buddhist monasteries selected in my dissertation are representative of the highest ranking monasteries in Early Medieval East Asia. Almost all of them were built under the auspices of royal family or dignitary and pertinent records providing essential information about them have been preserved. After a long-term archaeological survey and excavation, the architectural style and layout of these monasteries have gradually emerged. In accordance with the different arrangement of the main buildings in the monasteries, different types of monastery layout will be classified according to typological principles. Then the cultural series (monastery layout) will be summed up according to their similarities and differences, thus disclosing the architectural form and distinctive features of Buddhist monasteries in different areas and periods. Finally, I will discuss the evolution of the architectural layout of Buddhist monasteries in Early Medieval China and their contact with the contemporaneous monasteries of Korea and Japan through typological comparison and stylistic analysis.

On a more theoretical level, the interaction of space and function will allow for a deeper insight into the issue under investigation. Space, understood as a limited coverage of one, two or three dimensions, in my dissertation corresponds to Buddhist architectures. It can refer to a single building, such as a pagoda, a Buddha hall or a lecture hall, but can also refer to a building space or a group of buildings, such as a courtyard or an entire monastery. Function in my dissertation corresponds to the

²⁴ Su Bingqi and Yin Weizhang 1981.

purpose of a single Buddhist architecture or a group of buildings.

In my dissertation, the interaction of space and function is the most relevant method to explore the deeper reasons that brought about the evolution of monastery layout in Early Medieval China. Despite the fact that a bulky part of the thesis discusses Buddhist architectures, it should be emphasized that I am particularly interested in the evolution of religious thought, rather than the simple evolution of architectural forms. In my opinion, space and function, as defined above, are so intertwined that can't be divided. Function decides space, while space serves as a locale for the fulfillment of a function, and confines the exertion of function under certain condition. Doubtlessly, cultural connotations cannot be conceived or detected if the interaction of space and function is neglected. In the specific case of a Buddhist monastery, the interaction of space and function is traceable in the combination of various buildings, in which every main building or building group has a distinct and specific purpose. The evolution of the monastery layout reflects thus changes in religious thought and practice.

It should also be noted that the interaction between space and function is a crucial method to research the intrinsic reasons and laws of the development and evolution Chinese Medieval monastery spanning through the centuries. This method must be applied with caution when analyzing the early monastery layout in Korea and Japan. This is because the method is only effective on an original culture noumenon, rather than a derivative one. As far as the architectural layout of Buddhist monastery is concerned, Chinese monasteries appeared around the first century of the Common Era, following the introduction of Buddhism, and gradually shaped their own architectural tradition and style in the following centuries. Different buildings and groups of buildings had different religious meanings and an inherent logical relation existed between space and function. Nevertheless, early Buddhist monasteries in Korea and Japan were quite dissimilar from Chinese ones. By imitating, they could replicate the architectural forms of contemporaneous Chinese monasteries, but this does not mean that the religious connotation contained in the architectural form was understood or accepted. In other words, similarity in architectural form and spacial arrangement does not correspond to uniformity in function, especially when these elements are newly introduced into a different cultural milieu.

Chapter I - Monastery Layout in Early Medieval China: Textual Evidence

1. The introduction of Buddhism and the establishment of early monasteries in China

There are many discrepancies between historical records and Buddhist sutras regarding the exact time of the introduction of Buddhism into the Chinese Mainland, though most of them are preposterous and not worth refuting. Two events among of these controversial records need to be given due consideration. An early chronicle of the *Brief Account of Wei* 魏略 states:

Once in the first year of the Yuanshou Era (2 BC), under the Emperor Ai of the Han, Jing Lu, a National University Student, noted down a Buddha Sutra dictated by Yi Cun, the envoy of the King of Great Rou-zhi.²⁵

Tang Yongtong carefully analyzed this text and demonstrated that it should be accepted as recording a historical incident.²⁶ Under his advocacy this event has been accepted as the earliest record of the introduction of Buddhism in China by a growing number of researchers.²⁷

Another well-known event cited widely by late Buddhist literature is that of Emperor Ming of Eastern Han (漢明帝 r. 58 - 75 AD), who demanded the teaching of Buddhism and sent envoys to India. It was originally recorded in *Mou zi on the Settling of Doubts* at the end of Eastern Han, and in more detail in *Book of Wei*. After having dreamed of a golden man with a shining halo circling in front of the palace, Emperor Ming sent a mission to India to inquire about Buddhist teaching. The envoys copied and brought back the *Sutra of Forty-two Sections* (*Sishi'erzhang jing* 四十二 章經) that is often considered as the earliest piece of Buddhist literature in China. After that, due to peace and prosperity of the country, people who believed Buddhism increased rapidly.²⁸

Although this story was recorded in a late historical document and sounds more like a legend, another contemporaneous event provides strongly evidence for its authenticity. The brother of Emperor Ming was Prince Ying of Chu 楚王英, whose

²⁵ Sanguo zhi 三國志, 859,"昔漢哀帝元壽元年,博士弟子景盧受大月氏王使伊存口授浮屠經。"; Hucker 1985, 390.

²⁶ Tang Yongtong 1997, 34-36.

²⁷ Ren Jiyu (ed.) 1981, 90-91; Z ürcher 1972, 24; Ch'en 1964, 27-42.

²⁸ Mouzi lihuo lun 牟子理惑論, 4-5.

Kingdom capital was located in Pengcheng 彭城, modern Xuzhou in Jiangsu Province 江蘇徐州. The *Book of Later Han* states the fact that Prince Ying believed in Buddhism and founded Buddhist communities. In 65, Prince Ying offered thirty rolls of silks to atone for the sins committed before believing in Buddhism and accorded an amnesty that empowered criminals to ransom themselves by payment of a certain amount. Emperor Ming deemed Prince Ying innocent and sent back his ransom, meanwhile, issued an edict stating:

Prince of Chu recite the subtle words of Huang-Lao, and esteem the virtuous deeds of the Buddha, [...] the ransom is sent back to prepare a sumptuous vegetarian feast for the pious *upāsakas* (laymen) and *śramaņas* (monks).²⁹

In view of the fact that this contemporaneous record may possibly prove the circumstantial event of Emperor Ming inquiring about Buddhist teaching, most researchers generally believe that the first century is the *terminus ante quem* Buddhism was introduced into the Chinese Mainland.

With the introduction of Buddhism, Buddhist monasteries began to appear in Luoyang and Pengcheng, the earliest recorded places where Buddhist activities took place. In the following few centuries, Buddhist monasteries expanded slowly and smoothly throughout the country along with the spread of Buddhism. In Western Jin (265 - 316 AD) the number of Buddhist monasteries already totaled a few hundreds. The *Stories about Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang* vaguely mentions that there were forty-two monasteries in the Yongjia Era (307 - 313 AD) of the Western Jin,³⁰ while the *Treatise on Discussing the Right* records definitely:

In the two capitals of the Western Jin, there were a total of one hundred eighty monasteries, and seventy three sutras were translated by thirteen persons, more than three thousands and seven hundreds monks and nuns.³¹

By analyzing the location of Buddhist monasteries recorded in literature, we found that most monasteries before the Western Jin were located in some of the important religious centers and hubs of Sino-western routes.³² Though the names of more than 20 monasteries of this period can be compiled from all sorts of documents, unfortunately, only few of them directly mention concrete architectural forms.

²⁹ Hou Han shu 後漢書, 1153-1154, "詔報曰:'楚王誦黃老之微言,尚浮屠之仁祠。…… 其還贖,以助伊蒲 塞桑門之盛饌。'"

³⁰ Luoyang qielan ji 洛陽伽藍記, 999.

³¹ Bian zheng lun 辯正論, 502,"右西晉二京, 合寺一百八十所, 譯經一十三人七十三部, 僧尼三千七百餘人。"

³² Yan Shang-wen 1985.

The earliest Buddhist monastery was founded in the period of Emperor Ming, as recorded in the *Mou zi on the Settling of Doubts*:

[After the mission came back from Kushan], a Buddhist monastery was built outside of the Yong Gate in the west of Luoyang, thousands of vehicles and horses were painted on the wall which surrounded the pagoda three circles.³³

This monastery became the prototype of so-called *Baimasi Monastery* 白馬寺 described by late Buddhist literature and legends, despite the fact that there is no information about the exact name at that time. Actually, the inception and early history of Buddhist architecture in China remains unclear, but a significant message emerging from the above text is that the pagoda was deemed particularly important and the central building of the whole monastery.

Another document of the end of the Han Dynasty provides more detailed information about Buddhist monasteries and Buddhist activities. The *Records of Three Kingdoms* was the first to recount this event. Ze Rong (笮融? - 195 AD), a local official in charge of transportation between Guangling 廣陵 and Danyang 丹陽 in the lower basin of the Yangtze River, hijacked grains and goods for his own use within the area under his control.

He erected a large Buddhist temple. He had a human (effigy) made from bronze, the body of which was gilded and dressed in silk and brocade. (At the top of the building) nine layers of bronze scales were suspended, and below there was a building of several stories with covered ways, which could contain more than three thousand people, who all studied and read Buddhist scriptures. He ordered the Buddhist devotees from the region (under his supervision) and from the adjacent prefectures to listen and to accept the doctrine. (Those people) he exempted from the other statute labour duties in order to attract them. Those who on account of this from near and afar came to (the monastery) numbered more than five thousand. Whenever there was (the ceremony of) 'bathing the Buddha', he had always great quantities of wine and food set out (for distribution), and mats were spread along the roads over a distance of several tens of *li*. (On the occasions) some then thousand people came to enjoy the spectacle and the food. The expenses (of such a ceremony) accounted to many millions (of cash).³⁴

This text is confirmed by similar records in the *Book of Later Han*,³⁵ it provides not only a glimpse of the activities of early Buddhist community, but also the earliest

³³ Mouzi lihuo lun 牟子理惑論, 4-5, "時於洛陽城西雍門外起佛寺,於其壁畫千乘萬騎繞塔三匝。"

³⁴ Sanguo zhi 三國志, 195-196,"乃大起浮圖祠, 以銅為人, 黃金塗身, 衣以錦采。垂銅盤九重, 下為重樓, 閣道可容三千餘人。悉課讀佛經, 令界內及旁郡人有好佛者聽受道, 複其他役, 以招致之。由此逺近前後 至者五千餘人戶。每浴佛, 多設酒飯, 布席于路, 經數十裡, 民人來觀及就食, 且萬人, 費以巨億計。" Translated by Z ürcher 1972, 28.

³⁵ Hou Han shu 後漢書, 2368.

detailed description of a Buddhist monastery and of Buddhist images in a historical records. It should be noted that the 'building several stories with covered way' (*tangge zhouhui* 堂閣周回) suggests it must be a Chinese traditional square pagoda, a structure built by combining rammed earth and timber.

It is generally believed that the first Buddhist monastery in South China was built during the Three Kingdoms period, according to the record of Kang Senghui 康僧會 in the *Biographies of Eminent Monks*. This famous monk and descendent of a Sogdian family, came to Jianye (建鄴, modern Nanjing, Jiangsu Province) the capital of Wu 吳 in 247 AD. By virtue of his thaumaturgical powers, he succeeded in persuading Sun Quan 孫權, the sovereign of the Kingdom Wu, to support his missionary efforts. Sun Quan erected a *śarīra* pagoda and named the monastery *Jianchusi Monastery* 建初寺.³⁶ Another contemporary document increases the trustworthiness of the above mentioned record: the *Records of Three Kingdoms* mentioned the atrocity of Sun Lin (孙綝 231 - 258 AD), the regent of Kingdom Wu, who destroyed Buddhist monasteries and decapitated practitioners.³⁷ Therefore, the history of *Jianchusi Monastery* cannot be easily rejected, though it was recorded in late Buddhist documents.

During the Eastern Jin and Sixteen Kingdom Period, northern ethnic minorities invaded and occupied central China. In a sense, the division of the state and the ongoing war provided an opportunity for the diffusion of all kinds of philosophies and religions. As an exotic religion, Buddhism was advocated by some northern ethnic rulers who regarded themselves as foreigners and thought that they should believe foreign religion.³⁸

Because of the long-term war in the Northern regions, accurate statistics on the number of Buddhist monasteries were not carried out and therefore we are not in the position of having a full overview of the spread of Buddhism; what is at our disposal are some partial facts from the disjointed biographies of monks. Fotucheng (佛圖澄? - 348 AD), a famous monk of Central Asia, who came to China in 310 AD, was a

³⁶ Gaoseng zhuan 高僧傳, 325.

³⁷ Sanguo zhi 三國志,1449,"綝意彌溢,侮慢民神。遂燒大橋頭伍子胥廟,又壞浮圖祠斬道人。"

³⁸ *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳, 385, "Shi Hu issued an edict: Wang Du argued that Buddha is a foreign god, and it is not appropriate for the Emperor and the Chinese to offer him homage. I was born in remote area, fortunately, encountered an opportunity to rule China. Concerning sacrifices, I should also conform to our traditional customs. Buddha is an exotic god, it ought to be worshipped." (虎下書曰: 度議云佛是外國之神, 非天子諸華所可宜奉。 朕生自邊壤, 忝當期運, 君臨諸夏。至於響祀,應兼從本俗。佛是戎神,正所應奉).

missionary gifted with thaumaturgical powers and a warlock: the miracles he performed made a significant impact on the rulers of the time. He was treated as an oracle and an advisor by Emperors Shi Le 石勒 and Shi Hu 石虎 of Later Zhao (後趙 335 - 350AD). As a result of his missionary efforts, most of the Han nationality and ethnic minority in Central Plains of China began to believe in Buddhism, and as a consequence a great many of pagodas and monasteries were built:

Zhang Li and Zhang Liang, the ministers of Shi Hu, whose families were very rich and engaged in Buddha, and they each built their own pagoda. [...] Hundreds of persons often followed and studied with him (Fotucheng), in total

his disciples counted nearly ten thousand. Eight hundred and ninety three Buddhist monasteries were established in provinces and counties where he came through, the prosperity of promoting Buddhism was unprecedented.³⁹

Dao'an (道安 314 - 385 AD), the most prominent Buddhist master at the time, was once a disciple of Fotucheng. His doctrines deeply influenced Chinese Buddhism both in North and South China. Emperor Fu Jian 苻堅 of Former Qin (前秦 351 - 394 AD) revered him deeply and regarded him as his instructor. At the time of Dao'an and his disciples' travels and preaching through North China, many Buddhist monasteries were mentioned; a few of them might help us to know the features of early Buddhist architecture in China. For example, after 365 AD, Dao'an lived in Xiangyang 襄陽. Under the patronage of local magnates and officials, he built the *Tanxisi Monastery* 檀 溪寺 with a five-story pagoda and four hundred rooms. In 379 AD, Dao'an went to Chang'an and lived in the *Wuchongsi Monastery* 五重寺.⁴⁰

Another example is *Kumārajīva* (鳩摩羅什 344 - 413 AD), the most outstanding translator of Buddhist sutra in history. Formerly a prince of Kucha 龜茲國, arrived at Chang'an in 401 AD. Emperor Yao Xing 姚興 of Later Qin regarded him as religious master and created an official Clergy Authority System (*sengguan zhidu* 僧官制度).⁴¹ To help him in the task of Buddhist sutras translation, the emperor organized hundreds of scholars and famous monks to work together with him. A large number of important Indian sutras were translated by *Kumārajīva* and his translation team.

Since Yao Xing indulged in Buddhism, high-level officials and ordinary people all

³⁹ Gaoseng zhuan 高僧傳, 385-387,"虎尚書張離張良家富事佛, 各起大塔。……(佛圖澄)受業追游常有數 百, 前後門徒幾且一萬。所曆州郡興立佛寺八百九十三所, 弘法之盛莫與先矣。"

⁴⁰ Gaoseng zhuan 高僧傳, 352,"安以白馬寺狹, 乃更立寺名曰檀溪, 即清河張殷宅也, 大富長者並加贊助, 建塔五層起房四百。涼州刺史楊弘忠送銅萬斤, 擬為承露盤。……既至住長安五重寺, 僧眾數千大弘法化。"
⁴¹ Gaoseng zhuan 高僧傳, 363.

admired and respected śramaņas. More than five thousand persons came to [Chang'an] from afar. Pagoda was erected at Yonggui Li, *Prajñā* platform was built at middle palace. There were always thousands of meditating monks, (people of) provinces and counties were affected, nine-tenths of the family believed Buddhism.⁴²

Syncretized with Wei-Jin Metaphysics 魏晋玄学, Buddhist thought was further promoted in South China, where kept up a more Chinese traditional political, economic and cultural systems. There are numerous records about emperors and ministers who believed in Buddhism and had contacts with famous monks of the time. Nearly ten Buddhist monasteries under the auspices of the Eastern Jin royalty were mentioned in Buddhist documents:

One hundred and four years of the Eastern Jin Dynasty, there were one thousand seven hundred and sixty eight Buddhist monasteries in total, two hundred and sixty three sutras translated by twenty seven persons, twenty four thousand monks and nuns.⁴³

Regrettably, in addition to the *Changgansi Monastery* 長干寺, which was built as a three-story wooden pagoda sponsored by Emperor Jianwen of Eastern Jin,⁴⁴ Huiyong 惠永 and Huiyuan 慧遠 built Buddha Halls and Meditation Halls at the *Lingyun Monastery* 淩雲精舍⁴⁵ and at the *Longquan Monastery* 龍泉精舍⁴⁶ of Lushan 廬山; we do not have detailed information on the overall architectural layout of the Buddhist monasteries in South China during this period.

Since the introduction of Buddhism in the first century, due to the patronage of the rulers, the promotion of outstanding masters, and its combination with traditional culture, by the fifth century Buddhism had gradually penetrated into every aspect of Chinese society, and consequently Buddhist monasteries were widely established in North and South China. Although archaeologists have not excavated any monastery remains of this period, on the basis of historical and Buddhist documents we may reasonably assume that an early Buddhist monastery system had already begun to take shape.

⁴² Jin shu 晉書, 2985, "興既托意於佛道, 公卿已下莫不欽附沙門, 自逺而至者五千餘人。起浮圖於永貴里, 立波若台于中宫。沙門坐禪者恒有千數, 州郡化之, 事佛者十室而九矣。"

⁴³ Bian zheng lun 辯正論, 503,"右東晉一百四載, 合寺一千七百六十八所, 譯經二十七人二百六十三部, 僧 尼二萬四千人。"

⁴⁴ Gaoseng zhuan 高僧傳, 409.

⁴⁵ Ming seng zhuan chao 名僧傳抄, 357.

⁴⁶ Gaoseng zhuan 高僧傳, 358.

2. Buddhist monasteries in the Northern and Southern Dynasties

Chinese Buddhism reached its peak in 5th - 6th century. The central governments of both the Northern and the Southern Dynasties began to set up special organization to manage religious affairs; a remarkable symbol was the establishment of a mature official Clergy Authority System and its extension nationwide.⁴⁷ Under government management Buddhist monasteries greatly develop both in number and scale; at the same time, architectural forms and monastery layouts were also increasingly standardized.

As early as the end of the 4th century, the rulers of Northern Wei had already converted to the Buddhist religion and built monasteries even before reunifying North China. In order for the believers to have a place to engage in Buddhist activities, the Emperor Daowu (道武帝 r. 386 - 409 AD) issued a decree that ordered the competent authorities to erect images and repair dwellings. In 398 AD, a great Buddhist monastery with a five-story Pagoda, a *Sumeru* Hall 須彌山殿, a Lecture Hall and Meditation Hall was established in the capital. This was the first imperial sponsored Buddhist monastery constructed by the Northern Wei Dynasty.⁴⁸

In 439 AD, the Northern Wei occupied Liangzhou 涼州, an area which was an important Buddhist center from the middle of the 4th century. A great number of people and famous monks including Xuangao 玄高, Shixian 師賢 and Tanyao 曇曜 were transferred to Pingcheng, the Northern Wei capital:

In the Taiyan Era (435 - 440 AD), (Emperor Taiwu) conquered Liangzhou. The people of the Northern Liang were deported to the capital, monks and Buddhist activities and rituals were all transferred to the eastern region. Buddhism was thus more prosperous (in Northern Wei).⁴⁹

Meanwhile, in spite of the brief suppression of Buddhism between 446 and 452, after Emperor Taiwu's death Buddhism was quickly restored and prospered after the mid 5th century. Upon ascending to the throne, Emperor Wencheng (文成帝 r. 452 - 465 AD) proclaimed that believers and ordinary people embracing Buddhism were free to leave home and join the monastic order. Besides, any densely populated areas could build Buddhist monasteries according to their own need. Shixian was appointed *dao-ren-tong* 道人統, and then Tanyao was appointed *sha-men-tong* 沙門統; in truth,

⁴⁷ Xie Chongguang 2009, 18-29, 51-67.

⁴⁸ Wei shu 魏書, 3030.

⁴⁹ Wei shu 魏書, 3032,"太延中, 涼州平, 徙其國人於京邑, 沙門佛事皆俱東, 象教彌增矣。"

the two titles indicate the same highest-rank official in charge of the religious affairs during the Northern Wei. In order to obtain the support of the imperial family, many monks were bound up in preaching the idea that the emperor was a living incarnation of the Buddha, therefore it was very popular to erect great Buddha images in the resemblance of the emperors in the monasteries of capital. Under the sponsorship of Tanyao, the famous Yungang Grottoes were built near the capital in 453 AD: they are usually referred to as the greatest achievement of Buddhism in the Northern Wei Dynasty.

In the late 5th century, for the sake of consolidating the centralized government and effectively control a multi-ethnic country, under the support of Empress Dowager Feng (馮寧 442 - 490 AD, the consort of Emperor Wencheng) and Emperor Xiaowen (孝文帝 r. 471 - 499 AD) implemented a series of drastic policies to sinicize the minorities of North China. Some important compulsive reform measures were carried out without delay, which included the full acceptance of Chinese traditional laws and institutions; the capital was moved to Luoyang in 494.

Since the Eastern Han, Luoyang had already been an important Buddhist location. Despite the temporary decline during the long-term wars from the third century, under the strong imperial patronage of Northern Wei, at the end of the 5th century Luoyang once again was the political and religious center of North China. According to the *Stories about Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang*, there were more than a thousand monasteries just in the capital and surrounding area,⁵⁰ while in the whole Northern Wei territory, the total number of Buddhist monasteries was calculated in the tens of thousands.

A total of seventeen emperors of Northern Wei ruled for one hundred and seventy years, there were forty-seven great State Monasteries. [...] Princes, Dukes, dignitaries and five ranked lords built eight hundred and thirty-nine monasteries, and common people built more than thirty thousand monasteries. Two million monks and nuns in total were tonsured and nineteen persons translated forty-nine sutras.⁵¹

This record not only provides detailed information about the development of the Buddhist monasteries during Northern Wei, but it also puts forward the concept of 'State Monastery' specifically. Compared with the concept of other official and private

⁵⁰ Luoyang qielan ji 洛陽伽藍記, 999.

⁵¹ Bian zheng lun 辯正論, 507,"右元魏君臨一十七帝,一百七十年。國家大寺四十七所。……其王公貴室五 等諸侯寺八百三十九所,百姓造寺三萬餘所。總度僧尼二百萬人,譯經一十九人四十九部。"

monasteries, we can affirm that the term 'State Monastery' is to be understood as referring to imperial undertaking, while not necessarily referring to at a monastery size or its architectural scale.

In 534 the Northern Wei Dynasty split into the Eastern Wei (534 - 550AD) and Western Wei (534 - 557 AD); the capital of the Eastern Wei was moved from Luoyang to Yecheng. In addition to official bureaus and common people, a great deal of monks and nuns and outstanding masters who originally promoted Buddhism in Luoyang including *Bodhiruci* 菩提流支, *Ratnamati* 勒那摩提, Huiguang 慧光 also moved to Yecheng along with the court.

(Due to) frequent disasters in the Yongxi Era (532 - 534 AD), the royal family (of the Northern Wei) moved to Ye, and monks and nuns of each monastery were also transferred at that time.⁵²

After the Eastern Wei was supplanted by the Northern Qi in the middle of 6th century, Yecheng displaced the status of Luoyang and became the new Buddhist center of North China.

In the heydays of the Northern Qi, there were approximately four thousand large monasteries in the capital and nearly eighty thousand resident monks and nuns. More than two hundred lecture halls were lined up one after the other, regularly visited by more than ten thousand people. Therefore, all the outstanding persons of the world submitted to the state.⁵³

During the Northern Qi period, there were forty-three State Monasteries and tens of thousands private monasteries spread all over the whole territory.

A total of six emperors of Northern Wei ruled for twenty eight years, there were forty-three great State Monasteries constructed by imperial family, and six persons who translated fourteen sutras.⁵⁴

Although in the Western Wei and the Northern Zhou territory, the western region of North China, Buddhism was less important in society compared to its eastern neighbor, the construction of Buddhist monasteries and the translation of sutras were also very popular. A census carried out at the time Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou suppressed Buddhism in the period between 574 and 577 AD give us a glimpse about the amount and scale of Buddhist monasteries at the end of the Northern Dynasties. In

⁵² Luoyang qielan ji 洛陽伽藍記, 999,"暨永熙多難,皇興遷鄴,諸寺僧尼亦與時徙。"

⁵³ Xu gaoseng zhuan 續高僧傳, 501, "屬高齊之盛,佛教中興。都下大寺,略計四千。見住僧尼,僅將八萬。 講席相距,二百有餘。在眾常聽,出過一萬。故宇內英傑咸歸厥邦。"

⁵⁴ Bian zheng lun 辯正論, 508,"右高齊六君二十八年, 皇家立寺四十三所, 譯經六人一十四部。"

577, by conquering the Northern Qi, Emperor Wu extended the campaign to destroy Buddhism over the whole northern territory. According to the *Record of the Three Jewels through the Ages*:

(The campaign of Buddhist suppression in the Jiande Era) destroyed all previous construction which were officially and privately built over the time of several hundred years (all the way) from the west of (Hangu 函谷關) Pass and the east of Mount (Xiao 崤山). All of pagodas were torn down entirely; holy icons were melted or scratched; sutras were burned. Over forty thousand monasteries of eight provinces were all bestowed on the Princes and Dukes as their mansion. The number of monks and nuns from three directions were reduced three million, and all of them were returned to the household register as soldiers and civilians.⁵⁵

Since it did not suffer wars and suppressions as in the Northern Dynasty, Buddhism in South China had always remained relatively steady and underwent a continuous development. We can visualize this information from the following table.⁵⁶

Statistics of Buddh	ist monasterie	s, translators,	translated sut	tras, monks and
	nuns in th	e Southern Dy	vnasties	
Number	Monasteries	Translators	Translated	Monks and nuns
Dynasty			Sutras	
Song (420 - 479)	1,913	23	210	36,000
Qi (479 - 502)	2,015	16	72	32,500
Liang (502 - 557)	2,846	42	238	82,700
Late Liang (555 - 587)	108	?	?	3200
Chen (557 - 589)	1,232	3	11	32,000
		Table 1		

As the capital of six different Dynasties (Wu, Eastern Jin and Southern Dynasty), Jiankang (建康, modern Nanjing) had always been the Buddhist center of south China. Numerous historical documents show that more than 700 Buddhist monasteries were distributed throughout the capital in the heyday of Buddhism,⁵⁷ and many of them were built under the auspice of the imperial family.⁵⁸ Unfortunately,

⁵⁵ Lidai sanbao ji 歷代三寶紀, 94,"毀破前代關山西東數百年來官私所造。一切佛塔, 掃地悉盡。融刮聖容, 焚燒經典。八州寺廟出四十千, 盡賜王公, 充為第宅。三方釋子減三百萬, 皆複軍民, 還歸編戶。"

⁵⁶ Bian zheng lun 辩正論, 503.

⁵⁷ Bian zheng lun 辯正論, 503; Xu gaoseng zhuan 續高僧傳, 548, 694.

⁵⁸ A great number of Buddhist monasteries were built by the emperors of the Southern Dynasties; the name and

not only the overall layout of these monasteries were seldom recorded in historical documents, but also Chinese archaeologists have not found any valuable clue about Buddhist architecture during this period, nor above ground architectural structures or remains underground. Nevertheless, some sporadic record referring to specific architectural structures of some monasteries can be found, and have irreplaceable significance in the exploration of contemporary Buddhist monasteries in North China.

3. Buddhist monastery system during the Sui and Tang Dynasties

After the unification by the Sui Dynasty, the traditional and long-term capital of ancient China Chang'an, initially named Daxing 大興城 by the Sui, was rebuilt in accordance to a strictly symmetrical principle. Benefitting from the recovery of the political and economic status, it became once again the religious center of China.

At the beginning of his enthronement, Emperor Wen of Sui set about reviving Buddhism which had suffered severe persecution between 574 and 577 AD. At first, he issued a decree to rebuilt damaged monasteries throughout the country, then a magnificent State Monastery, the *Daxingshansi Monastery* 大興善寺 was founded in the capital. At the same time, A *Daxingguosi Monastery* 大興國寺 was built in each province where he had been to. During the Renshou Era (601 - 604 AD), Emperor Wen ordered several times to distribute *śarīras* nationally, and set up pagodas to make offering.

During the period of the Sui Dynasty:

There were three thousand nine hundred and eighty five Buddhist monasteries, two hundred thirty six thousand and two hundred monks and nuns were tonsured,

era of these imperial monasteries refer to the relevant records of *Treatise on Discussing the Right* 辯正論, *Monasteries Record of Liang Capital* 梁京寺記, *Buddhist Monasteries Records of the Southern Dynasties* 南朝佛 寺志, *Records of Jiankang* 建康實錄 and *History of the Southern Dynasties* 南史.

Emperor Wu of Song (r. 420-422): Linggensi Monastery 靈根寺, Fawangsi Monastery 法王寺

Emperor Wen of Song (r. 424-453): Tianzhusi Monastery 天竺寺, Bao'ensi Monastery 報恩寺, Canyunsi Monastery 禪雲寺

Emperor Xiaowu of Song (r. 454-464): Yaowangsi Monastery 藥王寺, Xin'ansi Monastery 新安寺 Emperor Ming of Song (r. 465-472): Xianggongsi Monastery 湘宮寺, Xinghuangsi Monastery 興皇寺, Hongpuzhongsi Monastery 弘普中寺

Emperor Gao of Qi (r. 479-482): Jianyuansi Monastery 建元寺, Zhiqisi Monastery 陟屺寺, Zhengguansi Monastery 正觀寺

Emperor Wu of Qi (r. 483-493): Qi'ansi Monastery 齊安寺, Chanlingsi Monastery 禪靈寺, Jishansi Monastery 集 善寺, Zhaoxiansi Monastery 招賢寺, Youxuansi Monastery 游玄寺

Emperor Wu of Liang (r. 502-549): Guangzaisi Monastery 光宅寺, Tongtaisi Monastery 同泰寺, Xingguocansi Monastery 興國禪寺, Daaijingsi Monastery 大愛敬寺, Baolinsi Monastery 寶林寺

Emperor Yuan of Liang (r. 552-554): *Tianjusi Monastery* 天居寺, *Tiangongsi Monastery* 天宮寺 Emperor Houzhu of Chen (r. 557-560): *Dahuangsi Monastery* 大皇寺

and twenty six persons translated eighty two sutras.⁵⁹

Although the Buddhism of the Tang was frequently impinged by autochthonic Taoism, it still kept a positive and forward trend. The Official Clergy Authority System of the Tang succeeded and improved the system of the Northern Dynasties, and strict prescripts were enacted to restrict private tonsuring and monastery building.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, historical records indicate that official and private Buddhist monasteries were still extremely numerous. For example, Wu Zetian 武則天 issued an edict to build a Dayunsi Monastery 大雲寺 in each Province after her coronation as Empress; Emperor Zhongzhong of Tang 唐中宗 built Zhongxingsi Monasteries 中興 \ddagger all over the country after his enthronement; while in the 26th year of the Kaiyuan Era (738 AD), Emperor Xuanzhong of Tang 唐玄宗 commanded the establishment of Longxingsi Monasteries 龍興寺 and Kaiyuansi Monasteries 開元寺 throughout the country.

From the statistics compiled by Tang Yongtong we can learn much about the number of Buddhist monasteries and śramaņa at the different stage of the Sui and Tang period.⁶¹

Statistics of Budd	hist monasteries	and <i>śramaņa</i>	a in the Sui and Tang Dynasties
Dynasties and	Number of	Number of	Source
emperors	śramaṇas	monasteries	
Sui Dynasty	236,200	3,685	Pearl Grove in the Garden of the Law,
(581 - 618AD)			vol.100
Tang Taizhong	Less than 70,000	3,716	Further Biographies of Eminent Monks,
(627 - 649AD)			vol. 5
Tang Gaozhong	More than 60,000	4,000	Pearl Grove in the Garden of the Law,
(650 - 683AD)			vol.100
Tang Xuanzhong	Monks 75,524	5,358	New book of Tang
(712 - 756AD)	Nuns 50,576		
Tang Wuzhong	260,500	4,600	Book of Tang
(841 - 846AD)			

Table 2

⁵⁹ Bian zheng lun 辯正論, 509,"寺有三千九百八十五所, 度僧尼二十三萬六千二百人, 譯經二十六人八十二

⁶⁰ Tang Yongtong 1982, 56-60.

⁶¹ Tang Yongtong 1982, 52.

There were more than one hundred Buddhist monasteries in Chang'an, the flourishing capital of a powerful empire. As mentioned in the *Records of Chang'an* and the *Review of the cities and wards in two capitals of the Tang (Tang liangjing chengfan kao* 唐兩京城坊考), they were built almost through all the city grid and in every ward, their names were known and their location could be checked in the documents.⁶²

According to the management system of the Tang Dynasty, Buddhist monasteries in the whole country had a fixed amount. The *Six Codes of Tang* states:

There are five thousand three hundred and fifty eight Buddhist monasteries all under heaven (three thousand two hundred and forty five for monks, two thousand one hundred and thirteen for nuns). Each monastery has one top seat, one abbot and one chief Buddhist deacon, who manage all sorts of affairs together.⁶³

In the fifth year of the Huichang Era (845 AD), Emperor Wuzhong of Tang launched the third large-scale campaign to suppress Buddhism recorded in Chinese history. He promulgated a series of decrees to inspect the monasteries and to eliminate the *śramana* countrywide; only few monasteries and monks were retained in capital and in some larger cities. Consequently, a large number of Buddhist monasteries were destroyed and the *śramana* were forced back to laity.

More than four thousand six hundred Buddhist monasteries were demolished throughout the country. Two hundred sixty thousand and five hundred monks and nuns were returned to laity, in order to collect taxes from their household. More than forty thousand *cāturdiśas* and *araŋyas* were demolished, several ten thousand hectare of fertile farmland was confiscated, and one hundred fifty thousand slaves and maidservants were collected as taxpayers.⁶⁴

A large number of documents recount in detail the events of Emperor Wuzhong's destruction of Buddhism. Although there are subtle differences in the specific amount of monasteries demolished in this campaign,⁶⁵ it goes without saying that the development of Buddhist monasteries during the Tang Dynasty was well outlined in the above records. Worth noticing is the fact that the document explicitly distinguishs the Buddhist monastery from *cāturdiśa* and *araŋya*, which substantiates the narrow

⁶² Gong Guoqiang 2006, 48-88.

⁶³ Tang liu dian 唐六典, 125, "凡天下寺總五千三百五十八所(三千二百四十五所僧, 二千一百一十三所尼)。 每寺上座一人, 寺主一人, 都維那一人, 共綱統眾事。"

⁶⁴ Jiu tang shu 舊唐書, 604-605,"其天下所拆寺四千六百餘所,還俗僧尼二十六萬五百人,收充兩稅戶。拆招提、蘭若四萬餘所,收膏腴上田數千萬頃,收奴婢為兩稅戶十五萬人。"

⁶⁵ Tang Yongtong 1982, 46.

use of the concept of Buddhist monastery, which I have already outlined at the beginning of the dissertation.
Chapter II - Monastery Layout in Early Medieval China: Archaeological Evidence

Among the numerous Buddhist monasteries of Early Medieval China mentioned in textual sources, to date less than ten State Monasteries have been excavated and some of them even only partially. Although they constitute a very small sample, they suit our purpose, because they represent the highest-ranking State Monasteries under imperial patronage, and furthermore belong to consecutive developmental stages that cover the period from the 5th to 7th centuries. In this chapter I will discuss in detail the historical context that gave origin to these Buddhist monasteries, and describe the archaeological remains in order to lay a solid basis for the ensuing research.

1. Monastery layout in the mid 5th century: the *Yungang Monastery* in Pingcheng

In 439 AD, Emperor Taiwu of Northern Wei conquered the Northern Liang (北涼 397 - 439 AD), an important Buddhist region since the Eastern Han and Sixteen Kingdom periods, and reunified North China. On this occasion many Buddhist devotees, craftsmen as well as most riches, were transferred from the Gansu area to Pingcheng, creating a large concentration of manpower and material resources, which, once added to the support of the emperor and the aristocracy, allowed Buddhism to quickly flourish in Pingcheng and in the whole North China in the second half of the 5th century.⁶⁶

To date, the earliest Buddhist monastery ever excavated in North China is the Yungang Monastery, located about 15 km west of Pingcheng, the first capital of Northern Wei. In coordination with the protection project of the Yungang Grottoes 雲 岡石窟, in 2010 the Shanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology, along with the Yungang Institute and the Datong Municipal Institute of Archaeology, carried out a joint excavation at the top of the cliff where the Yungang Grottoes were carved.⁶⁷

The Yungang Monastery 雲岡佛寺 was built above Cave 37. The monastery, rectangular in plan, displayed a pagoda (A) marking the center of the sacred area and cells (G) set side by side against the perimeter wall (Fig. 1). The remains of the pagoda (A) was the most important building in the whole monastery, consisted

⁶⁶ Su Bai 1996 a.
⁶⁷ State Administration of Cultural Heritage (ed.) 2011.

merely of its base. According to the archaeological report, the rammed earth base was almost a perfect square in plan, the north and south sides measured 14m, while the east and west ones were 14.3m long; it was accessed from the south through a 2.1m wide, 5m long inclined ramp. The whole base displayed a stone masonry facing. There were no underground palace nor were relics found at the center of the base of the pagoda.



Fig. 1: Sketch plan of the *Yungang Monastery* (Modified from: Li Chongfeng 2013, fig. 2)

Against the four sides of the perimeter wall, rows of small cells (G) were set next to one another. Except for two late structures rebuilt during the Liao and Jin Dynasties, most of the remains belong to the Northern Wei period. The cells were approximately of the same dimensions, 7.4 - 8.3m long and 3.4 - 4.4m wide on average. In some of them a hypocaust system, stove and chimney are still extant. Aligned stone plinths in front of the chambers indicate the original presence of a portico on each side. The unearthed objects consist for the most part of building material, including head-tiles decorated with lotus flower design and the Chinese characters *Chuan Zuo Wu Qiong* (傳祥無窮 Transmission [of Buddhism] to later generations, infinitely).

Contemporary literary sources indicate that around the mid 5th century, several monasteries, such as the *Tonglesi Monastery* 通樂寺, *Lingyansi Monastery* 靈岩寺, *Huguosi* 護國寺, *Tiangongsi Monastery* 天宮寺 and *Chongfusi Monastery* 崇福寺 were successively erected under the auspices of emperors and dignitaries of the Northern Wei Dynasty.⁶⁸ According to a later manuscript, the *Stele of the Restoration*

⁶⁸ Su Bai 1996 b, 54, 65.

of the Great Cave - Temple Complex at the Wuzhou Hill near the Western Capital of the Jin Dynasty (Da Jin Xijing Wuzhou Shan chongxiu dashiku Si bei 大金西京武州 山重修大石窟寺碑), the Wuzhou Hill Buddhist complex comprised of the Yungang Grottoes and also ten surface monasteries. The Yungang Monastery might have been one of the 'Ten Monasteries of Yungang' mentioned in the stele. Li Chongfeng carried out a comparison between the Yungang Monastery and the monastery layout of ancient Indian architecture: he suggests that the free-standing Yungang Monastery might be contemporary with the setting up of 'the Five Caves of Tanyao' 曇曜五窟 and completed before the third year of the Heping Era (462 AD) of Northern Wei. As an important place for the translation of Buddhist sutras, its design followed the construction principles of ancient Indian monasteries.⁶⁹ Specifically, the layout of this monastery, a combination of the central Pagoda and the surrounding monastic residential cells, seems to derive directly from a prototype from the Greater Gandhāra.⁷⁰

2. Monastery layout in the late 5th century: the *Siyuan Monastery* in Pingcheng and the Sivan Monastery in Longcheng

In the late 5th century Empress Dowager Feng dominated the affairs of the state for more than twenty years. As a virtual regent and a devout Buddhist, she advocated Buddhism energetically, thus the status of Buddhism was further promoted. During her reign, two monasteries were built on her own behalf: the Siyuan Monastery was constructed close to her burial place in Pingcheng, while the Siyan Monastery was constructed in her native country, Longcheng. These are the two earliest Buddhist monasteries clearly recorded in Chinese official history that have been excavated to date.

Siyuan Monastery 思遠佛寺

The Siyuan Monastery is located in the Xisiliang Mount (西寺梁山, corresponding to the ancient Mount Fang 方山), Datong City, Shanxi Province. The Book of Wei states:

In the third year of the Taihe Era (479 AD), [...] in the eighth month, [...] (the emperor Xiaowen) visited Mount Fang, and built the 'Siyuan Monastery'.⁷¹

 ⁶⁹ Stone 1994, fig.18, 19, 21, 28, 29.
 ⁷⁰ Li Chongfeng 2013.

⁷¹ Wei shu 魏書, 147, "太和三年(479年), 八月......乙亥, 幸方山, 起思遠佛寺。"

Li Daoyuan 酈道元, a distinguished historical geographer of the Northern Wei, also recorded this monastery in his work:

There was the mausoleum on the western Mount Fang, and the mausoleum of Gaozhu was located to the northeast of it. There was the *Yonggu Hall* to the south of these two mausoleums. [...] there was the *'Siyuan Monastery*' outside the courtyard to the west.⁷²

Japanese scholars Seiichi Mizuno 水野清一 and Toshio Nagahiro 長廣敏雄 were the first modern scholars to survey the area, in 1939 and 1941 respectively.⁷³ In 1981, the Datong City Museum archaeological team excavated the monastery remains and recently published a preliminary excavation report.⁷⁴

The plan of the site of the *Siyuan Monastery* was a longitudinal rectangle oriented to the south. It consisted of two platforms, two stone ramps with steps, a Middle Gate (C), the foundation of a Pagoda (A), a Buddha Hall (B) and the Monks' Quarters (G). The main buildings were all distributed along the north-south axis (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2: Sketch plan of the *Siyuan Monastery* (Modified from: Museum of Datong City 2007, p. 7, fig. 5)

⁷² Shuijingzhu jiaozheng 水經注校證, 312, ".....方山西嶺上有文明太皇太后陵,陵之東北有高祖陵,二陵之 南有永固堂。......院外西側有思遠靈圖。"

⁷³ Seiichi Mizuno and Toshio Nagahiro 1952-1956, 7-12.

⁷⁴ Museum of Datong City 2007.

The lower platform corresponded to the external perimeter of the monastery, measuring 87.8m by 57.4m; it was built by rammed earth and faced with basalt and pumice stones. In the south of the platform had a stone ramp with step which led to the upper platform.

The upper platform was built on the north-south axis of the lower platform, slightly to the north. Its plan was also rectangular, with the dimension of 45.8m by 35m, with a height of 2.5m, a stone-faced rammed earth construction as well. On the short south side of the platform there was a long stone ramp, 12m long and 4.8m wide, and the end of the ramp was the Middle gate (C). Two well-preserved plinths, one on each side of the gate, clearly indicate the span of the gate, 3.6m.

A pavilion-style timber Pagoda (A) was the main building of this monastery, of which only the foundations of the Pagoda are now extant. Its location corresponds approximately to the center of the lower platform. This foundation is square in plan with sides of 12m and a residual height of approximately 1.25m, made of earth rammed layer by layer. The rammed earth core of the Pagoda was located at the center of the foundation, above the original ground. The Pagoda was surrounded by a roofed corridor on the four sides, each 18.2m long. Judging from the arrangement of the remaining plinths, we could presume that the ground floor of Pagoda was a five-bay wide and five-bay deep structure. Apart from the 5m wide entrance, other bays had measured 3.3m by 3m. There was no any partition structure inside the roofed corridor, thus affording appropriate space for monks to worship circumambulate the Pagoda.

The Buddha Hall (B) lied in the northern section of the upper platform, behind the Pagoda. Its transversal rectangular plan measured 21m by 6m. Four sandstone plinths were discovered in the western section of the Buddha Hall. Judging by their location, we can reasonably assume that the Buddha Hall was a seven by two bays structure.

Traces of the Monks' Quarters (G) were found in the northwest corner of the upper platform; the bad state of preservation does not allow for a reconstruction of their original structure.

The *Siyuan Monastery* presents us with very useful data: we know the precise date of the erection and it displays a very clear layout, with the main buildings aligned along the north-south axis. The Pagoda, as the most important building, was located at the center of the whole monastery, in front of the Buddha Hall. Although its

size is not as large as one would expect, the *Siyuan Monastery* was undoubtedly a full-scale monastery with all necessary architectural components capable of answering to all basic functions; furthermore it was a monastery which enjoyed imperial patronage. It goes without saying that the *Siyuan Monastery* has an invaluable importance for the study of the Buddhist monastery layout in the late 5th century.

