

Building on Hope: Monastic Sponsors and Merit in Sixth- to Tenth-Century China

The era of the Northern and Southern Dynasties saw a rise in popularity of the practice of sponsoring Buddhist images.¹ From dedicatory inscriptions, it is clear that the purpose for having a Buddhist image made, which could consist of different Buddhas and bodhisattvas, was simply to acquire merit and for rebirth in the Pure Land. Apart from images, another common form of Buddhist sponsorship was the translation and copying of sutras, the manufacture of ritual paraphernalia, sutra exposition, donation of materials necessary for monks' subsistence, and the construction of temple buildings. This article looks at the latter, the sponsoring of cave temples and monastic buildings – the most expensive but seemingly a very efficacious way to gain merit. From emperors to aristocrats, from officials to commoners, all classes of Chinese society were involved in the sponsoring of monastic buildings, varying only in size and grandeur. However, there are not many extant texts relevant to the sponsorship of monastic building, in contrast to the surviving stele texts relating to image making. Nonetheless, enough evidence exists to show that the sponsoring of Buddhist buildings was popular among all strata of medieval Chinese society. Therefore we can dig deeper, in order to examine the extent of building sponsorship in Tang society, the motivations behind it, and differences in architectural form and style of monastic buildings sponsored by different strata of society.²

If the number of monasteries is an indication of the popularity at a given time of the practice, then clearly, the Buddhist church in the Northern and Southern Dynasties emphasized building more than in

¹ Hou Xudong 侯旭東 provides a good introduction to the material in his *Wu liu shiji bei-fang minzhong Fojiao xinyang* 五六世紀北方民眾佛教信仰 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1998), in which he analyses 1,602 texts datable to between 400–580.

² For the sponsorship of Buddhist monasteries in later periods of Chinese history, see John Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 2003), pp. 185–98.

Tang times. According to Falin 法琳 (572–640), writing in 626,³ there were around 2,846 monasteries in the Liang dynasty and 1,232 in the subsequent Chen dynasty;⁴ and there were 6,478 monasteries in the Northern Wei.⁵ The total comes to around 7,710 to 9,324 for China of the early-sixth century. Of these, *Bianzhenglun* 辯正論 records 886 state monasteries during the Wei (state monasteries being those founded by an emperor, aristocrat, or high official), making the ratio of state monasteries to other monasteries 1:10.⁶ In addition, the dynastic history *Wei shu* 魏書 records more than 30,000 monasteries by the end of the Wei. This number is said to have further increased to over 40,000 during the Northern Qi.⁷ Clearly, the larger number must have included both state and private monasteries. In Tang times, though, the number of monasteries throughout the empire was much curtailed. In the Zhenguan 貞觀 era (627–649), there were 3,716 monasteries,⁸ and by the end of the Kaiyuan 開元 era (713–742), there were 5,358.⁹ This number seems to have been stable throughout the Tang.¹⁰ During the Huichang persecution 會昌滅法, it is said that 4,600 monasteries were dismantled. In addition 40,000 *lanruo* 蘭若, private temples not recognized by the state, were destroyed.¹¹ After the persecution, the number of monasteries in China steadily increased, reaching 6,030 in 955,¹² exceeding the number prior to the persecution of 845.

³ For Falin's biography, see Daoxuan, *Xu Gaosengzhuan* 續高僧傳 (Tno. 2060, vol. 50) 24, pp. 636B–39A.

⁴ Figures taken from Falin's *Bianzhenglun* (Tno. 2110, vol. 52) 8 (sect. "Shidai feng Fo pian 十代奉佛編"), pp. 502C–8B.

⁵ See *Wei shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974) 114, p. 3039.

⁶ See Tno. 2060, vol. 52, pp. 507–8.

⁷ See *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統記 (Tno. 2035, vol. 49), p. 357A. The discrepancy in the number between the two accounts might be due to the difference in the authors' definitions of monastery.

⁸ See *Da Tang Daciensi Sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 (Tno. 2053, vol. 50) 7, p. 259A.

⁹ See *Tang liudian* 唐六典, Hiroike Chikurō 广池千九郎 and Uchida Tomoo 内田智雄, annot. (Kashiwa-shi: Moraroji kenkyūjo, 1989) 4, pp. 20a–b.

¹⁰ See the reason given in Zhang Gong 張弓, *Han Tang Fosi wenhua shi* 漢唐佛寺文化史 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1997), p. 109.

¹¹ See *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975) 18A, p. 606. The other evidence comes from *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林, compiled by Daoshi 道世 in 668. In his tally, there were over 4,000 *si*, state-sanctioned monasteries, more than 60,000 monks and nuns, and over 100 million images during the reign of the first three emperors of the Tang; see *Fayuan zhulin* (Tno. 2122, vol. 53), p. 1027C.

¹² The number is taken from *Wudai huiyao* 五代會要, quoted in Jacques Gernet, *Les aspects économiques du bouddhisme dans la société chinoise du V^e au X^e siècle* (trans. Franciscus Verellen, *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries* [New York: Columbia U.P., 1995], p. 6).

There were three types of monasteries founded from the sixth to the tenth centuries. One was the state monastery; another was the state-sanctioned monastery, known as *si*; and, finally, private temples known as *lanruo*, *jingshe* 精舍 (pure abode) or *Fotang* 佛堂 (Buddha hall). As we take up each type, what patterns can we discern in the ways in which they were founded? How was their architecture related to the level of patronage? Was there any difference between large monasteries sponsored by the state and those by the lesser ranks of the society architecturally or in their religious functions? In short, what are the architectural implications of sponsorship for monasticism in this period?

FOUNDING STATE MONASTERIES

The definition of a state monastery vis-à-vis a private monastery can be found in Daoshi's 道世 *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林, under the section on the annual offering to the Buddha on the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month:

If there is no donor, then the offerings would depend on the nature of the monastery, whether large or small, state or private. If it is a small monastery that is not founded by the state, ... If it is a large monastery of the state 國家大寺, such as Ximingsi 西明寺, Ciensi 慈恩寺,¹³ and others in Chang'an... Besides the land allocated according to the number of monks 口分地, these monasteries often possess fields and manors given by the emperor. As all the provisions are supplied by the state, therefore the offerings, such as the basin [for this festival] and musicians, [are all provided by the state]. There are even government officials 送盆官人 appointed to escort [these offerings to the monasteries].¹⁴

Monasteries founded and supported by the state were often involved in the performance of state rituals. Of the 4,600–5,358 official monasteries of the Tang, a small percentage was built and maintained by the state; their exact number varied over time and cannot be precisely tabulated. In all, there were three broad categories of state monasteries in the Sui and Tang. First were those founded for specific purposes such as the commemoration of special events. When Yang Jian 楊堅 (r. Wendi 文帝, 581–605) came to the throne, he ordered the building of Daxingguosi 大興國寺 in the forty-five prefectures he passed through.¹⁵

¹³ Both monasteries were founded by Li Zhi 李治 in 648 and 656, respectively.

