

From Gandhāra to Yungang: Design of a Free-Standing Buddhist Monastery

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The cave-temple complex at Yungang [云冈石窟] is located about 15 km to the west of Pingcheng [平城, present-day Datong], capital of the Northern Wei dynasty [北魏, 386-534 CE]. The caves were carved out of the cliff of the Wuzhou Hill [武州山], at the northern bank of the Wuzhou River [武州川], which stand side by side for a distance of about 1 km from east to west and comprise twenty large, twenty-five medium, and numerous small caves and countless niches. The cave-temples were initially commissioned to be carved out by the ruling family of the Northern Wei and were designated as the Cave-temple Complex at Wuzhou Hill [武州山石窟寺]¹, showing the splendid workmanship of the dynasty and becoming a model for the rock-cut temples in the whole territory controlled by the Northern Wei.²

¹ Chen Yuan [陈垣], "Ji datong wuzhoushan shikusi [记大同武州山石窟寺, Notes on the Cave-temple Complex at Wuzhou Hill]", in: *Chenyuan xueshu lunwenji* [陈垣学术论文集, A Collection of Essays by Professor Chen Yuan], vol. I, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1980: 398-409.

For the Chinese literature or documents, in addition, I will first write down its name in pinyin system, then put the Chinese characters and its English translation in bracket. Whenever the literature or document is again cited or quoted afterwards, I just use the pinyin system first and then put the English translation in bracket.

² Su Bai [宿白], "Pingcheng shili de jiju he yungang moshi de xingcheng yu fazhan [平城实力的集聚和云冈模式的形成与发展, Gathering of Manpower and Material Resources in Pingcheng and the Creation as well as Development of the

Between the years 1938 and 1940, archaeological excavations on the remains of structural antechambers attached to Cave Nos. 8-10 and 16-20 were carried out by Japanese scholars, Seiichi Mizuno [水野清一], Katsutoshi Ono [小野胜年] and Takeo Hibino [日比野丈夫]. Since there have long been a question as to whether a free-standing temple once stood on the crest of the Wuzhou Hill where the cave-temples were carved out, some trial trenches were made on the eastern and western parts atop the hill in 1940 under direction of Mr. K. Ono and Mr. T. Hibino. The archaeological work on the western part started on October 30th and finished on November 14th, with the trench made approximately in an "H" shape. Unfortunately, the excavations were not able to reveal a clear plan of the buildings. It is certain, however, that the free-standing temples did stand on the crest of the Wuzhou Hill during the Northern Wei dynasty. Recovery of some building materials, such as round eaves tiles with a lotus-flower design or with the Chinese characters *chuan zuo wu qiong* [传祚无穷, the imperial throne continuing for ever] and flat eaves tiles with green-glaze or with a meander design on the edge, are very significant.³

"Yungang Style]", in: *Zhongguo shikusi yanjiu* [中国石窟寺研究, *Studies of the Cave-temples of China*], Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 1996: 114-144.

³ S. Mizuno, "Report on the Yunkang Excavation I & II [云冈发掘记 1&2]", in: S. Mizuno & T. Nagahiro [長廣敏雄], *Yun-kang: The Buddhist Cave-temples of the Fifth Century AD in North*

In coordination with work of the seepage-proof atop the Yungang cave-temples, Shanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology [山西省考古研究所] along with Yungang Institute [云冈研究院] and Datong Municipal Institute of Archaeology [大同市考古研究所], under direction of Mr. Zhang Qingjie [张庆捷], carried out a joint excavation at the crest of the Wuzhou Hill in 2010, above cave 39, which covers an area of 3,600 square meters and has revealed four main cultures lying in stratified sequence, i.e. cultural layers of the modern times, the Ming [明代, 1368-1644 CE] and Qing [清代, 1616-1911 CE] dynasties, the Liao [辽代, 907-1125 CE] and Jin [金代, 1115-1234 CE] dynasties, as well as the Northern Wei. As a result, they brought to light a site of a free-standing Buddhist temple from the cultural layer of the Northern Wei, with a stūpa in the centre and a range of monks' cells along the north, south and east flanks (figs. 1a-c).

The stūpa which stands in the midst of an oblong court was surrounded by an open cloister, forming a square, behind which were cells of the monks. To be precise, on the three sides of the stūpa there was a row of rooms for the officiating monks respectively, with a cloister, for bhikṣus' walking around, in front of each row. The basement of the stūpa is a square, 14 meters from south to north and 14.3 meters from east to west, with a height ranging from 0.35 meter to 0.7 meter. To the south

there is a slope, 2.1 meters width and 5 meters length, which was a flight of steps leading to the top of the basement. No śarīra casket or buried antiquities has been found on the top or even in the centre of the basement (fig. 2).

The cells along the north flank, which is 61.5 meter long from east to west, number to 15. Among them, thirteen cells were originally built in the Northern Wei and two were rebuilt in the Liao or Jin dynasties, the latter are overlapped the cells of the Northern Wei. Some of the cells built in the Northern Wei have a small room opening off another or inner room, of which, the largest one is 7.4 meters long and 3.4 meters broad. The earthen walls of the cells were originally rammed, with their thickness ranging from 0.65 meter to 0.85 meter. Some of the cells have remains of *kang* [炕]⁴, stove [灶坑] as well as flue. There are 11 stone plinths in front of the cells, which show a cloister or verandah used to be attached to the flank (fig. 3). The cells along the west flank survive two, 13.5 meters long and 5.9 meters wide; and a stone plinth was unearthed in front of the cells, which indicates they have the same layout as the cells along the north flank. The cells along the east flank survive three, about 18 meters long and 4.4 meters wide. The superstructure of the central stūpa and that of the cells along the three flanks perished long ago, their original form cannot be imagined.

A great amount of the building materials was found and collected at the site. Of which, the round eaves tiles with lotus-flower design or with the Chinese characters *chuan zuo wu*

China; detailed report of the archaeological survey carried out by the mission of the Tōhōbunka Kenkyūsho 1938-45 [雲岡石窟：西曆五世紀における中國北部佛教窟院の考古學的調査報告；東方文化研究所調査，昭和十三年--昭和二十年]，Kyoto: Jimbunkagaku Kenkyūshō, Kyoto University [京都大學人文科學研究所]，vol. vii (1952): 57-68, 123-129, figs. 29-56; vol. xv (1955): 91-99, 185-190, figs. 50-53, 56-107.

⁴ *Kang* is an adobe or brick platform built across one side or end of a room in a house in northern China, which is warmed by a fire beneath and used for sleeping.

qiong (the imperial throne continuing for ever) and the flat eaves tiles with green-glaze⁵ are significant. Some broken pieces of the stone image of the Buddha as well as donor figures were unearthed, and a pottery shard inscribed with Chinese characters *xi ku* [西窟, western cave] also came to light⁶ (fig. 4).

According to a copy of *Dajin xijing wuzhoushan chongxiu dashikusi bei* [大金西京武州山重修大石窟寺碑, A Tablet of the Restoration of the Great Cave-temple Complex at the Wuzhou Hill near the Western Capital of the Jin Dynasty, hereafter abbreviated to the *Jin Tablet*] by Cao Yan [曹衍] in 1147 CE, the Great Cave-temple Complex at the Wuzhou Hill comprises ten temples, among which, the Tongle Temple [通乐寺] was commissioned to be built initially by Emperor Mingyuan [明元帝, 409-423 CE], the Lingyan Temple [灵岩寺] was set up in succession by Emperor Wencheng [文成帝, 452-465 CE], and the Huguo Temple [护国寺] as well as the

Tiangong Temple [天宫寺] were originally established by Emperor Xiaowen [孝文帝, 471-499 CE]. The Chongfu Temple [崇福寺], moreover, was accomplished by Qian'er Qingshi [钊尔庆时/王遇], a famous eunuch of the Northern Wei dynasty. The free-standing temple at the crest of the Wuzhou Hill, which consists of several cells and was an important component part of the Great Cave-temple Complex at Wuzhou, on the basis of *Gaoseng zhuan* [高僧传, *Biographies of Eminent Priests*]⁷, might be the place where Sindhu [天竺, India] bhikṣus translated the Buddhist scriptures during the reign of Emperor Xiaowen (fig. 5).⁸ The free-standing temple unearthed on the hilltop in 2010, above cave 39, should be the free-standing temple consisting of several cells at the crest of the Wuzhou Hill recorded in the *Jin Tablet*, which was the place where the Indian bhikṣus translated the Buddhist scriptures at the Wuzhou Cave-temple Complex during the Northern Wei.⁹ This ruined temple, however, represents

⁵ Glazed tiles were rare architectural material for the timber structure in early medieval China. According to documentations, the glazed tiles were used at the latest in the construction of the Palace of the Great Ultimate [太极殿] by Emperor Jingmu [穆帝] of the Northern Wei dynasty. The eaves tiles with green-glaze unearthed from the ruined temple atop the rock-cut caves at Yungang indicate the Great Cave-temple Complex at Wuzhou Hill was given a high position at that time. See *Taiping yulan* [太平御览, *The Taiping Reign-Period Imperial Encyclopedia*], photo-off set copy of the Song edition, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1960: 932.

⁶ State Administration of Cultural Heritage ed. [国家文物局主编], *Major Archaeological Discoveries in China in 2010* [2010 中国重要考古发现], Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 2011: 127-30.

⁷ *Gaoseng zhuan* [高僧传, *Biographies of Eminent Priests*] was compiled by Huijiao [慧皎, c 495-554 CE] in 519 CE. Title of the book can be also translated as *The Liang Dynasty Biographies of Eminent Priests*, or *Biographies of Eminent Monks*, or *Memoirs of Eminent Monks*. See: Huijiao, *Gaoseng zhuan* (*Biographies of Eminent Priests*), collated and annotated by Tang Yongtong [汤用彤], Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1995.

⁸ Su Bai, "Dajin xijing wuzhoushan chongxiu dashikusi bei jiaozhu [《大金西京武州山重修大石窟寺碑》校注, Annotation and Textual Research on a Copy of the 'Tablet of the Restoration of the Great Cave-temple Complex at the Wuzhou Hill near the Western Capital of the Jin Dynasty']", in: *Zhongguo shikusi yanjiu* (*Studies of the Cave-temples of China*), Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 1996:52-75, esp. 54, 65.

⁹ In an archaeological excavation carried out in

the earliest site of the Buddhist monastery ever found in central China so far.

The system or rule of the Chinese monastery originated from India, with a stūpa as the centre of a monastic complex. Layout of the free-standing temple at the crest of the Wuzhou Hill, however, coincides with a historical reference that the stūpa was the pivot of attraction; a stūpa generally implied a temple or monastery in China during a period of the Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties [魏晋南北朝, 221-589 CE]. So, Ge Hong [葛洪, c.284-364 or 343 CE] explained clearly in his *Zi Yuan* [字苑, *Chinese Character Dictionary*] “the stūpa is a Buddha-hall”.¹⁰ Reference or idea that to build a stūpa is to set up a temple can be found in a large amount of the Chinese Buddhist texts.¹¹

2011 by Shanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology on the eastern part of the crest of the Wuzhou Hill, above cave 3, a basement or foundation of a stūpa was unearthed, but none of the monks' cell came to light.

¹⁰*Zi Yuan (Character Dictionary)* was lost long ago, but explanation of the stūpa was quoted in *Yiqiejing yinyi* [一切经音义, *Pronunciation and Meaning in the Buddhist Scriptures*] compiled by Xuanying [玄应] around the middle of the 7th century CE. See Xuanying, *Yiqiejing yinyi (Pronunciation and Meaning in the Buddhist Scriptures)*, collated by Sun Xingyan [孙星衍] et al, Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1936: 264.

¹¹ Su Bai [宿白], “Donghan wei jin nanbeichao fosi buju chutan [东汉魏晋南北朝佛寺布局初探, A Preliminary Study on the Layout of the Buddhist Monasteries from the Later Han down to the Southern and Northern Dynasties (1st to 6th centuries CE)]”, in: *Wei jin nanbeichao tang song kaogu wengao jicong* [魏晋南北朝唐宋考古文稿辑丛, *Collected Papers on the Chinese Archaeology from the Wei down to the Song Dynasties (3rd to 13th centuries CE)*], Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 2011: 230-247.

According to *Weishu: Shilaozhi* [魏书·释老志, *A History of the Wei Dynasty: Treatise on Buddhism and Taoism*] by Wei Shou [魏收, 506-572 CE] in 554 CE, “in the first year of the Yuanshou period [元寿] (2 B.C.E.) of Emperor Ai [哀帝] of the Han dynasty [汉, 206 BCE-24 CE], a scholar named Qin Jingxian [秦景宪] received oral instruction on the Buddhist scriptures from Yichun [伊存], envoy of King of the Darouzi [大月支, Indo Scythae], but while China had heard of the scriptures, they were not yet believed in. Later, Emperor Ming [明帝, 57-75 CE] of the Later Han dynasty [后汉, 25-220 CE] dreamed one night of a golden man, sunlight issuing from the nape of his neck, levitating and flying about the palace courtyard. There upon the Emperor made inquiry of the assembled ministers. Fu Yi [傅毅] was the first to answer that it was the Buddha. The Emperor then dispatched Cai Yin [蔡愔] and Qin Jing [秦景] with a party on a mission to Sindhu to seek out or to copy the cannons left behind by the Buddha. Cai Yin then returned east to Luoyang [洛阳], capital of then China, with the monks Kāśyapa Mātanga [摄摩腾] and Zhu Falan [竺法兰]. The existence in China of Buddhist monks and the kneeling ceremony dates from this. Cai Yin also obtained a Buddhist scripture in forty-two chapters and a standing image of Śākyamuni. Emperor Ming commanded artists to figure Buddhist images and install them on the Qingliang Platform [清凉台] and atop the Xianjie Mausoleum [显节陵]. The scripture was sealed away in the stone chamber of the Lantai [兰台石室]. Because Cai Yin loaded the scripture on a white horse on his return journey and so reached China, a monastery named Baima [白马寺]¹² was built west of the

¹² The White Horse Monastery at this time was one of the more influential monasteries in Luoyang,

Yong Gate [雍门] of the walled city of Luoyang...After the White Horse Monastery had been built in capital Luoyang, the stūpas were highly adorned and paintings were fine and very lovely, which became the model for all corners of the Empire. The general rule that governed the construction of the monastery and stūpa at that time still based on the old Sindhu form or prototype, with stūpas built from one to three, five, seven or nine stories”.¹³

Within the territory of ancient Sindhu¹⁴, according to Édouard Chavannes, there were two regions that can be considered as sacred centre for Buddhism in a broad sense: the reaches of the Indus River and that of the Gaṅgā River. Buddhist monks and laymen from China in most cases first visited the Indus, closest to the Silk Road, and then the Gaṅgā. Till the Tang dynasty (618–907 CE) the most direct route to central India via Nepal was not well known. Before Tang times, among all the communication routes between ancient China and Sindhu, the most frequently taken one was

but it is difficult to determine an exact date of its construction.

¹³ Wei Shou, *Weishu: Shilaozhi (A History of the Wei Dynasty: Treatise on Buddhism and Taoism)*, punctuated edition, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1974: 3025-3062, esp. 3025-26, 3029. See: 1) James R. Ware, “Wei Shou on Buddhism”, in: *T'oung Pao* 30 (1930): 100-181, esp. 110-12, 122; 2) Leon Hurvitz, tr., *Treatise on Buddhism and Taoism* by Wei Shou, in: S. Mizuno & T. Nagahiro, *opere citato*, vol. xvi supplement (1956): 23-103, esp. 28-29, 47.