Siyan Monastery 思燕浮圖

Shortly after the *Siyuan Monastery* was completed, Dowager Feng built another Buddhist monastery, the *Siyan Monastery*, this time in her hometown Longcheng, the capital of the Northern Yan (北燕 409 - 436 AD) which was occupied by the Northern Wei several decades earlier. The *Book of Wei* records:

The Empress (Dowager Feng) built a shrine for the King of Wenxuan in Chang'an, and built '*Siyan Monastery*' in Longcheng, all with carved stones and erected steles.⁷⁵

Since 1986, while carrying out restoration and a protection project of the North Pagoda in Chaoyang, the Liaoning Provincial Institute of Cultural and Historical Relics and Archaeology and the Chaoyang City Museum had conducted a series of archaeological surveys and excavation at this site. In spite of the extremely complex stratigraphic configuration, archaeologists discovered and identified the trace of architectural remains belonging to four different periods: Three Yan \equiv \pm of the Sixteen Kingdom Period, Northern Wei, Sui-Tang and Liao Dynasty. Particularly important is the fact that the *Siyan Monastery* appear to have been built on top of the ruins of a palace of the Three Yan period.⁷⁶

The *Siyan Monastery* was also centered on a timberwork Pagoda. The Pagoda foundation and the roofed corridor surrounding the Pagoda have been excavated. The square Pagoda foundation was 90m wide and took advantage of the large rammed palace base of Three Yan period. Owing to successive destruction and transformation, details of its structure remain unclear. The core of the Pagoda above the ground consisted of rammed pure loess and faced with mud bricks. Its ground plan was a square 18.9m long side, and surrounded by a 48.6m wide roofed corridor which was

⁷⁵ Wei shu 魏書, 329,"(馮)太后立文宣王廟于長安,又立思燕浮圖于龍城,皆刊石立碑。"

⁷⁶ Liaoning Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology, Northern Pagoda Museum of Chaoyang City 2007, 26-52.

called 'hall' by the excavators. Judging from the remaining plinths and pits, it is not difficult to assume that each side of the roofed corridor was an eleven-bay wide and two-bay deep structure measuring 4.0 - 4.8m by 5.8m. In the middle of each side there was an entrance and a ramp which led to the Pagoda (Fig. 3).



 Fig. 3: Plan (left) and section (right) of the *Siyan Monastery* pagoda foundation
 (Modified from: Liaoning Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology, Northern Pagoda Museum of Chaoyang City 2007, p. 8, fig. 5)
 1. Pagoda core 2. Platform 3. Doorway 4. Rammed earth wall

In a later excavation carried out a few years later, the remains of a wall and cultural relics contemporaneous with the construction of the pagoda were found at a distance of about 50 meters from the Pagoda. Most significantly, a large rammed earth area was found north of the Pagoda, which might be the foundation of the Buddha Hall. Although still waiting for a full-scale excavation, there are increasing evidences which suggest that the plan of the *Siyan Monastery* also consisted of a Buddha Hall set behind a Pagoda along the north-south axis.⁷⁷

3. Monastery layout in the early 6th century: the *Yongningsi Monastery* in Luoyang.

In the first year of Xiping Era (516 AD), Empress Dowager Hu, the mother of Emperor Xiaoming and virtual regent at the end of the Northern Wei, built a superb Buddhist monastery, the *Yongningsi* 永寧寺 in the capital Luoyang. The architectural standard of this monastery was unprecedented. Its Buddha Hall was an imitation of

⁷⁷ Liaoning Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology, Northern Pagoda Museum of Chaoyang City 2007, 126-133.

the *Taiji Hall* 太極殿, the main hall of the court, and the nine-story Pagoda was so high and majestic that it became a landmark building of the capital. Unfortunately only 18 years later, in the third year of the Yongxi Era (534 AD), the wooden pagoda was utterly burned out. In the same year, the Northern Wei ended and the Eastern Wei moved the capital to Yecheng. The glorious *Yongningsi Monastery* and numerous Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang were reduced to rubble and buried underground for over a thousand years (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4: The map showing the distribution of Buddhist monasteries in Luoyang (Modified from: Gong Guoqiang 2006, p.208-209, fig. 51)

The *Yongningsi Monastery* was recorded in many different documents, so we can study its origins and acquire detailed information from a large variety of sources. The *Book of Wei* states:

During the Xiping Era (516 - 518 AD) of Emperor Shuzong, west of the great shrine within the Capital wall, the *Yongningsi Monastery* was built. The Empress Ling (Dowager Hu) personally, at the head of all the officials, laid the foundation and set up a mast. The nine-story pagoda was more than forty *zhang* high. The expenses could not be reckoned.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Wei shu 魏書, 3043,"肅宗熙平中,於城內太社西,起永寧寺。靈太后親率百僚,表基立刹。佛圖九層, 高四十餘丈,其諸費用,不可勝計。"

More information about the *Yongningsi Monastery* can be found in the *Emending* of *Commentary to the River Classic* and in the *Stories about Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang*. Half of the text of the latter is dedicated to the description of the history, the location, the architecture of the Buddhist monasteries in the capital and of the art they contained. Some important content as follows:

The *Yongningsi Monastery* was built by decree of Empress Dowager Ling whose surname was Hu in the first year of Xiping Era. It was located one *li* south of the Changhe Gate on the west side of the Imperial Road in front of Palace.

[...] There was a nine-story wooden pagoda inside (the monastery), rising ninety *zhang*, and a mast that extended for another ten *zhang*, thus together they soared one hundred *zhang* above the ground. It could be seen as far away from the capital as one hundred *li*.

[...] North of the pagoda was a great hall, which was shaped like the Taiji Hall. In the hall was a golden statue of the Buddha, eighteen *chi* high, along with ten medium sized images.

[...] The monastery had over one thousand monks' quarters and pavilions, decorated with carved beams and painted wall. [...] The sutras and images offered by foreign countries were all conserved here.

[...] The walls of the monastery all made use of short rafters covered by tiles, which were the same as contemporary palace walls. There were gates in each of the four directions. The tower on the South Gate raised twenty *zhang* above the ground, which had three stories, each with an archway, and the shape looked like present Duan Gate.[...] The East and West Gates resembled the South Gate, except that the towers had only two stories. The North Gate had no tower and only one archway, resembling Wutou Gate. Outside the four gates were planted green locust trees and encircled green stream.

[...] In the second month of the third year of Yongxi Era (534 AD), the Pagoda was burnt out. [...] In the tenth lunar month, the capital was transferred to Ye.⁷⁹

In 1963, the Luoyang Archaeological Team of the Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of (Social) Sciences, investigated for the first time the remains of *Yongningsi Monastery*, basically confirming the size of the monastery and the location of the gates, the Pagoda's foundation and the Buddha Hall.⁸⁰ Between 1979 and 1981, a large scale archaeological excavation was carried out on some of pivotal remains, such as the foundation of the Pagoda, the Buddha Hall, the South and East Gates. Since then, along with the protection project, a series of small scale excavation

⁷⁹ Luoyang qielan ji 洛陽伽藍記, 999-1002,"永寧寺, 熙平元年靈太后胡氏所立也。在宮前閭闔門南一裡御道西。……中有九層浮圖一所, 架木為之, 舉高九十丈, 有刹複高十丈, 合去地一千尺。去京城百里, 已遙見之。……浮圖北有佛殿一所, 形如太極殿, 中有丈八金像一軀, 中長金像十軀。……僧房樓觀一千餘間, 雕粱粉壁青繅綺疏難得而言。……外國所獻經像, 皆在此寺。寺院牆皆施短椽, 以瓦覆之, 若今宮牆也。四面各開一門, 南門樓三重, 通三道, 去地二十丈, 形制似今端門。……東西兩門亦皆如之, 所可異者, 唯樓二重。北門一道, 不施屋, 似烏頭門。四門外樹以青槐, 亙以綠水。……永熙三年二月浮圖為火所燒。……十月而京師遷鄴。"

⁸⁰ Loyang Archaeological Team of the Institute of Archaeology, Academia Sinica 1973.

have been continuing.⁸¹

The Yongningsi Monastery was located about 500m south of the Palace City, 200m west of Tongtuo Street 銅駝街, the main north-south avenue of Luoyang City. Despite of the fact that the site has not been fully excavated and a great many of remains still have not been unearthed, archaeologists were able to determine the approximate layout of the monastery on the basis of literary records.⁸²

The plan of the *Yongningsi Monastery* was a north-south rectangle with a dimension of 301m by 212m (Fig. 5). The main layout features are similar to those of the monasteries discussed above: the main buildings were arranged in a single large compound, enclosed by a rammed wall (Fig. 6). Traces of whitewash and wall painting fragments were found. Furthermore, the four corners of the perimeter wall displayed a very complex stratigraphy which has led to many hypotheses. This is true especially for the south-west corner, where a thick accumulation of scattered bricks and tiles, together with the sharp increase in size of the foundation suggested that originally there might have been a tower.



Fig. 5: Sketch plan *Yongningsi Monastery* in Luoyang (Modified from: Institute of Archaeology Chinese Academy of Social Sciences 1996, p. 7, fig. 4)

⁸¹ Institute of Archaeology Chinese Academy of Social Sciences 1996, 1-4.

⁸² Institute of Archaeology Chinese Academy of Social Sciences 1996, 5-21.



Fig. 6: Section of the wall in *Yongningsi Monastery* (Modified from: Institute of Archaeology Chinese Academy of Social Sciences 1996, p. 8, fig. 5)

The South Gate (C) was the main entrance into the monastery; it was set in the middle of the southern wall and rested on a rammed earth rectangular platform. Judging from the remaining marks of the plinths, the South Gate (C) was a seven-bay wide and two-bay deep building measuring 45.5m by 19.1m. At the bottom of the rammed earth platform the drainage was facilitated by a stratum of shards of earlier tiles (Fig. 7). The West Gate (C₁) was set in the middle of the longer western wall of the monastery, facing the Pagoda (A). It was also built on a rammed earth platform displaying a 'T-shaped' in plan. Its size was much smaller than the South Gate (C), measuring 24 - 30m by 18.2m. Since only the location of three plinths were discovered, it remains difficult to reconstruct its dimension and architectural forms (Fig. 8). The East Gate (C₂) might have been similar to the West Gate (C₁). The stratigraphy allowed only the identification of the place where it was built. As for the North Gate, so far no traces have been found.



Fig. 7: South Gate of the *Yongningsi Monastery* (Modified from: Institute of Archaeology Chinese Academy of Social Sciences 1996, p. 9, fig. 6)



Fig. 8: West Gate of the *Yongningsi Monastery* (Modified from: Institute of Archaeology Chinese Academy of Social Sciences 1996, p. 10, fig. 7)

The magnificent pavilion-style wooden Pagoda (A) was the most important landmark building of the *Yongningsi Monastery*, possibly even of the whole city (Fig. 9).



Fig. 9: Plan and sections of Pagoda foundation of the *Yongningsi Monastery* (Modified from: Institute of Archaeology Chinese Academy of Social Sciences 1996, p. 114, fig. 9A)

The underground foundation of the Pagoda was located slightly south of the center of the monastery with a dimension of 101.2 m by 97.8m, and over 2.5m in depth. The base above the ground was a square rammed earth platform, 38.2m wide and 2.2m high at present. At the centre of each side was a 4.8m wide ramp, with an inclination of 8 degrees. From the remaining marks it is possible to see that all surfaces, including the four facades of the platform and the ramps giving access to it were covered with limestone slabs. The core of the Pagoda was a mud bricks and timber construction, with its width progressively decreasing with its height; its sides were 19.8m long and the remaining height is 3.7m. Around the periphery of the mud bricks core were found damaged niches with painted statues, which suggest the original functions - circumambulation and worship around the Pagoda. Although the excavated plinths were very few, the archaeologists were able to identify most plinth pits, and on the basis of these evidences it has been possible to reconstruct the timber structure of the whole Pagoda. The restored column structure, besides the central pillar, consisted of five round plinths, and the innermost round was made up of four groups of plinths, and each group was integrated by four smaller plinths. The outermost perimeter was composed of 48 plinths. The core of the Pagoda was surrounded by the two outermost rounds of plinths, which likely sustained a porch encircling it. According to the distribution of the plinths, archaeologists presume generally the roofed corridor was a nine-bay wide and nine-bay deep structure, each bay measuring 3m by 4.1m. According to written records, each side was provided with three gates and six windows.

The Buddha Hall (B) was located approximately 60m north of the Pagoda (A). Because of the construction of a nearby railway, all the structures above ground have been lost, together with some of the underground features. On the basis of the remains, it appears that the Buddha Hall (B) was a transversal rectangle measuring 54m by 25m. The loss of plinths and plinth pits does not allow for the reconstruction of the original spectacular sight of the Buddha Hall. According to historical records and the construction of the South Gate, excavators speculate that the Hall might have been a nine-bay wide and three-bay deep building.⁸³

We are well informed about the *Yongningsi Monastery* exact time of construction and about the historic context in which it was created. We can affirm that this was

⁸³ Institute of Archaeology Chinese Academy of Social Sciences 1996, 12-13.

undoubtedly a typical State Monastery at the end of the Northern Wei Dynasty. Although we still lack material evidence about the 'over one thousand Monk's Quarters', the archaeological excavation carried out so far makes it possible to visualize the overall plan. Specific features will be discussed in more detail later, what is important to see for the time being is that the layout of the *Yongningsi Monastery* should be taken as the prevalent paradigm of the large Buddhist monasteries of that time.

4. Monastery layout in the late 6th century: the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery* in Yecheng

In 2002, the Joint Ye City Archaeological Team, composed of the Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the Hebei Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics, discovered a very large Buddhist monastery south of the capital city of the Eastern Wei and Northern Qi Dynasties, South Yecheng (Fig. 10).





After a large-scale excavation of the Pagoda foundation in the first season,⁸⁴ through exploratory boring and trial excavations the team has attempted at finding the overall layout of the monastic complex. In the following years, a series of important remains in relation to the monastery, such as ditches, entrances, roads, Compounds, portico, roofed corridors and Buddha Halls were discovered in succession.⁸⁵ The preliminary report of the first phase excavation and investigation was issued; now the second phase excavation is being carried out.⁸⁶

The Zhaopengcheng Monastery 趙彭城佛寺 was located to the southwest of present Zhaopengcheng village, Linzhang County, Hebei Province. It sits out of South Yecheng, approximately 1300m south of Zhumingmen Gate 朱明門 (Fig. 11).



Fig. 11: Sketch plan of the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery* (Modified from: Joint Ye City Archaeological Team 2013 a, p. 50, fig. 2)

⁸⁴ Yecheng City Archaeological Team from IA, CASS and Hebei Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics 2003.

⁸⁵ Zhu Yanshi and He Liqun 2005.

⁸⁶ Joint Ye City Archaeological Team of IA, CASS and Hebei Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics 2010.

The plan of the monastery was almost square, oriented to the south with a total area of nearly 200,000 square meters. Traces of the perimeter wall have not been found; instead traces of a ditch circling the whole monastery were discovered and excavated. The ditch, approximately 5 - 6m wide and 3m deep, measures 452 - 453m south to north and 433 - 435m east to west (Fig. 12). A gateway was set in the middle of each side, confirming that the southern entrance (C) was slightly larger than the others (C₁ - C₃). According to the stratigraphy, the unearthed artifacts and the relative position of the main buildings, it was confirmed that the ditch was indeed the boundary of the monastery.



Fig. 12: Plan and section of the outer ditch of the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery* (Modified from: Joint Ye City Archaeological Team 2010, p. 33, fig. 3)

The South Entrance (C), which separated the southern ditch in two, is located some 130m south of the Pagoda (A). Since the activity floor has been damaged by later agricultural work, it has not been possible to individuate any building remains. The entrance was about 7.1m wide, and many large size tiles arranged orderly were found at the bottom of the ditch, suggested the presence of a large building near the entrance.⁸⁷ The East Entrance was slightly smaller than southern one, and at the bottom of the ditch on both sides of the entrance accumulation deposits from a collapse were also found.

The square wooden Pagoda (A) was situated slightly south of the center of the

⁸⁷ Joint Ye City Archaeological Team of the Institute of Archaeology, CASS and Institute of Cultural Relics of Hebei Province 2013 a.

monastery, about 113m north of the South Entrance. The underground foundation was square, with sides 45m long and over 6m deep. The lower layers were made of alternating layer of rammed earth and pebbles (Fig.13).



Fig. 13: Sketch plan of the Pagoda foundation (Modified from: Joint Ye City Archaeological Team 2010, p. 34, fig. 4,)

On the top of the Pagoda's foundation, just below the plinth of the central pillar, was found a small cubic brick closet (*zhuanhan* 磚函), whose sides measured 0.75m. Up to now, this is the earliest known sample of underground palace unearthed in China (Fig. 14). It is also noteworthy noticing that in the four corners of the foundation, there were four square rammed earth pits, each about 3m wide and 1.5m deep. Alternating layers of earth and pebbles or broken tiles were rammed at the bottom, exactly the same construction method used for the foundation of the Pagoda, thus it becomes reasonable to assume that the four rammed pits were also the underground foundations of a construction. Unfortunately, construction remains on top of them have not been found.⁸⁸ The remains of the rammed platform and core

⁸⁸ These rammed pits were placed at the four corners of the Pagoda and had identical construction technique and method. Considering the style of *Buddagaya Stūpa* after 4th century in India and the five-pagoda form at the wall painting of Dunhuang 428 cave, the Northern Zhou Dynasty (557-581 AD), it seems plausible to assume that the pagoda might be the earliest example of *vajrasana-stūpa (jingang baozuo ta* 金剛寶座塔) in China which has four small pagodas posed at the corners of the central large pagoda.

above ground were approximately 30m wide and 4.5m high. At the center of the rammed core, above the brick closet, the plinth of the central pillar was well-preserved. This was the first time such a plinth was unearthed in China, although we knew about it from fragmentary records in historical documents. Surrounding the central pillar were the pits of four other plinths, surely intended for the positioning of the four great columns used to buttress the central one. Judging by the residual traces of the plinth pits, there were four rounds of pillars around the central one, and in the outer row on each side, the building had six pillars, thus composing a five by five bays structure. A slope ramp, 2.3m wide, lied to the south of the platform, wrapped by bricks on both sides. In front of the platform were large remnants of the drainage facilities, covered by broken bricks.



Fig. 14: Plan and section of the plinth of central pillar and brick closet (Modified from: Joint Ye City Archaeological Team 2010, p. 35, fig. 6, 7)

The surveys carried out by the Ye City Archaeological Team have failed to individuate the location of the Buddha Hall behind the Pagoda (A), whereas two extensive Compounds were found at the southwest and southeast corner of the monastery. In 2004, a series of small-scale trial trenches in the southwest corner of the monastery was carried out. It confirmed that the Southwestern Compound was square in plan, with sides approximately 117m long, surrounded by a portico. The foundation of the portico revealed an interesting construction method: four parallel ditches were excavated and filled with rammed earth. The archaeological exploration shows that a Buddha Hall (B_1) rested in the northern part of the Compound, approximately 40m long and 20m wide (Fig.15).



Fig. 15: Southwestern Compound of the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery* (Modified from: Joint Ye City Archaeological Team 2010, p. 37, fig. 9)

The 2011 and 2012 campaigns were concentrated on the Southeastern Compound, besides working on the East and South Entrances. The excavation revealed that the Southeastern Compound had the same layout as the Southwestern one. The plan was a square closed by a portico, approximately 117m wide (Fig.16). The Buddha Hall in the north part of the Compound was completely excavated recently; its plan was a longitudinal rectangle 36.6m by 23.4m wide. Judging from the parallel grooves and pillar holes, it can be provisionally assumed that this Buddha Hall was a five-bay wide and five-bay deep building (Fig. 17). Besides, there were two roofed corridors which connected the Buddha Hall (B₂) with the east and west portico of the Compound, suggesting that a complete net of portico and roofed corridor was already in use in the Buddhist monasteries at least from the late Northern Dynasties.



Fig. 16: Southeastern Compound of the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery* (Modified from: Joint Ye City Archaeological Team 2013 b, p. 28, fig. 3)



Fig. 17: The Buddha Hall of Southeastern Compound of the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery* (Modified from: Joint Ye City Archaeological Team 2013 b, p. 29, fig. 6)

It should also be noted that a free-standing hall was discovered in the rear of the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery*, approximately 38m by 24.2m, which provided important clue to explore the position and structure of the Lecture Hall (D).⁸⁹

At the northeast corner of the Southwestern Compound and the northwest corner of Southeastern Compound, two rows of building's foundation 8m wide extend to the north of the monastery. Although precise information about their structure and function, which might be gained by further excavation, are still lacking, the similarity

⁸⁹ Joint Ye City Archaeological Team of the Institute of Archaeology, CASS and Institute of Cultural Relics of Hebei Province 2013 b.

in structure with the *Mireuksa Monastery* of Korea, suggests strongly that this type of building might have a close relationship with Monk's Quarter.

The fundamental characteristic of the layout of the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery* is that all its buildings were symmetrically disposed along a central axis, and the wooden Pagoda (A) still occupied the center of the monastery, while the most significant new feature is the emergence of multiple compounds and halls (B_1 , B_2).

Not only the enormous size of the monastery, but also the sophistication of the buildings and the high quality of unearthed artifacts point to the fact that the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery* was likely built by the imperial family. It is quite puzzling that there lack convincing textual evidences about its name, date and reasons for its establishment. More exactly, we cannot identify the textual source that corresponds to this monastery. In fact, a close scrutiny of all textual sources has revealed that in the proximity of the capital Yecheng were set up over twenty Buddhist monasteries. In truth there are some clues that loosely relate the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery* to the *Dazhuangyansi Monastery* 大莊嚴寺 or the *Dazongchisi Monastery* 大總持寺 in the sources, but they lack conclusive evidence to prove it with more certainty.⁹⁰

5. Monastery layout in the first half of the 7th century: the *Linggansi Monastery* and the *Qinglongsi Monastery* in Chang'an

The *Qinglongsi Monastery* 青龍寺 was one of the most important Buddhist monasteries in Chang'an, the capital of the Tang Dynasty. It was rebuilt on top of the *Linggansi Monastery* 靈感寺 of the Sui, established by Emperor Wen in the third year of the Kaihuang Era (583 AD). After the middle of 7th century, this monastery underwent several reconstructions.⁹¹ The *Essentials of the Tang* records:

The *Qinglongsi Monastery* was located in the Xinchang Ward, and it was the originally abandoned *Linggansi Monastery* of the Sui Dynasty. In the second year of the Longshuo Era (662 AD), Princess Xincheng reported to the Emperor and rebuilt it as the *Guanyin Monastery*. It changed to the present name in the second year of the Jingyun Era (711 AD).⁹²

From 1960s onwards, the Xi'an Tang City Team of the Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of (Social) Sciences put up a series of archaeological

⁹⁰ He Liqun 2007.

⁹¹ Zanning [Song] b, 863.

⁹² Tang huiyao 唐會要, 846,"青龍寺:新昌坊,本隋廢靈感寺。龍朔二年,新城公主奏立為觀音寺,景雲二年改名。"

explorations and surveys of the *Qinglongsi Monastery*.⁹³ Despite the fact that the whole area is covered by modern buildings and farmland, two adjacent enclosed compounds were discovered.⁹⁴ In the following years, the archaeologists excavated the Middle Gate, a Pagoda, a Buddha Hall, a roofed corridor and the auxiliary buildings of the Western Compound; in the same period the Buddha Hall and North Gate of the Eastern Compound were also unearthed (Fig. 18).⁹⁵



Fig. 18: Sketch plan of the *Qinglong Monastery* in Chang'an (Modified from: Xi'an Tang City Team, IA, CASS 1989, p. 232. fig. 1)
1. Western Compound; 2. Eastern Compound; 3. Auxiliary buildings; 4. Portico; 5. Rammed earth wall; 6. North Gate

The *Qinglongsi Monastery* was located southeast of the Xinchang Ward in the Tang Chang'an City, and covered an area of 132,500 square meters, occupying one fourth of the Ward. The plan of the monastery was longitudinal rectangle measuring 530m by 250m. Available material evidences indicate that the main characteristic of the monastery was its being formed by several compounds and halls.

The remains of the Western Compound were relatively well-preserved; the overlapping relationships in the foundation and platform indicated that the buildings were restored or reconstructed in different periods.

The early buildings of the Western Compound, symmetrically aligned along the

⁹³ Tang Capital Archaeological Team at Sian, IOA, Academia Sinica 1964.

⁹⁴ Sian Archaeology Team of IAAS 1974.

⁹⁵ Xi'an Tang City Team, IA, CASS 1989.

main north-south axis, were oriented to the south; they comprise the Middle Gate, a Pagoda (A) and the Buddha Hall (B_{1-1}). Moreover, outside of the Compound were discovered a few small buildings, which were assumed to be auxiliary buildings, such as the kitchen or the Monk's Quarters. Portico and walls enclosing the compound were not found, probably, they were destroyed or covered by later remains.

The Middle Gate (C) was placed south of the Western Compound; due to the superimposition of a later portico, its shape is not very clear. Nevertheless, we gather some valuable information, such as the fact that the Middle Gate fell into disuse when the monastery was rebuilt.



Fig. 19: Plan and section of the Pagoda foundation (A), Western Compound of the *Qinglong Monastery* (Modified from: Xi'an Tang City Team, IA, CASS 1989, p. 235. fig. 4)

The foundation of the Pagoda was centered on the north-south axis of the Western Compound, 25m north of the Middle Gate (Fig. 19). Its plan was basically square, with sides of 15m. There was a nearly square pit at the center of the foundation, 4 - 4.4m wide and a residual depth of 1.8m. Walls and floor were even and smooth, which implies us that the inner side of the pit might have been brick-faced. Though nothing valuable was found, the location suggests that the pit might have been the underground palace for the placing of relics. Since the upper part of the foundation had been sheared off by agricultural activities over the centuries, there were no indications of the position of the plinths, thus it remains impossible to reconstruct the original size and plan of the structure. Judging from the remains, the

archaeologists presumed that it might have been a pavilion style wood pagoda prevailing at that time. Notice that the Pagoda was not rebuilt, a situation comparable to the Middle Gate of the Western Compound.

The Buddha Hall (B₁) was placed some 43m north of the Pagoda in the Western Compound. The remains comprised two buildings of different type, belonging to two different periods. The early Buddha Hall (B₁₋₁) was a longitudinal rectangle, 57.2m by 26.2m in dimension. Based on the traces of well-preserved frusta,⁹⁶ it could be restored a thirteen-bay wide and five-bay deep structure, each bay being 4m in width. There was a platform in front of the Hall, measuring 13.2m by 5m. There was a flight step in the rear of the Hall, 10m long and 4.5m wide, in addition, two ramps were arranged on both side of the Hall (Fig. 20).



Fig. 20: Plan and section of the early Buddha Hall (B₁₋₁), Western Compound of the *Qinglongsi Monastery* (Modified from: Xi'an Tang City Team, IA, CASS 1989, p. 238. fig. 6)

Among the late buildings in the Western Compound were a later Buddha Hall (B_{1-2}) , a portico and some auxiliary buildings. The late Buddha Hall (B_{1-2}) was rebuilt on the remaining foundation of an earlier one and took advantage of most of its early frusta. Its plan was also a longitudinal rectangle, measuring 40.4m by 24.9m, its residual height of 0.8m, thereby slightly smaller than the earlier one. The edge of the foundation above the ground was wrapped by bricks. A total of 28 well-preserved

⁹⁶ Frusta (*sangdun* 磉墩): a kind of pedestal at the base of columns which is different from the general base stone. It is usually built by rammed earth mixed small stones and broken tiles, rather than a whole stone.

frusta were found, according to their arrangement, it was possible to determine that the later Buddha Hall was a nine-bay wide and five-bay deep structure, and that each bay was 4m in width. There were two flights of steps (left and right) in front of the Hall, 3.8m wide and 3.6m long, and another flight of steps lied in the back of the Hall, 4.3m wide. The sloping ramps at both sides of the Buddha Hall were 6.7m wide; they overlapped with the early ones and connected the Hall with the east and west portico of the Compound (Fig. 21).



 Fig. 21: Plan and sections of the late Buddha Hall (B₁₋₂), Western Compound of the *Qinglongsi* Monastery (Modified from: Xi'an Tang City Team, IA, CASS 1989, p. 237. fig. 5)

The Western Compound was surrounded by a portico, which was 5.2m wide and extended 98m east to west and 132m north to south. The south portico overlapped with the early Middle Gate (C) indicating that the main entrance of the later monastery was set up elsewhere. There were two auxiliary small buildings placed in the north part of east and west portico: their size was slightly wider than the portico and connected with the Buddha Hall by sloped ramps.

The Eastern Compound was a separate courtyard enclosed by a rammed earth wall and the main building was a Buddha Hall (B_2) that also underwent reconstruction later.

The early Buddha Hall (B_{2-1}) of the Eastern Compound was placed at the center of the Compound, which has not been excavated, since for the most part it

superimposed by the later Buddha Hall. In spite of this problematic situation, the archaeological exploration succeeded in discovering valuable clues. The foundation of the early Buddha Hall (B_{2-1}) was square in plan, with sides 28m long and residual a 0.8m height (inclusive of both the underground foundation and above ground platform). According to the arrangement of the frusta, the building should have been a five-bay wide and five-bay deep structure. Both sides of the platform had brick-faced sloped ramps (Fig. 22).



Fig. 22: Restored plan of the early Buddha Hall (B₂₋₁), Eastern Compound of the *Qinglongsi Monastery* (Modified from: Yang Hongxun 1984, p. 390. fig. 6)

The north wall of the Eastern Compound was found over 20m north of the Buddha Hall. A remaining portion of a wall, 47m long and 1 - 1.2m wide, presented a relatively smooth and orderly facade. On the base of the wall, there remained traces of the brick and tile-facing, which was meant as prevention for rain water erosion. Along the north wall, there was a pathway which led to the Western Compound. Although most of the walls were not well-preserved, the remains are sufficient to indicate that the Eastern Compound was a relative separate courtyard within the layout of the whole monastery.

The late Buddha Hall (B₂₋₂) of the Eastern Compound was built on top of the

early one; it was rectangular in plan, measuring 28.75m by 21.75m, and therefore slight smaller than early Buddha Hall (B_{2-1}); its outer facades were brick-faced, 0.8m high. Around its base we can clearly identify traces of the drainage facilities. Due to the destruction cause by later farming activities, the upper surface and the plinths of the later Buddha Hall have been lost, but the frusta still displays the original position of the columns. The frusta were approximately square, its sides approximately 1.2 and 1.8m wide. The restored column structure indicated by a network of 28 frusta traces suggests that the later Buddha Hall was a five-bay wide and four-bay deep structure, and that each bay measured 4.8m by 4.15 - 4.6m. Interestingly, there were no traces of columns in the central part of the Buddha Hall; instead a small altar measuring 3m by 5m was found. Archaeologists presumed that it might have been an altar related with esoteric Buddhism. There were a terrace measuring 6.6m by 4.4m and a pathway 2.5m wide in front of the Hall. Behind the Hall was a 7.2m wide flight step, and each side of the Hall had a 4.8m wide sloping ramp, which overlapped with the early remains (Fig. 23).



 Fig. 23: Plan and section of the late Buddha Hall (B₂₋₂), Eastern Compound of the *Qinglongsi* Monastery
 (Modified from: Xi'an Tang City Team, IA, CASS 1989, p. 245. fig. 10)

Apart from the remains of the West and Eastern Compounds, archaeologists excavated the North Gate of the monastery, which was located in the middle position of the northern part of the monastery. Since the damage of later periods was very severe, the plan of the North Gate could not be identified. The unearthed evidences reveal that the gate might have been early remains, damaged during Tang Wuzong Period and never reconstructed.

The written records mentioned above indicate that the Tang *Qinglongsi Monastery* was the successor of the Sui *Linggansi Monastery*. A generally accepted view in Chinese academia is that the early groups of buildings of the Western Compound in the Qinglongsi Monastery are the remains of the *Linggansi Monastery* of the Sui Dynasty.⁹⁷ From the High Tang Period, it became an important monastery of Esoteric Buddhism. Correspondingly, its architectural form and layout underwent some fundamental changes.

6. Monastery layout in the mid 7th century: the *Ximingsi Monastery* in Chang'an

The Xiningsi Monastery was built in the first year of the Xianqing Era (656 AD) by Emperor Gaozhong of the Tang. It was well-known because it hosted many Buddhist masters, such as Xuanzang 玄奘, Daoxuan 道宣, Huaisu 懷素, Daoshi 道世 and Huilin 慧琳 who lived and promoted Buddhism here in different periods. Kūkai 空海 and Enchin 圓珍, coming from Japan to seek the *Dharma*, also dwelled in this monastery. There are many helpful documentary sources about this monastery. The most detailed record could be found in the relevant entry of the *Biography of the Tripitaka Master of Dacien Monastery*:

The (Ximingsi) Monastery began to be constructed in autumn on the 19th day of the eighth Lunar month, in the first year (of Xianqing Era) by Emperor Gaozhong, [...] and it was completed in summer, the sixth lunar month of that year (the third year of Xianqing Era, 658 AD). The monastery was 350-steps wide, with a perimeter several miles long. The left and right (of the monastery) connected with streets and the front and rear (of the monastery) were residential areas. Its perimeter was ranged with cyan acacias and (all this) was surrounded by clear water, flowing and deep. Among the monasteries in the capital, it ranked first. [...] There were ten compounds in total, and over four thousand rooms. The spectacularity of its buildings was unmatched, not even the *Tongtaisi Monastery* of Liang and *Yongningsi Monastery* of Wei could be compared with it.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Su Bai 1997 b.

⁹⁸ Da Tang daci'ensi sanzang fashi zhuan 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳, 275,"寺以(顯慶)元年秋八月戊子十九 日造。……其年(顯慶三年)夏六月營造功畢。其寺面三百五十步,周圍數裡,左右通衢,腹背廛落。青 槐列其外,淥水亙其間,亹亹耽耽。都邑仁祠,此為最也。……凡有十院,屋四千餘間,莊嚴之盛,雖梁 之同泰、魏之永寧,所不能及也。"

A Chronicle of the Buddha and the Patriarchs also states:

In the second year (of the Xianqing Era), the *Ximingsi Monastery* was built by order of an imperial edict. It had thirteen great halls and four thousand pavilions and roofed corridors. Master Daoxuan was appointed to the top most position, Shentai as abbot and Huaisu as deacon. Master Daoxuan wrote *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks* in thirty volumes when he lived in *Ximingsi Monastery*.⁹⁹

In 1985, for the sake of cooperating to the municipal construction, the Xi'an Tang City Team of the Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, carried out archaeological surveys and partial excavation of the remains of the *Ximingsi Monastery*, and basically identified the location, boundary and the structure of several buildings.¹⁰⁰ Few years later, another excavation was carried out aiming at complementing and improving the understanding of the past (Fig. 24).¹⁰¹



Fig. 24: Location of the *Ximingsi Monastery* (Modified from: Tang-city Team, IA, CASS 1990, p. 46. fig. 1)

⁹⁹ Fozu tongji 佛祖統紀, 367, "(顯慶)二年, 勅建西明寺。大殿十三所, 樓臺廊廡四千區。詔道宣律師為上座, 神泰法師為寺主, 懷素為維那。宣律師居西明作續高僧傳三十卷。"

¹⁰⁰ Tang-city Team, IA, CASS 1990.

¹⁰¹ An Jiayao 2000.

The Ximingsi Monastery was located southwest of the Yankang Ward 延康坊, Chang'an City, and occupied one fourth of the ward. According to the archaeological exploration, the rectangular plan of the monastery measures approximately 500m east to west and 250m north to south. The excavation took place in the eastern part of the monastery, and one large compound (the Main Compound) and part of two small auxiliary ones (Southeastern Compound and Southwestern Compound) were unearthed (Fig. 25).



Fig. 25: Sketch plan of partial *Ximingsi Monastery* (Modified from: Tang-city Team, IA, CASS 1990, p. 46. fig. 1)

The Main Compound consisted of three Halls (B, B_1 and B_2) surrounded by a portico. In front of the South Hall (B), there was a large plaza, 59.3m east to west and 26.3m south to north. The ground of the plaza was leveled off and many facilities, such as stone lamp, water well and the drainage facilities were found inside. The edge

of the Compound, except for the northern part that has not been excavated, was enclosed by a portico. The east portico was 6m wide, brick-faced on the inside and wrapped with draining facilities. The south portico was also 6m wide, as the main entrance of the Compound, brick-faced on both the inside and the outside, provided with draining facilities. The west portico had a structure similar to the east one, although it was 9.7m wide, and the traces of a wall was found inside, therefore, excavators presumed that might be a dual portico (*fulang* 複廊). If this assumption is accepted, it implies that there should have been another similar architectural space in the west side of this Compound.

The South Hall (B) was the main hall of the Compound. The platform above ground was a rectangle, measuring 51.54m by 33.06m, and 0.9 - 1.29m remaining height. Since the surface of the platform was destroyed, there were no traces of the paving wards and plinth pits; thereby it is difficult to conjecture about its bay structure. The platform was brick-faced, surrounded by draining facilities. There were two steps in the south of the Hall, and two ramps on both side of the Hall led to the east and west portico of the Compound. At the back of the Hall, there was a 6m wide corridor which connected it with the Middle Hall.

The Middle Hall (B_1) was about 29.5m north to the South Hall (B), measuring 68m by 29m, and with the remaining height of 0.4 - 0.5m. The bay structure could not be reconstructed also because of the damaged surface. Existing evidence shows that the two side of the Middle Hall were directly connected with the portico encircling the Compound. The North Hall (B_2) was about 21m north of the Middle Hall, due to limited excavated area, its shape is not clear yet.

Two small auxiliary Compounds were placed south of the main Compound, on both side of the central pathway, which led to the middle of south portico of the main Compound. This indicates the position of the former entrance, although there is no trace of a gate to be found. Inside of the two auxiliary compounds, the brick-faced bases of small buildings provided with draining facility were found; a well was discovered in the Southeastern Compound. Since these auxiliary Compounds were not fully excavated, the overall layout also remains unclear.

The east wall of the monastery was found about 4m east to the east portico of the main Compound. It was a rammed earth construction 2.4m wide, the residual height of 0.7 - 0.9m. Outside the monastery, along the east wall was the main street of the

Yankang Ward, a fact indicating that the monastery was carefully integrated into the grid system of Chang'an City.

These archaeological achievements offer us a glimpse into the panorama of the layout of the monastery, and confirm from one aspect the records that the *Ximingsi Monastery* had ten Compounds and thirteen Buddha Halls. It goes without saying that it provides important material evidences for the study of Buddhist architecture in the Tang Dynasty.

Chapter III - Monastery Layout in Early Medieval China: Development and Evolution

1. Buddhist Monastery: Main buildings and auxiliary buildings

As a place devoted to religious activities and meant for daily living, a large monastery was usually composed of a variety of buildings each exerting a specific function. Despite the fact that many monasteries may have their own unique building, some buildings are regularly seen in large monasteries of different periods; they form a core of crucial elements which allow us to explore the evolution of the monastery layout. In the section below I introduce the main buildings which will be successively used for tracing the development of the monastery layout.

Entrance

The Middle Gate (*zhongmen* # [\exists])was the most important entrance of a Buddhist monastery. Because many monasteries of ancient China faced south, in most cases the Middle Gate was located on the south side of the monastic complex. Sometimes, there was a smaller South Gate in front of the Middle Gate. To date Chinese archaeologists excavated the Middle Gate of the *Siyuan Monastery*, the *Yongningsi Monastery*, the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery* and the *Linggansi Monastery*. Among them the most remarkable is the Middle Gate of the *Yongningsi Monastery*, a seven-bay wide and two-bay deep building, apparently a conscious replica of the main gate of the Palace City. Besides, smaller entrances giving access to the monastery form other sides have also been excavated at the *Yongningsi Monastery*, *Zhaopengcheng Monastery* and *Qinglongsi Monastery*.

Perimeter wall, portico and roofed corridor

A continuous rammed earth wall (*hangtuqiang* 夯土牆) usually served as the outer boundary of earlier monasteries, such as in the case of the *Yongningsi Monastery* of the Northern Wei. In later monasteries this wall was gradually replaced by portico, such as in the case of the *Qinglongsi Monastery* and *Ximingsi Monastery* of the Tang Dynasty. The portico set at the edge of the monastery marked its limit, and it could also be used to separate different Compounds within a monastery.

Another structure was the roofed corridor normally used to connect different structures among themselves. A special case was the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery*: no traces of the perimeter wall were found, while the limits of the monastery consisted in a ditch 5 - 6m wide surrounding the monastery on the four sides.

Pagoda

The pagoda as an architectural structure derived from the Indian *stūpa*: it marked the place where Sakyamuni's *śarīra* was conserved. In the early stage of Buddhism in China, as a symbol of the relic cult, the pagoda had a far higher status than the Buddha Hall, a building containing the main statuary. Until the 7th century, as the most important building of the monastery, the pagoda was placed at its center. Its architectural form was that of a multi-story timber-frame building. Generally speaking, Chinese-style pagodas were built with an odd number of three, five, seven or nine stories, implying a different political or religious rank; pagodas in State Monasteries commonly were seven or nine story tall. Although excavations have not uncovered any above the ground timber remains, judging from the size of the foundation and bay structure, the height and number of stories of the pagodas of the *Yongningsi Monastery* and *Zhaopengcheng Monastery*, for example, have been calculated and reconstructed by architectural historians.

Buddha Hall

The Buddha Hall is a building where to present offering and carry out religious rituals in front of the Buddha or Bodhisattva images. Before the 4th century only in a very few cases small rooms were arranged in the back of monasteries or caves in India and Central Asia for the setting up of Buddha images, but in spite of their secondary status, such buildings should be considered the prototype of the later Buddha Halls.¹⁰² However, along with the evolution of Buddhist thought, the Buddha Hall became progressively the most important building of a Chinese monastery, even more important than the pagoda. The architectural type of the Buddha Hall has its origins in the traditional Chinese palace or official buildings, often built on top of a rammed earth platform with commodious space, complex timber-frame structure and solemn roof. The remains of several Buddha Halls from the Northern Dynasties to the Tang were excavated, and some of them have already been restored according to the

¹⁰² He Liqun 2011.

study of architectural historians.

Lecture Hall

The Lecture Hall (*jiangtang* 講堂) is a gathering place for the studying of sutras and the performing of daily rituals. Since its main function was to provide adequate space for monks to assemble, it is not difficult to understand that the Lecture Hall was frequently the largest building in the whole monastery. Under normal circumstances, the Lecture Hall resembles to the Buddha Hall, but its status is far lower than the latter, and its position is not as prominent as the Pagoda or the Buddha Hall. The Lecture Hall is usually found in Korean and Japanese monasteries; it was widely recorded in ancient Chinese documents, but we lacked material evidence of it in China until the recent finding in the rear area of the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery*.

Auxiliary buildings

In addition to above mentioned buildings, which have special religious function and essential for the running of a monastery, other auxiliary buildings, such as Monks' Quarters (*sengfang* 僧房), Meditation Rooms (*chanshi* 禪室), Sutra Halls (*jingtang* 經堂) and Bell Tower (*zhonglou* 鐘樓) were sometimes mentioned in textual sources. Unfortunately, very little archaeological data is available to date, so that it remains impossible to reconstruct their specific forms and the location of such buildings occupied in early Chinese monasteries.

Compound

Actually, Compound (yuan 院) is a spatial concept, rather than a building. The term is used through the thesis to indicate specific area within the monastery, usually enclosed by rammed walls or portico, forming relatively isolated sections within a monastery. In this sense Compound is an important concept for the study of the development of the monastery layout, since the location of the Pagoda, the Buddha Hall and Compounds, and their mutual relation, are the elements that best reflect this evolution. Some large Compounds have already been found in the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery*, the *Qinglongsi Monastery* and the *Ximingsi Monastery*, and have provided valuable clues for studying the evolution of the layout of the monastery.

2. Monastery layout: types, periodization and distinctive features

A complete monastery usually consisted of a combination of the above mentioned buildings, but in the evolution of the monastery layout the above mentioned buildings played each a different role, some more crucial than others. For example, the Lecture Hall, undoubtedly of the most important buildings in a Buddhist monastery, it was regularly located in the rear of the monastery, and therefore its significance for the study of the development of the layout is relatively less revealing than the buildings whose disposition shifted through time. Depending on the relative location of the Pagoda, Buddha Hall and Compound, the layout of the excavated State Monastery might be divided into four main types: 'Central Pagoda' (*zhongxinta shi* 中 心塔式); 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear' (*qianta houdian shi* 前塔後殿式); 'Central Pagoda and Multi-Halls' (*duoyuan duodian shi* 多院多殿式). These four types of monastery layout have distinct characteristics which represent four different developmental stages from the Mid Northern Wei to the Tang Dynasty.

The 'Central Pagoda' monastery (mid 5th century)

This is the oldest Buddhist monastery layout, dating back to the days of the introduction of Buddhism into China. Up to now, the earliest excavated monastery with this layout is the *Yungang Monastery* dated to the middle of the 5th century. The typical feature is a Pagoda erected at the centre of the monastery, and small chambers set around the square perimeter. There is no evidence of the existence of a Buddha Hall or a Lecture Hall. It is widely assumed that this layout directly imitates the Buddhist monastery from the Indian subcontinent.

The 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear' monastery (late 5th to early 6th century)

This monastery layout was prevalent in the late Northern Wei; the most representative example is the *Yongningsi Monastery*; other examples are the *Siyuan Monastery* and the *Siyan Monastery*. The prominent feature of this monastery layout is its longitudinal rectangle plan, with the main buildings located within a large Compound; starting from the south, the Middle Gate, the Pagoda and Buddha Hall, aligned in sequence along the central axis. The square wooden Pagoda was placed at
the absolute center of the monastery, while the Buddha Hall was built behind the Pagoda, not far from it. So far no evidence has been found indicating that this type of monastery comprised a Lecture Hall in the rear area.

The 'Central Pagoda and Halls on different axis' monastery (mid to late 6th century)

The Zhaopengcheng Monastery of the Eastern Wei and Northern Qi periods is the only instance excavated thus far, although similar layouts are recorded in the description of monasteries of the Southern Dynasties. The plan of the monastery is approximately square, with the wooden Pagoda set slightly to the south of the monastery center. Evidences of the existence of a Buddha Hall behind the Pagoda have not been found. However, two separate Compounds enclosed by porticos occupied the southeast and southwest corners of the monastery, each comprising a spacious Hall in the north part, approximately 35m wide, which might be interpreted as substitutive for a central Buddha Hall. Judging from their location and plan, the remains of a hall recently unearthed in the northern most part of the monastery were tentatively interpreted as a Lecture Hall. Prominent features of the Zhaopengcheng Monastery are the Pagoda set at the centre of the monastery; the layout still complied with the principle of north-south axial symmetry, while at the same time the characteristics of the 'Multi-compounds and Multi-halls' began to emerge.

