

**STŪPAS IN MEDIEVAL CHINA: SYMBOLS OF THE BUDDHA, SACRED
BUILDINGS, OR TOMBS?**

by

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Abstract

By studying textual material from a new perspective, this dissertation aims at uncovering how Chinese Buddhists understood Buddhist stūpas and whether they worshipped them.

Though stūpas are not Buddhist inventions, they frequently appear in Buddhist scriptures, depicted as important Buddhist objects of worship symbolizing the Buddha after his *nirvāṇa* (or other Buddhist holy people) and representing his presence. Since stūpa worship is said to be of great importance to Buddhists' cultivation, Buddhist vinaya literature contains a number of precepts regulating devotional acts performed for these objects that are intended to distinguish them from those of non-Buddhist cults and to limit worship to only those set up for the Buddha and other Buddhist holy people.

These teachings concerning the connotations of stūpas and the importance of worship of them, however, did not prevail in Chinese Buddhist society. Then, how did Chinese Buddhists perceive and treat stūpas? This is what this dissertation focuses on. With the investigation scope limited to the Six Dynasties, it first provides a glimpse into the form of stūpa worship presented in Buddhist scriptures, and then discusses the ways in which Chinese people understood stūpas in capital cities and whether their belief in Buddhist relics and Aśokan legends evoked their worship. Finally, it examines whether funerary stūpas for the Buddhist order and laymen in China were set up according to the Buddhist scriptural tradition of stūpas.

This dissertation shows that the ways in which Chinese people in the Six Dynasties understood stūpas were markedly different from those presented in Buddhist

scriptures. They generally did not view them as the Buddha or other Buddhist holy figures, but as sacred buildings and even tombs. Instead of the Buddhist scriptural tradition of stūpas, their understanding of stūpas was more noticeably influenced by their own immortality belief, funerary customs, and ancestral worship. Stūpas established in the Six Dynasties were detached from their original symbolic meanings valued by Buddhist scriptural compilers, and were therefore of little significance in representing the Buddha. In terms of their symbolic meanings, they could hardly qualify as Buddhist stūpas defined in Buddhist scriptures.

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List of Abbreviations

a.k.a	also known as
annot.	annotator (annotated by)
ed.	editor (edited by)
Ch.	Chinese
colla.	collator (collated by)
comp.	compiler (compiled by)
Jp.	Japanese
Kor.	Korean
<i>QSSQSLW</i>	<i>Quan shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen</i> 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文 (see bibliography A).
r.	reigned
<i>SKQS</i>	<i>Jingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu</i> 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (see Bibliography A).
Skt.	Sanskrit
suppl.	supplement (supplemented by)
<i>T</i>	<i>Taishō shinshū daizōkyō</i> 大正新脩大藏經 (see Bibliography A).
trans.	translator (translated by)
<i>X</i>	<i>(Wan) xu zangjing</i> (卍)續藏經 (see Bibliography A).

Conventions

Citation Style

References to texts in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, compiled by Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaikyoku 渡邊海旭 (Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924-1932), are indicated by the *Taishō* number, the volume number, followed by *juan* number (when the work is of multiple *juan*), page, register (a, b, or c), and, when appropriate, line.

Reference to texts in (*Wan*) *xu zangjing* (卍)續藏經, the Xin wenfeng reprint of *Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經 (compiled by Nakano Tatsue 中野達慧, Kyoto: Zōkyō shoin, 1905-1912), are indicated by text number, volume number, *juan*, page, register (a, b, c), and the line (when appropriate).

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation explores the ways in which Chinese Buddhists in the Six Dynasties (220-589 C.E.) understood and treated Buddhist stūpas. These objects of worship were significant to Buddhism in India, thus frequently appearing in Chinese Buddhist scriptures, which Chinese Buddhists believed to have originated there. However, when adapting to the new milieu in China, the conception of what is entailed in stūpa worship might have undergone marked changes, being given new connotations by Chinese Buddhists that are different to those described in the scriptures. Hence, this dissertation examines how these people conceived of them, in order to find out whether or not they worshipped them as they were prescribed by Buddhist scriptures, and whether or not they infused the elements of their own traditions and customs into them.

Before talking about the reason why this question deserves a close investigation and other issues such as the period of time I cover, the sources I use, and limitations of my investigation, like others studying these objects I shall first attempt to define a few terms that I shall use in this dissertation, the most important of which is certainly that of the stūpa.

“Stūpa” is a Sanskrit term (Pāli: *thūpa*), first appearing in the *Vedas*, where it means “knot of hair, top,” or “summit.” It is unclear how the term came to be used by early Buddhists to refer to the mound erected for the Buddha’s relics.¹ Scholars, however, generally agree that this term, in its basic sense, denotes a mound, a pile, or a conical shaped

¹ The earliest reference in Buddhist canonical literature to building a stūpa, according to Kevin Trainor, is found in the various version of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, which refers to the practices associated with the burial of a universal monarch (Skt. *cakravartin*). Trainor, *Relics, Ritual, and Representation in Buddhism* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 33.

shrine that contains a relic or remains.² As will be shown below, some scholars attach great importance to stūpas, thinking that, though they were not Buddhist inventions, worship of them played a remarkable role in Buddhist development in India.³

Also noteworthy is the term “worship.” It, as well as “stūpa worship” (or worship of stūpas), not only appears frequently in these scholars’ studies, but will also be used in my discussion. According to *The Oxford English Dictionary*, it means “reverence or veneration paid to a being or power regarded as supernatural or divine,” or “the action or practice of displaying this by appropriate acts, rites, or ceremonies.”⁴ In his entry “Devotion” for the *Encyclopedia of Religion*, David Kinsley gives the following description for this term:

² Based on this basic sense, Sugimoto Takushū 杉本卓洲 believes that it can be referred to as “tomb” in English. Other scholars also commonly use the term “reliquary” as its synonym. For an example, see Brian D. Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes: Buddha Relics and Power in Early Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000). Essentially, the stūpa was used as a burial mound enshrining relics of a holy figure. Later it also served as a monument associated with some significant events in his life or to mark an important place having some association with him. Therefore, the term “stūpa” is considered in the context of commemoration and worship. See P.C. Bagchi, “The Eight Great Caityas and their Cult,” *The Indian Historical Quarterly* 17.2 (1941): 223-228; Sushila Pant, *Stūpa Architecture in India* (Varanasi: Bharata Manisha, 1976), 4-9; Brijinder Nath Goswamy, “Introductory Speech: The Stūpa—Some uninformed questions about terminological equivalents,” in *The Stūpa: Its Religious, Historical, Architectural Significance*, ed. Anna Liber Dallapiccola (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1980), 1; Sugimoto, *Indo Bukkyō no kenkyū—buttō sūkei no seisei to kiban* インド仏塔の研究: 仏塔崇敬の生成と基盤 (Studies in Buddhist Stūpa-cult in India: the foundation of the development of Buddhist stūpa cult) (Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1984), 50; Hirakawa Akira, “Stūpa worship,” trans. Paul Groner, in *The Encyclopaedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York & London: Macmillan, 1987), 13:8796.

³ Like Buddhists, Indian people of other religions also raised monuments (or tumuli) over holy figures’ remains and venerated them. Some of these monuments were similar to Buddhist stūpas in structure. Due to the similarity, Goswamy finds, a Buddhist story tells of King Kanishka’s (sic., Kaniṣka) (the third emperor of Kusāna living around 1st century C.E., who conquered northern India and as far as Bactria) paying homage to a heretical stūpa by mistake. See Goswamy, “Introductory Speech,” 2-6. If simply defined as shrines or mounds for the Buddha, Buddhist stūpas were not different from these monuments. Possibly for this reason, some scholars trace their significance unique to Buddhists (see below).

⁴ J. A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner, *The Oxford English Dictionary*, second edition, 1989, online version <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/230345>, accessed on December 29, 2011.

As a formal expression of homage, service, reverence, praise, or petition to a deity, worship is closely related to, or expressive of, devotion. Much worship represents a formal, periodic, structured expression of devotion.⁵

Although this entry was written in 1987, the description was reviewed by another expert of the field, Vasudha Narayanan in 2005. Therefore, it is still valid nowadays and worthy of quotation here. There are two noteworthy points. First, it is clear that worship is directed towards a deity, or, in the case of Buddhists, it is directed towards the Buddha or a Buddhist holy person. Under this definition, the term is not used for inanimate objects such as tombs or buildings unless they are regarded as deified living beings. Making offerings at the ancestor's tomb is therefore an expression of ancestral worship, but cannot be called that of "tomb (or grave) worship," which, by definition, makes little sense, unless the tomb is viewed as a deity or a holy person. Indeed, in Buddhism the term "stūpa worship" connotes the understanding of the stūpa as a Buddhist transcendent or revered figure, but not the stūpa as a non-living Buddhist construction related to the figure. Under this definition, it can be inferred that if a stūpa is described as a place for worship, it is a sacred locus where worship is performed, but cannot be taken as an *object* of worship. When it is worshipped as a holy person, such worship can be counted as stūpa worship.

Second, according to Kinsley's definition, the word "worship" is used to describe an action or a practice as an expression of devotion. It is, however, hard to tell exactly which Buddhist practices belong to this category and which do not. Suggesting that stūpa worship does not have "ascetic and contemplative dimensions," in his overview of Indian Buddhism, Luis O. Gómez separates the practices related to stūpas such as circumambulation

⁵ "Devotion," *Encyclopedia of Religion*, edited by Lindsay Jones (New York: Thomson Gale, 2005) 2nd edition, 4:2319.

(*pradakṣiṇa*—“the main form of worship,” in Gómez’s view)⁶ and pilgrimages from meditative practices. The rise of the former, he further surmises, marked the institution of Buddhism.⁷

I do not intend to discuss here his account of Buddhist history in India, but want to point out that his classification cannot be applied to Chinese Buddhism. Stūpa worship there does not always stand in contrast to meditative practices. As will be shown in this dissertation, meditative practices in China sometimes involved stūpas, so some reclusive, meditative monks there built stūpas in their quarters. Probably they did not separate their meditation from their worship of these objects; when they were walking around them, they were perhaps in contemplation too. For this reason, in the study of Chinese Buddhism, it is not appropriate for us to deem that stūpa worship includes only rituals and ceremonies in relation to stūpas, or to classify it as a kind of Buddhist practice in contrast to meditation. Instead, it seems more reasonable to say that although it is expressed in various forms such as circumambulation, meditation, and offering making, stūpa worship is devotion directed towards stūpas, which are taken as divine or extraordinary beings. And this is the definition I shall take in my discussion.

In addition to “worship,” the word “veneration,” together with its verb form “venerate,” is also used interchangeably by scholars to refer to devotion towards Buddhist

⁶ Luis O. Gómez, “Buddhism: Buddhism in India,” *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd edition, 2:1107.

⁷ Gómez, “Buddhism: Buddhism in India,” 2:1107: “At first the cenobitic life of the monks probably had no room for explicit acts of devotion, and the monk’s religion was limited to a life of solitude and meditation. The early monastic ruins do not show evidence of any shrine room.... With the institutionalization of Buddhism, however, came new forms of lay and monastic practice.... One practice that clearly was an important, nonascetic ritual, yet characteristic of Buddhism, was the worship of the relics of the Buddha and his immediate disciples. The relics were placed in a casket, which was then deposited in a cairn or tumulus (stūpa, *caitya*), to which the faithful would come to present their offerings.”

holy objects.⁸ I will also adopt it in my discussion. Veneration, which denotes “a feeling of deep respect and reverence directed towards some person or thing,” is not completely synonymous with worship. But the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines the latter as reverence or veneration, as shown above, and lists these two terms as synonyms for each other. This indicates that their meanings partly overlap each other. In theistic traditions, worship usually refers to devotion towards the god and veneration to saints and angels. But it is not always easy to distinguish veneration from worship.⁹ Also, such differentiation cannot be applied to Buddhism, which denies the existence of a creator-deity and does not draw a rigid distinction between transcendent and profane people. This religion has a belief that the latter are capable of turning themselves sacred through cultivation because every person has the potential to attain buddhahood (buddha-nature; *buddhatā*; *foxing* 佛性) as the Buddha did. Therefore, it might be neither justified to differentiate worship from veneration in discussions of Buddhism, nor reasonable to describe only the devotion for buddhas’ stūpas as stūpa worship, which should also include the reverence for other Buddhist stūpas.

Do the terms worship, veneration, and stūpa worship have their counterparts in Chinese? Veneration is usually translated as *jingmu* 景慕, *zunzhong* 尊重, *zunjing* 尊敬, and other similar terms. These Chinese terms, however, are seldom applied in Chinese texts to exclusively describe religious devotion towards a deity or a holy figure; therefore, they are not the equivalences to veneration in the religious sense. Worship is rendered as *chongbai* 崇拜, a term usually related to religious respect and reverence for the holy or the venerable.

⁸ For example, the terms “stūpa worship” and “stūpa veneration” appear and are used interchangeably in Trainor’s *Relics, Ritual, and Representation in Buddhism*, 56 & 61; John M. Thompson’s “The Tower of Power’s Finest Hour: Stūpa Construction and Veneration in the *Lotus Sūtra*,” *Southeast Reviews of Asian Studies* 30 (2008): 123, 124, 126, & 135.

⁹ Tim Bayne and Yujin Nagasawa, “The Grounds of Worship,” *Religious Studies* 42 (2006): 302.

Hence, scholars generally regard *fota chongbai* 佛塔崇拜 as the translation of *stūpa* worship, thus using it in their investigations into Buddhist scriptural narrations of such worship or their reviews of scholarly findings on the worship in India. They, however, seldom use it in their discussion of Chinese *stūpas*; this probably suggests that such worship does not often happen to these objects.¹⁰ And the way they apply *chongbai* perhaps does not differ greatly from the way in which they use the term worship. The dictionary of religions edited by modern scholar Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 has an entry for it, which says that its purpose is to express one's gratitude to and to plead with a supernatural being one believes in. Clearly, like that of worship, the recipient of *chongbai* is regarded as a living being, not an inanimate thing.¹¹

There is no single term I can find equivalent to *stūpa* worship or *fota chongbai* commonly used by pre-modern Buddhist translators. They applied the term *lita* 禮塔 (*li* 禮 [verb]: venerate; *ta* 塔: *stūpa*), but it did not noticeably prevail in their works.¹² The word *li*, denoting propriety, rite, and ritual, is thought to have originally referred to religious services for deities and ghosts in Chinese ancient times¹³; therefore, it is suitably used to describe devotional acts. I cannot find any definition given for it by the translators, who tended to

¹⁰ For example, Li Yumin 李玉珉, "Zhongguo zaoqi fota suyuan" 中國早期佛塔溯源 (Tracing the origins of early Chinese *stūpas*), *Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊 6.3 (1989): 75-104; Zhang Wenliang 張文良, "Fota chongbai yu Dacheng fojiao de qi yuan—yi Xi tian zheng hong de xue shuo wei zhong xin" 佛塔崇拜與大乘的起源—以下田正弘的學說為中心 (Stūpa worship and the origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism: [a discussion] based on Masahiro Shimoda's 下田正弘 studies), *Nanchang hangkong daxue xuebao* 南昌航空大學學報 (*shehui kexue ban* 社會科學版) 1 (2009): 1-8. Indeed, I cannot find any close investigations conducted into *stūpa* worship in China, so the terms *fota chongbai* and *stūpa* worship are usually found in those on the worship depicted in Buddhist texts or occurring in India Buddhist society.

¹¹ In the dictionary, *chongbai* is taken as the translation of worship (p. 1263). And the entry is found in Ren Jiyu, *Zhongjiao cidian* 宗教詞典 (Dictionary of religions) (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1981), 951.

¹² For example, *Sifen lü* 四分律 (the four-division vinaya), T no. 1428, 22: 50.940b. For information on this work, see note 24 below.

¹³ Some scholars such as Xu Shen 許慎 (ca. 58-147) link *li* to religious services. For their views, see Zhu Chengru 朱誠如 & Wang Shushen 王樹森, *Zhongguo gudai wenhua jichu zhishi* 中國古代文化基礎知識 (Fundamental knowledge of Chinese ancient culture) (Dalian: Liaoning shifan daxue chubanshe, 1997), 131.

detail varied offerings the pious donate when depicting the devotion related to stūpas (see the quotes from Buddhist texts in the footnotes below). But considering that a similar term *lifo* 禮佛 (worshipping the Buddha) clearly denotes that the Buddha is the recipient of worship, it is reasonable to infer that *ta* refers to an object or a being, like the Buddha, accepting devotion from worshippers. For this reason, *lita* can be translated as worshipping stūpas, and like stūpa in stūpa worship, *ta* here refers to the object of worship.

1.1 Buddhist Stūpas and the Worship of Them Narrated in Chinese Buddhist Literature

Since Buddhist stūpas came from India, before dealing with the literature, I shall first give a brief review of some scholars' studies on stūpa worship in Indian Buddhism, which will illustrate that such worship is regarded as an important issue in Buddhist history. One of the scholars examining this issue, Hirakawa Akira 平川彰 considers that, along with Nikāya (Sectarian) Buddhism and biographical literature of the Buddha, stūpa worship was one of the three sources of Mahāyāna Buddhism. This development, according to him, originated from the discrepancy between Nikāya and Mahāyāna traditions: the former "emphasized monasticism and rigid adherence to the precepts [by this word, he should refer to monastic precepts here]," whereas the latter "was originally concerned with laymen." When the monastic order did not take stūpas as objects of worship, laymen considered them to be of great importance, continuing their faith in the Buddha through them and thus making them

the centres of worship.¹⁴ Such faith in the eternal existence of the Buddha (not only Śākyamuni but also other buddhas) developed into a religion, Mahāyāna Buddhism. And a group of laity later became stūpa administrators, who preached the greatness of the Buddha as a saviour.¹⁵ André Bareau also affirms the prominent role of stūpa worship in the development of Buddhism. He traces the veneration of the Buddha through his relics back to the first decades after his *nirvāṇa*, and maintains that monks did not participate in such worship at first. Only after the Buddha departed from the world, did a religious cult of devotion develop, thus the rise of relic / stūpa veneration.¹⁶ Lay Buddhists, who, Bareau thinks, were unable to grasp the subtle connotation of the Buddha's *nirvāṇa*, therefore turned to his relics and stūpas in order to seek for his presence in these objects. After this, Buddhism developed in a religion involving the relations between humans and divine or extraordinary

¹⁴ See Hirakawa (Paul Groner tran. & ed.), *A History of Indian Buddhism: From Śākyamuni to Early Mahāyāna* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990), 270-271.

¹⁵ Hirakawa, "The Rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Its Relationship to the Worship of Stūpas," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 22: 98-106; idem, *A History of Indian Buddhism*, 270-274; idem, "Stūpa worship," 8797-8798.

Hirakawa's views on Mahāyāna Buddhism are shared by other Japanese scholars, like Sasaki Kyōgo 佐佐木教悟 and Takasaki Jikidō 高崎直道 et al., *Yindu fojiao gaishuo* 印度佛教概說 (General discussion of Indian Buddhism; translation of *Bukkyōshi gaisetsu. Indo hen* by Yang Zengwen 楊曾文 and Yao Changshou 姚長壽; Shanghai: Fudan daxue chuban she, 1989), 58-60. His views are also taken by Roy W. Perrett, "Symbols, Icons and Stūpas," *British Journal of Aesthetics* 36.4 (1996 Oct): 434-435.

For comments on Hirakawa's study, see Paul Groner's brief note attached to his translation of Hirakawa's *A History of Indian Buddhism*, 340-341, and Schopen's articles such as "Monks and the Relic Cult in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*: An Old Misunderstanding in Regard to Monastic Buddhism," in *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks: Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 99-113, and his "The Bones of a Buddha and the Business of a Monk," 63-107.

¹⁶ Since both the relic and the stūpa are equated with the holy figure and have similar symbolic meanings, scholars of Indian Buddhism sometimes do not separate relic- and stūpa-cults from each other in their studies. See, e.g. Jacob N. Kinnard, "The Field of the Buddha's Presence," in *Embodying the Dharma: Buddhist Relic Veneration in Asia*, ed. David Germano and Kevin Trainor (New York: State University of New York, 2004), 117-118; Gregory Schopen, "The Bones of a Buddha and the Business of a Monk: Conservative Monastic Values in an Early Mahāyāna Polemical Tract," in *Figments and Fragments of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 63-107. As will be shown in Chapters Two and Three, these two kinds of objects were not treated identically and relic cult developed separately from stūpa worship in China.

beings.¹⁷ Gregory Schopen has different ideas. He argues that the Buddhist order participated in and was not prohibited from relic / stūpa cult, because the Pāli vinaya literature contains mentions of monks' and nuns' construction of stūpas and in the sites such as Bhājā and Bedsā (both located in western India) there are some stūpas attributed to the order.¹⁸

Regardless of where these scholars differ, they commonly agree that the stūpa was given unique significance in Indian Buddhism and stūpa worship was a matter of concern to the laity and/or the Buddhist order. It was believed that, present in the stūpa, the Buddha therefore continued to receive reverence and alms from the devout after his *nirvāṇa*. And hence the stūpa was thought to be as inviolable and sacred as the Buddha was.¹⁹ The discussion of these scholars' studies should suffice to show that Buddhist stūpas and worship of them are important to our understanding of Buddhism.

¹⁷ For a discussion and comment on Bareau's views, see Trainor, *Relics, Ritual, and Representation in Buddhism*, 45-65.

¹⁸ Schopen, "The *Stūpa* Cult and the Extant Pāli Vinaya," in *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks*, 86-98; *idem*, "Monks and the Relic Cult in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*," 99-113. Although I discuss Schopen's works only here, his findings about are Buddhist stūpas widely accepted by other scholars and often mentioned in their works. For example, Kevin Trainor, *Relics, Ritual, and Representation in Buddhism: Rematerializing the Sri Lankan Theravāda tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 47; John S. Strong, "The Buddha's Funeral," in *The Buddhist Dead: Practices, Discourses, Representations*, eds. Bryan J. Cuevas and Jacqueline I. Stone (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 50; Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes*, 4, 30-31.

Shimoda, who agrees with Schopen's findings, discusses in detail Schopen's evidence mentioned above in his study on the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*. Shimoda, *Nehangyō no kenkyū: Daijō kyōten no kenkyū hōhō shiron* 涅槃經の研究-大乘經典の研究 方法試論 (A study of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra*: a preliminary discussion on the methodology of the study of Mahāyāna sūtras) (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1997), 119-120.

¹⁹ The scholars such as Takayasu Suzuki, Kevin Trainor, and Jorinde Ebert also share the same or similar idea that the stūpa was the Buddha, representing simultaneously his presence or *nirvāṇa*. Agreeing on Paul Mus's points, both Trainor and Ebert consider that the stūpa represented his body and made him present to the faithful after his *nirvāṇa*. Suzuki, "*Stūpa* Worship and *Dharama* Evaluation in the *Suvarnaprabhāsa*," *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 51.2 (Mar 2003): 32-36; Ebert, "*Parinirvāṇa* and Stūpa: Was the 'Stūpa' only a 'Symbolical' Depiction of the '*Parinirvāṇa*'?" in *The Stūpa: Its Religious, Historical, Architectural Significance*, 219-228; Trainor, *Relics, Ritual, and Representation in Buddhism*, 38-39; Thompson, "The Tower of Power's Finest Hour," 121. It is not, however, alleged that stūpas in India had only one symbolic meaning, but the one that they were the Buddha was the most important. For a study on the meanings of stūpas, see Eric Stratton, *The Evolution of Indian Stūpa Architecture in East Asia* (New Delhi: Vedams ebook Pvt. Ltd, 2002), 1-18.

One would wonder whether stūpas, a kind of Buddhist symbol often linked with the spread of the religion,²⁰ and the worship of them also played such significant roles in Chinese Buddhism. Stūpas appeared in China as early as the Eastern Han Dynasty,²¹ perhaps around the same time as Buddhism was introduced, and have remained part of the Chinese landscape thereafter. This phenomenon is seen as evidence for the prosperity of this religion in the society there.²² But there has been no close investigation conducted into Chinese Buddhists' understanding and veneration of these objects. Thus, the scope of stūpa worship in China is still barely understood.

It is not alleged that there are few descriptions of stūpas in extant Chinese textual materials. In fact, considerable works composed in different dynasties contain references to stūpas. Nonetheless, as will be shown in Chapter Two, they seldom record Chinese Buddhists' devotional activities performed for these objects—in other words, stūpa worship as defined above. It sounds rather puzzling that, if viewed as objects of significance in Buddhism, stūpas were not often venerated by them. Apparently, being an object of people's worship markedly differs from being a Buddhist place for their worship. If a stūpa performs the latter function, it is then not greatly different from Buddhist monasteries or other loci of cultivation and devotion.

²⁰ Such remarks are found, for example, in Stratton, *The Evolution of Indian Stūpa Architecture in East Asia*, "Introduction," 1-3 and "The Philosophical Indianization of Northast Asia: the Third Lineage," 82-131. It is also seen in Buddhists' interpretation of legends about Aśoka (the third emperor of the Mauryan Dynasty; r. 272-231 B.C.E.), a famous Indian ruler in support of Buddhism. His erection of 84,000 stūpas throughout his empire and beyond, the legend of which is narrated in Buddhist texts, as well as those of some other measures, is viewed as a phenomenon indicating the prosperity of the religion in his reign. I shall discuss the legend of this ruler's stūpa campaign later in this chapter.

²¹ The first stūpa in China thought to have been set up in the Eastern Han will be discussed in Chapter 5.2.

²² This supposition is stated in both ancient and modern works. The *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 (A Record of Buddhist monasteries in Luoyang), one of the main sources for Chapter Two, for example, depicts many impressive stūpas in Luoyang city as well as splendid monasteries as signs of the prosperity of Buddhism in the Northern Wei. This work becomes a text about the religion at that time frequently consulted by scholars of Chinese Buddhism.

Probably, the functions of stūpas in China are determined by Chinese Buddhists' understanding of them. How do Chinese Buddhists understand stūpas? But before we can answer this question (the aim of this dissertation), inevitably we have to deal with an issue: if they worship stūpas, can they get the sanction from Chinese Buddhist scriptures? In other words, do scriptural compilers and translators describe stūpas as objects of worship and urge Buddhists to pay homage to them? Buddhist scriptures are supposed to be treated by Chinese Buddhists as important authoritative guidance / blueprints for their cultivation and behaviour. If they present stūpas as divine / extraordinary beings such as the Buddha and other Buddhist figures, they will tell Buddhists how they should perceive and venerate stūpas by either listing regulations concerning these objects, or relating the stories of how Indian Buddhists constructed and worshipped them as examples. Given that Buddhist canonical texts are taken by Chinese Buddhists (as well as other Buddhists) as media for learning the Buddha's Dharma, it would be interesting to figure out whether they follow them in treating these objects. Therefore, in this chapter I shall look at some narrations of stūpas in Chinese Buddhist *sūtras* and vinaya (monastic precept; *lǜ* 律) works.

Many of the *sūtras* and vinaya works I discuss in the following were prominent in Chinese Buddhist society in the Six Dynasties. The *Lotus Sūtra* (*Fahua jing* 法華經), for example, was the text on which the doctrines of the Tiantai Buddhism 天台宗 (a Chinese tradition forming in the late Six Dynasties period) were based. The *Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經 (*Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra*) was introduced into southern China by Zhu Daosheng 竺道生 (355-434), who, together with his disciples, raised debates in the Buddhist society there

on some ideas (e.g. the Buddha nature) stated in it.²³ The four vinaya works²⁴ quoted below were also believed at that time to be the different interpretations of the Buddha's teachings on monastic precepts. A contemporary belief circulating had it that a number of Indian practitioners who had observed them attained great achievement in cultivation.²⁵ These revered Buddhist texts explicate in detail the way in which stūpas should be perceived and worshipped; hence they are worthy of a discussion here. The guidance provided by them was probably deemed convincing and authoritative by Chinese Buddhists at that time.

In addition to Buddhist scriptures, I shall also examine Chinese monks' travel accounts about their pilgrimages to India. The travel accounts may not be held in the same reverence as are Buddhist scriptures, but they are invaluable sources to Chinese Buddhists for learning of Indian Buddhism, the model in their eyes that developed according to the Buddha's Dharma. Given the high regard Chinese Buddhists had for Indian Buddhism, it can

²³ For discussions of the relationship between the *Lotus Sūtra* and the Tiantai school and that of the debates, see the studies such as Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972), 128-129 & 304-305; Tang Yongtong 湯用彤, *Han Wei liang Jin Nanbei chao fojiaoshi* 漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史 (Buddhist history of the Han, Wei, two Jins, Southern-and-Northern Dynasties) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chuban she), 431-481. For information on the *Lotus Sūtra* and *Daban niepan jing*, see notes 27, 28, 110, and 111 below.

²⁴ *Mohesengqi lü* 摩訶僧祇律 (Monastic rules of the Great Assembly 大眾部; *Mahāsāṅgha vinaya*), 40 fascs., trans. Buddhahadra 佛陀跋陀羅 (fl. early fifth century) and Faxian 法顯 (d. 418-423) in 416; *Wufen lü* 五分律 (The five-division vinaya; *Mahīśāsaka vinaya*), also called the *Mishasaibu wufenlü* 彌沙塞部五分律 (*Mahīśāsaka vinaya*; five-division precepts of the Mahīśāsaka school) or *Mishasai pu hexi wufen lü* 彌沙塞部和醯五分律 (the meaning of the term *hexi* is not known), 1 fasc, trans. Buddhajīva (Fotuoshi 佛陀什; fl. 423) and Zhu Daosheng 竺道生 (355-434) in 423-424; *Sifen lüzang* 四分律藏 (The four-division precept canon; (a.k.a *Sifen lü*), 60 fascs, translated by Buddhayasas (a.k.a. Jueming 覺明 or Fotuoyeshe 佛陀耶舍 [fl. early 5th century]) and Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 (late 4th to early 5th centuries) in 410-412; *Shisong lü* 十誦律 (*Sarvāstivāda vinaya*), 65 fascs, translated by Punyatara (Furuoduoluo 弗若多羅 [d. 404]) and Kumārajīva in 404. Among these four major vinaya texts, starting from the Sui and Tang, the *Wufen lü* became most influential in Chinese Buddhist society.

²⁵ The legend is narrated in Sengyou's 僧祐 (445-518) *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 (A collection of records about translation of the *Tripitaka*) (T no. 2145, 55: 3.19c; Su Jinren 蘇晉仁 and Xiao Lianzi 蕭鍊子 [ed.], *Chu sanzang jiji* [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995], 114-115). See Yan Yaosheng 嚴耀中, *Fojiao jielü yu Zhongguo shehui* 佛教戒律與中國社會 (Buddhist precepts and Chinese society) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuban she, 2007), 17-18.

be inferred that if such travel accounts record the devotional activities Indian practitioners performed in relation to stūpas, they would encourage Chinese Buddhists to emulate these people.²⁶

In the following, based on Buddhist *sūtras* and vinaya works and Chinese monks' travel accounts, my discussion will deal with the fundamental belief about Buddhist stūpas stated in Buddhist scriptures, and some precepts reflecting this belief. When juxtaposed with the definitions of stūpas given by ancient Chinese writers and modern scholars, the scriptural narrations of these objects offer different standpoints, showing that this belief is not regarded as their characteristic feature in China, thus suggesting that Chinese Buddhists perhaps did not worship them. Next I shall examine a few aspects about the worship of them: the relic cult and its relation to stūpa worship, the participation in the worship by the laity and the Buddhist order, and stūpas set up for deceased monks and nuns. Discussing these issues will help to grasp the ways in which Chinese Buddhists understand and treat stūpas, which this dissertation is aimed at studying.

Then, I shall turn to the scope of my investigation, its limitations, and the sources consulted for it. Finally, I shall give an outline of the chapters of this dissertation.

²⁶ Xinru Liu deems that these scriptural works and travel accounts had played an important role in driving Buddhists to pay homage and make donations. "Information about Buddhist practices was transmitted from India to China along commercial routes. Fa-hsien (Faxian 法顯 [d. 418-423]) and other pilgrims such as Chih-meng (Zhimeng 智猛 [fl. 404-439]) brought back Buddhist documents, witnessed Buddhist ceremonies performed in fifth-century India, and also paid their respects at many monumental buildings which could be traced back to the period of the Kushan king Kanishka (sic.). The messages they carried back prompted their fellow Buddhists in China to persuade their patrons to finance rituals, cave temples and statues... Another source of information encouraging Chinese Buddhists to worship and make donations was the Buddhist canons which were translated continuously into Chinese from the third century AD." Liu, *Ancient India and Ancient China: Trade and Religious Exchanges AD 1-600* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988) 159.

Although his above-cited discussion focuses on the Northern Wei only, it clearly illustrates that Buddhist scriptural works and travel accounts provided Chinese Buddhists with blueprints for their practices, thus motivating them to pay respect for Buddhist monuments (i.e. stūpas).

1.1.1 The Central Belief About Buddhist Stūpas: The Stūpa = the Buddha

I shall start my discussion by looking at the *Lotus Sūtra*.²⁷ One of the most popular texts in China, dealing with many influential notions in Chinese Buddhism,²⁸ this scripture is certainly a good starting point. Considered to be one of the canonical sources for stūpa worship²⁹, it contains several relevant narrations, one of which, in chapter ten “Preachers of Dharma” (Fashi pin 法師品), is said to be the Buddha’s words to Bodhisattva Medicine King (Bhaiṣajyarāja; Yaowang 藥王). The text says that the stūpa should be worshipped because the Buddha is in it, thus clearly conveying that one should worship the stūpa because the

²⁷ The *Lotus Sūtra* (Skt. *Saddharmapundarīka sūtra*) has three Chinese translations, which were done by Dharmarakṣa in the Western Jin Dynasty (*Zhengfahua jing* 正法華經; T9, no. 263); by Kumārajīva (Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什; 344-413, or 350-409) in the Yao Qing period (384-417) (*Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經; T9, no. 262); and by Jnānagupta (Shennajueduo 闍那崛多; 523-600) and Dharmagupta 達磨笈多 (d. 619) in the Sui Dynasty (*Tianpin miaofa lianhua jing* 添品妙法蓮華經). The version I use is the one rendered by Kumārajīva, which is the most popular. Its English translation is by Leon Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma* (The *Lotus Sūtra*) (New York: Columbia University, 1976). Burton Watson has also made a translation entitled *The Lotus Sūtra* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993). Watson’s translation, according to his own notes, is designed for readers who have no special background in Buddhist studies or Asian literature; Sanskrit names and terms are therefore romanized in a form slightly different from that usually seen in works for specialists. For this reason, although his translation is also based on Kumārajīva’s Chinese translation, I shall use Hurvitz’s when citing the *Lotus Sūtra*.

There is also a Sanskrit version, which H. Kern has translated into English as *Saddharma-Pundarīka or The Lotus of the True Law* (New York: Dover Publication, Inc., 1963).

²⁸ One of the notions stated in the text is that Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna traditions have the same derivation, both being expedient teachings spoken by the Buddha for people of different capacities (see its chapter two “Fangbian pin” 方便品 [Skt. *Upāyakauśalya*]). Therefore, the Tiantai school 天台宗 claimed that the *Lotus Sūtra* was the complete revelation of ultimate truth, the One Vehicle (*yicheng* 一乘).

For studies about the influence of this *sūtra* on Chinese Buddhism, see, for example, Eugene Wang, *Shaping the Lotus Sūtra: Buddhist Visual Culture in Medieval China* (Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 2006); Shengkai 聖凱, “Lun Zhongguo zaoqi yi ‘Fahua jing’ wei zhongxin de xinyang xingtai” 論中國早期以法華經為中心的信仰形態 (Discussion of the faith centered on the *Lotus Sūtra* in China), *Fayin* 法音 (The sound of Dharma) 7 (2002): 3-7 and 8 (2002): 12-19.

²⁹ Agreeing on Hirakawa’s observations on the role of stūpa worship in the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism, Sasaki (as well as the other authors of the *Bukkyōshi gaisetsu*) and Thompson also consider that since the *Lotus Sūtra* is a text of early Mahāyāna Buddhism, it describes frequently stūpa worship, and this demonstrates its members’ dedication to such worship. Sasaki simply mentions the relation between Mahāyāna and worship, whereas Hirakawa and Thompson discuss in detail the relevant passages of this text in their studies. Hirakawa, “The Rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism,” 85-89; Sasaki et al., *Yindu fojiao gaishuo*, trans. by Yang et al., 60; Thompson, “The Tower of Power’s Finest Hour,” 123-126.

Buddha is in it, even though there is no relic. The stūpa, by itself, is already a Buddha. Hence, by worshipping it, one will be close to enlightenment.³⁰

Because of such greatly admirable merits, the *sūtra* insists that both the monk and the lay Buddhist should pay reverence to stūpas, as verified by a *gāthā* (metrical hymn; *ji* 偈), said to be uttered by the Buddha, in chapter seventeen “Discrimination of Merits” (*Punyaparyāya*; Fenbie gongde pin 分別功德品). The *gāthā* describes the practices the monk and the lay Buddhist should take. It urges them to construct, revere, and make offerings to the stūpa because what they do for it is actually done for the Buddha. It first deals with the practices that the monk should take, which include venerating the stūpa. Here this kind of practice is highly praised, listed with four of the six *pāramitās*,³¹ all of which are said to lead him to remove arrogance and to acquire wisdom.³²

³⁰ The relevant section reads as follows:

O Medicine King! Wherever it (i.e. the *Lotus Sūtra*) may be preached, or read, or recited, or written, or whatever place a roll of this scripture may occupy, in all those places one is to erect a stūpa of the seven jewels, building it high and wide and with impressive decoration. There is no need even to lodge *śarīra* in it. What is the reason? Within it there is already a whole body of the Thus Come One. This stūpa is to be showered with offerings, humbly venerated, held in solemn esteem, and praised with all manner of flowers, scents, necklaces, silk banners and canopies, music skillfully sung and played. If there are persons who can see this stūpa and worship and make offerings to it, be it known that these persons are all close to *anuttarasamyaksambodhi* (the perfect wisdom of a Buddha, or unexcelled complete enlightenment; *Anoudouluosanmiaosanputi* 阿耨多羅三藐三菩提).

(Hurvitz [trans.] *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, 178-179)

藥王! 在在處處, 若說、若讀、若誦、若書, 若經卷所住處, 皆應起七寶塔, 極令高廣嚴飾, 不須復安舍利。所以者何? 此中已有如來全身。此塔, 應以一切華、香、瓔珞、繒蓋、幢幡、伎樂、歌頌, 供養恭敬, 尊重讚歎。若有人得見此塔, 禮拜、供養。當知是等皆近阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。
(*Miaofa lianhua jing*, pin 10, T no. 262, 9: 4.31b)

³¹ The *pāramitās* (*liudu* 六度) are six practices for delivering one from mortality. The four listed here are donating (*dāna*), commandment keeping (*śīla*), insult enduring (*ksānti*), and concentrating (*dhyāna*). The other two are progress (*vīrya*) and wisdom (*prajñā*: the power to discern reality or truth).

³² The *gāthā* reads as follows when describing the practice the monk should take:
況復持此經 How much truer shall this be of one who keeps this scripture

After this part, the *gāthā* immediately describes the practices in which a lay Buddhist should partake. When seeing such a monk with a great achievement in cultivation,³³ whom is referred here to as the Buddha’s son, he should present him with flowers and garments, pay homage to him, and build a stūpa at the places where he has lived, gone, and given a *gāthā*. There is, however, no mention here of enshrining his or the Buddha’s relics in this stūpa. This suggests that whether or not a stūpa is holy is not determined by whether or not it contains a relic. The reason why it is holy and should be constructed and presented with various offerings is that the Buddha is always here, receiving worshippers’ respect and offerings.³⁴ Here the value of the stūpa lies in its drawing the thought of the Buddha and of

兼布施持戒 And who at the same time spreads gifts all round, keep the prohibitions (i.e. Buddhist precepts, my explanation),
 忍辱樂禪定 Endures humiliation, desires dhyāna-concentration,
 不瞋不惡口 Neither angry nor foul-mouthed,
 恭敬於塔廟 Humbly reveres the stūpa-shrines,
 謙下諸比丘 Defers to the *bhikṣus*,
 遠離自高心 Puts arrogant thoughts far from himself,
 常思惟智慧 Ever aspires to wisdom,
 有問難不瞋 And is not angry when there are queries or objections
 隨順為解說 But explains himself acquiescently!
 若能行是行 If one can perform these acts,
 功德不可量 One’s merit shall be incalculable.
 (*Miaofa lianhua jing*, T no. 262, 9: 17.46a-46b; Hurvitz [trans.], *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, 256)

³³ The monk described here is said to have got into the state of “*wulou wuwei* 無漏無為” (no-ado that has no outflow [Hurvitz’s translation]), which is supreme enlightenment resulting in *nirvāṇa*. Hurvitz (trans.), *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, 256n.

³⁴ *Miaofa lianhua jing*, pin 17, T no. 262, 9: 5.46b:

若見此法師 If one sees this Dharma-master

the cultivation of the monk from worshippers. It then may not be an important issue whether or not it has a relic as long as it can evoke Buddhists' faith.

This, however, does not mean that the relic is devalued in the *sūtra*, which indeed also urges Buddhists to enshrine the Buddha's relics into stūpas and to pay homage to them, as evidenced by another segment of the *gāthā*. It exhorts Buddhists to decorate these stūpas with high *cha* 刹 (stūpa-pole)³⁵ and bells, and made various offerings such as flower, jewels, and garments. Such devotional acts during the time of final Dharma, it says, are excellent and

成就如是德 Perfect such excellences as these,
應以天華散 One must strew him with divine flowers,
天衣覆其身 Cover his body with divine garments,
頭面接足禮 Touch one's face and head to his feet in obeisance,
生心如佛想 And produce thoughts of him as if of a Buddha.
又應作是念 One should also think:
不久詣道樹 "In no long time he shall arrive at the Platform of the Way,
得無漏無為 Gaining the no-ado that has no outflows
廣利諸人天 And broadly benefiting men and god."
其所住止處 Wherever he may have dwelt,
經行若坐臥 Or walked, or sat or lain,
乃至說一偈 Wherever, for that matter, he may have uttered a single *gāthā*,
是中應起塔 Therein one is to erect a stūpa,
莊嚴令妙好 Adorning it, making it fine and lovely,
種種以供養 And making sundry offerings to it.
佛子住此地 If the Buddha's son dwell in this land,
則是佛受用 Then the Buddha gains the advantage thereof,
常在於其中 Ever being within it,
經行及坐臥 Whether walking, sitting, or lying.

(Hurvitz [trans.], *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, 256-257)

³⁵ Hurvitz translates the Chinese character *cha* here as *chatra* (his book reads *chattra* on p. 128), the Sanskrit term meaning parasol. This Chinese character, however, does not denote the canopy but the central pole of the stūpa in Buddhist scriptural and non-scriptural texts. See note 153 of Chapter Two for examples. The *Lotus Sūtra* itself also shows that *cha* does not mean canopy. Its chapter 23 reads “一切眾生憐見菩薩見佛滅度... 收取舍利, 作八萬四千寶瓶, 以起八萬四千塔, 高三世界, 表刹(my emphasis)莊嚴, 垂諸幡蓋(my emphasis), 懸眾寶鈴。” (*Miaofa lianhua jing*, pin 23, T no. 262, 9: 6.53c) And Hurvitz's translation is “At that time, the bodhisattva Seen with Joy by All living Beings, seeing that the Buddha had passed into extinction... he collected the śārīra and, making eight-four thousand jeweled pots, with it erected eighty-four thousand stūpa the height of three world-sphere, displaying *chattras* (parasols) (my emphasis) as ornament, draped with banners and *parasols* (my emphasis), and hung with a multitude of jeweled bells.” (*Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, 297) With both the characters *cha* and *gai* rendered as parasols, the translation cannot be completely comprehensible. These two characters in the original Chinese text translated by Kumārajīva clearly refer to two different components of the stūpas. I argue that *cha* means the core mast of the stūpa.

thus admirable.³⁶ Similar exhortations, which also emphasize the amazing merits that one can acquire through stūpa worship, repeatedly appear in the *sūtra*. Such worship, apparently coming from reverence towards the Buddha (or other Buddhist holy figures, as will be illustrated here), is based on the belief that the stūpa represents Śākyamuni (or other Buddhist holy figures)—the recipient of honour and various offerings.

In addition to the *Lotus Sūtra*, this belief is also stated in other Buddhist works, for example the *Mohesengqi lü*. It records a story that Gautama Buddha, in the company of Ānanda and other disciples, saw a brahman plowing in Kośala (translated as Jusaluo 拘薩羅 here, or as Jiaosaluo 僑薩羅 elsewhere; the modern Oude). Holding his staff (plough?; lit. *niuzhang* 牛杖 = a staff for herding cattle?) and staying where he was, the brahman paid obeisance to the Buddha when he saw him. The Buddha then smiled. His disciples asked the reason why he smiled and were told that this was because this brahman had paid honour to two world-honoured ones (*shizun* 世尊). Under the land where the Buddha's staff stood there

³⁶ *Miaofa lianhua jing*, pin 17, T no. 262, 9: 5.46a:

若我滅度後 If after my passage into extinction
 能奉持此經 Anyone can exalt this scripture...
 以舍利起塔 And with śarīra (relics) have erected a stūpa
 七寶而莊嚴 Adorned with the seven jewels,
 表刹甚高廣 Displaying a *chatra* (*cha* 刹; stūpa-pole?; see the note above) very high and wide,
 漸小至梵天 Gradually tapering till it reaches the Brahmā-gods,
 寶鈴千萬億 And jeweled tinkling bells in the thousands of myriads of millions
 風動出妙音 That give forth a subtle sound when shaken by the wind.
 又於無量劫 He also throughout incalculable kalpas
 而供養此塔 Shall have made offerings to this stūpa
 華香諸瓔珞 Of flower perfume and necklaces,
 天衣眾伎樂 Of divine garments and the music of a host of instruments
 燃香油酥燈 And burnt candles of scented wax,
 周匝常照明 Ever shining brightly all around.
 惡世法末時 In an evil age, at the time of the final Dharma,
 能持是經者 Whoever can keep this scripture
 則為已如上 Thereby, as just said, shall already
 具足諸供養 Have perfected sundry offerings...
 (Hurvitz [trans.], *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, 254-255)

was a stūpa of the past Buddha Kāśyapa (Ch. Jiaye 迦葉)³⁷. The disciples asked to see the stūpa, and their request was granted. The Buddha then told them to ask the brahman for the land. Using his supernatural power, the Buddha displayed the jewelled stūpa of Kāśyapa.³⁸ Here it is clear that this stūpa is viewed as the previous Buddha, receiving reverence from the brahman. This story is also related in the *Wufen lü*, which says that this stūpa had been built by a ruler after the previous Buddha's *nirvāṇa*. When Śākyamuni displayed the stūpa to his disciples, they found “the relics of Buddha Kāśyapa's whole body” majestic.³⁹ The wordings here sound bizarre because the Buddha exhibited the stūpa, but what his disciples saw was the relics. However, given that these two kinds of objects are given almost the same connotations (see below), it may not be strange that they are mentioned interchangeably here.

1.1.2 Monastic Regulations Concerning the Construction and Treatment of Stūpas— Authoritative Guidance on Stūpa Worship

As shown above, in Buddhist literature stūpas are equated with the Buddha (or other Buddhist holy people), but not Buddhist constructions. Hence, because of this belief, Buddhists are requested to show the same respect for Buddhist stūpas as that for the Buddha. As easily inferred, Buddhist vinaya works therefore state a number of regulations regarding the Buddhist order's proper attitude towards stūpas. Although these works are not targeted at

³⁷ There were several Buddhist figures named Kāśyapa. In addition to this Buddha, one of the Buddha's principal disciples (also known as Mahākāśyapa [Ch. Dajiaye 大迦葉]) was also called so.

³⁸ *Mohesengqi lü*, T no. 1425,22: 33.497b. This story has a variant in the *Genbenshuoyiqiyoubu pi'naiye yaoshi* 根本說一切有部毗奈耶藥事 (*Mūlasarvāda vinaya bhasisajya vastu*; A Vinaya [text] about medicine in fundamental teachings, [namely] Sarvāstivādin), trans. Yijing, T no. 1448, 24: 12.53a. I shall discuss it later.

³⁹ *Wufen lü*, T no. 1421, 22: 26.172c: 佛即出塔示諸四眾, 迦葉佛全身舍利儼然如本. Another variant of the story is found in the *Sifen lüzang* (T no. 1428, 22: 52.958b).

lay Buddhists, they present vividly the inviolable images of stūpas, which are also transmitted to these people through the Buddhist order. In fact, some of the regulations are also found in Buddhist *sūtras*; therefore, they are also applied to and are supposedly observed by lay Buddhists.⁴⁰ I shall discuss some of these regulations here, because, as will be examined in Chapters Two and Three, they were not often complied with by Chinese Buddhists.

The Buddhist vinaya works disallow Buddhists to construct stūpas for those other than Buddhist holy and respectable people. The *Wufen lü* says that after the Buddha Śākyamuni displayed with his supernatural power the stūpa that a certain ruler in the past built for the previous Buddha Kāśyapa, he reconstructed a new one with his disciples. They then asked Śākyamuni whether or not they could also set up stūpas too for pratyeka-buddhas (*bizhifo* 辟支佛; solitary buddhas), *arhats*, and *cakarvartīs* (*zhuanlun wang* 轉輪王; wheel turners or universal monarchs), apart from buddhas. He replied that stūpas ought to be built for four kinds of people: buddhas, *pratyeka-buddhas*, sacred disciples (*sheng dizi* 聖弟子), and *cakarvartīs*. The *arhats* probably mean the Buddha's disciples—the sacred disciples referred to here.⁴¹ Among these people, the first three kinds are those who had remarkable achievements in penetrating the Truth, and the last kind is the most powerful political figure in the human world.⁴²

⁴⁰ For an example, see note 42 below.

⁴¹ *Mishasaibu wufenlü*, T no. 1421, 22: 26.173a.

⁴² Buddhas, *pratyeka-buddhas*, and *arhats* are called *guoren* 果人—people who have liberated themselves from transmigration. Although only these four categories of beings are allowed to have stūpas for them, as said by the vinaya literature, the Buddhist order built stūpas for its dead members. I shall return to this point later in this chapter.

In the *Zengyi Ahan jing* 增壹阿含經 (*Ekottarāgama sūtra*), the four kinds of people whose relics are allowed to be enshrined are as follows: Buddhas, *śrāvaka* (voice-hearer; *shengwen* 聲聞; personal disciples of

The prohibition against constructing stūpas for other people is explicitly stated in the vinaya literature. Here a clear message is conveyed: only those set up for Buddhist transcendent figures or universal monarchs are objects worthy of veneration, whereas non-Buddhist stūpas should not be worshipped. The *Wufen lü* tells of a story about the Buddha's injunction, which is plainly aimed at making the former acquire unique significance to Buddhists, in sharp contrast to the latter. Buddhists are not allowed to build and venerate these non-Buddhist stūpas; otherwise, they will commit *duṣkṛta* (*tujiluo* 突吉羅; a sin of bad karma committed verbally or in action).⁴³ They should not destroy or affront them either, however. Here this text tells monks what attitude they should adopt towards stūpas of other religious traditions, which perhaps include those for the spirits of the dead, demons, and non-Buddhist powerful supernatural beings.⁴⁴ Monks are asked to tolerate these stūpas, neither destroying them nor doing offensive deeds towards them, nor walking around them to the left (this act is thought offensive; see below). Although they are told to have tolerance for these

Śākyamuni or practitioners in the pursuit of attainment of *arhatship*), *pratyeka-buddhas*, and *cakravartīs*. *Zengyi Ahan jing*, translated by Saṅghadeva (Sengjiatipo 僧伽提婆; fl. 383-397), T no. 125, 2:50.823b.

⁴³ The injunction reads as follows: “There were some monks who venerated ghosts and spirits (*guishen* 鬼神). The Buddha said, “This should not be done. The one who has breached [this regulation has committed] a *duṣkṛta*. For the same [reason monks] must not build stūpas for ghosts, spirits, and non-Buddhist/heretic masters.” (有諸比丘祀祠鬼神，佛言：“不應爾，犯者突吉羅。不得為鬼神及外道師作塔亦如是”) *Mishasaibu wufenlü*, T no. 1421, 22: 26. 176c.

⁴⁴ Stūpas and other receptacles for the remains (such as funeral mounds and fire-altars) had already existed in other traditions since pre-Buddhist times. For example, Jains built stūpas for the remains of the Jain or for the relics of some important persons, or for commemorating an event or a holy place. Brahmans also set up holy fire altars—*vedi* for symbolizing the universal creator—and laid animal and human remains under them. Pant, *Stūpa Architecture in India*, 62; Sugimoto, *Indō Bukkyō no kenkyū*, 84-86; Shi Zhanru 釋湛如, “Yindu zaoqi fota xinyang de qiyan yu liubian” 印度早期佛塔信仰的起源與流變 (The origins and developments of Indian early Buddhist worship), in *Fojiao yu lishi wenhua* 佛教與歷史文化 (Buddhism and historical culture), eds. Yang Cengwen 楊曾文 and Fang Guangchang 方廣錫 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2001), 632.

stūpas, these objects are clearly distinguished from Buddhist stūpas and are not viewed as Buddhist objects of worship.⁴⁵

It is not hard to infer that the vinaya literature provides more elaborations on the rules of etiquette requested of the Buddhist order in treating Buddhist holy stūpas. Buddhist monks, for example, should worship the Buddhist stūpa by walking around it rightwards (*pradakṣiṇa*; *yourao* 右繞), not leftwards (*prasavya*; *zuorao* 左繞). Dating back to the pre-Buddhist time and being modeled on the rotation of planets around the sun, the *pradakṣiṇa* practice was performed towards holy, pure, and auspicious beings. In contrast, the *prasavya* practice was associated with negative nature or situations such as evil, illness, and inauspiciousness, and was adopted towards evil, impure beings or objects.⁴⁶ Brahmins therefore carried out this practice at cremation spots and tombs because they thought the dead to be impure.⁴⁷ The symbolic meanings of the practices clearly explain why Buddhist vinaya compilers pick up the clockwise circumambulation—the gesture of respect which was also the same as that towards a Buddha—and disallowed the other when paying honour to the

⁴⁵ There were some monks who had earlier built stūpas for ghosts and spirits, and [some] ghosts and spirits resided in (or became attached to?; lit. *yi* 依?) them; later the ghosts and spirits got angry when the stūpas decayed. The Buddha said, “[Monks] should not let the stūpas that have been established fall into decay. The one who has breached [this regulation has committed] a *duṣkṛta*.” There were some monks who urinated and defecated at the stūpas [erected] for ghosts and spirits, or walked around them leftwards. The ghosts and spirits were angry. The Buddha said, “This should not be done. The one who has breached [this regulation committed] a *duṣkṛta*. But if the roads [beside these stūpas] pass to the left of them, [monks then] may walk along them.” (有諸比丘既作鬼神塔，鬼神依之，後壞鬼神瞋。佛言：“已作，不聽壞，犯者突吉羅。”有諸比丘大小便鬼神塔中，或左繞而去，鬼神瞋。佛言：“不應爾，犯者突吉羅。若路從左邊去，聽隨路行。”) *Mishasaibu wufenlü*, T no. 1421, 22: 26. 176c.

⁴⁶ Yijing depicts the *pradakṣiṇa* practice in his records of the Buddhist practices in use as follows: “Walking round toward the right’ is in Sanskrit Pradakshina. . . . Dakshina means ‘right,’ and signifies generally any matter respectable and convenient. They (Indians) call, consequently, the right hand Dakshina, implying that to follow the right is respectable and convenient. It is therefore suitable to the ceremony of walking around.” (言旋右者，梵云鉢喇特崎拏. . . 特崎拏即是其右，嚮明尊便之目，故時人名右手為特崎拏手，意是從其右邊為尊為便，方合旋繞之儀矣。) Yijing, *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan*, T no. 2125: 3.225b-c; Wang Bangwei (annot.), *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan*, 3.166; J. Takakusu (trans.), *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, 140-141.

⁴⁷ Sugimoto, *Indō Bukkyō no kenkyū*, 88 & 308-309; Shi Zhanru, “Yindu zaoqi fota xinyang de qi yuan yu liubian,” 632.

stūpa; this is because it is a Buddha or other Buddhist holy person. This regulation is also stated in the scripture *Yourao fota gongde jing* 右繞佛塔功德經 (The *sūtra* on merits [gained by] walking rightwards around the stūpa), which expands exclusively on various merits gained through this kind of circumambulation.⁴⁸ This text illustrates that not only Buddhist monks, but also lay Buddhists are asked to take such acts towards stūpas.

Other vinaya works apart from the *Wufen lü* also record this rule. The *Sifen lü*, for example, also opposes anti-clockwise circumambulation. It further declares that passing by the left side of the stūpa is improper and thus is prohibited.⁴⁹ Obviously, the prohibition against this kind of circumambulation is because the stūpa is thought to be in marked contrast to tombs and coffins. Also, people should neither pass through the stūpa while taking corpses and the clothes once worn by the dead, nor cremate bodies near it because the nasty smell will pollute it.⁵⁰ These regulations are based on the belief that the stūpa must be kept free of pollutants such as tombs and corpses, as stated by the *Mohesengqi lü*. It says that if a stūpa is situated near a funerary forest, walls should be built for it so as to keep out scavengers that may come close to it with remains.⁵¹

As shown above, Buddhist vinaya works consistently depict the stūpa as the Buddha (or other Buddhist holy people). Not only do they regulate Buddhist devotional acts towards it, but also provide canonical warrant for their worship. It is, however, not alleged that all the works agree with each other in all regulations concerning it, but discrepancies do not mean that the works deny its holiness. To demonstrate this point, I shall discuss their variant descriptions of its proper placement in relation to the monastery. Buddhist stūpas are

⁴⁸ *Yourao fota gongde jing*, trans. Śikṣānanda 實叉難陀 (652-710), T no. 700, 16: 801b-802b.

⁴⁹ *Sifen lüzang*, T no. 1428, 22: 49.930c.

⁵⁰ *Sifen lüzang*, T no. 1428, 22: 52.958a.

⁵¹ *Mohesengqi lü*. T no. 1425, 22: 33.498a.

supposed to be taken care of by the Buddhist order; therefore, the vinaya works contain mentions of their locations.

Both the *Shisong lü* and the *Mohesengqi lü* have regulations requesting the monastery to be separated from the stūpa. According to the latter text, when a monastery is about to be built, it is necessary to find a piece of good land for a stūpa in advance. Since monks' land should not encroach on the Buddha's land and the Buddha's land should not encroach on their land either, the stūpa should be located in a high, public area, and in the east or the north of the monastery.⁵²

Some vinaya works express different ideas, though. A story recorded in the *Wufen lü* suggests that its compiler considers stūpas to be best situated among monastic complexes. A monk once ate some garlic but then was afraid that the air would be filled with the smell of garlic, so he did not go and hear the Buddha's sermon. In the end he was scolded by the Buddha, who consequently prohibited monks from eating garlic—not unless they had strong reasons. For those who have eaten garlic, within seven days afterwards, they should neither enter the lecture room, the dining room, and the bathroom, nor pass by the stūpa.⁵³

Mentioned here together with the facilities of the monastery, the stūpa is apparently thought to be situated among them. The *Sifu lü* also says that one should first worship the stūpa for a

⁵² *Mohesengqi lü*, T no. 1425, 22: 33.489a.

⁵³ The injunction reads “within seven days after eating garlic, they are not allowed to enter the bathroom (*wenshi* 溫室), the lecture room, the dining room, the bath house (*yushi* 浴室?), the toilet, and the cluster of other rooms, [and] pass by the stūpa. (七日不得入溫室、講堂、食堂、浴室、廁上、他房聚落, 塔邊過.)” *Mishasaibu wufenlü*, T no. 1421, 22: 26.176a. The term *wenshi* has the same meaning *yushi*, both denoting *snāna-ślā* in Sanskrit (Pāli: *nahāna-kothaka*). It is unknown why they both appear here.

Buddha and then those for *śrāvakas* when one enters a monastery. By this one can infer that its compiler also thinks the stūpa for a Buddha should be in the monastery.⁵⁴

Although these works are not consistent in their regulations concerning the proper location of stūpa, none of them points to the denial of its or the Buddha's honourable status. Placing a stūpa at the centre of monastic quarters apparently reflects its unique dignity. Separating it from the quarters, however, does not mean that vinaya redactors think it unimportant and thus should be left unattended as may be concluded.⁵⁵ This may simply indicate that the redactors consider monks to be sources of pollutants and therefore the stūpa should be put outside the sphere of monastic residences, as evidenced by the *Sapoduo pini piposha* 薩婆多毘尼毘婆沙 (*Sarvāstivādivinaya-vibhāṣā*). It explicitly says that, like the image, the stūpa should also not be set up in the monastic quarters in order to stay away from polluting substances from humans.⁵⁶

To sum up, Buddhist canonical texts attach great significance to the stūpa and provide guidance on how Buddhists should worship it. The rationale behind these points is that the stūpa is regarded as a living entity representing the Buddha or even being equated with him.

⁵⁴ *Sifen lü*, T no. 1428, 22: 29.766c-767a. Another vinaya work *Genbenshuoyiqieyoubu pi'naiye zashi* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事 (*Mūlasarvāstivāda nikāya vinaya samyukta vastu*; the Vinaya [text] about miscellaneous things in fundamental teachings, [namely] Sarvāstivādin; or *Sarvāstivādāh vinayas on miscellaneous affairs*; hereafter *Pi'naiye zashi*; trans. Yijing) also tells us that the stūpa for a Buddha should be set up at the centre of the monastery and the stūpa for a *śrāvaka* should be to one side. Stūpas for other venerable people may be erected at will in the monastery, but those for ordinary and moral people can only be set up outside it. (T no. 1451, 24: 18.291c)

⁵⁵ Shi Zhanru attributes the inconsistency to Buddhists' disagreement on whether the Buddha was counted among the Buddhist order. Shi Zhanru, *Jingfa yu fota: Yindu zaoqi fojiao shi yanjiu* 淨法與佛塔—印度早期佛教史研究 (Dharma about purity and Buddhist stūpa: A study of Indian early Buddhist history) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 209-213.

⁵⁶ *Sapoduo pini piposha* (Wider interpretation of the Sarvāstivāda vinaya), T no. 1440, 23: 3.520c. It is a work expanding on the *Shisong lü*. Only fragments of it, translated by an anonymous translator, were spread to China, and were collected and compiled into one work by Zhishou 智首 (567-635) in the Sui Dynasty. Yinshun, *Yuanshi fojiao shengdian zhi jicheng* 原始佛教聖典之集成 ([On] the collection of the early Buddhist holy scriptures) (Zhubei: Zhengwen chuban she, 1971), 85-86.

It differentiates Buddhist stūpas from non-Buddhist ones, makes them acquire unique significance to Buddhists, and, highlights the merits in worshipping them.

Now we may conclude from the above discussion some points of guidance Buddhist scriptures tell Buddhists to follow. First, Buddhists should enshrine the Buddha's relics (or another Buddhist holy person's) into a stūpa and conceive of it as him. Second, they should worship it as they venerate him, and should pay homage to all those set up for him, including the stūpas without his relics. Their devotional acts for these stūpas will bring them merits and enhance their cultivation. Third, Buddhists should not construct and venerate stūpas for ghosts, spirits, and non-Buddhist deities and practitioners; otherwise they will commit a sin (but they are allowed to build stūpas for the Buddhist order; see discussion below).

We may then further infer that Buddhist scriptures do not warrant Buddhists' perceiving Buddhist stūpas in other ways and performing the acts towards them other than those depicted. The acts, for example, include the following ones: considering a stūpa to be a non-living relic casket or grave for the Buddha, detaching relics from it, pulling down it, and constructing it for glorifying oneself and representing one's own secular power but not for gaining merits and enhancing one's Buddhist cultivation. These acts apparently cannot be counted as stūpa worship that is sanctioned in Buddhist scriptures. Nonetheless, they were performed by many Chinese Buddhists, as will be discussed in Chapters Two and Three.

One would find that the English term "stūpa worship", as well as *fota chongbai* (the Chinese translation of it used by modern scholars), fits to describe such form of stūpa worship depicted in Buddhist texts. As stated at the beginning of this chapter, worship is an expression of devotion directed towards a divine or a holy person. It would then be strange to say that, when one performs worship, worship go to a pile of earth (or stones or bricks) or to

a relic container for the divine or the holy person. This connotation matches with the scriptural narrations of stūpas discussed above. Therefore, only when it is believed that the stūpa is not a grave or receptacle for the relic but is the Buddha or another sacred person, can the term “stūpa worship” be applied. In this sense, devotional activities at stūpas cannot be counted as stūpa worship.

1.1.3 Definitions of Stūpas by Scholars of Chinese Buddhism: Reasons for a Close Examination of Chinese Stūpas

Buddhist canonical texts present Buddhist stūpas as holy Buddhist figures and, based on this conception, sanctify devotional activities for them. It then seems puzzling that some Chinese monastic writers in pre-modern times and some modern scholars of Chinese Buddhism do not mention this conception when they define these objects. They are certainly familiar with Buddhist *sūtras* and vinaya works, including those discussed above, but they do not consider this belief as a primary characteristic to describe stūpas. Here are some examples of their definitions. Yijing 義淨 (635-713), who went on a pilgrimage to India and Sumatra in 671 to 695, for example, writes the following when describing the stūpa.

As to Kaityavandana (“worshipping a Kaitya”) above referred to, when the Great Teacher, the World-honoured, entered in *Nirvāṇa*, and men and gods assembled together, to burn his remains in the fire, people brought there all kinds of perfumes until they made a great pile, which was called Kiti, meaning “piling.” Derived from this we have afterwards the name of Kaitya (= caitya) Another name for it is Stūpa, the meaning being the same as Kaitya. A general name adopted by the old translators is Ta, and the special name is Chih-t’i (= *zhiti*)...

上言制底畔睇者, 或云制底畔彈那. 大師世尊既涅槃後, 人天並集, 以火焚之. 眾聚香柴, 遂成大積⁵⁷. 即名此處以為質底, 是積聚義. 據從生理. 遂有制底之名……或名窣睹波, 義亦同此. 舊總云塔, 別道支提……⁵⁸

Contextualizing the stūpa in the story of burying the Buddha's relics, Yijing considers its burial function to be its primary characteristic. In addition to Yijing, other scholarly monks also refer to this function when defining the stūpa. Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667), a seventh-century authority on vinaya⁵⁹, for instance, gives the following account in his work on the altar for teaching novice precepts (*jietan* 戒壇):

This precept altar is exactly a Buddhist stūpa for holding relics. What else should [a construction] in which holy relics are buried be called if it is not a stūpa?
...According to Sanskrit scriptures the burial place for the Buddha's bones is called *tapo* 塔婆 (the transliteration for "stūpa")... If we take Chinese [in defining the stūpa] a square tomb (*fangfen* 方墳)⁶⁰ is an impressive grave. In the past, a *mu* 墓 (a burial site without a mound on its top) is different from a *fen* 墳; a *fen* is [when] a mound is added on the top [of the burial site]. [This is] what the vinaya literature says: when the Tathāgata [Śākyamuni] knew of a place where the Buddha Kāśyapa's relics lay

⁵⁷ The original character is composed of *ji* 積 and *cao* 卍 on its top.

⁵⁸ Yijing, *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳 (Records about monastic practices, sent from the Southern Sea), T no. 2125, 54: 3.222b; Wang Bangwei 王邦維 (annot.), *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995, rpt.), 2.145-146. The translation cited here is taken from J. Takakusu trans., *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practiced in India and the Malay Archipelago, with A Letter from the Right Hon. Professor F. Max Muller* (London: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1966), chap. 25, 121.

⁵⁹ He was the founder of a Chinese vinaya school, Nanshan zong 南山宗 (The school of the Zhongnan Mountain [in the south of Chang'an]; Nanshan = Zhongnan Mountain).

⁶⁰ The literal meaning of *fang* 方 is "square", but it is strange here because Indian stūpas are dome-, not square-, shaped. The *Shuijing zhu* 水經注 (The commentary on the *Shuijing* [Book of waterways]) has a description of Zichan's 子產 (582 B.C.E.-522 B.C.E.) tomb, in which the term *fangfen* can be found. And this tomb was made of piled stones. Li Daoyuan 酈道元 (d. 527, the traditionally alleged author), *Shuijing zhu* 水經注 (The commentary on the *Shuijing*); see Wang Guowei 王國維 (colla.), Yuan Yingguang 袁英光 and Liu Yinsheng 劉寅生 (annots.), *Shuijing zhu jiao* 水經注校 (The commentary on the *Shuijing*, proofread) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1984), 22.710. From this depiction it can only be concluded that Daoxuan draws an analogy between *fangfen* and stūpas possibly because they are stone constructions associated with remains. And he may not mean that stūpas are square in shape. I shall discuss the term *fangfen* and this depiction in more detail in Chapter Four.

underground, he piled [a mound of] earth on it. This is how a stūpa was constructed (*xiangzhuang* 相狀).

然此戒壇即佛塔也, 以安舍利; 靈骨瘞中, 非塔如何……若依梵本, 瘞佛骨所名曰塔婆……依如唐言: 方墳塚也. 古者墓而不墳, 墳謂加土於其上也. 如律中, 如來知地下有迦葉佛舍利, 以土增之, 斯即塔婆之相狀矣.⁶¹

It is not necessary to discuss here whether or not the precept altar to which Daoxuan refers should be called a stūpa, but his argument is noteworthy: the altar is a stūpa because it is a burial place for relics, equivalent to *mu* and *fen* in China. This view is shared by other monastic authors. Huilin 慧琳 (737-820), Daoxuan's contemporary, and Fayun 法雲 (1088-1158) of the Song, for example, also describe the Buddhist stūpa as the burial site for the Buddha or other Buddhist personages when they explain the term “stūpa.”⁶²

This approach to characterizing the stūpa is taken by some modern scholars. Yinshun 印順 (1906-2005) writes in his book about the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism that not all stūpas are tombs and some are non-funerary constructions. Referring to the above-mentioned story stated in the *Wufen lü* and *Mohesengqi lü* that Śākyamuni and his disciples piled up a lump of earth for making a stūpa for the Buddha Kāśyapa's relics in a village in Kośala, where a stūpa once had stood for this previous Buddha, Yinshun considers that in this context the stūpa is similar to the tomb, but those built by the eight rulers of central India who got the Buddha's remains, for example, are constructions instead of mounds.⁶³ Yet, since the Buddhist vinaya literature says that stūpas should be erected at crossroads, the stūpa in this

⁶¹ Daoxuan, *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tu jing* 關中創立戒壇圖經 (The scripture, with a diagram, for setting up a commandment altar in Guanzhong [the central Shanxi plain]), T no. 1892, 45: 809b.

⁶² Huilin, *Yiqie jing yinyi* 一切經音義 (The sounds and meanings [of the words] in the scriptures), T no. 2128, 54: 6.407b. Fayun, *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集 (A collection of the meanings of the terms [used in] translation), T no. 2131, 54: 7.1168a.

⁶³ The story of the eight rulers will be discussed later in this chapter.

context, Yinshun thinks, should be a building with an urn inside containing relics.⁶⁴ It is not hard to understand the reason why Yunshun concludes that stūpas can be buildings or graves, because many stūpas in China are high-rise towers, not large domed structures with terraces looking like mounds. In addition to Yunshun, some other scholars such as Luo Zhewen and Huang Bin 黃彬 also hold the view that the stūpa is a construction or a grave holding relics, emphasizing its function as a relic receptacle.⁶⁵

In defining the stūpa, these ancient Buddhist writers and modern scholars draw an analogy between it and the tomb (or the relic container) and highlight its burial function. Their definitions, however, are not consistent with the scriptural descriptions of stūpas examined above. In fact, the way these writers and scholars characterize the stūpa suggests that there is possibly a different understanding: the stūpa is taken as a tomb, a burial place, or a construction for the relic. When they strongly stress its function to bury or to house the relic to the extent that it becomes the characterizing feature, then in this sense the stūpa is reduced to an inanimate object or implement holding the holy figure's remains, but not a living sacred entity with unique significance for Buddhists that is described in Buddhist canonical literature. Their definitions imply that the importance of the stūpa lies in only its function to contain a relic, and that obeisances and offerings made by Buddhists at the stūpa can only go to the relic (the embodiment of the Buddha or the buried person), but not to the stūpa. These

⁶⁴ Yinshun, *Chuqi dacheng fojiao zhi qiyuan yu kaizhan*, 51.

⁶⁵ Luo Zhewen and Huang Bin, for example, write that the stūpa was a tomb at first in India and was attached with significance because of Śākyamuni's *nirvāṇa*. Buddhists could no longer see him so they venerated his relics; after then stūpas became constructions exclusively for enshrining relics. Luo Zhewen and Huang Bin, "Mantan ta de lai yuan ji yan bian" 漫談塔的來源及演變 (Notes on the origins and transformation of stūpas), in *Fojiao yu Zhongguo wenhua* 佛教與中國文化 (Buddhism and Chinese culture), ed. the Board of editors for the *Wenshi zhishi* 文史知識 (Cultural and historical knowledge) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), 117.

Huarui Suonanairang 華瑞索南才讓 also considers stūpas as Buddhist constructions only, and concludes that holding a relic is the reason why a stūpa is erected and the significance of a stūpa lies in a relic. See Huarui, *Zhongguo fota* 中國佛塔 (Buddhist stūpas in China) (Xining: Qinghai renmin chuban she, 2002), 5-7.

devotional acts, as shown above, are not those categorized as Buddhist stūpa worship narrated in the scriptural literature. Apparently, such a definition gives the stūpa a minor role no different from burial spots, mausoleums, or buildings for Buddhist relics.

However, these ancient writers and modern scholars made references to Buddhist scriptural texts. For example, as stated above, Yinshun refers to the *Wufen lü* and *Mohesengqi lü* in his definition. They possibly make their observations according to stūpas in China, not those narrated in the texts. This suggests that there may be conceptions of Buddhist stūpas different from those in the world of Buddhist scriptural literature, so that Chinese Buddhists do not conceive of stūpas and perform Buddhist stūpa worship as suggested by Buddhist scriptures.

This dissertation is aimed at finding out whether this is the case. This is an intriguing issue which has not been explored yet. Probably since we usually assume that stūpas are always understood in the same way by Buddhist scriptural compilers and Chinese Buddhists, we rarely draw attention to whether they are depicted differently in Buddhist scriptures and non-scriptural works. We also seldom note whether stūpas might have been given new connotations after introduced to China. Due to this gap in our knowledge of these objects, they are worthy of a close examination.

1.1.4 Some Aspects of Stūpa Worship

After discussing how Buddhist canonical texts depict what Buddhist stūpas are, I shall now look at how they narrate three aspects of stūpa worship: relic cult and its relation with stūpa worship, the monastic and lay participation in the worship, and the construction of

stūpas for deceased monks and nuns. The depictions of these issues will help to penetrate Chinese stūpas, because in the next chapters I shall look at them in these aspects.

1.1.4.1 Relic Cult and Its Relation with Stūpa Worship

Buddhist texts urge Buddhists to enshrine the Buddha's relics in stūpas. Recounted in various Chinese Buddhist works such as the *Chang Ahan jing* and the *Shisong lü*,⁶⁶ the story about the Buddha's deathbed tells us that he told Ānanda (Anan 阿難) to enshrine his relics in stūpas at main crossroads, as will be discussed below. At first possibly because the stūpa is in close contact with the holy remains, it is deemed extraordinary too. It is therefore said that the brahmin Droṇa (Ch. Xiangxing 香姓) enshrined in a stūpa the vessel he used to contain the Buddha's relics and to divide them among the eight rulers who quarreled over possession of them. The vessel was deemed sacred and was enshrined in a stūpa as the relics.⁶⁷ However, Buddhist texts also stress that the stūpa alone is holy, which has nothing to do with the relic. As stated above, the equivalence of the stūpa to the Buddha is not because the relic is put in it. It is already this reverend holy figure, says the *Lotus Sūtra*.

Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that in scriptural depictions stūpas have a strong relationship with relics. They are often paired with each other and given the same significance, though it is not alleged that they are totally the same things. This can be illustrated by the above-mentioned story of the *Wufen lü*, which says that what the Buddha's disciples saw was "the Buddha Kāśyapa's whole relic" when their master displayed the stūpa for this Buddha to them. Indeed, the veneration of the stūpa and the relic are often expressed

⁶⁶ *Chang Ahan jing*, T no. 1, 1: 4.29b; *Shisong lü*, T no. 1435, 23: 446b; Shi Zhanru, *Jingfa yu fota*, 193.

⁶⁷ I shall return to this story below.

in almost the same devotional acts; presenting flowers, incense, and banners, for example—the offerings that can be made to both the stūpa and the relic. In chapter twelve about Devadatta (Ch. Tipotaduo 提婆達多)⁶⁸, which records the Buddha’s prediction that this monk will be a Buddha called God King (Devarāja; Ch. Tianwang 天王), the *Lotus Sūtra* relates that the latter’s relics, after his *nirvāṇa*, will be enshrined at stūpas and presented with sundry gifts by the pious. It is almost impossible to tell in this context whether the offerings go to the relic or to the stūpa. Veneration of the former is as beneficial as that of the latter, both being described as the means of enhancing one’s cultivation.⁶⁹ Chapter ten, “Preachers of Dharma” of the same *sūtra*, as stated above, talks about the merits of worshipping the stūpa that contains no relic. When we juxtapose the relevant contents with those referred to here, we would find that the way to venerate a stūpa with or without a relic is not very different and making offerings to both kinds of these objects is also claimed to be rewarding.

The depiction of the stūpa as an equivalent to the relic in Buddhist canonical literature can be well illustrated by a variant of the above-discussed story about the brahman’s paying homage to the former Buddha Kāśyapa. Like the one in the *Mohesengqi lü*, this variant also

⁶⁸ Devadatta was Śākyamuni’s cousin. Once a diligent practitioner, he later caused a schism among the Buddhist order because he criticized the Buddha for his not advocating strict asceticism. Nevertheless, he is predicted to attain buddhahood, the *Lotus Sūtra* says.

⁶⁹ The text reads as follows:

At that time, after the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha God King, his True Dharma shall abide in the world twenty intermediate kalpas; and a stūpa of the seven jewels shall be erected to house the *śarīra* of his whole body.... Gods and men with assorted flowers, powdered incense, burnt incense, perfumed paint, clothing and necklaces, banners and parasols, and music skillfully sung and played shall make offerings to that fine stūpa of the seven jewels. Incalculable living beings shall gain the fruit of the arhant (i.e. arhat). Numberless beings shall have the enlightened intuition of the pratyekabuddha. Living beings whose number shall be beyond reckoning and discussion shall open up their thoughts to bodhi and reach the point from which there is no backsliding. (時天王佛般涅槃後, 正法住世二十中劫. 全身舍利起七寶塔... 諸天人民, 悉以雜華、末香、燒香、塗香、衣服、瓔珞、幢幡、寶蓋、伎樂、歌頌, 禮拜供養七寶妙塔. 無量眾生得阿羅漢果, 無量眾生悟辟支佛, 不可思議眾生發菩提心, 至不退轉.) (*Miaofa lianhua jing*, T no. 262, 9: 12.35a; Hurvitz [trans.], *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, 197)

tells us that the Buddha, in the company of Ānanda, saw a brahman ploughing a field. But, instead of immediately paying homage to the Buddha as in the *Mohesengqi lü*, this brahman was hesitant, thinking that if he had approached and paid homage to him, his work would have suffered, but his merit would have suffered if he had not done so. Finally, he made a decision—he paid honour to the Buddha from a distance, holding his plough and staying where he was. The Buddha issued a reprimand, saying that on this spot there were relics of the Buddha Kāśyapa’s whole body. If the brahman had approached and paid honour to him, he would have venerated two Buddhas. His disciples then wanted to see the relics. A dragon, in response to their wishes, came and exhibited the relics to them. In this text, Kāśyapa’s stūpa is replaced by his relics. This shows that these two types of holy objects are deemed interchangeable in Buddhist canonical literature. Understanding the almost identical connotations given to the stūpa and the relic in the literature, we can know why the *Wufen lü*, as quoted above, relates that when the Buddha displayed the former Buddha’s stūpa to his disciples, what they saw was his relics.⁷⁰

It is then not hard to understand why relic cult is made equivalent to stūpa worship in Buddhist texts. As the one of the paired objects of worship, like the Buddha’s stūpa, his relic is also thought to be sacred and full of incredible power, signifying his permanent presence in both physical and Dharma forms, and thus attracting Buddhists’ worship. The same is true of

⁷⁰ *Genbenshuoyiqieyoubu pi’naiye yaoshi*, T no. 1448, 24: 12.53a. Its Sanskrit version is possibly the one found in the Gilgit Manuscripts, the oldest manuscript collection surviving in India found in 1931 in Gilgit (in modern Pakistan), which contains four *sūtras* (including the famous *Lotus Sūtra*) and are thought to be produced in the fifth to the sixth centuries. They are written in Sanskrit in the Sharada script. Schopen has studied this version, and is of the opinion that it emerged earlier than that narrated in the *Mahāsāṅgha vinaya* because it has none of the various subplots and it says that the Buddha made the undivided mass of Kāśyapa’s relics appear, not a stūpa as said in the *Mahāsāṅgha vinaya*. He concludes that it “reflects a tradition—apparently later revised—that only knew a form of the relic cult in which the stūpa did not yet have a part.” See Schopen, “Two problems in the History of Indian Buddhism: The Layman/Monk Distinction and the Doctrines of the Transference of Merit,” in *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks*, 28-29.

his stūpa. Once placed in the stūpa, the relic becomes inseparable from it, and is made to be a single entity of sanctity equated with him (this happened to other Buddhist holy people's relics and the stūpas for them too). It is then little wonder that in Buddhist scriptural literature they both mean the holy figure's presence and are attached with similar religious connotations. In addition to Buddhist scriptures, Chinese Buddhists could also learn from Chinese pilgrims' records of the inseparability of these two kinds of objects: the relics of the Buddha and other Buddhist figures seldom stood alone as the objects of pilgrimage in India, but were usually enshrined in stūpas.⁷¹

Given that such a close relationship exists between the stūpa and the relic, to further explore the nature of stūpa worship narrated in Buddhist scriptural texts, I shall look at relic cult and cremation, an important rite in funerals for the Buddha and Buddhist monks that would produce relics. Yet, before investigating them, it is necessary to mention that my focus here is limited to only the corporeal remains (those collected after the cremation of the Buddha's physical remains) and will not extend to all categories of relics—those related to the Buddha's teachings (namely, the spiritual relics) and the objects that he has once owned and used (the contact relics: his staff and alms bowl, for example). These kinds of relics, John S. Strong thinks, were perhaps worshipped later than those collected after the cremation.⁷²

⁷¹ There are few cases where relics were not enshrined in stūpas. A tooth of the Buddha's in Kanyākubja (Jieruojudu guo 羯若鞠闍國; with a capital west of the river Ganges), for example, was placed in a precious casket in a vihara and was watched over by guardians. Because hundreds and thousands of pilgrims came and paid honour every day, they were later asked to pay high taxes. But there were still many who came to worship. Generally speaking, however, the relics recounted in the pilgrims' records are said to have usually been enshrined in stūpas. *Da Tang siyu ji*, T no. 2087, 51: 5.895c.

⁷² Strong, *Relics of the Buddha* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004), 8-12. This book provides a thorough study of the Buddha's relics.

My investigation will start with the *Chang Ahan jing* 長阿含經 (*Dīrghāgama*),⁷³ because it records the Buddha’s instructions to Ānanda before his *nirvāṇa* on how his funeral ought to be held. According to this *sūtra*, after Ānanda asked the Buddha several times what ought to be done with his body, the latter replied that its treatment ought to be the same as that of the *cakravartin*’s (a universal monarch). After being bathed with fragrant liquid and wrapped in a new cloth and next in another five hundred layers of cloth, it ought to be put in a golden vessel full of flax oil (*mayou* 麻油?). Then the vessel ought to be placed in an iron vessel, which ought to be next laid on a fragrant pyre of perfume and then be cremated. Next the text continues with the Buddha’s instructions on how stūpas should be set up: the relics ought to be collected and enshrined in stūpas at four crossroads, with masts and canopies adorned, so as to benefit the passersby who saw the stūpas, who will be reborn in the heavens.⁷⁴ The narrative here provides canonical sanction for enshrining relics and worshipping stūpas. Hence, its Pāli version is often quoted by scholars in their researches on Indian Buddhism.⁷⁵

⁷³ T no. 1, 1: 3.20a. It was translated in Chinese by Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian in 412 to 413. The *Dīghanikāya* (London: 1903), which is in Pāli, partly corresponds to this Chinese translation, and is translated in English by Rhys Davids as *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II (London: Luzac & Company Ltd., 1966). The text is considered to be one of the earliest records about the traditions of early *saṅgha* that were circulated as early as the time when the Buddhist order was split into Mahāsāṅghikāh and Sthavirāh.

⁷⁴ The instructions read, “After this, collect the relics, and build stūpas [with the relics enshrined at them] at four crossroads, mark them with masts and suspend silky canopies from them so that all passersby see the Buddha’s stūpas, thinking about and admiring Dharma King’s (Fawang 法王; Dharmarāja, namely the Buddha) conversion to the truth. They therefore obtain blessings during their lifetimes and rebirth in heavens after their death.” (訖收舍利，於四衢道起立塔廟，表刹懸繒，使諸行人皆見佛塔，思慕如來法王道化，生獲福利，死得上天。) *Youxing jing* 遊行經 (The scripture [sic.] on wandering), T no. 1, 1: 3.20a.

⁷⁵ Its Pāli version is found in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, which is translated into English in Chapter 16 of Davids’ book. This English translation is often quoted in scholarly works on stūpas and relics. E.g., Kevin Trainor, *Relics, Ritual, and Representation in Buddhism*, 44-54; Hirakawa, *A History of Indian Buddhism*. Hirakawa quotes this *sūtra* as evidence for his argument that during the time of schism Buddhist laymen were very active in administrating and worshipping the stūpas in honour of the Buddha, and that their activities brought the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism. (p. 105; see discussion above) The schism occurred around a hundred years after Śākyamuni’s *nirvāṇa*, during the reign of Aśoka (c. 270-230 B.C.E). The form of Buddhism at that time is called Nikāya (or School) Buddhism.

Here, cremation is described as the final part of the funeral prior to the collection of relics. According to some scholars of Indian Buddhism, it was an important procedure for purifying pollutant dangerous corpses into pure relics.⁷⁶ However, it is not given the same significance in Chinese Buddhist texts. The *Chang Ahan jing* says that, after Mahākāśyapa (Ch. Dajiaye 大迦葉), one of the Buddha’s major disciples, arrived in a rush with five hundred monks at the locus where the Buddha entered *nirvāṇa*, he asked Ānanda whether they would pay homage to “the relic (*sheli* 舍利)” before cremation.⁷⁷ Obviously, not consistent with the scholars’ findings of Indian Buddhism, the quotation shows that the Buddha’s body is referred to as the relic even before cremation. The term *sheli* is not a mistranslation. It appears again in the same episode narrated in the text. The text says that, although Mahākāśyapa was refused at first, he was finally permitted after his repeated request. When he was approaching the scented pyre where the Buddha’s coffin was laid, the latter took his feet (or one foot only?) out of it. On them Mahākāśyapa discovered a strange mark. He asked Ānanda why there was a mark on the Buddha’s golden body, and was told that an old lady, who had come and worshipped their master, shed a tear on the body. Though

The ambiguous wording in its Pāli version results in scholarly debates on the monastic order’s role in relic (or stūpa) worship, to which I shall return later.

⁷⁶ Strong thinks that in Buddhism it was “a ritual hopefully productive of relics,” whereas in Hindu tradition it was intended to ensure rebirth and generally resulted in the eradication of all bodily remains. Schopen also associates this rite with the production of relics, saying that the relic appeared only after the body was cremated. More importantly, Indians had a fear of human remains for a long time; therefore Brahmans opposed preserving ashes, bones, or corpses of deceased people. Under the circumstances, Buddhists adopted cremation in order to transform impure, contaminating corpses into pure relics, thereby avoiding social censure. Strong, “The Buddha’s Funeral,” in Cuevas and Stone (eds.), *The Buddhist Dead*, 44-45; *idem*, *Relics of the Buddha* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004), 12-16; Schopen, “Monks and the Relic Cult,” 104-105; *idem*, “On Avoiding Ghosts and Social Censure: Monastic Funerals in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*,” in *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks*, 211-221.

⁷⁷ “We would like to have an audience with the relic before cremation is held. Could [we] have a look? (我等欲一面觀舍利, 及未闍維, 寧可見不?)” *Youxing jing*, T no. 1, 1: 4.28c.

he was displeased after hearing the explanation, he paid obeisances to “the Buddha’s relics (*fo sheli* 佛舍利)”.⁷⁸

Describing the Buddha’s body before cremation as relics may not come as a surprise, given that the Buddha is thought to be an enlightened figure unaffected by pollutants mentally and physically (this is the reason why his body is said here to be golden) and staying pure and holy, not flesh and blood.⁷⁹ In the text, a clear picture is presented: the Buddha exists beyond the bounds of the impermanent, tainted flesh, and has transcended death. His body is eternal and pure, too, regardless of whether or not it has been cremated. When the body was thought to be uncontaminated, then it is not surprising that, even before being processed by fire (cremation), it is also called the relic.⁸⁰

Cremation is not described here as a necessary procedure for making the Buddha’s body into relics, because, regardless of whether or not the cremation has been held, the body is thought to be pure and not to be dangerous. It may sound like a mere formality, but is

⁷⁸ “Kāśyapa (i.e. Mahākāśyapa), after hearing [Ānanda’s explanation], was greatly displeased again. He immediately paid obeisances to the Buddha’s relics while facing towards the scented pyre.” (迦葉聞已，又大不悅，即向香積，禮佛舍利。) The original character *ji* 積 is composed of *ji* 積 and *cao* 井 on its top. *Youxing jing*, T no. 1, 1: 4.28c.

⁷⁹ These views about the Buddha’s body are expressed in the praise uttered by Mahākāśyapa after his obeisances, which reads, “The monk of the unequalled rank (i.e. the Buddha) is the supreme one, without defects and impurities... Among humans he is the first outstanding one, to whom I now pay respect by prostrating myself. (無等等沙門，最上無瑕穢……人中等一雄，我今稽首禮.)” *Youxing jing*, T no. 1, 1: 4.28c.

⁸⁰ The episode about Mahākāśyapa’s worship of the Buddha’s body is presented differently in the Pāli version of the *Dirghāgama*. It contains much less detail than the Chinese version, simply saying that after Mahākāśyapa, together with five hundred brethren members, arrived, he reverentially walked around the pyre and bowed down before the Buddha’s feet, and then the brethren did the same. It does not mention the scenes of Mahākāśyapa’s request to look at his teacher’s body and his discovery of the tear mark, nor does it contain the reference to the body as the relic. Next the *sūtra* gives a narrative of cremation that is not found in its Chinese counterpart, describing vividly how cremation changed the Buddha’s body into the relics—a transformation of the impure flesh to the unpolluted relics. The relics, Strong says, “that result from the Buddha’s cremation are not just ashes and calcined body parts but somatic substances of a radically different nature.” (“The Buddha’s Funeral,” 45) The fire is described as an unusual flame. It burned miraculously and was extinguished with the water from the heaven, and, more importantly, it transformed the corpse into the object of worship. The Chinese version does not have any mention of the fire; instead it depicts the Buddha’s body as a sacred, still animate entity, which was golden in colour, and he even took his feet out of the coffin when Mahākāśyapa was making obeisances.

indeed significant in burials for the Buddhist order in Buddhist scriptural literature.

According to Buddhist vinaya works, cremation should be conducted for monks and belongs to the funerary realm; therefore, although it is often mentioned with stūpas, it is not necessarily linked with the worship of them. Since such relationship of this rite with these objects presented in Buddhist scriptures was interpreted differently in China, as will be shown in Chapter Four, it is necessary to discuss it further here by looking at some narrations of this rite.

The *Pi'naiye zashi* records a story of a certain monk that talks about the cremation and thus illustrates its relationship with stūpas. He died of sickness, and his body, together with his robe and alms bowl, lay near a road. Later people saw it, saying that a Buddhist monk died and was left uncared for. Some who came and looked at the body also spread the word that his monastic fellows had not got along with him, so he had not got any help from the Buddhist order although he had entered it, and that his body would have been cremated if he had not become a monk. Some monks told this matter to the Buddha. He then ordered that a monk be worshipped if he died, but the monks did not know exactly how to do so. The Buddha therefore further instructed that cremation should be held. Upāli (Ch. Wuboli 烏波離 or Youpoli 優婆離), one of Śākyamuni's major disciples, then wondered whether they ought to do so because it contained 80,000 species of worms.⁸¹ Their master replied that the worms in the body of a person would die when he died, but, if it had sores, an examination ought to be conducted in order to make sure there were no living worms in them before cremation was

⁸¹ T no. 1451, 24: 18.286c.

carried out.⁸² The text then continues with their master’s detailed instructions on the funeral held for the dead monk: cremation ought to be held, but when there was not enough wood for a pyre, the body then ought to be thrown into a river. If a river could not be found, a hole ought to be dug and the body ought to be buried in it. In the summer when the earth was damp and full of insects and ants, grass and branches ought to be piled in the hole before the body was placed in it, with the head pointing north and lying on a bundle of grass as a pillow. And the body ought to be covered by leaves and grass. The monks who attended the funeral ought to recite three times the *Wuchang jing* 無常經 (The scripture on impermanence)⁸³ and say *gāthās* as prayers for the deceased monk. The instructions do not end here and continue in the next episode in the text: the Buddha further told the monks to wash themselves. Yet when the monks returned to their monastery, they did not do so; consequently others criticized them for being extremely polluted because they did not bathe after coming into contact with the corpse. The Buddha then said that they ought to bathe and, if their robes

⁸² A similar story of this part—perhaps a variant of it—recounted in another vinaya work, *Shisong lü*, says that some monks were also worried about whether the worms in the body of a deceased *arhat* would be killed in cremation when the Buddha told them that cremation ought to be held for him. Their master also told them that the worms were dead when he entered *nirvāṇa*, and afterwards a stūpa ought to be erected for him. *Shisong lü*, T no. 1435, 23: 39, 284a.

⁸³ This *sūtra* is also mentioned in Yijing’s pilgrimage record. Takakusu translates it as “*Anitya sūtra*” (or “*Anityatā sūtra*,” Schopen’s translation). In the Tibetan version of the the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, the title is written as “the *Dharma* of the *Tridandaka*”, which Schopen finds puzzling. He thinks it is not a specific text, but a set form of recitation. This does not seem to be a noteworthy issue, however. Wang Bangwei, for example, in one of his notes for Yijing’s pilgrimage record, writes that the *Wuchang jing* is a text translated by Yijing. This text is thought to be the one collected in the *Taishō Canon* (T no. 801, 17); its contents are about impermanence and fit the title. Schopen, “On Avoiding Ghosts and Social Censure,” 218, 231-232n62; Wang Bangwei (annot.), *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan*, 109n1; Ciyi 慈怡, et al. eds., *Foguang da cidian* 佛光大辭典 (Foguang great dictionary) (Gaoxiong: Foguang wenhua shiye youxian gongsi 佛光文化事業有限公司, 1988), 5110. For a study of this text, see Bai Jinxian 白金銑’s “‘Fo shuo wuchang jing’ de chuanyi yu sangzang liyi” 佛說無常經的傳譯與喪葬禮儀 (The spread of and the translation of the *Scripture on Impermanence Preached by the Buddha* and the funeral), *Chung-hwa Buddhist journal* 中華佛學學報 20 (2007): 65-103.

were in contact with it, they ought to wash them too. Those who did not touch it could wash only their hands and feet.⁸⁴

In this text cremation is described as a way preferred most to deal with monks' bodies. The text does not mention the enshrinement of deceased monks' relics in stūpas, but in another story related in the *Shisong lü* about how to deal with an *arhat's* body it is clear that cremation was held before collecting his relics and enshrining them in a stūpa. This is consistent with the Yijing's record of Indian monastic practices. When a monk was dead, his corpse was cremated on the same day, and after the cremation, relics were collected and placed in a stūpa for him. The record also emphasizes that it was important for participants to keep themselves from pollutants from the corpse and death, so they would bathe and wash their clothes in the pond outside their monastery, and clean the floors of their quarters with cow-dung.⁸⁵ Together with this record, the above-discussed Buddhist texts clearly say that deceased monks' bodies should be cremated, regardless of whether they are transcendent or ordinary, and whether or not the bodies will be enshrined in stūpas afterwards.

Due to its function to get rid of contaminants from their bodies, cremation is presented as an essential part in entire funerals for monks. Getting relics, however, is not a crucial purpose to hold this rite, though they would perhaps appear after it. Hence, the above-discussed story from the *Pi'naiye zashi* contains no mention of collecting relics, but focuses on keeping monks away from hazardous substances caused by the dead bodies of their monastic fellows. Then it is not hard to understand why the text says that other alternative

⁸⁴ *Pi'naiye zashi*, trans. Yijing, T no. 1451, 24: 18.286c-287a.

⁸⁵ Yijing, *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan*, T no. 2125, 54: 2.216c; Wang Bangwei (annot.), *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan*, 12.108; Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, chapter 12, 82. Cow-dung (*gomaya*) was considered in India as clean and was used by esoteric Buddhists for "cleaning/purifying" altars. See Wu Rujun 吳汝鈞, *Fojiao sixiang da cidian* 佛教思想大辭典 (A great dictionary of Buddhist thoughts) (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuju 商務印書局, 1994), 154.

burial methods (throwing the body into a river and burying it in a hole) can be used when cremation cannot be held, although they would not produce any relics. In addition to this text, the *Wufen lü* also narrate cremation as part of funerals for monks, with or without mentioning the collection of relics afterwards.⁸⁶ This regulation was certainly known by the Buddhist order in China, thus appearing in its writing.⁸⁷

Discussion of these texts should help understand the general function of cremation stated in Buddhist canonical texts. Unlike the Buddha's body, which, according to the *Chang Ahan jing*, is deemed pure and holy and is classified as a relic before cremation, deceased monks' bodies are usually thought to be dirty and dangerous and need to undergo cremation for purification. However, no matter whether relics belong to humans or extraordinary figures, and no matter whether or not they have been purified through this rite, they are deemed to be non-dangerous and pure—the nature shared by other objects of worship such as stūpas, images, and *maṇḍalas* venerated by Buddhists. If a buried object is thought to be polluting and is kept away from the living in isolation, it is then not regarded as a relic as narrated in the Buddhist texts.

With the function of cremation kept in mind, we can better understand the nature of Buddhist relic cult presented in Buddhist texts: the relic and the corpse are clearly distinguished from each other, because they are different in nature. Hence, relic worship should not be mixed up with the funeral. The former is obviously a Buddhist practice taken

⁸⁶ The *Wufen lü* mentions that the Buddha told monks to cremate the corpse on the rock so as not to cause any insects or living beings any harm unwittingly. Here there is no reference to the collection of relics. *Wufen lü*, T no. 1421, 22: 97.999b.

⁸⁷ Daoshi's 道世 (596?-683) makes a reference to the four kinds of the services (throwing the corpse into water, cremation, burial, and laying the corpse in the forest) in his encyclopaedia *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (Pearl forest in Dharma garden), which was compiled before Yijing's translation of the text. Like the *Wufen lü*, he also does not mention relic collection here. *Fayuan zhulin*, T no. 2122, 53: 37.579a-580a; Zhou Shujia 周叔迦 and Su Jinren 蘇晉仁 (colla. & annot.), *Fayuan zhulin* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003, rpt.) 6:97.2788.

by the living for gaining merit and enhancing their cultivation, whereas the latter is the service for the dead. This can be best illustrated by the Buddha's remarks for Ānanda before his *nirvāṇa* in one of Buddhist *sūtras* about the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*. He instructed that the cremation for him ought to be the same as the monarch, but, different from this secular ruler's, his stūpa ought to be decorated with a mast (*cha*)⁸⁸ and nine canopies.⁸⁹ These remarks do not appear in the accounts of other Buddhist scriptures on the Buddha's *nirvāṇa*, but the same message can be obtained in the vinaya literature, which says that, although the funerary rites and materials for the Buddha's funeral were the same as those for the *cakravartin*'s, the stūpa for him was superior to that for the secular ruler. The different specification of the stūpas for them clearly means that relic veneration and the funeral lies in two different realms in the world of Buddhist canonical literature.

It should be now clear to us that differing from the stūpa, as part of the funeral, cremation is not said in Buddhist scriptures to be symbolic of one's holiness. However, as will be shown in Chapter Four, cremation was viewed by Chinese Buddhists as a rite indicating a Buddhist monk's transcendence, whereas stūpas sometimes lay in the funerary realm.

⁸⁸ For the meaning of the character *cha*, see note 35 in this chapter and note 153 in Chapter Two.

⁸⁹ "The cremation of my body should be the same as that of the king's (i.e. the *cakravartin*), but the stūpa erected [for me] should be different from that for the king. A mast [should be] placed [in order to make it] solemn, and nine canopies should be hung up on it. (闍維我身，亦與王等，然起兜婆，有異於王，表刹莊嚴，應懸九繖。)" *Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經, trans. Faxian, T no. 7, 1: 2.199c.

1.1.4.2 The Participation in Stūpa Worship by the Laity and Monks

In the following I shall deal with some stories of laymen's participation in stūpa worship found in Buddhist *sūtras*. Obviously, they are aimed at urging Buddhists to pay homage to stūpas and relics and to make offerings to them, with an emphasis on the great merit of these deeds. Then, I shall turn to some stories of quarrels over stūpas and relics between monks and laymen related in vinaya works, in order to find out which groups of Buddhists, Buddhist monks or laymen, vinaya redactors think should have dominion over these holy objects. The ways the redactors present the stories perhaps provide Chinese monks with blueprints for handling similar conflicts. Therefore, after discussing the laity's participation, I shall turn to these stories, which will help to analyse Chinese monks' roles in relation to laymen's in the development of stūpa worship in China.

Many stories about laymen's meritorious deeds done for relics and stūpas appear in Buddhist scriptures, and would probably evoke Chinese Buddhists' interest in these objects. One of the most famous stories among them is perhaps that about the eight rulers' contest for the Buddha's relics. Recounted in various early Buddhist works such as the *Chang Ahan jing* and *Shisong lü*,⁹⁰ this story says that eight rulers of nearby kingdoms came to Jushinajie 拘尸那竭 (Skt. Kuśinagara; the place where the Buddha passed away) in order to pay respect for the Buddha after his *parinirvāṇa*.⁹¹ These rulers all claimed that they had the right to take his

⁹⁰ *Chang Ahan jing*, T no. 1, 1: 4.29b; *Shisong lü*, T no. 1435, 23: 446b; Shi Zhanru, *Jingfa yu fota*, 193.

⁹¹ According to the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, vol. III part II, 187-191), these eight rulers are King Ajātasattu of Magadha, the Licchavis of Vesālī, the Sākiyas of Kapila-vattha, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, the Brahmin of Vethadipa, the Mallas of Pāvā, the Mallas of Kusināra, and Moriyas of Pippalivana. The episode is described differently in different *sūtras*.