¹⁴ *Fayuan zhulin*, p. 750B.

¹⁵ See *Bianzhenglun*, p. 509A. Another record places the event at the beginning of the reign of Sui Wendi; see *Ji gujin Fo Dao lunheng* 集古今佛道論衡 (Tno. 2104, vol. 52), p. 379A. In yet another record, the name of the state monastery was not mentioned. However, it records the

Li Shimin 李世民 (r. Taizong 太宗, 627–650) built seven battlefield monasteries in 629 to honor dead soldiers.¹⁶

This type could also be founded state-wide mainly for political reasons. The earliest broad founding campaign during the Tang occurred in the reign of Li Zhi 李治 (r. Gaozong 高宗, 649–83). In 666, Gaozong decreed that a Buddhist monastery and a Daoist temple were to be established in each prefecture.¹⁷ These structures were to be supported entirely by the state budget.¹⁸ The decree was issued after the emperor and his empress, Wu Zhao 武曌, performed the *fengshan* 封禪 ritual on Mount Tai 泰山 (Taishan). The reason for founding these monasteries and temples was probably political, as Tsukamoto observes: they were intended to express the might of the state.¹⁹ Neither the name nor the exact function of the monasteries is known. However, as observed by Daoshi:

A decree was issued so that all in the land might know that a monastery was to be constructed in each prefecture. Seven monks were to be ordained in each monastery.

Following this event many auspicious signs appeared seemingly to commemorate the day. [I] have looked into the literature of far off times and examined the acts of [all previous] emperors and kings, yet none is comparable in virtue to the [present] emperor. [Through this event], *dao* 道 (the way) is working in the universe and *ren* 仁 (benevolence) is showered upon all beings. The acts of ascending the mountain [Taishan] for observing the sun, to offer sacrifices and to manifest the teaching in the *mingtang* 明堂 have indeed [captured the imagination of the adherents of] the truth and the commoners. Looking at the present and past acts of the emperor, he is indeed unsurpassed.²⁰

decree issued in 583 for rituals to be performed in monasteries founded by the state, *guanlisi* 官立寺; *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶集 (Tno. 2034, vol. 49), p. 108A. A Daxingguosi 大興國寺 was still extant in Taiyuan 太原 in the Zhenguan 貞觀 era (627–649), showing that the name of this monastery was not changed in the establishment of state monasteries by Li Zhi or Wu Zhao. See an account of other Daxingguosi in Du Doucheng 杜斗城, *Dunhuang Wutaishan wenxian jiaolu yanjiu* 敦煌五臺山文獻校錄研究 (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1991), pp. 178–80. These monasteries continued to maintain their importance in their respective prefectures through the Tang.

¹⁶ See *Guanghong mingji* 廣弘明集 (Tno. 2103, vol. 52), p. 328c. See also *Bianzhenglun*, p. 514A, which indicates that there were ten monasteries erected. Other sources point to a different number of monastery erected on this occasion.

¹⁷ At the time, there were 358 prefectures throughout China.

¹⁸ See the decree in *Jiu Tang shu* 5, p. 90.

¹⁹ See Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆, *Nitchū Bukkyō kōshōshi kenkyū* 日支仏教國分寺研究 (Tokyo: Kobundo shobo, 1944), pp. 24–25.

²⁰ *Fayuan zhulin*, p. 1027c.

Monastery founding in this case was clearly for the aggrandizement of the emperor. It was also to indicate that he favored no one particular religion, a theme often seen early in the Tang.

The same political motivations can be cited for the founding of other state monasteries in the Tang. These were generically named as Dayunsi 大雲寺, Kaiyuansi 開元寺, and Longxingsi 龍興寺. After using the Buddhist scripture *Dayun jing* 大雲經 to support her claim to the throne, it was decreed in 690 by the usurper Wu Zhao 武曌 that Dayun monasteries were to be founded throughout the land.²¹ The fashion in which these monasteries were founded is similar to those founded in 666 by Gaozong, in which Wu Zhao must have had played a crucial part. It seems that no new monastery was actually built; rather, existing monasteries were simply renamed.²² The same political motive can be seen in the founding of Da Tang Zhongxingsi 大唐中興寺 in 705, when Li Xian 李顯 (r. Zhongzong 中宗, 705–710) ascended the throne and reestablished Tang rule.²³ The only difference between this event and the founding of Dayunsi is that Zhongzong also included the founding of Daoist temples in his decree, in line with the founding of state monasteries by his father Gaozong. The name of the monasteries was later changed to Longxing 龍興 in 707, when a petition submitted by Zhang Jingyuan 張景元 suggested that the name Da Tang Zhongxing signaled a break in Tang rule, which he did not accept as true.²⁴ It is also significant that some of these monasteries were the earlier Dayunsi that had been founded by Wu Zhao, as Tsukamoto again demonstrated.²⁵ Political motives can also be seen in the founding of the state mon-

²¹ According to *Chang'an zhi* 長安志 (Jingxuntang congshu 經訓堂叢書 edn. [1787], printed in vol. 1 of *Song-Yuan difangzhi congshu* 宋元地方志叢書 [Taipei: Dahua shuju, 1980]) 10, p. 7a, the monk Xuanzheng 宣政 presented the fabricated *Dayun jing* to empress Wu, suggesting that it is legitimate to have a female ruler. However, the official histories record that in 689 ten monks presented a fabricated *Dayun jing* to the empress in which it was said explicitly that the empress should have the heavenly mandate and rule the land. It was in the same year, two months later, that Wu Zhao changed the dynasty name from Tang to Zhou (*Jiu Tang shu* 6, p. 121). See also R. W. L. Guisso, *Wu Tse-t'ien and the Politics of Legitimation in T'ang China* (Bellingham: U. Western Washington P., 1978), pp. 36–41. See also Antonino Forte, *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias in the History of the Astronomical Clock: The Tower, Statue and Armillary Sphere Constructed by Empress Wu* (Rome and Paris: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente and EFEO, 1988). I have dealt with the architectural significance of Wu's initiatives in "Architecture and Legitimacy in the Court of Wu Zhao," in Frederick Hok-ming Cheung and Ming-chiu Lai, eds., *Politics and Religion in Ancient and Medieval Europe and China* (Hong Kong: The Chinese U.P., 1999), pp. 101–26.

²² Tsukamoto gives a list of monasteries whose name was changed to Dayunsi seen in literary records and stele inscription, see Tsukamoto, *Nitchū Bukkyō*, pp. 29–30.

²³ See *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1935) 48, p. 845; and Tsukamoto, *Nitchū Bukkyō*, pp. 31–34.

²⁴ See *Jiu Tang shu* 7, pp. 143–44.