The 'Multi-Compounds and Multi-Halls' monastery (after the mid 7th century)

Buddhist monasteries comprising several compounds and halls were very popular in the Tang Dynasty. Archaeological excavations of the *Qinglongsi Monastery* and the *Ximingsi Monastery* indicate that such layout was of overwhelming significance for State Monasteries of this period. These two famous monasteries could not be completely excavated, since modern buildings were constructed over their remains; in spite of this drawback, some compounds and halls were disclosed which offered a first glimpse into the layout of whole monastery. Fortunately, some of contemporary pictorial representations provide sufficient evidences for our study. Particular important cases come from Dunhuang wall paintings, which preserve a great number of representations of Buddhist monasteries of the Tang Dynasty (Figs. 26-1, 26-2, 26-3). These images might make up for the lack of archaeological material, because the archetype for them often were the monasteries from the two Tang capitals (Chang'an and Luoyang), they might in point of fact make up for the lack of archaeological material. Salient features of such monasteries are: the ground plan of the whole monasteries was rectangle inserted within the city grid plan. By this time the monastery's basic unit was the compound, while the main building was the Buddha Hall. Indeed, large monasteries consisted of many compounds separated from one another by wall or porticos and each major compound often had its own hall. In most cases the pagoda no longer occupied a central location in a monastery, and in some cases there was no pagoda at all.





Fig. 26 Buddhist Monasteries in Dunhaung wall painting (Modified from: Xiao Mo 2003, p. 70, fig. 1-39, 1-37, 1-38)
1. South wall of Cave 148, High Tang Period; 2. North wall of Cave 231, Mid Tang Period; 3. West ceiling of Cave 85, Late Tang Period.

3. The evolution of monastery layout from the Northern Wei to the Tang Dynasty

Since the introduction of Buddhism to China, the pagoda has been the most important building in a Buddhist monastery. In certain periods, as a landmark, the word *stūpa* even became synonymous with the whole monastery; therefore it is not difficult to understand the fact that many documents describing the Buddhist monasteries focused on the description of the pagoda. The tradition of focusing on the pagoda was inherited by the newly-built State Monasteries of the Northern Dynasties, and extended to the Sui Dynasty.

In order to provide adequate place for believers to engage in Buddhist activities, even before his conquest of all North China, Emperor Daowu of Northern Wei issued an edict asking his officials to adorn images and build monasteries in capital: this is the earliest record of an official sponsorship of a Buddhist monastery in China.¹⁰³

After the brief suppression of Buddhism by Emperor Taiwu (太武帝 r. 423 - 452 AD), Buddhism revived rapidly after the mid 5th century. In addition to the celebrated *Yungang Grottoes*, a great number of Buddhist monasteries were built in Pingcheng, the capital of the Northern Wei at that time. The *Book of Wei* states:

In the second year of the Tian'an Era (467 AD) the *Yongningsi Monastery* was built with a seven-story pagoda, which reached a height of three hundred *chi*. Wide foundation and spacious framework were unparalleled in the world. Then an icon of standing Sakyamuni was made in *Tiangong Monastery*, forty-three *chi* in height, hundred thousand *jin* of copper and three hundred *jin* of gold were used. In the Huangxin Era (467 - 471 AD), a three-story pagoda was built, [...] 10 *zhang* in height, [...] (which became) a landmark of the capital.¹⁰⁴

In 494, Emperor Xiaowen of Northern Wei moved the capital to Luoyang, and adopted a series of reform measures to implement systematic sinicization. Emperor Xiaowen and his successors were all devout Buddhists: much manpower and material resources were plunged into the construction of Buddhist monasteries. Besides the *Yongningsi Monastery* built by Empress Dowager Hu, a large number of State Monasteries sponsored by the imperial family and focused on pagoda were recorded in the *Stories about Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang*:

Yaoguangsi Monastery, built by Emperor Xuanwu, [...] has a five-story pagoda that rose fifty *zhang* from the ground [...] more than five hundred lecture hall and nuns'

¹⁰³ Wei Shu 魏書, 3030

¹⁰⁴ Wei Shu 魏書, 3037-3038,"於時起永寧寺, 構七級佛圖, 高三百餘尺, 基架博敞, 為天下第一。又於天 宮寺, 造釋迦立像。高四十三尺, 用赤金十萬斤, 黃金六百斤。皇興中, 又構三級石佛圖,高十丈。...... 為京華壯觀。"

quarters beautifully placed next to each other, connected with doors and windows.

Qin Taishangjunsi Monastery, built by Empress Dowager Hu. [...] There was five-story pagoda, with a tall steeple piercing the clouds and a high gate facing the street. The ritual and decoration were equal to *Yongningsi Monastery*. Chanting room and meditation hall were laid out one after another.

Datongsi Monastery was located at the west of *Jingmingsi Monastery*. [...] There were two monasteries were built in honor of *Qin Taishigong* to the east of *Datongsi Monastery* and one *li* south of *Jingmingsi Monastery*. The western monastery was built by Empress Dowager and eastern one was built by her sister, [...] each had a five-story pagoda that rose fifty *zhang* above the ground.¹⁰⁵

Apart from the above mentioned ones, a large number of other monasteries can be found in this document which pays much attention to the description of the pagoda.¹⁰⁶ The *Siyuan Monastery of* Pingcheng, the *Siyan Monastery* of Longcheng, and the *Yongningsi Monastery* of Luoyang were all properly unearthed instances. Therefore, Archaeological evidences and written records give concurring evidence that the typical layout of the Northern Wei monastery was that of a monastery with a 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear'.

The textual evidence concerning the Buddhist architecture of the Eastern Wei period is relatively scarce, but a few historical records provide us with important clues as to understand the layout of the monastery of this period. For example, the architectural arrangement of the *Xianyisi Monastery* 顯義寺 was incidentally mentioned in the account of an eventful preaching of a sermon by master Sengfan 僧

¹⁰⁵ Luoyang qielan ji 洛陽伽藍記, 1003,"瑤光寺, 世宗宣武皇帝所立。……有五層浮圖一所, 去地五十丈。…… 講殿尼房五百餘間。綺疏連亘戶牖相通。"1006,"秦太上君寺, 胡太后所立也。……中有五層浮圖一所, 修 刹入雲, 高門向街。佛事莊飾,等於永寧。誦室禪堂, 周流重迭。"1010,"大統寺, 在景明寺西。……東有秦 太師公二寺, 在景明南一里。西寺太后所立, 東寺皇姨所建。……各有五層浮圖一所, 高五十丈。"
¹⁰⁶ Luoyang qielan ji 洛陽伽藍記, 1002, 1004, 1010, 1013-1014, 1014, 1014, 1017.

[&]quot;Changqiusi Monastery was built by Liusheng......there was a three-story Pagoda, and the city was irradiated by golden plate and auspicious *ksetra*" (長秋寺, 劉騰所立也。.....中有三層浮圖一所, 金盤靈刹曜諸城內). "*Hutongsi Monastery* was built by an aunt of Empress Dowager......it had a five-story Pagoda with a lofty golden *Ksetra*" (胡統寺, 太后從姑所立也。......寶塔五重, 金刹高聳, 洞房周匝).

[&]quot;Jingmingsi Monastery was built by Emperor Xuanwu.....it was not till the period of Zhengguan (520-524) that a seven-story Pagoda was established by the Empress Dowager, with a hundred *ren* high above the ground"(景明 寺,宣武皇帝所立也。.....至正光年中,太后始造七層浮圖一所,去地百仞).

[&]quot;*Chongjuesi Monastery* was built by Yuan Yi, the Qinghe Prince and the teacher of emperor, who donated his own residence......there was a five-story Pagoda, and the workmanship was similar to *Yaoguangsi Temple*"(沖 覺寺,太傅清河王懌舍宅所立也。.....建五層浮圖一所,工作與瑤光寺相似也).

[&]quot;*Wangdianyu Monastery* was built by eunuch Wang Taotang......there was a three-story Pagoda near the door" (王典御寺,閹官楊王桃湯所立也。......門有三層浮屠一所).

[&]quot;Baoguangsi Monastery was located on the north of imperial road outside of the Xiyang Gate. There was a three-story Pagoda built on a stone foundation, and the shape followed ancient style"(寶光寺,在西陽門外禦道北。有三層浮圖一所,以石為基,形制甚古).

[&]quot;*Rongjuesi Monastery* was built by Yuan Duo, the Wenxian Prince of Qinghe......there was a five-story Pagoda equal to *Chongjuesi Monastery*. The Baddha Hall and Monk' Quarters filled one *li*"(融覺寺,清河文獻王懌所立也。.....有五層浮圖一所,與沖覺寺齊等。佛殿僧房充溢一里).

範 in the capital Yecheng. The Further Biographies of Eminent Monks states:

Once upon a time, Du Bi, the governor of Jiao Zhou, invited Sengfan to preach the Buddhist scripture at the *Xianyisi Monastery* of Yecheng in winter. When he preached to the sixth stage of *Avatamsaka-sutra*, suddenly a wild goose flew down. It entered the hall coming from the east side of pagoda; facing the high seat and lying on the ground, it listened to the *Dharma*. After the sermon, the goose left slowly, along the west side of pagoda, soared up into the air and flew away.¹⁰⁷

Judging from the flight itinerary of the wild goose, it seems that the Pagoda was located at the center of the monastery, while the Buddha Hall was placed behind it.

The archaeological excavation of the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery* is still in progress; based on the available information, despite the fact that the layout of the monastery was different from that of the Northern Wei, the Chinese pavilion-style pagoda still occupied the central position, indicating continuity with earlier monasteries layout. However, the most significant change in monastery layout is that it now has two separate compounds, each with its own hall. To date, the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery* is the earliest example of a multiple compounds monastery excavated in northern China. In considering the close successive relationship in capital planning and design between South Yecheng and Chang'an City, ¹⁰⁸ it is not difficult to imagine the pivotal position of *Zhaopengcheng Monastery*, which existed at a crucial turning point between a single-compound monastery layout of the Northern Wei focusing on a pagoda and the Multi-Compounds and Multi-Halls layout of the Tang Dynasty.

Until the Sui Dynasty (581 - 618 AD), the wooden pagoda still occupied a dominant position within the State Monasteries. Under the advocacy and support of Emperor Wen of Sui (隋文帝 r. 581 – 604 AD), a large number of dilapidated monasteries were restored and new ones were built throughout the country.

At the beginning of the Kaihuang Era (581 - 600 AD), [...] (Tanchong) erected a pagoda (within the grounds of the monastery of the capital). [...] In the fourteenth year (594 AD), the pagoda was finished. It was eleven-story high, rising to the sky and known as the tallest building in capital.¹⁰⁹

Chandingsi Monastery 禅定寺 was also famous for its pagoda.

¹⁰⁷ Xu gaoseng zhuan 續高僧傳, 483,"嘗有膠州刺史杜弼 (491 – 559 AD),於鄴顯義寺請範冬講。至華嚴六 地,忽有一雁飛下,從浮圖東順行入堂,正對高座,伏地聽法,講散徐出,還順塔西爾乃翔遊。"

¹⁰⁸ Xu Guangji 2002.

¹⁰⁹ Xu gaoseng zhuan 續高僧傳, 568, "開皇之初, ……建浮圖一區。……十四年(594年)內方始成就。舉 高一十一級, 竦耀太虛, 京邑稱最。"

(During the Renshou Era, Emperor Wen) established *Chandingsi Monastery* in southeast of the capital. Seven-story pagoda rose straight into cloud; the hall was very tall and the houses were multilevel. The gate equaled to the palace *que*, and the garden seemed heaven. [...] Tanqian was appointed as the abbot.¹¹⁰

Another major event of this period was that Emperor Wen issued a series of edicts to distribute $\dot{s}ar\bar{\imath}ra$ to the larger prefectures. Consequently, many pagodas were restored or erected to accommodate the $\dot{s}ar\bar{\imath}ra$.¹¹¹ Archaeological excavations have demonstrated that the pagoda of the *Siyan Monastery* was rebuilt in the Sui Dynasty upon having obtained a $\dot{s}ar\bar{\imath}ra$.¹¹² At the same time, a Multi-Compounds monastery was mentioned in the documents as well:

In the fifth year of the Kaihuang Era (585 AD),(Emperor Wen) established *Tianjusi Monastery* in Bozhou and *Wudesi Monastery* in Binzhou. Each had twelve compounds from the front to the rear (of the monasteries), which were surrounded by more than one thousand houses and providing facilities around three hundred monks.¹¹³

Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that the multi-compounds monastery was not as popular as those centered on a pagoda. As mentioned above, the *Linggansi Monastery* of the Sui, predecessor of the *Qinglongsi Monastery* of the Tang in Chang'an, consisted of a single compound with a north-south axial plan, in which the wooden Pagoda was placed in front of the Buddha Hall. Su Bai has already demonstrated that such layout focusing on a pagoda had always been the primary arrangement in Chinese ancient monasteries since the Eastern Han, and lasted until the Sui Dynasty.¹¹⁴

After the mid 7th century, records concerning the pagoda were considerably less than those in the previous periods; conversely, the description of halls and compounds noticeably increased. Famous Buddhist monasteries in Chang'an City were described as follows:

(Daci'ensi Monastery 大慈恩寺) There were multi-story buildings, halls towering high, and densely built houses. A total of ten or more compounds with one thousand eight hundred and ninety seven houses altogether.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ Xu gaoseng zhuan 續高僧傳, 573, "於京邑西南置禪定寺, 架塔七層駭臨雲際, 殿堂高竦房宇重深。周間 等宮闕, 林圃如天苑, 舉國崇盛莫有高者。……即以遷為寺主。"

¹¹¹ Guang hongming ji 廣弘明集, 213-216.

¹¹² Liaoning Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology, Northern Pagoda Museum of Chaoyang City 2007, 53-58.

¹¹³ Bian zheng lun 辯正論, 509, "開皇五年, ……又於亳州造天居寺、并州造武德寺, 前後各一十二院, 四 周閭舍一千餘間, 供養三百許僧。"

¹¹⁴ Su Bai 1997 a, b.

¹¹⁵ Da Tang daci'ensi sanzang fashi zhuan 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳, 258,"重樓複殿, 雲閣洞房。凡十餘院,

(Ximingsi Monastery 西明寺) There were ten compounds and over four thousand houses. Its decoration was so luxurious that *Tongtaisi Monastery* of the Liang and *Yongningsi Monastery* of the Wei could not be compared with it. ¹¹⁶ (*Zhangjingsi Monastery* 章敬寺) There were a total of four thousand one hundred and thirty houses, with forty eight compounds.¹¹⁷

It is particularly important that many names of these compounds in Chang'an monasteries, such as Pure Land Compound (jingtuyuan 淨土院), Avalokiteśvara Compound (guanyinyuan 觀音院), Manjusri Compound (manshuyuan 曼殊院), Meditation Compound (chanyuan 禪院), Three Stages Compound (sanjieyuan 三階 院), Prajñā Compound (boreyuan 般若院) and Lotus Compound (fahuayuan 法華院), were mentioned in the Records of Monasterys and Pagodas, Records of Famous Paintings through the Ages, Records of Chang'an and New Records of two Capitals,¹¹⁸ which indicates these compounds had close relationship with relevant Buddhist Sects. At the same time, although there were a number of monasteries where still retained a pagoda, in most cases the Buddha Hall began to occupy the central position. Accordingly, the pagoda was normally placed in a secondary position. The Qinglongsi and the Ximingsi Monasteries are the most telling example, despite of the fact that they were only partially excavated; the configuration of the Eastern and Western Compounds in the Qinglongsi Monastery and the three halls in the Ximingsi Monastery indicate their Multi-Compounds and Multi-Halls character, showing us a completely different layout compared with earlier monasteries focused on the pagoda. The popularity of this layout in the Tang Dynasty also emerges strongly from the aforementioned contemporary Dunhuang wall paintings.

The above mentioned data both from archaeological excavations and historical documents prove that the architectural layout of Buddhist monasteries in northern China underwent a development from the monastery with 'Central pagoda and one Hall in the rear' layout prevailing in the Northern Wei to the 'Multi-Compounds and Multi-Halls' layout in the Tang Dynasty. This process not only reflects the enculturation trend (sinicization) of Buddhism in Early Medieval China, but also a change in religious thinking. Furthermore, in the development of monastery layout

總一千八百九十七間。"

¹¹⁶ Da Tang daci'ensi sanzang fashi zhuan 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳, 275, "凡有十院, 屋四千餘間。莊嚴之盛, 雖梁之同泰、魏之永寧所不能及也。"

¹¹⁷ Chang'an zhi 長安志, 251,"總四千一百三十餘間,四十八院。"

¹¹⁸ Gong Guoqiang 2006, 137-138.

from the Northern Wei to the Tang Dynasty, the crucial role played by the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery* in Yecheng, a capital which inherited the essence of the city layout of Luoyang and had a direct impact on the planning of the Sui and Tang Chang'an capitals, emerges clearly.

Chapter IV - Monastery Layout in Early Medieval East Asia:

Archaeological Evidence and Research

After having analyzed the situation of China, we now turn our attention to neighboring Korean Peninsula and Japanese Archipelago, where Buddhist monasteries had close relationship with Chinese ones. In particular, many medieval monasteries of Korea and Japan are quite well preserved to date, which provide valuable information to explore the evolution and exchange of Buddhist architecture in East Asia.

1. The Korean Peninsula: Monastery Layout during the Three Kingdoms and Unified Silla Periods

The surveying of Buddhist monasteries in the Korean Peninsula began in the early 20th century by Japanese archaeologists. After World War II, surveys and scientific excavations were carried out mainly by research institutions of South Korea. The surveyed monasteries of the Three Kingdom and Unified Silla periods are more than 20; their layouts present strong distinctive features.¹¹⁹ In order to analyze the relationship with contemporaneous monasteries of China and Japan, I have chosen the monasteries which display definite epochal traits as a solid basis to carry out a comparative study.

According to the arrangement of Pagoda and Buddha Hall, the monastery layout on the Korean Peninsula can be divided into four main types: 'Central Pagoda and Three Halls', 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear', 'Central Hall and Twin Pagodas' and 'Multi-Compounds and Multi-Halls'. We will look at them in turn.

Goguryeo Kingdom: 'Central Pagoda and Three Halls' monastery layout

The Kingdom of Goguryeo was located in the north of the Korean Peninsula. It emerged as an independent kingdom in 37 BC, and was destroyed by the allied Silla and Tang troops in 668 AD. Although Chinese and Korean historical records diverge slightly on details regarding specific people and events, most scholars agree on the fact that Buddhism was introduced into Goguryeo from North China in the 4th century

¹¹⁹ Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 1991, 246-266.

of the Common Era.¹²⁰

Currently, at least four Buddhist monasteries of the Goguryeo Kingdom have been surveyed or excavated, all dated between the 5 to the 6th century; they are the *T'osong-ri p'yesa Monastery* 土城里廢寺, the *Songwol-ri Monastery* 上五里佛寺, the *Chongrungsa Monastery* 定陵寺 and *Ch'ongam-ri p'yesa Monastery* 清岩里廢 寺.¹²¹

T'osong-ri p'yesa Monastery 土城里廢寺

Location: Pongsan-kun.

Construction date: 5th century.

Excavation: 1987 by North Korean archaeologists (Fig. 27).¹²²



Fig. 27: Sketch plan of the *T'osong-ri Monastery* (Modified from: Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010b, p. 19, fig. 1)

At the centre of the whole monastery was the octagonal foundation of the stone Pagoda (A). The other main buildings present a rectangular base and comprise the Hall (B), set to the North, the Hall (B₁), set to the west and the Hall (B₂), set to the east.

The Pagoda (A) was obviously the center of the monastery. Hall (B), located

¹²⁰ Huang Youfu and Chen Jingfu 1993, 28-32; Gao seng zhuan 高僧傳, 348, 392; Samguk yusa 三國遺事, 986.

¹²¹ Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010 b, 18-27.

¹²² Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010 b, 18-19.

behind the Pagoda, was the main hall in the whole monastery has been interpreted as the Middle Golden Hall; it was much larger than Halls (B_1) and (B_2) .

Songwol-ri Monastery 上五里佛寺

Location: Songwol-ri, Sohung-gun, Pyongyang. Construction date: 5th century.

Excavation: 1939 by Japanese scholars (Fig. 28).¹²³



Fig. 28: Sketch plan of the *Songwol-ri Monastery* (Modified from: Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, p. 25, fig. 1)

According to the published data, the foundation of Pagoda (A) marked the center of the monastery; octagonal in shape, its sides were about 8m long. The foundations of the two large Halls (B_1) and (B_2), measuring 25.8m by 12.6m, were located west and east of the Pagoda.

Due to a number of reasons, the partial survey of the above ground remains could not be completed, and to date the layout of this monastery remains quite unclear. Based on the layout of contemporaneous monasteries, it is reasonable to assume a Middle Golden Hall (B) was built behind the Pagoda (A).

Chongrungsa Monastery 定陵寺

Location: Ryongsan-ri, Ryokpo-guyok, Pyongyang. Construction date: 5th century.

¹²³ Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010 b, 20-21.

Excavation: 1974 - 1975 by the Kim Il-sung Comprehensive University (Fig. 29).



Fig. 29: Sketch plan of the *Chongrungsa Monastery* (Modified from: Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, p. 27, fig. 1)

The scale of this monastery is quite large, measuring 223m east to west and 132.8m north to south. On the basis of the excavation report, the monastery consisted of several Compounds separated by a portico. Approximately twenty buildings of various types were contained in the Compounds; however there is a general consensus in assuming that many buildings might have been built in successive periods.

The layout of the earliest Compound can be clearly identified. An octagonal stone foundation (A) with the sides measuring approximately 8.4m was located at the center of the main Compound: this was likely the foundation of the Pagoda. It was surrounded by three Halls with a foundation measuring approximately 20m by 14m, indicated respectively with (B), (B₁) and (B₂) in the drawing. The Middle Gate (C) was a three-bay wide and two-bay deep structure embedded in the south portico. In the rear part of the compound, there was a large rectangular architectural remain, over 40m in length, embedded in the north portico: this was certainly a Lecture Hall (D). On both sides of the Middle Golden Hall (B) stood two square buildings and that might have been the Sutra Hall and the Bell Tower. Since analogous structures were not mentioned in documents nor found in monastery ruins of the period, it is plausible to assume that buildings and were built at a later stage.¹²⁴

¹²⁴ Park Daenam 2005, 28-31.

Ch'ongam-ri p'yesa Monastery 清岩里廢寺

Location: Daedonggangguyeok, Pyongyang.

Construction date: end of 5th century.

Excavation: 1938 by Japanese scholars (Fig. 30).¹²⁵

Historical background: According to the Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms), the name of this monastery was Vajra Monastery 金剛寺, built by King Munja of Goguryeo (高句麗文諮明王 r. 491 - 519 AD).¹²⁶



Fig. 30: Sketch plan of the *Ch'ongam-ri p'yesa Monastery* (Modified from: Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, p. 29, fig. 1)

The description in the survey is limited to the central area of the monastery, and does not state whether there was a portico or a wall delimiting it; the dimensions of the monastery and the function of some buildings remain unclear.

¹²⁵ Akio Koizumi 1940, 5-19.

¹²⁶ Samguk Sagi 三國史記, vol. 19, 2, "[In the seventh year of King Munja], in the seventh month, the Vajra *Temple* was founded. In the eighth month, the envoy was sent to Wei for tribute" (秋七月, 創金剛寺。八月, 遣 使入魏朝貢).

The octagonal foundation of the Pagoda (A), with sides approximately 10m in length, marked the center of the monastery; around it were the foundations of three Halls, respectively Hall (B), (B₁) and (B₂). The Main Hall (B) measured 32m by 19m, obviously larger than the West Hall (B₁) and East Hall (B₂). The Middle Gate (C) was located in front of the Pagoda (A), and the ill-preserved foundation found in the rear of the monastery might be the ruins of the Lecture Hall (D). Stone paved-paths connected the Pagoda with the surrounding buildings.

The available archaeological data indicate that the main buildings in the monasteries of the Goguryeo Kingdom were the Middle Gate, a Pagoda, the Golden Hall(s) and porticoes; besides, in some monasteries traces of the Lecture Hall were found. The pagoda's foundation was always octagonal in plan, constructed in undressed stone. Evidence of the roofed corridors connecting different buildings is in many cases scarce. The main buildings were provided with drainage facilities, and the paths connecting these buildings were stone-paved. The monasteries of this period, therefore, display a typical 'Central Pagoda and Three Halls' layout.

Baekje Kingdom: 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear' monastery layout

The Baekje Kingdom was located in the southeast part of the Korean Peninsula. It emerged as a kingdom in 18 BC, and was destroyed by the allied troop of Silla and Tang in 660 AD. According to the records of *Samguk sagi*:

In the first year of Baekje King Chimnyu, [...] the Indian Buddhist monk *Marananta* came to Baekje from the Eastern Jin (317 – 420 AD). King Chimnyu welcomed him in the palace and received him respectfully. This is the beginning of Baekje's Buddhism. In the second month of the second year, a Buddhist monastery was built at Mount *Han* [of the capital].¹²⁷

Despite the fact that the date of the introduction of Buddhism in the Baekje Kingdom was slightly later than Goguryeo Kingdom, Baekje's Buddhism played a more crucial role in the Korean Peninsula. Not only did many monks from Baekje study Buddhism and Buddhist architectural technology in the Chinese Mainland; some of them also traveled to India to seek the *Dharma*. In the meantime, under the auspices of the royal family, Baekje's Buddhism and the Buddhist monastery construction technique had a strong impact on neighboring Silla, as well as on the

¹²⁷ Samguk Sagi 三國史記, vol. 24, 9-10, "(枕流王元年), ……胡僧摩羅難陀自晉至。王迎之, 致宮內, 禮敬焉。佛法始於此。二年, 春二月, 創佛寺於漢山。"

Japanese Archipelago. So far, a large number of Baekje's monasteries built and utilized from the 6th to the mid 7th century have been investigated or excavated. Among the most representative monasteries are the *Daetongsa Monastery* 大通寺, *Gunsu-ri Monastery* 軍守里寺, *Jeunglim Monastery* 定林寺, *Neungsan-ri Monastery* 陵山里寺, *Wangheungsa Monastery* 王興寺, *Vajra Monastery* 金剛寺, *Busosan Monastery* 扶蘇山廢寺, *Yongjeong-ri Monastery* 龍井里寺, *Cheonwangsa Monastery* 天王寺, *Jeseok Monastery* 帝釋寺, *Wanggung-ri Monastery* 王宮里寺, *Seongjusa Monastery* 聖住寺 and *Mireuksa Monastery* 彌勒寺.

Daetongsa Monastery 大通寺

Location: Banjuk-dong, Gongju-eup, Gongju-gun, Chungcheongnam-do.

Construction date: early 6th century

Excavation: surveyed by Japanese scholars during the Japanese Occupation (Fig. 31).¹²⁸

Historical background: the *Samguk yusa* (*Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*) states it was built by King Seong of Baekje 百濟聖王 for the wellbeing of Emperor Wu of the Chinese Liang Dynasty in 527.¹²⁹



Fig. 31: Sketch plan of the *Daetongsa Monastery* (Modified from: Park Daenam 2005, p. 40, fig. 12)

During the survey of this monastery some tile-heads were found; on them was carved the inscription *Daetong* 大通 in Chinese characters, confirming the name of

¹²⁸ Karube Jion 1971, 25-33.

¹²⁹ Samguk yusa 三國遺事, 988.

the monastery. Although the survey was limited to a small section of the monastery, the location of most the important buildings, such as the remains of the Pagoda (A), the Golden Hall (B) and the Lecture Hall (D), were identified: they were aligned along the north-south axis, with the Golden Hall placed behind the Pagoda.

Gunsu-ri Monastery 軍守里寺

Location: hilly area near the Baengma-gang (White-Horse River), Buyeo. Construction date: 6th century.

Excavations: surveyed in 1930s by Japanese scholars;¹³⁰ excavated by the Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage in 2005 and 2007 (Fig. 32).¹³¹



Fig. 32: Sketch plan of the *Gunsu-ri Monastery* (Modified from: Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, p. 34, fig. 1)

The most important buildings of the *Gunsu-ri Monastery* were the Middle Gate (C), the Pagoda (A), the Golden Hall (B) and Lecture Hall (D), all aligned along the north-south axis, with the Golden Hall (B) staying behind the Pagoda (A). The plan of the Pagoda's foundation was a square with sides approximately 14m long; on it was likely set a multistory pavilion-style building. The plan of the Golden Hall (B) was a transverse rectangle, nine bays structure with dimension of 22.27m by 20.2m. The Lecture Hall (D) was placed in the rear of the monastery, and two square foundations

¹³⁰ Mosaku Ishida 1937, 45-55.

¹³¹ Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, 32-35.

were found on both sides of it, presumably the remains of a Sutra Hall and a Bell Tower. Moreover, the traces of a portico were also found outside the monastery.¹³²

Jeunglim Monastery 定林寺

Location: Sabi City site 泗沘城遺址 of Buyeo, the capital of Baekje from 538 to 660 AD.

Construction date: mid 6^{th} century.

Excavations: 1942-1943 by Japanese scholars; 1979 - 1980 and 1984 by the Museum of Chungnam National University;¹³³ between 2008 and 2010 by the National Institute of Cultural Heritage (Fig. 33).¹³⁴



Fig. 33: Sketch plan of the *Jeunglim Monastery* (Modified from: Park Daenam 2005, p. 38, fig. 10)

Through a series of archaeological excavation all the important buildings, such as the Middle Gate (C), Pagoda (A), Golden Hall (B), Lecture Hall (D) and portico were completely unearthed, hence the layout of the whole monastery was exposed. The plan of the *Jeunglim Monastery* was a longitudinal rectangle, which extended 120m north to south and 62m east to west. The main buildings of the monasteries of the Baekje Period were aligned on the north-south axis; the Middle Gate (C) and Lecture

¹³² Park Daenam 2005, 34-35.

¹³³ Yun Moo-byung 1991, 32-55.

¹³⁴ Buyeo National Institute of Cultural Heritage 2011 b, 47-60.

Hall (D) embedded in the front and rear each section of the portico surrounding it. The Middle Gate (C) was a three-bay wide and one-bay deep wooden structure, measuring 13.1m by 7.1m. In front of the Middle Gate, traces of the South Gate (C₁) were found. An unusual discovery deserves our attention: two lotus pools, one on each side of the South Gate (C₁), were identified and excavated. The pagoda (A) was a five-story stone structure with 8.33 high, placed slightly south of the monastery center. The Golden Hall (B) was set behind the Pagoda and, judging from the traces of column foundations, it was a five-bay wide and three-bay deep structure, whose dimensions were 20.55m by 15.6m. The Lecture Hall (D) was a seven-bay wide and three-bay deep structure, measuring 24.64m by 10.7m; it was heavily reconstructed during the Goryeo Period (高麗時期 918 - 1392AD).

Neungsan-ri Monastery 陵山里寺

Location: approximately four kilometers southeast of Buyeo City Construction date: mid 6^{th} century.

Excavation: since 1992 by the Buyeo National Museum (Fig. 34).¹³⁵



Fig. 34: Sketch plan of the *Neungsan-ri Monastery* (Modified from: Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, p. 37, fig. 1)

Judging from the inscription on the unearthed *śarīra* container, the monastery was built in 567 AD. Its plan was a transverse rectangle, with all important buildings

¹³⁵ Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, 36-39.

placed on the north-south axis, with the Middle Gate (C), the Pagoda (A), the Golden Hall (B) and the Lecture Hall (D) arranged in sequence. The wooden pavilion-style Pagoda was square in plan with the foundation 11.7 - 11.8m long. The Golden Hall (B) was a five-bay wide and three-bay deep structure 21.6m by 16.16m at the base. The Lecture Hall (D) lied at the back of the monastery, and was embedded into the portico which surrounded the whole monastery. In addition, there were some annexed buildings embedded in the portico, but their functions remain unclear.

Wangheungsa Monastery 王興寺

Location: about 1 kilometer west of the Sabi City.

Construction date: late 6th century.

Excavations: 2003 and 2007 by the Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage (Fig. 35).¹³⁶

Historical background: according to the inscription found on an unearthed bronze $\dot{s}ar\bar{i}ra$ casket, the monastery was initially built by Backje King Chang in memory of his deceased son in 577.¹³⁷



Fig. 35: Sketch plan of the *Wangheungsa Monastery* (Modified from: Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, p. 42, fig.1)

¹³⁶ Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, 40-43.

¹³⁷ Buyeo National Museum and Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2008, 53. The inscription may be interpreted as follows: "On the fifteenth day of the second lunar month of the jeongyu Year [577AD], Baekje King Chang established this monastery on behalf of his deceased son. When the two pieces of relics were buried, through a divine [miracle] they transformed into three. "("丁酉年二月十五日, 百濟王昌為亡王子立 刹。本舍利二枚葬時, 神化為三。") This discovery corrects the records of *Samguk sagi* and *Samguk yusa* that the monastery was initially built in 600.

The plan of the *Wangheungsa Monastery* was also a longitudinal rectangle with the Middle Gate (C), the Pagoda (A), the Golden Hall (B) and the Lecture Hall (D) aligned along the north-south axis. The wooden pavilion-style Pagoda was square in plan, with sides 12.2m long. The Golden Hall (B) was a transverse rectangle in plan, 22.7m by 16.6m wide, located behind the Pagoda (A). The whole monastery was surrounded by a portico, and the Lecture Hall (D) was embedded in its rear section. On the lateral sides of the portico were embedded some annexed buildings, likely the Monk's Quarters.

Vajra Monastery 金剛寺

Location: Geumgok-ri, Eunsan-myeon, Buyeo-gun, Chungcheongnam-do, about 15 km north of the capital of Baekje.

Construction date: presumed 7th century.

Excavation: 1964 by the Korean National Musuem (Fig. 36).¹³⁸



Fig. 36: Sketch plan of the *Vajra Monastery* (Modified from: Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010b, p. 48, fig. 1)

The monastery faced west, approximately 170m long east to west and 150m wide north to south, with the Middle Gate (C), the Pagoda (A), the Golden Hall (B), the

¹³⁸ Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010 b, 46-49.

Lecture Hall (D) and the Monk's Quarters (G) aligned along the east-west axis. The Golden Hall (B) was arranged behind the Pagoda (A), while the Middle Gate (C) and Lecture Hall (D) were embedded into the portico. The Monk's Quarters (G) were placed behind the Lecture Hall (D), on the outside of the portico surrounding the monastery, the outer wall of the building forming the western perimeter wall.

Busosan Monastery 扶蘇山廢寺

Location: on top of a small hill near the Baekje Capital

Construction date: 7th century.

Excavations: 1942 by Japanese scholars; 1980s by the Korea National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage (Fig. 37).¹³⁹



Fig. 37: Sketch plan of the *Busosan Monastery* (Modified from: Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, p.49, fig. 1)

The longitudinal rectangle layout monastery faced south with the Middle Gate (C), the Pagoda (A) and the Golden Hall (B) aligned on the north-south axis. Since

¹³⁹ Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, 48-49.

the excavation was confined to the south part of the monastery, the exact location of the Lecture Hall could not be identified.

Yongjeong-ri Monastery 龍井里寺

Location: Yongjeong-ri, Buyeo

Construction date: approximately 7th century.

Excavation: 1991 - 1992 by the Buyeo National Institute of Cultural Heritage (Fig. 38).¹⁴⁰



Fig. 38: Sketch plan of the *Yongjeong-ri Monastery* (Modified from: Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010b, p. 56, fig. 1)

Due to the poor state of preservation of the site, only incomplete traces of the wooden Pagoda (A) and of the Golden Hall (B) were found. Judging from the unearthed tiles and lotus tile-heads, it is plausible to assume that it was built even before the 7th century and had a monastery plan of Baekje style.

Jeseok Monastery 帝釋寺

Location: Iksan near Sabi.

Construction date: early 7th century.

Excavation: between 2007 and 2009 by the Buyeo National Institute of Cultural

¹⁴⁰ Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010 b, 54-57

Heritages (Fig. 39).¹⁴¹

Historical background: According to relevant remains, it was built during the reign of King Mu (百濟武王 r. 600 - 641 AD).



Fig. 39: Sketch plan of the *Jeseok Monastery* (Modified from: Buyeo National Institute of Cultural Heritage 2011a, 36, Fig. 3)

The monastery faced south and had a longitudinal rectangular plan. The Middle Gate (C), Pagoda (A), Golden Hall (B) and Lecture Hall (D) were arranged along the north-south axis. Stone-paved paths connected the main buildings which were surrounded by portico. The Pagoda (A) was a seven-story pavilion, five or seven-bay wide. The Golden Hall (B) was placed behind the Pagoda (A): the 31.8m by 23.6m dimension make of it one the largest Golden Halls of the period.¹⁴²

Mireuksa Monastery 彌勒寺

Location: west of Mireuk Mountain, Iksan-si, Chollabuk-do.

Construction date: early 7th century.

Excavation: from 1981 - 1985 by the Korean National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage (Fig. 40).¹⁴³

Historical background: According to the records of Samguk yusa, King Mu of

¹⁴¹ Buyeo National Institute of Cultural Heritage 2011 a, 22-37.

¹⁴² Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, 50-51.

¹⁴³ Chang Kyung-hao 1991, 56-93.

Baekje (600 - 641AD) and his wife saw in a vision of the Buddha Maitreya at a pond on the Yonghwasan Mountain. He issued an edict to fill in the pond and established the *Mireuksa Monastery*, a monastery with three groups of pagdas and halls were set up, symbolyzing the Three Dragon Flower Assemblies of Maitreya 彌勒三會.¹⁴⁴ The nine-story wooden pagoda erected at the center of the Middle Compound was said to be the work of famous Baekje craftsman Abiji.



Fig. 40: Sketch plan of the *Mireuksa Monastery* (Modified from: Chang Kyung-hao 1991, p. 68, fig. 2)

As the largest Buddhist monastery of Baekje, the *Mireuksa Monastery* displayed many hitherto unknown data about Baekje architecture and monastery layout. The reverse 'T' shaped plan of the monastery, measured 171,4m north to south and 146.1m east to west, which consisted of three adjacent Compounds, each with its own Middle Gate, Pagoda and Golden Hall, giving an appearance of three self-contained monasteries with a 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear' layout. The pagoda (A) of the middle compound was a timber construction set on a square foundation with side 17.6m long. The Golden Hall (B) of the Middle Compound was located behind

¹⁴⁴ Samguk yusa 三國遺事, 979.

the Pagoda, which was a five-bay wide and four-bay deep structure measuring 25.9 by 20.2m. The Pagodas (A_1, A_2) of the Western and Eastern Compounds were made of stone, while the Golden Halls (B_1, B_2) was similar in structure to the one in the Middle Compound, but they were slight smaller in size.

Between Middle Gate (C) and south gate (C₁) was a large forecourt. The whole monastery and each compound were surrounded and separated by porticos. The sole Lecture Hall (D) was still placed in the rear of the monastery, and many Korean researchers assumed that the buildings in the vicinity of the Lecture Hall (D) might have been the remains of the Monk's Quarters (G). In addition, draining facilities and pathways were found in large number close to the main buildings.

In brief, the 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear' was the typical layout of the Baekje Kingdom monasteries. Their plan was always a longitudinal rectangle, and the main buildings were aligned on the north-south axis. A timber or stone-work pavilion-style pagoda marked the core of the monastery, while the Golden Hall stood behind it. The whole monastery was surrounded by a portico, with the Lecture Hall embedded in the rear side. Usually, there was a small South Gate in front of the Middle Gate, and the Monks' Quarters were arranged at the back of the monastery, in proximity of the Lecture Hall. Some special cases, such as the form of three pagodas and three halls in the *Mireuksa Monastery*, could be seen as a variant of 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear' layout.

Silla Kingdom: 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear' and 'Central Pagoda and Three Halls' monastery layouts

Though known through the envoys of the Goguryeo and Baekje Kingdoms at an early period, Buddhism did not have a lasting influence on Silla's royal family and common people. Actually, Buddhism was not introduced into Silla by official channel until the 6th century. In 527, however, Silla established formal diplomatic relation with South China. Emperor Wu of Liang sent the monk Yuanbiao 元表 to Silla, with Buddhist scriptures, a Buddha image as a gift and to preach the *Dharma*.¹⁴⁵ Despite of the resistance of many aristocrats, King Beopheung (法興王 r. 514 - 540 AD) accepted Buddhism and during his reign Buddhism become fairly popular throughout

¹⁴⁵ Samguk yusa 三國遺事, 1018.

Silla.¹⁴⁶ Through the efforts of his successor, King Jinheung (真興王 r. 540 - 576 AD), Buddhism was endowed with the special function of protecting the country and make it prosper. Consequently it almost became state religion of Silla. Not too many Silla's monasteries are extant, only the *Hwangnyongsa Monastery* 皇龍寺 and *Bunhwangsa Monastery* 芬皇寺 were surveyed and excavated in detail by Korean archaeologists.

Hwangnyongsa Monastery 皇龍寺

Location: in a valley near Toham Mountain, Gyeongju.

Construction date: mid 6th century.

Excavation: 1976 by the Korean National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage (Fig. 41).¹⁴⁷

Historical background: According to the records of *Samguk sagi*, the construction of the *Hwangnyongsa Monastery* begun in 553.¹⁴⁸ Under the patronage of King Jinheung of Silla, it was designed as a place where monks might pray for the welfare of the nation.¹⁴⁹ As one of the most important State Monasteries in the Korean Peninsula, the *Hwangnyongsa Monastery* underwent three large-scale reconstructions in 574, 754 and 1095 (Fig. 42-44); as a result, its layout underwent some major changes. The monastery was burned down and definitely abandoned in 1238, due to the war between Mongolia and Goryeo.



Fig. 41: Sketch plan of the *Original Hwangnyongsa Monastery* (Modified from: Kim Dong-hyun 1991, p.134, fig.1-4)

¹⁴⁶ Samguk Sagi 三國史記, vol. 4, 3-5.

¹⁴⁷ Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010 b, 86-97.

¹⁴⁸ Samguk Sagi 三國史記, vol. 4, 7.

¹⁴⁹ Samguk yusa 三國遺事, 990.

In virtue of stratigraphic sequence and structural intrusions of different buildings, the monastery layout in each period could be identified and restored.¹⁵⁰ The *original Hwangnyongsa Monastery* was nearly in square plan, 288m in length, and consisted of three adjacent Compounds which were surrounded by a portico. The Central Compound was the main one, while Eastern and Western Compounds were separated by two narrow roofed corridors. In the central compound the Middle Gate (C), the Pagoda (A), the Golden Hall (B) and the Lecture Hall (D) were aligned along the north-south axis; however, there was nothing to be found in Eastern and Western Compounds, suggesting us that the monastery in its initial phases might display a 'Pagoda in front and One Hall in the rear' layout, likely based on the prototype of Baekje.

During the first reconstruction of the *Hwangnyongsa Monastery*, the portico between the Central Compound and the side Compounds was dismantled, thus the original three Compounds were merged into a large one in the second phase. The extant foundation of the Pagoda (A) was a seven-bay wide and seven-bay deep structure, 32m in length. This was the largest and tallest nine-story wooden pagoda in the Korea Peninsula, built under the auspices of Queen Seondeok (善德女王 r. 632 - 647 AD), it was erected by Baekje's craftsmen in 645.¹⁵¹ On both sides of Middle Golden Hall (B), two slightly smaller Halls (B₁, B₂) were built, and therefore the layout consisted of one Pagoda and three Golden Halls, indicating the impact of Goguryeo's monastery layout on Silla's architecture (Fig.42).



Fig. 42: Sketch plan of the *First Reconstructed Hwangnyongsa Monastery* (Modified from: Kim Dong-hyun 1991, p.134, fig.2)

¹⁵⁰ Kim Dong-hyun 1991, 94-135.

¹⁵¹ Samguk yusa 三國遺事, 991.

Basically, the second and third reconstruction of the *Hwangnyongsa Monastery* continued on the basis of the first one; a square Sutra Hall and a Bell Tower were erected in front of the pagoda: these were the quite common buildings in late Buddhist monasteries (Fig.43-44).



Fig. 43: Sketch plan of the Second Reconstructed Hwangnyongsa Monastery (Modified from: Kim Dong-hyun 1991, p. 135, fig.3)



Fig. 44: Sketch plan of the *Third Reconstructed Hwangnyongsa Monastery* (Modified from: Kim Dong-hyun 1991, p. 135, fig. 4)

Bunhwangsa Monastery 芬皇寺

Location: about 140m north of *Hwangnyoungsa*, near Toham Mountain, Gyeongju, Korea.

Construction date: mid 7th century.

Excavations: 1915 by Japanese scholars; from 1990 to 1992 by the Gyeongju National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage (Fig. 45).¹⁵²

Historical background: According to the records of *Samguk sagi* and *Samguk yusa*, this monastery was built in the first year of Renping Era (634 AD), after Queen Seondeok ascended the throne.¹⁵³



Fig. 45: Sketch plan of the *Bunhwangsa Monastery* (Modified from: Park Daenam 2005, p.59, fig.24)

The monastery was rebuilt several times through history and its layout underwent significant changes. The evidences emerging from archaeological excavation indicated that the original *Bunhwangsa Monastery* faced south. The Pagoda (A) was a stonework multi-story structure, supposedly seven or nine stories high. The Middle Golden Hall (B) was placed about 36m north of the Pagoda, which was a three-bay wide and three-bay deep structure, measuring 26.6m by 15.4m. The earliest Middle Golden Hall was rebuilt several times, and the extant one, facing west, belongs to the third reconstruction. It is worth noting that the traces of initial West and East Golden Halls (B₁, B₂) were discovered, hence consisted of the layout of one Pagoda and three Golden Halls.¹⁵⁴ Just as the first reconstruction of the *Bunhwangsa Monastery*, this discovery suggests us that the original layout of the *Bunhwangsa Monastery* might also have been based on a Goguryeo prototype.