In Davids' English translation, Kuśinagara is also called Kusinārā (see *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, 149 & 187). See Strong, *Relics of the Buddha*, 98n2. And Droṇa, the name of the brahmin who

relics for enshrining them at stūpas in their countries. They, however, could not settle the dispute themselves, and, with armies stationed outside the city at Kuśinagara, they were about to start war. Finally, the brahmin Droṇa intervened and prevented a war by dividing the relics into eight equal shares. The rulers were satisfied with the result; they left for their kingdoms and set up stūpas housing their shares. Droṇa did not get any, but got the vessel that he had used to contain and divide the relics. Consequently, there were eight stūpas erected, plus the ninth one with the vessel enshrined. The Moriyas of Pippalivana came late and did not get any relics, but got the charcoal of the pyre and built the tenth stūpa.⁹²

Also worthy of note are the legendary stories about King Aśoka. He is also described as an enthusiastic stūpa worshipper. More attention is given here to these stories because, as will be shown in Chapter Three, they made a stronger impact on the Chinese ruling class than the above-discussed accounts of the eight rulers,⁹³ although they are full of exaggerated, fabulous episodes and are not considered by scholars to be faithful records of his life.⁹⁴ One of the stories has it that this ruler wanted to open the Buddha's stūpas and distribute his relics

divided the Buddha's relics among the rulers, is given as Droṇa in this translation (p. 189). See Ciyi, et al. eds., *Foguang da cidian*, 4011.

⁹² *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. II, 187-191. *Chang Ahan jing*, for example, has a mention of the eleventh stūpa for the Buddha's hair (4.30a), whereas the *Ban nihuan jing* says that it contains his ashes (1.190b).

⁹³ My discussion of the legends is based on Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka: A Study of Translation of the Aśokāvadāna* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983), 109-119. He has included different recensions of the legends in his study. J. Przulski also published a book in 1923 about the legends of this ruler, focusing on how the legends evolved and incorporated in different Buddhist texts and on the Buddhist northern traditions regarding the ruler. According to him, a Buddhist text about the ruler, which contains accounts of this ruler's life and the early Buddhist development, was produced in the Mathurā period (Ch. Motouluo 摩頭羅, located in western India). Przulski, *The Legends of Emperor Aśoka in Indian and Chinese Texts*, translated from the French with additional notes and comments by Dilip Kumar Biswas (Calutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1923, trans. 1967).

⁹⁴ Modern scholars believe that Aśoka's stories depicted in Buddhist scriptures are legendary and are not supported by archaeological evidence. For a brief discussion of this, see Jonathan S. Walters, "Aśoka," in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd edition, 1:553-557.

throughout his kingdom.⁹⁵ When he set out to collect the eight shares of the relics, he encountered difficulty in getting the one possessed by a *nāga* (snake king)—the share that sank down to his underwater palace after Rāmagrāma was flooded. He gave up after realizing that he could never match him in making offering to the relics. Another version of this story, however, records that he succeeded after following a monk’s advice and acquired merits greater than the *nāga* king’s. After gathering all the relics he could, he first redistributed them among eighty-four thousand stūpas. He had eighty-four thousand urns prepared, placed the relics in them, and, with the help of the *yakṣas* (*yecha* 夜叉; demons in the earth), sent off one share of the relics to every city of one hundred thousand people throughout the earth as far as the surrounding ocean (i.e. the whole of Jambudvīpa). Then, in order to animate at the same time all the stūpas as representatives of the Buddha, the ruler asked the elder Yaśas, the abbot of the Kukkuṛārāma Monastery in the capital of Pāṭaliputra⁹⁶, to signal the moment of the completion of all eighty-four thousand stūpas. When the latter eclipsed the sun with his hands, the stūpas were ready and the relics were enshrined. Through the enshrinement of the Buddha’s remains in his kingdom, Aśoka’s territory was thus sanctified and became the Buddha’s land.

⁹⁵ There are two Chinese translations of the *Aśokāvadāna*, one of which is called *Ayuwang zhuan* 阿育王傳 (*Aśokāvadāna* [the biography of King Aśoka] T no. 2042, vol. 50) translated by An Faqin 安法欽 (fl. 281-306) of the Western Jin Dynasty (265-316) and the other *Ayuwang jing* 阿育王經 (*Aśokarāja sūtra* [the *sūtra* of King Aśoka]; T no. 2043, 50) by Saṅghapāla (Sengqiepoluo 僧伽婆羅; 460-524) of the Liang Dynasty (502-557). Apart from two versions, other *sūtras* also have narratives of the ruler. They include the *Za Ahan jing* (T no. 99, 2), which contains two chapters (*juans* 23 and 25) about him, the *Ayuwang taizi Fayi huaimu yinyuan jing* 阿育王太子法益壞目因緣經 (A *sūtra* on the karma for the blindness of Fayi, King Aśoka’s crown prince, translated by Dharmanandi [Tanmonanti 曇摩難提; late fourth century] of the Former Qin Dynasty [351-394], T no. 2045, 50), and Aśvaghōṣa’s *Da zhuangyan jing lun* 大莊嚴經論 (*Mahālankāra sūtra śāstra*; Discourse on the *Hugely Majestic Sūtra*, T no. 201, 4), which contains a passage about him (283a-284b).

⁹⁶ For a discussion of his relationship with Aśoka, see Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka*, 86-89.

Apart from the enshrinement, Buddhist texts also narrate Aśoka's pilgrimages to Buddhist holy sites. With the venerated monk Upagupta (Youbojiduo 優波笈多) as his guide, he went to the places such as Lumbinī (the Buddha's birthplace) and Kuśinagarī (the place of his *parinirvāṇa*). At these places he paid homage, had stūpas erected, and made generous donations. He also visited the stūpas erected for the Buddha's disciples.⁹⁷ Many of the stūpas that he built and visited are claimed to have developed after his death and became centres of pilgrimage, and are said to have been extant when Faxian and Xuanzang 玄奘 (602?-664) went to India. However, as will be discussed in Chapter Four, compared with that of his distribution of the relics, the story of Aśoka's pilgrimages impressed Chinese elites less deeply.

It might be considered surprising that the legendary stories of Aśoka impressed and influenced Chinese elites so greatly, given that there are numerous narratives of stūpa worshippers in Buddhist literature (e.g. that of the eight rulers). One of the reasons is that he was thought to be a Buddhist model of an earthly monarch—the *cakravartin* (wheel-turning ruler), who is considered in Buddhist tradition as the most powerful world-ruler.⁹⁸ The

⁹⁷ For example, Śāriputra (Ch. Shelifu 舍利弗 or Shelizi 舍利子) and Maudgalyāyana (Ch. Damujianlian 大目犍連, Mujianlian 目犍連, or Mulian 目連). See *Ayuwang jing*, T no. 2043, 50: 2.135b-138c.

⁹⁸ At first glance, the *cakravartin* is analogous with or is reminiscent of the sage-king (*shengwang* 聖王)—the Chinese model of the ideal ruler, which was traced back to the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 and was developed by Daoists and Confucians. One may conclude that Chinese elite was attracted by the Buddhist notion of the *cakravartin* because it fit in with or enriched the ideas about the sage-king. It is difficult to examine here this notion thoroughly. However, it should be noted that the sage-king does not have many similarities to the *cakravartin*, except that both are ideal powerful political figures. One of the noticeable differences between them is that the sage-king is a perfect transcendent being in the spiritual realm, i.e. an embodiment of the Dao (the ultimate truth) in harmony of the heaven and earth and ruling the world through non-action (*wuwei* 無為), but the *cakravartin* is not. Han philosophers (e.g. Liu Xiang 劉向 [80-9 B.C.]) think that the former is devoid of feelings or emotions. In short, not only is he an ideal ruler, but also a flawless moral, spiritual authority, so Confucian and Daoist works contain a lot of descriptions of his virtues. On the contrary, although a *cakravartin* has great power in the secular world, it is a buddha, not a *cakravartin*, who has unparalleled wisdom of the truth. The former is not enlightened and has delusions, thus suffering in the cycle of transmigration. Only through a Buddha's teachings can people escape from the cycle. In other words, the *cakravartin* is not depicted as a

cakravartin, according to Buddhist canonical texts, has full sovereignty over the earth and corresponds to the Buddha—the most supreme one in the spiritual realm, sharing some dignified features with the Buddha. For example, he has thirty-two extraordinary bodily marks that are exclusive to the Great Man, namely a buddha or a bodhisattva. It is said that when young, Śākyamuni was predicted to be a lord of Dharma if he left his family and devoted himself to a quest for truth, but he could also be a *cakravartin* if he led a secular life.⁹⁹ As instructed by the Buddha himself, his funeral was also modeled on the *cakravartin*'s. The *cakravartin* achieves such eminence because of his righteousness, which brings his rule over four continents in four directions; wherever his wheel (*cakra*)—the symbol of his power—rolls along, local kings submit to him immediately without resistance. People under his rule live contentedly and prosperously, enjoying long lifespans of eighty thousand years. His reign occurs in *kalpas* of increment (*zengjie* 增劫); during this time people follow heterodox teachings and have worldly desires only, but have no wish to escape from the transmigration cycle, so he appears and teaches them the “ten virtues” (*shishan* 十

spiritual authority but the sage-king is. Members of the Chinese elite were attracted by Buddhist legends of the *cakravartin* probably because they were interested in the descriptions of his great secular power in Buddhist texts, but not because he bore a resemblance to the sage-king. And they might not be aware of deficiencies of the *cakravartin* described in Buddhist texts. The *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (*Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra śāstra*; A treatise on the great perfection of wisdom) has accounts on differences between a Buddha and a *cakravartin* (Nāgārjuna [Ch. Longshu 龍樹], Kumārajīva [tran.], T no. 1509, 25: 2.70b; 2.247b-c). For a discussion about the sage-king, see Robert H. Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism: A Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 90-93.

Some scholars such as E. Conze and R. Hikata doubt Nāgārjuna's status as the author of this text, thinking that Kumārajīva was the actual writer or made some additions or insertions, but still others (Yinshun and K. Venkata Ramanan) do not agree. For studies on the authorship of the *Da zhidu lun*, see Paul Demiéville, *Choix d'études bouddhiques* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), 470-488; Chou Po-kan 周伯戡, “The Translation of the ‘Dazhidulun’: Buddhist Evolution in China in the Early Fifth Century” (Ph.D. dissert., The University of Chicago, 2000), 62-102; idem, “Da zhidu lun lueyi chutan” 大智度論略譯初探 (A tentative study of abbreviated version of the *Da zhidu lun*), *Zhonghua foxue xuebao* 中華佛學學報 13 (May 2000): 155-156; idem, “The problem of the Authorship of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*: A Re-examination,” *Taiwan daxue lishi xuebao* 台灣大學歷史學報 24 (2004) 281-327.

⁹⁹ T no. 1, 1: 1.4c.

善). The monarch is considered to be a moral teacher of prominence comparable to the Buddha in some ways, but the latter will not appear in the period of increment.¹⁰⁰ When the wheel disappears, his reign comes to an end.¹⁰¹

Aśoka, however, is not classified in Buddhist canonical literature as the *cakravartin* discussed here, who belongs to the highest rank—the golden wheel turner (Skt. *suvarnacakravartin*; Ch. *jinlunwang* 金輪王). And he is not identified with the second and third ranked wheel turners (silver and copper wheel turners) either, who rule three and two continents respectively.¹⁰² The rank of the *cakravartin* that Aśoka is categorized as is the lowest, which is the iron wheel turner (*ayaścakravartin*; *tielunwang* 鐵輪王), who has sovereignty over Jambudvīpa. This kind of wheel turner is said to take over lands by force, arraying his army against and threatening minor rulers, whereas the other three kinds of *cakravartins* do not need to use any force or need to use only a little.¹⁰³ He is therefore given

¹⁰⁰ The *kalpa* of increment is an age in which the human lifespan increases by one year every century, from ten till 84,000. It is believed that the Buddha will not appear in the world in this age, but in *kalpas* of decrease (*jianjie* 減劫), in which the human lifespan decreases from 84,000 till ten, when people long for liberation from the birth-and-death circle and this age is full of wickedness and suffering. Dharmatrāta (Fajiu 法救; around the second century C.E.), *Za Apitan xinlun* 雜阿毗曇心論 (*Samyuktābhidharma-hridaya-sāstra* (A commentary on the *Abhidharma-hridaya sāstra* 阿毘曇心論), trans. Saṅghavarman (Sengqiebamō 僧伽跋摩; fl. 433-442) et al., T no. 1552, 28: 9.947b.

¹⁰¹ Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka*, 44-56; anon., “Cakravartin,” in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, eds. G.P. Malalasekera et al (Colombo: Government of Ceylon, 1961), vol. 3, no. 4, 591-596.

¹⁰² The continents that the silver wheeler turner (*rūpyacakravartin*; *yinlunwang* 銀輪王) rules are Purvavideha (Dongpitihe 東毗提訶) in the East, Jambudvīpa (Zhanpuzhou 瞻部洲) in the South, Aparā Godaniya (Niuhuo 牛貨) in the West, without Uttarakura (Qulu 瞿盧) in the North. It is said that only the gold wheel turner can rule all these four continents. The copper wheel turner (*tāmracakravartin*; *tonglunwang* 銅輪王) governs the first two continents only.

¹⁰³ 現威列陣, 剋勝便止. Vasubandhu (Ch. Shiqin 世親), *Apidamo jushe lun* 阿毘達磨俱舍論 (Adhidharma storehouse treatises; *Abhidharmakośa sāstra*), trans. Xuanzang, T no. 1558, 29: 12.65b. It is said that minor rulers come and submit willingly to the gold wheel turner, and the silver wheel turner can control them when he parades his might by simply going to their countries. And the copper wheel turner can do so by beating them with his might and virtue that they cannot match. No people are hurt during these wheel turners' and the iron wheel turner's campaigns.

the epithet “the iron wheel turner”¹⁰⁴, or “the holy wheel turner of one fourth” (*zhuanlun shengwang sifen zhi yi* 轉輪聖王四分之一).¹⁰⁵ Though in Buddhist canonical literature Aśoka is portrayed as a relic- /stūpa- worship enthusiast, he is not ranked as a golden wheel turner. Nonetheless, in Chinese Buddhists’ portrayal of him he was exalted as this kind of wheel turner, as will be shown in Chapter Two of this dissertation.

Now I shall shift focus onto the next issue mentioned above: which one of these groups, the Buddhist order or laymen, do vinaya redactors think should take charge of stūpas and relics? I shall explicate here their viewpoint: although laymen should worship these objects for gaining merits like Buddhist monks and neither of them should deprive others of access to them, they should not overtake the latter in leading such worship. However, as will be shown in the next chapters, the picture of stūpas in China sharply differs: Buddhist monks there did not perform such ideal roles as the guides. Instead, laymen, especially the ruling elites, not only played an important part in determining Chinese Buddhists’ attitudes towards stūpas and relics, but also sometimes prevented others’ access to these objects.

Another version of the text was translated by Paramārtha 真諦 (499-569) of the Chen Dynasty (T no. 1559, 29). A Sanskrit version was discovered in Tibet, but it contains only *gāthā*. Ciyi, et al. eds., *Foguang da cidian*, 3644.

¹⁰⁴ For example, the *Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功德論 (A discourse on classification of merits) (T no. 1507, 25: 3.39c) and *Faxian zhuan* (T no. 2085, 51: 863b; see Zhang Xun 章巽 [annot.], *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu* 法顯傳校註 [Faxian’s record, proofread and annotated] [Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985], 123). Faxian’s record is also named as the *Foguo ji* 佛國記 (A record of Buddhist countries). Its English translation is done by James Legge, *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms, Being an Account by the Chinese Monk Fā-hien of His Travels in India and Ceylon (A.D. 399-414) in Search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1965). Legge translates the term *tielunwang* as “a king of the iron wheel (chapter XXXII, 90).”

¹⁰⁵ *Ayuwang zhuan*, T no. 2042, 50: 99c. This term is translated as “sifen zhuanlun wang” (四分轉輪王 [one-fourth wheel-turning monarch]) in Saṅghapāla’s translation (*Ayuwang jing*, T no. 2043, 50: 123a).

The redactors' views on this issue can be illustrated by a story recounted in the *Pi'naiye zashi*,¹⁰⁶ which clearly conveys that the stūpa should be venerated by all, and should not be kept for private worship by individuals. It tells us that after Śāriputra, one of the Buddha's disciples, entered *nirvāṇa*, his relics were kept by Ānanda. Because the latter greatly respected his monastic fellow Śāriputra and wanted to offer regularly flowers to him/his relics, when he accompanied the Buddha to Kośala, he brought the relics with him. Later the wealthy layman Anāthapiṇḍada (Ch. Jigudu 給孤獨; the benefactor of orphans, i.e. Sudatta [Ch. Xuda 須達]) learnt of Śāriputra's *nirvāṇa*. He asked the Buddha for the relics in order to pay them homage because he also had great respect for Śāriputra. The Buddha told Ānanda to give him the relics because the merits he earned through his veneration were not as many as those lay people earned, which would rid them of sufferings such as transmigration and sorrow. As a Buddhist practitioner, Ānanda ought to convert others and guide them in cultivation. The story recounts that the Buddha did not prohibit Ānanda from venerating the relics, although he asked him to give the relics to Anāthapiṇḍada and reminded him that his veneration was not a practice to which he ought to devote himself.

¹⁰⁶ This story has a Tibetan version, which is remarkably similar to this one. Schopen provides the English translation of the entire Tibetan version in his "Ritual Rights and Bones of Contention: More on Monastic Funerals and Relics in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 22 (1994): 46-53.

After studying this Tibetan version, Schopen deems that the vinaya redactor considers that the collection and preservation of the relics is an exclusively monastic affair. Anāthapiṇḍada's asking for the relics possessed by Ānanda, Schopen says, signifies the laity's challenge to monastic exclusive possession of and access to these valuable objects. Ānanda refused, so the conflict had to be settled by the Buddha, who told him to hand over the relics. Nonetheless, Schopen considers that the original monastic impulse was to retain the possession of relics, so the Buddha's explicit directive was apparently not felt by the redactor to be sufficient. And this is the reason why he thinks the story continues with the plots that Anāthapiṇḍada angered relic worshippers when they could not get access to the relics that he enshrined in his own house. Although finally the relics were put in a stūpa that was possibly erected by laymen, it was within the confines of a monastery. In Schopen's eyes, the redactor clearly holds the view that the Buddhist order should have priority over the claim on the monastic dead's relics. Schopen, "An Old Inscription from Amarāvātī and the Cult of the Local Monastic Dead in Indian Buddhist Monasteries," in *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks*, 191-192; *idem*, "Ritual Rights and Bones of Contention," 46-53.

The story does not end here, and continues to say that, after Anāthapiṇḍada got the relics, he enshrined them at an elevated place in his residence. After hearing about this, other lay people went to his residence for worship, bringing with them various offerings. Yet on arriving there, they found the gate locked and Anāthapiṇḍada out. They were angered, saying that he was obstructing their pursuit of blessings. Anāthapiṇḍada learnt of this when he was back, so he consulted the Buddha and asked his permission to erect a stūpa for the relics at a conspicuous (*xianchang* 顯敞) place that was open to all for worship at will. His request was granted. After its completion, he also held a Buddhist assembly, with help from the Surpassing Light King (i.e. King of Śrāvastī; Skt. Prasenajit; Ch. Shengguang wang 勝光王) with notifying others by ringing bells.¹⁰⁷ This story is clearly aimed at telling readers that although laymen have better grounds for relic worship than the Buddhist order, the relic should not be kept in the hands of any persons for their personal worship. This is why it should be enshrined in the stūpa accessible to all. Here the stūpa is presented as the best receptacle for people to venerate.

Apparently, the redactor of this vinaya work considers that monks should be altruistic guides, not depriving the laity of access to relics and stūpas and instead helping them to acquire liberation from the transmigration cycle. These views are expressed in the Buddha’s sermon for Ānanda: only when practitioners taught lay people to recite scriptures, meditate, and devote themselves to pursue the departure from the world, were they making offerings—the contributions that were truly appreciated in the Buddha’s eyes.¹⁰⁸ As a result, Ānanda

¹⁰⁷ *Pi’naiye zashi*, T no. 1451, 24: 18.291a-291c.

¹⁰⁸ The relevant passage reads “You made offerings to the remaining bones like other practitioners in pursuit of purity, [but] in the Tathāgata’s [eyes] this is not yet counted as offering-making and not as requiting [his] kindness. If[, however, in coping with] this event, you can do [the work of giving the relics to Anāthapiṇḍada], then to the Tathāgata this is real offering making, which is a great acknowledgement. This is among the acts

obeyed him and handed the relics over to Anāthapiṇḍada. The redactor further explains this by stating the reason why Ānanda did not oppose the Buddha's command. This is because he followed his master—an example, who, on the path to being the bodhisattva in the past, had respect for his parents and teachers and thus always obeyed them. The redactor mentions the reason here and interpolates the Buddha's exhortation apparently because he wants to clarify for his monastic readers what role they should take on in stūpa worship. It is clear that he thinks that monks should help and pave the way for the laity for its liberation, but not be principal worshippers controlling stūpas and relics. In the end, in addition to the stūpa that Anāthapiṇḍada built for Śāriputra's relics under the Buddha's permission, he also mentions the considerable patronage conferred on the stūpa by lay Buddhists. It is evident that he welcomes their veneration of the relics on the condition that the remains are enshrined in the stūpa open to all.

The story reveals the ideal place where the stūpa should stand in the redactor's eyes. The stūpa should be in a place open and accessible to all, but not in a restricted area. Ānanda did not worship Śāriputra's relics at a stūpa, and neither did Anāthapiṇḍada, who at first put the relics in his house, but neither of their ways to treat the relics is thought to be proper. Finally, the relics were enshrined, with the Buddha's permission, at a stūpa in “a conspicuous

said (=preached?) of admitting others to the Buddhist order and teaching them the complete commands (lit. *jīnyuan* 近圓; nearing perfection), or providing them support by teaching them to recite [*sūtras*], [or] urging and encouraging them to meditate and to pursue single-mindedly the departure from the world, so as to make them not pass the time vainly. Why is that? Ānanda, only after enduring immeasurable hundreds of thousand kinds of untold difficult practices and ascetic practices in the three countless great kalpas, for the sake of all sentient beings, the Tathāgata—the world-honoured one—attains the unparalleled omniscient bodhi. Ānanda, because relying on me as a virtuous, insightful friend, all sentient beings are made to attain liberation from all birth, aging, sickness, death, sorrow, suffering, and anxiety. For this reason you now should give the layman the bones left [in the cremation of] the body and let him worship them. (汝於同梵行者供養遺骨，於如來所未為供養，未是報恩。於如是事若能作者，是於如來真為供養，是大報恩。所謂能與他人出家及受近圓，或與依止教其讀誦，策勵禪思專求出道勿令虛度。何以故？阿難陀，如來世尊於三無數大劫之中，為諸有情備受無量百千萬種難行苦行，方證無上正等菩提。阿難陀，由依止我為善知識故，令諸有情於生老、病死、憂悲、苦惱皆得解脫。是故，汝今應與長者遺身之骨，令其供養。)” *Pi'naiye zashi*, T no. 1451, 24: 18.291a:

place.” Apparently, the stūpa here is an object in an open area to which laymen and monks can get access for veneration any time.¹⁰⁹

The *Daban niepan jing* also conveys this idea: the Buddha told Ānanda that those set up for his relics ought to be built at main crossroads, which were in open areas.¹¹⁰ This *sūtra* was thought to be of considerable importance by Chinese Buddhists, who considered it as a *sūtra* about the Mahāyāna doctrines preached by the Buddha at the last stage of his life. Expressed in such a significant text, the idea that stūpas ought to be accessed by all people but ought not to be set up in remote places could perhaps successfully be implanted in their minds.¹¹¹

1.1.4.3 Stūpas Set Up for Dead Monks and Nuns

There were funerary stūpas constructed for deceased members of the Buddhist order in China, which will be examined in Chapter Four; therefore, to judge whether they were erected canonically or according to Chinese people’s local funerary customs, I shall now discuss some stories of such stūpas related in Buddhist scriptures. As mentioned above,

¹⁰⁹ The pilgrim Faxian 法獻 (424-498) kept the Buddha’s tooth and some relics he obtained in secret before Prince of Jingling 竟陵王 in the Qi (460-494) knew about them. Probably because of this conviction, he later put some of the relics in stūpas. See Chapter Three for the story.

¹¹⁰ *Daban niepan jing*, T no. 377, 12: 1.903b. The first part of this text was translated by Dharmakṣema (Tanwuchen 曇無讖; 385-433) and the last part was by Jnanabhadra (translated as Ruonabatuoluo 若那跋陀羅 or Zhixian 智賢; fl. ca. 664-678) and Hui Ning 會寧 (fl. c. 664-670) of the Tang Dynasty. Dharmakṣema’s translation is called *beiben* 北本 (the northern version). Its revision, made by Huiyan 慧嚴 (363-443), Huiguan 慧觀 (fl. early fifth century), and the famous poet Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385-443) in the Liu Song Dynasty, is called *nanben* 南本 (the southern version) because these revisers were southerners.

¹¹¹ According to the Tiantai 天台 classification of the Buddha’s teachings into five stages of doctrines, the *sūtra* was among the two spoken by him in his last eight years; the other one is the *Lotus sūtra*.

Having studied some concepts in this *sūtra*, Shimoda Masahiro (*Nehangyō no kenkyū*, 237-319) finds that they are interpreted in accordance with Mahāyāna Buddhism and that the *sūtra* bears witness to the rise of this tradition and its gradual sophistication.

stūpas are allowed to be set up for deceased monks and nuns. However, probably because unlike those for the Buddha and other Buddhist transcendent people, Buddhist vinaya redactors think that these stūpas easily cause social censure and disagreement among the Buddhist order and view the construction of them as a matter of concern. They discuss in the vinaya works the specifications set for building these stūpas in order to impose restrictions on them. For this reason, I shall first discuss some of the specifications, and then turn to some stories about arguments involving these stūpas in the vinaya literature. Like the Buddhist materials examined above, these stories also reflect the belief that the stūpa is not an inanimate grave but a living being, equated with a person and imbued with his/her characteristics and virtue. Thus, vinaya redactors, holding this belief, confine Buddhists' worship to only those set up for Buddhist transcendent people.

I shall talk about the specifications by looking again at the above-discussed story about Anāthapiṇḍada's venerating Śāriputra's relics related in the *Pi'naiye zashi*. It mentions the Buddha's instructions to this wealthy layman about how the stūpa should be erected. The stūpa for the Tathāgata, which is holiest among all of its kind, should be of course furnished with all the decorations that manifest his superiority: a modest platform enclosed with a railing (*harmikā*; *pingtou* 平頭), a post (*yaṣṭi* or *yūpa-yaṣṭi*; *lungan* 輪竿), one to thirteen layered parasols (*chatra* or *chatrāvali*; *xianglun* 相輪), and a precious vessel (*kalaśa*; *baoping* 寶瓶)¹¹². The stūpas for the *pratyeka-buddha* and for the *arhat*, which are less holy than that for the Buddha, do not have vessels, and the latter can only have a maximum of four

¹¹² Pant translates *kalaśa* as "rain basin," and Sugimoto renders it as "water vase" and thinks that it was symbolic of fertility and productivity. Pant, *The origin and development of Stūpa Architecture in India*, 96; Sugimoto, *Indō Bukkyō no kenkyū*, 75-77.

layered parasols¹¹³. Here it is said that the stūpa for the Buddha should be put in the monastery (lit. *zhufa chu* 住法處; the place where the Dharma is practiced), although some other texts say that it should be erected outside it, as mentioned above. On its both sides the stūpas for *pratyeka-buddhas* can be built, and those for other holy beings can stand everywhere in monasteries. By comparison, those for non-holy beings are treated with the least respect. Stūpas are allowed to be set up for ordinary people of virtue (*fanfu shanren* 凡夫善人), but they cannot have any vessel and parasol and should not stand in monasteries.¹¹⁴

The ordinary people referred to here are not laymen, but are the members of the Buddhist order. The stūpas built for them are those Yijing calls “kūla” (*juluo* 俱擲). He gives a depiction of them in his record of the monastic funeral, and this seems to imply that stūpas can normally be set up for dead monastic members.¹¹⁵ Yet Xuanzang’s description of Bokhara 縛喝國 (or Baktra; Balkh of present Oxus) tells of a different custom in India. In this kingdom there was a famous monastery. In its north a stūpa was erected and in its southwest a *vihāra* (monastic quarters). This residence was inhabited by many outstanding practitioners. Among them, those who attained *arhatship* were incalculable. Hence, only the *arhats* who exposed their supernatural power to others before entering *nirvāṇa* would be memorialized through stūpas erected for them. Stūpas would not be built for those who did not trigger any miraculous phenomena even though they had attained *arhatship*.¹¹⁶ Another description written by Faxian of a great *vihāra* lived in by three thousand monks in Ceylon shows that monks there did not need to demonstrate their supernatural power, and could have

¹¹³ The text does not mention the number of canopies the stūpa for the pratyeka-buddha should have.

¹¹⁴ *Pi'naiye zashi*, T no. 1451, 24: 18.291a.

¹¹⁵ Yijing, *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan*, T no. 2125, 54: 2.216c; Wang Bangwei (annot.), *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan*, 2.108; Takakusu (trans.), *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, 82.

¹¹⁶ Xuanzang, *Da Tang siyu ji*, T no. 2087, 51: 1.872c.

stūpas for them if their monastic fellows recognized their extraordinary achievement. There Faxian saw in person a burial held for a monk of distinction. When the monk drew near his end, the king assembled other monks and asked them whether he had attained *arhat*ship. With an affirmative answer from them, he cremated his remains after he died, and put them in a stūpa.¹¹⁷

In these reports, which probably provided blueprints for Chinese people building stūpas for the Buddhist order, there are two points we need to keep in mind. They will help the discussion in Chapter Four as to what extent they followed the blueprints. First, as shown in the pilgrims' records, ordinary monks would not necessarily be memorialized through stūpas built for them after their death, but only those who have reached a certain stage in cultivation—probably the attainment of the *arhat*ship, the state of non-rebirth with all the karma of reincarnation destroyed—would receive honour through stūpas. Second, deceased monks' cultivation has to be recognized by other members of the monastic order before building stūpas for them, and sometimes the ruling class may play a part.

Not only is the regulation that stūpas should not be set up for every dead monk recorded in Chinese pilgrims' works, but it also enters into the vinaya literature, which

¹¹⁷ Faxian's record reads as follows:

There had been among them a *śramaṇa* (monk), of such lofty virtue, and so holy and pure in his observance of the disciplinary rules, that the people all surmised that he was an *arhat*. When he drew near his end, the king came to examine into the point, and having assembled the monks according to rule, asked whether the bhikshu had attained to the full degree of Wisdom. They answered in the affirmative, saying that he was an *arhat*. The king accordingly, when he died, buried him after the fashion of an *arhat*, as the regular rules prescribed... When the cremation was over, they collected and preserved the bones, and proceeded to erect a tope (i.e. stūpa). Fahien [i.e. Faxian] had not arrived in time [to see the distinguished Shaman] alive, and only saw his burial.

有一高德沙門，戒行清潔，國人咸疑是羅漢。臨終之時，王來省視，依法集僧而問：“依法集僧而問。比丘得道耶？”其便以實答言：“是羅漢。”既終，王即按經律，以羅漢法葬之……闍維已，收斂取骨即以起塔。法顯至，不及其生存，唯見葬。

Faxian, *Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 856b; see Zhang Xun, *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu*, 159; Legge (trans.), *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, chapter XXXIX, 107-108.

contains more details for Chinese Buddhists to consult. The *Mohesengqi lü*, for example, has a passage amplifying monastic consensus on stūpa construction. Whether monks are agreed on setting up a stūpa for a deceased monk largely depends on whether he has recognized achievement in cultivation or made a great contribution to the Buddhist order. In addition to the four categories of outstanding figures (the *tathāgata*, the *pratyeka-buddha*, the *śrāvaka*, and the *cakravartī*), the text says that some monks can also be memorialized through stūpas that are erected for them with senior monks' approval: outstanding practitioners who have reached any of the four stages in transcendence¹¹⁸, virtuous practitioners who observe strictly monastic precepts, and meritorious practitioners who show great diligence in running errands and worshipping, for example. Before a stūpa is set up, the monk who is responsible for the religious service (*karma* 羯磨) has to get approval from virtuous monks (Skt. *bhadanta*; Ch. *dade* 大德). If disagreement arises, he then needs to consult elder monks (Skt. *sthavira*; Ch. *changlao* 長老).¹¹⁹ Apart from the *Mohesengqi lü*, the *Wufen lü* also explicitly says that stūpas should not be set up for all ordinary dead, but are limited to only Buddhist holy figures and wheel-turning rulers.¹²⁰

In addition to the regulations, the vinaya compilers also relate some stories of conflicts over stūpa construction between laymen and monks and among the Buddhist order, impressing on their readers that stūpas are not sanctified and thus controversial if they are not set up under the regulations. The above-mentioned rules in the *Mohesengqi lü* are stated after a story of a complaint made by some laymen against a stūpa in Śrāvastī 舍衛城 (the capital

¹¹⁸ The four stages are the four grades (or fruitions; *phala*) of the *śrāvaka* path, which are *srota-āpanna-phala* (*xutuohuan* 須陀洹), *sakradāgāmi-phala* (*situohan* 斯陀含), *anāgāmi-phala* (*anahan* 阿那含), and *arhat-phala* (*aluohan* 阿羅漢).

¹¹⁹ *Mohesengqi lü*, T no. 1425, 22: 27.444b.

¹²⁰ *Mishasaibu wufenlü*, T no. 1421, 22: 26.173a.

of the ancient Indian state of Kośala, located at present-day Sāheṭh-Māheṭh by the river Rapti in Uttar Pradesh). Some monks had set up there a stūpa for a *śrāvaka* in a crowded place. The term *śrāvaka* is ambiguous; not only can it refer to the ones in pursuit of *arhat*ship or the Buddha’s direct disciples, but also means practitioners in forests, towns, villages, and monastic quarters—the people who are thought to be still flesh and blood and thus are respected less greatly than Buddhist transcendent figures.¹²¹ No matter which meaning is taken, the *śrāvaka* mentioned here seems to be a profane being who was still in the process of attaining enlightenment and had not liberated himself from transmigration. This may explain why the stūpa set up for him offended some laymen when they saw it on their way before seeing and worshipping the Buddha. In their eyes, it was simply a grave for a dead person, neither sacred nor pure.¹²² After hearing this complaint, the monks told the Buddha about it. He therefore set up a regulation that a stūpa for a *śrāvaka* should not be built outside the consecrated ground—the place where a consecration rite (*karma* 羯磨)¹²³ has been held. And worshippers should seek an audience with the Buddha before doing the same to it, because, as one may easily infer, he is the one they should hold in greater reverence. The stūpa should stand in a secluded place (*pingchu* 屏處), nor in a crowded place or at the ground where monks walk about in meditation (*cankramana*; *jingxing chu* 經行處); otherwise, the monk

¹²¹ Reginald A. Ray, *Buddhist Saints in India: A Study in Buddhist Values and Orientations* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University, 1994), 179-205.

¹²² They said, ““We come to pay obeisance [in front of] the feet of the World-honoured One, but see a grave for a dead man before seeing the World-honoured One. (來欲禮拜世尊足, 未見世尊, 先見死人塚.)” T no. 1425, 22: 27.444b.

¹²³ Besides deeds and actions, *karma* also means rituals, ceremonies, and proceedings performed by authoritative monastic groups, and thus it is linked to a wide variety of occasions such as the confession of sins, the ordination, and the absolution. Ciyi et al (comp.), *Foguang da cidian*, 6140.

The *karma* mentioned here is probably a consecration rite that is similar to that described by Yijing. He says that places need to be consecrated before they are used for monasteries and monastic quarters and constructions. Yijing, *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan*, T no. 2125, 54: 2.216c-217a; Wang Bangwei (annot.), *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan*, 2.109-111; Takakusu (trans.), *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, 82-83.

who constructs it will break monastic precepts.¹²⁴ These details about the location where the stūpa should be located indicate that the *śrāvaka* referred to here is not a holy figure.

This story reveals an intriguing point regarding the construction of stūpas for ordinary, flesh and blood practitioners of the order. Apparently, these stūpas are allowed to be erected, and the difference between them and tombs seems to have blurred in a way; therefore the story says that the lay Buddhists find the stūpa for the *śrāvaka* repulsive when seeing it. Since the Buddha and other holy figures (the *pratyeka-buddha* and the *arhat*) do not suffer any more from the life-and-death cycle, the stūpa erected for them are thought to be holy and worthy of veneration without exception. Those for ordinary Buddhist practitioners, on the contrary, are deemed impure and not different from tombs, because they have not liberated themselves yet from transmigration. Hence, the stūpas for them are allowed to be built in monastic territories, but neither should be worshipped before worshippers pay obeisances to the Buddha/his stūpa, nor should stand in the grounds where monks carry out practices. They should not lie in the places full of monks' or laymen's activities either.

In comparison with the story in the *Mohesengqi lü*, those related in the *Shisong lü* and the *Pi'naiye zashi* are more eye-catching. They are about conflicts between monks and nuns over stūpas established for non-transcendent monastic members. The scenes of the stories are so dramatic that they sound like a stark warning to their readers that stūpas put up for those who have not liberated themselves would likely cause discontent or even violence. However, as will be shown in Chapter Four, these stories seem not to have had any noticeable influence on Chinese Buddhists.

¹²⁴ *Mohesengqi lü*, T no. 1425, 22: 27.444b.

The *Shisong lü* tells us that at the time when Śākyamuni was in Kauśāmbī (Ch. Jushemi 俱舍彌; a country in central India), a monk named Jialiuluotishe 迦留羅提舍 passed away. Seven powerful nuns then cremated his body with collected pyre materials and erected a stūpa for his remains. A monk named Jiatuo 迦陀 passed by it on his way from Heqi 和耆 to Vaiśālī (Ch. Weiyeli 維耶離; the city of the Licchavis, near Basarh). He asked people (the nuns?) there for whom this stūpa was built, and was told that it was for Jialiuluotishe. After hearing this, he destroyed it, thinking that the stūpa ought not to be set up because Jialiuluotishe was simply an ordinary human. Then he sat in meditation on a string-bed. Having learnt of the destruction, Toulannantuo 偷蘭難陀, one of the seven nuns, burst into anger and told other nuns to sew his robe and the bed up. His monastic abode was close to a road. Upāli, one of the ten great disciples of Śākyamuni, passed by it. When he knew of the nuns' plan, he went there and warned Jiatuo of it. Jiatuo, however, did not get angry. Instead, he said that he would then be released from the fragile flesh if he was sewn up with the bed—euphemistically suggesting he would be badly hurt or even killed. Upāli, renowned for his strict vinaya observance, reminded the monk that if he let them take revenge he would get liberation, but at the same time the nuns would commit serious sins. Jiatuo was eventually convinced and made himself invisible for the time being with his supernatural power. Then Upāli immediately left. When the nuns arrived there and found nobody, they blamed Upāli and expressed disdain for him. Among them, a nun who took *dhūta* 頭陀 (ascetic) practice found it inappropriate and criticized them for entering the

bhikṣus' quarters without advance notification. The Buddha knew of this event and hence established rules concerning nuns' entry into monks' dwellings.¹²⁵

The *Pi'naiye zashi* relates another story about the quarrel between Upāli and a group of nuns. It contains some details similar to those of the one just discussed, so probably it is a variant. Yet, it is also worth attention since not only does this story reveal how problematic stūpas for non-sacred people are in its redactor's eyes, but it also contains some more details about the Buddhist order's veneration of stūpas built for its members. It tells us that, after a *bhikṣu* named Bensheng 本勝 passed away, twelve nuns cremated his body and enshrined the remains in a stūpa located in a broad, open area (*guangbo chu* 廣博處). They treated the stūpa with great adoration, offering silk fabrics, canopies, and floral hoops. They also designated two nuns to provide water and mud for pilgrims for washing hands and feet and to give them flowers for offering to the stūpa. One day an *arhat* monk named Jiebeide 劫卑德, together with his five hundred disciples, on the way to Śrāvastī (here rendered as Shiluofa 室羅伐), saw the stūpa. Without entering into meditation and thus not knowing its origin, he mistook it for a newly established stūpa for the Buddha's hair and finger nails and therefore worshipped it. After cleaning his hands and feet with the water and mud provided, he chanted *pāṭha* (*bai* 頌; hymns in praise) and offered the stūpa the flowers provided by the two nuns. His disciples also circumambulated it. At that time Upāli was sitting in meditation under a tree nearby. When he saw Jiebeide, he told him to scrutinize it and find out for whom the stūpa was built. On a close examination of Bensheng's remains in the stūpa with his supernatural power, Jiebeide found that this monk had not freed himself from delusion

¹²⁵ *Shisong lü*, T no. 1435, 23: 47.340a.

caused by anger. Eventually, his disciples, each bringing a brick with them, destroyed the stūpa. Their acts angered the twelve nuns and other members of the *bhikṣuṇī-saṅgha*. They blamed Upāli for telling Jiebeide about the origin of the stūpa, and furiously went to the tree where Upāli meditated; they brought with them knives, awls, and hammers in order to take his life. On seeing with his supernatural power the nuns in anger head to his quarters, Upāli entered a meditative state of cessation so that his sensation and thoughts became completely inactive and he could pretend to be killed when hit by the nuns. When the nuns thought they had successfully taken revenge, they left. Upāli returned to his quarters and told other monks about this. Without any consultation with the Buddha, the monks prohibited nuns from going to Jetavana (Shiduolin 逝多林, the garden donated by Anāthapiṇḍada to the Buddha) and monks' monasteries, but the Buddha thought this would obstruct nuns' cultivation and thus commanded nuns to notify monks before their entry into the monasteries.¹²⁶

These two stories—possibly two variants of the same story—reveal Buddhist redactors' views on stūpas for non-transcendent monks and nuns, which sound somewhat puzzling. Obviously, since the dead members of the Buddhist order—Jialiuluotishe in the *Shisong lü* and Bensheng in the *Pi'naiye zashi*—are not holy, the redactors consider that constructing stūpas for them is contentious and these stūpas are not worthy of Buddhists' worship. Nonetheless, the redactors do not put down in their works a complete ban on building such stūpas as they do for ghosts and non-Buddhist practitioners and deities (as said in the *Wufen lü* examined above), although they urge Buddhists to construct stūpas only for

¹²⁶ *Pi'naiye zashi*, T no. 1451, 24: 33.370b-371a. Apart from the two stories narrated in the *Shisong lü* and the *Pi'naiye zashi* discussed above, there is also another similar story (possibly another variant) in the *Wufen lü*. But the cause of the quarrel is a little bit different; it arose because some nuns established a stūpa for the *bhikṣuṇī* Chamo 差摩 in a monks' quarters and their mourning disrupted monks' cultivation there. Upāli told others to destroy the stūpa, but his act agitated the nuns and brought their revenge. He consequently fled to the Buddha and requested him to settle the dispute. *Mishasaibu wufenlü*, T no. 1421, 22: 13.90b.

Buddhist holy figures and universal monarchs and pay homage to them. This may explain why in the stories the blame lies neither with the nuns nor with the monks. The Buddha did not scold the nuns for building a stūpa for the dead ordinary monk and did not further prohibit this custom. He also did not say that Upāli ought to be responsible for causing the quarrel either. Upāli was most renowned among the Buddha's direct disciples for his strict observance of monastic precepts. Hence, his being one of the key roles in the stories suggests that although the vinaya redactors do not write down an injunction forbidding the Buddhist order from setting up stūpas for ordinary monks and nuns, they do not condemn (through putting words into the Buddha's mouth) the monks for their destroying these stūpas either.

Also, these two stories demonstrate the belief discussed above: the stūpa was a person, imbued with his/her personality and virtue. The belief applies not only to those for Buddhist holy figures, but also to stūpas for ordinary monastic people. Therefore, the stories state that the monks (Jiatuo in the *Shisong lü* and Jiebeide in the *Pi'naiye zashi*) felt misled when they discovered the stūpas to which they had paid homage were not for the Buddha or a transcendent figure. Vinaya redactors probably think worshipping such profane stūpas worthless. On the contrary, those set up for Buddhist transcendent figures, they feel, are infused with their holiness and are therefore worthy of veneration. Therefore, they elaborate in their works the specifications for setting up stūpas for these people.

As will be shown in Chapter Four, because stūpas in China were not believed to be animate beings, such conflicts did not occur within the Buddhist order there, and Chinese historians and writers did not mention any instance in their works.

1.1.5 A Summary of Buddhist Canonical Depictions of Stūpas and Stūpa Worship: An Authoritative Blueprint

I have examined above how Buddhist canonical texts and Chinese pilgrims' travel accounts portray stūpas and the significance of worship of them. By providing Chinese Buddhists with regulations on how they should pay homage to them, detailing admirable merits they will acquire through worship, and relating impressive legendary stories of their Indian counterparts' devotional acts, these works give Chinese Buddhists the authoritative blueprints for conceiving of and treating these objects. Without knowing the blueprints, it would not be easy to know whether or not Chinese Buddhists perceive and worship stūpas according to Buddhist scriptures. Nor would it be possible to judge to what extent they diverge from the blueprints. As stated above, the devotional acts, if performed at stūpas but *not* for them, can hardly be counted as stūpa worship that is advocated in the texts.

To sum up, based on the above discussion, there are three fundamental features of stūpas in the textual portrayals, which will help to analyse these objects in China. First, stūpa worship derives from the belief that stūpas are equated with persons, even though they have departed this world. Buddhist vinaya redactors therefore allow homage paid to the stūpas built for Buddhist holy figures only but prohibit that to others. Regulations on stūpa construction and maintenance they set up also support this belief. Second, stūpas themselves are already worthy of veneration if they are set up for these people, regardless of whether or not they house their relics. Third, although stūpas should not be controlled by any individuals and should stand in areas accessible to both the laity and the Buddhist order, the latter are usually responsible for taking care of them and guide the laity in stūpa worship.

Given Buddhists' reverence for Buddhist canonical texts, it would be interesting to find out whether Chinese Buddhists comply with them in their conceiving of and treating stūpas. Many Buddhist texts discussed above were already translated in the Six Dynasties, the period of time on which this dissertation will focus.¹²⁷ The ideas stated in them could also be spread through monks even though not all Buddhists could get access to them.

So, if stūpas were not understood in the same way as that presented in the texts and thus stūpa worship was not established and did not prevail in China, it seems almost certain that this was not because the texts had not yet be transmitted there. This means that Chinese people perhaps infused these Buddhist objects with their local beliefs and conventions, thus making them distinct from those depicted in the texts. And this dissertation is aimed at finding out whether this was the case or not.

1.2 The Current Study: Scope, Methodology, Sources, Limitations, and Outline

1.2.1 Scope

As mentioned above, I shall limit my exploration to the Six Dynasties period, which is referred here to as the period from the Three Kingdoms period till the unification of China by Yang Jian 楊堅 (541-604), the founder of the Sui Dynasty. In spite of the separation between the north and the south (only brief reunion in the Western Jin [265-316]), with

¹²⁷ Although the *Pi'naiye zashi* and the *Genbenshuoyiqieyoubu pi'naiye yaoshi*, two Sarvāstivādin vinaya works, did not circulate in China until they were translated by Yijing in the Tang, missionary monks of this school were already active in China before the Tang. Therefore, Chinese Buddhists before Yijing's time could probably get access to the ideas stated in these works. For the school and Chinese Buddhism, see Wang Bangwei, "Shuo Yiqieyou bu yu Zhongguo fojiao de yanjiu," in *Yinshun sixiang—Yinshun daoshi jiuzhi jinwu shouqing lunwen ji* 印順思想: 印順導師九秩晉五壽慶論文集 (Yinshun's thoughts—A collection of essays in celebration of Master Yinshun's 95th birthday), edited by Lan Jifu 藍吉富 (Taipei: Zhengwen chuban she) 117-123.

northern China controlled by non-Han people, this period of time saw the rapid spread of Buddhism. After the authorities had allowed their people to enter the Buddhist order, the community of Chinese monastic practitioners expanded and started to be established in society.¹²⁸ Possibly, Chinese monks needed stūpas for their cultivation, and stūpas were no longer erected for foreign monks only. As monks transmitted to laymen Buddhist doctrines, they possibly spread stūpa worship to them at the same time. Besides, usually under state sponsorship, a number of foreign missionary monks, with help from local Buddhist practitioners, devoted themselves to translating Buddhist scriptures. Among the Buddhist texts they translated, many became influential in Chinese Buddhist society; for example, the *Lotus Sūtra* and the four major vinaya texts (*Wufen lü*, *Sifen lü*, *Mohesengqi lü*, and *Shisong lü*). These works, as shown above, explicate in detail the way in which stūpas should be perceived and worshipped. Considering that Chinese people before the Six Dynasties period were generally vague about Buddhism and categorized it as a belief not greatly different from Laozi's teachings, it is definite that in this politically chaotic period Buddhism made remarkable progress, which some scholars call "domestication."¹²⁹ It is not necessary to discuss here or to agree on the usage of this term. However, under the circumstances it seems less meaningful to study how Chinese people viewed stūpas and whether they venerated them in the Han, the time when generally they seldom came into contact with Buddhist monks or could hardly get access to translated Buddhist scriptures. For this reason, this dissertation examines the Six Dynasties period.

¹²⁸ For the study of how the saṅgha was established in Chinese society from the first century B.C.E. to the early fifth century C.E., see E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959). For the relationship between the growth of the Buddhist order and its increasing demand for getting access to Buddhist precepts, see Yan Yaozhong, *Fojiao jielü yu Zhongguo shehui*, 48-49.

¹²⁹ Arthur F. Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959) 42; Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, xi.

Since the scope of my investigation is limited to this age, some of Buddhist terms have to be put in the context of China at that time and need to be mentioned here. One of them is “relic,” which refers not only to the remains of holy, venerated people including their bodies, bones, or ashes, but also to the objects they once used and owned. In Buddhism, there are three categories of relics. The first one of them is the corporeal remains—those collected after the cremation of the Buddha’s physical remains and probably the kind of relic that first appeared and were enshrined in stūpas. His hair and fingernails also belong to this category, though they are not the remnants after cremation. The other two are those related to the Buddha’s teachings (namely, the spiritual relics) and the objects that he owned and used (the contact relics: his staff and alms bowl, for example). Given the close relationship of these objects with stūpas presented in Buddhist literature, as shown above, I shall elaborate in Chapter Three Chinese Buddhists’ veneration of them. However, my focus will be on the Buddha’s corporeal remains, because Buddhists in the Six Dynasties were more enthusiastic about them (the first category of these objects) than about others, and more references to their donations towards them are found in extant materials.¹³⁰

Chinese writers usually refer to Buddhist relics in the form of grains *sheli* 舍利. As for the Buddha’s hair, fingernails, and teeth, they call them separately *fofa* 佛髮, *fozhao* 佛爪, and *foya* 佛牙 respectively. Yet the English term “relic” refers to all kinds of the holy person’s remains, including the body, bone, and ashes. To avoid confusion, I shall use “relic

¹³⁰ Perhaps because the Buddha’s corporeal remains were scarce, they were considered more valuable than Buddhist scriptures (the embodiments of his teachings). Chinese Buddhists were therefore more fanatical about them, and their devotional acts for them tended to catch attention more easily from contemporary chroniclers and authors. Possibly they would have had the same enthusiasm for the Buddha’s alms bowl (the third category of relic) if it had appeared in China. According to Faxian’s record, it was enshrined in Purusapura (Ch. Fulousha 弗樓沙, the modern Peshāwur) at that time. Faxian, *Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 1.585b; Zhang Xun [annot.], *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu*, 39-40; Legge (tran.), *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, 33-34.

grains” for the relics in the form of grains if my sources specify that it is this type of the relic referred to.

Other noteworthy terms are *stūpa* and *caitya* (Pāli: *cetiya*), the names given to the two categories of *stūpas*, which are translated into Chinese as *ta* 塔 and *zhiti* 支提 respectively. The former contains the remains or relics, whereas the latter does not, a commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra* says.¹³¹ The difference between them, Takushū Sugimoto thinks, lies mainly in the way they are used: the term *stūpa* is usually used to describe grand structures, with domes as bodies (e.g. the *Stūpas* at *Sānchī*), while *caitya* is applied to those in rock-cut temples, but they are not distinct from each other in terms of appearance and structure, and both refer to the mounds for remains.¹³² Other scholars (e.g. André Bareau) think that these two words might have different origins. The term *caitya* has more connotations; it was used to describe not only sanctuaries but also sacred trees, holy spots, or other religious monuments. However, probably since they both referred to objects of worship at the beginning, they were later applied as synonyms.¹³³

¹³¹ Jizang 吉藏 (549-623), *Fahua jing yishu* 法華經義疏 (A commentary on the meanings of the *Lotus Sūtra*) T no. 1721, 34: 11.621a. Jizang claims that this categorization is stated in the *Mohesengqi lü*, and that the *Pusa dichi jing* 菩薩地持經 (A scripture on the bodhisattva’s practice for [cultivation] stages) (T no. 1581, vol. 30, trans. Dharmakṣema) suggests using *zhiti* to refer to all *stūpas* regardless of whether they contain relics or not, but I cannot find the relevant passages in these two works. It is puzzling why the passages are not included in the extant versions of the works. Does this suggest that the versions we see now are different from those read by Jizang? Or he misquotes his sources? Before we can give answers to these questions, we have to conduct a close investigation.

¹³² Sugimoto, *Indō Bukkyō no kenkyū*, 47-48. Owen C. Kall also draws a distinction between these two terms; it is similar to that discussed by Sugimoto. Kall, *Buddhist Cave Temple of India* (Bombay: D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Private Ltd, 1975), 16-17.

¹³³ Pant, *The Origin and Development of Stūpa Architecture in India*, 23-24; Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka*, 120; anon., “Cetiya,” in G.P. Malalasekera et al (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, vol. 4, no. 1, 104-105.

Pant has written a brief but clear conclusion on the differences between these two terms, which is worth citing here. “However, the Buddha while accepting the *Caitya* tradition laid greater stress on the *Stūpa*-tradition. It seems that he tried to distinguish between the two prevalent concepts i.e. the *Caitya* and the *Stūpa*. The use of the words *Caitya* and *Thūpa* suggests that He meant two different concepts and structures from those terms though in some of the Buddhist texts these words have been used as synonyms. The *Caitya* was an age-old tradition and the Buddha accepted it but the *Stūpa* concept, most likely of the Jaina tradition but less

Regardless of the origins of these terms in India, Chinese translators of Buddhist *sūtras* tended to use the character *ta* to describe both stūpas and *caitya*, and sometimes interchanged it with *zhiti*, without distinguishing these two kinds of objects.¹³⁴ Here is an example from the *Mohesengqi lü*. According to the text after some merchants had presented the Buddha with honey and wheat and heard the blessing *mantra* (*zhouyuan* 呪願) he uttered, they felt delighted. “They requested [the Buddha] to offer them his fingernails and hair so that they could build *zhiti* after they returned. The Buddha immediately cut off [some of] his fingernails and shaved off [some of] his hair, and gave them to them for constructing *ta*.”¹³⁵ *Ta* and *zhiti* are used here as two synonymous terms, both referring to stūpas with the Buddha’s hair and fingernails enshrined. In his definition of stūpas quoted above, Yijing also says that they are not different from each other and analogous with tombs. The character *ta* generally appears in Chinese local literature more frequently than *zhiti*. Overall many Chinese writers did not consider them greatly different from each other and used them according to their preference. For this reason, I shall generally use *stūpa* to refer to these objects without differentiating *zhiti* from *ta*.

emphasized by them, was given greater prominence. Stūpa being a non-Vedic concept and related to a reformatory idea was more acceptable to the Buddha. Further, the Caitya and the Stūpa both were regarded as places of worship during the Jaina period. But in all probability Caitya was given more importance and most probably during the time of the Buddha Stūpa tradition of the Jainas, in its concrete form, did not exist while the Caitya continued. Most likely because of the strong desire to break away from the past tradition He preferred to accept Stūpa than the Caitya.” (p. 41)

¹³⁴ The same can be said of Tibetan translators; Schopen finds that they almost never distinguish between *stūpa* and *caitya*, both terms always being rendered as *mchod rten*. Schopen, “On Avoiding Ghosts and Social Censure,” 233n63; Yinshun, *Chuqi dacheng fojiao zhi qiyuan yu kaizhan*, 51-52.

¹³⁵ *Mohesengqi lü*, T no. 1425, 22: 29.461c: 願賜髮爪還起支提, 佛即剪爪剃髮與之起塔.

1.2.2 Methodology

With the above discussion of Buddhist scriptural narrations of stūpas, we should now have some clear ideas of how Buddhists are told to perceive and worship these objects. Definitely, these narratives do not reflect the historical reality of Buddhism, either in India or in China. Besides, Buddhists may not always follow the exhortations in Buddhist scriptures, hence it must be inferred that a gap exists between the real world of Buddhists and the ideal world of Buddhist scriptures. This, however, does not mean that the narratives are of no value in the study of Chinese Buddhists' understanding of stūpas. The ideas of stūpas and stūpa worship in them will be used in this dissertation as models for judging whether and how these people deviated from them. The narratives might not have been regarded by Indian Buddhists as any workable models, but, as Buddhist sources coming from India, they were supposed to provide standards for Chinese Buddhists, especially Buddhist elites, who generally had access to Buddhist scriptures and the authorities on them (i.e. the Buddhist order). It would, then, be intriguing to know whether these people adopted model concepts of stūpas in the narratives, or had their own understanding of these objects that is different from what we see in the scriptures. It would be interesting to find out further, if they did not adopt the concepts, what Chinese traditions and customs they had used when modifying them.

The same evaluation should be given on the authenticity of miracle stories and other accounts of strange, unusual phenomena, events, and people, which are found in many Buddhist scriptures and Chinese Buddhists' writings. They are important materials for the discussion in this dissertation. Although they should not be counted as historical records or any accounts about actual happenings, they provide glimpses into religious ideals and perspectives taken by the people who write down, spread, and believe in these materials.

It is necessary to elaborate further on this point, because one may wonder why non-historical records should be still used as the sources for investigation. Here I would like to discuss Robert Ford Campany's findings on *zhiguai* 志怪—anomaly accounts appearing in China prevailing in the Six Dynasties, the period of time on which this dissertation focuses. Many of the materials I examine belong to this genre or have similar contents (e.g. the collections of monastic biographies), so Campany's evaluation of *zhiguai* certainly produces direct insight into them. He suggests that anomalies should be understood as cultural and not as natural phenomena, because when they are judged and called odd and extraordinary, such judging and calling are the stuff of cosmography and indicate that anomalies do not fit into a particular reigning worldview, system, or ideology. Hence he opposes some scholars' categorization of *zhiguai* as fiction, which is usually simplified as “something made up or imagined.”¹³⁶ From the perspective of *zhiguai* authors and their readers, the writing and reading of *zhiguai* works were meaningful, because the deviance of the recorded anomalies from the norm reflects a certain historical picture and could be taken as instructive for the ruling class (thus many of these works were later categorized by official historians as histories, not philosophy). Campany gives the following remarks about these works:

Viewing these texts as “made up” in any sense much stronger than “compiled,” then fits neither their authors' intentions (both stated in prefaces and arguably, implied in the texts themselves) nor their readers' perception and reception of them.

Contemporaries saw and portrayed the genre—whatever their particular and varied persuasive *uses* of it—as an extension of old cosmographic and historiographic traditions into the territory of the more or less exclusively “strange.”¹³⁷

¹³⁶ Campany, *Strange Writing: Anomaly Accounts in Early Medieval China* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1996), 157.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 158.

Zhiguai writers, Campany finds, were aware that the events and people they recorded were so unusual and absurd that they might not have been accepted in official histories at that time, but they considered that these works could be supplemented with their accounts.¹³⁸

Although neither were Buddhist records of anomalies (the materials examined in this dissertation) targeted at the ruling class like many non-Buddhist *zhiguai* works, nor does Campany's study imply that we should take them as histories as contemporaries did, the way in which these people viewed these Buddhist records reveal where the value of these materials lies. The stories related in the records are those in accordance with the conceptions and conventions widely accepted by Buddhist society; hence they were collected in lay and monastic writers' works and eventually entered into Buddhist canons compiled in different dynasties. Take, for example, the accounts of the Aśokan stūpas discovered by Chinese monks in the collections of monastic biographies (which will be discussed in Chapter Three): the accounts claim that the Aśokan stūpas illuminated when discovered or obtained by Chinese monks, and that such miracles verified these objects' sacred origins in Aśoka's time and the monks' extraordinariness, which resulted in their appearance in China. These episodes are definitely not faithfully recorded, but have been elaborated by story narrators and biography writers (or compilers) based on their convictions. The accounts of the episodes, regardless of how bizarre we deem them to be, were written down and passed down. This means that not only biography writers, but also their readers probably shared the same interpretations, believing that the holy Aśokan stūpas appeared in China because of the

¹³⁸ Ibid, 2-3, 126-127, and 154-158.

Other scholars share similar views on similar types of stories that mix fiction and historical elements. For example, in his study on the factual and fantastic elements in Tang tales, Y. W. Ma finds that since their authors intended their works to be viewed as historical accounts, these tales not only narrate implausible plots but also record ascertainable facts. He argues that, in contemporary readers' eyes, increased credibility is gained from this admixture of facts and invented material. See Ma, "Fact and Fantasy in T'ang Tales," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, and Reviews (CLEAR)* 2.2 (July, 1980): 167-181.

admirable monks. Therefore, although these Buddhist accounts are not historical records, they are mirrors of Buddhist collective convictions and conventions, thus being helpful in my investigation into Chinese people's understanding of Buddhist stūpas.

1.2.3 Sources and Limitations

Literary works examined in this dissertation include official histories, geographical works, biographies of the Buddhist order, and literati works. Since Chinese ancient texts are full of depictions of anomalies (e.g. omens related to natural phenomena given to humans by divine forces), it is then no wonder that many works have accounts of miracles performed by Buddhist extraordinary people and by holy objects representing them¹³⁹, even though some of them were not composed by Buddhists. As stated above, though they are not truthful historical accounts, these miracle stories will be closely examined in this dissertation, because they evoked contemporary Chinese Buddhists' reverence for these people and objects. As will be shown in Chapter Three, for example, the story of Tanyi's 曇翼 (d. around 411) obtaining of an Aśokan statue through his sincere prayer was read as evidence for the statue's sanctity as well as his admirable power. It encouraged the ruling class of the Liang Dynasty to pay homage to this statue.

¹³⁹ According to some scholars, miracles are those performed by miracle workers, whose power, in the Buddhist context, is said to “derive from the attainment of supernatural knowledge and psychic powers as a culmination of lengthy practice of meditation.” (Damien Keown [ed.], *A Dictionary of Buddhism* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003]) <<http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.library.ubc.ca/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t108.e1161>>, accessed 16 Dec, 2011). Buddhists believed that, in addition to Buddhist practitioners, Buddhist stūpas, as living embodiments of Buddhist holy figures, could also work miracles.

We may be advised not to apply the term “miracle” to the wonderworks related to Buddhism, given the Christian idea that miracles are without exception acts of God and God alone. But, in the entry “Miracles” composed for the *Encyclopedia of Religion*, Manabu Waida defines miracles as “event, actions, states taken to be so unusual, extraordinary, and supernatural that the normal level of human consciousness finds them hard to accept rationally.” Not only are they performed by divine beings, but also by “charismatic figures who have succeeded in controlling their consciousness through visions, dreams, or the practices of meditation.” By this definition, he categorizes Fotucheng 佛圖澄 (?-348), the teacher of Daoan 道安 (312-385) (Tanyi’s master), like the Buddha, as a miracle worker.¹⁴⁰ For this reason, I shall use the term miracle to describe wonderworks attributed to Chinese monks and holy objects of worship such as statues and stūpas that represented transcendent beings.

In addition to ancient texts, other kinds of sources will be consulted. For example, many archaeological reports deal with the cave temples in northern China (e.g. Dunhuang and Longmen), which contain stūpas as pillars and/or stūpa carvings in relief. They describe in detail the features of these cave stūpas, but generally do not provide much information on how contemporary practitioners of these temples conceived of the stūpas there. In

¹⁴⁰ See Waida, “Miracles,” *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2005 edition, 9:6049-6055 (the quotation above found on p. 6049). John Kieschnick discusses the difference between Christian and Chinese views on miracles, and Chinese idea of resonance (*ganying* 感應), which underlay the Chinese model of miracles, in his *Eminent Monks: Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1997), 97-109. Also using the term “miracle” to denote wonderworks attributed to monks, Koichi Shinohara translates *shenyi* 神異 as “miracle workers” (and “wonder worker”). This is the name Huijiao 慧皎 (497-554) gives in his collection of monastic biographies (*Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 [Biographies of eminent monks]) to a category of the monks renowned for their supernatural power. Shinohara, “Biographies of Eminent Monks in a Comparative Perspective: The Function of the Holy in Medieval Chinese Buddhism,” *Zhonghua foxue xuebao* 7 (1994): 780.

comparison, literary works show a more complete picture of people's understanding of stūpas and are therefore consulted more frequently.

Although archaeological reports are not the main sources for investigation, and most of literary works about this period have been thoroughly studied by others, the works still provide valuable information on an unexplored aspect of stūpas built in the Six Dynasties. The stūpas recorded in them tend to be instantly linked to the prosperity of Buddhism, but they have not been viewed in light of Buddhist canonical tradition of stūpa worship. There is usually little doubt as to whether a certain stūpa in this period was built and treated according to the tradition, or as to whether it was according to Chinese local traditions or was even in the interests of some certain people (a number of examples will be discussed in Chapters Two to Five). Therefore, although most of the sources studied in this dissertation are familiar to students of Chinese Buddhism, they will be examined from a new perspective and therefore will, unexpectedly, provide a new picture of stūpas in the Six Dynasties.

It should be noted that there is a limitation to the investigation, which may also be faced by many students who study other aspects of Chinese Buddhism in this period.¹⁴¹ Literary works are important sources about the religion that we have to consult, but many of them express elite values and viewpoints. They were produced by and circulated in the elite class, who mainly deal with their lives and thoughts in their writing, so they provide a relatively clear picture of the stūpas built by these people. In comparison, they give much less information on those by others such as ordinary people and Buddhist monks, as will be shown in following chapters (especially Chapter Two). Under the circumstances, although

¹⁴¹ E. Zürcher thinks that since the records of Chinese Buddhism are mainly found in elite writings, “the scope of any study on early Chinese Buddhism is unavoidably narrowed down by the nature of the source material” (Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 3).

my investigation aims at examining stūpas constructed by different people and their treatment of them, inevitably findings related to elites are more detailed than those to others. The discussion here about the authorship of the extant works reminds us that they do not give a complete picture of stūpas put up in the Six Dynasties, and that there is still a large gap in our knowledge about many of these objects constructed by the Buddhist order and lay people, both of whom have elite and non-elite members.

1.2.4 Outline

After looking at how Buddhist canonical texts describe Buddhist stūpas and how they urge Buddhists to worship them, in the next chapters I examine how Chinese Buddhists perceived them and whether they worshipped them, thus finding out whether the texts made an impact on Chinese Buddhists' acts in relation to these objects or Chinese Buddhists were influenced by their own traditions instead.

In Chapter Two, I explore the stūpas in capital cities in and around the sixth century. The first part deals with grand stūpas erected by the ruling class. I examine how elite authors described the appearance of these objects and treated them, and then trace how these people might have understood them. In the second part, I shift my focus onto those set up by ordinary people and monks. Through the discussion in these two parts, I shall show how Chinese people at that time interpreted stūpas, and whether or not stūpa worship depicted in Buddhist canonical texts appeared and spread in capital cities. Instead of accepting their Buddhist connotations stated in Buddhist texts (examined above in sections 1.1.1 and 1.1.2), they generally incorporated these objects into their own religious traditions.

Chapter Three discusses whether Chinese Buddhists' faith in relics and legends of Aśoka encouraged stūpa worship. They began to have faith in relics and the legends when there were stories about local monks' miraculous discovering and attaining relics and statues accredited to the Indian ruler. Given that stūpas are closely related to relics and Aśoka is portrayed as a devout worshipper in Buddhist texts, as shown above (sections 1.1.4.1 and 1.1.4.2), it would be interesting to trace whether these stories drew attention from elites and evoked their veneration towards stūpas. Therefore, in this chapter I first examine these stories, and next find out whether they caused elite enthusiasm for stūpas, which were often linked to the powerful Indian monarch Aśoka.

Chapters Four and Five deal with the stūpas erected in graves and ancestral shrines. The former discusses those for dead monastic members, and the latter, those for dead laymen. Although Buddhist canonical texts highlight the contrast between Buddhist stūpas and tombs (see the section 1.1.4.3 above), asking Buddhists to distinguish them, the demands stated in them seem not to have imposed restraints. Some stūpas in China were used as gravestones for dead monks, standing in graveyards with other monastic tombs. And they were set up in memory of the monks by their disciples, being the reflections of the disciples' adoration of the deceased teachers, but were not built under the regulations related to stūpas in the vinaya literature.

The stūpas discussed in Chapter Five provide a sharper contrast to Buddhist stūpas depicted in the Buddhist texts than those dealt with in Chapter Four, revealing that Chinese people adhered to their own tradition of filial piety instead of that of stūpas depicted in the texts. The laymen who put up stūpas for their dead ancestors arbitrarily used these holy

objects and totally ignored their connotations stated in the texts. Under the circumstances, the stūpas erected by these people were indeed nothing but tombs or part of ancestral shrines.

In the conclusion, Chapter Six, I recapitulate my findings as a whole and make some remarks on the development of stūpa worship in China. Then I discuss how the findings help to understand the nature of Chinese stūpas.

In brief, this dissertation is intended to provide answers to a fundamental question about Buddhist stūpas in China: did Chinese Buddhists in the Six Dynasties perceive and venerate stūpas as they were told by Buddhist scriptures? If not, what new light might be thrown on some unique characteristics of the Buddhist traditions that unfolded in China?

Chapter 2: Stūpas in Capital Cities: Chinese Understanding and Constructing of Stūpas, as Seen from Textual Sources

After dealing with Buddhist canonical depictions of stūpas and worship of them, here I shall start investigating the ways in which Chinese people in the Six Dynasties perceived and worshipped these objects, looking at whether they treated these Buddhist objects according to the depictions, and finding out whether Chinese beliefs and customs instead affected them more noticeably. I hope that the discussion in this chapter, as well as that in others, will shed some new light on stūpas in China, thus giving answers to some questions such as: did Chinese Buddhists pay obeisance and make offerings to stūpas, conceiving of them as the Buddha or other Buddhist holy people? If not, why did they still erect them and what did these objects mean to them?

First of all, I shall start in this chapter my exploration with the first question: did Chinese Buddhists venerate stūpas? If an affirmative answer is given, this appears to mean that Buddhist stūpa worship presented in Buddhist canonical texts was accepted in China, although it might not be flourishing at that time. If not, this suggests that the significance of these objects to Chinese Buddhists might not lie in their equivalence to Buddhist holy figures. It would then be necessary to dig deep into local traditions and customs for their meanings to these people.

2.1 Flourishing Stūpa Worship: A Picture Rarely Presented in

Materials about China

To find out whether Chinese Buddhists worshipped stūpas as they were prescribed by Buddhist scriptures, one may search for references to their worship in textual materials, like the following one provided by Faxian in his record of his trip to India. In his work *Faxian zhuan* 法顯傳 (or *Foguo ji* 佛國記 [a record of Buddhist countries]), he depicts pilgrims' regular veneration of stūpas and grand services for them in Mathurā (Motouluo 摩頭羅, located in western India).

Where a community of monks resides, they erect topes (i.e. stūpas) to Śāriputtra (sic; Śāriputra), to Mahā-maudgalyāyana (i.e. Maudgalyāyana; Mulian), and to Ānanda, and also topes [in honour] of the Abhidharma, the Vinaya, and the Sūtra (i.e. the three sections of *tripiṭakas*). A month after [annual season of] rest (tranquil dwelling; *anju* 安居), the families which are looking out for blessing stimulate one another to make offerings to the monks and send round to them the liquid food which may be taken out of the ordinary hours (*feishijiang* 非時漿)¹. All the monks come together in a great assembly, and preach the Law; after which offerings are presented at the tope of Śāriputtra, with all kinds of flowers and incense. All through the night lamps are kept burning, and skilful musicians are employed to perform.... Every year there is one such offering, and each class has its own day for it.

眾僧住處，作舍利弗塔、目蓮、阿難塔並阿毗曇律經塔。安居後一月，諸希福之家，勸化供養，僧行非時漿，眾僧大會說法。說法已，供養舍利弗塔，種種花香，通夜燃燈，使伎樂人作.....年年一供養，各自有日。²

¹ Monks could take irregular drinks, which were made from fruits, vegetables, and beans, after noon as medicines when they were sick. Lay Buddhists were also allowed to present this kind of drink to monks as offerings for making merit. *Mohesengqi lü*, T no. 1425, 22: 28.457b; *Genbenshuoyiqieyoubu pi'naiye* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶 (*Mūlasarvāstivāda-nikāya vinaya; Sarvāstivādāh vinayas*), trans. Yijing, T no. 1442, 23: 8.666b, 24.755b.

² *Faxian zhuan*, T51, no. 2085: 1.859b; see Zhang Xun [annot.], *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu*, 55; Legge (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, chapter XVI, 44-46. In the translation here, the explanations in the brackets are

He records that believers there, after attending the great sermon assembly following monks' annual season of rest, made offerings to the stūpas for Śākyamuni's disciples such as Śāriputra and Ānanda, as well as those for Mahāyāna bodhisattvas Mañjuśri (Ch. Wenshu 文殊) and Avalokiteśvara (Ch. Guanshiyin 觀世音), which were located in monastic quarters. In addition to these stūpas, those venerated also include the ones set up for spiritual relics (or dharma relics; *fashen sheli* 法身舍利 [the relics imbued with the Dharma body] or *fa sheli* 法舍利), which are here the components of Tripiṭaka (abhidharma [discussion], vinaya, and *sūtras*). These yearly services appear again in the record of Xuanzang 玄奘, who saw them during his trip to India in the first half of the seventh century (629-645). The spectacle he describes is also impressive: Buddhists there presented various kinds of offerings and donations to the stūpas. These offerings included jeweled banners, precious canopies (*gai* 蓋), incense, and flowers, which are permitted in Buddhist vinaya texts.³ And the participants, who hoped to make merit, consisted of not only common people, but also rulers and

mine. Samuel Beal has translated the whole book, but his translation is not used here as my reading of this passage differs from his significantly. For example, instead of "stūpa," he translates *ta* 塔 in Faxian's record as "tower," (surprisingly, however, he translates as "stūpa" in Xuanzhuang's record; see note 61 below) which are better matched with another Chinese character *lou* 樓. As will be shown in the discussion below, stūpas and towers are two different kinds of buildings. He also does not translate the term "feishijiang" 非時漿. See the note above for its meaning. Beal, *Travels of Fah-hian and Sung-yun, Buddhist Pilgrims, from China to India* (400 A.D. and 518 A.D.) (London: Susil Gupta, 1964). His translation of *lou* may lead to some scholars' misconception about Chinese stūpas.

For the latest translation in German of Faxian's record, see Max Deeg's, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-zhuan als religionsgeschichtliche Quelle. Der älteste Bericht eines chinesischen buddhistischen Pilgermönchs über seine Reise nach Indien mit Übersetzung des Textes*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2005 (Studies in Oriental Religions 52).

³ *Sifen lü*, T22, no. 1428, 956c. For the information of this work, see note 24 of Chapter One (the introduction of this dissertation).

ministers.⁴ Probably after reading these reports, Chinese Buddhists would be impressed by these pious worshippers and would therefore emulate their worship.

However, it is not easy to find such depictions of grand stūpa veneration in extant textual materials about China in the Six Dynasties. Although there are many references to the construction of stūpas, it was not necessarily the reflection of veneration towards them, as explained in the last chapter.⁵ There are two possible explanations for scarcity of such reports. First, Chinese Buddhists generally did not venerate stūpas because they regarded them as something/someone else but not the Buddha (or other Buddhist holy figures). But local traditions provide them with grounds for building them. Second, Chinese Buddhists did pay homage to stūpas, but Chinese chroniclers and writers did not record this because they did not have much interest, or the veneration was not prevalent to the extent that it drew their attention. This chapter therefore will examine descriptions of stūpas in the Six Dynasties, hence deducing whether or not stūpas were treated in China as the ways depicted in Buddhist

⁴ *Da Tang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (Records of the Western Regions written in the Great Tang), dictated by Xuanzang to Bianji 辯機 (?-649), T no. 2087, 51: 4.890b; Beal (trans.), *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 181. The travel account has been annotated and punctuated by some scholars, e.g. Zhang Xun 章巽 (punctuated), *Da Tang xiyu ji* (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1977), Ji Xianlin 季羨林 (annot.) et al., *Da Tang xiyu ji jiao zhu* (Records of the Western regions composed in the Tang, edited and annotated) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), and Kuwayama Shōshin 桑山正進 (trans. and annot.), *Daitō Saiiki ki* 大唐西域記 (Tōkyō: Chūō Kōronsha, 1987, *Daijō butten. Chūgoku Nihon hen* 大乘仏典: 中国, 日本篇 [Buddhist Mahāyāna scriptures in Chinese and Japanese], vol. 9).

⁵ An example may be given here. Some members of the Cui 崔 family—a clan that had become prominent since the Cao Wei period and was the most powerful clan in Qingzhou 青州 (in Shandong) in the northern dynasties—set up in 558 a multi-storied stūpa with a Buddhist image (possibly Śākyamuni's) enshrined. The stūpa and the image are now lost, but the tablet produced for the former is extant. The inscription engraved on the tablet praises the Buddha's profound wisdom to deliver people from transmigration. However, it does not mention the function of the stūpa. It neither says that the family regarded the stūpa as the Buddha nor makes any reference to the family's devotional activities towards it.

For discussion of the inscription and the family's devotion to Buddhism, see Li Sen 李森, "Bei Qi 'Cuishi zongmen baota zhi song' shibeikaojian" 北齊《崔氏宗門寶塔之頌》石碑考鑑 (An investigation into the "Eulogy on the precious stūpa [built by] the Cui clan"), *Guanzi xuekan* 管子學刊 2 (2008): 110-112.

canonical literature and whether or not Buddhist stūpa worship was established in society at that time.

Nevertheless, it is impossible to include all materials about stūpas in the investigation here. Therefore, I shall limit my attention to those in capital cities, especially Luoyang and Jiankang, two capitals of Northern Wei Dynasty and of the Southern Dynasties respectively. This is because there are more sources about them than other capital cities.

I shall investigate the stūpas set up by the ruling elite and those by common people and monks in capital cities separately. As stated in Chapter One, studying them separately is because our extant textual materials, many of which were composed by elites, do not provide a complete picture of the whole Chinese society. We can hardly claim that the findings about elites apply to commoners and monks too. Despite only fragments in the materials about these people, they are worth our attention. As an integral part of the Buddhist society in China, the ways these people treated Buddhist stūpas will certainly help to understand whether Buddhist stūpa worship was successfully introduced into this country.

2.2 Stūpas Set up by the Elite

The stūpa at the Yongning monastery 永寧寺 (hereafter Yongning stūpa) built in the Northern Wei Dynasty will be one of the important monuments in my investigation of this part. Not only is it commonly thought to be one of the typically sinicized stūpas, but it is also one of the stūpas in the Six Dynasties that draw most attention from ancient chroniclers and

modern scholars.⁶ Inevitably, the picture about this monument is more detailed than those about others. My focus will be first on its features and then others'. Although there is relatively limited information about other stūpas built by the elite, generally they shared similarities with the Yongning stūpa, as will be demonstrated below.

In this part, in order to find out which tradition, the Buddhist scriptural tradition of stūpas or another local Chinese one, was most emphasized at the Yongning stūpa, I shall first look at some expressions that elite authors used to describe it. Since Chinese elite members adopted their beliefs in longevity in their perceptions of this stūpa and of others in the Six Dynasties, the language they used to describe them, the architectural form they used to build them, the religious etiquette they required to treat them, and the political symbolic meanings they attached to them were derived from these beliefs. Although such beliefs helped the elite accept these foreign objects more easily and thus erect them enthusiastically, this did not necessarily mean a dramatic increase in their number in capital cities. Hence, lastly the focus of this part will be shifted onto the elite's erection of them, thus helping to speculate whether its acceptance of them brought their proliferation in these places.

The materials for investigation here include official histories such as the *Weishu* 魏書 (History of the Wei) and literati writings, among which Yang Xuanzhi's 楊銜之 (fl. the late fifth to the early sixth centuries) *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 (A Record of Buddhist

⁶ In 1979 scholars conducted an extensive excavation at the site of the Yongning monastery and reconstructed the stūpa theoretically. With the help of their reconstruction drawing, one can better understand Yang's description. The drawings (figures 2.1 and 2.2) are found in Yang Hongxun 楊鴻勳, "Guanyu Beiwei Luoyang Yongning si ta fuyuan caotu de shuoming" 關於北魏洛陽永寧寺塔復原草圖的說明 (An explanation of the reconstructed sketch of the stūpa at the Yongning monastery in Luoyang of the Northern Wei Dynasty), in *Han Wei Luoyang gucheng yanjiu* 漢魏洛陽故城研究 (Studies on the old city of Luoyang in the Han and the Wei [Dynasties]), ed. Luoyang shi wenwu ju 洛陽市文物局 (Luoyang historical relic bureau) & Luoyang baima si Han Wei gucheng wenwu baoguan suo 洛陽白馬寺漢魏古城文物保管所 (Preservation office for Han and Wei historical relics of old cities, [located at] the Baima monastery in Luoyang) (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2000), 555, 557.

monasteries in Luoyang, completed about 547 C.E.) is certainly one of the most important. Composed of entries about over forty monasteries in the capital Luoyang and interspersed with records of contemporary political and social changes, not only is this text an important work about the history in the Northern Wei Dynasty (386-534), but it is also a work frequently consulted for the contemporary development of Buddhism.⁷ This text contains mentions of stūpas usually at first in the entries about the monasteries; therefore, although, like many others, it does not provide much information about people's devotional acts involving stūpas such as circumambulation and offerings making, it is still a very important source for the study of the stūpas built by the elite.

2.2.1 The Yongning Stūpa and Its Cultural Origins: Its Relationship with Buddhist Scriptural Tradition of Stūpa and Indigenous Immortality Belief

The Yongning stūpa was constructed in 516 on the order of Empress Dowager Ling 靈太后, née Hu 胡氏 (?-528). She was an influential political figure at that time, taking control of the court during the reign of her young son, Emperor Xiaoming 孝明帝 (r. 516-528), who was only six when he ascended the throne. Because she was also a Buddhist, some splendid monasteries in Luoyang were built on her orders or by the people associated with

⁷ There are some works about monasteries composed in other dynasties such as Duan Chengshi's 段成式 (803-863) *Sita ji* 寺塔記 (A record of Buddhist monasteries and stūpas; the fifth and sixth *juans* [or fascicles] still preserved in the second part of his *Youyang zazu* 酉陽雜俎; T no. 2093, 51), and Sun Wenchuan's 孫文川 (1822-1882) *Nanchao fosi zhi* 南朝佛寺志 (Records of Buddhist monasteries in the Southern Dynasties), ed. Chen Zuolin 陳作霖 (1837-1920). But these two books have different focuses. The former does not deal with in detail contemporary political and social changes, and records a number of writings composed by the literati seen in monasteries. The latter is a collection of information about the monasteries constructed in the Southern Dynasties.

her.⁸ Among them, the Yongning stūpa was built most lavishly, and was also most impressive when compared with others in Luoyang at that time. And among the works that contain references to it, Yang Xuanzhi's *Luoyang qielan ji* has the most exhaustive description. Not only is it detailed first in the portrayal of the Yongning monastery, but it is also mentioned in other entries about other stūpas. Hence, my investigation will start with the description of it in this work:

Within the precincts [of the monastery] was a nine-storied wooden stūpa. Rising nine hundred Chinese feet above the ground, it formed the base for a mast that extended for another one hundred Chinese feet; thus together they soared one thousand Chinese feet above the ground, and could be seen as far away from the capital as one hundred *li*.... On the top of the mast was a golden jar inlaid with precious stones (*jinbaoping* 金寶瓶). It had the capacity of twenty-five piculs. Underneath the bejeweled jar were thirty tiers⁹ of golden plates to receive the dew (*chenglu jinpan* 承露金盤). Golden bells hung from each of the plates. Golden bells, each about the size of a stone jar, were also suspended from the linkworks.

中有九層浮圖一所，架木為之，舉高九十丈，上有金剎，復高十丈，合去地一千尺。去京師百里……剎上有金寶瓶，容二十五斛。寶瓶下有承露金盤三十重，周匝皆垂金鐸。¹⁰

Such a splendid appearance attracted the praise from Bodhidharma 菩提達摩 (ca.461-534), a monk of the Western Regions (*xiyu* 西域), when he heard the bells ringing and saw “the golden plates (*jinpan* 金盤) making dazzling reflections of the sunlight and shining above the

⁸ For example, the Qin Taishangjun monastery 秦太上君寺 (monastery of the Grand Duchess of Qin) was also built by the empress dowager, and Hutong monastery 胡統寺 by her aunt.

⁹ According to another version, there were eleven tiers of plates.

¹⁰ T no. 2092, 51: 1.999c. In using the *Luoyang qielan ji*, I shall consult the version edited and annotated by Zhou Zumo 周祖謨 (1914-1995). I shall also quote Wang Yi-t'ung's translation. Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 洛陽伽藍記校釋 (A record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang, collated and annotated) (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1958); Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984). The quoted passage is found in Wang (trans.), 16.

clouds (*yunbiao* 雲表).”¹¹ The only one said to be comparable to it in artistic achievement was that located at the Yaoguang nunnery 瑤光寺. Though it was not as lofty as the Yongning stūpa, they shared some external features:

[In the nunnery] there was a five-storied stūpa that rose five hundred Chinese feet from the ground. Its “immortals’ palms (*xianzhang* 仙掌)” soared into the sky; its bells hung high above the clouds (*yunbiao*). The dexterity of workmanship matched that of the Yung-ning [Yongning] monastery.

有五層浮圖一所，去地五十丈。仙掌凌虛，鐸垂雲表，作工之妙，埒美永寧。¹²

This stūpa was constructed in the previous reign on the order of the then emperor, Xuanwu 宣武 (r. 500-515), i.e. Empress Dowager Ling’s husband. Probably since it was also built with imperial resources, it could match the Yongning stūpa in splendour.

The Yongning stūpa had two components that can be traced to Buddhist scriptures: a jar and thirty (or eleven) tiers of plates, which are referred here to as *chenglu jinpan* (the golden plate for receiving the dew or golden dew basin). According to the scriptures, both the jar and the plate (or wheel/disc) are decorations exclusive to Buddhist stūpas erected for extraordinary, transcendent beings only. The *Mohesengqi lü*, one of the texts specifying the beings, instructs that stūpas erected for four categories of outstanding figures (the *tathāgata*, the *pratyeka-buddha*, the *śrāvaka*, and the *cakravartī*) should be decorated with wheels. The stūpa for the previous Buddha Kāśyapa (Ch. Jiaye 迦葉), for example, should be adorned

¹¹ T no. 2092, 51: 1.1000b; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 1.13-14; Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 20. I modify his translation of the term “*yunbiao*” here and in the below quoted passage about the Yaoguang stūpa; he simply translates it as “the clouds”, but it should mean “above the clouds.”

¹² T no. 2092, 51: 1, 1003a; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 1.26; translation is from Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 48.

with them, as was told by Śākyamuni himself to his disciples.¹³ The more wheels a stūpa has, the more revered (or enlightened) person it represents. The *Shier yinyuan jing* 十二因緣經 (The *sūtra* on the twelve *nidānas* [or links in the chain of existence]),¹⁴ the fragment of which is collected by Daoshi of the Tang Dynasty in his encyclopaedia *Fayuan zhulin*, says that the stūpa for the *cakravartī* should have only one, and people should not worship it since the monarch is not holy. But the stūpas for holy beings should be equipped with more than one wheel, the numbers of which depend on the cultivation of these beings. For example, the stūpa for *Srota-āpanna*—the one at the first stage of *Śrāvaka* who has transcended the transmigration circle—has two, and that for the Tathāgata—the one who has attained perfect enlightenment—has eight or more. The stūpas with eight or more wheels are all *fota* 佛塔 (stūpas for Buddhas).¹⁵ The maximum number of wheels allowed is thirteen, as said by the *Pi'naiye zashi*.¹⁶ The Yongning stūpa had eleven wheels—or even thirty according to a variant version of the *Luoyang qielan ji*—the number of wheels exclusive to the stūpa for the Buddha. Apart from the wheels, it was also decorated with a jar. It is said in Buddhist texts that the eight Indian rulers used jars to hold the shares of the Buddha's remains they got after his *nirvāṇa*, so it is a component allowed only for the stūpas for him.¹⁷ The *Sarvāstivādāh*

¹³ *Mohesengqi lü*, T no. 1425, 22: 27.444b; 33.497c. The wheel is translated as *pangai* 槃蓋 (lit. plate canopy) in the Chinese version of the *sūtra*. In addition to this text, others such as the *Wufen lü* and *Zengyi Ahan jing* also mention the list (see section 1.1.2 of Chapter One).

¹⁴ This *sūtra* is not the one collected in the *Taishō* canon (T no. 713, 16), which has the full name *Beiduoshu xia siwei shier yinyuan jing* 貝多樹下思惟十二因緣經 (The *sūtra* on [the Buddha's sermon on] the contemplation of the twelve links in the existence chain under a palm tree) and was translated by Zhi Qian 支謙 (fl. 223-253) of the Wu Dynasty (222-280).

¹⁵ *Fayuan zhulin*, T no. 2122, 53: 37.579a-580a; Zhou Shujia 周叔迦 and Su Jinren 蘇晉仁 (colla. & annot.), *Fayuan zhulin* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003, rpt.) 3: 37.1188-1189.

¹⁶ T no. 1451, 24: 18.291c.

¹⁷ Sugimoto has studied the Indian origin of the jar. He thinks that in Indian sculptures jars in India were often sculpted together with flourishing plants, especially the lotus, or the goddess responsible for irrigating, thus they had symbolic meanings of fertility and productivity. See Sugimoto, *Indō Bukkyō no kenkyū*, 70-76.

vinaya text says that even the reliquary for *pretyeka-buddhas* (*dujue* 獨覺, the one who seeks his own enlightenment) should not be equipped with a jar.¹⁸

Obviously, judging from its eleven (or thirty) tiers of wheels and its jar, the Yongning stūpa belonged to those of highest rank, which are for the holiest Buddha only. Nevertheless, to one's surprise, the *Luoyang qielan ji* and other works do not ever say that the stūpa was built for him or was engraved with any stories of his feats (*jātaka* [*bensheng* 本生] stories of the Buddha's previous incarnations). It seemed not to be reminiscent of the Buddha although it had the wheels and the jar. This is in sharp contrast to the above-mentioned stūpas narrated by the Chinese pilgrims, which have noticeable links with Buddhist personages or stories. These links, displayed through decorations on stūpas corresponding to the personages, are not only recognized by Buddhist scriptures to indicate the holiness of these objects, but, according to the pilgrims, would also help to identify them as the different personages so that they would attract varied worshippers. Faxian records that, as stated above, the stūpas in Mathurā were each built for Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Ānanda, and some were constructed for the three Buddhist canonical traditions (the *abhidharma*, *vinaya*, and *sūtra*). These different stūpas were worshipped and presented with offerings by varied groups of Buddhists. Nuns, for instance, mainly worshipped that for Ānanda because he had asked the Buddha to allow women to enter the Buddhist order; Mahāyāna believers, the stūpas for *prajñāpāramitā* (*boreboluomi* 般若波羅蜜; i.e. wisdom for salvation), Mañjuśrī (Wenshu 文殊), and Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin 觀音). Also containing a narrative of these stūpas, Xuanzang's travel account, like Faxian's, conveys the same impression that Buddhist stūpas

¹⁸ T no. 1451, 24: 18.291c.

have clear affiliation with Buddhist personages or events.¹⁹ In contrast to these depicted Indian stūpas, the link of the Yongning stūpa with Buddhist personages or traditions was not mentioned by Yang Xuanzhi and other writers. This was perhaps because the stūpa did not impress the link on contemporary Chinese people. It is doubtful that the stūpa could remind the empress dowager and people in Luoyang of the Buddha or his dharma even though it had the jar and wheels.

The jar and the wheels were perhaps simply decorations without any symbolic meanings. The stūpa also had not any link with Buddhist relics, as speculated by an event written by Yang Xuanzhi. He records that the jar was blown off by a hurricane in 526 and fell into the ground, and the court ordered a new one to be recast.²⁰ This event implies that the jar did not contain any relics, which were placed at another monastery called Fayun si 法雲寺. It was established by Tanmoluo 曇摩羅 (d.u.), a monk of Udyāna (Wuchang 烏場). The relics, together with the Buddha's teeth, Buddhist portraits, and scriptures, which were presented by countries in the Western Regions, were all housed there. With a Buddhist hall and a monks' cloister ornamented in foreign style and with a drawing of Śākyamuni at Luyuan 鹿苑 (Deer Park; Mrgadāva, lying to the north of Banaras in India), this monastery was a place where Chinese monks learnt Buddhist teachings from Tanmoluo. Although it was a Buddhist centre at the time with the Buddha's relics enshrined, it was located in the

¹⁹ Apart from these people, Faxian also writes that novices (Śrāmanera; *shami* 沙彌) worshipped the stūpa for Rāhula (translated as Luoyun 羅云 or Luohouluo 羅喉羅); those concentrated on the abhidharma and those on vinaya, the stūpas for these realms. *Faxian zhuan*, T51, no. 2085, 859b; see Zhang Xun [annot.], *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu*, 55; Legge (trans.), *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, chapter XVI, 45-47. Xuanzang provides more information on these stūpas. He says, for example, those who practiced meditation paid obedience to the stūpa for Maudgalyāna; those who studied vinaya venerated that for Upāli (translated as Wuboli 鵠波釐 here) (T no. 2089, 51: 4.890b).

²⁰ T no. 2092, 51: 1.1000b; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 1.14; Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 21.

western suburb of Luoyang away from the district of political importance—the inner city, where the Yongning monastery and governmental offices were located.²¹ Moreover, probably the relics were simply enshrined at the hall of the monastery, but not at a stūpa, because the *Luoyang qielan ji* makes no reference to the latter. Apparently the ruling class did not attach the same importance to this monastery as to the Yongning stūpa even though it housed the the Buddha’s remains.

This means that in the elite members’ eyes the Yongning stūpa was not an object of worship as is presented in Buddhist canonical literature. It was not equated with the Buddha (or other Buddhist holy people) and of course did not arouse their worship. Then, how did they understand this monument? Why did Empress Dowager Ling erect it if she and her contemporaries did not pay homage to it? To find out the answers for these questions, focus should be shifted again onto the above quoted Yang Xuanzhi’s depictions about the stūpa and the one in the Yaoguang nunnery. He uses the terms *chenglu jinpan* (the golden plate for receiving the dew or golden dew basin) and *xianzhang* (immortals’ palms) to describe the wheels. Elsewhere in his book he applies an abbreviated word *jinpan* 金盤 (golden plates) to refer to the same component of other stūpas. These terms are not coined by Yang Xuanzhi but are derived from the Chinese tradition of seeking immortality. Originally, they refer to a basin for collecting dew erected in 109 B.C.E. (the second year of the Yuanfeng 元封 era) by Emperor Wu of the Han 漢武帝 (r. 140-87 B.C.E.; Liu Che 劉徹 [156-87 B.C.E.]), an emperor famous for his enthusiasm for seeking immortality.²²

²¹ T no. 2092, 51: 4.1015a; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 4.79; Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 178-179.

²² Han and post-Han works abound in stories about his quest for immortality. For a study of his search for immortality and the development of the immortality cult in his time, see Yü Ying-shih, “Life and Immortality in the Mind of Han China,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 25 (1964-1965): 95-102.

Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145-86 B.C.E.), the emperor's contemporary and prestigious historian, records in his *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the historian) that the emperor "later (i.e. in 109 B.C.E.) made things such as Bailiang 柏梁 [Platform], a copper pillar, and the immortal's palm for dew collection (*xianzhang chenglu* 仙掌承露)."²³ According to a commentary on the work, the basin, made of copper and seven arm spans (*wei* 圍) in diameter, was placed at a height of thirty *zhang* 丈. The dew collected in it would bring immortality if taken with jade crumbs (*yuxiao* 玉屑)²⁴. Sima Qian's description of this equipment and the commentary are repeated by Ban Gu 班固 (32-92 C.E.) of the Later Han in his *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Han). In his "Xidu fu" 西都賦 (Rhyme prose on the Western Capital [Chang'an]), Ban Gu mentions it again: "[the emperor] raised the immortal's palm to carry dew and erected a pair of standing golden posts."²⁵ He also says that the emperor set up a pair of the palms, one of which might stand in the Ganquan 甘泉 Palace.²⁶ The *Sanfu huangtu* 三輔黃圖 (A yellow picture of Sanfu), a geological work about Chang'an in the Han written some time between the late Later Han and the Wei Dynasties,

Some scholars have already traced the term "dew receiver" and its variations to Emperor Wu's times, but usually skip its origin, without mentioning its significant impact on stūpas after the Han. For example, Huarui, *Zhongguo fota*, 33-34; Mizuno, *Chūkoku no Bukkyō bijutsu*. 308-310; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 1.26 (Zhou's note).

²³ Sima Zhen 司馬貞 (d.u.), *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱 (Seeking the meanings hidden in the *Shiji*), inserted in *Shiji*, 12.459n2: 其後則又作栢梁、銅柱、承露仙僊掌之屬矣。My translation is based on Wang's (48n180); Wang translates "bailiang" into cypress beams but it should refer to the Bailiang Platform.

²⁴ It is an ancient belief that drinking dew can prolong the life. See note 29.

²⁵ Ban Gu, *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Han) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1964, rpt.) 25.1220; "Xidu fu," in 范曄 (398-445), *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (Book of the Later Han) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1964, rpt.) 30.1342: 抗仙掌以承露，擢雙立之金莖。

²⁶ Zhongguo yishu yanjiu yuan "Zhongguo jianzhu yishu shi" bianxie zu 中國藝術研究院中國建築藝術史編寫組 (Research group of Chinese Architectural Art History of the Chinese Academy of Arts) (comp.), Xiao Mo 蕭默 (ed.), *Zhongguo jianzhu yishu shi* 中國建築藝術史 (Art history of Chinese architecture) (2 vols, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999), 1: 206. The Ganquan Palace was one of Emperor Wu's vacation palaces (*ligong* 離宮), which was on Mount Ganquan in Chunhua 淳化 county of Shaanxi 陝西.

provides more information about the instrument. According to the text, it was placed on the Tongtian Platform 通天臺²⁷ (Access-to-heaven platform, also called Wangxian tai 望仙臺 [Platform for watching immortals]) at the palace. As indicated by its name, the platform was aimed at getting access to heaven, so it soared to more than one hundred *zhang* above the ground; from it one could view rain clouds from afar and Chang'an below. The emperor once had three hundred eight-year-old girls dance on the platform in a ritual performed for a deity called Taiyi 泰乙. He also asked people to ascend it to greet deities, who were thought to look like stars. On the platform was a plate for collecting dew (*chenglu pan*), a jade vessel that was placed on the palm of an immortal statue, carrying dew falling from high above the clouds (*yunbiao*). Notwithstanding its splendour, the platform was fragile and did not exist long. It fell into decay during the Yuanfeng era 元鳳 (B.C.E. 75-81) of Emperor Zhao 昭帝 (r. B.C.E. 86-74), the successor to Emperor Wu, and its rafters transformed themselves into dragons and phoenixes and flew away.²⁸

These Han accounts should suffice to show that the terms *chenglu pan*, *xianzhang*, and *yunbiao* Yang Xuanzhi used were derived from the immortality tradition, and were originally used to name the instrument set up by Emperor Wu and to describe its impressive height. He was probably familiar with the tradition, because the story of Emperor Wu continued to spread even after his dynasty had fallen, and became part of the immortality lore, which endured in later times. The *Wudi gushi* 武帝故事 (Anecdotes about Han Emperor

²⁷ Emperor Wu of the Liang and Emperor Wu of the Tang (624-705) also constructed buildings with similar names Tongtian guan 通天觀 (Observatory for communicating with the heaven) in their palaces. For a discussion of them, see Chen Jinhua, "Pañcavāṣika Assemblies in Liang Wudi's Buddhist Palace Chapel," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 66.1 (June 2006): 43-103.

²⁸ *Sanfu huangtu*, in Zheng Guoxun 鄭國勳 (comp.), *Longxi jingshe congshu* 龍溪精舍叢書 (Longxi-study collections) (n.p.: Chaoyang Zhengshi 潮陽鄭氏, 1918) 54: 5.2a-2b.

Wu),²⁹ a *zhiguai* (accounts of anomalies) work probably tracing back to the third century, for example, centres on the emperor's pursuit of longevity throughout his life. It contains a mention of his building the dew vessel in the palace. The stories about the emperor's seeking immortality still attracted elites after the Six Dynasties, and the link between his quest and the dew vessel still went down in their works. For example, the *Suishi guangji* 歲時廣記 (A comprehensive record of yearly festivals), a work compiled in the late Southern Song, records a legend, which has it that Dongfang Shuo 東方朔 (154 B.C.E.-93 B.C.E), a figure famous for his catering to Emperor Wu's zest for a long life, told the emperor about the use of dew. He once presented the dew he obtained to the emperor, who bestowed it on his officials; consequently the old people among them were restored to youth and those sick to health. Dongfang Shuo also said that the dew falling at sunrise was as sweet as sugar.³⁰

Emperor Wu then erected an immortal image holding a plate on the palm for collecting

²⁹ The *Wudi gushi* is reprinted in Lu Xun's 魯迅 (1881-1936) *Gu xiaoshuo gouchen* 古小說鉤沉 (In search of ancient fiction) (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1951), 296. The time of its composition is estimated by Campany. I translate the term *gushi* as "anecdote." Campany, however, renders it as "precedents" since he agrees with Smith, who thinks that it refers to "a sub-genre of literature concerned with procedural, ritual, collected for reference and citation by dynastic officials," and it "has nothing to do with the modern sense of 'stories'." See Campany, *Strange Writing*, 48-49; see pp. 318-321 of the book for a discussion of the *zhiguai* stories about Emperor Wu.

³⁰ One of the earliest references to sweet dew occurs in the *Laozi* 老子 (Master Lao, or *Daode jing* 道德經 [Classic of the way and virtue]), which says that when Heaven and Earth are harmony, sweet dew will fall (天地相合, 以降甘露). The dew here is considered as a propitious phenomenon. Probably in the Han it was also thought to be an ingredient for medicine for immortality. *Laozi*, in *Daozang* 道藏 (Daoist canon) (Taipei: Yiwenyin shuguan, 1977, rpt.), vol. 19, *zhang* 章 (section) 32. According to Chen Yuanliang 陳元靚 (ca. the late Song and the early Yuan Dynasties) (see the note below), the *Shennong bencao jing* 神農本草經 (Shennong's classic Materia Medica), the earliest extant book of its kind, says that dew can be condensed after boiling, and that after drinking it one can extend one's life and would not feel hungry any more.

Daoists attached importance to this text. Although it had been lost for a long time, Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456-536), the first patriarch of Shangqing Daoism, reconstituted it from its fragments cited in other works and added his own framework and commentary. Ute Engelhardt, "Longevity techniques and Chinese medicine," in *Daoism Handbook*, ed. Livia Kohn (Leiden, Koninklijke Brill NV, 2000), 78-79.

Tiziana Lippiello has discussed sweet dew in her study on political meanings of auspicious omens in China. Lippiello, *Auspicious Omens and Miracles in Ancient China: Han, Three Kingdoms and Six Dynasties*, with a foreword by Erik Zürcher (*Monumenta Serica Monograph Series XXXIX*) (Nettetal: Steyler Verl., 2001), 102-103.

dew.³¹ This story certainly contains imaginary elements created after the Han, but it demonstrates that it is very unlikely that Yang Xuanzhi did not know of the connection of the terms *chenglu pan*, *xianzhang*, and *yunbiao* with the immortality tradition.