²⁵ Tsukamoto, *Nitchū Bukkyō*, p. 33.

astery Kaiyuansi by Li Longji 李隆基 (r. Xuanzong 玄宗, 712–755) in 738.²⁶ In this case, however, the promotion of a personality cult seemed to be the main motive, since a gilt bronze image of the emperor was installed in each monastery and a ritual conducted at each Kaiyuansi on his birthday. Thus the motive for the founding of nation-wide state monasteries in the Tang was political both in the sense of harnessing support from the masses as well as promoting the cult of emperor worship. Most of these monasteries were large monasteries situated in the locality to begin with, and most continued to be the prefecture's premier monastery until the end of the tenth century.

Finally, some state monasteries, primarily located in Chang'an and Luoyang 洛陽, were established for the benefit of members of the imperial family or eminent monks. They were mainly founded individually and maintained by the state separately, such as Ximingsi and Ciensi in Chang'an, and others throughout the empire. Both Chang'an monasteries were founded by Gaozong; Ciensi was founded in 648 when Gaozong was still crown-prince (see figure 1), and Ximingsi in 656 for his crown-prince in turn (figure 2). The reason for founding Ciensi was for the young Gaozong's mother empress Wende 文德, who died twelve years previously, while Ximingsi was founded as a mark of gratitude for the speedy recovery from serious illness of the prince Xiaojing 孝敬.²⁷

What motivated the emperor to give so generously to the Buddhist establishment? In Daoshi's record of the monasteries founded by Gaozong, it is said that he was a pious Buddhist and a filial son. Ciensi was founded so that he could remember his mother constantly. It is also said that another reason was for the "cultivation" of *futian* 福田, the "field of merit." No further reason was given.²⁸ These monasteries were well maintained through the Tang and remained very prosperous.

It is difficult to tell if monasteries founded by the state from the fifth to tenth centuries possessed a particular building form. None of

²⁶ See *Tang huiyao* 50, pp. 879–80. See also Stanley Weinstein about how many Kaiyuansi were formerly named Dayunsi; Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1987), p. 168, n. 20. Weinstein also suggests that these monasteries were to "serve as regional centers where prayers for the well-being of the emperor were to be offered at specified periods in a setting that would appeal to the religious feelings of his Buddhist subjects" (p. 54).

²⁷ Interestingly, prince Xiaojing founded Jing'ai 敬愛寺 in Luoyang a year later to thank his parents; it is said to have been constructed in the same manner as Ximingsi; *Tang huiyao* 48, p. 848.

²⁸ See *Fayuan zhulin* 100, p. 1027B.

them is extant in entirety. What remain are monasteries bearing the name of the state monasteries of the period, such as Longxingsi 龍興寺 and Kaiyuansi 開元寺 in Zhenzhou 鎮州 (present-day Zhengding 正定), Dingzhou 定州, Kaiyuansi in Chaozhou 潮州, Fuzhou 福州, Quanzhou 泉州, and Dayunsi 大雲寺 in Linfen 臨汾. (See figure 3.) All the buildings found in these monasteries today are dated no earlier than the Song. The only exception is perhaps the bell tower of Kaiyuansi in Zhenzhou, which, although heavily restored on the upper story, is possibly a structure from late-Tang times (figure 4). Textual evidence is equally elusive as to the architectural form of these state monasteries. As stated before, the status of a state monastery was usually bestowed without the state having to make changes to the existing monastery. Thus it is hard to specify a consistent form of a state monastery, particularly those established throughout the empire. This can be attested by the similarity in the form of the bell tower of Kaiyuansi with those seen in the wall paintings of the Mogao Grottoes of Dunhuang 敦煌莫高窟, such as the towers depicted on the north wall of the eighth-century Cave 217 (figure 5). This is in contrast to the state monasteries extant in Japan,²⁹ which seem to follow a consistent layout and building form. Examples include the Kofukuji 國分寺 in various prefecture towns, for example, in Kanazawa 金澤 and Takayama 高山 (figure 6).

The only exceptions are probably the monasteries set up for a specific purpose by the emperor, where their building forms were tailored to reflect that intention. In 527, Xiao Yan 蕭衍 (r. Liang Wudi 梁武帝) established the Tongtaisi 同泰寺, a structure built adjacent to his palace and said to have an access gate connecting the monastic compound to the palace. The two impressive monasteries Da Zongchisi 大總持寺 and Da Zhuangyan si 大莊嚴寺 built at the southern edge of Chang'an are said to have contained an impressive wooden pagoda in each of the monasteries. Another exquisite pagoda erected in Guangzhaisi 光宅寺 was sponsored by empress Wu during Tang. It is named Qibaotai 七寶台 (Platform of the Seven Jewels) and was reportedly very tall, affording distant views from its top. It is also recorded that there were paintings by Wu Daozi 吳道子 adorning the wall under its windows, and paintings of Weichi Yiseng 尉遲乙僧 above the windows.³⁰ The empress is also

²⁹ See Tsukamoto, *Nitchū Bukkyō*, for details on the phenomenon of Japanese state monasteries.

³⁰ See Ono Katsutoshi 小野勝年, *Chūgoku Zui Tō Chōan jīn shiryō shūsei* 中國隋唐長安寺院史料 (Tokyo: Hōzōkan, 1989), p. 60. Although the monastery is no longer standing, there is an opinion that some sculptures on the present pagoda of Baoqingsi 寶慶寺 were once a part of Guangzhaisi; see Adachi Kiroku 足立喜六, in *Chōan shiseki no kenkyū* 長安史蹟の研究 (Tokyo: Toyo bunko, 1933), p. 222.

said to have sponsored a building, the Samantabhadra Hall 普賢堂, in Guangzhaisi, for the purpose of her bath and cosmetics 梳洗堂.

THE FOUNDING OF STATE-SANCTIONED MONASTERIES

The upper echelon of Tang society founded many monasteries that, though not sponsored directly by the state, were sanctioned by it. Of the 158 or more Chang'an monasteries seen in various records,³¹ at least fifty-six percent were founded by members of the imperial family and high officials. This figure includes 27 by emperors, 5 by empresses, 7 by princes, 8 by princesses, 6 by the state, 14 by aristocrats, and 22 by officials. The lower strata of the society were also involved in founding state-sanctioned monasteries, but in smaller quantities: 3 by palace maids, 2 by eunuchs, 2 by local residences, 3 by monks, 2 by merchants and 56 with no founder recorded (of which 36 are said to have demolished in 611). It is thus clear that only a small proportion of Chang'an's state-sanctioned monasteries were founded by commoners. One reason given for these foundings was the merit to be accrued by an individual, either the son or daughter, father, or mother of the sponsor. In some cases, particularly those sponsored by the emperor, a monastery was founded in honor of a high monk so that he could reside in it. Sometimes, the monastery was built anew, but in many cases, the monastery is said to have been converted from the residence of the sponsor for the accumulation of merit. One example is Riyansi 日嚴寺, founded by Yang Guang 楊廣 (r. Sui Yangdi 煬帝, 605–618) before his accession and for which he donated the timber that had been cut for his residence.³² Several of these monasteries were converted from private Buddhist structures. Baoshasi 寶刹寺 is said to have been the *Fotang* (Buddha-hall) cloister of the city district, converted into a monastery in the Sui within which a Western Wei building was still extant during the Tang.³³ Another example is Dajuesi 大覺寺, which was converted by Sui Wendi for his physician Zhou 周. The monastery is said to have occupied the ground of Zhou's Buddha-hall.³⁴

Extant materials on the founding of small state-sanctioned monasteries during Tang are scarce. Only a few records of prefectural mon-

³¹ See Ono, *Zui Tō Chōan jin*, for the list of 158 names of monasteries in Chang'an seen in various sources.