¹⁴ With regard to ancient Chinese names of India, see P.C. Bagchi “Ancient Chinese Names of India”, in: *India and China: Interactions through Buddhism and Diplomacy; A Collection of Essays by Professor Prabodh Chandra Bagchi*, compiled by Bangwei Wang and Tansen Sen, Delhi: Anthem Press India, 2011: 3-11.

the “Jibin route [罽宾道]”, because that was the only link from the Pamirs to Kāśmīra [迦湿弥罗, present-day Kashmir] and Uḍḍiyāna [乌菟, present-day Swāt]. Some Buddhist monks and pilgrims like Song Yun [宋云] and Huisheng [惠生] never went to central India but stopped at Puruṣapura [弗楼沙, modern Peshawar] or Takṣaśila [呾叉始罗, modern Taxila]. That is why the region of Gandhāra is considered as playing a vital role in early dissemination of Buddhism in China.¹⁵

Meaning of the Chinese characters *Jibin* [罽宾]¹⁶, a geographical term, varies with

¹⁵ Édouard Chavannes, “Voyage de Song Yun dans l'Udyana et le Gandhāra (518–22)”, in: *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, III (1903): 379–441.

¹⁶ According to Xuanzang [玄奘, ca. 602-664 CE], Jiashimiluo [迦湿弥罗, Kāśmīra] was “formerly written Ki-pin (Jibin) by mistake”, in other words, Jibin “was an old and incorrect name for the country”. We are told also by Daoxuan [道宣, 595-667 CE] that “Jiashimiluo (Kāśmīra) was called Jibin by Chinese, a popular name handed down from ancient times, we do not know the origin of Jibin”. Seishi Karashima [辛岛静志] infers Jibin was probably a transliteration of Prākṛit term Kaśpīr and Kāśmīra was a corresponding Sanskrit term or homologue of the Prākṛit Kaśpīr. According to Charles Willemen, however, Jibin “is not necessarily a phonetic rendering, but it may indicate the region of foreigners, guests [bin, 宾], who use ji [罽, a kind of cloth, very appreciated by the Han. Udyāna, the Gilgit area, may have been the original area, but it gradually developed to encompass the whole northwestern area, certainly in the 4th century”. See 1) Xuanzang, *Datang xiyu ji* [大唐西域记, *Record of the Western Regions of the Great Tang Dynasty*], collated and annotated by Ji Xianlin [季羨林] et al, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1985: 320; 2) Samuel Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki—Buddhist Records of the Western World; Chinese Accounts of India*, translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang, London: Trubner, 1884:

different contexts while discussing history of the Central Asia. Although it generally covers an area of present-day Kashmir, it did implicate or comprise Uḍḍiyāna, Takṣaśilā, Gandhāra [乾陀罗] and Kāpiśa [迦毕试] at least from the 4th to early 6th centuries CE.¹⁷

Jibin region, for a period of time, “was north western India, of which Kaśmīra was an important part, but not the only part”.¹⁸ Jibin in ancient Chinese literature basically corresponds to the Greater Gandhāra¹⁹ or Gandhāran cultural area.²⁰ Two modern terms used recently in the academic circle.

188, note 86; 3) Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1904-05, rep., New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1996: 259; 4) Daoxuan, *Xū gaoseng zhuan* [续高僧传], *Continued Biographies of Eminent Priests*, or *The Tang Dynasty Biographies of Eminent Priests*, or *A Continuation of the Memoirs of Eminent Monks*, in: *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* [大正新脩大藏經, *Taishō Tripitaka*], 100 vols., ed. by Junjirō Takakusu [高楠順次朗] and Kaigyoku Watanabe [渡邊海旭], Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924-1934 (hereafter abbreviated to *Taishō*), 50: 449a; 5) P. C. Bagchi “Ki-pin and Kashmir”, in: *India and China: Interactions through Buddhism and Diplomacy: A Collection of Essays by Professor Prabodh Chandra Bagchi*, compiled by Bangwei Wang and Tansen Sen, Delhi: Anthem Press India, 2011: 145-154; 6) Seishi Karashima, “Hanyi fodian de yuyan yanjiu [汉译佛典的语言研究, On the Linguistic Form of the Chinese Translated Versions of the Tripitaka]”, in: *Fojiao hanyu yanjiu* [佛教汉语研究, *Studies of the Buddhist-Chinese*], ed. by Zhu Qingzhi [朱庆之], Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2009: 33-74, esp. 56-57; 7) Charles Willemen, “Sarvāstivāda Developments in Northwestern India and in China”, in: *The Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, (New Series in continuation of the *Indian Journal of Buddhist Studies*, vol. X, Varanasi: B. J. K. Institute of Buddhist and Asian Studies) No. 2 (2001): 163-169.

¹⁷ 1) S. Lèvi, É. Chavannes, “L'itinéraire d'Ou-k'oung”, in: *Journal Asiatique*, Octobre(1895): 371-84; 2) Edouard Chavannes, *Documents sur Les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux: Recueillis et commentés*, St-Petersbourg: Académie Impériale des Sciences de St-Petersbourg, 1903: 130-132; 3) Kurakichi Shiratori [白鳥庫吉], “Keihinkoku [罽賓國考, On the Jibin Kingdom]”, in: *Seiki shi kenkyū* [西

域史研究, *Collected Papers On the History of the Western Regions*], vol. 1, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1944: 377-462, esp. 460-462; 4) Cen Zongmian [岑仲勉], *Hanshu xiyuzhuan dili jiaoshi* [汉书西域传地理校释, *Collation and Annotation to the Records of Geography of the Western Regions in the History of the Han Dynasty*], Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1981: 150~164; 5) Li Chongfeng, “The Geography of Transmission: The ‘Jibin’ Route and Propagation of Buddhism in China”, in: *Kizil on the Silk Road: Crossroads of Commerce & Meeting of Minds*, ed. by Rajeshwari Ghose, Mumbai: Marg Publications, 2008: 24-31.

¹⁸ 1) Charles Willemen, “Sarvāstivāda Developments in Northwestern India and in China”, in: *opere citato*: 167; 2) Li Chongfeng, “The Geography of Transmission: The ‘Jibin’ Route and the Propagation of Buddhism in China”, in: *opere citato*: 24-31, esp. 25.

¹⁹ Richard Salomon, *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra: The British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999: 3.

²⁰ Charles Willemen believes that “the Gandhāran cultural area of Gandhāra and Bactria was known as Jibin 罽賓 in Chinese”, or Gandhāran cultural area was non-Kaśmīra Jibin. 1) Charles Willemen, “Kumārajīva's ‘Explanatory Discourse’ about Abhidharmic Literature”, in: *Kokusai Bukkyōgaku Daigaku-in Daigaku Kenkyū Kiyō* [國際仏教大学院大学研究紀要第12号(平成20年)/ *Journal of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies*], vol. XII (2008): 37-83 (156-110), esp. 39 (154), 69 (124); 2) Charles Willemen, *Outlining the Way to Reflect/ 思维略要法* (T. XV 617), Mumbai: Somaiya Publications Pvt. Ltd, 2012: 16.

It is well-known that the Chinese have provided an abundance of data for study of civilization of the central Asia. According to *Waiguo Shi* [外国事, *An Account of Foreign Countries*]²¹ by the monk Zhi Sengzai [支僧载], about 4th century CE, Jibin lies to the west of Śrāvastī [舍卫], King of Jibin and the people in the country all believed in the way and doctrine of Buddhism. In the winter, men and monks would drink a little fruit wine before noon, and they could not eat anything after the noon”.²² This account, however, seems to be the earliest extant Chinese record of Jibin.

From the 3rd to the 6th century CE, “Jibin abounds with saints and wise men”.²³ There

were frequent exchanges between Jibin and China during this period.²⁴ Those who came from Jibin to recite or translate Buddhist scriptures and to propagate the doctrines in China, such as Buddhahadra [佛驮跋陀/觉贤], Buddhajīva [佛大什/觉寿], Buddhayaśas [佛陀耶舍/觉明], Dharmamitra [昙摩密多/法秀], Dharmanandi [昙摩难提/法喜], Dharmapriya [昙摩婢/法爱], Dharmayaśas [昙摩耶舍/法明], Guṇavarman [求那跋摩/功德铠], Puṇyatāra [弗若多罗/功德华], Saṃghabhadra [僧伽跋澄/众现], Saṃghadeva [僧伽提婆/众天], Saṃgharakṣa [僧伽罗叉] and Vimalākṣa [卑摩罗叉/无垢眼], were clearly recorded in *Chu sanzang ji ji* (*A Collection of Records concerning the Tripiṭaka*) compiled by Sengyou, which is the oldest descriptive catalogue of the Chinese translations of the Buddhist canon in existence and contains prefaces and postscripts to the translations of the *Tripiṭaka* as well as biographies of some eminent priests or master monks.²⁵ On the

²¹ This book was lost after the 10th century CE, but some materials were quoted and preserved in some of the Chinese *leishu* [类书, a class of works combining to some extent the characteristics of encyclopedias and concordances, embracing the whole field of literature, methodically arranged according to subjects, and each heading giving extracts from other former works on the subject in question], such as *Taiping yulan* (*The Taiping Reign-Period Imperial Encyclopedia*). See: Xiang Da [向达], *Tangdai chang'an yu xiyu wenming* [唐代长安与西域文明, *The Tang Dynasty Chang'an and Civilization of the Central Asia*], Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company, 1957: 565-578, esp. 570-572.

²² Ouyang Xun [欧阳询, 557-641 CE], *Yiwen leijun* [艺文类聚, *Encyclopedia of Art and Literature in Dynastic Histories*] in 624 CE, collated and annotated by Wang Shaoying [汪绍楹], Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1965: 1294.

²³ Sengyou [僧祐, 445-518 CE], *Chu sanzang ji ji* [出三藏记集, *A Collection of Records concerning the Tripiṭaka* or *A Collection of Records of Translations of the Tripiṭaka*], collated and annotated by Su Jinren [苏晋仁] and Xiao Lianzi [萧鍊子], Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1995: 545; cf. *Taishō*, 55: 105a.

²⁴ According to *Zhongguo wenwubao* [中国文物报, *Chinese Daily for Cultural Heritage*, October 26, 2005], a tomb dated to the Northern Zhou dynasty [北周, 557-581 CE] was discovered at Nankang [南康] village in northern Xi'an. According to an epitaph unearthed from the tomb, dead person is Li Dan [李诞] who, of the Brahman race [婆罗门种], came to China from Jibin during the Zhengguang period [正光, 520-525 CE] of the Northern Wei and died at age of 59 at Wannianli [万年里] in 564 CE. He was buried in his home village and conferred posthumous honors on Hanzhou cishi [邯州刺史, Regional Inspector of Hanzhou] by the Northern Zhou. This is not only the first tomb that bears a name of Brahman but also a tomb that records a foreigner who came from Jibin and lived in China. It further indicates that Jibin and China had a close contact besides the Buddhist relationship.

²⁵ Sengyou, *Chu sanzang ji ji* (*A Collection of Records concerning the Tripiṭaka* or *A Collection of Records of Translations of the Tripiṭaka*),

other hand, those who went to Jibin from China during the 4th and 5th centuries CE, either in quest of Buddhist sūtras and images or simply on pilgrimages, include Fayong [法勇], Zhimeng [智猛] and Zhiyan [智严], among many others.²⁶ Kumārajīva [鸠摩罗什/童寿, 344-413 CE], a great translator and eminent monk, is recorded as having travelled back and forth between Jibin and Kucha [龟兹] several times. Thus, a close relationship existed between Jibin and China as far as Buddhist cultural exchange was concerned.²⁷

Jibin or the Greater Gandhāra is rich of the Buddhist sites and remains. Of the many Buddhist sites in Jibin none is better known than that of Takht-i-Bāhī and no spot has been the object of so many excavations both irregular and systematic than these isolated ruins until the last few years.

collated and annotated by Su Jinren and Xiao Lianzi, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1995; see *Taishō*, 55: 1-114.

According to Fei Zhangfang [费长房], *Chusangzang jì jì* was compiled by Sengyou in the Jianwu period [建武, 494-497 CE] of the Southern Qi dynasty [南齐, 479-502 CE]. See Fei Zhangfang, *Lidai sanbo jì* [历代三宝记, *Record of the Triratna through the Ages, or Record concerning the Triratna under Successive Dynasties*] in 597 CE, in: *Taishō*, 49: 125c.

²⁶ Fayong is said to have led a group of about 25 monks, Zhimeng led 15, and Zhiyan 4 monks from China to Jibin respectively. There are also other lists of monks in Chinese documents as well. So the number was considerable.

²⁷ 1) Li Chongfeng, "The Geography of Transmission: The 'Jibin' Route and Propagation of Buddhism in China", in: *opere citato*: 24-31; 2) Chongfeng Li, "Jibin and China as seen from Chinese Documents", in: *Archaeology of Buddhism in Asia*, ed. by B. Mani, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India (in press).

The ruins at Takht-i-Bāhī are situated on the crest and northern slope of a detached spur rising abruptly from the plain about 13 kilometers north of Mardān in the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan, i.e. in the centre of the ancient territory of Gandhāra (fig. 6). The most important portion of the ruins as a whole, which extend altogether for something like one and a half kilometer east and west along the summit, is the monastic complex situated on a ridge to the north, somewhat lower than the crest of the hill itself, and toward the eastern end of the whole site (figs. 8a, 9a, 11a). A special attention of European scholars had been centred on the remains since 1871, when F. H. Wilcher superintended excavation of the religious building here, which occupy the lower portion of the central spur. Although A. Cunningham made a detailed report of his reconnaissance on the ruins at Takht-i-Bāhī in 1875,²⁸ further excavations on the site were carried out first in January 1907 by D. B. Spooner and then by H. Hargreaves in 1911, both of them described discoveries at some length and drew detailed plans of the entire monastic complex within enclosing walls (figs. 7a, 8c, 9f)²⁹.

On the basis of the above archaeological reports as well as some Buddhist texts in Chinese, the compact remains of the whole monastic complex at Takht-i-Bāhī comprise a

²⁸ A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India: Report for the Year 1872-73* (1875)/ volume V: 23-36, pl. vi-x.

²⁹ 1) D. B. Spooner, "Excavations at Takht-i-Bāhī", in: *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report 1907-08* (1911): 132-48, pls. xl-l; 2) H. Hargreaves, "Excavations at Takht-i-Bāhī", in: *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report 1910-11* (1914): 33-39, plates xvii-xxii.

stūpa [浮图/塔], a vihāra [僧坊/僧房]³⁰, a central court [中庭] and an uposathāgāra [布萨处/说戒堂] or prāsāda [讲堂], besides some other affiliated structures such as low level chambers, a square court and a passage. The outer walls are generally very lofty, being built on the steep slopes of the spur. Thus some of them present a wall from 18.29 meters to 24.38 meters high on the outside, but not more than 6.1 meters inside. The main entrance to the monastic enclosure appears to have been on the south. From the entrance gate to the western end of the central court, one would have turned to the right and east to enter the court itself, which, as can be seen by the plans and illustrations, is a mass of little stūpas surrounded on three sides by lofty chapels, and bisected from south to north by a paved passage running between little stūpas and miniature shrines and connecting the stūpa court and the vihāra court, both of which lie at higher levels than the central court itself, the latter, the vihāra court proper, being approached by a short flight of five steps, the former by a loftier one of 15.