There are not many extant or unearthed Silla monasteries: judging from the available material, their layouts do not display any new feature. It seems that the

¹⁵² Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010 b, 98-100.

¹⁵³ Samguk yusa 三國遺事, 986; Samguk Sagi 三國史記, vol. 5, 1.

¹⁵⁴ Park Daenam 2005, 58-61.

earliest Silla monasteries were an evolution of the contemporary Baekje ones, that is the 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear' layout, while the later ones were obviously influenced by the layout of the Goguryeo monasteries, that is the 'Central Pagoda and three Golden Halls' layout.

Unified Silla: 'Central Hall and Twin Pagodas' and 'Multi-Compounds and Multi-Halls' monastery layouts

In the mid 7th century, through an alliance with the Chinese Tang Dynasty, Silla began the war for the unification on the Korean Peninsula. In 660, King Taejong Muyeol (太宗武烈王 r. 654 - 661 AD) conquered the Baekje Kingdom, while his successor, King Munmu (文武王 r. 661 - 681 AD) subjugated the Goguryeo Kingdom in 668. The history of the Korean Peninsula entered the Unified Silla Period (668 - 935 AD). After a series of military and diplomatic struggles, Unified Silla acquired the territory south of Taedong River 大同江. Due to the long-term war and unstable social conditions, Buddhism, as an important tool to protect the state and solidify the nation, had been further strengthened.¹⁵⁵ Surveyed and excavated monasteries of this period include the *Sacheonwangsa Monastery* 四天王寺, the *Kamunsa Monastery* 感恩寺, the *Bulguksa Monastery* 伟國寺, *Mangdeoksa Monastery* 艾官寺, the *Ganweolsa Monastery* 潤月寺, the *Goseonsa Monastery* 高仙 寺 and the *Jigoksa Monastery* 智穀寺. Despite the fact that not all of these monasteries were fully excavated, the features of their layouts are sufficiently clear.¹⁵⁶

Sacheonwangsa Monastery 四天王寺

Location: southern slopes of Mt. Nangsan, Gyeongju, near the Mausoleum of Queen Seondeok.

Construction date: late 7th century.

Excavation: since 2007 by the Gyeongju National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage (Fig. 46).¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ He Jingsong 2008, 79-82.

¹⁵⁶ Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010 b, 108-135.

¹⁵⁷ Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010 b, 108-111.

Historical background: According to the records of *Samguk sagi*, the monastery was built by King Munmu in 679.¹⁵⁸ During the war between Silla and Tang China, mysterious religious rituals believed to help the Silla army win the final victory were held in this monastery.¹⁵⁹



Fig. 46: Sketch plan of the *Sacheonwangsa Monastery* (Modified from: Gong Guoqiang 2006, p.240, fig. 64)

The ongoing archaeological excavation is aimed at unearthing the entire monastery. The monastery is well preserved, and almost all the bases of the columns were found in their original position. The ground plan was nearly square, delimited by portico. The Middle Gate (C), the Golden Hall (B) and the Lecture Hall (D) were aligned along the north-south axis, with the Golden Hall (B) occupying the center of the monastery. Judging from the location of the bases of the columns, the Golden Hall (B) was a 21.2m by 14.9m five-bay wide and three-bay deep wooden structure. On both sides of the Golden Hall (B) there were two roofed corridors connecting it with the east and west portico. In front of the Golden Hall (B) are the foundations of two square three-bay wooden Pagodas (A₁, A₂), measuring 10.75 - 12.9m. In addition, two small square buildings were found behind the Golden Hall (B); judging from their size and structure, it might be assumed that they were the Sutra Hall and the Bell Tower. The Lecture Hall (D) was placed in the rear of the monastery, embedded into the northern portico. Furthermore, some remains recently excavated slightly south of

¹⁵⁸ Samguk Sagi 三國史記, vol. 7, 16.

¹⁵⁹ Samguk yusa 三國遺事, 972.

the Middle Gate (C) might indicate the location of the South Gate and of a forecourt.

Kamunsa Monastery 感恩寺

Location: Yongdang-ri, Yangbuk-myeon, Gyeongju, near the Shore of East Sea. Construction date: late 7th century.

Excavation: from 1979 by the Gyeongju National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage (Fig. 47).¹⁶⁰

Historical background: this monastery was built by King Munmu during the Japanese aggression in 682, and the monastery was unfinished until he passed away: his tomb was placed beside it.¹⁶¹



Fig. 47: Sketch plan of the *Kamunsa Monastery* (Modified from: Cho You-chon 1991, p. 138, fig. 1)

The *Kamunsa Monastery* was a transversal rectangle in plan, surrounded by portico. The monastery layout was similar to the *Sacheonwangsa Monastery*. The Golden Hall (B) was arranged at the center of the monastery, a five-bay wide by three-bay deep structure measuring 23.8m by 17.6m. On each side of the Hall (B) were two segments of a roofed corridor that connected it with the east and west portico. There were two stone Pagodas (A₁, A₂) side by side erected in front of the Golden Hall (B). The Middle Gate (C) and Lecture Hall (D) were embedded respectively into the south and north porticos.

¹⁶⁰ Cho You-chon 1991, 94-135.

¹⁶¹ Samguk yusa 三國遺事, 973.

Mangdeoksa Monastery 望德寺

Location: Baeban-dong, Gyeongju.

Construction date: late 7th century.

Excavations: 1930 by Japanese scholars; in 1969 by the Korean Art History Academy (Fig. 48). ¹⁶²

Historical background: According to the records of the *Samguk sagi*, the monastery was completed in the fifth year of King Sinmun (神文王 r. 681 - 692 AD),¹⁶³ while according to the *Samguk yusa* it was built during the period of King Hyoso (孝昭王 r. 692 - 702 AD) for the purpose of blessing the imperial family of the Tang. Many miraculous stories were mentioned about the Twin Pagodas of this monastery.¹⁶⁴



Fig. 48: Sketch plan of the *Mangdeoksa Monastery* (Modified from: Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, p. 82, fig. 1)

Judging from the location of the plinths of the columns, the original location and the basic structure of the main buildings could be reconstructed. The large rectangular foundation at the center of the monastery was definitely identified with the remains of the Golden Hall (B). In front of the Hall, the ruins of the Twin Pagodas (A_1 , A_2) were excavated, each three-bay wide and three-bay deep. Meanwhile, few of the plinths of the west portico were found, from which the approximate range of the monastery was

¹⁶² Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, 80-83.

¹⁶³ Samguk Sagi 三國史記, vol. 8, 3.

¹⁶⁴ Samguk yusa 三國遺事, 1013; Samguk Sagi 三國史記, vol. 9, 5.

inferred. Although the excavation was limited to a small area, the layout of this monastery is relatively clear: the Golden Hall (B) was set at the centre, with two Pagodas (A_1, A_2) in front of it.

Cheongundong Monastery 千軍洞寺

Location: Cheongundong 548-1, Gyeongju. Construction date: approximately 8th century. Excavation: 1938 by Japanese scholars (Fig. 49).¹⁶⁵



Fig. 49: Sketch plan of the *Cheongundong Monastery* (Modified from: Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010b, p. 127, fig. 1)

The monastery was attributed to the Unified Silla Period on the basis of the architectural components and the style of the Pagodas. The plan of the monastery was a longitudinal rectangle enclosed by a portico. The Middle Gate (C), the Golden Hall (B) and the Lecture Hall (D) were aligned along the north-south axis, with the Golden Hall (B) occupying the center of the monastery. Between the Middle Gate (C) and Golden Hall (B), there were two stone three-story Pagodas (A₁, A₂) side by side. The Pagodas remain in their original position and are relatively well-preserved. Once more, the Lecture Hall (D) was in the rear of the monastery, and some buildings were found beside it, which might have been the Monk's Quarters (G).

¹⁶⁵ Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010 b, 126-129.

Bulguksa Monastery 佛國寺

Location: nearby Seokguram Grotto 石窟庵, Jinhyeon-dong, Gyeongju.

Construction date: mid 8th century.

Excavation: 1969 - 1970 by the Administrate of Cultural Heritage conducted a survey and a renovation (Fig. 50).¹⁶⁶

Historical background: The monastery's records state that a small monastery was built in this very place under the auspice of King Beopheung in the early 7th century. According the records of *Samguk yusa*, the current monastery was founded by Prime Minister Kim Daeseong (\pm 大城 700 - 774 AD) in order to pacify the spirits of his parents in 751. Kim Daeseong passed away before the monastery was completed, so that the royal court took over the construction.¹⁶⁷



Fig. 50: Sketch plan of the *Bulguksa Monastery*. (Modified from: Gong Guoqiang 2006, p. 238, fig. 62)

The *Bulguksa Monastery* consisted of two Compounds enclosed by porticoes and roofed corridors; each Compound had its own gate leading out of the monastery. The Eastern Compound was the main Compound, with a large Golden Hall (B) occupying the center of the complex, restored several times in the following periods. On both side of Hall (B) there were two roofed corridors connecting it with the east and west portico. In front of the Hall (B), two three-story stone Pagodas (A₁, A₂) well known

¹⁶⁶ Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 1991, 247-248.

¹⁶⁷ Samguk yusa 三國遺事, 1018.

as Seokgatap 釋迦塔 and Dabotap 多寶塔 Pagodas, were erected side by side, still in their original position. The Lecture Hall (D) was embedded into the north portico of the Eastern Compound. The Western Compound, nearly square in plan, was somewhat smaller than the East one, with the *Avalokiteśvara*'s Hall (B₁) (Gwaneumjeon) on the slight north of the Compound's center.

Unlike Silla, the Buddhist monasteries of Unified Silla had their own characteristics. The most remarkable features of the layout was the prominence gained by the Golden Hall, by now the most important building of the monastery of which it occupied the center; a second feature was the presence of the Twin Pagodas erected between the Middle Gate and Golden Hall. Meanwhile, the overall plan of the monastery evolved gradually from a longitudinal to a transverse rectangle, and some monasteries displayed a 'Multi-Compounds and Multi-Halls' layout.

2. The Japanese Archipelago: monastery layout during the Asuka and Nara Periods

There are many inconsistencies in textual sources concerning the introduction of Buddhism into Japan. Currently, the most widely accepted view is that Japan came in contact with Buddhism through Chinese emigrants from Liang, one of the Southern Dynasties; however, the precise time of the introduction of Buddhism in Japan by official channels is dated approximately in the middle of the 6th century.¹⁶⁸ In this process, the Kingdom of Baekje played an important role. Two documents are often quoted to demonstrate the formal introduction of Buddhism into Japan. The first one comes from the *Gangōji engi (The Origin of the Gangōji Monastery)*, edited in the Nara Period. It states that King Seong of Baekje (百濟聖明王 r. 523 - 554 AD) presented images and *sutras* to Emperor Kimmei (欽明天皇 r. 539 - 571 AD) in 538.¹⁶⁹ The second document is a passage from the *Nihon shoki (The Chronicles of Japan)*, and records in detail the episode concerning King Seong of Baekje sending a mission to Japan in the 13th year of Kimmei's Reign (552 AD): among the gifts brought along were a gilt-bronze image of Sakyamuni, some *patakas* 幡蓋 and sutras.

¹⁶⁸ Yang Zengwen 2008, 17-22.

¹⁶⁹ Yang Zengwen 2008, 18.
Buddhist religion.¹⁷⁰ Despite the fact that there remain different interpretations of the above records, most scholars would agree on the fact that Buddhism was officially introduced into Japan by King Seong of Baekje during Kimmei's Reign. By the end of 6th century, through the advocacy and support of the imperial family, the Buddhist faith had penetrated deeply into Japanese society. A passage of the *Nihon shoki* for 593 states:

In the spring of the second year of Empess Suiko, (Suiko Tennō) instructed the Imperial Prince and the great ministers to promote the prosperity of the Three Jewels. At this time, all the ministers and administrative officers vied with each other in erecting Buddha shrines for the benefit of their lords and parents; those were called *ji* (Buddhist monasteries).¹⁷¹

Along with the spread of Buddhism, Buddhist monasteries, a new architectural form which was entirely different from earlier architecture of Japan as well as from later secular buildings, were established throughout the Asuka and Nara regions. According to the records of *Nihon shoki* and *Fuso-ryakki* (*An Abbreviated Account of Japan*), there were 46 monasteries, housing 816 monks and 569 nuns in the year 623, and the number of monasteries rose to 545 by the end of the 7th century. The spread of the faith was so quickly that it was deemed necessary to make an official supervision of the Buddhist establishments all over the country.¹⁷²

In Japan a large number of Buddhist monasteries built between the 6th and 8th centuries have come down to us well preserved. Although the buildings have been reconstructed many times, or were buried underground, the foundations of the main buildings and the plinths of the columns are still located in their original place and provide definite evidence for the exploration of the original layout of these monasteries. Up to now, over 30 Buddhist monasteries of the Asuka and Nara Periods have been surveyed and excavated.¹⁷³ Based on their different disciplines and mathods, Japanese scholars classified the monasteries of this period into a variety of types. As early as 1940s, Tanaka Shigehisa 田中重久 classified the Buddhist monasteries of the Asuka Period into six types, besides analyzing the development of the twin pagodas layout (Fig. 51).¹⁷⁴ According to the different positioning of the pagoda, Mosaku Ishida 石田茂作 at first proposed a classification in five main types

¹⁷⁰ Nihon shoki 日本書紀, vol. 19, 12.

¹⁷¹ Nihon shoki 日本書紀, vol. 22, 1, "(推古天皇)二年春二月丙寅朔。詔皇太子及大臣,令興隆三宝。是時,諸臣連等各為君親之恩,競造仏舎,即是謂寺焉。"

¹⁷² Soper 1978, 4.

¹⁷³ Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010 b, 148-251.

¹⁷⁴ Saito Tadashi 1987, 219.

of monastery layout: the Shitennöji Monastery type, the Höryūji Monastery type, the Hōkiji Monastery type, the Yakushiji Monastery type and the Tōdaiji Monastery type.¹⁷⁵ Later he proposed a division into three main types and thirteen subtypes (Fig. 52).¹⁷⁶ In considering the arrangement of the main buildings, scholars from the field of architecture classified the monasteries of the Asuka - Nara Periods into six types: the Asukadera Monastery type, the Shitennöji Monastery type, the Kawaradera Monastery type, the Horyūji Monastery, the Yakushiji Monastery type, and the Kōfukuji Monastery type (Fig. 53).¹⁷⁷ In some writings, the Tōdaiji Monastery type was added as a new type.¹⁷⁸ Since my dissertation proposes a comparison and suggests a development from the Chinese and Korean to the Japanese monasteries, I will classify Japanese monasteries on the basis of their layouts, that is, by taking into consideration the relative position of the Pagoda, the Golden Hall and the configuration of the Compound. Although familiar with the classification and the naming of the types carried out by Japanese scholars, in the case the monastery layouts correspond to types known in China and Korea, I will use a consistent terminology, since it allows a direct comparison among the three geographical and cultural regions.



Fig. 51: Classification of Japanese monasteries 1 (Tanaka Shigehisa) (Modified from: Saito Tadashi 1987, p. 219., fig. 6)

Left: Monastery layouts of Asuka Period (Tanaka Shigehisa) 1. *Komadera* style 高麗寺式; 2. Western Compound of *Hōryūji* style 法隆寺西院式; 3. *Shitennōji* style 四天王寺式; 4. *Hōkiji* style 法起寺式; 5. *Bungo-kokubunji* style 豐後國分寺式; 6. *Hisodera* style 比蘇寺式

Right: the evolution of Double pagoda layout

1. Hisodera 比蘇寺; 2. Niihari-haiji 新治廢寺; 3. Tōdaiji 東大寺; 4. Saidaiji 西大寺; 5. Daianji 大安 寺

¹⁷⁵ Mosaku Ishida 1978, 5-15.

¹⁷⁶ Mosaku Ishida 1975-1977, 17.

¹⁷⁷ Architectural Institute of Japan 1975, 17.

¹⁷⁸ Kazuo Nishi and Kazuo Hozumi, H. Mack Horton (trans.) 1985, 17.



Fig. 52: Classification of Japanese monasteries 2 (Mosaku Ishida) (Modified from: Gong Guoqiang, p. 244, fig. 66)

A: Style of one pagoda

1. Shitennōji style 四天王寺式; 2. Asukadera style 飛鳥寺式; 3. Hōryūji style 法隆寺式; 4. Hōkiji style 法起寺式; 5. Kanzeonji Monastery style 觀世音寺式; 6. Kawaradera style 川原寺式; 7. Gangōji style 元興寺式; 8. Totomi-kokubunsoji style 遠江國分僧寺式; 9. Izumo-kokubunsoji style 出雲國分僧 寺式

B: Style of twin pagoda

1. Yakushiji style 藥師寺式; 2. Tōdaiji style 東大寺式

C: Style without pagoda

1. Shimotsuke-kokubunniji style 下野國分尼寺式; 2. Shinano-kokubunniji 信濃國分尼寺式



Fig. 53: Classification of Japanese monasteries 3 (Modified from: Architectural Institute of Japan 1975, p. 17, fig. 13)
1. South Gate; 2. Middle Gate; 3. Pagoda; 4. Golden Hall; 5. Lecture Hall; 6. Refectory; 7. Monk's Quarter; 8. Sutra Hall; 9. Bell Tower

Late 6th - first half of the 7th century: 'Central Pagoda and Three Halls' and 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear' monastery layouts

The 'Central Pagoda and Three Halls'

The 'Central Pagoda and Three Halls' layout is believed one of the earliest monastery layouts in Japan. Currently, only one monastery with this type of layout is known, the *Asukadera Monastery*. The 'Central Pagoda and Three Halls' layout of this monastery definitely brings to mind the layout of the monasteries of the Goguryeo Kingdom. Due to some confusion in the textual records and unearthed material evidences, there are different opinions about the origin of this monastery layout; I will study the issue in following chapter.

Asukadera Monastery 飛鳥寺

Location: Asuka-mura, Takaichi-gun, Nara Prefecture.

Construction date: end of 6th century.

Excavation: between 1956 and 1957 by the Nara National Institute of Cultural Properties carried out a series of large-scale excavations at the site, disclosing all its main buildings which included a Pagoda, three Golden Halls, the Lecture Hall, the portico and the Gate; the layout of the whole monastery was clearly exposed (Fig. 54).¹⁷⁹

Historical background: the *Asukadera Monastery* was also known as the *Hōkōji Monastery* 法興寺. Historical records set the date of the beginning of its construction towards the end of the 6th century under the guidance of craftsmen from the Baekje Kingdom. The Great Hall and porticoes were built in 592; the following year, a reliquary was interred at the central plinth and the central pillar of the pagoda was erected. In the 4th year of Empress Suiko (推古天皇 r. 593 - 628 AD) all the main building of the *Asukadera Monastery* were completed.¹⁸⁰ However, the main object of worship, a large bronze Buddha statue, was likely casted in the early 7th century.¹⁸¹



Fig. 54: Sketch plan of the *Asukadera Monastery* (Modified from: McCallum 2009, p. 39, fig. 1. 2)

According to the excavation report, the central axis of the Asukadera Monastery

¹⁷⁹ Nara National Institute of Cultural Properties 1958, 15-24.

¹⁸⁰ Nihon shoki 日本書紀, vol. 21, 5-6; vol. 22, 1.

¹⁸¹ Nishikawa Kyotaro 1982, 15-17.

was orientated to the true north, rather than to the magnetic north. The South Gate (C_1) , the Middle Gate (C), the Pagoda (A), the middle Golden Hall (B) and the Lecture Hall (D) were aligned in sequence along the north-south axis. Except for the South Gate (C_1) , The West Gate (C_2) and the Lecture Hall (D), all the remaining buildings were surrounded by a 6m wide portico. The Middle Gate (C), measuring 16.4m by 14m, was embedded in the middle of the south portico, while the South Gate (C_1) was located about 18m to its south. In addition, the West Gate (C_2) was found about 91m west of the central axis. The wooden Pagoda (A) was erected on top of a 12m wide platform which occupied the most important position in the monastery. A stone urn was discovered under the central foundation base: it contained a small gilt bronze reliquary and about 2,500 beads of glass and other precious material. The Middle Golden Hall (B) was sited at 26.6m north of the Pagoda (A), measuring 21.2m by 17.6m. On both side of the Pagoda (A) were erected the other two Golden Halls, West Hall (B_1) and East Hall (B_2) , apparently similar in size and structure, standing on platforms of 20m by15.6m wide, thus forming the 'Central Pagoda and Three Halls' layout. The Lecture Hall (D) was located in the rear of the monastery, behind the north portico, measuring 39.4m by 22.6m. The Middle Golden Hall (B) and the Pagoda (A) were destroyed by a fire in 1196, and the ruined buildings have not been reconstructed until recently.¹⁸²

The 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear'

This type of Buddhist monastery was extremely popular at the end of 6th century and the beginning of 7th century. The remarkable feature of this layout is that all the main buildings were arranged along the north-south axis. The Pagoda occupied the most significant position of the whole monastery, with one Golden Hall behind it. Besides the *Shitennōji Monastery* 四天王寺, typical monasteries of this type also include the *original Hōryūji Monastery* 初建法隆寺, the *Tachibanadera Monastery* 橘寺 and the *Yamadadera Monastery* 山田寺.

Shitennōji Monastery 四天王寺

Location: Tennōji-ku, Osaka.

Construction date: end of 6th century.

¹⁸² Nara National Institute of Cultural Properties 1958, ix-xi.

Excavation: between 1955 and 1957 by the Japanese Protection Commission of Cultural Properties conducted a survey and an excavation (Fig. 55).¹⁸³

Historical background: according to the *Nihon shoki*, its construction begun in 593 AD. As the oldest officially administrated monastery in Japan, it is believed that its establishment had close relationship with Prince Shōtoku (聖德太子 574 - 622 AD). Various important religious activities were held in this monastery in the ensuing decades.¹⁸⁴



Fig. 55: Sketch plan of the *Shitennōji Monastery* (Modified from: Mosaku Ishida 1968, p. 25, figure of *Shitennōji Monastery*)

The plan of the monastery was a longitudinal rectangle with the main buildings aligned along the north-south axis. The five-story wooden Pagoda (A) was placed slightly south of the monastery center and the Golden Hall (B) was set behind it. The monastery was surrounded by a portico, and the Lecture Hall (D) was embedded in the north portico. There were three gates; the Middle Gate (C) in the south was far larger than West Gates (C₁) and East Gate (C₂).

¹⁸³ Mosaku Ishida 1968, 25.

¹⁸⁴ Nihon shoki 日本書紀, vol. 22, 1; vol. 25, 12.

Original Hōryūji Monastery 初建法隆寺

Location: Ikaruga, Nara Prefecture.

Construction date: beginning of the 7th century.

Excavation: 1939 first survey by Mosaku Ishida; partial excavation in 1960s by the Nara National Institute of Cultural Properties (Fig. 56).¹⁸⁵

Historical background: It is believed that the monastery was initially built under the auspices of Prince Shōtoku, originally called *Ikaruga-dera* 斑鳩寺.¹⁸⁶



Fig. 56: Sketch plan of the *Original Hōryūji Monastery* (Modified from: Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010b, p. 166, fig.1)

The *Hōryūji Monastery* consists of two Compounds belonging to different historical period; the Eastern Compound is also known as *Original Hōryūji Monastery* or *Wakakusa-dera* 若草伽藍. Based on the results of above investigations, it can be affirmed that the layout of the *Original Hōryūji Monastery* was similar in plan to the *Shitennōji Monastery*, that is a 'Central Pagoda and one Hall in the rear' layout with the Pagoda (A), the Golden Hall (B), and the Lectue Hall (D) aligned along the north-south axis.

¹⁸⁵ Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, 118-119.

¹⁸⁶ Nihon shoki 日本書紀, vol. 22, 5.

Tachibanadera Monastery 橘寺

Location: Asuka-mura, Takaichi-gun, Nara Prefecture, in the vicinity of the birthplace of Prince Shōtoku.

Construction date: ample evidences indicate that the monastery was built in the first half of the 7^{th} century.¹⁸⁷

Excavations: 1950 survey by Mosaku Ishida; 1997 excavation by the Archaeological Institute of Kashihara, Nara Prefecture (Fig. 57).¹⁸⁸

Historical background: it suffered a conflagration in 680; it was rebuilt and restored many times through history.



Fig. 57: Sketch plan of the *Tachibanadera Monastery* (Modified from: Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, p. 117, fig.1)

The plan of the monastery was a longitudinal rectangle, surrounded by a portico. The five-story, two-bay wide and three-bay deep wooden Pagoda (A) was placed along the north-south axis, slightly south to the center and the Golden Hall (B) was placed behind it. The large Lecture Hall (D) was situated in the rear of the

¹⁸⁷ Nihon shoki 日本書紀, vol. 29, 9,"(天武天皇九年四月)乙卯,橘寺尼房失火,以焚十房。"

¹⁸⁸ Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, 116-117.

monastery as customary.¹⁸⁹ The layout was thus a 'Central Pagoda and one Hall in the rear'.

Yamadadera Monastery 山田寺

Location: Sakurai, Nara Prefecture.

Construction date: mid 7th century.

Excavation: 1976 complete survey and excavation by the Nara National Institute of Cultural Properties, which disclosed most of the main buildings and the layout of the monastery (Fig. 58).¹⁹⁰

Historical background: According to the records of *Jōgū Shōtoku Hōō Teisetsu* (上宮聖德法王帝說 *Biography of Shōtoku Taishi*), the monastery was initially established by Soga no Kurayamada no Ishikawa no Maro 蘇我倉山田石川麻呂 in 641 AD, and all the works were finally completed after few decades.



Fig. 58: Sketch plan of the *Yamadadera Monastery* (Modified from: Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010b, p. 173, fig. 1)

The plan of the *Yamadadera Monastery* was a longitudinal rectangle. The sequence of buildings aligned along the north-south axis consists of the South Gate (C₁), the Middle Gate (C), the Pagoda (A), the Golden Hall (B) and the Lecture Hall

¹⁸⁹ Ohwaki, Kiyoshi 1989, 138-154.

¹⁹⁰ Ohwaki, Kiyoshi 1989, 57-87.

(D). The Pagoda (A) was square in plan, a three-bay wooden structure; traces of a buried *śarīra* casket were found below the base of the central pillar. The Golden Hall (B) was built behind the Pagoda (A), a three-bay wide and two-bay deep structure. The Pagoda (A) and Golden Hall (B) were surrounded by a portico 85m wide east to west and 89m long north to south. The Lecture Hall (D) was placed in the rear of the monastery, outside of the northern portico; judging from the remaining bases of columns, it appears to have been a five-bay deep and four-bay wide structure.

In addition to the abovementioned cases, there were a large number of monasteries built during this period, such as the *Heiryuji Monastery* 平隆寺, the *Chūgūji Monastery* 中 宮 寺, the *Shindo-haiji Monastery* 新 堂 廢 寺, the *Katagihara-haiji Monastery* 樫原廢寺, the *Kitano-haiji Monastery* 北野廢寺, the *Okuyamakumedera Monastery* 奥山久米寺,¹⁹¹ the *Yamatohashidera Monastery* 大和橋寺, the *Kataokaoji Monastery* 片岡王寺, the *Yokoi-haiji Monastery* 横井廢寺, the *Kawachihajidera Monastery* 河內土師寺, the *Iyo Hoanji Monastery* 伊予法安 寺,¹⁹² the *Original Anō haiji Monastery* 穴太廢寺,¹⁹³ which also belong to the 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear' monastery layout.

Mid 7th century: 'One Pagoda and One Hall side by side' and the 'One Pagoda and one Hall side by side with a Central Hall behind ' monastery layouts

'One Pagoda and One Hall side by side'

The earliest example of the 'One Pagoda and one Hall side by side' in Japan, a monastery layout which prevailed in the mid 7th century, was believed to be the Western Compound of the *Hōryūji Monastery*. However, recent archaeological discoveries indicate that the site of the *Kibi Pond* might be an earlier instance. Typical monasteries with this layout include the *Kudara Ōdera Monastery* 百濟大寺, the *Hōryūji Monastery* 法隆寺, the *Ākāśagarbha Monastery* 虛空藏寺, the *Kose Monastery* 巨勢寺, the *Hōkiji Monastery* 法起寺, the *Kanzeonji Monastery* 觀世音寺, the *Komadera Monastery* 高麗寺.

¹⁹¹ Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, 110-113, 120-121, 126-129, 170-171, 172-173, 194-195.

¹⁹² Mosaku Ishida 1978, 6.

¹⁹³ McCallum 2009, 193.

Kudara Ōdera Monastery 百濟大寺

Location: present Sakurai, northeast of the central Asuka area.

Construction date: mid 7th century.

Excavation: since 1990s by the Nara National Institute of Cultural Properties (Fig. 59).¹⁹⁴

Historical background: The *Kudara Ōdera Monastery* is believed to be the predecessor of the *Daianji Monastery*. For a long time, due to the ambiguity of the documents, the exact construction date and the precise location of this monastery were unclear. Some entries in *Nihon Shoki* are believed to refer to the establishment of the *Kudara Ōdera Monastery*. A passage of 639 AD mentions that Emperor Jomei (舒明天皇 r. 629 - 641 AD) issued a decree to build a great palace and a great monastery near the Kudara River. A few months later, a nine-story Pagoda was erected on the bank of the Kudara River.¹⁹⁵ Another entry of 641 states that Empress Kogyoku (皇極天皇 r. 642 - 645, 655 - 661 AD) wished to build a great monastery, hence mobilizing labors and levying tax from the surrounding area. The note of this entry transcribing with smaller typeface marked that this monastery was the *Kudara Ōdera Monastery*.¹⁹⁶



Fig. 59: Sketch plan of the *Kudara Ōdera Monastery* (Modified from: Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties 2002, p.27, fig. 3)

¹⁹⁴ McCallum 2009, 137-138.

¹⁹⁵ Nihon shoki 日本書紀, vol. 23, 6.

¹⁹⁶ Nihon shoki 日本書紀, vol. 24, 2.

The excavation took place in the Kudara area, east of Fujiwarakyō 藤原京. A series of archaeological discoveries proved ultimately that the site of *Kibi Pond* corresponded to the *Kudara Ōdera Monastery* in the documents. *Kudara Ōdera Monastery* was such a significant imperial Buddhist monastery in the mid of 7th century that many scholars, including archaeologists, architectural historians and art historians have been seeking its location for several decades.

Archaeological data indicate clearly that the Kudara Ödera Monastery had a completely different layout from earlier Buddhist monasteries of East Asia. Several excavations disclosed the first half of the monastery, which was surrounded by portico. It is worth noting that the Pagoda (A) and the Golden Hall (B) were erected side by side in the fore part of the monastery. The Pagoda (A) was placed to the west that had a square foundation with sides of 32m and, while the residual height was of 2.3m. The pit of plinth for central pillar, found at the center of the Pagoda's foundation, was 6.7m by 5.4m. Both the foundation and the plinth pit were far larger than those of any contemporaneous monasteries, such as the Asukadera Monastery, the Shitennöji Monastery, the Kawaradera Monastery or the Yakushiji Monastery, all of which included a three or five-story pagoda, suggesting for us that the pagoda of Kudara Ödera Monastery might have been a nine-story pavilion structure as the accounts of Nihon shoki and Daianji engi (The Origin of the Daianji Monastery). The Golden Hall (B) was placed to the east, its base measuring of 37m by 25m. The Middle Gate (C) was embedded into the south portico, and faced to the Golden Hall (B).¹⁹⁷ Although there are no exact archaeological evidences, a reasonable hypothesis is that a Lecture Hall might have been situated in the rear of the monastery. The discovery and excavation of Kudara Ödera Monastery provide important clues to explore the origin of the layout of 'Pagoda and Hall side by side'.

Hōryūji Monastery 法隆寺

Location: Ikaruga, Nara Prefecture.

Construction date: late 7th century.

Excavation: 1926 survey by the National Treasure Preservation Committee of Hōryūji (Fig. 60).¹⁹⁸

Historical background: usually the term Horyūji Monastery refers to the Western

¹⁹⁷ McCallum 2009, 119-134.

¹⁹⁸ Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, 174-175.

Compound of the monastery that was rebuilt in 680, after the *original Hōryūji Monastery* was burned to the ground by a conflagration. The *Hōryūji Monastery* preserves the earliest timber-framed buildings group in the world, and large number of sculptures and artifacts.



Fig. 60: Sketch plan of the *Hōryūji Monastery* (Modified from: McCallum 2009, p. 124, fig. 2. 20)

At the moment the *Hōryūji Monastery* is a mixture of buildings constructed in different periods; however, the Middle Gate (C), the Pagoda (A), the Golden Hall (B) and part of the portico, which form the main body of the monastery, still maintain their original position since the late 7th century. Many of the annexed buildings, including the Sutra Hall, the Bell Tower and Lecture Hall (D), were established or rebuilt after the 9th century.¹⁹⁹ The Middle Gate (C) was embedded into the center of the south portico, with the south gate in front of it. The Pagoda (A) and the Golden Hall (B) were laid out opposite to each other. The former was a five-story wooden structure situated to the west, and the latter was a two-story pavilion placed to the east, with a five-bay wide by four-bay deep structure. The original Lecture Hall (D) is believed to have been located outside of the north portico, and it was reconstructed in the Heian Period.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ Kidder 1964, 55-62.

²⁰⁰ Kakichi Suzuki (ed.), Mary Neighbour Parent and Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt (trans.) 1980, 54-57.

Ākāśagarbha Monastery 虛空藏寺

Location: Usa, Oita Prefecture.

Construction date: 7th century.

Excavation: 1971 survey by the Education Committee of Oita Prefecture; 1988 survey by the Education Committee of Usa City (Fig. 61).²⁰¹



Fig. 61: Sketch plan of the *Ākāśagarbha Monastery* (Modified from: Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010b, p.229, fig. 1)

According to the published information, the layout of the $\bar{A}k\bar{a}sagarbha$ *Monastery* was similar to that of the $H\bar{o}ry\bar{u}ji$ *Monastery* style. The South Gate (C₁), the Middle Gate (C) and the Lecture Hall (D) were aligned along the north-south axis, while the Pagoda (A) and the Golden Hall (B) were aligned along the east-west axis. The Pagoda (A) and the Golden Hall (B) were surrounded by a portico, with the Pagoda (A) to the west and the Golden Hall (B) to the east.

Kose Monastery 巨勢寺

Location: Gose, Nara Prefecture.

Construction date: late 7th century.

Excavations: 1987 by the Archaeological Institute of Kashihara, Nara Prefecture

²⁰¹ Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010 b, 228-229.

partial excavation (Fig. 62).²⁰²

Historical background: it is believed that the *Kose Monastery* was related to the powerful clan of Kose. An entry of *Nihon shoki* in 686 AD states that *Kose Monastery* was granted two hundred households as fief, which indicates that the construction of the monastery must have been earlier than this date.²⁰³



Fig. 62: Sketch plan of the *Kose Monastery* (Modified from: Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, p. 165, fig. 1)

The archaeological excavation disclosed the foundation of the Pagoda (A) and also the remains of the Golden Hall (B), the Lecture Hall (D) and the portico. The layout resembled to that of the *Hōryūji Monastery*. The Pagoda (A) and the Golden Hall (B) were erected side by side, with the Pagoda on the west and the Golden Hall to the east. Both were surrounded by a portico; the Lecture Hall (D) was embedded into the north portico.

Hōkiji Monastery 法起寺

Location: Okamoto, Ikaruga-cho Ikoma-gun, Nara Prefecture.

Construction date: mid 7th century.²⁰⁴

Excavation: 1969 survey by the Education Committee of Nara Prefecture; the location of main buildings and their structural superimposition to an early palace were confirmed (Fig. 63).²⁰⁵

²⁰² Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, 164-165.

²⁰³ Nihon shoki 日本書紀, vol. 29, 22.

²⁰⁴ Mosaku Ishida 1978, 10-11.

²⁰⁵ Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, 184-185.

Historical background: it is believed that this monastery was erected on the ruins of the Okamoto Palace 岡本宮, the palace where Prince Shōtoku had lectured on the *Lotus sutra*. Prince Yamashiro, son of Prince Shōtoku rebuilt the former palace as a monastery in memory of his father.



Fig. 63: Sketch plan of the *Hōkiji Monastery* (Modified from: Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, p. 185, fig. 1)

The Pagoda (A) was a three-story wooden pavilion square in plan, a three-bay wide and three-bay deep structure. On the same west-east axis was erected the Golden Hall (B). The Middle Gate (C) and the Lecture Hall (D) were instead aligned along the north-south axis. The difference of the monastery layout between the $H\bar{o}kiji$ *Monastery* and the $H\bar{o}ry\bar{u}ji$ *Monastery* is opposite location of the Pagoda and the Golden Hall. Therefore some Japanese researchers consider it as a new type—the style of $H\bar{o}kiji$ *Monastery*. On the basis of historical records, except the Pagoda (A), other main buildings, including the Golden Hall (B), the Lecture Hall (D) and the Middle Gate (C) were all rebuilt in later periods on their original position.

Kanzeonji Monastery 觀世音寺

Location: Dazaifu, northern Kyushu. Construction date: mid 7th century. Excavation: 1960 survey by the *Kanzeonji* Preservation Commission (Fig. 64).²⁰⁶ Historical background: According to an entry of the *Shoku Nihongi* (*The Further Chronicle of Japan*), this monastery was erected by Emperor Tengi to pray for Empress Saimei, however, it was not yet completed, even though many years had passed.²⁰⁷



Fig. 64: Sketch plan of the *Kanzeonji Monastery* (Modified from: McCallum 2009, p. 193, fig. 3. 22. c)

The *Kanzeonji Monastery* had the same plan as $H\bar{o}kiji$ *Monastery*. The South Gate (C₁), the Middle Gate (C) and the Lecture Hall (D) were arranged along the north-south axis, while the Pagoda (A) and the Golden Hall (B) were aligned along the east-west axis, with the Pagoda (A) to the east and Golden Hall (B) to the west, both surrounded by a portico.

Komadera Monastery 高麗寺

Location: Yamashiro, Sōraku, Kyōto Prefecture.

Construction date: mid 7th century.

Excavations: 1960 and 1987 by the Education Committee of Yamshiro (Fig. 65).²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ Taniguchi Tetsuo 1978, 14-16, 39.

²⁰⁷ McCallum 2009, 192-199.

²⁰⁸ Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, 134-137; Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010 b, 176-179.



Fig. 65: Sketch plan of the *Komadera Monastery* (Modified from: Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, p. 135, fig. 1)

The foundation of the Pagoda (A) is square in plan, 16.1m wide and 1.5m residual height. The Golden Hall (B) was a five by four-bay structure, and the Lecture Hall (D) had a similar structure, but was larger than the Golden Hall (B). This monastery had the same plan as $H\bar{o}kiji$ Monastery: the Pagoda (A) and Golden Hall (B) were erected separately to the east and west of the monastery, while the Middle Gate (C) and the Lecture Hall (D), aligned along the north-south axis, were embedded into the portico surrounding the monastery.

As mentioned above, the layout of "One Pagoda and One Hall side by side" was the most popular monastery layout around the mid 7th century. The remarkable feature was that the Golden Hall was opposite to the Pagoda. So far, there are large number of Buddhist monasteries in this period, including the *Hōrinji Monastery* (法 輪 寺), the *Kaieji Monastery* 海會寺, the *Yachuji Monastery* 野中寺, the *Teramachi-haiji Monastery* 寺町廢寺 the *Daiji-haiji Monastery* 大寺廢寺 the *Nishiyama-haiji Monastery* 西山廢寺, the *reconstructed Anō haiji Monastery* 穴太废 寺 the *Niji haiji Monastery* 尼寺廢寺 the *Abedera Monastery* 阿部寺 the *Zenjakuji Monastery* 禪寂寺, the *Sano-haiji Monastery* 山王廢寺, the *Sano-haiji Monastery*

佐野廢寺, the Saijo-haiji Monastery 西條廢寺,²⁰⁹ the Jorinji Monastery 定林寺, the Karudera Monastery 輕寺 and the Kokubunji Monastery 相模國分寺,²¹⁰ have been fully or partially excavated by archaeologists in the past few decades indicate that they have the same monastery layout of "One Pagoda and One Hall side by side".

'One Pagoda and One Hall side by side with a Central Hall behind'

This type of Buddhist monastery layout was popular in the second half of the 7th century. The analysis of the currently available archaeological material suggests that this type appeared slightly later than 'One Pagoda and One Hall side by side'. In some sense, it can be regarded as an inheritor of 'One Pagoda and One Hall side by side' layout. The main characteristic of such layout is that the Middle Golden Hall was located at the center of the monastery, while the Pagoda and a Small Hall were erected side by side in front of it. At times there was no small Hall opposite of the Pagoda. Typical monasteries of this type include the *Kawaradera Monastery* 川原寺, the *Minami Shiga haiji Monastery* 南滋賀廢寺, the *Sūfukuji Monastery* 崇福寺, the *Daikandaiji Monastery* 大官大寺.

Kawaradera Monastery 川原寺

Location: Asuka-mura, Takaichi-gun, Nara Prefecture.

Construction date: second half of the 7th century.

Excavation: 1950s by the Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties, which carried out a series of large-scale excavations which disclosed all the main buildings and unearthed a large quantity of building materials, providing abundant evidence for the analysis of the building structure and layout of this monastery (Fig. 66).²¹¹

Historical background: As one of four great monasteries of the Asuka Period, the *Kawaradera Monastery* was one of the most prominent Buddhist monasteries and had a profound impact on contemporaneous monastery architecture. Surprisingly, the founding date and the reasons for the establishment of such an important monastery are not found in textual sources. Judging from the architectural style, the sculptural remains and the construction materials, it could be inferred that its construction

²⁰⁹ Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2009, 166-215.

²¹⁰ Mosaku Ishida 1978, 7.

²¹¹ Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties 1960.

initiated in the second half of the 7th century; in fact most scholars believe that the monastery was founded earlier than 673 AD. It might have been dedicated to the memory of Empress Saimei (齊明天皇 r. 654 - 661 AD); consequently its construction work might have begun by Emperor Tengi (天智天皇 r. 661 - 672 AD) and completed by Emperor Tenmu (天武天皇 r. 672 - 686 AD).²¹² After then, the *Kawaradera Monastery* was involved in many significant rituals associated with the Japanese court, such as the transcription of all Buddhist Sutras, prayer for sick emperors, accommodation for foreign monks, confession and repentance.²¹³ After the capital was moved to Nara and after having suffered several conflagrations, it gradually lost its glory with the demise of the Heian Period.²¹⁴



Fig. 66: Sketch plan of the *Kawaradera Monastery* (Modified from: Ohoka Minoru 1965, p. 157, figure of *Kawaradera*)

²¹² McCallum 2009, 163-166.

²¹³ Nihon shoki 日本書紀, vol. 29, 1, 19, 20-23.

²¹⁴ Ohwaki, Kiyoshi 1989, 108-115.

The plan of *Kawaradera Monastery* was a longitudinal rectangle oriented to the south. The most important building was the large middle Golden Hall (B) that occupied the core position of the whole monastery. It was a five-bay wide and four-bay deep wooden structure at the outer wall and three-bay wide and two-bay deep in the inner sanctum, with the overall dimensions of 23.8m by 19.2m. The platform of the Hall was 1.5m high; roofed corridors connected the Hall with the outer portico surrounding the monastery. In front of the middle Golden Hall (B), a Pagoda (A) and a West Hall (B₁) were erected side by side, the Pagoda (A) to the east and the Hall (B_1) to the west. The platform of the Pagoda was 11.7m wide, with a residual height of 1.5m. Judging the span of platform and the distribution of pillar's base stones, it is reasonable to presume the three-bay square Pagoda (A) might have been five-story in height. The West Hall (B_1) , slightly smaller than middle Golden Hall (B), faced the Pagoda rather than being oriented to the south. Although the platform of the West Hall has been shaved off by agricultural activity, its size could be inferred by the surrounding rainwater gutter and apron (inubashiri 散水): a five-bay wide and four-bay deep structure measuring 21.8m by 13.6m. The Middle Gate (C) was enclosed by the south portico, while the South Gate (C_1) was found about 30m south of it. The Lecture Hall (D), a nine-bay wide and four-bay deep structure measuring 40.5m by 16m, was located in the northern part of the monastery, inside the north portico.²¹⁵

Minami Shiga haiji Monastery 南滋賀廢寺

Location: Otsu, Shiga Prefecture, about 500m north of the Otsu capital, where Emperor Tengi moved his court in 667.²¹⁶

Construction date: second half of the 7th century.

Excavations: between 1938 and 1940 surveyed by the Education Committee of Minami Shiga (Fig. 67).²¹⁷

Historical background: the location of the *Minami Shiga Haiji Monastery* indicates clearly this was a monastery closely related to the imperial family, though no one knows its original name.

²¹⁵ McCallum 2009, 166-177.

²¹⁶ Nihon shoki 日本書紀, vol. 27, 4-5.

²¹⁷ Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010 b, 180-183.



Fig. 67: Sketch plan of the *Minami Shiga haiji Monastery* (Modified from: Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010b, p. 182, fig. 1)

A striking result of the excavation was the discovery that both the layout and the building material of this monastery were almost identical to that of the *Kawaradera Monastery*. The plan of whole monastery was a longitudinal rectangle surrounded by a portico. The Middle Golden Hall (B), measuring 22.72m by 18.18m, occupied the center of the monastery, and was connected by two stretches of roofed corridors on its east and west sides to the portico surrounding the monastery. The Pagoda (A) and West Golden Hall (B₁) were erected side by side in front of the middle Golden Hall (B). The Middle Gate (C) was embedded into the south portico, and the Lecture Hall (D) was placed in the northern part of the monastery, inside of north portico. Moreover, the Monk's Quarters (G) were found in the rear of the monastery, close to the portico.

Sūfukuji Monastery 崇福寺

Location: Otsu, Shiga Prefecture, at the foothills of Mt. Hiei, about one kilometer northwest of the *Minami Shiga haiji Monastery*.

Construction date: second half of the 7th century.