³² See *Chang'an zhi* 8. The monastery was demolished in 632.

³³ See Ono, *Zui Tō Chōan jin*, p. 66.

³⁴ See *ibid.*, p. 246. Xuanzang 玄奘 studied with the eminent monk Daoyue 道岳 in this monastery when he first arrived in Chang'an.

asteries survive to indicate how they were founded. The exceptions are the local monasteries of Shazhou 沙州 (present-day Dunhuang 敦煌). Owing to the fortunate preservation of the Dunhuang manuscripts, we are able to reconstruct many aspects of the monastic economy of ninth- and tenth-century Dunhuang. One legal document 狀, signed by Suo Qi 索祺, gives details of his donating his property for the rebuilding of Bao'ensi 報恩寺 in the Xiantong 咸通 era (860–74).³⁵ Although the manuscript is fragmented, it can still be clearly seen that a water mill, some estate land and fields, and perhaps some houses were donated for the purpose. In particular, the water mill was described as an inheritance from Suo's ancestor. The reason given in the document for the act was to allow the offerings to the three treasures 三寶 of the Buddhist church to continue. The Suo family was one of the most important of the aristocratic families in Dunhuang.³⁶ The sister-in-law of the famed military commissioner Zhang Yichao 張議潮 was a member of the Suo family, and Zhang's own daughter married Suo Xun 索勳, who later became the military commissioner after Zhang's death, which occurred between 892–894.³⁷ Another manuscript indicates that many buildings were offered to Qianyuansi 乾元寺, including: "the northern building in the house with eaves, a vacant building to the west, a vacant land without building, a side building" This act is said to have been for the devotee to be relieved from serious illnesses.³⁸

THE FOUNDING OF PRIVATE MONASTERIES

Apart from sanctioned monasteries, there were at least 40,000 private establishments during Tang. These might take the form of a building complex known as *lanruo* (*arāṇya*) or *zhaoti* 招提 (*caturdiśa*),³⁹

³⁵ See S. 3873 (standard ms. abbreviations are given at the end of Eric Trombert's article, also in this issue). Bao'ensi was the second largest monastery in Dunhuang in the early-9th c., judging by the number of resident monks; see S. 5676.

³⁶ For a brief history of the family, see Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤, *Dunhuang shehui wenshu daolun* 敦煌社會文書導論 (Taibei: Xin wenfeng chubanshe, 1992), pp. 48–50.

³⁷ See Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, *Guiyi jun shi yanjiu* 歸義軍史研究, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubbanshe, 1996), pp. 89–91.

³⁸ S. 6829. The date of this text is not certain, but that specified is the 8th mo. of the Bingwu 丙戌 year, probably 926, but possibly 60 years before or after. According to Ma De 馬德, Qianyuansi refers to the cave temple at Dunhuang, not a monastery in Shazhou town. However, according to this manuscript there were many buildings in the monastery. It could also be that the buildings were constructed on the grounds in front of the caves; Ma, "Mogaoku yu Dunhuang Fojiao jiaotuan" 莫高窟與敦煌佛教教團, *Dunhuang tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 1 (1996), pp. 161–76, esp. p. 166.

³⁹ *Arāṇya* means a quiet place suitable for monks to dwell. *Caturdiśa* means the four regions from where the monks came. It was first used by Northern Wei Taiwudi 太武帝 (r. 423–53) as the name of the monastery he founded, and since then was used as a synonym for monastery.

or just a simple Buddha hall, *Fotang*. As to be expected, few written records survive about the founding of these small establishments. Useful evidence comes from Ennin's description of the process of the destruction of Buddhism during the reign of Li Yan 李彦 (r. Wuzong 武宗, 840–846). Li decreed in the summer of 844 that all mountain lodges, *lanruo*, Buddha-halls, and fasting halls at public wells and in villages, monasteries with buildings no more than 200 bays, and those that had no official sanction were to be dismantled. It is said that in the end, more than 40,000 such private establishments were destroyed.⁴⁰

Altogether, according to the tabulation of Zhang Gong, there are at least 74 records dealing with the building of these small establishments. Most of the buildings were converted from a house, and many were founded by the residents of a county or small village. Again, for these small Buddhist temples, we can only rely on Dunhuang manuscripts to give us a picture that is limited to Dunhuang and to the ninth to tenth centuries. A "eulogy of merit accumulation 功德文" was preserved in two manuscripts – S. 3929 (written twice) and S. 3937 (in fragment). It records a *lanruo* founded in Dunhuang by a group of people, and the one to suggest the founding was Dong Baode 董保德, an officer in charge of materials and a renowned painter of the painting academy of the military commissioner (*jiedushi* 節度使).⁴¹ The main reason for such meritorious acts is said to be for repaying the goodness shown to them by the local ruler Cao 曹:

During the rule of king Cao,⁴² both priests and laity enjoyed great peace, the Cao family never stopped doing good deeds, so that the cultivation of merit would not cease. ... Everyday we received generous income, and many times, we were also given precious goods as reward. In a few years, we had wealth that permitted everyone to have more than sufficient food. ... Thus it is right to repay what was richly received from the emperor and the prince, it is also proper to answer to the respect given by the Buddhist adherents. What do you say if we all cultivate merit together?

⁴⁰ See Ennin 圓仁 (793–864), *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki* 入唐求法巡禮行記, Gu Chengfu 顧承甫 et al., eds. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), *juan* 4, p. 178; also Edwin O. Reischauer, *Ennin's Travel in T'ang China* (New York: Ronald Press, 1955), p. 347.

⁴¹ It is said in the manuscript that Dong himself received many commissions, grew very wealthy, and thus was interested in founding a temple.

⁴² See Rong, *Guiyi jun*. The Cao family started their rule of the Shazhou (Dunhuang) region in 914. It is not certain when this merit text was written, probably in the Five Dynasties period. However, according to Rong, *ibid.*, p. 107, Cao adopted the title Dawang 大王 (Great King) only in 931, and since the text mentions king Cao who apparently was still alive at the writing of the text, the monastery must have been founded between 931–35, the year when Cao Yijin 曹議金 died.