The discussion above suggests that the Yongning stūpa was linked by the elite in the Six Dynasties to this local tradition more closely than to the Buddhist canonical tradition of stūpas. Such an understanding might be the case with other stūpas too. To find out whether this was the case, I shall continue to examine how the elite depicted these monuments and then deal with them from other angles.

2.2.2 Language Adopted in Elite Depictions of Stūpas

It may not be strange that Yang Xuanzhi used the terms from Chinese immortality tradition to refer to the wheels on Buddhist stūpas, given that he was not the only example. Li Daoyuan 酈道元 (?-527) also used similar terms in his commentary on the *Shuijing* 水經—*Shuijing zhu* 水經注 (A commentary on the record of waterways), composed in the early sixth century. He referred to the wheel of the Yongning stūpa as “*jinlu pan*” 金露杵 (golden dew plates).³² The same term appears again in his account of another stūpa in Jincheng 晉城 (in Shangxi), the wheel of which was still extant in his time. Strangely enough, when describing this Buddhist building, he presented it as a shrine of gods (*shenmiao* 神廟), which was built in 346 by the monk Fotucheng 佛圖澄 (?-348) for strengthening morality (*shude*

³¹ Chen Yuanliang, *Suishi guangji*, in *SKQS* 467: 3.6b-7a.

³² Li Daoyuan, *Shuijing zhu*; see Wang (colla.), Yuan and Liu (annots.), *Shuijing zhu jiao* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1984), 16.542.

quanhua 樹德勸化), a common purpose in building local shrines in China.³³ The expression *jinlu pan* was also used by the monastic writer Huijiao 慧皎 (497-554) in the biography of Fotucheng in his *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of eminent monks, completed in 519-554) to describe another stūpa related to him. This stūpa was alleged to have been an ancient Aśokan stūpa³⁴, which the monk helped Shi Hu 石虎 (r. 335-349; the nomadic emperor of the Later Zhao dynasty) to locate in Linji 臨淄 (in present-day Shandong 山東) in 342.³⁵ Given that Huijiao, unlike Yang Xuanzhi and Li Dao Yuan, was a monk with profound Buddhist knowledge, it is odd that he used the term in his writing and did not notice its Daoist derivation, like these two authors. The usage of the term and its variations in Buddhists' and non-Buddhists' works suggests that they became part of common expressions to describe wheels of stūpas at this time.

Not only were the term *chenglu pan* (the dew receiver) and its variant forms adopted to describe local stūpas in non-canonical works, but they were also commonly used in translations of *sūtras*. A certain translator of the Eastern Han Dynasty had already used a variant *pangai* 槃蓋 (lit. plate canopy) in the *Wei cengyou jing* 未曾有經 (A scripture on the unprecedented; *Adbhuta-dharmaparyāya*).³⁶ Dharmarakṣa (Zhu Fahu 竺法護, d. 291-305, or 313-316) of the Western Jin Dynasty, the most important translator prior to Kumārajīva, also adopted the term *chenglu pan* to describe the wheels of the stūpas for the past Buddha

³³ Wang (colla.), Yuan and Liu (annots.), *Shuijing zhu jiao*, 166: 今城中有浮圖五層, 上有金露盤, 題云趙武八年, 比釋道龍和上竺浮圖澄, 樹德勸化, 與(興)立神廟, 浮圖以壞, 露盤尚存, 焯焯有光明。

³⁴ For the discussion of Buddhist legends about Aśoka, see Chapter One. I shall discuss the story of Fotucheng and this local stūpa in detail in Chapter Three.

³⁵ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 9.385b; Tang Yongtong 湯用彤 (annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 351-352.

³⁶ T no. 688, 16: 1.781a, 1.781c.

Kāśyapa in his translation of the *Wubai dizi zi shuo benqi jing* 五百弟子自說本起經 (A *sūtra* about their original karma spoken by five hundred disciples themselves, translated in 303). The text says that two disciples of the Buddha, Rāstrapāla 賴吒囉 and Nandi 難提, had been happy to see the stūpas and adorned them with wheels in their previous lives, so these good deeds led their rebirth in the Buddha's time and entry into the community of his disciples.³⁷

Indeed, the term *chenglu pan*, or its variants, was not the only expression Buddhist translators at that time could select; there was an alternative available. Buddhahadra and Faxian adopted the term *xianglun* 相輪 (lit. the wheel of phenomena) in their translation of the *Mohesengqi lü*. It appears in a passage of the Buddha's instruction about specifications of stūpas: “Stūpas should be erected for and wheels (*xianglun*) [my emphasis] should be produced for, and banners and canopies should be hung for and offered to [stūpas] for four categories of people—*tathāgata*, *śrāvaka*, *pratyeka-buddha*, and *cakravartī*.”³⁸ Yet the term *pangai* is also found at the same time elsewhere in the text. “On the top [of the stūpa for Buddha Kāśyapa] the *pangai* is placed in order to display the form of the wheel (*lunxiang* 輪相).”³⁹ This sentence reveals the derivation of the term *xianglun*. The wheel mentioned here

³⁷ T no. 199, 4: 1.196a.

³⁸ T no. 1425, 22: 27.444b: 四人應起塔、起相輪、懸施幡蓋, 如來、聲聞、辟支佛、轉輪聖王是。

This term was used by early translators to describe the thousand-spoke wheel-sign on feet (i.e. feet with wrinkles in shape of thousand-spokes), one of the thirty-two kinds of extraordinary physical marks possessed by transcendent beings. Such usage had been adopted in Chinese translation since the Wu state of the Three-Kingdoms period. For example, see *Jiuzabiyu jing* 舊雜譬喻經 (An old version of the *Samyuktāvadāna sūtra*), trans. Kang Senghui 康僧會 (?-280), T no. 206, 4: 2.521b; *Sihemei jing* 私訶味經 (*Bodhisattva Bodhivriksa sūtra*), trans. Zhi Qian 支謙, T no. 532, 14: 810a. The term sometimes refers to the wheel-sign on hands. For example, see Aśvaghōṣa's *Mahālankāra sūtra śāstra*, trans. Kumārajīva as *Da zhuangyan jing lun*, T no. 201, 4: 7.295a; 9.304a; 10.311c; 13.312a; 14.318b. The *Sihemei jing* is also called the *Pusa daoshu jing* 菩薩道樹經. Sihemei was a questioner who invited the Buddha to preach.

³⁹ T no. 1425, 22: 33.497c: 上施槃蓋, 長表輪相。

refers to the Buddha's *falun* 法輪 (the Dharma-cakra, or the Wheel of the Law), the object that the disc symbolizes. Therefore, the analogy between the Dharma-cakra and the disc discussed in this sentence probably inspired Buddhahadra and Faxian to adopt the term *xianglun* to describe the disc of the stūpa, with two Chinese characters *lun* and *xiang* simply transposed (*lunxiang* ⇔ *xianglun*).⁴⁰

The term *xianglun* should better convey the purpose of the disc in the context of Buddhist tradition than *pangai* and its variants do, because, as discussed above, they have distinct links with the stories of Emperor Wu's immortality quest, part of Chinese immortality tradition. However, surprisingly, the interpreters still used the term *pangai*; it is indeed a bizarre combination of wordings because the characters *pan* and *gai* have contradicting meanings: they mean the concave container and the convex cover respectively. The expressions the Buddhist translators adopted to describe discs of stūpas suggest that the terms *chenglu pan* and its variants were commonly used at that time. Although the more appropriate term *xianglun* appeared in the Eastern Jin Dynasty, it did not immediately replace them, and was not generally used by Buddhist translators until the Sui and Tang Dynasties.⁴¹

The term *chenglu pan* and its variants were simply terminological borrowings from Chinese immortality tradition in Buddhist *sūtras*. This tradition does not impinge on the contents of the *sūtras* at all, and only causes language incongruity. The usage of these terms

⁴⁰ The analogy between the disc and the Dharma-cakra can be deduced from Daoshi's discussion of the *falun zhiti* 法輪支提 (Dharma-cakra caitya). He says that it is one kind of stūpa in India. On the top of it are three masts, each of which is equipped with a disc. Each disc represents one period of time the law wheel turned when the Buddha preached in the Deer Park (*san zhuan falun* 三轉法輪). Daoshi, *Fayuan zhulin*, T no. 2122, 53, 37.579c-580a; Zhou & Su (colla. & annot.), *Fayuan zhulin* 3: 37.1188.

⁴¹ Except for the *Mohesengqi lü*, the *sūtras* that contain the term *xianglun* I can find were usually translated in these two dynasties or afterward. For example, the *Fobenxingji jing* 佛本行集經 (*Buddhacarita sūtra*) (T no. 190, 3:37.814b; 39.823a), translated by Jnānagupta, and the second half of the *Daban niepan jing houfen* 大般涅槃經後分 (The second half of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra*) (T no. 377, 12: 1.903a), translated by Jnanabhadrā, Huining 會寧 (fl. ca. 664-678), et al. in the Tang Dynasty.

in other writings, however, is different. Unlike monastic translators, not only did Chinese literati employ them in their depictions of stūpas, but also incorporated elements from the immortality tradition. Among these people was Xiao Gang 蕭綱 (503-551), Emperor Jianwen 簡文帝 (r. 550-551) of the Liang Dynasty in the south, who was keen on literary writings.⁴² He composed a poem “Gazing at the wheel (*xianglun*) on the stūpa in one night” (“Ye wang futu shang xianglun” 夜望浮圖上相輪), which reads as follows:

光中辨垂鳳 [I] distinguished a standing phoenix in the [moon]light,
霧裏見飛鸞 Saw a flying *luan* 鸞 (a fabulous bird related to the phoenix) in fog,
定用方諸水 Quietly used the *fangzhu* 方諸 water,
持添承露盤 [And] continually added it to the dew collecting plate.⁴³

Both the terms *xianglun* and *chenglu pan* refer to the wheel, and the stūpa here is characterized as a dew vessel for an immortality quest rather than a Buddhist monument. Like the stūpa mentioned above, the dew vessel made by Emperor Wu of the Han was also adorned with the image of phoenixes, which flew away when the kingdom collapsed. The *fangzhu*, mentioned in the third line, was a container collecting water at night (probably dew) for making medicine and wine. Daoists thought the liquid collected there was special, because it was from the moon and stars and thus suitable for their elixir production.⁴⁴ This

⁴² Emperor Jianwen’s writings, including a biography of Prince Zhaoming 昭明 (501-531) and a commentary on board game players, were collected in his corpus comprising of 100 *juan* (*Jianwen di wen ji* 簡文帝文集), which has been lost.

⁴³ Daoxuan, *Guang Hongming ji* 廣弘明集 (An expanded collection of writings on spreading and illustrating [Buddhist teachings]), T no. 2103, 52: 30.353b. It is also collected in Lu Qinli 逯欽立, *Xian Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbei chao shi* 先秦漢魏晉南北朝詩 (The poetry of the ancient time, Qin, Han, Wei, Jin, and Northern-Southern Dynasties) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 22.1968; Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (557-641) et al. (eds.), Wang Shaoying 汪紹楹 (colla.), *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 (A collection of categorized literary works) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985, rpt.), 76.1297.

⁴⁴ Some sources claim that it is a clam shell, which collects two to three *ge* 合 (decilitre) of water after it has been heated and placed in the moonlight. But others maintain that it is a copper basin. Li Shizhen 李時珍 (1518-1593), *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 (Compendium of material medica), in *SKQS* 772 772: 5.4b-5b; Zhu

Daoist tool is not the only one associated with stūpas; there is another Daoist tool, *yangsui* 陽燧. The emperor also links it to the wheel of the stūpa in another of his writings, which was about the Shanjue monastery 善覺寺⁴⁵. This wheel was made of thirty thousand *jin* 斤 of copper offered by Emperor Wu of the Liang 梁武帝 (r. 502-549), so Emperor Jianwen, then prince, composed an official document (*qi* 啓) to thank him. It says, “The scenery reflected by (lit. included in) the *yangsui* is also like the sun; the sweet dew entering the plate suffices to be called heavenly wine.”⁴⁶ The *yangsui* was a copper mirror for lighting (solar kindler). The fire and the water, acquired through the *yangsui* and the *fangzhu* respectively, were thought to be the perfect *yang* and *yin*, which were precious materials for Daoists’ inner elixirs.⁴⁷ Clearly, the function of the stūpa was confused (deliberately conflated?) with that of the dew vessel of Daoist longevity culture. Emperor Yuan 元帝 (r. 552-554, the successor to

Quan 朱權 (1378-1448), “Xiuzhen qi yong zhang” 修真器用章 (A chapter on tools for cultivating perfection), in “Tianhuang zhi dao taiqing yuce” 天皇至道太清玉冊 (Jade records of great purity, [which deal with] the perfect Dao of the heavenly sovereignty), 6: 466a-b, in the *Xu dao zang* 續道藏 (The continuation of the Daoist Canon) (Taipei: Xinwenfeng shuguan, 1977, rpt.), vol. 60. The translations of titles of the Daoist texts mentioned in this chapter are taken from Livia Kohn (ed.), *Daoism Handbook*.

⁴⁵ The monastery was located in the east of Jiankang 建康 county and started to be built by Prince Zhaoming, but he had died before it was finished. Emperor Jianwen completed it after he became the crown prince. Sun Wenchuan and Chen Zuolin, *Nanchao fosi zhi* (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, rpt., 1980), in *Zhongguo fosi shi zhi huikan* 中國佛寺史志彙刊 (Collected publications of histories and records on Chinese Buddhist monasteries) (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1980), set no. 1, vol. 2, 330.

⁴⁶ See “Xie chilai tong gong zao Shanjue si ta lupan qi” 謝敕賚銅供造善覺寺塔露盤啓 (An official document in gratitude for the copper imperially given for [making] the dew plate of the stūpa at the Shanjue monastery), *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 16.209b: 陽燧含景還譬日輪，甘露入盤足稱天酒 (also see *QSSQLW* 3.3007a-b).

⁴⁷ Ge Hong 葛洪 (283-343), *Baopuzi neipian* 抱樸子內篇 (Inner chapters of the *Master Who Embraces Simplicity*), Wang Ming 王明 (colla. & annot.), *Baopuzi neipian jiaoshi* 抱樸子內篇校釋 (Inner chapters of the *Master Who Embraces Simplicity*, collated and annotated), 3.40; Shi Jianwu 施肩吾 (early ninth century), “Zhen yinyang” 真陰陽 (Prefect yin and yang), in the *Xishan qunxian huizhen ji* 西山群仙會真記 (Anthology of the transcendent hordes and assembled perfected of the western hills), ed. Li Song 李竦 (d.u.), in *Daozang* 7: 4.118.

Emperor Wu)⁴⁸ also mentions the stūpa in one of his works about the Shangjue monastery. In it he says that “[The purpose of Emperor Jianwen’s] presenting a memorial to [Emperor Wu requesting] the golden plate [for the stūpa at the Shanjue monastery] was not to wish [it] to collect dew.”⁴⁹ These sentences, which clearly refer to the stūpa, imply that it was common for the elite to link the stūpa with Daoist longevity culture, although Emperor Yuan denied the connection.

It has to be admitted that some depictions of stūpas built by the lay elite contain elements taken incongruously from both the Chinese immortality and Buddhist traditions. Here is an example—a poem about the stūpa in the Tongtai monastery 同泰寺, written by Wang Taiqing 王臺卿 (fl. the early six century) in response to Xiao Gang’s:

朝光正晃朗 Facing the light, [the stūpa] is dazzling and shiny,
 踊塔標千丈 [like] an emerging stūpa (*yongta* 涌塔), rising a thousand *zhang* in height.
 儀鳳異靈鳥 The impressive-looking phoenix [on it] is different from a holy bird (lit. *lingwu* 靈鳥 = *lingniao* 靈鳥?)⁵⁰.
 金盤代仙掌 The golden plate replaces the immortal’s palm...
 煙霞時出沒 Appearing and disappearing in mist and rosy cloud,
 神仙乍來往 Immortals come and go suddenly.
 晨霧半層生 Morning fog appears [over] half of its storeys;
 飛幡接雲上 Flying banners meet [the level] above cloud.
 遊蜩不敢息 When wandering cicadas cannot rest on [the stūpa because of its height],
 翔鵑詎能仰 How can soaring *yi* 鵑 (a kind of aquatic bird) look [up at its top]?

⁴⁸ Emperor Yuan’s writings, including his commentaries on the *Laozi* 老子 and the *Yijing* 易經 (*Book of Change*), were collected in his corpus, the *Liang Yuandi ji* 梁元帝集. The collection as a whole has been lost, with only its fragments collected in different compilations such as *Xianqin Han Wei Jin Nanbei Chao shi*.

⁴⁹ *QSSQLW* 3: 3056a: 金盤上疏, 非求承露.

⁵⁰ The version collected in some editions of the *Fayuan zhulin* reads *lingniao*. T no. 2122, 53: 38.584c.

讚善資哲人 Praise for goodness are directed at the wise,
流詠歸明兩 Diffused admiration songs go to (or conform to) the sun (lit. *mingliang*
明兩).
願假舟航末 [I] am willing to rely on the end of the delivery boat (i.e. Buddhism);
彼岸誰云廣 Who [then] can say that the other shore (i.e. *nirvāṇa*) is far away (lit.
guang 廣 wide)?⁵¹

The Buddhist content in the first and last couples of couplets in this poem is material often found in Buddhist literature. The emerging stūpa mentioned here refers to the Prabhūtaratna Buddha's stūpa (Duobao ta 多寶塔); the spectacle of its sudden emergence from the ground when the Buddha was preaching the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Fahua jing*)⁵² is a familiar tale. At the end of the poem, the author expresses his will to attain deliverance through Buddhism. However, other than these examples, other content quoted here is derived from the local immortality culture. For example, the depiction of immortals' coming to the stūpa (adorned with the phoenix), also mentioned in Emperor Jianwen's above-cited poem, can be traced back to Han Emperor Wu's time. After this depiction, the author praises the loftiness of the stūpa. As will be shown below, elite members, including the author, generally had an inclination to build soaring stūpas and admire them. As verified by historical works, the Tongtai stūpa was composed of nine stories. After it was destroyed in a fire in 535, the court intended to build a taller one composed of twelve stories. Unfortunately, the construction was never completed

⁵¹ “Feng he ‘Wang Tongtai si futu shi’ 奉和望同泰寺浮圖詩 (A poem written under orders to reply to [Emperor Jianwen's poem] “Viewing the stūpa at the Tongtai monastery”), in *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 30.353a; c.f. *Xian Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbei chao shi*, 27.2088.

⁵² The episode of the sudden emergence of the stūpa from the ground as stated in the *Lotus Sūtra* is one of doctrinal bases for stūpa worship in China. It is said that the stūpa inside which the Prabhūtaratna Buddha sits appears whenever the *sūtra* is preached. *Miaohua lianhua jing*, *juan* 11, “Stūpasandarśana” (Jian baota pin 見寶塔品 [The chapter on seeing the precious stūpa]). For the information of this *sūtra*, see notes 23, 27, and 28 of Chapter One.

due to the fall of Jiankang to the rebel Hou Jing 侯景 (?-552)⁵³ in 548 to 552. After the height of the stūpa, the author next praises a rising person in the court: glorification goes to the wise (*zheren* 哲人), the successor to the throne. The term *zheren* refers to Emperor Jianwen, who was promoted to crown prince in 531; apparently it is not a designation usually given to the Buddha or other Buddhist sacred people in Buddhist literature. To describe him, the author also uses the term *mingliang* (lit. dual brightness), which is derived from the *li* 離 of the eight trigrams (*bagua* 八卦) discussed in the *Yijing* and represents the sun (brightness). Its symbol is composed of two unbroken horizontal lines (*liang* 兩) and a broken one in the middle, meaning a bright phenomenon followed by another (☲). Obviously, the two sentences with the terms *zheren* and *mingliang* are praise for the prince, saying that, winning others' admiration, he would succeed to the throne and inherit virtue from Emperor Wu of the Liang.⁵⁴ Like the Yongning stūpa, the Tongtai stūpa is linked with contemporary secular rule⁵⁵ and is pervaded by influences from Daoist immortality practices. And like that of the Yongning stūpa in the *Luoyang qielan ji*, the overall narration in this poem indeed not only reflects the author's and other elite members' understanding of the stūpas, but was also

⁵³ When Hou Jing entered Jiankang, he destroyed the palace and massacred officials. He made two members of the royal family emperors successively (i.e. Xiao Gang [= Emperor Jianwen] and Xiao Dong 蕭棟 [?-552]) in 550 and 551 respectively, before eventually declaring himself to be an emperor. He, however, was defeated soon by Wang Sengbian 王僧辯 (?-555) and Chen Baxian 陳霸先 (503-559). Yao Cha 姚察 (533-606) and Yao Silian 姚思廉 (d.637), *Liangshu* 梁書 (History of the Liang) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973 rpt.) 56.850.

⁵⁴ Jin Jingfang 金景芳 and Lü Shaogang 呂紹綱, *Zhouyi quan jie* 周易全解 (Complete explanation of the *Zhouyi*) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2005) 304. An example of the application of this diagram to political comment can be found in Huan Xuan's 桓玄 (369-404) remarks about Emperor Xiaowu's 孝武 (r. 373-396) succession to Emperor Jianwen 簡文 (r. 371-372) in the Eastern Jin Dynasty. See Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086), *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (A comprehensive mirror in aid of governance) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, rpt.) 1976108.3408.

⁵⁵ This does not sound strange, given that the Tongtai monastery was closely linked to Emperor Wu and his Buddhist activities. It was established in the south of the palace, with one of its gates (Taitong gate 大通門) facing the monastery's southern entrance. And the emperor also "surrendered" himself four times to this monastery as a menial and, starting from 529, he held there Buddhist assemblies of great equality (*wuzhe dahui* 無遮大會) several times.

accepted by monastic writers. For example, with only little alteration in wording and deletion for the praise of Emperor Jianwen, Daoshi borrowed almost the entire poem when he enthusiastically admired Buddhist stūpas in the chapter on veneration for stūpas (“Jingta pin 敬塔品”) in his *Fayuan zhulin*.⁵⁶ He might not be aware of the cultural origins of its contents, but his borrowings evidently show that the influence of Chinese immortality tradition on the ruling elite’s understanding of stūpas continued to exist in the Tang Dynasty.⁵⁷

Why did Yang Xuanzhi, together with the above-mentioned writers and translators, use *chenglu pan* and its variants as well as other terms apparently derived from Daoism? It seems unlikely that such borrowing was part of the *geyi* 格義 practice—monks’ usage of notions extracted from traditional Chinese philosophy while elucidating Buddhist terms, because this practice had faded away after the fourth century as Daoan 道安 (312-385) prohibited all his pupils, except for Huiyuan 慧遠 (334-416), from using it.⁵⁸ It seems unlikely that Yang Xuanzhi and the other writers accepted these local terms out of expediency when they gave descriptions of stūpas. Obviously, this reflects that the elite

⁵⁶ *Fayuan zhulin*, T no. 2122, 53: 38.584c; Zhou & Su (colla. & annot.), *Fayuan zhulin* 3: 38.1206.

遺身八萬塔，寶飾高百丈。儀鳳異靈鳥，金盤代仙掌。
積拱承彫角，高簷掛樹*網，寶地若池沙，風鈴如積響。
刻削生千變，丹青圖萬像。煙霞時出沒，神仙乍來往。
晨霧半層生，飛幡接雲上。游蜺不敢息，翔鷗詎能仰。
聖變無窮端，感福豈三兩。願假舟航末，彼岸誰云廣。
 (*Wang’s poem reads *zhu* 珠 instead of *shu* 樹.)

The underlined sentences are copied from Wang’s poem.

⁵⁷ Such integration reminds us of a feature of Han Buddhism: people at that time deemed this foreign religion similar to local cult of Huanglao and regarded the Buddha as one among the pantheon of the latter tradition. Yet, the integration we treat here occurred after the Han; Buddhism no longer was regarded as an alternative religion to the Huanglao religion or Daoism at that time.

For Han Buddhism, see Tang Yongtong, *Han Wei liang Jin Nanbei chao fojiaoshi* 漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史 (Buddhist history of the Han, Wei, two Jins, Southern-and-Northern Dynasties) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1997), 38; Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 26-27; Wu Hung, “Buddhist Elements in Early Chinese Art (2nd and 3rd Centuries A.D.),” *Artibus Asiae* 47. 3-4 (1986): 300.

⁵⁸ E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 12.

members based their understanding of stūpas on the Chinese immortality tradition, taking this kind of Indian object as buildings similar to Chinese instruments for immortality quest in a way. They neither paid attention to Buddhist scriptural connotations of stūpas nor were aware that their understanding conflicted with them. And this definitely means that not all stūpas in China were conceived in the way as they were described in Buddhist scriptures. If that is the case, there is probably more evidence suggesting the similarity of some aspects of the Yongning stūpa and others with the buildings related to local immortality belief.

2.2.3 The Architectural Feature of Stūpas

Yang Xuanzhi records that the Yongning stūpa was nine-storied, which belonged to locally-styled multistoried towers (*lou* 樓). It was totally different from Indian stūpas, which had domes as major parts.⁵⁹ Although domes of Indian stūpas were later elongated and became high cylindrical drums⁶⁰, their elongated structures still stood in marked contrast to the impressive huge multistoried Yongning stūpa. Indeed, not only this stūpa, but many other stūpas in China were built as multistoried towers, which became the most ancient and popular form of these constructions. The antecedent of the Yongning stūpa, erected in the previous capital Pingcheng 平城 (Datong 大同, Shanxi) of the Northern Wei Dynasty, for

⁵⁹ Fu Xinian 傅熹年 et al, *Chinese Architecture*, with an English text edited and explained by Nancy S. Steinhardt (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), 85.

Indian stūpas were generally composed of three main components. In addition to the hemispherical dome (*aṇḍa*), the Indian stūpa generally had the base (*medhī*) and the crowning pinnacle (*harmikā*) on top, which was fitted with the shaft (*yaṣṭi*) and surmounted by the canopy (*chatra*). Sushila Pant, *The Origin and Development of Stūpa Architecture in India* (Varanasi: Bharata Manisha, 1976), 52.

⁶⁰ India saw this transformation from the time of Harsavardhana (606-647 A.D.; King of Kanyākubja and protector of Buddhism) toward the decline of Buddhism in India in the seventh century. Pant, *The Origin and Development of Stūpa Architecture in India*, 80-86.

example, was already the tallest there, consisting of seven stories and reaching more than three hundred *chi* (=30 *zhang*).⁶¹ After the capital was moved to Luoyang, and the Yongning monastery was rebuilt in the new place, Empress Dowager Ling ordered another new taller stūpa to be built, with two more stories, even though the construction was a huge expense and was thought to be extravagant. Certainly, such a form was common to many stūpas built by the elite members because usually only these privileged people could afford these strikingly tall towers and wanted to parade their wealth and power.⁶² And, more importantly, this was also because they were fond of lofty Chinese multistoried buildings, considering them preferable to Indian domed and elongated domed structures.

Such a preference had long history, which stretches back to the time of Emperor Wu in the Han. The devices and buildings for his immortality quest he erected were impressively tall. In a memorial of advising Emperor Ming 明帝 (r. 240-253) against his extravagant expenses, Wei Ji 衛覲 (155-229), an official of the Wei Kingdom, gives the following comments on the dew vessel Emperor Wu set up.

In the past Emperor Wu of the Han believed in and longed for the way to attain immortality, and considered he ought to get dew from above the clouds and eat it with jade crumbs; hence he erected “the immortal’s palm” in order to carry dew [falling

⁶¹ Wei Shou 魏收 (506-572), *Weishu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974, rpt.) 14.3037.

⁶² Luo Zhewen, *Ancient Pagodas in China*, 27.

Perhaps because Samuel Beal tends to translate the Chinese characters *ta* 塔 in Faxian’s record as “tower” (see note 2), this implies that the Chinese monastic pilgrims such as Huisheng 惠生 (d.u.) and Faxian visited “towers” during their journeys. Both Pant and Roth therefore think that Indian elongated stūpas had tower-like structures and affected stūpas in China. But this is a misjudgment. Huisheng and Faxian did not mention that the stūpas they saw were like towers in China, and did not use 樓 (tower) to describe stūpas.

Xuanzang transliterates the stūpa into *xudubo* 窣堵波, but Beal, in his translation of Xuanzang’s travel account, renders it as “stūpa.” See Roth, “Symbolism of the Buddhist Stūpa, according to the Tibetan version of the Caitya-vibhāga-vinayodhāva-sūtra, the Sanskrit treatise Stūpa-laksana-kārikā-vivecana, and a corresponding passage in Kuladatta’s Kriyāsamgraha,” in *The Stūpa: Its Religious, History, and Architectural Significance*, ed. Anna Libera Dallapiccola, in collaboration with Stephanie Zingel-Avé Lallemand (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1980), 183. Beal (trans.), *Buddhist Records of the Western World, Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629)* (Delhi / Varanasi / Patna: Motilal Banarsidass, 1884 [rpt., 1981]).

from] on high.... It is still not proper [to put up the palm] even if Emperor Wu of the Han had a purpose [when collecting] dew, and let alone the emperor (i.e. Emperor Ming), who does not have any purpose [when collecting] but set up [the dew receiver] aimlessly.

昔漢武信求神仙之道，謂當得雲表之露以餐玉屑，故立仙掌以承高露.....漢武有求於露而猶尚見非，陛下無求於露而空設之。⁶³

Apart from the dew vessel, other constructions for Emperor Wu's immortality quest were also lofty. For example, the Tongtian Platform on which the dew vessel was placed was a tall edifice and could overlook Chang'an, as mentioned above. At the bottom of it sacrificial offerings would be placed so as to attract immortals. Two halls called Feilian guiguan 飛廉桂館 (Laurel house of Feilian) and Yishou yanshou guan 益壽延壽館 (House for enhancing expanding life) that the emperor built for his quest were also tall, because Gongsun Qing 公孫卿 (fl. the mid 2nd to the early 3rd centuries), one of Emperor Wu's favoured *fangshi* 方士 (magician or necromancer), told the emperor that "immortals were keen on living in towers."⁶⁴ According to the *Hanwu gushi*, the former thought "if they are not extremely tall and noticeable, deities will not come down in the end."⁶⁵ Although these wordings in the tale may not be reliable, they show the contemporary belief in the relationship between high buildings and immortals.

⁶³ Chen Shou 陳壽 (233-297), *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Record of the Three Kingdoms) (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1959, rpt.) 21.612.

⁶⁴ 仙人好樓居. Feilian 飛廉 was the name of the legendary divine animal with a bird-like body and a deer-like head, which could summon the wind. It is also the *zi* 字 (alias) of the wind god. *Hanshu* 25.1241-42. According to the Tang commentator Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581-645), the name Feilian guiguan refers to two halls Feilian guan 飛廉館 (Feilian hall) and Gui guan 桂館 (Laurel hall) and the name Yishou yanshou guan to two halls Yishou guan 益壽館 (Life increase hall) and Yanshou guan 延壽館 (Life expansion hall). Huang Bosi 黃伯思 (1079-1118) of the Song, another commentator, however, considers that the two names are those of the two buildings only. Yü, "Life and Immortality," 99-100n78.

⁶⁵ *Hanwu gushi*, in Lu Xun (ed.), *Gu xiaoshuo gouchen*, 296: 不極高顯，神終不降也。

Though being erected in different times, these lofty buildings erected by Emperor Wu had the same architectural structure as the Yongning stūpa. Gongsun Qing described them as *lou* 樓 (towers), but the two halls, Feilian guiguan and Yishou yanshou guan, together with the Tongtian Platform, belonged to a kind of construction named *tai* 台—earth platforms prevailing in the Former Han. Sometimes other structures would be built on platforms; the dew vessel, for example, was on top of the Tongtian Platform. From the end of the dynasty on, another form of tall structures *chonglou* 重樓 (multistoried tower) or *chongceng* 重層 (multilayer [building]) gained popularity. It first appeared in the Spring and Autumn period, and was later used to construct stūpas. The one in Xuzhou 徐州 built by Zuo Rong 左融 (?-195) of the late Later Han, the governor of Guangling 廣陵, Xiapi 夏邳, and Pengcheng 彭城 (all in present Jiangsu), which is thought to be one of the earliest recorded stūpas in China, was a multilayer building.⁶⁶ The Yongning stūpa was also a high-rise tower, which Yang Xuanzhi says to be ninety *zhang* tall. This is an exaggeration, but there is no doubt that it was a building with an extraordinary height. It is estimated to have been more than forty *zhang* (134m), if judged by the remains of its base excavated in 1979. This estimation is consistent with the description of the stūpa in the *Shuijing zhu*, which reports that it was forty-nine *zhang* high.⁶⁷ According to scholars' findings about the remains, the stūpa was

⁶⁶ This multilayer building, described as “*futu ci*” 浮屠祠, was equipped with nine tiers of copper plates (*tongpan* 銅槃, i.e. wheels) at the top, and its connective passageways (*gedao* 閣道) alone had a capacity of more than three thousands of people. *Wuzhi* 吳志 (Record of the Wu state), quoted in the *Sanguo zhi* biography of Liu Yao 劉繇 (d.u.). It was equipped with wheels and at the same time served as a sermon hall. For this reason, some scholars (e.g. Tang Yongtong and Zürcher) categorize it a Buddhist monastery, but others (e.g. Huarui Suonanairang) consider it to be a stūpa. See Tang Yongtong, *Han Wei Liang Jin Nanbei chao fojiaoshi*, 50; Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 326; Huarui, *Zhongguo fota*, 34-35.

⁶⁷ Yang Hongxun estimates that the stūpa, including its mast, could be 54 *chang* tall (147m), which is double the height of the extant wooden stūpa made in the Liao Dynasty in Ying County 應縣. See Yang, “Guanyu Beiwei Luoyang Yongning si ta fuyuan caotu de shuoming,” 554.

supported by a core made of sun-dried mud brick rising from the ground to the sixth storey (figure 2.2), which in fact functioned as a *tai*. The earthen centre was necessary to sustain the wooden structure of the remaining stories, because the technology of timber-frame architecture of the time was not strong enough to support a nine-storied stūpa.⁶⁸ This means that the Yingning stūpa was built in a way like the lofty buildings set up by Emperor Wu of the Han, having an earthen core for support. Some other stūpas were also constructed this way; a brick stūpa that lay to the east of the Qin Taishanggong monastery 秦太上公寺 (monastery of the Grand Lord of Qin) in Luoyang, for example. This monument was built on the Observatory Platform (Guantai 觀臺), which was constructed by Emperor Guangwu (Guangwu di 光武帝 [r. 25-57]) of the Later Han for watching astronomical phenomena. The platform was originally sixty Chinese feet high, and its ruin in Yang Xuanzhi's time was still more than fifty feet in height.⁶⁹ All these multistoried towers (*chonglou*) with earthen cores and Emperor Wu's platform (*tai*) structures were elevated buildings; they were the most advanced architecture available for satisfying the elite members' religious demands.

⁶⁸ The discussion of the architectural features of Emperor Wu's buildings and the Yongning stūpa here is based on Steinhardt's *Chinese Architecture* (83-84) and Xiao Mo's *Zhongguo jianzhu yishu shi* (30-233 and 267-268). Building stūpas with earthen cores as support was popular at the time, as is shown by the extant bases of a Northern Wei stūpa underneath the Chaoyang northern stūpa 朝陽北塔 (in Liaoning) and by the remains of the Siyuan 思遠 stūpa on Mount Fang 方山 in Datong 大同 (in Shanxi). The Siyuan stūpa, which will be examined in the next chapter, was also built in the Northern Wei Dynasty. See Zhong Xiaoqing 鍾曉青, "Beiwei Luoyang Yongning si ta fuyuan tantao" 北魏洛陽永寧寺塔復原探討 (An investigation into the [theoretical] reconstruction of the stūpa at the Yongning monastery of the Northern Wei), in Luoyang shi wenwu ju & Luoyang baima si Han Wei gucheng wenwu baoguan suo (eds.), *Han Wei Luoyang gucheng yanjiu*, 568.

⁶⁹ Yang Xuanzhi, *Luoyang qielan ji*, T no. 2092, 51: 3.1011a; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 3.60-61; Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries* 133-134n57.

2.2.4 Contemporaries' Ascents of the Yongning Stūpa: Their View and Treatment of the Stūpas

One may wonder why the empress dowager built the Yongning stūpa as a tall building as Emperor Wu of the Han set up constructions and instruments for his immortality quest, because Indian stūpas generally did not feature high-rise structures and there is no evidence suggesting that she was enthusiastic about immortality like Emperor Wu. Clearly, she did not model the stūpa on Indian reliquaries but had it built in the form of a Chinese-styled tower. This indicates that the way she and her contemporaries understood the stūpa was similar to that in which they viewed Chinese religious constructions. This can be demonstrated by the empress's ascent of the stūpa and by an official Cui Guang's 崔光 (451-523) memorial composed in 520 advising against it. In the memorial, he writes that the empress dowager's action violates Confucian ritual classic, the *Liji* 禮記 (Records of Ritual). As is stated in Confucian morality and the *Hanshu*, a person of piety and the ruler should learn that it would be improper to risk their lives by doing things such as sitting right next to halls and sitting on balustrades. The empress dowager's ascent was therefore perceived of as a dangerous act that went against concepts of the proper conduct expected from the upper class. Her act was also against propriety in religious worship; the *Liji* says that one should perform *sanzhai* 散齋 (abstinence) for seven days and *zhizhai* 致齋 (contemplation) for three days⁷⁰ before offering sacrifices to the ancestral shrine, and only then can one communicate

⁷⁰ *Sanzhai* means abstaining from sex and musical entertainment and not paying condolence calls, and *zhizhai*, or contemplation, helps one get access to the truth or deities. The ritual Cui Guang refers to here is the one practiced in the Zhou Dynasty, because in the Qin Dynasty it lasted three days only (*sanzhai*: 2 days; *zhizhai*: 1 day). For a discussion of this ritual and its relation with philosophical ideas, see Luo Jiaxiang 羅家湘, "Zhaijie yu wenxue siwei" 齋戒與文學思維 (Fast and literary thought), *Huaiyin gong xueyuan xuebao* 淮陰工學院學報 (Journal of Huaiyin Institute of Technology) 15.2 (April 2006): 1-5 & 10.

with deities during a religious ceremony. Likewise, one should treat the stūpa with the same attitude because, in his view, the stūpa is similar to the ancestral shrine⁷¹:

Although the images [of Buddhas engraved on the stūpa]⁷² have not been built yet, [it] is already a residence for deities (*shenming* 神明), with scriptural pictures added to [its exterior] sides (i.e. walls) and red-and-green coloured paintings embellishing [its internal] decorations. [Therefore,] people have respect for it, and more and more rush to look at it.

今雖容像未建, 已爲神明之宅, 方加雕績, 飾麗丹青, 人心所祇, 銳觀滋甚。⁷³

Even though the worshiper, by whom Cui Guang implies the empress dowager, is devotedly sincere, the same cannot be said of his (or her) attendants. The world of gods, which Cui refers to as “the way of Heaven” (*tiandao* 天道), is mystical and hidden; therefore, one should treat the stūpa with deep sincerity and never climb it. Here, Cui Guang narrates the story of Duke Xi 僖公 (?-667 B.C.E.) of the Zhou Dynasty recorded in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (Zuo’s commentary). When the duke was going to observe the new moon and needed to ascend a watch platform (*guantai* 觀臺), he checked and made sure that there were no deities and ancestors around it so as not to be at the same level with them after climbing it. Hence, he thinks prostrating oneself at the bottom of the stūpa and offering flowers are sufficient.

One can have access to the Three Jewels (*sanbao* 三寶), and there are no grounds for mounting it, because deities would come down through it and come into contact with one. On

⁷¹ The elite sometimes also thought stūpas similar to ancestral shrines in a way. I shall discuss this in Chapter Five.

⁷² The images should refer to those engraved in niches on the exterior of the stūpa, because statues enshrined inside probably were those excavated from the site of the stūpa before it was built. Yang Xuanzhi reports that, in the course of constructing the Yongning monastery, thirty golden images were excavated deep underground. This was interpreted as an auspicious reward for the empress dowagers’ conversion to Buddhism. Yang, *Luoyang qielan ji*, T no. 2092, 51: 1.999c; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 1.10; Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 16.

⁷³ “Jian Ling taihou deng Yongning si jiu ceng fotu biao” 諫靈太后登永寧寺九層佛圖表 (A memorial advising Queen Mother Ling against mounting the nine-storied stūpa of the Yongning monastery), *QSSQSLW* 4: 24.3631. The memorial is also collected in the biography of Cui Guang in the *Weishu*, 1495-96.

the other hand, one would lose one's sincerity and regard the climb as fun while standing at its apex and distantly viewing mountains and rivers. If the empress dowager mounts it, she will only arouse people's enthusiasm for following her. Cui Guang opines that it is most important to have devotion, so people, including the empress dowager, should only make obeisance while looking up at the stūpa with solemnity, but should not step onto it.

As clearly shown above, Cui Guang did not differentiate the Yongning stūpa from local religious constructions. In the memorial, he even mentioned the watch platform of the Zhou, which was a construction used by the elite at that time to observe astrological phenomena and thus to get revelation for their governance. It had a house on top and also belonged to the *tai* structure as the stūpa did.⁷⁴ Under the circumstances, it seems natural that he considered the two kinds of traditional services *sanzhai* and *zhizhai* to be proper in treating the stūpa. The watch tower was not a religious construction totally different from those erected by Emperor Wu of the Han, considering that they were tall constructions enabling one to get access to transcendental beings in Heaven. The proper worship performed at the stūpa Cui Guang stated is similar to Han Emperor Wu's treatment of his immortality constructions. He deemed the stūpa to be a residence for deities and advised that flowers presented to deities ought to be placed at the bottom of the stūpa. He indeed was not different from Gongsun Qing and his Han contemporaries, who thought that the halls were the

⁷⁴ For the story of Duke Xi and the platform, see Zuo Qiuming 左丘明 (fifth century B.C.E.), in *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhushu* 春秋左傳注疏 (Zuo's tradition of *Chunqiu* [Spring and Autumn annals], with notes), annotated by Du Yu 杜預 (222-284) and Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574-648), in Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764-1849) (ed.), *Shisan jing zhushu fu jiaokan ji* 十三經注疏附校勘記 (The Thirteen Classics, with commentary and subcommentary, and collation notes) (2 vols, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1980, rpt.) 2: 12.92 [1974], "the fifth year of Duke Xi's reign.

dwellings Emperor Wu built for immortals.⁷⁵ And Emperor Wu also placed his sacrificial offerings for immortals at the bottom of the dew vessel. Although Buddhists are urged in Buddhist scriptures to make offerings to stūpas too, gifts are said to be given directly to them, which are equated with the Buddha (or other Buddhist holy figures)⁷⁶, unlike the Yongning stūpa, which was simply considered by people at that time to be a residence for transcendental beings.

The empress dowager did not listen to Cui Guang in the end and went up to the stūpa with the emperor. The *Luoyang qielan ji* records this climb, which can further illustrate the contemporary elite members' attitudes towards the Yongning stūpa:

After the ornamentation was finished, Emperor Ming (Mingdi 明帝; r. 515-528) and Empress Dowager [Hu] both ascended [the tower]. They viewed the places [as if] in their own palms, and gazed down upon the national capital [as if] in their own courtyard.

裝飾畢功，明帝與太后共登之。視宮中如掌內，臨京師若家庭。⁷⁷

They denied public access to the apex of the stūpa.⁷⁸ As Cui Guang expected, people were eager to mount it too. For example, probably after the empress dowager's death, Yang

⁷⁵ This reminds us of the top component of the Indian stūpa—*harmikā*, the crowing element of the dome, surrounded by the railings, in the middle of which the post adorned with parasols was erected. Probably due to the fact that this structural part was derived from Brahmanical tradition, and not a Buddhist creation, Buddhist texts neither contain a mention of it nor provide any clue to its origin. In the Sinhalese language, it is known as the “Devatā Kottuwā” or the “Deva Kosta,” meaning the “divine mansion.” But Pant thinks that the meaning of the abode of gods, i.e. the Heaven, which the *harmikā* symbolizes, do not accord with Buddhist concepts of Heaven. Hence, this component can be considered to be an outcome of the assimilation of the Brahmanical tradition into Buddhist architecture. The Brahmanical tradition was assimilated due to the contemporary respect for this tradition. See Pant, *The origin and development of Stūpa Architecture*, 183-185. For other sources of the symbolic meanings of *harmikā*, see Eric Stratton, *The Evolution of Indian Stūpa Architecture in East Asia* (New Delhi: Vedams ebooks Pvt. Ltd, 2002), 16-18.

Although, as Cui Guang's memorial reveals, people regarded the Yongning stūpa as “a residence for deities,” this understanding had nothing to do with the Brahmanical origin of the *harmikā*. The Yongning and other stūpas of the same kind did not have this component. Furthermore, the understanding was applied to the whole stūpa, not to a part of it only.

⁷⁶ For the symbolic value of stūpas described in Buddhist scriptures, see section 1.1.1 of Chapter One.

⁷⁷ Yang Xuanzhi, *Luoyang qielan ji*, T no. 2092, 51: 1.1000b; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 1.13; Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 20.

Xuanzhi and his friend Hu Xiaoshi 胡孝世 (d.u.) ascended it and were impressed with the spectacle of cloud and rain below.⁷⁹ Their ascents of the stūpa do not sound odd if considered with the fact that Emperor Wu of the Han also ordered people to go up to the Tongtian Platform to receive immortals.

The ascents were offensive to some, if judged according to Buddhist monastic codes (vinaya) in worshipping stūpas.⁸⁰ A vinaya work said to be of the Mūlasarvāstivāda school, for example, says that when the Buddha once lived in Śrāvastī (Ch. Shiluofa 室羅伐 or Shewei 舍衛), some monks climbed up a stūpa there when they hung flags and canopies on it. Their acts caused censure from some Brāhman laymen. The Buddha eventually set out a rule that if necessary monks ought to ask laymen to do the climbing, and if they could not find anyone, they ought to clean their feet with either scented water or scented mud before making the climb themselves.⁸¹

The same conclusion can be drawn from Chinese pilgrims' records, in which the Indian pious recorded treated stūpas with deep reverence and generally did not ascend them.

⁷⁸ Yang Xuanzhi does not mention the reason, but, according to Daoxuan, the empress dowager issued the prohibition because the top of the stūpa could overlook the area within the palace. See Daoxuan, *Xu gaoseng zhua* 續高僧傳 (A continuation of the *Gaoseng zhuan*), T no. 2060, 50: 1.428a.

⁷⁹ Yang Xuanzhi, *Luoyang qielan ji*, T no. 2092, 51: 1.1000b; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 1.13; Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 20.

⁸⁰ For example, *Pinimu jing* 毘尼母經 (*Vinyamātrikā sūtra*) stipulates that the worshiper should not wear ornamented boots (*fuluo* 富羅) or leather boots when he enters the stūpa on the grounds that this is arrogant (T no. 1463, 24: 5.825c). For a brief discussion of the regulations, see Shi Zhanru, *Jingfa yu fota*, 245-249. The translator of this work is unknown, but since it is mentioned in Jizang's *Fahua jing yishu* (T no. 1721, 34: 3.497b), it was translated before the Sui.

⁸¹ *Genbenshuoyiqieyoubu nituona* 根本說一切有部尼陀那 (*Mūlasarvāstivāda nidāna*) (A work on primary causes on Mūlasarvāstivāda precepts), trans. Yijing, T no. 1452, 24: 4.429b. This work and the other one of the school, *Genbenshuoyiqieyoubu mudejia* 根本說一切有部目得迦 (*Mūlasarvāstivāda mātrikā*, trans. Yijing, T24), partly correspond to the *Shisong lü*.

The Sanskrit title of the latter cited here is given by Tong Wei 童瑋, whereas it is written as *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya Mukta* by Shayne Clarke. Tong (comp.), *Ershi'er zhong Dazangjing tongjian* 二十二種大藏經通檢 (Index to twenty two editions of Buddhist canon) (Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1997), 282; Clarke, "The *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya Mukta* 根本說一切有部目得迦," *Bukkyō kenkyū* 仏教研究 30 (2001): 81-107.

There is only one exception that I can find in their records. Xuanzang writes that the ruler of Jiabishi 迦畢試 (Kapiśā, south of the Hindu Kush) mounted a stūpa built by his minister, but he did so in order to place the valuable relics of the Buddha in the stūpa, which had not had any relics in the beginning. One night the minister dreamed of a man who told him that he would get the relics. The dream came true, and a person came and presented the relics the next day. It was such a rare gift that the ruler immediately ascended the stūpa and placed it therein. By the power of his great faith, the stūpa dome opened itself. After putting the relics in it, he came out quickly, but the hem of his garment was caught in the stone of the stūpa because the dome immediately closed itself afterwards.⁸² Apparently, there is no comparison between this Indian ruler's and the Chinese elite members' climbs in terms of their intentions; the former ascended the stūpa because of his Buddhist veneration towards it, and his act was part of an enshrinement process.

Clearly, ascending to stūpas was prohibited according to Buddhist precepts unless this was necessary or was made for hanging up decorations. Apparently, this is because Buddhist scriptural compilers considered stūpas to be the Buddha (or other Buddhist holy people). They certainly thought that one ought to pay obeisances and make offerings to them in all sincerity and ought not to step on them. The ways in which they viewed and treated stūpas were dramatically different from Chinese people, who regarded stūpas as watch towers and/or houses for Buddhist deities. This explains why Chinese elite members were eager to climb them and did not think this offensive to the deities. Although Cui Guang opposed Empress Dowager Ling's ascent, he simply cited the reason that her act violated local

⁸² *Da Tang xiyu ji*, T no. 2087, 51: 1.874a-874b; Beal (trans.), *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 60-61.

religious proprieties, and did not present the argument that in Buddhism the Yongning stūpa was the Buddha.

2.2.5 Stūpas as Dynastic Prophetic Symbols

The Yongning stūpa bore resemblance to the buildings and devices Emperor Wu set up for his immortality quest even when one looks at information about them in other aspects. Like the instruments, the stūpa was also linked to the fate of the government. Since the stūpa was built on the order of the empress dowager, the person having power over the court, it was naturally thought to represent the state. Therefore, when it was destroyed, contemporaries naturally represented this as an omen for the fall of the dynasty. The *Luoyang qielan ji* records the destruction as follows:

In the second month of the third year of Yongxi (534), the stūpa caught fire.... Not one but left with sorrow and pity, tears streaming down. The fire, which had started on the eighth floor, was worse by the early morning. At that time there was thunder, rain, and darkness, and hail mixed with snow. The common people and Buddhist devotees all came to watch the fire. The sound of wailing shook the capital... In the fifth month of that year, someone came from Donglai 東萊 commandery, saying, “We saw a stūpa in the seas, which was bright and luminous and looked like new. People on the seas all saw it. But suddenly a mist came up and obscured the stūpa.” In the seventh month, the Prince of Pingyang 平陽王 (i.e. Emperor Xiaowu), seized upon by Hushi Qun 斛斯椿 (495-537)⁸³, fled to Chang’an. In the tenth month, the capital was moved to Ye.

⁸³ Hushi Qun, a general, served the Erzhu 爾朱 clan before turning against it. He was a favorite of Erzhu Rong 爾朱榮 (493-530), who rose against Yuan Hao 元顥 (d. 529), a member of the royal family who submitted to Xiao Yan and later attacked Luoyang with the army of the Liang empire. After Erzhu Rong (who made Emperor Xiaozhuang ascend the throne) died, Hushi Qun supported another royal member Yuan Yue 元悅 (d.

永熙三年二月，浮圖爲火所燒……莫不悲惜，垂淚而去。火初從第八級中平旦大發，當時雷雨晦冥，雜下霰雪，百姓道俗，咸來觀火。悲哀之聲，振動京邑……其年五月中，有人從東萊郡來云：“見浮圖於海中，光明照耀，儼然如新，海上之民，咸皆見之。俄然霧起，浮圖遂隱。”至七月中，平陽王爲斛斯椿所挾，奔於長安。十月而京師遷。

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Yang Xuanzhi simply puts the devastation and the end of the Northern Wei Dynasty together, and does not explicitly point out the relationship between these two events. However, their meanings are clearly revealed in the *Weishu* and tell us contemporary people's apocalyptic view of the destruction. The text records that when the stūpa caught fire, people all said that someone saw it fly to the eastern sea (*donghai* 東海; the sea besides Donglai commandery)⁸⁵. The stūpa was the place where supernatural images (*lingxiang* 靈像) were kept; thus people believed that its destruction was an omen of disorder sent by Heaven. The images referred to here were probably the thirty-two golden statues discovered deep underground in the course of excavating for the construction of the Yongning monastery, which were interpreted as an auspicious omen (*jiarui* 嘉瑞) brought by the empress dowager's devotion to Buddhism and resulting in her lavish expenditure on its construction.⁸⁶ When these images, or deities seen through people's eyes, went to the Sea (Bohai 渤海 [in northeastern China, next to Shandong 山東 and Liaodong 遼東 peninsulas]), Gao Huan's 高

533), Prince of Runan 汝南王。When Erzhu Zhao 爾朱兆 (d. 553) entered Luoyang, Hushi Qun submitted to him. Later when Gao Huan defeated Erzhu Zhao, Huishi Qun killed the latter's subordinates in order to please the former. However, afraid that he could not get along with Gao Huan, he escorted Emperor Xiaowu to Chang'an, the stronghold of Yuwen Tai 宇文泰 (506-557). His biography is found in the *Weishu* 80.1772-1774.

⁸⁴ Yang Xuanzhi, *Luoyang qielan ji*, T no. 2092, 51: 1.1002b; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 1.23; Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 40-42.

⁸⁵ The term *donghai* should refer to Bohai, the sea beside the commandery, rather than the Eastern Sea (Donghai 東海), which lies in the south of Changjiang 長江 (or Yangtze River) and therefore does not fit the context here.

⁸⁶ Yang Xuanzhi, *Luoyang qielan ji*, T no. 2092, 51: 1.1000a; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 1.10; Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 16.

歡 (496-547, the founder of the Northern Qi Dynasty) fiefdom⁸⁷, their journey, which is described here as “return” (*gui* 歸), denoted their support for Gao and therefore meant the rise of a new dynasty.⁸⁸ In the *Weishu* this event is categorized as a phenomenon resulting from the deviant state of the fire (one of the five phases; *wuxing* 五行), a result of immorality.⁸⁹

Such infusion of political prophetic meanings can be traced back to some post-Han stories about the ruling elite and immortality buildings and devices. After the Tongtian Platform fell into decay, the *chenglu* instrument—the instrument on its top consisting of a dew collecting basin and an immortal’s copper statue—remained throughout the Han.⁹⁰ In 237, Emperor Ming of the Wei Dynasty wanted to move them to his Fanglin Palace (Fanglin yuan 芳林園) in Luoyang when he was enlarging it. According to some historical works, the basin broke on the way, and the image was so heavy that carriers could not deliver it and hence left it in Bacheng 霸城 (the city of Baling 霸陵 county in the Han).⁹¹ A more dramatic version of the story recorded by Xi Zaochi 習鑿齒 (fl. later half of the 4th c.) of the Eastern Jin says that the basin made a sound that could be heard several ten *li* 里 away when breaking. After hearing it, the image wept. When seeing this, the carriers felt so sad that they

⁸⁷ He was a native of Yu 倨 in Bohai. In 531, Emperor Jiemin 節憫 (r. 531) of the Northern Wei Dynasty appointed him Prince of Bohai (Bohai wang 渤海王). Li Delin 李德林 (530-590) and Li Baiyao 李百藥 (565-648), *Bei Qi shu* 北齊書 (The book of the Northern Qi) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1972, rpt.) 1.1; 1.6.

⁸⁸ A relevant prophecy uttered by a prophet Jing Cide 荆次德 (d.u.) that circulated in the last years of the Northern Wei said that a new ruler would come from the eastern sea, the place of the Qi 齊. Before returning to the laity, Jing had once been a monk with a dharma-name Lingyuan 靈遠. *Bei Qi shu* 49.676; 49.682n5; 89.2928.

⁸⁹ *Weishu* 112.2913.

⁹⁰ Emperor Qianlong 乾隆 (r. 1736-1795) of the Qing Dynasty reconstructed the dew vessel, which is now at the Beihai 北海 park in Beijing. Although not exactly the same as that made by Emperor Wu of the Han, it still gives us a general idea of how a receiver might have looked.

⁹¹ Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi* 3.110; Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian* 73.2321.

finally did not take it to the palace of the new dynasty and left it in Bacheng on the way. Like that about the stūpa, this story is said to be an unusual occurrence caused by the abnormal state of the metal, resulting from the frequent wars during this time, and therefore is categorized as an ominous phenomenon caused by disrupted five phases and is related in chapters about these phases (“Wuxing zhi” 五行志) in the *Jinshu* 晉書 (History of the Jin) and the *Songshu* 宋書 (History of the Song).⁹² Such contemporaries’ interpretation of the receiver as a symbol of rule was also infused into the new dew vessel. Regardless of some officials’ opposition, Emperor Ming had a new finely carved vessel moulded after the old one made in the Han broke.⁹³ It consisted of a mast and two basins, the top of which was four *chi* and nine *cun* 寸 in diameter and the one below was five *chi*, encircled by a bronze dragon image. He also ordered his brother Cao Zhi 曹植 (192-232), a famed literary man, to compose a praise inscription (*songming* 頌銘) about it. Another contemporary elite Wu Qiuqian 毋丘儉 (d. 255) also wrote one inscription and a piece of rhyme prose (*fu* 賦). These writings tell us that people at the time regarded the vessel as a divine device (*shenqi* 神器), not only collecting dew above from the clouds in heaven, but also being perched on by

⁹² Xi had written a book called *Han Jin chungiu* 漢晉春秋 (The years in the Han to the Jin). It has been lost, but the quotations from it can be found in the works such as Li Daoyuan’s *Shuijing zhu* (*juan* 4) and Hu Zi’s 胡仔 (Hu Yuanren 胡元任; 1095-1170) *Tiaoxi yuyin conghua qianji* 苕溪漁隱叢話前集 (A collection of Tiaoxu Yuyin’s [Hu’s sobriquet] words, first part) (*SKQS* 1048: 20.2b, the entry about Li He 李賀 [*zi*: Changji 長吉; 790-816]). See Li Daoyuan, *Shuijing zhu*, *juan* 4, “Heshui” 河水; Wang (colla.), Yuan and Liu (annots.), *Shuijing zhu jiao* 4.131. In addition to this occurrence, the “Wuxing zhi” of the *Jinshu* also contains accounts of other ominous phenomenon attributed to the deviation of the metal and other phases. Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (578-648), *Jinshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974, rpt.) 27.809-810; Shen Yue 沈約 (441-513), *Songshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974, rpt.) 31.898.

⁹³ *Sanguo zhi* 3.110n, commentary by Pei Songzhi.

auspicious phoenixes (*luanfeng* 鸞鳳) and protected by deities, and hence symbolizing the domination of the Cao court.⁹⁴

These stories about the ruin of the immortality constructions and of the Yongning stūpa reveal how they were viewed similarly in two ways. Firstly, the two halls (Feilian guiguan and Yishou yanshou guan) Emperor Wu of the Han erected on Gongsun Xing's advice were aimed at attracting immortals by serving them with lodges. When they fell into decay, this simply meant that immortals would not come there and would not get in contact with humans. They were not thought to be these supernatural beings. The Chinese elite in the Northern Wei also held similar view of the Yongning stūpa, thinking it to be a residence for Buddhist sacred figures and not to be any Buddhist deities. Under the circumstances, the elite definitely would not come to the conclusion that the fire would cause harm to them when the stūpa was pulled down by fire, because the deities had left for the new ruler's fief. Apparently, this view was in sharp contrast with that expressed in Buddhist canonical literature and probably also by some Buddhist monks in China. Yang Xuanzhi records that three monks hurled themselves into the fire and died when they saw the stūpa burning.⁹⁵ Like Buddhist scriptural compilers, they might also consider that the fire did harm to the Buddha (or another Buddhist holy person) and therefore were overwhelmed by great sorrow.

Secondly, the elite members believed that both the dew vessel and the stūpa represented the rule of the Han and the Northern Wei Dynasties respectively, and their destruction denoted the end of those empires. Though the stūpa was a Buddhist object, the

⁹⁴ Cao Zhi, "Chenglupān sòng míng bìng xù" 承露盤頌銘并序 (An inscription in praise of the dew collecting basin, with a preface); Wu Qiujian, "Chenglupān fù" 承露盤賦 (Rhyme prose on the dew collecting basin); "Chenglupān míng" 承露盤銘 (An inscription on the dew collecting basin). These works are collected in the *QSSQSLW* 2: 19.1154b, 1277b, 1279a.

⁹⁵ Yang Xuanzhi, *Luoyang qielan ji*, T no. 2092, 51: 1.1002b; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 1.23; Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 41.

members in the Northern Wei interpreted its destruction according to Chinese traditional worldviews of the five phases and sympathetic resonance (*ganying* 感應), attributing the destruction to the abnormal state of the phases and further regarding it as a political prophetic signal. They therefore placed the story of its ruin among those of political omens (*rui* 瑞), signals of warnings or praises sent by Heaven to the ruling class regarding their rule and reflections of the correlation between nature and humans. These Chinese politicized worldviews were certainly not new to China; therefore, the elite in the Three Kingdoms period and the two Jin Dynasties already thought the dew vessel to be the symbol of the state.

In addition to the Yongning stūpa, some others were also linked to political prophetic messages. Two examples can be provided here. The seven-storey stūpa in the Dahuang monastery 大皇寺 (Great imperial monastery) in Jiankang caught fire before it was completed, and many people were killed. Its name suggests that the monastery was likely thought to symbolize the royal family; therefore, the destruction of the stūpa at it was counted among a series of prophetic phenomena foretelling the demise of the Chen Dynasty.⁹⁶ And the second one is the stūpa built by Shi Hu for Fotucheng, which was located at the Baima monastery 白馬寺 (not the one in Luoyang) in Ye. When Prince of Langxie 琅邪王 (Gao Yan 高儼 [558-571], one of Emperor Wucheng's sons in the Northern Qi) was going to repair it, a shaman (*wu* 巫) told him not to do so because this would endanger his life. This stūpa was located in the north of the Ye city, the place where the prince lived;

⁹⁶ Other phenomena included the following ones: Chen Shubao 陳叔寶 (553-604; the last emperor of the dynasty; r. 583-589) dreamt that the capital was besieged by some men in yellow. A fox scuttled through under his bed but could not be found. It was thought to be a goblin (*yao* 妖). Li Yanshou 李延壽 (fl. 618-676), *Nanshi* 南史 (History of the Southern Dynasties) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975, rpt.)15.307; *Nanchao fosi zhi* 2.375-376.

therefore, it was thought to represent him. Yet the prince did not listen to the sorcerer. During the repair, a long snake was found but soon disappeared. Only several dozen days later, the prince was killed by Houzhu 後主 (r. 565-576).⁹⁷ It is interesting that the advice involving a Buddhist object was given by a sorcerer. Clearly, some stūpas were linked with Chinese tradition of political omens, thus being deemed to signal the elite's ups and downs in power.

2.2.6 The Surroundings for Stūpas: Monasteries Modeled on Elite Residences and/or Decorated with Immortality Symbols

Given that the Chinese immortality tradition was spread throughout the elite and influenced its understanding and its construction of the Yongning stūpa, it may not be strange that, also affected by their tradition, the Yongning monastery was furnished with decorations related to it like some elite members' residences. Yang Xuanzhi gives the following description of the monastery:

North of the stūpa was a Buddhist hall, which was shaped like the Palace of the Great Ultimate (*T'ai-chi tien/Taiji dian* 太極殿)... 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 above the ground, had three stories, each with an archway, and was shaped like the present-day Tuan-men (Duanmen 端門) (meaning South Gate) of the palace grounds. On the gate and latticed windows were paintings of patterned clouds and colored fairies⁹⁸—all magnificent and beautiful.... The East and West Gates resembled the South Gate, except that the towers had only two

⁹⁷ Li Yanshou 李延壽 (fl. 618-676), *Beishi* 北史 (History of the Northern Dynasties) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974, rpt.) 52.1889-1892.

⁹⁸ See note 100 below.

stories. The North Gate had no tower; in this it resembled the Wu-t'ou (Wutou) Gate 烏頭門 (Black-head Gate).

浮圖北有佛殿一所,形如太極殿.....寺院牆皆施短椽,以瓦覆之,若今宮牆也。四面各開一門。南門樓三重,通三閣道,去地二十丈,形製似今端門。圖以雲氣,畫彩仙靈.....東西兩門,亦皆如之,所可異者,唯樓兩重。北門一道,上不施屋,似烏頭門,赫奕華麗。⁹⁹

Here it is said that the South Gate of the monastery was decorated with paintings of patterned clouds (*yunqi* 雲氣) and coloured spirits (*cailing* 彩靈). These paintings were also found in some elite members' residences and were traced back at least to the Later Han. Liang Yi 梁翼 (d. 159), a notorious officer in Emperor Huan's 桓帝 reign (147-167), for example, spent extravagantly in building a grand house, of which the windows were engraved with patterned clouds and immortals and spirits (*xianling* 仙靈).¹⁰⁰ Such paintings or carvings were also found in the palace in the Wu state during the Three Kingdoms period. Zuo Si 左思 (250-305) writes in his *Wudu fu* 吳都賦 (Rhymed prose on the capital of the Wu [state]) that the palace in Jiankang was “[decorated with] engraved arches and carved bracket sets, which were patterned with chains in green (*qingsuo* 青瑣) and [supported] with red columns (*danying* 丹楹), and were coloured with patterned clouds and painted with immortals and spirits.”¹⁰¹ Clearly, like the elite's dwellings, the Yongning monastery also contained

⁹⁹ Yang Xuazhi, *Luoyang qielan ji*, T no. 2092, 51: 1-1000a; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 1.11-12; Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 16-17.

¹⁰⁰ Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, 34.1181-1182.

¹⁰¹ 雕鏤鏤窠,青瑣丹楹,圖以雲氣,畫以仙靈。The *Wudu fu* is one of the three pieces of rhymed prose Zu Si composed (the other two about the Wei and Shu states). Zhou Zumo, who identifies the similarity in wordings of Zu Si and Yang Xuazhi, makes the quotation from the *Wudu fu*.

The decoration with pictures of immortals and patterned clouds was common in Chinese architecture. The quotation from the *Wudu fu* is also found in Li Jie's 李誠 (?-1110) *Yingzao fashi* 營造法式 (Treatise on architectural methods), a classic of Chinese architecture completed in 1100. Chen Wangheng 陳望衡, “*Yingzao fashi* zhong de jianzhu meixue sixiang” 《營造法式》中的美學思想 (Aesthetic views shown in the *Yingzao*

decorations related to Chinese immortality belief. This may explain why Yang Xuanzhi used almost the same wordings as the last two above-quoted sentences from the *Wudu fu* to depict the Yongning monastery.¹⁰² He might be thinking of this piece of prose while he wrote the entry for this monastery.

It may also not seem strange that its structure bore resemblances to the empress dowager's abode, i.e. the palace, given that it was built on her order. As shown in the above quotation, the Buddhist hall and the gates in the monastery were constructed like the Palace of the Great Ultimate and the Duan Gate respectively. Such a palace-like structure was perhaps exclusive to the Yongning monastery and was likely not found in other monasteries in Luoyang at that time. Although the Wutuo Gate, which is not mentioned in other earlier sources, was perhaps not a palace component, it was a kind of gate often seen in elites' residences, especially in the Tang and later times, for manifesting their social status.¹⁰³

The Yongning monastery was not the only example. Some other Buddhist temples built by the elite were also decorated with some adornments characterized by immortality legends and housed images of immortals. A story about Emperor Fei's (Feidi 廢帝; r. 499-

fashi), *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 社會科學戰線 6 (2007): 3-4. For discussions of this ancient works, see Guo Qinghua, "The Structure of Chinese Timber Architecture: Twelfth Century Design Standards and Construction Principles" (Ph.D. dissert., Chalmers University of Technology, 1995); *idem*, "Yingzao Fashi: Twelfth-Century Chinese Building Manual," *Architectural History* 41 (1998): 1-13.

The windows of Liang Yi's house were also decorated with *danying*. Both *danying* and *qingsuo* were limited to the emperor's house in the Han Dynasty and earlier times. See the notes in the *Hanshu* (91.3681) and the *Hou Hanshu* (66.2176).

¹⁰² The two lines Yan Xuanzhi uses are "coloured with patterned clouds and painted with coloured fairies" (圖以雲氣, 畫彩仙靈.), which contain only one character different from those in the *Wudu fu* quoted above. Wang does not translate them word for word.

¹⁰³ In the Tang, the Wutuo Gate, "the gateway of two or four uprights without a cross beam or roof" (the English translation from Liang Ssu-ch'eng's *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*, 509), was only allowed to be set up for houses of officials in the sixth rank or above, and symbolized one's exalted position. Liang Ssu-ch'eng, *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture (Tuxiang Zhongguo jianzhu shi* 圖像中國建築史), trans. Liang Congjie 梁從誠, ed. Fei Weimei 費慰梅 (Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chuban she, 2001, reprint, a bilingual edition), 509. Qiao Yunfei 喬雲飛 and Luo Wei 羅微, "Baifang jianzhu wenhua chutan" 牌坊建築文化初探 (A tentative examination of the architectural culture of gates), *Sichuan wenwu* 四川文物 3(2003): 69.

501) reconstruction of his palace complex in the Southern Qi Dynasty can verify this. In 501 (the 3rd year of the Yongyuan 永元 era), the ruler ordered the start of this project because many parts of it had earlier been badly destroyed by fire. Among the halls he ordered to be built, three decorated with golden walls—Shenxian dian 神仙殿 (Immortals’ hall), Yushou dian 玉壽殿 (Jade-and-longevity hall), and Yongshou dian 永壽殿 (Longevity hall)—were built especially for his favorite concubine. Simply by its name, it is easy to infer that the first one was decorated like places for legendary immortals. The second hall was probably built in the same style, or at least had many decorations related to immortality legends. This is because, in addition to paintings of spiritual animals (*lingshou* 靈獸) and divine birds (*shenniao* 神鳥), in it there were canopies embroidered with flying immortals and windows all painted with pictures of them. Perhaps the Yongshou hall, the third one, was also built similarly. The Daoist style of decoration would supposedly make these halls totally different from Buddhist monasteries, but the ruler could still make use of large monasteries in Jiankang in his construction of the halls. He, who indulged himself with extravagance, took bells from the Zhuangyan monastery 莊嚴寺, the gold from the Buddhist images¹⁰⁴ at the Waiguo monastery 外國寺, and jeweled earring-like ornaments (*baoyer* 寶珥) from the stūpa at the Chanling monastery 禪靈寺 in Jiankang, and placed them in the three halls. The construction of all these well-embellished imperial buildings could not be completed in a short time, but he had little patience with it; he “hence picked and took from stūpas and halls

¹⁰⁴ The *Nanshi* 南史 (History of the Southern Dynasties) literally reads, “The face of the Buddha image at the Waiguo monastery had a glorious appearance” (外國寺佛面有光相). The meaning of the expression “*guangxiang* 光相 (glorious appearance)” is not clear, and probably the sentence means that the image at the monastery was lacquered with gold or inlaid with gold. (5.153)

of various monasteries coffered ceilings (or cupola; *zhaojing* 藻井)¹⁰⁵ and statues (or perhaps drawings?) of immortals and riding animals for filling up [the halls].”¹⁰⁶ Not only does this story demonstrate the ruling elite took overwhelming control of Buddhist monasteries in the capital, but also that this privileged class was fascinated by immortality legends and thus put adornments linked to them in these monasteries.

There may be some doubt about whether such adornments would arouse visitors’ devotion to Buddhism, or whether they reminded them of the Chinese immortality tradition instead. It is hard to exhaust this issue here, but Yang Xuanzhi’s records of two monasteries may give one some idea of it. The Jianzhong monastery 建中寺, which was previously the eunuch Liu Teng’s residence and was later converted in 531 into a temple by Erzhu Shilong 尔朱世隆 (499-532) for pursuing blessings for his late cousin Erzhu Rong 尔朱榮 (492-530), was brilliantly decorated. It was so-called “abode of immortals” (*xianju* 仙居).¹⁰⁷ Apart from this monastery, the Hejian monastery 河間寺 was also linked by contemporaries to the place for immortals. Yang Xuanzhi records that, after viewing its splendid galleries and verandahs, all visitors would sigh with admiration, believing that even the immortals’ abode in the Penglai 蓬萊 island could not be any better.¹⁰⁸ The Penglai island in the Eastern Sea, legends of which can be traced back to the Han Dynasty, was regarded by Daoists as an

¹⁰⁵ Qiao Yun 喬勻 (1920-?) gives the following explanation of *zhaojing*: “The most complicated treatment [for the ceiling in Chinese architecture], the coffered ceiling, was more decorative than the lattice ceiling and was usually reserved for the upper part of a palatial hall or a Buddhist altar. In it, a wooden framework, usually in three layers, forms sunken panels in the ceilings, with each panel square at the bottom and circular at the top. Each panel resembles a well in shape, and often the central panel is painted with water-flower patterns; hence the name *zhaojing* (*zhao* means algae, and *jing* means a well).” Fu Xinian et al, *Chinese Architecture*, 8.

¹⁰⁶ *Nanshi* 5.153-154: 乃剔取諸寺佛刹殿藻井、仙人、騎獸以充足之。

¹⁰⁷ Yang Xuanzhi, *Luoyang qielan ji*, T no. 2092, 51: 1.1002b-c; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 1.23-24; Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 42-45.

¹⁰⁸ Yang Xuanzhi, *Luoyang qielan ji*, T no. 2092, 51: 4.1016c; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 4.85; Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 196.

other-worldly land for transcendent beings. Considering that a Buddhist temple was compared to such a Daoist legendary place, this was extremely odd.

It is likely that, placed in such surroundings, the Yongning stūpa and those in other monasteries erected by the elite could hardly cause people to worship them and think of the Buddha or other Buddhist holy people.

The discussion above should suffice to show that the elite members in capital cities closely related the stūpas they built to their immortality belief, but did not conceive of them according to Buddhist scriptures. Generally, they did not understand the stūpas in the same way as they were prescribed by the scriptures, neither taking the connotations presented in them of stūpas nor venerating them. Because of their immortality belief, stūpas had some features identical to the constructions and devices set up by Emperor Wu of the Han for his longevity quest. I do not allege that the elite members equated stūpas with these Han objects, but the way they understood stūpas made it easier for them to accept them. And, inevitably, stūpas also became their imperial (or private) properties at the same time displaying their power and wealth. Under the circumstances, regardless of how abundant resources they used to build stūpas and regardless of what sacrificial offerings they placed at stūpas, their devotional acts could not be counted as Buddhist stūpa worship that is portrayed in Buddhist scriptures.

2.2.7 The Elite and the Growth of Stūpas

Notwithstanding their understanding of stūpas going against Buddhist scriptural portrayals of stūpas, one may consider that the elite members greatly boosted stūpas because the members were most influential in society and presumably built a large number of stūpas

in China, or at least in capital cities, where they held power. This observation sounds convincing, as it is commonly believed that these people generally played important roles in Buddhist development.¹⁰⁹ At first glance, the contents of the *Luoyang qielan ji* alone support it; all of the stūpas and most of the monasteries depicted in it were established by these privileged people.

It is hard to deny completely this observation about their roles, but the number of the stūpas in Luoyang recorded in the *Luoyang qielan ji* can help to determine to what extent these people could in actuality boost Buddhist stūpas to flourish in China. Of the monasteries recorded in the text, as the architectural art historian Xiao Mo notices, only fifteen of them had stūpas, thirteen of which were built close to Yang Xuanzhi's time.¹¹⁰ The stūpas were few in number, considering that there are around forty monasteries mentioned in the work.¹¹¹ The number probably shows the low proportion of stūpas throughout Luoyang, which Xiao attributes to different designs of the monasteries. He thinks that the majority of the monasteries in Luoyang were small temples, which he calls “residential structure monasteries” because they were previously the elite's dwellings, and many of them, which

¹⁰⁹ Of many studies on the relationship between this class and Buddhism (i.e. that between the state and Buddhism), the book of Suwa Gijun 諏訪義純 mentioned below (note 121) is one of the most useful.

¹¹⁰ I have found sixteen monasteries recorded in the book that contained stūpas, which are listed in Appendix A. There should have been more monasteries with stūpas in Luoyang that Yang Xuanzhi has missed out. The *Weishu*, for example, mentions a stūpa at the Baode monastery 報德寺, but Yang does not record it. See *Weishu* 13.328.

With the exception of the Baima and the Baoguang monasteries, which were constructed before the Northern Wei Dynasty. Most of them appeared in the time from Emperor Xiaowen's 孝文帝 reign to Emperor Xiaoming's (i.e. 471-528). The last stūpa was built at the Dajue monastery in 533.

¹¹¹ According to the table of contents edited by Wang Mo 王謨 (later half of the 18th century) of the Qing, forty-six monasteries are recorded in the work. Chen Shiqiang 陳士強, however, considers that there were forty major monasteries in total, each of which is given a passage of description, and a brief note about another monastery is sometimes attached at the end, but it should not be counted as a separate passage. See Chen Shiqiang, *Fodian jingjie* 佛典精解 (In-depth explanations of Buddhist literature) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuban she, 1992), 1246-47.

are not mentioned in the work, were donated after a riot in 528 (Heyin 河陰 incident)¹¹².

These temples were fully developed residential complexes, and therefore it was hard to build stūpas at the centre.¹¹³ Under the circumstances, the usual activities at these temples there were discussions of and preaching about Buddhist doctrines, which could be held at the Buddhist halls.¹¹⁴ Unlike them, however, large monasteries had stūpas in the centre, so Xiao calls them “stūpa-centered temples.” At them, Buddhist devotees could have enough space to circumambulate stūpas. There were far fewer of this type in comparison to the number of small temples.

It is hard to verify Xiao’s categorization in Luoyang monasteries¹¹⁵, because the work contains no reference to Buddhist practices involving the stūpas, as discussed above. And, as will be shown below in the next part, stūpas were not limited to large monasteries.

Nevertheless, the unexpected low proportion of stūpas in Luoyang recorded in the *Luoyang qielan ji* suggests that it is necessary to examine the elite members’ roles in constructing stūpas because it seems to be an unfounded supposition that they did cause a dramatic increase in the number of these objects. Although the stūpas they erected, which were usually grand and well-decorated, did not represent all kinds of stūpas in China, they appear in the

¹¹² In 528, the emperor Xiaoming died at the age of 19, and Empress Dowager Ling enthroned a three-year-old toddler. This provoked Erzhu Rong to rebel. During the riot, more than two thousand people, including members of the royal family and officials, were slaughtered, and the empress dowager and the young emperor also died. This tragedy is recorded in the entry for the Yongning monastery in the *Luoyang qielan ji*.

¹¹³ Xiao gives the Jianzhong monastery as an example. It was originally the residence of the eunuch Liu Teng 劉騰, and consisted of a front hall and a rear section. They were converted into a Buddhist hall and a lecture hall respectively. Yang Xuanzhi, *Luoyang qielan ji*, T no. 2092, 51: 1.1002c; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 1.24; Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 44-45.

¹¹⁴ Xiao Mo (ed.), *Zhongguo jianzhu yishu shi*, 263-264.

¹¹⁵ His categorization is perhaps developed from the views commonly held by scholars concerning devotional practices (e.g. meditation, circumambulation, and ascetic practice) and doctrinal speculation, which are used to characterize northern and southern Buddhism in this period. Such view perhaps comes from Tang Yongtong’s highly influential *Han Wei liang Jin Nanbei chao fojiaoshi* (relevant discussion on p. 552), which has been repeatedly reprinted since its initial publication in 1938.

extant sources much more frequently than others and therefore they played a major part in building up a general picture of Chinese stūpas.

The investigation into them may start with some southern elite's writings, which will reveal how its members ran in difficulties when building stūpas. Shen Yue, a famous literatus and historian, wrote an inscription memorializing Wang Huan's 王奐 (434-493)¹¹⁶

construction of a stūpa at the Zhiyuan monastery 枳園寺, a monastery set up by his ancestor Wang Shao 王邵 (ca. the later half of the fourth century) in the north of the ancestral shrine dedicated to his grandfather Wang Dao 王導 (267-330) in the eastern suburban area of Jiankang city. Wang Dao, the then prime minister, had made a prominent contribution when the royal family settled in Jiankang and founded the Eastern Jin Dynasty in 317, and he had also served in the new government in the first three emperors' reigns (i.e. Emperors Yuan 元 to Cheng 成). From that time on, the Wang's became a great and powerful clan.

Nevertheless, the monastery built by this prominent clan did not contain a stūpa. Shen Yue writes that, "Although rooms and halls in it (i.e. the monastery) were strictly neat (i.e. fully equipped), the precious stūpa (lit. *cha* 刹)¹¹⁷ had not been erected."¹¹⁸ Wang Huan, Wang Shao's great great grandson and Xuzhou 徐州 prefect, regretted this, and hence decided to

¹¹⁶ Shen Yue started to hold office in the Song. Under the Qi he served as the *libu shangshu* 吏部尚書 (the imperial secretary of the department of official personal affairs). Thanks to his efforts to assist Xiao Yan in founding the Liang Empire, he took up the position of *shangshu puyei* 尚書僕射 (the chief administrator of the department of the state affairs) in the new government. He had great literary talent and was a bibliophile that allegedly owned two hundred fascicles. He was also a historian, although, of the historic works he wrote, only the *Songshu* is extant. *Liangshu* 13.236-243.

According to his biography in the *Nan Qi shu* 南齊書 (Book of the Southern Qi) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1972, rpt.) (49.847-850), Wang Huan was such a pious Buddhist that he was still holding Buddhist services in the face of a death assault.

¹¹⁷ The character *cha* is a translation for *kṣetra*, a world or a universe consisting of three thousands of large chiliocosms. It also means a spire, or flagstaff on a stūpa, or a monastery. It refers to a stūpa here. See note 152 below.

¹¹⁸ *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 16.211a: 雖房殿嚴整, 而寶刹未樹.

build a five-storied stūpa at the monastery. To achieve this goal, he saved one tenth of his salary each month, and in the end accumulated three hundred and sixty thousand *qian* 錢. In 488 (the sixth year of the Yongming 永明 era), the construction finally commenced.

Although the inscription does not contain a reference as to how long Wang Huan had to wait before having enough money, it does say that he had diligently performed Buddhist cultivation and led a frugal life, not eating after noon. It is therefore likely that he spent around eleven years in saving money.¹¹⁹ Such a slow process shows that building a stūpa for his “family temple” (*jiacha* 家刹)¹²⁰ was not an easy task even for Wang Huan, a member of a grand clan and high official. Although there are no similar records about northern ruling elite’s construction of monasteries, the contents of the *Luoyang qielan ji* imply that the same phenomena occurred in the north, because some monasteries did not contain stūpas when they were completed at first. The Jingming monastery 景明寺, for example, was established by Emperor Xuanwu more than ten years earlier than its stūpa, which was erected by Empress Dowager Ling some time between 521 and 525 (Zhengguang 正光 era of Emperor Xiaoming). The Dajue monastery 大覺寺 also appeared around ten years before there was a stūpa there. Both of the two stūpas at these monasteries were of delicate craftsmanship and the construction of them involved considerable resources. Hence, probably they could not be set up within a short time.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ “Nanqi Puye Wanghuan Zhiyuan si sha xia shiji yi shou” 南齊僕射王奐柷園寺刹下石記一首 (A stone inscription placed under the stūpa at the Zhiyuan monastery [erected by] Wang Huan, the *puyei* 僕射 (chief administrator) in the Southern Qi), in *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 16.211a-b.

¹²⁰ See Sun Wenchuan’s comment in *Nanchao fosi zhi* 1.98.

¹²¹ The Dajue monastery was built some time before 517. It was originally the residence of Yuan Huai 元懷, Prince of Guangping 廣平. He converted it into a monastery before he died in 517. The stūpa was erected by Emperor Xiaowu 孝武帝 (r. 532-534), the last emperor of the dynasty, after he had ascended the throne. Yang

Apart from a large expense, a considerable amount of copper was also needed for the construction of a stūpa; hence this made the construction a formidable task. The above-quoted official document, which was written by Xiao Gang (i.e. Emperor Jianwen)¹²² to thank Emperor Wu when he was the crown prince, tells us that thirteen thousand catties (*jin* 斤; a catty = 1.333lb) of copper was needed for making the wheel of the stūpa at the Shanjue monastery. The copper, he writes, is as valuable as gems in Mount Niuyang 柎陽 and Mount Kunwu 昆吾, which are two mythological mountains with copper mines, mentioned in the *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (A book about mountains and seas), a famous collection on mythological places.¹²³ He also writes that because Emperor Wu has given the copper, a stūpa can finally be made, functioning as a tall marker (*biao* 表); this is an auspicious sign, having no equal in other places (i.e. the Eastern Wei 東魏 [534-550] and Western Wei 西魏 [535-556] Dynasties).¹²⁴ Therefore, in addition to the above work, Xiao Gang also composed another one to give thanks for his father's visit. In it he writes that during the visit the emperor has impressed others with his dignified image.¹²⁵ Although he makes a lot of flattering remarks on Emperor Wu, he provides important information about the difficulty he

Xuanzhi, *Luoyang qielan ji*, T no. 2092, 51: 3.1010a-b; 4.1017b; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 3.57-58, 4.88; Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 124-125, 203-204.

¹²² Emperor Jianwen established in total three monasteries: the Tianzhongtian 天中天寺, Zijing 資敬寺, and Baoen 報恩寺. The name "Tianzhongtian" means king of kings (i.e. the world-honoured one; the Buddha), which appears in the *sūtras* translated in the Later Han. See Suwa, "Ryōdai kenkō no butsuji to butei igai ni no konryū" 梁代建康の仏寺と武帝以外の建立 (The establishment of Buddhist monasteries in Jiankang by people other than Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty), in his *Chūgoku Nanchō Bukkyō shi no kenkyū* 中國南朝仏教史の研究 (Studies on Chinese Buddhist history in the Southern Dynasties) (Kyoto: Hōzōkan Inc., 1997), 175-176.

¹²³ Yuan Ke 袁珂 (annot.), *Shanhai jing jiao zhu* 山海經校注 (*Shanhai jing*, edited and annotated) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980), 1.3 & 5.122-123n.

¹²⁴ The prince does not mention directly the two states in his text, but implicitly alludes to them by making references to two places, Hangu 函谷 and Linzi 臨淄, which belonged to these two states at the time.

¹²⁵ "Xie yuxing Shanjue si kan sha qi bing da" 謝御幸善覺寺看刹啓并答 (An official document in gratitude for the emperor's visit to the Shanxue monastery and his viewing of the stūpa, in addition to a reply), in *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 16.209c.

encountered: he needed thirteen thousand *jin* of copper to build a nine-storied stūpa. This was such a considerable amount that, even as the crown prince then, Xiao Gang alone could not obtain enough copper and needed to ask help from Emperor Wu.

The amount of copper needed for a stūpa may vary with the height and the design of the building, but it is beyond doubt that producing one required a substantial amount of copper, so even members of the elite would find it not easy to obtain. Another work by Xiao Gang can demonstrate this. In it he expresses his thanks to Emperor Wu for offering him ten thousand *jin* of copper for making the mast of the stūpa at the Tianzhongtian monastery 天中天寺, one of the three monasteries he constructed.

Made of [the copper as valuable as] the gold given by the nine prefectures as tributes [for producing *ding* 鼎 (ancient vessels with three or four legs) in the Xia 夏 Dynasty], it stands straight at the height of thousands of *xun* 尋 (1 *xun*=8 *chi*). Illuminating the wheel of the Law forever, the precious stūpa has just arisen. [Its splendour] would have made [people in] the Xia period ill at ease [if they had compared] it with their *ding*, and people in the Jin period embarrassed [if they had matched it against] their wind vanes (or wind direction detectors; *xiangfeng* 相風). [Emperor Wu's generosity] makes the blessing spread throughout the region and [his] merits be mentioned regardless [of whether or not people are in] remote areas. In spite of my mediocrity and stupidity, I, [your] official, [still], receive [from you] supreme good [patronage], and I accept it pleasurably and wholeheartedly, with the expression changed because of the glow [brought by your] kindness. I am sincere in bearing [your kindness in mind] and feeling grateful to the extent that I cannot find the words to start my thanks, no matter how hard I make obedience.

九牧貢金，千尋挺樹，永曜梵輪，方興寶塔，夏羞神鼎，晉惡相風，使福被域中，功提無外，臣以庸愚，稟承勝善，樂受遍心，恩光動色，銘荷之誠，無詞啓謝，不任頂戴。¹²⁶

These exaggerated thanks should not be simply dismissed as flattery, but they should be set in the context of copper insufficiency at that time.

Copper insufficiency was a matter of concern to the governments of the states in the Six Dynasties, or indeed throughout imperial history, so it probably hindered the elite from building stūpas at will. Although the states took control of the whole copper industry, including the procedures of extracting and casting, they often encountered deficiency in copper because frequent outbreaks of war seriously affected the industry. Moreover, in addition to paying civil and military expenses, the governments also needed to provide many copper coins for developing trade. Therefore, copper was always in demand, and they made every effort to mine for more copper or to reduce the demand for it. For example, Emperor Wu of the Southern Qi Dynasty (Qi Wudi 齊武帝 [r. 483-493]) agreed in 490 with Liu Quan's 劉俊 (d. 499-501) suggestion on re-extraction at an old mine in Chuankang 川康 (in Shu 蜀) on the upper reaches of the Yangtze River (or Chang River). It had been discovered since the Former Han. Yet, the costs were too high, and hence the re-extraction was soon stopped. Xian Yan, Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty, also ordered the official foundry to cast iron coins as replacements for copper ones in 523, but he did not succeed in changing coinage because copper were still in circulation. Owing to copper insufficiency, barter still

¹²⁶ “Xie chilai baisha zhu bing tong wan jin qi” 謝敕賚柏剎柱並銅萬斤啓 (An official document in gratitude for the cypress mast [a mast as tall as a cypress?] of the stūpa and ten thousand *jin* of copper given by the emperor), in *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 16.209c-210a.

existed, and the governments in both the north and the south still accepted goods given for some taxes.¹²⁷

Copper deficiency hindered the development of Chinese craftworks; for example, the Six Dynasties saw a decline in the quality and quantity of copper mirrors. The mirrors excavated, which were produced in the Southern Dynasties, are not as many as those in the Three Kingdoms period and the Western Jin Dynasty (roughly equivalent to the third to the early fourth centuries). Moreover, the images engraved on these mirrors were simplified. For example, animals in sculpted reliefs—popular decorations of mirrors in the previous period—were replaced by simple circles, and the delicate images of riders and chariots also disappeared. Towards the late Southern Dynasties, mirrors became poorer handiwork. Most of the mirrors found in tombs dating back to the Liang and Chen periods in Changsha 長沙 are of small size with crude relief sculpture. In the northern region ruled by ethnic minorities, mirror craftsmanship was in a more retrogressive stage because of frequent wars. Copper mirrors produced in the region were in insufficient quantity, so people used iron mirrors and even old ones made in previous times as burial objects.¹²⁸

The influence of copper supply on the production of copper mirrors can help to reveal how copper insufficiency restricted the construction of stūpas. The shortage was a larger obstacle to stūpa construction than it was to mirror production, because impressive stūpas

¹²⁷ He Dezhong 何德章, *Zhongguo jingji tongshi* 中國經濟通史 (Comprehensive economic history of China), ed. Zhao Dexing 趙德馨 (10 vols., Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 2002), 3: 673-679, 692-701.

¹²⁸ The old mirrors found in the tombs dated back to the Northern Qi and Northern Zhou Dynasties (late fifth to late sixth centuries) were made in the Later Han, Wei, and Jin periods and even in the remoter Former Han age. See Xu Pingfang 徐蘋芳, “Sanguo Liangjin Nanbeichao de tongjing” 三國兩晉南北朝的銅鏡 (On bronze mirrors in the Three Kingdoms period, two Jin Dynasties, and the Southern-and-Northern Dynasties), *Kaogu* 考古 6 (1984): 556-563; Liu Shufen 劉淑芬, “San zhi liu shiji Zhedong diqu de jingji fazhan” 三至六世紀浙東地區的經濟發展 (Economic development of eastern Zhe area in the third to the sixth centuries), *Liuchao de chengshi yu shehui* 六朝的城市與社會 (Cities and society in the Six Dynasties) (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1992), 213-215.

built by the elite would be adorned with many components made of a substantial amount of copper. In addition to wheels (or the dew vessel), bells were also used as decorations. The roofs of nine stories of the Yongning stūpa, for example, had big bells (*duo* 鐸) suspended from each corner, and the doors on its four sides were also adorned with small bells (*ling* 鈴)¹²⁹, making a total of 130 big bells and 5,400 small bells. Copper deficiency therefore imposed a limitation on the elite’s construction of stūpas, especially large well-adorned ones like the Yongning and Yaoguang stūpas. The above-mentioned story about the stūpa related to Fotucheng recorded in the *Gaoseng zhuan* suggests that the ruling class sometimes found it hard to get copper components for stūpas. It says that Shi Hu 石虎 (r. 335-349), a nomadic emperor of the Later Zhao 後趙 state (319-350) wanted to repair an old stūpa in Linzhang 臨漳 (in present Hebei 河北). His favourite monk, Fotucheng, who was famed for his supernatural power, told him of a site in Linzi 臨淄 where an old Aśokan stūpa once had stood there were old wheels and statues buried underground, and he also drew a picture of its location for Shi’s subordinates, who discovered them as said.¹³⁰ The lack of copper was perhaps the reason why Shi Hu did not originally adorn his stūpa with wheels and had to search for used wheels of an old stūpa.

Therefore, it is easy to imagine that, under the circumstances, the elite members could not build stūpas at will because it was a difficult task to acquire a substantial amount of copper. Even though they obtained the copper, they sometimes used it to mould Buddhist images instead and furthermore preferred to cast large-sized ones. As shown by records of

¹²⁹ Yang Xuanzhi, *Luoyang qielan ji*, T no. 2029, 51: 1.1000a; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 1.10; Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 16. Wang’s version reads “nail” (*ding* 釘) here, but I think Zhou Zumo’s correction “*ling*” fits the context better. See Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 1.10.

¹³⁰ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 9.385b; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 351-352.

the emperors' casting statues in the Northern Wei Dynasty, making a huge image would take a considerable amount of copper, almost the same as that for erecting a stūpa. In 454 Emperor Wencheng 文成帝 (r. 452-465) cast five Śākyamuni statues for his ruler-ancestors and himself and placed them at the Wuji monastery 五級寺. Each of them was sixteen feet (i.e. one *zhang* six *chi*) high, and in total he used twenty-five thousand *jin* of copper. His son Emperor Xianwen (Xianwen di 獻文帝, r. 466-470) also cast a Śākyamuni statue of forty-three feet in height with ten thousand *jin* of copper and six hundred *jin* of gold; he placed it at the Tiangong monastery 天宮寺.¹³¹ The amounts of copper these two emperors used were comparable to those of copper Emperor Wu of the Liang offered to his son for building stūpas at the Shanjue and the Tianzhongtian monasteries.

In addition, the elite sometimes helped lay people and monks to finish making Buddhist statues by giving them the metal they needed.¹³² Two monks Fayue 法悅 (fl. the late fourth to early fifth centuries) and Zhijing 智靖 (fl. 508), for example, were determined to make an Amitābha image of eighteen feet in height, but when they started to collect copper in the late Southern Qi Dynasty, they was forbidden to do so by the government. They were not given permission until the Liang Dynasty was founded; the state provided them with craft assistance and helped them to make a halo. In 509, the statue started to be made at

¹³¹ *Weishu* 114.3036-3038.

¹³² The story of Senghong 僧洪 (fl. the early fifth century) tells us how difficult the task was for an ordinary person to make a copper image in the circumstances of copper insufficiency. When Senghong had finished collecting enough donations and was ready to cast the image, the Jin government restricted commoners' use of copper. He was therefore arrested by the authorities and was sentenced to death. His diligent recitation of the *Guanshiyin jing* 觀世音經 (*Avalokiteśvara sūtra*; i.e. Chapter 25 of the *Lotus sūtra* translated by Kumārajīva) in prison, however, brought him salvation of Guanyin, who told him in a dream not to worry. On the day of his execution, an ox that pulled a cart suddenly crashed into the execution ground. This caused the execution to be postponed and eventually a pardon to be granted. *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 13.410c-411a; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 484.

the Little Zhuangyan monastery 小莊嚴寺 in Jiankang, but the fourteen thousand *jin* of copper they had prepared did not even suffice to make the statue from the bottom to the chest. Fortunately, people kept giving them more copper, and Emperor Wu also donated three thousand *jin* of the metal. Finally an impressive image was completed.¹³³ The emperor's generosity seems ridiculous if viewed together with a story about the Prince of Nanping 南平王 (477-534), a member of the Xiao royal family. In 502 the prince moulded coins out of the copper he obtained after melting down the statues at the Xiangyang monastery 襄陽寺, because he did not get enough military funds from Emperor Wu.¹³⁴ It is then not hard to understand that when both the ruling and the non-ruling classes were keen on casting Buddhist images with substantial amounts of copper even though the metal was scarce,¹³⁵ the metal might not necessarily be used to build stūpas, which hence did not stand everywhere.

Whether Buddhist images or stūpas could better hold the elite's interest is a matter outside the scope of the investigation here. Yet, it is certain that when economic crises of deficiency occurred, stūpas also fell into a category of objects that were destroyed or restricted, suffering the same fate as images did. In 435 Xiao Mozhi 蕭摹之 (fl. 428-435), a Jingyin 京尹 (Metropolitan prefect), for example, made the following comments addressed to Emperor Wen (Wendi 文帝) of the Liu Song Dynasty on increasingly magnificent Buddhist buildings when he proposed a restriction of them.

¹³³ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 13.412b-413a; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 493-494.

¹³⁴ *Nanshi* 52.1291.

¹³⁵ For example, the artistic recluses Dai Kui 戴逵 (325-396) and his son Dai Yong 戴顓 (378-441) cast statues of sixteen feet tall in the Eastern Jin and Liu Song Dynasties. See *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 13.410a-b & 410c-411a; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 481, 484.

There are thousands of places where [Buddhist] images, stūpas, and monasteries lie.... In the present [people's] affection and respect became superficial and unimportant; [they] do not give priority to devoted sincerity and even focus on competition [with each other] in extravagant [expenditure]. Not repairing old houses that have been ruined and abandoned, instead they are engaged in building new ones, so as to keep abreast of the trend in [architectural] beauty. First-class official residences and conspicuous houses are almost all gone [because they have been converted to monasteries]. [Limitless quantities of] timbers, bamboos, copper, and coloured silk have been wasted. [Using them] is not related to the veneration for gods, but is an obstruction of human affairs.

形像塔寺, 所在千數.....而自頃以來, 情敬浮末, 不以精誠為至, 更以奢競為重, 舊宇頹弛, 曾莫之修, 而各務造新, 以相媵尚. 甲第顯宅, 於茲殆盡, 材竹銅綵, 糜損無極, 無關神祇, 有累人事.¹³⁶

Evidently, what Xiao referred to here were those grand stūpas, images, and other Buddhist structures made or built by the elite; he suggested that the construction or production of them ought to be reported to the local government; otherwise all construction material would be confiscated. Though the emperor was not an opponent of Buddhism, he accepted his suggestion and ordered several hundred monks to return to lay life.¹³⁷

The above investigation shows that it took substantial amounts of construction materials (e.g. copper) and money to construct lofty, finely adorned stūpas, and this was a major obstacle to any rapid increase in their number and was also responsible for the low proportion of stūpas to the monasteries described in Yang Xuanzhi's book. This explains why stūpas built by the elite were not widespread throughout capital cities in the Six Dynasties.

¹³⁶ *Songshu* 97.2386.

¹³⁷ *Songshu* 97.2386.

This development perhaps did not change in general, even though there was a noticeable increase in stūpas in Luoyang after 528. Some stūpas in Luoyang were put up after the Heyin disorder broke out in that year. Although Yang Xuanzhi gives only a sketch of them, they were also built by the ruling class, so it is necessary to quote it here.

After the Ho-yin (Heyin) incident, the Yuans (i.e. the royal family of the Northern Wei) were [almost] completely exterminated. The residences of princes and marquises were for the most part converted into temples. In the lanes within the Shou-ch'iu (Shouqiu 壽丘) Ward, Buddhist monasteries [and temples] were in view of each other. Abodes for the pure celibate clustered here and there in the shadow of [tall precious stūpas].¹³⁸

經河陰之役，諸元殲盡，王侯第宅，多題為寺。壽丘里闔。列刹相望，祇洹鬱起，寶塔高凌。

The Shouqiu Ward was the region where members of the royal family resided, so it was also called the Princes' District (Wangzi fang 王子坊) by the populace.¹³⁹ In the six years from the riot to the end of the Northern Wei Dynasty in 534, royal family members felt deeply anxious as they were losing their influence over contemporary politics because of a series of disorders such as the above-mentioned riot, the assassination of Emperor Xiaozhuang 孝莊帝 (r. 528-529; an emperor who ascended the throne after the riot), and the warlord Gao Huan's 高歡 (496-547) rise to power. Hence, some of them rushed into converting their dwellings to

¹³⁸ Yang Xuanzhi, *Luoyang qielan ji*, T no. 2092, 51: 4.1016c; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 4.85; Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 196. Wang's translation has "high-rising stūpas," which I change to "tall precious stūpas."

¹³⁹ Yang Xuanzhi, *Luoyang qielan ji*, T no. 2092, 51: 4.1016a-b; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji*, 4.83; Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 190.

monasteries and building stūpas in order to seek divine protection for their families and themselves.¹⁴⁰

Nonetheless, the stūpas built at that time were not widespread throughout Luoyang city. They were erected in the last six years of the Northern Wei Dynasty, so their increase was probably not significant.¹⁴¹ Besides, since they were located in the Shouqiu Ward, a residential area for the ruling elite, ordinary people might be denied access to them for worship.¹⁴² They might therefore not play any noticeable part in the development of stūpas in Luoyang, neither making a huge increase in stūpas there nor becoming centres of worship for common Buddhists there.

2.3 Stūpas Set up by Common People and Monks

2.3.1 Their Buddhist Origins and Their Construction

Belonging to a non-ruling class in society, common people and monks definitely could not set up stūpas as lofty and splendid as those by the elite. Then, how did these people erect stūpas? An inference may be made from a story about the Zhuangyan monastery 莊嚴

¹⁴⁰ The Zhuixian 追先 monastery at the Shouqiu Ward, for example, was the former residence of Yuan Lüe 元略 (d.528), Prince of Dongping 東平 who died in the Heyin incident. The residence was transformed into a monastery by his successor. Yang Xuanzhi, *Luoyang qielan ji*, T no. 2092, 51: 4.1017a-b; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 4.86-87; Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 196-201.

¹⁴¹ The Zhuixiang and Gaoyangwang 高陽 (Prince of Gaoyang) monasteries, for example, were built after the Heyin riot, but the book does not contain any mention of stūpas there.

¹⁴² The elites and common people in Luoyang were strictly separated from each other, living in different wards. Each ward in Luoyang had a wall and a gate in each direction, and two guards were posted at each gate. Zhao Furu 趙福茹, “Beiwei Luoyang lifang zhidu qianshi” 北魏洛陽里坊制度淺識 (A brief discussion of the institution of wards in Luoyang in the Northern Wei), in *Luoyang shi wenwu ju & Luoyang baima si Han Wei gucheng wenwu baoguan suo* (eds.), *Han Wei Luoyang gucheng yanjiu*, 530-531. Under the circumstances, commoners might not easily get access to the monasteries and stūpas in the wards where the elite’s residences were located.