Excavations: 1928 and 1938 surveyed by Japanese scholars (Fig. 68).²¹⁸

Historical background: According to the record of *Fusô Ryakki (An Abbreviated Account of Japan)*, the monastery was ordered by Emperor Tengi in 668, a year after he moved the capital to Otsu.²¹⁹



Fig. 68: Sketch plan of the *Sūfukuji Monastery* (Modified from: Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010b, p. 226, fig. 2)

One of most important Buddhist monastery built in the second half of the 7th century. The excavation of the ruins disclosed the Middle Golden Hall (B), with a Pagoda (A) opposite to a Small Hall (B₁). Judging from the relative position of these buildings, it is presumed that the layout of *Sūfukuji Monastery* might have the similar plan to *Kawaradera Monastery*. In addition, the unearthed building material and sculptural remains had the same style to the *Kawaradera* and *Minami Shiga haiji Monasteries*, indicating close contact among these monasteries.

Daikandaiji Monastery 大官大寺

Location: Asuka-mura, Takaichi, Nara Prefecture.

Construction date: second half of the 7th century.

Excavations: mid 19th century surveys; 1970s several large-scale archaeological

²¹⁸ Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010 b, 224-227.

²¹⁹ FusôRyakki 扶桑略記, 520.

excavations by National Research Institute of Cultural Properties (Fig. 69).²²⁰

Historical background: As an important Buddhist monastery of Fujiwarakyō 藤原 京, it played a key role in the development history of Japanese ancient monasteries. According to the records of *Nihon shoki* and *Daianji engi*, the predecessor of *Daikandaiji Monastery* could be traced back to *Kudara Ōdera Monastery* founded by Emperor Jomei. In 673 AD, when the *Kudara Ōdera Monastery* was transferred to Takechi, its name was changed to *Takechi Ōdera Monastery* 高市大寺. While *Daianji engi* further states that the monastery was renamed *Daikandaiji Monastery* in 677.²²¹ At the same time, historical records and archaeological excavation demonstrated there was another *Daikandaiji Monastery*, which might be built during the period of Emperor Manmu (文武天皇 r. 697 - 707AD). Just like the *Yakushiji* and *Gangōji Monasteries*, accompany with the capital moved to Heijōkyō, the *Daikandaiji*



Fig. 69: Sketch plan of the *Daikandaiji Monastery* (Modified from: Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties 2002, p. 50, figure of *Manmu Daikandaiji*)

Some of the main buildings were disclosed during early excavations, such as the Pagoda (A), the Golden Hall (B), the Lecture Hall (D) and the portico, thus the layout of the monastery was relatively clear.²²² The plan of the *Daikandaiji Monastery* was

²²⁰ Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties 2002, 50-52.

²²¹ McCallum 2009, 137-138.

²²² Ohwaki, Kiyoshi 2009, 172-182.

similar to that of the *Kawaradera Monastery*. The whole plan of the monastery was a longitudinal rectangle, 144m east-west and 197m north-south. There was a large Middle Golden Hall (B) at the center of the monastery measuring of 54.6m by 30.1m; the residual height of the platform is about 1.7m. Two roofed corridor segments connected the Golden Hall (B) with the east and west portico. The Pagoda (A) was located to the east, in front of the Golden Hall; it was a five-bay wide and five-bay deep square structure, with a platform of 24m wide and 2m high. The Middle Gate (C) was a five-bay wide and three-bay deep structure, measuring 31.6m by 20.7m. It might have been a two-story building embedded into the south portico. The Lecture Hall (D) was placed at the northern part the monastery, inside the north portico, with the same dimension as the Middle Golden Hall.²²³ The only difference between the *Daikandaiji Monastery* and the *Kawaradera Monastery* was that the former did not have a small hall opposite to the pagoda. Nevertheless, the *Daikandaiji Monastery* could be classified as a simplification of such kind of monastery layout.

Late 7th - mid 8th century: 'Central Hall and Twin Pagodas', 'Multi-Compounds and Multi-Halls' and 'Central Hall and One Pagoda on different axis' monastery layouts

'Central Hall and Twin Pagodas'

The 'Central Hall and Twin Pagodas' layout is known in Japan as the *Heijōkyō Yakushiji Monastery* 平城京藥師寺 layout, from the homonymous monastery of the early 8th century. In truth the earliest monasteries of this type should be the *Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji Monastery* 藤原京藥師寺 which was the predecessor of the *Heijōkyō Yakushiji Monastery*, and was founded in 580 AD. However, such monasteries were mainly popular in the 8th century, after the capital was transferred to Heijōkyō. All the main buildings were aligned along the north-south axis and the Golden Hall occupied the center of the monastery; the 'Twin Pagodas' were erected in front of the Golden Hall. Besides the *Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji Monastery*, many monasteries built in the 8th century, such as the *Heijōkyō Yakushiji Monastery* and the *Tōdaiji Monastery* 東大寺, had similar symmetrical arrangement of the 'Twin Pagodas' in front of the Golden Hall.

²²³ McCallum 2009, 144-146.

Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji Monastery 藤原京藥師寺

Location: Kashihara, Nara Prefceture, southwest of Fujiwara Palace sites. Construction date: late 7th century.

Excavation: 1990s large-scale excavation by the Nara National Research Institute (Fig. 70).²²⁴

Historical background: The Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji Monastery is also known as Moto Monastery or Original Yakushiji Monastery. According to Nihon shoki and the Satsu inscription 檫铭 of Heijōkyō Yakushiji, the Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji Monastery was founded by Emperor Tenmu in the eighth year of his accession, for the recovery of his sick consort; unfortunately, it was Emperor Tenmu who passed away at the beginning of the construction, while his consort recovered and succeeded him as Empress Jito (持統天皇 r. 686 - 697 AD). During the period of her reign, most of the main buildings of Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji Monastery were completed and became an important religious ceremony place.²²⁵



Fig. 70: Sketch plan of the *Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji Monastery* (Modified from: Ōhashi Kazuaki 1986, p. 71, figure of *Yakushiji*)

Except for the Lecture Hall and the Monk's Quarters, covered by modern buildings, the other main buildings, such as the Golden Hall (B), the Pagodas (A_1, A_2) , the Middle Gate and the portico, were all unearthed. The Golden Hall (B) occupied the center of the monastery; based on the integral foundation in stone masonry, it is

²²⁴ Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2010 b, 236-239.

²²⁵ Nihon shoki 日本書紀, vol. 29, 10; Ōhashi Kazuaki 1986, 112, 114.

assumed that it was a seven-bay wide and four-bay deep structure measuring 29.5m by 18.2m. The foundations of the two Pagodas (A_1 , A_2) were located in front of the Golden Hall (B). The platform of the East Pagoda (A_2) was a three-bay wide and three-bay deep structure measuring 16m by 13m and originally approximately 1m high. A large plinth of central pillar, with a receptacle for *śarīra*, was placed almost the top of the platform. The West Pagoda (A_1) had a similar structure but a little smaller than the East Pagoda, and was believed to be built in the early Nara Period. The Middle Gate was a three-bay wide and two-bay deep structure; their platform measured 16.3m by 8.9m and was embedded into a 7.1m wide portico. It can be assumed that the Lecture Hall might have been arranged at the rear of the monastery, though it could not be excavated because of modern buildings constructed above it.

From the perspective of the city's overall grid plan, the *Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji Monastery* was placed at the center of a ward between West Second Avenue and West Third Avenue of Fujiwarakyō. The central north-south axis of the monastery faced directly to the West Third Intermediate Avenue of the capital, suggesting that the planning and design of the monastery was coordinated with the overall plan of the city of Fujiwarakyō²²⁶

Heijōkyō Yakushiji Monastery 平城京藥師寺

Location: Nishinokyo-cho, Nara City, Nara Prefecture.

Construction date: early 8th century.

Excavation: 1980s by the Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties. The excavated area was the core of the monastery. Based on the archaeological data and the extant buildings, Japanese architectural historians reconstructed the main buildings of the monastery (Fig. 71)²²⁷.

Historical background: as the successor of the *Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji Monastery*, the *Heijōkyō Yakushiji Monastery* was believed to be transferred completely to Nara in 718, when the capital moved from Fujiwarakyō to Heijōkyō. However, recently archaeological excavation provides increasing evidences to indicate that there might have been two *Yakushiji Monasteries* which existed at the same time and exerted respectively functions at one time.²²⁸

²²⁶ McCallum 2009, 215-225.

²²⁷ Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties 2002, 84-85.

²²⁸ Ōhashi Kazuaki 1986, 42-45; McCallum 2009, 255-256.



Fig. 71: Sketch plan of the Heijōkyō *Yakushiji Monastery* (Modified from: Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties 2002, p. 85, fig. 4)

The layout of the Heijokvo Yakushiji Monastery is identical to that of the Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji Monastery, which strictly kept to the principle of axial symmetry. All the main buildings were surrounded by a 7m wide portico. The large Golden Hall (B) was arranged at the center of the monastery. Unearthed stone bases show us that the Hall was seven-bay wide and four-bay deep structure, with the dimension of 29.4m by 18.3m. Two three-story pagodas (A1, A2) square in plan were erected side by side in front of the Golden Hall (B); they were three-bay structures approximately 15m wide. The East Pagoda (A2) is the only original buildings of the 8th century at the Yakushiji Monastery, and is considered one of the finest pagodas in Japan. The Middle Gate (C) was a five-bay wide and two-bay deep structure, directly facing to the Golden Hall (B). The Lecture Hall (D) was located behind the Golden Hall (B), embedded into the north portico. The Monk's Quarters were arranged in the rear of the monastery, outside the portico, and the Sutra Hall and Bell Tower were built between the Monks' Quarters and the north portico. A little south of the Middle Gate (C), there was the South Gate (C_1) embedded into the mud wall that enclosed the whole monastery.

Tōdaiji Monastery 東大寺

Location: east suburb of Heijōkyō, present Zoshicho, Nara City, Nara Prefecture. Construction date: mid 8th century.

Excavation: surveyed by the Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties (Fig. 72).

Historical background: though the predecessor of *Tōdaiji Monastery* might be traced back to *Kinshōsen-ji Monastery* 金鐘山寺, built by Emperor Shumo (聖武天 皇 r.724 - 749 AD) for his son in 728, most researchers prefer to believe that the *Tōdaiji Monastery* was founded in 741, after Emperor Shumo issued an edict to promote the construction of Provincial Monasteries 國分寺 throughout the country. The *Tōdaiji Monastery* was designated as the headquarters of all the Provincial Monasteries, and finally completed in 752. Thereafter, the *Tōdaiji Monastery* became an important religious ritual place for six Buddhist schools during the Nara Period, which included the Kegon-shū 華嚴宗, Hossō-shū 法相宗, Risshū 律宗, Sanron-shū 三論宗, Jōjitsu-shū 成實宗 and Gusha-shū 俱舍宗.²²⁹



Fig. 72: Sketch plan of the *Tōdaiji Monastery* (Modified from: Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties 2002, p.82, fig. 3)

The main buildings of the *Tōdaiji Monastery* were arranged symmetrically along the north-south axis, with 'Twin Pagodas' (A_1, A_2) side by side in the front. The large

²²⁹ Ohoka Minoru 1965, 27-28.

Golden Hall (B) occupies the center of the monastery, connected by two lateral roofed corridors to the portico surrounding the central compound. As one of the largest wooden buildings in Japan, the Golden Hall (B) was initially a nine-bay wide and five-bay deep structure, measuring 88m by 51.5m at the base and 48.5m in height. It contains the main icon a 15m high bronze image of Buddha *Vairocana* 毗盧遮那 who is the main deity of the *Avataṃsaka* School 華嚴學派. The Middle Gate (C) was embedded into the south portico, facing directly the Golden Hall (B). The Lecture Hall (D) was placed outside of the north portico, surrounded by Monk's Quarters (G) and other annexes. The Sutra Hall (E) and the Bell Tower (F) were placed between the north portico and the Lecture Hall (D). In front of the Middle Gate (C), two Pagodas (A₁, A₂) enclosed by respective porticos were erected symmetrically, which are presumed to have been over one hundred meter high.

'Central Hall and One Pagoda on different axis'

The 'Central Hall and One Pagoda on different axis', referred to as the *Toshodaiji Monastery* layout by Japanese scholars, was also a common monastery layout after the capital was moved to Heijokyo. Such monasteries consisted of a main Compound and several auxiliary Compounds, and the Middle Golden Hall was arranged at the center of the main Compound. Another distinctive feature was that a sole Pagoda was not set on the main axis, but enclosed in a separate Compound out of main Compound.

Kōfukuji Monastery 興福寺

Location: Noborioji-cho, Nara City, Nara Prefecture, southwest of *Tōdaiji Monastery*.

Construction date: early 8th century.

Excavation: by the Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties (Fig. 73).²³⁰

Historical background: just like many monasteries of this period, the *Kōfukuji Monastery* had its predecessor and original site in Yamshina. In 672, it was transferred to Fujiwarakyō. Several decades later, when the capital moved to Heijōkyō, the monastery was dismantled and transferred to present location. Since the

²³⁰ Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties 2002, 83-84.

Kōfukuji Monastery had close relation with the powerful clan Fujiwara, it kept its prosperity and important status for a long time even after the capital was removed to Kyōto.²³¹



Fig. 73: Sketch plan of the *Kōfukuji Monastery* (Modified from: Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties 2002, p.82, fig. 1)

The *Kōfukuji Monastery* consisted of many separate Compounds, with the main one, enclosed by a portico, located slightly to the south of the monastery. The South Gate (C₁), the Middle Gate (C), the Golden Hall (B), and the Lecture Hall (D) were all arranged along the north-south axis. The Golden Hall (B), embedded into the north portico, was a seven-bay wide and four-bay deep structure, with the Lecture Hall (D) behind it. Other two smaller halls, the West Hall (B₁) and the East Hall (B₂) were placed one on each side of the main Compound. It is worth noting that a five-story wooden Pagoda (A) and the East Golden Hall (B₂) were placed within a separate Compound in the southeast corner of the monastery, enclosed by a portico and a mud wall. Other Compounds and annexed buildings, such as the Storage Compound and Refectory Compound (H), were arranged at the north and northeast of the monastery.²³²

Gangōji Monastery 元興寺

Location: east of Heijōkyō, Nara City, Nara Prefecture, close to the Kōfukuji

²³¹ Ohoka Minoru 1965, 19-22.

²³² Kidder 1972, 116-118.

Monastery.

Construction date: early 8th century.

Excavation: surveyed by the Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties (Fig. 74).²³³

Historical background: it is assumed that this monastery was initially built by Soga no Umako, and had close relation with the *Asukadera Monastery*. Following the relocation of the capital to Heijōkyō, it was transferred to present position in the early of Nara Period.²³⁴



Fig. 74: Sketch plan of the *Gangōji Monastery* (Modified from: Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties 2002, p.77, fig. 2)

The plan of the *Gangōji Monastery* was a longitudinal rectangle, enclosed by a mud wall. The South Gate (C_1), the Middle Gate (C), the Golden Hall (B), the Lecture Hall (D), the Bell Tower (F) and the Refectory (H) were arranged along the north-south axis. The main Compound rested a little south of the whole monastery, which was surrounded by a portico. The Golden Hall (B) was a seven-bay wide and four-bay deep structure that occupied the center of the Compound, one of the few of well-preserved original structures. The Lecture Hall (D) was behind the Golden Hall (B). It was a nine-bay wide structure, embedded into the north portico. A separate Compound in the southeast corner of the monastery, enclosed by a portico in front and a mud wall on the sides, hosted the Pagoda (A) and a row of Monk's Quarters (G). Another very small Pagoda (A₁) was placed southwest of the monastery. Other

²³³ Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties 2002, 82-83

²³⁴ Ohoka Minoru 1965, 22.

annexed buildings, such as Refectory (H) and Bell Tower (F) were all arranged symmetrically in the north part of the monastery (Fig. 80).²³⁵

Tōshōdaiji Monastery 唐招提寺

Location: west of Heijōkyō, West First Avenue and West Second Avenue, north of Yakushiji, present 13-46 Gojō – chō, Nara City, Nara Prefecture. Construction date: mid 8th century.

Excavation: surveyed by the Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties in 1978 (Fig. 75).²³⁶

Historical background: It was established by the famous Chinese *Vinaya* master Jianzhen 鑒真, who arrived in Japan after experiencing all kinds of hardship, and founded the Ritsu School.²³⁷ Jianzhen and his disciples participated in the design and construction of the *Tōshōdaiji Monastery*, which can be regarded as monastery directly influenced by Chinese Tang models.



Fig. 75: Sketch plan of the *Tōshōdaiji Monastery* (Modified from: Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties 2002, p.78, fig. 5)

As in many of the remaining monasteries of this period, the $T\bar{o}sh\bar{o}daiji$ *Monastery* presents buildings constructed in different periods. However, it is not very difficult to recognize its initial layout, since the reconstructions or restorations were by norm carried on the original base. The monastery layout was identical to the $K\bar{o}fukuji$ Monastery, with the Middle Gate (C) and Golden Hall (B) embedded into

²³⁵ Iwaki Takatoshi 1982, 9-13.

²³⁶ Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties 2002, 82.

²³⁷ Yang Zengwen 2008, 73-81.

the portico. The South Gate (C₁) was placed slight south to the Middle Gate. The Golden Hall (B) was a seven-bay wide and four-bay deep single story structure; behind it there was the nine-bay wide Lecture Hall (D). These two buildings are all well-preserved their original appearance.²³⁸ The Refectory (H) and Monk's Quarters (G) were around the Lecture Hall (D). A small Sutra Hall (E) and a Bell Tower (F) were placed between the Golden Hall (B) and Lecture Hall (D). In addition, there was a separate Pagoda Compound in the southeast of the monastery, and the five-story wooden Pagoda (A) was believed to be built at the beginning of 9th century. The extant site of the *Ordination Platform* (jap. kaidan 戒壇, skt. nānâvāsa) was built in Kamakura Period (1185 - 1333AD), and many researchers assured that the original *Vinaya Mandala* built by Jianzhen might have been located in the same place.²³⁹

Sairyuji Monastery 西隆寺

Location: north of Heijōkyō, between *Heijo Palace* and *Saidaiji Monastery*. Construction date: mid 8th century.

Excavation: 1971 by the Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties. (Fig. 76).²⁴⁰

Historical background: As an important nunnery, it was founded under the auspice of Empress Shōtoku in 766 AD.



Fig. 76: Sketch plan of the *Sairyūji Monastery* (Modified from: Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties 2002, p.84, fig. 3)

This monastery was almost square in plan with sides about 250m long. Along the

²³⁸ Andō Kōsei 1985, 12-14.

²³⁹ Andō Kōsei 1985, 39-41.

²⁴⁰ Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties 1993.

north-south axis, the South Gate (C_1), Middle Gate (C), Golden Hall (B) and Lecture Hall (D) were arranged in sequence. The main Compound, enclosed by a portico, was located slightly at the south of the whole monastery, with the Golden Hall (B) inside. The Lecture Hall (D) around with Nun's Quarters (G) was placed behind the main Compound, outside the north portico. Two separate compounds enclosed by wall were built in the east of the monastery. A Pagoda (A) was erected in the Southeastern Compound, while the northeast one was the Refectory Compound. The layout of single Pagoda and multi-compounds indicates the common features of this period.

'Multi-Compounds and Multi-Halls'

The 'Multi-Compounds and Multi-Halls' layout was the standard monastery layout after the capital was moved to Heijōkyō in the early 8th century. The significant feature of these monasteries layout was that many compounds were contained within the monastery boundaries, organized with a very high degree of symmetry; in the meanwhile, the outer boundaries of the monastery were perfectly integrated into the grid plan of the capital. Some important Compounds had their own Halls; the main buildings of the monastery were aligned along the north-south axis: the South Gate, the Middle Gate, the Golden Hall and the Lecture Hall. As the most important building, the Golden Hall was placed at the center of the main Compound. Typical monasteries included the *Daianji Monastery* 大安寺, the *Saidaiji Monastery* 西大寺, and the *Hokkeji Monastery* 法華寺. Although Twin Pagodas still remained in many monasteries, the most striking feature of such layout was the arrangement of the multiple Compounds.

Daianji Monastery 大安寺

Location: Nishinokyo-cho, Nara City, Nara Prefecture.

Construction date: early 8th century.

Excavation: 1990s by the Nara Municipal Education Commission, consisting in a series survey and excavation (Fig. 77).²⁴¹

Historical background: As the successor of *Kudara Ōdera Monastery* and *Daikandaiji Monastery*, it was believed to be transferred to Heijōkyō in the early

²⁴¹ Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties 2002, 88-89.
Nara Period, and rebuilt with the name of *Daianji Monastery* in 729.²⁴² It was placed between the East Third Avenue and East Fourth Avenue, on the opposite side of Heijōkyō *Yakushiji Monastery*. The importance of the monastery declined after the capital was moved to Kyōto at the end of Nara Period.



Fig. 77: Sketch plan of the *Daianji Monastery* (Modified from: Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties 2002, p.88, fig. 1)

One distinctive feature of the layout of this monastery is that it consisted of many Compounds attending to different functions. The plan of the main compound is a longitudinal rectangle, with the South Gate (C₁), the Middle Gate (C), the Golden Hall (B), the Lecture Hall (D) and the Refectory (H) aligned along the north-south axis. All the main buildings were connected by roofed corridors. There were a small Sutra Hall (E) and a Bell Tower (F) between the Golden Hall (B) and Lecture Hall (D). Auxiliary buildings encircled by portico from the outside. It should be noted that Twin Pagodas (A₁, A₂) were arranged outside the main Compound, each enclosed within its own portico.

²⁴² Ooka, Minoru 1973, 33.

Hokkeji Monastery 法華寺

Location: Hokkeji-cho, Nara City, Nara Prefecture, in the vicinity of Heijōkyō Palace.

Construction date: mid 8th century.

Excavation: surveyed by the Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties (Fig. 78).

Historical background: Based on the records of *Hokkeji engi* (*The Origin of the Hokkeji Monastery*) and *Shoku Nihongi* (*The Further Chronicle of Japan*), it was built by Empress Kōmyō Kōgō 光明皇后. As the headquarters of Provincial Nunnery Monasteries 國分尼寺, confession and repentance rites were important function of this monastery, and the main worship statue was a wooden Jūichi men kannon (十一 面觀音 skt. ekādaśa-mukha, eleven-faced *Avalokiteśvara*).²⁴³



Fig. 78: Sketch plan of the *Hokkeji Monastery* (Modified from: Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties 2002, p.84, fig. 2)

The plan of the *Hokkeji Monastery* had a symmetrical arrangement, with the north-south axis running through the South Gate (C₁), Middle Gate (C), Golden Hall (B), Lecture Hall (D) and Refectory (H). The whole monastery was enclosed by a mud wall. The Middle Gate (C) and the Golden Hall (B) were connected by a portico, and the Lecture Hall (D) was placed behind the Golden Hall (B). The Monk's Quarters (G), the Sutra Hall (E) and Bell Tower (F) were arranged at the rear of the monastery. Two pagodas (A₁, A₂) set side by side were erected between the South

²⁴³ Machida Kōichi 1974, 8-18.

Gate (C₁) and the Middle Gate (C). In addition, some separated Compounds and Halls (B₁) were built next to the west and north wall of the monastery.²⁴⁴

Saidaiji Monastery 西大寺

Location: West of Heijōkyō, present Saidiajishibamachi, Nara City, Nara Prefecture.

Construction date: mid 8th century.

Excavation: surveyed by the Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties (Fig. 79).²⁴⁵

Historical background: according to a surviving manuscript in the *Saidaiji monastery*, the monastery was founded by Emperor Shōtoku (稱德天皇 r. 764 - 770 AD). As an important State Monastery the following figures were bestowed: Yakushi butsu (藥師佛 *Bhaiṣajyaguru*), Miroku (彌勒 *Maitreya*), Jūichi men Kannon (十一面 觀音 *ekādaśa-mukha*) and Shitennō (四天王 *catur-mahā-rājakāyikāḥ*); in later periods it turned into the headquarters of Shingon risshū 真言律宗.²⁴⁶



Fig. 79: Sketch plan of the Saidaiji Monastery

(Modified from: Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties 2002, p.84, fig. 1) 1. Administration Compound; 2. Refectory Compound; 3. Treasure house Compound; 4. Pagoda Compound; 5. Ekadasa-mukha Compound; 6. Catvasrah Compound; 7. Southwestern Compound; 8. Southeastern Compound

²⁴⁴ Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties 2002, 84.

²⁴⁵ Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties 2002, 84.

²⁴⁶ Makoto Hasegawa 1985, 6-24.

The Saidaiji Monastery was perfectly integrated within the grid plan of Heijōkyō City. The monastery comprised a number of regular Compounds and was enclosed by a mud wall. The whole monastery might be divided into the north and south parts. The main Compound was located in the north part, with the Golden Hall (B) in the center. The Middle Gate (C) and Maitreya Hall (D) that was placed in the spot usually reserved to the Lecture Hall were embedded into the surrounding portico. Four separate square Compounds were set at the two flanks of the main one; they were the Pagoda Compound, the Refectory Compound, the Treasure House Compound and the Administration Compound respectively. In the meantime, two Pagodas (A₁, A₂) were erected side by side in the south part, and two ponds were dug in front of them. The south part comprised four Compounds, placed along the east and west flanks; they are the Southeastern Compound, the Southwestern Compound, the Ekadasa-mukha Compound (Jūichimenkannon-in 十一面觀音院) and the Catvasrah Compound (Shitennō-in 四天王院), each with its own Hall inside. The Saidaiji Monastery was the typical representative of Nara's monasteries in the middle of the 8th century. Not only it had a layout of axial symmetry with double pagodas, but also the significant features of the Multi-Compounds and Multi-Halls layout.

More than 50 Japanese monasteries before the mid 8th century have been surveyed or excavated since the beginning of 20th century, many of them are well-preserved and their original layouts are relatively clear. Classified according to the same standard as China and Korean Peninsula, the monastery layout of Japan can be divided into seven types. Five types, the 'Central Pagoda and Three Halls', 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear', 'Central Hall and Twin Pagodas', 'Central Hall and One Pagoda on different axis' and 'Multi-Compounds and Multi-Halls' layouts, find corresponding prototypes in China or in the Korean Peninsula, while the remaining two, 'One Pagoda and One Hall side by side' and 'One Pagoda and One Hall side by side with a Central Hall behind' might have been local developments. As to the origin and meaning of the Japanese monastery layout, they will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter V - Monasteries Layout in East Asia between the 5th and 8th Century: a Comparative Analysis of their Layout

1. The 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear' monastery layout: its diffusion

Since Buddhism was introduced into the Chinese Mainland at the beginning of Eastern Han, the Pagoda had always occupied a significant position and has played a crucial role in Buddhist monasteries. In 1990's, Su Bai already demonstrated that the monastery layout centered on the Pagoda with a Buddha Hall behind it was the prevailing layout of early Chinese monasteries. It was the most popular layout in the Northern and Southern Dynasties, and continued until the Sui Dynasty, around the beginning of the 7th century.²⁴⁷ His conjecture was confirmed by the archaeological excavation of the *Siyuan Monastery*, the *Siyan Monastery*, the *Yongningsi Monastery* of Northern Wei and the *Linggansi Monastery* of the Sui Dynasty. As the most popular monastery layout type in Early Medieval China, the 'Pagoda in front and one Hall in the rear' monastery layout made a strong impact on the Buddhist architecture of the neighboring Korean Peninsula, and from there indirectly influencing Japan. The common monastery layout gives evidence of the early Buddhist transculturality, visible through architectural exchanges among these three countries of Eastern Asia.

Almost all the monasteries of the Baekje Kingdom presented a 'Pagoda in front and One Hall in the rear' layout, which was prevalent from the early 6th to the mid 7th century. The main characteristic of this type of layout is that the main buildings were aligned along the north-south axis, and all enclosed within a single courtyard. The Pagoda occupied the central position of the whole monastery, while the Golden Hall was behind it. Undoubtedly, this layout corresponds to the contemporaneous Chinese monastery layout. An important feature distinguishing the monastery layout of the Baekje Kingdom from the early Chinese ones is that in Badkje large Lecture Hall is usually arranged at the rear of the monastery, while no traces of the Lecture Halls were found in the monasteries of the Northern Wei Dynasty.

The Kingdom of Baekje had established close relationship with South China since the 4th century; Buddhism was introduced in Baekje from the Eastern Jin at the

²⁴⁷ Su Bai 1997 a; Su Bai 1997 b.

end of the 4th century. Since then, the two countries maintained political and cultural maritime exchanges.

In the twelfth year of the Yixi Era (416 AD), (the Emperor An of Eastern Jin) granted Yeo Yeong the title of 'the Commissioned with Extraordinary Powers, Commander in Chief of Baekje military affairs, Chief General Guardian of the East, King of Baekje'.²⁴⁸

Successive Emperors of the Chinese Southern Dynasties inherited this tradition and maintained close ties with the Kingdom of Baekje by granting all sorts of titles to the Baekje Kings.²⁴⁹ The political and cultural communion between Baekje and South China reached its peak during the reign of Emperor Wu of Liang (梁武帝 r. 502 - 549 AD). Paekje Kings Dongseong (牟太 r. 479 - 501 AD), Muryeong (武寧王 餘隆 r. 501 - 523 AD), Seong (聖王餘明 r. 523 - 554 AD) accepted successively the titles granted by the Southern Dynasties. During this period, one of the most significant records in *Book of Liang* states:

In the sixth year of the Zhongdatong Era (534 AD) and the seventh year of the Datong Era (541 AD), (Baekje) repeatedly sent envoys to pay tribute in form of domestic goods. And further, (Baekje) asked for the true meaning of the *Nirvāņa Sutra* and other scriptures, scholars of the *Book of Songs*, craftsmen and painters. (The Emperor Wu) issued an edict to grant them [their request].²⁵⁰

Due to frequent cultural exchanges, laws, institutions and also burial practices of Baekje were strongly influenced by South China. In addition to the written documents, a large number of archaeological findings confirm these close cultural exchanges, for example the relics unearthed from the King Muryeong Mausoleum. The tombstone and the burial-plot purchase contract (*maidiquan* 買地券) followed the custom of the Southern Dynasties and were written in Chinese characters. The title of 'Chief General Guardian of the East' in the epitaph was the official title granted by Emperor Wu of Liang. Many unearthed relics, such as five-zhu coins, blue porcelains and

²⁴⁸ Song shu 宋書, 2393, "義熙十二年,以百濟王餘映 (r. 405 - 420 AD) 為使持節、都督百濟諸軍事、鎮東 將軍、百濟王。"; Hucker 1985, 422-423.

²⁴⁹ Song shu 宋書, 2393-2394; Nanqi shu 南齊書, 1020.

²⁵⁰ Liang shu 梁書, 805, "中大通六年,大同七年,累遣使獻方物;並請涅盤等經義、毛詩博士,並工匠、 畫師等,敕並給之。"

bronze mirrors were undoubtedly South China imports.²⁵¹ What is more, a tomb brick with a short inscription was found at the Gongju Songsan-ri Tomb no.6, close to the Muryeong Mausoleum. Although there are different interpretations of the individual blurry characters, most researchers accept the general meaning of the inscription expressing the fact that Baekje regarded the craftsmen or tile style of Liang Dynasty as role model.²⁵²

By comparing Buddhist archaeological sites and relics of Baekje Kingdom and South China, we have found great similarities in monastery layout, style of the statuary and construction materials. Although evidence in form of excavated material is still lacking, the fact that the typical Buddhist monastery of the Southern Dynasties was of the type 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear', with a Lecture Hall in the rearmost part has been widely accepted on the basis of historical documentation.²⁵³ Buddhist sculptures that were unearthed from monasteries of the Baekje Kingdom present exceptionally similar features, dress and ornaments to those unearthed over the past few decades in Chengdu, which are regarded as typical style of the Buddhist sculpture of the Southern Dynasties.²⁵⁴ The tile-heads of the Baekje monasteries normally bear the representation of a lotus flower with eight flat wide petals, completely different from lotus design common in North China, but much similar to that excavated from the architectural ruins and tombs of the Southern Dynasties in Nanjing.²⁵⁵ An interesting issue is that the sculptures (including both Buddhist and secular images) unearthed from the Jeunglim Monastery of the Baekje Kingdom and the Yongningsi Monastery of the Northern Wei are extraordinarily similar in many respect. Most scholars believe that such similarity derives from the fact that the statues of both places were imitating of a common source, that is the statuary of Jiankang, the capital of the Eastern Jin and Southern Dynasties.²⁵⁶ Taking the above factors into account, the fact that the layout of Buddhist monasteries of the Baekje

²⁵¹ Cultural Heritage Administration of the Republic of Korea 1974; Jia Meixian 1983, 66-80.

²⁵² Zhao Yinzai 2011.

²⁵³ Su Bai,1997 a.

²⁵⁴ Liu Zhiyuan and Liu Tingbi 1958, fig.1-12.

²⁵⁵ Yang Hong 2008.

²⁵⁶ Yang Hong 2002, 661-680.

Kingdom derived from Southern China is widely recognized in the academic circles of both China and Korea.

As a traditional ally of the Yamato Kingdom on the Korean Peninsula, since the late 4th century, the Baekje Kingdom had established political ties and diplomatic marriages with Japanese royalty. There are a large number of historical records about the contacts between Baekje and Yamato in *Nihon shoki* and *Samguk sagi*. From that time on, the culture and technology of the Chinese Mainland spread constantly to Japan by way of Baekje. In exchange, Japan provided military support for the Baekje Kingdom in its confrontation with Silla and Goguryeo.²⁵⁷ Because of frequent contacts, Buddhism was introduced into Japanese royalty by way of the Baekje Kingdom in the mid 5th century. In the meantime, many entries of *Nihon shoki* recorded that the Kings of Baekje sent monks and craftsmen to Japan, not only to disseminate Buddhism, but also to teach the techniques for casting bronze images and construct Buddhist monasteries.²⁵⁸ One of the most important records was an entry of 577 AD, which states that in the 6th year of Emperor Bidatus:

The King of Paekje presented to (Bidatsu Tennō) through the returning envoy Prince Owake and his companions, a number of scrolls of canonical books, together with six persons: an ascetic, a practiser of meditation, a nun, a recite of Dharani spells, a maker of Buddhist images, and a temple architect. Subsequently (they) were accommodated at the temple of Prince Owake in Naniwa.²⁵⁹

The *Shitenōnji Monastery* was established soon after Korean craftsmen came into Japan. The Middle Gate, the Pagoda, the Golden Hall and the Lecture Hall were aligned along the north-south axis, with the Golden Hall placed behind the Pagoda. The main buildings were all placed within a single compound, while the large Lecture Hall was placed at the back of the monastery. In view of the fact that Japan did not have any substantial contact with China, it is reasonable to suppose that the monastery layout of the *Shitenōnji Monastery* derived from Baekje. The layout of the 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear' was the most prevalent monastery layout

²⁵⁷ Wu Tingqiu 1994, 38-41.

²⁵⁸ Nihon shoki 日本書紀, vol. 19-vol. 22, entries of 538, 552, 570, 577, 584, 587, 588, 593, 594, 602.

²⁵⁹ Nihon shoki 日本書紀, vol. 20, 3.

type in the late 6th - early 7th century, which was to be replaced by the 'One Pagoda and One Hall side by side' layout after the Taika Reform.

In addition, Buddhist monastery of the Baekje Kingdom type influenced the nearby Silla Reign as well. The Original Hwangnyongsa Monastery, the largest monastery built by Silla royalty in mid 6th century, also featured a layout of the 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear' type, with the Lecture Hall in the rear of the monastery. The Eastern and Western Compounds set side by side give evidence to the fact that the feature of multiple compounds and halls began to emerge in this period.

2. The 'Central Pagoda and three Halls' monastery layout: its origin and the contacts between North China and the Korean Peninsula

The typical monastery layout of the Goguryeo Kingdom consisted of an octagonal Pagoda encircled by three Golden Halls. Almost all the Goguryeo monasteries from the 5th to the mid 7th century kept to such arrangement, which influenced the neighboring region, such as Reconstructed Hwangnyongsa Monastery and Original Bunhwangsa Monastery of the Silla Kingdom, even Asukadera Monastery of Japan to a certain extent.

For quite a long time, due to the lack of information about early Chinese monasteries, the 'Central Pagoda and three Golden Halls' layout with an octagonal pagoda were regarded as a native creation of the Goguryeo Kingdom. However, with the increase of archaeological material and painstaking research, more and more scholars accept the fact that the layout of the monasteries of the Goguryeo Kingom might have originated in the Chinese Mainland as well.²⁶⁰ As to the octagonal pagoda, it had already appeared in the Gandhāra region as early as the 1st century AD. Thereafter, similar stūpas were found in the site of the monastery of Loulan City (樓 蘭故城), dating approximately to the 4th century.²⁶¹ The earliest instances of octagonal pagoda in Central and North China were likely the stone pagodas of Northern Liang: 14 small pagodas were found in the Gansu Corridor and Turfan

 ²⁶⁰ Park Daenam 2005, 76-78.
 ²⁶¹ Chen Xiaolu 2006.

region. Most of these *stūpas* or pagodas have an octagonal base and were embellished with carvings of diverse deities, displaying both Indian and Chinese traits.²⁶² Quite recently, a few pentagonal and trapezoidal dressed stones were unearthed at the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery* in the capital Yecheng. It is worth noting that the outer edge of each-piece presents a 135 ° angle, judging from the size, angle and connecting traces, this construction material can be merged into a large octagonal base.²⁶³ Consequently, the octagonal pagoda was not the creation of the monasteries of the Goguryeo Kingdom, but originated in *Gandhāra* and spread to north China in the 4th century at the latest. After the 5th century this type of pagoda was introduced into Goguryeo and became one of the most notable features in its monasteries.

In regard to the appearance of the three Golden Halls, some clues can be found in Chinese Buddhist documents. When describing the history of the *Hedongsi Monastery* in Jingzhou 荊州河東寺, the *Records of the Miraculous Responses to the Manifestations of the Vinyana* mentioned the arrangement of the Pagoda, the East Hall and the West Hall.²⁶⁴ Another document referred to several times about the image halls of *Tongtaisi Monastery* 同泰寺 that was initially built in Jiankang by Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty. It states:

(Emperor Wu) issued an edict that a hall was to be established at the northeast of the Buddha Hall of the *Tongtaisi Monastery*, which was a three-bay structure with two wing-rooms, using seven-jewel canopied entablement to place the auspicious images on. [...] In the third month of the Lunar Calendar of the second year of the Zhongdatong Era (547 AD), the Emperor personally visited *Tongtaisi* to gather an assembly and preach Buddhism. Going through every hall to worship, he came to the Hall of Auspicious Images in the beginning of sunset. [...] In the fifteenth year of the Kaihuang Era (595 AD), when Tian Zongxian, the governor of Qianzhou, came to the monastery to worship, the auspicious image emitted shining light instantly. So he aroused his mind to built the northern Main Hall north (of the monastery), a thirteen-bay structure, with nine attached halls in the east and west. [...] The Main Hall was enchased by eaglewood, and thirteen canopies were arranged inside, decorated with gold and jewels. [...] The auspicious images were placed in the East and West Halls enchased with

²⁶² Yin Guangming 1997.

²⁶³ Joint Ye City Archaeological Team of IA, CASS and Hebei Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics 2010.

²⁶⁴ Lüxiang gantong zhuan 律相感通傳, 877-878.

sandalwood. The canopies and floral lamps were all made by gold, so magnificent that they were regarded as the best in the world.²⁶⁵

Judging from the structure of the halls mentioned in the documents above, Li Yuqun confirmed that the three halls arrangement was one of the-Chinese monastery layouts already in the Eastern Jin.²⁶⁶

Because of the lack of unearthed material evidence, the copious material offered by the Buddhist cave-temple can be taken as a reliable basis to explore the structure and function of surface monasteries. As in the case of a surface monastery, different caves types are normally clustered as to form a monastery. Usually a number of buildings of different type and function are condensed into a single large cave or a group of caves. Some scholars have noticed that niches or altars in Buddhist caves sometimes display the same themes found in the halls of surface monasteries. Correspondingly, the cave 'Three Walls and Three Niches' (sanbi sankan shi shiku \equiv 壁三龕式石窟) type and 'Three Walls and Three Altars' (sanbi santan shi shiku 三壁 三壇式石窟) type, popular after the 6th century in North China,²⁶⁷ should correspond to the three halls in a surface monastery (Figs. 80-81).²⁶⁸ A very insightful instance is the group of Caves 306 - 308 in Dunhuang, in which it can be clearly seen that the Caves 306 and 308 carved in the Sui Dynasty, were intended as complementary to Cave 307. Actually, this group should be regarded as an embodiment of the three halls monastery (Fig. 82).²⁶⁹ The paintings in the Dunhuang Grottoes provide us with additional evidences for exploring the origin of the three halls monastery. As mentioned above, a large number of depictions of Buddhist monasteries are preserved in the Dunhuang paintings of the Sui and Tang Dynasties: many monasteries are presented with a three halls layout. One of earlier instance shows a main hall with

²⁶⁵ Fayuan zhulin 法苑珠林, 385-386, "勅於同泰寺大殿東北起殿三間兩廈,施七寶帳坐,以安瑞像。.....中 大同二年三月,帝幸同泰,設會開講。歷諸殿禮,黃昏始到瑞像殿。......開皇十五年,黔洲刺史田宗顯至 寺禮拜,像即放光。公發心造正北大殿一十三間,東西夾殿九間。......大殿以沈香帖遍,中安十三寶帳, 並以金寶莊嚴。......其東西二殿,瑞像所居。並用檀帖,中有寶帳華炬,並用真金所成。窮極宏麗,天下 第一。"

²⁶⁶ Li Yuqun 2009.

²⁶⁷ Institute for Cultural Relics Management Longmen and Department of Archaeology, Peking University 1991, 286-287.

²⁶⁸ Park Daenam 2005, 76-78.

²⁶⁹ Su Bai 1997 a.

two separate small halls (Fig. 83), whereas the main hall of a monastery of the Tang Dynasty normally is connected with the halls on its sides by a roofed corridor (Fig.84). In considering the prototype of these monastery types coming from the two capitals, Chang'an and Luoyang, more than being Dunhuang local monasteries,²⁷⁰ it is not difficult to speculate the popularity of the three halls monastery in North China in that period.



Fig. 80: 'Three Walls and Three Niches' caves in the Northern Wei, Longmen Grottoes (Modified from: Institute for Cultural Relics Management Longmen and Department of Archaeology, Peking University 1991, p.286, figure of Putai Cave, p.287, figures of Weizi and Yaofang Caves) 1. Putai Cave; 2. Weizi Cave; 3. Yaofang Cave.



Fig. 81: 'Three Walls and Three Altars' cave in the Eastern Wei, Cave 2 of Tianlongshan Grottoes (Modified from: Li Yuqun 2003, p. 196, fig. 47)

²⁷⁰ Xiao Mo 2003, 74-75.



Fig. 82: Sketch plan of the Caves 306 - 308 in Dunhuang Grottoes (Modified from: Su Bai 1997b, p. 32, fig.4)



Fig. 83: Three halls arrangement on the wall painting of the Sui, ceiling of Cave 433 in Dunhuang (Modified from: Xiao Mo 2003, p. 39, fig.1-4)



Fig. 84: Three halls arrangement on the wall painting of the Tang in Dunhuang (Modified from: Xiao Mo 2003b, p. 39, fig. 1-5, p.56, fig. 1-21, p. 69, fig. 1-36, p. 63, fig. 1-30)
1. North wall of Cave 338 (Early Tang Period); 2. North wall of Cave 172 (High Tang Period); 3. East wall of Cave 158 (Middle Tang Period); 4. North wall of Cave 85 (Late Tang Period).

If we take a broader perspective, the architectural layout of focusing on the main hall with two subordinate auxiliary halls, or wing-rooms, was a traditional architectural type in North China since the Three Kingdoms Period. The Taiji Hall of the Luoyang Palace 洛陽宮太極殿, the most important hall of the Cao Wei Kingdom (220 - 265 AD), was one of the earliest examples of three halls layout. As far as we know, they exerted an important impact on other East Asian countries.²⁷¹ On both sides of the Taiji Hall, were built two auxiliary buildings, the East Hall and the West Hall.²⁷² Such configuration of three halls was inherited by later palaces and became a set pattern during the Northern and Southern Dynasties. In the Palace Cities in Luoyang, Yecheng of North China or in Jiankang of South China, the Great Hall was normally assembled with the East and West annexed Halls.²⁷³ Changhemen 閨園門, the Palace Gate of Luoyang and Zhumingmen 朱明門, the South Gate of Yecheng, consisted of one main hall and two freestanding gate towers; the configuration was similar to that of the Taiji Hall (Fig. 85).²⁷⁴



Fig. 85: Sketch plan and reconstruction of Zhumingmen, the South Gate of South Yecheng

²⁷¹ Wang Zhongshu 2003.

²⁷² Fu Xinian (ed.) 2001, 22-26, fig.1-2-1.

²⁷³ Liu Dunzhen (ed.) 1984, 84-86.

²⁷⁴ Archaeological Team at Yecheng, IA, CASS and Inst. of Archaeology of Hebei Province 1996. Guo Yifu 1996.

(Modified from: Archaeological Team at Yecheng, 1996 p. 1, fig. 1; Guo Yifu 1996, p. 20, fig. 18)

The famous Hanyuan Hall within the Daming Palace of Tang Chang'an City 唐長 安城大明宮含元殿, excavated in the 1950s, might be regarded as a masterpiece of such architecture. As the most important hall of Daming Palace, the Hanyuan Hall was initially built on top of the Longshou Hill 龍首原 in 662 AD. Among the main buildings were the Great Hall, two Pavilions, roofed corridors, a plaza and the pathway.²⁷⁵ The Great Hall was a 75.9m by 42.3m eleven-bay wide and four-bay wide structure; nine bays at the center were 5.35m wide, while the two at the sides were slightly smaller, about 5m in width. The two pavilions, the Xiangluan Pavilion 翔鸞閣 and the Qifeng Pavilion 棲鳳閣, were arranged at the southeast and southwest of the Great Hall, and were connected with by roofed corridors.²⁷⁶ On the basis of both the archaeological excavation and the historical documents, architectural historians restored the buildings group of Hanyuan Hall that included the Great Hall, the Tongqian Gate, the Guanxiang Gate, the Bell Tower, the Drum Tower, the Roofed Ccorridors, the Xiangluan Pavilion, the Qifeng Pavilion and the Dragon Tail steps 龍 尾道 (Fig.86).277 Apart from the arrangement of the three halls, it should be noted that even the architectural types of the Bell and Drum Towers in the Palace might be the prototype of the Sutra Hall and Bell Tower in late Buddhist monasteries.