This tenth-century text clearly shows a sponsorship of a private temple for the well-being of the state and the ruler. This purpose is seen in most extant records. Manuscript S. 5638 is a copy of sample essays to be used in the building of Buddha-halls, the casting of Buddhist images, and for the lighting of lamps. In it the purpose for the founding of a Buddha-hall is to invoke peace and prosperity for the state and long life for the emperor and government officials. It is also clear that because of the huge financial commitment, such acts of merit cultivation could only be carried out by a group of devotees, not by an individual in the community.⁴³

Other than founding a temple by a small group of people, the most common form of organization for temple building at the time was through a local community, *she* 社.⁴⁴ An example is the founding of a temple suggested by the *sheguan* 社官, or community official, of a *she* in a city ward, as recorded in S. 4860. All together, twenty-eight people from the community, including many said to be from the aristocratic families of the region, founded a *qielan* 伽蘭, or large temple. In this case, the purpose was to pray for the well-being and long life of the military commissioner Cao, and secondly for the accumulation of merit for the community group.⁴⁵ The manuscript P. 4044 gives evidence that people living on the same street, Wenfangxiang 文坊巷, came together to build a private pagoda 寺佛塔 in the third year of Guangqi 光啓 (887). In this instance, forty-two members of the community built the pagoda for the well-being of the emperor and the chief minister (the local ruler),⁴⁶ and for peace and blessing of the local community and those deceased. The *sheguan* was a certain Fan Ningzi 樊寧子.⁴⁷

The same manuscript also records the renovation and repainting of an ancestral *lanruo* by the “street community 巷社” of Xiuwen ward

⁴³ The group is also said to have founded a Pujing 普敬 pagoda either at the temple, behind the lecture hall, or at the Mogao cave temple site.

⁴⁴ A *she* could be a community organized by the state, *guanshe* 官社, for the promotion of good moral, the promotion of agriculture activities, and reporting to the state of any good deeds. But more commonly, a *she* was a community in a locality, either a village or in an urban area encompassing a few streets. There were also *she* organized for a certain common interest or purpose, such as a brotherhood organization, or for building a Buddhist temple. See Jiang, *Dunhuang shehui*, pp. 231–50, for a detailed account of 9th–10th c. *she*, as seen in Dunhuang manuscripts.

⁴⁵ Base on Cao title as military commissioner, this document was probably written between 914–920, when he had not added more title to his name, see Rong, *Guiyi jun.*, p. 107.

⁴⁶ According to Rong, the military commissioner at the time is Zhang Huaishen 張淮深 who had the title Chief Minister (*shangshu* 尚書) since 872.

⁴⁷ Following this manuscript is a text on the renovation of the ancestral *lanruo* of Wenfang Street, copied in the period of Jinshan state (905–914). See Ning Ke 寧可 et al., *Dunhuang sheyi wenshu jijiao* 敦煌社邑文書輯校 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1997), pp. 661–62.

修文坊, Shazhou 沙州. This took place probably during the Jinshan state 金山國 period (905–914). The purpose was for the forty-eight people of this community to accumulate merit. Again, the motives are said to be, first, the blessing and long life of the king of the Jinshan state; second, so that the deceased from the community might be reborn into the land of bliss; and, last, that the families might enter the realm of the immortals. In P. 2857, the reason for sponsoring the building of a gate tower for a community *Fotang* was said to be for freeing oneself from past karma and the “cultivation of a correct mind”; further, it is also said that the sponsor hopes to be reborn in the Buddha Pure Land together with his deceased ancestors. This same hope is also expressed in S. 5574, mentioning a temple built so that the ancestors of seven previous generations could all be transported to a Buddhist heaven.

An interesting manuscript records the responsibility of the community organization for the repair of *lanruo* and *Fotang* in Dunhuang. Although undated and rather fragmented, S. 5828 contains a text stating that the responsibility of the *she* community is only for donating half a *sheng* 升 of oil for lighting the lamp in Puguangsi 普光寺 on the fourteenth of the first moon every year, relating probably to the Yuanxiao 元宵 festival, featuring lanterns. Other than that, it is also said that all building or repairing of *lanruo* and *Fotang* for the accumulation of merit should be a private matter in which the community would not be involved. This shows perhaps that this particular *she* had had disputes about the donation to the Buddhist establishments, or that this rule was common to all *she* communities of Dunhuang, despite the fact that many manuscripts indicate that a community official led the building project.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES OF TANG MONASTERIES

Large monasteries located in Chang'an usually consisted of many cloisters, performing a variety of functions.⁴⁸ There were those for the worship of the Buddha or major Bodhisattvas, such as the Great Buddha Cloister, the Avalokiteśvara Cloister 觀音院, and the Mañjuśrī Cloister 文殊院. There were those dedicated to a particular school of practice, such as the Avatamsaka Cloister 華嚴院, the Pure Land Cloister 淨土院, the Chan Cloister 禪院, and the Three Stages Cloister 三階院. There were those enclosing a particular building, such as the Mountain Gate Clois-

⁴⁸ See the study of an ideal monastery as delineated by Daoxuan, in Puay-peng Ho, “The Ideal Monastery: Daoxuan’s Description of the Central Indian Jetavana Vihara,” in *East Asian History* 10 (December, 1995), pp. 1–18.

ter 山門院, the Pagoda Cloister 塔院, the Ordination Platform Cloister 戒壇院 and the Sutra Depository Cloister 經藏院. And there were those dedicated to practical purposes, such as the Changzhu Cloister 常住院 for storage of monks' supply,⁴⁹ the Monk Cloister 僧院 for the living, the Bathhouse Cloister 浴院, and Kitchen Cloister 淨廚院. Most large monasteries consisted of six to ten cloisters. Ciensi had more than ten cloisters including the West Cloister in which Xuanzang built a pagoda, the Sutra Translation Cloister 譯經院 and the Cloister of Āśaikṣa-phala 無學果院. Da Jianfusi 大薦福寺 had a Pagoda Cloister and a Pure Land Cloister. The largest monasteries in the Tang were Zhanjingsi 章敬寺 outside the city of Chang'an, consisting of 48 cloisters, and Da Shengcisi 大聖慈寺 in Yizhou 益州 (presently Chengdu), with 96 cloisters.

State-sanctioned monasteries in prefectures were in general not as large as those in the capitals. One exception is Da'ansi 大安寺 of Taiyuan, which apparently consisted of more than eight cloisters in the tenth century. According to S. 0397,⁵⁰ it had a Mahākaraṇā (Avalokiteśvara) Cloister 大悲院,⁵¹ Maitreya Cloister 彌勒院, Sutra Depository Cloister, Mañjuśrī Cloister, Gate Tower Cloister 門樓院, Cloister of the Tisraḥ śikṣāḥ 三學院,⁵² and a Bhaiṣajyaguru Cloister 藥師院. This is in addition to the main buildings in the monastery including a Five-phoenix gate 五鳳樓, a main Buddha hall of nine bays and a lecture hall of nine bays. These cloisters were used for the exposition of various sutras. Some cloisters were sponsored by monks from the monastery, such as the Cloister of Tisraḥ śikṣāḥ, which was added in 931. The colossal gilt bronze statue of Avalokiteśvara in the Mahākaraṇā Cloister is said to have been donated by a local monk Huisheng 慧勝. Again, the purpose is said to be for the accumulation of merit.