寺 (different from the one mentioned above and later renamed Xie zhenxi si 謝鎮西寺). This is a temple built by Xie Shang 謝尚 (308-357) in Jiankang, near Qinhuai river 秦淮河, and it was originally his residence. One day he dreamed that his late father came and told him that a force from the southwest would dash against his house and would cause people to die, and his family members would not survive this disaster unless he made a stūpa for attaining a merit (or cultivating a blessing?; *xiufu* 修福)¹⁴³. An image of a small stūpa could be engraved at the top of a pole (*zhang* 杖) if he could not construct a temple (sic. *si* 寺) in time. Xie Shang immediately made two poles and put them up on both sides of the house. As said by his father, a bizarre force, descending from the sky and forming an enlarging swirl, dashed against his home, but was dispersed after hitting the poles. Although the force destroyed all the things it met on its way, his family was safe because of the poles. Consequently, in the

¹⁴³ *Fu* can be translated as merit, which is usually thought equivalent to *punya* in Sanskrit. (For the discussion of the English translation of *punya* as merit, see Peter Harvey, “Buddhism: Mistranslations, Misconceptions, and Neglected Territory,” *Contemporary Buddhism* 2.1 [2001]: 21-26). It is, however, rendered as blessing by Ronald B. Epstein, who considers merit (as well as “merit and virtue”) to be the translation of another Chinese term *gongde* 功德. He finds that sometimes “a distinction is made between worldly ‘blessings’ (good karma) and world-transcending merit and virtue.” (Epstein, in collaboration with the Editorial Committee of Buddhist Text Translation Society, [comp.], *Buddhist Text Translation Society’s Buddhism A to Z* [Burlingame, CA.: Buddhist Text Translation Society, 2003], 15) Building temples and making donations to the Buddhist order, giving and arranging vegetarian feasts are, he thinks, “seeking blessings,” but merit and virtue are related to one’s cultivation (ibid. 14-15, 141). Perhaps understanding *fu* in this sense, Albert Welter gives “promoters of blessings” as the translation of *xingfu* 興福, one of the categories in the three collections of monastic biographies composed by Huijiao, Daoxuan, and Zanning 贊寧 (919-1001), while John Kieschnick gives “benefactors.” (Welter, *Yongming Yanshou’s Conception of Chan in the Zhongjing Lu: A Special Transmission Within the Scriptures* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2011], 17; Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk: Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography* [Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1997], 9.) The monks chronicled in this section devoted themselves to building temples and stūpas, making images, and so on. Considering that at least as shown in Chinese Buddhist canonical literature (see the quotes from the *Lotus Sūtra* in Chapter One), the deeds performed for stūpas can bring one both worldly good karma and wisdom, *fu* can be translated both as merit and blessing.

fourth year of the Yonghe period (348) he donated his house and converted it in a monastery.¹⁴⁴

This story gives one some idea of another category of stūpas—poles, and of how they were put up with limited resources. They were popular with common people and monks because, in contrast to the well-embellished, multistoried stūpas constructed by the ruling class, they were much easier to erect and did not need to use up a lot of construction material, land resources, or money. By putting them up, common people and monks could worship stūpas in capital cities. A story of Shen Guang 沈光 (d. 611-612), a heroic general of the Sui Dynasty, describes how these stūpas were set up. One day, he came across monks at the Chanding 禪定 monastery (later renamed Great Zhuangyan si 大莊嚴寺)¹⁴⁵ erecting a flag pole (*fangan* 幡竿), which was more than ten *zhang* long. The monks did not succeed even though they had put in a lot of effort. With a long rope, Shen Guang could do so alone after jumping into the air nimbly and sticking the pole into the ground.¹⁴⁶ Although this is an anecdote about a person of the Sui, commoners and monks in the Six Dynasties might put up poles similarly. Liu Dunzhen's 劉敦楨 conjecture fits this story; he thinks that, in pre-modern times, to set a post upright, one needed to dig a hole, put one end of it into this hole, and pull the other end up with the aid of ropes.¹⁴⁷ Because erecting stūpas in the form of

¹⁴⁴ The quotation is from the *Tasi ji* 塔寺記 (A record of stūpas and monasteries) in Xu Song's 許嵩 *Jiankang shilu* 建康實錄 (A true record of Jiankang) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuban she, 1987, rpt.) 8.169. The same quotation also appears in the *Nanchao fosi zhi* 2.43.

¹⁴⁵ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 29.695b. For a discussion of this monastery and the monks living at it, see Chen Jinhua, *Monks and Monarchs, Kinship and Kingship: Tanqian in Sui Buddhism and Politics* (Kyoto: Italian School of East Asian Studies, 2002), Chap. 5.

¹⁴⁶ Wei Zheng 魏徵 (850-643), et al., *Suishu* 隋書 (History of the Sui) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974, rpt.) 64.1513.

¹⁴⁷ Liu Dunzhen, "Fu Aike jiaoshou lun Liuchao zhi ta" 覆艾克教授論六朝之塔 (A reply to Prof. [Gustav] Ecke on the stūpas in the Six Dynasties), included in *Zhongguo fojiao sita shi zhi* 中國佛教寺塔史志 (Records

poles did not use up a lot of resources, they stood in many monasteries built by ordinary people.

Putting up such a mast, a component fixed with or without one or many parasols (*chatra*) placed on the top of the stūpa, is sanctioned in Buddhist canonical tradition.¹⁴⁸ Probably because building a tall, well-adorned stūpa decorated with bells and wheels such as those discussed above is not generally affordable, the pole is permitted to take the place of the stūpa, and hence it can be used as a component of the latter or a substitute for it. People who put up poles can gain as a great reward as those who build stūpas. At the end of a story about Rutong 儒童 (Learned-youth) Bodhisattva's¹⁴⁹, focusing on the Bodhisattva's reception of Dīpaṃkara Buddha's (Dingguang 定光) prediction that he would attain buddhahood (*shouji* 受記), it is mentioned that the son of a certain layman called Xianqian 賢乾 would also become a buddha one day because he erected a small stick at the spot where the prediction had been made.¹⁵⁰ It is clear that a stick, or a pole, can be set up at the site related to the Buddha or other transcendent beings, as a stūpa is, and this will bring one great blessing on oneself. The *Shisong lü* also says that people “can give a pole [for] making a stūpa” (施柱作塔).¹⁵¹

In Chinese translations, the stūpa pole is sometimes called *cha* 刹, and it is not necessarily adorned with any parasols or flags. The story of Xianqian therefore reads, “At that time there was a son of a household called Xianqian, who, after putting up on the land a

of history of Buddhist monasteries and stūpas in China), ed. Zhang Mantao 張曼濤 (Taipei: Dacheng wenhua, 1978), 337.

¹⁴⁸ For example, *Daban niepan jing*, trans. Faxian, T no. 7, 1: 2.200a.

¹⁴⁹ Rutong Bodhisattva was one of Śākyamuni Buddha's former incarnations.

¹⁵⁰ *Liudu ji jing* 六度集經 (*Ṣaṭpāramitā-sannipāta sūtra* [*Ṣaṭ-pāramitā-saṃgraha?*]); the *sūtra* on collected [records] of the six *pāramitās*), trans. Kang Senghui, T no. 152, 3: 6.48b.

¹⁵¹ *Shisong lü*, trans. Punyatara and Kumārajīva, T no. 1435, 23: 48.352a & 355a.

tiny piece of wood (*weichai* 微柴), said ‘my *cha* has been erected.’”¹⁵² The *cha* apparently refers here to the small piece of wood without other components, which is the core of the stūpa.¹⁵³ *Cha* is also the character used to refer to the Buddha’s holy land because the site of the stūpa is regarded as his territory. The expression “*biaocha*” 表刹 therefore refers not only to putting up (lit. *biao* 表; exhibiting) the mast, but also to setting up the whole stūpa.¹⁵⁴ In

¹⁵² *Liudu ji jing*, T no. 152, 3: 6.48b: 以微柴插其地曰: 吾刹已立矣。

¹⁵³ Therefore, referring to the central pole of the stūpa, *cha* is equivalent to *yaṣṭi* (or *yūpa-yasti*) in Sanskrit instead of *chatra* (parasol). See note 35 of Chapter One. The following segment from the *Wubai diza zi shuo benqi jing* demonstrates that the *cha* is not the canopy, both being two different components of this object.

欲護父王意 Wanting to sustain his emperor father’s wish (to boost Buddhist teachings?),
 爲作刹柱頭 he made a top for stūpa pole (*chazhu* 刹柱);
 心歡喜踊躍 With delight and enthusiasm,
 建立承露槃 he built canopies (lit. *chenglupan*, which, as shown above, refers to parasols of the stūpa).
 (*Wubai diza zi shuo benqi jing*, T no. 199, 4:1.196b)

Erecting a pole and hanging up banners or/and flags are described in Buddhist canonical literature as two steps in setting up a stūpa, as evidenced too by the *Daban niepan jing*, which says that when building stūpas for the Buddha, one should “put up *cha* (masts) in solemnity and hang up silk fabric flags and canopies.” (T no. 7, 1: 2.200a: 表刹莊嚴, 懸繪幡蓋)

The term *cha* was used not only by Buddhist translators but also by Chinese writers to describe the stūpa pole. Huijiao’s description of Huishou’s 慧受 (later half of the fourth century) search clearly shows that *cha* was simply the pole, not necessarily furnished with any canopies or flags (I shall discuss this story later in this chapter):

Every evening he repeatedly dreamt of a green dragon’s coming from the south and transforming itself into a stūpa pole (*chazhu* 刹柱). Hence, he led some novices to the Xinting river to search for it. They unexpectedly saw a long piece of timber coming down the river. [Hui]shou said, “It must be what I saw in the dream.” Therefore, he hired some people to draw it out [of the river], and put it up as a *cha*, with a tiered structure added.

每夕復夢見一青龍從南方來, 化爲刹柱. 受將沙彌試至新亭江尋覓, 乃見一長木隨流來下, 受曰: “必是吾所見者也.” 於是雇人牽上, 豎立爲刹, 架以一層. (Huijiao, *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 13.410b; Tang [colla. & annot.], *Gaoseng zhuan*, 482.)

Huijiao calls this pole *cha*, which was apparently without any parasols or flags. Another example is found in Daoxuan’s record of the three Buddhist temples in the city of Luoyang during Emperor Ming’s reign in the Wei (Cao Rui 曹叡 [204-239]). He says, “at the top of the mast (*cha*) at each one decorated with banners.” (*Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* 集神州三寶感通錄 [Records of collected resonance [stories] of the Three Jewels in China] T no. 2106, 52: 1.410b: 每繫幡刹頭) The *cha* referred to here are evidently posts only, which were later hung on with banners. (I shall talk about the story of Emperor Ming in Chapter Three.) In his book *Ancient Pagodas in China*, Luo Zhewen gives these remarks in his depiction of the features of Chinese stūpas: “The pole of the steeple was the central axle. All the components of a metal steeple were fastened to the pole, which supported the different parts of the steeple. Even small brick pagodas had a wooden or metal pole in the middle of the steeple. According to Buddhist literature, the pole is also called *chazhu* (steeple pillar) or *jinchā* (golden steeple) or *biaocha* (symbolic steeple). It was usually made of wood or iron and placed on the roof of the pagoda.” (*Ancient Pagodas in China*, 26) Evidently, *cha* is the stūpa pole, not the canopy.

¹⁵⁴ For example, *Fo shuo zao ta gongde jing* 佛說造塔功德經 (*Caitya-karāṇaguṇa sūtra*; A *sūtra*, uttered by the Buddha, on the merits of making stūpas), trans. Divākara, T no. 699, 16: 801a; Gongbu Chabu 工布查布 (fl.

terms of architectural functions, apart from being the stūpa marker that could be seen from afar, in China the mast also functioned as a core supporting the whole structure of some stūpas, as discussed above; hence erecting the mast was the first step in construction.¹⁵⁵

Because it was thought that these crude stūpas could bring people the same significant merits as other stūpas could, then it seems natural that they increased in the non-elite's area rapidly, while magnificent stūpas stood in the monasteries donated by the ruling class increased steadily in Luoyang in the Northern Wei Dynasty. Their development is traced by Yuan Cheng 元澄 (d. 519), the prince of Rencheng 任城王 with high prestige at the time, in his memorial for Emperor Xiaoming written in 519.¹⁵⁶ He started the memorial

first half of the eighteenth century), *Zao xiang liangdu jing jie* 造像量度經解 (An explanation of the *Sūtra on Measurements for Making Images*), T no. 1419, 21: 938c.

According to Zhanran 湛然 (711-782), the stūpa symbolizes the Buddha's land, and erecting a mast marks the land; therefore, this component represents the stūpa, or the Buddha. See *Fahua wenju ji* 法華文句記 (A record of meanings and sentences in the *Lotus Sūtra*), T no. 1719, 34: 2.173a. Huilin 慧琳 (737-820) explains that the mast is translated as *cha* because the Buddha's relics are placed in the container at its top and it thus becomes the symbol of Buddha's land. See *Yiqie jing yinyi*, T no. 2128, 54: 20.431a.

The post in India had various symbolic meanings: the world axis holding Heaven and Earth firm at the two ends, a supporter of the sky, the sacred mountain Sumeru, and the Buddha. John Irwin theorizes that the pole derived from the Bodhi tree, which was already worshipped during the Buddha's lifetime, and many stūpas (all early Singhalese stūpas, for example) were furnished with them. See Snodgrass, *The Symbolism of the Stūpa*, 163-184; Irwin, "The axial symbolism of early stūpa: An exegesis," in *The Stūpa: Its religious, Historical, Architectural Significance*, ed. Anna Libera Dallapiccola, in collaboration with Stephanie Zingel-Ave Lallemand (Wiewbaden: Steiner, 1980), 12-38.

As evidenced by a Kharoṣṭhī (the script in use mainly in modern northern Pakistan and eastern Afghanistan) inscription, Schopen finds, Indian Buddhists also thought the erection of the *yaṣṭi* significant. They considered that this component indicated the completion of the stūpa and signaled its inauguration as an object of worship. Schopen, "Two Problems in the History of Indian Buddhism," 34.

¹⁵⁵ The mast mentioned here had the same function as the earthy core of the Yongning stūpa. Zhong Xiaoqing finds that the stūpa with such a mast was the wooden stūpa smaller than the Yongning stūpa, and did not allow people to climb on it. After the mast was put up, other structures could be attached to it. Zhong Xiaoqing, "Beiwei Luoyang Yongning si ta fuyuan tantao," 568; Chen Yikai 陳奕愷, "Lüelun Beiwei shiqi Yungang Longmen shiku fudiao ta xing" 略論北魏時期雲崗龍門石窟浮雕塔形 (A brief discussion about the shapes of the stūpas in relief in the Yungang and Longmen caves in the Northern Wei period), in *Longmen shiku yiqian wubai zhounian guoji xueshu taolun hui lunwen ji* 龍門石窟一千五百週年國際學術討論會論文集 (A collection of papers for the international academic conference held on the occasion of the 1500th anniversary of Longmen grotto complex), ed. Longmen shiku yanjiu suo 龍門石窟研究所 (Luoyang, Wenwu chubanshe, 1996), 242.

¹⁵⁶ The memorial is collected in the "Shi Lao ji" 釋老志 (Records of Sakyamuni's and Laozi's [religions in China]) of the *Weishu* (juan 114). Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆 has published an extensive commentary on this

with the history of the late fifth century. When Emperor Xiaowen moved the capital to Luoyang in 493, he imposed a restriction that only one monastery and one nunnery could exist within the city of Luoyang, and others had to be located outside. However, in 506 (the 3rd year of the Zhengshi 正始 era) the monk Huishen 惠深 (fl. 506-509), national superintendent over the Buddhist order (*shamen tong* 沙門統), requested that the government permit existing monasteries to stay in the city and forbid people only from constructing any more temples. After he raised the request, the government relaxed the regulation. Yet, Yuan Cheng thought, this caused Buddhist temples to proliferate out of control. Under the circumstances in 509 (the 2nd year of the Yongping 永平 era) Huishen proposed resuming restriction of them again¹⁵⁷:

Starting from the present, one who intends to build a monastery must have a quota of minimum fifty monks [living in it]. [The court] will allow one to set up when knowing that one completely [follows this regulation]. Any person who rushes into running and setting up [a monastery without getting the quota] will get punishment for breaking imperial regulations, as was the custom. Monks in the monastery [with less than fifty] will be [also] banished to prefectures other than [Luoyang].

fascicle of the book. I have consulted the commentary, and I shall quote in my notes the background information he provides on the memorial. See *Gisho Shaku-Rō shi no kenkyū* 魏書積老志の研究 (A study of “Shi Lao ji” of the *Weishu*) (Tōkyō: Daitō Shuppansha, 1974).

As a royal family member whom Emperor Xiaowen trusted most, the prince helped him in moving the capital from Pingcheng to Luoyang.

¹⁵⁷ In addition to prohibiting the construction of monasteries, Huishen also suggested some monastic precepts. Monks, for example, ought not to possess eight unclean things (*ba bujing wu* 八不淨物: 1. buying and owning cultivated lands, 2. farming, 3. keeping grains and millet, 4. keeping servants, 5. keeping animals or birds, 6. having money and jewels, 7. having cauldrons and pans, and 8. having furniture and gilded beds). Monks were also allowed to lament for three days when notified by letters about the deaths of their parents or their three teachers (namely, the teacher of the discipline [*jie shi* 戒師], the teacher who confers Buddhist precepts and preaches on the karma [*jiemo shi* 羯摩師], and the instructor [*jiaoshou shi* 教授師]) if they were some distance away, and to lament for seven days when they lived nearby. Tsukamoto (*Gisho Shaku-Rō shi no kenkyū*, 239-240n2) argues that these regulations were supplements to a set of forty-seven rules Huishen proposed in 493 (17, Taihe 太和 era).

自今已後, 欲造寺者, 限僧五十已上, 聞徹聽造. 若有輒營置者, 依俗違勅之罪, 其寺僧眾擯出外州.¹⁵⁸

The regulation Huishen recommended this time was not useful at all; the problem ran out of control completely. People were “deceitful” (*qiwang* 欺罔) when they applied to construct monasteries: building them on public lands, these people had consideration for their own welfare only; some of them extended monasteries over land limits set by the government. Within the ten years after Huishen raised the restriction (509-519) unauthorized temples increased rapidly; their number, within and outside the inner city, in Yuan Cheng’s time soared to over five hundred, but no punishment with expulsion was ever imposed. Apart from these five hundred monasteries, there were also “open spaces on which only poles (*cha*) were exhibited, and stūpas and houses had not been established.”¹⁵⁹ In the end, after the two decades from the move of the capital to Luoyang (439-519), monasteries occupied one third of residential land, standing throughout the capital city, some even adjoining butchers and wine shops and some occupied by three to five monks only each. Yuan Cheng gave the following description of this phenomenon:

Sanskrit songs and noise of butchers [from monasteries and butchers respectively] echo one after another under adjoining eaves. [Buddhist] images and stūpas are surrounded with fishy, foul [smell], and [Buddhist cultivation of enlightened] temperament is engulfed in indulgences and desires.

梵唱屠音, 連簷接響, 像塔纏於腥臊, 性靈沒於嗜慾.¹⁶⁰

According to Yuan Cheng, this phenomenon not only occurred in Luoyang, but also appeared in other places in the Northern Wei Kingdom. Although Yuan Cheng does not

¹⁵⁸ *Weishu* 114.3044.

¹⁵⁹ *Weishu* 114.3045: 空地表刹, 未立塔宇.

¹⁶⁰ *Weishu* 114.3045.

explicitly mention in the memorial that his criticism is directed at the monasteries built by ordinary people, the environment they were situated in and their scale he describes clearly show that he refers to the monasteries related to these people, not to those of the elite. The monasteries and convents he portrays were small Buddhist temples, usually occupied by less than fifty monks or nuns. By contrast, those monasteries set up by the ruling class were generally large and inhabited by many more monastic members. For example, at the Jingming and Baode monasteries, which were set up by Emperors Xuanwu and Xiaowen respectively, there were more than one thousand monks in total.¹⁶¹ This is the reason why, as Yuan Cheng states, these small temples, not those erected by the elite, were crowded in the densely-populated areas with local shops. In Luoyang, some wards (*fang* 坊), separated from the elite's residences, were allocated to ordinary people, unlike their southern counterparts in Jiankang, where they were not restricted to residential areas divided from the elite. Not only were these Luoyang wards inhabited by various commoners such as peddlers, merchants, craftsmen, and butchers, but were also the localities of markets where they went into business. Therefore, the Buddhist monasteries, which were converted from ordinary people's dwellings given away, were adjacent to markets.¹⁶² As revealed by the memorial, building these monasteries was very simple. In the beginning only a mast simply stood in a small

¹⁶¹ The *Beishi* records that in 508 more than a thousand monks at the two monasteries felt sad and went on a fast after hearing that Yuan Xie 元颯 (?-508), Prince of Pengcheng, was assassinated by Gao Zhao 高肇 (?-516), whose daughter was Emperor Xuanwu's mother and who rose to prominence during this ruler's reign. See *Beishi* 19.707.

¹⁶² Wang Zhen 王珍, "Lue lun Beiwei shoudu Luoyang de gongshang ye" 略論北魏首都洛陽的工商業 (A brief discussion on industry and commerce in the Northern Wei capital, Luoyang), in Luoyang shi wenwu ju & Luoyang baima si Han Wei gucheng wenwu baoguan suo (eds.), *Han Wei Luoyang gucheng yanjiu*, 922; Liu Shufen, "Liuchao Jiankang yu Beiwei Luoyang zhi bijiao" 六朝建康與北魏洛陽之比較 (The comparison between Jiankang in the Six Dynasties and Luoyang in the Northern Wei), in her *Liuchao de chengshi yu shehui*, 181-182.

house resided in by three to five monks, and perhaps later other structures of a stūpa would be added to it and images would be made when more patronage was received.

The process of putting up stūpas in the form of masts could be completed even though there were scarce resources; therefore, they were widespread among the non-elite class in Luoyang. Unfortunately, apart from the memorial, there are not many sources about these stūpas in the north, but the *Gaoseng zhuan* contains some information on their southern counterparts—those erected by monks, who, like commoners, generally did not have many resources to build splendid Buddhist constructions.¹⁶³ The stories of the Anle 安樂寺 and the Wuguan monasteries 瓦官寺 at Jiankang show how they played important roles when monks set up monasteries in Jiankang. The construction of the former monastery was started by a monk named Huishou 慧受 (later half of the fourth century) of the Eastern Jin Dynasty, who led an ascetic life and was keen on making karma of blessing (*fu* 福業)¹⁶⁴. In the Xingning 興寧 era (363-365), he visited the capital. One morning he passed by Wang Tanzhi's 王坦之 (d. 375) manor, and that night he dreamt of the construction of a monastery in it. Although Huishou wanted to ask Wang to establish a house for cultivation in the manor, he did not dare to raise his request because Wang was a prominent politician at that time, serving as an assistant to the prime minister (*zhangshi* 長史).¹⁶⁵ He told it to his gardener, but the latter replied him that Huishou might not get what he wanted. Huishou, however, talked to Wang anyway because he thought that he would persuade him into building a house with his sincerity. In the beginning Wang built only a small house for him, but it was not a monastery

¹⁶³ Although it is alleged that some monks were rich and influential, they constituted only a small portion of the Buddhist order in China.

¹⁶⁴ For the meaning and translation of *fu*, see note 142 of this chapter.

¹⁶⁵ *Zizhi tongjian* 101.3192.

yet. One day Huishou dreamed that a green dragon from the south transformed itself into a pole. He then sent some novices (*śrāmanera* 沙彌) to conduct a search along the Xinting 新亭 river (in the southwest of present Nanjing city), and they found a long piece of timber. Huishou thought that it was the pole he had dreamt of; hence he had it erected at first and then had a tiered structure put up surrounding it.¹⁶⁶ This stūpa attracted lay people and monks, who all admired Huishou's incredible discovery. It was not until then that Wang Tanzhi donated his manor and converted it into a monastery, which he named Anle monastery because Huishou was a native of Anle. The officials, Wang Ya 王雅 (334-400), Liu Dou 劉鬪 (d.u.), and Fan Ning 范寧 (d.u.), had residences encircling it; they also gave them away to the monastery.¹⁶⁷ As clearly shown by the story, the mast was regarded as an important component representing the whole stūpa. Thanks to Huishou's miraculous dream that made it into a sacred object, the house was enlarged into a monastery on the officials' lands, which were located in the north of the Qinhuai river, the area where many southern ruling elite tended to situate their manors.¹⁶⁸

Another monastery, the Waguan monastery, was also set up in the Xingning era of the Eastern Jin Dynasty. A monk named Huili 慧力 (fl. the later half of the fourth century), who, like Huishou, also practiced an ascetic life (*dhūta*)¹⁶⁹ and dedicated himself to making blessings, visited the capital then. He made a request to Emperor Ai (Aidi 哀帝, r. 362-365) that a monastery be set up on a piece of land where an official pottery set up by the late prime

¹⁶⁶ For Huijiao's account of his search, see note 152 of this chapter.

¹⁶⁷ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 13.410b; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 481-482.

¹⁶⁸ *Nanchao fosi zi*, vol. 1, 76; Liu Shufen, "Liuchao Jiankang de yuanzhai" 六朝建康的園宅 (Manors and residences in Jiankang of the Six Dynasties), in her *Liuchao de chengshi yu shehui*, 122-128.

¹⁶⁹ *Dhūta* (*toutuo* 頭陀) literally means getting rid of the trials of life, and *dhūta* practices are aimed at releasing oneself from ties to clothing, food, and dwelling.

minister Wang Dao once lay. This piece of land, which was to the south of the Qinhuai river, was surrounded by other officials' homes.¹⁷⁰ As easily imagined, Huili's request was not fully granted. Like Huishou, in the beginning he was also allowed to build a hall and a stūpa only. To erect a stūpa, at first he stuck a pole into the ground:

The pole (lit. *biao* 標; a branch) [erected in] the base of a stūpa was originally [placed] to the west of the present stūpa. At night the pole was often moved more than ten steps to the east; at dawn [Huili discovered this, and] pulled it out and returned it [to its original place]. Once it had been put back, it was moved [again]. [He then] secretly kept watch with [his disciples (?) one night], and saw that a person in red clothing with a warrior hat pulled the pole out and put it to the east. Hence, [Huili] erected a stūpa at the location [where this person rearranged the pole]. This is the place in which the stūpa now stands.

初標塔基，是今塔之西。每夕標輒東移十餘步，旦取還，已復隨徙，潛共伺之，見一人著朱衣武冠，拔標置東方，仍於其處起塔，今之塔處是也。¹⁷¹

Throughout Huishou's lifetime the monastery was still a simple complex composed of the stūpa and the hall only. It remained unchanged until Zhu Fatai 竺法汰 (319-387), who moved in and preached on the *Fanguang jing* 放光經¹⁷² there. His sermon attracted Emperor Jianwen of the Eastern Jin (Jianwen di 簡文帝; r. 371-372), and the latter later enlarged the monastery to allow residence of more monks.¹⁷³ The stories of the Anle and the Wagan monasteries seem to suggest that more monasteries in Jiankang than in Luoyang

¹⁷⁰ *Nanchao fosi zi*, vol. 1, 61. The mill was moved to the north of the river when its surrounding areas became densely populated. Xue Bing 薛冰, *Nanjing chengshi shi* 南京城市史 (History of Nanjing city) (Nanjing: Nanjing chuban she, 2008), 35.

¹⁷¹ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 13.410a; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 480.

¹⁷² The *Fanguang jing* is an abbreviation for the *Fanguang banruo boluomi jing* 放光般若波羅蜜經 (*Prajñāpāramitā sūtra*, emitting light), trans. Moksala 無羅叉 (fl. 291) and Zhu Shulan 竺叔蘭 (fl. 291), T no. 221, 8.

¹⁷³ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 5.354c-355a; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 193; *Nanchao fosi zi*, vol. 1, 61.

were constructed by monks with assistance from the ruling class, while more in Luoyang than in Jiankang were donated by common people.¹⁷⁴ This was perhaps because, although Jiankang was smaller than Luoyang, it was populated by three times as many people as in Luoyang,¹⁷⁵ and in such a densely populated area ordinary people there probably felt less inclined to give away their houses and convert them to Buddhist monasteries than northerners did. Hence, the elite became the source to whom monks in Jiankang turned for lands to build temples. Anyway, the stories of the Anle and the Waguan monasteries, together with Yuan Cheng's memorial, show that stūpas in the form of a pole were popular with the non-ruling class because under shortage of resources they could simply put up poles at first when they constructed monasteries in capital cities, no matter whether they were Jiankang monks or Luoyang people.

¹⁷⁴ This is only a tentative conclusion that needs to be verified. It is not known how many monasteries, among the total of 1,367 in Luoyang, were actually built by commoners, and the same can be said of those by monks in Jiankang. Yet, referring to the fact that in the entire country in the Northern Wei the nobles built only 839 temples but commoners set up more than thirty thousand temples, Liu Shufen suggests that there might be many in Luoyang alone constructed by commoners. The figures quoted here are from Falin's 法琳 (572-640) *Bianzheng lun* 辯正論 (Disputies on orthodoxy) (507b-c). He also mentions the total numbers of the monasteries set up in other dynasties, and lists separately those set up by officials in some periods. Yet, he only takes down the number of the monasteries by commoners in the Northern Wei, and not those in other periods. This perhaps means that commoners' construction of Buddhist temples in this dynasty was very popular and unprecedented. *Bianzheng lun*, T no. 2110, 52: 3.502c-508b; Liu Shufen, "Liuchao Jiankang yu Beiwei Luoyang zhi bijiao," 184.

¹⁷⁵ According to Yang Xuanzhi, the city of Luoyang was twenty *li* from the east to the west and fifteen *li* from the south to the north, with a total area of 300 *li* square. The *Jiankang shilu* reports, on the other hand, Jiankang, was only twenty *li* and nineteen *bu* 步 (1 *bu* = 5 feet) in circumference in the Wu Dynasty. Yet, in the Liang Dynasty, the city had 280,000 households; if it is estimated that each household had five people, then Jiankang had a population of 1,400,000, tripling that of Luoyang in the Northern Wei Dynasty. See Yang Xuanzhi, *Luoyang qielan ji*, T no. 2092, 51: 5.1022a; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 5.115; Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 246; Xu Song, *Jiankang shilu*, 2.27; Liu Shufen, "Liuchao Jiankang yu Beiwei Luoyang zhi bijiao," 172-181.

2.3.2 Stūpas and Worship

Were these stūpas worshipped by ordinary people and monks? As stated above, the stūpas set up by the elite generally did not develop into objects they approached for worship because they were usually not enthusiastic about it and tended to think of them as their private properties. Therefore, it is possible that those erected by ordinary people and monks had nothing to do with worship either. Unfortunately, it is hard to build up a definite picture of worship performed by these people in Luoyang because the literati did not pay much attention to it in their works.

An inference, however, can be made from the political changes in the last period of the Northern Wei Dynasty: the monasteries built by ordinary people had not yet developed into centres of stūpa worship or at least the centres did not exist for long even though they had appeared. Luoyang had enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity for around thirty years only after being the capital, and from 528, it was in political chaos. This year the Heyin incident broke out and weakened the rule of the Northern Wei royal family. After the riot the court was manipulated by Gao Huan. He made Yuan Shanjian 元善見 (524-551; i.e. Emperor Xiaojing 孝靜帝 [r. 534-550]) a successor to Emperor Xiaowu and established a puppet government in Ye 鄴 (in present-day Linzhang 臨漳 County) in 534. One year later another usurper, Yuwen Tai, arranged for another member of the Yuan family, Yuan Baoju 元寶炬 (507-551; i.e. Emperor Wen 文帝 [r. 535-551]), to be the ruler of another state, the capital of which was Chang'an. The united northern China under the rule of the Northern Wei kingdom was then split into two states named the Western Wei and the Eastern Wei, which were later inherited by the Northern Zhou and the Northern Qi respectively. After the central government had left Luoyang, in company with a large number of officials and

Buddhist monks and nuns, this city fell into ruin. Yang Xuanzhi describes its abandoned condition when he saw it during his trip there in 547. The governmental and religious constructions had been destroyed; the outer and inner city walls and palaces were toppled. Walls and streets were covered with wild plants, and stairways became the abodes of wild beasts. Farmers and ploughmen grew crops on the grounds where palace towers once stood.¹⁷⁶ Daoist temples and Buddhist monasteries fell into ruins, and stūpas became no more than deserted graves. More than one thousand monasteries in the city had mostly been demolished, and the sound made by bells in them could hardly be heard again. Since the capital had been moved to Ye, Luoyang had lost its political significance and less than one-third of Buddhist monasteries remained there.¹⁷⁷ Among those who were either destroyed or abandoned, there were probably many small monasteries set up by ordinary people. Under the circumstances, it can be conjectured that although the stūpas in these monasteries were accessible to ordinary people and monks, many of them had fallen into ruin before they developed into objects of worship and boosted Buddhist practices involving them. Therefore, although there were once many stūpas erected in Luoyang, it did not see the prosperity of stūpa worship.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ Yang Xuanzhi, *Luoyang qielan ji*, T no. 2092, 51: preface.999a; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi*, preface, 3; Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 6-7.

¹⁷⁷ There were 1,367 Buddhist temples in Luoyang, but only 421 of them remained after the move of the capital to Ye. Yang Xuanzhi, *Luoyang qielan ji*, T no. 2092, 51:5.1022a; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 5.115; Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 246.

¹⁷⁸ This situation also occurred in other northern dynasties, all of which were short-lived and did not go beyond thirty years. Royal families and officials in these dynasties were also eager to donate their dwellings to the Buddhist order, hence the rapid increase of Buddhist monasteries. For example, Zhang Gong's 張弓 survey shows that there are thirty one monasteries in the Eastern Wei Dynasty mentioned in local records. This is not a small number given that the state lasted for seventeen years only. Besides, it is likely that many monasteries went unrecorded. In Ye many people converted their houses to monasteries to the extent that Emperor Xiaojing issued a prohibition against such conversion. *Weishu* 114.3047; Tzukamoto, *Gisho Shaku-Rō shi no kenkyū*, 285n2; Zhang Gong, *Han Tang fosi wenhua shi* 漢唐佛寺文化史 (Cultural history of Buddhist monasteries in the Han to the Tang) (Beijing: Gongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1997) 1: 66.

The same inference, however, cannot be applied to the stūpas in the southern capital Jiankang because the political environment there was different. As all the governments in Southern Dynasties were established in Jiankang,¹⁷⁹ more Buddhist monasteries there than their northern counterparts could remain and were not destroyed or abandoned even in the transition from one dynasty to another, or were rebuilt when peace prevailed. It was therefore more likely that the stūpas there could serve people's needs in Buddhist cultivation and attracted their worship. Biographies of the Buddhist order contain fragmentary and brief descriptions of such worship. For example, the records written by Baochang 寶唱 (fl. 495-516), the author of the *Biqiuni zhuan* 比丘尼傳 (Biographies of *bhikṣuṇī* [nuns]), about the first nunnery in the capital, Jianfu si 建福寺, reveals that it was worshipped by nuns at the time. It was established by He Chong 何充 (292-346) for the nun Minggan 明感 (first half of the fourth century). The nun, a native of Gaoping 高平 (in Yanzhou 兗州, Shandong), was once captured by some people of a northern minority before entering the Buddhist order. One of them tried to force her to be his wife by torturing her, but she firmly refused. She kept thinking of the Three Jewels and determined to be a nun. One day, she met a nun and requested her to teach her the Five Commandments. The nun also taught her the *Guanshiyin sūtra* (or *Guanshiyin jing*); hence she kept chanting it day and night. Further, she promised that she would build a five-storied stūpa if she returned home safely. Later she escaped successfully and saw a tiger on a mountain. She followed it, which led the way to a village in Qingzhou 青州 and then disappeared. Although she was seized by another minority group

¹⁷⁹ Jiankang remained the capital for 321 years. It was selected as the court's base for the Wu regime for fifty years, excluding one year when Sun Hao 孫皓 (r. 264-280) moved the government to Wuchang 武昌 (present Echeng 鄂城 in Hubei). Then it became the capital again in 317 to 589, from the time the Jin court fled to the south to the year the Sui Dynasty unified China. Liu Shufen, "Liuchao Jiankang yu Beiwei Luoyang zhi bijiao," 169.

soon again, this time she was ransomed by her family. Since then she devoted herself to Buddhist cultivation. She diligently practiced meditation and strictly obeyed Buddhist precepts; if she made minor mistakes, she did penance continuously until she experienced various miraculous phenomena such as seeing flowers falling through the air and seeing Buddhist statues (in the dream or meditative state?). In her old age she became the teacher of women who lived to the north of the Yangtze River (or Chang River). Because of her outstanding cultivation, she was revered greatly by He Chong when she crossed the river in 348 (the fourth year of the Yonghe 永和 era) with ten other nuns and first met him. At the time there was no nunnery in Jiankang, so He Chong established one in a residence of his. This story about the establishment of the nunnery, which is written in the biography of Minggan, does not contain any mention of a stūpa in it, but Baochang's account of a miraculous occurrence happening to another nun at the nunnery, Facheng 法盛 (368-439), before her death tells us that a stūpa was probably set up when the nunnery was established. Therefore, Facheng, who was determined to be reborn in Amitābha's land, worshipped Buddhas at the stūpa (*ta xia li fo* 塔下禮佛). One day in 439 (16 Yuanjia 元嘉 of the Liu Song Dynasty) after she performed her worship, she felt ill that night. One day later in the same month she saw Amitābha coming, together with his two companions, i.e. Guanyin (or Guanshiyin, i.e. Avalokiteśvara) and Dashizhi 大勢至 (Mahāsthāma or Mahāsthāmaprāpta), and preaching to her, and the light they gave out illuminated the whole nunnery. Facheng told her fellows what she saw; then she passed away.¹⁸⁰ The stūpa she worshipped was probably the one that Minggan promised to set up after learning from the nun the *Guanshiyin*

¹⁸⁰ Baochang, *Biqiuni zhuan*, T no. 2036, 50: 2.937c. This biographical collection has been translated by Kathryn Ann Tsai as *Lives of the Nuns: Biographies of Chinese Buddhist Nuns from the Fourth to the Six Centuries: A Translation of the Pi-ch'iu-ni chuan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994.)

sūtra. And Guanyin was among the triad of transcendent beings Facheng saw before her death. This suggests that the stūpa at the Jianfu nunnery was used by the nuns there to meditate on Amitābha and his companions, and to perform practices related to these three enlightened figures.

Another work of Baochang's, *Mingseng zhuan* 名僧傳 (Biographies of famous monks), also contains some fragmentary evidence for worship involving the stūpas in Jiankang. The biography of Sengjialuoduo 僧伽羅多 (ca. fl. 433-441) in the collection says that this monk, who came from the Western Regions, went to Jiankang in 433 (the 10th year of the Yuanjia era) and established a cultivation abode called Songxi si 宋熙寺 on Mount Zhong 鍾山.¹⁸¹ At it he erected “a lofty mast (*cha*) that soared over the clouds” (聳刹陵雲). This tall mast was probably used by monks in meditation, so the monastery became a centre of meditation at that time, inhabited by a group of more than thirty monks.¹⁸²

Though fragmented, more descriptions about worship involving the stūpas in Jiankang can be found than those about that in Luoyang. Another example appears in the biography of Jizang, a native of Parthia and Mādhyamika specialist who was born in Jiankang because his father had moved there; he performed such worship every day when he was young. After his father entered the Buddhist order, his father and he led ascetic lives,

¹⁸¹ I shall discuss some funerary stūpas on this mountain in Chapter Four.

¹⁸² Apart from making offerings and prostrating themselves, Buddhists also meditate at/on stūpas. For a discussion of Buddhist meditation and stūpas, see Stanley K. Abe, “Art and Practices in a Fifth-Century Chinese Buddhist Cave Temple,” *Art Orientalis* 20 (1990): 1-31. Abe discusses the relationship between the images and Buddhist practices including meditation taken by monks in Mogao cave 254, which features a square central pillar (stūpa-pillar). Also see Liu Huida 劉慧達's “Bei Wei shiku yu chan 北魏石窟與禪 (Stone caves in the Northern Wei and meditation),” included in Su Bai 宿白, *Zhongguo shiku si yanjiu* 中國石窟寺研究 (Studies on cave temples in China) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996), 345-346.

Only fragments of Baochang's work, collected in Sōshō's 宗性 (1202-1278) *Meisō den shō* 名僧傳抄 (Excerpts from the *Mingseng zhuan*), are extant. *Meisō den shō*, X no. 1523, 77: 335b. Huijiao also writes the story of Sengjialuoduo under the biography of Kālayāśas (Jiangliangyeshe 薑良耶舍 [fl. the first half of the fifth century]) (3.129), but he does not mention the stūpa and the monks.

begging and listening to Buddhist sermons. Every day only after they had entered stūpas, worshipped all Buddhist images, and gave part of the food they had obtained through begging, would they take meals.¹⁸³ The story tells us that some (if not all) stūpas in the southern capital were centres of worship for ordinary people and monks, including foreigners like Jizang and his father. Yet, unfortunately, there is little information for further investigation.

Our evidence, however, clearly shows that the stūpas in Jiankang were involved in Buddhist devotional activities because of relatively stable conditions there. Nonetheless, this situation did not last long because many of the stūpas were also eventually destroyed or abandoned during political upheavals as were their northern counterparts. Many stūpas in the northern cities went through rapid construction and demolition because of dynastic transition, frequent relocation of the government, and the suppression of Buddhism.¹⁸⁴ As a result, they could not play noticeable roles in people's Buddhist practices, and there is little trace of worship recorded by the literati. Although the stūpas in Jiankang lasted longer and therefore became centres of worship, many of them also fell into ruin with other buildings, when the Sui army occupied Jiankang. This calamity, as well as the escape of a large number of Buddhist monks as a result of it, was recorded by Daoxuan when he relates some of Buddhist monks' experiences in his biographies. One of these monks is the Silla native Wōn'gwang 圓光 (531-630). After Jiankang was captured, he was caught by mutinous soldiers and tied to a stūpa to be executed. At this moment a general saw a vision of monasteries and stūpas on fire; when he rushed to get there and wanted to put it out, he did not see any fire, but found

¹⁸³ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 11.513c.

¹⁸⁴ When Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou Dynasty suppressed Buddhism, monks either became martyrs, or led reclusive lives on mountains, or temporarily returned to secular lives. Since some of them settled in mountain regions, stūpas appeared in these places. Tang, *Han Wei liang Jin Nanbei chao fojiaoshi*, 90.

Wǒn'gwang captive. The general thought this strange, but he released him anyway.

Wǒn'gwang probably fled to Wu 吳 later.¹⁸⁵ Huijun 慧顓 (563-630) and Zhizhou 智周 (555-622) were another two who left Jiankang because of the destruction of the city; they both escaped eastwards.¹⁸⁶ When the Sui state overthrew the Chen and suppressed rioters in Jiankang, Jiankang city and the palace there were leveled and turned into farmland, and many monasteries were destroyed at the same time.¹⁸⁷ In the early Sui Dynasty, a group of monks of the remaining monasteries there wrote to Zhiyi 智顓 (538-579), the Tiantai 天台 founder highly respected by the then prince Yang Guang 楊廣 (569-618), asking him to request the prince to protect these monasteries from further attack. Huiwen 慧文 (?-592+) of the Fengcheng monastery 奉城寺, a representative of the group¹⁸⁸, described the ruined monasteries as follows:

I humbly find that some people having official documents (local officers?) are sent to destroy all vacant monasteries. Take, for example, those within the distance we can see with the eye; they have all been destroyed completely, no matter whether or not they are inhabited by monks. Many of them were destroyed and demolished.

伏見使人齎符，壞諸空寺，若如即目所睹，全之與破，及有僧無僧，毀除不少。¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁵ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 13.523c.

¹⁸⁶ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 14.535a, 19.580a-b. Zhizhou went to the Huiju 慧聚 monastery on the Maan Mountain 馬鞍山 (in Jiangsu), while Huijun did not settle down until the Daye 大業 (605-618) era, during which he lived at the Tongxuan 通玄 monastery in Wu.

¹⁸⁷ Jiankang was also under the new jurisdiction after the Chen Dynasty was overthrown. The old Danyang county 丹陽縣 was changed to a new administrative region called Jiangzhou 蔣州, with a new headquarter in Shitou cheng 石頭城, which lay west of the palace. *Suishu* 31.876.

¹⁸⁸ Among them were Faling 法令 (d.u.) of the Longguang 龍光 monastery and Zhisheng 智勝 (d.u.) of the Guangzhai 光宅 monastery. These two monasteries were formerly called Pinglu si 平陸寺 and Qingyuan si 青園寺 respectively.

¹⁸⁹ The letter was written in 592 (the 12th year of the Kaihuang 開皇 era). “Yu Zhiyi shu lun hui si 與智顓書論毀寺 (A letter for Zhiyi concerning the destroyed monasteries),” in *QSSQSLW* 4: 35.4230a. See note 190 below.

After receiving this letter, Zhiyi wrote to Yang Guang, describing the disintegration of Buddhism there: many monasteries and stūpas were burnt down within a short time; local officials generally disapprove of the religion, and their attitudes make the monks who came from other places deeply anxious. Therefore, like Huiguang, he wants these monasteries to be protected from destruction and, further, he suggests that old monasteries be allowed to be repaired. Yet he is alert to the possibility of criticism that monasteries will then spring up, so he says that only if enough resources permit can repair be done.¹⁹⁰ Zhiyi's suggestion was accepted; monks were allowed to take building materials from collapsed houses for repair.¹⁹¹ It is unknown exactly which of the monasteries in Jiankang were knocked down, because there are not extant references in literati texts, but it can be inferred that even though these monasteries, together with the stūpas at them, survived the political upheaval and the destruction by the new government, many monks fled. The Jianfu nunnery, the first convent in Jiankang mentioned above was, for example, abandoned at that time.¹⁹²

2.4 Concluding Remarks

Before I propose a possible reason for the scarcity of references to stūpa worship in the Six Dynasties in extant materials (the issue that is mentioned in the first section of this chapter), I shall first sum up the findings reached in this chapter. Magnificent, well-embellished stūpas built by the ruling class in capital cities in these periods—those discussed

¹⁹⁰ “Yu Jinwang shu lun hui si 與晉王書論毀寺 (A letter for Prince Jin talking about the destroyed monasteries),” in *QSSQSLW* 4: 32.4204a-b.

¹⁹¹ *QSSQSLW* 4: 6.4048a. The three letters written by Huiwen, Zhiyi, and Yang Guang are also collected in the *Guoqing bailu* 國清百錄 (One hundred of records [about Zhiyi of] the Guoqing monastery), ed. Guanding 灌頂 (561-632), T no. 1934, 46: 2.804b-805c.

¹⁹² Sun Wanchuan, *Nanchao fosi ji* 2.39-41.

in the *Luoyang qielan ji*—were seldom regarded as the Buddha or other Buddhist holy people, and hence generally could not function as objects of pilgrimage or worship like those narrated in Buddhist scriptures. Although many of them were furnished with components according to the specification of stūpas stated in Buddhist texts, the symbolic meanings of these components did not attract the attention of the elite, or at least not to the extent that historians were aware of, and hence these components were generally deemed to be decorative elements only. Apparently, the elite members in China at that time did not understand stūpas in the same way as that narrated in the texts, or did not in a way consistent with them. They incorporated their local immortality belief in their understanding of these buildings, so they used the terms from the belief to name the wheels of stūpas, constructed them in the form of locally-styled lofty towers, ascended them at will, and associated them with dynastic (or their personal) prosperity and decline. In a way this was not very different from how Emperor Wu of the Han treated his imperial buildings and devices that he set up for his immortality quest. The ruling elite members considered stūpas they built as their private edifices parading their secular status. Sometimes they regarded the construction of them as a means of gaining merit for themselves and their families. This was a Buddhist concept also commonly linked to other good deeds such as building temples, making images, and reciting scriptures, but it was not based on the belief in stūpas as the Buddha and other Buddhist holy figures. Many of these stūpas built by the elite in capital cities generally did not agree with Buddhist canonical tradition of stūpas and had nothing to do with stūpa worship that is preached by the tradition.¹⁹³

¹⁹³ The ruling class in later periods still tended to link stūpas and other Buddhist objects of worship with their secular power. For example, with remarkable insight Antonino Forte finds that at the palace in Luoyang Empress Wu of the Tang (r. 690) built a stūpa housing a large Buddhist statue and an astronomical clock. Like

In comparison with these stūpas, those erected by ordinary people generally functioned better in the enhancement of Buddhist cultivation and the popularization of Buddhist beliefs. Though they were not as impressive and well-embellished as the former, and many of them were simply in the form of masts erected in small Buddhist temples, they increased rapidly in capital cities, located in the monasteries constructed by common people or in those established by monks with the help of the elite. However, they could not survive political and social disorder either. Many stūpas in Luoyang fell into ruin when the Northern Wei court fell and the capital was moved away. Those in Jiankang served Buddhists with centres of worship for a longer period because it remained the capital throughout the Southern Dynasties. Until the Sui army occupied Jiankang and a large number of monasteries were destroyed and abandoned, the stūpas there played a role in the Buddhist practice of non-elites.

Now it is clear why there is little information in the extant materials about stūpas in capital cities in the Six Dynasties. Two possible reasons have been proposed. Chinese Buddhists did not adopt Buddhist canonical connotations of stūpas and thus did not regard them as Buddhist transcendent figures. Or, they did worship them but Chinese writers did not have much interest in this. Both reasons can be cited. The elites in China did not equate stūpas with any of these Buddhist figures but only regarded them as Buddhist structures, so generally they did not pay respect to them as they were prescribed by Buddhist scriptures, although they built them as lofty edifices. With relatively little resources, ordinary people

the *mingtang* 明堂 (bright hall), a traditional kind of buildings symbolic of kingship, it belonged to the complex intended to embody the cosmic order. This stūpa, called *tiantang* 天堂, was indeed a tower. It was perhaps dramatically different from stūpas in India and was like those discussed in this chapter. For the details of Empress Wu's palace complex, see Forte, *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias in 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 & Ecole française d' Extrême-Orient, 1988).

and monks put up stūpas in the form of poles and undertook devotional activities. Nonetheless, Chinese literati usually did not give them much attention and thus did not explicate these people's worship in their works. And monastic biographical authors Huijiao and Daoxuan did not detail it either. However, regardless of whether they were splendid stūpas constructed by political elites or those erected by ordinary lay people and monks, overall stūpas in capital cities could not survive political and social chaos at that time.

The picture of stūpas in the Six Dynasties has not been fully revealed yet. In the next chapter, my investigation will extend to the elite members' belief in Buddhist relics and Aśokan legends, for the purpose of finding out whether or not their belief aroused their veneration of these holy objects.



Figure 2.1 Theoretical Reconstruction of the Yongning Stūpa¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ Taken from Yang Hongxun, “Guanyu Beiwei Luoyang Yongning si ta fuyuan caotu de shuoming,” in Luoyang shi wenwu ju & Luoyang baima si Han Wei gucheng wenwu baoguan suo (eds.), *Han Wei Luoyang gucheng yanjiu*, 557.

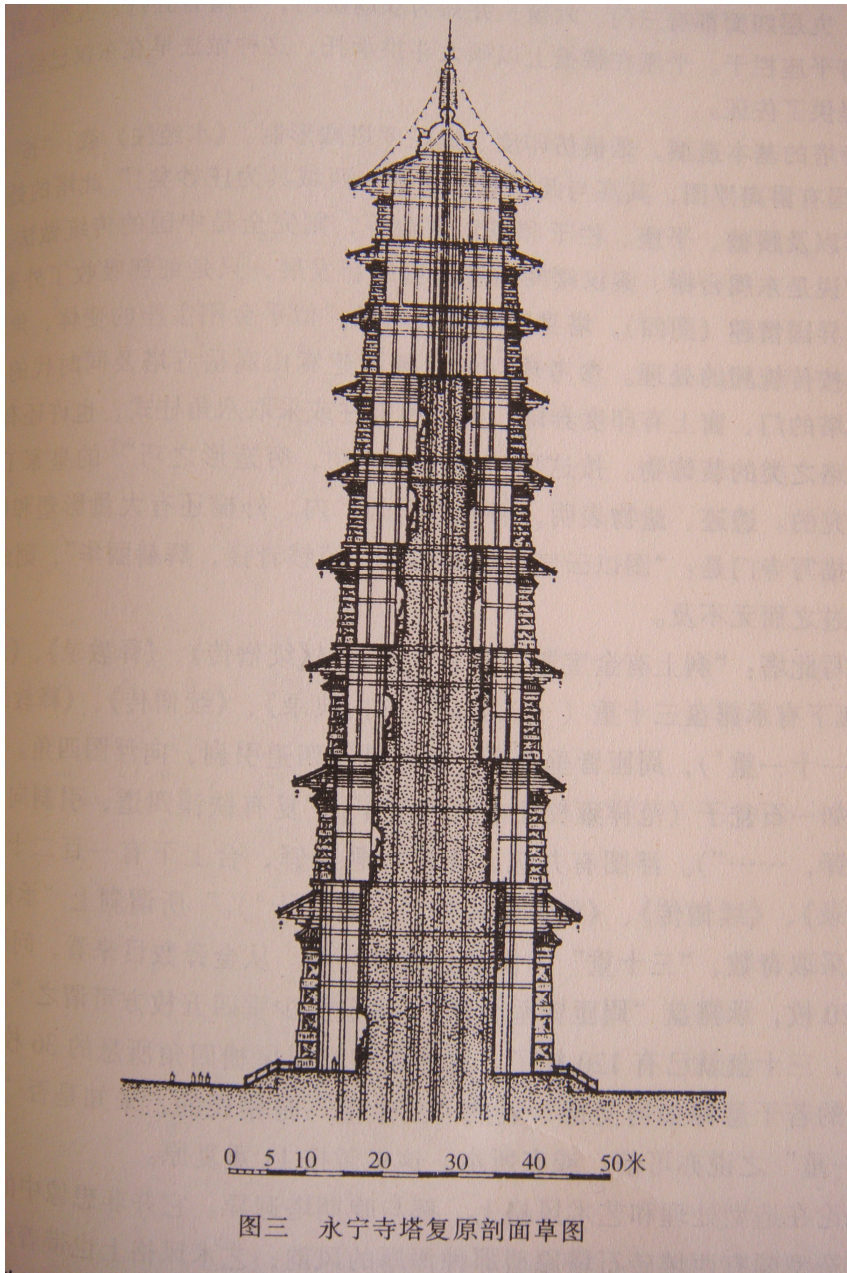


Figure 2.2 Theoretical Reconstruction of the Interior Structure of the Yongning

Stūpa¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁵ Taken from Yang Hongxun, “Guanyu Beiwei Luoyang Yongning si ta fuyuan caotu de shuoming,” in Luoyang shi wenwu ju & Luoyang baima si Han Wei gucheng wenwu baoguan suo (eds.), *Han Wei Luoyang gucheng yanjiu*, 555.

Chapter 3: The Ruling Class and Stūpa Worship: Elite Treatment of Stūpas and Their Faith in Buddhist Relics and Aśokan Legends

The last chapter discusses the impact of the ruling elite and its immortality faith on the development of stūpa worship in capital cities, exploring the reason why it constructed splendid stūpas there with plentiful resources but was generally not enthusiastic about worshipping them. The focus is laid on the non-Buddhist impact on the worship. This chapter will deal with whether Buddhism or Buddhist monks generated any impetus (internal force) for stūpa worship. When searching for such impetus, Buddhist relic veneration and legends of King Aśoka may usually occur to Buddhology students. This is because in Buddhist canonical tradition the stūpa always constitutes a pair of holy entities with the relic, both denoting the presence of the Buddha and his dharma. Then, an assumption may be made: when people pay homage to the Buddha's (or other Buddhist holy people's) remains, they will have respect for receptacles for them, i.e. stūpas, thereby being eager to construct and worship these Buddhist monuments, and will probably imitate King Aśoka—a Buddhist elite model who is admired for his devotional acts performed for relics and stūpas. And, it is generally believed that Chinese Buddhists held such enthusiasm for the Buddha's (or other Buddhist holy figures') relics and faith in the legends of this Indian ruler. Then, supposedly, they would naturally have reverence for stūpas and worship them.

This supposition is based on Buddhist scriptures and Chinese pilgrims' records. As has been shown in Chapter One, many Buddhist scriptures give the stūpa and the relic almost the same religious connotations and describe them as interchangeable objects. They relate many stories of Buddhist worshippers, one of whom is King Aśoka; he is depicted as a model

enthusiast for worshipping both stūpas and relics. And Chinese pilgrims' accounts also impress this on their readers. Many places of pilgrimage in India they record are stūpas with relics enshrined, and some of them are said to be those constructed during this Indian ruler's reign. If the pious follow these works, they may not find it necessary to distinguish worship towards stūpas from that towards relics. Therefore, it seems reasonable to conjecture that veneration of relics and faith in the legends about this ruler would encourage people's homage to stūpas in China.

Yet it would not be reasonable to assume that faith in relics and Aśokan legends appeared in China at the beginning when Buddhism was introduced. A lengthy process had to be gone through until the legends were eventually known and relics were worshipped by Chinese Buddhists. Therefore, this chapter will first deal with the faith, focusing on how relics got to be worshipped and how the legends were spread. Material discussed here is mainly stories of monks' missionary works. Many of them contain narratives of miraculous phenomena that happened in the process, thereby causing doubts in people today of their authenticity. Yet this was why they attracted many Chinese Buddhists in pre-modern times; therefore, instead of considering them as works about actual events, I shall pay attention to whether they could inspire Chinese Buddhists to worship relics and imitate Aśoka. The stories I shall look at include those of Kang Senghui 康僧會 (?-280) and Fotucheng 佛圖澄 (?-348), and those of Huiyuan 慧遠 (332-416) and Tanyi 曇翼 (d. around 411), the students of Daoan 道安 (312-385) (Fotucheng's disciple). Kang Senghui convinced Sun Quan 孫權 (r. 222-251; the emperor of the Wu state) of the power of the Buddha's relics; therefore, the ruler built in 248 the Jianchu monastery 建初寺, which, according to Huijiao's *Gaoseng zhuan*, had the first stūpa in southern China. Fotucheng helped Shi Hu 石虎 (r. 335-349; an

emperor of the Later Zhao 後趙 Dynasty) locate an Aśokan stūpa in his state. Under the guidance of Daoan, Huiyuan and Tanyi were influential masters in the Buddhist society in the south. According to their biographies, they were enthusiasts of Aśokan legends. Inspired by the stories about Fotucheng and them, the elite gradually developed respect for the objects of worship that were reminiscent of the Buddha and were associated with Aśoka.

Although these stories are often discussed in studies on Chinese Buddhism, they are still worthy of close investigation. Since they have been seldom put in the context of the spread of relic veneration and the spread of the belief in the Aśokan legends in China, not much is known about how these stories actually stirred Chinese Buddhists to faith in Buddhist relics and statues related to the Indian ruler. Although it is not alleged that these stories were only forces for the belief, they were certainly among them, providing ancient Buddhists with models of pious Buddhist practitioners and moving them to venerate the relics and statues.

One may doubt whether these stories can reveal the whole picture of Chinese Buddhists' faith in relics and Aśokan legends. It is likely that there were many anecdotes, besides those mentioned above, circulating at that time and encouraging lay Buddhists to venerate the relics and statues. They, however, are now lost. Therefore, it is inevitable that only part of the history of the faith can be dug out in extant materials. Nonetheless, the stories I shall discuss in this chapter are hopefully sufficient to illustrate how such stories moved people to venerate these holy objects.

Thus, to demonstrate that they had an actual impact on the elite, I shall proceed to discuss Xiao Yan's 蕭衍 (464-549; the founding emperor of the Liang Dynasty [502-557], Emperor Wu [r. 502-549], who is better known as Liang Wudi 梁武帝) and his royal family

members' homage to an Aśokan statue.¹ Then I shall turn to relic veneration conducted by him and another emperor, Chen Baxian 陳霸先 (503-559), a founding emperor (Emperor Wu [r. 557-559]) too, this time for the Chen Dynasty (557-589). Not only did they hold Buddhist services for the relics they obtained, but they also made use of the legends about these objects to glorify their images. Unlike their monastic counterparts, these two relic worshippers acted in their political interests when they held the services; in the process stūpas either were regarded as implements serving their interests or even did not have any role. For the discussion of these two emperors' services, in addition to the stories about the relics they obtained, I shall also consult official histories and local gazetteers about Jiankang.

The Buddhist services held by these two emperors, like the stories of the monks, are also not new to students of Chinese Buddhism and have already been well studied. Scholars have made it pretty clear that these elite members showed support for Buddhism. So, instead of repeating what they have done, I shall take another approach, examining the localities where they held the services and their political significances. The localities, which have not

¹ Xiao Yan was an emperor famous for his enthusiasm for Buddhism. Historians in imperial times criticized that he used up so large resources to support the Buddhist order and build monasteries that his empire was thrown into chaos in his late reign. However, scholars nowadays believe that he used Buddhism in his political interests, and therefore conduct many studies on this. My discussion here only focuses on his homage to the Aśokan statue and the relics buried at the Aśokan stūpas. For other aspects of his relationship with Buddhism, see studies such as Andreas Janousch, "The emperor as bodhisattva: the bodhisattva ordination and ritual assemblies of Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty," in *State and Court Ritual in China*, ed. Joseph Peter McDermott (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1999), 112-149; Tom De Rauw, "Beyond Buddhist Apology: The Political Use of Buddhism by Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty (r. 502-549) (Ph.D. diss., Ghent University, 2008); *idem* and Ann Heirman, "Monks for Hire: Liang Wudi's use of household monks (*jiasang*)," *The Medieval History* 14 (2011): 45-69; Chen, "Pañcavāṣika Assemblies," 43-103. Janousch, Rauw, and Heirman share the same idea that Emperor Wu needed Buddhism in establishing his supremacy in the state ritual.

Here I shall mainly deal with stories about the veneration of the images related to Aśoka. For study of stories of miraculous images collected in Daoxuan's and Daoshi's works, see Koichi Shinohara, "Stories of Miraculous Images and Paying Respect to the Three Jewels: A Discourse on Image Worship in Seventh-Century China," in *Images in Asian Religions: Texts and Contexts*, eds. Phyllis Granoff & Koichi Shinohara (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004), 180-222.

yet been discussed thoroughly, will help us to penetrate these emperors' political intentions to hold the Buddhist services and the places of stūpas in them.

In the conclusion, I shall sum up my discussion, deducing whether the elite's faith in relics and Aśokan legends boosted its worship of stūpas in the Six Dynasties.

3.1 Local Stories of Relics and Other Aśoka-related Holy Objects

3.1.1 Records of Relics in the Han Dynasty

Before the discussion of the stories of the monks, it is necessary to provide the background to them by giving a glimpse into Han people's understanding of relics. Literary and archaeological evidence shows that people in the Eastern Han Dynasty already knew of relics, but they abstracted them from Buddhism, neither worshipping them nor linking them with the Buddha (or other Buddhist holy figures).² In his "Xijing fu 西京賦 (Rhapsody of the Western Capital)," written in the early second century, Zhang Heng 張衡 (78-130 C.E.) describes the splendour of an imperial ceremony in Chang'an, which included a show performed by some acrobats. He writes, "The relics (*śarīra*) exhaled (?), and changed into a chariot of immortals."³ His depiction contains another sentence, which reads, "the white

² My discussion of how relics were understood in the Eastern Han is based on the following studies: E. Zürcher, "Han Buddhism and the Western Region," in *Thought and Law in Qin and Han China: Studies dedicated to Anthony Hulsewé on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, eds. W. L. Idema and Zürcher (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), 158-182; Wu, "Buddhist Elements in Early Chinese Art," 263-303, 305-352; Wu Zhuo 吳焯, "Guanzhong zaoqi fojiao chuanbo shiliao gouji" 關中早期佛教傳播史料鉤稽 (An exploration of the sources on the spread of early Buddhism in central Shanxi plain), *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究 4 (1994): 115-120.

³ "Xijing fu," *Zhaoming wenxuan* 昭明文選 (Zhaoming's anthology) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980, rpt.), 2.76: 舍(or 舍)利颯颯, 化為仙車. *Sheli* 舍利 is given as *hanli* 舍利 in the anthology, but as *sheli* in Cai Zhi's 蔡質 (fl. later half of the second century) work (see below). My translation is based on those by Wu and Zürcher, who choose the reading *sheli*. David R. Knechtges, who has translated the whole rhapsody, does

elephant brought about conception.”⁴ The elephant’s entering the womb is a Buddhist metaphor for the Buddha’s birth, and does not originate in China; therefore, it is thought that Zhang Heng and people at that time had some knowledge of Buddhist legends and metaphors.⁵ Apart from Zhang Heng’s “Xijing fu,” the relic is also mentioned in another work, which was composed around the middle of the same century—Cai Zhi’s “Hanguan dianzhi yishi xuanyong” 漢官典職儀式選用 (Administrative ceremonials of Han officials selected for use). In one of its extant fragments which narrates the first morning of the new year, there is a sentence that reads, “the relic comes from the West.”⁶ It is copied in the *Jinshu* in the description of the same celebration. In a tomb dating back to the late Eastern Han in Helingeer 和林格爾 of Inner Mongolia, which was excavated in 1972, a mural painting depicts four ball-shaped objects placed on a plate, with the characters *sheli* 舍利 on the left, and is beside another one portraying an immortal riding on a white elephant. The objects in the painting are thought to be relics. Although the characters *sheli* are different from those used in Chinese to translate relics (*sheli*), they have the same pronunciations;

not show any Buddhist derivation in his translation, but Zürcher believes that in the context relics and the white elephant are associated with Buddhism, given that elephants in the Han art are of Buddhist origins. See Zürcher, “Han Buddhism and the Western Region,” 160n8; Knechtges, *Wen Xuan, or Selections of Refined Literature* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), vol. 1, note for L.717 on p. 232; 233.

Xu Jie 許結 thinks that the state ritual is usually dealt with in Han rhapsodies, so the acrobatic performance narrated in the “Xijing fu” is part of such ritual. Zhang Heng composed this rhapsody around 100 C.E., the period that saw the prosperity of the Han empire. Thus, the performance at least occurred once at that time, although it was perhaps not held throughout the whole dynasty. See Xu Jie, “Hanfu sidian yu diguo zongjiao” 漢賦祀典與帝國宗教 (Worship ceremonies in Han rhapsodies and the state religion), in *Han Wei Liuchao wenxue yu zongjiao* 漢魏六朝文學與宗教 (Literature and religion in the Han, Wei, and the Six Dynasties), ed. Ge Xiaoyin 葛曉音 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2005), 33-37.

⁴ “Xijing fu,” *Zhaoming wenxuan* 2.76: 白象行孕.

⁵ The metaphor for the elephant was still used in the Wei and Jin Dynasties. The celebration described in Cai’s work continued to be held in the Wei and Jin Dynasties. Among the songs played during it, there was one called “the big elephant effects suckling.” (巨象行乳) See *Jinshu*, “Yuezhi 樂志 (Records of music),” 23.718.

⁶ *Jinshu* 23.718: 舍利從西方來.

therefore, they are deemed to refer to Buddhist relics.⁷ The reason why both these characters bear on the left the dictionary radical *quan* 犬 (canine), according to Wu Zhuo, is that relics were thought to be a kind of auspicious animal. Because people in the Eastern Han had a vague idea of what relics were, they presented them as a kind of propitious animal parallel to elephants, which were also portrayed in the tomb. This may explain why relics appeared in the ceremonies described in the above-mentioned literary works. The “Xijing fu” says that the relic changed into a chariot of immortals, and appeared in the acrobatic performance together with white elephants, deers, fish (*lin* 鱗; scaly animals—transforming themselves into dragons), tortoises, and toads. On the first day of the new year described in the *Jinshu*, when the emperor was receiving officials’ greetings, the relic “performed in the front of the [palace] hall and, in a surge of water, transformed itself into a flatfish.”⁸ When recording this event, the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Old history of the Tang) has “the relic animal” instead of “the relic”; a character *shou* 獸 (animal) is added to the term *sheli* (relic).⁹

⁷ I cannot find the pronunciations of the characters “*she* 猓” and “*li* 獺” in Edwin G. Pulleyblank’s *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin* (Vancouver: UBC press, 1991). But Wu Hung and Zürcher write “*sheli*” as its pronunciations, which are the same as those of the Chinese characters for relics. Wu, “Buddhist Elements in Early Chinese Art,” 268; Zürcher, “Han Buddhism and the Western Region,” 164.

In his etymological study of the term *sheli sun* 猓獺 (lynx), Wang Jie 王洁 discusses different Chinese terms that were used to describe this kind of animal, among which the one *sheli sun* became common in the sixteenth century. He believes that one of the reasons contributing its popularity is that it derived from an old term “*sheli* 舍利 (relic),” which is used in the “Xijing fu” to describe an animal capable of transforming itself in the festival ceremony. He also considers that the picture with the inscription “*sheli* 猓獺” in the Helingeer depicts “the relic animal.” Wang Jie, “‘Sheli sun’ kaosuo” “猓獺考溯” (An examination of the derivation of “Sheli sun”), *Yuwen jianshe tongxun* 語文建設通訊 91(1999 Jan): 46-49. Certainly, the term “*sheli sun*” carries a connotation distinct from that of “*sheli*” (relic). And Wang Jie also does not mention whether the pronunciations of the term “*sheli* 猓獺” are the same as those of “*sheli* 舍利.” It is, however, clear that he takes the former to be a derivative of the latter.

In a note for his translation of the “Xijing fu,” Knechtges also has *sheli* as the pronunciation of the term 舍利, which, he thinks, means here performers from Sillaha (the kingdom on the Irawady, which was later called Xili 悉利) who were dressed as the “fish-dragon.” Knechtges, *Wen Xuan*, vol. 1, note for L.717 on p. 232.

⁸ Ibid. “戲於殿前，激水化為比目魚。”

⁹ Liu Xu 劉煦 (887-946), *Jiu Tangshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975, rpt.) 29.1072.

The above works do not describe participation by any monks. Probably at that time relics usually appeared in acrobatic performances as a kind of auspicious animals acted by foreign players. Then, it can be inferred that, without monks' involvement, relics alone did not evoke the elite's worship, and were detached from their Buddhist connotations.

3.1.2 Stories about Kang Senghui and the Relics at the Stūpa in the Jianchu Monastery, and Similar Stories

3.1.2.1 The Story about Kang Senghui Recorded in the *Gaoseng Zhuan*

The term relic might start to be understood with its accurate Buddhist meaning in later times—perhaps the period of the Three Kingdoms, as suggested by the story of Kang Senghui. According to his biography in Huijiao's *Gaoseng zhuan*, he introduced Buddhism to southern China in the Wu kingdom and persuaded Sun Quan to set up the first stūpa there. Scholars usually mention this story when they discuss the introduction of Buddhism to the Wu state and even to China.¹⁰ Though well known, it is worth discussing here because it reflects Chinese Buddhists' understanding of relics.

The biography says that before Kang Senghui—a monk of Sogdian descent who grew up in Jiaozhi 交趾 (in Vietnam)—came to the country to spread his faith, Buddhism was not familiar to people there. When he arrived at the capital Jianye 建鄴 (i.e. Jiankang), he lived

¹⁰ Many scholars of Chinese Buddhism include the story of the Jianchu stūpa in their studies on the early history of Chinese Buddhism and on Chinese relic veneration. John Kieschnick, for example, talks about it in his *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003), and believes that it reflects the importance of relics in the spread of Buddhism in China in early times.

in a thatched cottage (*cimao* 茨茅), devoting himself to cultivation. Since local officials had not seen monks before, they thought him suspicious and reported this to Sun Quan. Sun granted him an audience and asked him to verify his faith. The monk then related to him the story of the Buddha's relics and their being enshrined in stūpas by Aśoka.

A thousand years has flashed by since the Tathāgata (i.e. Śākyamuni) transcended traces (i.e. entered *parinirvāṇa*), [but] the relics of his remaining bones are [still] shining miraculously, beyond [all] bounds. [Therefore, to house them,] in the past King Aśoka erected as many as 84,000 stūpas. The establishment of stūpas and monasteries is [exactly] aimed to display the teachings [the Buddha] handed down. 如來遷跡, 忽逾千載, 遺骨舍利, 神曜無方, 昔阿育王起塔, 乃八萬四千. 夫塔寺之興, 以表遺化也.¹¹

The emperor did not believe the monk, so he told him to get relics as proof. He would build a stūpa if Kang Senghui obtained them; otherwise, he would punish him. Knowing that this would significantly influence the spread of Buddhism, Kang prayed hard. He asked to be given seven days; with incense burning, he first purified himself in a quiet place and then prayed for relics. However, he failed, so he asked for one more week. After the second week he still did not succeed; he requested another week. Finally, after the two failed attempts, one night in the third week, there was a loud noise, and relics suddenly appeared in a vase. These relics possessed amazing power; not only did they give out a five-coloured light when Sun Quan showed them to his officials, but were also indestructible. When placed in the vase that was laid on a copper tray, they jumped out of the vase, and hit and broke the tray. Kang Senghui put them on a chopping block and asked a person to hit them forcibly with an iron hammer. They remained intact after being hit, but the block and the hammer were dented.

¹¹ Huijiao, *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 1.325b; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 16.

Sun Quan was completely convinced by these marvels. He constructed a stūpa as well as the Jianchu monastery. The ward where the monastery was located was hence called Fotuo li 佛陀里 (The Buddha's Ward). Consequently, Buddhism—Huijiao says—flourished in southern China. There is a variant of the story circulating in Huijiao's time. It says that it was Sun Hao 孫皓 (r. 264-280), Sun Quan's son coming to the throne, who conducted the trial by hitting the relics when he intended to destroy Buddhist monasteries. Yet Huijiao denies this version.¹²

Although this story may not be completely truthful, it was perhaps circulated by Buddhists after Sun Quan's time or later. Huijiao, who might have some doubt about it, interpolated into Kang Senghui's biography a brief account of a Parthian Buddhist Zhi Qian¹³, hinting that Buddhism had already been introduced to the Wu state before Kang Senghui. Zhi Qian, who fled to Jiankang in the late Eastern Han Dynasty, translated some Buddhist *sūtras*, including several influential ones such as the *Weimojie jing* 維摩詰經 (*Vimalakīrti[nirdeśa] sūtra*, T no. 474) and the *Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經 (*Amitābha sūtra*, T no. 366). Moreover, there were already Buddhists active in earlier times in ancient Wuchang—the city where Sun Quan based his government in 221 to 228. Before Zhi Qian went to Jiankang, he first went there. A monastery there called Changle si 昌樂寺, which was built in 220 (twenty-seven years earlier than the Jianchu monastery), was thought to be the first

¹² *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 1.325b-326b; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 15-19.

¹³ Huijiao only interpolates a short account about Zhi Qian into the biography, but Sengyou has written in his *Chu sanzang jiji* a separate biography for him (T no. 2145, 55: 13.97b-97c; Su Jinren and Xiao Lianzi [ed.], *Chu sanzang jiji*, 516-517). According to the biography, Zhi Qian was appointed as the crown prince's instructor and assistant, but led a reclusive life after Sun Hao came to the throne.

Buddhist temple in the Wu state. And the *Faju jing* 法句經 (*Dharmapāda sūtra*), translated in 224 either by Vighna or by Zhi Qian, was possibly rendered in Wuchang.¹⁴

3.1.2.2 The Meanings of the Story about Kang Senghui and the Relics to Contemporary Buddhists, as Deduced from Its Early Version and Some Similar Anecdotes

What did this story mean to contemporary Buddhists? Its earlier version and some similar stories may give one some insight into this. The story examined above is the version that appeared sometime after Sun Quan's reign. There is another one quoted from a book called *Wushu* 吳書 (Book of the Wu) in Daoxuan's works¹⁵, which seems to be the earliest extant version of the story. Although the book title is the same as that of the section about the Wu state in Chen Shou's *Sanguo zhi*, the quotation is not found in the latter; therefore, possibly it is that of another official history completed before King Jing's 景帝 reign (Yongan 永安; 258-264) in the Wu state. If that is the case, then the story about Kang Senghui and the Jianchu monastery already appeared in the Wu period.¹⁶ It also describes the

¹⁴ E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 46-51; Tang, *Han Wei Liangjin Nanbei chao fojiaoshi*, 89-95; Jiang Zanchu 蔣贊初, "Echeng Liuchao kaogu sanji" 鄂城六朝考古散記 (Fragmentary records of archaeological [findings] in Echeng in the Six Dynasties), *Changjiang zhongxia you lishi kaogu lunwen ji* 長江中下游歷史考古論文集 (A collection of treatises about history and archaeology of the middle and lower reaches of Yangtze river) (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe 科學出版社, 2001), 103-104.

¹⁵ *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 1.99c-100a; *Ji gujin fodaolunheng* 集古今佛道論衡 (A collection of controversies between Buddhists and Daoists from the past to the present), T no. 2104, 52: 1.364c.

¹⁶ The *Wushu* was composed in the Wu, by either an official chronicler Wei Yao 韋曜 (or Wei Zhao 韋昭) or a group of chroniclers including him. Although it was lost, it influenced historical records of later times. For example, it was one of the sources for the *Sanguo zhi* and *Jiankang shilu*, where its fragments are found. Besides, it had a section about auspicious phenomena ("Xiangrui zhi 祥瑞志") that set a precedent for other histories (e.g. *Songshu*). See Tang Xiejun 唐燮軍, "Wei Yao *Wushu* kaobian—Jianlun *Jiankang shi lu* dui *Wushu* de zhengyin" 韋曜《吳書》考辨—兼論《建康實錄》對《吳書》的徵引 (An investigation into Wei Yao's *Wushu*, in addition to the discussion of the quotations in the *Jiankang shilu* from the *Wushu*), *Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua* 中國典籍與文化 71(2009): 66-73.

same scenario that Sun Quan, who is addressed as “Wuzhu” 吳主 (the Wu Lord), was at first suspicious of Buddhism, and was later surprised to see relics shining and indestructible, and consequently built a stūpa and the Jianchu monastery. Yet, it does not say that Kang Senghui related to him Aśoka’s distribution of the Buddha’s relics, and possibly this part emerged later.¹⁷ This version shows that when the story of the monastery appeared at first, it already emphasized the miraculous nature of the relics. Together with the monastery, the story was considered as the evidence for Buddhism, being mentioned in defences of Buddhism against people’s attacks on the religion. Then, the reason why the story, together with the relics and the monastery, was significant to contemporary Buddhists was that it attested to their faith. Hence, in the *Wushu*, as shown in Daoxuan’s quotation, it is followed by another story about Emperor Ming of the Han Dynasty. The quotation says that, after Sun Quan constructed the monastery, he asked his official Kan Ze 闕澤 (d.243) about the introduction of Buddhism to China in that period. The latter replied that in 71 (the 14th year of the Yongping 永平 era, under the reign of Emperor Ming of in the Han) some Daoist priests from the Five Mountains were defeated in a debate by Mātariṅga (or Kāśyapa Mātariṅga [translated as Moteng 摩騰 or Jiayemoteng 迦葉摩騰]; ?-73),¹⁸ so they committed suicide. Kan Ze went further and concluded that Buddhism surpassed Daoism and Confucianism. This anecdote, together with

¹⁷ Also, the miraculous phenomena caused by the relics mentioned in Daoxuan’s quotation are not all the same. As the story goes, when placed in fire, the relics emitted light that displayed images of lotuses. This phenomenon is not mentioned in Huijiao’s account. “Wuzhu Sun Quan lun xu Fo Dao sanzong” 吳主孫權論敘佛道三宗 (The Wu Lord Sun Quan’s discussion of the three teachings, Buddhism, Daoism, [and Confucianism]), in *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 1.99c-100a; *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu*, T no. 2106, 52: 1.410b.

¹⁸ Also known as Shemoteng 攝摩騰 and one of the earliest Buddhist missionaries, he came to China in 67 C.E. at the invitation of Emperor Ming in the Eastern Han. Together with Zhu Falan 竺法蘭 (Dharmaratna? or Dharmarakṣa; fl. 67), he brought with him some Buddhist images and scriptures. After reaching Luoyang, he lived in the Baima monastery, and translated the *Sishier zhang jing* 四十二章經 (*Sūtra* in Forty-two sections) in 67 with Zhu Falan. His biography is found in the *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 1. 322c-323a; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 1-2.

the one about the relics obtained by Kang Senghui, was regarded as “evidence” for Buddhism or for its marvelous power.

This is the reason why the story of the relics appears in a polemical letter written by a monk of Jiaozhou 交州 named Faming 法明 (d.u.) to an officer Li Miao 李淼 (d.u.) in the Liu Song Dynasty, more than a hundred years before Huijiao recorded it in his *Gaoseng zhuan*. In it Faming only outlines the story as follows:

At the beginning the king of the Wu Sun Quan suspected that Buddhism could not be proved and therefore he ought to prohibit and abolish [it]. Later he obtained relics, which illuminated the palace, and which could neither be smashed with any gold and iron [implements] nor be melted down through heating in the furnace. [The evidence for this event] is the Jianchu monastery seen in the present in the imperial capital. 吳主孫權初疑佛法無驗，當停罷省，遂獲舍利，光明照宮，金鐵不能碎，爐冶不能融，今見帝京建初寺是。¹⁹

Faming reduced the whole story to a brief outline, without any mention of either Kang Senghui or the stūpa, but stressed the extraordinary features of the relics—the contents he perhaps thought most important to verify the Buddha’s teachings when he argued with Li Miao, who did not believe Buddhist ideas of karma and retribution. Such arguments were common at that time, so it is not necessary to discuss them here. It should be noted, however, that in the polemic the story did not stand out and was simply among other fanciful stories about other emperors’ experiences of miracles caused by the power of the religion.²⁰

¹⁹ “Gao Ming er fashi da Li Jiaozhou Miao fo bu jian xing shi” 高明二法師答李交州淼佛不見形事 (The reply of two dharma masters [Dao]gao and [Fa]ming to the Jiaozhou [prefect] Li Miao on the argument about the unseen traces of the Buddha), in *Hongming ji* 弘明集 (A collection [of works for] spreading and explaining [Buddhist teachings]), ed. Sengyou 僧祐 (445-518), T no. 2102, 52: 11.70a-72a. Faming, together with another monk named Daogao 道高 (d.u.), debated Li Miao over the authenticity of the Buddha’s teachings. Their letters are also collected in *QSSQLW* 3: 64.2782a-2783a.

²⁰ Another story Faming narrates is about, for example, Liu Yu (zi 字 [given name]: Deyu 德興 [356-422]; the founder of the Liu Song Dynasty, r. 420-422). It says that after he became an emperor, he dreamt of a Buddhist

It was not rare at that time to quote a story of indestructible relics as a testament. There was another similar story circulating at that time, dealing with a similar plot: a certain emperor was suspicious of Buddhism at first but changed his mind after a monk showed him some miraculous relics. This story is collected by Wei Shou in his *Weishu*—a history compiled in Emperor Wenxuan’s 文宣 period of the Northern Qi (554-554; the 2nd to the 5th years of the Tianbao 天保 era). It illustrated that similar anecdotes about relics were spread not only in the south, but also in the north.

Emperor Ming of the Wei once wanted to destroy a stūpa (*fotu* 佛圖)²¹ in the west of the palace. A foreign monk then placed a golden tray of water in front of the hall and put the Buddha’s relics in the water; they then emitted five-coloured light. As a result, the emperor said in admiration, ‘How can [we] get this [phenomenon] if they are not divine and exceptional?’ Next he moved [the stūpa] to a path in the east and built a circular tower of a hundred rooms [next to it]; in the original place where the stūpa originally lay [he dug] a Mengsi 濛汜²² pond and planted hibiscus in it.”

魏明帝曾欲壞宮西佛圖。外國沙門乃金盤盛水，置於殿前，以佛舍利，投之於水，乃有五色光起。於是帝歎曰：“自非靈異，安得爾乎？”遂徙於道東，作周閣百間，佛圖故處，鑿為濛汜池，種芙蓉於中。²³

priest holding an alms bowl. The latter told him that he came to the throne because in his previous life he had offered the Buddha Vipaśyin (lit. Yiwei 夷衛; Weiwei 維衛) an alms bowl of rice. “Gao Ming er fashi da Li Jiaozhou Miao nian fo bu jian xing shi,” 71c.

²¹ The term *fotu* means either stūpa or Buddhist monastery. It is possible that it refers to a stūpa here, which was extended by the emperor and became a building later, as affirmed by the story.

²² Mengsi is a legendary place where sunset is said to begin. According to the *Luoyang qielan ji*, a pond bearing the same name was located north of the Changqiu monastery 長秋寺 in Luoyang. See Yang Xuanzhi, *Luoyang qielan ji*, T no. 2029, 51: 1.1002c; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 1.24; Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 45. Yet, it is uncertain whether this pond is the one mentioned in the *Weishu*.

²³ *Weishu* 114.3029.

A similar account is also found in one of Daoxuan's texts and is quoted from the *Han faben neizhuan* 漢法本內傳 (Anecdotal book about [Buddhist] teachings in the Han). It reads as follows:

In the time of Emperor Ming of the Wei, in Luoyang city, originally there were three monasteries, one of which was located in the west of the palace. At the top of the mast at each one hung a banner, which could be seen everywhere in the palace. The emperor disliked this; [therefore] he was going to remove and destroy [the monastery (or the stūpa?)]. At that time there was a foreign monk living in the monastery. Consequently, he held a golden tray of water with a relic put in it. [The relic] emitted five-coloured light, which was surging and shining endlessly. The emperor said in admiration, "If there is not any divine efficacy, how can [we] get this [phenomenon]?" As a result, he built by a path in the east a circular house of a hundred rooms called "Guan fotu jingshe" 官佛圖精舍 (Official stūpa vihāra [or monastery]).

魏明帝洛城中, 本有三寺. 其一在宮之西, 每繫幡刹頭, 輒斥見宮內, 帝患之, 將毀除壞. 時有外國沙門居寺, 乃齋金盤盛水, 以貯舍利, 五色光明, 騰焰不息, 帝歎曰: "非乎神效, 安得爾乎!" 乃於道東造周闔百間, 名為官佛圖精舍云.²⁴

Dealing with similar plots, this story of Emperor Ming of the Wei and the above-discussed one in the *Weishu* were perhaps based on the same source and had the same meanings to contemporary Buddhists. This can be concluded from the nature of the *Han faben neizhuan*, namely the reason why the story was narrated in this work, which is commonly held to be a forgery composed after the Tianjian era 天監 (502-519) of the Liang Dynasty. It also records a famous story about Emperor Ming's dream of the Buddha (described as "shenren" 神人 [a

²⁴ *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu*, T no. 2106, 52: 1.410b. The same quotation is also found in Daoshi's *Fayuan zhulin* (T no. 2122, 53: 40.600c; Zhou & Su [colla. & annot.], *Fayuan zhulin* 3: 40.1268), with some variants, for example, "at every one [of the monasteries] a relic was hung up on the banner at the mast," (每繫舍利在幡刹之上) which differs from that in Daoxuan's work as quoted above.

divine man]) in the Han—a story thought to have been fabricated so as to trace the introduction of the religion back to that period of time. This suggests that the work was clearly composed for propaganda purposes, dealing with perhaps mostly made up history of emperors' contact with the religion in early times. It is then not hard to conclude that, mentioned in such a work, the story of the relics and Emperor Ming of the Wei was apparently regarded by Buddhists as a testament to their belief and was perhaps usually mentioned for assuaging non-Buddhists' doubt.

As principal objects depicted in these stories, in Buddhists' eyes, relics were important “concrete” evidence. The *Han faben neizhuan* records the story about the conflict between the Daoist priests from the Five Mountains and Buddhist monks in Emperor Ming's time. It is the same as the one appearing in the *Wushu* stated above, but has different details. According to the story, sad to see that the emperor believed foreign teaching (i.e. Buddhism) and abandoned local ancient doctrine, the Daoist priests decided to prove to him that their own faith was genuine and thus indestructible. In the Baima monastery 白馬寺 (the first Buddhist monastery in China which was located in Luoyang) they set up altars and burned Daoist scriptures and local philosophical texts. The books were all reduced to ashes right away; consequently, with great regret one of the Daoist priests even committed suicide. However, the relics, which were placed together with Buddhist images and scriptures, emitted five-coloured light, revolved, and soared up into the air. They were brighter than the sun. Displaying to others his miraculous power, the monk Mātāṅga²⁵ also flew up in the air.

²⁵ See note 18 above for the information of this monk.

Precious flowers fell from the sky onto the images and monks at the scene. People were all surprised at this spectacle, thus admiring and converting to Buddhism.²⁶

It is clear that the story of Kang Senghui and the relics is among these anecdotes, in which relics are described as shining, indestructible, holy objects, thus being fine testaments to Buddhism. So, then, apart from proving that Buddhism was efficacious, did these propagandist anecdotes encourage Buddhists at that time to venerate relics? Although these anecdotes conveyed clearly a message that relics—symbols of Buddhism—were holy and powerful, it is hard to confirm that they directly evoked people's devotion towards relics. These anecdotes provided no information of where the relics mentioned were enshrined and to which monasteries or stūpas Buddhists could go for veneration; therefore, it can only be concluded that they might boost Buddhists' general respect for relics instead of encouraging them to worship any particular monasteries or stūpas.

Although the story of Kang Senghui and the relics claims that it was the Jianchu monastery where Sun Quan built a stūpa for the relics Kang Senghui obtained, the stūpa was destroyed when Su Jun 蘇峻 (?-329) caused a disturbance in 327 to 329 (the 2nd to the 4th years of the Xianhe 咸和 era). He Chong 何充 (292-346), a devoted Buddhist, set up a new monastery, together with a new stūpa, to the east of the original one. This new monastery was located in a marketplace south of the Qinhuai river. The original one, where Kang Senghui lived, was probably a crude, small temple, and did not develop into a large one until

²⁶ Probably because Daoxuan narrates the story in more detail in his *Guang Hongming ji* (1.98c-99b), he only outlines it in the *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* (410b).

the Eastern Jin Dynasty.²⁷ According to the *Jiankang shilu* 建康實錄 (Veritable Records of Jiankang, composed by Xu Song 許嵩 [fl. 756-762] in the Tang), Kang Senghui prayed for the relics at an altar he set up in “the palace” (*danei* 大內), and therefore Sun Quan built a monastery at “the place where the altar was located” (lit. *tansuo* 壇所). The “present monastery” (*jinsi* 今寺), however, was located seven *li* south of the palace. The monastery mentioned here probably was the one rebuilt by He Chong, and according to the *Gaoseng zhuan*, as stated above, was situated in Fotu li (Buddha’s ward).²⁸ This suggests that the original Jianchu monastery was destroyed, and Buddhists at that time neither equated the new monastery with the old one nor thought the new stūpa to be the original one housing the relics Kang Senghui obtained. Under the circumstances, probably the story of this monk and the relics did not directly encourage Buddhists to worship the stūpa there, but was simply counted as one of the propaganda anecdotes discussed above. This perhaps explains why it remains more and less the same when cited in later works, and there were no new plot variations describing miracles related to the stūpa or the relics happening in later times. If the stūpa had become the centre of worship, some anecdotes about worshippers’ experiences of miraculous phenomena might have appeared and been attached to the story. It is likely that

²⁷ Tsukamoto, *Chūgoku Bukkyō tsūshi* 中国仏教通史 (General history of Buddhism in China) (Tōkyō: Suzuki gakujutsu zaidan, 1968), vol. 1, 162; Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 (ed.), *Zhongguo fojiao shi* 中國佛教史 (History of Buddhism in China) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1981), vol. 1, 177-179.

²⁸ *Jiankang shilu* 2.40 & 5.99. The story is followed in the work by others about some Daoist priests and sorcerers (e.g. Ge Xuan 葛玄 [164-244] and Jie Xiang 介象 [a priest of the Wei and Jin Dynasties]), which are meant to show that Sun Quan was fond of Daoist magic (tactics; *daoshu* 道術). Among them, one warrants mention here. As Yao Guang 姚光 (a Daoist priest of the Wei and Jin Dynasties) claimed to be a fire immortal (*huoxian* 火仙), in order to verify his words, Sun Quan asked him to sit in fire. He was not injured at all, and a Daoist scripture he held in his hands was also intact. This story is also recorded in the *Dongxian zhuan* 洞仙傳 (Biographies of grotto immortals, mentioned in the “Dynastic bibliographies [Jingji zhi 經籍志]” of the *Suishu* 33.997). This story, together with those mentioned above, shows that both Daoists and Buddhists made every effort to convince people that their doctrines were everlasting, so much so that their scriptures or the Buddha’s relics remained intact when hit or put in fire.

the relics were lost in the riot, and the story usually only reminded Buddhists of the non-existent monastery but did not noticeably evoke their veneration (including the elite's) of the new stūpa.

3.1.3 Stories of Fotucheng²⁹ and Other Monks as Impetus for Elite Interest in Aśoka-related Objects for Worship

Perhaps some stories other than those discussed above stirred up people's veneration of Buddhist holy objects and the elite's interest in them. So I shall next examine the stories of Fotucheng—a monk of Central Asiatic origin who came to northern China in 310—and of Huiyuan and Tanyi, disciples of his student Daoan. These stories are not aimed at describing relics as testaments to Buddhism, but depicting the monks' feats involving these holy objects, especially those related to Aśoka. They aroused the elite's interest in these objects and the veneration of some of them.

Fotucheng, according to the *Gaoseng zhuan*, was famed for his supernatural power. As a performer of a lot of wonderworks (or miracles), he earned the trust of the ethnic minority ruler Shi Le 石勒 (r. 319-333) of the Later Zhao and of his successor Shi Hu 石虎 (r. 335-349). It is not necessary to describe in detail here all the wonderworks, and my attention is given to only those entailing stūpas. Huijiao says that Shi Hu wanted to repair an

²⁹ Fotucheng (Buddhacinga) was also called Zhufotucheng 竺佛圖澄 or Fotuosenghe 佛陀僧訶 (Buddhasiṃba). For the life of Fotucheng, see Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, 79-80; Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest of China*, 181-183. For a discussion of his biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan* and an English translation of it, see Arthur F. Wright, "Fo-T'u-Teng: A Biography," in *Studies in Chinese Buddhism*, ed. Robert M. Somers (New Haven: Yale University, 1990), 34-67. This article was originally published in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 11 (1948): 321-371. For a study of Fotucheng as a Buddhist wonderworker in the Six Dynasties, see Murakami Yoshimi 村上嘉実, *Rikuchō shisōshi kenkyū* 六朝思想史研究 (Studies on the intellectual history in the Six Dynasties) (Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1974), 205-223.

old stūpa in the Linzhang 臨漳 city (i.e. Ye, in Hebei), but did not have a dew receiver (or dew collecting basin; *chenglupan*). Fotucheng then told him that there was already one made by Aśoka. His words read as follows:

There is an ancient King Aśoka's stūpa in Linzi 臨淄 (in Shandong). Under the ground there are a dew receiver and a Buddhist statue. Trees [growing] above them are flourishing. You may dig them out and take them.

臨淄城內有古阿育王塔, 地中有承露盤及佛像, 其上林木茂盛, 可掘取之.³⁰

Fotucheng also drew a map indicating its location for Shi Le's subordinates, who carried out a search as instructed and got the receiver and the statue.³¹ It is also said that he made repeatedly accurate prophecies with the sound made by the wheel (*xianglun* 相輪; i.e. the dew receiver) at the top of the stūpa—the one probably located at the monastery where he lived.³² The first occasion occurred when Duan Bo 段波 (or Duan Mobo 段末波 in the *Jinshu* or Duo Mobei 段末杯 in the *Zizhi tongjian*), a warlord of Xianbei 鮮卑 (Sienpi; Serbi), attacked the state. The monk predicted that Shi Le would succeed in catching him, although at that time his enemy army was large. In 328, when Liu Yao 劉曜 (r. 318-328), a

³⁰ Huijiao, *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 9.385b; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 351-352.

³¹ Ibid.

³² The custom of making prophecies with stūpas came from India. The *Luoyang qielan ji* reads,

Fifty paces to the south of the Ch'üeh-li 雀離 (Queli) Stūpa was a perfectly round stone stūpa, which rose to a height of twenty Chinese feet. It has such magic powers as to presage good or bad luck for men. Of those who touched it, if it was one who would have good fortune, golden bells sounded in response. If it was one who would have ill fortune, the bells failed to sound, even when shaken. Now, since Huisheng was in a distant country, he was afraid of an inauspicious return [trip], so he bowed to the holy stūpa and begged for some evidence. He then touched it with his finger, and heard the bells rings in response. After receiving this indication, he felt at ease. Later, he indeed had a happy return [trip].

雀離浮圖南五十步, 有一石塔, 其形正圓, 高二丈, 甚有神變, 能與世人表吉凶. 觸之, 若吉者, 金鈴鳴應; 若凶者, 假令人搖撼, 亦不肯鳴. 惠生既在遠國, 恐不吉反, 遂禮神塔, 乞求一驗. 於是以指觸之, 鈴即鳴應. 得此驗, 用慰私心, 後果得吉反. (Yang Xuanzhi, *Luoyang qielan ji*, T no. 2092, 51: 5.1021c; Zhou [colla. & annot.], *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 5.112; Wang [trans.], *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 242)

Also mentioned in Xuanzang's pilgrimage record, the Queli stūpa was built in the capital Puruṣapura (translated as Fuloushafuluo 富婁沙富羅; present-day Peshāwar) by Kaniṣka 迦尼色迦, the king of Gandhāra.

Hun ruler of the Former Zhao state, attacked Luoyang, Shi Le planned to lead his army in defense but his officials disagreed. Fotucheng, however, supported him, telling him that, according to the prophetic sound of the wheel, he would finally capture Liu. In 333, the monk again foresaw a political event after hearing one night a bell of the stūpa ring. He predicted correctly that Shi Le would die that year. The last incident foretold by him recorded in the *Gaoseng zhuan* happened in 348. Shi Xuan 石宣 (d. 348), one of Shi Hu's sons, killed the crown prince Shi Tao 石韜 (d. 348), and Fotucheng predicted the tragedy, when he had heard a bell of the stūpa ring during Shi Xuan's visit.³³

The stories of Fotucheng's wonderworks do not directly relate to relic veneration or stūpa worship, so they might not have a noticeable impact on them. Like the one in the Jianchu monastery mentioned in the story of Kang Senghui and the relics, the new stūpa Shi Hu built with the images and the receiver accredited to Aśoka was probably also demolished, when the Former Zhao was taken over by the Former Yin 前燕 (337-370). Therefore, there is no description of Buddhists' worship of it in extant works. So, it seems that the stories did not encourage Buddhists to pay homage to the stūpa related to Fotucheng either. However, the stories caused the adaptation of the Aśokan legends, which encouraged the belief that some holy objects linked to Aśoka, including relics and stūpas, were located in China. The belief was reinforced when the stories of Huiyuan's and Tanyi's obtainment of these objects emerged. These stories finally attracted the elite's notice of such objects.

Apparently, the belief was never challenged because these monks were greatly respected masters in Buddhist society. For example, it was commonly believed that Fotucheng had great supernatural power and deep compassion; for others' welfare, he

³³ Huijiao, *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 9.383b-386b; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 345-355.

performed wonderworks for converting Shi Le and Shi Hu—the two non-Chinese rulers notorious for their violence. This image of him as a sacred monk was implanted in people’s minds, so when He Shangzhi 何尚之 (380-458) persuaded Emperor Wen of the Liu Song Dynasty not to restrict building monasteries and casting Buddhist statues at Xiao Mozhi’s 蕭摹之 (fl. the first half of the fifth century; then Danyang magistrate [Danyang yin 丹陽尹]) request in 435, he highly praised Fotucheng’s altruistic behaviour.

Besides, since the disturbance of China caused by the Five Tribes, common people have been living in utter misery, and those who died unjustly and unnaturally are immeasurable. At intervals, if some people are relieved, they have to rely on Buddhism. Hence, [after] Fotucheng arrived at Ye, Shi Hu reduced his slaughter by half.

又五胡亂華以來，生民塗炭，冤橫死亡者，不可勝數。其中設獲蘇息，必釋教是賴。故佛圖澄入鄴而石虎殺戮減半。³⁴

Huijiao also made similar comments in the postscript to the section of “Monks [renowned for] their wonderworks (*shenyi* 神異)” in his *Gaoseng zhuan*, which read as follows:

With esoteric spells (mantras) he helped those nearly dead; through (lit. *ni* 擬) the scent of the incense he released those in danger. [Simply by] watching [the sunlight] the bells shone on the palm (i.e. the dew receiver), when seated, he predicted auspicious and inauspicious [events]. He finally converted the two Shi (Shi Le and Shi He) and certainly profited an incomparable large number of people in remote areas.

³⁴ He Shangzhi, “He ling Shangzhi da Song Wen huangdi zanyang fojiao shi” 何令尚之答宋文皇帝讚揚佛教事 (Magistrate He Shangzhi’s reply to Emperor Wen of the Song Dynasty in praise of affairs related to Buddhism), *Hongming ji*, T 2102, no. 52: 11.69c. His reply is also found in “Liexu Yuanjia zanyang fojiao shi” 列敘元嘉讚揚佛教事 ([An article] listing and discussing in the Yuanjia period the affairs in praise of Buddhism), in *QSSQSLW* 3: 28.2590-2591.

藉秘咒而濟將盡，擬香氣而拔臨危，瞻鈴映掌，坐定吉凶。終令二石稽首，荒裔子來，澤潤蒼萌³⁵，固無以校也。³⁶

Perhaps southerners tended to make such comments, thinking that in the territory of brutal rulers northern people were in strong need of extraordinary monastic saviours like Fotucheng.

Under the circumstances, as easily inferred, Fotucheng's discovery of the Aśokan stūpa, one of his feats attesting to his extraordinary image, was never open to doubt for contemporary Buddhists. Zong Bing 宗炳 (375-443) was one of them. In his *Mingfo lun* 明佛論 (A discussion on the clarification of Buddhism), which was composed sometime between 433 to 439³⁷, less than a hundred years after Fotucheng's death, he narrated the discovery,

Revered Cheng, the Man of the Way, is compassionate and holy. In Shi Le's [and Shi] Hu's times, he told Hu, "In Linzi city, at the location where an old King Aśoka monastery had once stood, there were still Buddhist images and a dew receiver buried twenty *chi* underground under a big tree in a dense forest." Hu told a person to carry out a search according to Fotucheng's map. He found all [the images and the receiver] as he said.

道人澄公仁聖，於石勒虎之世，謂虎曰：“臨淄城中有古阿育王寺處，猶有形像承露盤，在深林巨樹之下，入地二十丈。”虎使者依圖搜求，皆如言得。³⁸

³⁵ The other versions of the text read *sheng* 生 here, and this character fits in with the text.

³⁶ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 10.395b; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 398.

³⁷ The work, titled "Shen bu mie lun" 神不滅論 (A treatise on immortality of the soul), is about the Buddhist ideas on retributive karma and immortality of the soul. Zürcher dates it to 433, but, as said by Li Xiaorong 李小榮, Ren Jiyu estimates that it was composed some time from 435 to 439. Li dates it sometime between 435 to 436. See Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest of China*, 15; Li Xiaorong, *Hongming ji Guang Hongming ji shulu gao* 《弘明集》《廣弘明集》述論稿 (Manuscripts about discussion about the *Hongming ji* and the *Guang Hongming ji*) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2005), 441n2. Walter Liebenthal has translated part of the work in his "The Immortality of the Soul in Chinese Thought," *Monumenta Nipponica* 8.1/2 (1952): 378-394. Li states that Ren's reference to the composition date occurs in his edited *Zhongguo fojiao shi* (94 & 94n), but I cannot locate it.

³⁸ Sengyou, *Hongming ji*, T no. 2102, 52: 2.12c.