Ascending these 15 steps (the first flight) to the south, one enters the stūpa court [塔院] and finds oneself in front of a square platform

originally approached by a few steps now quite ruined. This is obviously the basement of the stūpa itself, but long continued and irresponsible treasure seeking has result in its complete destruction (figs. 7b, 11b). The stūpa stands in the midst of an oblong court 17.22 meters by 13.87 meters. The basement of the stūpa is a square of 6.25 meters, receding in three stages to 4.72 meters and with a total height of 2.6 meters from the ground. The top of the basement, which served as a processional path around the drum, was approached by a flight of steps, provided in the central projection of the north side, facing the entrance of the court. Round this courtyard on three sides rise a number of chapels, originally five on a side, each 2.44 meters square externally, with the side towards the court open. It is obvious from the structure of these buildings that as first planned they were separated one from another by a considerable space, 0.86 meter broad, originally open, which, at a later date, when the court became crowded with images, were utilized by building a cross wall in the middle of each opening and built up into miniature shrines like niches completely closing the court on the three sides. The only superstructure extant in the whole site is to be found in the stūpa court, with the exception of the vaulted passage underground to the west of the central court; but even here only two of the chapels retain their original roofing, while a third has the lower of its two domes and collar partly preserved. The ceilings of these chapels are spanned by corbels, while the roofs are domical, flattened at the top externally. Above each of them is a narrow collar surmounted either by a second smaller dome or by a vault, externally wagon-shaped and apsidal on plan with a trefoil opening on the façade and a

³⁰ According to *Darijing shu* or *Da piluzhena chengfo jing shu* [大日经疏/大毗卢遮那成佛经疏, *Annotations on the Mahā-vairocana-bhisaṃbodhi-vikurvītādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtreन्द्रa-vāja-nāma-dharmaparyāya* or *Annotation on Mahā-vairocana-sūtra*], which is Yixing [一行, 683-727 CE]'s record of Śubhākarasiṃha [善无畏, 637-735 C.E.]'s lectures on the very sūtra, the Chinese characters *sengfang* [僧坊] is a paraphrase of Sanskrit word vihāra, meaning a dwelling place. See *Taishō*, 39: 615c. Vihāra was also translated as *sengfang* [僧房] or *jingshe* [精舍], meaning a residence or dwelling place for bhikṣus or monks.

pinnacle in the form of a mushroom above (figs. 7c, 10).

The central court, which occupies a hollow between the stūpa court and vihāra court, is 35.36 meters long from east to west and 15.24 meters broad from south to north. The north, east and south flanks of this court have a range of narrow but high chapels, 29 together, some standing to a height of 7.62 to 9.14 meters. Each of these chapels is a separate and distinct building, entirely open towards the court. None of the roofs now remain, but there can be little doubt that these chapels were originally covered with domes like those in the stūpa court. All the chapels or most of which, judging from numerous fragments found in the ruins, must once have held a colossal statue of the Buddha in stucco. Because the central court is crowded with miniature or votive stūpas, it was called by some scholar as “a court of many stūpas” (figs. 8b, 9e). The precise use of this court has not been ascertained, but it is particularly rich in its yield of loose sculptures of both stone and stucco. Apart from shapeless fragments and those too badly damaged to justify, fragments of the stone sculpture unearthed here from 1907 to 1908 number 472 specimens and thus comprises the Peshawar Museum Nos. 679 to 1151 inclusive, besides the stucco fragments. Most of the sculptures discovered at Takht-i-Bāhī, however, were found from the central court. Of different artistic values, they generally represent the Buddha, sometimes in larger compositions depicting his life-scene (figs. 8d-f).

A second flight, directly opposite the first, against the northern wall of the central court, leads to the vihāra court [僧坊/僧院], which is

at a lower level than the stūpa court and called by most scholars as monastic quadrangle or monastery³¹ (fig. 11c). This vihāra, a compact self-sufficient unit, is the largest block of building in the whole monastic complex. The quadrangle, 18.9 meters square inside, has 15 dwelling cells with high walls, each 3.05 meters in depth, arranged on three sides; the one at the north-west corner is somewhat longer than the others, but of the same depth. In the south-east quarter of the square courtyard there is a reservoir for water [水池] which was probably filled by drainage from roofs of the cells. Near the middle of the blank wall on the eastern side there is a door leading into a room of 6.1 meters square, a kitchen [厨]. To the north this kitchen has two doors, one leading to a cell and the other to the upstairs; to the east there are also two doors, both leading to the outside, where two projecting buttresses look as if intended for the latrine [厠] of the establishment; and to the south there is a single door leading into a big room 9.75 meters by 9.14 meters, a refectory [食堂] (see fig. 6c). The roofs of all the cells and rooms, which

³¹ According to *Datang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* [大唐西域求法高僧传, *Biographies of Eminent Priests of the Great Tang Dynasty Who Sought the Law in the Western Regions*] by Yijing [义净, 635-713 CE], *Piheluo* [毗诃罗, vihāra] means a dwelling place, that it was called *si* [寺, monastery] is not correctly translated”. When A. Cunningham wrote reports on his reconnaissance to the Buddhist sites, he sometime preferred to use vihāra rather than monastery. See: 1) Yijing, *Datang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* (*Biographies of Eminent Priests of the Great Tang Dynasty Who Sought the Law in the Western Regions*), collated and annotated by Wang Bangwei [王邦维], Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1988: 115; cf *Taishō*, 51: 6a; 2) A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India: Report of a Tour in the Punjab in 1878-79* (1883)/ volume IX: 12.

were originally covered with overlapping domes, have fallen in long ago.

Immediately to the west of the vihāra court is another larger quadrangle on the north side of the site, which is a 15.24 meters square structure enclosed by walls, as high as 9.14 meters, with a single entrance opened in the south side (see fig. 11a). In terms of its function, F. H. Wilcher inferred it may have been used as a place of cremation, A. Cunningham believed “this was the place set apart for general meetings of the Fraternity”, i.e. the meeting court³², and D. B. Spooner formed conjectures upon that “M. Foucher has shown to have been originally the Hall of Conference”³³. From the Buddhist texts in Chinese, however, it may be considered as an uposathāgāra (see figs. 6c, 9a). The outer walls on the north and west of this enclosure rise from the hillside and are of height even today. Although this square structure has some small holes in the walls for oil-lamps, there are no traces of any other openings in the walls, nor of any seats or smaller buildings on the ground. It should be a place set apart for general meetings of the monks, uposathāgāra³⁴. The single opening and the high walls would secure privacy, and it seems difficult to imagine any other object for which they could have been intended.

³² A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India: Report for the Year 1872-73 (1875)*/ volume V: 23-36, esp. 32, plate VII.

³³ D. B. Spooner, “Excavations at Takht-i-Bāhī”, in: *opere citato*: 132-48, esp. 134, pl. i.

³⁴ Daoxuan, *Sifenliū shanfan buque xingshichao* [四分律删繁补阙行事钞, *The Essentials of “The Fourfold Rules of Discipline”*], fascicle 1, *Taishō*, 40: 35b.

To the south of the uposathāgāra, there are ten so-called “underground” chambers, which may be with propriety called “low-level” chambers, because their being underground was apparently accidental and they are not truly subterranean (figs. 9b-c). These chambers which were constructed later than the retaining wall of the west part of the central court are built against, but not bonded with, that wall. Their roofs consisting of corbelled arches, 4.27 meters high and covered with a thick layer of earth, are level with the said central court. A. Cunningham conjectured that these chambers were the store-rooms or granaries [库藏] of the whole monastic complex.

And, to the south of these ten “low-level” chambers are another court and a long vaulted passage descending into the valley below. Of which, there are six pairs of the colossal Buddhas’ feet in stucco, against the southern wall of this court, thus it was called “court of colossi”; beneath the court is the vaulted passage (fig. 9d).

The entire Buddhist remains at Takht-i-Bāhī³⁵ are really a representative or model of the free-standing monastic complex of Gandhāra. Of which, both the stūpa court and the vihāra court are the most important components.

Located in the centre of the ancient territory of

³⁵ The above description of the ruined site at Takht-i-Bāhī is based on the reports made separately by A. Cunningham, D. B. Spooner and H. Hargreaves. See 1) A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India: Report for the Year 1872-73 (1875)*/ volume V: 23-36, esp. 26-33; 2) D. B. Spooner, “Excavations at Takht-i-Bāhī”, in: *opere citato*: 132-48; 3) H. Hargreaves, “Excavations at Takht-i-Bāhī”, in: *opere citato*: 33-39.

Uḍḍiyāna, the principal nucleus of the Buddhist sacred area of Saidu Sharīf I, Swāt, comprises “the Stūpa Terrace and the Monastery Terrace”³⁶, which indicate respectively the stūpa court and vihāra court (fig. 12a). The vihāra court, which stands at a higher level to the east of the stūpa court and presents a stratigraphy and succession of floors pointing to a certain synchrony with those of the stūpa court, was founded together with the stūpa court as part of a unified scheme and connected with each other by a stairway.³⁷ According to Domenico Faccenna, who was in charge of the archaeological excavation on the Buddhist sacred area of Saidu Sharīf I, “the earliest construction stage of the sacred buildings probably dates to the 1st century CE”, “Saidu Sharif I displays a certain decline extending through the 4th century” and ends “in the 5th century”.³⁸(fig. 12b)

This kind of layout, however, not only was very prevalent in Gandhāra proper and Uḍḍiyāna, but also in Takṣaśīla, such as the monastic complex at Jauliāñ, Taxila. In other words, scheme of the free-standing monastery like this had been in vogue in Jibin/ the Greater Gandhāra from the second century C.E. onwards. According to John Marshall, the monuments at Jauliāñ (fig. 13) “comprise a

monastery (vihāra) of moderate dimensions, and by its side two stūpa courts on different levels---the upper to the south, the lower to the north---with a third and smaller court adjoining them on the west. The Main Stūpa stands in the upper court, with a number of smaller stūpas closely arrayed on its four sides and with lines of chapels for cult images ranged against the four walls of the court and facing, as usual, towards the stūpa. Other stūpas and chapels similarly disposed stand in the lower and smaller court. The monastery, which is designed on the same lines as the one at Mohrā Morādu, contains an open quadrangle surrounded by cells, besides an ordination hall (assembly hall), refectory and other chambers.”³⁹ The two stūpa courts recorded by John Marshall are, in fact, two components of a large stūpa court. A big stūpa stands in the middle of the southern part of the large stūpa court, with smaller stūpas and niches arranged around it, and the large stūpa court is surrounded by the lofty chapels. The vihāra court here, which is similar with those at both Takht-i-Bāhī and Saidu Sharīf I in ground plan, has two storeys and is provided with uposathāgāra or prāsāda, kitchen and refectory, besides the stone pavement, stairs, niches, water reservoir and cells.

Such a design of the monastic complex is completely coincided with the notes that the

³⁶ Pierfrancesco Callieri, *Saidu Sharif I (Swat, Pakistan)*, 1. *The Buddhist Sacred Area; The Monastery*, Rome: IsMEO, 1989: 3-141, esp. 4; figs. 2-3.

³⁷ Domenico Faccenna, *Saidu Sharif I (Swat, Pakistan)*, 2. *The Buddhist Sacred Area; The Stūpa Terrace*, Text, Rome: IsMEO, 1995: 143-163, esp. 145, figs. 22-23.

³⁸ 1) Francesco Noci et al, *Saidu Sharif I (Swat, Pakistan)*, 3. *The Graveyard*, Rome: IsIAO, 1997: 107-111, esp. 111; 2) Domenico Faccenna, *opere citato*: 143-163, esp. 157-159.

³⁹ 1) John Marshall, *Excavations at Taxila: The Stūpas and Monastery at Jauliāñ; Memoir No. 7 of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Calcutta: Archaeological Survey of India, 1921: 3-19, esp. 3; 2) John Marshall, *Taxila: An illustrated account of archaeological excavations carried out at Taxila under the orders of the Government of India between the years 1913 and 1934*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1951, volume I: 368-87.

Chinese pilgrims took of the saṃghārāma or monastery of the Greater Gandhāra while they made their pilgrimage to some Buddhist centres there. According to records by Song Yun and Huisheng, who visited this region early in 520 CE, “to the north of the [capital] city [of Uḍḍiyāna] is the Tuoluo Monastery [陀罗寺], which has the largest number of the Buddhist relics. The *futu* [浮图, stūpa] is high and large, and *sengfang* [僧房, vihāra] is crowded off to the side. It has six thousand (or sixty) golden statues arranged around”.⁴⁰ This indicates clearly that the stūpa was the centre of a saṃghārāma, the vihāra was absolutely necessary or indispensable to a saṃghārāma, and the image-niches were a place set apart for making an obeisance and doing monastic confession and repentance (vandanā and pāpa-deśanā). “Once a bhikṣu lives at Aranya alone for 15 days, he should sprinkle water and sweep the courtyards of *ta* [塔, stūpa], *si* [寺, vihāra], *busachu* [布萨处, uposathāgāra] and *zhongting* [中庭, prāsādāṅgana/ central court], then lay and spread seats (niṣidana) one after

another”.⁴¹ Thus, the stūpa, vihāra, central court as well as uposathāgāra or prāsāda are a basic set or components of a large saṃghārāma of India.

On the basis of *Fayuan zhulin* [法苑珠林, *Forest of Gems in the Garden of the Law*] by Daoshi [道世?-668 CE], “when a Buddhist monastery begins to be designed, *foyuan* [佛院, the Buddha’s court] and *sengyuan* [僧院, vihāra court] have to be built separately; each has its own courtyard. If it is a large monastery, a separate *fota* [佛塔, stūpa] court should be added”.⁴² In the light of *Foshuo zhude futian jing* [佛说诸德福田经, *Sūtra on the Field of Blessedness of all Virtues*], “the first of the seven fields of blessedness is to construct *fotu* [佛图, stūpa], *sengfang* [僧房, vihāra] and *tangge* [堂阁, prāsāda]”.⁴³ *Pusa benxing jing* [菩萨本行经, *Sūtra on Bodhisattva’s Own Deeds*] emphasizes the resultant benefits of alms-giving to a hundred Pratyeka-buddhas [辟支佛] is less than that of building *ta* [塔, stūpa] and *sengfang jing she* [僧房精舍, vihāra]”.⁴⁴ We are also told by Kikkāya [吉迦夜, or Kinkara] and Tanyao [昙曜] in the Chinese version of *Za baozang jing* [杂宝藏经, *Kṣudrakapiṭaka/ Storehouse of Various Treasures Sūtra or the Scriptural Text: Storehouse of Sundry Valuables*] as follows: “While the Buddha stayed in Rājagṛha [王舍城], Bimbisāra [频婆娑罗] constructed *futu* [浮图, stūpa] and *sengfang* [僧房, vihāra] for him. Later, a householder or elder built a *jiangtang*

⁴⁰ 1) Yang Xuanzhi [杨衒之], *Luoyang qielan ji* [洛阳伽蓝记, *A Record of Buddhist Saṃghārāmas in Luoyang*] in 547 CE, collated and annotated by Zhou Zumo [周祖谟], Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1963: 203; 2) Wang Yitong [王伊同], tr., *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luo-yang* [洛阳伽蓝记], Library of Chinese Classics: Chinese-English, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2007: 281.

Both Giuseppe Tucci and Domenico Faccenna “wish to identify the Sacred Precinct of BI (Butkara I, Swāt) with the T’o-lo sanctuary (the monastery of T’a-lo)”. See: 1) Giuseppe Tucci, “Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey in Swāt”, in: *East and West*, IX/4 (1958): 279-348, esp. 280, 288; 2) Domenico Faccenna, *Butkara I (Swāt, Pakistan) 1956-1962*, Part 1, Text, Rome: IsMEO, 1980: 171-172.

⁴¹ *Shisong lü* [十誦律, *Ten Divisions of Monastic Rules/ Sarvastivāda-vinaya*], fascicle 56; see *Taishō*, 23: 411a.

⁴² *Taishō*, 53: 751c.

⁴³ *Taishō*, 16: 777b.

⁴⁴ *Taishō*, 3: 114c.