It is easy to deduce that the size of *lanruo* was rather small. The diary of the Japanese pilgrim Ennin discusses the decree for the destruction of small temples, which are defined as those with buildings under 200 bays and those that were not given the title *si*.⁵³ The average size of a cloister in a large Chang'an monastery was about 86 to

⁴⁹ Apart from storage, some examples show that a Changzhu cloister might also be used as monks' quarters, see manuscript S. 0397, in Ning et al., *Dunhuang sheyi*, p. 144.

⁵⁰ Dated to around 931–995, see Du Doucheng 杜斗城, *Dunhuang Wutaishan wenxian jiaolu yanjiu* 敦煌五臺山文獻校錄研究 (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1991), pp. 143–46.

⁵¹ The ms. states that it was a gilt bronze 42 armed Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva 3.7 meters high.

⁵² Tisraḥ śikṣāḥ (or, *sanxue*, the Three Learnings), refers to the three basic aspects of Buddhist cultivation: *jie* 戒 (precept), *ding* 定 (meditation), *hui* 慧 (wisdom).

⁵³ See Ennin, *Nittō guhō*, p. 178. A bay here refers to the space enclosed by four columns. Thus a building that measures five frontal bays by 4 bays in depth has 20 bays. A cloister that may contain a gate-building, perimeter corridor, and a main hall, would total up to 50 bays.

200 bays;⁵⁴ thus any temple smaller than 200 bays was considered to be similar in size to a cloister of a large monastery, rather small. Ennin also comments that a *Fotang* in Chang'an was equivalent to a large monastery in the prefecture. This must also mean that the spatial arrangement of a cloister in a large monastery was the same as a small temple. According to Ennin, Chang'an alone had more than 300 *Fotang* containing Buddhist images and *sutra* towers that were made by famous artists. This indicates that not only large monasteries would be richly decorated; smaller private temple can also be equally lavish.

Small *lanruo* of Shazhou are well delineated in extant Dunhuang manuscripts. They were usually a building located within the confines of a perimeter corridor. A gate tower served as the entrance. The best description can be found in S. 4860:

In the *lanruo* is sculpted Śākyamuni Buddha and attendants, painted with color. On the east wall is painted the Illustration of the Subjugation of Mara 降魔變相. On the west wall is the Great Sage Thousand-Arm Thousand-Eye Avalokiteśvara 大聖千臂千眼菩薩. On two sides of the entrance are painted Amoghapāśa 不空絹索 with Cintāmaṇicakra 如意輪. Outside the door and under the eaves are painted the four Great Devarāja 天王 with four attendants. On the four corridors are painted sages and deities of ten directions.⁵⁵

This shows clearly the spatial and decorative arrangements of the *lanruo*. Similar descriptions can be found in S. 0474 in simpler terms. The hall of this temple is said to contain an image of Śākyamuni, two attending bodhisattvas, Ānanda 阿難 and Kaśyapa 迦葉, two *vajrapāni* 力士 and other deities.

The central building of the temple could also be a two-storied tower, as was the one built by Zhang Ansan 張安三 and his son. In S. 4474, the *Fotang* is said to be located at the northwestern corner of a street in Dunhuang, completed in the eighth year of Tianfu 天福 (908).

On the upper floor is sculpted an image of Śākyamuni, attendants, Ānanda, Kaśyapa, Virūpākṣa Devarāja 廣目天王 of the west and Dhṛtarāṣṭra Devarāja 持國天王 of the east. All sculpted and paint-

⁵⁴ Chang'an's Zhangjingsi is said to have 48 cloisters and 4,130 bays, making an average of 86 bays per cloister. Daciensi is said to have more than 10 cloisters and 1,897 bays, an average of 189 bays, and Ximingsi of 10 cloisters and more than 4,000 bays, an average of 400 bays. However, this figure seems excessively high. Dashengcisi in Yizhou has 96 cloisters and 8,500 bays, an average of 88 bays.

⁵⁵ See Ning, *Dunhuang shehui*, pp. 679–82.

ing works are complete. On the east and west walls are painted Mañjuśrī 文殊 and Samantabhadra 普賢 bodhisattvas and attendants. Eight classes of divine beings including *deva* 天 and *naga* 龍 and their attendants are also painted. There are also painted many *śrāvaka* 聲聞 (disciples). On the four corners of the ceiling are painted ... [On the lower floor?] are painted Amitābha Tathagata, Avalokiteśvara, and Mahāsthāmaprapta 大勢至.

This form of two-storied tower can be found in large monasteries of Tang times. There are a few extant towers from the tenth century, such as the Avalokiteśvara Tower 觀音閣 in Dulesi 獨樂寺, Jixian 薊縣, (figure 7) and the twelfth century, such as the Tower of Maitreya 慈氏閣 and the Tower of Turning Sutra Depository 轉輪藏閣 in Longxingsi 龍興寺, Zhengding 正定 (figures 8 and 9). However, buildings like this, requiring high technical skills, were probably rarely found in private temples.

Apart from containing a Buddha hall or a tower, a *lanruo* could also contain a pagoda. We have, for example, the one described in S. 3929, which is a *gongde* 功德 text for the commemoration of the founding of a *lanruo* by Dong Baode 董保德. The *lanruo* is said to be located within the secondary city wall of Shazhou (Dunhuang), next to Dong's house at the east entrance of a western running street coming off of a northern main road. The site is described as one of great natural beauty, four walls being decorated with magnificent paintings and images of the Buddha. The hall had four ridges, each tied to an iron chain on which were hung bells. It was compared to the palace of Maitreya and stupa of King Aśoka 阿育王塔. The description is rather ambiguous: I think the building is more likely a pagoda than a Buddha hall, evidenced in particular by the iron chains with bells. It might have been a building with a centralized roof, such as the Five Dynasties structure depicted in the Illustration of Wutaishan in Dunhuang Cave 61 (figure 10), as situated between Da Fahua zhi si 大法華之寺 and Da Foguang zhi si 大佛光之寺. A similar building can be seen in Horyūji 法隆寺, Japan, the eighth-century octagonal Yumedono 夢殿 in the East Precinct (figure 11).