Clearly, the story of the discovery depicted Fotucheng's extraordinary image and, at the same time, hinted that the holy objects accredited to Aśoka were associated with one's cultivation and virtue. In other words, these objects helped one build up a good reputation. Also, the story caused a fad for locating Aśokan stūpas in China, at two of which Xiao Yan held Buddhist services and some of which are listed in Daoxuan's works.³⁹ Chinese Buddhists believed that holy objects related to this ruler (e.g. stūpas, statues, and the Buddha's relics) were no longer those existing only in the remote past and far away from China, and a person with exceptional achievements could cause them to appear or find them. Such belief was strengthened when stories about Huiyuan and Tanyi spread.

After being told by Daoan⁴⁰ to flee to the south, these two monks carried out missionary works there and settled on Mount Lu and in Changsha 長沙 of Jingzhou 荊州 respectively. Enthusiastic about holy objects attributed to Aśoka, they placed the statues related to this Indian ruler at the temples they founded—Donglin 東林寺 and Changsha monasteries 長沙寺. As easily inferred, they infected their followers in the south with their enthusiasm. The stories about the statues were also linked with these two monks' images as extraordinary figures, like those about Fotucheng attesting to this foreign monk's transcendence. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss the legends.

According to Huijiao, a miracle occurred when Huiyuan prayed for an Aśokan statue for his newly constructed Donglin monastery. The statue he obtained was discovered in

³⁹ *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 15.202a; *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu*, T no. 2106, 52: 1.406a.

⁴⁰ After Fotucheng passed away and Ye was in chaos, Daoan went to Xiangyang, but could not go further, and was forced to stay in Chang'an. For a discussion of Daoan's life and the escape route he took, see Fang Guangchang 方廣錫, "Daoan binan xingzhuang kao" 道安避難行狀考 (An examination of a biographical sketch of Daoan's taking refuge), *Zhonghua foxue xuebao* 中華佛學學報 12 (1990 July): 145-174; Tsukamoto, *Chūgoku Bukkyō tsūshi*, vol. 1, 479-566; Ren Jiyu (ed.), *Zhongguo fojiao shi*, vol. 2, 149-197.

Guangzhou 廣州. A fisherman there saw divine light (*shenguang* 神光) in the sea; the light shone every night and became brighter and brighter. He reported this unusual phenomenon to the governor Tao Kan 陶侃 (259-334), a native of Xunyang 潯陽 (in the north of Jiujiang 九江 County in Jiangxi). The latter immediately went to see it and found that it was an Aśokan statue. He fished it out and placed it at the Hanxi monastery 寒溪寺 in Wuchang (the place where Sun Quan stationed his government before moving to Jiankang). Later, once when the abbot Sengzhen 僧珍 (d.u.) was away from the monastery, he dreamt one night that the monastery was on fire and a divine dragon (*shenlong* 神龍) protected the house where the statue was enshrined. He awoke and immediately returned to the monastery, but it had been burnt down completely; only the house and the statue were intact. Because the statue had extraordinary power, Tao Kan wanted to take it with him when he moved and took office in another place. He placed it on a boat, but on the way the boat sunk and it fell into the sea. The delivery men could not catch it. Strangely, it reappeared over fifty years later⁴¹, when Huiyuan had finished the Donglin monastery in 381 and was devotedly praying for a statue. It became light when taken to the monastery. Therefore, it was enshrined in this temple.⁴²

⁴¹ Tao Kan had stayed in Guangzhou until he was appointed to the military superintendent (*dudu* 都督) for Jingzhou 荊州, Yongzhou 雍州, Yizhou 益州, and Liangzhou 梁州 in 325. Fan Xuanling 房玄齡 (578-648), *Jinshu* 6.163; 66.1773.

⁴² *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 6.385c; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 213-214. Sengyou did not record the story in the biography he wrote for Huiyuan in the *Chu sanzang jiji* (compiled some time in 510-514), but Baochang 寶唱 (fl. the sixth century) collected it in his biographical work. Also, Baochang probably dealt with Huiyuan's life in the entire fascicle nine of his *Mingseng zhuan*, judging by the extant fragments of his work in the *Meisō den shō*, which contains seven entries for this fascicle that are all about Huiyuan. One of them is about his becoming Daoan's disciple, and another one deals with the statue, which reads, "the event that the image of Mañjuśrī made by King Aśoka floated in the water and arrived" (阿育王所造文殊師利像乘波而至事). See Shūshō, *Meisō den shō*, X no. 1523, 77: 360b; Sengyou, *Chu sanzang jiji*, T no. 2145, 55: 15.109b-110a; Su (colla. & annot.), *Chu sanzang jiji*, 566-567.

This story is collected in the *Gaoseng zhuan*, although Huiyuan did not mention the statue in his own works. However, there is not sufficient evidence to suggest that the story was totally fabricated, because it can be verified that he was enthusiastic about objects of holy provenance. After hearing a foreign monk's description of the miraculous shadow appearing on the walls of the Foying (Buddha-shadow) Cave 佛影窟 (Buddha-chāyā-guhā, probably located in Gandhāra), he constructed in Mount Lu a replica.⁴³ Besides, Zong Bing, one of his lay followers, was apparently a believer of Aśokan legends, thinking that this Indian ruler had built some stūpas in China. In his *Mingfo lun*, he mentioned the one discovered by Fotucheng, as stated above, and the other by Yao Lüe's 姚略 (fl. early fifth century) uncle in Puban 蒲坂 of Hedong 河東 (in present-day Shanxi 山西).⁴⁴ Then, it does not seem strange that Huiyuan put in his monastery a statue that was related to Aśoka.

In Buddhist eyes, the story of this statue was not a fanciful but truthful account. It had credibility because the figure Tao Kan, one of the main protagonists in it, was a historical person familiar to local people. Although Alexander Soper points out after reading his biography in the *Jinshu* that he was not a Buddhist,⁴⁵ and it also seems impossible that he would know right away that the statue was associated with Aśoka when he saw it, contemporary Buddhists would not doubt the truthfulness of the story. Indeed, because Tao Kan was a well known person, they would believe the story. This Guangdong general was not an ordinary person, but a capable official with outstanding military exploits. He was also the great grandfather of Tao Qian 陶潛 (365?-427), a famous recluse and poet who was a

⁴³ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 6.358b-358c; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 213.

⁴⁴ *Hongming ji*, T no. 2102, 52: 2.12c.

⁴⁵ *Jinshu* 66.1768-1779; Soper, "Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China. II. Pseudo-Foreign Images," *Artibus Asiae* 16.1/2 (1953): 101n63.

contemporary with Huiyuan.⁴⁶ Besides, he was a native of Xunyang—the place where the Donglin monastery was located, and where Tao Qian led a reclusive life. Therefore, Tao Kan was a figure familiar to local people. When the story said that even such a famous powerful secular figure could not obtain the statue, Buddhists would be impressed deeply with Huiyuan’s transcendent power. A folk ballad in praise of Huiyuan appeared; it contained satirical remarks, stressing that Tao Kan could hardly move the statue because he had no sincerity and had only strong physical power.⁴⁷

The story of the statue attracted the conversion of many locals who admired Huiyuan’s exceptional transcendental ability.⁴⁸ And the statue was also often associated with him. Guanding 灌頂 (561-632) told a story of his teacher Zhiyi. After the Sui army took over Jiankang and was heading for Jing 荊州 and Xiang 湘州 states, Zhiyi dreamt of an old monk who told him that the statue (which was called “Tao Kan statue” [Tao Kan xiang 陶侃像]) would protect the Donglin monastery. This prediction turned out to be accurate (lit.

⁴⁶ Tao Kan’s mother, née Zhan 湛, was also famed for her virtue, and her story is recorded in the section “Lienü 列女” (Virtuous women) of the *Jinshu* (96.2512).

According to Zhipan 志磐 (around later half of the 13rd century), Tao Qian had visited Mount Lu, and Huiyuan as well as some members of the Lianshe 蓮社 (Lotus society, which devoted itself to the practices aimed for the rebirth in the Pure Land) invited him to join them, but he declined because he would not be allowed to drink wine if he joined. Zhi Pan, *Fozu toniji* 佛祖統記 (The Chronicle of the Buddha and Patriarchs) T no. 2035, 49: 26.269c. Some scholars such as Chen Yinke 陳寅恪 and Tang Yongtong think that Tao Qian was not a Buddhist but a Daoist (a believer of the Way of Five Pecks of Rice [Wudoumi dao 五斗米道]), and raise doubts about the truthfulness of this story, which is based on an anonymous work *Donglin shiba gaoxian zhuan* 東林十八高賢傳 (Biographies of eminent sages of the Donglin monastery, X78, no. 1543). Chen Yinke, “Weishu Sima Rui zhuan Jiangdong minzu shizheng ji tuilun” 魏書司馬睿傳江東民族釋証及推論 (Explanation, verification, and deduction of an entry about the people east of Yangtze River in the biography of Sima Rui in the *Weishu*), in his *Jinming guan congkao chu bian* 金明館叢稿初編 (The first collection of miscellaneous publications of Jinming House) (Beijing: Sanluan shuju, 2001, rpt.) 78-119 (originally printed in *Lishi yuyan yanjiu suo jikan* 歷史語言研究所集刊 11.1[1943]: 1-25); Tang Yongtong, *Han, Wei, liang Jin, Nanbei chao fojiaoshi*, 256-261; Fan Ziye 范子燁, “Tao Yuanming de zongjiao xinyang ji xiangguan wenti” 陶淵明的宗教信仰及相關問題 (Tao Yuanming’s religious belief and relevant issues), *Wenshi* 文史 (Literature and history), 3 (2009): 139-143.

⁴⁷ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 6.358c; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 214.

⁴⁸ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 6.358c; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 213-214.

efficacious; *ling* 靈): when a riot broke out in Xunyang and many local monasteries were burned down, Mount Lu was not destroyed at all. Zhiyi related this miracle to the statue's protection, and also associated it with Huiyuan. When Zhiyi arrived at Mount Lu and saw a picture of Huiyuan, he discovered that the monk he had dreamt of was this monk.⁴⁹

Clearly, the story about obtaining holy worship objects would establish a person's good reputation. The one about Tanyi also did the same for him.⁵⁰ After Teng Han 滕含 (d.361)⁵¹, the governor of Changsha, donated his house and built the Changsha monastery in Jiangling 江陵 (in the west of Qianjiang 潛江 County of Hubei), Daoan recommended Tanyi as the head monk. Later Tanyi had to leave the monastery temporarily for Shangming 上明 (the west of Jiangling) when the army led by Fu Pi 苻丕 (d. 386), a general of the Former Qin Dynasty, became a threat to Jiangling in 373. After he returned, he had to repair the

⁴⁹ Guanding, *Tiantai Zhizhe dashi bie zhuan* 天台智者大師別傳 (A supplementary biography of the wise man, the Great teacher of the Tiantai), T50, no. 2050, 194c. This story is also mentioned in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 17.566a. For a discussion of the biography, see Shinohara, "Guanding's Biography of Zhiyi, the Fourth Patriarch of the Tiantai Tradition," in *Speaking of Monks, Religious Biography in India and China*, eds. Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara (Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1992), 98-218.

⁵⁰ The story of Tanyi is also recorded in Baochang's *Mingseng zhuan* (found in *Meisō den shō*, X no. 1523, 77: 352c-353a), *Gaoseng zhuan* (T no. 2059, 50: 5.355c; Tang [colla. & annot.], *Gaoseng zhuan*, 198-199), and Daoxuan's *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* (T no. 2106, 52: 2.415b-c).

⁵¹ Various accounts identify the patron in different ways. It is written as Teng Han 滕含 in the *Gaoseng zhuan* (the version collected in the *Taishō* canon) and as Teng Hanzhi 騰含之 in its other versions collected in Buddhist canons compiled in different dynasties (see the note on the *Taishō* version), but as Sheng She 勝舍 in the *Meisō den shō* (X no. 1523, 77: 352b). Tang Yongtong opts for Teng Han 滕含, whose grandfather Teng Xiu 滕脩 (d. 288) has a biography narrated in *Jinshu*, 57.1553-1554). See Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 201-202, note 5. Yet, Yang Peng 楊鵬 disagrees. He chooses Teng Jun 滕峻, the one recorded by Daoshi in his account of the Aśokan statue in the Changsha monastery in the *Fayuan zhulin* (13.385a; Zhou & Su [colla. & annot.], *Fayuan zhulin* 2: 13.459). Although Daoshi's work was published later than the above-mentioned works, Yang Peng believes that his record is correct given that Teng Han already died in 361, the year in which Daoan was still in the north and had not arrived in Xiangyang. The Changsha monastery, however, was constructed after Tanyi left Daoan in 365. At that time, Jingzhou, where the Changsha monastery lay, was controlled by Huan Wen 桓溫 (312-373). For these reasons, Yang Peng considers it to be natural that Teng Jun, one of Huan Wen's subordinates, was a prefect of Changsha, part of Jingzhou. See Yang Peng, "Jiangling Changsha si digou yu xingsheng kao lun" 江陵長沙寺締構與興盛考論 (Investigation into and discussion of the construction and prosperity of the Changsha monastery in Jianglin), *Changjiang daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 長江大學學報(社會科學版) (Journal of Yangtze University [Social Science]) 33.3 (2010 June): 6-7.

damaged monastery. He planned to build a large stūpa, but he did not have relics for it; hence he sincerely prayed for one. After years, one day relics suddenly appeared. Tanyi immediately gathered five hundred monks and nuns for chanting in praise; he also wished the relics to emit light so as to show people that they were the real remains of the Buddha. As requested, at night the relics illuminated the hall of the monastery with five-coloured light so everyone was filled with admiration, thinking that it was Tanyi who triggered this miracle.⁵² The relics were probably enshrined at the new stūpa he built, although there is no mention of this in extant material.

As a believer of the Aśokan legends, besides the relics, Tanyi also wanted a statue accredited to Aśoka. Believing that this Indian monarch had made numerous Buddhist statues and spread them everywhere, he was certain that he could obtain one if he prayed hard. In 394, a statue illuminating the sky throughout suddenly appeared in the city. It could not be moved when the monks of a certain monastery went to lift it up. Tanyi knew that it was the Aśokan statue he had been praying for; hence, he told three disciples of his to take it to the Changsha monastery. It became light in weight when the disciples moved it, so they took it to the monastery with ease. The statue became so well known soon that lay people and monks rushed to the monastery to worship it. Later, after reading the Sanskrit inscription engraved on its halo, a monk from Kashmir named Sengqientuo 僧伽難陀 (Sañghānanda?)⁵³ confirmed that the statue was made by Aśoka.⁵⁴

Like that of the statue at the Donglin monastery, these two stories were also thought to be forceful evidence for the plea-maker's outstanding supernatural power. According to

⁵² *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 5.355c; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 198.

⁵³ Nothing is known about this monk, except that he was Tanyi's contemporary, according to his biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan*.

⁵⁴ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 5.355c-356a; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 199.

Huijiao, in seeing the five-coloured light emitted by the relics, all the people in the hall of the Changsha monastery greatly admired Tanyi for his ability to trigger marvelous phenomena (*shengan* 神感; divine response). When people saw the Aśokan statue shine, they were also impressed with his extraordinary ability (*tonggan* 通感; penetrating sense).⁵⁵ In short, stories of one's discovery of holy objects helped one create an image as a figure of transcendence in the spiritual realm—the attraction that these stories held for the elite.

3.2 The Ruling Elite's Enthusiasm for Aśokan Legends and Its Relic Veneration

To demonstrate that the stories held a fascination for this class (at least some of its members if not all), next I shall discuss Xiao Yan's and his sons' worship of the Aśokan statue obtained by Tanyi, and then deal with this ruler's relic veneration. Finally I shall turn to another imperial relic worshipper, Chen Baxian.

3.2.1 Xiao Yan's and His Royal Family's Veneration of the Aśokan Statue of the Changsha Monastery

Daoxuan's narratives of the statue portray Xiao Yan's and his family members' veneration of it.⁵⁶ Not all of the details in them are factual or sound factual; the statue's bursting into tears, for example, is one of the narrated episodes that appear to be fanciful.

⁵⁵ Similar comment is also found in Daoxuan's account of the image. See *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu*, T no. 2106, 52: 2.415b.

⁵⁶ Daoxuan talks about the image in the *Guang Hongming ji* (T no. 2103, 52: 15.202b), *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (T no. 2060, 50: 29.629c), and *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* (T no. 2106, 52: 2.45b-415b). His account is quoted in Daoshi's *Fayuan zhulin* (T no. 2122, 53: 13.385a-386a; Zhou & Su [colla. & annot.], *Fayuan zhulin* 2: 13.460-461). Sopper has discussed Daoxuan's narratives in his "Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art" (pp. 92-96).

Nonetheless, surprisingly, compared with the works examined in the previous part, Daoxuan's narratives make much more historical sense, with a lot of details fitting historical facts, and the picture they give of the Xiao family's homage to the statue is therefore relatively reliable. In the following, to show how these royal members worshipped the statue, I shall discuss these narratives and shall at the same time verify their contents with relevant historical records.

Daoxuan talks about the statue's history from the mid fourth to the later half of the seventh centuries⁵⁷—a period longer than that covered by Huijiao in the *Gaoseng zhuan*. The latter focuses on its miraculous emergence in the Eastern Jin only, but does not discuss its later history. Daoxuan, however, says that it first appeared in 349 (the 5th year of the Yongchu 永初 era) and continued to be worshipped in his time (the later half of the seventh century). I shall not discuss the entire history he writes, but shall focus only on the period from the late Qi to the Liang Dynasties, which saw the veneration of the statue by Xiao Yan and his royal family members such as Xiao Yi 蕭繹 ([508-554]; Emperor Yuan; r.552-554). The episodes in earlier times Daoxuan mentions are not recorded by Huijiao and are perhaps inventions. After he relates the history of the statue in the Liang and the Later Liang, he talks about people's veneration of it in the Sui and Tang Dynasties, which lies beyond the scope of this dissertation and is therefore to be omitted. The period from the late Qi to the Liang

⁵⁷ When Yuan Zhongdao 袁中道 (1575-1630) discusses the image in his corpus *Kexuezhai qian ji* 珂雪齋前集 (First collection [of works as a memorial to] the Kexue studio [the studio of his brother Yuan Zhongdao 袁中道 (1568-1610)]), he bases his account on Daoxuan's work. In 1603, he paid homage to it in a temple called Tianhuang monastery 天皇寺 in Jingzhou, and found that it was enshrined in a ruined room. A local prefect and his assistant therefore renovated the room. Yuan also mentions the statue Tao Kan discovered (i.e. the one at the Donglin monastery), which he describes as the statue of Mañjuśrī made by Aśoka, but has been lost. "Tianhuang si ruixiang bian" 天皇寺瑞像辨 (An examination of an auspicious statue in the Tianhuang monastery), in *Kexuezhai ji*, in the *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 (All books in the four depositories, continued), ed. "Xuxiu siku quanshu" bianzhan weiyuan hui 《續修四庫全書》編纂委員會 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), vol. 1376: 19.41-44 (65-66).

Dynasties saw the fact that the statue was taken away from local monks in Jingzhou and enshrined in the palace, so the discussion of this period is sufficient to show how stories of monks' worship of holy objects related to Aśoka attracted the elite's interest.

Considering that, among Daoxuan's narratives of the statue in his works, the one in his *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* is most elaborate, I shall discuss it here, dividing it up into five segments and checking out the people and events discussed in it with relevant historical facts. I shall mainly verify the stories of the political figures mentioned, not those of the monks, because they are more likely to be recorded in official histories. The first segment reads as follows:

In the second year of the Yongyuan 永元 period (500) of the Qi, when the Garrison general (Zhenjun 鎮軍) Xiao Yingzhou 蕭穎胄, together with Gao[zu] (Xiao Yan) of the Liang and the Jingzhou prefect, [namely] Nankang Prince Xiao Baorong 蕭寶融, rose up, the statue walked out of the hall [of the Changsha monastery] and was going to go down the stairs. When two monks [of the monastery] saw this, they shouted out in shock; then [it] returned to the hall. In the third year (501), Yingzhou died suddenly and Baorong was also deposed, and benefits went to Gaozu.

齊永元二年, 鎮軍蕭穎胄與梁高共荊州刺史南康王寶融起義時, 像行出殿外將欲下階, 兩僧見而驚喚, 乃迴入殿. 三年, 穎胄暴亡, 寶融亦廢, 而慶歸高祖.⁵⁸

Xiao Yan's conspiracy against the emperor mentioned here is recorded in the *Nanshi* and the *Liangshu*. In 500, he persuaded successfully Xiao Yingzhou to stage an uprising against Emperor Fei 廢帝 (r. 499-501), Xiao Baojuan 蕭寶卷 (483-501). Xiao Yingzhou was the Jingzhou administrator (*changshi* 長史), an official who actually had authority over this state. In addition to the *changshi* at that time, he was also the Garrison general, the position he was assigned to in 499 (the first year of the Yongyuan era). Xiao Baorong, one of the

⁵⁸ T no. 2106, 52: 2.415c.

previous ruler's sons (Emperor Ming 明帝; r. 494-498) and the Emperor Fei's brother, was then only fifteen years old; therefore, although he was the prefect, it was Xiao Yingzhou who actually took charge. Emperor Fei secretly ordered Xiao Yingzhou to attack Xiangyang 襄陽, which was governed by Xiao Yan at that time; therefore, Xiao Yan wrote a letter to Xiao Yingzhou persuading him, together with Xiao Baorong, to rise up. Finally, Emperor Fei was successfully dethroned, and Xiao Baojuan became an emperor (Emperor He 和帝). Only two years later, however, in 501 (Zhongxing 中興 era, 1) Xiao Yingzhou died, and, five months later (the fourth month of the 2nd year), the emperor handed his sovereignty over to Xiao Yan, who became the founder of the Liang Dynasty.⁵⁹

Then, Daoxuan's narrative continues with some events happening in the Liang period.

In the late Tianjian period (502-519), when the head monk of the monastery Daoyue and a layman once were removing weeds around the stūpa, they opened the door of the stūpa and saw the statue circumambulate the niche [in it]. Yue prostrated himself in silence and [later] told [the layman] not to tell this to others. When the hall [in the monastery] was open for sermons, the statue was [also] in attendance. When Prince of Poyang of the Liang took command of Jingzhou, he frequently invited [the statue] to the city and staged grand charitable services. When sick, he [wanted] to receive it [at his home (i.e. take it to his home for worship)] but could not lift it up by either carrying it on the back or raising it with the hands. He died [just] within a day.

⁵⁹ *Liangshu* 1.4-5 & 10.188; *Nanshi* 8.111-114; Zhang Yihe 章義和, *Diyu jituan yu Nanchao zhengzhi* 地域集團與南朝政治 (Locality cliques and Southern-Dynasties politics) (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2002), 86.

梁天監末，寺主道嶽與一白衣淨塔邊草次，開塔戶乃見像繞龕行道，岳(=嶽)⁶⁰密禮拜，不令泄言，及大開堂，像亦在座。梁鄱陽王為荊州，屢請入城，建大功德，及病迎之，倍罌⁶¹不起，少日而薨。⁶²

The stūpa mentioned here is obviously the same as those stūpas discussed in the previous chapter, belonging to Chinese buildings housing Buddhist images, but not Indian stūpas. The head monk Daoyue is not mentioned elsewhere; therefore, it cannot be ascertained whether he was really affiliated with the Changsha monastery at that time. Prince of Poyang Xiao Hui 蕭恢 (496-547), another figure mentioned in the above segment, was one of Xiao Yan's sons who governed Jingzhou as a prefect from 519 (the 18th year of the Tianjian era) until his death in 524 (Putong 普通 era, 5). He was perhaps a Buddhist, as suggested by a story recorded in his biography in the *Liangshu*. It says that when his mother suffered from eye disease, he asked a holy monk named Huilong 慧龍 (d.u.) to cure her.⁶³ The monk appeared suddenly in the air; after she received treatment, she could see again. This is said to have been caused by the prince's sincerity.⁶⁴ So, it does not seem strange that this prince paid respect for the statue and asked for divine blessing when sick.

Gaozu had sincere belief in [the statue] for a long time. When he was in Jingzhou in the past, he sent [attendants] repeatedly to take [it], but he could not succeed in the end.

⁶⁰ The name is written as Daoyue 道岳 (385c) in the *Fayuan zhulin*.

⁶¹ The character *bei* 倍 was interchangeable with the other one *bei* 背 (to carry on the back), so the meaning of the latter is taken in translation. *Gang* 罌 is printed as the one with *shou* 手 on the left, and perhaps is a misprint for *xie* 携 (to carry with the hand).

⁶² T no. 2106, 52: 2.415c.

⁶³ Soper says that Xiao Hui asked for divine blessing from the monk Huilong and a Daoist who specialized in treating eye disease. He opines that the words “Beidu daoren 北渡道人 Huilong” describe two people, a Daoist and Huilong, but the term “Daoren” 道人 (The Man of the Way) means the Buddhist monk. See Soper, “Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China,” 95n42. “Beidu daoren” should refer to Huilong alone.

⁶⁴ *Liangshu* 22.35-351.

高祖昔在荊州，宿著懇誠，屢遣上迎，終無以致。⁶⁵

It seems that this segment is written in flashback, tracing the history before the foundation of the Liang Dynasty. In his biographical collection, Daoxuan says that Xiao Yan came and received the statue in person in all sincerity instead of sending others to do so as said in the above segment. Although his two accounts are slightly different, he is consistent in saying that it was Xiao Yan who wanted to take the statue with him. Yet, Xiao Yan had never gone to Jingzhou or stayed there. Instead, one of his sons, Xiao Yi, was the Jingzhou prefect from 526 to 539 and from 548 to 552.⁶⁶ He had great faith in the statue, regarding it as the embodiment of the Buddha and even writing an inscription for it.⁶⁷ Hence, it is likely that it is this prince, instead of Xiao Yan, who tried to take it to his home, and “Gaozu” is a misprint for “Shizhu” 世祖 (his posthumous title). If that is the case, then this segment describes Xiao Yi’s veneration of the statue in 526 to 532, before it was taken to the capital by his father—one of the plots Daoxuan records after the above segment.

Next, Daoxuan’s account reads as follows:

In the third month of the fourth year in the Zhongdatong period (532), [the emperor] sent Sengjin 僧璉 (fl. 531-532) of the Baima monastery and the secretary He Siyuan 何思遠 (d.u.)⁶⁸ to present scented flowers as offerings [to the statue], expressing

⁶⁵ T no. 2106, 52: 2.415c.

⁶⁶ The years from 526 to 539 correspond to the 7th year of the Putong era to the 5th year of the Datong era, and 548 to 552, to the first year of the Taiqing 太清 era to the first year of the Chengsheng 承聖 era.

⁶⁷ “Jingzhou Changsha si Ayuwang xiang bei” 荊州長沙寺阿育王像碑 (An inscription about the King Aśoka statue at the Changsha monastery in Jingzhou), in *Xianqin Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbei chao shike wenxian quanbian* 先秦秦漢魏晉南北朝石刻文獻全編 (The complete compilation of the epigraphs [composed in] the Pre-Qin, Qin, Han, Wei, Jin, and Northern-and-Southern Dynasties), ed. Guojia tushuguan shanben jinshi zu 國家圖書館善本金石組 (The rare epigraph text team of the national library) (Beijing: Beijing tushu guan chubanshe, 2003), 2: 518.

⁶⁸ This story is also collected Daoshi’s *Fayuan zhulin* (T no. 2122, 53: 13.385b). Perhaps following the punctuation of this version in the *Taishō* canon, Scoper reads the secretary’s name as He Si 何思. See Soper, “Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China,” 95. However, the name is given as He Siyuan in the *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu*, T no. 2106, 52: 2.416c: “[The emperor] sent Sengjin of the Baima monastery as

thoroughly [the emperor's] genuine sincerity. That night [the statue] emitted light as if it [was telling others its willingness] to go to [the capital] with the envoys. In the morning next day when the envoys came and picked it up, it [appeared as if it] had had restored [its desire] to stay. [It] did not express [its willingness] to go with [the envoys] until they paid another audience and made an invocation [again]. Having admiration and attachment, the four groups of Buddhists saw it off in Jiangjin 江津.⁶⁹ On the 23rd day, it arrived in Jinling, 18 *li* from the city. The emperor came and received [it] in person. On its entire way, it emitted light continuously without pause. Buddhist monks and laymen were delighted, saying in admiration that this was an unprecedented [phenomenon]. It was kept three days in the [palace] hall, being worshipped in all sincerity [by the emperor]. Or it was said that [the statue was kept in] the Zhongxing monastery 中興寺. A great assembly with *pañca* (illimitable) offerings (*wuzhe dazhai* 無遮大齋) was held. On the 27th day, [the emperor] entered the Tongtai monastery 同泰寺 through the Datong gate 大通門. That night the statue emitted bright light. [The emperor] ordered three rooms with wings to be built in the northeast of the great hall in the Taitong monastery, and a seat adorned with a canopy and with seven kinds of jewels to be provided for settling the auspicious statue. [The emperor] also made two golden bronze statues of bodhisattvas. [He] made a hill and dug out a pool, with rare trees, strange rocks, arched bridges, and balustrades put next to the two stairs of the hall. [He] also donated a pair of bronze cauldrons (lit. *huo* 鑊 = dew receiver?), each with a capacity of thirty *hu* 斛 (bushels). [The hall (?) was surrounded by] multi-storied pavilions on its three sides, which were winding and exquisite. In the third month of the second year of the Zhongdatong period, the emperor visited the Tongtai [monastery], holding a [Buddhist] assembly and giving a lecture; [then he] went to all halls and paid obeisances. It was sunset when he arrived

the secretary, and He Siyuan to present scented flowers as offerings [to the statue] and to express thoroughly [the emperor's] genuine sincerity.” (遣白馬寺僧璉主書, 何思遠齋香花供養, 具申丹款) Here, in my translation, I adopt Zhou Shujia and Su Jinren's reading (as shown above), given that *zhushu* 主書 (secretary), an official title, was more likely the position held by He Siyuan, not Sengjin. Zhou & Su (colla. & annot.), *Fayuan zhulin* 2: 13.460.

⁶⁹ Jiangjin was also called Jin village (Jinxiang 津鄉, in the east of Jingling County, Hubei), a place of strategic importance for Jingzhou. See the notes in *Hou Hanshu* 17.673.

at the Auspicious Image Hall (Ruixiang dian 瑞像殿). Once the emperor mounted on the stairs, the statue shed bright light; it illuminated continuously throughout the midnight the bamboos, trees, hills, and waters [nearby], making them all golden. When the Tongtai [monastery] was burned, the halls and rooms [in it] were all destroyed. Only the hall housing the image was extant.

中大通四年三月,遣白馬寺僧璉、主書何思遠齋香花供養,具申丹款。夜即放光,似隨便往。明旦承接,還復留礙,重謁請祈,方申從往。四眾戀慕,送至江津。至二十三日,屆于金陵,去都十八里,帝躬出迎,竟路放光,相續無絕。道俗欣慶,嘆未曾有。留殿三日,竭誠供養,一云停中興寺。設無遮大齋。二十七日,從大通門,出入同泰寺,其夜像大放光,勅於同泰寺大殿東北,起殿三間兩廡,施七寶帳座,以安瑞像,又造金銅菩薩二軀,築山穿池,奇樹怪石,飛橋欄檻,夾殿兩階,又施銅鑊一雙,各容三十斛,三面重閣,宛轉玲瓏。中大同二年三月,帝幸同泰,設會開講,歷諸殿禮,黃昏始到瑞像殿,帝纔登階,像大放光,照竹樹山水,並作金色,遂半夜不休。及同泰被焚,堂房並盡,唯像所居殿存焉。⁷⁰

This lengthy segment deals with Xiao Yan's worship of this Aśokan statue. It illustrates his faith in the local conviction that holy objects related to Aśoka could be found in China; this explains why he also paid respect to the relics at the Changgan and Mao stūpas.⁷¹ Although neither the secretary He Siyuan (the envoy sent to Jingzhou to take the statue) nor Xiao Yan's worship appear in official histories, other figures and events mentioned here can be verified. The monk Sengjin, for example, was a monk who gave a sermon to Xiao Gang when the latter came to the capital in 531 (the third year of the Zhongdatong era) for receiving bodhisattva precepts and accepting Xiao Yan's offer of the status as the crown prince.⁷² The features of the Tongtai monastery described here also agree with those

⁷⁰ T no. 2106. 52: 2.415c-416a.

⁷¹ This is the issue I shall turn to later in this part.

⁷² Xiao Gang composed a letter for his brother Xiao Yi about himself after he became the crown prince. In the letter, which Lin Boqian 林伯謙 dates to 531, Xiao Gang mentions Sengjin. See "You da Xiangdong wang shu"

mentioned elsewhere. According to the *Nanshi* and other works, after Xiao Yan built the Tongtai monastery, he made the Datong gate in the north of the palace for direct access to it. This monastery was impressive, having six big halls and ten odd small ones; therefore it is likely that he established a hall for the Aśokan statue. The monastery also housed many other statues of buddhas and bodhisattvas he made; therefore, it is too possible that the Aśokan statue and the two newly-made bodhisattva statues were enshrined among them. Moreover, the monastery was decorated with artificial hills and forests, displaying a natural landscape. The Cypress hall (Baidian 柏殿), for example, which was located in the northwest of the monastery, was surrounded by artificial hills, and the Xuanji hall 璇璣殿 (Armillary sphere hall), in the southeast, was adorned with rocks and trees. Then, it seems natural that, situated in the monastery, the hall that housed the Aśokan statue was also surrounded by similar decorations.⁷³ Although the surroundings of the hall described here tally with those of the monastery, there are two mistakes in Daoxuan's account. First, the name of the hall is said to

又答湘東王書 (Another letter in reply to Xiangdong Prince), in *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 27.304c; Lin Boqian, “Liang Jianwen di lishen, wenlun yu ‘Weimojie jing’ guanxi kao” 梁簡文帝立身、文論與《維摩詰經》關係考 (An examination of the relation between Liang Emperor Jianwen's conduct, literary discussions, and the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*), in *Zhongguo fojiao wenshi tan wei* 中國佛教文史探微 (Investigations into [some] cultural and historical subtle issues in Chinese Buddhism) (Taipei: Xiuwei zixun keji, 2005), 176-178.

⁷³ *Nanshi* 7.105. The quotation from the *Yudi zhi* 輿地志 (Geographical records) in the *Jiankang shilu* 17.478; Sun Wenchuan, *Nanchao fosi zhi* 2.334-335, 336-337.

Yamada Keiji 山田慶兒 suggests that the structure of the monastery was based on Xiao Yan's Buddhist viewpoint on the universe, which is stated in his “Tianxiang lun 天象論 (A discourse on astronomical phenomena)”: the Bai Hall was symbolic of India; the Xuanji hall, China; the nine-storied stūpa, Sumeru 須彌山 (the central mountain of the world). Xiao Yan's entry into the monastery from his palace meant his entry from the secular world into the sacred one. Although the Ruiyi hall was among these buildings, it seems that it was simply one of the impressive parts with artificial gardens, and its decorations such as rare rocks, hills, pools, and plants, were common to the houses of the elite members at that time. See Yamada, “Ryōbu no gaiten-setsu” 梁武の蓋天說 (The views on Heaven as a cover, held by Emperor Wu of the Liang), *Tōhō gakuhō* 東方學報 48 (1975) 99-134; Yan Shangwen 顏尚文, “Liang Wudi shou pusa jie ji sheshen Tongtai si yu ‘pusa huangdi’ de jianli” 梁武帝受菩薩戒及捨身同泰寺與“菩薩皇帝”的建立 (Liang Emperor Wu's creation of his image as “Imperial Bodhisattva” through taking bodhisattvas' precepts and giving himself up to the Tongtai monastery), *Dongfang zongjiao yanjiu* 東方宗教研究 (new edition) 10 (1990): 70-72; Liu Shufen, “Liuchao Jiankang de yuanzhai” 六朝建康的園宅 (Gardens and houses in Jiankang in the Six Dynasties), in her *Liuchao de chengshi yu shehui*, 111-134.

be Ruixiang hall (Auspicious Image Hall), but it is probably a misprint for “Ruiyi hall” 瑞儀殿 (Auspicious Phenomenon Hall).⁷⁴ This Ruiyi hall was one of the two halls (the other one being the Bai hall) surviving the fire in 546 (the first year of the Zhongdatong era), which destroyed all other buildings in the monastery.⁷⁵ If that is the case that “Ruixiang hall” is a misprint for “Ruiyi Hall,” this explains why the Aśokan statue was not destroyed. Another mistake is “the second year of the Zhongdatong era,” which is said to be the year Xiao Yan visited the Tongtai monastery, but this era only lasted for one year (546). The “Zhongdatong” is perhaps a misprint for “Datong,” and the year the emperor visited the monastery should be 536, the second year of the Datong era. In the third month of this year, according to the *Nanshi*, not only did Xiao Yan go to the monastery, but he also held there a Dharma assembly of equality (a Dharma assembly for all people; *pingdeng fahui* 平等法會).⁷⁶

Starting from the end of Xiao Yan’s reign, the state saw Hou Jing’s uprising and other upheavals. Daoxuan records that the statue gave accurate prophetic signs about them.

In the second year of the Taiqing era (548), the statue sweated a lot. In the eleventh month of that year Hou Jing disturbed [the political] hierarchy (i.e. staged an uprising). In the third year of the Dabao era, the riot was put down. The monks of the Changsha monastery such as Fajing took the statue back to Jiangling, settling it in its home temple (Changsha monastery) again. In the seventh year of the Dading era of the Later Liang the statue sweated again. In the second month of next year, Emperor Xuan—Zhongzong (his posthumous title)—passed away. In the third year of the Tianbao period, a fire swept through the Changsha monastery; the whole temple was

⁷⁴ This hall was probably the place where Xiao Jian held a *Nirvāṇa* penance service (Niepan chan 涅槃懺; the penance service based on the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*)—Ruiying hall 瑞應殿 (Auspicious resonance hall), perhaps an alternative name or a misprint for the “Ruiyi hall.” Xiao Jian, “Xie chi wei jian Niepan chan qi” 謝敕為建涅槃懺啟 (An official document in gratitude for the imperial order to hold a *Nirvāṇa* penance service), in *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 28.330c.

⁷⁵ The quotation from the *Yudi zhi* in the *Jiankang shilu* 17.478.

⁷⁶ *Nanshi* 7.212.

burned throughout, with smoke and flame [spreading through all] four directions (*sihe* 四合?). [People] wanted to save the auspicious statue but did not know how to move it [because] in the past lifting this statue up had to entail one hundred people. That day it only took six people to lift it up. In the fifteenth year of the Tianbao era (576), Emperor Ming invited the statue to the palace; he prostrated himself as penance and triggered unseen response. In the twenty-third year (584), the emperor died. His successor Xiao Cong (?-605+; r. 586-587) moved the statue to the Renshou palace [in Chang'an]. Again [the statue] sweated heavily. In the second year of the Guangyun era (587) the [Later] Liang state collapsed.

太清二年，像大流汗。其年十一月，侯景亂階。大寶三年，賊平，長沙寺僧法敬等迎像還江陵，復止本寺。後梁大定七年，像又流汗。明年二月，中宗宣帝崩。天保三年，長沙寺延火所及，合寺洞然，煙焰四合，欲救瑞像，無方轉移，此像由來舉必百人，爾日，六人便起。天保十五年，明帝延像入內，禮懺冥感。二十三年，帝崩。嗣主蕭琮移像於仁壽宮。又大流汗。廣運二年而梁國亡滅。⁷⁷

It is said here that Hou Jing staged the riot in the eleventh month in 548, but the fact is that he rose up in the eighth month and two months later he entered the capital. After the riot was put down, Daoxuan says, the statue continued to be worshipped by the royal family until the end of the dynasty. Emperor Yuan, the successor to Emperor Jianwen, set up his government in Jiangling of Jingzhou. Therefore, although the statue was returned to the Changsha monastery, it continued to hold a fascination for the royal family. The temple, located in Jiangling, was also given significance by Emperor Yuan, so he even lived in it and the other monastery named Tianju si 天居寺 in 554 (the third year of his Chengsheng 承聖 era) when Yu Jin 于謹 (493-568), the general of Western Wei, besieged Jiangling.⁷⁸ As mentioned above, this emperor had great faith in the Aśokan statue and he also wrote an inscription for

⁷⁷ T no. 2106, 52: 2.416a.

⁷⁸ *Zizhi tongjian* 165.5119; the note attached to Yu Jin's "She Jiangling cheng nei shu" 射江陵城內書 (An internal letter about shooting Jiangling city), in *QSSQLW* 4: 5.3904a; Xu Song, *Jiankang shilu* 17.486-487.

it. Therefore, it is likely that when he took the Changsha monastery as a haven, he asked the statue for divine protection. After Emperor Yuan was killed, his successor Emperor Jing 敬帝 (r. 555-557) came to the throne in Jiankang and the government returned to this place. A dependency of the Western Zhou, Later Liang 後梁 (555-587), was established by another royal family member Xiao Cha 蕭詧 (d. 562) in Jiangling. Since Jiangling was a base of this dependency, it sounds reasonable that the Aśokan statue was still worshipped by the Xiao family and was enshrined in the palace by one of the rulers of the Later Liang, although there is no evidence from other works to support this. When Yang Jian, the usurper of the power of the Northern Zhou, put an end to this dependency, according to Daoxuan, the statue was moved to the capital of the newly-founded dynasty (Chang'an) in 587 by Xiao Cong (Duke of Ju 莒公) and was enshrined in the Renshou palace. Yet, this may not be the case, because Xiao Cong went to the capital to express obedience to Yang Jian and was later ordered to stay there, and it seems unlikely that he took the statue with him. Besides, the Renshou palace started to be built in 593 and was finished two years later. So, it is also unlikely that the statue was put there in 587.

Nonetheless, overall, the above-discussed account of the statue's history is truthful.⁷⁹ It illustrates that the stories of holy objects of worship gradually attracted the elite's interest and its respect for these objects. Some of these objects were linked with Aśoka but some were not; the stories of them usually highlighted worshippers'/discoverers' admirable virtue, cultivation, and so on. Perhaps, this was the reason why the stories interested the elite and

⁷⁹ Nonetheless, scholars seldom take it seriously. For example, in his article about the Changsha monastery Yang Peng does not expound on the royal family's worship of the statue. Even though he mentions Daoxuan's work, he does not consider its contents to be factual. See Yang Peng, "Jiangling Changsha si digou yu xingsheng kao lun," 8-9. Yan Shangwen does not mention either the statue when he discusses Xiao Yan's imitation of Aśoka. See "Liang Wudi shou pusa jie."

attracted its veneration. In addition to the Xiao's worship of the Aśokan statue, Xiao Yan's and Chen Baxian's relic veneration also proves this point.

3.2.2 Xiao Yan's Relic Veneration

3.2.2.1 Xiao Yan's Use of Local Stories about Aśokan Stūpas for His Self-glorification

Like his respect for the Aśokan statue, Xiao Yan's relic veneration was also evoked by a story. This story describes the relics enshrined at the stūpa in the Changgan monastery 長干寺 (hereafter, the Changgan stūpa) in Jiankang and in Mao County 鄞 (hereafter, the Mao stūpa)⁸⁰ of Kuaiji 會稽 (Mao County: in the eastern Yin 鄞 of present-day Zhejiang). From 536 to 545 he held impressive services for them. Since the story played an important part in evoking this emperor's veneration, it is necessary to go through its contents.

The story underwent dramatic changes before it eventually became the form that interested Xiao Yan. The prototype of it—or, at least the earliest extant one—collected in Wang Yen's 王琰 (fl. late 5th to 6th centuries) *Mingxiang ji* 冥祥記 (Signs from the Unseen Realm, a *zhiguai* [records of anomaly] collection) is an adventure story about Huida's 慧達 (fl. late fourth century) journey to purgatory, and is markedly different from the later one collected in his biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan*⁸¹, which is a hagiography of him. To show

⁸⁰ Huijiao does not say that this Mao stūpa was situated in a monastery like the Changgan stūpa. It might have stood alone in the beginning and a monastery might have been built later. Huijiao, *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 13.409c-410a; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 479.

⁸¹ Koichi Shinohara also discusses both of the two versions in his study on the miracle stories and stūpa inscriptions that were used as sources for Buddhist monastic biographies. See Shinohara, "Two sources of Chinese Buddhist biographies: stūpa inscriptions and miracle stories," in *Monks and Magicians: Religious Biographies in Asia*, eds. Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara (Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic Press, 1988), 149-152, 153-170.

how the story changed considerably, I shall first discuss the prototype (hereafter, the *Mingxiang ji* version) and then the one in the monastic biography (hereafter, the biographical version), although some readers may find their contents lengthy and missionary-oriented.

The *Mingxiang ji* version depicts Huida's experience in purgatory, which resulted in his entry into the Buddhist order. Before he entered the order, he was called Liu Sahe 劉薩荷⁸²; he did not have Buddhist faith and was fond of hunting. One day he suddenly died, but was restored to life after seven days. During these days he had a journey to purgatory, where he visited various hells, then listened to Avalokiteśvara's sermon, and finally received punishment for his sins. After he was taken to the nether world by two men, he met various people (or supernatural beings?). At first, he saw a cluster of houses; when he asked a resident there for food, a superhuman being suddenly appeared and tried to beat him. He immediately ran away. After he successfully escaped, he wandered around and next entered a beautifully decorated house; there he met two monks, who had been his teachers in his previous life. His teachers led him to different hells for visits such as Purgatories of Cold Ice (*hanbing diyu* 寒冰地獄) and of Sword Mountains (*daoshan diyu* 刀山地獄), where he saw various forms of punishment imposed on sinners. Seeing such retributive tortures, Liu Sahe remembered that he had been a monastic novice in his previous life, but he could not receive full precepts because he had committed a sin. After that life he was reborn again as a human. In the hells, he also met his uncle, who had received punishment. Then, the story focuses on Liu Sahe's miraculous encounter with Guanyin, who gave a sermon on how to acquire merits

⁸² The name is written as Liu Sahe in the quotation of this story in Daoshi's *Fuyuan zhulin* in the *Taishō* edition, but that in the other canonical version is written as Liu Saa 劉薩阿. T no. 2122, 53: 86.919b, the note on this page in the *Taishō* edition. According to Huijiao's biographical collection, however, the name is given as Liu Sahe 劉薩河. T no. 2059, 50: 13.409b; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 477.

for the dead. At the end of the sermon, the bodhisattva told Liu Sahe that he ought to pay respect to Aśokan stūpas and two statues in Wu 吳 (Suzhou 蘇州) made by Aśoka. After the sermon, Liu Sahe suffered punishment for his sins of hunting. At first, he denied his responsibility, but the scene of his killing immediately appeared and indicated that he was lying. Then he was stuck through with a big fork and was thrown into boiling water; his limbs were rotten and broken to pieces. His body was soon restored. Yet he had to go on another trial for another killing. After it, he survived the same punishment again. Finally, he was released. Before being restored to life, he was told that, because of the merits he had accumulated, he received light punishment, but he ought not to commit sins again. After he regained consciousness, he entered the monastic order and was called Huida.⁸³

Although this version is recorded in the *Mingxiang ji* compiled in the late fifth century, it is very likely that it took shape in southern China in or around the Eastern Jin Dynasty, when Aśokan legends became familiar to Chinese Buddhists because the story about Fotucheng's discovery of the Aśokan stūpa spread in society. It tells us that, after his previous life as a novice, Huida transmigrated as a human. He “was once reborn in Qiang 羌 (i.e. being non-Chinese) and, in this life, reborn in the Jin [state].”⁸⁴ This sentence is set in the context of the Eastern Jin Dynasty or later, in which northern China was controlled by ethnic minorities and only the south was in the control of the successive governments of Han people.

⁸³ Wang Yen, *Mingxiang ji*, in Lu Xun (ed.), *Gu xiaoshuo gouchen*, 406-408. Campany will provide a translation of this text in his forthcoming *Signs from the Unseen Realm: Buddhist Miracle Tales from Early Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012).

⁸⁴ *Mingxiang ji*, in Lu Xun (ed.), *Gu xiaoshuo gouchen*, 407: 一生羌中, 今生晉中.

Clearly, this *Mingxiang ji* version reflected the local belief that there were stūpas built by Aśoka in China. At this stage the belief evolved; Buddhists knew where these Aśokan stūpas were located, which is revealed by the following words—the words spoken by Bodhisattva Guanyin in the sermon.

The five places—Luoyang, Linzi, Jianye 建業, Maoyin 鄴陰 (=the north of Mount Mao 鄴山 [in Kuaiji]?)⁸⁵, and Chengdu 成都 (in Sichuan)—all had Aśokan stūpas, and the two stone statues in Wu 吳 (Suzhou 蘇州) made by supernatural beings at King Aśoka’s command. [These objects] manifest (lit. *de* 得; embody) the true appearance [of the Buddha (?)] quite well. Those who go and worship them will not fall into purgatory.

洛陽、臨淄、建業、鄴陰、成都五處竝有阿育塔。又吳中兩石像，育王所使鬼神造也，頗得真相。能往禮拜，不墜地獄。⁸⁶

Among these places, only Luoyang and Linzi were in the north. Similar belief was also held by northern Buddhists, but the locations of these stūpas in their minds were not all the same. According to the *Weishu* written by Wei Shou, they thought that the stūpas were in Luoyang, Pengchang 彭城 (in present Jiangsu), Guzang 姑臧 (in present Gansu), and Linzi. Only Pengchang was in the territory of the Liu Song government, when others were under control of the Northern Wei state. Evidently, northerners believed that more Aśokan stūpas were situated in their land, whereas southerners thought that they were blessed with more stūpas related to Aśoka. However, Linzi was thought by both southerners and northerners to be the

⁸⁵ “Maoyin” was generally thought to be Mao in Kuaiji. Huijiao simply says Kuaiji when he lists the locations of the Aśokan stūpas. *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 13.409b; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 477. Zhipan identifies it as the Aśoka mountain (the title given around the Sui and Tang Dynasties to the mountain where the Mao monastery was located). *Fozu tongji*, T no. 2035, 49: 53.461a.

⁸⁶ *Mingxiang ji*, in Lu Xun (ed.), *Gu xiaoshuo gouchen*, 408.

place where an Aśokan stūpa was located: clearly, this was because they believed Fotucheng discovered one there, and the story about him impressed them deeply.

Not only does the *Mingxiang ji* version attest to the belief in local Aśokan stūpas, but it also shows Buddhists' respect for general stūpas in the Eastern Jin or later. They believed that, by constructing and maintaining stūpas, they would eliminate their sins and acquire merits, hereby not entering purgatory, as shown by the above quotation and by the following part of Guanyin's sermon:

Besides, when one constructs a stūpa and a hall, even only with a handful of soil or a piece of wood, [regardless of whether they are in other] colours or green [one] will acquire quite many merits, provided that the contribution is made wholeheartedly. [However,] if one sees some stūpas and halls overgrown with weeds, but does not remove them and [simply] treads over them and goes away, one's merits [acquired through] the worship will immediately disappear.

又他造塔及與堂殿，雖復一土一木，若染若碧，率誠供助，獲福甚多。若見塔殿，或有草穢，不加耘除，蹈之而行，禮拜功德，隨即盡矣。⁸⁷

These instructions on worship and maintenance are similar to those taught in Buddhist *sūtras*.⁸⁸ Then, Buddhists who did not read Buddhist *sūtras* might still know that constructing and maintaining all stūpas (not only Aśokan stūpas) were meritorious as they heard the story. This suggests that this *Mingxiang ji* version was perhaps initially spread among Buddhist commoners, who therefore learned Buddhist ideas of stūpa worship.

It seems, however, the *Mingxiang ji* version did not satisfy Buddhists later when they might want to know which monasteries housed the Aśokan stūpas and statues; therefore it

⁸⁷ *Mingxiang ji*, in Lu Xun (ed.), *Gu xiaoshuo gouchen*, 407.

⁸⁸ For Buddhist teachings about stūpas, see the quotes from *sūtras* collected in Daoshi's *Fayuan zhulin*, T no. 2122, 53: 37-38.578b-591a; Zhou & Su (colla. & annot.), *Fayuan zhulin* 3: 37-38.1181-1228.

further evolved and became the version collected in Huijiao's *Gaoseng zhuan*—the one which Yao Silian 姚思廉 (d. 637) of the Tang consulted for his *Liangshu*. This biographical version is sharply different from the *Mingxiang ji* version. It gives only a sketch of the background of Huida and the reason why he entered the Buddhist order,⁸⁹ and deals with totally new elements—his visits to three southern places for paying homage to the statues and stūpas: the Changgan and Tongxuan 通玄寺 monasteries, and Mao County. Here I shall only treat his trips to the former monastery and Mao County; the Aśokan stūpas there were those for which Xiao Yan held Buddhist services.⁹⁰

The biographical version says that, in the mid Ningkan 寧康 era (373-375) of the Eastern Jin Dynasty, he arrived in Jiankang. When he climbed the Yue city (Yuecheng 越城)⁹¹ and saw the mast top (*chamiao* 刹杪) of a three-storied stūpa at the Changgan monastery from afar, he found it extraordinary; the stūpa had been emitting light every night after it had been built by Emperor Jianwen (Jianwen di 簡文帝; r. 371-372). Huida went there and worshipped it. That night he saw light coming out below the mast; after digging, he found three steles underground, and under the middle one there was an iron case. In the case there was a silver container, which held a golden one. In this golden container, he found three

⁸⁹ The contents of the *Mingxiang ji* and of the biographical versions differ on this part. For example, the former records that it is Guanyin who told Huida to visit the Aśokan stūpas, whereas the latter gives Huida's teacher as the one who told him to do so.

⁹⁰ It was thought that the Tongxuan monastery, located in the southwest of Wu County, housed the two statues mentioned in the *Mingxiang ji* version. Like the one obtained by Tanyi, these statues also held a fascination for the Xiao Liang royal family. Emperor Jianwen composed an inscription for them, titled "Wujun shixiang bei" 吳郡石像碑 (An inscription about the stone images in Wu County) and collected in *QSSQSLW* (3: 14.3031a-b).

⁹¹ Yuecheng, on an elevation southwest of the Changgan bridge in present Nanjing, was a small city built by Fan Li 范蠡 (517 B.C.E?-448 B.C.E.?) in 472 B.C.E. as a military base for attacking the Chu 楚 state. Jiang Zanchu, "Nanjing diming kaolue" 南京地名考略 (An examination and brief discussion of the geographical names in Nanjing), in *Changjiang zhongxia you lishi kaogu lunwenji*, 272. I shall discuss this city below.

relic grains⁹², fingernails, and a hair. Shining, the hair was several *chi* long when stretched, and would coil around when released. This discovery surprised lay people and Buddhist monks, who set up another mast (*cha*) west of the old one and placed the relics there. In 391 (Taiyuan 太元 16) Emperor Xiaowu 孝武 added a three-story structure to this mast.⁹³

In addition to the stūpa, the Changgan monastery also housed a statue, which Huijiao accredited to the fourth daughter of Aśoka.⁹⁴ Although there is no evidence to show that this statue was ever worshipped by Xiao Yan, the plot about it follows the above-discussed one regarding the stūpa in the *Gaoseng zhuan*, and appeared probably after the Changgan monastery became a landmark related to Aśoka in Jiankang. The discussion of it is also helpful to locate the monastery, an issue that will be treated in the following part. So, it is worth giving an account here. The statue was discovered in the Xianhe 咸和 era (326-339) by the Danyang governor Gao Kui 高悝 (fl. ca.330) on the riverside near the Zhanghou bridge (Zhanghou qiao 張侯橋).⁹⁵ According to the Sanskrit inscription engraved on its front, the statue was made by the Indian princess. It was carved delicately, but did not have any halo or pedestal (prabhā-mandala; *guangfu* 光趺) when found. Gao Kui had an ox carry it, but when the ox arrived at the entrance of Changgan Ward (Changgan li 長干里), it did not move any further. When Gao let it go at will, it went directly to the Changgan monastery. As a result, he placed the statue there. More than a year later a fisherman named Zhang Xishi 張

⁹² For the meaning of “relic grains,” see 1.3 of introduction.

⁹³ Huijiao, *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 13.409b; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 477-478.

⁹⁴ Shinohara has discussed the story of this statue and other relevant narratives in other sources in his “Quanding’s Biography of Zhiyi, the Fourth Chinese Patriarch of the Tiantai Tradition,” *Speaking of Monks*, 180-190.

⁹⁵ The Zhonghou bridge and the Changgan Ward (another geographical name appearing in this part of the story) will be discussed later.

係世, who lived in Linhai 臨海 (in Zhejiang), found a copper pedestal, which was engraved with lotuses, floating along the shore. He fished it out and gave it to a local officer, who then reported it to his supervisor. The ruler finally knew of this; he ordered it to be taken to the Changgan monastery and to be placed under the statue. It turned out that they perfectly matched each other. Later, one day five Indian monks came to meet Gao Kui and told him the origin of the statue. It was the Aśokan statue (*Ayuwang xiang* 阿育王像)⁹⁶ that they obtained in India. When they came to China, they encountered a disorder in Ye 鄴 (in Hebei), and could not take it with them any longer. They therefore hid it on the bank of a river. However, it disappeared later. They were told in a dream that the statue had arrived in the south of the Yangtze River (Changjiang) and had been obtained by Gao Kui. They wished to worship it, so they asked Gao to take them to the monastery. As soon as they saw it, they cried out and it immediately illuminated the hall of the monastery. The monks said that it also had a halo and it might be found soon. As they predicted, in 371 the pearl collector Dong Zongzhi 董宗之, a native of the Hepu 合浦 county of Jiaozhou 交州, discovered this halo in the ocean. The governor reported this to Emperor Jianwen of the Eastern Jin, who then ordered the halo to be put together with the statue. They fit each other perfectly. Huijiao thinks that was an auspicious holy response (*xianggan* 祥感), so all the lost pieces, the pedestal and the halo, were found and reassembled together with the statue more than forty years later.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ The expression *Ayuwang xiang* has two literal meanings—a statue produced by Aśoka or that cast according to his appearance.

⁹⁷ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 13.409b-409c; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 477-478.

In comparison with that about the stūpa and the statue in the Changgan monastery, the part about the Mao stūpa in the biographical version is much sketchier and blander. It neither traces the history of the stūpa in the Jin Dynasty nor elaborates the miraculous phenomena caused by it or by the Buddha's relics buried under it. Probably this stūpa was far less famous than the Changgan stūpa; therefore, according to this version, it decayed, and only its base remained when Huida discovered it. After he meditated on it, he saw it sending out divine light (*shengguang* 神光). He then built a stone shrine (*kanqi* 龕砌).⁹⁸ After that, it became a sacred place, so birds did not rest on it, and hunters and fishermen could not catch anything nearby. People were converted as they learnt of these miracles. Later it was extended by Meng Yi 孟顛 (fl. the fifth century), the governor of the prefecture.⁹⁹ Huijiao does not provide much information on the extension here. In the biography of Dharmamitra (Damomiduo 曇摩蜜多 [356-?]; a translator monk from Kaśmīra who came to China in the Liu Song Dynasty) in his biographical collection, he gives a bit more: the governor, together with this foreign monk, visited Kuaiji and “built a stūpa and a monastery” (建立塔寺).¹⁰⁰

As shown above, the *Mingxiang ji* version and the biographical version are strikingly different from each other. The latter had appeared before Xiao Yan's time because the *Gaoseng zhuan* was completed in 518. It, however, did not replace the former, which was

⁹⁸ Both Zürcher and Shinohara translate the term as stūpa. However, the character *kan* refers to a shrine such as a stone chamber, a cabinet, or a niche for enshrining images of deities, and it also refers to a coffin of the monk. *Qi* means not only a step or a threshold, but also piled bricks or stones. According to the *Mohesengqi li*, T no. 1425, 22), the *kan* (the cabinets or niches) were carved on all sides of a stūpa and was not equated with it (498b). So, the *kanqi* was perhaps a crude shrine or niche, and Zürcher's and Shinohara's understanding does not fit with its literal meaning. If *kanqi* means a stone stūpa, it would be strange that Meng Yi still erected a stūpa when he visited Kuaiji. See Shinohara, “Two Sources of Chinese Buddhist Biographies,” 165; Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest of China*, 279; Luo Zhufeng 羅竹風 (ed.), *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大辭典 (Great Chinese dictionary) (12 vols, Hong Kong: Sanluan shudian and Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1987-1994), 12: 1502.

⁹⁹ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 13.410a; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 479.

¹⁰⁰ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 3.343a; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 121-122.

still circulating when the latter emerged. Yet, it was the biographical version that stimulated Xiao Yan to venerate the relics at the Changgan and Mao stūpas. The difference between the two versions helps to speculate on a reason for this. In the *Mingxiang ji* version, Huida is described as an ordinary person who even covered up his sin of killing a deer and who had to suffer punishment in purgatory. He returned to life only because he had once felt fulfilled when listening to a Buddhist sermon in his previous life. However, in the biographical version, Huida is depicted as a monk with determination to search for the sacred Buddhist traces. His worship of Aśokan stūpas and statues in various places—devotional acts taken on Bodhisattva Guanyin’s advice for preventing him from entering purgatory—is said here to be the merits making him become a revered monk. Then, it can be inferred that, by vividly describing his reception of punishment in purgatory, the *Mingxiang ji* version was aimed at encouraging Buddhists to do penance for their sins at the Aśokan stūpas. The biographical version’s purpose, however, was to show Huida was highly revered to the extent that Huijiao places his biography together with those of Huiyuan and Tanyi in his *Gaoseng zhuan*. All these monks caused the Aśokan statues and stūpas to reappear through their admirable cultivation and virtue.

It is then not hard to conjecture that it was the biographical version that interested Xiao Yan. By holding Buddhist services for the Changgan and Mao stūpas (or, to be precise, the relics buried under them), he aimed for an image as a sacred figure, but definitely did not want to simply eliminate sins as ordinary believers did.¹⁰¹ This image well fit in with his

¹⁰¹ The biographical version deals with Huida’s search for the stūpas and statues in the south. This suggests that it was first spread widely in this place. However, it was transmitted to the north and was imposed new plots. They are recorded by Daoxuan. It is said, for example, that he discovered a statue in Liangzhou 涼州 (in Gansu) before his death. This statue would give prophetic signals of disorder. Besides, the scenes of the biographical version were painted on the southern wall of the Mogao cave 72, Gansu province, and appeared in the literature

ambition to be a monarch as powerful as Aśoka.¹⁰² In the record of his relic veneration, the *Liangshu* contains a mention of Aśoka's distribution of the Buddha's relics to eighty-four thousand stūpas, with the help of *yakṣas* (demons in the earth). This mention, as easily inferred, had a clear political implication, suggesting that Xiao Yan was compared to this powerful wheel-turner monarch.¹⁰³ In 512 (the eleventh year of the Tianjian era) he ordered Saṅghapāla to render the scripture about this Indian ruler, although it had been translated by An Faqin in the Western Jin Dynasty.¹⁰⁴ On the first few days of the translation project,

more accessible to commoners and was called "Liu Sahe yinyuan ji" 劉薩訶因緣記 (A record of Liu Sahe's causes). In the Tang and later, Huida was regarded as a sacred personage called "Liu Patriarch Buddha" (Liu shi fo 劉師佛). See Daoxuan, *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 25.644c-645a; Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤, "Liu Sahe shiji yu ruixiang tu" 劉薩訶事跡與瑞像圖 (Liu Sahe's feats and a picture of an auspicious statue), in *Rao Zongyi dongfang xuelun ji* 饒宗頤東方學論集 (A collection of Rao Zongyi's oriental studies) (Shantou: Shantou daxue chuban she, 1999), 260-278; Shang Lixin 尚麗新, "Dunhuang ben 'Liu Sahe yinyuan ji' jie du" 敦煌本《劉薩訶因緣記》解讀 (Explanations on the Dunhuang version of 'A record of Liu Sahe's achievements [lit. causes]), in *Wenxue yu zongjiao* 文學與宗教 (Literature and religion), eds. Zhang Peifeng 張培鋒 et al. (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chuban she 宗教文化出版社, 2007), 337-351.

¹⁰² Yan Shangwen has written some articles on this issue. See Yan, "Liang Wudi shou pusa jie ji sheshen Tongtai si yu 'huangdi pusa' de jianli," 43-89; *idem*, "Liang Wudi 'Huangdi pusa' xingcheng jichu de linian zhengce ji zhengce zhi xingcheng jichu" 梁武帝"皇帝菩薩"形成基礎的理念政策及政策之形成基礎 (Ideological policies for Liang Emperor Wu's [image] as an imperial bodhisattva and the base of the policies), *Shifan daxue lishi xuebao* 師範大學歷史學報 17 (1989 June): 1-58. Lin Hsin-yin 林欣儀 has also discussed the issue in her *She hui gui zhen: zhonggu handi fojiao fomie guan yu funü xinyang* 捨穢歸真: 中古漢地佛教佛滅觀與婦女信仰 (The departure from impurity and the return to a absolute [state]: the concept of Dharma decline and women's belief in medieval Chinese Buddhism) (Taipei: Daoxiang chuban she, 2008), 46-50.

¹⁰³ Lin Hsin-yin considers that modeling himself on Aśoka was part of Xiao Yan's mission of dharma protection (*dharmapāla*): he not only worshipped the relics, but also appointed vinaya monks as monastic officers and set up a monastic rule to prohibit monks from eating meat and drinking wine. Lin, *She hui gui zhen*, 46-50.

¹⁰⁴ The version translated by Saṅghapāla is titled *Ayuwang jing*, and the one by An Faqin is called *Ayuwang zhuan*.

Suwa thinks that, influenced by this *sūtra* and the *Shijia pu* 釋迦譜 (The history of Śākya family) composed by Sengyou 僧祐 (445-518), Emperor Wu gave himself up four times to the Tongtai monastery 同泰寺 to serve as a menial, and set up in 521 (Putong 2) in Jiankang a charity building in imitation of Jetavana (Gudu yuan 孤獨園) which was aimed to accommodate orphans and uncared-for senior citizens. Neither the *Liangshu* (3.64) nor the *Nanshi* (7.201) elaborates on the building, however. According to Buddhist literature, Jetavana had a seven-storey abode and a park and was presented to Śākyamuyi by Anāthapiṇḍada, who bought it from the prince Jeta. See Suwa, "Ryōbutei bukkyō kankei jiseki nenpu kō" 梁武帝佛教關係事蹟年譜考 (An investigation into Liang wudi's deeds related to Buddhism [arranged] in chronological order), in his *Chūgoku Nanchō Bukkyō shi no kenkyū*, 36-37.

The *Shijia pu* (*juans* 3 to 5) includes depictions about Aśoka's life and his distribution of the Buddha's relics. It also contains a quote from the *Shisong lü* (T no. 1435, 23: 56.415b-415c), which is about a stūpa set up by Sudatta housing the Buddha's hair and fingernails (3.66b). The same quote is also found in another work, *Jinglü*

which was conducted at the Shouguang hall 壽光殿 of his palace, he wrote the translation down from dictation (*bishou* 筆受); afterwards he told Huichao 慧超 (475-526) to take up the work after him.¹⁰⁵ Because the emperor had participated in the translation, Gijun Suwa thinks, he was introduced to the contents of the scripture and thus was impressed with them, and as a result he fancied himself as a match for this Indian ruler. Perhaps Xiao Yan had already been familiar with Aśokan legends before the translation project because the story of Huida had been circulating then. Obviously, because of his enthusiasm for the Aśokan legends (or, to be precise, the enthusiasm for imitating Aśoka), he ordered the retranslation of the *sūtra*.

A eulogy written by Xiao Gang (the crown prince) attests to his enthusiasm. In it Xiao Yan was depicted as a “wheel-tuning monarch, namely a flying sage (*feixing sheng* 飛行聖),” “with the seven treasures [spreading] evenly and thousands of feuds [remaining] peaceful.”¹⁰⁶ The expressions used here apparently come from Buddhist legendary descriptions of the wheel turner. The term “flying sage” is derived from “flying emperor” (*feixing huangdi* 飛行皇帝), an epithet created in Buddhist literature for the wheel-turner because it is believed that he can fly. Xiao Gang wrote the eulogy in 547 (Taiqing 太清 1) because Xiao Yan obtained a horse after he had given himself away to the Tongtai monastery.¹⁰⁷ It says that the horse is a greenish red horse (*ganma bao* 紺馬寶). This

yixiang 經律異相 ([Extracts on] variant phenomena from *sūtras* and vinaya texts), composed by Baochang (T no. 2121, 53: 6.27c). Perhaps this story helped generate Xiao Yan’s obsession with the hair and fingernails placed at the Changgan stūpa.

¹⁰⁵ Fei Zhangfang 費長房 (?-598+), *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶記 (The records of the Three Jewels in the previous dynasties), T no. 2034, 49: 11.98b.

¹⁰⁶ Xiao Gang, “Mabao song bing xu” 馬寶頌并序 (A eulogy about the horse treasure, together with a preface), in *QSSQLW* 3: 12.3020b: 轉輪皇, 飛行聖……七寶均, 萬邦寧.

¹⁰⁷ Yan Shangwen, “Liang Wudi shou pusa jie,” 74, 87n116.

marvelous horse—one of the seven treasures possessed by the golden wheel turner and an auspicious animal—can carry the wheel turner anywhere at startling speed.¹⁰⁸ Of course, it is impossible that the horse Xiao Yan obtained could run that fast. The eulogy in fact shows that he was aiming to present himself as a universal powerful monarch, and the crown prince used the expressions from Buddhist depictions of the wheel-turner for catering to his goals. He might feel extremely pleased with this, so he might not notice that Aśoka did not have any greenish red horse, which only appeared in the reign of a golden wheel-turner.¹⁰⁹ Although this eulogy was written after Xiao Yan held Buddhist services for the relics, in the last year of his reign, it shows that his enthusiasm for Buddhist legends of Aśoka lasted throughout his reign.

It is not hard to deduce that it was the biographical version that attracted Xiao Yan,¹¹⁰ so he held services only for the relics at the Changgan and the Mao stūpas. The *Mingxiang ji* version, as stated above, mentions that the Aśokan stūpas stood in Luoyang, Linzhi, Jianye (i.e. Jianshang), Maoyin, and Chengdu. Among them, only the last three were accessible to

¹⁰⁸ It is said in Buddhist scriptures that the horse appears one day when the monarch is sitting in a hall in an early morning. Apart from its ability to run rapidly, it has other extraordinary features. For example, it has a very long lifespan and is very strong. See *Chang Ahan jing*, T no. 1, 1: 3.21c-22a. Other *āgama* texts also contain depictions of this horse and other six treasures possessed by the wheel turner. *Zengyi Ahan jing*, T no. 125, 2: 48.806c-808a; *Zhong Ahan jing* 中阿含經 (*Madhyamāgama*), trans. Sanghadeva, T no. 26, 1: 14.511c-513a.

¹⁰⁹ Since all the seven treasures are said to be the possessions of the golden wheel-turner, they probably appear only in the reign of this highest ranked ruler. But Aśoka is categorized as the iron or army wheel-turner. It is therefore reasonable to assume that, according to Buddhist legends about him, the greenish red horse is not supposed to have appeared in his times.

¹¹⁰ It is not alleged that the *Mingxiang ji* version did not attract contemporary Buddhists at all. Emperor Jianwen, for example, wrote an inscription for the two statues mentioned in it, “Wujun shixiang bei.” This inscription discusses marvelous occurrences related to the statues, thus including the words spoken by a certain foreign monk called Shi Fakai 釋法開 (d.u.), which are about merits acquired through worshipping two stone images and Aśokan images. The monk said that people who paid homage to them could efficaciously eliminate their sins and prevent themselves from entering the three bad paths of transmigration. This conviction is exactly the same as that stated in the *Mingxiang ji* version, as quoted above. This suggests that Emperor Jian was fascinated by this version and the idea expressed in it. Daoshi also repeats the monk’s remarks in his *Fayuan zhulin*. T no. 2122, 53: 13.383b; Zhou & Su (colla. & annot.), *Fayuan zhulin* 2: 13.454.

southern Buddhists at that time, but in the biographical version, only the first two remain on the list, and Chengdu is removed. This place is not mentioned in the *Liangshu* and the *Nanshi*, either. Probably because there were no anecdotes about the Aśokan stūpa in Chengdu, southern Buddhists did not keep this place in mind when they thought of Aśokan stūpas in their land. This perhaps explains why Xiao Yan paid homage to the relics in the Changgan and Mao stūpas only. He, however, did not attach the same significance to these stūpas, as will be shown in the following. This is obviously because the focus of attention in the biographical version was only on the Changgan stūpa—the reflection of the fact that the stūpa held a great fascination for southern Buddhists (or at least Buddhists in Jiankang). It is natural that making use of this biographical version in his interests Xiao Yan held impressive Buddhist services for the relics there but attached less attention to those at the Mao stūpa. Next I shall go through the services he held for the relics.

3.2.2.2 Xiao Yan's Veneration of the Relics at the Mao and Changgan Stūpas

In the third month of 536 (the second year of the Datong era), Xiao Yan visited the Tongtai monastery and worshipped the Aśokan statue enshrined there, as stated above. In the same year, he paid homage to the relics enshrined at the Mao stūpa. One year later he did so for those at the Changgan stūpa. This suggests that the statue inspired this emperor to worship more holy objects related to Aśoka. According to the *Liangshu*, he first had the relics unearthed from the Mao stūpa, and told four monks of the Guangzhai monastery 光宅

寺 (including Jingtuo 敬脫 [fl. the first half of the sixth century])¹¹¹ and an official Sun Zhao 孫照 (d.u.) to take them to the palace for worship. It is said that after he finished his worship, he immediately returned them to a new stūpa he built. Perhaps because Xiao Yan did not attach much importance to the relics there, the record of his worship in the *Liangshu* is very sketchy, containing only one sentence in it about the origin of the stūpa: “this [Mao]-Prefecture stūpa was also discovered by Liu Sahe.”¹¹² The entire record is attached at the end of the account of his homage to the relics at the Changgan stūpa, thus appearing to have been written as a supplement.¹¹³

In comparison with those for the relics at the Mao stūpa, the Buddhist services Xiao Yan held for those at the Changgan stūpa were more impressive. This is because his times saw people’s stronger and stronger fervour for the stūpa, as indicated by the expansion of the story about it. The story, which was the version Huijiao heard of in the early sixth century, expanded considerably within less than two decades, including more episodes about the stūpa in the Wu kingdom—those recorded in the *Liangshu*, but not in the *Gaoseng zhuan*. Huijiao is silent on the history of the stūpa before the Jin Dynasty, and only writes that “This [old stūpa] was one of the eighty-four thousand monuments that Aśoka built in the time of Zhou Jing Emperor.” He does not mention how the stūpa built by Emperor Jianwen replaced the original one set up by this Indian ruler. To fill in this gap, more episodes appeared: after

¹¹¹ “此縣塔亦是劉薩何所得也。” Like his monastic fellow Fayun 法雲 (fl. the first half of the sixth century), who was appointed to the great monastic rectifier (*da sengzheng* 大僧正) in 525, Jingtuo had also entered the contemporary dispute over the twofold truth (*erdi* 二諦). *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 21.250b. Suwa concludes that Jingtuo might be a family monk like Fayun. In his old age, Jingtuo moved to another temple, Ganlu gu monastery 甘露古寺. Suwa, “Ryōdai kenkou no butsuji to butei no konryū” 梁代建康の仏寺と武帝の建立 (Buddhist monasteries in Jiankang of the Liang Dynasty and Emperor Wu’s construction of them), in his *Chūgoku Nanchō Bukkyō shi no kenkyū*, 152, 172n17.

¹¹² *Liangshu* 54.792; *Nanshi* 68.1956.

¹¹³ The account of Xiao Yan’s veneration in the *Nanshi* is based on that in the *Liangshu*, so the findings discussed here also apply to the *Nanshi*.

Aśoka set up a stūpa there, in the Wu period a nun had a small cultivation abode (*jingshe* 精舍) built, but they both were destroyed by Sun Lin 孫綝 (231-258), a person who seized control of the kingdom under Sun Liang's 孫亮 reign (252-257). The stūpa was rebuilt by several monks in the Jin Dynasty after the Wu was overthrown. In 371 to 372 Emperor Jianwen ordered Master An (An fashi 安法師; d.u.) to construct a small stūpa, but the latter died before he finished the task and had to leave it to his disciple. In 384 (the ninth year of the Taiyuan era) Emperor Xiaowu added discs (or plates) to it.¹¹⁴ These new episodes, as well as the circulating ones, were helpful in reinforcing people's belief in the ancient origin of the stūpa, and to implant into their minds the ideas that it never ceased to be the centre of worship and that the relics Xiao Yan worshipped were genuinely the Buddha's remains. These episodes appeared in a short time; certainly this is because people had immense enthusiasm for the stūpa.

Another indication of people's stronger and stronger enthusiasm is the rapid reconstruction of the Changgan monastery in the early Liang Dynasty. In his *Jiankang shilu*, Xu Song writes an ambiguous sentence in his account of the Liang history in 502 (the first year of the Tianjian 天監 era), which reads "The Changgan monastery was established."¹¹⁵ Seemingly, it is a wrong statement because all the *Gaoseng zhuan* and official histories the *Liangshu* and the *Nanshi* state that it was established in or even before the Jin Dynasty. The *Gaoseng zhuan* also contains biographies of monks of this period and later who lived in the

¹¹⁴ *Liangshu* 54.790-791.

The text reads, "In the ninth year of the Taiyuan [era], Emperor Jianwen [added] golden plates (*xianglun* 相輪) and a dew receiver (*chenglu* 承露) [to it]" (至孝武太元九年, 上金相輪及承露). Both the terms *xianglun* and *chenglu* refer to the disc of the stūpa. Probably owing to a typographical error, they both appear in the same sentence. See section 2.2.1 of Chapter Two for the discussion of these two terms. The same error is also repeated in the record of the stūpa in the *Nanshi*.

¹¹⁵ *Jiankang shilu* 17.471: 立長干寺.

monastery.¹¹⁶ This seems to suggest that Xu Song has made a mistake. However, he is familiar with the above material, so he quotes the account about the monastery from the *Liangshu* after the statement. He dates the monastery at the first year of Xiao Yan's reign (502) probably because of a book titled *Sita ji* 寺塔記 (Records of monasteries and stūpas), the quotation from which says that “the monastery was located in the Changgan Ward, the east of Moling County 秣陵縣. It had a stūpa for the relics [distributed by] King Aśoka, and was changed to the Aśokan monastery in the Liang Dynasty.”¹¹⁷ Among Buddhist authors, only Hongzan 弘贊 (1611-1658) of the late Ming Dynasty dated the monastery at the year 502. Non-Buddhist authors, especially those of local gazetteers about Jiankang, tended to hold the same views as Xu Song did.¹¹⁸ Then, it seems that Xu Song's statement is not pure conjecture and is worth a close examination.

¹¹⁶ Among the monks, Zhu Fakuang 竺法曠 (326-402) was the one who lived there earliest. He was invited to live in the monastery by Emperor Xiaowu of the Eastern Jin. (5.206) Saṅghavarman, an Indian monk arriving in Jiankang in 433, also lived there at the invitation of Huiguan 慧觀 (died in the mid Yuanjia period), who asked him to translate the *Zaapitan xin lun* 雜阿毘曇心論 (*Samyuktābhidharma-hṛidaya śāstra*; a commentary on the *Abhidharma-hṛidaya śāstra*) (3.119).

¹¹⁷ *Jiankang shilu* 17.471: 寺在秣陵縣東長干里內, 有阿育王塔舍利塔, 梁朝改為阿育王寺。

¹¹⁸ Zhang Dunyi 張敦頤 (fl. 1138) writes in his *Liuchao shiji bian lei* 六朝事跡編類 (A compiled encyclopedia of the events of the Six Dynasties) that the monastery was established in the early period of the Liang Dynasty. The anonymous author of the *Liang jing si ji* 梁京寺記 (Records of monasteries in the capital of the Liang, a work produced after 1160), Zhou Yinghe 周應合 (1213-1280) of the Southern Song Dynasty who wrote the *Jingding Jiankang zhi* 景定建康志 (Records of Jiankang zhi [written in] the Jingding period), and Zhang Xuan 張鉉 (1756-?), the author of the *Zhida Jinling xin zhi* 至大金陵新志 (Records of Jinling newly [compiled in] the Zhida era) also date the construction of the monastery to 502, which saw the drought in Jiangdong and the huge rise of the rice price.

Hongzan (ed.), *Liudao ji* 六道集 (A collection of the stories about the Six [Transmigration] Paths), X no. 1645, 88: 4.164c; *Liang jing si ji*, in *Wuchao xiaoshuo daguan* 五朝小說大觀 (A general display of the anecdotes of the Five Dynasties) (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chuban she, 1991, rpt.), 196; Suwa, “Ryōkei jiki shiryō kō” 『梁京寺記』史料考 (Examination of sources for the *Liang jingsi ji*), in his *Chūgoku Nanchō Bukkyō shi no kenkyū*, 137-146; Zhang Dunyi, *Liuchao shiji bian lei* (See Zhang Chenshi 張忱石 [annot.], *Liuchao shiji bian lei* [Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuban she, 1995], 11.110); Zhou Yinghe, *Jingding Jiankang zhi* (reprinted in *Zhonghua shuju bianji bu* 中華書局編輯部 [comp.], *Song Yuan fangzhi congkan* 宋元方志叢刊 [Collection of Song and Yuan gazetteers] [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990] 2: 46.2077); Zhang Xuan, *Zhida Jinling xin zhi* (in *Song Yuan fangzhi congkan* 6: 3. 3084).

His statement makes sense, given that it is likely that the Changgan monastery was reconstructed in the Liang Dynasty. The temple stood in the Great Changgan Ward (Da changgan li 大長干里), which belonged to the Changgan district—the oldest residential area in Jiankang, located south of the Qinhuai river. Throughout the Six Dynasties, the region along the river saw frequent warfare and natural disasters, thus repeated mass destruction. For example, in 475 a serious fire broke out, and several thousand homes along both sides of the river were burned away.¹¹⁹ When Xiao Yan rose up against Emperor Fei of the Southern Qi Dynasty, the latter's general Li Jushi 李居士 (fl. late fifth century - 501) suggested that he should set fire to the buildings south of the river in order to enlarge the battlefield in the capital and disperse the opponent's soldiers widely. Consequently, many places including the Changgan district fell into ruin.¹²⁰ Under the circumstances, like many other temples in the capital city examined in the last chapter, this Changgan monastery, together with the stūpa, probably also underwent destruction frequently. It is likely that, when Jiankang was at peace, a new monastic complex and a new stūpa were rebuilt in around the same place again, and continued to be called Changgan si. In the late Liang Dynasty, when Hou Jing staged a riot, it was likely damaged badly or devastated again. The *Liangshu* writes, “he also set fire to people's residences and monasteries they constructed on the southern shore [of the Qinhuai river]; they were all destroyed.”¹²¹ The monasteries mentioned here perhaps included the Changgan monastery. Yet this temple continued to appear on the scene. The *Chenshu* 陳書 (Book of the Chen) records that the last emperor of the Chen Dynasty, Chen Shubao, visited

¹¹⁹ *Songshu* 32.937.

¹²⁰ *Liangshu* 6.167; *Jiankang shilu* 17.468.

¹²¹ *Liangshu* 56.844: 又燒民居營寺, 莫不咸盡.

it and granted a general amnesty in 585 (the third year of the Zhide 至德 era).¹²² And Xu Ling 徐陵 (507-583), the vice director of the imperial secretariat (*shangshu pushe* 尚書僕射), composed an article in praise of a monk there, who gave away food generously to others.¹²³ The temple, which was probably rebuilt in the Chen Dynasty, continued to be called Changan monastery. When the reconstruction was conducted in 502, the state was faced with a drought. Xu Song writes, “this year saw a drought; a *dou* 斗 (decalitre) of rice cost five thousand *wen* 文 (a copper cash). Many people starved to death.”¹²⁴ This indicates that the stūpa held a great fascination for people, so even during the time of hardship they reconstructed it and the monastery.

Although neither the *Liangshu* says that the new episodes were made up by Xiao Yan (or his officials) nor Xu Song links the reestablishment of the monastery to him, it is clear that people’s (or at least Jiankang people’s) obsession with the stūpa was flourishing at the time when Xiao Yan held the Buddhist services there, which could therefore work well for his self-glorification.

The focus can now be shifted towards his veneration of the relics buried there.¹²⁵ In the eighth month of 537 (the third year of the Datong era), he visited the Changan monastery and unearthed the relics from the stūpa, which were buried underground four *chi* deep with other treasures donated by a group of Buddhist devotees. Later in the same month,

¹²² Yao Silian and Yao Cha, *Chenshu* 陳書 (History of the Chen) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982, rpt.) 6.111.

¹²³ Xu Ling, “Changan si zhong shi bei” 長干寺眾食碑 (An inscription about food [donation] to the populace), *QSSQSLW* 4:11.3466a.

¹²⁴ *Jiankang shilu* 17.471: 是歲旱, 米一斗五千文, 人多餓死. Although Yao Silian, Li Yanshou, and even Sima Guang also mention the drought, they do not tell us that the monastery was either built or extended in 502. *Liangshu* 2.38; *Nanshi* 6.186; *Zizhi tongjian* 145.4527.

¹²⁵ The *Liangshu* is the main source about the campaign, so I shall consult it for my discussion of the emperor’s veneration.

he went to the monastery again and paid homage, and he also held an Illimitable Assembly (*Wuzhe dahui* 無遮大會)¹²⁶ and granted a general amnesty. When he put the relics (possibly the relic grains only) in water in a golden alms bowl, except the smallest one, all of them floated. Then he prostrated himself several dozen times. After this, it emitted light and revolved for a long time until it reached the centre. The emperor asked Huinian 慧念 (fl. 537), the monastic rectifier (*sengzheng* 僧正) who was high up in the monastic hierarchy, whether he saw this incredible phenomenon. Yet the monk did not answer him directly, only equivocating, “the Dharma body persists forever, calm and motionless.”¹²⁷ Obviously, the emperor was seeking the Buddhist order’s recognition of the phenomenon caused by his devotion, but the monk was reluctant to support him.¹²⁸ Then he took one relic grain to the palace with him for worship. He also wrote an edict about his veneration. In it he directly calls the stūpa “King Aśokan stūpa” (Ayuwang ta 阿育王塔), saying that it is one of the eighty-four thousand reliquaries set up by the Indian ruler. Hence, digging the holy relics out of it is an auspicious omen for the forthcoming prosperous days, and for the end of people’s suffering from soaring food prices and poverty, which had resulted from the bad harvest in the previous year. He says that people were all delighted with this, so they poured into the Illimitable Assembly with joy: the old and the young far and near were all delighted to convert to Buddhism, and many gentlemen and ladies gathered there.¹²⁹ Obviously, not only

¹²⁶ The Illimitable Assembly (*pañcavārsikāpariṣad*) is the assembly where teachings and provisions are provided for all people regardless of their social status, race, gender, nationality, etc.

¹²⁷ *Liangshu* 54.791-792: 法身常住，湛然不動。

¹²⁸ Lin Hsin-yi (*She hui gui zhen*, 46-50) has conducted thorough research on how the Buddhist order reacted to Xiao Yan’s unwanted interference in monastic affairs. It took this to be the reflection of the decline of Buddhist dharma.

¹²⁹ “Chu gu yu wang ta xia fo sheli zhao” 出古育王塔下佛舍利詔 (The edict about digging the Buddha’s relics out of the old Aśokan stūpa), in *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 15.203c. The *Jiankang shilu* (17.481) says that 537 (the third year of the Datong era) saw an earthquake and a famine in Jiankang.

does Xiao Yan aim to describe his joyful discovery of the Buddha's relics, but also to convince people that the discovery means the coming of blessed days under his rule. In the edict, the way he presents the relics is not greatly different from that in which other Chinese traditional political omens are usually described.

In the ninth month, one month later, the relics were taken to the palace and met with a warm reception from the crown prince, nobles, and dignitaries, and another Illimitable Assembly was staged. It is said that all people in Jiankang were filled with admiration, and spectators amounted to several millions, but this is obviously an exaggeration because the capital was populated at that time by only around one million and four hundred thousand people.¹³⁰ All the golden and silver worship implements that were used in the service, together with a donation of ten million *qian* 錢 (cash), were given to the Changgan monastery. Although these generous donations went to the monastery, the relics were not returned to it at the same time. This was so until in the ninth month of next year Xiao Yan revisited the monastery and staged another Illimitable Assembly. He had two stūpas built and put in them the relics, which were placed in a golden and next in a jade round jar (*ying* 罍). It is said that in the eleventh month of 545 (the eleventh year of the Datong era) when he was invited to give a speech on the title of the *prajñā sūtra* at the monastery, the stūpas sent out light. He then ordered Xiao Lun 蕭綸 (508?-551), Prince of Shaoling 邵陵王, to write an inscription. It has been lost, but its title “Da gongde bei” 大功德碑 (an inscription about a great beneficial deed) implies that it was about Xiao Yan's virtues and achievements, which are perhaps said to be so extraordinary that he triggered this unusual phenomenon at these two stūpas.

¹³⁰ Suwa, “Ryōbutei bukkyō kankei jiseki nenpu kō,” 69.

Xiao Yan used the relics to glorify his image, linking their sacredness to the image as a sacred monarch he created for himself. Therefore, he accredited their discovery (or indeed digging them out only) and all the miraculous phenomena to himself. This message was echoed by his son Xiao Gang. In an official document he writes that the auspicious omens that appeared in previous dynasties can never match “the true body [of the Buddha] in relics (真形舍利),” which is extremely hard to see. He continues to say, “If it is not for the majestic power of the imperial virtue, it is impossible to experience such a rare [event].”¹³¹

3.2.2.3 Xiao Yan’s Relic veneration = His Stūpa Veneration?

As stated above, Xiao Yan had belief in the holiness of the Aśokan statue at the Changsha monastery, so he moved it from the monastery to the palace for his own worship. It is therefore likely that he did the same to the relics at the Changgan stūpa, taking them from the monks of the Changgan monastery and enshrining them in the palace. Indeed, not only did he control the relics, but he also put his own hair and fingernails together with the original relics when he returned them to the new stūpa (both stūpas?). Huijiao says that Huida discovered three relic grains, together with a piece of the fingernail and a hair only, but, according to the *Liangshu*, after excavation reached a depth of nine *chi* (approximately three metres) underground, Xiao Yan discovered three relic grains in a golden engraved jar (*jinlou ying* 金鏤甕), and a hair, four relic grains, and four fingernails in a crystal bowl (*liuli wan* 琉璃碗). The numbers of the relics Xiao Yan claimed to have found clearly did not

¹³¹ “Feng Ayuwang si qian qi” 奉阿育王寺錢啟 (An official document presented, on the money [donated to] the Ayuwang monastery), in *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 16.209a: 自非聖德威神, 無以值斯希有. This document is also collected in Yan Kejun’s *QSSQSLW* 4: 10.3007-3008.

match up with those recorded by Huijiao. Considering that Buddhist relics were scarce and hard to obtain, the “new” relics added to the original collection of the remains were really quite considerable. Yao Silian—the author of the *Liangshu*—probably did not know the reason for the discrepancy, so he simply listed the numbers of the relics Huida originally found and Xiao Yan claimed to have unearthed. The discrepancy was probably also a mystery to chroniclers of later times, so they, like Yao Silian, also cited them in their works only but did not explain it. As revealed by the monks of the Sui who had lived in Jiankang,¹³² Xiao Yan had put his own hair and fingernails (and some probably pseudo relic grains) together with the real ones. This is probably because he kept some of the relics for himself and enshrined them at more than one stūpa in the Changgan monastery.

Then, under the circumstances he might find it necessary to prove that all the relics he found at the stūpa were genuine. To convince people of their authenticity, he made subtle use of Buddhist scriptures. Hence, in the *Liangshu* there are quotations from two *sūtras*, the *Sengqie jing* 僧伽經 and the *Fo sanmei jing* 佛三昧經.¹³³ The passage from the former cited in the text says that “the Buddha’s hair is purplish (*qing* 青) and fine like the fiber of lotus roots.”¹³⁴ The other one from the latter is the Buddha’s own description of his hair. He said that he once had his hair measured when he washed it in the palace, and that it was one *chang* and two *chi* long when stretched and would coil up rightward when released. The citations in

¹³² I shall return to these monks’ remarks when talking about how the Changgan stūpa was treated in the Sui Dynasty.

¹³³ The full name of the *Sengqie jing* is *Sengqieluo cha suo ji fo xingjing* 僧伽羅刹所集佛行經 (The *sūtra* on the Buddha’s activities collected by Saṅgharakṣa; T no. 194, vol. 4), translated by Saṅghabhūti 僧伽跋澄 (or Saṅghabhadrā? [fl. 383-398]) in the Former Qin Dynasty; and that of the *Fo sanmei jing* is the *Foshuo guan fo sanmei hai jing* 佛說觀佛三昧海經 (A scripture preached by the Buddha about meditation (*samādhi*) [on the characteristic marks of] the Buddha, [which is as profound as] the sea; T no. 643, 15), translated by Buddhābhadrā of the Later Qin Dynasty.

¹³⁴ *Liangshu* 54.790: 佛髮青而細, 猶如藕莖絲. *Qing* refers to *ganqing* 紺青 (violet or purplish), which is the colour of the Buddha’s hair.

the *Liangshu*, which are not copied word by word from these scriptures, were used by Xiao Yan to prove that the hair he unearthed from the stūpa was undoubtedly the Buddha's remains. This can be inferred from a remark, attached to the end of the citations, which says “[the features described in these *sūtras*] are the same as [those of the hair] Gaozu 高祖 (the posthumous title of Xiao Yan) obtained.”¹³⁵ The citations talk about the Buddha's hair only, but there is nothing about his fingernails found at the stūpa; the *Liangshu* says that they were sandal-wood coloured. Yet this feature is not verified by the Buddhist *sūtras* I know of.¹³⁶ The mention of the unique colour of the hair might mean that Xiao Yan attempted to convince others of the genuineness by highlighting this feature. Perhaps, he also attempted to show that the relic grains were really the Buddha's remains; therefore, as stated above, in order to get monastic recognition that they were the holy remains, he asked Huinian whether he saw one of them shine and revolve. He failed, because the monk gave an equivocal answer, saying that, motionless, the relics persisted forever. It seems that the monk was hinting since the real relics remained unchanged, some of his relics were actually fake.

Not only Huinian, but other Buddhist monks also had doubts about the genuineness of the relics. Daoxuan records that the Changgan monastery and the stūpa¹³⁷ were abandoned in the Sui. In his time only this three-storied brick stūpa, which still had a mast, and a Buddhist hall remained, but other structures of the monastery were reduced to piles of dismantled

¹³⁵ *Liangshu* 54.790: 則與高祖所得同也。

¹³⁶ Buddhist belief has it that, among the four stūpas at the city in the Trayastriṃśās (Daolitian 忉利天; the heaven of Indra, or the second of the desire-heavens), the southern one houses the Buddha's hair. Baochang, *Jinglü yixiang*, T no. 2121, 53: 6.28b. It is also believed that another stūpa on a mountain called Libato 隸跋陀 in Kubhā inhabited by immortals also contains the hair given by the Buddha to an immortal living there. Nagārjuna, *Da zhidu lun (Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra śāstra)*, trans. Kumārajīva, T no. 1509, 25: 9.126a. For scholars' different views on the authorship of this text, see note 98 of Chapter One.

¹³⁷ Although Xiao Yan built two stūpas, chroniclers usually gave descriptions of one, not two, in their records of the Changgan stūpa. This is perhaps because the other was thought to belong to the Wagan monastery. I shall explain this below.

wood. The place was occupied by tigers, and sometimes human corpses were found there.¹³⁸ The relics kept at the stūpa were moved to the Riyan monastery 日嚴寺 in Chang'an—the capital of the new dynasty, after Yang Guang 楊廣 (569-618)—Prince of Jin 晉王 and the next emperor—held office in Huaihai 淮海.¹³⁹ He established this monastery after the Sui had been founded. It did not contain any relics, so he moved the relics from the Changgan stūpa to a stūpa there, and he also hung a tablet on its top. However, more than fifty monks of great virtue (*dade* 大德) from the south¹⁴⁰ thought that they were not those found by Huida. Daoxuan could not confirm this rumor until in the early Tang Dynasty he had a look at them in person. When the Riyan monastery was abandoned by the Tang government in 624 (Wude 武德 7), its houses and land were confiscated, and the monks living at it were ordered to live in other monasteries. Together with his teacher Huiyun 慧韻 (564-637) and monastic fellows, Daoxuan dug the relics out of the stūpa before moving to the Chongyi monastery 崇義寺. They found three relic grains, a fingernail, and several dozen white hairs, which were all placed in a big copper container with some treasures. White and glossy, the relic grains were as large as grains of millet, and were the only holy remains Daoxuan found genuine. Different from the Buddha's remains that are described in the *Liangshu*, the fingernail was, however, not red copper in colour, but lightly yellow and as small as humans' nails, and the hair also did not coil up. Judging by these features, they were not the relics belonging to the

¹³⁸ *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 15.201c-202a.

¹³⁹ The event happened in 591 or later because Yang went to Huaihai this year. *Suishu* 54.1368.

¹⁴⁰ These monks probably had previously lived in the Changgan monastery. After the Sui overthrew the Chen in Jiankang, it was decreed that only two monasteries be allowed in one prefecture (*zhou* 州) in the area. Besides, many temples in Jiankang fell into decay, as discussed in the last chapter. Under the circumstances, a large number of monks were sent to Chang'an, and many of them were lodged in the Riyan monastery. See Wang Yarong 王亞榮, "Daoxuan yu Chang'an shehui" 道宣與長安社會 (Daoxuan and the Chang'an society), in his *Chang'an fojiao shi lun* 長安佛教史論 (Discussions of Chang'an Buddhist history) (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2005), 215-216.

Buddha. The monks from the south all claimed that the fingernail and the hairs were Xiao Yan's. The real relics, Daoxuan guessed, fell into the hands of the ruling class.

Why did Xiao Yan confuse others by putting some fake relics together with the real ones (or those that were believed to be so)? He did so perhaps because, in imitation of Aśoka, who multiplied reliquaries for the Buddha's relics in India, he had to build more than one stūpa in the Changgan monastery. He might have thought that the relics he could find at the original stūpa were far from enough for two new stūpas; therefore he had to enshrine the fake relics with real ones and deceive others into thinking that they were all genuine. Evidently, he might also think that, as a universally revered monarch, he deserved people's veneration, so he put his hairs and fingernails, together with the Buddha's remains, at the stūpas.

Clearly, Xiao Yan believed in the holiness of the relics, and also believed they would help him in his rule, but it should be noted that he did not have the same veneration towards the Changgan and the Mao stūpas. Although in the Buddhist canonical tradition stūpas were considered as sacred as relics, the Changgan and the Mao stūpas did not meet with respect from him. They were destroyed when he dug the relics. The *Liangshu* says that he found the relics nine *chi* deep underground under the Changgan stūpa. Although the work does not give a similar description of the relics at the Mao stūpa, he probably also found them underground, because relics in China were often placed in underground chambers under stūpas, which were inspired by Chinese burial tradition, whereas relics in India were kept inside stūpas.¹⁴¹

Inevitably, Xiao Yan pulled down the stūpas when taking the relics out. Therefore, he “reconstructed” (*gaizao* 改造) these buildings, says the *Liangshu*. Obviously, the term used

¹⁴¹ Such structures, which were called subterranean palaces (*digong* 地宫) in the Tang and afterwards, were similar to the royal mausoleum in China, and were created perhaps because Buddhists compared the wheel-turner and the Buddha. In addition to relics, jewels as offerings were also put in it. Luo Zhewen, *Ancient Pagodas in China*, 22-23. I shall discuss this structure of the stūpas for the monastic dead in the next chapter.

here implicitly means the destruction of the original stūpas. As mentioned above, after he finished worshipping the relics, he returned them to the new stūpas. Yet “King Aśokan stūpa (Ayuwang ta),” the designation for the Changgan stūpa, remained unchanged and was given to the two new buildings. This may not sound strange because, according to the *Liangshu*, the stūpa the emperor knocked down was also not the one found by Huida, but the one set up by lay Buddhists west of it. And the same thing also happened to the Mao stūpa; the replacement was still linked to Aśoka. It seems that once a locality was thought to be the place where Aśoka built a stūpa, the replacement erected in it would be associated with him, even though the original reliquary was destroyed.

Such demolition of stūpas for taking relics went against Buddhist scriptural tradition. As discussed in Chapter One, they are described as living entities; hence stūpas in India are said to be usually repaired instead of being pulled down when they are damaged. A story of the stūpa for Buddha Kāśyapa, which was set up after this Buddha’s *nirvāṇa*, therefore, tells us that after it had been ruined for many years, Bimbisāra (transliterated as Pingsha 瓶沙 or Binposuoluo 頻婆娑羅 in Chinese), the ruler of Magadha (in central India, transliterated as Mojietuo 摩竭陀) living in the time of Śākyamuni, headed a group of ninety-two thousand Buddhists in repairing it for gaining merits.¹⁴² Maintaining stūpas is regarded as a way for monks and lay Buddhists to pay respect for these holy objects and to gain merits, so it is highly valued. In the *Zengyi Ahan jing*, there are some rules set up for stūpa keepers: they should clean the ground of stūpas with water and level it, remove pieces of tiles and stones around them, brush off dirt from them, and sweep them in a dignified manner. The keepers

¹⁴² Dharmatrāta, *Chuyao jing* 出曜經 (*Avadāna sūtra*), trans. Zhu Fonian, T no. 212, 4: 9.659a.

will not benefit from their work if they do not follow these rules.¹⁴³ In addition to them, more regulations and a number of stories urging people to maintain stūpas appear in various Buddhist scriptures, some of which are collected by Daoshi in a section about old stūpas (“Guta 故塔”) in his *Fayuan zhulin*. Therefore, it seems unlikely that Xiao Yan was ignorant of the importance of stūpa maintenance presented in Buddhist scriptures. It was already highlighted in the story of Huida collected in the *Mingxiang ji* (i.e. the *Mingxiang ji* version).

Also, Xiao Yan linked closely meritorious deeds related to stūpas with his ambition to be a universal monarch as powerful as Aśoka. Yet this idea was different from the way Buddhist scriptures talk about the merits acquired through stūpa worship. This can be illustrated with a story that Daoshi quotes in his work from the *Pusa benxing jing* 菩薩本行經 (*Bodhisattva-pūrvacaryā sūtra*; the *sūtra* of Bodhisattvas’ previous deeds). It is about the previous lives of an *arhat* called Pojieduoli 婆竭多梨. He was originally a poor man who sold firewood for his livelihood. One day he saw a stūpa for Dīpaṃkara Buddha and approached it for worship, but he found that it was deserted and overgrown and it became a nest for birds and a habitat for animals. With joy he removed weeds and swept it clean; before he left, he circumambulated around it eight times. By doing the cleaning, he gained great merits and thus had several good reincarnations such as that in the Ābhāsvara Heaven (translated as Guangyin tian 光音天; the heaven of utmost light and purity) and that as a

¹⁴³ *Zengyi Ahan jing*, T no. 125, 2: 25.688b.

Hirakawa argues that stūpa worship arose and encouraged Mahāyāna Buddhism in contrast with Nikāya Buddhism (see section 1.1 of Chapter One for the discussion of his views). “The stūpas developed a doctrine different from that of the Āgama...In the extant Āgama there is very little teaching for the laity...But from the earliest beginnings the stūpas administered by the lay followers, existed continuously, and they must have also kept the Buddha’s teachings addressed to them.” According to his findings, these stūpa administrators later became Mahāyāna priests. See Hirakawa, “The Rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Relationship to the Worship of Stūpas,” 102-106. This observation is controversial if considered with the above rules in the *Zengyi Ahan jing*.

wheel-turning ruler; in the rebirth as the universal monarch he governed the four continents and possessed the seven treasures. In his last time of transmigration, he met Śākyamuni, entering the monastic order and attaining *arhat*ship.¹⁴⁴ This story clearly conveys that all forms of work done for stūpas will bring Buddhists amazing merits for good reincarnations, and the rebirths as the wheel-turner is simply one among them. The good deeds the *arhat* did for the stūpa were not particularly linked to his rebirth as the wheel-turner; when he was reborn as the wheel-turner, he also did not concentrate on doing good deeds related to stūpas. Judging by these ideas in Buddhist scriptures, Xiao Yan had no good grounds from Buddhism for his knocking down the old Changgan and Mao stūpas even though he built new ones for enshrining the relics. His acts reflected the way he interpreted the legends of the wheel-turner, or, to be precise, the way he interpreted the Aśokan legends, but it did not agree with Buddhist scriptures.