[讲堂, *prāsāda*] at Tathāgata's *caṅkramaṇa* [如来经之处]⁴⁵, with its four gates open. The householder was reborn in the heaven after his death...the Buddha said 'the householder who was among of men built a *prāsāda* for the Buddha. Because of such a good causation, he was reborn in the heaven'".⁴⁶ "A Sindhu householder who lived in the south of *Gr̥dhra-kūṭa* [耆闍崛山] requested to build *futu* [浮图, *stūpa*] and *sengfang zhuchu* [僧房住处, *vihāra*] for the Tathāgata after he saw the *stūpa* and *vihāra* constructed by Bimbisāra. Then the householder reincarnated in the heaven after his death...the Buddha said 'the reason why the householder was reborn in the heaven is because of such a good causation'".⁴⁷

In accordance with *vinayas*, such as *Mohesengqi lü* [摩诃僧祇律, *Mahāsaṃghika-vinaya*] and *Sifeliü shanfan buque xingshi chao* (*Essentials of the Fourfold Rules of Discipline*)⁴⁸, the *stūpa* court and *vihāra* court have been held in the greatest esteem. Besides self-cultivation (*caryā*), worship and confession (*vandanā* and *pāpa-deśanā*), "bhikṣus and monks "rise at dawn and should sweep *tayuan* [塔院, *stūpa* court] and *sengfangyuan* [僧坊院, *vihāra* court]";⁴⁹ bhikṣus and monks "rise at dawn

and sweep *tayuan* [塔院, *stūpa* court] and *sengyuan* [僧院, *vihāra* court]".⁵⁰ "One should give *ta* [塔, *stūpa*] court and *sengyuan* [僧院, *vihāra* court] a thorough cleaning when the *poṣadha* [布萨] arrives".⁵¹ "If one finds something untidy and dirty in *tayuan* [塔院, *stūpa* court] and *sengyuan* [僧院, *vihāra* court], they should be swept clean."⁵² During the morning of the *poṣadha*, bhikṣus and monks are requested to whisk or wipe off *tamiao* [塔庙, *stūpa*], sprinkle water and sweep the floor of *siyuan* [寺院, *vihāra* court]".⁵³ "If it is the date of the *poṣadha*, *ta* [塔, *stūpa*] court and *sengyuan* [僧院, *vihāra* court] should be given a thorough cleaning".⁵⁴

Therefore, traditional idea that "to worship a *stūpa* is to worship the Buddha" and resultant benefits of building the *stūpa* and *vihāra* as well as *uposathāgāra* or *prāsāda*, accompanied by strict rules and disciplines, made the Buddhists have the greatest esteem for the *stūpa*, *vihāra* and *uposathāgāra* or *prāsāda*. In other words, the Buddhist texts in the Chinese version indicate clearly that a high position of the *stūpa* court and the *vihāra* court in the Sindhu monastery keep firmly in the Buddhists' minds.

In addition to the above design of the *saṃghārāma* (monastery) of the Greater Gandhāra, there are two more sites of the

⁴⁵ Tathāgata's *caṅkramaṇa* was a place that Tathāgat used to walk about when meditating to prevent sleepiness.

⁴⁶ *Taishō*, 4: 475c.

⁴⁷ *Taishō*, 4: 475c.

⁴⁸ *Sifeliü shanfan buque xingshi chao* (*Essentials of the Fourfold Rules of Discipline*) is a commentary on *Sifen lü* [四分律, *Fourfold Rules of Discipline/Dharmaguptaka-vinaya*]. It was compiled in 630 CE by Daoxuan, who was the founder of the Nanshan branch of the Precepts school in China.

⁴⁹ *Mohesengqi lü* (*Mahāsaṃghika-vinaya*), fascicle

25; see *Taishō*, 22: 429b.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, fascicle 25; see *Taishō*, 22: 433a.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, fascicle 27; see *Taishō*, 22: 450b.

⁵² *Ibidem*, fascicle 34; see *Taishō*, 22: 504c.

⁵³ Daoxuan, *Sifeliü shanfan buque xingshi chao* (*Essentials of the Fourfold Rules of Discipline*), fascicle 1; see *Taishō*, 40: 23c.

⁵⁴ Daoxuan, *opere citato*: 35a.

Buddhist monastery that deserve to be noticed. Of which, one is the structural remains of mound B at Jaṇḍiāl, Taxila, the other is the ruins of Pippala at same area (figs. 14a-b).

The mound B at Jaṇḍiāl, which was called “stūpa and monastery at Babar-Khāna” by A. Cunningham and was numbered 40 in his map of the ruins of Taxila, proved to contain the remains of a stūpa set in a courtyard and surrounded by buildings (figs. 15a-b)⁵⁵. According to John Marshall, the stūpa in the centre is of two periods, having originally been built in the Śaka-Parthian times, and rebuilt in the third or fourth century of our era. The most significant feature of the remains is “the unusual plan of the foundations on the north and west sides of the stūpa-court. In the Śaka-Parthian period to which this stūpa is referable, we should not, of course, expect to find a quadrangle enclosed by rows of symmetrical cells, such as are characteristic of later monasteries, not can we in fact be sure that any of the surviving chambers were used for residential purpose. The small group Q, R, S, may have been so used, but the larger building T at the north-east corner was

evidently an open court with a small chapel.....possibly for an image.....projecting into it from its northern side. And on the west side of the quadrangle, what appear at first sight to have been long narrow rooms (N, O, P) were in fact nothing more than the foundations of a raised platform”.⁵⁶

The remains at Pippala, Taxila, are also of two periods. “To the east is the courtyard of a monastery (vihāra) dating from late Parthian or early Kushān times and comprising an open quadrangle in the centre with ranges of cells on its four sides. In the middle of the courtyard is the basement of a square stūpa facing north.”⁵⁷(fig.16)

⁵⁵ In 1863, this site was first excavated by A. Cunningham, who appears to have penetrated as far as the later structure only. Description and plan of the site by him have drawn attention to scholars. “The central stūpa, about 45 feet (13.72 meters) in diameters, was surrounded by open cloisters 8 feet (2.44 meters) wide, forming a square of 90 feet (27.43 meters), behind which were the cells of the monks, each 9½ feet (2.9 meters) broad and 14½ feet (4.42 meters) long. See 1) A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India: Four Reports made during the years 1862-63-64-65* (1872)/ volume I: 111-135, esp. 120-21, 132, pl. lvii; 2) A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India: Report for the Year 1872-73* (1875)/ volume V: 74-75, pl. xx.

⁵⁶ John Marshall, who believes the description and plan of the site published by A. Cunningham are fanciful and misleading, records the site as follows. The earlier structure “is a little less than 33 ft. (10.06 meters) square, with a projecting staircase on its southern face, and a relic chamber measuring 11×14 ft. (3.35×4.27 meters) in the centre”. Leading from the entrance of the vihāra to the steps on the south side is a narrow causeway made of the stone. “When this stūpa and the buildings connected with it had fallen to decay, another stūpa and a second series of buildings were erected on their ruins. This later stūpa has a circular plinth, 35 ft. (10.67 meters) in diameter.” See John Marshall, *Taxila: An illustrated account of archaeological excavations carried out at Taxila under the orders of the Government of India between the years 1913 and 1934*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1951, volume I: 355-56; volume iii: pls. 1, 91, 92a.

⁵⁷ This early monastery “must have fallen to ruin before the fourth to fifth century of our era; for at that time a second monastery was erected over the western side of it, completely hiding beneath its foundations all that remained of the old cells and veranda on this side. At the same time, also, the rest of the early monastery was converted into a stūpa court by dismantling and leveling with the ground everything except the stūpa in the open quadrangle and the back wall of the cells, which

Because the stūpa and the vihāra were so important components in a scheme of the Indian saṃghārāma, such a monastic complex was also translated or commonly called *tasi* [塔寺, stūpa-cum-vihāra/ stūpa and vihāra] in Chinese⁵⁸. On the basis of *Za baozang jing* (*Kṣudrakapiṭaka/ Storehouse of Various Treasures Sūtra*), a gṛhapati [长者, elder or householder] from Śrāvastī [舍卫城] used to build *futu* [浮图, stūpa] and *sengfang* [僧坊, vihāra]. Later, the elder was born again in Trayastrimśās [三十三天] after he died of illness. The *futu* (stūpa) and *sengfang* (vihāra) built by him, which were generally called *tasi* (stūpa-cum-vihāra or a stūpa and a vihāra) for short, were repaired or renovated by his wife who always thought of his husband and made offerings to Buddhists. The elder's wife was also reborn in the same heaven after she lived her full span. The reason why they were both regenerated in the Trayastrimśās is because of their merits and virtues.⁵⁹ According to Song Yun and Huisheng, moreover, “thence they travelled westward for five days before reaching the place where Tathāgata [agreed to] beheaded in compliance with someone's request. There too was a *tasi* (stūpa-cum-vihāra) that housed more than twenty monks...Travelling westward for

another day, they reached the place where Tathāgata tore out his eyes to benefit others. There was also a *tasi* (stūpa-cum-vihāra)...Thereafter they travelled westward for seven days, and, after having crossed a large river, they reached the place where Tathāgata, as King Śibi, saved the life of a dove. A *tasi* (stūpa-cum-vihāra) was built to commemorate this event”.⁶⁰

According to Fei Zhangfang, Tanyao, who held the position of national director of the Buddhist clergy of the Northern Wei, called Indian bhikṣus and the Chinese monks to translate Buddhist scriptures at the Great Cave-temple Complex of Wuzhou in the third year of the Heping period of the Northern Wei (462 CE)⁶¹. This seems to prove that construction of the cave-temples in original design, of which Tanyao was in charge, had been finished before that year.⁶² In other words, if the cave-temples designed by Tanyao were not completely carved out, some rock-cut caves and timber structures such as the building where the Indian bhikṣus translated scriptures had been put into use before 462 CE. The ruined temple unearthed at the western part of the summit of the Yungang cave-temples, above the five caves designed by Tanyao (Cave Nos. 16-20), should be the

was now to serve as an enclosure wall for the new courtyard”. See John Marshall, *opere citato*, volume I: 365-67, esp.365; volume III, pls. 98a, 99a-b, 100a.

⁵⁸ Huiyuan [惠苑], *Xinyi dafangguangfo huayanjing yinyi* [新译大方广佛华严经音义, *Pronunciation and Meaning for Buddhist Terms in the Buddhāvataṃsaka-mahāvaiṣṭya-sūtra/ Pronunciation and Meaning for Buddhist Terms in the Flower Garland Sūtra (Avataṃsaka-sūtra)*], fascicle 2; see *Taishō*, 54: 453c.

⁵⁹*Taishō*, 4: 473b-c

⁶⁰ 1) Yang Xuanzhi, *opere citato*: 212-213, 220-221; 2) Wang Yitong, *opere citato*: 289, 290-291, 296-299.

⁶¹ Fei Zhangfang, *Lidai sanbo ji (Record of the Triratna through the Ages, or Record concerning the Triratna under Successive Dynasties)* in 597 CE, fascicle 9, see *Taishō*, 49: 85a-b.

⁶² Tang Yongtong, *Han wei liang jin nanbeichao fojiao shi* [汉魏两晋南北朝佛教史, *A History of Buddhism from the Han down to the Southern and Northern Dynasties (1st to 6th centuries CE)*], Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1982: 359.

free-standing temple consisting of several cells at the crest of the Wuzhou Hill recorded in the *Jin Tablet*, a place where the Indian bhikṣus translated the Buddhist scriptures at the Wuzhou Cave-temple Complex. The construction of this free-standing temple may have been started simultaneously with that of the five caves by Tanyao and would be finished before the third year of the Heping period of the Northern Wei. When the free-standing temple atop the crest of the Wuzhou Hill was originally designed, it pursued or followed “the general rule that construction of the monastery and stūpa (in China) still based on the old Sindhu form or prototype” and combined the stūpa court and the vihāra court into one on the basis of the layout of the Buddhist monastery in the Greater Gandhara⁶³, or it may have directly accepted the design of the early vihāra at Pippala,⁶⁴ Taxila, with

stūpa in the centre, the monks’ cells surrounded and cloister in front of the cells. This free-standing temple at the crest of the Wuzhou Hill, however, was a primary attempt at a sinicization of the Indian saṃghārāma, and the Yongning Monastery (fig. 17), which was evolved on the basis of such a kind of the design and built later at Luoyang, is completely a whole sinicized Buddhist monastery in China⁶⁵.

by Fazang [法藏, 643-712 CE], however, “to construct a Buddha hall and a stūpa in the courtyard of the vihāra and to take water from a well in the courtyard of the stūpa were both serious fault. *Taishō*, 40: 615a.

⁶³ Kikkāya/ Kinkara, who edited and translated *Fu fazang yinyuan zhuan* [付法藏因缘传, *A History of the Buddha's Successors*] into Chinese at Tanyao's request, might come from the Greater Gandhāra. In 472, together with Tanyao, Kikkāya translated *Za baozang jing* (*Kṣudrakapiṭaka/ Storehouse of Various Treasures Sūtra* or *The Scriptural Text: Storehouse of Sundry Valuables*) and retranslated *Fu fazang yinyuan zhuan* (*A History of the Buddha's Successors*). Many stories and plots in *Za baozang jing* (*Kṣudrakapiṭaka/ Storehouse of Various Treasures Sūtra* or *The Scriptural Text: Storehouse of Sundry Valuables*), which probably belongs to the Dharmagupta school, occurred or were set in the Greater Gandhāra. Therefore, it may not be accidental phenomena that the plan of the ruined temple atop the Yungang caves resembles that of the Buddhist monastery of the Greater Gandhāra. See: Charles Willemen, “A Chinese Kṣudrakapiṭaka (T. IV. 203)”, in: *Asiatische Studien Études Asiatiques* XLVI.1.1992: 507-515.

⁶⁴ According to *Fanwangjing pusa jieben shu* [梵网经菩萨戒本疏, *Annotation on the Latter Part of the Brahma-jāla-sūtra* (*Sūtra of Brahmā's Net*)]

⁶⁵ Yongning Monastery [永宁寺] was constructed in the first year of the Xiping period (516 CE) of the Northern Wei, by decree of Empress Dowager Ling, whose surname was Hu. It was located one *li* (0.5 km) south of the Changhe Gate on the west side of the Imperial Drive, facing the palace grounds...Within the precincts of the monastery was a nine-storied wooden stūpa [浮图]. Rising nine hundred Chinese feet (251 meters) above the ground, it formed the base for a mast that extended for another one hundred Chinese feet (27.9 meters); thus together they soared one thousand Chinese feet (279 meters) above the ground, and could be seen as far away from the capital as one hundred *li* (50 km)...North of the stūpa was the Buddha hall [佛殿], which was shaped like the Palace of the Great Ultimate [太极殿]. In the hall was a golden statue of the Buddha eighteen Chinese feet (5 meters) high, along with ten medium-sized images—three of sewn pearls, five of woven golden threads, and two of jade. The superb artistry was matchless, unparalleled in its day...The monastery had over one thousand cloisters for the monks [僧房楼观], both single cloisters and multi-level ones, decorated with carved beams and painted walls...The walls of the monastery were all covered with short rafters beneath the tiles in the same style as our contemporary palace walls. There were gates in each of the four directions. The tower on the South Gate rose two hundred Chinese feet (55.8 meters) above the ground, had

three stories, each with an archway, and was shaped like the present-day Duanmen Gate [端门] of the palace grounds. See: 1) Yang Xuanzhi, *opere citato*: 17-24; 2) Wang Yitong, *opere citato*: 15-19.