The construction of a *Fotang* gate-tower is mentioned in the manuscript P. 2857. The tower is said to be well decorated, the wall was painted white and the balustrade red. There were also four corridors on which were painted the various sages or disciples of the Buddha. It is beyond doubt that private temple of the tenth century is arranged in a courtyard form, with a building (maybe a Buddha hall, a tower, or a

pagoda) surrounded by a corridor. This is substantiated by paintings of small temples in the Dunhuang cave murals. A graphic portrayal is the illustration of Wutaishan in Dunhuang Cave 61. The painting depicts a few *lanruo*, such as Daoyi Lanruo 道義蘭若, which has a perimeter corridor with a gate-tower enclosing a courtyard with no building.⁵⁶ However, the other *lanruo* in the illustration are all depicted as single buildings, with no encircling corridor, such as Baoshu Lanruo 寶樹蘭若 (figures 12 and 13).⁵⁷

CONCLUSION

This article has helped us appreciate the magnitude of Chinese Buddhist establishments in roughly the Sui-Tang period, in terms of both sheer numbers and sizes. We have also seen who the patron groups were and their motives for sponsoring Buddhist monasteries, specific buildings, or private temples. What did they have to pay for carrying out pious acts? The cost for sponsoring a temple could vary from millions to tens of thousand in cash. In a petition submitted by Wei Yuli 韋闥立 during Zhongzong's reign, he said: "I see many people racing to sponsor the building of Buddhist and Daoist temples. The number is constantly increasing. Everyone was determined to build larger and larger temples, and decorated them more and more lavishly. More than one million in cash was needed [for building] a large monastery and thirty to fifty thousand were needed for a small monastery."⁵⁸ Most of the money must have come from aristocrats, rich merchants, and monks. A renowned Sui-era Buddhist master, Jizang 吉藏, is said to have attracted many followers whenever he preached the dharma. Many wealthy people and aristocrats donated gold, silver, and precious stones to the master, which he used for merit accumulation. When he heard of the lack of funds for the erection of a Buddhist statue in the

⁵⁶ Probably named after the monk who saw an apparition of a golden pavilion in 736 and later founded the Jin'gesi 金閣寺, which still stands. See *Guang qingliangzhuang* 廣清涼傳 (Tno. 2099, vol. 51), pp. 1113B-14A; *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987) 21, p. 538; and *Daizong chao zeng Shikong dabianzheng guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozi ji* 代宗朝贈司空大辯正廣智三藏和上表制集 (Tno. 2120, vol. 52), p. 834A.

⁵⁷ For the illustration of Baoshu Lanruo, see *Dunhuang shiku yishu, Mogaoku di liu shi yi ku* 敦煌石窟藝術莫高窟第六十一窟 (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 1995), p. 79. There are names of at least 13 *lanruo* found on the painting. Some are named after the location, such as the Sanquan 三泉 (Three Springs) Lanruo, and the Mingyuechi 明月池 (Bright Moon Pool) Lanruo. Others are named after local myths, such as Bailong (White Dragon) Lanruo 白龍蘭若, or after Buddhist practices, the Prajña Lanruo 般若蘭若.

⁵⁸ The petition is quoted in He Ziquan 何茲全, *Wushi nian lai Han-Tang Fojiao siyuan jingji yanjiu* 五十年來漢唐佛教寺院經濟研究 (Beijing: Beijing shifang daxue chubanshe, 1986), p. 44.

Qujiang 曲江 area of Chang'an, he went to the site and vowed to complete the statue. On hearing this, devotees donated money, and within ten days enough was collected.⁵⁹ Another instance of sponsorship concerns Zishengsi 資聖寺 in Chang'an, a site that was burnt to the ground sometime after 673. It is said that several volumes of the Tripitaka were found in the ashes unscathed, and people were truly amazed. In a few days, several tens of thousands of cash were donated for the rebuilding of the monastery.⁶⁰ In the ninth century, the embellishment of Anguosi 安國寺 in Chang'an was carried out by master Dada 大達 with tens of millions of cash donated by devotees.⁶¹

What drove the desire to donate so much cash to build Buddhist temples?⁶² There are scriptural passages that encourage devotees to build temples, buildings, and pagodas for housing monks. In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra* 妙法蓮華經, first translated into Chinese in 286 by Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 (active 265–300), 406 by Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什, and 601 by Dharmagupta 達摩笈多, it is suggested that to receive immeasurable merit (*gongde*), one has to build pagodas and temples, monks' quarters and read the sutras.⁶³ Another sutra, *Mahāsamnipāta sūtra* 大方等大集經, translated into Chinese by the later Dharmarakṣa 曇無讖 (385–433), contains promises about how donors of pagoda, monastery and *arāṇya* would be protected from all sorts of peril in this life and would receive good karma for future life.⁶⁴

It is clear from the above that the prime motive in these acts of generosity was to accrue merit, or the cultivation of the merit field, *fu-tian*. As a concept, *fu-tian* was introduced in the fourth century in such sutras as *Da fangbian Fo baoen jing* 大方便佛報恩經.⁶⁵ In the Tang, the use of the term *fu-tian* gained popularity. Daoshi quoted from *Fajuyujing* 法句喻經 (*Dharmapadā-vadāna sūtra*) to say:

There are four ways to give. ... First is to give more and receive less *fubao* 福報 (repayment blessing), second to give less and receive more, third to give less and receive less, and fourth to give more and receive more. ... If there are wise people who realize the intransigence of life, donate money from the heart, founding temples, pagodas and pure abodes to offer to three Buddhas, ...

⁵⁹ See *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 (Tno. 2036, vol. 49), p. 514A.

⁶⁰ Cited in Ono, *Zui Tō Chōan jīn*, p. 67.

⁶¹ See *Jinshi cuibian* 金石萃編 113, pp. 14–15. Many stone images were recently excavated from the site of the monastery testifying to the once opulent of the monastic ambience of Anguosi. See Ono, *Zui Tō Chōan jīn*, figs. 14–17.

⁶² For a detailed account of the pattern of patronage, see Zhang, *Han Tang Fosi*, pp. 207–20.

⁶³ Tno. 262, vol. 9, p. 45B–C.

⁶⁴ Tno. 397, vol. 13, p. 374B–C.

⁶⁵ Tno. 156, vol. 3.

such blessings will be like water flowing into the sea, the flowing of blessings will never end generation after generation.⁶⁶

In *Fayuan zhulin* he recounts many instances where the act of repairing or cleaning monasteries and pagodas by the deceased's relatives would accumulate merit so that the deceased would be transported to heaven.⁶⁷ Daoshi went further by suggesting that there are three types of merit fields, the field of *bao'en* (requiting of blessings received), the field of *gongde* (merit), and the field of *pinqiong* 貧窮 (poverty).⁶⁸ The best way to accumulate merit was to sponsor the building of temples and monks' quarters.⁶⁹

The general idea of accumulation of merit and *futian* can also be seen expounded in a short sutra, *Zhude futian jing* 諸德福田經. This work, translated into Chinese during the Western Jin (265–316), summarizes the seven meritorious acts that would lead to enormous benefit for the devotees. One of the seven acts is the erection of stupas (pagodas), *samghārāmas* (temples), halls, or pavilions. For the donors, it is said that they would be reborn into the heaven of Brahmaloaka 梵天 or enjoy the life of a *devarāja* 天王.⁷⁰ Clearly this view contributed to the proliferation of temple sponsorship. Without doubt, the cultivation of a merit field was a key motive behind most temple sponsorship, whether for large or small buildings. As we have seen, the basic spatial conception of these Buddhist compounds remained much the same in the Tang, that is in the cloister form. This form could be conveniently divided up for different levels of patronage, either sponsoring a painting on the wall, a building in the cloister, an entire cloister, or the whole monastery consisting of many cloisters. In such an act, the merit accrued by rich patrons and less well-off patrons would probably be the same. Whether attempting to understand differences between large state-sanctioned monasteries and small local ones, or attempting to analyze structures within a given monastery, attention to patronage is essential. And at the heart of Buddhist patronage is the belief in merit. Hope for the future was built upon the buildings situated on earth.