Nonetheless, it is hard to conclude that Xiao Yan had unreserved enthusiasm for relics and showed total disregard for stūpas. If he was only filled with an obsession for relics, he would have held impressive services for the relics at the Mao stūpas as those for the relics at the Changgan stūpa. Although the remains at these two reliquaries were claimed to be the Buddha's and linked to Aśoka and Huida, it is strange that Xiao Yan did not pay the same attention to the relics enshrined at the Mao stūpa. He neither visited the Mao Prefecture nor

¹⁴⁴ *Fayuan zhulin*, T no. 2122, 53: 38.384a; Zhou & Su (colla. & annot.), *Fayuan zhulin* 3: 38.1203-1204. The original passage is found in the *Pusa benxing jing*, translated in the Eastern Jin Dynasty, T no. 155, 3: 1.112b. Similar stories were transmitted not only through Buddhist *sūtras* and vinaya texts, but also orally in India. Xuanzang narrates one in the records of his pilgrimage: some monks came together from afar for worshipping a stūpa in Lanmo 藍摩 (Rāmagrāma). When they arrived, they saw a herd of elephants, which either sprinkled water for cleaning the stūpa or removed weeds from it with their trunks. They all offered flowers and paid obeisances. The monks were moved. One of them, who gave up his full ordination, vowed to remain there and offered services to the stūpa continually. Throughout his life, he kept his vow, devoted himself to maintaining the stūpa. Kings of the neighboring countries made donations for building a monastery when they heard his story. *Da Tang xiyu ji*, T no. 2087, 51: 6.902c; Beal, *Buddhist records of the Western World*, 27-28.

staged grand services for the relics there. This stūpa was even the locus where Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (452-536), the patriarch of Shangqing Daoism whom he trusted and often consulted, pledged his observance of the Five Commands (*wujie* 五戒).¹⁴⁵ Also, if he had regarded stūpas as simple buildings housing relics, he would probably not have set up new reliquaries after pulling down the original Changgan stūpa. It is likely that there were reasons why he built new stūpas and returned some relics to them, without keeping all the remains for himself.

3.2.2.4 The Cause for Xiao Yan's Reconstruction of the Changgan Stūpas, A Reading in View of the Monastery's Political and Geographical Significances

The reason may lie in the location of the original Changgan stūpa, which made it so important that Xiao Yan did not simply destroy it but set up replacements. Since the stūpa was the pivot of the Changgan monastery, I shall explore its significance by looking at the location of the monastery. Lying south of the Qinhuai river in Jiankang, the monastery was located in the the Changgan Ward, an area beside the Imperial Way (*yudao* 御道). This was a straight boulevard running in the middle of Jiankang city from the north to the south. Starting from the south of the palace, it crossed the Xuanyang gate 宣陽門 of the inner city, the river through the Zhuque Bridge 朱雀橋, and the region south of the river—a hive of socio-economic activity in Jiankang. (See figure 3.1) Since this road was a way to the three

¹⁴⁵ Tao also once dreamt that he received the Buddha's prophecy about his attainment of *bodhi* (perfect wisdom) (i.e. being a Buddha; *shouji* 授記). Coincidentally, Tao died in the same year (536) when the emperor worshipped the relics. *Liangshu* 51.743.

regions of Jiankang (the palace [*gongcheng* 宮城], the inner city, and the outskirts),¹⁴⁶ the constructions and spots on and alongside it were very important politically and strategically. The Zhuque Bridge, which crossed the Qinhuai river, for example, was a building of importance in defence. When Wang Dun 王敦 (266-324) rose up in the Eastern Jin, and ordered his generals Wang Han 王含 (fl. 322-324) and Qian Feng 錢鳳 (fl. 322-324) to take over Jiankang, Wen Qiao 溫嶠 (288-329), the Danyang magistrate 丹陽尹, burned down this bridge in order to stop their army from heading for the palace.¹⁴⁷ The Imperial Ancestral Temple (*taimiao* 太廟), Imperial University (*taixue* 太學), and Luminous Hall (*mingtang* 明堂)—the facilities of religious ceremonies and state education respectively exhibiting state power—were also situated alongside this boulevard north of the Qinhuai river. Although the Changgan monastery was not among these official structures, it was perhaps not far from this boulevard south of the river, and was one of the important landmarks.

It would be hard to point out precisely the location of the monastery. As stated above, it might have been destroyed several times when disasters broke out in Jiankang, and was

¹⁴⁶ Jiankang was composed of three parts: a palace city (*gongcheng* 宮城; or Taicheng 臺城 [lit. terrace city]), an inner city (*ducheng* 都城), and outskirts (or outsider city; *guocheng* 郭城). See He Yunao 賀雲翱, *Liuchao wadang yu Liuchao ducheng* 六朝瓦當與六朝都城 (Eaves tiles in the Six Dynasties and the metropolis city in the Six Dynasties) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2005), 84-161 and Jiang Zanchu's articles mentioned in note 153 below.

¹⁴⁷ The bridge was also called Nanjin da qiao 南津大橋 (Great Nanjin bridge) or Zhuque fuqiao 朱雀浮橋 (Zhuque floating bridge). It was originally made of wood. After it was destroyed by Wen Qiao, ships were tied together as a provisional bridge. This bridge might have continued to be in use, but it is also said that there was a new one built by Emperor Cheng 成帝 (r. 326-342) after the uprising was put down. Since it was made of ships, it was called *fuqiao* 浮橋 (floating bridge). Pedestrians walked across it, but no ships or boats could sail along the river, except the period of “kaihang” 開航 (allowed navigation), during which some of the ships would be unfastened daily.

The bridge was called Zhuque bridge because *zhuque* (the red bird) was the auspicious animal symbolic of the south (the other three: *canglong* 蒼龍 [green dragon], *baihu* 白虎 [white tiger], and *xuanwu* 玄武 [tortoise]). There was a gate at the bridge called Zhuque men 朱雀門. See *Jinshu* 67.1788; Zhang Dunyi, *Liuchao shiji bian lei*, juan 2; Zhang (annot.), *Liuchao shiji bian lei* 2.36; Liu Shufen, *Liuchao de chengshi yu shehui*, 52-55; He Yunao, *Liuchao wadang yu Liu chao ducheng*, 112-115.

reconstructed later. It is likely that it was only set up in almost the same place, but not in a fixed one. This is suggested by the above-discussed plots of the story about the Changgan stūpa: Huida put up a new stūpa west of the original one constructed by Emperor Jianwen. And the two stūpas Xiao Yan put up were also not in exactly the same place where the original one stood.

Nonetheless, it is possible that the Changgan monastery rose to great prominence after Xiao Yan extended it. The *Liangshu* reads:

In the mid Datong era (535-546), [the emperor] unearthed the relics from the old stūpa, and ordered [the government] to purchase (*shi* 市) the land of several hundred residences next to the monastery¹⁴⁸ so as to extend the territory of the monastery. [He] built various main and subsidiary halls. Also he [made] auspicious statues [and set up] circular storied buildings, and so on; they were extremely impressive and numerous. The transformation tableaux/paintings of *sūtras* drawn in it were all made by Zhang Yao 張繇¹⁴⁹, a native of Wu, whose drawing skill was the best at that time. 及大同中, 出舊塔舍利, 勅市寺側數百家宅地, 以廣寺城, 造諸堂殿, 并瑞像周回閣等, 窮於輪奐焉, 其圖諸經變, 並吳人張繇運手. 繇丹青之工, 一時冠絕.¹⁵⁰

The expansion was very costly; the crown prince Xiao Gang alone contributed one hundred thousand copper cash (*qian* 錢) to it. This is certainly because he, as well as his father Xiao Yan, did not regard the Changgan monastery as an ordinary temple but thought it to be the

¹⁴⁸ The *Nanshi* has the same narrative. However, the *Jiankang shi lu* (17.472) reads, “in the Liang the emperor ordered [the government] to remove several hundred houses next to the market so as to extend the territory of the monastery” (及梁朝勅除市側數百家以廣寺域). Perhaps the government at first intended to buy the land from the households, but did not succeed and had to impound the land.

This reminds us of the story about the Great Aijing monastery. Wang Qian 王騫 (474-522), whose daughter was married to the prince Xiao Gang, had a piece of land beside the monastery. The emperor therefore wanted to buy it as a donation to the monastery, but Wang refused because it was bestowed by Wang Dao (276-339) (on his family?). The former was irritated and forced him to give it up. And, he also demoted him from the prefect of palace writers (*zhongshu ling* 中書令) to the governor of Wuxing 吳興 (in Zhejiang). See *Liangshu* 7. 159; Suwa, “Ryōdai kenkou no butsuji to butei no konryū,” 163.

¹⁴⁹ Probably this is a misprint for Zhang Sengyao 張僧繇 (fl. the first half of the sixth century). See my discussion below.

¹⁵⁰ *Liangshu* 54.787.

manifestation of the latter's benevolence (which caused the relics to emerge).¹⁵¹ Linking the monastery to his virtue and sovereignty, Xiao Yan might think it worth using large resources and taking land from many local residents. How massive was the extension of the monastery? The above quotation from the *Liangshu* says that several hundred houses were affected. It is likely that the Changgan monastery expanded considerably to the extent that it became in the immediate vicinity of the Wakuan monastery 瓦官寺, and chroniclers sometimes confused these two temples. Before elaborating this deduction, it is, however, necessary to discuss the locations of these two monasteries.

Like the Changgan monastery, the Wakuan monastery was also located in the same district—the Changgan district, which included the Great and Small Changgan Wards (Da changgan li 大長千里 and Xiao changgan li 小長千里).¹⁵² The former was situated in the great ward, while the latter lay in the south of the other.¹⁵³ They were in different wards, but were not far away from each other. This can be inferred from their relation to a landmark in the Changgan district, the Zhanghou bridge 張侯橋. Zhanghou refers to Zhang Zhao 張昭 (styled Zibao 子布; 155-236), Sun Quan's consultant who was made Youquan marquis 由拳

¹⁵¹ Xiao Gang, “Feng Ayuwang si qian qi.”

¹⁵² The character *gan* 干 was used by southerners to describe the land between hills. The Changgan district was inhabited by both elites and commoners, Zhang Zhao 張昭 (see below), the literary figure Lu Ji 陸機 (261-303) and his brother Lu Yun 陸雲 (262-303), for example. See Jiang Zanchu, “Nanjing cheng de lishi bianqian” 南京城的歷史變遷 (Changes in the history of Nanjing city), *Changjiang zhongxia you lishi kaogu lunwen ji*, 264; *idem*, “Gudu Nanjing de lishi tedian yu xiandai hua jianshe” 古都南京的歷史特點與現代化建設 (Historical features of the ancient city Nanjing and its modernized constructions), *Changjiang zhongxia you lishi kaogu lunwen ji*, 264 & 305; Qi Haining 祁海寧 and Gong Juping 龔居平, *Nanjing Da baoen si shihua* 南京大報恩寺史話 (Discussions of the history of the Great Baoen monastery) (Nanjing: Nanjing chuban she, 2008), 3-5. See note 171 below.

¹⁵³ The *Jiankang shilu* (2.32) reads, “The Small Changgan [Ward] lay south of the Wakuan [monastery]” (小長干在瓦官南). This sentence says that the monastery was not in the ward and was south of it. Yet the *Nanchao fosi zhi* (1.61) states that the monastery was in the ward.

侯 and who lived in the district.¹⁵⁴ As mentioned above, Gao Kui discovered the image accredited to Aśoka's fourth daughter on the riverside near the bridge. Later the image was taken to the Changgan monastery. This suggests that the bridge was close to the Changgan monastery. A certain work named *Danyang ji* 丹陽記 (Records of Danyang)¹⁵⁵ also provides the information leading to the same conclusion. Xu Song's quotation from it reads as follows:

On the road west of the Great Changgan monastery (i.e. the Changgan monastery), there was Zhang Zibao's 張子布 residence. The place lying south of the [Qin]huai river and facing the gate of the Waguan monastery was the location of the Zhangzhou bridge, which was named so because it was near [his] residence.

大長干寺道西，有張子布宅。在淮水南，對瓦官寺門，張侯橋所也。橋近宅，因以為名。¹⁵⁶

This passage was often quoted by local gazetteer writers in the Song and later periods in their narratives of the two monasteries.¹⁵⁷ It does not reveal the distance between them, but it is clear that they were not far from each other so that both their locations were indicated with Zhang Zhao's residence and the bridge near it. In his *Nanchao fosi zhi*, Sun Wenchuan also tells us that the Waguan monastery was surrounded by various residences of the elite, one being Zhang Zhao's.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ His biography found in the *Sanguo zhi* 52.1219-1223.

¹⁵⁵ This book, which is now lost, was composed by Shan Qianzhi 山謙之 (d.454 or 455) of the Liu Song Dynasty.

¹⁵⁶ *Jiankang shilu* 2.32.

¹⁵⁷ The quotation from the *Danyang ji* also appears in Zhang Dunyi's *Liuchao shiji bian lei*, Zhang Chenshi (annot.), *Liuchao shiji bian lei* 11.110; Zhou Yinghe's *Jingding Jiankang zhi* (in *Song Yuan fangzhi congkan* 2: 16.1534b & 46.2077b), and Zhang Xuan's *Zhida Jinling xin zhi* (in *Song Yuan fangzhi congkan* 6: 4.5517b & 11.5700a).

¹⁵⁸ *Nanchao fosi zhi* 1.61. Zhang Dunyi puts the quotation in the entry of the Changgan monastery in his work and writes "Waguan monastery" instead of "the gate of Waguan monastery.": "There was Zhang Zibao's residence beside the road west of the Great Changgan monastery, which lay south of the [Qin]huai River and faced the Waguan monastery. South of it there was the Zhangzhou bridge" (大長干寺道西，有張子布宅，在淮

It is likely that these two monasteries were originally not far away from each other, standing separately on both sides of the Imperial Way, as marked in the maps of Jiankang drawn by some scholars. After the extension, the Changgan monastery stretched out into the vicinity of the Wakuan monastery.¹⁵⁹ Gu Qiyuan 顧起元 (1565-1628) writes, “In the early Liang period, the Changgan monastery was established. Note that in that time the Wakuan monastery lay outside the [palace (or inner?)] city south of the [Qin]huai river, and was not separate from the Changgan monastery.”¹⁶⁰ They remained contiguous until they were made to be apart when some new city walls were set up in 932.¹⁶¹ Although he believes that they had been next to each other since the Changgan monastery was set up in the early Liang Dynasty, it is likely that this happened after Xiao Yan’s extension. The extension may explain why some chroniclers confused the two monasteries in their records.

In his *Jingding Jiankang zhi*, for example, Zhou Yinghe says that it is the Wakuan monastery—not the Changgan monastery—that Xiao Yan extended. He cites the *Nanshi* as his source. Based on the *Liangshu*, however, this official dynastic history contains the same narrative of the extension (same as that quoted above) and also says that it is the Changgan monastery that Xiao Yan enlarged. Zhou Yinghe also refers to another text *Jingshi si ji* 京師

水南，對瓦官寺，南張侯橋也). Zhang Dunyi, *Liuchao shiji bian lei*, Zhang (annot.), *Liuchao shiji bian lei* 11.110. Except for those in the last line, these wordings also appear in the *Jingding Jiankang zhi* (in *Song Yuan fangzhi congkan* 2: 46.2077b). In his *Nanchao foshi zhi*, Sun Wenchuan also writes that Zhang Zhao’s residence faced the Wakuan monastery (1.64-65).

¹⁵⁹ Yet these temples might not be a long way apart from each other as are marked in the maps. For the maps, see He Yunao, *Liuchao wadang yu Liu chao ducheng*, 92-93.

¹⁶⁰ Gu Qiyuan, *Kezuo zhuiyu* 客座贅語 (Casual talks with guests) 5.151: 梁初起長干寺，按是時瓦官寺在淮水南城外，不與長干隔。

¹⁶¹ After some city walls were built in 932, the Wakuan monastery lay inside the city while the Changgan monastery was separated from the Changgan monastery. Gu Qiyuan, *Kezuo zhuiyu* 5.151.

寺記 (Records of the monasteries in the Capital),¹⁶² which tells of a multi-storied building named Wagan ge 瓦官閣 (Wagan tower, also known as Shengyuan ge 昇元閣) in the Wagan monastery. This building, he says, was built in the Liang Dynasty and was 340 *chi* tall. Consulting the *Jingding Jiankang zhi* for his *Nanchao fosi zhi*, Sun Wenchuan also mentions Xiao Yan's extension and the Wagan ge in his entry about the Wagan monastery.¹⁶³ These descriptions, however, are not supported by any official histories, or by Xiao Yan's or his royal family members' writings. These works do not contain any references to either the extension of the Wagan monastery or the construction of a multi-storied building in it in the Liang Dynasty. Interestingly, this Wagan ge had the same feature as the two new Changgan stūpas. Its top gave a view of Jiankang (Jinling) city and Mount Zhong in the north, as indicated by Li Bai.¹⁶⁴ The two stūpas set up by Xiao Yan were also lofty and therefore afforded a view of the city in the north. In the Kaibao era 開寶 (968-975) of the Song Dynasty, Cao Bin 曹彬 (931-999) probably climbed up one of them and observed the city when he was going to take it over.¹⁶⁵ It is possible that the Wagan ge was

¹⁶² There is a work under the same title, written by the monk Tanzong 曇宗 (fl. around 483-493) and mentioned in the *Gaoseng zhuan* (T no. 2059, 50: 14.418c; Tang [colla. & annot.], *Gaoseng zhuan*, 524). However, it is uncertain whether or not this is the one mentioned in the *Jingding Jiankang zhi* (in *Song Yang fangzhi congkan* 2: 21.1646a).

¹⁶³ *Jingding Jiankang zhi*, in *Song Yuan fangzhi congkan* 46.987 & 21.1646; *Nanchao fosi zhi* 1.70. Liu Shufen consults the *Nanshi* and also thinks that it is the Wagan monastery that Xiao Yan enlarged, and that he bought the land from local residents. Liu Shufen, *Liuchao de chengshi yu shehui*, 141.

Zhou Yinghe also cites a poem written by Li Bai 李白 (701-762), "Hengjiang ci" 橫江詞 (Rhymed lines about crossing the [Qinhuai] river, in *Li taibei wenji*, *juan* 6). It has a mention of this construction. This poet also composed a poem about a woman who yearned for her husband's return after his military service. She lived in the Changgan district. "Changgan heng" 長干行 (A journey [of a person from] the Changgan [district]).

¹⁶⁴ Li Bai, "Deng Wagan ge" 登瓦官閣 (An ascent of the Wagan multistorey building), in *Li Taibai wenji* 李太白文集 (Li Taibai's corpus), in *SKQS* 1066: 18.5b-6a

¹⁶⁵ *Jingding Jiankang zhi* in *Song Yuan fangzhi congkan* 2: 46.2077; Gu Zuyu 顧祖禹 (1631-1692), *Dushi fangyu jiyao* 讀史方輿紀要 (Essentials of geography for reading history) (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1998, rpt.) 20.25 (159).

one of the two Changgan stūpas (or the ones rebuilt after the Liang),¹⁶⁶ and after the Changgan and Wakuan monasteries became adjacent to each other, one of the two stūpas in the former was mistaken for a building in the latter. Zhou Yinghe also reports that the Wakuan monastery housed a mural painting by Zhang Sengyao¹⁶⁷, and it was the painting by Zhang Yao mentioned in the *Nanshi*. In his *Zhenguan gongsi huashi* 貞觀公私畫史 (History of Private and Public Paintings, [compiled in] the Zhenguan Era), Pei Xiaoyuan 裴孝源 (627-683) also mentions that the painting was in the Wakuan monastery.¹⁶⁸ However, like the *Liangshu*, the *Nanshi* actually says that the painting was in the Changgan monastery.¹⁶⁹ Since some of the works mentioned here (Li Bai's poem and *Zhenguan gongshi huashi*) were composed in the Tang, it is likely that some people in that time were already not clear about which facility belonged to which monastery. Xiao Yan's extension, the Wakuan ge (or one of the new Changgan stūpas in fact), and Zhang Yao's (or Zhang Sengyao's) painting were either produced or done in the Liang. Therefore, probably starting from this time, people got confused about the Changgan and Wakuan monasteries as a result of Xiao Yan's extension.

The extent of the extension can help to infer the way in which Xiao Yan made use of the Changgan monastery and the Aśokan stūpas in his political interests, taking control of the

¹⁶⁶ The two stūpas Xiao Yan built may have been destroyed during Hou Jing's riot, so the ones Li Bai visited could be the ones rebuilt in the Sui or Tang Dynasties.

¹⁶⁷ Zhang Sengyao was Xiao Yan's favoured painter who was often asked by the emperor to draw mural paintings in monasteries as decorations, and was ordered to do a portrait of Xiao Ji 蕭紀 (508-553), Prince of Wuling 武陵王, when the prince held office in Shu. It is said that the painting of the seated bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha (Dizang 地藏) by him at the Faju monastery 法聚寺 in Yizhou had miraculous power. Its replicas shed light miraculously, attracting many people for worship in Daoshi's times. See Daoshi, *Fayuan zhulin*, T no. 2122, 53: 14.392c; Zhou & Su (colla. & annot.), *Fayuan zhulin* 2: 14.488; *Nanshi* 53.1332; Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 (d.u.), *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (Records of famous paintings in the past), Taniguchi Tetsuo 谷口鉄雄 (annot.), *Kōhon rekidai meigaki* 校本歷代名畫記 (*Lidai minghua ji*, a critical edition) (Tōkyō: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1981) 7.92-94.

¹⁶⁸ The book is collected in the *Sifu quanshu* (vol. 812). It is mentioned in the entry of Wakuan monastery by Sun Wenchuan his *Nanchao foshi zhi* (1.70).

¹⁶⁹ *Jingding Jiankang zhi*, in *Song Yuan fangzhi congkan* 2: 43.987.

militarily important region in Jiankang. After the extension, the Changgan monastery adjoined the Yuecheng (Yue City) in the Changgan district, the site of which was called Yuetai 越臺 (Yue platform).¹⁷⁰ A note added in the Tang to a poem collected in Xiao Tong's 蕭統 (501-531) *Zhaoming wenxuan* 昭明文選 (Zhaoming's anthology of literature) says that the Great Changgan Ward lay east of the Yue City and the Small Changgan Ward was to the west of it, and the two wards adjoined each other.¹⁷¹ According to the local gazetteers about Nanjing, the Yue platform faced the Changgan monastery (called Tianxi monastery 天禧寺 in the Song), and lay south of the Waguan monastery.¹⁷² Therefore, as stated above, the story of the Changgan stūpa tells us that Huida climbed the Yue City, looking afar in search of the Aśokan stūpa (i.e. the Changgan stūpa). Since the Changgan monastery was not far from the Yue City, it could serve as a fort. This city was only 942 meters in diameter (2 Chinese *li* and 80 *bu*), and was set up several hundred years ago (in 472 B.C.E.). However, being on high next to Mount Changgan 長干山, it was a spot of strategic/military importance throughout the Six Dynasties, giving a commanding view of Jiankang city. Well aware of this, Xiao Yan, in his campaign against the Qi in 498, ordered Wang Maojin 王茂進 (fl. the late fifth to the early sixth centuries) to capture it.¹⁷³ After he took the land around the Changgan monastery for his extension, the temple became adjacent to this city, and one had to pass it when going

¹⁷⁰ Zhang Dunyi, *Liuchao shiji bian lei*, juan 3, Zhang Chenshi (annot.), *Liuchao shiji bian lei* 3.39; Zhou Yinghe, *Jingding Jiankang zhi*, in *Song Yuan fangzhi congkan* 2: 5.1388; Gao Shusen 高樹森 and Shao Jianguang 邵建光, *Jinling: Sh chao diwang zhou* 金陵:十朝帝王州 (Jinling—the district as emperors' [base] in the ten dynasties) (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chuban she, 1991), 21-22.

¹⁷¹ Xiao Tong, *Zeng bu liuchen zhu Wenxuan* 增補六臣注文選 ([Zhaoming's] anthology of literature, supplemented with the six officials' annotations), annotated by Li Shan 李善 (d. 689), Lü Yanji 呂延濟 (fl. first half of the eighth century), et al. (Taipei: Huazheng shuju, 1974, rpt.), 5.17-18. The note also says that the Great and Small Changgan Wards were called so because the former was long and the latter was short, and both were in the Eastern Changgan Ward (Dong changgan li 東長干里).

¹⁷² Zhang Dunyi, *Liuchao shiji bian lei*; Zhang Chenshi (annot.), *Liuchao shiji bian lei* 3.39; Zhang Xuan, *Zhida Jinling xin zhi*, in *Song Yuan fangzhi congkan* 6: 15.5926.

¹⁷³ Gu Zuyu, *Dushi fangyu jiyao* 20.25 (159).

southwards to the monastery from the inner city. Under the circumstances, Xiao Yan probably thought it was easier to control the Yue City when its vicinity was inhabited by Buddhist monks instead of lay people. Therefore, Chen Xuan 陳軒 (fl. the early twelfth century) complained that the monastery encroached on this strategically important place.¹⁷⁴

Besides, it is likely that the extension of the monastery and the construction of the lofty Aśokan stūpas were part of his scheme to set up on the Imperial Way monuments symbolic of his pervasive power. After the extension, the monastery became an impressive, large temple spreading across both sides of a stretch of the Imperial Way south of the Qinhuai river. Along the way one could go southwards from the inner city to the Changan district and the monastery.¹⁷⁵ In fact, on this imperial boulevard emblematic of the state and his power, in 508 (Tianjian 7) Xiao Yan also put up two pairs of stone watchtowers (*que* 闕). One was at the Duan gate 端門 (Propriety Gate), and the other at the Da sima gate 大司馬門 (Grand Marshal Gate), the front southern gates of the internal and external palace walls respectively. Those watchtowers, five *zhang* high and three *zhang* and six *cun* wide, were engraved with an inscription written by Lu Chui 陸倕 (469-526), and perhaps too with images of dragons and tigers. They were therefore called Shenlong 神龍 (Divine Dragon) and Renhu 仁虎 (Benevolent Tiger). In addition to the watchtowers, the emperor also placed a gate of the capital city (*guomen* 國門) south of the Yue City on the Imperial Way.¹⁷⁶ The Changan monastery and the Aśokan stūpas, which were alongside this trunk road, were

¹⁷⁴ *Zhida Jinling xinzhi*, in *Song Yuan fangzhi congkan* 6: 11.5700.

¹⁷⁵ Gu Zuyu, *Dushi fangyu jiyao* 20. 23(158); 20.25(159).

¹⁷⁶ The name Renhu is changed to Renshou 仁獸 in the *Nanshi* because of the character *hu* 虎 was tabooed in the Tang Dynasty.

Since the inscription Lu Chui wrote was an excellent work, Xiao Yan rewarded him with gold and silk. Zhang Dunyi, *Liuchao shiji bian lei*, Zhang Chenshi (annot.), *Liuchao shiji bian lei*, “shique” 石闕 (stone watchtowers) 3.43; *Liangshu* 27.402; *Nanshi* 6.190-191.

probably also deemed to represent the country like these stone monuments.¹⁷⁷ When walking along this way from the palace city to the densely-populated residential area south of the Qinhuai river, and passing the governmental bureaus outside the inner city, one would be exposed to the sheer majesty of royal facilities on and alongside the way representing the state, which included the extended Changgan monastery and the two lofty Aśokan stūpas.

The monastery and the Aśokan stūpas made a valuable contribution to Xiao Yan's political propaganda. As stated above, when he took the relics from the original stūpa to the palace, he told the crown prince and dignitaries to greet them. This magnificent spectacle attracted numerous Jiankang people, who watched it in great admiration. As easily inferred, they, as well as the dignitaries, were standing on the Imperial Way or along its both sides while the relics were taken to the palace. Clearly, not only was this a grand Buddhist event showing Xiao Yan's devotion to Buddhism, but this was also an event of political propaganda targeted at the Jiankang people. As stated above, in 545, the new stūpas shed light while Xiao Yan was expounding on the title of the *prajñā sūtra*, and a tablet engraved with an inscription in praise of him was erected. When people saw the tablet and the stūpas, they were reminded of the phenomenon and certainly of Xiao Yan's image as an extraordinary monarch.

Thus, it is not hard to understand that, not located in the heartland of Jiankang, the Mao stūpa certainly drew less attention from Xian Yan, although it also housed the Buddha's relics as the Changgan stūpa did. The latter was the pivot of the Changgan monastery; therefore, even though Xiao Yan was obsessed with the relics there and took some for his worship, he "reconstructed" the stūpa (a euphemism for pulling down the original stūpa and

¹⁷⁷ For a study of the locations of the gates, see He Yunao, *Liuchao wadang yu Liu chao ducheng*, 112-115, 121-123.

building the new one). He might be well aware that if he had simply taken all the relics but had not set up new reliquaries, the monastery would perhaps have fallen in disuse and he would not have been able to use it and the new stūpas to glorify his image.

It can be concluded that Xiao Yan's veneration of relics was affected by the consideration of his political interests. He did not show the same respect for all relics. This has already been illustrated by the above discussion of the relics at the Changgan and the Mao stūpas. More examples can be provided here. A common villager of Shangyu 上虞 County (in Zhejiang) Li Yinzhi 李胤之 (otherwise unknown) was reported to have dug out an ivory statue. This statue, holding six relic grains, was so amazing that it was thought not to be humanly possible to have carved it. Xiao Yan did not pay attention to this discovery until the relics emitted light when placed in a local office. Therefore, in 538, around two months before Xiao Yan staged the Illimitable Assembly for the relics at the Changgan stūpa, he granted a general amnesty and took the statue to the palace for his worship. And he also composed a statement about this discovery, attached to the one about his digging the relics from the Changgan stūpa.¹⁷⁸ It seems that he paid regard to this statue just because he was holding grand services for the relics at the Changgan stūpa (eleven months after his discovery of the relics and two months before the Illimitable Assembly). And, it should be noted that the relics causing him to show his veneration to people by holding grand Buddhist services were those famous holy objects, the holy provenance of which were widely known about (those in the Changgan and Mao stūpas), and those already heard of locally (those in the statue). Therefore, he neither held any ceremonies nor granted any general amnesties nor

¹⁷⁸ “Yaxiang zhao” 牙像詔 (A statement about the ivory statue), *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 15.203c; *Liangshu* 3.82; *Nanshi* 10.213; *Zizhi tongjian* 14.4893.

composed any statements for the relics obtained in foreign countries. In 539 (Datong 5) Xiao Yan ordered a monk called Yunbao 雲寶 (fl. 539s) to go to Funan 扶南 (Khmer ethnic state; around modern Cambodia) for the Buddha's hair. And, he also received some relics presented by foreign countries. For example, in 529 and 532, Panpan state 槃槃國 offered him the Buddha's teeth. In 530, Pārasī (Persia 波斯) also gave him another tooth of Śākyamuni.¹⁷⁹ Xiao Yan did not hold any public services for them, and probably only enshrined them in the palace for his own worship or at the stūpas he set up. He did not highly regard these relics; therefore, they are simply described as the gifts presented to him in official histories.

However, it sounds more reasonable to say that these relics could have more likely to be deemed genuine if considered with those buried at the Changgan and Mao stūpas and those discovered by Li Yinzhi. Yet, it is strange that Xiao Yan did not pay the same degree of attention to them. Probably this was because he found it hard to make use of them for his political propaganda since they were unfamiliar to people. Or, to put it another way, he actually made use of the stories about Buddhist relics for building up a reputation for himself as a sacred powerful monarch. In other words, relics alone could not motivate him to hold grand Buddhist services.

3.2.3 The Elite's Seizure of the Buddha's Tooth: From the Qi to the Chen

The above discussion of Xiao Yan's relic veneration shows that Buddhist relics that were renowned in Buddhist society easily caught the ruling class's attention and became

¹⁷⁹ *Nanshi* 78.1958; 79.1986.

objects it used to build up a good reputation for itself. Its seizure of a tooth of the Buddha's is another example to illustrate this. The tooth, along with fifteen relic grains, were obtained by the monk Faxian in Khotan when he made pilgrimages to the Western Regions in imitation of Zhimeng 智猛 (fl. 404-439). Therefore, it was called Faxian foya 法獻佛牙 (the Buddha's tooth [obtained by] Faxian).¹⁸⁰ It was highly regarded by Khotanese monks. When they found it missing, they all said with great regret that only those who had incredibly great virtue could get and worship it. This conviction, Tsukamoto thinks, was spread among Buddhists in Jiankang and made the tooth be an object over which the ruling class fought.¹⁸¹ After Faxian had returned to China after his pilgrimages, he lived at the Upper Dinglin monastery 上定林寺 in Jiankang and secretly kept the relics for his own worship. With the exception of Faying 法穎 (416-482)¹⁸², a vinaya master, no one knew of the tooth. This secret was somehow uncovered. Fifteen years after Faxian had obtained the tooth, Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良 (460-494), Prince of Jingling 竟陵王, deprived him of it. Sengyou, Faxian's disciple, composed a euphemistical account of this capture.¹⁸³ The prince knew of the tooth in 489, Sengyou records, after his two miraculous experiences. One is that he saw in a

¹⁸⁰ Zhimeng set off from Chang'an in 404 with other fifteen monks. In 439, he returned to the southern China with only one companion surviving, and brought with him the Sanskrit versions of some *sūtras* such as the *Nihuan jing* 泥洹經 (*Parinirvāṇa sūtra*) and *Sengqi lü* 僧祇律 (*Saṅgha vinaya*). *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 3.343b-343c; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 125-126.

¹⁸¹ Tsukamoto, "Chin no kakumei to butsuge" 陳の革命と仏牙 (The revolution staged by the Chen and the Buddha's tooth), in his *Chūgoku chūsei Bukkyō shi ronkō* 中国中世仏教史論攷 (Discussions of and investigations into Buddhist history in Medieval China) (Tōkyō: Daitō Shuppansha, Shōwa, 1975), 120.

¹⁸² Both Faxian and Faying were Sengyou's teachers (see the note below). This explains why Sengyou knew the story about the tooth. *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 11.402a; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 436.

¹⁸³ This work is collected in the *Fayuan zhulin*, T no. 2122, 53: 12.380a-b; Zhou & Su (colla. & annot.), *Fayuan zhulin* 1: 12.440-442. The author's name is not mentioned, but Tang Yongtong (*Han Wei Liangjin Nanbei chao fojiaoshi*, 273) identifies the author as Sengyou on the grounds that he calls Faxian "[my] late teacher (*xianshi* 先師)" and that Sengyou was Faxian's disciple.

Buddhist assembly the Buddha, who gave it to him,¹⁸⁴ and the other is that he dreamt of Faxian's handing it over to him. Obviously, these experiences, probably stories made up by the prince, indicated that he ought to possess the tooth. Faxian had no alternative but to give it to him, admitting that his experiences were indications of his right to take it. Faxian gave the tooth and one relic grain to him, kept two for himself, and placed the rest separately at stūpas of monasteries in Jiankang (e.g. Zhiyuan 祇園 and Chanling 禪靈 monasteries).¹⁸⁵ Nevertheless, miraculously, he somehow retrieved the tooth. The prince highly valued it and kept it with great care, placing it in a relic stand that was made of seven kinds of jewels and decorated with a finely-made canopy, but he lost it anyway.¹⁸⁶ One day, together with the two relic grains Faxian kept, it appeared in a case. These two relic grains had disappeared for three years, and reappeared mystically with the tooth. Sengyou does not recount the retrieval clearly, so some of its details have to be speculated about. His account suggests that Faxian,

¹⁸⁴ It is said that in the assembly the prince prostrated himself when he saw the Buddha coming from the east. After prostration, he stood reverently in attendance (*shili* 侍立) and adjusted his clothes. The Buddha looked at him with a smile, and then coughed and spat out a thing. It looked like a flake of condensed snow and became a grain of fine rice when held in the hand. This mysterious thing apparently means the Buddha's tooth—a white object from his mouth.

¹⁸⁵ The Zhiyuan monastery was the temple donated by the Wang family and was set up in 488. As mentioned in Chapter Three, Wang Shao had saved one tenth of his salary for building a stūpa for the monastery. In 489, another stūpa was erected because people had made generous donations for the funeral of Fagui 法匱 (d. 489), who had attained the second one of four fruits in the *arhatship* (*erguo* 二果). The funeral was already supported by Prince of Jingling and other members of the ruling class, so the donations were probably used to build the stūpa. I shall discuss this story in the next chapter.

The Chanling monastery was established in 489 by Emperor Wu of the Qi Dynasty (Wudi; r. 483-493). In the same year a pearl, presented by the Yue prefecture 越州, and a musing Buddha were placed at the stūpa of the monastery. Probably because the establishment of this stūpa in 489 (the year that Prince of Jingling knew of the tooth) and of the other one in the Zhiyuan monastery was closely related to the royal family, Faxian placed the relic grains at them. See Huijiao, *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 10.393b; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 391; Sun Wenchuan, *Nanchao fosi ji* 1.97-101; 2.246-249. In the late Qi, the jeweled earring-like ornaments (*baer*) of this stūpa were used by Emperor Fei to decorate his palace halls. See my relevant discussion in Chapter Two.

¹⁸⁶ A work titled “Foya bing Qi wenxuan wang zao qibao tai jinzang ji” 佛牙并齊文宣王造七寶臺金藏記 (A record of the Buddha's tooth, as well as the golden depository and the stand of seven kinds of jewels made by Wenxuan Prince of the Qi) is listed in a catalog collected in the *Chu Sanzang jiji*, T no. 2145, 55: 12.92c; Su & Xiao (colla. & annot.), *Chu Sanzang jiji*, 488. It is now lost, but its title suggests that the reliquary the prince made for the tooth was very valuable and perhaps captured the attention of Buddhist society at that time.

or perhaps the monks of the Upper Dinglin monastery too, suffered great hardship when he strove to get the tooth back from the prince.

It may not be the case as recorded in the *Gaoseng zhuan* that no one knew of the tooth. It is possible that the story of it had already been spread among some Buddhists and finally came to Xiao Ziliang's notice. It can be inferred that after the prince's experiences, the tooth became famous, and caught the other elite member's attention and became the target of their seizure. In the Liang Dynasty, more than twenty years went by after Faxian had passed away. One day in 522 (Putong 3) several people, holding staffs, knocked suddenly on the gate of the Upper Dingling monastery in the early evening, saying that some slaves of Prince of Linchuan 臨川王 (Xiao Hong 蕭宏 [473-526]) had escaped. They had been told that the slaves were hiding in a multi-storied pavilion (*ge* 閣)—the place where the tooth was enshrined, so they had to enter it and carry out a search. After going into the pavilion, their commander went directly to the altar there and opened the tooth case placed on it. Having paid obeisance three times, he took the tooth out of the case and wrapped it in a piece of brocade cloth. Then he ran away with his fellows. This robbery was evidently planned by the ruling class, and probably Xiao Yan was the head of this conspiracy because the Linchuan Prince—the main patron of the Upper Dinglin monastery—was his brother. At the time when Huijiao recorded this incident in the biography of Faxian in his *Gaoseng zhuan*, the tooth was still missing.¹⁸⁷

The tooth was probably kept secretly by Xiao Ziliang and Xiao Hong (or perhaps Xiao Yan indeed) for their own veneration. In the Chen Dynasty, it appeared on the political scene and was mentioned in the official history for the first time because it was linked with

¹⁸⁷ Huijiao, *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 13.411c-412a; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 489-490.

Chen Baxian's (the founder of the Chen Dynasty) political propaganda. He ordered it to be taken out (*chu* 出) from Old Lady Du's residence (Dulao zhai 杜姥宅; see below) in the inner city of Jiankang to the palace, and an Illimitable Assembly (*Wuzhe dahui*) for all four groups of Buddhists to be held. The emperor walked out from the Grand Marshal gate (Da sima gate), greeting and making obeisances to the tooth. This occurred in the tenth month of 557, the time when the Chen Dynasty was just founded. In this and the eleventh months he conferred noble titles on his family members and offered sacrifices to Emperor Jiang 蔣帝—a local deity also worshipped by other emperors of the Southern Dynasties, the temple for whom was located on Mount Zhong.¹⁸⁸ Obviously, these ceremonies were symbolic of the beginning of a new dynasty, and his sacrifice offering was aimed at acquiring divine protection for the new kingdom. Thus it is not hard to infer that his enshrinement of the tooth was also linked with his dynasty: he attempted to show that he was a blessed person of great virtue to rule this country under the Buddha's protection.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ Emperor Jiang, whose name was Jiang Ziwen 蔣子文 (d.u.), was a Moling Commandant (Moling wei 秣陵尉) and died from the wounds he received while catching bandits. In the Wu period, he appeared and threatened the emperor with an epidemic if he did not erect a temple for him. A temple was then built on Mount Zhong, and a noble title *hou* 侯 (marquis) was conferred on him. The temple survived even in 421 (the second year of the Yongchu 永初 era) in the Song Dynasty when it was ordered that all local temples be abandoned. In the early Xiaojian 孝建 era (454-464), the god was given the title of the prime minister. In the early reign of Mingdi 明帝 (465-472) he was addressed as “King of Jiang (Jiangwang 蔣王)” because the emperor had asked him for divine assistance when his army attacked the crown prince. The latter had murdered their father. Xiao Yan also prayed to him for rain. See Zhang Dunyi, *Liuchao shiji bian lei*, “Jiangdi miao” 蔣帝廟 (Jiang Emperor Temple), Zhang Chenshi (annot.), *Liuchao shiji bian lei* 12.120.

¹⁸⁹ Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian* 167.5168; *Jiankang shilu* 19.532. In addition to taking the tooth to the palace for veneration and holding an Illimitable Assembly in 557, the emperor also gave himself up to the Da Zhuangyan monastery 大莊嚴寺 for serving as a menial and held another Illimitable Assembly in 558. Tsukamoto thinks that the purpose of holding these services was to collect donations from Buddhist patronages for the reconstruction of the capital, which had been seriously damaged in the riot staged by Hou Jing. Tsukamoto, “Chin no kakumei to butsuge,” 121-124.

I do not discuss this point here because the *Chenshu* and the *Nanshi* do not mention that Chen Baxian collected any donations when he took the tooth to the palace or during the Illimitable Assembly. Therefore, it seems to be the case that these services alone (not others mentioned above) were staged for political, rather than financial, purposes.

When compared with those Xiao Yan staged for the relics of the Changgan stūpa, the Buddhist service Chen Baxian held for the tooth was on a small scale. Not only is this because the latter's Buddhist faith was not as strong as the former's, but also because Jiankang was damaged seriously by Hou Jing's army during the late Liang period. The residential area south of the Qinhuai river was hit hard, as mentioned above. And the palace and the inner city also underwent massive destruction. Hou Jing set fire to various palace gates including the Great Marshal Gate, for example. The fire was not put out until the gates were soaked in water.¹⁹⁰ This may explain why Chen Baxian ordered the tooth to be taken simply from the Old Lady Du's residence to the palace. The house stood outside the Nanyi gate 南掖門 (Southern side gate; the gate next to the Great Marshal Gate in the east) in the inner city and was only less than one *li* from the Great Marshal Gate (the gate facing due south).¹⁹¹ Obviously, the ceremony held at these places, though not splendid, was aimed at showing that Chen Baxian was a monarch of the new dynasty. The Great Marshal Gate, where he stood welcoming the tooth, was the gateway to the Taiji hall 太極殿 (Great Ultimate Hall)—the main hall of the court, namely the heartland of the central government. Therefore, the ceremonies to mark the inaugurations of the emperors in the previous ages (the Eastern Jin, Song, and Qi Dynasties) were staged in this hall.¹⁹² Even Hou Jing ordered it

¹⁹⁰ *Liangshu* 56.842.

¹⁹¹ The house was given to the mother of Chenggong Queen 成恭后 of the Jin, née Du 杜 (the wife of Emperor Cheng 成帝 [r. 326-342]) in 374. She led a virtuous life, so she was given a residence outside the Nanyi gate as an honour. *Jinshu* 32.974.

He Yunao estimates that the distance between the Great Marshal Gate and the Xunyang Gate (the two gates of the palace and the inner city respectively facing south) was two *li* (around 860 [Wu Dynasty] - 876 [Eastern Jin] metres). He Yunao, *Liuchao wadang yu Liu chao ducheng*, 114. The Nanyi gate was next to the Great Marshal Gate and the Old Lady Du's residence was halfway close to the palace. The distance between this house and the Great Marshal Gate was then less than one *li* (430-438 metres).

¹⁹² Gu Zuyu, *Dushi fangyu jiyao* 20.22 (157); He Yunao, *Liuchao wadang yu Liu chao ducheng*, 140-143. In 558, one year after the Chen was founded, Chen Baxian rebuilt the damaged hall. The new hall was approximately 11 metres high though it was not as splendid as the one built in the Liang.

protected when his army damaged bureaus and imperial facilities in the palace. Although it was eventually burned by Wang Sengbian's 王僧辨 (?-555; one of the generals defending against Hou Jing's attack) undisciplined army when it arrived at the palace, the hall still represented the government. Thus it is not hard to infer that this hall was certainly an optimal locus where Chen Baxian stood and welcomed the Buddha's tooth when he intended to show that his dynasty was protected by the Buddha.

However, it is not completely clear why he selected the Old Lady Du's residence to be the place from where the tooth was taken out. Located in the inner city with other noblemen's houses and some important bureaus, this residence was chosen probably because it was a strategically important spot.¹⁹³ It was a fastness forces tended to capture before heading for the palace, thereby witnessing many horrific attacks. Hou Jing, for example, placed at it the bodies of three thousand soldiers he killed in the crown prince's dwelling in order to frighten the people in the palace. After Wang Sengbian defeated Hong Jing, he told his general Pei Zhiheng 裴之橫 (?-555) to station his army there.¹⁹⁴ It is unlikely that the tooth was enshrined here since it had been missing, because it could hardly be kept in such a place that witnessed so much bloodshed in the late Liang Dynasty. Clearly, Chen Baxian somehow obtained the tooth and took it to this residence beforehand. He selected this residence to display the tooth and hold an Illimitable Assembly, perhaps because he

¹⁹³ For example, the supervision bureau (*yushi tai* 御史台; or *lantai* 蘭台) was situated south of the residence. The crown prince's dwelling (i.e. Donggong 東宮; the Eastern residence) was also built in this area in 392. Xu Xiaosi 徐孝嗣 (fl. later half of the fifth century) lived in this region when he assisted Emperor Fei in governance in the early Yongchu era. See *Nanqi shu*, 44.774; He Yunao, *Liuchao wadang yu Liu chao ducheng*, 147.

¹⁹⁴ *Zizhi tongjian* 161.4989, 164.5081; Gu Zuyu, *Dushi fangyu jiyao* 20.22 (157). The *Nanshi* says that Pei Zhiheng later entered the palace, and let his soldiers commit robbery and set fire to the Taiji Hall. Finally, Wang Sengbian ordered Du Ze 杜崱 (?-553), Wuzhou magistrate, to put out the fire. (80.2014)

attempted to demonstrate that he took control of this important spot and thus the whole inner city.

Chen Baxian used cunning to legitimize his possession of the tooth. He (or the chronicler of his government) made up a story claiming that monks presented it to the state willingly. This story resembles very closely that found in the *Chenshu* is different from the version discussed above from the *Gaoseng zhuan*. In this version of the story, the tooth, which was originally kept by Faxian at the Upper Dinglin monastery, was later obtained by a monk called Huixing 慧興 (d. u.) of the Qingyun monastery 慶雲寺 (on Mount She 攝山 of Jiankang) in the late Tianjian era of the Liang Dynasty (519). Huixing gave it to his disciple Huizhi 慧志 (fl. 554) on his deathbed.¹⁹⁵ During the late Chengsheng 承聖 era of the Liang Dynasty (554, Yuandi's reign), he handed it secretly over to Chen Baxian.¹⁹⁶ Unlike the one narrated in the *Gaoseng zhuan*, which reports that the tooth was still kept in the Upper Ding monastery until 522, this story was silent on why the tooth was given to Huixing of another monastery. If it is the case that this story was produced by Chen Baxian and his government, then it was perhaps used to convince people that the tooth was a gift given by the Buddhist order, and was not a looted object. However, the story was not generally accepted by later secular and monastic authors and consequently was seldom narrated in their works.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ Neither the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* nor the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Biographies of eminent monks [composed in] the Song) contains biographies of these two monks.

¹⁹⁶ *Chenshu* 2.34.

¹⁹⁷ It appears that even authors in the Tang did not believe this version. Li Yanshou and Xu Song, the authors of the *Nanshi* and the *Jiankang shilu* respectively, for example, simply mention that Chen Baxian ordered the tooth to be taken out from the house of the Old Lady Du. Those who accept the version written in the *Gaoseng zhuan* are usually Buddhist writers, like Fei Zhangfang, Daoxuan, and Zhisheng. See *Nanshi* 9.272; *Jiankang shilu* 19.532; *Lidai sanbao ji*, T no. 2034, 49: 11.95c; Daoxuan, *Da Tang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄 (A catalogue of Buddhist works in the Great Tang), T no. 2149, 55: 4.262c; Zhisheng, *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (A catalogue of Śākyamuni's teachings [compiled in] the Kaiyuan [period]), T no. 2154, 55: 6.536a. Sun Wenchuan combined the two visions, saying that the tooth was seized (*duo* 奪) by Huixing and presented by his disciple Huizhi to the state in the Chengsheng reign. *Nanchao fosi ji* 2.309-310.

3.2.4 A Glimpse into the Impact of the *Ayuwang Jing* on Chinese Laymen's Devotion, as Seen from the Two Emperors' Relic Veneration

Before concluding, I shall make some observations on how relic veneration by the ruling class was actually influenced by Buddhist Aśokan legends. As stated in Chapter One, compared with many others of relic / stūpa worshippers related in Buddhist scriptures, the legends about Aśoka interested and influenced Chinese Buddhists, especially the ruling elites, more noticeably. But not all the stories about this ruler narrated in Buddhist scriptures prevailed in China. Chinese Buddhists made references to this ruler's stūpa construction more frequently than other events about him (e.g. his cruelty before conversion to Buddhism).¹⁹⁸ Deriving from the episode of his contributions to making and spreading Buddhist objects of worship, some local stories appeared and circulated in China; those about Tanyi's acquisition of the Aśokan statue at the Changsha monastery and Huida's veneration of the Changgan and Mao stupas, for example. They did not totally agree with the details of Aśokan legends narrated in Buddhist scriptures, but obviously reflected Chinese Buddhists' belief that statues and stūpas he had made and built were also obtainable in their country. Like Buddhist scriptures about him, they also played an important part in Chinese Buddhists' beliefs related to this Indian ruler.

It cannot be denied that Chinese Buddhists developed a fanatical interest in Buddhist relics when Buddhist legends about Aśoka's relic enshrinement circulated. However, when compared with local stories about statues and stūpas (including those attributed to Aśoka

¹⁹⁸ In the works collected in the *Hongming ji* and the *Guang Hongming ji*, references are usually made to the stūpas and the statues attributed to Aśoka in India or China or the monasteries related to him—the objects of worship or Buddhist facilities. I can find only two works that mention other events about him. They are produced by Zhenguan 真觀 (538-611) and Daoxuan, who make references to his conversion to goodness and his reverence for monks respectively (T no. 2103, 52: 22.256b & 25.456c).

found in China), it is hard to declare that Aśokan legends had a noticeably stronger impact on the ruling elites. This is because it is not always easy to find clear evidence to demonstrate that every relic worshipper of the ruling class expressed keen interest in Buddhist scriptures about Aśoka (e.g. the *Ayuwang jing* or the *Ayuwang zhuan*) and were clearly motivated by them to venerate the Buddha's relics. On the contrary, some of these people tended to be attracted by the relics because of the local stories about Chinese monks' worship of them. It seems that the scriptures on their own were insufficient to capture the interest of the elite.

This speculation needs to be further examined before it can be confirmed, but it can be at least applied to Chen Baxian. The extant materials do not contain any references to his interest in the scriptures. He deprived the Buddhist order of the Buddha's tooth obviously because, like Prince of Jiling, Faxian, and the monks in Jiankang, he believed that the person who obtained the tooth was the one blessed by Śākyamuni, and his acquisition of it meant the sanction of this Buddha for his newly established Chen state. At least as shown in the materials, he was motivated more noticeably by the local stories about the tooth than by Buddhist scriptural legends about Aśoka.

As for Xiao Yan, scholars have already pointed out that he had great interest in Aśokan legends in Buddhist scriptures, which directly resulted in his holding grand services for relics. Ōchō En'ichi 横超慧日 and Yan Shangwen find that he greatly revered the Buddhist text about this Indian ruler. As stated above, he took Saṅghapāla's translation of the text (entitled the *Ayuwang jing*) down from dictation in the palace, whereas he did not take such a role in the translation of other Buddhist scriptures sponsored by the state. The text, Ōchō thinks, motivated him to perform various acts in support of Buddhism. His giving himself up four times to serve as a menial, and constructing a charity building in imitation of

Jetavana, for example, were acts to emulate Aśoka, who is said to have made very generous donations to the Buddhist order. And Yan Shangwen also considers that the text was used by Xiao Yan to conjure up an image as a powerful leader in both secular and spiritual realms (i.e. the government and the Buddhist community).¹⁹⁹

It would be beyond the scope of the discussion here to exhaust the way in which Xiao Yan was encouraged by the text to contribute to Buddhism or the way in which he manipulated it in his governance. However, as for his relic veneration—the issue examined in this chapter, it seems that we should not overstate the impact of the *Ayuwang jing*, or Aśokan legends depicted in Buddhist scriptures, on his veneration of the relics at the Changgan and Mao stūpas. No doubt the scriptural episode of Aśoka’s collecting and enshrining the Buddha’s relics inspired this Chinese ruler to hold Buddhist services for the relics at these two stūpas. Nonetheless, not only did this scripture provide a motivation, but, as analysed above, the stories about Huida’s discovery of the relics also had a part to play. Therefore, Xiao Yan had keen interest in the relics enshrined at the two stūpas—the reliquaries where the monk found the relics, without showing the same enthusiasm for all the relics in his hands (those presented by foreign states). The stories about Huida and the relics conveyed that virtuous and sacred people could discover and worship the relics spread by Aśoka; thus Xiao Yan had an ambition to present an image for himself as a holy powerful monarch through these objects (or the stories indeed, as stated above). Consequently, this ruler extended the Changgan monastery, and built two new stūpas as the replacements for the old one, together with other political monuments symbolizing his rule.

¹⁹⁹ Ōchō En’ichi, *Chūgoku bukkyō no kenkyū* 中國佛教の研究 (Studies of Chinese Buddhism) (Kyōto : Hōzōkan, 1958), 384-350; Yan Shangwen, “Liang Wudi ‘Huangdi pusa’ xingcheng jichu de linian zhengce,” 44.

It is, however, not alleged that the *Ayuwang jing* and other Buddhist scriptures about Aśoka had no part or only played a small role in Xiao Yan's relic veneration. There is no denying that local stories about Chinese monks' worship of Aśokan stupas and statues developed from these Buddhist texts. But it seems surprising that although this Chinese ruler gave special importance to the *Ayuwang jing* and was inspired by Buddhist Aśokan legends to construct stūpas for the Buddha's relics, the translation of the text was made in 512, and he dug out the relics from the Mao stūpa and worshipped them in 536, and started to pay homage to and hold grand Buddhist services for those at the Changgan stūpa in 537. In other words, he did not hold the services for the relics until twenty-four years after the translation of the *Ayuwang jing*.

From the stories about this ruler's relic veneration, it is possible to draw some conclusions. Aśokan legends attracted Chinese Buddhists, but they were often transmitted partially. Compared with others about Aśoka, the episode about his spreading the Buddha's relics as the universal monarch interested these people more explicitly. Even so, this episode was sometimes misrepresented. This explains why, in a eulogy written by Xiao Gang, Xiao Yan—modeling himself on Aśoka—was described as the wheel-turning monarch of the highest rank (i.e. the golden wheel-turning monarch), who possessed a legendary greenish red horse, whereas this Indian ruler was indeed classified in the *Ayuwang jing* only as the iron wheel-turning monarch.²⁰⁰

²⁰⁰ *Ayuwang jing*, T no. 2043: 1.132a-133a; also found in *Ayuwang zhuan*, T no. 2042, 50: 1.99c. See the discussion above.

3.2.5 Concluding Remarks

As shown in the above discussion, members of the elite came to worship Buddhist relics and to have enthusiasm for Aśokan legends in the Six Dynasties, when there were some stories about monks' miraculous discovery of or obtaining the objects of worship accredited to the Indian ruler. This was a remarkable progress made by the Buddhist order in the spread of Buddhism, given that relics were only perceived in the Eastern Han as a kind of auspicious animal in festival acrobatics, not as the Buddha's remains. These stories spread the conviction that the objects of worship (relics, statues, and stūpas) linked to Aśoka would appear in China when worshippers prayed hard; therefore, stūpa worship developed gradually in society. This can be illustrated by the story of Huida collected in the *Mingxiang ji*, which urged people to worship the Aśokan stūpas and maintain all stūpas for eliminating their sins. However, members of the elite tended to have interest in the objects narrated in the stories only but did not extend their veneration to all other relics, stūpas, etc. Those held in their regard usually became the objects they made use of for their self-glorification. Through obtaining and venerating these renowned holy objects, they attempted to demonstrate to others that they were figures of great virtue, blessed by the Buddha. When holding Buddhist services for veneration, they were usually motivated by their own interests and did not follow Buddhist scriptural tradition. Xiao Yan, for example, destroyed the Changgan and Mao stūpas when he dug the relics there, and Chen Baxian also did not enshrine the Buddha's tooth in a stūpa. They did not regard stūpas as objects of worship but only as Buddhist buildings associated with their power, thus neither prostrating themselves nor making offerings to them. Therefore, after pulling down the original one, Xiao Yan built two Changgan stūpas, which, together with other monuments on the Imperial Way, were thought

to represent his dynasty. Judging by this, his construction of the stūpas can hardly be counted as an act of stūpa worship. This may explain why even though members of the elite were obsessed by relics and Aśokan legends, they did not worship stūpas. This finding agrees with the conclusion reached in the previous chapter, suggesting that no matter whether or not members of the elite came to have faith in Buddhist relics and Aśokan legends, generally they did not change significantly their understanding of stūpas and therefore did not worship them.

For this reason, although the sources discussed in this chapter are mainly those about the Southern Dynasties, the above conclusion probably applies to northern elite members too. Although they generally did not have strong faith in Buddhist relics and Aśokan legends as their southern counterparts such as Xiao Yan and Chen Baxian had, they also set up stūpas because they considered that these Buddhist objects represented their power, instead of the Buddha.²⁰¹

²⁰¹ According to Chen Hua's 陳華 study, some emperors in the Northern Dynasties also believed the Aśokan legends. Chen Hua, "Wangzheng yu fofa—Beichao zhi Suidai diwang tongzhi yu Mile xinyang" 王政與佛法—北朝至隋代帝王統治與彌勒信仰 (Imperial politics and Buddhism—monarchical rule and the belief related to Maitreya from the Northern Dynasties to the Sui period), *Dongfang zongjiao yanjiu* 東方宗教研究 2 (1988): 53-70. Yet, unlike their southern counterparts, they seldom held Buddhist services for Aśokan stūpas or relics. Nonetheless, in imitation of Aśoka, Yang Jian, a northern elite member who united China and founded the Sui Dynasty, built many stūpas throughout his empire in 601, 602, and 604. This indicates that relics and the Aśokan legends attracted at least some northern elite members.

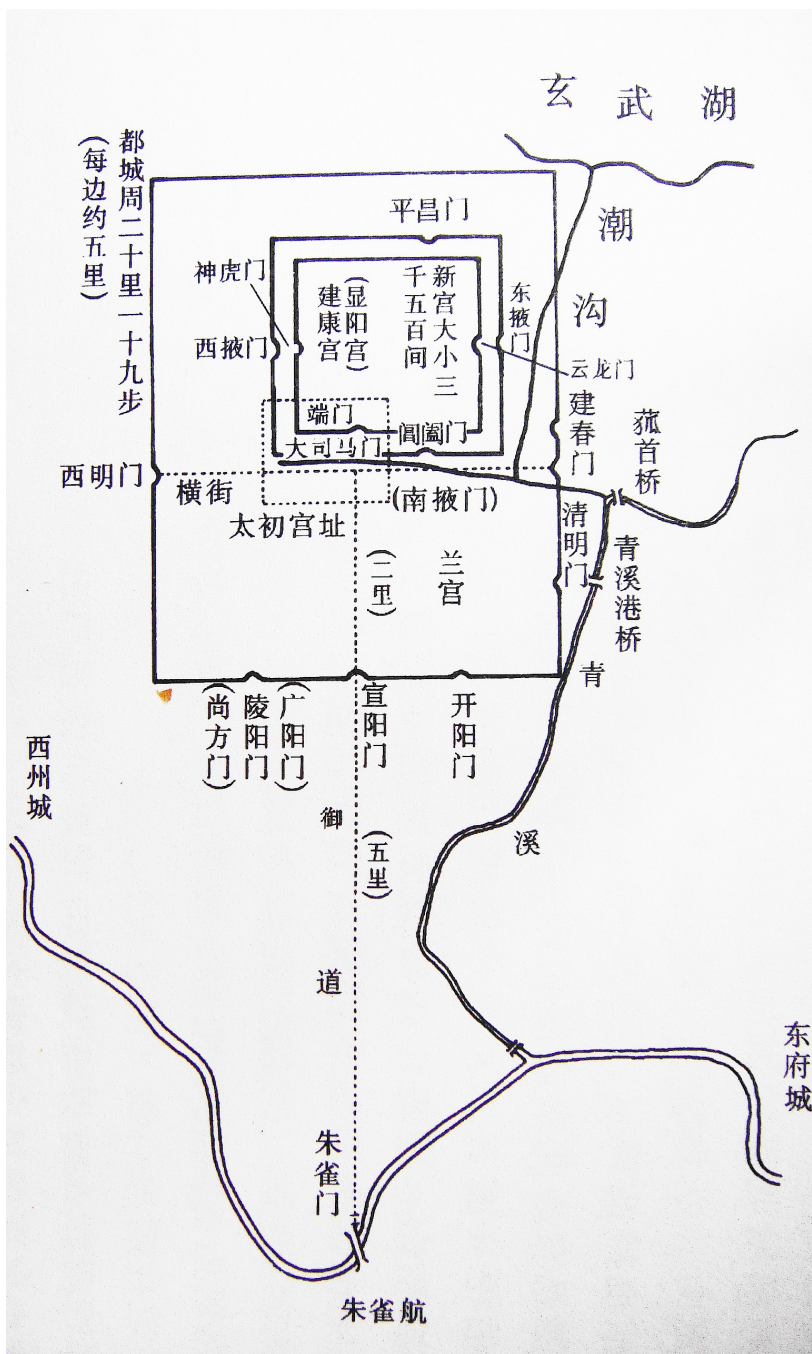


Figure 3.1 Map of Jiankang²⁰²

²⁰² It is reconstructed by Zhu Xie 朱偁, *Jinling guji tukao* 金陵古蹟圖考 (An examination of the pictures of historical sites in Jinling) (Shanghai: Shangwuyin shuguan, 1934), taken from He Yunao, *Liuchao wadang yu Liuchao ducheng*, 92.

Chapter 4: Stūpas Unrelated to Buddhist Stūpa Worship: Funerary Stūpas Set up for the Monastic Dead

The stūpas discussed in the previous chapters were associated with Buddhism in some way, or at least on the surface they appeared to be. They held Buddhist relics, and/or were engraved with Buddhist images and/or housed them; through the relics and images, they were linked to Buddhas, bodhisattvas, or Buddhist deities. In this and the next chapters, the focus will shift towards another category of stūpas—funerary stūpas set up for deceased monastic members and lay people. Not all of them were objects of worship sanctioned in Buddhist vinaya literature, so paying honour to them would not necessarily comply with Buddhist regulations. These stūpas already appeared in China in the Six Dynasties. As will be shown in these two chapters, some of them were erected as tombs, and some others either stood in cemeteries as part of funerary construction complexes or were set up for ancestral worship. They were used as monuments to departed monastic masters or ancestors rather than being used to enhance one's cultivation or gain merits. Although they did not make up a large portion of all stūpas in the Six Dynasties, they are worth attention. Not only do they illustrate how stūpas in China were set in the context of local funerary custom and were abstracted from Buddhist canonical tradition of stūpas, but they also contribute to our knowledge of how Chinese adapted Buddhism at that time.

4.1 Separation between Stūpas for Holy Monks and Those for Others

This chapter focuses on funerary stūpas erected for deceased monks and nuns. As stated in Chapter One, these stūpas were allowed to be built by Buddhist vinaya redactors. According to Yijing's records of monastic practices, monastic members in India would erect stūpas for their departed fellows. It would not be surprising that the Buddhist order in China adopted this practice, building such stūpas for its members. An interesting topic, therefore, would be whether these stūpas developed into ones similar to those for the Buddha and other Buddhist sacred figures as depicted in Buddhist scriptures, namely objects canonically allowed to be revered by the Buddhist order, but were not regarded by monastic disciples and fellows only as tombs. Perhaps they might not have evolved this way in the Six Dynasties, because, as shown in the discussion in previous chapters, Buddhist stūpa belief was not commonly implanted in Chinese peoples' minds (especially the elite's). If so, possibly they did not easily accept that these stūpas were living entities equated with deceased monks and nuns. The purpose of this chapter is to find out whether this supposition can be supported and then to deduce whether worship directed towards these stūpas was part of Chinese Buddhists' lives.

Before we turn to these stūpas, it is necessary to note how the Buddhist order is told to distinguish stūpas for holy figures from those for ordinary monks in order to avoid others' censure. As shown in Chapter One, Buddhist vinaya redactors think that worship of stūpas is controversial if they do not house the relics of transcendent people or of ones worthy of veneration (monks who have made contributions to the Buddhist order, for example). However, when allowing stūpas to be erected for deceased monks, it seems difficult for the Buddhist order to prohibit them from being venerated as those for the Buddha and other

Buddhist sacred people. To know more about what the Buddhist order is expected to do in order to deal with this situation, we may look at a brief story about monastic funerary practice in Kaśmīra (or Kashmir, an ancient state in north India; present-day Kabul),¹ which conveyed to the Buddhist order in China that stupas for ordinary monks ought to be erected separately from those for holy practitioners. This story, found in the *Gaoseng zhuan* and in the *Chu sanzang jiji*, talks about the burial for Zhiyan 智嚴 (350-427), a monk of Western Liang 北涼 (400-421; in present-day northwestern Gansu). Although he had learnt meditation from another monk Fotuoxian 佛馱先 (d.u.) in Kaśmīra and reached a high level of cultivation, he was afraid that his status as a Buddhist monk was not recognized, because, before taking full ordination (a procedure for entering the Buddhist order), he had committed a sin, about which the two sources do not give any details. To know whether his monastic status was valid, he went to India to consult monastic veterans. There he met an *arhat*, who, in a state of meditation, went to the palace of the Tuṣita Heaven (Douliū 兜率)—the place where Maitreya was preaching. The *arhat* asked the Buddha about Zhiyan's status and was told that there was no problem with it. Greatly delighted, Zhiyan returned to China. Having arrived in Kaśmīra, he passed away without any illness. In this country cremation for sacred and ordinary monks was held separately. Since the monks there did not know whether he had acquired transcendence yet, they took his body to a graveyard for ordinary monks. But they found it so heavy that they could not lift it up. This remained so until they decided to take it to a graveyard for holy monks; it became light and easy to carry. This indicated that Zhiyan had reached an advanced level of cultivation, and this news was spread by his disciples when

¹ Located in the northwestern Indian subcontinent and known in Chinese as Jibin or Jiashimiluo 迦濕彌羅, it was one of major Buddhist centres. The fourth Buddhist council was held there and hence was called the Kaśmīra council (Jiashimiluo jieji 迦濕彌羅結集).

they returned to China.² This story shows that the Indian Buddhist order was believed to separate cremation and burial for its holy members from those for ordinary monks. The picture we view here is consistent with that presented in Buddhist vinaya literature: the Buddhist order should limit its respect and worship to holy figures and the stūpas for them, although it is allowed to build stūpas for its general members, and, in order to reflect the exalted positions of the former, it also should follow the specifications stated in the vinaya literature.³

The Buddhist order is told to make a clear separation between stūpas for holy figures and those for ordinary monks. Yet this precept might not be in effect in China, as suggested by what Daoshi has said about reasons for building a stūpa. He states: “[the aims are,] first, to display a person’s excellence, second, to convert others, and, third, to repay a person. If an ordinary monk is virtuous and has a good reputation, a stūpa should be erected [for him] too; others do not qualify.”⁴ It is clear that Daoshi was not as strict in the construction of them as Buddhist vinaya compilers were. Stūpas, according to his words, were no longer limited to sacred monks, and could be used as a tool for expressing one’s gratitude.

Although Daoshi was a monk of the Tang, his loose adherence to Buddhist precepts concerning stūpas can be traced back to earlier times. This is demonstrated by a series of southern mural paintings in Mogao cave 莫高窟 no. 257 in Dunhuang, which date back to the Northern Wei Dynasty. They depict a story of a monastic novice’s (*śrāmanera*) killing himself, which comes from the *Xianyu jing* 賢愚經 (or *Xianyuyinyuan jing* 賢愚因緣經;

² Huijiao, *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 3.339c; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 100; Sengyou, *Chu sanzang jijī*, T no. 2145, 55: 15.113a; Su & Xiao (colla. & annot.), *Chu sanzang jijī*, 577-578.

³ For details, see Chapter One.

⁴ *Fayuan zhulin*, T no. 2122, 53: 37.580a; Su & Xiao (colla. & annot.), *Fayuan zhulin* 3: 37.1188: 一、表人勝, 二、令他信, 三、為報恩. 若是凡夫比丘有德望者, 亦得起塔. 餘者不合.

Damamūka-nidāna-sūtra), a work translated by Huijue 慧覺 (?-445+) and Weide 威德 (?-445+) in 445. The scripture records a story of a novice, who entered the Buddhist order under his father's orders and carried out practices under the guidance of an experienced monk. This veteran monk was provided with food every day by a pious generous layman. One day the patron forgot to have food taken to the monk, so the latter sent the novice to the former's house for it. At the time when the novice arrived, only the layman's daughter was at home. Once she saw him, she lusted after him and hence enticed him into having sex with her by offering him wealth. The novice had a fierce determination to observe monastic precepts, thinking that he would rather lose his life than break them. He also imagined that if he ran away, she would have caught and defamed him, and others in streets would have seen this, and that if this had happened, more defamatory words would have appeared. Hence, he entered the house, and got into a room and closed its door behind him immediately. He found a razor there; he then took off his robe, and, with the hands put together, kneeled down in the direction where Kuśinagara (Jushiluo 拘尸那; near Kasiah, the place in which the Buddha entered *nirvāṇa*) was located. He made a wish that, without ever disobeying the Three Jewels and his preceptor (*ācārya*) and breaking any precepts, he would free himself from delusion and attain the Way. After this, he cut his own throat and died. The girl found him dead when she opened the door. She could do nothing but regret what she had done and cried bitterly. When her father returned home, she confessed to her wrongdoing. There was a rule in the country that one had to pay one thousand golden coins as a penalty for killing a monk or a layman. The pious layman went to the palace to see the emperor with the fine. He admitted to his daughter's crime and was willing to take on responsibility. But the emperor did not blame him at all; instead he wanted to pay honour to the novice. Therefore, accompanied by

attendants, he went to the house, paid obeisances to the novice's body, and praised him for his strict observance of Buddhist precepts. Finally, he held cremation—a ritual described here as a token of his respect—for the novice in an open area.⁵

Some of these episodes are taken and depicted in the seven paintings in the cave no. 257 in Dunhuang for presenting the story. The first two portray respectively the veteran monk's admitting the novice to the Buddhist order and teaching him Buddhist precepts; the third and the fourth ones, the girl's crying over the novice's death and her confessing the wrongdoing to her father; the fifth and the sixth ones, the patron's reporting the event to the emperor and the latter's holding cremation for the novice. These first sixth drawings agree with what is said in the scripture, but the seventh one does not. It shows how the Buddhist order, or at least some of its members in Dunhuang, viewed a funerary stūpa. It depicts a multi-eaved stūpa, which is adorned with a mast and several discs. In the niche of the stūpa façade, there is a cross-legged novice, with a hand gesture for meditation (*mudrā*) and a halo.⁶ This figure is thought to be the novice—the protagonist of the story. It is clear that he is described in the painting as a holy practitioner; he has a halo and is enshrined in a stūpa with the discs and the mast—the decorations that are limited to the stūpas for Buddhist transcendent people only. To one's surprise, the plot of the enshrinement does not appear in the scripture. Although the text gives praise for his deed, it says that he is not a person of transcendence. It reads, "...and this monastic novice had not attained the Way, but, with his mortal (the life-and-death) body, he followed precepts and gave up his life. It is really

⁵ "Shami shoujie zisha pin" 沙彌守戒自殺品 (The chapter on a *śrāmanera*'s obeying precepts and committing suicide), *Xianyu jing*, T no. 202, 4: 5.380a-382a.

⁶ Cai Weitang 蔡偉堂 has given a detailed description of the paintings. Cai Weitang, "Mogao ku bihua zhong de shami shoujie zisha tu yanjiu" 莫高窟壁畫中的沙彌守戒自殺圖研究 (A study of the pictures of the *śrāmanera*'s committing suicide for observing Buddhist precepts, [which are found in] the Mogao caves), *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 4 (1997): 13-15.

unusual and rare.”⁷ On the contrary, the text implies that the novice was among ordinary people who have not detached themselves from desires and therefore they would naturally be attracted to the girl—the immoral offender—because of her unparalleled beauty. This is the reason why the text says that after the cremation for the novice’s body the emperor put the girl in a high, open place so that every one in the country saw her, people understood that she was not to blame. This version suggests that the *Xianyu jing* author did not consider the novice as a holy person liberated from delusions and ought to be responsible for the incident. However, as shown by the last painting at the Mogao cave, the Buddhist order in Dunhuang had different views, thinking him sacred to the extent that he ought to be remembered through the stūpa as other Buddhist holy people were.

This Mogao mural painting and Daoshi’s passage about stūpas seem to suggest that the Buddhist order in China interpreted differently the Buddhist canonical tradition of stūpas related to its deceased members, relaxing stūpa-enshrinement requirements and admitting ordinary but virtuous monks into the ranks of people of honour and veneration. This localized view seems to be reflected in the stūpa portrayed in the Mogao painting: a hybrid of Chinese towers and Indian stūpas, which has a Chinese roof with overhanging eaves and *chiwei* 鴟尾 (an owl-like ornament on a roof ridge), and on the top of which there are an Indian hemisphere/dome and a mast hung with a few discs (Figure 4.1). If the Buddhist order in China had relaxed the requirements, there might have been many stūpas erected for deceased monks and nuns in the Six Dynasties and hence stūpa worship might have thrived.

This conjecture, however, is not supported by the evidence found in monastic biographical works, for example, the collections by Huijiao, Baochang, and Daoxuan—some

⁷ *Xianyu jing*, T no. 202, 4: 5.382a: 而此沙彌, 既未得道, 以生死身, 奉戒捨命, 甚奇希有.

of the most important sources about monks and nuns in the Six Dynasties. These collections show a picture contrary to the above conjecture. Only seventeen monks of the Six Dynasties chronicled in Huijiao's work were memorialized in stūpas. Even fewer monks of that period are recorded by Daoxuan: only nine had stūpas that were set up for them. In Baochang's work, there were only four nuns.⁸ These figures are vastly disproportionate, given that there are more than four hundred monks and nuns⁹ whose stories are narrated in the collections.¹⁰ These numbers of the stūpas imply two possibilities: there were more funerary stūpas erected, but these authors chose not to mention them. It is also possible that these stūpas were not common at that time. Either one of these possibilities, however, means that stūpa worship related to deceased monks and nuns did not flourish. Although, as shown in previous chapters, stūpas did not necessarily become objects of worship, they were prerequisites for stūpa worship; they needed to be put up before attracting pilgrims and becoming centres of pilgrimage. To draw a definite conclusion, it is necessary to conduct a close examination of

⁸ For the names of these monks and nuns, see Appendix B.

⁹ Totally, there are 448 biographies of monks and nuns of the Six Dynasties in the three collections: 253 in the *Gaoseng zhuan*, 65 in the *Biqiuni zhuan*, and 130 in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*.

¹⁰ Koichi Shinohara believes that stūpa inscriptions are one of the major categories of sources for the three collections of Chinese monastic biographies (namely, the *Gaoseng zhuan*, *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, and *Song gaoseng zhuan*). See, Shinohara, "Two sources of Chinese Buddhist biographies," 120-127. Yet, this cannot be said of the biographies of the monks in the Six Dynasties in Huijiao's and Daoxuan's collections. Most of the eminent monks recorded, according to these two collections, did not have stūpas that were built after their death. Also many of the biographies contain only scarce information relating to their death. For example, Kang Senghui 康僧會 (?-280)—the monk who introduced Buddhism to the Wu State—died in 280 (the 1st year of the Taikang 太康 period of the Western Jin) (*Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 1.326a; Tang [colla. & annot.], *Gaoseng zhuan*, 18). Other than the year, the *Gaoseng zhuan* does not tell us other information. Also the collection only says that Faxian, who wrote one of the influential Chinese records about India, passed away in a monastery in Jiangling called Xinsi 辛寺 at the age of eighty-six. (*Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 3.338b; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 90) There were neither tomb epigraphs nor stūpa inscriptions written by the elite in memory of these two monks. Possibly if there had been stūpa inscriptions written for them, more detailed pictures would have been recounted in the biographies. Besides, the extant stūpa inscriptions of the monks of the Six Dynasties are much fewer than those of their counterparts of the Tang and later periods, as demonstrated by the prose collections of these periods (i.e. *QSSQSLW* vis-a-vis *Quan Tangwen* 全唐文 [Complete prose literature of the Tang] comp. Dong Hao 董浩 [1740-1818] [11 vols, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983, rpt.]). The monastic biographies that were based on stūpa inscriptions are mainly those of the monks of the Tang and later.

these stūpas. Yet, before doing so, I shall look at few scattered stūpas. They developed into local spots of veneration and hence would reveal how the worship related to monastic funerary stūpas developed.

4.2 A Fragmented Picture of Veneration towards Monastic Dead through Stūpas

All of these stūpas were situated outside the capital cities. They are not given detailed narratives in the monastic biographical collections and other works, but the information provided clearly shows that these stūpas were not in accordance with those depicted in Buddhist scriptures, and the worship in relation with them was not that presented in the scriptures either.¹¹ Instead, they were the reflections of local peoples' Buddhist faith.

The one for Tancheng 曇稱 (?-420+) of the Liu Song Dynasty was one of them. He decided to feed tigers with his own body when knowing that they were haunting local villagers in Pengcheng 彭城. Although he was begged not to do so, he did not change his mind; finally, his entire body was eaten and only the head was left over. To express their

¹¹ My discussion here deals with only the funerary stūpas for the monastic dead set up in the Six Dynasties recorded in textual material. This does not imply that those built in later periods were not worshipped by Buddhists. Some of these stūpas set up for monks in the Tang and later developed into objects of worship. For example, that for Sengqie of Sizhou 泗州僧伽 (638-710), who was thought to be Guanyin's manifestation, was such one. Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101), a famous poet of the Song, wrote a poem recording that a storm broke on his way to Hangzhou by boat, and he was told by others in the boat to pray to the stūpa. See "Sizhou Sengqie ta" 泗州僧伽塔 (The stūpa of the Sengqie monastery in Sizhou), in *Dongpo quanji* 東坡全集 (A comprehensive collection of [Su] Dongpo's [works]), in *SKQS* 1107: 3.1a-1b. Certainly, a close examination is needed before we know whether such veneration agreed with the Buddhist scriptural tradition of stūpa worship. And there were no such stūpas in the Six Dynasties I know of. Perhaps they did not appear until the Tang and later (see note 10 above). For a discussion of the Sengqie cult, see Huang Chi-chiang 黃啓江, "Sizhou dasheng zhuanqi xinlun: Songdai fojiao jushi yu Sengqie chongbai," 泗州大聖傳奇新論: 宋代佛教居士與僧伽崇拜 (Re-considering the legend of Sengqie: the Great Sage of Sizhou, lay Buddhists and the cult of Sengqie during the Song Dynasty), *Foxue yanjiu zhongxin xuebao* 佛學研究中心學報 9 (July 2004): 177-220.

gratitude, the villagers buried it and built a stūpa.¹² According to Huijiao's account, this stūpa functioned as a talisman: after it was set up, tigers stopped coming and hurting the locals. Tancheng was perhaps a monk who mostly wandered around during his lifetime; therefore, Huijiao does not mention with which monastery he was affiliated. And, it is likely that the stūpa was managed and worshipped mainly by local villagers.

Puyuan 普圓 (fl. ca. 560) also had a stūpa that was erected by local villagers after his death. He had been roaming in Yongzhou 雍州 (Chang'an and its vicinity) and leading an ascetic life since the period of Emperor Wu in the Northern Zhou (r. 561-578). When going to villages to beg and stay temporarily, he would look for quiet lodging and hence usually stayed in cemeteries. One night a fierce ghost with a frightening appearance came and tried to scare him, but its attempt was in vain and later it went away. Puyuan always made every effort to convert others, telling them to be ascetic and frugal (*kujie* 苦節). One day a villain asked him for his head; when he was about to cut his head, the villain wanted his eyes instead. But the villain changed his mind again and asked for his hands. Puyuan's hands were tied to a tree and were cut from the level of the elbow (probably by himself). Finally, he died in the southern rural place of Fanchuan 樊川 (in the south of Xi'an). People in nearby villages were grieved when knowing of the news, so they all wanted to inter his body in their own villages. They could not settle the dispute at first; finally they divided the body up, and built stūpas to enshrine the shares they got.¹³ It is unclear how local people performed worship after they set

¹² *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 12.404a; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 446. I shall only outline some of the stories about the self-immolated monks recounted in Huijiao's and Daoxuan's collections. For detailed studies of these standard presentations of these self-immolators, see James A. Benn's *Burning for the Buddha: Self-Immolation in Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007). For a discussion of Tancheng's story, see Benn, *Burning for the Buddha*, 27-28.

¹³ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 27.680b-c; Benn, *Burning for the Buddha*, 80.

up the stūpas, because Daoxuan does not mention this in his biography for Puyuan. Yet they fought for his body, possibly because he impressed them with his fearlessness of ghosts, which might be thought to be his power of exorcism.¹⁴ Compared with that of a meditative renunciant, his image of an exorcist might be more vivid in their minds. Therefore, in addition to the above mentioned one about his encounter with the ghost, Daoxuan says that more stories in a similar view about him were circulated.

Dividing the monks' remains and putting them in the stūpas, narrated in the above stories, were not derived from Chinese elite's burial tradition, but from commoners' or—more likely—from non-Chinese people's customs. This can be proved by the story of An Boyuan 安帛遠 (fl. the late 3rd to early 4th centuries), who was engaged in converting people in Guanlong 關隴 (Guanzhong 關中 [the central Shanxi plain] and eastern Gansu) and in the west of Xiaohan 峯函 (Mount Xiao 峯山 and the frontier pass in Hangu 函谷關). When people of the Qiang minority (Qianghu 羌胡) heard that he was cruelly beaten to death by the Qinzhou 秦州 prefect Zhang Fu 張輔 (d. 305), they were outraged and attacked Zhang's army in revenge. They were not appeased until he was killed by his military assistant Fu Zheng 富整 (d.u.).¹⁵ The Qiang people then returned with Boyuan's body. They divided it up

¹⁴ This story is also narrated by Fazang 法藏 (643-712) in his *Huayan jing zhuanji* 華嚴經傳記 (A collection of biographies [of the people practicing] the *Huayan jing* [*Avataṃsaka sūtra*], T no. 2073, 51: 4.165a). Based on Daoxuan's biographical collection, Fazang's account is basically the same as Daoxuan's and only has some expressions changed. However, at the end of the account, he writes, "Monks and laymen grieved deeply as if they had lost their fathers and mothers. [So] they divided his cremated bones and built stūpas separately in various places for them." (165b: 道俗哀慕, 如喪考妣, 分其闍維之骨, 數處各修塔焉。) Clearly, the plot is different from that recorded by Daoxuan and may not be faithful, but it shows that Fazang makes the change perhaps because he thinks the local villagers' division of the body into several pieces horrifying.

¹⁵ The *Jinshu* (30.1640) also mentions that Zhang Fu was killed by Fu Zheng, but reports instead that the former was at war with Han Pu 韓朴 (fl. 305), son of the Longxi prefect Han Zhi 韓稚 (fl. 303-305), but was defeated and was killed by Fu Zheng.

among themselves and built stūpas to enshrine their shares.¹⁶ Like that of Puyuan, the biography of An Boyuan, written by Huijiao, does not give any more information, either, on how the local people carried out worship, but both the stories reveal that the monks' remains were not treated with cremation and were directly enshrined in the stūpas, and they were worshipped by locals, perhaps mainly by non-Chinese people. The stūpas were built in local villages instead of the monasteries with which the monks were affiliated, or other monasteries, and this indicates that their disciples or other monks did not participate in the burial; hence it would be better to classify the locals' devotional acts involving these monks' funerary stūpas as common people's worship but not that by both the Buddhist order and laity—the form of worship presented in Buddhist scriptures.

It is, however, not alleged that monks did not participate in the worship at all. The story of Sengchou's 僧稠 (480-560) stūpa indicates that monks were sometimes among worshippers. In 560 (the first year of the Qianming 乾明 period in the Northern Qi) Sengchou passed away in the Yunmen monastery 雲門寺—a temple located on Mount Long 龍山, which was 80 *li* southwest of Ye city. The emperor (Feidi 廢帝 [r.560]; Gao Yan 高殷 [545-561]) sent Prince Xiangle 襄樂王 (fl. 550) to console the monks there and to give them satin for *zhui fu* 追福 ritual (the ritual for acquiring posthumous blessings for the departed)¹⁷. Almost one year later Sengchou's disciples made a request to the emperor¹⁸ to build a stūpa. Not only did the emperor again offer satin for a grand assembly of services, he also allowed a

¹⁶ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 1.327b; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 26-27.

¹⁷ I shall discuss the rite later in this chapter.

¹⁸ Daoxuan writes that the disciples made a request in the fifth month in the second year of the Huangjian 皇建 period; this is Emperor Xiaozhao's 孝昭帝 (r. 557-560) era but it lasted only one year (560). Hence, the year he mentions probably is the first year of Emperor Wu's Baoding 保定 era (561), and the fifth month is the period from 30th May to 27th June in 561.

stūpa to be built and cremation to be held according to Indian Buddhist tradition. In addition, he told Wei Shou, official chronicler, to write an inscription. On the day when the cremation was held, many lay Buddhists and monks went to the mountain and cried while watching the rite. After it, a brick stūpa was put up northwest of the Yumen monastery. Like the stūpas that will be studied below, this stūpa was also financed by the state and engraved with an inscription written by a political personage. But, different from them, it was a place where “frequently there were extraordinary phenomena and unusual scents in response to the Buddhist order and laymen.”¹⁹ Because it was efficacious, it became a locus of pilgrimage. During his lifetime Sengchou had already shown to others his power over local spirits and fierce animals; it is likely that for this reason after his death people approached his stūpa for blessings.²⁰ But this phenomenon did not last for long because the monastery was bestowed on an official called Liu Wuwen 柳務文 (d.u.) during the suppression of Buddhism in the Northern Zhou (574-577). During the late Daye reign (605-618) of the Sui Dynasty, its monastic constructions were further destroyed when rioters occupied the region. Daoxuan visited the monastery in the early Zhenguan 貞觀 reign (627-649) of the Tang, only finding

¹⁹ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 16.554c: 每有靈景異香, 應於道俗.

²⁰ A story narrated in the biography of Sengchou can demonstrate this. Beside a deep pool in the front of the cave where he practiced meditation, Sengchou once saw a strong hairy man boil water with a pot. When the water was about to boil away, a python came out of the pool and was going to jump into the pot. Sengchou poked the python away from the pot, and it then returned to the pool and the hairy man disappeared. That night a man who was transformed from the python came and thanked Sengchou for saving his life. After prostrating himself, he said that the hairy man was a fierce deity who demanded a flesh sacrifice every year, and that he had to offer himself in order to protect his sons. Because of Sengchou’s help, he could survive. See *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 16.555a. Sengchou was an important meditative monk at the time. For his meditative practice, see studies such as Yün-hua Jan, “Seng-ch’ou’s Method of Dhyāna,” in *Early Ch’an in China and Tibet*, ed. Lewis Lancaster and Whalen Lai (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1983), 51-63; James W. Heisig, “Supplement: The Northern School of Chinese Zen,” in *Zen Buddhism: A History: India and China*, by Heinrich Dumoulin, translated by Paul F. Knitter and James W. Heisig, with notes by Heisig and introduction by John R. McRae (Bloomington: World Wisdom, Inc., 2005 edition), 304-305; Chen, *Monks and Monarchs*, 152-154, 170-172, 182-183.

that it had been reduced to a ruin.²¹ Thus, it is not hard to imagine that Sengchou's stūpa was destroyed together with other structures of the monastery at the same time and hence was no longer visited by pious people.

The monastic biographical works do not provide many details of the above-discussed stūpas; this may be because the worship related to these stūpas was only on a small scale in the areas where the stūpas stood, and perhaps decayed soon. And pilgrims were mainly laymen, although some monks might sometimes join them. The worship did not thrive, so neither Huijiao nor Daoxuan pay much attention to it in their biographical works. Yet the same cannot be said of Huida's stūpas, of which Daoxuan gives much more detailed descriptions.

The stūpas for Huida did not belong to funerary stūpas that held his remains, but were memorial stūpas. Yet they are worth discussing here because they contribute to our understanding of the stūpas that will be examined below. Huida was a monk who discovered in the Changgan and Mao stūpas in the Eastern Jin the relics that were claimed to be the Buddha's and enshrined by Aśoka. Xiao Yan unearthed the relics from the stūpas and took them to the palace for his worship before enshrining them in new reliquaries. In Chapter Four, I have gone through these events, and have also discussed the story of this monk in the *Gaoseng zhuan* as a relic discoverer and the earlier one about him in the *zhiguai* (accounts of anomalies) literature as a hunter who underwent punishment in purgatory. But worship of him and that involving his stūpas did not derive from any of these two stories. His worshippers did not think him to be a flawed hunter or a pious pilgrim, but considered him as a holy monk or even as a human reincarnation of Guanyin. These images came from the

²¹ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 16.555b.

popular belief about him, which, according to Daoxuan's works²², had it that, after his trips in search for Aśokan stūpas, in the first year of the Taiyan 太延 era²³ (February 435-February 436) he returned to western China and discovered a miraculous image on a cliff in Liangzhou 涼州. It is said that during his lifetime he often sat on a stūpa preaching in daytime and slept in a cocoon (sic. *jian* 繭) at nighttime; therefore he was called *Suhe* 蘇何, a term for cocoon in a *hu* 胡 (non-Han people in northern and western China) language. He later passed away in a ravine in Jiuquan County 酒泉縣 of Suzhou 肅州 (in present Gansu). After his death, his bones broke into pieces as small as sunflower seeds, each of which had a hole. Whenever there was a disaster, people would go to the ravine and find his bones, thinking that they would be safe and well if they found one but would not be so if they could not find any.²⁴

In the early Zhenguan era, Daoxuan visited the prefectures near the Yellow River such as Shizhou 石州, Xizhou 隰州, and Cizhou 慈州²⁵—the areas in present-day Shaanxi and Shanxi where Jihu 稽胡 people (a tribe of Hun) lived²⁶. He found that people in these places set up earthen stūpas with cypress branches as masts, on which cocoons were hung up.

²² Stories of Huida are recorded in a few works by Daoxuan, the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (T 2060, 50: 25.644c), the *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* (T no. 2106, 52: 1.404b-405b; 3.434c-435a), and *Guang Hongming ji* (T no. 2103, 52: 15.202c). They were so popular in Shaanxi and Shanxi (see below) that Daoxuan wrote a biography of him about his activities in western China after his trips in search for Aśokan stūpas and worship of them; this is very unusual given that Huijiao had already composed one in his *Gaoseng zhuan*.

Some narratives in Daoxuan's works partially overlap but have different focuses. The *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, for example, records the image Huida found in Liangzhou and the prophetic phenomena it gave, whereas fascicle one of the *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* deals with the miracles happening at the Aśokan stūpas.

²³ The version in the *Taishō* edition reads "Dayan" 大延, which should be a misprint for Daiyan.

²⁴ The *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* reads "They would die violently if they got one, and would die naturally if they got none" (得之凶亡, 不得吉喪) (T no. 2106, 52: 3.434c). This sentence is obscure, and perhaps means that people would survive the disaster if they found Huida's bones.

²⁵ In the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, he lists Shizhou, Xizhou, Cizhou, Lanzhou 嵐州, Danzhou 丹州, Weizhou 威州, Yanzhou 延州, and Suizhou 綏州 (25.645a). Except for Weizhou, all these prefectures, as well as Yinzhou 銀州, are also mentioned in the *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* (3.434c).

²⁶ Rao Zongyi, "Liu Sahe shiji yu ruixiang tu," 265.

The stūpas were decorated this way because they imitated the cocoon abode where Huida had lived.²⁷ In addition to the stūpas in memory of him, the veneration of Huida entailed his images too. His image was enshrined in the Anren monastery 安仁寺 in Cizhou, which Daoxuan styles the home temple (*benmiao* 本廟). It was taken out for a parade in the first month of the lunar calendar every year. If it had an expression of pleasure and could be lifted up by two people, this meant that the coming year would be peaceful. If it had an expression of anxiety and could hardly be lifted up, then there would be disasters and hardships. The ceremony in which people carried Buddhist images in procession (*xingxiang* 行像) had already been introduced from India and was not new to Chinese Buddhists.²⁸ Yet, it seems that the devotional acts of local people in worship of Huida could not be entirely classified as conventional Buddhist practices, but were those characterized by their own understanding. Daoxuan records that there was a text of one fascicle, written in a *hu* language, circulating among laymen, and readers had to understand it on their own. Under the circumstances, it seems hard to identify definitely the locals' making earthen stūpas as stūpa worship, because the stūpas were regarded as the monk's residence instead of the monk himself and were used as objects in memory of him only rather than those for cultivation.²⁹

²⁷ *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu*, T no. 2106, 52: 3.434c-435a.

²⁸ This ceremony had already been held in the Northern Wei; for instances, see the entry under the Changqui monastery 長秋寺 (*Luoyang qielan ji*, T no. 2092, 51: 1.1002c; Zhou [colla. & annot.], *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 1.35) and the “Shi Lao ji” in the *Weishu*.

²⁹ Building stūpas as votive offerings is a meritorious act encouraged actively in Buddhist literature (both Chinese and Tibetan canons). It brings one various merits from rebirth in the Pure Land to the acquisition of a long life because the stūpa is symbolically identified with the Dharma (i.e. the Buddha's body) and building it means propagating and reaffirming the Dharma. Building a stūpa, therefore, is to spread the Truth. Snodgrass, *The Symbolism of the Stūpa*, 358-359. Judging by the Buddhist principle of this act, the locals' building the earthen stūpas in imitation of Huida's cocoon residence definitely cannot be classified as conventional Buddhist acts, but only as those reflecting local understanding of Buddhism.

The Buddhist order also paid respect for Huida, but it tended to be content with the stories about Huida narrated in the *Gaoseng zhuan* and did not develop more episodes about Huida as laymen did. Therefore, in the Mogao cave 莫高窟 no. 323 in Dunhuang, a grotto dug in the early Tang, paintings on its wall in the south

One would find that even the narratives of Huida's stūpas, the most detailed ones when compared with others (i.e. those about for Puyuan's, Boyuan's, and Sengchou's stūpas), cannot provide us with solid evidence suggesting that what people did in venerating Huida was stūpa worship that is presented in Buddhist scriptures. The worship local people and monks conducted entailing the stūpas appeared not to belong to orthodox, canonical Buddhist practices. Local people approached the stūpas because of divine miraculous phenomenon (Sengchou's stūpa), or because they regarded them as talismans, but, as shown in the relevant material, they generally did not carry out Buddhist practices for enhancing their cultivation. Besides, their treatment of the monks' bodies is not completely in accordance with what is canonically prescribed for the Buddhist order (see section 1.1.4.3 in Chapter One). Only Sengchou's body, for example, was cremated but others' were not. Puyuan's and Boyuan's corpses were divided before being enshrined in stūpas. And Huida's bones were even regarded as tools for his oracle on the days during disasters. Although some monks went up to Sengchou's stūpa for worship, overall those enthusiastic about paying respect for the deceased monks were mainly laymen.

depict his discovery in a river in Wu County of two miraculous images of the Buddhas Vipāśyin (Weiwei fo 維衛佛) and Kāśyapa (Jiaye fo 迦葉佛), two of the seven ancient buddhas, and depict his discovery of an Aśokan image in a river in Danyang. These holy objects are those Huida paid homage to after becoming a monk and being told by Guanyin in the purgatory to worship. These scenarios are recounted in Huida's biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan* (T no. 2059, 50: 13.409c-410a; Tang [colla. & annot.], *Gaoseng zhuan*, 478-479). In Mogao caves nos. 231 and 237, which were produced in the mid Tang, there are also mural paintings of Huida's discovery of the image in Liangzhou. This scenario does not appear in the *Gaoseng zhuan*, but in Daoxuan's works.

For discussions of the paintings, see Ma Shichang 馬世長, "Mogao ku di 323 ku fojiao ganying gushi hua" 莫高窟第 323 窟佛教感應故事畫 (The paintings about Buddhist resonance stories in the Mogao cave no. 323), *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 (Dunhuang studies) 1(1981): 87-88; Sun Xiushen 孫修身 and Dang Shoushan 黨壽山, "'Liangzhou Yushan shi fo ruixiang yinyuan ji' kaoshi" 《涼州御山石佛瑞像因緣記》考釋 (An examination of "A record of the origin of the stone auspicious Buddha's image in Yu Mountain in Liangzhou" with notes), *Dunhuang yanjiu* 3 (1983): 103-104.

This, however, does not mean that the Buddhist order was not interested in the stories of such worship at all and despised them. Some of its members were fascinated by such stories. It was Daoxuan, for example, who went on a trip to Huida's home temple in Cizhou and wrote down how local people paid honour to this monk, but this is an exception. He and Huijiao did not pay much attention to the veneration related to the stūpas for deceased monks and nuns. It seems that the Buddhist order in the Six Dynasties was generally neither enthusiastic about building stūpas for its departed members nor attached importance to worship related to these objects. The worship referred to here, certainly, is not that conducted by a certain monk's or nun's disciples, like the ancestral worship by offspring, but communal veneration towards a monk or a nun by different groups in Buddhist society, including his/her disciples and non-disciples.

Then, why didn't the Buddhist order have enthusiasm for worship of this kind? There is one possible answer: the funerary stūpas for deceased monks and nuns erected in the Six Dynasties were not conceived as holy entities equated with them, but merely as tombs or as stūpa-shaped tombs. Building such stūpas was not against Buddhist scriptural tradition. As stated in Chapter One, Buddhist vinaya redactors tolerated them, but requested the Buddhist order not to devote itself to worshipping them and not to confuse them with the ones that were really worthy of their veneration—stūpas erected for the Buddha and other Buddhist holy people. If monks and nuns in China generally held the same views on their monastic fellows' stūpas, thinking them to be tombs only, then it is natural that they were not keen on worshipping them, unlike the way they treated the Buddha's and other Buddhist holy people's stūpas.

To verify this inferred explanation, in this chapter I shall take two approaches to examining these stūpas: finding their links with Buddhist scriptural tradition of stūpas and with Chinese funerary custom through digging deep into their features. The features that will be investigated are varied, from their structures (e.g. the part for holding relics and bodies) to the environment in which they were located (e.g. the monasteries beside them and their locations). Unfortunately, our choices of the features have to be limited by the extant material—monastic biographical collections, which will be the main sources for this chapter. It has to be admitted that although these works do not provide us with many depictions of the stūpas, they are the most important records about the Buddhist order and hence would possibly reveal how it conceived of the stūpas. After the search for their links with the two traditions, I shall give a brief account of local laymen's views of them. Usually building stūpas was political personages' territory, but different findings would be made about these monastic funerary stūpas. In the conclusion, I shall discuss their general development in the Six Dynasties, putting it in the context of Chinese contemporary burial custom.

4.3 The Links of the Funerary Stūpas with Buddhist Stūpa Worship and Chinese Burial Customs

4.3.1 A Monastery beside a Funerary Stūpa

I shall start my investigation with three stories, one of which deals with a stūpa built in the Jin Dynasty and the other two with two tombs in the Northern Wei and Northern Zhou periods. The first one, collected by Huijiao in his *Gaoseng zhuan*, tells us that when Zhu Fayi

竺法義 (306-380) passed away in 380 (the 5th year of the Taiyuan 太元 era), the emperor bought Xintinggang 新亭崗—a hillock in Xinting 新亭 (in Jiankang)—as his grave and built a three-storied stūpa for him. His disciple Tanshuang 曇爽 (fl. 308) set up a temple there, which Huijiao describes as “*musuo*” 墓所 (the graveyard), and called it Xinting jingshe 新亭精舍 (Xinting Vihāra). Zhu Fayi was a monk highly respected by the elite in the capital, having more than a hundred disciples and having been invited by the emperor (Emperor Xiaowu of the Jin Dynasty) to give Buddhist sermons.³⁰ One may assume that after his death the stūpa was equated with him so as to continue to receive people’s veneration as if he had been alive, and that the Xinting temple became a place where monks lived and concentrated on worshipping the stūpa. But in fact neither the stūpa nor the monastery developed this way. This can be deduced by the history of the latter. It was perhaps not a grand temple until Liu Jun’s 劉駿 (430-464) (Emperor Xiaowu of the Liu Song Dynasty) reign (454-464), more than seventy years after its establishment. In 453 (the 30th year of the Yuanjia 元嘉 era) the emperor stayed there when he fought against the patricide Liu Shao 劉劭 (d. 453). After he came to the throne, he revisited and extended it. Also, it was renamed Zhongxing monastery 中興寺, the name meaning the resurgence of the state and apparently suggesting that the extension was used to flaunt Liu Jun’s achievement of suppressing the uprising. Possibly because of this association with the state, it became a prominent monastery. Liu Jun held in it a fast of the eight-commandment-observance (*baguan zhai* 八關齋) on an anniversary of his father Emperor Wen’s 文帝 death, and appointed a monk of the monastery, Shi Faying 釋法

³⁰ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 4.350c; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 172.