The site of this unrivalled monastery was excavated in 1970s, which basically tallies with the historical record. Another site of a free-standing monastery built by the imperial houses of the Eastern Wei (534-549 CE) and the Northern Qi (550-577 CE) dynasties near the southern gate of the imperial palace of Capital Ye [邺城] was unearthed between the years 2002 and 2004, which also follows the design of the Yongning Monastery. Both of them took the wooden stūpa, square in plan, as the centre of the monastery. The main gate, the stūpa and the Buddha hall were constructed from south to north, forming a central axis, with additional architectures or buildings such as the cloisters for the monks arranged by side in bilateral symmetry.

See: 1) The Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences [中国社会科学院考古研究所], *Beiwei luoyang yongningsi* [北魏洛阳永宁寺: 1979-1994 年考古发掘报告], *The Yongning Monastery in the Northern Wei Luoyang: an illustrated account of archaeological excavations carried out between the years 1979 and 1994*, Beijing: The Encyclopedia of China Publishing House, 1996: 6-8, figure 4; 2) State Administration of Cultural Heritage ed. [国家文物局主编], *Major Archaeological Discoveries in China in 2002* [2002 中国重要考古发现], Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 2003: 97-100.

Illustrations:

Fig. 1a – Archaeological excavation on the western part of summit of the Wuzhou hill (copied from *Major Archaeological Discoveries in China in 2010*, ed. by State Administration of Cultural Heritage, Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 2011: 127-30)



Fig. 1b – General view of a free-standing temple site unearthed on the western part of the summit of the Wuzhou hill (copied from *Major Archaeological Discoveries in China in 2010*)

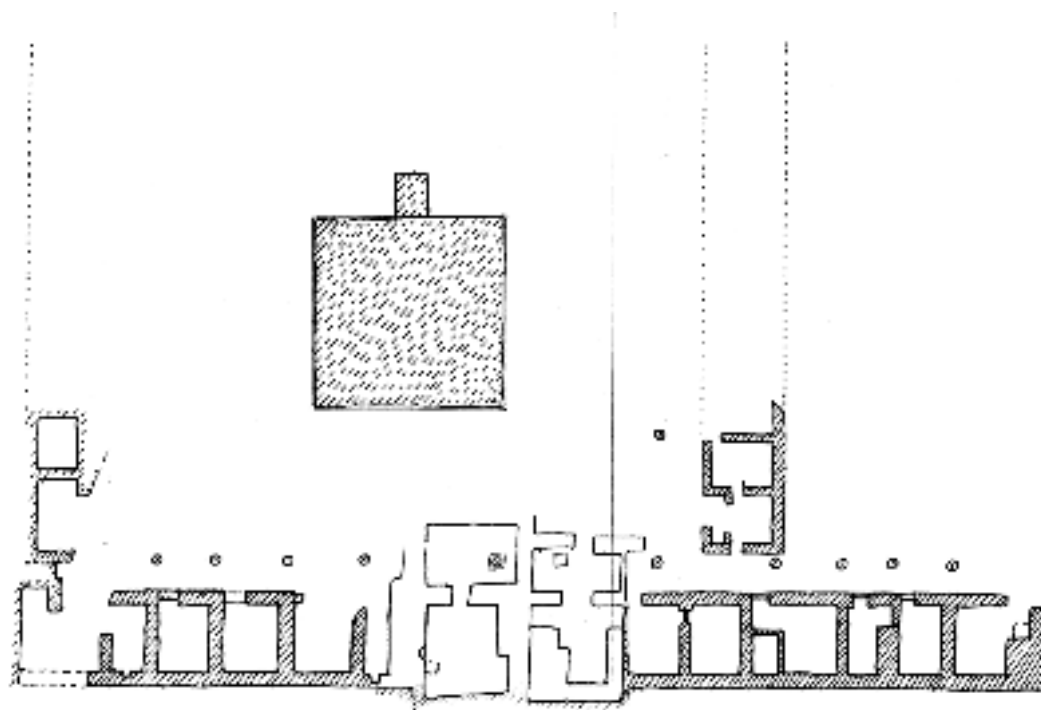


Fig. 1c – Sketch plan of the free-standing temple unearthed on the western part of the summit of the Wuzhou hill (drawn by Chongfeng Li on the basis of some photos from *Major Archaeological Discoveries in China in 2010*)



Fig. 2 – Basement of a stūpa in the center of the free-standing temple (copied from *Major Archaeological Discoveries in China in 2010*)



Fig. 3 – Details of the monk's cells along the northern flank of the free-standing temple (copied from *Major Archaeological Discoveries in China in 2010*)



Fig. 4 – Pottery shard with the Chinese characters *xiku* (copied from *Major Archaeological Discoveries in China in 2010*)



Fig. 5 – Copy of the *Tablet of the Restoration of the Great Cave-temple Complex at Wuzhou Hill near the Western Capital of the Jin Dynasty* (copied from *Studies of the Cave-temples of China* by Su Bai, Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1996: 93)

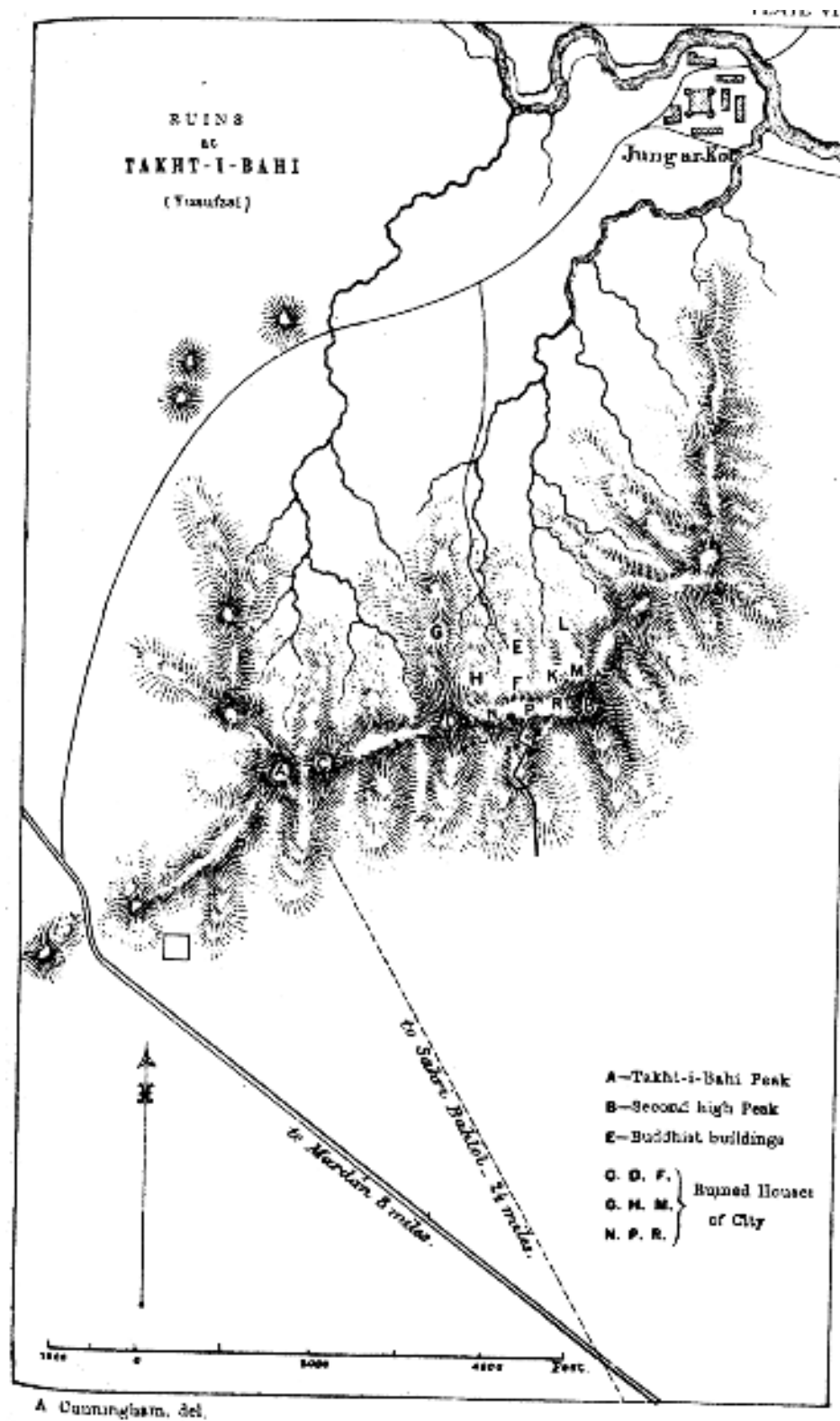


Fig. 6 – Ruins at Takht-i-Bāhī (copied from *Archaeological Survey of India: Report for the Year 1872-73* by A. Cunningham, 1875: pl. vi)

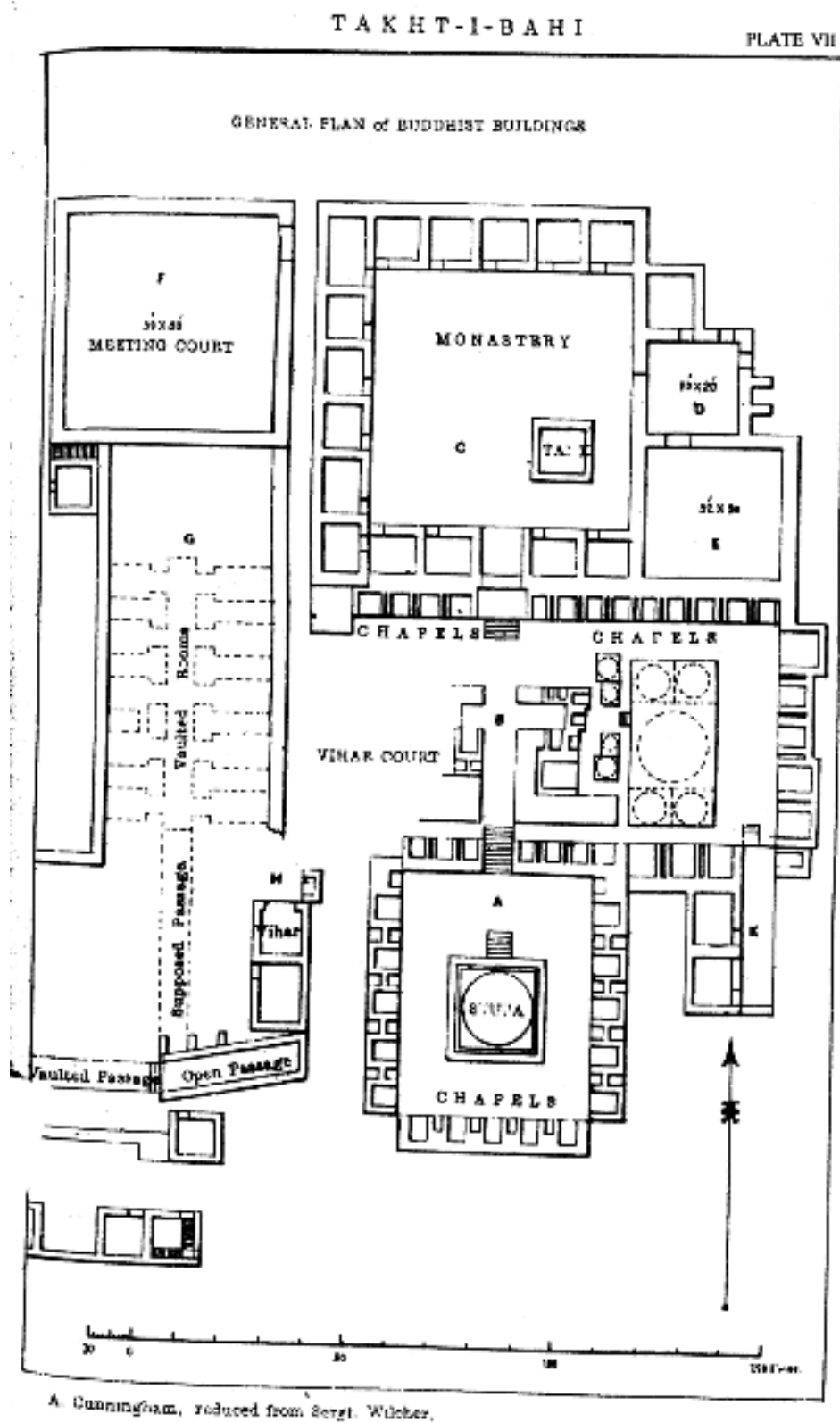


Fig. 7a – General plan of Buddhist buildings at Takht-i-Bāhī, 1873 (copied from *Archaeological Survey of India: Report for the Year 1872-73* by A. Cunningham, 1875: pl. vii)

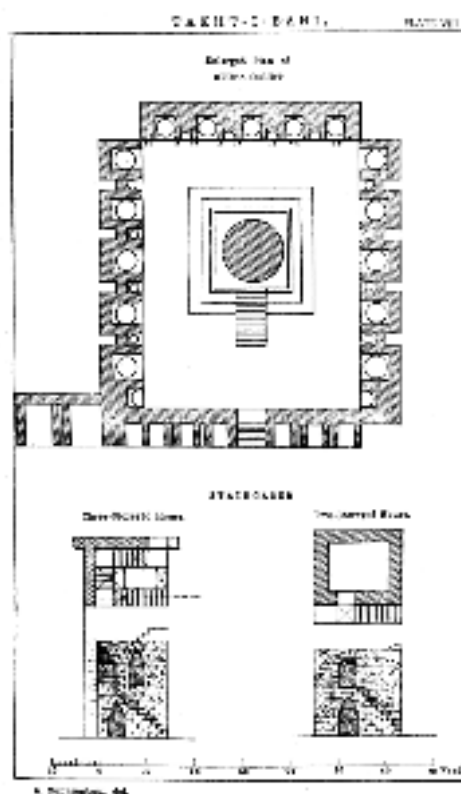


Fig. 7b – Enlarged plan of the stūpa court (copied from *Archaeological Survey of India: Report for the Year 1872-73* by A. Cunningham, 1875: pl. viii)

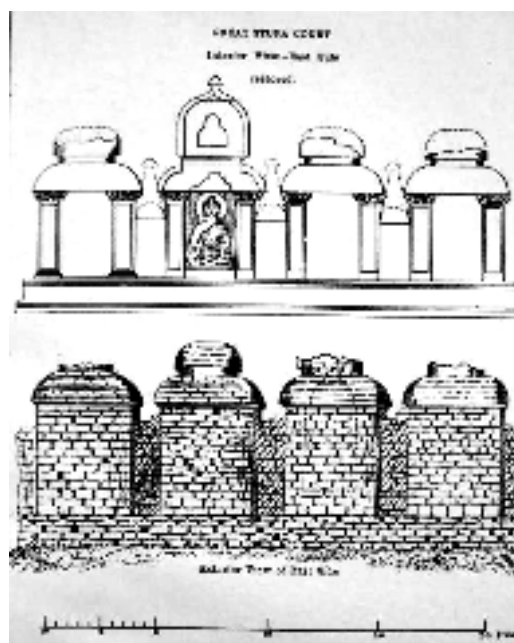


Fig. 7c – Interior view of the stūpa court, east side, restored (copied from *Archaeological Survey of India: Report for the Year 1872-73* by A. Cunningham, 1875: pl. ix)



Fig. 8a – General view of the ruins at Takht-i-Bāhī, the central court in foreground, from south-west, 1908 (copied from *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report 1907-08*, 1911: pl. xla)



Fig. 8b – The central court after excavation, from north-east (copied from *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report 1907-08*, 1911: pl. xlb)