Fig. 86: Reconstruction of the Hanyuan Hall, Daming Palace of Chang'an

²⁷⁵ Ma Dezhi 1961.

²⁷⁶ Xi'an Tang City Archaeological Team, IA, CASS 1997.

²⁷⁷ Yang Hongxun 2001, 419-440.

(Modified from: Yang Hongxun 2001, p. 437, fig. 388)

Since Buddhism was introduced into China it was supported by the upper class of society; Buddhist monasteries enjoyed an increasingly higher status and their construction standards were better than other average buildings. Buddhist architecture, especially the State Monasteries, increasingly imitated the Imperial Palace and other ritual buildings. Relevant instances could be found in historical documents and verified in the archaeological excavations of the *Yongningsi Monastery* and the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery*. For example, the *Daaijingsi Monastery* 大愛敬寺, built by Emperor Wu of Liang for his father in the first year of the Putong Era (520 AD),

The structure of the Buddhist monastery is as exalted as the imperial ancestor temple, and with the construction and decoration it is just like the just like the heavenly palace.²⁷⁸

The *Tongtaisi Monastery* also established by Emperor Wu in the first year of the Datong Era (527 AD),

Pavilions and halls were built in accordance with the standard of the Imperial Palace.²⁷⁹

In regards to the *Yongningsi Monastery*, famous State Monastery of Northern Wei in the first half of the 6th century, its emulation of the contemporaneous Imperial Palace was even more evident. The *Stories about Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang* states:

[...] North of the Pagoda is a Buddha Hall, which is shaped like the Taiji Hall. [...] For all the walls of the monastery short rafters are used covered by tiles, like the contemporary palace walls. The tower on the South Gate raises twenty *zhang* above the ground, has three stories, each with an archway, with this shape it resembles the present Duan Gate. [...] The East and West Gates are all like this, except that the towers were only two stories. The North Gate had no tower and only one archway, resembling Wutou Gate."²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸ Xu gaoseng zhuan 續高僧傳, 427, "[為太祖文皇於鍾山北澗建大愛敬寺],.....結構伽藍, 同尊園寢。經營 彫麗, 奄若天宮。"

 ²⁷⁹ Xu gaoseng zhuan 續高僧傳, 427,"[又以大通元年,於臺城北開大通門,立同泰寺]。樓閣臺殿,擬則宸宮。"
 ²⁸⁰ Luoyang qielan ji 洛陽伽藍記, 999-1002,"永寧寺,熙平元年靈太后胡氏所立也。……浮圖北有佛殿一所, 形如太極殿。……寺院牆皆施短椽,以瓦覆之,若今宮牆也。四面各開一門,南門樓三重,通三道,去地 二十丈,形制似今端門。……東西兩門亦皆如之,所可異者,唯樓二重。北門一道,不施屋,似烏頭門。"

The sheer size and scale of the unearthed foundations in the Yongningsi Monastery and the Zhaopengcheng Monastery indicate clearly that these vanished building were among the most magnificent architecture of the period. Some small tile-heads with a lotus flower decoration excavated in the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery*, ca.7 - 8cm in diameter, which is much different from the ordinary 15cm; corresponding small tiles were found as well.²⁸¹ It is commonly understood that small tiles and small tile-heads of this kind were set at the top of perimeter walls and not used for the roofing of buildings. Walls covered with tiles and tile-heads were one of the privileges of the Imperial Palace, only few other official organizations and folk institutions were granted such a privilege. This detail substantiates the fact that the Buddhist monastery faithfully imitated the architectural form and standard of the Imperial Palace during the Northern and Southern Dynasties.

Goguryeo founded an independent state in an area corresponding to the present Northeast China and the north part of the Korean Peninsula before the Common Era. In the following few centuries it maintained close political, economic and cultural contacts with China. Though the war took place every now and then, personnel exchanges between the two sides continued uninterrupted. In the second half of the 4th century, Buddhism was initially introduced into Goguryeo from the Former Qin of the Sixteen Kingdoms Period. During the reign of King Sosurim (小獸林王 r. 371 -384 AD), Buddhist monasteries began to be established for the accommodation of monks. After ascending the throne, King Gwanggaeto (廣開土王 r. 391 – 413 AD), built nine monasteries for the purpose of promoting Buddhism in Pyongyang. Afterwards many monks of Goguryeo came to China to study Buddhism, while in the meantime Chinese religious ideas and architectural technology spread to Goguryeo through official and private channels.²⁸² A well-known event recorded by Juexun in the Haidong Biographies of Eminent Monks and Further Biographies of Eminent Monks might reflect closely the religious ties between North China and Goguryeo during the Northern Dynasties.

 ²⁸¹ Joint Ye City Archaeological Team of IA, CASS and Hebei Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics, 2010.
 ²⁸² Huang Youfu and Chen Jingfu 1993, 28-32, 39-43.

The noble character of (Master Fashang) was well known and his reputation spread all over the world. So much so that the prime minister Gao De of Goguryeo who believed devoutly Buddhism and esteemed the Mahāyāna, wanted to promote Buddhism in Goguryeo. Because he didn't know the beginning and end of cause and effect of the teaching of the law came to the east, he listed specific questions and sent monks to Yecheng to ask what he had not heard. [...] Fashang replied comprehensively, in detailed and rigorous words.²⁸³

In considering all the above factors, we can conclude that basically Goguryeo's monastery layout with a 'Central Pagoda and three Golden Halls' might derive from traditional palace of North China after the 4th century.

Another issue worth further consideration is the relationship between the Baekje Kingdom and North China. A commonly held position is that that Baekje did not have many relations with North China owing to the barrier of Goguryeo. As a result the Kingdom of Baekje established frequent maritime exchanges with the Eastern Jin and Southern Dynasties, confirmed both by historical documents and archaeological evidence.²⁸⁴ Nevertheless, it is too simplistic to deny any connection between the Baekje Kingdom and the Northern Dynasties. As early as the late 3rd century, Baekje had established official contacts with the Western Jin. From 280 to 290 AD, a span of only ten years, the Baekje Kingdom had sent eight missions to offer tribute to the Western Jin.²⁸⁵ During the Sixteen Kingdoms Period, North China was in a state of war for long periods, thereupon the Kingdom of Baekje maintained friendship with the Eastern Jin that had moved south and retained the Chinese traditional culture. After the unification of North China by the Northern Wei in 439 AD, the Northern Dynasties re-established exchanges with the Kingdom of Baekje. Although not as frequent as the contacts with the Southern Dynasties, it is unquestionable that cultural exchanges and direct maritime exchanges existed between them. According to a

²⁸³ Xu gaoseng zhuan 續高僧傳, 485,"(法上)景行既宣,逸向遐被。致有高句麗國大丞相王高德,乃深懷 正法崇重大乘,欲播此釋風被于海曲。然莫測法教始末緣由,西徂東壤年世帝代。故具錄事條,遣僧向鄴, 啟所未聞事。......上廣答緣緒,文極指訂。"

²⁸⁴ Yang Hong 2008.

²⁸⁵ Zhou Yuxing 2010.

preliminary statistic, there were a total of five missions back and forth between Baekje and North China during the Northern Dynasties.²⁸⁶ The *Book of Wei* states:

In the second year of the Yanxing Era (472 AD), the King Yeo Gyeong (of Baekje) first sent a mission to deliver a letter [that requested the Northern Wei dispatching troops to crusade against Goguryeo.] Emperor Xiaowen took into account that the mission came from remote land and took great adventures for tribute, he thereupon gave high-level reception, and sent his envoy Shao An to Baekje together with the mission. [...] Shao An and the mission drifted around at the sea for the storm; eventually they did not reach [Baekje] and had to return.²⁸⁷

The History of Northern Dynasties states:

Since the Jin, Song, Qi and Liang occupied the lower reaches of Yangtze River, (Baekje) sent emissaries to pledge allegiance, and accepted the appointed titles. In the meantime, it did not break off the contact with the Wei.

After the Eastern Wei was replaced by Qi, the King Muryeong of Baekje also sent emissaries. After Yan died, his son Wideok also sent emissaries to Qi. In the first year of Wuping Era (570 AD), Houzhu of the Northern Qi granted Wideok the title of 'the Commissioned with Extraodinary Powers, Palace Attendant, Great Chariot and Horse General, Duke of Daifang Prefecture and the King of Baekje' as usual. In the second year, (Houzhu) appointed Wideok as 'Commissioned with Special Powers, Manager of East Qingzhou military affairs, Regional Inspector of East Qingzhou.'

In the sixth year of the Jiande Era (577 AD) of (Northern) Zhou, Wideok began to send emissaries to the Zhou after Qi perished. In the first year of the Xuanzheng Era (578 AD), (Baekje) sent emissaries for tribute again.

At the beginning of the Kaihuang Era (581 – 600 AD) of Sui, Wideok sent mission to dedicate local products once again, (and he) was granted the title of 'Supreme Executive, Duke of Daifang Prefecture and King of Baekje'. The year of defeating Chen, one of war ships drifted to Danmongluo state of East Sea. The war ship passed Baekje when it returned. Wideok presented them generous gifts, and sent envoy to deliver congratulation letter for defeating Chen.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁶ Zhou Yuxing 2010.

²⁸⁷ Wei shu 魏書, 2217-2219,"延興二年,其王餘慶始遣使上表曰:。顯祖以其僻遠,冒險朝獻,禮遇優厚,遣使者邵安與其使俱還。......安等至海濱,遇風飄蕩,竟不達而還。"

²⁸⁸ Bei shi 北史, 3121,"自晉、宋、齊、梁據江左,亦遣使稱籓,兼受拜封。亦與魏不絕。及齊受東魏禪, 其王隆亦通使焉。淹死,子餘昌 (r. 554 – 598 AD) 亦通使命于齊。武平元年,齊後主以餘昌為使持節、侍 中、車騎大將軍,帶方郡公、百濟王如故。二年,又以餘昌為持節、都督東青州諸軍事、東青州刺史。周 建德六年,齊滅,餘昌始遣使通周。宣政元年,又遣使為獻。隋開皇初,餘昌又遣使貢方物,拜上開府、 帶方郡公、百濟王。平陳之歲,戰船漂至海東耽牟羅國。其船得還,經於百濟,昌資送之甚厚,並遣使奉 表賀平陳。"; Hucker 1985, 423, 120, 165, 558, 274-275.

It is not surprising that Chinese historical documents normally focused on the political contact with neighboring states. Consequently, records about economic and cultural exchanges were relatively scarce. However, this does not mean that North China did not have any direct contact with the Baekje Kingdom. To a certain extent, archaeological finds can make up for the inadequacies of written documentation. Quite recently, a bronze coin *Changping Wuzhu* 常平五銖 was discovered in an excavation at the Baekje's *Wangheungsa Monastery*. This coin belongs to the official currency of Northern Qi and was minted in the 4th year of the Tianbao Era (553 AD). The coin was stored in the *śarīra* casket under the pagoda. The inscription on the casket indicates that all the treasures within were deposited in 577 AD.²⁸⁹ It cannot be a coincidence that a similar coin had been found in the pagoda of Silla's *Bunhwangsa Monastery* in an earlier excavation. These material evidences offer us a glimpse into the interaction between North of China and the south of the Korean Peninsula.

A puzzling issue is the relation between the Zhaopengchen Monastery and the Mireuksa Monastery. Before discussing this issue, some additional explanation about the name and the date of the construction of the Zhaopengcheng Monastery are needed. Although definitive evidence as to the original name of the Zhaopengcheng Monastery are still lacking, through the eleven years of excavation it has became increasingly probable that the monastery might be the Dazhuangyansi Monastery 大 莊嚴寺 recorded in the Book of Norhtern Qi, which begun to be built in the 9th year of the Tianbao Era (558 AD).²⁹⁰ In 1998, the Ye City Archaeological Team excavated a tomb in the south suburb of the site of Yecheng. Zhao Ji 赵覬, the occupant of the tomb, held a middle-rank office since the end of Northern Wei, and was buried together with his wife in the ninth year of the Daye Era (613 AD). The unearthed epitaph recorded that the tomb was located at the site of the Dazhuangyansi Monastery explanation and the mining Garden 明堂園.²⁹¹ For the purpose of exploring the

²⁸⁹ Buyeo National Museum, Buyeo National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage 2008, 32.

²⁹⁰ Bei Qi shu 北齊書, 64-66.

²⁹¹ The archaeological report of Zhao Ji's tomb has not published. Unearthed materials were conserved in the

ritual construction in the late Northern Dynasties, the Ye City Archaeological Team began to excavate in the area of the Zhaopengcheng Village, located about 300m east of the Zhao Ji's tomb. Unexpectedly, the so called 'Mingtang' was actually the foundation of a large pagoda of a monastery.²⁹² In the excavations conducted in the successive years, besides the foundation of the Pagoda, many other important remains of the monastery, such as the exterior ditch, the entrances, the pathways, a small pool, the Southwest and Southeastern Compounds, the porticos and the Buddha Halls were disclosed in succession.²⁹³ It is worth noting that the unearthed statues provide evidence that displays new features, which had been defined as the 'Yecheng Statues Style of the Northern Qi'. This style was very popular in the second half of the 6th century.²⁹⁴ The latest excavation disclosed a part of a large hall in the rear of the monastery.²⁹⁵ The position, size and scale of this building suggest that it might be a Lecture Hall, which reminds us of the Lecture Hall of Dazhuangyansi Monastery in historical documents.²⁹⁶ Quite recently, another large-scale excavation was carried out at the Hetaoyuan Village 核桃園村, in the vicinity of Zhao Ji's tomb, the location 'Dazhuangyansi Monastery ' mentioned in the epitaph. The excavation is currently underway and, judging from the structure of the ruins and unearthed material, it is presumably a large state ritual construction of the Northern Qi. It needs to be remembered that the buildings of the Captial Yecheng, especially the Buddhist ones, suffered unprecedented destruction in the late 6th century. Since 574 AD, Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou had implemented a policy of recruiting soldiers amongst the Buddhist monks, and requisitioned land from Buddhist monasteries. After the Northern Qi was defeated in 577 AD, this policy was extended to the whole North China. Buddhist statues and architectures were deliberately destroyed, and all monks and nuns were forced to return to laity.²⁹⁷ At the same time, Emperor Wu issued

storeroom of Ye City Archaeological Team and the epitaph is exhibiting at the Museum of Yecheng.

 ²⁹² Yecheng City Archaeological Team from IA, CASS and Hebei Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics 2003.
 ²⁹³ Zhu Yanshi and He Liqun 2005.

Joint Ye City Archaeological Team of IA, CASS and Hebei Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics 2010.

 ²⁹⁴ He Liqun 2014.
 ²⁹⁵ Joint Ye City Archaeological Team of the Institute of Archaeology, CASS and Institute of Cultural Relics of

²⁹⁶ Xu gaoseng zhuan 續高僧傳, 518.

²⁹⁷ Lidai sanbao ji 歷代三寶紀, 94.

several edicts to demolish the imperial palaces and gardens of Yecheng, and donated both land and building materials to the civilians.²⁹⁸ Just three years later, the governor of Xiang Province, Yuchi Jiong 尉遲迥 opposing the autocracy of Yang Jian (楊堅 later Emperor Wen of Sui), rebelled in Yecheng. The rebellion was soon put down. To prevent similar incidents to happen again, Yang Jian issued a decree to burn down Yecheng and deported all its residents to Xiangzhou (present An'yang).²⁹⁹ Thereafter, Yecheng became a desolate land for a long time. Taking into account these events, it becomes plausible that in the epitaph of Zhao Ji's tomb the orientation of *Dazhuangyansi Monastery* and *Mingtang Garden* were reversed. Located in the south suburb of Yecheng, other well-known Buddhist monasteries of Northern Qi were the *Dazongchisi Monastery* 大總持寺 and the *Dacisi Monastery* 大慈寺.³⁰⁰ Due to the few evidences available, their location and layout are completely unclear so far.

We are now in a position to discuss the relationship of *Zhaopengcheng Monastery* and the *Mireuksa Monastery*. The comparison among architectural layouts of contemporaneous monasteries in China, Korea and Japan, shows that there are no other monasteries as similar in layout as these two. The commonalities in layout can be seen in the following features: the Pagoda still occupied the center of the monastery; two separate compounds were placed in the Southeast and Southwest corners of the monastery; each Compound had its own Main Hall; a large Lecture Hall was located in the rear of the monastery; two rows of buildings that might be Monk's Quarters extended from the back of the Compounds to the Lecture Hall (Figs. 11 and 40).

Despite the fact that so many common elements exist between the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery* and the *Mireuksa Monastery*, there are no evidences indicating a direct contact between them. Actually, when the *Mireuksa Monastery* of the Baekje Kingdom was established in the early 7th century, the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery* had long suffered demolition. However, representing a transitional stage of Buddhist monastery layout, these two monasteries reflect a common trend in the

²⁹⁸ Zhou shu 周書, 101.

²⁹⁹ Jiu tang shu 舊唐書, 1492.

³⁰⁰ He Liqun 2007.

evolution of monastery layout, that is the transformation from a single compound focusing on the pagoda to the multiple compounds and halls. Unquestionably, there are many reasons for this transformation, encompassing the development of religious ideas, novelties in urban planning and construction technology: elements which I will discuss in the last chapter. It is hard to imagine that such a trend would have appeared in two different places so far away from one another if they had not been in any kind of direct or indirect contact. In my opinion, the monasteries of the Sui were an important intermediary between them.

After the establishment of the Sui Dynasty in 581 AD, a grand new capital was built, Daxing City (later called Chang'an, present Xi'an). As a monumental capital of Medieval China, its urban planning derived directly from South Yecheng, the capital of the Northern Qi that by that time had already been destroyed and abandoned.³⁰¹ In the meantime, under the advocacy of Emperor Wen of Sui, Buddhism that had suffered a heavy blow at the end of the Northern Dynasties flourished rapidly. In response to the edicts of Emperor Wen, a large number of famous monks exiled from Yecheng, such as Lingyu 靈裕, Huiyuan 慧遠, Tanqian 曇遷, Linggan 靈斡, Xinxing 信行 and Sengyong 僧邕, came to the major monasteries of Chang'an to promote Buddhism; they played an essential role in the formation and development of Buddhist sects during the Sui and Tang Dyasties.³⁰² As the eminent masters of the time, Lingyu and Huiyuan were highly respect by Emperor Wen and were regarded as religious leaders. Xingxin and Sengyong founded the well-known 'Teaching of the Three Stages' (sanjiejiao 三階教), which brought strong influence on contemporaneous Buddhist faith and social life. Their achievements were recorded in detail in the Further Biographies of Eminent Monks. I prefer to discuss the role of two other less known monks of Yecheng. The first is Tanqian 曇遷, who played a crucial role in an event recorded in Buddhist history, that is the distribution of *sarīras* by Emperor Wen of Sui and the ensuing construction of pagodas throughout the country. In the third year of the Renshou Era (603 AD), Emperor Wen established the Chandingsi Monastery 大禪定寺 for his consort southeast of the capital; it displayed a seven-story Pagoda, while the other buildings were similar to those of the Imperial

 ³⁰¹ Xu Guangji 2002.
 ³⁰² He Liqun 2007.

Palace. Tanqian was the first appointed abbot of this monastery.³⁰³ The other monk is Linggan 靈斡, who was once a monk of the *Dazhuangyansi Monastery* in Yecheng. He went to Chang'an and acted as the abbot of the *Daxinshansi Monastery*. In the third year of the Daye Era (605 AD), a second *Chandingsi Monastery* was built by Emperor Yang 隋煬帝 for his deceased father, Emperor Wen. As a senior monk, Linggan was promoted to 'Superior Seated One' (*shangzuo* 上座).³⁰⁴ These two monasteries were adjacent to each other, and were renamed separately the *Dazhuangyansi Monastery* and the *Dazongchi Monastery* in the early Tang Dynasty,³⁰⁵ which echoed the names of the monasteries in Yecheng. In 2004, the Xi'an Tang City Team of the Institute of Archaeology detected six large building foundations in the range of the Yongyang Ward 永陽坊 and the Heping Ward 和平坊 of Tang Chang'an City. It was provisionally assumed that they corresponded to the two Pagodas and several Halls of the *Dazhuangyansi* and the *Dazongchisi Monasteries*.³⁰⁶

After having unified South China, the Sui Dynasty moved its military objective to the Northeast, an area occupied at that time by the Goguryeo Kingdom. Confronted with the same military opponent, the Sui and the Baekje Kingdom soon established close political relations. In just a few decades over ten official missions were exchanged between the two countries.³⁰⁷ Although there remains little evidence to confirm the content of the cultural and religious exchanges between the two countries, the similarities in contemporaneous Buddhist faith and the architectural layout indicate the possibility that the development of Buddhist doctrine and architectural technology of the Northern Dynasties spread to the south of the Korean Peninsula through the intermediary action of the Sui Dynasty.

3. 'One Pagoda and one Hall side by side' and several other monastery layouts in Japan: their origin and meaning

Though many early Buddhist monasteries are well-preserved in Japan, it cannot be denied that some simple issues have remained unresolved. Except for the layout of 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear', 'Central Hall and Twin Pagodas' and

³⁰³ Xu gaoseng zhuan 續高僧傳, 573.

³⁰⁴ Xu gaoseng zhuan 續高僧傳, 518.

³⁰⁵ Chang'an zhi 長安志, 248-249.

³⁰⁶ Gong Guoqiang 2005, 90-118.

³⁰⁷ Zhou Yuxing 2010.

'Multi-Compound and Multi-Halls', there remain several controversies about the origin and significance of the early Japanese monasteries that need to be further explored.

The Asukadera Monastery, the earliest Buddhist monastery in Japan, presents a 'Central Pagoda and three Golden Halls' layout that was a typical monastery layout of the Goguryeo Kingdom. If we consider the following historical factors: Yamato and the Baekje Kingdom were neighbor and allies; Buddhism was introduced into Japan from the Baekje Kingdom and frequent exchanges were maintained since then; the King of Baekje sent a Buddhist mission that included an artist capable of making Buddhist images and an architect to Japan not long ago before the Asukadera Monastery was established. It is therefore surprising that the monastery layout adopted for the Asukadera Monastery was one typical of the Goguryeo Kingdom, rather than the Baekje Kingdom 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear' arrangement. The Japanese scholar Senda Takemichi believed that since the builders came from the Baekje Kingdom, it is unlikely they would have adopted a Goguryeo Kingdom ground plan. Naturally they could have heard of the 'Central Pagoda and Three Halls' layout, but none of the Goguryeo Kingdom examples look much like the Asukadera Monastery, especially as they all contain an octagonal Pagoda.³⁰⁸ The excavation of the Asukadera Monastery provided helpful evidences to explore the origin of this monastery. The foundation and upper structure of the buildings were unknown in traditional Japanese architecture. Almost all the tile-heads unearthed at the site had a flat ten-petaled lotus design which was the standard pattern of tile-head in the Baekje Kingdom. Even the kiln where the tiles were fired has a similar structure as contemporaneous kilns in the Baekje Kingdom.³⁰⁹ This sort of material evidences confirms beyond any doubt that the Asukadera Monastery was built under the guidance of the craftsmen who came from the Baekje Kingdom a short time before its construction. However, a fact that needs to be given due consideration is that the foundations of the Eastern and Western Golden Halls of the Asukadera Monastery were identical. They consisted of a two-level platform; the lower one was made up of horizontally placed slabs, on top of which were piled stones making up the upper level, which differed from those of the Middle Golden Hall and the

³⁰⁸ McCallum 2009, 58.

³⁰⁹ Nara National Institute of Cultural Properties 1958, 15-24, 32-36.

Pagoda.³¹⁰ A different technique was used compared to the other buildings, thus suggesting the possibility that these two buildings might not have been contemporaneous with the other buildings in the monastery. An architectural technique similar to that employed in the *Asukadera Monastery* Eastern and Western Golden Hall foundation can be found both in the Baekje and Goguryeo Kingdoms,³¹¹ while the archaeological discoveries in recent decades indicate that such construction method seems to have been more common in the Goguryeo Kingdom. At the end of the 6th century, the monks of the Goguryeo Kingdom began to propagate Buddhism in Japan. The famous master Hyeja 惠慈 came across the sea from the Goguryeo Kingdom to Japan in 595. He was appointed tutor of Prince Shōtoku, and lived in Asukadera with Master Esō 惠聰 who came from the Baekje Kingdom. Both of them were regarded as 'The Ridgepole of Three Treasures' 三寶棟梁.³¹²

Taking these factors into account, it seems plausible that initially the *Asukadera Monastery* might have had only the Pagoda, the Golden Hall and the Lecture Hall, all aligned along the north-south axis, a plan typical for Baekje Kingdom. While the Eastern and Western Golden Halls probably were added when Hyeja 惠慈 lived here.

The prevalence of the 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear' layout of the previous period begun to decline and by the mid 7th century, a new type of monastery, the 'One Pagoda and One Hall side by side' layout began to emerge and became the mainstream of Japanese monastery. Typical monasteries, such as *Kudara Ōdera Monastery* and *Hōryūji Monastery*, displayed a Pagoda and a Golden Hall erected side by side in the front part of the monastery. The layout of the 'One Pagoda and One Hall side by side with a Central Hall behind', for example, *Kawaradera Monastery*, could be regarded as the direct evolution of the 'One Pagoda and One Hall side by side' layout. Besides the opposite Pagoda and Hall in the foreside, a large Middle Golden Hall was arranged in the center of the whole monastery. Considering from the perspective of building's function, if the 'One Pagoda and One Hall side by side' layout reflects an equal status of the Pagoda and the Hall, well then, the 'One Pagoda and One Hall side by side with a Central Hall behind' further emphasized the significant role of Hall in the Buddhist monastery. Compared with the 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear' layout, above two types of monastery represented

³¹⁰ McCallum 2009, 45, 49.

³¹¹ Nara National Institute of Cultural Properties 1958, 43.

³¹² Nihon shoki 日本書紀, vol. 22, 1.

the transition stage of monastery layout from the focus on the Pagoda to the focus on the Buddha Hall.

Generally speaking, the layout of the 'One Pagoda and One Hall side by side' and 'One Pagoda and One Hall side by side with a Central Hall behind' were very popular in the mid 7th century in Japan, while a similar monastery layout have not been discovered in China and in Korea. Furthermore, the arrangement of Pagoda and Hall side by side does not correspond to the Chinese architecture tradition of axial symmetry. Hence the majority Japanese and western scholars are presently inclined to regard them as a Japanese local style.³¹³ However, there are still some controversies about its origin. As mentioned above, the earliest instance of Pagoda and Hall side by side was not the famous Höryūji Monastery, but the Kudara Ödera Monastery, which was built in approximately 640 AD and excavated in the 1990s. The name of the monastery means the 'Great Monastery of Baekje', which seems to imply that the monastery should have a closer relationship with the Baekje Kingdom. The origins of Kawaradera Monastery are enveloped in similar doubts. After the Taika Reform 大化 革新 in 645, in order to strengthen the centralization and to enhance the power of the imperial court, Japan began to adopt the rules and regulations of Tang China. Many missions, comprising envoys, scholars and young students, were dispatched to China to learn about the political system, the economic model, literature, religion and architecture. According to incomplete statistics, before 670 AD, there have been seven Japanese missions to imperial Tang 遣唐使, and the total number of people reaching China was in the range of several hundreds. Among these visitors, the percentage of monks was quite high.³¹⁴ Under these circumstances, Chinese cultural influence began to penetrate into various segments of Japanese society. A remarkable feature of the Kawaradera Monastery, a typical monastery of the late 7th century, is that the basic measure unit used for the construction of the monasteries was the Tang foot 唐尺 in all sorts of buildings, replacing the conventional Koma foot 高麗尺.315 This shift could be taken as a sign that Japanese Buddhist architecture began to directly imitate Chinese building styles, rather than through the mediation of Baekje Kingdom. Moreover, the monastery layout of 'One Pagoda and One Hall side by side'

³¹³ Soper 1978, 34-35; McCallum 2009, 245.

³¹⁴ Chi Buzhou 1983, 14-19.

³¹⁵ The earliest Japanese monastery that began to use Tang feet was Yamadadera (山田寺), which was built in ca.541. See Soper 1978, 49; Miyamoto Nagajiro, 155-163.

and 'One Pagoda and One Hall side by side with a Central Hall behind' was in line with the general trend of Chinese monasteries, with the focus being shifted from the Pagoda to the Buddha Hall. Although there are no evidences of layout similar to that of the *Hōryūji* and *Kawaradera Monasteries* beyond Japan, it is simplistic to exclude the influences of China and the Korean Peninsula. Although there are many questions still waiting for a reasonable explanation, more archaeological evidences, especially in China, can be expected to be found for exploring the origin of the *Hōryūji* and *Kawaradera Monasteries*.³¹⁶

4. The 'Central Hall and Twin Pagodas' monastery layout: its origin and significance in unified Silla and Japan

Between the late 7th century and the mid 8th century, a new monastery layout emerged and rapidly prevailed in the Korean Peninsula and Japan. This monastery type focused on a large Golden Hall, with two Pagodas set side by side in front of it. Typical monasteries with this layout include the Sacheonwangsa and Kamunsa Monasteries in Unified Silla, and the Yakushiji Monastery in Japan. Although no Buddhist monastery with 'Twin Pagodas' before the 10th century has been excavated in China, according to abundant document records, there are reasons to believe that such a monastery layout also originated in Chinese Mainland and became one of the most common monastery types after the mid 7th century.³¹⁷ The lack of pertinent doctrinal reasons to interpret the Twin Pagodas layout has given rise to a variety of hypotheses trying to shed light on its origins and meaning. Many scholars believe that the arrangement of the two pagodas might have inherited the tradition of the double que 雙闕 erected in front of important buildings from the Han Dynasty.318 Other scholars deem that two pagodas stand for the Buddhist theory of cause and effect.³¹⁹ The Korean scholar Lee Heungbeom 李興範 argues that the two pagodas in Unified Silla and Japan were intended to protect the state, and might have its origins in the Lotus Sutra.³²⁰ Despite the fact that there is no specific early unearthed instance, all scholars admit that such a monastery layout derived from the Chinese Mainland.

³¹⁶ According to the survey of extant surface monasteries remains after the Tang Dynasty, some scholars confirmed that the monastery layout of 'One Pagoda and One Hall side by side' should derive from China. See Zhang Yuhuan 2007, 56-57. In considering the fact that most monasteries cited by the book were reconstructed or altered, and have not been excavated, their construction time and original layout need to be further confirmed.

³¹⁷₂₁₈ Gong Guoqiang 2006, 119-121.

³¹⁸ Murata Jiro 1988, 33-34.

³¹⁹ Soper 1978, 48.

³²⁰ Lee Heungbeom 1999, 703-729.

Buddhist monasteries with two pagodas could be traced back to the Eastern Jin period; the *Changlesi Monastery* 昌樂寺 and *Changgansi Monastery* 長干寺 were the earliest instances. According to the record of *Famous Painting through History*:

Wang Yi, courtesy name Shijiang, was born in Linyi, Langya. He was adept at verse, and was good at calligraphy and painting. After moving to south of Yangtze, his calligraphy and painting were considered as the first in the Jin Dynasty, and music, rhythm and all sorts of techniques were all mastery. He was appointed General of Left Protect, Marquis of Wukang during the period of emperor Yuan. At that time, the Command General Xie Shang built East Pagoda at the *Changlesi Monastery* in Wuchang, and Dai Ruosi built West Pagoda. They all invited Wang Yi to draw inside. ³²¹

The *Changlesi Monastery* was initially founded by Sun Quan in the Three Kingdom Period.³²² Though the general layout of the monastery remains unclear, on the basis of the above record we can assure that two pagodas were erected side by side in the monastery. The *Changgansi Monastery* of Jiankan presents a different situation compared to *Changlesi Monastery*, in which the two pagodas were built in two different periods. According to a historical record, in the second year of the Xian'an Era (372 AD), the Emperor Jianwen of Eastern Jin first built a three-story Pagoda in the *Changgansi Monastery*. Few decades later, valuable *śarīras* were discovered in the monastery. Therefore, another three-story Pagoda was erected to store the relics.³²³ Strictly speaking, the *Changgansi Monastery* was not an appropriate case of such kind of monastery, because the second pagoda was not part of the original design of the monastery layout. However, it provides us with clear evidences that at that stage the two pagodas were used for the storing *śarīra*.

The 'Twin Pagodas' arrangement could also be seen in the monasteries of the Southern Dynasties. The *Xianggongsi Monastery* 湘宫寺 of the Song and the *Aśoka Monastery* 阿育王寺 of the Liang Dynasty were representative instances. The *History of Southern Dynasties* states:

Emperor (Ming of Song r. 466 - 472 AD) rebuilt *Xianggongsi Monastery* on the basis of his own former residence, which was extremely extravagant. Because the Pagoda of *Zhuangyansi Monastery* built by Emperor Xiaowu was seven-story high, Emperor Ming wanted to erect a ten-story Pagoda (in *Xianggongsi Monastery*). It

³²¹ Lidai minghua ji 歷代名畫記, 95-96,"王廙,字世將,琅琊臨沂人。善屬詞,工書畫。過江後,為晉代書 畫第一,音律眾妙畢綜。元帝時為左衛將軍,封武康侯。時鎮軍謝尚于武昌昌樂寺造東塔,戴若思造西塔, 並請廙畫。".

³²² Fozu tongji 佛祖統紀, 331.

³²³ Ji shenzhou sanbao gantonglu 集神州三寶感通錄, 405.

could not be built (perhaps due to technical reasons), eventually two five-story Pagodas were erected separately.³²⁴

The *Aśoka Monastery* was built by Emperor Wu of Liang. The *Book of Liang* states:

In the fourth year (of the Putong Era, 523 AD), the 15th day of the ninth month of the Lunar year, Emperor (Wu) came to the *(Aśoka)* Monastery to hold a large assembly without entry restrictions. Two pagodas were erected and in both, gold and jade bottles, filled with *śarīra*, nails and hair were stored within seven-treasure *stūpas*. The *stūpas* were put into a stone case and buried beneath the two pagodas. They were filled with gold, silver, bracelets and all sorts of treasures donated by princes, marquis, imperial concubines and wealthy people. [...] In the eleventh year, the 2nd day of the eleventh month of the lunar year, the monks invited Emperor Wu again, to explain the title of *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, and on that evening the two pagodas emitted bright light.³²⁵

The analysis of the above documents indicates that the *Xianggongsi Monastery* and the *Aśoka Monastery* displayed a typical monastery layout with two pagodas, and that the pagodas had definite function to preserve *śarīra*.

At the same time, the monastery with two pagodas emerged in the north of China. The *Huifusi Monastery* 暉福寺 of the Northern Wei was the earliest instance. According to the extant rubbing of the stele of *Huifusi Monastery*, it was initially built in 488 AD (Fig.87).



Fig. 87: Rubbing of the stele in Huifu Monastery (Modified from: Li Yuqun 2009, p. 306, fig. 10)

[In the twelfth year of the Taihe Era (488 AD)], Emperor attendant, General of stabilizing the west, imperial Secretariat of Official department and Duke of

³²⁴ Nan shi 南史, 1710, "帝以故宅起湘宫寺, 費極奢侈。以孝武莊嚴刹七層, 帝欲起十層, 不可立, 分為兩 刹, 各五層。"

³²⁵ Liang shu 梁書, 792, "至四年九月十五日,高祖又至寺設無礙大會,豎二刹,各以金罌,次玉罌,重盛 舍利及爪髪,內七寶塔中。又以石函盛寶塔,分入兩刹下,及王侯妃主百姓富室所捨金、銀、鐶、釧等珍 寶充積。......十一年十一月二日,寺僧又請高祖于寺發般若經題,爾夕二塔俱放光明。"

Dangchang Wang Qingshi, [...] established two three-story Pagodas for the Two Saints (Emperor Xiaowen and Empress Dowager Feng) in the south and north of his former residences in his hometown.³²⁶

One of the important information revealed by the inscription was that the 'Twin Pagodas' were built for the 'Two Saints', which added new signification for the pagodas. For the sake of understanding the meanings of Two Saints, the relevant historical context needs to be explained here. Dowager Feng was the wife of Emperor Wencheng who restored Buddhism in the mid 6^{th} century. After Emperor Wencheng passed away, Dowager Feng controlled the imperial power and became de facto regent of the Northern Wei. She assisted her grandson, Emperor Xiaowen, in carrying out a series of reforms and was highly influential until she died in 490. Because of their lofty status, Dowager Feng and Emperor Xiaowen were respectfully regarded as Two Saints and the title was repeatedly recorded in the *Book of Wei*.³²⁷ After the mid 5th century, many groups of twin caves were carved in the Yungang Grottoes for Dowager Feng and Emperor Xiaowen. According to the study of Su Bai, the prevalence of twin caves was the product of the political situation of that specific period.³²⁸ Coincidently, a new style of stone statues, with double images, began to prevail in north of China from the 6th century.³²⁹ The themes of these double images include two Buddha, two Avalokitêśvara, two Bodhisattvas and two Meditative Princes. Apart from the double Buddha, which might have come from Lotus Sutra and represents Sakyamuni and Prabhūtaratna 多寶佛, the other themes represented do not find appropriate explanation in the doctrine. In considering the meaning of twin caves and twin pagodas, it is reasonable to assume that the twin images might also derived from the concept of Two Saints.

Another document of the Sui Dynasty corroborates the point above. It records the event of the construction of two Pagodas by Emperor Yang for his deceased parents, Emperor Wen and Empress Dugu. It states:

In the eighth year (of Daye Era, 612 AD), the Emperor stayed in the Eastern Capital. He issued an edict that two seven-story Pagodas were built for two Emperors [Emperor and Empress] in the Western Capital. He also ordered that Huicheng sent

³²⁶ Tokiwa Daijo and Sekino Tadashi 1926, vol.1, plate 68.

³²⁷ Wei shu 魏書, 1199, 1288, 1348, 1383.

³²⁸ Su Bai 1996 a, 114-144.

³²⁹ Yang Boda 1960; Joint Ye City Archaeological Team of the Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and Research Institute of Cultural Relics of Hebei Province 2012.

śarīra which was buried under the pagodas.³³⁰

This document assures us that the idea behind the twin pagodas referred not only to the concept of Two Saints, but also retained the original function for preserving relics.

The monasteries with twin pagodas were one of the ordinary layouts in the Sui and Tang Dynasties. Only in the Chang'an area, documented instances included the *Fajienisi Monastery* 法界尼寺, the *Daxingshangsi Monastery* 大興善寺, the *Qiangfusi Monastery* 千福寺, the *Chongfusi Monastery* 崇福寺 and the *Dayunsi Monastery* 大雲寺.³³¹ Especially the *Dayunsi Monastery* deserves much attention: its name corresponds to a monastery built in the Eastern Capital, Luoyang, and in other Prefectures throughout the country under the advocacy of Wu Zetian. During the late 7th century, Wu Zetian became the regent of the Tang Empire; she and Emperor Gaozhong were known as the 'Two Saints' with for quite a long period of time.³³² In order to create public opinion support for her accession to the throne, she issued a series of edicts to promulgate the *Dayun Sutra*, and to establish *Dayunsi Monasteries* in the two Capitals and in all Prefectures.³³³

Around the mid 7th century, the political situation in East Asia underwent earthshaking changes. In China, Emperor Taizong of Tang (r. 626 - 649 AD) defeated the East Turkic Empire, installed the Four Garrisons of Anxi 安西四鎮 in the Western Regions and established friendly relation with Tibet. After the 'Reign of Zhenguan' 真觀之治, the Tang Empire became the largest and strongest nation in the world, and enjoyed high civilization and prosperity. In 645 AD, Emperor Kōtoku 孝德天皇 (r. 645 - 654 AD) of Japan began a reform based on the rules and regulations of the Tang, known as the 'Taika Reform'. One of the most important policies was to send a large number of missions and students to China to learn from the cultural achievements of the Tang Empire. On the Korean Peninsula, the situation of long-term national disruption was ended with the assistance of Tang Troops; Silla conquered the Baekje Kingdom in 660 and the Goguryeo Kingdom in 668, and established the Unified Silla Kingdom in the south of the Korean Peninsula.

³³⁰ Xu gaoseng zhuan 續高僧傳, 633, "至八年帝在東都。於西京奉為二皇雙建兩塔七層木浮圖,又勅乘送舍 利瘞于塔所。"

³³¹ Gong Guoqiang 2006, 119-121.

³³² Xin Tang shu 新唐書, 81-82, "上元元年(674AD), 高宗號天皇, 皇后亦號天后, 天下之人謂之'二聖'。"

³³³ Xin Tang shu 新唐書, 90-91.

After the mid 7th century, owing to frequent political and cultural exchanges in with the Tang, Japan and Unified Silla began to imitate Chinese architectural style and technology directly, rather than depending on the mediation of the Baekje or the Goguryeo Kingdom as in earlier times. More and more Chinese cultural elements entered Japanese architecture.³³⁴ Extensive use of Tang foot from the mid 7th century can be regarded as a convincing evidence of this trend.³³⁵ Undoubtedly, the monasteries with twin pagodas prevailing in Unified Silla and Japan had their direct prototype in China. Judging from the fact that *sarīras* were buried under many pagodas in Unified Silla and Japan, we can be sure that the original function of the pagoda as a relic repository was still retained. However, as a late imitation of Chinese Buddhist architecture, it is difficult to confirm whether the twin pagodas maintained the political meaning of the Two Saints it had in China. On the other hand, in considering the purpose of the construction of some monasteries and the narrative inside the double pagodas, such as Sacheonwangsa and Kamunsa Monasteries in Unified Silla, and the Daianji Monastery in Japan, it seems that the twin pagodas in Unified Silla and Japan might reflect the idea of protecting the state.

5. The main monastery layout types and their evolution

On the basis of current available archaeological material, in the above chapters we have analyzed the situation of different regions of East Asia between the 5th and 8th century. It has emerged that there was a variety of monastery layouts; their distribution on different regions is as follows:

China:	'Central Pagoda'
	'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear'
	'Central Pagoda and Halls on different axis'
	'Multi-Compounds and Multi-Halls'

Korea: 'Central Pagoda and Three Halls' 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear' 'Central Hall and Twin Pagodas' 'Multi-Compounds and Multi-Halls'

³³⁴ Fu Xinian 1992.

³³⁵ Soper 1978, 49.

Japan 'Central Pagoda and Three Halls' 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear' 'One Pagoda and One Hall side by side' 'One Pagoda and One Hall side by side with a Central Hall behind' 'Central Hall and Twin Pagodas' 'Central Hall and One Pagoda on different axis' 'Multi-Compounds and Multi-Halls'

In China it is only in the last few decades that excavation of Buddhist monastery has begun, a much different state of affairs compared with Korea and Japan where, in some cases, monastery have been unearthed and their remains studied over a century, and the number of excavated monasteries exceed greatly that of China. Due to this shortage of excavated material evidence in China, not all of the monastery layouts in Korea and Japan find a corresponding prototype in China. However, some relevant evidences, including records from historical documents, wall paintings of Dunhuang Grottoes and Chinese secular buildings architecture indicate that most of the monastery layouts in Korea and Japan might derive from China (Table 3).

The types of Monastery layout in East Asia and relevant evidences in China								
Archaeological material		K	J	Chinese Records				
				Н	W	S		
'Central Pagoda'	✓			✓				
'Central Pagoda and Three Halls'		✓	~		~	~		
'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear'		✓	✓	✓				
'Central Pagoda and Halls on different axis'				✓				
'One Pagoda and One Hall side by side'			✓					
'One Pagoda and One Hall side by side with a Central Hall behind'			✓					
'Central Hall and Twin Pagodas'		✓	✓	✓				
'Central Hall and One Pagoda on different axis'			✓	✓	✓			
'Multi-Compounds and Multi-Halls'		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		

Table 3. C: Chinese Mainland; K: Korean Peninsula; J: Japanese Archipelago; H: Historical documents;W: Wall painting in Dunhuang Grottoes; S: Secular building.

Table 4 includes the entire list of typical monastery layouts. The horizontal row lists the monastery layouts according to their different regions, while the column represents the chronology. It gives a clear impression of the similarities and differences in layout among the monasteries of the Chinese Mainland, the Korean Peninsula and the Japanese Archipelago.

Some regular features concerning the evolution of the monastery layout displayed in Chart 3 and 4 will be summed up. In considering the periods in which Buddhism was introduced in these three different regions, it can be understood that the same type of monastery may appear in different periods.

As the source of Buddhist architecture in East Asia, it is clear that the Chinese monastery layout spread eastward to the Korean Peninsula and Japan. In summary, the monastery layout of the Goguryeo Kingdom ('Central Pagoda and Three Halls') derives from the traditional architectural forms of North China, while the monastery layout of the Baekje Kingdom ('Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear') was more influenced by South China. Before the mid 7th century, as a result of fewer exchanges with the Chinese continent, Buddhist architectures of Silla and Japan were strongly influenced by the Goguryeo and the Baekje Kingdoms; this is particularly seen in the case of early Japanese monasteries ('Central Pagoda and Three Halls' and 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear' layout). After the middle of the 7th century, Silla unified the south of the Korean Peninsula, and Japan established direct contacts with China. Buddhist monasteries of the Tang ('Multi-Compounds and Multi-Halls' layout), represented by the *Qinglongsi* and *the Ximingsi Monastery* in Chang'an, had a direct and far-reaching impact on the architectural layout of Korean and Japanese monasteries.