穎 (413-480), as the Monastic Rectifier of the capital (Duyi sengzheng 都邑僧正).³¹ After that the monastery was inhabited by famous monks such as Guṇabhadra, Sengdao 僧導 (362-457) and Sengqu 僧璩 (d.u.), whose stories are chronicled in the *Gaoseng zhuan*,³² but it is silent on the monks who had lived there before this period. This suggests that the monastery remained unrenowned although it had a stūpa built for Zhu Fayi. It is possible that, after the stūpa was put up, it went unnoticed and decayed. If not, perhaps it was destroyed, together with other monastic constructions of the monastery, in the reign of Liu Ziyue 劉子業 (449-465; Emperor Former Fei 前廢帝 [r. 465]), the emperor after Liu Jun, when he demolished the monastery. The monastery was reestablished later by Emperor Ming 明帝 (r. 465-472; Liu Yu 劉彧 [439-472]), but it is likely that the stūpa was not.³³

The story shows that the stūpa did not evolve into an object of worship, although a monastery was set up next to it. If compared with another story about a tomb for the monk Sengshi 僧實 (476-563) of the Northern Zhou Dynasty, this stūpa seems to have been a tomb only, because a monastery would sometimes be built next to a tomb. Deeply admired by the rulers both in the southern and northern states, Sengshi saddened lay people and monks deeply when he passed away in 563 (the third year of the Baoting 保定 era). The Great Futian monastery 大福田寺—which was built for him by Emperor Wu³⁴—and his grave then became two places where people set up monuments to him. A picture of him and a tablet inscribed with an epitaph were hung up in the former. On his grave, which was located in the

³¹ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 11.402a; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 436.

³² *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 3.344a; 7.371a-371c; 11.401a-b; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*; 130-134; 280-282; 430-431.

³³ *Nanchao fosi zhi* 2.81-87.

³⁴ Falin, *Bianzheng lun*, T no. 2110, 52: 3.508b.

eastern rural area outside the capital city (i.e. Chang'an), “to increase blessings for the dead (*yong chong mingfu* 用崇冥福),” his disciples put up a temple and gave it a name Futian monastery 福田寺—the one similar to the monastery he had lived in during his lifetime (i.e. Great Futian monastery). The blessings for the dead (*mingfu* 冥福) referred here apparently are those for Sengshi. The latter monastery was also furnished with a tablet inscribed with an epitaph.³⁵ This story clearly shows that a Buddhist temple would also sometimes be constructed next to a tomb, but not only next to a stūpa. Viewed from this point, the tomb for Sengshi was similar to the stūpa for Zhu Fayi, both standing beside temples erected by the monks' disciples. Besides, Sengshi's disciples built the Futian monastery for “increasing blessings for the dead (*mingfu* 冥福),” which were clearly those aimed to acquire for Sengshi. Perhaps Tanshuang also had the same purpose when he set up the Xinting monastery.

Constructing a temple in a graveyard seems to have been an act of affection for the dead, instead of an honour exclusively given to a Buddhist monk or nun. If so, it is then not surprising that there was one in the cemetery of a lay person Wang Huilong 王慧龍 (404-440). He was a southern refugee serving in the Northern Wei government in fighting against the Liu Song state. He left for the north at the age of fourteen when Liu Yu, the founder of the Liu Song Dynasty, killed his family. Because of the monk Sengbin's 僧彬³⁶ help, he

³⁵ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 16.558a. For a discussion of Sengshi's meditative activities, see Chen, *Monks and Monarchs*, 154-155, 170-171, 204-205. For a study of the two Futian monasteries, see Chen, “Pusaseng 菩薩僧 [bodhisattva-monks]: A Peculiar Monastic Institution at the Turn of the Northern Zhou (557-581) and Sui (581-618) Dynasties,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 30 (2002): 16.

³⁶ Wang Hui was of the famous Taiyuan Wang clan (Taiyuan Wang shi 太原王氏), and his grandfather was Wang Yu 王愉 (?-404) and father was Wang Ji 王緝 (?-404). Wang Shao 王劭 (d. ca. 610), the official compiler of the dynastic histories in the Sui Dynasty, also came from this clan. For the family lineage to which Wang Huilong belonged, see Chen Jinhua's *Monks and Monarchs*, 66, 66n47. Chen refers to a rumour

successfully escaped from murder by Liu. When dead, on his grave his subordinates built a temple, with his and Sengbin's portraits enshrined at it. Lü Xuanbo 呂玄伯 (fl. ca. 430-440) was an assassin whom Liu Yilong 劉義隆 (Emperor Wen, the successor to Liu Yu) had sent to murder Wang but failed; he was freed by Wang. To express his deep gratitude for not killing him, Lü decided to stay at the cemetery and to maintain it in during his lifetime. The biography of Wang in the *Weishu* neither says Wang had converted to Buddhism nor mentions any contact of his with any Buddhist monks, except that with Sengbin; this means his subordinates built a temple on his grave not because he was a Buddhist. The reason for their construction possibly was that on his deathbed Wang told his subordinates to construct a *mu* 墓 (a tomb without a mound on its top) only, not a *fen* 墳 (a tomb with a mound), for his body (lit. his hair and teeth) because one ought to build the tomb with as much thrift as possible.³⁷ Hence, his subordinates built the temple possibly as a substitute for other funerary monuments to him.

When studying the above three stories of the stūpa for Zhu Fayi and the tombs for Sengshi and Wang Huilong, we find that there is no marked difference between the stūpa and the tombs. Also standing in the cemetery, the stūpa might simply have served as a monument

circulating at that time that Sengbin was a family-monk (*jiaseng* 家僧) of Wang Yu and was Wang Huilong's son.

Wang Huilong's contemporaries were perhaps suspicious of his noble origin. The *Weishu* said that it was his claims (*zi yun* 自云) that he came from the Wang clan and was the descendant of Wang Yu and Wang Ji. Because he was a member of the prestigious Wang clan, Cui Hao's 崔浩 (d. 450) brother wanted to marry his daughter to him. Cui Hao, who also believed in his noble origin, made complimentary remarks about him in front of other elite members. This annoyed Zhangsun Song 長孫嵩 (358-437), who therefore complained to the emperor that Cui Hao admired a southerner but depreciated his own country. And it was Lu Gui 魯軌 (d. 449), who spread the rumour about the relationship between Wang Huilong and Sengbin. Lu had once served in Yao Xing's 姚興 (316-416) government and had later surrendered to Zhangsun Song. See *Weishu* 38.875; 37.854.

³⁷ *Weishu* 38.877. Throughout the Six Dynasties the state encouraged people to build simple, small tombs. For details, see Zhu Dawei et al., *Wei Jin Nanbei chao shehui shenghuo shi*, 204-214. I shall give a brief account of the contemporary custom in my concluding remarks.

marking the burial ground for Fayi, as the gravestones did for Sengshi and Wang Huilong. Besides, the Xinting monastery was erected out of veneration for a departed person, and the Futian monastery and the one by Wang's subordinates were constructed for the same reason. All these temples might in a way function as a *zhonglu* 冢廬 (or *luzhong* 廬冢)—the house in which offspring stayed as tomb keepers in mourning according to Chinese funerary custom—or function as a shrine above the grave pit. Except for the Xinting monastery, the other two vanished from the scene. The Xinting monastery also remained unnoticed until it gained importance under Emperor Xiaowu of the Liu Song Dynasty. Only after then was it extended into a famous monastery and inhabited by eminent monks. If there had not been the attention of the ruling class, its history might have been the same as that of the other two temples.

These three stories are certainly not enough to present a complete picture of the stūpas for deceased monks in the Six Dynasties, but point to two of their features that should be examined in the next part. First, the story of Fayi's stūpa does not say that there was cremation for his body. But, as stated in Chapter One, according to Buddhist vinaya works, monks' corpses should be cremated before being enshrined in stūpas. Although some scriptural compilers regarded the Buddha's body as relics before cremation, they called a monk's flesh relics after it had been cremated for purification and instructed that it undergo this rite before being put in a stūpa. The relic, no matter whether or not it was purified through cremation, was thought to be unpolluted. Therefore, whether cremation was held, or whether the enshrined corpse was thought to be pure³⁸, can be one of the aspects we study for finding out whether, from the perspective of Buddhist scriptural compilers, a funerary stūpa was a holy object of worship or was simply a grave.

³⁸ For the Buddhist belief that relics were pure, see section 1.1.4.1 of Chapter One.

Second, the biography of Zhu Fayi in the *Gaoseng zhuan* does not mention the stage of his achievement in cultivation. Faxian's pilgrim record, however, tells us that in India only the monks who had reached a certain level of cultivation would have stūpas in their memory. Although stūpas would also be erected for ordinary monks, they were not viewed as entities that the Buddhist order ought to devote itself to worshipping. Then, whether a deceased monk's achievement was confirmed—regardless of whether it was affirmed by his monastic fellows or was declared by himself before his death—was a criterion for judging whether his stūpa was regarded as a funerary tomb or a sacred entity. The story of Fayi's stūpa shows that the Buddhist order and laymen in the Six Dynasties might not commonly pay attention to deceased monks' Buddhist practices before building stūpas and forgot about the difference between the two categories of them. If this was the case, then it was possible that the stūpas they built were merely graves without any association with stūpa worship as presented in Buddhist scriptures.

Cremation and recognition of one's cultivation were not two closely related steps in the construction of stūpas narrated in Buddhist texts and Chinese pilgrims' travel accounts. According to these works, cremation is not limited to holy practitioners but should be carried out for ordinary monks too. In China, however, cremation was not only regarded as a way of dealing with corpses, but was sometimes thought to be a rite of honour given to extraordinary monks—acknowledgment of their cultivation. Therefore, I shall discuss cremation and recognition together in the following discussion.

4.3.2 Cremation and Recognition for Cultivation

As mentioned above, the above story of Fayi's stūpa suggests that in the Six Dynasties cremation was not necessarily held before the enshrinement of a monk's body, and had connotations different from those stated in Buddhist scriptures. This can be demonstrated by the story of Jing'ai 靜藹 (534-578)³⁹ of the Northern Zhou Dynasty. After he failed to persuade Emperor Wu 武帝 (r. 561-578; Yuwen Yong 宇文邕 [543-578]) not to suppress Buddhism, he and more than thirty disciples withdrew from the capital and moved to Mount Zhongnan 終南. But seeing other monks be persecuted cruelly and lamenting his incapability to stop this situation, he felt great pain and decided to kill himself.⁴⁰ In the biography about him, Daoxuan writes a horrifying account of the scene: he cut his flesh from the bones until his organs were exposed and his bones were seen; he died after taking the heart from his body with a knife and holding it with his hands. Daoxuan's description may be somewhat exaggerated, but the scene was probably really terrifying so "[his] attendants were so frightened that they could not sleep all night."⁴¹ His blood turned white when they buried his body by covering it with stones. Before death, he wrote with his blood a piece of writing, which contained four characters in each line, on a cliff on the scene where he put his life to

³⁹ Here I only focus on Jing'ai's dislike of the body. Scholars such as Jan Yun-hua and James Benn discuss his story when they study self-immolated monks. Stephen F. Teiser also points out that he visited temples with pictures of hells and this experience resulted in his entry into the Buddhist order. Jan, "Buddhist Self-immolation in Medieval China," *History of Religion* 4.2 (Winter 1965): 252-253; Benn, *Burning for the Buddha*, 212-213, 227-229; Teiser, "Having once Died and Returned to Life: Representation of Hell in Medieval China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 48.2 (Dec 1988): 437-438; Funayama Tōru 船山徹, "Shashin no shiō—Rikuchō bukkyō shi no ichi danmen" 捨身の思想—六朝仏教史の一断面 (Views on "abandoning the body": One aspect of Six Dynasty Buddhist history), *Tōhō gakuhō* 東方學報 74 (2002): 58-59.

⁴⁰ Jing'ai did not offer his body as sacrifice to any Buddhas or bodhisattvas, but wanted to meet them right away by taking his own life. Perhaps for this reason, Daoxuan does not categorize him as a self-immolated practitioner (Forgetting about the body [*yishen* 遺身]), but as a "Dharma defender" (*hufa* 護法).

⁴¹ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 23.627b: 侍人心驚, 通夜失寐.

an end. Wholly quoted in the biography, it clearly conveys Jing'ai's idea that he deemed his own body extremely dirty. Part of it reads as follows:

此身不淨 This body is not pure;
底下尿囊 Under [the skin] it is an excrement sack,
九孔常流 With [fluids] always flowing through the nine orifices,⁴²
如漏隄塘 Like leaky dykes of ponds.
此身可惡 This body is disgusting,
不可瞻觀 And cannot be viewed in admiration;
薄皮裹血 With blood wrapped up in thin skin
垢污塗漫 And with dirt spread over,
此身臭穢 This body was smelly and unclean,
猶如死狗 Like a dead dog (i.e. a damn thing)...⁴³

His disciple Daopan 道判 (532-615), who went to the mountain and led a reclusive life with Jing'ai, was grieved by his death. Together with one of his disciples in attendance Huixiao 慧宣 (otherwise unknown), Daopan built a stūpa and carved an inscription about him on the cliff.⁴⁴ Apparently, Daopan did not adhere to the Buddhist scriptural tradition of stūpas when building the stūpa. Jing'ai's corpse was not purified through cremation. And, as shown by his writing and his attendants' response, nor was it thought to be sanitized and holy enough to qualify as relics.

Nonetheless, this was not an exception. There were other deceased monks and nuns whose bodies had not been cremated before being enshrined in stūpas. Shi Faxu 釋法緒 (d.u.) was one of them. A native of Gaochang 高昌 (Karakhojo, which lay east of Turfān 吐魯番 in

⁴² The nine orifices are two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, mouth, and two lower organs.

⁴³ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 23.627c.

⁴⁴ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 12.517a; 23.627b. For a discussion of Daopan, see Chen, *Monks and Monarchs*, 202, 202n70.

Turkestan), he went to Shu 蜀 and led an ascetic life in a valley called “Liushi zhong” 劉師塚 (Master Liu’s tumulus). The place cannot be located but its name alone implies that it was a cemetery. In a cave there he dedicated himself to *sūtra* recitation (e.g. that of the *Lotus Sūtra*) and meditation; he remained diligent until he passed away one summer. His body was not smelly at all and had fragrance instead; every night it illuminated the place a few *li* away. “Villagers immediately built a burial-mound stūpa (*zhongta* 塚塔) on the top of the body.”⁴⁵ In the biography of the monk, Huijiao does not mention that cremation was held for the body. This seems reliable, because the above-quoted sentence clearly states that the stūpa was used to cover Faxu’s corpse—*shi* 屍—a character that is seldom used to describe relics.

It seems unlikely that Huijiao deems cremation unimportant so he would miss it out. It was not held commonly to the extent that it became a mere formality. Instead, in his collection, it was a spectacle that was often simultaneous with miraculous, divine phenomena and that attested to monks’ transcendence. Therefore, he details it when it was held in their funerals. For example, he gives the following account of the cremation that was held for Guṇavarman (transliterated as Qiunabamo 求那跋摩 or translated as Gongdekai 功德鎧; 367-431), originally a prince of Kubhā (Kabul) who came to China and died at the Zhihuan monastery 祇洹寺 in Jiankang.

Immediately, in the front of the precept altar in the southern forest [of the monastery], it (his body) was cremated according to the foreign custom; four groups [of Buddhists] congregated. At fragrant pyre was piled up and scented oil was poured over it so as to

⁴⁵ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 11.396c-397a; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 408-409: 村人即於屍上為起塚塔.

burn the body (*yiyin* 遺陰⁴⁶). Five-coloured flame appeared, and an auspicious atmosphere spread across the air.

即於南林戒壇前，依外國法闍毗之，四部鱗集，香薪成積⁴⁷，灌之香油，以燒遺陰，五色焰起，氛氳麗空。⁴⁸

Even when Zhu Shihang 朱士行 (203-282) passed away in Khotan (in Turkestan)—outside China, Huijiao gives a description of the cremation for him, saying that local people, who “used the western method to cremate him (i.e. his body), were all astonished to find that the body could still be intact after the pyre was burnt away and the fire was extinguished.”⁴⁹ Stūpas were erected for both Guṇavarman and Zhu Shihang. At that time the cremation was thought to be “a foreign custom” (*waiguo fa* 外國法) or “a western custom” (*sifang fa* 西方法), and did not prevail in the Buddhist order.⁵⁰ Therefore, when Huijiao does not make a reference to the rite in a biography of a certain monk, it is likely that the monk was not cremated after death.

⁴⁶ The term *yiyin* refers to the physical form, which is made of the five cumulations (*wuyin* 五陰, or *wuyun* 五蘊: the components of an intelligent being) and is inherited (*yi* 遺) from parents. Yun Kan 允堪 (d. 1061), *Sifenlü suiiji jiemoshu zhengyuan ji* 四分律隨機羯磨疏正源記 (A record of the commentary on the orthodox origin of the *Sifenlü suiiji jiemoshu*), X no. 726, 40: 6.860a. The *Sifenlü suiiji jiemo* is Daoxuan’s *Sifenlü shanbu suiiji jiemo* 四分律刪補隨機羯磨 (The karma [i.e. explanation] of the Four-division vinaya abridged and supplemented according to [people’s] dispositions) (T no. 1808, 40).

The five cumulations are form (*se* 色; *rūpa*), reception (*shou* 受; *vedanā*), conception (*xiang* 想; *saṃjñā*), function of mind in its process regarding like and dislikes, etc. (*xing* 行; *saṃskāra*), and mental faculty in regard to perception and cognition, discrimination of affairs and things (*shi* 識; *vijñāna*).

⁴⁷ The original character is composed of “++” on the top and of “ji 積” at the bottom.

⁴⁸ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 3.341b; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 109.

⁴⁹ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 1.346c; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 146: 依西方法闍維之，薪盡火滅，屍猶能全，眾咸驚異。

⁵⁰ Another example showing this phenomenon is found in the biography of Sengsheng 僧生 (d.u.), the head monk of the Sanxian monastery 三賢寺 (in Shu) in the Eastern Jin, who recited the *Lotus Sūtra* and practiced meditation. His achievement in cultivation was so remarkable that even tigers became tame in front of him and divinities came and protected him. When slightly sick, he told others that he would depart this life soon, and told them to cremate his body after death. His disciples held cremation as were told. See *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 12.406c-407a; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 461. His deathbed instruction shows that cremation was not a customary rite for treating monks’ and nuns’ bodies at that time, and this is why Sengsheng needed to make a request.

Then this may mean that cremation was not necessarily held prior to stūpa construction, and what were placed in stūpas were not necessarily bodily relics but were possibly corpses (either the whole of the corpse or part of it). For example, the stūpa for Tancheng, as mentioned above, housed his head only, which was left over after other parts of his body were eaten by the tigers.⁵¹ Like Tancheng, his contemporary Fajin 法進 (?-444) also sacrificed himself; he cut his flesh off from his body and asked hungry Gaochang residents to eat it while they were suffering from a severe famine. But, different from Tangcheng, Fajin had only his tongue intact after the residents carried out cremation for his remains. A stūpa with a tablet was built at the cremation spot for the tongue.⁵² These two similar stories of the two monks' stūpas imply that people did not have any clear, fixed idea of the procedure for building stūpas for deceased monks; some held cremation for them before building stūpas, but some simply put their remains in them.

We can confirm that people had only a vague idea of Buddhist connotations attached to cremation and those to stūpas when we look at some eminent monks' funerals. Cremation, in these cases, was interpreted as a rite symbolizing a monk's extraordinary achievement, and stūpa construction was given relatively less importance in performing this function. We shall first examine the funeral held for Kumārajīva, one of the four greatest translators of Chinese Buddhist literature who was very renowned in Buddhist circles and had a number of

⁵¹ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 12.404a; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 446.

⁵² *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 12.404a-b; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 447. Fajin, or Daojin, who received bodhisattva precepts (*pusa jie* 菩薩戒) from Dharmakṣema, was highly respected by the Juqu 沮渠 family of the Northern Liang regime. For discussions of his biography and his taking the precepts, see *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 2.336c; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 79; Benn, *Burning for the Buddha*, 28-30; Funayama, "Rikuchō jidai ni okeru bōsatsukai no juyō katei" 六朝時代における菩薩の受容過程 (The acceptance process of the bodhisattva precepts in the Six Dynasties), *Tōhō gaku* 67 (1995): 13-21.

outstanding disciples.⁵³ Greatly respected and deeply influential, Kumārajīva, however, did not have a stūpa that was built for him right away after his death in 409 (or 413?). A three-storied stūpa was not set up for him in the Caotang monastery 草堂寺 in the Xiaoyao garden 逍遙園 (the garden of Yao Xing’s 姚興 [r. 494-416] palace, the place in Chang’an where he lived till his death) until 498 (the 21st year of the Taihe 太和 era in the Northern Wei Dynasty), almost one hundred years after his death.⁵⁴ This stūpa, however, is not mentioned by Huijiao in the biography he writes for him, which describes instead in detail an episode of cremation for his body. On his deathbed Kumārajīva bade farewells to other monks, vowing sincerely that all the *sūtras* he had translated were completely accurate and, to verify this vow, his tongue would remain intact and his body was burnt away in cremation. The spectacle of the cremation held in the Xiaoyao Garden turned out to be as he had predicted: his corpse was reduced to ashes but his tongue was not charred at all.⁵⁵ This exceptional phenomenon was used to confirm the accuracy of his translations, and, more importantly, it was thought to signify his excellent Buddhist achievement. This story shows that unusual phenomena happening to a monk’s body during cremation (e.g. the whole body or the part of

⁵³ Sengzhao 僧肇 (384-414), for example, was an expert of the Three Discourses (the Three *Śāstras*; Sanlun zong 三論: *Madhyamaka-śāstra* [*Zhonglun* 中論; T no. 1564], the *Dvādaśanikāya-śāstra* [*Shiermen lun* 十二門論; T no. 1568], and the *Śata-śāstra* [*Bailun* 百論; T no. 1569]). Sengdao 僧導 (362-457) and Sengsong 僧嵩 (fl. later half of the fifth century) were acquainted with Harivarman’s (Helibomo 訶梨跋摩) *Satyasiddhi śāstra* (*Chengshi lun* 成實論; T no. 1646). All these texts were translated by Kumārajīva.

⁵⁴ *Weishu* 114.3040. The monastery, located 50 miles southwest from the present-day Xi’an city 西安市, still exists. The stūpa for Kumārajīva is extant, but it is thought to be the one reestablished in the Tang.

⁵⁵ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 2.332c-333a; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 54. Suwa Gijun has studied the Chinese faith that people who recited the *Lotus Sūtra* diligently would have indestructible tongues, which could not be burned away by fire in cremation. He finds that the *Da zhidu lun*, translated by Kumārajīva, records a story of a monk who recited the Perfect Wisdom *Sūtra* and hence whose body was not burned in cremation. Therefore, he thinks Kumārajīva introduced the faith in the unburned tongue to China. Suwa, “Rikuchō kara ZuiTō jidai ni okeru zetsu fushō no shinkō ni tsuite” 六朝から隋唐時代における舌不焼の信仰について (On the belief in the unburned tongue from the Six Dynasties to the Sui and Tang periods), in his *Chūgoku Nanchō Bukkyōshi no kenkyū*, 303-327. Suwa’s findings are reiterated in Benn, *Burning for the Buddha*, 70-72.

it being indestructible) was thought to be indicative of his outstanding attainments.⁵⁶ Under the circumstances, it was only natural that sometimes people inclined to attach greater importance to this rite than to the erection of a stūpa for the monk, and that Huijiao narrates the spectacle of the cremation, rather than mentioning Kumārajīva's stūpa.

Another example of this inclination is found in the biography of Puheng 普恒 (d. 479), a monk of the Liu Song Dynasty. He kept a low profile during his lifetime. On a certain day in a certain month before his death, he told others that he would depart this life shortly, but no one believed this. On that day he passed away when seated, with three of his fingers crooked. They bent immediately again after other monks straightened them. His body also became whiter. These signs were believed to be indications that he had already made a transcendental achievement in cultivation; the monks “therefore cremated it (i.e. his body) according to the practice [for those who] had acquired the Way.”⁵⁷ During the cremation, five-coloured smoke was emitted, and fragrance drifted in the air.⁵⁸ A eulogy for him written by a local officer called Wang Xuanzai 王玄載 (410-486), possibly inscribed on his tombstone, therefore says that he had understood doctrines about the three realms and had entered the fourth stage of meditation (lit. *sichan jing* 四禪境). It should be noted that here the cremation is described as a way to deal with the bodies of those who “have acquired the Truth” (*dedao* 得道); this means that the rite was assigned to a symbolic meaning of transcendence. In comparison, the stūpa was given less importance; hence there was no stūpa

⁵⁶ More stories about these phenomena can be found in the *Gaoseng zhuan*. The one about Zhu Shihang, as quoted above, is one of them. It tells us that after people were all surprised to find that his corpse was not destroyed in cremation at all, they asked that the body break into pieces if he was really attained the Truth (Way). It fragmented right away and hence they set up a stūpa for him. (1.346c) The story suggests that Khotan people might tend not to enshrine the whole body in the stūpa.

⁵⁷ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 11.399b; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 421: 於是依得道法闍維之。

⁵⁸ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 11.399b-399c; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 421.

set up for Puheng, or Huijiao does not mention it in his biography. Clearly, the ways people understood cremation and stūpa were different from those narrated in Buddhist scriptures, according to which, the former is carried out for deceased monks, but the latter is limited to holy Buddhist practitioners and should be furnished with discs and masts.

Nonetheless, cremation was sometimes controlled by lay Buddhists, especially the ruling class, and hence was not necessarily held for deceased sacred monks. This can be shown by the story of Xuangao 玄高 (420-444), an eminent monk of the Northern Wei Dynasty. He was skilled at meditation and vinaya and possessed miraculous power, but he could not have cremation after his death. Since he was in favour with the prince Tuoba Huang 拓跋晃 (427-451), he was involved in his struggle with the political personage Cui Gao 崔浩 (381- 450); finally he was killed in the capital Pingcheng 平城 during the persecution of Buddhism staged by Emperor Wu. Greatly shocked by the bad news, his disciples wanted to cremate his body, but the government did not allow them to do so. Eventually, his disciples and lay followers could only construct a tomb in a suburb of the capital city and inter the body there.⁵⁹ The state's disapproval did not seem strange, given that the cremation was not considered at that time as a common method of dealing with the body of the monastic departed but as a rite to canonize a monk. During the persecution the state would certainly not allow it to be held for any Buddhist practitioners. One may wonder why Xuangao's disciples did not ask to build a stūpa for him at the same time when they requested cremation, because he was believed to have become a bodhisattva named Deren pusa 得忍菩薩 (Endurance-acquired Bodhisattva), and in the Buddhist scriptural tradition stūpas were exactly tokens of recognition for monks' accomplishments. In Xuangao's abode

⁵⁹ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 11.397-398a; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 412-413.

there was a stūpa, around which a beam of light revolved three times on the day he was killed. This suggests that stūpas in the capital city at that time had not yet been destroyed. It is strange that his disciples did not think of building one for him. Perhaps they thought that cremation was sufficient to show his extraordinary status, but a stūpa did not have great symbolic significance because it was a tomb only.

Nevertheless, we have to admit that the understanding of cremation as a ritual symbolic of transcendence was not rooted firmly in the Buddhist society, especially in elite laymen circles, and sometimes was very hazy. Therefore, we can still find exceptions that some sacred monks did not have the rite in their funerals. Fakui 法匱 (d. 489), for example, was a monk of the Xiao Qi Dynasty living in the Zhiyuan monastery in Jiankang—a temple built by Wang Shao in the Eastern Jin, as mentioned in Chapter Two. Having acquired extraordinary power, one day he appeared simultaneously in three different places; that night he died suddenly. But his body was fragrant; his skin was soft, and two of his fingers bent. By these rare signs his monastic fellows knew that he had reached the second level of the *arhatship* (*sakṛdāgāmin* 斯陀含, the person at this stage has only one more return to mortality). He was not interested in secular affairs and hence was probably unfamiliar to the elite during his lifetime.⁶⁰ But the news of his outstanding achievement in cultivation (or the news of his unusual corpse in fact) attracted its great attention. The crown prince Wenhui 文惠 (457-493) and the prince Wenxuan 文宣 (i.e. Prince of Jingling 竟陵王; 459-494), as two admirers, went to his chamber prostrating themselves, and helped his monastic fellows hold

⁶⁰ Huijiao interpolates the following anecdote into his account of Fakui's decease. Being a monastic novice, Fakui had already been heard of by Emperor Wu of the Xiao Qi because of his unusual acts, and the emperor came and met him in person and made offerings to other monks in attendance. This anecdote is so sketchy that it seems that Huijiao cites it as evidence for Fakui's extra extraordinaryness.

the funeral for him. Many lay people also poured in the monastery, and, to fund the funeral, they made generous donations, which were so large that they were spent on a new stūpa too.⁶¹ However, this stūpa was not built for Fakui, and neither was there any cremation held for him, although he had become an *arhat*. The stūpa, erected in 489 (the 7th year of the Yongming 永明 era), was used to house the Buddha's relics that Faxian obtained from Khotan and gave to the Zhiyuan monastery. As stated in Chapter Three, that year Prince of Jingling dreamt that both the Buddha and Faxian handed over the relics to him. Therefore, though unwilling, Faxian had to give the Buddha's tooth and a relic grain to him, keeping three relic grains for himself and taking the rest to the Zhiyuan and Chanling monasteries. Thanks to the tribute donations originally for Fakui's funeral, the Zhiyuan monastery could build the stūpa for keeping the relics in it. But, other than that, the stūpa was completely unrelated to him.

From this story and those examined in this part, we may conclude that lay Buddhists at that time did not deem cremation to be an integral part of a monk's funeral. The Buddhist order, however, tried to hold it for those of its deceased members whom it thought to be holy. Under the circumstances, the rite had great symbolic significance, replacing the stūpa as recognition of a monk's achievements. And, inevitably, the stūpa lost its connotations of transcendence, thus sometimes going unnoticed by monastic biographical authors.⁶²

⁶¹ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 10.393b-c; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 391.

⁶² For example, as mentioned above, Huijiao does not mention Kumārajīva's stūpa in his work. Neither does he make any reference to Baozhi's, although he writes a biography for him. I shall look into this stūpa later.

4.3.3 The Places for Holding Bodies or Relics

As shown by the above-discussed stories, the monks' remains or relics were buried under the stūpas. The *Sifen lü*, however, instructs that relics should be put inside stūpas. Although this instruction appears in the description of stūpas for holy people, the same is probably requested of other Buddhist stūpas. And, according to Chinese pilgrim records, stūpas in India also had no subterranean structures.⁶³ The stūpa for Shi Faxu, as quoted above, was "built on top of his body." The words here suggest that this stūpa was an object on the ground covering the body buried underneath. This is exactly the same as the structure of the tomb in China; the body was placed underground. One may wonder that the placement of Shi Faxu's body was an exception and possibly an expedient because some of deceased monks' bodies had not been cremated and thus could hardly be put in stūpas if stūpas were not large enough to have hollow chambers in them. They could only be buried underground and below the stūpas. But the stūpa for Faxu was not the only case, and the one for Xianhu 賢護 (d. 401) also had the same structure. Xianhu, who lived at the Yanxing monastery 閻興寺 in Guanghan 廣漢 in the Eastern Jin Dynasty, dedicated himself to meditation and vinaya observance. Before he passed away in 401, on his deathbed he told his disciples to burn his body. All parts of his body were burnt away except one of his fingers, and it was then buried under a stūpa.⁶⁴ It seems that this was a custom of burying bodies under stūpas at that time, and more examples can be found. Faning 法凝 (fl. late 5th century) was a monk who

⁶³ *Sifen lü*, T no. 1248, 22: 52.957a; Xuanzang, *Da Tang siyu ji*, T no. 2087, 51: 1.872c, 5.896a, 11.938b. Also see Kosugi Kazuo 小杉一雄, "Rikuchō jidai no buttō ni okeru busshari no anchi nit suite" 六朝時代の佛塔に於る佛舎利の安置に就いて (On the Idea and the Method of Enshrining the Buddha's relic in Chinese Pagodas in the Age of the Six Dynasties), *Tōyō Gakuhō* 東洋學報 (Journal of Oriental Studies) 21.3 (April 1934): 122-129 (428-435).

⁶⁴ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 11.396c; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 407.

practiced meditation at the Huizhou monastery 會州寺 in Shu under the Xiao Qi Dynasty. At the age of seventy, he carried out self-immolation by burning himself in front of Buddhist images. Although his disciples and others tried to put out the fire, they failed. The fire did not go out until seven days later; his body was reduced to ashes. “The people (his disciples and laymen?) together buried the ashes and constructed a stūpa on the top of them.”⁶⁵ Sengya 僧崖 (489?-559) of the Northern Zhou Dynasty was another monk who sacrificed himself.

According to Daoxuan’s record, all his flesh and bones were burnt away, except the heart and some other organs such as the liver, intestines, and stomach. The organs were set on fire again, but the heart remained unchanged when others crinkled and curled (*juan* 卷?). Dharma Master Dui 兌法師 of the Xiaoi monastery 孝愛寺, who had respect for Sengya, “hence told others to place them together and bury them (the heart and the ashes?) under a stūpa.”⁶⁶

The remains of these monks were small enough to be put inside the stūpas, but were all buried under them. It seems that this practice came from the Chinese burial tradition,⁶⁷ which was based on the belief that corpses ought to be placed underground. “The burial [denotes] concealment, which is intended to make people not see [the body],”⁶⁸ an emperor of the Cao Wei state, Cao Pi 曹丕 (187-226), said. It was believed that because all creatures and things, including humans, arose from the earth, they would “go back to the root and

⁶⁵ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 27.678b: 眾共理之，於上起塔。For a discussion of the story about Faning, see Benn, *Burning for the Buddha*, 209.

⁶⁶ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 27.679b: 乃命收取，取葬于塔下。I shall return to this story later in this chapter when I discuss laymen’s role in stūpa construction outside capital cities.

For a thorough study on Sengya’s life in different works, see Benn, “Written in Flames: Self-Immolation in Sixth-century in Sichuan,” *T’oung Pao* 92.4-5 (2006): 410-456. This chapter will only cover the story about him narrated in Daoxuan’s *Xu gaoseng zhuan*.

Benn highlights the origin of Sengya in Sichuan, which attests to the point I shall discuss below that Buddhist monks’ and nuns’ self-immolation tended to occur in places outside capital cities.

⁶⁷ Luo Zhewen, *Ancient Pagoda in China*, 22-23.

⁶⁸ *Sanguo zhi* 2.81: 夫葬也者，藏也，欲人之不得見也。

return to the origin” (*fanben huanyuan* 返本還元), which means the earth here. For this reason, a person ought to be buried underground after their demise.⁶⁹ Obviously, putting deceased monks’ bodies under stūpas rested on this custom, instead of that stated in Buddhist vinaya literature. If we examine the words Huijiao and Daoxuan use in their narratives of Faxu’s, Xianhu’s, and Faning’s stūpas quoted above, we would find that these authors in fact viewed the stūpas and the monks’ remains separately, saying that the former was “on” the latter. In this sense, the stūpas sound like tombstones or other funerary constructions on the ground.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ The preface, *Guanshi dili zhimeng* 管氏地理指蒙 (Guan’s illuminating instructions on geology). This idea is expounded in this old work. See Liu Tianhua 劉天華, “Menlei pimei” 門類媲美 (Comparison in classified [architectural designs]), in *Zhongguo jianzhu wenhua daguan* 中國建築文化大觀 (A macro review on architectural culture in China), eds. Luo Zhewen et al (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2001), 459-460.

The authorship of the *Guanshi dili zhimeng* is still controversial. Some believe that it was produced by Guan Lu 管輅 (210-256) of the Wei Dynasty, who was good at divination. His biography appears in the *Weishu*, 30. 811-830. The *Guanshi dili zhimeng* is collected in the section “Yishu” 藝術 (Arts and occupations) of the *Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成 (Synthesis of books and illustrations past and present), the imperial encyclopaedia compiled by Chen Menglei 陳夢雷 (1650-1741) et al.

⁷⁰ It is, however, not alleged that monks’ relics or remains were all placed underneath monastic funeral stūpas in the Six Dynasties. The niche for Daoping’s 道憑 (488-559) ashes, for example, is 0.3 metre deep below the core hollow of his stūpa—a one-cell hollow construction, but is still inside the stūpa, and is not placed underground and below it. Probably, like the monks’ remains mentioned above, Daoping’s ashes were not exposed because the niche is hidden and is not the part one would notice at first when the stūpa comes into view. The stūpa and another one on its east (probably as a memorial stūpa), located on Mount Bao 寶山 (30 miles southwest of the city of Anyang 安陽 in Henan), were built in 563 (during the Heqing era in the Northern Qi) and still exist. The one in the east is inscribed at its lintel with the characters “Baoshan si Dalun shi Daoping fashi shaoshen ta” 寶山寺大論師道憑法師燒身塔 (The stūpa for the cremated body of Dharma master Daoping, the Great discourse master of the Baoshan monastery). These stūpas were situated in a place in which the Baoshan monastery once stood. The monastery was founded by Daoping in 546 (the 4th year of the Wuding 武定 era in the Eastern Wei). See Yang Baoshun 楊寶順, Sun Dexuan 孫德萱, and Wei Benfeng 衛本鋒, “Henan Anyang Baoshan si Beiqi shuang shita” 河南安陽寶山寺北齊雙石塔 (The twin stone stūpas of the Northern Qi in the Baoshan monastery in [present] Anyang [County] of Henan), *Wenwu* 文物 9 (1984): 43-44. The biography of this monk is found in the *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* (T no. 2060, 50: 8.484b-c).

Daoping was the disciple of Huiguang 慧光 (after 491-after 560), a leader of southern Dilun 地論 (Stages Treatise) branch, and the teacher of Lingyu 靈裕 (518-605), another master of the branch named at the time as “Bodhisattva Yu” 裕菩薩. He had a cave (called Zhusha tong 朱砂洞 [Cinnabar cave]) dug on Mount Lanfeng 嵐峰山, a half kilometer from Baoshan monastery, which was renamed as “Daliusheng ku” 大留聖窟 (Cave of great abiding saints) by Lingyu. For the missionary work done by Daoping and Lingyu, see the studies such as Stuart Young, “Conceiving the Indian Buddhist Patriarchs in China” (Ph.D. dissert., Princeton University, 2008); K.R. Tsiang, “Monumentalization of Buddhist Texts in the Northern Qi Dynasty: the Engraving of

For more information on how funerary stūpas were erected for housing bodies or relics, we may turn to the inscription written by Xu Ling for Fu Hong 傅弘 (497-569). Although Fu Hong was not a Buddhist monk, his stūpa was constructed by his disciples, which included a number of monastic members. It was therefore probably the same as other stūpas for deceased monks. He was held in high respect by the ruling class and was influential in the Buddhist society at that time,⁷¹ and thought to have unfathomable power comparable to that of another wonderworker Baozhi 寶誌 (a.k.a. Baozhi 保誌; d. 514), whose stories will be dealt with later. Therefore, Daoxuan also puts the biography for him at the end of the account of Huiyun 慧雲 (fl. around mid Kaihuang era [581-601]) in his monastic biographical collection.⁷² The inscription, written after his death, reflects the way in which Buddhists built stūpas for their revered Buddhist teachers. On his deathbed Fu Hong is reported to have instructed his disciples on how to bury his corpse:

His last instructions say, “[my] body should be cremated on the top of Mount Shuanglin 雙林山⁷³ according to the Buddhist practice. A portion of [my] relics is for a stūpa set up on a graveyard; another portion is for another stūpa built on the mountain. Also, two images of Maitreya should be made and put in these two stūpas. Do not move my bed (*mianchuang* 眠牀). You should take the images of Maitreya that were knotted (lit. 織 *zhi*) by the Superior Man Fameng 法猛 (d.u.), and put them

Sūtras in Stone at the Xiangtangshan Caves and Other Sites in the Six Century,” *Artibus Asiae* 56.3(1996): 233-261; Akihiko Oda 織田顯祐, “Dōbyō no gozi han ni tsuite” 道憑の五時判について (On Daoping’s tenet classification of the five occasions), *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 36.1 (1987): 53-59.

⁷¹ He had been to Jiankang three times: the first occasion occurred in 534 when he was told by Xiao Yan to go to the capital city and to live at the Tongtai monastery and later at the Lower Dinglin monastery 下定林寺. See Zhang Yong 張勇, *Fu dashi yanjiu* 傅大士研究 (A study on the Great Being Fu) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2000), 32-33.

⁷² Fu Hong was also called Fu Xi 傅翕 or Shanhui 善慧. His biography is found in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 25.650b.

⁷³ Mount Shuanglin is also called Mount Yunhuang 雲黃山 (in Yiwu County 義烏縣 of Zhejiang). In 539, Fu Hong set up a monastery (Shuanglin si 雙林寺) on it.

on the beds forever so that, through these dignified appearances, the forms [of Maitreya (?)] are indicated.

遺誡：“于雙林頂如法燒身，一分舍利，起塔于塚，一分舍利，起塔在山。又造彌勒像二軀，置此雙塔，莫移我眠牀，當取法猛上人織成彌勒像，永安牀上，寄此尊儀，以標形相也。”⁷⁴

The *mianchuang* mentioned here perhaps means coffin platform (*guanchuang* 棺床). One would find it strange that Fu Hong asked his disciples to put the platforms and the images in his stūpas, because, according to Buddhist scriptures and Chinese pilgrimage records, stūpas, with relics inside, would not have such large hollow chambers inside for these furnishings, and were supposed to have only relic compartments in their domes or under their masts. Obviously, the stūpas Fu Hong described are not ones mentioned here but among the local monastic funerary stūpas, which had underground vaults for relics and remains. In fact, the vaults he expected were rather large, even to the extent that they could house the beds and images—common furnishings in Chinese graves. This was not rare, considering that some people at that time also had Buddhist figures carved on walls of vaults or coffin platforms in tombs as protective deities for departed people.⁷⁵ Fu Hong perhaps did not need to request Maitreya’s protection when asking to put his images in the stūpas, because he declared that he was a reincarnation of this Buddha. But his request shows that, while giving his deathbed instructions, instead of that of the stūpa canonically approved, he was visualizing the structure of the Chinese tomb, which had the crypt for the corpse buried with funerary objects.

⁷⁴ Xu Ling, “Dongyang Shuanglin si Fu dashi bei,” 3465.

⁷⁵ Lin Shengzhi, “Muzang, zongjiao yu diqu zuofang—shi lun Beiwei wuzang zhong de fojiao tuxiang” 墓葬、宗教與地區作坊—試論北魏墓葬中的佛教圖像 (Burial, religions, and local workshops—a tentative discussion of Buddhist paintings and images in Northern-Wei tombs), *Meishu shi yanjiu jikan* 美術史研究集刊 24 (2008): 13-15.

Fu Hong did not have all of his wishes fulfilled. According to the inscription, his disciples were so sorrowful that they did not follow all of his instructions; they “used the Chinese customary ceremony and did not adopt the old method of cremation.”⁷⁶ And they built only one stūpa instead of two. But in it they placed a *mianchuang* as they had been told. A short manuscript about Fu Hong, copied in 985 (the second year of the Yongxi 雍熙 era of the Song Dynasty),⁷⁷ says that a bed was found, when in 944 a warlord of Wuyue 吳越 Qian Hongzuo 錢弘佐 (928-947) ordered his assistants to visit the monastery and they opened the stūpa. It was a brick bed (*pichuang* 髹床), which might be the coffin platform. To one’s surprise, according to the work, this bed was 5 *chi* 9 *cun* wide, and was larger than the stūpa, which was 5 *chi* 5 *cun* wide only.⁷⁸ The dimensions may not be completely accurate, but they clearly show that the bed could not be put inside and could only be placed in a vault that was underground. Then the structure of this stūpa was not markedly different from that of a tomb.

Xu Ling’s description of the stūpa in his inscription would confirm this. He says that it was made into “an airtight pit after *bian* 窆 (lowering the coffin for burial) and a square grave (*fangfen*) after *yin* 堊 (filing up).”⁷⁹ At the end of the inscription he writes, “When will

⁷⁶ Xu Ling, “Dongyang Shuanglin si Fu dashi bei,” 3465: 用震旦之常儀，乖闡維之舊法。

⁷⁷ Titled *Shuanglin Shanhui dashi xiaolu* 雙林善慧大士小錄 (A brief record of the Great being Shanhui of the Shuanglin [monastery]), it contains some chapters copied from Lou Ying’s 樓穎 (fl. 744) *Shanhui dashi lü* 善慧大士錄 (A record of the Great Being Shanhui) and some other works as supplements. The *Shanhui dashi lü* is a Tang work, comprising eight fascicles. In 1142-1144 (Shaoxing 紹興 12-14) Lou Zhao 樓炤 (1072-1144) abstracted some of its contents and made a version of four fascicles, which is now collected in the *Taishō edition* (X no. 1335, 69: 4.127c-128c).

The *Shuanglin Shanhui dashi xiaolu* was produced some time before Lou Zhao’s simplified version, and has only two extant copies, one of which is printed on the back of a 1909 copy of the *Zuozhuan* and the other is written as an individual copy. I cannot get access to this work, so for its contents I have to consult Zhang Yong’s *Fu dashi yanjiu* (pp. 116-117). And for details about the above-mentioned works about Fu Hong, see Zhang Yong’s book.

⁷⁸ The dimensions of the bed are 178.77cm (5 *chi* 9 *cun*) wide and 272.7cm (9 *chi*) long, and those of the stūpa are 166.65cm (5 *chi* 5 *cun*) wide, 287.85cm (9 *chi* 5 *cun*) long, and 227.25cm (7 *chi* 5 *cun*) tall.

⁷⁹ Xu Ling, “Dongyang Shuanglin si Fu dashi bei,” 3465: 合窟為窆，方墳以堊。

the stūpa emerge [so that we] see the whole body [of Fu Hong] again?”⁸⁰ It is clear that the stūpa referred to here is not the funerary stūpa for Fu Hong, but is this practitioner himself. He is described as the one like the Buddha Prabhūtaratna (Duobao fo 多寶佛), whose stūpa, according to the *Lotus Sūtra*, will emerge from the ground whenever the *sūtra* is preached. This is one of the canonical scenarios well known to Chinese Buddhists. It points to the fact that Fu Hong’s body was buried underground. It seems that putting bodies in stūpas—or placing them underneath in fact—was not noteworthy and was simply a Chinese burial custom. Therefore, in his account of Fu Hong, Daoxuan neither cites his deathbed instructions nor mentions his funerary stūpa, simply saying that “hence together [his followers] entombed him in the mountain.”⁸¹

It should be noted that not only did the local custom of burying bodies affect the stūpas for deceased monks, but also impacted those for the Buddha and other legendary Buddhist holy figures erected in the Six Dynasties. Some non-funerary stūpas for these Buddhist transcendent beings had underground compartments for relics. The Changgan and Mao stūpas discovered by Huida, which have been discussed in Chapter Three, for example, were among them.⁸² This may explain why Huida and Xiao Yan had to pull down the original ones when they took the relics. The local custom also influenced some stūpas of later

⁸⁰ Ibid: 何時湧塔, 復睹全身?

⁸¹ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 25.650b: 遂合殮於巖中. In his *Bianzheng lun*—a work appearing more than twenty years earlier than Daoxuan’s biographical collection, Falin made an account of Fu Hong. Zhang Yong thinks that Daoxuan based on this source but did not consult Xu Ling’s inscription. Falin neither cites the instructions nor mentions the stūpa. Therefore, Daoxuan does not do so either in his work. See Zhang Yong, *Fu dashi yanjiu*, 10-13.

Although later sources (e.g. Records of Yiwu County [*Yiwu xian ji* 義烏縣記, compiled in the Ming]) say that his funerary stūpa—a nine-storey, brick construction—was on the top of the mountain, Zhang Yong thinks that it was a stūpa where Fu Hong carried out practices only, not a tumulus holding his relics or body. See Zhang Yong, *Fu dashi yanjiu*, 29.

⁸² Kosugi, “Rikuchō jidai no buttō ni okeru busshari no anchi nit suite,” 111-161 (417-467).

times. The relic- and remains- containers of some stūpas in the Sui and Tang Dynasties were made coffin-shaped even though they were not for funerary use.⁸³

4.3.4 The Connotations of the Stūpas, Seen from the *Zhuifu* Ritual

Buddhists at that time generally had only a vague understanding of Buddhist stūpas; therefore, they would hold Buddhist services for acquiring merits for the deceased monks and nuns they respected, even though they built stūpas for them at the same time. For example, as mentioned above, after Sengchou had passed away, Emperor Fei of the Northern Qi sent Prince Xiangle to offer the monks of the Yunmen monastery consolation and give them satin for *zhuifu* ritual (the rite to acquire posthumous blessings for the departed). *Zhuifu* ritual can be conducted in the form of a wide variety of Buddhist services such as providing monks with food and daily commodities, copying Buddhist scriptures, and holding seven-day memorial services for seven times (*qi qi zhai* 七七齋)⁸⁴. The ritual, which was held in the first forty-nine days after someone's death (the period in which he was in his intermediate state [*antarābhava*; *zhongyin* 中陰]), was intended to help him overcome his own bad karma

⁸³ Kosugi discovers that during the relic-distribution campaign staged by Yang Jian, when Fakan 法佩 (551-623) was told to enshrine a relic in Xuanzhou 宣州, he unearthed a stone coffin-shaped container when he built a stūpa, and he used it to hold the relic and put it in the stūpa he built (Kosugi, 158). The spot lay in the place where a monastery called Yong'an monastery 永安寺 had once stood, so the container might belong to this monastery. *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 11.513b. This record suggests that people of the Six Dynasties already carved relic containers in the shape of coffins. Considering that at that time relics and remains were already placed under some (if not all) stūpas, the underground palace (*digong* 地宮)—the relic vault under the stūpa, which is thought to have appeared in the Tang—perhaps began to take shape in the Six Dynasties.

Another example showing the impact of the Chinese burial tradition on non-funerary stūpas is the one at the Famen monastery 法門寺 in Shaanxi 陝西, excavated in 1987. Its relic vault was modeled on crypts of imperial mausoleums; it contained a lot of jewels and silk and a golden coffin-shaped reliquary with another seven containers put in one in another (following the nested doll principle). Xu Jijun 徐吉軍, *Zhongguo sangzang shi* 中國喪葬史 (History of funeral and burial in China) (Nanchang: Jiangxi Junxiao chuban she, 1998), 360-362.

⁸⁴ The first one recorded in history is that held in 518 by Emperor Xiaoming of the North Wei Dynasty for Hu Gaozhen 胡國珍 (439-518), the father of Empress Dowager Hu (*Beishi*, *juan* 80). Xu Jijun, *Zhongguo sangzang shi*, 311-312.

for gaining better rebirth. Without doubt they are of Buddhist tradition, and it is not necessary to elaborate here on its Buddhist significance. It, however, was originally thought to be held for those reborn as hungry ghosts.⁸⁵ Therefore, it sounds strange in the story of Sengchou because his achievement in meditation was recognized by other monks. One wonders why he still needed any merits gained through the ritual for good reincarnation. Thus, the stūpa erected for him northwest of the Yunmen monastery was certainly not regarded by the emperor as a symbol of his eminence, but merely as an impressive tomb in the shape of a stūpa.

A miracle story in the *Mingxiang ji* reveals more information about the *zhui fu* ritual. It says that a monk of the Liu Song named Huiyuan 慧遠 (fl. 454-456; not Huiyuan of the Donglin monastery), who lived at the Changsha monastery 長沙寺 in Jiangling, was a disciple of the meditation practitioner Huiyin 慧印 (d.u.). The former was originally the latter's lay servant (*cangtou* 蒼頭) with a secular name Huang Qian 黃遷 (otherwise unknown), and was converted by the latter at the age of twenty after the latter found that he had been his teacher in his previous life when entering into meditation. After entering the Buddhist order, Huiyuan often lived in the house of a lay patron named Yang Daochan 楊道產 (otherwise unknown) in Jiangling city, practicing diligently prolonged meditation (*pratyutpannasamādhi*; *banzhou sanmei* 般舟三昧). Gradually he made good progress and had miraculous power; he was sometimes seen in different places simultaneously accepting food provided by lay people while indeed practicing all day at Yang's home. Hence, since

⁸⁵ According to the *Youposa jiejing* 優婆塞戒經 (*Upāsaka-sīla sūtra*) translated by Dharmakṣema in the Northern Liang Dynasty, the *zhui fu* ritual is held specially for those reborn as hungry ghosts; these people have been stingy and greedy in their previous lives, so making donations to monks and the needy would release them from suffering. (T no. 1488, 24: 5.1059c) See Ciyi et al (comp.), *Foguang da cidian*, 4335.

local people generally believed that he was not an ordinary person any more, they respected and admired him. One day in 455 (the 2nd year of the Xiaojian 孝建 era, Emperor Xiaowu's reign) he told Yang Daochen he would die next day at his home. That day Yang held a service of the eight-commandment observance (*bazhai guan* 八齋關), with lamps lit and participants carrying out practices (offering incenses and circumambulating?) all night long. At the beginning Huiyuan carried out practices with other people. After three o'clock in the early morning (*sigeng* 四更) he said that he was tired and needed to take a rest. Lying down, he passed away in a minute. "People in the whole area held three seven-day memorial services (*sanqi zhai* 三七齋) and built a stūpa for him."⁸⁶ In Wang Yen's times (fl. Late 5th – early 6th centuries)—the author of the *Mingxiang ji*, the stūpa still existed. One day after a long time, Huiyuan appeared at the Duobao monastery 多寶寺 (location is unknown) and told the monk Tanxun 曇珣 (d.u.) there that he, together with heavenly beings, would come and greet him on a certain day next year. This meant that Tanxun would have good rebirth as a reward for his cultivation. On that day he saw Huiyuan come, with music and unusually scented smoke drifting in the air, and then died.⁸⁷

This story mainly focuses on Huiyuan's extraordinary deeds, and does not talk much about the construction of his stūpa. Nonetheless, thanks to the detailed narration of his deeds, it can be inferred that local people firmly believed that he was not an ordinary monk but a wonderworker with supernatural power. Yet, they still held for him the three seven-day

⁸⁶ *Mingxiang ji*, in Lu Xun (ed.), *Gu xiaoshuo gouchen*, 442: 闔境為設三七齋, 起塔.

⁸⁷ *Mingxiang ji*, in Lu Xun (ed.), *Gu xiaoshuo gouchen*, 442-443. According to Alan Cole, Buddhist funerals held at that time were already aimed at preventing the dead (or those dying) from bad transmigration and gaining salvation for them, regardless of whether the dead were monastic members or lay people. Perhaps for this reason, Chinese Buddhists held *zhui fu* services for Sengchou and Huiyuan. See Cole, "Upside Down/Right Side up: A Revisionist History of Buddhist Funerals in China," *History of Religions* 35.4 (May 1996): 317-324.

memorial services, which no doubt belong to the *zhui fu* ritual. Out of respect for Huiyuan, local people held the *zhui fu* ritual and built the stūpa for him. This, however, suggests that they thought the stūpa and the ritual to be similar to each other in a way, and did not realize that in Buddhism the former was symbolic of one's transcendence when the latter was a service for a person who was suffering from bad rebirth. They believed that Huiyuan was a holy monk, yet they did not link his stūpa to his holiness.

4.3.5 The Locations of Monastic Funerary Stūpas, Seen from the Viewpoint of Buddhist Scriptural Tradition of Stūpas

The locations of monastic funerary stūpas for monks also indicate that they were not built according to Buddhist scriptural tradition of stūpas. As stated above, stūpas for monastic holy people ought to be separated from those for ordinary monks so that the former (objects of worship) would not be contaminated by the latter (pollutants) and would not be mixed up with each other. The separation was based on the belief that the latter could not help Buddhists progress in cultivation and hence was not worthy of their veneration. Some of the stūpas for Chinese monks were situated on cemeteries and were adjacent to tombs.⁸⁸ This means that, judging by the Buddhist scriptural tradition of stūpas, these stūpas were not objects of veneration and were simply tombs. The one for Sengyuan 僧遠 (414-484) was one of them. It was erected by Prince Jingling, one of his lay admirers, when he passed away in 484 (the second year of the Yingming era) in the Xiao Qi Dynasty. The prince thought that

⁸⁸ A number of funerary stūpas for deceased monks (e.g. the cluster of stūpas [lit. stūpa forest; *talin* 塔林] in the Shaolin monastery 少林寺) were also set up outside monasteries. Zhang Yuhuan, *Zhongguo sita* 中國寺塔 (Buddhist monasteries and stūpas) (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2007), 103.

since Sengyuan was an excellent all-round practitioner whom others could hardly match, he ought not to be buried in the same cemetery together with other monks but somewhere else, and that a stūpa in the form of a pole (*cha*) and an inscription ought to be put up for manifesting his remarkable accomplishment and virtue. At the first glance, one may think that, because the stūpa for Sengyuan was separated from other monastic tombs, it was treated as an object totally different from them. But, surprisingly, Huijiao simply describes it as a tomb (*fen* 坟), saying in his biography for him that the prince “immediately constructed a tomb for [him] on the southern slope of Mount [Zhong] 鐘山 (or Mount Jiang 蔣山) and erected a tablet with praise of his virtue.”⁸⁹ His description is fitting, considering that some of other monastic tombs were also adorned with memorial inscriptions written by the political elite. Besides, the southern hillside of Mount Zhong (*shannan* 山南) was not the graveyard only for this stūpa, but some of other monks’ tombs were also located there. It seems that after Sengyuan’s stūpa was erected there, the site became the burial ground for monks of the Upper Dinglin monastery (Shang Dinglin si 上定林寺)—a temple founded by Dharmamitra (Damomiduo 曇摩蜜多 [356-442]) in the Liu Song Dynasty and situated on the mountain. In the Xiao Qi Dynasty, there were Sengrou 僧柔 (430-494), Chaobian 超辯 (419-492), and Faxian; they were the teachers of Sengyou, a monk well acquainted with Buddhist precepts.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 8.378b; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 319-320: 即為營墳於山南，立碑頌德。

⁹⁰ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 8.378c-379a; 12.408b; 13.411b-c; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 322, 471, 489. Faxian was the one who obtained the Buddha’s tooth in Khotan and worshipped it secretly until Prince Jingling’s discovery.

Xuanchang 玄暢 (416-484) was also buried there but had not lived at the Upper Dinglin monastery. He had lived at the Changgan monastery. *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 13.411c; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 489.

In the Xiao Liang Dynasty, there were Huimi 慧彌 (446-519) and Fatong 法通 (442-512).⁹¹

Like Sengyuan, most of them also had contact with and were greatly respected by the elite class, so its members often composed epitaphs in praise of them. In addition to these monks, some nuns were also buried in this mountain and, certainly, they did not reside at the Upper Dinglin monastery. For example, according to Baochang's records of nuns, Sengjing 僧敬 (402-486) of the Chongsheng nunnery 崇聖寺, Miaozhi 妙智 (431-495) of the Huayan nunnery 華嚴寺, Zhisheng 智勝 (426-492) of the Jianfu nunnery 建福寺, and Jingxing 淨行 (443-509) of the Zhuyuan nunnery 竹園寺 were buried there.⁹² Clearly, the southern hillside of the mountain—or more specifically, one of its main hills, Beigao feng 北高峰 (Peak Beigao)⁹³—was the burial ground for the monks and nuns who were held in respect by the elite in the Xiao Qi and Xiao Liang periods, but was not that exclusive to Sengyuan.

Therefore, Baochang says that “Prince Jinling Wenxuan of the Qi (i.e. Prince Jingling) buried [within] the boundaries of Mount Zhong famous virtuous [monastic members] together.”⁹⁴

Probably, the interment of these monastic members in this mountain, where there were some important imperial arenas and monasteries,⁹⁵ was a great honour conferred on them by the elite; therefore, Huijiao and Baochang give references to the locations of their tombs. For the same reason, in the biography of Sengyuan, Huijiao talks about the prince's praise of him

⁹¹ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 12.408c-409a; 8.382a-b; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 473-474, 339-340.

⁹² *Biqiuni zhuan*, T no. 2063, 50: 3.942a-943a; 4.947a.

⁹³ Jiang Zanchu 蔣贊初, “Nanjing liuchu Liuchao fosi yizhi kao” 南京六處六朝佛寺遺址考 (An investigation into six sites of six Buddhist monasteries of the Six Dynasties in Nanjing), in *Changjiang zhong xia you lishi kaogu lunwen ji*, 186.

⁹⁴ *Biqiuni zhuan*, T no. 2063, 50: 3.942c: 齊竟陵文宣王, 疆界鍾山, 集葬名德.

⁹⁵ For example, the northern locus for worship of Heaven and Earth (*beijiao* 北郊) was once moved to Mount Zhong in the Liu Song. (*Songshu* 14.346) And the Aijing monastery 愛敬寺—a temple erected by Xiao Yan for holding services for his deceased father—was also located there (see section 6.3 of Chapter Six for discussion of this monastery).

and placement of his stūpa on the mountain—the facts attesting to his achievements, but other than that Huijiao does not record any other information about his burial. Obviously, the stūpa itself is not an object Huijiao thinks noteworthy and different from a tomb.

To illustrate further that the stūpas for deceased monks in the Six Dynasties were conceived of as tombs, we may look into Baozhi's stūpa. If there had been any stūpas that had developed into objects of worship at that time, it is possible that this would qualify. Before his death, Baozhi was already renowned for his wonderworks and was regarded as a bodhisattva; therefore, after he passed away, possibly he was worshipped by his admirers through a stūpa erected for him.⁹⁶ According to Zhang Dunyi's 張敦頤 (early 12th century) *Liuchao shiji bianlei* 六朝事跡編類 (Edited encyclopaedia about events in the Six Dynasties; completed in 1160)—a work compiled in the Southern Song Dynasty, after his death in 514 (the 13th year of the Tianjian era), Xiao Yan spent two hundred thousand copper cash on the ridge in front of Dinglin monastery (on Mount Dulong 獨龍山, among the Mount Zhong range)⁹⁷, and used it as the burial ground for Baozhi. Princess Yongding 永定 (d.u.)⁹⁸ also built a five-storey stūpa for him with her bath (*tangyu* 湯浴) expense. Next year (515) the emperor constructed a monastery called Kaishan si 開善寺 in front of the stūpa. It is said that

⁹⁶ It is alleged that he had powerful prophecy abilities and once emerged in front of one of his believers as a bodhisattva. Stories about his wonderworks can be found in the *Gaoseng zhuan* (T no. 2059, 50: 10.394a-395a; Tang [colla. & annot.], *Gaoseng zhuan*, 395-397).

⁹⁷ It was the Lower Dinglin monastery, according to *Zhida Jinling xin zhi* (in *Song Yuan fangzhi congkan* 6: 11.5706a). I shall discuss this monastery below.

⁹⁸ Suwa thinks that she was possibly one of Xiao Yan's sisters. See Suwa, "Ryōdai kenkō no butsuji to butei igai ni no konryū," 156-157. But Liu Yongxiang 劉永翔, in one of his notes in the *Qingbo zazhi* 清波雜誌 (Miscellaneous records [composed while living near the Gate of] Clear Waves), identifies her as one of Xiao Yan's daughters. The *Qingbo zazhi* is a collection of jottings written by Zhou Hui 周輝 (1126-?) of the Northern Song Dynasty. See Liu Yongxiang (ed.), *Qingbo zazhi xiaozhu* 清波雜誌校注 (*Qingbao zazhi*, edited and annotated) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1994), 3.88.

Gate Qingbo 清波門 was one of the gates of the Hangzhou 杭州 city in the Southern Song.

the stūpa, which was called “Wanzhu” 玩珠 (lit. “playing with pearls”), were adorned with beads made of rock crystal (*boli* 玻瓈).⁹⁹ The monastic funerary stūpas were seldom given names at that time, so this description is not completely reliable.¹⁰⁰ Perhaps Baozhi’s stūpa was designated as Wanzhu in much later times because this name appears neither in Huijiao’s nor in Daoxuan’s biographical collections, but only in Zhang Dunyi’s and others works of his time or later.¹⁰¹

Indeed, in their biographical works, Huijiao and Daoxuan provide only vague descriptions of the stūpa. This implies that it was not a pilgrimage spot and hence the Buddhist order did not regard it as a significant place. In the biography of Baozhi, Huijiao even does not mention that there was a stūpa.

[Xiao Yan] therefore made a generous donation towards holding a funeral procession, and buried [Baozhi] in Mount Dulong of Mount Zhong. Also in the graveyard he built the Kaishan Vihāra (Kanshi jingshe 開善精舍), and ordered Lu Chui 陸倕 (470-526) to compose a memorial work that was put inside the tomb, and Wang Yun 王筠 (482-550) to carve an inscription on the gate of the monastery.

⁹⁹ Zhang Dunyi, *Liuchao shiji bianlei*, juan 6. The *Liang jing si ji* 梁京寺記 (Records of monasteries in the capital of the Liang; a work composed around the Tang) only records Xiao Yan’s establishment of the monastery and the princess’s construction of the stūpa. T no. 2094, 51: 1024b.

¹⁰⁰ Huijiao does not mention any stūpa names in his book. However, there are a number of them recorded in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*. Probably, after around the early Tang, many monastic funerary stūpas were given names by emperors. This phenomenon is beyond the scope of my investigation here so it will not be treated here.

In addition to the name of the stūpa, I also cannot find any mention of the princess’s donation in sources of the Six Dynasties to the Tang.

¹⁰¹ For example, Song Lian 宋濂 (1310-1381) mentions the name in an account of his trip to Mount Zhong. See “You Zhongshan ji” 遊鍾山記 (A record of a trip to Mount Zhong), in his *Wenxian ji* 文憲集 (A collection of Wenjian’s [the posthumous name given to Song Lian] writings, in *SKQS* 1223: 3.3a-8b. Another reference to the name can be found in Zhou Yinghe’s *Jingding Jiankang zhi*, in *Song Yuan fangzhi congkan* 2: 17.1559. The stūpa that is recorded in the *Liuchao shiji bianlei* may not be the original one erected in the Xiao Liang Dynasty, but the one reestablished in the Tang, as the monastery was rebuilt then. “Tang chongjian Jiangshan Kaishan si ji” 唐重建蔣山開善寺記 (A record of the reestablishment of the Kaishan monastery on Mount Zhong), in *Jingding Jiankang zhi* (in *Song Yuan fangzhi congkan* 2: 33.1890a).

因厚加殯送, 葬於鍾山獨龍之阜, 仍於墓所立開善精舍. 勅陸倕製銘辭於塚內, 王筠勒碑文於寺門.¹⁰²

The description deals with the funerary monuments to Baozhi erected by Xiao Yan, but does not contain any reference to the stūpa. Daoxuan talks about it in the biography of another monk Zhizang 智藏 (458-522), but his narrative is confusing.

The holy monk Baozhi passed away. The interment was held in Mount Zhong. A stūpa was built in front of [his] tomb; the name of the monastery was Kaishan.

聖僧寶誌遷神, 窆窆于鍾阜, 於墓前建塔, 寺名開善.¹⁰³

The description is obscure and seems to imply that the stūpa is the monastery. At the first glance, the stūpa seemed to be an integral part of this monastery—the temple that was developed from the stūpa and became a monastic abode inhabited by some eminent monks at that time. No doubt, the monastery was set up because of the stūpa. However, the cultivation of the monks there probably was not centered on the stūpa; there are no monks described in the monastic biographical collections who focused on practices entailing the stūpa. Also the stūpa was not the only one there but was among other monks' tombs; the area where it stood was the burial ground for the deceased monks of the monastery and some others respected by the ruling class.

Therefore, the stories of some monks may help us explore this monastic graveyard. Zhizang, for example, was ordered by Xiao Yan to live in the Kaishan monastery after it was established, and was later told to move to the Pangcheng monastery 彭城寺 (in Jiankang). But he returned to the former and lived a reclusive, ascetic life. He built six small abodes in a secluded area outside the monastery, performing penance and fixing his mind on Buddhist

¹⁰² *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 10.394c; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 397.

¹⁰³ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 5.466a.

images. After his death, Xiao Yan ordered that he be buried in Mount Dulong. Baoqiong 寶瓊 (504-584) of the Jianchu monastery 建初寺 was also buried there. He was a monk treated with great respect by the ruling class in the Chen Dynasty. Therefore, his funeral was funded by the state and was provided by the emperor with guards of honour, and he was “interred in the south of Mount Zhong—an old graveyard for eminent monks.”¹⁰⁴ Like Baoqiong, Sengmin 僧旻 (467-527) also did not live in the Kaishan monastery, but settled down and led a reclusive life at Mount Huqiu 虎丘山 (in present Suzhou) during his illness. In 524 (the 5th year of the Putong era), not long before his death, he was told by the state to move to the Kaishan monastery. On the way, his illness was getting serious and he had to stay in the Zhuangyan monastery; finally he passed away there at the age of sixty-one.¹⁰⁵ Deeply saddened by the news of his death, Xiao Yan ordered that the funeral be funded by the state, and Sengmin “be buried in the graveyard of the Kaishan [monastery] on Mount Zhong.”¹⁰⁶ The tablets engraved with inscriptions, which were composed by Ruan Xiaoxu 阮孝緒 (479-536), He Yin 何胤 (446-531), and Prince Xiangdong 湘東王 (i.e. Xiao Yi; the future Emperor Yuan), were put in his grave and the Zhuangyan monastery.¹⁰⁷ These monks, as well as some others, were those who either lived in the Kaishan monastery or were held in great respect by the ruling class during their lifetimes. They were therefore interred in the burial ground of the monastery. And Baozhi’s stūpa was probably counted simply among their tombs there.

¹⁰⁴ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 7.479b: 窆于鍾山之陽, 名僧舊墓.

¹⁰⁵ The *Xu gaoseng zhuan* says that Sengmin died in the eighth year of the Datong era (463a), but the era lasted only two years (527-528). The phrase “Datong banian” 大通八年 may be a typo for “Datong banian” 大同八年 (542), but it seems impossible that Sengmin stayed in the Zhuangyan monastery and remained sick for eighteen years before death.

¹⁰⁶ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 5.463a: 窆於鍾山之開善墓所.

¹⁰⁷ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 5.463a-b.

This does not come as a surprise given that Baozhi's stūpa was not inside the Kaishan monastery, but in an open area in front. This implies that the place where the stūpa was put up was merely a graveyard but not a cultivation locus for monks and laymen. This can be proved by Song Lian's record of his trip to Mount Zhong, which says as follows:

[In] the Kaishan *bodhimaṇḍala* (or practice-precinct) of the Liang, the Mahāsattva (Great Being) Baozhi was buried underground, and a five-storied (lit. *wucheng* 五成 = *wuji* 五級?) stūpa built by Princess Yongding covered it (his body). People of later generations built a hall (*dian* 殿); [in it there was] moulded copper [sculpture], in the shape of “a” 亞¹⁰⁸, which looks like (*mao* 貌) [the house of]¹⁰⁹ the Great Being (i.e. Baozhi), but it is actually a stūpa. The stūpa sometimes shed five-coloured precious light. In the past it had housed a shoe of the Mahāsattva's. During the early Shenlong era (705-706; Zhongzong Li Xian's 中宗李顯 (656-710) reign in the Tang), Zheng Kejun 鄭克俊 (?-705+; otherwise unknown) took it to Chang'an.

梁開善道場，寶誌大士葬其下，永定公主造浮圖五成覆之。後人作殿，四阿鑄銅，貌大士，實浮圖。浮圖或現五色寶光，舊藏大士履，神龍初，鄭克俊取入長安。¹¹⁰

Not only does this account show that, like some others of its kinds, Baozhi's stūpa also stood on the top of the remains, but it also reveals that there was another stūpa made for Baozhi and put in the hall. Instead of his outdoor funerary stūpa holding his corpse, this stūpa was linked to Baozhi, related to the worship of this monk. The spectacle that it gave divine light is an episode often said in miracle stories to appear when the pious carries out practices

¹⁰⁸ Literally, the text reads “*si a*” 四阿 here—the term that is usually conceived of rafter gutters on four sides of the building. But Cao Chunping 曹春萍 thinks that the character *a* 阿 is not among oracle-bone scripts of the ancient Shang Dynasty and is originally “*a*” 亞, representing the floor plan of the ancestral shrine. Cao Chunping, “ ‘Si a chongwu’ tankao” “四阿重屋”探考 (An investigation into ‘Buildings with multi-rooms with four sides, in the shape of a’), *Huazhong jianzhu* 華中建築 1(1996): 50-51.

¹⁰⁹ Literally, the account reads the stūpa looks like (*mao*) the Mahāsattva. The character *mao* is an expression often used to describe the retiring hall (*qin* 寢), which was built in accordance with the house the dead lived during his lifetime. This feature is mentioned when some monastic authors (e.g. Daoxuan) define stūpas in their writings. For details, see section 1.1.3 of Chapter One.

¹¹⁰ Song Lian, “You Zhongshan ji,” *Wenxian ji*, in *SKQS* 3.4a.

sincerely, thus demonstrating that this stūpa was worshipped. Therefore, it housed the monk's shoe and thus the target of robbery. Apparently, Baozhi's funerary stūpa and his corpse were relatively less significant in terms of cultivation and worship. On the contrary, the hall, not the funerary stūpa, was a place of pilgrimage. Another work, written by Li Guxing 李顧行 (fl. first half of the ninth century) in the Tang, can verify this. It was a memorial to Gentleman Zanhuang 贊皇公¹¹¹ Li Qiyun's 李栖筠 (d. 447-779) various devotional acts in worshipping Baozhi, which were inscribed on the stone column in the hall of the Kaishan monastery. According to the title of the work, the hall was called "the Hall for/in memory of the Revered Monk [Bao]zhi." (Zhigong heshang tang 誌公和尚堂) It is unknown whether this hall was the same one Song Lian visited, but the work clearly shows that people made offerings to Baozhi's image, which was located in the head monk's chamber west of the hall. The image, which Li Guxing claims to be portrayed on Xiao Yan's orders, was greeted by Li Qiyun with great respect. He furnished it with a boat of coloured silk (for carrying the image?), banners, and canopies. Every morning, he sprinkled flowers over it, burned incense, offered various kinds of food, and sang in praise (lit. *gu bayin* 鼓八音; making [a voice with] the eight tones¹¹²). Using his own salary, he also had pearly curtains and a lotus seat made, and donated some farms to the monastery. Therefore, to express gratitude, the monks of the monastery had a stone column inscribed with his deeds

¹¹¹ Li Qiyun was bestowed the title Zanghuang xuan zi 贊皇縣子 (Zanhuang-County Viscount) because of his good governance in Prefecture Chang 常州 (in present-day Jiangsu), but he was usually called "Zanhuang gong (Gentleman Zanhuang)." Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) and Song Qi 宋祁 (998-1061) (comps.), *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (New History of the Tang) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975, rpt.) 71.4737.

¹¹² The eight tones are of the Buddha's voice and are extremely attractive (*jihao yin* 極好音), flexible (*rouruan yin* 柔軟音), harmonious (*heshi yin* 和適音), dignified (*zunhui yin* 尊慧音), not effeminate (*bunü yin* 不女音), unerring (*buwu yin* 不誤音), profound (*shenyuan yin* 深遠音), and inexhaustible (*bujie yin* 不竭音). But apparently the term *bayin* is not used to say that Li Qiyun could make such a supernatural sound, so it probably means the praise he uttered.

and put in the hall.¹¹³ This inscription obviously tells us that Li Qiyun worshipped and made offerings to Baozhi's image inside the monastery, and probably so did other pilgrims.

Although it was composed in the Tang, this situation perhaps had already appeared in the Six Dynasties. It is likely that people at that time did not pay honour outdoors at Baozhi's funerary stūpa but went to the monastery instead for worship. Even in the Ming, Baozhi's funerary stūpa was still not linked with pilgrimage, as is revealed by Song Lian's account.

Next my attention will turn to its location. Not only was it in the cemetery of the Kaishan monastery with other monks' tombs, the place was also in the vicinity of the graveyard of another temple. Huijiao and Daoxuan both report that Sengyou and his contemporary Mingche 明徹 (d. 522), who lived in the Jianchu monastery 建初寺, were buried in the old graveyard (*jiumu* 舊墓) of the Dinglin monastery (Dinglin si 定林寺), which lay west of the roads of the Kaishan monastery.¹¹⁴ They do not mention which Dinglin monastery, Xia dinglin si 下定林寺 (Lower Dinglin monastery) or Shang Dinglin si 上定林寺 (Upper Dinglin monastery), is referred to here, but Sun Wenchuan, the author of the *Nanchao fosi zhi*, thinks it is the former, which was abandoned in the Qi Dynasty and therefore the graveyard was "old."¹¹⁵ The Lower Dinglin monastery, which was situated near a rivulet of the mountain, was built by the monk Huilan 慧覽 (d. 460 or 461) in 424 (the 1st year of the Yuanjia 元嘉 era). However, only eleven years later, Dharmamitra thought it was not in an elevated position and was not isolated enough, so he built the Upper Dinglin

¹¹³ Li Guxing, "Shangyuan xian Kaishan si xiu Zhigong heshang tang shizhu ji," 上元縣開善寺修志公和尚堂石柱記 (A record of erecting a stone column at the Hall of Revered Monk [Bao]zhi of the Kaiyuan monastery in Shangyuan County), in *Quan Tangwen* 788.8240a-b.

¹¹⁴ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 11.402c; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 440; *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 6.473c.

¹¹⁵ *Nanchao fosi zhi* 1.137.

monastery.¹¹⁶ After this new temple was established, the older one gradually fell into disuse in the Qi and Liang Dynasties.¹¹⁷ The new monastery was perhaps densely populated so that Xiao Yan bought the land in front of Lower Dinglin monastery for Baozhi's stūpa. The stūpa and the Kaishan monastery were very close to this deserted monastery. Therefore, the biography of the monk Sengfu 僧副 (464-524) reads, "he was buried outside the great gate of the Lower Dinglin monastery."¹¹⁸ He was a monk of the Kaishan monastery, but here it says that he was entombed outside the entrance of another temple.¹¹⁹ It seems strange at the first glance, but this suggests that Baozhi's stūpa and the Kaishan monastery were situated near to the Lower Dinglin monastery, to the extent that it was perhaps hard to distinguish the territories of the two temples. Consequently, Baozhi's stūpa was not only in the same cemetery with the tombs of the monks of the Kaishan monastery, but was also not far from another monastic graveyard. Considering the locations of these cemeteries, it seems that Baozhi's stūpa did not stand out from other monastic tombs, but was simply erected northwest of the cemetery of the Lower Dinglin monastery. Therefore, when Xiao Yan bought land for the stūpa, this was probably viewed by the contemporary Buddhist order as an act of giving honour to Baozhi. Yet the stūpa for him—possibly only an impressive grave in monks' eyes—did not acquire any significance greater than that of other monastic tombs

¹¹⁶ Liu Zongyi 劉宗意 thinks that the two Dinglin monasteries were not far away from each other; otherwise they would not have been both called Dinglin monasteries. Lu You 陸游 (1125-1210), a poet of Southern Song, visited the Zixia cave 紫霞洞 on Mount Zhong, which was beside the Lower Dinglin monastery, and engraved an inscription about his trip on its wall. In 1975 the inscription was discovered, revealing the location of the monastery. Since the *Jingding Jiankang zhi* says that the Upper Dinglin monastery was at a higher level west of the Lower Dinglin monastery, the only place suitable for this large monastery in the west, Liu Zongyi thinks, is a slope in the highest peak of the mountain. The two temples were only less than two hundred metres apart. Liu Zongyi, "Liuchao jingshi Shang Dinglin si weizhi kao" 六朝京師上定林寺位置考 (An investigation into the location of the Upper Dinglin monastery in the Six Dynasties), *Jiangsu difang zhi* 江蘇地方志 3 (2003): 37.

¹¹⁷ *Nanchao fosi zhi* 1.137-139, 1.155-164, 2.304-309; Han Pinzheng 韓品崢, "Liu Xie yu Dinglin si kao" 劉勰與定林寺考 (A study on Liu Xie and the Dinglin monastery), *Dongnan wenhua* 東南文化 1(2001): 57-60.

¹¹⁸ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 16.550b: 窆於下定林之都門外.

¹¹⁹ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 6.473c-474a, 16.550b.

there. Hence, Huijiao simply describes it as a *mu* 墓 (a tomb). According to Buddhist scriptural tradition of stūpas, however, a stūpa should be separated from tombs if it is set up for a holy monk. Apparently, Baozhi's funerary stūpa did not manifest a shred of his holiness.

To further illustrate this point, we may look into the expressions Daoxuan uses in his biography for Huiyue 慧約 (450-535), whose stūpa was erected on the left of Baozhi's on Mount Dulong. Huiyue did not live in the Kaishan monastery, but in the Caotang monastery 草堂寺 on Mount Zhong (not to be confused with the one with the same name lived in by Kumārajīva in Chang'an) for a long time, from the time after he returned to the capital city from Shan 剡 (in present-day Zhejiang) till his death. After he passed away, his monastic fellows all decided to bury him in an eastern peak near the monastery. As shown above, it was customary for deceased monks to be buried in places near the monasteries in which they lived, but Xiao Yan ordered that a stūpa be set up for him on the left of Baozhi's stūpa and his body be entombed there. The emperor interfered in the interment because, when Huiyue was lying sick, the monk saw an old man who held a staff coming, and the emperor believed that this man was Baozhi, who came to greet Huiyue. It should be noted that Huiyue met Baozhi, not his stūpa. This story clearly implies that the stūpa was not perceived as Baozhi himself. Daoxuan's account about Huiyue's stūpa also reveals how the Buddhist order conceived of it and Baozhi's:

[Huiyue] was buried on the left of Baozhi's tomb.... Besides, in the beginning of the construction of the stūpa (*ta*) [for Huiyue], a pair of white cranes [flew] around the tomb, crying, shedding tears, and [whimpering] in very sorrowful and touching voices. On the third day after the burial [of Huiyue] they died suddenly. [Xiao Yan] ordered that a tablet be erected on the left of the tomb (*mu*) (i.e. Huiyue's).

於獨龍山寶誌墓左殯之……又建塔之始，白鶴一雙，繞墳鳴淚，聲其¹²⁰哀婉，葬後三日，歎然永逝。下勅豎碑墓左……¹²¹

It is clear that *ta* (stūpa) and *mu* (tomb) are regarded here as two interchangeable words. This suggests that even though Baozhi's stūpa was built as an impressive five-storey construction with a generous donation made by Princess Yongding, and the Kaishan monastery was erected later beside it and was a place where Xiao Yan told a number of eminent monks to live, the stūpa was viewed in essence as a tomb only. And the same conclusion can be drawn for Huiyue's stūpa. The characters inscribed on it reads "Liang gu Caotang fashi zhi fen" 梁古草堂法師之墳 (The tomb of the late (古 = 故?) Dharma Master of the Caotang [monastery] in the Liang), which Song Lian thinks to have been carved in the Liang Dynasty. Obviously, they show that this stūpa was also termed as *fen* (tomb).

Not only did the Buddhist order generally understand monastic funerary stūpas in this way, but at least some lay Buddhists in the Six Dynasties also had the same ideas about them. To illustrate this point, we may turn to other sources besides monastic biographies. By Xiao Yan's order, Lu Chui, as mentioned above, composed an epitaph for Baozhi's stūpa, which is called "A tomb epitaph for Dharma master [Bao]zhi" (誌法師墓誌銘). In it he writes that Xiao Yan "watched the *fangfen* 方墳 (lit. a square tomb) and shed tears."¹²² The term *fangfen*, which refers to Baozhi's stūpa here, clearly shows that the stūpa was conceived of as a tomb. It is puzzling why this term was used to describe stūpas, because it does not often appear in non-Buddhist literature. The earliest source I can find that contains it is the *Shuijing zhu*. The first citation from this work listed below is about the tomb of Zichan 子產 (582 B.C.E.-522

¹²⁰ The *Taishō* edition reads *qi* 其, but others read *shen* 甚. See the note on 470a of the *Taishō* edition.

¹²¹ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 6.470a.

¹²² Lu Chui, "Zhi fashi muzhiming," in *QSSQLW* 4: 53.3258: 望方墳而隕涕.

B.C.E.; a strategist in the period of Spring and Autumn), and the second one, about a tomb of a fiefdom in the Eastern Zhou, which was taken over by the Qin State.

On the mountain (Xingshan 陘山 in the present-day Henan) there is a tumulus for Zheng Jizhong 鄭祭仲. West of it there is a tomb for Zichan, which is a *fangfen* made of piled stones.

山上有鄭祭仲冢, 冢西有子產墓, 累石為方墓。¹²³

The *Huanglan* 皇覽 (Imperial reading [collected by Wei officials]) says on level ground three *li* away east of the northern outer wall of the city of Bocheng 薄城 (= Bo 亳城, in present Henan) there is a burial mound [dating back to] the Tang 湯 [of the Eastern Zhou]. The burial mound is square, with [four sides] each ten *bu*¹²⁴ [long] and seven *chi* high and with an even top....In the present in the city there is an old tumulus—the square tomb; it may be the tumulus of the Tang claimed by Du Yuankai 杜元凱 (namely Du Yu 杜預 [222-284]).

《皇覽》曰: 薄城北郭東三里平地有湯冢, 冢四方, 方各十步, 高七尺, 上平也.....今城內有故冢方墳, 疑即杜元凱之所謂湯冢者也。¹²⁵

These two narratives give us some idea of how the *fangfen* might be; it had a raised, flat, square (*fang*) gravestone, and was grand so it was perhaps erected usually in elite cemeteries.

The two tombs mentioned in the citations certainly were far earlier than the introduction of Buddhism to China. Lu Chui, however, describes Baozhi's stūpa as a *fangfen*, although it was of a Buddhist monk. This is possibly because, as an impressive funerary monument, it also had a square, raised base made of stone. Unfortunately, this conjecture cannot be completely proved because the stūpa is not extant. But the existing twin dual stūpas erected for Daoping, which are square if viewed from above, perhaps qualify as a "*fangfen*." Hence, it is possible that Baozhi's stūpa also shared such a square structure and reminded Lu Chui of

¹²³ *Shuijing zhu*, juan 22; Wang (colla.), Yuan and Liu (annots.), *Shuijing zhu jiao*, 22.710.

¹²⁴ One *bu* was equivalent to eight *chi* in the Zhou and to six *chi* in the Qin.

¹²⁵ *Shuijing zhu*, juan 23; Wang (colla.), Yuan and Liu (annots.), *Shuijing zhu jiao*, 23.753-754.

the old term *fangfen*, although it was five-storeyed and Daoping's has only one floor. This term was also used by Ruan Xiaoxu to describe Sengmin's tomb and by Xu Ling to describe Fu Hong's stūpa.¹²⁶ These elite members adopted the same expression in their writings about different monastic stūpas. This implies that they considered them simply as tombs.

The term *fangfen* seems not to be an expression often used at that time, because it does not appear frequently in the extant works composed in the Six Dynasties. Yet it was adopted by the Buddhist society later to define stūpas generally, including the Buddha's. In his work on the altar for teaching novice precepts (*jietan* 戒壇), Daoxuan, for example, says that the stūpa, in Chinese, is equivalent to the *fangfen* 方墳 (lit. square tomb), or the tumulus (*zhong* 塚), as stated in the Introduction of this dissertation.¹²⁷ He, however, is not the first monastic author to use the term this way. Both Zhiyi and Jizang say that the stūpa is rendered as *fangfen*.

In Sanskrit *tapo* or *toupo* (Chinese transliterations for the stūpa) is translated here as *fangfen*. It is also called *lingmiao* 靈廟 (spiritual shrine) or *zhiti* 支提 (the transliteration for caitya), which refers to [the receptacle] without any bone or body. 梵言塔婆, 或偷婆, 此翻方墳。亦言靈廟, 又言支提, 無骨身者也。¹²⁸

Tapo is a foreign language expression, and is also called *zhiti*. Here it is called *fangfen*.

塔婆, 外國語, 亦云支提, 此云(sic.)方墳。¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Ruan Xiaoxu, "Zhuangyan si Sengmin fashi bei" 莊嚴寺僧旻法師碑 (An inscription for [the tomb of] Dharma master Sengmin of the Zhuangyan monastery), in *QSSQSLW* 3: 18.3057; also in *Yiwen leiju*, 76.1308; Xu Ling, "Dongyang Shuanglin si Fu dashi bei" 東陽雙林寺傅大士碑 (An inscription for [the tomb of] the Great Being Fu of the Shuanglin monastery, a Dongyang native), in *QSSQSLW* 4: 11.3465 (also in *Yiwen leiju* 76.1309-1310).

¹²⁷ See section 1.1.3 of Chapter One of this dissertation.

¹²⁸ Zhiyi, *Miaofa lianhua jing wen ju* 妙法蓮花經文句 ([Explanation of] the words and sentences in the *Lotus Sūtra with Wondrous Dharma*), T no. 1718, 34: 8.112c.

¹²⁹ Jizang, *Jingang jing yishu* 金剛經義疏 (Explanation of the meanings of the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*), T no. 1699, 33: 3.112c.

These two citations are from Zhiyi's and Jizang's commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra* and the *Diamond Sūtra* respectively. The term *fangfen* does not appear in the translations of both *sūtras*, but these two monks used it, probably because it was common to link stūpas with this kind of grave and the analogy between them could help Buddhists grasp the meaning of this Indian construction. Although the two monks wrote the commentaries in the late Chen and the Sui Dynasties, the usage of *fangfen* in describing stūpas perhaps appeared by at least the Xiao Liang Dynasty (if not earlier), as demonstrated by the above-mentioned epitaph Lu Chui wrote for Baozhi's stūpa. It can be concluded that the understanding of monastic funerary stūpas as tombs in the Six Dynasties was influencing how people, including monks, in later times defined other stūpas besides those for deceased monks.¹³⁰

4.3.6 The Locations of the Funerary Stūpas and Their Surroundings, Seen from the Viewpoint of Chinese Burial Tradition

I shall continue to explore the locations of the stūpas here, but I now shall put them in the context of local burial custom. If the stūpas had been perceived as sepulchral buildings instead of Buddhist holy objects, their construction would have been influenced by such customs. First, let us look at again Daoxuan's sketchy account of Fu Hong's burial. It only says that his followers interred his body in the mountain.¹³¹ The mountain that is referred to here is Mount Song 松山 (present-day Mount Yunhuang 雲黃山 in Zhejiang)—the place

¹³⁰ See section 1.1.3 of Chapter One. In the *Quan Tangwen* there are some inscriptions for funerary stūpas which contain the term. See Faxuan's 法宣 (late 6th to early 7th centuries) "Shi Huijun zhuanta ming," 釋慧顥磚塔銘 (The inscription for the brick stūpa of Shi Huijun), for example. It is collected in the *Tangwen shiyi* 唐文拾遺 (Supplementary amplifications of the *Quan Tangwen*), 49.10928.

¹³¹ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 25.650b.

where the Shuanglin monastery was situated. It sounds strange because Daoxuan chooses to mention the location where Fu Hong was buried but misses out the stūpa erected in his graveyard. It seems that the location is a more important fact than the stūpa is. The same can be said of Huijiao's record of Baozhi's grave: he does not tell us that a stūpa was set up for this monk, but mentions that his tomb was located at the Kaishan monastery in Mount Dulong, with the tablets engraved with the inscriptions written by the elite. As stated above, this is perhaps because Huijiao, like Daoxuan, thinks that the stūpa is not noteworthy but that the inscriptions written by the elite instead can imply recognition given to him more clearly. Strikingly, both these authors highlight that the stūpas were located in the mountains. Seemingly this is a trivial point, but it clearly tells us that these stūpas were built under the impact of Chinese funerary custom. According to the custom, graves ought to be on mountains, so they had commanding views. Besides, many graves in China were on southern hillsides because they were exposed to more sunlight than those on northern hillsides.¹³² On his deathbed, Fu Hong told his followers to set up one of the two stūpas with his relics on Mount Song. Although in the end only one was put up, it was on the hill at his request and was beside another monk Huiji's 慧集 (491-538)¹³³ tomb. This request exactly shows the influence of the local burial custom.

I shall dig further into the location of Baozhi's stūpa because it reflects clearly the impact of the custom. As mentioned above, the stūpa was on the southern hillside of Mount Dulong. This mountain belonged to the range of Mount Zhong, a place where the royal burial

¹³² This is why the character *yang* (sun) is used to describe the southern slope of the mountain. The expression “*Zhongshan zhi yang*” (鍾山之陽) therefore refers to the southern hillside of Mount Zhong.

¹³³ His biography is found in Lou Ying's *Huihui dashi yulu*, simplified by Lou Zhao (see note 77 above). Huiji is also depicted as a wonderworker like Fu Hong, being an incarnation of Guanyin and conducting self immolation.

ground in the Wu and Eastern Jin Dynasties was located.¹³⁴ The *Jiankang shilu* says that, among the nine emperors of the Eastern Jin Dynasty, five were interred on the southern slope of Mount Zhong and were fifteen *li* northeast of Jiangning County 江寧縣 (the district established there in the Tang).¹³⁵ As for another four of them, it gives more specific information, saying that they were buried in the southern part of Mount Jilong 雞籠山 (another hill of the range of Mount Zhong).¹³⁶ As early as the period of the Wu state, Mount Zhong was already used by the royal family as its burial place. Sun Quan's mausoleum was set up there and, according to the *Jiankang shilu*, was also fifteen *li* northeast of the Jiangning County.¹³⁷ These royal mausoleums were all on Mount Zhong—the place where the two Dinglin and the Kaishan monasteries were set up. According to the *Nanchao fosi ji*, the Lower Dinglin monastery was located in the Jiangling ward 蔣陵里. The name Jiangling 蔣陵 was the name of Sun Quan's mausoleum¹³⁸. Considering that all these three

¹³⁴ My discussion of the imperial graves and of the geographical features of Mount Zhong is based on the following studies: Jiang Zanchu, *Changjiang zhong xia you lishi kaogu lunwen ji*; Liu Zongyi, “Sun Quan ling zai Meihua shan ma?,” 孫權陵在梅花山嗎? (Was Sun Quan's grave located on Mount Meihua?), *Jiangnan difang zhi* 江南地方志 4 (2004): 33-36; Li Wairan 李蔚然, “Lun Nanjing diqu muzang de zangdi xuanze he paizang fangfa” 論南京地區墓葬的葬地選擇和排葬方法 (A discussion of selection of graveyards and arrangements of graves in Nanjing region), *Kaogu* 4 (1983): 343-346.

¹³⁵ These emperors are Emperor Kang 康帝 (r. 343-344), Emperor Jiangwen 簡文帝 (r. 371-372), Emperor Xiaowu 孝武帝 (r. 373-396), Emperor An 安帝 (r. 397-418), and Emperor Gong 恭帝 (r. 419-420). Xiu Song, *Jiankang shilu* 8.155 & 184, 9.222, 10.264 & 266.

¹³⁶ These four emperors are Emperor Yuan 元帝 (r. 317-322), Emperor Ming 明帝 (r. 323-325), Emperor Cheng 成帝 (r. 326-342), and Emperor Ai 哀帝 (r. 362-365). Xiu Song, *Jiankang shilu* 5.107, 6.120, 7.149, 8.176.

¹³⁷ Xiu Song, *Jiankang shilu* 2.45.

¹³⁸ According to the *Songshu* (27.780), Sun Quan's grandfather was called Sun Zhong 孫鍾 (d.u.). Therefore, the name of Mount Zhong was changed to Jiangshan 蔣山 (Mount Jiang) in observing taboo. The mountain was given this new name because Jiang Ziwen was buried there. He was a local officer of the Moling County in the late Han, and became a deity after he died from injuries. See Chapter 4, note 188. For the local belief in this, see Hu Axiang 胡阿祥, “Jiangshan, Jiangzhou, Jiangwang miao yu Jiang Ziwen chongbai” 蔣山、蔣州、蔣王廟與蔣子文崇拜 (Mount Jiang, Jiang County, King-Jiang Shrine, and the belief in Jiang Ziwen), *Nanjing shifan zhuanke xuexiao xuebao* 南京師範專科學校學報 15.2 (1999): 10-15.

Sun Quan's grave was called Jiangling 蔣陵 (the [imperial] mausoleum on [Mount] Jiang). The graveyard perhaps covered a large piece of land, which probably included Mount Fuzhou 覆舟山 of Mount Zhong,

monasteries were not far from each other, it can be easily inferred that they were constructed in a region where the royal families buried their members.

It may not come as a surprise to learn that the monasteries were set up in this exalted region, given that Huilan and Dharmamitra were highly respected by Emperor Wen of the Liu Song Dynasty and hence it seems natural that the emperor built the Lower Dinglin monastery for the former and allowed the latter to set up the other temple on the mountain.¹³⁹ It would, however, be striking that Baozhi and some other monks were buried there, together with some emperors of previous dynasties. One would argue that this place might not have been used as an imperial burial ground after the Eastern Jin period so it would not be strange that these monks, many of whom lived in the monasteries, were entombed there. This argument, however, doesn't hold. The mausoleum of Liu Yu, the founder of the Liu Song Dynasty, which was called Chuning ling 初寧陵, was located on the mountain.¹⁴⁰ Even in the Ming, the mountain was still regarded by the royal family as an ideal burial ground. Thus, to build Xiaoling 孝陵 (Filial piety mausoleum), the government moved the Kaiyuan monastery (called Linggu si 靈谷寺 then) from the southern slope to the southeast one of Mount Dulong, and amalgamated the Upper Dinglin monastery into it and took the latter's land. The royal mausoleums built from the Wu to the Ming periods well demonstrate that the monastic

because the *Jinshu* describes this hill as “Jiangling Fuzhou shan” 蔣陵覆舟山 (Fuzhou Mount in the Jiang Mausoleum). See Su Jun's 蘇峻 biography in *Jinshu* 70.2629. Jiang Zanchu and Liu Zongyi think that the graveyard covered Mount Fugui 富貴山 too—the hill next to it in the east.

¹³⁹ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 3.343a; 11.399a; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 121-122 & 418; *Nanchao fosi zhi* 2.137 & 155.

¹⁴⁰ Xiu Song, *Jiankang shilu* 11.294. Kylin (a kind of auspicious deer-like animal with horns and scales) gate 麒麟門 of the outer wall in the capital city in the Ming, which was on the eastern hillside of the mountain, was called so because it was located in the front of the mausoleum—the place where the funerary sculptures of kyilins stood. See Jiang Zanchu, “Nanjing diming tanyuan” 南京地名探源 (An examination of origins of the geographical names in Nanjing), in *Changjiang zhong xia you lishi kaogu lunwen ji*, 289.

cemeteries there, where Baozhi's stūpa and other monks' tombs stood, were definitely not ordinary graveyards.

This can also be confirmed if we examine the surroundings of the monastic graveyards. Probably, the graveyards can be classified as ideal, propitious burial places if judged in terms of Chinese funerary belief. As shown above, Daoxuan recounts in his biography for Huiyue that they were located in the southern slope of the mountain. This can be confirmed by another monastic biography, which is about the nun Sengjing and written by Baochang. It also says that they were in the southern part.¹⁴¹ Since Jiankang was a rainy place, people preferred graveyards to be situated in elevated lands facing south so as to prevent tombs from getting damp. They also considered mountains as favourable burial grounds because of their belief in geomancy (*fengshui* 風水): tombs in these places had panoramic views and therefore manifested the buried superiority of people and their families, and they would bring blessings to the families.¹⁴² It is, however, not alleged that the Buddhist order had any interest in geomantic or geographical features of ideal cemeteries, or in entombing its departed members according to the geomancy custom. It is clear that the order did not always have control of its members' burial. As mentioned above, Sengmin, for example, did not live in either the Kaishan or the Upper Dinglin monasteries before death. In 524 he was told by the state to move to the Kaishan monastery from his retreat abode on Mount Huqiu, but the journey impaired his health and made his health continue to deteriorate. He finally passed away in the Zhuangyan monastery. Xiao Yan had him buried at the

¹⁴¹ “[She (i.e. Sengjing)] was interred in the southern part of Mount Zhong” (葬於鍾山之陽). *Biqiuni zhuan*, T no. 2063, 50: 3.942b.

¹⁴² Li Wairan, “Lun Nanjing diqu muzang de zangdi xuanze he paizang fangfa,” 343; Xu Jijun, *Zhongguo sangzang shi*, 307-311. The excavated graves show that the elite tended to build its ancestors' tombs in accordance to the above-discussed customs. For a discussion of these graves, see Li Wairan's article.

cemetery on Mount Zhong and had the funeral arranged for him. Huiyue also did not live in the Kaishan monastery, but was buried at the cemetery there. Only because Xiao Yan believed that Baozhi came to greet Huiyue, he entombed him in the same cemetery with Baozhi, although his monastic fellows originally planned to bury him in a mountain east of the Caotang monastery. Finally, his stūpa (or “*mu*” [tomb] as described by Daoxuan) was placed on the left of Baozhi’s stūpa, says Daoxuan in his biography.

Why does this monastic author mention that it was erected on the left of Baozhi’s stūpa? He does not provide such information in his accounts of other monks who were also buried there. He may think this fact worthy of note because the direction had significant meaning in Chinese funerary tradition. At that time, in a family’s or clan’s graveyard, a senior member’s tomb was usually placed on the right, in the front, or at the centre; the right/front/centre, in other words, was a position showing seniority.¹⁴³ That Huiyue’s stūpa was put up on the left of Baozhi’s indicates at least these two monks’ stūpas were arranged in accordance with the Chinese burial custom, although other monks’ tombs might not have been positioned this way.¹⁴⁴ It is likely that, in Xiao Yan’s eyes, Baozhi was senior to Huiyue.

No doubt the monastic cemeteries on Mount Zhong were optimal burial loci if judged from Chinese burial tradition, and were testaments to the great honour the ruling class gave to the Buddhist order, but they clearly illustrated at the same time that the ruling class imposed the tradition on the Buddhist order. One can then understand why, standing in the

¹⁴³ Li Wairan, “Lun Nanjing diqu muzang de zangdi xuanze he paizang fangfa,” 344-345; Luo Zongzhen 羅宗真, “Shijia dazu mu yu yiban mu” 世家大族墓與一般墓 (Great clans’ tombs and ordinary tombs), in his *Wei Jin Nanbei chao kaogu* 魏晉南北朝考古 (Archaeological studies on the Wei, Jin, and Southern-and-Northern Dynasties) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001), 132.

¹⁴⁴ For example, after death Tanjie 曇戒 (or Huijing 惠精), one of Daoan’s students, was buried on the left of his tomb, which was at the Wuji monastery 五級寺 in Chang’an. *Meisō den shō*, X no. 1523, 77: 357b; *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 5.353c & 356c; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 183, 204.

cemeteries, Baozhi's and Huiyue's stūpas could hardly be regarded as or could hardly develop into Buddhist objects of worship equated with the monks. And one can also understand why pilgrims approached another stūpa for Baozhi put inside the Kaishan monastery while paying respect to him. When the long-held belief had it that offering-making done in ancestral shrines as “auspicious ritual” (*jili* 吉禮) but those at graves were “inauspicious ritual” (*xiongli* 凶禮), always associated with death and sorrow,¹⁴⁵ it sounds natural that pilgrims did not go to Buddhist funerary stūpas for worship.

One may argue that the cemeteries on Mount Zhong were exceptionally rare. We have to admit that extant material generally does not provide much information on the surroundings of other monastic members' stūpas, so we can hardly know whether they were usually built according to Chinese burial tradition as Baozhi's and Huiyue's were. But at least some of them were put up on mountains. Zhu Fayi's stūpa, for example, as mentioned above, was constructed by Emperor Xiaowu of the Eastern Jin in Xinding gang 新亭崗. Tanjian 曇簡 (d. 493) and Tanyong 曇勇 (d. 501), two sisters of the Fayin nunnery 法音寺, and their monastic fellow Jingui 淨珪 (d. 493) were interred on Mount Bai (Baishan 白山) after they immolated themselves there.¹⁴⁶ Tanluan was also buried near mountains in Fenxi

¹⁴⁵ The belief already appeared in the Zhou Dynasty. Wu Hung, “From Temple to Tomb,” 88.