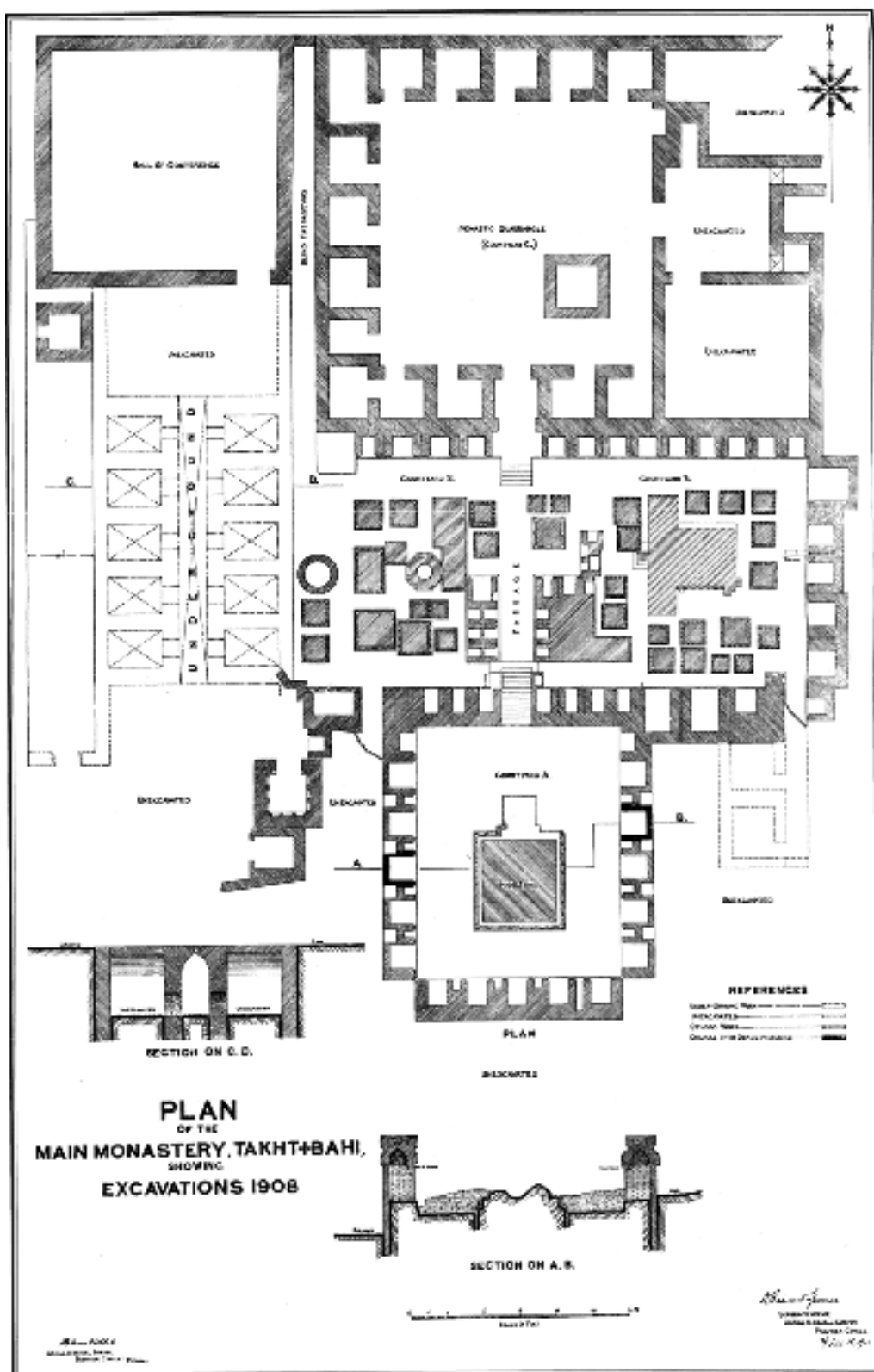


Fig. 8c – Plan of the main monastery, Takht-i-Bāhī, showing excavations in 1908 (copied from *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report 1907-08*, 1911: pl. I)



Fig. 8d – Buddhist sculptures (copied from *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report 1907-08*, 1911: pl. xliiia)



Fig. 8e – Standing Buddha (copied from *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report 1907-08*, 1911: pl. xlviiiic)

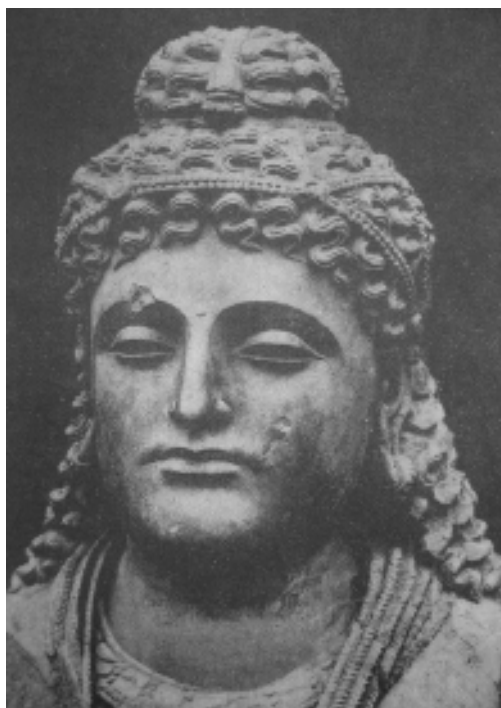


Fig. 8f – Bodhisattva head (copied from *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report 1907-08*, 1911: pl. xlic)



Fig. 9a – General view of the ruins at Takht-i-Bāhī, from south-west, 1911 (copied from *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report 1910-11*, 1914: pl. xviiiia)



Fig. 9b – West wall of the low-level chambers, from north-west (copied from *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report 1910-11*, 1914: pl. xixa)



Fig. 9c – Courtyard to the west of the low-level chambers (copied from *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report 1910-11*, 1914: pl. xviiiib)

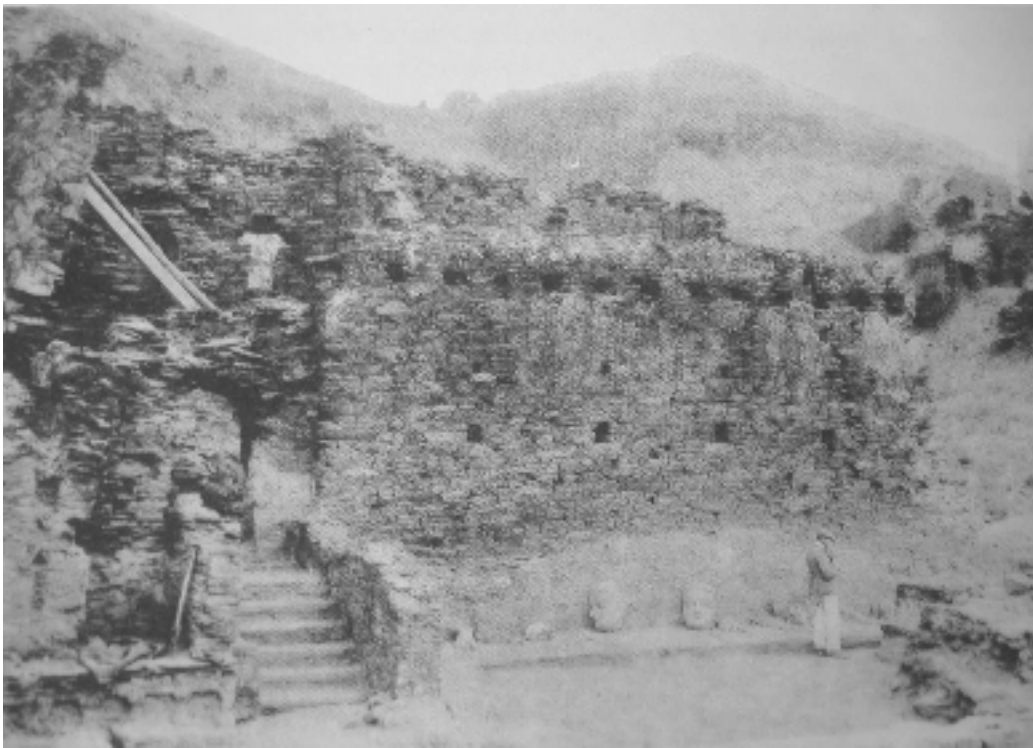


Fig. 9d – Court of the six colossi, from north (copied from *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report 1910-11*, 1914: pl. xxia)

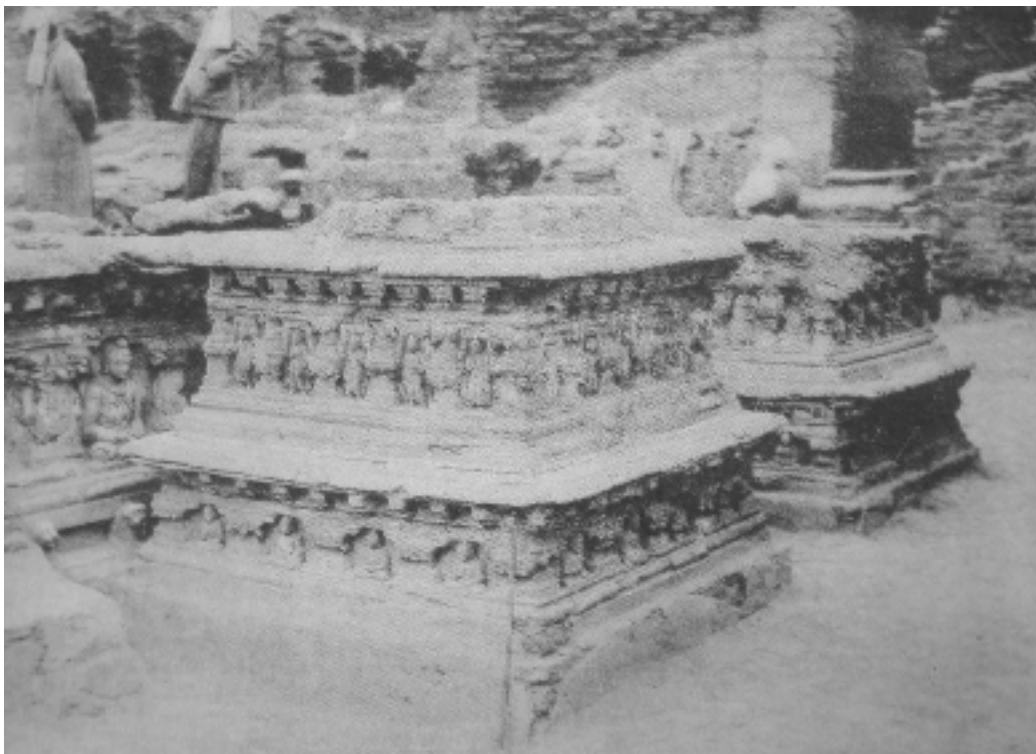


Fig. 9e – Stūpas in the central court, from south-west (copied from *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report 1910-11*, 1914: pl. xxia)

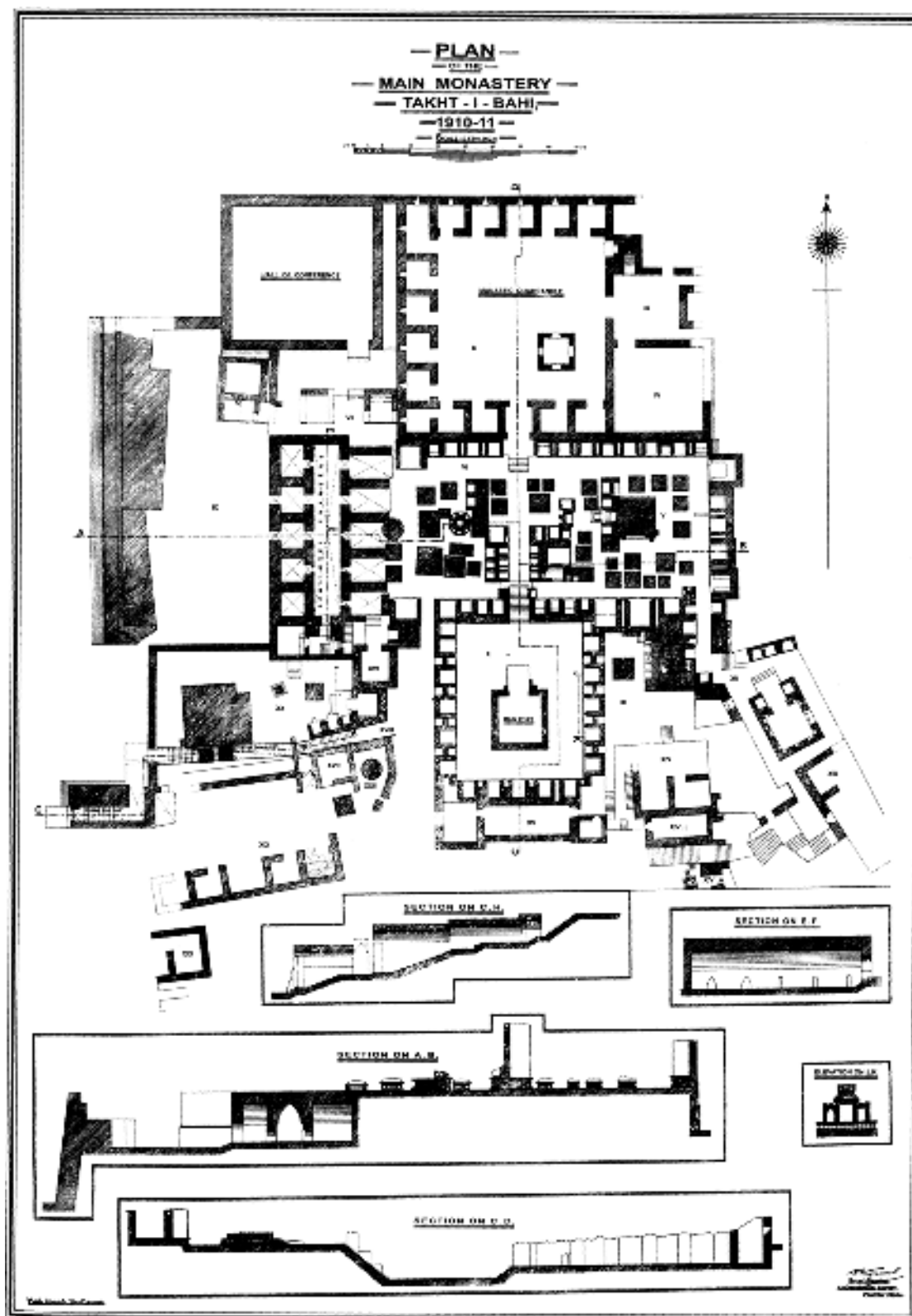


Fig. 9f – Plan of the main monastery, Takht-i-Bāhī, showing excavations in 1911 (copied from *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report 1910-11*, 1914: pl. xvii)