From the above overview of Buddhist monasteries in East Asia between the 5th to the 8th century, excepting some local characteristics, it is possible to point out a general consistent trend: the monastery layout evolved from the focus on the Pagoda to the Buddha Hall and from a Single Compound to Multi-Compounds and Multi-Halls. The interaction between architectural space and religious function will be discussed in detailed in the last chapter.



Table 4
Chapter VI - Monastery Layout in Early Medieval China and East Asia: Form and Function

1. The Chinese pavilion-style pagoda: origin and meaning

The Chinese pavilion-style pagoda derives from the Indian *stūpa*, which was introduced in China around the first century together with the Buddhist faith. The original meaning of the Indian *stūpa* is 'mound' or 'grave', the place where to bury the relic of the Buddha. Later, the concept of *stūpa* was expanded to indicate a place where famous Buddhist monks and nuns were buried, a departure from the original meaning which will not be discusses here. A similar building was the *caitya* (*zhiti* 支提), which had the same architectural form as the *stūpa*. Although the two terms *stūpa* and *caitya* were often confused in successive periods, actually, their original meaning was clear in early Buddhist documents: the *stūpa* was the tomb of the Buddha while the *caitya* (*Mohe sengqi lü*摩訶僧祇律) - translated by Faxian (法顯? - ca. 422 AD) during the Eastern Jin period states:

A place having *śarīra* was known as *stūpa*, while the place without *śarīra* was known as *caitya*, such as the place of the birth of the Buddha, the place of his Enlightenment, the place where he turned the wheel of the *Dharma*, the place where he entered *Nirvāṇa*, the image of *Bodhisattvas*, the grotto of the *Pratyeka-Buddha* and the traces of Buddha's feet.³³⁶

The Compilation of Translated Names and Explanations of their Meanings explains the meaning of *caitya* in detail, quoting many early texts lost in later times, such as the Samyukt âbhidharmahrdayaśāstra, it states:

Caitya, [...] here refers to a place to make offering, or a place to extinguish evil and produce goodness. *Saṃyuktâbhidharmahrdayaśāstra* said: a place offering *Sarira* was known as *stūpa*, while the place without *sarira* was known as *caitya*. The *Words and Phrases of the Lotus Sutra* said: *caitya* did not contain the bones and body. The *Āgama* clarified the four symbolic meanings of *caitya*: the place of Buddha's birth, the place where he reached enlightenment, the place of the turning of the wheel of the *Dharma*, and the place of *Nirvāṇa*.³³⁷

³³⁶ Mohe sengqi lü 摩訶僧祇律, 498, "今王亦得作枝提。有舍利者名塔, 無舍利者名枝提。如佛生處、得道處、轉法輪處、般泥洹處、菩薩像、辟支佛窟、佛脚跡。"

³³⁷ Fanyi mingyi ji 翻譯名義集, 1168,"支提:或名難提、脂帝、制底、制多。此翻可供養處,或翻滅惡生善處。《雜心論》云:有舍利名塔,無舍利名支提。《文句》云:支提無骨身者也。《阿含》明四支徵:謂佛生處、得道處、轉法輪處、入滅處也。"

However, it is difficult to distinguish $st\bar{u}pa$ and caitya from their architectural form. Furthermore, the interpretations of their definitions in variety sutras have evolved over time. The concept of *caitya* progressively increased to became a comprehensive term indicating a Buddhist memorial. Besides commemorating Buddha's meritorious deeds, it also had the added functions of preserving relics, storing sutras and statues. At least in the early Tang, Chinese Buddhist masters and translators had already regarded *stūpa* and *caitya* as one and the same structure, a square tomb or shrine.³³⁸ Thereafter, the terms *stūpa* and *caitya* were used synonymous in many sutras. Nevertheless, we should keep in mind that the meaning of *stūpa* and *caitya* were quite different in the earlier centuries when Buddhism was newly introduced to China. The former focused on the function of preserving Sakyamuni's relics, while the latter laid more emphasis on the function of monumentalizing his meritorious deeds. In this sense, the famous *stūpa* of *Sanchi* and the *stūpa* of *Bharhut* are *stūpas* in the true sense, while *Amarawati* of South India should be called a *caitya*.³³⁹

With regards to the origin of the Chinese pavilion-style pagoda, much research has been carried out.³⁴⁰ The generally accepted view is that it derived from both, the Indian *stūpa* and the Chinese traditional tower type.³⁴¹ In ancient Chinese myths and legends, immortals preferred to live in lofty heights. Hence many high-story buildings were established by emperors and magicians to come close to the gods or to pray for immortality. A well-known event took place in the middle of the Western Han Dynasty. Gongsun Qing 公孫卿, a notable magician deeply trusted by Emperor Wu (漢武帝 r. 141 - 87 BC), explicitly mentioned that the immortals love living in high buildings. Thereupon, Emperor Wu erected many high-story buildings in Chang'an for attracting all sorts of immortals.³⁴² These buildings were normally square in plan, up to tens of meters high, such as the famous Boliangtai 柏梁台, Tongtiantai 通天台 and Shenmingtai 神明台; in ancient times tall buildings were built on platforms, where a large number of magicians fulfilled their responsibility of communicating with gods and immortals. As early as the 1940s, Liang Sicheng in *Chinese Architectural History* proposed that the Chinese traditional tower might be the

³³⁸ Li Chongfeng 2003, 26-29.

³³⁹ Akira Miyaji (ed.), Li Ping and Zhang Qingtao (tran.) 2009, 16-21.

³⁴⁰ Soper 1978, 89-93.

³⁴¹ Seckel 1980, 249-256.

³⁴² Shi ji 史記, 1400.

high-story platform intended to attract and wait for the immortals. He further deduced that the pavilion-style pagoda after the Wei and Jin Period must have evolved on the basis of the architectural forms of these towers.³⁴³ Later archaeological discoveries offered sufficient evidences to support his intuition. Since 1950s, many pottery models of towers have been excavated in Hebei, Henan, Shandong, Shannxi and Gansu Province, most of them dated to the Eastern Han and Wei-Jin periods. These models, imitations of real wooden towers, were square in plan and at least some, placed at the centre of a small courtyard surrounded by walls. In most cases they were three or four-story high, and each story had its own railings, eaves, bracket sets, beams and pillars (Fig. 88).³⁴⁴



Fig. 88: Eastern Han Dynasty Pottery tower models, unearthed in Shandong and Henan Provinces (Modified from: Yang Hongxun 2001, p. 345, figs. 298 and 299)

There are no conclusive evidences to demonstrate how the earliest Chinese pagoda might have looked like. It is reasonable to assume that, when Buddhism was first introduced into China, the pagoda was built according to Indian models, as recorded in the *Book of Wei*:

All the methods for manufacturing palace and pagoda still complied with the original form of India constructions. $^{\rm 345}$

³⁴³ Liang Sicheng 1985, vol. 3, 36.

³⁴⁴ Li Chongfeng 2003, 39-40.

³⁴⁵ Wei shu 魏書, 3029,"凡宫塔制度,犹依天竺旧状而重构之。"

Obviously, it was quite easy to duplicate paintings and small carvings of an exotic form, as it can be seen, for example, in the case of the stone pagodas of Northern Liang (*Bei Liang shita* 北涼石塔). Conversely, it is difficult to imagine that an Indian style *stūpa*, such as the *Sanchi Stūpa*, could be exactly reproduced in another country, since such an enterprise not only involved manpower and money, but also an entire production system, encompassing techniques, tools, supporting facilities, raw material, and even craftsmen's habits and ways of thinking. Taking these conditions into account, it becomes easier to understand the reason the early pagoda in China had a main architectural timber framework as in most Chinese traditional buildings.

The pagoda of *Baimasi Monastery*, built in Luoyang by Emperor Ming of Eastern Han, is the first Buddhist pagoda to appear in historical records. *Mou zi on the Settling of Doubts* mentioned that the pagoda was surrounded by wall painting in three circles.³⁴⁶ Though the description of the architectural form of the pagoda is ambiguous, some architectural historian presumed that the pagoda might have had a three-level platform, therefore different from the Indian *stūpa*.³⁴⁷

Another document provides us more detailed information about the early Chinese style pagoda. According to the *records of Three Kingdoms*, a Buddhist monastery was built between the years 188 and 193 AD by Ze Rong. The Pagoda was a multi-story pavilion with the top of nine-tiered bronze plates.³⁴⁸ Obviously, multi-story wooden structure was a well known type of Chinese traditional architecture, while the nine-tiered bronze plate might have derived from the Indian style *stūpa*. Pagodas displaying mixed Chinese and Indian features might have been quite common at the time.

To date we have not discovered any remains of wooden pagodas before the mid 5th century. Conversely, extant Buddhist grottoes provide us with an abundance of visual material. For example, in the Yungang Caves 1, 2 and 21 the central pillar caved was carved in the shape of pavilion-style pagoda (Fig. 89), while similar pagodas were also depicted in a simplified manner among the scenes carved along the lateral walls or central pillar (Fig. 90). These occurrences provide material evidences to understand the architectural form of early wooden pagoda.

³⁴⁶ Mouzi lihuo lun 牟子理惑論, 5.

³⁴⁷ Fu Xinian (ed.) 2001, vol.2, 176-177.

³⁴⁸ Sanguo zhi 三國志, 1185; Hou han shu 後漢書, 2368.



Fig. 89: Central pagodas of Yungang Grottoes in the Northern Wei (Modified from: Liu Dunzhen 1984, p.91, fig. 591. Central pagoda of Cave 2; 2. Central pagoda of Cave 21



Fig. 90: Pagodas in relief on the wall and central pillar of Yungang Grottoes in the Northern Wei (Modified from: Liu Dunzhen 1984, p.91, fig. 59

1. Pagoda in relief on the wall of Cave 6; 2. Pagoda in relief on the Central pagoda of Cave 6

In recent decades, Chinese archaeologists excavated several remains of wooden pavilion-style pagodas from the late 5th and 6th century. The most striking examples are the large pagoda of the *Yongningsi Monastery* of Northern Wei and the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery* of Eastern Wei and Northern Qi. They provide new evidence for the exploration of the origin of the Chinese pavilion pagoda. Since the wooden structures above ground had been destroyed over a thousand years ago, we have to concentrate our attention to the extant base, which usually includes two parts, the underground foundation and the above ground platform. Relying on the residual traces, such as the size of the base, the arrangement of the plinths, the stepped ramp and the drainage facilities, the internal structure, construction methods and techniques were reconstructed with a certain degree of reliability.

As mentioned above, the pagoda of the Yongningsi Monastery was the landmark of Luoyang City. The base was nearly square in plan, and the dimensions of its underground foundation were 101.2m by 97.8m, and more than 2.5m deep. We do not know the underground foundation in detail, because it has not been sectioned. The above ground square platform, 38.2m wide and 2.2m high, was placed at the center of the underground foundation. It was faced with limestone slabs, and with flight of steps on each side. The core of the pagoda was a composite mud brick and timber structure, the remaining part is about 19.8m wide and 3.7m high. Around the core of the Pagoda were laid down four sets of plinths, the basis of pillars supporting the ground floor of the Pagoda. Judging from the arrangement of the plinths, the square Pagoda was a seven-bay structure. The ground floor was surrounded by a nine-bay porch (Fig. 91).³⁴⁹ As to the height of the Pagoda, scholars specialized in architecture have different views. Chen Mingda 陳明達 was inclined to think that the Pagoda could not be more than 81.66m high;³⁵⁰ while Yang Hongxun 楊鴻勳 thought it might reach an height of 147m (Fig. 92).³⁵¹ In any case, the common understanding is that the documents exaggerated the actual height of the Pagoda.



Fig. 91: Reconstructed plinths network of the Pagoda, *Yongningsi Monastery*, Luoyang (Modified from: Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences 1996, p.15, fig. 9B)

³⁴⁹ Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences 1996, 13-19.

³⁵⁰ Chen Mingda 1990, 32-35.

³⁵¹ Yang Hongxun 1992.



Fig. 92: Reconstruction of the Pagoda, *Yongningsi Monastery*, Luoyang (Modified from: Zhang Yuhuan 2008, p. 15, illustration)

The form and construction methods of the Pagoda of the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery* are similar to those of *Yongningsi*. Although the underground foundation was only 45m wide, the above ground platform was over 30m wide and displayed an equal status with the Pagoda of the *Yongningsi Monastery*. The trench cut into the underground foundation revealed it was almost 6m deep, and the residual aboveground platform was about 4.5m high, with traces of brick facing. Because of the poor state of preservation, only three sets of plinths could be positively identified, while a fourth set of plinths might have been set up on the above ground platform. Thus the ground floor of the pagoda was no less than a five-bay structure (Fig. 13).³⁵² As far as the height of the Pagoda, the preliminary assumption of archaeologists and architectural historians, the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery's* Pagoda might have been a nine-story structure towering more than 100m in height.

The excavations of the *Yongningsi* and *Zhaopengcheng Monasteries* provide us with a case in point to explore the form and construction method of the pavilion-style pagoda in the 6th century. As far as the Pagoda of the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery* is concerned, at first, a large square pit 6m deep with sides 45m long was dug into the ground. More than ten layers of cobblestone alternating with strata of rammed earth

³⁵² Joint Ye City Archaeological Team of IA, CASS and Hebei Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics 2010.

were laid at the bottom of the pit; on top of it, ten more strata of rammed earth, filling the pit to the contemporary ground level (Fig. 93). When the compacted earth was rammed to a level slight higher than the ground, the foundation stone of the central pillar, with sides of 1.2m, was put at the center of the above ground platform. Under this foundation stone was a brick-built small cell, measuring 0.7m by 0.7m; it was the underground palace for the burying of relics (Fig. 14). The square above ground platform, 30m wide, presently displaying a residual height of 4.5m, was built in the middle of the underground foundation; it was made of well compacted rammed earth. The remaining part of the above ground platform indicates that all its sides were faced with bricks or stone slabs. In front of the above ground platform there were drainage facilities paved by bricks on both side of the stepped ramp. On the above ground platform, the multistory body of the pagoda was established diminishing in width from bottom to top. As any other Chinese traditional pavilion, each story had its own rooms, stairs, roof, railings and decorations. According to the documents, the top of the Pagoda still displayed the basic Indian style stūpa elements, particular striking were the multiple bronze plates - the so-called 'dew receivers' (*chenglupan* 承 露盤), inserting on the top.



Fig. 93: Section of the Pagoda foundation, *Zhaopengcheng Monastery*, South Yecheng (Modified from: Joint Ye City Archaeological Team of IA, CASS and Hebei Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics 2010, p. fig. 36, fig. 8)

Presently most scholars would agree on the fact that the top of pagoda derives from India models, while its body is an imitation of Chinese tower. However, where do the massive square underground foundation and the above ground platform derive from? In 1980, by comparison with Chinese traditional architecture, Ledderose pointed out that the prototype of the Chinese pagoda derived not only from the architectural form of the multi-story tower, but also from the *Mingtang* in religious function and symbolism.³⁵³ This prophetic view has been corroborated by recent

³⁵³ Ledderose 1980, 238-248.

excavations. On the basis of archaeological evidences, I prefer to assume that Chinese traditional ritual buildings (*lizhixing jianzhu* 禮制性建築), including the Imperial Mausoleum (*wangling* 王陵), the Imperial Ancestor Shrine (*taimiao* 太廟), the Imperial Academy (*taixue* 太學), the *Mingtang* 明堂, the *Biyong* 辟雍 and the *Lingtai* 靈臺 etc, are among the most important sources of the pavilion-style pagoda. The common feature of these buildings is that they all belong to the high-story category, and most of them have an underground foundation and the above ground platform. Since the 1950s, some ritual buildings from the Warring States Period to the Tang Dynasty have been excavated; they provide appropriate material for comparison with the structure of the pagoda.

From the Warring States Period (475 - 221 BC) kings of vassal states and later the emperors used to build large mausoleums for their afterlife; on top of the underground grave was stacked a large trapezoidal shaped mound, on which was built a pavilion hall surrounded by roofed corridors was built to commemorate or sacrifice to the dead monarch. A case in point was the Mausoleum of the Zhongshang King 戰 國中山王陵 of the Warring States, excavated in 1970s.³⁵⁴ In it was discovered the famous bronze plan of the Zhongshang King's Mausoleum (Zhongshanwang ling zhaoyu tu 中山王陵兆域圖). The superstructure of the mausoleum no.1 was reconstructed by architectural historian on the basis of the archaeological report.³⁵⁵ The superstructure stood on a three-story rammed earth platform, its remains being 15m high. The lowermost platform was square in plan with sides 52m long, and drainage facilities around it. On the outside, each platform was surrounded by a roofed corridor. The uppermost platform was approximately 32m wide, on top of which a square hall was built. The hall was presumably a five bay square structure and its perimeter surrounded with roofed corridor and handrails (Fig. 94). Similar remains have also been found in the Mausoleum of the Wei State (present Hui County, Henan Province),³⁵⁶ the Mausoleum of the Yan State (present Yi County, Hebei Province),³⁵⁷ and the Mausoleum of the Zhao State (present Handan City, Hebei Province).³⁵⁸ Actually, many imperial mausoleums of the Qin and Han Dynasties,

³⁵⁴ CPAM, Hopeh Province 1979.

³⁵⁵ Yang Hongxun 2001, 174-185.

³⁵⁶ Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Science 1956, 144-145.

³⁵⁷ CPAM, Hopeh Province etc 1982.

³⁵⁸ Hopei Bureau of Culture Archaeological Team 1965.

including the well-known the Mausoleum of Emperor Qin Shi Huang (*Qin shihuangdi ling* 秦始皇帝陵) adopted similar architecture form on top of their graves.



Fig. 94: Reconstruction of Zhongshang King's Mausoleum, Warring States Period (Modified from: Yang Hongxun 2001, p. 180, fig. 162)

In 1950s, Chinese archaeologists excavated a group of architectural ruins near Xi'an, which were confirmed to be ceremonial buildings of the Han Dynasty in the southern suburb of Han Dynasty Chang'an City.³⁵⁹ One group of these buildings was the Nine Shrines of Wang Mang (*Wang Mang jiumiao* 王莽九廟), namely nine shrines established by Wang Mang for his ancestors and himself.³⁶⁰ According to Yang Hongxun's research, among the Nine Shrine of Wang Mang there were twelve high-story buildings that had a similar configuration and structure. All buildings were pavilion-style hall square in plan. Except for the largest hall, with sides over 100m long, the other eleven halls were built on rammed foundation 52m wide, each surrounded by drainage facility (Fig. 95).³⁶¹



Fig. 95: Reconstruction of the Nine Shrine of Wang Mang, Han Dynasty (Modified from: Yang Hongxun 2001, p. 285, fig. 257)

³⁵⁹ Tang Jingyu 1959.

³⁶⁰ Han Ch'eng Archaeological Team, IOA 1960, Editorial board of Chinese Encyclopedia 1986, 162.

³⁶¹ Yang Hongxun 2001, 282-285.

In ancient China the term *Lingtai* 靈臺 indicated an observatory. In the years 1974 to 1975 Chinese archaeologists excavated a *Lingtai* site of the Han and Jin Dynasties in Luoyang. The remains were in the shape of a high square platform, which was initially built in the Eastern Han, and was in use until the Western Jin. Zhang Heng (張衡 78 - 139 AD), the most famous astronomer of ancient China, was in charge of this *Lingtai* for a long time. The underground foundation of the *Lingtai* was about 50m wide, and the above ground platform consisted of two layers. Because of the poor state of preservation, the platform was of 41m wide north to south, and its residual height of approximately 8m. At the margin of each layer of the platform were the trace of buildings, which were confirmed the remains of roofed corridor (Fig. 96).³⁶² Relying on the archaeological evidences, Yang Hongxun was able to reconstruct its architecture (Fig.97).³⁶³



Fig. 96: Plan and section of *Lingtai* site Han Dynasty (Modified from: Loyang Archaeological Team, Institute of Archaeology, the Chinese Academy of Social Science 1978, p. 55, fig. 1)

³⁶² Loyang Archaeological Team, Institute of Archaeology, the Chinese Academy of Social Science 1978.

³⁶³ Yang Hongxun 2001, 332-338.



Fig. 97: Reconstruction of the *Lingtai*, Han and Jin Period (Modified from: Yang Hongxun 2001, p. 338, fig. 292)

The *Mingtang* 明堂 and the *Biyong* 辟雍 were common ritual buildings throughout antiquity. Generally speaking, the *Mingtang* was a great hall where the emperor gave publicity to important policys of politics, religion and education, such as holding the ceremony of assembly, alliance, sacrifice and celebration. The *Biyong* was originally a college established by the King of Western Zhou. Unfortunately, the configuration of *Mingtang* and *Biyong* were already unclear by the mid Western Han Dynasty. The *Book of Han* states that Emperor Wu wanted to build a *Mingtang*, but no one knew its configuration and construction method.³⁶⁴ After the Western Han Dynasty, the meanings of *Mingtang* and *Biyong* were explained contradictorily in various documents. Some scholars thought they were the same ritual building with different names, while others considered the *Biyong* as the circular ditch outside of the *Mingtang*.³⁶⁵

So far, at least six *Mingtang* and *Biyong* sites of different periods have been excavated. The earliest instance is the Han Dynasty *Mingtang* of Chang'an, which was built in the Xinmang Era (9 - 23 AD); it was excavated in 1950s.³⁶⁶ According to the archaeological report, this site was surrounded by a circular ditch, with an underground foundation round in shape, with a diameter of 62m. At the center of the foundation a square high platform of rammed earth was built, with many buildings arranged symmetrically at the margins of the platform. Correspondingly, there was a great hall on top of the platform (Fig. 98).³⁶⁷

³⁶⁴ Shi ji 史記, 480.

³⁶⁵ Wang Shiren 1963.

³⁶⁶ Tang Jingyu 1959.

³⁶⁷ Yang Hongxun 2001, 267-274.



Fig. 98: Reconstruction of the *Mingtang* in Chang'an, Han Dynasty (Modified from: Yang Hongxun 2001, p. 270, fig. 252)

A large number of ritual buildings of various dynasties were discovered in Luoyang. The *Mingtang* and *Biyong* of the Eastern Han were excavated in 1970s;³⁶⁸ they were similar in configuration and structure to the ones of Chang'an (Fig. 99).³⁶⁹ The Northern Wei originally established its *Mingtang* in Pingcheng, with a similar configuration to the one of Chang'an as well; it was excavated in 1990s.³⁷⁰ After moving the capital to Luoyang, the Northern Wei built another *Mingtang* on top of the one from the remains the Eastern Han. Configuration and structure were not significantly different from the former.³⁷¹



Fig. 99: Reconstruction of the *Mingtang* in Luoyang, Eastern Han Dynasty (Modified from: Yang Hongxun 2001, p. 326, fig. 279)

³⁶⁸ Duan Pengqi 1984, 516-521.

³⁶⁹ Yang Hongxun 2001, 322-332.

³⁷⁰ Wang Yintian 2000.

³⁷¹ Yang Hongxun 2001, 348-349.

In the late 7th century, preparing for her ascent the throne, Wu Zetian issued an edict to establish a *Mingtang* in the east capital Luoyang; the remains of this building were discovered and excavated in 1996.³⁷² According to the reconstruction plan of Yang Hongxun (Figs. 100), the *Mingtang* was built on top of a rammed earth underground foundation and the above ground platform. A great round hall was built at the center of the platform, and a central pillar run through the whole building from the base to the top.³⁷³ Quite recently, the Yecheng City Archaeological Team excavated a large building site near the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery*, which was provisionally presumed to be an imperial ritual building of the Northern Qi, according to unearthed evidence and the epitaph of Zhao Ji.³⁷⁴ The base of this building, including the underground foundation and the above ground platform, had the same configuration and construction methods of the Pagoda base of the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery*. Both are so similar that when excavations began in twelve years ago the Ye City Archaeological Team wrongly assumed that the base of the Pagoda of the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery* was the remains of *Mingtang*.



Fig. 100: Reconstruction of the *Mingtang* in Luoyang, Tang Dynasty (Modified from: Yang Hongxun 2001, p. 509, fig. 442; p. 511, fig. 444)

³⁷² Archaeological Team at the Tang Dynasty City of Luoyang, IA, CASS 1988.

³⁷³ Yang Hongxun 2001, 505-510.

³⁷⁴ See note 291.

The similarity between the Chinese Buddhist pagoda and traditional Chinese ritual buildings is not only confined in the configuration and construction methods. Historical documents also provide clues about the intrinsic correlation between them. As a shrine for the burying of the relics of Sakyamuni, the relationship of the pagoda to the mausoleum is clear; moreover, Buddhist monasteries were also known as *Qutan Shrine* (瞿曇廟 *Qutan* is one of ten titles of Sakyamuni),³⁷⁵ a term which implies that the meaning of the pagoda was correlated to that of the imperial ancestor shrine. The most important document in this regard is recorded in the *Stories about Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang*; it states:

The golden Pagoda had the same height as Lingtai, and the spacious Buddha Hall had the same scale as A'pang palace. $^{\rm 376}$

The intrinsic correlation between pagoda and ritual buildings, Buddha Hall and palace, is well illustrated by analogy in this document. Judging from above evidences, we can draw the conclusion that Chinese pavilion-style pagoda was an eclectic combination of the Indian $st\bar{u}pa$, the Chinese traditional tower and also Chinese traditional ritual buildings.

2. The development of Buddha Hall: from India to Japan

The Buddha Hall is one of the most important ritual buildings in the Buddhist monasteries, the place where the images of Buddha or Bodhisattva were arranged. In China it was also known as Great Hall (*dadian* 大殿), Main Hall (*zhudian* 主殿), Image Hall or Icon Hall (*xiangdian* 像殿) in early period, and as *Mahavira* Treasure Hall (*Daxiong baodian* 大雄寶殿) later. In the Korean Peninsula and Japan the Buddha Hall is usually called Golden Hall (ch. *jintang*, kor. *kǔmdang*, jap. *kondō* 金 堂).

Although the Buddha Hall discussed in my dissertation is a Chinese traditional architectural form, its prototype and the religious meaning also derived from India. In Buddhist documents, the Sanskrit term *Gandhakutī* was translated into Aromatic Chamber (*xiangshi* 香室), Aromatic Platform (*xiangtai* 香臺) or Aromatic Hall (*xiangdian* 香殿) in which the Buddha image was placed.³⁷⁷ However, under the

³⁷⁵ Da Song sengshi lite 大宋僧史略, 237.

³⁷⁶ Luoyang qielan ji 洛陽伽藍記, 999,"金刹與靈臺比高,廣殿共阿房等壯。"

³⁷⁷ Genben shuo yiqieyoubu pinaiye zashi 根本說一切有部毗奈耶雜事, 331.

restriction of the Buddhist doctrine of the time, the *stūpa* was always the central building of a Buddhist monastery, while the status of buildings similar to the Buddha Hall were subordinate or even not essential. Actually, we can't find any instance of large Buddha Halls in India like those in East Asia. Nevertheless, some small chambers were built in the rear of Indian grottoes and Buddhist monasteries, in which offerings were presented to the image of Buddha.³⁷⁸ Such kind of buildings was called *Gandhakutī* in Sanskrit - the source of Chinese Buddha Hall.

Accompanying the development of the Buddhist doctrine and its movement from India and *Gandhāra* eastwards, the Buddha Hall became gradually one of the main buildings in the monasteries of Central Asia and the Xinjiang region. At the end of 4th century, Faxian, the famous monk of the Eastern Jin, went to India seeking for Buddhist sutras. In his travelogue, he mentioned the buildings arrangement of the *Wangxinsi Monastery* of Khotan 和闐王新寺:

[...] A Buddha Hall was built behind the $st\bar{u}pa$, and the features of the image are sacred and solemn.³⁷⁹

In the early 20th century, Stein made four major expeditions to Central Asia and Eastern Turkistan, and discovered a large number of ancient sites. In his works he recorded many remains of Buddhist monasteries and Buddha Halls before the 4th century.³⁸⁰ In the late 1980s to 1990s, the Institute of Cultural and Historical Relics and Archaeology of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region surveyed a series of Buddhist monastery sites around the Tarim basin, and excavated several remains of Buddha Halls from the Wei and Jin Period to the Northern and Southern Dynasties.³⁸¹ These facts can be regard as important evidence to show that the Buddha Hall existed in the Buddhist monasteries of Central Asia before the 5th century.

As mentioned in Chapter I, early Chinese documents normally paid considerable attention to the description of the pagoda, a fact that reflects the high status of the pagoda in the Buddhist monasteries at that time. However, no later than the end of 4th century, the Buddha Hall began to emerge and played more and more important role in the monastery. The *Book of Wei* states:

In the first year of the Tianxing Era (398 AD), [...] a five-story Pagoda and the *Mount Grdhrakūța* and *Mount Sumeru Halls* were first built. To these paintings

³⁷⁸ Sarkar 1993, 59-62.

³⁷⁹ Gaoseng faxian zhuan 高僧法顯傳, 857, "有僧伽藍, 名王新寺。……塔後作佛堂, 莊嚴妙好。"

³⁸⁰ Stein 1921, 485-547; Stein 1928, 169-179.

³⁸¹ Jia Yingyi 2002, 141-153.

and decorations were added. In addition, there were built a Lecture Hall, a meditation hall and cells for *śramaņas*, all thoroughly equiped.³⁸²

This is one of the earliest records about the Buddha Hall in North China. The emergence of the Buddha Hall was so significant that Su Bai regarded it as an important turning point in the course of evolution of monastery layout.³⁸³ Since then, the appearance of all kinds of Buddha Halls gradually increased in the description of Buddhist architecture. For example, the *Biographies of Bhikşunī* states that in the 5th year of the Yuanjia Era (438 AD), the *Qingyuansi Monastery* 青園寺 was enlarged by the imperial consort Pan 潘貴妃 for Ye Shou 業首, and a Buddha Hall was established in the west of the monastery.³⁸⁴ The *Biographies of Eminent Monks* also records the name of the Qingyuan Buddha Hall 青園佛殿 and the Hualin Buddha Hall 華林佛 殿.³⁸⁵ While *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks* records that there was a Buddha Hall in the middle compound of *Daaijingsi Monastery* 大愛敬寺, which was built by the Emperor Wu of Liang.³⁸⁶ Retrieving relevant documents before the 5th century, it is worth noting that the records about the Buddha Hall in the Eastern Jin and Southern Dynasties are far more than those in North China. The reason should be related to the different Buddhist theory prevailing in Southern and Northern China.

Around 494 AD, Emperor Xiaowen of Northern Wei moved the capital to Luoyang, and implemented a sinicization policy. Northern Buddhism abandoned its traditional emphasis on individual practice and ascetic life and begun to explore and promote Buddhist doctrine and theory. Thereafter, Buddhism of the Northern Dynasties thrived increasingly and different Buddhist schools had initially evolved. The Buddha Hall became one of most familiar buildings in the Buddhist monasteries of that time. As far as the record of the *Stories about Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang*, Buddha Halls were mentioned in most of the 50 and more than described monasteries. For example, the *Jianzhongsi Monastery* 建中寺 was built on the residence of eunuch Liu Teng 劉騰. The entrance hall served as the Buddha Hall while the room in the rear served as the Lecture Hall.³⁸⁷ The *Jinglesi Monastery* 景樂

³⁸² Wei shu 魏書, 3030,"天興元年,始作五級佛圖、耆闍崛山及須彌山殿, 加以繢飾。別構講堂、禪堂 及沙門座, 莫不嚴具焉。"

³⁸³ Su Bai 1997 a.

³⁸⁴ Biqiuni zhuan 比丘尼傳, 940.

³⁸⁵ Gaoseng zhuan 高僧傳, 366, 417.

³⁸⁶ Gaoseng zhuan 高僧傳, 427.

³⁸⁷ Luoyang qielan ji 洛陽伽藍記, 1002.

寺, built by Prince Yuan Yi 元懌, had a Buddha Hall which was surrounded by a portico and connected auxiliary buildings by roofed corridors.³⁸⁸ Another example was the Yongningsi Monastery. A great hall was built behind the pagoda, which was an imitation of imperial Taiji Hall in architectural form and standard. 389 Unfortunately, due to poor preservation, the archaeological excavations could not provide enough clues to recover its original structure. Buddha Hall of the Siyuan Monastery and the Zhaopengcheng Monastery are two more unearthed examples of this type of building in the Northern Dynasties. The former was slightly smaller in size, and had a rectangular plan with the dimension of 21m by 6m. In considering the distribution of the extant plinths, it might be a seven-bay wide and two-bay deep structure.³⁹⁰ The excavation of the Zhaopengcheng Monastery is the latest achievement in the field of Chinese Buddhist archaeology. No traces indicating that a Buddha Hall was placed behind the Pagoda have been found thus far; however, a large hall was discovered and excavated at the north part of the Southeastern Compound during 2011 - 2012.³⁹¹ Correspondingly, another Hall was identified at a corresponding location in the Southwestern Compound. The Hall of the Southeastern Compound was a rectangular ground plan with the dimension of 36.6m by 23.4m. Its underground foundation was in the form of parallel strips of rammed earth (tiaoxinghang 條形夯), the same configuration as the foundation of a portico excavated earlier, while the aboveground platform was made out of a uniform stratum of rammed earth. Judging from the dimension of the area with parallel grooves, we can provisionally presume that this Hall was a five-bay wide and five-bay deep structure. It should also be noted that there were two roofed corridors which connect the Hall with the east and west portico of the Compound. These architectural techniques and layout features have not been found in the earlier unearthed monasteries, but identical techniques and layout can be seen in the Buddhist architectures of the Tang Dynasty and Japanese Nara Period (Figs. 15 and 17).³⁹²

In both historical documents and archaeological evidence it has become increasingly evident that the Buddha Hall occupied an absolutely central position in

³⁸⁸ Luoyang qielan ji 洛陽伽藍記, 1003.

³⁸⁹ Luoyang qielan ji 洛陽伽藍記, 1000.

³⁹⁰ Museum of Datong city 2007.

³⁹¹ Joint Ye City Archaeological Team of the Institute of Archaeology, CASS and Institute of Cultural Relics of Hebei Province 2013 b.

³⁹² Joint Ye City Archaeological Team of the Institute of Archaeology, CASS and Institute of Cultural Relics of Hebei Province 2013 a.

the Buddhist monasteries and played a crucial role in the religious practice in the Tang Dynasty. Obviously, by the time Zhang Yanyuan 張彦遠 described the monastery paintings of two capitals and other Prefectures in the *Record of Famous Paintings of All Dynasties*, the Buddha Halls had already became the main buildings of a monastery, in sharp contrast with previous records that normally focused on the pagoda.³⁹³ With the passage of time, the scale and size of the Buddha Hall expanded constantly. The *Essential Documents and Regulations of the Tang* states:

There are innumerable Buddhist monasteries in the world. Any hall of a monastery is twice large as a palace of your Majesty. It is splendid and extravagant excessively!³⁹⁴

Despite probable exaggerations, this record can also give us a glimpse of the constantly enhanced status of the Buddha Hall.

Besides numerous visual images existed in the wall paintings of Dunhuang (Figs. 83 and 84), the Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Socials Sciences excavated several Halls in the Ximingsi and Qinglongsi Monasteries. The excavation of the Ximingsi Monastery was limited to one Compound in the east part of the monastery, where three Halls were unearthed. Due to poor preservation, specific architectural forms and bay structures could not be reconstructed. Nevertheless, conclusive evidence shows that the Compound was surrounded by a portico, and the Halls were connected with it by ramps set on both sides of the Halls.³⁹⁵ *Qinglongsi* Monastery was successor of the Linggansi Monastery of the Sui. Only two adjacent Compounds were disclosed. Unearthed remains were classified two stages, and the Pagoda and early Hall of Western Compound were regarded as the ruins of Linggansi Monastery.³⁹⁶ Except for the early Pagoda, the main buildings of the monastery, including the Buddha Halls of the Western and Eastern Compounds, were rebuilt several times during the Tang Dynasty, while the Pagoda and the corresponding Middle Gate of Qinglongsi Monastery were abandoned completely. This also is a circumstantial evidence to indicate the decline of the pagoda's status, but in contrast, Buddha Hall has become an essential building within a Buddhist monastery.

The foundation of the Hall in the Eastern Compound is well-preserved. It had an almost square ground plan 28m long. Judging from the distribution of plinths, it was a

³⁹³ Lidai minghua ji 歷代名畫記, 60-75.

³⁹⁴ Tang huiyao 唐會要, 851, "今天下佛寺, 蓋無其數。一寺堂殿, 倍陛下一宫。壯麗甚矣, 用度過矣。"

³⁹⁵ An Jiayao 2000.

³⁹⁶ Xi'an Tang City Team, IA, CASS 1989.

five-bay wide and five-bay deep structure. Despite the fact that the early Hall was initially built during the Sui Dynasty, the arrangement inside might be dated after the middle of 8th century, since it had close relationship with Tantric Buddhism. Consulting the Tantric Halls of Japan and the contemporary architectures and paintings of China, Yang Hongxun reconstructed the early Hall of Eastern Compound in the *Qinglongsi Monastery* (Fig. 101).³⁹⁷ The late Hall of the Eastern Compound was rebuilt after Emperor Wu of Tang destroyed Buddhism throughout the country in 845 AD. Compared with the early Hall, the late one was slightly smaller in scale and size. The rectangular ground plan measured 28.75m by 21.75m, and the traces of plinths show that the structure was five-bay wide and four-bay deep. There was a platform in front of the Hall, and two ramps connected it with surrounding portico. A square altar was built at the center of the Hall. Consulting the contemporaneous Buddha Hall of the *Foguangsi Monastery* was also reconstructed (Fig. 102).³⁹⁸



Fig. 101: Reconstructed early Hall of Eastern Compound, *Qinglongsi Monastery* in Chang'an (Modified from: Yang Hongxun 2001, p. 388, fig. 2-3)

³⁹⁷ Yang Hongxun 1984.

³⁹⁸ Yang Hongxun 1984.



Fig. 102: Reconstructed late Hall of Eastern Compound, *Qinglongsi Monastery* in Chang'an (Modified from: Yang Hongxun 2001, p. 394, fig. 7-6)

Following the eastward diffusion of Buddhism, Buddhist architecture was introduced first into the Korean Peninsula and then into Japan. Carried out in the above two chapters, it appears that all the early monasteries, those of the Goguryeo and the Baekje Kingdoms on the Korean Peninsula or those of contemporaneous Japanese Archipelago had a Buddha Hall, although the focus of the whole monastery was still the Pagoda. However, from the middle of the 7th century, almost all the monasteries shifted their focus to the Buddha Hall: the central status of the pagoda, formerly the most important buildings in the monastery, was replaced by the Buddha Hall. McCallum, commenting on the structures and significances of Buddhist monasteries in this period, remarked on the fact that a monastery could exist without a pagoda, but not without a Buddha Hall. It is in this sense that the Buddha Hall may be said to have become the most important building.³⁹⁹

Several Japanese monasteries vividly re-enact the process by which the crucial role of the Pagoda was taken over by the Golden Hall. For example, the *original Anō haiji Monastery* 初建穴太寺 and the *original Hōryūji Monastery* 初建法隆寺 had the same layout as the *Shitennōji Monastery*, that is the 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear' layout. However, the reconstructed *Anoji* and *Hōryūji Monasteries* arranged the Pagoda and the Golden Hall side by side, which indicated the equal status of these

³⁹⁹ McCallum 2009, 62.

two structures (Figs. 103, 56 and 60). While Kawaradera Monastery established a central Golden Hall behind the opposing Pagoda and Hall (Fig. 66), suggesting that the status of the Golden Hall had outshined that of the Pagoda after the mid 7th century. Another case in point was the evolution of the Kudara Odera Monastery, the Monmu Daikandaiji Monastery and the Daianji Monastery (Figs. 59, 69, 77). On the basis of recent excavations and related documents in Nihon shoki and Daianji engi, it is believed that these three monasteries had explicit consecutive relationship.400 Properly speaking, the Kudara Ödera Monastery was the predecessor of Daikandaiji Monastery before the capital was moved to Fujiwarakyō in the late 7th century. while the Daianji Monastery was the successor of the Daikandaiji Monastery after the capital was moved to Nara in the early 8th century. As far as their monastery layout, the Kudara Ödera Monastery presented a 'One Pagoda and One Hall side by side' layout, while the Daikandaiji Monastery built another Hall at the center of the monastery, canceled the Hall opposite of the Pagoda, thus forming the arrangement similar to 'One Pagoda and One Hall side by side with a Central Hall behind' layout. As for the Daianji Monastery, the Golden Hall occupied the absolute center of the monastery, and twin smaller pagodas were erected symmetrically outside the main Compound, which played a symbolic role, but did not have actual function in the ceremonial practices (Fig. 104). The two cases mentioned above could also be regarded as an epitome of the evolution of monastery layout in Japan from end of 6th to early 8th century.



Fig. 103: The layout of the *Original* and the *Reconstructed Anō haiji Monastery* (Modified from: McCallum 2009, p. 193, fig. 3. 22 b)

⁴⁰⁰ Ozawa Tsuyoshi 2005, 166-173.



Fig. 104: The evolution of monastery layout among the *Kudara Ōdera*, *Daikandaiji* and *Daianji* (Modified from: Figs. 61, 72 and 80)
1. *Kudara Ōdera* 2. *Daikandaiji* 3. *Daianji*

3. The relationship between Multi-Compounds monastery layout and urban layout in East Asia

Apart from the Pagoda and the Buddha Hall, the other crucial element to trace the development of the Buddhist monastery layout is the Compound. Strictly speaking, 'compound' should be classified as spatial concepts since it does not refer to a specific building. As a space accommodating a variety of buildings or groups of buildings, it played an important role in the development of the Buddhist monastery. In order to explore the reasons that the multi-compounds monastery layout became the prevalent trend after the 7th century, it is of crucial importance to consider this problem into the larger context of urban planning.

To understand the development of the capital city urban planning in Medieval China, North Yecheng 鄰北城, the capital of the Cao Wei Kingdom (曹魏 220 - 265 AD), is the decisive case. The site of Yecheng is located approximately 20 kilometer southwest of Linzhang County, Hebei Province. It was founded during the Spring and Autumn Period (770 - 221 BC), and became the seat of the local government of Ye County and Wei Prefecture during the Qin and Han Dynasties. In the late Eastern Han, Yecheng was occupied by Cao Cao (曹操 155 - 220 AD) and served as the capital of the Wei Kingdom: novel and massive construction projects were carried out under the instruction of Cao Cao. Subsequently it was established as one of the five capitals of the Cao Wei Empire during the Three Kingdoms Period (220 - 265 AD). After that it was in turn the capital of the Later Zhao (335 - 350 AD), the Ran Wei (350 - 352 AD), the Former Yan (357 - 370 AD) during the Sixteen Kingdoms Period, of the Eastern

Wei (534 - 550 AD) and Northern Qi (550 - 557 AD) during the Northern Dynasties. In China Yecheng was known as an 'ancient capital of six Dynasties'.

Since 1983, the Ye City Archaeological Team, in collaboration with the Institute of Archaeology of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and Hebei Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics has uninterruptedly surveyed and excavated the site of Yecheng. Several decades of archaeological excavation revealed that North Yecheng had a quite different urban layout compared with earlier Chinese capitals, such as Chang'an of the Western Han and Luoyang of the Eastern Han. The most remarkable features of North Yecheng were the creation of the single-court system, the symmetrical disposition of the whole city around the central axis, and the orderly division of subareas according to their respective function (Fig. 105).⁴⁰¹ The latter might be regarded as the source of the grid pattern in urban layout. As a milestone in the historical development of China's ancient capitals, the design of North Yecheng was also adopted in the planning of the capitals after the 3rd century, heavily influencing the planning and construction of cities in ancient China, and the greater East Asian region.⁴⁰²



Fig. 105: Sketch plan of North Yecheng, from the Cao Wei to the Sixteen Kingdoms Period (Modified from: Xu Guangji 1993, p. 424, fig. 2)

1. Palace City; 2. Wenchang Hall; 3. Tingzheng Hall; 4-7. Government offices; 8. Qi *Li*; 9. Enzhong *Li*; 10. Yongping *Li*; 11. Jiyang *Li*; 12. Tongjue Garden; 13. Three Terraces

During the Cao Wei and West Jin Period (220 - 316 AD), Luoyang was located on the same area as during the Eastern Han. Learning from the experience of North Yecheng, the urban layout was partially altered. After the Northern Wei moved its

⁴⁰¹ Yecheng Archaeological Team of IA, CASS and Provincial Institute of Archaeology of Hebe 1990. Xu Guangji 1993.

⁴⁰² Editorial board of Chinese Encyclopedia 1986, 605.

capital to Luoyang at the end of the 5th century, the city experienced a full-scale reconstruction. Except from the adoption of the single-court system, the most significant event in the development of ancient capitals was the establishment of a perfect grid plan throughout the whole city. According to historical documents, an outer wall was built around the inner city of Luoyang in the second year of the Jingming Era (501 AD). Between the inner and outer walls, three hundred and twenty square wards were orderly placed.⁴⁰³ Since the 1950s, the Archaeological Team of Han and Wei Luoyang City, the Institute of Archaeology has uninterruptedly worked there. The range of outer city and distribution of the wards have been identified for the most part (Fig. 106).⁴⁰⁴ Noteworthy is the fact that the *Stories about Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang* not only recorded the range and number of wards, but also the name and location of many wards. Also important is the fact that the description of the Buddhist monasteries in this book was in accordance with the sequence of wards, which implied that the construction of a Buddhist monastery and the choice of its position strictly complied with the general layout of the city.⁴⁰⁵



Fig. 106: Sketch plan of Luoyang City, Northern Wei (Modified from: Wang Zhongshu 1982, p. 511, fig. 5)

⁴⁰³ Wei shu 魏書, 194,"(景明)二年……九月辛酉, 發畿內夫五萬人築京師三百二十三坊, 四旬而 罷。"Comparing with related records of the same event in different documents, the total of 323 wards might be

 $[\]mathbb{R}^{2}$. Comparing with related records of the same event in different documents, the total of 325 wards might erroneous transcription of 320 wards, see the note 4 of the same volume, p.216.

⁴⁰⁴ Loyang Archaeological Team of the Institute of Archaeology, Academia Sinica 1973.