⁶⁶ *Fayuan zhulin*, p. 885A.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 584A.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 437A.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 437B.

⁷⁰ *T* no. 683, vol. 16, pp. 777B, 801B.



Figure 1. Pagoda of Ciesi

First erected by monk Xuanzang and sponsored by the emperor. The current building was rebuilt in 701-04 with a major repair carried out in 930; the brick facade was added in the Wanli reign-period (1573-1620). (Source: Puay-peng Ho.)

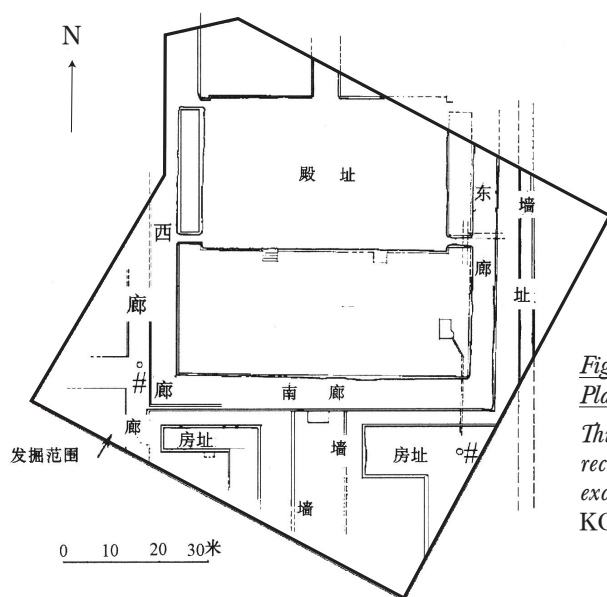


Figure 2. Reconstructed Plan of Ximingsi

This is the southeast corner; reconstruction based on the excavated foundation. (Source: KG [1990.1], p. 47.)

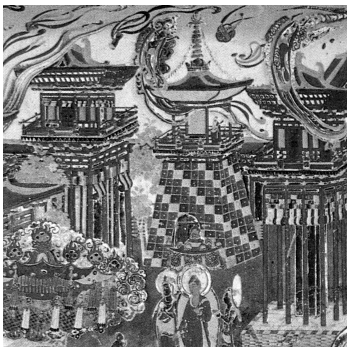


*Figure 3. Pagoda of
Dayunsi in Linfen*

*Rebuilt in 1718 based on a
Tang-era prototype. (Source:
Puay-peng Ho.)*

*Figure 4. Bell
Tower of Kaiyuansi*

*Probably dated to the
tenth century. (Source:
Puay-peng Ho.)*



*Figure 5. Bell Tower in the Illustration of
Amitāyurdhyana sūtra*

*West wall, Cave 431, Dunhuang Mogao grot-
toes. (Source: Dunhuang Mogaoku 敦煌莫
高窟 [Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1987] 3, plate
103.)*



*Figure 6. Pagoda of the
Kofukuji, Takayama*
(Source: Puay-peng Ho.)

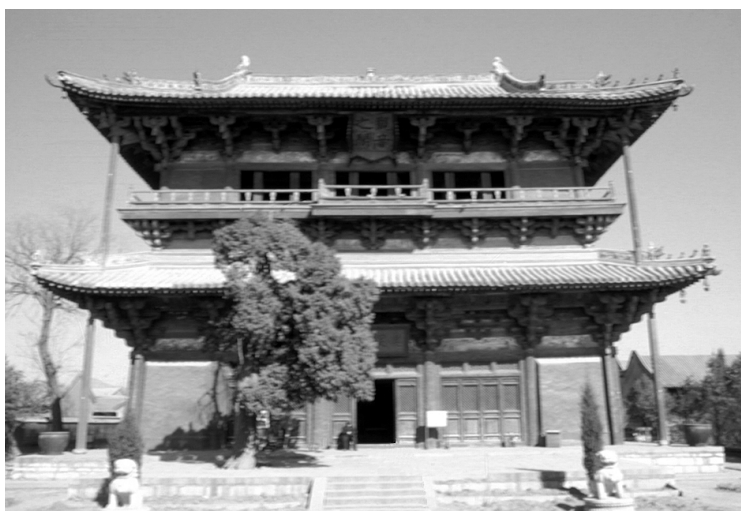


Figure 7. Avalokiteṣvara Pavilion in Dulesi, Jixian
Dated 984. (Source: Puay-peng Ho.)



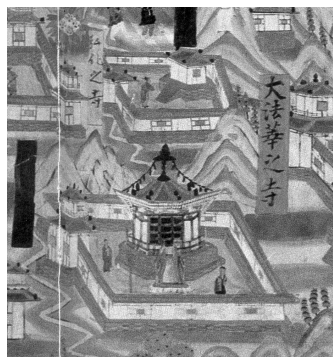
*Figure 8. Maitreya Pavilion in Longxingsi, Zhengding
Dated to 12th c. (Source: Puay-peng Ho.)*



At left:
*Figure 9. Sutra Depository in Longxingsi,
Zhengding
Dated to 12th c. (Source: Puay-peng Ho.)*

Figure 10. Dafahua zhisi

As seen in the illustration of Mount Wutai on the west wall of Cave 61, Dunhuang Mogao grottoes; dated 944-74. (Source: Mogaoku di 61 ku 莫高窟第六十一窟 [Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe 1995], p. 103.)





*Figure 11. Yumedono of Horyuji, Nara
Dated to 739. (Source: Puay-peng Ho.)*

*Figure 12. Daoyi lanruo
Seen in the illustration
of Mount Wutai on
the west wall of Cave
61, Dunhuang Mogao
grottoes; dated 944-74.
(Source: Mogaoku di
61 ku, p. 73.)*



*Figure 13. Baoshu lanruo
As seen in the illustration
of Mount Wutai on the west
wall of Cave 61, Dunhuang
Mogao grottoes; dated
944-74.
(Source: Mogaoku di 61 ku,
p. 91.)*