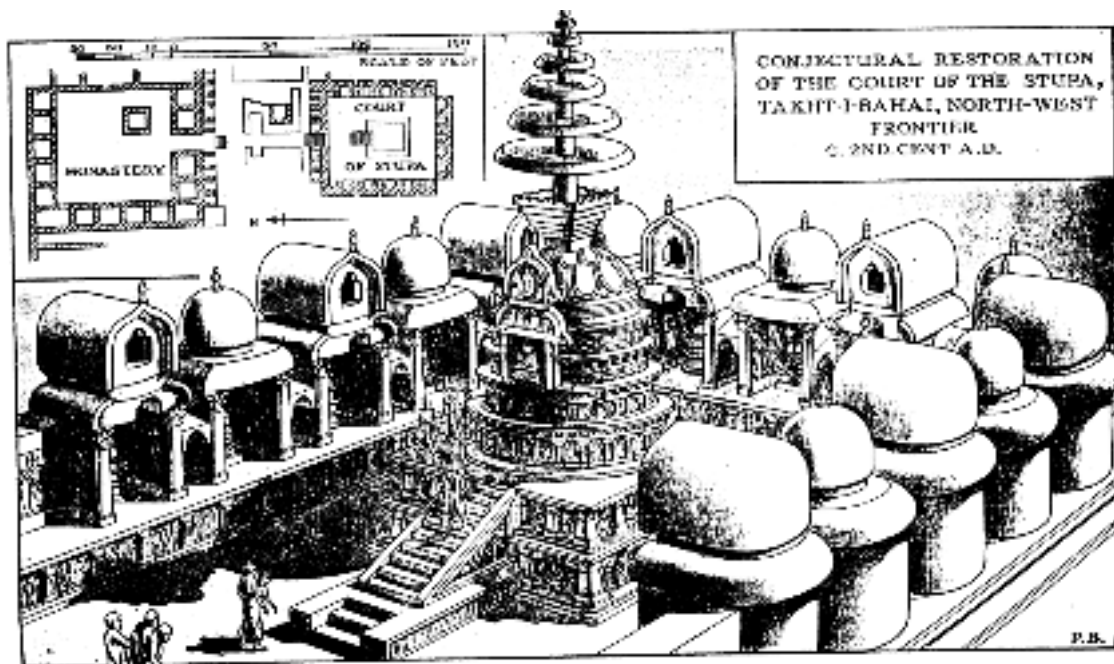


Fig. 10 – Conjectural restoration of the stūpa court of the main monastery, Takht-i-Bāhī (copied from *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu Periods)* by Percy Brown, Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala Sons @ Co., Private Ltd, 1956, pl. XXXIII)



Fig. 11a – General view of the ruined monastic complex at Takht-i-Bāhī, from south, 2004



Fig. 11b – Stūpa court of the ruined monastic complex at Takht-i-Bāhī, from north



Fig. 11c – Vihāra court of the ruined monastic complex at Takht-i-Bāhī, from south

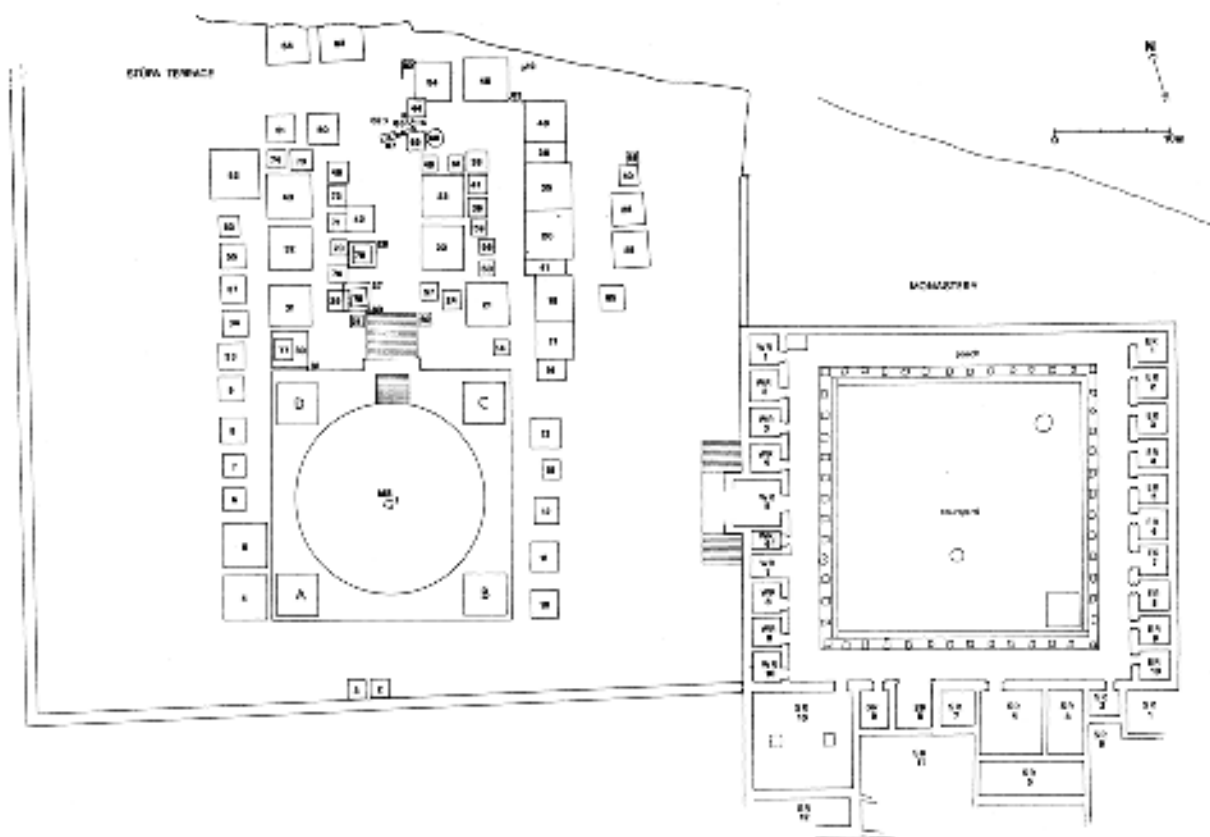


Fig. 12a – Schematic general plan of the stūpa court and vihāra court at Saidu Sharif I (copied from *Saidu Sharif I (Swat, Pakistan), 2 The Buddhist Sacred Area; The Stūpa Terrace* by Domenico Faccenna, Text, Rome: IsMEO, 1995: fig. 22)

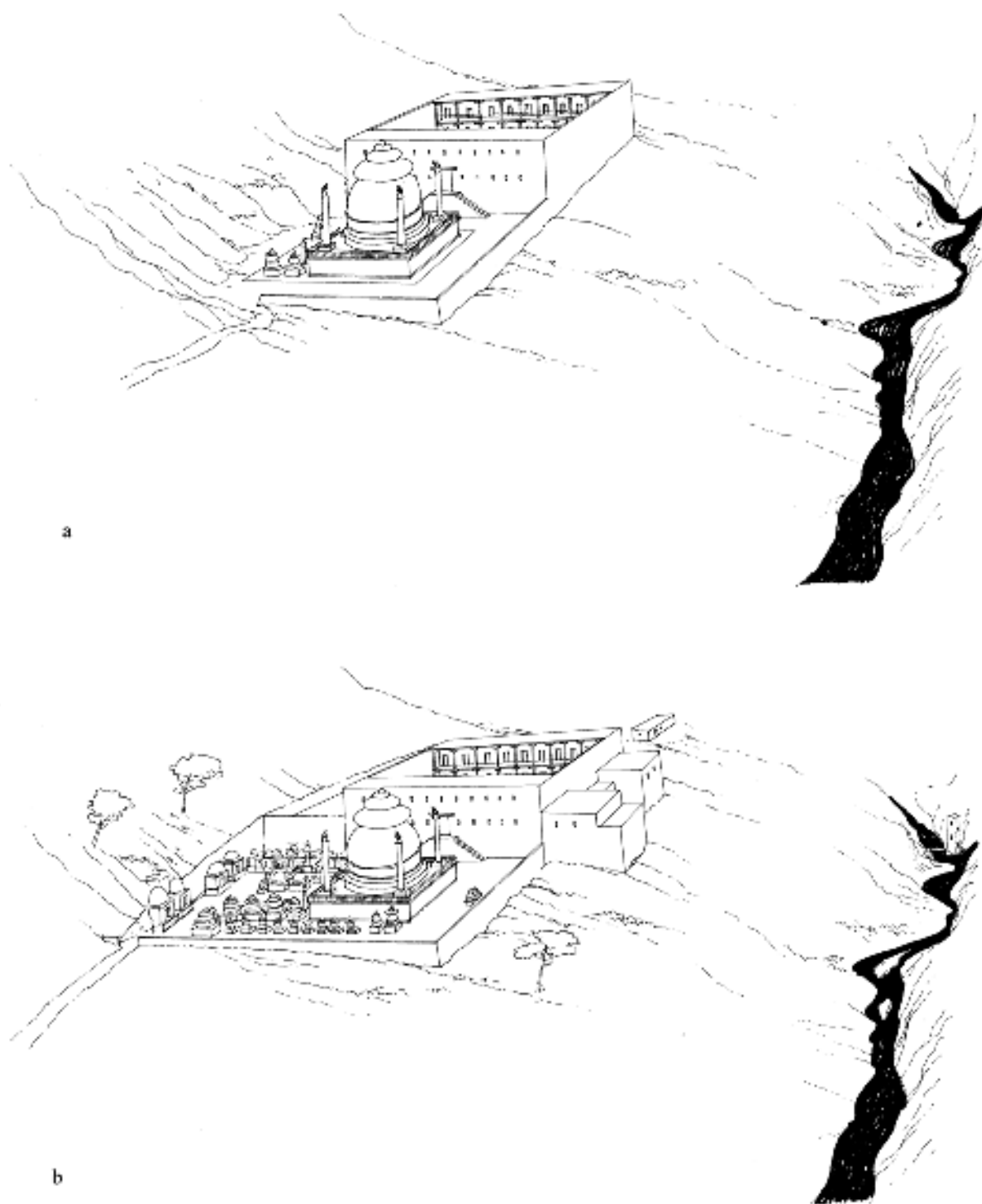


Fig. 12b – Reconstructive sketch of the sacred area of Saidu Sharif I; a-Period I; b-Period II (copied from *Saidu Sharif I (Swat, Pakistan)*, 2 *The Buddhist Sacred Area; The Stūpa Terrace* by Domenico Faccenna, Text, Rome: IsMEO, 1995: fig. 23)

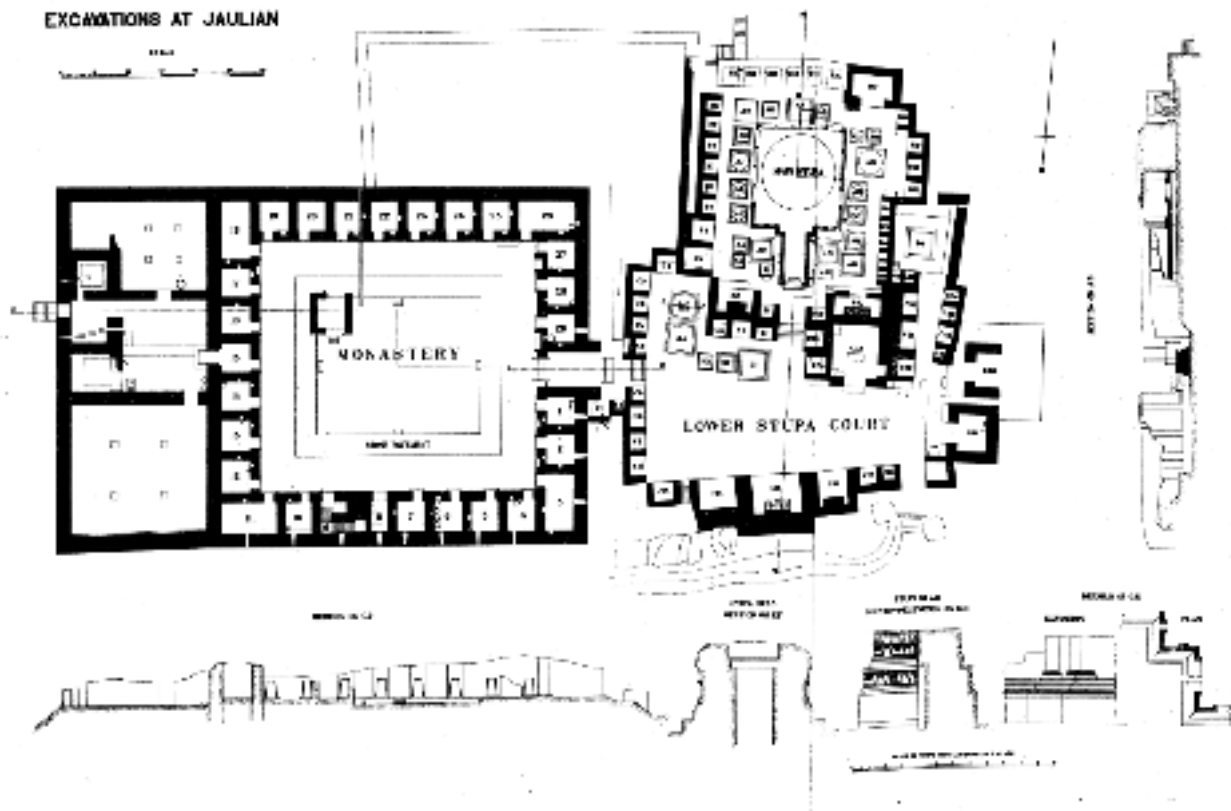


Fig. 13 – Plan of the excavation at Jauliān (copied from *Excavations at Taxila: The Stūpas and Monastery at Jauliān* by John Marshall; *Memoir No. 7 of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Calcutta: Archaeological Survey of India, 1921: pl. i)

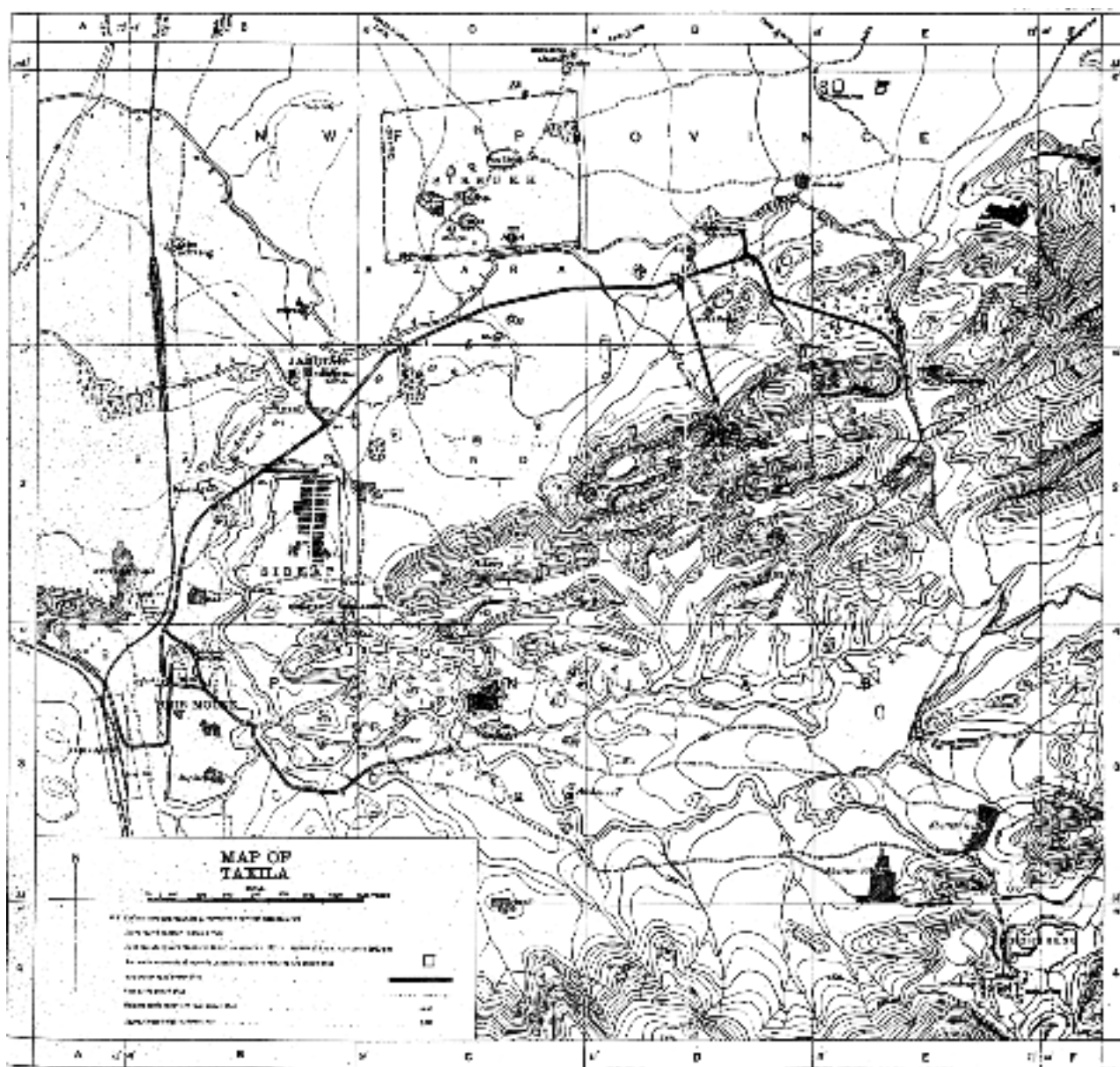


Fig. 14b – Map of Taxila (copied from *Taxila: An illustrated account of archaeological excavations carried out at Taxila under the orders of the Government of India between the years 1913 and 1934* by John Marshall, London: Cambridge University Press, 1951, vol. iii: pl. i)