Wang Zhongshu 1982.

⁴⁰⁵ Su Bai (Shu Peh) 1978.

The Northern Wei, that unified north China for nearly 140 years, split into Eastern and Western Wei in 534. The Eastern Wei moved its capital from Luoyang to Yecheng, followed by the majority of the population. Since the dilapidated North Yecheng was overcrowded, a new city, south of the former one, was built and called South Yecheng. In 550, Emperor Xiaojing of the Eastern Wei was ousted by Gao Yang who established the Northern Qi Dynasty (550 - 577 AD), Yecheng still served as the capital. According to historical document, the construction of South Yecheng was completed in the first year of the Xinghe Era (537 AD).⁴⁰⁶ Besides inheriting the traditional layout of North Yecheng, the city plan of South Yecheng imitated the contemporary Luoyang as well. 407 Archaeological surveys and excavations demonstrated that South Yecheng had a clear north-south axis, and the intersecting streets divided into a grid plan.⁴⁰⁸ At the same time, recent excavations provided more and more clues to explore the distribution of the wards in the outer city of South Yecheng. It is believed that the Zhaopengcheng Monastery was located next to the north-south axis of the whole city, in the third column of wards south of Zhumingmen *Gate*, the south gate of South Yecheng.⁴⁰⁹

Several decades ago, Chen Yinque 陳寅恪 pointed to the fact that the planning of Chang'an inherited the tradition of Luoyang and South Yecheng. One of the most important evidences was that many administrators and members in charge of planning and constructing the Sui Daxing City and the Tang Chang'an City, people like Gao Jiong 高熲, Liu Long 劉龍 and Gao Yi 高乂 were all members of the royal family or former officials of Northern Qi, who lived in Yecheng for a long time.⁴¹⁰ Thus the most popular explanation remains that South Yecheng inherited the essence of the layout of North Yecheng and Luoyang, while at the same time it was the direct prototype of capital planning during the Sui and Tang Dynasties.⁴¹¹

Daxing City, the most representative ancient Chinese capital, was built by Emperor Wen of Sui in 582 AD; it was renamed to Chang'an during the Tang Dynasty. The urban planning of Tang Chang'an was laid out in a strict grid pattern along the north-south axis, consisting of Palace City, Imperial City and Outer City; it covered an area of 83.12km², measuring 9727m from east to west and 8651.7m from north to

⁴⁰⁶ Wei shu 魏書, 303.

⁴⁰⁷ Wei shu 魏書, 1862.

⁴⁰⁸ Yecheng City Archaeological Team, IA, CASS and Hebei Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics 1997.

⁴⁰⁹ Joint Ye City Archaeological Team of IA, CASS and Hebei Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics 2010.

⁴¹⁰ Chen Yinque 2001, 84.

⁴¹¹ Xu Guangji 2002.

south was divided in 108 rectangular wards and two marketplaces (Fig. 107).⁴¹² All the wards were transverse rectangles in plan of three different dimensions, surrounded by a rammed earth wall. The smallest wards were located south of the Imperial City, on both sides of the Central Avenue, measuring 500 - 590m by 558 - 700m. The largest wards were placed east and west of the Palace City and Imperial City, measuring 838m by 1115m. A standard ward used to be divided in four quadrants by crossing streets, and small crossing alleys subdivided the four quadrants into sixteen blocks, thus resulting in a large number of enclosed courtyards.



Fig. 107: Sketch plan of Chang'an City and the distribution of Buddhist monasteries and nunneries in every Ward, Early Tang Period (Modified from: Gong Guoqiang, p. 73, fig. 10)

In his masterpiece *Ten Thousand Things*, Ledderose proposed a new theory about module and mass production in Chinese art. The gist of this theory is that "the

⁴¹² Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences 1984, 572-577.

Chinese devised production systems to assemble objects from standardized parts. These parts were prefabricated in great quantity and could be put together quickly in different combinations, creating an extensive variety of units from a limited repertoire of components."⁴¹³ The module systems are applied to the analyses various fields of Chinese ancient art, such as the writing system, the production of bronzes, the terra-cotta figures, lacquer, porcelain, architecture, printing and painting. It proved to be effective in exploring technical and historical evolution in all these fields as well as the implications of module systems for particular makers and for society at large. A case in point is the writing system. Ledderose divides Chinese system of script that might be the most complex writing system in the world into five levels of increasing complexity:

Element	a single brushstroke
Module	a building block or component
Unit	a single character
Series	a coherent text
Mass	all existing characters

By analyzing of the evolution of separate levels in the five-tier system, the author illuminates the question of why the Chinese developed a module system at all for their script, and draws to a conclusion that "only with a module system could the Chinese script fulfill its true function: to guarantee the coherence of China's cultural and political traditions. This awesome unity is unsurpassed in world history."⁴¹⁴

This theory can also be applied to ancient Chinese cities, especially the capitals of the medieval period. Ledderose has explained the relationship among bracketing, bays, buildings, courtyards, and cities through the module system. Chinese buildings do not stand alone but are assembled in courtyards enclosed by a wall, within which they are disposed symmetrically according to certain principles. The relation between a single building and a courtyard might be regarded as that of module to unit.⁴¹⁵ Actually, there is another level between the courtyard and the city; in fact courtyards are assembled in wards, which form one block in the city grid.

The most conspicuous feature of city planning in Medieval China is the

⁴¹³ Ledderose 2000, 1.

⁴¹⁴ Ledderose 2000, 10, 23.

⁴¹⁵ Ledderose 2000, 107-117.

establishment and continual improvement of grid pattern. Except for the Palace City and the most important government offices, other buildings and building groups, including official residences, ritual buildings, Buddhist monasteries, marketplaces and average residences were strictly in compliance with the grid pattern. As far as a Buddhist monastery, a single Buddhist architecture and enclosed compound can also be regarded as module and unit, regardless whether the scope of a monastery was larger or smaller than a ward, the external wall of the ward could not change randomly. Archaeological excavations and historical documents show clearly that the Buddhist monastery was already embedded into the grid pattern since the early of the 6th century in Luoyang of the Northern Wei. In the Tang Dynasty, the Buddhist monastery with multi-compounds layout was combined perfectly with the frame of regular wards, and became the most popular monastery layout. The convenience and significance of this construction principle is, as Ledderose said, that "each ward contained one or several courtyards, depending on their size and function. Inside were public agencies, monasteries, ancestor Temples, and countless larger and smaller residences.The similarities in the layout of the courtyards made it easy to exchange functions - for instance, to convert a private residence into a monastery or a monastery into a government office."416

The prosperity of the Tang Empire after the mid 7th century originated a movement of replication of the Chang'an layout by various cities of East Asia. Classical examples were Fujiwarakyō 藤原京, Heijōkyō 平城京 and Heiankyō 平安京 of Japan, Gyeongju 慶州 of Unified Silla and Longquanfu of Balhae 渤海上京龍泉 府.⁴¹⁷ Just like in the urban planning of Tang Chang'an, the distribution and construction of Buddhist monasteries were strictly abided by the grid pattern principle (Figs. 108 - 110). In the meantime, Buddhist monasteries with a Multi-Compounds layout began to emerge and prevail in East Asia. Therefore, from the perspective of urban planning, it seems plausible to assume that the popularity of Multi-Compounds monastery had close relationship with the establishment and improvement of the grid pattern in urban planning.

⁴¹⁶ Ledderose 2000, 115.
⁴¹⁷ Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences 1984, 622-625; Fu Xinian 1995; Gong Guoqiang 2006, 231-233.



Fig. 108: Sketch plan of Fujiwarakyō (Modified from: Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Propertie 2002, p. 36, fig. 1) 1. *Fujiwarakyō Yakushiji*; 2. *Koyama haiji*; 3. *Daikandaiji*



Fig. 109: Sketch plan of Heijōkyō and the distribution of important monasteries (Modified from: Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Properties 2002, p. 36, fig. 1)
1. Saidaiji; 2. Sairyuji; 3. Hokkeji; 4. Todaiji; 5. Sugawara dera; 6. Kōfukuji; 7. Tōshōdaiji; 8. Gangōji; 9. Kidera; 10. Heijōkyō Yakushiji; 11. Daianji; 12. Kanzeonji



Fig. 110: Sketch plan of the capital of Unified Silla (Modified from: Gong Guoqiang 2006, p. 224, fig. 56) 1. *Bunhwangsa*; 2. *Hwangnyonsa*

As a foreign religious belief, since its first introduction into China, Buddhism has always been confronted with mutual adaption and integration in the ideological system and religious practices of local Chinese tradition. Objectively speaking, in the process of *the Buddhist conquest of China*,⁴¹⁸ Buddhism underwent a tremendous compromise both in its external manifestation and internal connotation to succeed in adapting to the situation of China.

Buddhist surface monastery and cave-temple centered on the *stūpa* were a typical monastery layout of India (Fig. 111).⁴¹⁹ Undoubtedly, the layout of the early Chinese monastery was strongly influenced by the tradition of ancient India and Central Asia region.⁴²⁰ However, multi-story wooden pagoda, the hall and the multi-bay structure, as well as the axial and symmetrical layout are all representative architectural forms of ancient China. A remarkable feature of early Buddhist State Monasteries in China was that they imitated the architectural form and standard of secular Palace City, which has been confirmed repeatedly by contemporary documents and recent

⁴¹⁸ Z ürcher 1972.

⁴¹⁹ Sarkar 1993, 79-96.

⁴²⁰ Li Chongfeng 2013.

excavation at the *Yongningsi Monastery* and the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery*. From this perspective, the evolution of the monastery layout from the Northern Dynasties to the Tang Dynasty reflected the localization process of Buddhist belief in China. By means of Chinese traditional architectural form, Indian Buddhist thought was able to put into effect and spread widely. Just as remarked by Seckel, this process, turning the classical Indian style into a traditional Chinese layout of multiple courtyards, was a 'translation' of foreign concepts into Chinese architectural language.⁴²¹



Fig. 111: Sketch plan *stūpas* and monasteries at Nagarjunakonda (Modified from: Sarkar 1993, plate XIII)

4. The interaction between space and function in the layout of Buddhist monastery

It has been pointed out that between the 5th and 7th century the Chinese Buddhist monastery underwent a development from the 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear' layout to the 'Multi-Compounds and Multi-Halls' layout. Correspondingly, the architectural forms and monastery layouts of the Korean Peninsula and Japan were strongly influenced by contemporary Chinese monasteries. Although local characteristics existed in each country, the general evolutionary trend of the monastery layout was consistent.

It would be too simplistic to assume that the evolution of the monastery layout

⁴²¹ Seckel 1980, 249-256.

was determined by one specific reason. Actually, a number of factors, which include the political situation, economic condition, cultural tradition, engineering technology and urban planning, would all have a larger or smaller impact on the development of Buddhist monastery. These are all secular factors, which can be considered external conditions. However, I rather emphasize the fact that it was mainly the evolving Buddhist belief that put forward new demands on Buddhist architecture. In considering the interaction between space and function, it is reasonable to assume that adjustments in the architectural space were essentially an answer to newly arisen functional needs. Therefore, my dissertation pays more attention to the internal conditions causing these changes. In other words, it is concerned primarily with the role Buddhism itself played in the evolutional process of monastery layout, and how the space (monastery layout) and function (religious thought and practice) interacted in the period between the 5th and the 7th century.

As mentioned above, similarities and differences in monastery layout in Early Medieval China were concentrated mainly in the spatial relation among Pagoda, Buddha Hall and Compound. However, a deeper reason must have been the functional conversion of the relevant buildings and building groups in Buddhist monastery. It is appropriate here to briefly review the original meaning and source of the pagoda. As the central building of early monasteries, the Chinese pagoda derived from the prototype of Indian stūpa and caitya. Regardless of the stūpa for burying relics of Buddha, or *caitya* for commemorating the Buddha's meritorious deeds, in their essence these buildings symbolized Sakyamuni; in essence the centrality of the stūpa reflects the prevalence of the Sakyamuni worship. From the beginning of the Eastern Han Dynasty to the Northern and Southern Dynasties, Buddhist thoughts spread swiftly throughout China. A large number of sutras, both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna in content, were translated and widely circulated. Together with the spread of Buddhist literature, various Buddhist deities, such as Amitābha 阿彌陀, Maitreva 彌勒, Vairocana 盧舍那 and Avalokitesvara 觀世音 ascended the altar and became objects of worship. Nonetheless, it is undeniable that before the 6th century, the Sakyamuni's worship was the mainstream Buddhist faith.

Taking into account the fact that most of Buddhist surface monasteries up to the end of the Tang fell into oblivion and were mercilessly buried with the passing of time, the extant cave-temples provide irreplaceable data for the exploration of the

layout and objects of worship of early monasteries. Prior to the discussion, it should be kept in mind that a consensus has been reached among scholars in the field of Buddhist archaeology: the cave-temples and the surface monasteries were similar in content; the pillar of the central pillar caves was a symbol of Indian *stūpa*.⁴²² The Kizil Grottoes is one of the earliest and largest rock-carved monasteries in the Xinjiang region, with 236 caves consecutively numbered. As early as the beginning of the 20th century, the German expedition team of Le Coq and Grünwedel repeatedly investigated the site, and published survey reports and their research achievements.⁴²³ Several decades later, the archaeological team of Peking University also carried out a series investigations and studies.⁴²⁴ Research data show that early caves of Kizil were cut in the vertical cliff before the 4^{th} century, and reached its peak in the 5 - 6^{th} century. Central pillar caves were the most common and distinctive cave type of Kucha.⁴²⁵ It is worth noting that these caves can be divided into different groups according to their location in the site, and that each group, which normally focused on one or several central pillar caves, might be a Buddhist monastery.⁴²⁶ Such arrangement can be regarded as the transmutation of surface monastery focusing on the pagoda into rock monasteries (Fig. 112). Although the statues of these central pillar caves were all destroyed, fortunately, a great deal of wall paintings survived in the central pillar and on the walls of the caves. The main themes of these painting are jātakas (bensheng gushi 本生故事), avadānas (yinyuan gushi 因緣故事) and Buddha's biography (fozhuan gushi 佛傳故事) which describe distinctive deeds and achievements of Sakyamuni in the previous and last lives.⁴²⁷ Most researchers widely believe that is objective reflection of 'paying supreme tribute to Sykyamuni' 唯禮釋 迦.⁴²⁸ This thought derived from Indian Buddhist School of Sarvāstivāda (genben shuo yiqieyou bu 根本說一切有部), which was extremely popular in ancient Kucha area until the 7th century. When Xuanzang 玄奘 went to India by way of Kucha, he mentioned that local monks learned the doctrine of Sarvāstivāda School and complied

⁴²² Education Department of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (ed.) 1993, 5, 15.

⁴²³ Grünwedel 1912, 1-6.

⁴²⁴ Department of Archaeology, Peking University and Institute for Cultural Management in Kizil Caves 1997, vol. 1, 1-2.

⁴²⁵ Su Bai 1996 c, 21-38.

⁴²⁶ Wei Zhengzhong (Giuseppe Vignato) 2004.

⁴²⁷ Ding Mingyi, Ma Shichang and Xiong Xi 1989, vol. 1, 185-222; Ma Shichang 1996, vol. 2, 174-226.

⁴²⁸ Education Department of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (ed.) 1993, 12.

with the precepts and ritual of India.⁴²⁹



Fig. 112: Sketch plan of caves 96 - 105B in Kizil Grottoes (Modified from: Wei Zhengzhong 2004, p. 77, fig. 3)

The central pillar caves still prevailed in the cave-temples of Dunhuang and Hexi Corridor Region 河西走廊地區 during the Sixteen Kingdom Period (317 - 439 AD). The Grottoes of Tiantishan in Wuwei 武威天梯山石窟 were initially built by Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙逊, the King of Northern Liang (北京 397 or 410 - 439 AD), they are supposed to be the famous 'Liangzhou Grottoes' recorded in ancient texts. Under the influence of the grottoes of Xingjiang the central pillar cave was the most representative grotto type in Tiantishan, and the sculptural theme represented around the central pillar had close relation with the Buddha of the Three Ages, that is past, present and future, as narrated in sutras.⁴³⁰ The periodization, based on a comparison with the of the early grottoes of Dunhuang, assigns them to four phases; the earlier two are dated to the Northern Liang and mid Northern Wei Period, a period in which the central pillar caves were main type and occupied a central position in the cliff (Fig. 113).⁴³¹



Fig. 113: Sketch plan of early caves in Dunhuang Grottoes (Modified from: Fan Jingshi, Ma Shichang and Guan Youhui 1982, p. 185, fig. 1)

⁴²⁹ Da Tang Xiyu ji 大唐西域記, 48.

⁴³⁰ Dunhuang Academy and the Museum of Ganshu Province 2000, 127-129.

⁴³¹ Fan Jingshi, Ma Shichang and Guan Youhui 1982, 185-197.

Therefore, Su Bai concluded the features of early cave-temples in the Hexi Region, and pointed that the central pillar caves were the main grotto type. The most important sculptures were Sakyamuni and Bodhisattva *Maitreya* seated in crossed-ankle pose, while secondary themes were the Buddha *Maitreya*, Meditating Bodhisattvas and Buddha of the Ten Directions.⁴³²

After the middle of the 5th century, under a direct influence from the Hexi Grottoes, the Yungang Grottoes were carved in Pingcheng, the capital of Northern Wei.⁴³³ The development of the Yungang Grottoes has been divided into three phases: the first period comprises Caves 16 - 20, built in 460 by Tanyao in honor of five emperors of Northern Wei. The construction of the second stage is presumed to have begun around 471 and lasted until 494 AD. The construction of these caves was supervised and supported by the imperial family and state dignitaries. In contrast, the caves of the third period, from end of the 5^{th} century to the early of 6^{th} century, were carved under private patronage after the capital of Northern Wei was moved to Luoyang. Apart from for 'the Five Caves of Tanyao', that were caves peculiar in shape and aimed at commemorating the emperors, the majority of caves were central pillar caves that occupied a significant percentage and striking position among the caves carved before the end of the 5th century. The main themes of the sculpture included Sakyamuni, Maitreya and the Buddha of the Three Ages as well as Thousand Buddha, jātakas and Buddha's biography.⁴³⁴ After the second half of the 5th century, accompanied with the spread of the Lotus Sutra, related sculpture became familiar themes in the caves of north China. There are sufficient documents and material evidences to show the intrinsic connection between the three Buddha and the thought of the Lotus Sutra.⁴³⁵ Actually, in spite of the multiplicity of themes in the narrative of this period, including the Buddha of the Three Ages, Sakyamuni and Prabhūtaratna 釋迦多寶 seated side by side, or the emphasis on the merit of building pagoda in Lotus Sutra, as well as Past Seven Buddha, Nirvāna Buddha, Maitreva Bodhisattva seated in crossed-ankle pose, jātaka stories and Buddha's biography, the core idea was based on or derived from the original worship of Sakyamuni.

A large number of dedicatory inscriptions on the Buddhist sculptures provide visual evidence to explore the objects of worship during this period. The statistical

⁴³² Su Bai 1986.

⁴³³ Su Bai 1996 a.

⁴³⁴ Su Bai 1978 b.

⁴³⁵ Liu Huida 1958.
analyses of the themes represented in the statuary of the 5 - 6th century indicate that there are three characteristics that deserve close attention. The first is that the themes represented in official statues were significantly different from those of common people. Secondly, among the votive inscription honoring to Buddha, the image of Sakyamuni occupied the absolute majority. And third, despite the fact that Avalokitesvara was the most common representation in folk statuary, the percentage of Sakyamuni and Maitreya statuary under the auspices of officials or monks and nuns was significantly higher than other themes.⁴³⁶ This data also show clearly that at the end of the Northern Dynasties Sakyamuni was still one of the most influential objects of worship, especially for believers of a higher social status.

Another reason the pagoda was given much importance might be the prevalence of meditation practice in North China. Since the time of the Sixteen Kingdom Period, Buddhism had taken on different trend in South and North China. In the south, Buddhism was very well integrated with traditional Chinese Confucianism and Daoism, and thus gained support among Chinese intellectuals and elites. South China Buddhism was inclined to explain the Buddhist doctrine to the public in terms of traditional Chinese thought and thereby laid the foundations of Chinese Buddhist philosophy. Conversely, Buddhism in North China paid more attention to mediation practice. Normally, famous monks of North China were versed in the profound knowledge and culture of meditation, even though they did not come from the Meditation School.⁴³⁷ It is generally believed that, in addition to the purpose of preserving Buddhism, the construction of grottoes on a large scale was closely related with the prevalence of meditation during the Sixteen Kingdom and Northern Dynasties.438

There were countless ways of meditation, however, 'circumambulation of the pagoda' 繞塔禮拜 and 'contemplation entering the pagoda' 入塔觀像 were undoubtedly among the most important methods. Referring to contemporaneous meditative sutras, it is obvious that the pagoda plays a crucial role in the practice of meditation. The Sutra on the Ocean-Like Samādhi of the Visualization of the Buddha (Guanfo sanmeihai jing 觀佛三昧海經), translated by Buddhabhadra 佛陀跋陀羅 in the Eastern Jin Period (317 - 420 AD), in which the purposes and methods of

 ⁴³⁶ Hou Xudong 1998, 106-134.
⁴³⁷ Tang Yongtong 1997, 292-295, 571-573.
⁴³⁸ Liu Huida 1978.

meditation were explained in detail, had great significance for guiding meditation practice. For example, the sutra states that after Sakyamuni entered *Nirvāņa*, his believers should practice the Path of Meditation. 'Buddha visualization' (*guanfo* 觀佛) was possible only upon entering a pagoda:

Buddha told *Ananda*: there is no Buddha currently after Buddha attained *Nirvāņa*, so (believers) should contemplate on the image of the Buddha. Those who contemplate on the image of the Buddha include *bhikşu*, *bhikşu*,*ī*, *upāsaka*, *upāsikā*, the Eight Kinds of Celestial Beings and all sentient beings. If one wants to contemplate on the image, one must first enter a pagoda. Then clean the ground by Daubing it with fine incense mud and earth of tiles. After that, in accordance with ones abilities, burning incense and scatter flowers to offer Buddha. Confess former sins and evils, and worship Buddha with confession and reprentance.⁴³⁹

Certain religious rites, such as the confession and atonement for sin, also could be performed by meditating within a pagoda. By eliminating various sins of the previous and present lives, the believers would ascend to *Tuşita* Heaven 兜率天.

If a *bhikşu* violates *Dharma*, the sheen of urna becomes dark and cannot be identified. He should enter the pagoda, and contemplates on the center between the eyebrows of the image, one day to three days, sniveling with hands held together, and contemplating the truth wholeheartedly. Then (he) joins the *samgha* to confess his earlier mistakes. This is in order to erase his sins.

[...] If (the meditator) cannot visualize the characters of Buddha, he should enter the pagoda to contemplate. When meditating in the pagoda, he should meditate to illuminate his thoughts. Wholeheartedly with hands held together, kneeling with one knee and contemplating the truth. After one day to three days, the mind is not in confused (anymore). After the death, (he) will be born in *Tuşita* Heaven. ⁴⁴⁰

There are six extant visualization sutras that were translated into Chinese in the early 5th century. Another important work, The *Sutra on the Visualization of Two Bodhisattvas of Bhaiṣajya-rāja and Bhaiṣajya-samudgata* (*Guan yaowang yaoshang er pusa jing* 觀藥王藥上二菩薩經), refers to the role of pagoda in the meditation practice as well:

(The third method is) deeply practicing meditation and staying away from bustling places.should enter the pagoda to visualize the image and worship (the

⁴³⁹ Guanfo sanmeihai jing 觀佛三昧海經, 690,"佛告阿難:佛滅度後,現前無佛,當觀佛像。觀佛像者,若比 丘、比丘尼、優婆塞、優婆夷、天龍八部、一切眾生,欲觀像者,先入佛塔,以好香泥及諸瓦土塗地令淨, 隨其力能,燒香散花,供養佛像,說已過惡,禮佛懺悔。"

⁴⁴⁰ Guanfo sanmeihai jing 觀佛三昧海經, 655-656,"若比丘犯不如罪, 觀白毫光, 闇黑不現。應當入塔, 觀像 眉間。一日至三日, 合掌啼泣, 一心諦觀。然後入僧, 說前罪事, 此名滅罪。……若坐不見, 當入塔觀。 入塔觀時, 亦當作此諸光明想。至心合掌, 胡跪諦觀。一日至三日, 心不錯亂。命終之後, 生兜率天。"

Buddha), achieving Ocean-Like Samādhi in front of the image.⁴⁴¹

These practice methods in the Buddhist sutras, when corroborated by extant grottoes and related images, appear to be historically reliable. It seems plausible to link this reality with the prevalence of the pagoda in North China.

Starting from the end of 4th century, the Buddha Hall began to play an increasingly important role in Buddhist monasteries. Compared with the pagoda, the function of Buddha Hall allowed for more diversification, and the objects of worship it contained could vary and multiply. According to literary records, there was a considerable amount of Buddhist monasteries during the 5 - 6th centuries where the Buddha Hall can be regarded as the main building. For example, statistics show that most monasteries recorded by *Stories about Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang* did not have a pagoda.⁴⁴² However, such monasteries were normally small or medium-size, and were in most cases converted from the mansions of princes and ministers. Therefore, their status was far inferior to those Buddhist State Monasteries which still focused on the pagoda during this period.

Buddhism of South China was quite different from that of the Northern Regions, which attached importance to meditation practice and normally arranged the pagoda at the center of Buddhist monastery. Buddhism of South China paid more attention to witty conversation and Buddhist theory, and advocated debates about metaphysics and philosophy. Combined with metaphysics (*xuanxue* 玄學), *Mahāyāna* Buddhism was preached by cultured monks in aristocratic circles and became extremely popular in the south.⁴⁴³ Various Buddhist schools kept pace with each other, thus resulting in the worship of multiple objects; consequently, the focus of the monastic architecture began to shift from early Pagoda to Buddha Hall.

According to Buddhist literature, the earliest monasteries displaying a 'Multi-Compounds and Multi-Halls' layout were built in South China. The *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks* states:

(Emperor Wu of Liang) set up *Daaijing Monastery* for Emperor Wen of Taizu in Beijian of Mount Zhong. [...] The pagoda was established to embrace the wonders of cliffs and groves, and by sitting in a contemplative state pose (one could) exhaust the remoteness of forest and wells. The Monastery's framework adhered

⁴⁴¹ Foshuo guan yaowang yaoshang er pusa jing 佛說觀藥王藥上二菩薩經, 663,"深修禪定, 樂遠離行。…… 即應入塔觀像禮拜,於像前得觀佛三昧海。"

⁴⁴² Gong Guoqiang 2006, 122.

⁴⁴³ Pletcher (ed.) 2011, 92.

to the same standard as shrine of imperial mausoleum; decoration design was just like in the palace of heaven. It extended seven *li* extended from the middle compound to the front door, with roofed corridors overlapping and eaves side by side. Thirty six compounds were established by the side, with a pond and a platform all surrounded by eaves. For over one thousand monks the Four Things (i.e. accouterment, food, bedding and medicine) were offered. The main hall of middle compound comprised a sandalwood image with one *zhang* and eight *chi* in height. [...] Emperor (Wu) also created a one *zhang* and eight *chi* golden-bronze image in other hall of Longyuan. He offered (the image) personally, and paid homage each time when entering.⁴⁴⁴

Another document further points out the functional difference of various compounds and halls. The *Records of the Miraculous Responses to the Manifestations*

of the Vinyana states:

The *Hedong Monastery* of Jingzhou was quite large. [...] Since the Jin, Song, Qi, Liang and Chen Dynasties, there had been tens of thousands monks. [...] The pagoda in front of the hall was established by (Liu) Yiji, Qiao King of the Song Dynasty, and statues were molded inside. The *Maitreya* of the eastern hall was created by craftsmen of the thirty-three heaven. There were many golden-bronze statues in west hall, treasure curtain, flying fairy, bead canopy and ornate decoration were all created by craftsmen of the heaven of the Four Heavenly Kings. [...] The monastery was five-story buildings, all with seven-bay structure. There were a total of ten other compounds varying in size; both the compounds of *pratyutpanna* and *vaipulya* were the most gorgeous decoration.⁴⁴⁵

These documents not only help us to understand the origin of the 'Multi-Compounds and Multi-Halls' layout in South China, but also reveal that there were different votive objects in the various Halls. Particularly important is the fact that they record the fact that some Compounds were named after some Buddhist concepts, such as *pratyutpanna* 般舟 and *vaipulya* 方等. Despite the lack of unearthed evidences, on the basis of the above documents, Chinese researchers are inclined to believe that the 'Multi-Compounds and Multi-Halls' monastery layout derived from South China.⁴⁴⁶

At the end of 5th century, after the sinicization policies of Emperor Xaiowen were

⁴⁴⁴ Xu gaoseng zhuan 續高僧傳, 427,"為太祖文皇于鐘山北澗建大愛敬寺。……創塔包岩壑之奇, 宴坐盡林泉之邃, 結構伽藍同尊園寢, 經營雕麗奄若天宮。中院之去大門, 延袤七里, 廊廡相架簷霤臨屬。旁置三十六院, 皆設池台周宇環繞。千有餘僧四事供給。中院正殿有栴檀像, 舉高丈八。……相好端嚴色相超挺, 殆由神造屢感徵跡。帝又于寺中龍淵別殿, 造金銅像舉高丈八, 躬伸供養每入頂禮。"

⁴⁴⁵ Lixiang gantong zhuan 律相感通傳, 877-878,"荊州河東寺者。此寺甚大。......自晉宋齊梁陳代, 僧徒常 有數萬人。......殿前塔, 宋譙王義季所造, 塔內塑像。及東殿中彌勒像, 並是忉利天工所造。西殿中多金 銅像, 寶悵飛仙珠幡華珮, 並是四天王天人所造。......寺房五重, 并皆七架, 别院大小合有十所, 般舟、 方等二院, 庄严最胜。"

⁴⁴⁶ Li Yuqun 2009; He Liqun 2010.

completely implemented, varieties of Buddhist thought were active and many Buddhist schools made their first appearance in North China. With the transfer of the capital to Yecheng, this city replaced Luoyang as the political and religious center of North China.⁴⁴⁷ According to Buddhist documents, Yecheng Buddhism reached its peak in the mid 6th century. The *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks* speaks highly of the achievement of Yecheng Buddhism. It comments that since the capital was moved there, famous monks throughout the country visited Yecheng in succession. Buddhist assemblies were constantly held for the purpose of interpreting the Buddhist doctrine. The most celebrated masters of the time attended the assemblies and discussed or debated together, while regular visitors were more than ten thousand.⁴⁴⁸ In its heyday, various Buddhist Schools flourished in Yecheng. Many Buddhist doctrines, such as the Abhidharma (pitan 毗曇) and Satyasiddhi (chengshi 成實) of Hīnayāna, Nirvāņa (niepan 涅槃), Prajñā (bore 般若), Lotus (fahua 法華), Treatise on the Bhumis (dilun 地論), Avatamsaka (huayan 華嚴), Dhyāna (chan 禪), Vinaya (lü 律) and Pure Land (jingtu 淨土) of Mahāyāna, spread widely in the Northern Qi territory.449

It is worth noting that sectarianism was not a serious issue at that time, therefore different Buddhist Schools developed side by side and shared ideas with each other. Huiguang 慧光, the most prominent leader of the Buddhist community, also known as the forerunner of Treatise on the *Bhumis* 地論, *Avataṃsaka* 華嚴 and *Vinaya* 律 Schools, as well his disciples Daoping 道憑, Fashang 法上, Lingyu 靈裕 and Huiyuan 慧遠, were all well versed in various Buddhist doctrines of the time. Other famous monks, such as Huisong 慧嵩, the saint of *Abhidharma* 毗曇, *Bodhidharma* 菩提達磨 and Huike 慧可, the founders of the *Dhyāna* Sect (*chanzong* 禪宗), Huiwen 慧文 and Huisi 慧思, the founders of the Tian Tai Sect (*tiantaizong* 天臺宗), Xingxing 信行 and Sengyong 僧邕, the founders of the Teaching of Three Levels (*sanjiejiao* 三階教), sooner or later were all engaged in missionary activities in Yecheng or in the Northern Qi territory.⁴⁵⁰

The diversification of Buddhist thought can also be reflected by the translated

⁴⁴⁷ He Liqun 2007.

⁴⁴⁸ Xu gaoseng zhuan 續高僧傳, 548.

⁴⁴⁹ He Liqun 2007.

⁴⁵⁰ He Liqun 2007.

Buddhist scriptures and the extant stone inscriptions carved in the caves or on rock cliffs. A statistics indicate that a total of 40 sutras (163 volumes) were translated by Indian monks or Brahmin during the Eastern Wei and Northern Qi Period. 451 Particularly important is the fact that many stone inscriptions on the walls of caves in the vicinity of Yecheng are well-preserved, and therefore offer a glimpse into the prevalence of different Buddhist schools in the late of the Northern Dynasties.⁴⁵²

Buddhism in Yecheng during the late Northern Dynasties					
Buddhist	Title of Stone	Translators	Sites	Representative	
Schools	Scriptures			Monks	
Treatise on	Shi Di Jing Lun	Bodhiruci	Wahuanggong	Huiguang 慧光	
the Bhumis	十地經論	菩提流支	媧皇宮	Sengfan 僧範	
地論				Daoping 道憑	
				Fashang 法上	
Avataṃsaka	Da Fang Guang fo	Buddhabhadra	S. Xiangtang Mount	Sengfan 僧範	
華嚴	huaYan Jing	佛馱跋陀羅	南響堂山	Huishun 慧順	
	大方廣佛華嚴經		Xiangquan si	Tanyan 曇衍	
			香泉寺	Tanzhun 曇遵	
			Dazhusheng Cave	Tanqian 曇遷	
			大住聖窟	Lingyu 靈裕	
			Xiaonanhai	Huiyuan 慧遠	
			小南海	Zhirun 智潤	
Nirvāņa	Da Bo Nie Pan Jing	Dharmaraksa	S. Xiangtang Mount	Daoping 道憑	
涅槃	大般涅槃經	曇無讖	南響堂山	Fashang 法上	
			N.Xiangtang Mount	Jingsong 靖嵩	
			北響堂山	Lingyu 靈裕	
			Dazhusheng Cave	Daoshen 道慎	
			大住聖窟		
			Xiaonanhai		
			小南海		
	Mo He Mo Ye Jing	Tan Jing	Dazhusheng Cave		
	摩訶摩耶經	曇景	大住聖窟		
	Fo Chui Bo Nie Pan	Kumārajīva	Wahuanggong	1	
	Lue Shuo Jiao Jie Jing	鳩摩羅什	媧皇宮		

⁴⁵¹ He Liqun 2013.
⁴⁵² Li Yuqun 1997; He Liqun 2008.

	佛垂般涅槃略說教戒		Bahuisi	
	經		八會寺	
Lotus	Miao Fa Lian Hua Jing	Kumārajīva	S. Xiangtang Mount	Sengfan 僧範
法華	妙法蓮花經	鳩摩羅什	南響堂山	Fashang 法上
			Wahuanggong	Lingyu 靈裕
			媧皇宮	Huivuan 慧遠
			Dazhusheng Cave	Huiwen 彗文
			大住聖窟	Huiwen 志文 Luisi 彗田
			Bahuisi 八會寺	Tiuisi 忌心
	Wu Liang Yi Jing	Dharmajātayaś	N. Xiangtang Mount	
	無量義經	as	北響堂山	
		曇摩伽陀耶舍		
	Sheng Man Shi Zi Hou	Guṇabhadra	N. Xiangtang Mount	
	Yi Sheng Da Fang Bian	求那跋陀羅	北響堂山	
	Fang Guang Jing		Dazhusheng Cave	
	勝鬘獅子吼一乘大方		大住聖窟	
	便方廣經			
Pure Land	Wu Liang Shou Jing	Bodhiruci	N. Xiangtang Mount	Fashang 法上
淨土	You Bo Ti She Yuan	菩提流支	北響堂山	Lingyu 靈裕
	Sheng Ji			Huiyuan 慧遠
	無量壽經優波提舍願			Tanyan 曇衍
	生偈			Zhenvu 真玉
	Fo Shuo Mi Le Xia	Kumārajīva	N. Xiangtang Mount	
	Sheng Cheng Fo Jing	鳩摩羅什	北響堂山	
	佛說彌勒下生成佛經		Bahuisi	
			八會寺	
Prajñā	Wei Mo Jie Suo Shuo	Kumārajīva	N. Xiangtang Mount	Huiguang 慧光
般若	Jing	鳩摩羅什	北響堂山	Sengfan 僧範
	維摩詰所說經			Huishun 慧順
	Mo He Bo Ruo Bo Luo	Kumārajīva	N.Xiangtang Mount	Daoping 道憑
	Mi Jing	鳩摩羅什	北響堂山	Huivuan 慧遠
	摩訶般若波羅蜜經		S. Xiangtang Mount	
			南響堂山	
	Wen Shu Shi Li Suo	Mandra	S. Xiangtang Mount	
	Shuo Mo He Bo Ruo	曼陀羅仙	南響堂山	
	Bo Luo Mi Jing			
	文殊師利所說摩訶般			

	若波羅蜜經			
Teaching of	Da Ji Yue Zang Jing	Narendrayaśas	Dazhusheng Cave	Xingxing 信行
Three Levels	大集月藏經	那連提離耶舍	大住聖窟	Sengyong 僧邕
三階教				
	Fo Shou Fo Ming Jing	Bodhiruci	N.Xiangtang Mount	
	佛說佛名經	菩提流支	北響堂山	
			Dazhusheng Cave	
			大住聖窟	
			Bahuisi	
			八會寺	
	Xian Zai Xian Jie Qian	Anonymity	N.Xiangtang Mount	
	Fo Ming Jing		北響堂山	
	現在賢劫千佛名經		Bahuisi	
			八會寺	
	Qi Jie Li Chan Wen	Xing Xing	Dazhusheng Cave	
	七階禮懺文	信行	大住聖窟	
	Fo Shuo Jue Di Pi Ni	Dunhuang	Dazhusheng Cave	
	Jing	Tripițaka	大住聖窟	
	佛說決定毗尼經	敦煌三藏		
	Guan Yao Wang Yao	Kalayasas	Dazhusheng Cave	
	Shang Er Pu Sha Jing	畺良耶舍	大住聖窟	
	觀藥王藥上二菩薩經		Bahuisi	
			八會寺	
Dharma-	Shen Mi Jie Tuo Jing	Bodhiruci	Wahuanggong	
character	深密解脫經	菩提流支	媧皇宮	
法相				

Table 5	
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In accordance with the flourishing of Buddhist Schools, the diversity of objects of worship was gradually being revealed in the themes of cave-temples and freestanding statues. After the 6th century, despite the fact that the caves with central pillar, the symbol of *stūpa*, still occupied an important status in the grottoes with imperial background, such as Gongxian Grottoes 巩县石窟 Caves 1, 3 and 4, South Mount Xiangtang Grottoes 南响堂山石窟 Caves 1 and 2, and North Mount Xiangtang Grottoes 北响堂山石窟 Caves North and South, it cannot be denied that

Buddha Hall Cave (*fodianku* 佛殿窟) with a square plan or three niches or altars on three walls, the imitation of the Buddha Hall in the surface monasteries, had already become the prevalent type of cave-temple.⁴⁵³ In considering themes raised in the stone inscriptions and the subjects of main and subordinate statues in these cave-temples, undoubtedly, the thought of various schools had already been fully reflected in the grottoes of the late 6th century.⁴⁵⁴

From the perspective of the themes represented in Buddhist statuary unearthed in North China, the objects of worship expanded from the early Sakyamuni to Amitābha 阿彌陀, Maitreya 彌勒, Bhaisajyaguru 藥師, Vairocana 盧舍那, Avalokiteśvara 觀世 音 and Cintanā Prince 思惟太子, which gradually played a role equal even more important than Sakyamuni.⁴⁵⁵ The turning point of this trend began at the end of the 5th century after Emperor Xiaowen implemented the policies of sinicization, and can be seen in the evolution of the themes of the statuary in the Longmen Grottoes 龍門 石窟⁴⁵⁶ and in the unearthed statues of Quyang Xiudesi Monastery 曲陽修德寺 and Qingzhou Longxingsi Monastery 青州龍興寺.457 Quite recently, 2895 pieces of Buddhist statues and several thousands of tiny pieces were excavated by the Ye City Archaeological Team in the east suburb of Yecheng; an overwhelming majority of them were carved in the Eastern Wei and Northern Qi Dynasties. Over 230 of them have dedicatory inscriptions, which provide us direct evidence to explore the diversity of worship objects in the 6th century.⁴⁵⁸ In the Zhaopengcheng Monastery of the Eastern Wei and Northern Qi, the features of the multiple Compounds and Halls began to emerge, but the monastery was still focused on the Pagoda. Perhaps this was a case in point to reflect the diversification of Buddhist thought and worship concepts during this period.

During the Sui and Tang Dynasties, the ethos of the Teaching Classification (*panjiao* 判教) increasingly prevailed. Various Buddhist Schools originating in the Northern and Southern Dynasties, based on different *sutras* and commentaries, created their own theoretical system and practice. Each Schools paid more attention

⁴⁵³ Li Yuqun 2003, 157-207.

⁴⁵⁴ Ding Mingyi 1988.

⁴⁵⁵ Hou Xudong 1998, 105.

⁴⁵⁶ Tsukamoto Zenryū 1974, 254-265.

⁴⁵⁷ Yang Boda 1960; Liu Fengjun 2002.

⁴⁵⁸ Joint Ye City Archaeological Team of the Institute of Archaeology, CASS and Institute of Cultural Relics of Hebei Province 2013 a.

to their origin, tradition and doctrines. In order to emphasize orthodoxy, various factions were keen to magnify their own doctrine and belittle others, thus sectarianism deepened further. During this period, the ethos of Teaching Classification and the division within the Buddhist community became the mainstream of Chinese Buddhism. Ultimately, the so-called five, seven, ten even thirteen Sects came into being in Buddhist history.⁴⁵⁹ In this context, several free-standing compounds were named after different Buddhist Schools in monasteries of the Tang, a fact that can be regarded as the objective reflection of the division of Buddhist into Sects. While the diversification of worship objects also led the early monastery layout focusing on the pagoda was replaced by a new mode of the combination of compounds and halls.

Conclusion

Generally speaking, the earliest Buddhist monasteries in the Chinese Mainland totally imitated the layout of those in ancient India and Central Asia, which normally focused on a pagoda with rows of small chambers set along the perimeter wall of the monastery. As the time went on, the Buddha Hall played an increasing important role in the monastery. Under the influence of Chinese traditional construction techniques and arrangement of secular courtyards, the north-south axial plan with a Buddha Hall behind the Pagoda became the main type of monastery layout in the second half of the 5th century, continuing until the beginning of the the 7th century. This monastery layout of Northern and Southern Dynasties with its strong Chinese characteristics had a far reaching impact on the early Buddhist monasteries in the neighboring countries. The monastery of the Goguryeo Kingdom might derive from the secular architectural form of North China, while the monastery of the Baekje Kingdom had more close relationship with those of South China. The early monastery layouts of the Silla Kingdom and Japan, lacking a direct contact with China, were mainly influenced from the neighboring Baekje and Goguryeo Kingdoms. In a word, before the mid 7th century, the monastery layout of Baekje's monasteries on the Korean Peninsula and those with a similar layout in Japan, all derived directly or indirectly from the Chinese monasteries with a 'Central Pagoda and One Hall in the rear' layout, which remained the most significant monastery layout for a quite long period.

⁴⁵⁹ Tang Yongtong 1982, 200-204.

With the development of Buddhist thought, the veneration of images increasingly exceeded the early veneration of relics. As a result, the Buddha Hall gradually replaced the crucial status of the early pagoda and occupied the central position in Buddhist monasteries. After the mid 7th century, the 'Multi-Compounds and Multi-Halls' layout became the mainstream layout of the Buddhist State Monasteries in China. The frequent official exchanges favorite the transmission of this new monastery layout: Buddhist monasteries of the Unified Silla Period and Japanese Nara Period were able to directly imitate the monastery layout of Chang'an and Luoyang. The central Hall was the absolute core of all the monasteries of Unified Silla and contemporaneous Japan; at the same time, the feature of multiple Compounds began to emerge and became the most remarkable characteristics in the layout of Buddhist monastery.

The shift in the focus of monastery layout took place between the mid 6^{th} to the mid 7^{th} century. It is worth noting that several monasteries, especially some well-preserved Japanese and Korean ones, offer a first glimpse into this transformation process. For example, the *Hōryūji Monastery* and the *Kawaradera Monastery*, the *Manmu Daikandaiji Monastery* and the *Daianji Monastery* reproduce vividly the process by which the crucial status of the central pagoda was progressively substituted by the Buddha Hall. On the other hand, the *Zhaopengcheng Monastery* and the *Mireuksa Monastery* are the earliest unearthed instances that display the feature of multiple compounds and halls: they correspond to a transitional phase linking past and future. In spite of the fact that each of the countries considered in this thesis have its own culture and traditions, the overview the monastery layout of East Asia between the 5^{th} and 8^{th} century has revealed a consistent general trend: from the focus on the pagoda to a focus on the Buddha Hall, and contemporaneously from a single compound to multiple compounds.

The last chapter of my dissertation has attempted to interpret the intrinsic causes which have brought to the change of the monastery layout from the perspective of the religious and functional aspects of Buddhist architecture. Through the thesis I have analyzed a number of different factors, such as the original meaning and function of the Pagoda, Buddha Hall and Compound; the cult of Sakyamuni and other deities as reflected in dedicatory inscriptions; the themes and the roles of cave-temples; the rising of Buddhist Schools in the Northern Dynasties and their evolution into Buddhist Sects in the Sui and Tang Dynasties. On the basis of these investigations I proposed that the evolution of monastery layout from the single Compound focusing on the Pagoda to the Multi-Compounds and Multi-Halls reflects the evolution of Chinese Buddhist belief from the early "Sakyamuni cult" to the "division into Buddhist Sects" and "multiple objects of worship".

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