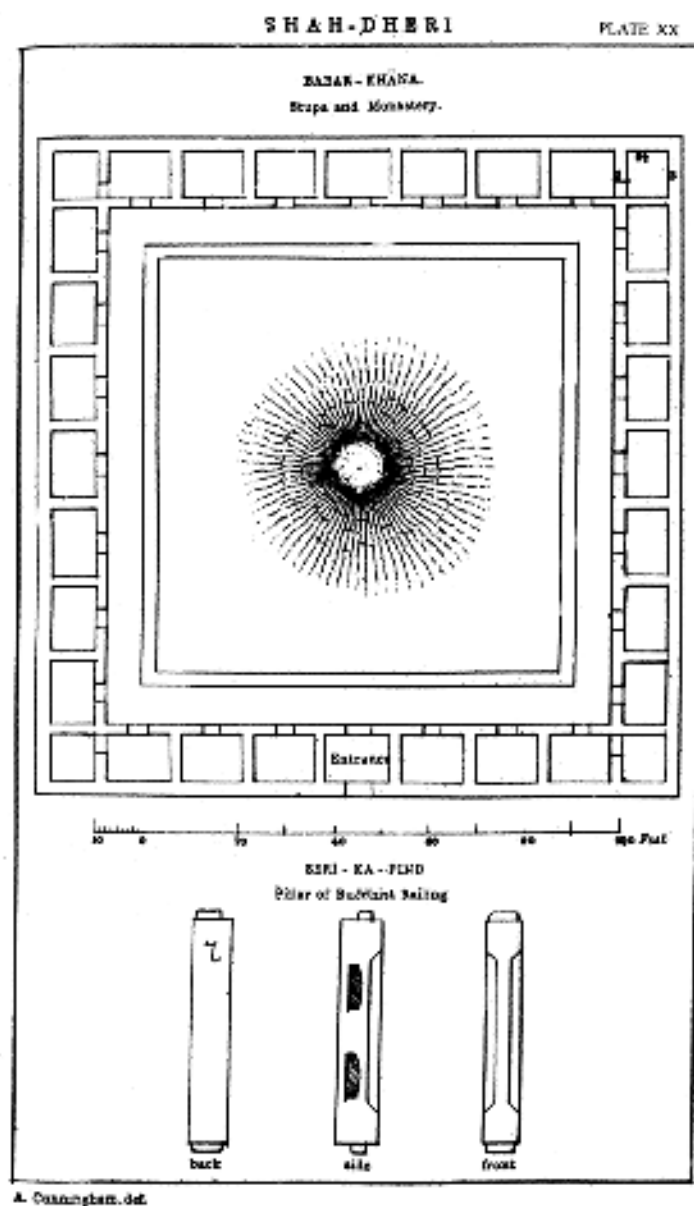


Fig. 15a – Plan of mound B at Jaṇḍiāl (stūpa and monastery at Babar-Khāna, copied from *Archaeological Survey of India: Report for the Year 1872-73* by A. Cunningham, 1875: pl. xx)

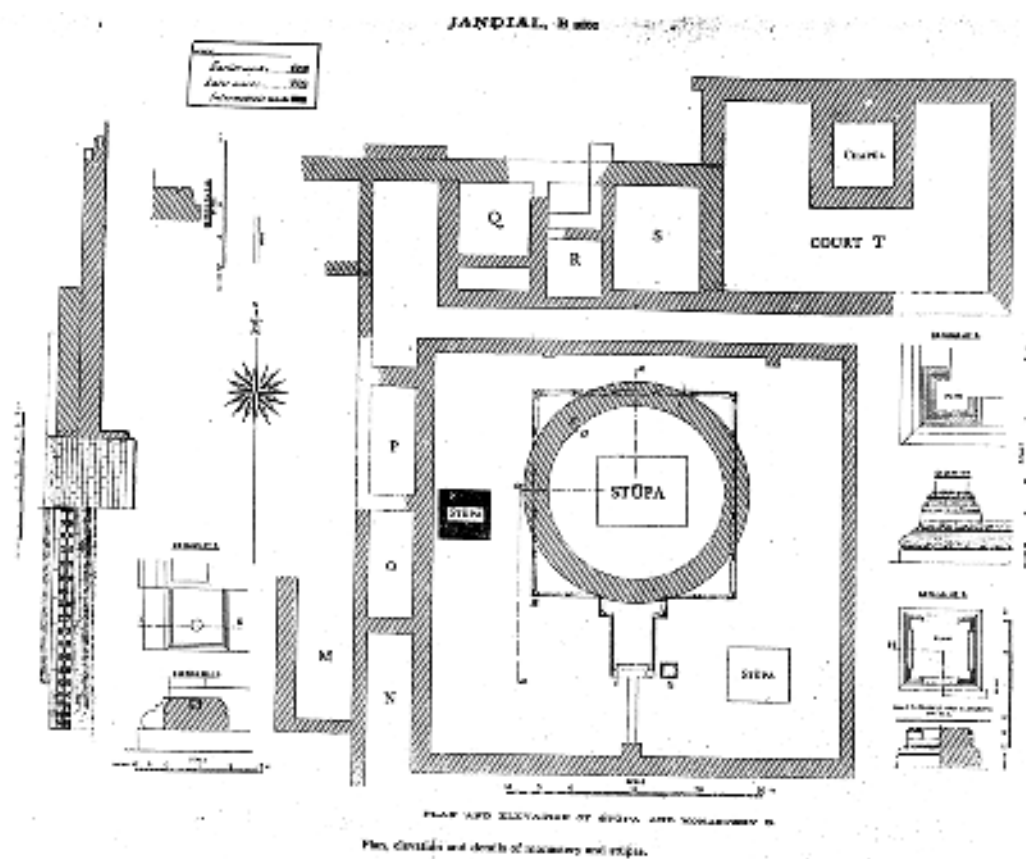


Fig. 15b – Plan of mound B at Janḍiāl (copied from *Taxila: An illustrated account of archaeological excavations carried out at Taxila under the orders of the Government of India between the years 1913 and 1934*, vol. iii: pl. 91)

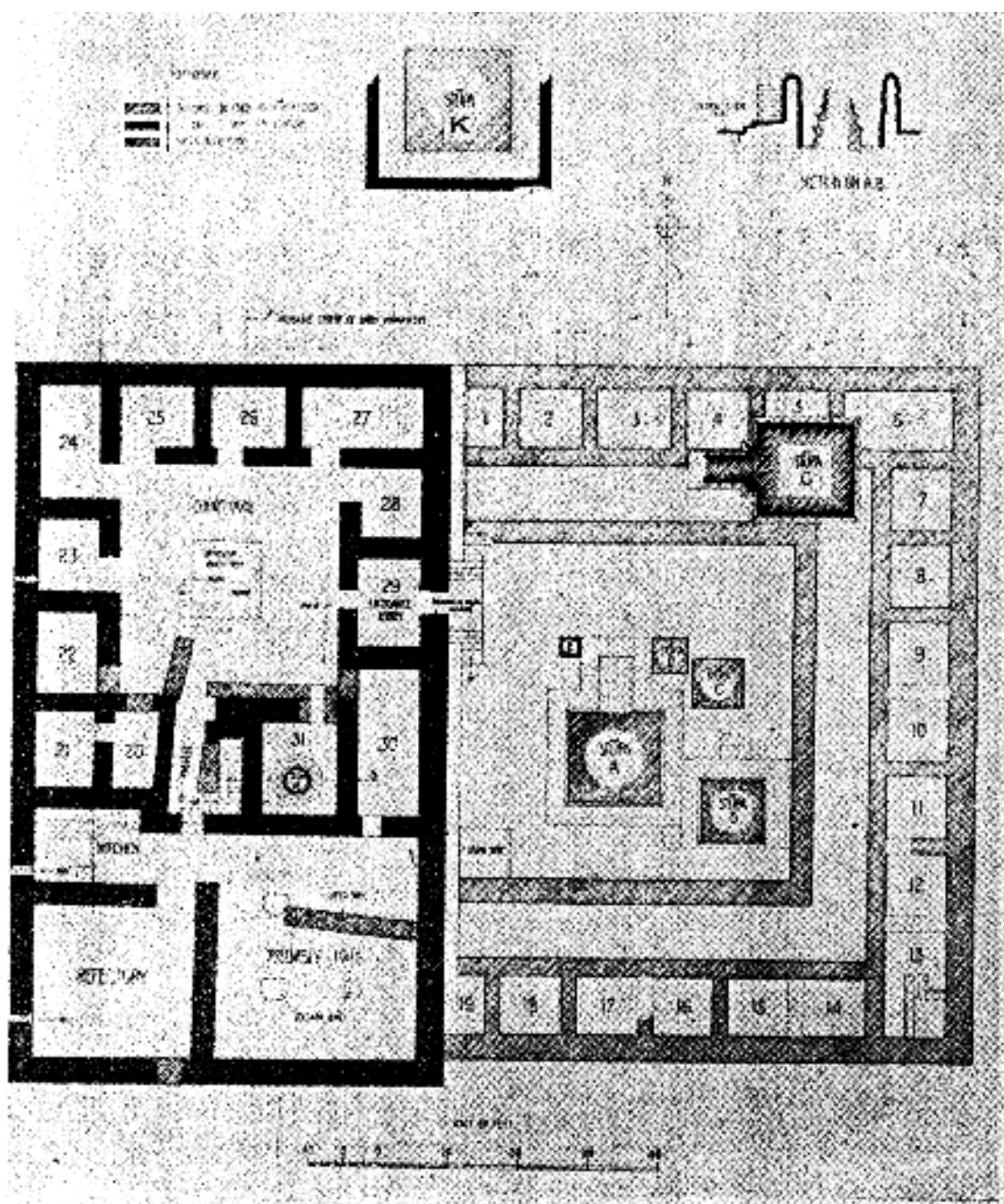


Fig. 16 – Plan of the remains at Pippala, Taxila (copied from *Taxila: An illustrated account of archaeological excavations carried out at Taxila under the orders of the Government of India between the years 1913 and 1934*, vol. iii: pl. 98a)

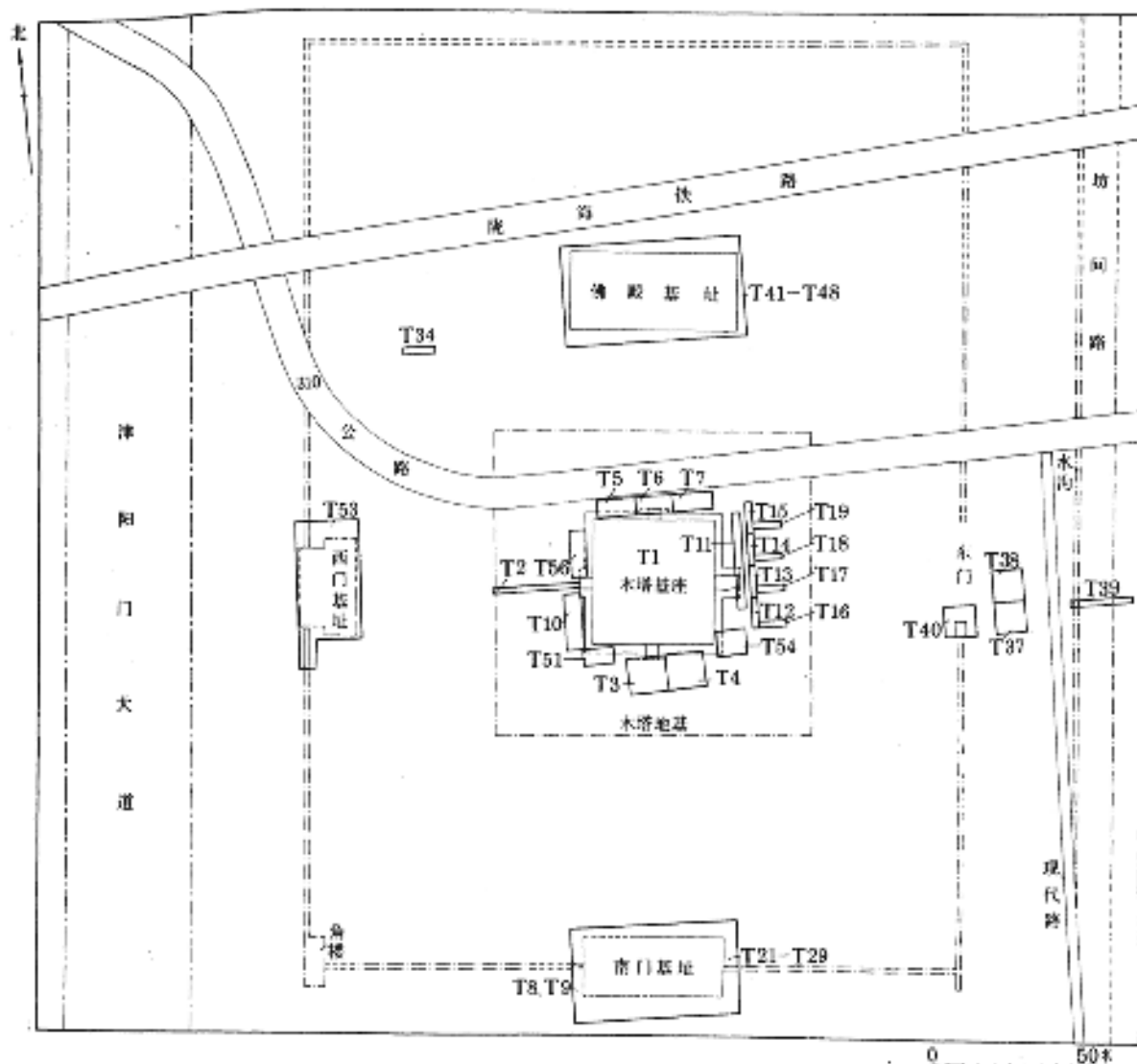


Fig. 17 – Plan of the ruined monastic complex of Yongningsi (copied from *The Yongning Monastery in the Northern Wei Luoyang: A report of archaeological excavations carried out between the years 1979 and 1994* [北魏洛阳永宁寺: 1979-1994 年考古发掘报告] by the Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Science, Beijing: The Encyclopedia of China Publishing House, 1996: 7, fig. 4)