¹⁴⁶ *Biqiuni zhuan*, T no. 2063, 50: 3.943b-c & 944b. There are two mountains both named Baishan to the best of my knowledge. Huijiao mentions in his *Gaoseng zhuan* that there was a monastery called Lingjiu si 靈鷲寺 on Mount Bai in Shan 剡 (in present-day Zhejiang), where Sengrou 僧柔 (430-494) and Yu Fakai 于法開 (fl. the second half of the fourth century) once lived. See *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 4.350a; 8.378c; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 167-168 & 322. There was another hill with the same name in Jiangcheng county 江乘縣 in Danyang, (near Mount Nie 攝山, affiliated to Southern Langya County 南琅琊郡). This hill was populated by some recluses and could be the place where the nuns lived in a retreat. An official named Wei Zai 韋載 (fl. the second half of the sixth century), for example, lived there after leaving office till his death (*Chenshu* 30.250). Therefore, it is perhaps this mountain where Tanjian, together with her sister and fellow nun, lived. Baochang writes that Prince of Jingling decorated the Daoling nunnery 道林寺 (the convent where Tanjian lived) and it then became noisy because many sermons were held there, and therefore Tanjian moved to

汾西, and Zhizhan 志湛 (d.u.) on Mount Rentou 人頭山 (in the north of Mount Tai 泰岳).¹⁴⁷

The locations people chose to build stūpas for these monks and nuns were perhaps those they thought most suitable according to the local Chinese tradition.

4.4 Laymen's Views on Funerary Stūpas for Deceased Monks outside

Capital Cities

The above discussion shows that usually the stūpas neither were thought to be holy nor were markedly different from tombs in people's eyes. Worship seldom occurred. Only a few of them became places of pilgrimage, but this happened only sporadically and locally. Besides, monastic authors usually do not give them detailed narrations, making it hard to obtain a comprehensive picture of the pilgrimage there. However, the authors also do not pay much attention to other monastic stūpas, usually giving very sketchy, bland mentions only,

a crude hut on Mount Bai (*Biqiuni zhuan*, 943c). Benn has outlined the biographies of these three self-immolated nuns in his *Burning for the Buddha*, 44, 204-205.

¹⁴⁷ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 6.470c; 28.686a.

Daoxuan writes that Tanluan's stūpa was put up in "Wengu, in Tailing of Fenxi" (汾西泰陵文谷), but its location is a mystery and therefore arouses scholars' attention. Both Tian Rui 田瑞 and Wang Hualun 王化倫 agree that "Tailing" refers to Daling county 大陵縣 (south of present-day Jiaocheng county 交城縣 and part of Wenshui county 文水縣), because the characters *tai* 泰 and *da* 大 are interchangeable. But the former thinks that "Wengu" is the name of a village and is the present-day Wenyi village 文倚村 (nine miles northeast of the city of Wenshui County), which was called Wugu village 文谷村. The latter, however, considers that Wugu is the valley where branches of Wengu River 文峪河 from mountains in the two counties join, and is the place where Northern Yukou Village 北峪口村 (*yukou*: the mouth of a valley) lies at present. One of the reasons for his reluctance to identify Wengu as Wenyi Village is that, judging from Chinese tomb geomancy, Wenyi Village is not a place people at that time would think appropriate for burying their respected Tanluan, given that the village is near the river and is often faced with flood (but there are some mountains behind Northern Yukou Village). It is located in front of Gaoseng ya 高僧崖 (Eminent monk's cliff), the name of which indicates its association with a monk, possibly Tanluan. See Tian Rui, "Jingtu zushi Tanluan zangdi yanjiu" 淨土祖師曇鸞葬地研究 (Research on the burial place of the Pure Land patriarch Tanluan), *Cangsang* 滄桑 4 (1997): 52-55; Wang Hualun, "Tanluan zangdi kao" 曇鸞葬地考 (An investigation into Tanluan's burial place), *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 4 (1999): 99-104. If Wang's points are accepted, then apart from Baozhi's and Huiyue's stūpas, Tanluan's would be another example of funerary stūpas for deceased monks and nuns affected by Chinese tomb customs.

whereas they tend to depict vividly the miraculous phenomena that happened during the cremation held for deceased monastic members. This is because these stūpas were not thought to be tokens exclusive to those who had transcended profaneness. Also, they were not common at that time, and many of eminent monastic members did not have ones in their graveyards.

If these stūpas were not associated with holiness and were not regarded as loci for cultivation, it is likely that they tended to be within laymen's domains and were not what the Buddhist order was concerned about. This inference is supported. Huijiao and Daoxuan recorded more stūpas for deceased monks built by laymen than those by the Buddhist order; among the twenty-six stūpas they depicted, twelve were put up by the former, but only six by monks (either their disciples or monastic fellows).¹⁴⁸ The stūpas for Zhu Fayi, Faxu, Sengchou, Tancheng, and Fajin, for example, as stated above, were constructed by, as stated above, their lay admirers or followers. This, however, does not mean that stūpa construction for deceased monks and nuns was mainly a matter of concern to influential lay people, although we would tend to assume to be political and social elite when we think of lay people.

Although some of the funerary stūpas in the Six Dynasties were put up by political dignitaries (e.g. Baozhi's, which was constructed by Xiao Yan's daughter), overall these privileged people were not eager to build this kind of stūpa for the monastic members they respected. Take, for instance, the elite in Xiao Yan's reign. In this period Buddhism expanded most remarkably when compared to other southern dynasties, and supposedly the elite was inclined most strongly to build stūpas for the Buddhist order even though it

¹⁴⁸ The monks whose stūpas were put up by laymen are Zhu Fayi, Daowang 道汪 (d. 466), Śrīmitra (Boshilimi 帛尸梨蜜; a.k.a. Jiyou 吉友; d. 338-339), Faxu, Tancheng, Fajin, Facun 法存 (d. 492-493), Sengqin 僧慶 (437-459), Tanluan 釋曇鸞 (476-?), Sengchou, Faning, and Puyuan.

regarded them as grand tombs only. Yet, to build monuments to the deceased monks and nuns it respected, the elite tended to have tablets inscribed with epitaphs it composed and have them erected at their graveyards and/or at the monasteries they had lived—a traditional way of giving honour to prominent figures. For example, when Zhizang died in 522 (the third year of the Putong era), Xiao Yi, Prince Xiangdong who came to the throne later as Emperor Yuan 元帝 (r. 552-554), wrote an inscription; the Xin'an 新安 governor Xiao Ji 蕭機 (fl. the first half of the 6th century)¹⁴⁹, a prose text (*wen* 文?); Zhongshuzi 中庶子 (Palace Cadet in the household) Yan Jun 殷鈞 (484-532), an epitaph. The tablets inscribed with these texts erected at the monk's grave on Mount Dulong and at the Kaishan monastery (the temple where he had lived).¹⁵⁰ Although no stūpa was set up for this monk, the tablets—emblems of his distinction—already showed the great honour the elite gave to him, given that it was not easy to have them made then because making stone monuments was strictly prohibited in the southern dynasties and a similar ban was also adopted in the northern states. To urge people to hold frugal funerals and build plain tombs, the emperors in different dynasties issued decrees to enforce the ban. In 507 (the 6th year of the Tianjian era) Xiao Yan, for example, restated restrictions concerning tomb decoration, forbidding people from erecting funerary stone figures and animal-carving tablets and ordering stone tablets to be made only when they were permitted by the state. Not only was this ban applied to tombs of officials and ordinary people, but also to those of the royal family. For example, when Xiao Xiu 蕭秀 (d.

¹⁴⁹ The name Xiao Ji should be a misprint for Xiao Ji 蕭幾 (fl. the first half of the 6th century), one of the elite Buddhists well acquainted with Xiao Yi. According to his biography in the *Liangshu*, Xiao Ji was the Xin'an governor and Buddhist devotee (35.596-597). And, he was also one of the compilers of the encyclopaedia *Fabao lianbi* 法寶聯璧 (A fine cluster of Dharma treasures), which was produced in 534 at Xiao Yi's order. The text has been lost but the foreword to it, which was composed by Xiao Yi, is collected in the *Guang Hongming ji*. It has a reference to Xiao Ji (20: 242c, 244a).

¹⁵⁰ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 6.467c.

518), Prince Ancheng 安成王 and one of Xiao Yan's brothers, died in 518, his subordinates asked to set up monuments engraved with epigraphs; only after permission was given did contemporary literati members Wang Sengru 王僧孺 (465-522), Lu Chui, Liu Xiaochao 劉孝綽 (481-539), and Pei Ziye 裴子野 (469-530) produce tomb inscriptions for this royal person. The prohibition was not lifted until the Sui Dynasty.¹⁵¹ Under the circumstances, the tablets with elite inscriptions for Zhizang definitely reflected their recognition for his achievements, but revealed the recognition through traditional, secular monuments, not through Indian stūpas. Obviously, the elite thought that such recognition already sufficed to remind people of a monk/nun's distinction. And, because of the state's restriction on funerary constructions, naturally it could not build stūpas for deceased monastic members freely.

Hence, a fair proportion of the funerary stūpas, narrated in monastic biographies, was set up by locals outside the capital cities. The stūpa erected for Tancheng, for example, as mentioned above, was built by local villagers in Pengcheng after he fed himself to tigers. And Fajin also sacrificed himself by cutting his flesh from his body and giving it to the hungry people in Gaochang. Finally, the magistrate relieved the famine by distributing the wheat in an official granary; Tancheng's body was cremated, and only his tongue remained

¹⁵¹ *Liangshu* 22.345; *Suishu* 3.153; Li Shibiao 李士彪, "Han Wei Liuchao jin bei yu beiwen de yanbian" 漢魏六朝禁碑與碑文的演變 (Prohibition against tablets and changes in inscriptions in the Han, the Wei, and the Six Dynasties), *Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua* 中國典籍與文化 (Chinese classics and culture) 4 (1999): 85-86.

In his *Taozhai cangshi ji* 匏齋臧石記 (Records of the stones stored by Taozhai [Duanfang's alias]), Duanfang 端方 (1961-1911; with the Manchu family name Tuoteke 托忒克), a tablet collector of the Qing, states that, because of the prohibition, tablets of the Southern Dynasties were few, and that although there were more inscriptions in the Xiao Liang Dynasty than in other southern dynasties, only a few inscriptions were found and that they included those about the image carvings written by Gu Tingqian 顧廷謙 (d.u.) and Chen Baozhai 陳寶齋 (d.u.) (which are not included in his collection). His comment is attached to the end of the "Liu Jing zao Shijiamouni xiang ji" 劉敬造釋迦牟尼像記 (A record of an image of Śākyamuni produced by Liu Jin). The *Taozhai cangshi ji* is collected in Guojia tushu guan shanben jinshi zu (ed.), *Xianqin Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbei chao shike wenxian quanbian* 2: 329.

intact and was enshrined in a three-storied stūpa, on the right of which a tablet was put up.¹⁵²

It should be noted that, among the deceased monks' stūpas recorded in Huijiao's and Daoxuan's biographical collections, ten were erected after the monks conducted self-sacrifice, and eight of their stories are narrated in the sections of the self-immolated monks, "Wangshen" 亡身 (Self-sacrificed [monks]) in Huijiao's biographical collection and "Yishen" 遺身 ([Monks] casting off their bodies) in Daoxuan's.¹⁵³ Considering that only twenty-six stūpas were recorded totally, ten make up a noticeably fair proportion. And more than half of them (seven) were erected by local people, and only three (Sengchou's, Xianhu's, and Senya's) were constructed by monks. The number of these stūpas mentioned in Baochang's biographies is more striking, because three of the four were built for three nuns after their simultaneous self-sacrifice outside Jiankang.¹⁵⁴

These monks and nuns were active or forwent their bodies outside the capital cities and therefore their stūpas were all built not in these places. Sengqing 僧慶 (437-459) and Sengya, whose stories will be discussed below, carried out their missionary works in Sichuan and Tanhong in Guangdong. Not only they, but all others of the ten monks also did not reside in metropolitan areas. Tancheng committed self-sacrifice in Pangcheng, Fajing in Gaochang, Xianhu in Guanghan 廣漢 (in Sichuan), and Puyuan in Yongzhou. Four of the ten lived in

¹⁵² *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 12.404a; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 447.

¹⁵³ In 580 Fu Hong wanted to burn his own body for converting others, but was stopped by his disciples. Eager to be substitutes, they burned their fingers, arms, and even entire bodies. Zhang Yong has discussed this event of mass auto-cremations and some instances of self-immolation in China in his *Fu dashi yanjiu*, 341-350.

¹⁵⁴ These ten monks are Xianhu, Tancheng, Fajin, Facun 法存 (*Gaoseng zhuan*, 12.405c; Tang [colla. & annot.], *Gaoseng zhuan*, 455), Tanhong, Sengqing, Sengchou, Faning, Sengya, and Puyuan. Although the biographies of Xianhu and Sengchou are not found in the sections "Wusheng" and "Yisheng," these two monks also committed self-immolation. The four nuns are Huiyao 慧耀 (d. 477), Tanjian, Jinggui, and Tanyong. It is, however, not alleged that stūpas would definitely, without exception, be built for all self-immolated monks and nuns, so not all of them were remembered through stūpas.

Sichuan (Shu)¹⁵⁵. The three nuns also conducted self-immolation outside Jiankang. This indicates that people outside the capital cities would more likely erect stūpas for these monastic members. As will be shown below by stories of three of the monks, these people consisted of local monks and common people, who, generally speaking, might not be as highly literate as the elite and the Buddhist order in the capital cities were, and hence perhaps did not have any preference for traditional tomb epigraphs as the latter was. To express their respect for and gratitude to these monks and nuns, perhaps they tended to erect stūpas instead. Besides, the restrictions on stone monuments were not enforced in local areas as effectively as they were in the capital cities, so it seemed natural that more provincial people built stūpas if resources permitted. However, it should be noted that although the stūpas were not erected in capital cities, the stories of these monks and nuns attracted the attention of many people. They were not only transmitted locally but were also spread widely. Hence, for example, those of Sengya were mentioned in more than one work such as *Yizhou jiyi ji* 益州集異記 (Records of collected anomalies in Yizhou) and *Shamen Wangming ji* 沙門忘名集 (A collection of [the works by] Wangming [or Wangming 亡名; 516-567+]), and Fei Zhangfang's *Lidai sanbao ji*, all becoming the sources Daoxuan consulted for his account of Sengya.¹⁵⁶ Sengya was still praised and was regarded as a model of altruism by monks of

¹⁵⁵ Among all the twenty-six stūpas for the deceased monks recorded in Huijiao's and Daoxuan's biographical works, eight were in Sichuan. Although they did not constitute half of the total number, they outnumbered those in Jiankang, which were only four. But, before we can attribute this to prosperity of Buddhism in this area, it is necessary to conduct a close investigation.

¹⁵⁶ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 27.680b. Fei Zhangfang mentions in his *Lidai sanbao ji* (T no. 2034, 49: 11.101a) a work of one fascicle titled "Sengya pusa zhuan" 僧崖菩薩傳 (The biography of the Bodhisattva Sengya), which was also composed by Wangming. This work might be part of the *Shamen Wangming ji*. There is another text about Sengya, which was composed by Baotuan 寶象 (512-561) of the Northern Zhou. It was still circulating in Daoxuan's days, although it is not known whether he consulted it when he wrote the biography of Sengya. See *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 8.487a. For a discussion of the extant and lost texts about Sengya, see Benn, "Written in Flames," 412-415.

later times.¹⁵⁷ However, the stūpas for these monks and nuns did not stand out from other funerary stūpas. Neither did they play a part in local people's worship of the monks and nuns like those in the capital cities. We shall look into the stories of three self-immolated monks whose funerary stūpas will illustrate this point.

Sengqing was a monk of the Liu Song Dynasty hoping to see Buddhas face to face; therefore he burned three of his fingers. Later he wished to cast off his whole body, so he stopped eating grains and took scented oil only. One day in 459 (the 3rd year of the Daming 大明 era, Emperor Xiaowu's reign in the Liu Song period), in front of a Buddhist image of Jingming 淨明¹⁵⁸ in the Wudan monastery 武擔寺 in Shu, at the age of twenty-three, he offered his own body as sacrifice to the image by burning it. This attracted the magistrate Zhang Yue 張悅 (fl. late fifth century) and all local monks and laymen to the monastery. It was a cloudy, rainy day, but suddenly the sky cleared and it was sunny, and a creature, which looked like a dragon, soared up into the air. After the burning, the Tianshui 天水 governor Pei Fangming 裴方明 (d. 443) collected Senqing's ashes and built a stūpa.¹⁵⁹ Not all the details of this story are consistent with official history. The *Songshu* records that Pei Fangming was not the Tianshui governor but that of Liangzhou 梁州 and southern Qinzhou 秦州, and he was already dead in 453 (the 20th year of the Yuanjia reign, Emperor Wen's

¹⁵⁷ See the biography of Xingming 行明 in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*. T no. 2061, 50: 23.591.

¹⁵⁸ Benn (*Burning for the Buddha*, 40) identifies Jingming (Impeccable reputation) as Vimalakīrti, who is also called Jingming jushi 淨名居士 (Layman of impeccable reputation) (Weimojie 維摩詰 being its transliteration). But it is also possible that the name Jingming is a buddha's. Sengming wanted to see a buddha in person and hence burnt himself in front of his image. Vimalakīrti, however, is seldom addressed as “fo 佛” (buddha). The name “Jingming” is probably a buddha named Candra-vimala-sūrya-prabhāsa-śrī (Riyue jingming de rulai 日月淨明德如來 [Buddha with virtue as pure and brilliant as the sun and the moon]), whose realm resembles Sukhāvātī (Amitābha's 阿彌陀佛 Pure Land), and, according to the *Lotus Sūtra*, in front of this buddha the Bodhisattva of Healing burned his body.

¹⁵⁹ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 12.405c; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 454.

reign).¹⁶⁰ Also, Tianshu was under the control of the Northern Wei while Shu belonged to the territory of the Liu Song government. Despite these details, we should not take this story to be a complete invention. It tells us clearly that Sengqing was a practitioner of the *Lotus Sūtra*, one of the fascicles in which is “Bhaiṣajyarāja.”¹⁶¹ It is a chapter praising Bodhisattva Medicine King’s bodily sacrifice in his previous life (a kind of donation to Buddhism said to be better than others), and was one of the main *sūtras* supporting Chinese monks’ casting off their bodies. Apparently, by burning himself, Sengqing imitated this bodhisattva, who was finally reborn in the Buddha’s land after his self-sacrifice.¹⁶²

Yet, not all the altruistic acts of the monks and nuns recorded in monastic biographies can be clearly linked with the *Lotus Sūtra*. Indeed, Buddhist altruism can be traced back to the *jātaka* stories (stories of the Buddha’s previous lives) and are expounded in other Buddhist *sūtras*.¹⁶³ Tanhong 曇弘 (ca. 400-455), for example, was inspired by other texts for his self-sacrifice. He specialized in Buddhist precepts. Starting from the mid Yongchu 永初 era (420-422) of the Liu Song Dynasty, he lived at a monastery called Taisi 臺寺 in Panyu 番禺 (in Guangdong). In his old age he resided at the Xianshan monastery 仙山寺 in Jiaozhi 交趾 (in Jiaozhou 交州), reciting the *Sukhāvativyūha Sūtra* (*Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經) and the *Amitāyur-dhyāna Sūtra* (*Guanjing* 觀經)¹⁶⁴ and wishing to be reborn in Amitābha’s Pure

¹⁶⁰ *Songshu* 5.89-90.

¹⁶¹ The title is translated as “Yaowang pusa pin” 藥王菩薩品 (A chapter about Bodhisattva Medicine King), which is fascicle 23 in Kumārajīva’s translation.

¹⁶² For the relation between Chinese monks’ deeds of self-immolation and the text in China, see Benn, *Burning for the Buddha*, 4-77.

¹⁶³ Benn, *Burning for the Buddha*, 25-27, 56-69.

¹⁶⁴ The *Wuliangshou jing* has totally twelve Chinese translations, only seven of which are extant. The full name of the *Guanjing* is “Guan Wuliangshou fo jing” 觀無量壽佛經 (The *sūtra* on the meditation on the Infinite-Life Buddha), translated by Kālayāśas (known as Jiangliangyeshe 量良耶舍; fl. 424-442) of the Liu Song Dynasty (T no. 365, vol. 12).

Land. In 455 (the 2nd year of the Xiaojian era), he gathered material for a pyre on a mountain and planned to immolate himself secretly. When his disciples found this and saved him from the fire, half of his body was already injured badly. After a few months, he recovered a little bit. One day an assembly (lit. *hui* 會 = an assembly of Buddhist services?) was held in a nearby village, and all monks at the monastery attended it. Tanhong went to a valley alone and burned himself again. When villagers knew this and found him, he already died. They put more fuel to make the pyre burn more ragingly. The fire did not go out until the next day. On that day villagers all saw Tanhong, whose body was golden and who was riding on a golden deer heading west fast without pause. They had not realized that he was “supernatural and extraordinary” (*shenyi* 神異) until then. They then gathered his ashes and bones and built a stūpa.¹⁶⁵ Apparently, Tanhong strove for rebirth in Amitābha’s land, unlike Sengqing, who cast off his body for the Buddha Jingming as instructed by the *Lotus Sūtra*.

The above spectacles of Sengqing’s and Tanhong’s self-sacrifice described by Huijiao are less detailed and dramatic than that of Sengya’s depicted by Daoxuan, which would provide us with more information on these self-immolated monks and stūpa construction for them. Before becoming a monk, Sengya had already loathed his body and wanted to conduct self-burning one day. While serving as an attendant of a meditation master, he often showed to others his hatred for the body. For example, when his monastic fellows held him in contempt and conducted a trial by throwing him into fire, he was still composed even after being wounded. The master, who at first did not hold him in high regard, changed his attitude and admitted him into the Buddhist order. After then he devoted himself to

¹⁶⁵ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 12.405c; Tang (colla. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 455-456. The story of Tanhong’s self-immolation is discussed in Benn, *Burning for the Buddha*, 41-42, 47-48.

welfare services, winning monks' and laymen's respect. In the sixth month in 559 (the 1st year of the Wucheng 武成 era; Emperor Ming of the Northern Zhou) in a street in the Yizhou city he wrapped his fingers in cloth and burned them. When asked why he did not feel pain at all, he replied that he had no thought of it so it could not arise. After this he was called “Bodhisattva Sengya” 僧崖菩薩. His extreme act touched many people and attracted their attention; he then took the opportunity for preaching and reciting Buddhist *sūtras* for them, thus converting them. His fingers and arms, which were like burned candles, suddenly grew by three *cun* (1 *cun* = 1.18 cm) each and were as white as snow (?). One day a nun named Qian 僉 asked him for some relics so that she could enshrine them into a stūpa after his death. “Then [Seng]ya chewed in the mouth the five newly-grown bones and fractured them; [next] he spat them out and gave them to the populace, saying ‘you can build a stūpa [for them]’.”¹⁶⁶ On the fourteenth day of the seventh month (1 September), suddenly there was a frightening, loud bang, and various images of dogs, goats, dragons, and so on (in the form of clouds?) emerged in the sky; Sengya described this phenomenon as *jingshui sanmei* 驚睡三昧 (lit. awakening samādhi/contemplation), which seems to be a Buddhist term but in fact is not. After deciding to immolate his whole body the next day, he told his followers to prepare necessary implements. His profound achievement had moved many monks and laymen; hence, the meditation master Dao 導禪師 (d.u.) of the Xiaoi monastery had donated to him his staff and purple cloak (*zipi* 紫被?)¹⁶⁷, and another monk Sengyuan 僧淵 (519-602) had

¹⁶⁶ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 27.679a: 崖乃以口嚙新生五骨, 打而折之, 吐施大眾, 曰: ‘可為塔也.’ The original character for *da* 打 is composed of the radical *shou* 手 on the left and another character *quan* 犬 on the right.

¹⁶⁷ The meaning of the term *zipi* is not clear. It may mean purple cloak or robe. Purple was not a sanctioned colour for monastic robes in Buddhism. In 690 Empress Wu (Wu Zetian 武則天; r. 690-705) gave purple robes

given him his patch-robe when many pious people made generous donations. Wearing the robes, he ascended to a small chamber placed on a pyre, which was piled up like a tower several *chi* from the ground. The sponsor Wang Zhuan 王撰 (d.u.), who was responsible for lighting a fire, was afraid that, if he had done so, he would have killed the holy Sengya and committed a serious sin. Finally, although Sengya told him not to worry, he did not dare to take action, and Sengya had to light a fire himself. Then, there is a horrific scene: when Sengya's body was burned, it fractured and contracted; his bones and flesh were burned away, but only the heart was still red and wet, and was linked with other internal organs. People put more wood; the organs curled up, but, after burning with forty carts of wood, the heart was still intact. The Dharma master Dui 兌法師 (d.u.) of the Xiaoai monastery, who was among the admirers and had come with his disciples to pay honour to Sengya, had the heart buried under a stūpa, which was built in the Baoyuan monastery 寶園寺. And it still existed in Daoxuan's times.

Many stories of him circulated, relating that he expounded Buddhist doctrines before death and that he appeared after death and urged others to forsake eating meat. It is worth discussing a few of them. Eight months later after his death, a local hunter named Mou

to Falang 法朗 and his co-translators as rewards for their work in the project of retranslation of the *Dayun jing* 大雲經 (*Mahāmegha sūtra*). This was the first time purple robes were given to the Buddhist order in Chinese Buddhist history, and since then the state would present the monks it honoured with purple robes. It is strange that *zipi* appears in the story of Sengya narrated by Daoxuan because the latter passed away before Empress Wu's reign. Zanning, *Da Song seng shilue* 大宋僧史略 (A brief history of monks [composed in] the Song), T no. 2126, 54: 3.248c; Guo Huizhen 郭慧珍, *Hanzu fojiao sengqie fuzhuang zhi yanjiu* 漢族佛教僧伽服裝之研究 (A study on monastic clothes of the Chinese Buddhist order) (Taibei: Fagu wenhua, 2001), 172-174. Benn believes that the *zipi* was possibly a purple cape, no more than a piece of cloth worn by monks over their shoulders, and that the meditative master Dao gave one to Sengya because he wanted to make karmic connections with a living bodhisattva (i.e. Sengya). Benn, "Written in Flames," 434, 451n131.

Nandang 牟難當 (d.u.) went to Mount Qiao 嶠山.¹⁶⁸ When he was about to shoot an arrow at a deer, he suddenly saw Sengya, who was riding on a *jing* 麋 (a black deer). He wondered that the monk was there because he had burnt himself in Yizhou. The latter urged him to abandon hunting and take farming for livelihood, and then disappeared. Another story is about a monk of the Xiaoi monastery named Foyu 佛與 (d.u.). He was determined to give up eating meat when he saw Sengya's self-immolation. When he returned to his temple, he saw a person in yellow, who praised his decision and encouraged him to fix his mind on goodness (*nianshan* 念善). After then, he dedicated himself to circumambulation and recitation. One day he heard in the air a person (possibly Sengya) praise his deeds. The third story is about another monk named Huisheng 慧勝 (d.u.), who lived at a local monastery called Ajianizha si 阿迦膩吒寺 (or Akaniṣṭha monastery). He was disappointed that he was unable to see Sengya's self-immolation because he was sick that day. One night he dreamt of Sengya and a monastic novice. The novice carried incense and lumps of sandalwood, and put them around Huisheng in four portions and lit them. Huisheng was frightened, saying that he was still a profane being and was not ready yet to be burned. Sengya told him not to be afraid and that the incense and sandalwood could help him recover. Sengya also told him that he was indeed Guangming bianzhao baozang pusa 光明遍照寶藏菩薩 (Bodhisattva with Light shining throughout Precious Depositories), taking the reincarnation of Sengya in Yizhou. After being wreathed in sandalwood smoke in the dream, Huisheng restored to health when he awaked. While preaching once in an assembly (*hui* 會), Huisheng wondered that local

¹⁶⁸ According to Falin's *Bianzheng lun* (6.528c), Mount Qiao was the place where the Yellow Emperor's tomb lay. It is written as Qiaoshan 橋山 in the *Shiji* (1.10), in which a note says that it was located in Shang prefecture (Shangjun 上郡, in Shanxi 陝西).

people and he, all hindered by delusions, could not see any auspicious phenomena (*rui* 瑞). Immediately, all two hundred people in the assembly saw heavenly flowers fall everywhere in the sunshine. At midday, larger and larger flowers fell, with the largest one seven *cun* in diameter; they were all golden and shiny as bright as the sun. But no one can catch them.¹⁶⁹

There are more stories of miracles related to Sengya after his death recorded in Daoxuan's work, but the above-cited three, together with those about Sengqing and Tanhong, should suffice to display some aspects about the views held by local people outside capital cities on monastic funerary stūpas. As shown in the stories, local people burst with strong emotions when seeing self-immolation conducted by the monks. These monks were not ordinary practitioners, but because of their extreme tolerance to harsh pain and because of the dramatic scenes of their self-immolation they had great charisma. Therefore, after the burning, local people were still fascinated with these monks and hence circulated the stories of the miracles attributed to them. This explains why the above-discussed stories contain some strange terms and elements. Although the term *jingshui sanmei*, for example, which was used by Sengya to describe the unusual spectacle appearing on the day of his self-sacrifice, contains a Buddhist term *sanmei* 三昧 (*samādhi*/contemplation), it is obviously an invention by laymen. And the plot that Tanhong was seen riding on a deer after his death also is not consistent with Buddhist belief of the Pure Land, which has it that Amitābha would appear and take Pure-Land believers to his land. Indeed, the plots of Tanhong's riding on a deer and of Sengya's riding a *jing* (a species of deer) while seeing the hunter Mou Nandang come from Chinese stories of immortals. In the Han period or even pre-Han period, deer

¹⁶⁹ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 27.679a-680b. For a translation of the story of Sengya in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, see Benn's "Written in Flames," 446-457.

were already regarded as animals immortals rode on. An inscription dedicated to his mother says that Laozi 老子 once appeared in the world while riding on a white deer.¹⁷⁰ Hence, it is possible that Tanhong and Sengya were thought to be among or similar to immortals, enjoying longevity and leading carefree lives.

Thus, even though the self-sacrificed monks and the stories about them held fascination for local people, and even though local people tended to add freely non-Buddhist elements to the stories and more likely built stūpas for the monks, the stūpas did not develop into centres of pilgrimage, like many of those in capital cities. As shown in the above stories, the monks appeared after their self-immolation in places other than their funerary stūpas and people did not need to get access to them through the stūpas. This implies that they did not attach any importance to the stūpas and perhaps regarded them as the monks' tombs only. Then, they had the same views about the stūpas as those held by elite members in capital cities, and these stūpas did not evolve into objects of worship even though they were outside the latter's sphere of influence.

¹⁷⁰ In Han Tomb no. 1 at Mawangdui 馬王堆 (in present-day Changsha of Hunan), on the lacquered coffin there is a mural painting depicting an immortal riding on a deer. Some Han stone carvings of similar images are also found in Shandong, Jiangsu, Sichuan, and so forth. Besides, the works such as *Sanfu huangtu* and Ge Hong's 葛洪 (283-343) *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳 (Lives of Divine Transcendents) also contain descriptions of such immortals' images. Because of its link with longevity and immortals, the deer (especially the white deer) was believed to be among one of the auspicious animals that appeared when the emperor was wise and benevolent. Yu Jin 鈺金 and Wang Qingjian 王清建, "Qianlun Han hua zhong de shengxian gongju" 淺論漢畫中的升仙工具 (A brief discussion of tools for becoming immortals [portrayed] in Han paintings), *Academic Forum of Nandu* (*Social Science edition*) 南都學壇 (社會科學版) 10.5 (1990): 22-23; Jin Aixiu 金愛秀, "Han hua zhong lu tuxiang wenhua chanshi" 漢畫中鹿圖像文化闡釋 (Explanations of the culture of deer images in Han paintings), *Journal of Henan University of Science and Technology* (*Social Science*) 河南科技大學學報 (社會科學報) 26.1(2008): 66-68; Lippiello, *Auspicious Omens and Miracles in Ancient China*, 99-102.

4.5 Concluding Remarks: General Development of Monastic Funerary Stūpas Contextualized in Contemporary Funeral Customs

It has been argued in this chapter that the stūpas were perceived as tombs by the Buddhist order and laymen in the Six Dynasties. Unlike those depicted in Buddhist scriptures, they were separated from the worship of deceased monks and nuns, generally not being regarded as the embodiments of these monastic members or as loci of pilgrimage. They were abstracted from Buddhist scriptural tradition of stūpa worship, and were understood as Buddhist tombs only, like funerary monuments for non-Buddhists. They were linked more closely and noticeably with Chinese secular funerary customs, and were subject to them.

Therefore, although we have already talked about some developments of the custom in the Six Dynasties, further discussion would probably help us ponder on a possible explanation as to why the stūpas were not generally viewed as objects of worship. When tombs in China were usually the places where people paid respects for and made offerings to their ancestors and others they revered, then the stūpas, if conceived of as Buddhist tombs, would probably serve as sites of veneration directed towards the monks and nuns, although they were not considered symbolic or embodiments of these people. However, it is strange that the monastic biographies do not give much description of this aspect. Therefore, it is necessary to give a tentative explanation before we conclude this chapter.

One of the noticeable developments related to the funerary custom in the Six Dynasties was that the elite advocated frugal, humble construction of tombs and thought that services for deceased ancestors ought to be held in ancestral shrines instead of tombs. They attempted to refocus people's attention from tombs back onto ancestral shrines, because, starting from the Eastern Zhou and the Qin Dynasties, people attached great significance to

tombs, constructing and decorating them extravagantly, but considered ancestral shrines inferior. Therefore, Cao Cao 曹操 (155-220), the de facto founder of the Wei State in the Three Kingdoms, prohibited people from making lavish funerary furnishings and building impressive tombs, and, as for his own grave, he asked it to be situated in a piece of marginal land without any mound or memorial marker (*bu feng bu shu* 不封不樹). This policy continued to be adopted by his successor Cao Pi. In addition to them, the rulers of other states, Shu Han 蜀漢 and Sun Wu 孫吳, also made the same demand. Throughout the Six Dynasties—scholars think—people tended to build small-scale tombs and have the least funerary objects and simple decorations for them. Some excavated tombs dated to these periods also demonstrated this. The crypts of the Wu found in Nanjing, for example, generally are much smaller, only six to eight metres long in average, and housed fewer funerary objects than those of the Han.¹⁷¹

Cao Pi raised a rationale for frugality, and it is noteworthy. In 222 (the 3rd year of the Huangchu 黃初 era) he gave instructions on burial (*zhongzhi* 終制), explaining the principle that one ought to spend the least on burial and not to hold services at tombs:

The burial means concealment, which is intended to make people not see [the body]. The bone does not have a sense of pains and itches. The tumulus is [also] not a residence the soul/spirit (*shen* 神) stays at. [According to] the proprieties, one should not worship at tombs so as to maintain one's respect (*budu* 不黷; non-defilement) for

¹⁷¹ There are many studies on Chinese funerary practices. See, in particular, Wu Hung, “From Temple to Tomb: Ancient Chinese Art and Religion in Transition,” *Early China* 13 (1988): 78-115; Yang Kuan 楊寬, *Zhongguo gudai lingqin zhidu shi yanjiu* 中國古代陵寢制度史研究 (A study on history of the institution of mausoleums in ancient China) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985); Xu Jijun, *Zhongguo sangzang shi*; Zhang Jiefu 張捷夫, *Zhongguo sangzang shi* 中國喪葬史 (History of funerals and burials in China) (Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1985); Zhang Lizhi 張力智, “‘Cong miao zhi mu’ de beihou—zuo wei zhengzhi xiangzheng de jisi zhidu” ‘從廟至墓’的背後—作為政治象徵的祭祀制度 ([The rationale] behind [the transformation of the worship centre] from “temples to tombs”—the politically symbolic worship), *Art Research* 美術研究 4 (2008): 46-52.

the dead. The outer and inner coffins (*guanquo* 棺槨) suffice to [protect] decomposing bones, and [funerary] clothes and quilts suffice to [cover] decaying flesh.

夫葬者也，藏也，欲人之不得見也。骨無痛痒之知，冢非棲神之宅。禮不墓祭，欲存亡之不黷也。為棺槨足以朽骨，衣衾足以朽肉而已。¹⁷²

Here Cao Pi argues against the long-held belief that the soul (or *hun*-soul 魂) of the departed ancestor needed a place to reside in and the tomb provided him/her with a dwelling, minimizing the significance attached to the tomb.¹⁷³

As one may easily imagine, Cao Pi, as well as some other members of the ruling class, could not stop people entirely from holding funerary services at their deceased ancestors' tombs and from making sumptuous funerary objects. He and others could hardly completely dissociate ancestral worship from the tombs.¹⁷⁴ Nonetheless, their advocacy still made an impact on Buddhist funerary stūpas in three ways.

First, in addition to ancestral worship, they imposed restraints on people's burying deceased monks and nuns and building funerary stūpas for them. The restraints perhaps affected even the funerals held for eminent, famed monks, so a number of monastic biographies for them only tell us the years and the places they died.¹⁷⁵ It is, however, not argued that Buddhism did not play a role in influencing the contemporary funerary custom.

¹⁷² *Sanguo zhi* 30.81.

¹⁷³ For a discussion of this belief, see Wu Hung, "From Temple to Tomb", 96-100.

¹⁷⁴ It is generally deemed that, because of political and social turmoil in the Six Dynasties, people at that time spent frugally on funerary constructions and services, unlike people in the Han Dynasty. See the studies mentioned in note 171. Han Guohe 韓國河, however, argues that this was only partly true. Periods of mourning were shortened, and tombs were not marked with monuments and housed fewer funerary objects. However, there are still some impressive tombs dated to this period. Han Guohe, "Lun Qin Han Wei Jin shiqi de houzang yu bozang" 論秦漢魏晉時期的厚葬與薄葬 (A discussion of elaborate burial and simple burial in the Qin, Han, Wei, and Jin periods), *Zhengzhou daxue xuebao* 鄭州大學學報 (*Journal of Zhengzhou University*) (the edition about philosophy and social science 哲學社會科學版) 31.5 (Sept., 1998): 99-101. For some examples of elaborate burial in the Six Dynasties, see Zhu Dawei et al., *Wei Jin Nanbei chao shehui shenghuo shi*, 209-214.

¹⁷⁵ See note 10 of this chapter.

Scholars think that since Buddhists deemed that the deceased immediately entered the six paths of transmigration and did not stay in the world for long, they did not attempt to preserve bodies with thick coffins, but cremated them or buried them heedlessly.¹⁷⁶ But considering that laymen, especially the ruling elite, often held funerals and built graves for the monks and nuns, the restraints imposed by the state on the Buddhist order should not be underestimated. When they were urged not to spend extravagantly on funerary services and constructions for their ancestors, it seems natural that they tended to do the same for the monks and nuns.

Second, as one may easily imagine the restraints were less effective in some places. Exceptional cases can always be found to prove that some privileged people constructed tombs for their ancestors with large resources. People in the Shu and the Wu in the period of the Three Kingdoms and in non-capital areas in the two Jin Dynasties generally spent more on tomb construction, building multi-crypts and furnishing their departed ancestors with many funerary objects. Zhu Ran 朱然 (182-249), Minister of War (Da sima 大司馬) of the Wu State, for example, was buried with more than 6,000 copper coins in his tomb on Mount Maan 馬鞍山 in Anhui.¹⁷⁷ Like these ancestral tombs, some funerary stūpas for the monks and nuns were perhaps affected less greatly by the restraints. Consequently, as shown above, local people were more inclined to build stūpas for the monks and nuns, and therefore there were more funerary stūpas recorded outside the capital cities.

¹⁷⁶ Zhang Jiefu, *Zhongguo sangzang shi*, 123-124; Hai Bao 海波, *Fo shuo siwang—siwang xue shiye zhong de Zhongguo fojiao siwang guan yanjiu* 佛說死亡—死亡學視野中的中國佛教死亡觀研究 (The Buddha's teachings on death: a study on the Chinese Buddhist view of death from the perspective of thanatology), ed. Zhang Qizhi 張豈之 (Xi'an: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 2008), 163-166. Zhang Jiefu says that "burying with a thin layer of soil" (*qiantu yanmai* 淺土掩埋) (p. 124) is one of Buddhists' ways to inter corpses, but he does not elaborate on this and I cannot find any details.

¹⁷⁷ Han Guohe, "Lun Qin Han Wei Jin shiqi de houzang yu bozang," 100-101.

Third, as stated above, lay Buddhists believed that deceased monks and nuns would appear everywhere but usually not at their tombs or stūpas, and they did not need to access to them at their tombs/stūpas. These views were in fact similar to those Cao Pi expressed cited above. He dissociated ancestral worship from tombs and discouraged holding services for deceased ancestors at tombs.¹⁷⁸ These ideas appear to be consistent with lay Buddhists' views, and might somehow inspire the latter (although it is necessary to conduct an investigation before we can confirm this). Therefore, like the descendants who had ancestral worship, lay Buddhists also did not confine their services for the monks and nuns to their stūpas and tombs.

When the stūpas erected for the monks and nuns generally did not take on any significance to the Buddhist order in cultivation and were simply regarded as tombs, and when setting up them not only concerned the Buddhist order, but was also of laymen's interest and was often controlled by them, then it is not strange at all that monastic authors did not elaborate on them or even sometimes did not give any references to them. Therefore, their works only tell of thirty stūpas in total, which were certainly much fewer than those built in reality.

It is likely that funerary stūpas for departed laymen were also considered as tombs only and were not associated with Buddhist stūpa worship. This is the issue I shall examine in the next chapter.

¹⁷⁸ This idea, however, was not widely accepted in the upper class, and ancestral worship still developed in society. See Tan Sijian 譚思健, "Woguo gudai muji lisu kaoshu" 我國古代墓祭禮俗考述 (Investigation into and discussion on the etiquette and custom of worship at tombs in my country in ancient times), *Jiangxi jiaoyu xueyuan xuebao* 江西教育學院學報 16.1 (1995): 38.

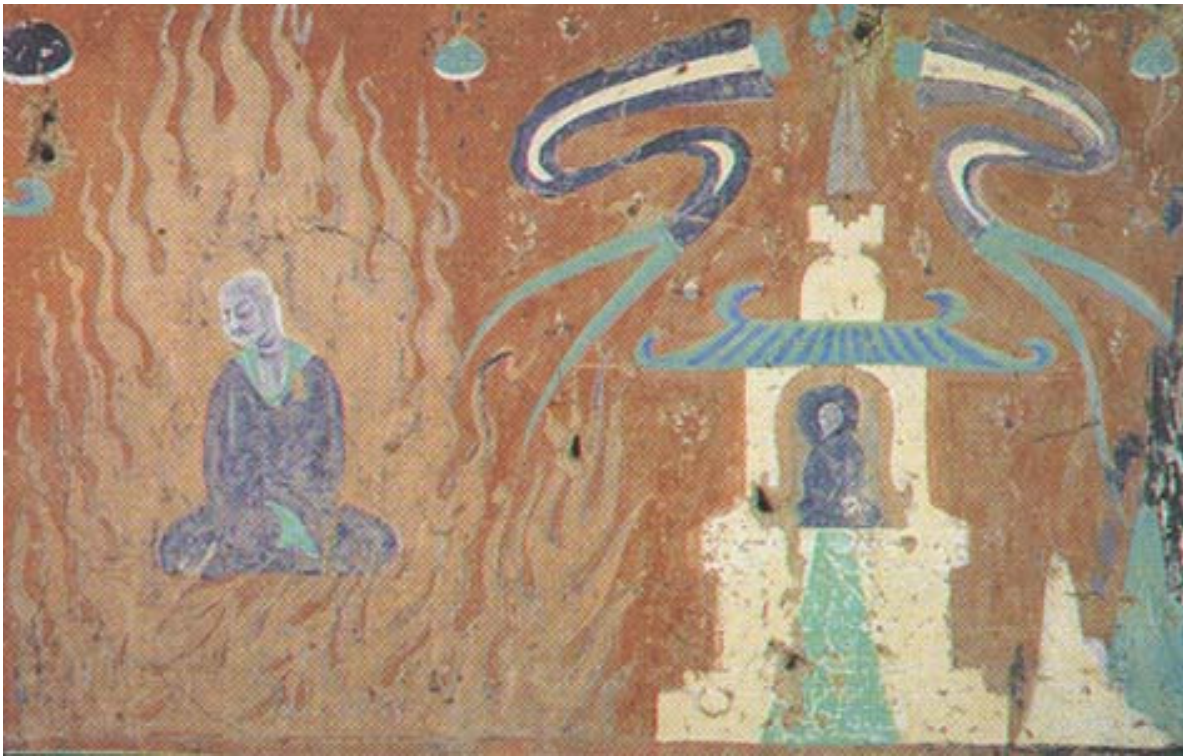


Figure 4.1 The Mural Painting at Mogao Cave No. 257 in Dunhuang¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ It is provided by Dunhuang yanjiu yan 敦煌研究院, http://ccbs.ntu.edu.tw/silk/object/dun-huang/1/1_mural-7.html (accessed September 14, 2010).

Chapter 5: Stūpas beyond the Bounds of Buddhism: The Stūpas for Deceased Laity

After examining those for the monastic dead, in this chapter I shall turn to funerary stūpas for the laity. As stated above, it is very likely that, like the former, these stūpas were not built according to the Buddhist scriptural tradition of stūpas either. Again, this is rarely noted by scholars, who seldom raise doubts about their religious origins and trace them to non-Buddhist traditions. For this reason, I shall first deal with this issue. Then, to give some background information, I shall first offer a glimpse into Buddhist elements in some Han tombs, and next shall dig up a picture of funerary stūpas for the laity in the Six Dynasties in extant archaeological and literary sources. Like those just examined in the last chapter, I shall also put them in the contexts of the traditions of Buddhist scriptural stūpas and Chinese burials, so as to show whether and how they were steeped in and went against them.

5.1 Buddhist Origin of Sepulchral Stūpas for Deceased Laity?

It is seldom questioned whether it is in accordance with Buddhist scriptural tradition or monastic precepts to construct stūpas for deceased laymen. It seems that the stūpa can make this custom “Buddhist” once it is involved, or it is certainly an emblem of Buddhism no matter how it is built or conceived. In one of her articles about the funerary stūpas for the laity in the Tang Dynasty, Liu Shufen 劉淑芬 discusses clusters of stūpas set up for lay devotees of the Three Stage Sect (Sanjie jiao 三階教). She does not raise the question of whether or not this custom was a Buddhist tradition, although the sect was considered

heretical in the Sui and Tang Dynasties. She notices that the vinaya redactors do not allow ordinary people to have stūpas after their death, but, after consulting Schopen's study, she concludes that this custom was a Buddhist tradition because in India some stūpas built for dead monks are found.¹ Like Liu Shufen, Katherine R. Tsiang Mino is aware that the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* compiler limited stūpas to four categories of exalted people (buddha, *pratyeka-buddha*, *arhat*, and *cakarvartī*), but also believes that the construction of stūpas for deceased laity does not go against Buddhist tradition and cites funerary practice in Khotan (Ch.: Yutian 于闐) as support.² Hai Bo 海波 also notices this Buddhist scriptural limitation on stūpas, and he attributes the construction to the emergence of two forged Buddhist scriptures before the late sixth century. He does not either consider it to be beyond the bounds of the religion stated in Buddhist scriptures.³

As discussed in Chapter One and noticed by the above-mentioned scholars, Buddhist vinaya redactors have limited stūpas to extraordinary figures, and clearly, except for the *cakarvartī* (the universal monarch), laymen are not included. Although in some Indian monasteries there are a number of funerary stūpas for dead monastic members set up by their fellows, their construction was possibly a result of concessions made by monks in situations where stūpas were at the same time adopted by non-Buddhists for their ancestors and heroes.

¹ Liu Shufen, "Tangdai suren de ta zang" 唐代俗人的塔葬 (Tang laymen's stūpa burial), in her *Zhonggu de fojiao yu shehui* 中古佛教與社會 (Medieval Buddhism and society) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008), 291-292. Schopen's article Liu consults is "On Avoiding Ghosts and Social Censure," in *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks*, 204-237.

² Katherine R. Tsiang Mino, "Bodies of Buddhas and princes at the Xiangtanshan caves: images, text, stūpa in Buddhist art in the Northern Qi Dynasty (550-557)" (PhD. Diss., University of Chicago, 1996), 230-231.

³ The two forged scriptures are the *Shituo lin jing* 尸陀林經 (The scripture of Śītavana [a place for exposing corpses]) and the *Foshuo yaoxing sheshen jing* 佛說要行捨身經 (The scripture on the essential act of giving away the body, expounded by the Buddha). These two scriptures are thought to have been followed by the Three Stage Sect. The latter one is preserved as T no. 2895.

Based on Liu Shufen's studies, Hai Bo suggests that from the Sui Dynasty on monks were buried in stūpas and from the Tang on laymen were also buried in stūpas. See Hai Bao, *Foshuo siwang*, 172-173, 179-180. But the burial of monks and laymen in stūpas had already appeared earlier, as shown in the last and this chapters.

But this does not mean that Buddhist vinaya redactors thought it proper to set up stūpas for dead laity. There is no textual or archaeological evidence I know of for this practice to be undertaken by Indian Buddhist orders. Schopen's research does not tell us that stūpas in India built for lay people have been found. The evidence about funerary practice in Khotan, cited by Tsiang for her views, come from the record of Song Yun's 宋雲 (fl. 518-522) and the monk Huisheng's 惠生 (fl. 518-522) trip to India in the *Luoyang qielan ji*, but it does not attest to this either. The funerary custom it deals with was probably not derived from Buddhism. Khotan (Ch. Yutian 于闐) was one of the western countries the Chinese pilgrims passed by on their way to India. This is the relevant record about the practice in the text:

They (Khotan people) cremated the deceased, and they then collected the bones and where they interred them they built a stūpa. The mourners would cut short their hair and slash their faces in order to express their sorrow. When their [shortened] hair grew back to four Chinese inches long, they stopped mourning. The king was the only one exempt from cremation after death. Instead, [his corpse] would be placed in a coffin, which was interred in the distant countryside. A shrine would be built for sacrifices and he would be commemorated from time to time.

死者以火焚燒，收骨葬之，上起浮圖。居喪者，翦髻面，以為哀戚。髮長四寸，即就平常。唯王死不燒，置之棺中，遠葬於野，立廟祭祀，以時思之。⁴

Using this account as her evidence, Tsiang concludes that in Central Asia building stūpas as burial monuments for laymen and monks was common by the sixth century. Nevertheless, we do not have grounds for confirming that this account is about the Buddhist funerary practice in Khotan. Khotanese custom of slashing their faces was originally a Hun practice

⁴ Yang Xuanzhi, *Luoyang qielan ji*, T no. 2092, 51: 5.1019a; Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 5.97; Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 220-221.

spreading to other countries in the Western Region.⁵ Besides, this account clearly shows that stūpas were not held in great respect in Khotan because they neither were used to hold the ruler's body nor were the locus where sacrifices were presented. It is very likely that building stūpas in burial places was simply a local funerary practice. Indeed, it should not be surprising to find the mention of stūpas in this depiction, considering that stūpas were not a Buddhist invention and were not exclusively adopted by Buddhists. As stated in Chapter One, however, Buddhist vinaya redactors considered that setting up stūpas for monastic dead would likely cause serious conflicts within the Buddhist order. Then it would not be likely that they would permit the construction of stūpas for departed laymen, even though they had converted to Buddhism.

In addition to Khotan people, Chinese people also went against such tradition presented in Buddhist scriptures. As early as the Eastern Han, people already adopted Buddhist images in their tomb carvings. And the first instance of using the stūpas as a funerary object can be traced to this period. In the following, I shall discuss these Han infringement cases in order to provide the background to lay people's adoption of stūpas as part of tombs and ancestral shrines in the Six Dynasties.

5.2 The Adoption of Buddhist Elements in Eastern Han Tombs

Building sepulchral stūpas for dead laymen was not a custom that just emerged in the Six Dynasties, but had already appeared in the Han. Yang Xuanzhi's *Luoyang qielan ji* (completed around 547 C.E.) says that "After the emperor's (Emperor Ming of the Han [r.

⁵ See Zhou (colla. & annot.), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 5.97 (Zhou's note); Wang (trans.), *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 220n65.

58-75 C.E.]) death, a hall for meditation (*zhihuan* 祇洹) was built on his tomb. Thereafter stūpas were sometimes constructed [even] on the graves of the common people.”⁶ The term *zhihuan* is the translation of Jetavana, the garden bought by Anāthapiṇḍada from the prince Jeta and given to Śākyamuni. Here it perhaps refers to a *vihāra* (a cultivation abode). This brief statement talks about the tomb constructions of Emperor Ming and some common people in the Han. An earlier book, the *Mouzi lihuo lun* 牟子理惑論 (A treatise on Mouzi’s solutions to doubts), attests to the link between Emperor Ming’s tomb and Buddhism. But it does not mention that the emperor put up a meditation hall; instead it says that on his mausoleum, called Xianjie 顯節, he had the Buddha’s images engraved. The account in this book seems more convincing than Yang Xuanzhi’s, because it is unlikely that Emperor Ming built on his mausoleum a Buddhist hall, or any Buddhist construction inhabited by monks.⁷ It sounds more likely that, as said by the *Mouzi lihuo lun*, the emperor simply had Buddhist images carved on the shrine in his mausoleum, but this made Yang Xuanzhi misread the shrine as a Buddhist hall. This may not be surprising, given that this was not the only example in the Han. Buddhist figures carved in high relief are found in two tombs in Sichuan and on an octagonal pillar in a tomb chamber in Shandong, which date back to the Eastern

⁶ Yang Xuanzhi, *Luoyang qielan ji*, T no. 2029, 51: 4.1014b-c: 明帝崩, 起祇洹於陵上, 自從以後, 百姓冢上或作浮圖焉 (cf. Zhou [colla. & annot.], *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 4.77; Wang [trans.], *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 173).

⁷ The *Mouzi lihuo lun* also seems more reliable than Yang Xuanzhi’s work if judged by its composition time. It was composed some time in the second to the third centuries, much earlier than the *Luoyang qielan ji*, which was written in the sixth century. Scholars have different ideas about when the *Mouzi lihuo lun* was written, although its preface claims that it was produced at the end of the second century. Scholars tend to date it to the late third century. Besides, scholars also debate the identity of “Mouzi.” Some (e.g. Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定) consider him as an imaginary figure, whereas others (e.g. Tang Yongtong) believe that he was a real person living in the Eastern Han Dynasty. See Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 13-15; John P. Keenan, *How Master Mou Removes Our Doubts: A Reader-Response Study and Translation of the Mou-tzu Li-huo lun* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994).

The *Mouzi lihuo lun* is collected in the *Hongming ji*, T no. 52, 2102: 1.1b-7a, and the above mention of the mausoleum is found on 4c. Consisting of thirty-eight short sections of dialogue and a concluding paragraph, this work is a treatise in favour of Buddhism.

Han Dynasty and to the later half of the second or the third century respectively. Some of the figures can be identified as the Buddha, but some cannot. These figures were perceived as immortals capable of leading the dead to immortality after their death. Therefore, in the tomb pillar on Shandong, the Buddhist figures are carved in corresponding positions to the Lord King of the East (Dong Wanggong 東王公) and Queen Mother of the West (Xi Wangmu 西王母)—the two Daoist deities of immortality popular in the Han.⁸ Considering these archaeological findings, the *Mouzi lihuo lun* should be reliable when saying that Emperor Ming of the Eastern Han had Buddhist figures carved on his tomb.

Then how is the tomb decoration of the emperor relevant to our study of sepulchral stūpas? In Yang Xuanzhi's above-cited account, the meditation hall is described as an object equivalent or similar to the stūpas. If the hall was actually a shrine, or a building, engraved or furnished with the Buddha's images, then the stūpas constructed on common people's graves were possibly used as substitutes for the images. These stūpas constructed by ordinary people possibly were in the form of poles due to their lack of resources, but were also regarded as the Buddha—a deity of immortality thought to be parallel to Daoist deities like Lord King of the East and Queen Mother of the West. If this conjecture is accepted, then it can be inferred that some common people had ideas close to the Buddhist canonical conception of the stūpa as the Buddha. Nevertheless, they placed the stūpas on graves probably in hope of getting divine protection or exorcism for the individual dead, as Emperor Ming did, and this clearly went against Buddhist scriptural tradition of stūpas.

Apart from the *Luoyang qielan qi*, Li Daoyuan's *Shuijing zhu* also attests to the view of stūpas as sepulchral buildings at that time. It has an account of the Xiangxiang stūpa

⁸ Wu Hung, "Buddhist Elements in Early Chinese Art," 266-268.

(Xiangxiang futu 襄鄉浮圖). Thought to be the earliest stūpa in China,⁹ it was situated in the northwest of the Xiangqiu County 商丘縣 (Huiyang County 睢陽縣 in Henan),

[The Xiangxiang stūpa] was established by a certain person in the Xiping 熹平 (172-178; Emperor Ling's reign) [reign] in the Han. [After this person] died, he was buried in it. His younger brother cut a stone and put up a tablet [with an inscription] in order to praise his virtues. In front of the aisle heading to the coffin (*sui* 隧 = *shendao* 神道 [lit. divine way]) a lion and a heavenly deer (*tianlu*) were laid, and bricks were piled up for memorial columns (*baida zhu* 百達柱? = *huabiao* 華表 [ornamental columns]?) in eight directions (*suo* 所?). [But] they were deserted and ruined, and completely destroyed.

漢熹平中，某君所立，死因葬之，其弟刻石立碑，以旌厥德，隧前有獅子、天鹿，累磚作百達柱八所，荒蕪頽毀，凋落始盡矣。¹⁰

The memorial column, the lion, and the divine deer were all common carvings placed in cemeteries.¹¹ Placed together with them, this stūpa was clearly regarded as a sepulchral object, and did not have any association with Buddhism, neither being an object of Buddhist worship nor being reminiscent of the Buddha. It was used as a tomb stone, marked with a tablet and a way decorated by the animal carvings. These stone decorations, except for the stūpa, were also found in other graveyards in the Eastern Han. Here is a depiction in the *Shuijing zhu* of a tomb of a member of the royal family. It shows that, except for the stūpa, this tomb had all the same type of stone carvings as those in the Xiangxiang grave.

The tomb of [Liu] Yan 劉焉 (d. 90 C.E.), the Prince Jian of Zhongshan (one of Emperor Guangwu's sons) was [an example of] extravagant burial: stone was

⁹ Zhang Yuhuan 張馭寰, *Fojiao si ta* 佛教寺塔 (Buddhist monasteries and stūpas) (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2007), 155.

¹⁰ Li Daoyuan, *Shuijing zhu*, *juan* 23, "Bianshui" 汧水; Wang (colla.), Yuan and Liu (annots.), *Shuijing zhu jiao*, 23.751.

¹¹ Yang, *Zhongguo gudai lingqin zhidu shi yanjiu*, 73-76.

collected from a mountain in the Zhuo prefecture 涿郡 for building the grave[stone]. The tablet and the animal figures on the tomb aisle were also [made of] stone from this [mountain].

中山簡王焉之窆也，厚其葬，採涿郡山石，以樹墳塋，陵隧碑獸，并出此石。¹²

When the narrative of the Xiangxiang grave is juxtaposed with this one of Liu Yan's tomb, it is clear that the stūpa was used in place of the gravestone, both standing in the cemetery with other funerary statues. The account of the Xiangxiang stūpa in the *Shuijing zhu*, together with the one of the common people's stūpa erection in the *Luoyang qielan ji*, prove that stūpas were perceived as funerary objects by some people in the Eastern Han Dynasty.

5.3 Funereal Stūpas Built by the Ruling Class

We may attribute this to general ignorance about Buddhism in the Eastern Han Dynasty—a time when the religion had not been introduced for long and was thought not greatly different from the Huanglao teachings (the belief attributed to the Yellow Emperor and Laozi), but we can hardly do the same when discussing similar instances in the Six Dynasties, the time when Buddhism started to be established. People in this period still built stūpas as part of funerary complexes, and they also linked them to ancestral shrines. Before turning to some specific instances, we should be first reminded of comments in Cui Guang's memorial for Empress Dowager Ling advising her against the climb to the Yongning stūpa, discussed in Chapter Two. One of his arguments is that her act is against the proprieties in religious worship stated in the *Liji*—one should not attend any entertainments and funerals

¹² Li Daoyuan, *Shuijing zhu*, juan 11, “Yishui” 易水; Wang (colla.), Yuan and Liu (annots.), *Shuijing zhu jiao*, 11.383.

and not drive any carriages (*sanzhai* 散齋) for seven days and should perform contemplation for three days (*zhizhai* 致齋) before making sacrifices at the ancestral shrine (*zongmiao* 宗廟), and hence one should show the same respect for the stūpa. I cannot find any evidence to suggest that the Yongning stūpa was a funerary construction or was linked to any funerary use, but Cui thought that the proprieties towards the ancestral shrine should be the same as those towards the stūpa, and this suggests that he considered these two categories of the objects to be similar in a way.

Some of Cui Guang's contemporaries, as well as later commentators, had a similar view. Wei Shou, for example, in his *Weishu*, gives the following account of Buddhist stūpas.

After the Buddha passed away, his body was cremated on a fragrant pyre.... [The remains collected after the cremation], in foreign language, are called *sheli* (relics). [His] disciples collected them and put them in a precious jar. [Buddhists] wholeheartedly [presented] scented flowers [to them] as expressions of respect and admiration. [They also] built imperial residences. [These residences] are called *ta* 塔. [The word] *ta* is also [a transliteration from] the foreign language. They are like ancestral shrines (*zongmiao* 宗廟), so [people in] the world call them *tamiao* 塔廟 (lit. stūpa-shrine).

佛既謝世，香木焚戶.....謂之舍利，弟子收奉，置之寶瓶、竭香花、致敬慕。建宮宇，謂為塔，塔亦胡言，猶宗廟也，故世稱塔廟。¹³

The ancestral shrine was the locus where worship was performed for lineage ancestors; Wei Shou has a point when comparing the stūpa to it, because the former was also an object receiving offerings and veneration. As he says here, *tamiao* was the commonly-used appellation given to the stūpa; not only was it used by lay people, but it was also adopted by monks. For example, it appears in all the Chinese translations of the *Lotus Sūtra* made by the

¹³ *Weishu* 114.3028.

three foreign translators, i.e. Dharmarakṣa, Kumārajīva, and Jñānagupta.¹⁴ These foreign monks might not have thoroughly understood the Chinese ancestral shrine and ancestral worship and used this term just because it was widely used in their times.

Unlike these foreign monks, Daoxuan was familiar with the Chinese tradition of ancestral worship, but he still used the concepts from it when explaining the stūpa and the *caitya*. He distinguished the stūpa from the *caitya*, by drawing analogies between them and the dual centres of Chinese ancestral worship—the tumulus and the ancestral shrine. In his compendium of the *Sifen lü*, he defines the two Indian constructions as follows:

*The Miscellaneous [additions to the] Heart [discourse] (Zaxin 雜心)*¹⁵ says that the [reliquary] with the relic is called *ta*, and the one without [the relic] is called *zhiti* 支提 (i.e. *caitya*). *Ta* is also called *tapo* 塔婆, or named *toupo* 偷婆. In this [land] it is said to be a tumulus, or also called a square (?) mound (*fangfen* 方¹⁶墳). *Zhiti* is said to be the ancestral temple. The ancestral temple is [built according to] the outlook [of the dead's residence].

雜心云: 有舍利名塔, 無者名支提, 塔或名塔婆, 或云偷婆, 此云塚, 亦云方墳; 支提云廟, 廟者, 貌也.¹⁷

The ancestral shrine was built in the clan's town and was not close to the corpse, whereas the tomb was a burial place so it was set up in an open field outside the town. Pointing out that

¹⁴ Hirakawa has already noticed the term *tamiao* in Kumārajīva's and Dharmarakṣa's translations of the *Lotus Sūtra*. Indeed the term can be found in all the three translations. Hirakawa considers that *miao* is a shrine which holds the ancestral spirits and is in the cemetery where one can enter, so these two translators must have known that a sacred hall was part of the stūpa. Hirakawa read this as the evidence that the stūpas in India became part of Mahāyāna practitioners' cultivation loci and the centres of their residences. See Hirakawa, "The Rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism," 89-91. The *Lotus Sūtra* translators' use of the term, however, can hardly prove that they meant to say that the stūpa was always beside the monastic quarter, because they might simply follow others who commonly called the stūpa *tamiao*.

¹⁵ The *Zaxin* refers to the *Zaxin lun* 雜心論, an abbreviation for the *Za apitan xin lun*, T no. 1552, vol. 28.

Although Daoxuan says that the definitions of the stūpa and the *caitya* are taken from this text, his quotation cannot be found in the present *Taishō* canon.

¹⁶ See note 60 of Chapter One.

¹⁷ Daoxuan, *Sifen lü shanfan buque xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔 (Manuscripts on the conduct [based on] the simplified and supplemented [contents] of the *Sifen lü*), T no. 1804, 40: 3.133c.

the *stūpa* and the *caitya* also share these features, Daoxuan explains the difference between these two Indian objects. This analogy is possibly out of expediency and does not look bizarre. But probably he is well acquainted with Chinese ancestral worship culture, and thus in his depiction he infuses these Indian objects with characteristics that they do not have. In the last two sentences of the above quotation, he cites Confucians' requirement for this religious construction. It was used by Confucians to unify the lineage/clan.¹⁸ Confucians thought that the ancestral temple ought to be like the dead person's residence in which he had lived when alive so that his descendants would think of him while entering it. This feature of Chinese construction appears strange when it is said that the *caitya* also shares it. As an inanimate object imitating the residence the ancestor has used, the ancestral shrine evokes the descendant's respect for the departed and reminds him of the importance of his clan, whereas in Buddhism the *caitya* and the *stūpa* are not related to any familial bond but are equated by Buddhist scriptural compilers with the Buddha and infused with his characteristics and his supernatural power, regardless of whether or not they contain the relic. It is clear that Daoxuan's analogy reduces the *stūpa* and the *caitya* to an ancestral shrine and a sepulchral construction without any holy nature.

When the *stūpa* was perceived not as greatly different from the Chinese ancestral shrine, then it may not come as a surprise that some *stūpas* in the Six Dynasties were built as part of the funerary complex or ancestral shrine for dead laymen. As mentioned in Chapter One, the *stūpa* was not always distinguished by Chinese authors from the *caitya*, and “*ta*” (the translation for *stūpa*) was generally used to refer to both categories of these holy

¹⁸ For Confucian views on the significance of the ancestral shrine, see fascicle 58 of Qin Huitain's 秦蕙田 (1702-1764) *Wuli tongkao* 五禮通考 (Comprehensive examination of rites in five aspects). This work, collected in *SKQS* (vols. 135-142), discusses extracts about rites from various Confucian works.

monuments. These stūpas, no matter whether they stood in graveyards or in ancestral shrines, were usually called “*ta*.” In the following, I shall discuss first these stūpas built by the ruling class and then those by local people in the Six Dynasties. These constructions demonstrate that these people, like those in the Han Dynasty, disregarded religious connotations of the stūpa in Buddhist tradition and thus were contrary to the spirit of this Buddhist object that is presented in Buddhist scriptures. There are not many examples of such stūpas in this period, but many more appeared in later times. For this reason, they deserve our specific attention.

The two stūpas that will be discussed in the following were grand, unlike their antecedents in the Han Dynasty. Erected by the ruling class in the Six Dynasties, they were not solitary, but were built together with other monastic buildings of monasteries standing in graveyards. The first one we shall draw attention to was set up by Xiao Yan (the founder of the Liang Dynasty). He was not only an enthusiast for relic veneration, as shown in Chapter Three, but was also keen on building monasteries in memory of his deceased parents and building the imperial tomb for them. He established the Huangji monastery 皇基寺¹⁹ for his deceased father in 536 (the second year of Datong era) and it was part of the mausoleum. After he had come to the throne, he gave his father a posthumous title Wenhuangdi 文皇帝 (Emperor Wen)²⁰, and built the monastery for him. It was a magnificent temple. A story says that, after the emperor ordered that sound timber be collected, a local commandant accused falsely a certain Qu’e 曲阿 (Jiankang) person of robbery and killed him in order to confiscate

¹⁹ Its title was changed to the Huangye monastery 皇業寺 in the Tang because the character *ji* was tabooed in the Tang.

²⁰ Xu Song, *Jiankang shilu* 17.470. Biographies of Xiao Yan’s parents are in the *Liangshu* 7.156-157.

the fine timber he had bought in Xiangzhou 湘州 and thus to present it to the emperor.²¹ This story illustrates clearly how impressive the Huangji monastery was and how considerable resources were used to build it. Lu You 陸游 (1125-1210), a famous patriotic poet of the Southern Song, visited it in 1170 (the 6th year of the Gandao 乾道 era), and wrote an account of it and Liu Yilong's 劉義隆 (407-453; Emperor Wen of the Liu Song Dynasty [r. 424-453]) mausoleum, both of which were situated in Danyang 丹陽. According to Lu You, on the grave aisle to Liu Yilong's mausoleum, a stone pole attached with a dew receiver and animal figures such as kylin and *pixie* 辟邪²² still existed. The pole was inscribed with the words "The Divine Passage of [the mausoleum of] the Grand Ancestral Emperor Wen" (Taizu wen huangdi zhi shendao 太祖文皇帝之神道). More than thirty *li* from it he saw the mausoleum of Xiao Yan's father. In it Lu also found two *pixie* carvings. Beside the mausoleum stood the Huangji monastery. In Lu You's depiction, the monastery was obviously part of the mausoleum built by Xiao Yan. Daoshi, Daoxuan's contemporary, also says that it was in the mausoleum (*lingshang* 陵上). Hence Suwa surmises that this monastery was actually the Jianling monastery 建陵寺 (Established mausoleum monastery),²³ the name of which indicates that it was related to the mausoleum. According to Daoshi, the monastery was seriously damaged after it had been completed. Although neither

²¹ *Zizhi tongjian* 157.4870. The version of the story collected in the *Fayuan zhulin* carries more details. It says that, before the Qu'e person was executed, he asked his wife to put yellow paper, pens, and ink in his coffin so that he could write down after death the injustice he suffered. He also swallowed the paper with the commandant's name written on it (so as to tell others who had falsely accused him [?]). One month later the commandant spat out blood continuously until he died, and within one year the officials who had dealt with the case also died. See *Fayuan zhulin*, T no. 2122, 53: 78.869c; Zhou & Su (colla. & annot.), *Fayuan zhulin* 5: 78.2293-2294.

²² The *pixie* is a legendary animal looking like a deer and has a long tail and horns, and having the power to exorcise.

²³ Suwa, "Ryōdai kenkō no butsuji to butei igai ni no konryū," 169-170.

Lu You nor Daoshi mentions that it had any stūpa, there was one. This can be inferred from an inscription for the mast of the stūpa written by Ren Xiaogong 任孝恭 (d. 548), one of Xiao Yan's favoured literati authors.²⁴

The mausoleum was the place Xiao Yan buried not only his late father, but also his late mother, Empress Xian 獻皇后, *née* Zhang 張 (d. 471). Historical works do not give us much information about the Huangji monastery, but they suffice to show that it was a place where Xiao Yan performed ancestral worship. The *Zizhi tongjian* (completed in 1064) explicitly says that it was built for acquiring blessings for his departed parents (*zhui fu* 追福).²⁵ And the *Nanshi* records Xiao Yan's visit to the mausoleum. In 544 (the tenth year of the Datong era) when Xiao Yan carried out ancestral worship in the mausoleum, the monastery served as a locus where he held a dharma assembly. A few days after the visit to his native place Lanling 蘭陵, the emperor conducted worship in the monastery. At the time when he was there, purple clouds, which symbolically represented an auspicious phenomenon related to the court or the monarch, gathered in the sky and did not disperse until a long time later. This marvelous phenomenon moved Xiao Yan, whose tears fell onto the plants near him and discoloured them. And a spring beside the mausoleum, which had run dry, started to supply scented, clean water after the phenomenon. One day later when Xiao Yan visited his late empress's (Emperor De 德后; i.e. *née* Xi 郗 [467-499]) tomb, he also shed tears. The next day he held a dharma assembly in the Huangji monastery and conferred official titles on

²⁴ The inscription is called “Jianling si cha xia ming” 建陵寺刹下銘 (The inscription [on the tablet put] under the mast [of the stūpa in] the Jianling monastery). It is mentioned in the biography of Ren Xiaogong in the *Liangshu* (juan 50), but it is now lost.

²⁵ *Zizhi tongjian* 157.4870.

people in Lanling.²⁶ Although the *Nanshi* does not tell us further about the assemblies, it is clear that it was part of the emperor's ancestral worship, which was intended for gaining merits for his deceased parents.

Another monastery built by Xiao Yan, the Great Aijing monastery 大愛敬寺, did not stand in the mausoleum of the imperial family as the Huangji monastery did, but also served as the ancestral shrine where Xiao Yan conducted worship for his departed father. After Xiao Yan founded his empire, he erected this monastery on Mount Zhong and the Great Zhidu nunnery 大智度寺 east of the Jianyang gate 建陽門 of Jiankang city in memory of his late parents. In the palace he also set up the Ultimate Piety hall (Zhijing dian 至敬殿) and an ancestral shrine-room (*qimiao shi* 七廟室)²⁷ for making regular offerings. The Great Aijing monastery was perhaps similar to the ancestral shrine in a way because Daoxuan says, "The monastery was constructed as respectably as a funerary temple (*yuanqin* 園寢); the carvings and decorations were all made like [those in] the heavenly palace were."²⁸ Daoxuan does not provide more information on how the monastery was constructed like a funerary temple, and neither do any other authors with whom I am familiar. But when read together with the information of Xiao Yan's construction of the monastery, Daoxuan's remarks may indicate that it was reminiscent of an ancestral shrine in terms of its function and structure.²⁹

²⁶ *Nanshi* 7.217. The same account is also found in *Jiankang shilu* 17.482.

²⁷ This ancestral shrine-room was possibly a room for worshipping the seven generations of ancestors, either dependant or independent of the ancestral temple (*taimiao* 太廟). After her "usurpation" in 690, Wu Zetian 武則天 (624-705) also set up a similar building in Luoyang for worshipping her ancestors of the seven generations of the Wu clan, after she usurped sovereignty from the Li family. See *Jiu Tangshu* 30.945.

²⁸ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 1.427a: 結構伽藍, 同尊園寢, 經營彫麗, 奄若天宮.

²⁹ In the so-called "Three remote periods" (i.e. Xia 夏, Shang 商, and Zhou 周), the temple, the centre of ancestral worship, was set up outside the tomb when only the small shrine was erected in the graveyard. From the Eastern Zhou on, the shrine, reminding others of one's individual achievement, became more prominent and thus expanded into the elaborate funerary structure. In the Qin and Western Han, the ancestral temple continued to lose its importance. From the Eastern Han, the tomb became the centre of ancestral worship and of social

Indeed, all the information in the depictions of the Great Aijing monastery and other ancestral buildings suggests that Xiao Yan wanted to conjure up an image of being a filial son. The title of the monastery, Suwa thinks, comes from the section about mourning for the parent (“*Sang qin pian*” 喪親篇) in the *Xiaojing* 孝經 (Classic of filial piety).³⁰ Besides, to express his intention to establish the buildings, he also composed the “Xiaosi fu” 孝思賦 (Rhyme prose / Rhapsody on thoughts on filial piety), which contains the following segment:

How is it possible for one to [fully] repay the kindness of one’s parent? Their [parental] affection is [as deep as] the river and the sea, [whereas] filial piety [can only be] like the tiny stream and the dust. Now [I] am the lord of the world. But [if] I could not make offerings right away, [I would be] like the one who had seven kinds of jewels in the famine year, but could not eat when feeling hungry and could not put on [more] clothes when feeling cold. [I] miss [my parents] forever, howling. How can I dissolve my sorrow?

父母之恩云何可報，慈如河海，孝若涓塵。今日為天下主而不及供養，譬猶荒年而有七寶，飢不食，寒不可衣，永慕長號，何解悲思？³¹

Therefore, he built the Great Aijing monastery on the bottom of Mount Zhong and the Great Zhidu nunnery beside the Qing River “in order to express [his] boundless sentiment and

activities. But Cao Cao attempted to stop this development by announcing that the funerary ritual was unorthodox and would be abolished. From this time on, the temple and the tomb resumed their roles as the twin centres in ancestral worship. See Wu Hung, “From Temple to Tomb,” 78-115.

Xiao Yan built the Huangji monastery in the graveyard for his deceased parents and the Great Aijing monastery and the other constructions (e.g. the Ultimate Piety hall and ancestral shrine-room) not in the graveyard, as stated above. It seems that he integrated Buddhist monasteries into the traditional twofold structure of familial religious centres. But it is necessary to conduct some thorough research before anything is known for certain about whether he attempted to build such dual centres.

³⁰ *Xiaojing*, “*Sang qin pian*,” section 18. The sentences taken by Suwa to be the origin of the monastery title read,

The services of love and reverence to parents when alive, and those of grief and sorrow to them when dead:—these completely discharge and the fundamental duty of living men. The righteous claims of life and death are all satisfied, and filial son’s service of his parents is completed. (生事愛敬，死事哀戚，生民之本盡矣，死生之義備矣，孝子之事親終矣。) (trans. by James Legge, *The Hsiao King, or Classic of Filial Piety*, in *The Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. II [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879], chap. 18, 488.)

³¹ *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 29.337a.

convey [his] thoughts of missing the ancestors.”³² But he found it insufficient to express his mourning for his late parents, so he set up the Zhijing hall. In this passage of rhyme prose the two monasteries are depicted as imperial ancestral shrines rather than Buddhist temples. Xiao Yan clearly states in it that the people to whom the offerings he presents are his deceased parents, but not the Buddha or other Buddhist holy figures. One, certainly, can acquire merits for one’s parent by making offerings to and paying obeisances to Buddhist holy figures, but the gifts and the homage should go to them so that one can gain merits and eventually transfer them to one’s parent. If a temple is treated as a locus where one makes offerings to and pays homage to one’s late parent, then it sounds like an ancestral shrine or a tomb of the parent instead of a Buddhist monastery, although it is called “*si* 寺” (the translation of the Buddhist temple). Daoxuan describes how Xiao Yan felt sorrowful when he performed worship in the Great Aijing monastery. “He made obeisances and stretched, and made offerings. Every time when he bowed in worship with the head and knee bent, he sobbed and choked but could not help himself. The subordinates in attendance on his both sides all wept.”³³ Bearing the function of the monastery in mind, when reading this narrative, one would understand that no matter how sincere Xiao Yan was in worship, he was thinking of and making obeisances to his departed father.³⁴

It is not surprising to learn that the Great Aijing monastery—an impressive temple built with considerable resources—had a stūpa. The stūpa was set up in 522 (the 3rd year of the Putong era). And it would not be hard to infer that the stūpa was intended to commemorate Xiao Yan’s achievements and had nothing to do with the Buddha or other

³² *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 29.337b: 以表罔極之情，達追遠之心。

³³ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 1.427a: 躬伸供養，每入頂禮，歔歔哽噎，不能自勝，預從左右，無不下泣。

³⁴ Suwa, “Ryōdai kenkō no butsuji to butei igai ni no konryū,” 165.

Buddhist holy figures. To understand how the stūpa was made to fit this function, we may take a look at some of the contents of the inscription written by his son Xiao Gang for the stūpa.

The real emptiness [from] *prajñā* (*boruo* 波若 = *banruo* 般若) leads living beings to [the comprehension of] the realm of impermanence; the [sea of] *nirvāṇa* has a shore that draws the unsaved out of the boundless [transmigration cycle]. In response to [the people in] these ten thousand [kalpas], the expedient and real [teachings] appear and suit [people in] different places according to [their dispositions]. Who can save them all? The emperor brings light completely to bear on the divine plain. In the still state of the mind, he gives out [divine] traces [out of his] profound compassion... The composed inscription [for the stūpa] says that I (i.e. Xiao Yan) am wise and holy, as bright as the essence of the sun (lit. blazing essence), with the merits shown in the orthodox calendar and virtues matching with a high reputation...

夫波若真空，導大生於假域；涅槃有岸，引未度於無邊。應此十千，現茲權實，隨方攝受，孰能弘濟？皇帝照盡神原，心凝寂境，深慈降跡……作銘曰：朕哉睿聖，至矣炎精，功昭鳳紀，德契雲名……³⁵

These contents should suffice to show that Xiao Gang regarded the inscription as a eulogy for his father rather than a work of praise of the Buddha or his teachings. Although the terms such as *niepan* 涅槃, *boruo*, *du* 度, and *quanshi* 權實 are common in Buddhist literature and appear here, they are used to describe Xiao Yan's achievements of saving sentient beings from the transmigration cycle with various teachings—the achievements that are of Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Under the circumstances, the stūpa in the Great Aijing monastery—the object that was canonically equated with the holy person—was inscribed with a eulogy for

³⁵ Xiao Gang, “An inscription under the mast of the Da Aijing monastery” (Da Aijing si cha xia ming 大愛敬寺刹下銘), in *QSSQSLW* 3: 13.3026a.

Xiao Yan and was transformed into a monument commemorating feats that were apparently attributed to this political figure for glorifying him.

As shown in the above quotation from the “Xiaosi fu,” the Great Zhidu nunnery also served as an ancestral shrine, and very likely the stūpa in it was built for gaining merits for his late mother. According to Daoxuan, the nunnery, like the Great Aijing monastery, was splendid and well-furnished, having an impressive hall with a golden Buddhist image enshrined and a seven-storied stūpa. Five hundred nuns lived in it, giving sermons and reciting all year around. After its completion, Xiao Yan said to his concubines that he set up this nunnery and the Great Aijing monastery for “presenting blessings to his two imperial [deceased parents]” (*feng fu er huang* 奉福二皇)³⁶, which also points to the fact that these two temples were built by Xiao Yan for ancestral worship. It can be inferred that the stūpa in the nunnery was also not treated as a holy object of worship and, as the one in the Great Aijing monastery was, was used to commemorate Xiao Yan’s merits of being dutiful. The five hundred nuns probably also carried out Buddhist practices at the stūpa, as the monks of the monastery did, but possibly Xiao Yan thought the merits they acquired would be transferred to his late mother.

After his account of the monastery and the nunnery, Daoxuan quotes a piece of prose written by Xiao Yi (i.e. Emperor Yuan of the Xiao Liang Dynasty). Not only does this work further support the argument that Xiao Yan actually treated the constructions as his ancestral shrines, but it also tells us why he attempted to create for himself the image of being filially pious, although the work was not written by him, but by Xiao Yi, one of his sons. The work clearly shows that Xiao Yan intended to make himself an ideal sage monarch in the

³⁶ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 1.427a.

Confucian tradition, parallel to the three famous sagacious rulers in ancient times. It first says that Xiao Yan is always filially responsible and has not changed even in the time of hardship.

Then it contains the following passage:

Being solemn and quiet in the court, he is overwhelmed by sadness when thinking of his parents' short lifespans (*guoxi* 過隙).³⁷ Ruling through non-intervention (*chuigong* 垂拱) in the court (*yanlang* 巖廊)³⁸, his sorrow over the death of his parents (lit. the sadness of the tree blown by the wind) is more and more intense. Purified during the fast in the ancestral shrine (sic. *zonglang* 宗廊) and pious while attending to the ceremony for Heaven and Earth worship (*jiaoyin* 郊禋), he sheds tears even though he has not yet uttered a word, and is overcome with grief even though his expression has not yet changed. This [emotion] is what is called the lifetime grief (*zhongshen zhi you* 終身之憂) [said in the *Liji*]³⁹. Shun 舜 of the Yu 虞, Yu 禹 of the Xia 夏, [King] Wen of the Zhou, and the emperor of the Liang (i.e. Xiao Yan) are the four persons [only who are said to be dutiful by the people] in ten thousand years who discuss filial piety.

³⁷ This term comes from the *Kongzi jiaoyu* 孔子家語 (The School Sayings of Confucius), the author of which is anonymous. The sentence in the text reads “Both parents have grown old as suddenly as [a span of horses] fleeting past a crevice” (二親之壽，忽若過隙。) (*juan* 8). Robert Paul Kramer has translated this text, and his translation of the above sentences is quoted above. See Kramer, *K'ung Tzū Chia Yū: The School Sayings of Confucius, Sinica Leidensia* 7 (Leiden: EJ Brill, 1950), 236.

The text was annotated by Wang Su 王肅 (195-258) of the Wei Dynasty in the period of the Three Kingdoms. It has been lost, and the extant version simply collects the anecdotes about Confucius abstracted from other sources.

³⁸ The expressions are derived from Dong Zhongshu's 董仲舒 (179-104 B.C.E.) comments on Shun: “It is generally heard that during the times of Shun of the Yu [he] wandered around in the court; being idle and through non-interference, [he made] the world peaceful” (蓋聞虞舜時，遊於巖廊之上，垂拱無為，而天下太平)。 (Quoted from *Hanshu* 26.2506).

³⁹ The expression “the lifetime grief” comes from the *Liji*, which says that even after the three year mourning for one's parent (the maximum length for one in mourning) one will not forget them, and therefore “a superior man will have a life-time grief, but not one morning's trouble [from without]; and thus on the anniversary of a parent's death, he does not listen to music” (君子有終身之憂，無一朝之患也，故忌日不樂)。 *Liji*, “Tangong 檀弓。” Translation taken from Legge, *Li Chi: Book of Rites* (New Hyde Park, N.Y., University Books, 1967), part 1, 124.

臨朝端默，過隙之思彌軫。垂拱巖廊，風樹之悲逾切。潔齋宗廊，虔事郊禋，言未而涕零，容不改而傷慟，所謂終身之憂者是也。蓋虞舜夏禹周文梁帝，萬載論孝，四人而已。⁴⁰

This passage stresses that Xiao Yan matches the three ancient sagacious rulers, who were highly admired by Confucians. In the Confucian tradition an ideal monarch is thought to be a perfectly virtuous man and certainly a person of filial piety too. Therefore, by describing Xiao Yan as dutiful as the ancient rulers, Xiao Yi wants to claim that he is a flawless ruler who governs the world through non-interference as Shun did⁴¹, and his country sees the same age of peace as that which appeared in the remote past. This work by Xuan Yi contains no reference to the two temples Xiao Yan built, and seems to have been intended for political propaganda instead of having any link with Buddhism, but Daoxuan quotes it in the end of his account of the temples. This clearly indicates that these constructions were linked to Xiao Yan's ideological propaganda rather than symbolizing Buddhism or transmitting Buddhist doctrines. Then, as part of the temples, the stūpas in them certainly could not function in the way as they are canonically supposed to.

In addition to Xiao Yan, the members of the ruling class in the Northern Dynasties also erected Buddhist stūpas in imperial graveyards. Emperor Xiaowen 孝文帝 (r. 471-499) of the Northern Wei Dynasty, for example, built a Buddhist monastery with a stūpa in the mausoleum for the Queen Mother Wenming 文明 (*née* Feng 馮 [441-490]), the empress of Emperor Wencheng 文成 (r. 452-465). It is believed that a monastery was built in the mausoleum for the queen mother because she was a Buddhist. She erected the Siyan monastery 思燕佛圖 in the place of the ruined palace of the three Yan states (Former Yan 前

⁴⁰ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 1.427b.

⁴¹ See note 38 above.

燕 [337-370], Later Yan 後燕 [384-409], and Northern Yan 北燕 [409-436]) in Longcheng 龍城; in it there was a stūpa, the remains of which were made the core of another stūpa built in the Sui Dynasty. It again was covered by an extant stūpa set up in the Liao Dynasty, which is called the Northern Zhaoyang stūpa 朝陽北塔 (in present-day Liaoning 遼寧). For her sake, Emperor Xiaowen abolished the bureau responsible for hunting eagles and built the Baode monastery 報德寺 on its land. When once visiting Mount Fang 方山 (now called Siliang shan 寺梁山, in the rural region in the north of Pingcheng) in the north of Datong 大同 with the emperor, the queen mother expressed her wish to be buried there after death. Hence, the emperor ordered that a mausoleum be built. He even went to the mountain in person frequently for supervising the building work and made offerings there after her death.⁴²

The mausoleum was called Yonggu ling 永固陵 (Mausoleum of eternal solidity, see Figure 5.1). The monastery, named Siyuan si 思遠寺, stood south of the mound (where her burial chamber is located) and was part of the graveyard with two burial spots for the queen mother and Emperor Xiaowen (the tomb for the emperor is called Wannian Hall 萬年堂) and the ancestral shrine (Yonggu Hall 永固堂)⁴³. The entire tomb construction was a large

⁴² *Weishu* 13.328-329; *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (Outstanding models from the storehouse of literature, collected in *SKQS*), eds. Wang Ruoqin 王若欽 (962-1025) et al., in *SKQS* 904: 112.34b-37a; Datong shi bowu guan 大同市博物館 (Museum of Datong city), “Datong Beiwei Fangshan Siyuan fosi yizhi fajue baogao” 大同北魏方山思遠佛寺遺址發掘報告 (An excavation report on the remains of the Yiyuan monastery on the Northern Wei Mount Fang in Datong), *Wenwu* 4 (2007): 23-24.

⁴³ For the excavation findings of the mausoleum, see the studies mentioned in the following note and below: Wang Yanqing 王雁卿, “Beiwei Yonggu ling lingqin zhidu de ji dian renshi” 北魏永固陵陵寢制度的幾點認識 (A few points of the facts about the imperial tomb system (sic) of the Yonggu Mausoleum of the Northern Wei), *Shanxi Datong daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 山西大同大學學報社會科學版 (Journal of Shanxi Datong University, social science section) 22.4 (2008): 46-49; Datong shi bowu guan 大同市博物館 and Shanxi sheng wenwu gongzuo weiyuan hui 山西省文物工作委員會 (Committee of archeological works in

project, which was started in 479 (the third year of the Taihe 太和 era) and was not finished until around 491 (the fifteenth year of the Taihe era), and the temple already started to be built at the beginning. Li Daoyuan has written a depiction of it and other funerary buildings, which vividly displays the grandeur of the tomb.

The Yang river 羊水 (the present Yuni river 淤泥河) also runs eastwards into the Hun river 渾水 (the present Yu river 御河) and its branch irregularly flows by Fangling 方嶺 (= Fangshan 方山)⁴⁴. On [the mountain] there is a mausoleum for the Grand Queen Mother of the Grand Emperor Wenming. In the northeast of the mausoleum, there is a mausoleum for High Ancestral Emperor (i.e. Emperor Xiaowen 孝文帝). In the south of the two mausoleums, there is the Yonggu Hall. In the four corners of the hall walls, stairs to pavilions on houses and railings are arranged. And door leafs, girders, walls, rafters, and tiles all are made of grained stone....Outside and inside the hall, four sides are connected with two stone guardrails. Green stone are put up [as] a screen with the edges cut along the grain. And the low walls are painted (lit. *chu* 出) with [some] loyal and filial responsible people (lit. *rong* 容) and inscribed with the names of [some] chaste and gentle people. In the front of the shrine (=Yonggu Hall) [there are] tablets and animal statues made of stone; the tablet stone is the best [when compared with that of others]. On the both sides [of the shrine] rows of cypresses [are planted], and everywhere confused birds block [the view of] the sun. Outside the graveyard (*yuan* 園), there is the Siyuan monastery. In the west of the monastery, there is a fasting hall. The southern gates [of the Yonggu hall] are marked by a pair of stone gate towers (*que* 闕).

羊水又東注于如渾水，亂流逕方嶺，上有文明太皇太后陵，陵之東北，有高祖陵，二陵之南，有水（永）固堂，堂之四周隅雉，列樹階欄檻，及扉戶梁壁椽瓦悉文石

Shanxi province), “Datong Fangshan Beiwei Yonggu ling 大同方山北魏永固陵 (The Yonggu Mausoleum of the Northern Wei on Mount Fang, Datong),” *Wenwu* 7 (1978): 29-36.

⁴⁴ Zhao Shuzhen 趙淑貞 and Ren Boping 任伯平, “Beiwei Fangshan shiku ji liang huangling guzhi de tanxun” 北魏方山石窟及兩皇陵故址的探尋 (A probe into the grottoes in Mount Fang and the locations of the two imperial mausoleums, [dating back to] the Northern Wei), *Shanxi daxue shifan xueyuan xuebao* 山西大學師範學院學報 (Journal of Teachers College of Shanxi University), 3 (2001): 35.

也.....堂之內外，四側結兩石扶，張青石屏風，以文石為緣，並隱起忠孝之容，題刻貞順之名，廟前鑄石之碑獸，碑石至佳，左右列柏，四周迷禽闔日，院外西側，有思遠靈圖，圖之西有齋堂，南門表二石闕.....⁴⁵

The above description contains only a mention of the monastery, but it is still worth whole quotation here, because it reveals that the monastery was put up in the graveyard—a place where funerary buildings stood everywhere. The monastery is included in this account; this clearly shows that Li Daoyuan, possibly as well as his contemporaries, considered it as an imperial funerary building. His depiction agrees with the excavated remains. With the Yonggu Hall in the front, the burial chambers for the queen mother and Emperor Xiaowen are located on the top of the southern peak of Mount Fang. On the level 25 to 30 meters lower than the top, the Siyuan monastery stands 800 meters away from them, and the fasting hall lies in its west.⁴⁶ As shown in figure 5.1, the chambers stand in the centre and constitute the tomb complex with other funerary buildings. Like the buildings, the monastery is apparently an adjunct to the chambers as loci of religious services. When the Yonggu Hall and the fasting hall were perhaps built as the places for ancestral worship, the Siyuan monastery was probably their Buddhist counterpart, serving the royal family with Buddhist services for acquiring blessings.⁴⁷

Overall, not much information about the monastery can be obtained in literary material. Falin's 法琳 (572-640) *Poxie lun* 破邪論 (Treatises on refuting heresies), for example, contains only a brief mention of it, saying that the monastery was built on Mount

⁴⁵ Li Daoyuan, *Shujing zhu*, *juan* 13; see Wang (colla.), Yuan and Liu (annots.), *Shujing zhu jiao*, 13.423-424.

⁴⁶ Datong shi bowu guan, "Datong Beiwei Fangshan Siyuan fosi yizhi fajue baogao," 4-5.

⁴⁷ For the study of the monastery and Yonggu Hall in the context of the imperially sponsored Buddhist buildings in the Northern Wei, see James O. Caswell, *Written and Unwritten: A New History of the Buddhist Caves at Yunggang* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988), 13-20. Caswell (*Written and Unwritten*, 18) understands the monastery to be more "a family chapel" than "a full-blown temple complex of an urban-and consequently political-sort."

Fang in 477.⁴⁸ Likewise, Daoxuan simply tells us that Emperor Xiaowen appointed Sengxian 僧顯 (fl. late fifth century), the head monk (*sizhu* 寺主) of the monastery, as Monastic Superintendent (Shamen tong 沙門統).⁴⁹ It seems to suggest that because of being an imperial familial temple the monastery was given prominence, and its head monk was offered a high position in the national monastic hierarchy. Thanks to the archaeological excavation conducted for the tomb, we know that the Siyuan monastery had a stūpa in the centre, with a Buddhist hall and monastic quarters in its northwest. The stūpa was supported by a stone platform, as the Yongning stūpa was by an earth platform, and was surrounded by a circumambulatory path. The stūpa was the most noticeable part of the monastery, covering an area of 331.25 square meters, whereas the hall was 126 square meters only and, less than its half.⁵⁰ This monastic structure suggests that stūpa worship was probably the centre of the daily practice of the monks living there. But if the monastery, as the ancestral hall did, mainly served the royal family in gaining merits for the dead Queen Mother,⁵¹ then the stūpa it housed perhaps was used as an instrument for ancestral worship rather than Buddhist worship, let alone being a manifestation of the Buddha. Perhaps this was the reason why the monastery did not attract much attention from contemporary Buddhist elite authors and thus was seldom mentioned in their works.

Now the focus should be switched to another example of imperial tomb stūpas in the north—a sepulchral stūpa in the Great Buddha Grotto (Dafo dong 大佛洞, or the North

⁴⁸ Falin, *Poxie lun*, T no. 2109, 52: 1.272b.

⁴⁹ Daoxuan, *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 24.272b. Some later authors such as Zhipan and Zanning also refer to this event, probably on the basis of the *Guang Hongming ji*. See *Fozu tongji*, T no. 2036, 49: 38.355a; *Da Song seng shi lüe*, T no. 2126, 54: 2.243b.

⁵⁰ Datong shi bowu guan, “Datong Beiwei Fangshan Siyuan fosi yizhi fajue baogao,” *Wenwu* 4 (2007): 8-9.

⁵¹ Lin Shengzhi 林聖智, “Beiwei Ningmao shishi de tuxiang yu gongneng” 北魏寧懋石室的圖像與功能 (The pictures in the Ningmao stone chamber in the Northern Wei and their functions), *Meishu shi yanjiu jikan* 美術史研究集刊 (Collected publications on studies of art history) 18 (2005): 50-51.

Cave)⁵² for Gao Yang 高洋 (528-559; Emperor Wenxuan 文宣帝 [r. 550-559]), the founder of the Northern Qi Dynasty. The cave is largest in the northern region of Mount Xiangtang 響堂山 (in present Linzhang County 臨漳縣 of Hebei). Unlike the ones discussed above, this stūpa was much smaller and did not stand in a grand monastery. According to Daoxuan's biography of Mingfen 明芬 (fl. early 7th century), the earliest source about the cave, the tomb was located in a temple built by Gao Yang, which was called Shiku si 石窟寺 (Grotto monastery) in the Sui. Mingfen was told by Yang Jian to enshrine a relic in Cizhou 慈州 in 602. Behind a Buddhist image in the cave, Daoxuan says, there is a tomb, and the carvings in the cave are very frightening.⁵³ Sima Guang, however, in his *Zizhi tongjian*, writes another version of the origin of the tomb. He thinks that it was a sham tomb Gao Yang built for his father Gao Huan 高歡 (496-547) in 547 (the 1st year of the Taiqing 太清 era). Among the caves in the mountain, the one that is qualified best to be the imperial mausoleum tomb is the Great Buddha Grotto. It has a central pillar, which is engraved with images in niches on three facades. The back of the upper part of the pillar joins to the back to the mountain (see Figure 5.2). On the top front of the pillar-stūpa,⁵⁴ there is a rectangular chamber (3.87 meters in depth, 1.35 meter in width, and 1.77 in height), which does not bear carvings or murals inside. Probably it was the place where the remains container (or the sham coffin) was put. Although

⁵² There is no uniform numbering system for the caves on Mount Xiangtang. The Great Buddha Grotto, for example, is named as no. 1 cave by Wen Yucheng 溫玉成, but as no. 7 cave and no. 4 cave by Li Wensheng 李文生 and Sekino Tadashi 關野貞 respectively. Zhao Lichun 趙立春, however, calls it no. 9 cave. Zhao Lichun, "Xiangtang shan shiku de bianhao shuoming ji neirong jianlu" 響堂山石窟的編號說明及內容簡錄 (An explanation of the numbers [given to] the caverns in Mount Xiangtang and a brief record of the contents [i.e. the carvings in them]), *Wenwu chunqiu* 文物春秋 5 (2000): 62-68.

⁵³ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 26.669c: 大窟像背文宣陵藏中, 諸雕刻駭動人鬼。

⁵⁴ The stūpa is almost vertical and stands in the centre of the cave, so it, as well as others of its kind (e.g. the one in the Śākyamuni cave 釋迦洞 in Northern Mount Xiangtang), is also called the central pillar (*zhongxin zhu* 中心柱) or simply the pillar (*zhu* 柱).

Daoxuan says the coffin is behind the Buddhist images, it is commonly believed that it is placed in the top part of this stūpa.⁵⁵ An inscription composed in 1159 (the 4th year of Zhenglong 正隆 era in the Jin Dynasty), which was aimed at commemorating the refurbishment of the Buddhist hall of the monastery, also says that “[Gao] Cheng, [one of] Huan’s sons, buried his father on the top of the Buddha.”⁵⁶ The Buddha mentioned here is clearly referred to as the image on the front niche of the stūpa, which is dressed in a robe with the legs folded, and the coffin is on its top.

It seems that this funerary stūpa is not much different from those for Xiao Yan’s parents and the Queen Mother Wenming, because they all were part of Buddhist monasteries. Like the monasteries discussed above, the Shiku monastery was also built by the royal family for its funerary use. But the stūpa was in contrast to those discussed above in a few aspects. Firstly, it was situated in a place that had already developed into a cultivation centre for local monks. Although those earliest grottos in Mount Xiangtang date back to the Northern Qi Dynasty, the extant material suggests that the royal family built a tomb for Gao Huan (or Gao Yang) there because it was regarded as a place where extraordinary monks lived. In the biography of Mingfen, Daoxuan writes that the Shiku monastery was constructed by Gao Yang, but he says that on Mount Gu 鼓山 (the contemporary name for Mount Xiangtang), where the monastery was located, there are immortals. When Mingfen came and enshrined

⁵⁵ Zhao Lichun, “Xiangtang shan Bei Qi taxingku shulun” 響堂山北齊塔形窟述論 (A study on the central-pillar caves in Mountain Xiangtang in the Northern Qi Dynasty), *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 (Dunhuang studies) 2 (1993): 40; Tsiang-Mino, “Bodies of Buddhas and princes,” 15-23. There are many studies on this cave and others in the Mount Xiangtang, see those mentioned in note 52 above and those below.

⁵⁶ Hu Li 胡礪 (1107-1161), “Cizhou Gushan Changle si chongxiu dashi dian ji” 磁州鼓山常樂寺重修大士殿記 (A record of the Mahāsattva hall in the Changle monastery in the Gu Mountain of the Ci State), quoted from Jing Sanling’s 荆三林 *Zhongguo shiku diaoke yishu shi* 中國石窟彫刻藝術史 (History of sculpture art in Chinese caves) (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988), 79: 歡子高澄, 葬父於佛頂焉. The tablet engraved with this inscription was found in the Changle monastery, which was the name given to the Siku monastery in the Song.

the relic, immortals welcomed him, flying on clouds; this phenomenon was regarded by locals as a miracle triggered by these supernatural beings living on this mountain.⁵⁷ Sima Guang in his *Zizhi tongjian* says that Gao Yang “secretly dug out a grotto beside the Siku monastery in Mount Gu [of] Cheng’an [County] (near Ye, in Henan) and put [Gao Huan’s] coffin [in it] and blocked it (i.e. the grotto) up.”⁵⁸ The account implies that the monastery had already existed when the mausoleum was built. Other stories about the mountain in Daoxuan’s book also tell us that this was a secluded place resided in by extraordinary monks. The biography of Yuantong 圓通 (fl. 573-574), for example, says that a guest monk of whom Yuantong had taken care when he was sick asked him to come and visit him. This guest monk lived in a small temple called Zhulin monastery 竹林寺 (Bamboo forest monastery), which was located north of the Siku monastery and five *li* away from it. After entering this shady, quiet temple, which was hidden in tall bamboos and pines, Yuantong met the head monk, who, Daoxuan writes, was the sacred monk *Pinḍola* (Bintoulu 賓頭盧). Manifesting himself as an old man of mountains, he is one of the sixteen *arhats* responsible for sustaining the transmission of Buddhist teachings in the world; therefore he is an embodiment of correct Dharma (*zhengfa* 正法).⁵⁹

Mount Gu, which lay in the northwest of Ye 鄴 (the capital of the Northern Qi Dynasty), was commonly thought to be a holy place where extraordinary practitioners stayed. Daoxuan even went on a trip to search for them. At the end of the story of Yuantong he writes a depiction of this mystical place, the sources for which perhaps were collected during his trip. He writes that, after the court had selected Ye as its capital, many monasteries

⁵⁷ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 26.669c.

⁵⁸ *Zizhi tongjian* 160.4957: 潛鑿成安鼓山石窟佛寺之旁成穴, 納其柩而塞之.

⁵⁹ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 25.647c-648c.

(possibly including the Shiku monastery) were built on the mountain⁶⁰, and lumbermen and miners burst in on these divine beings and made many of them leave. After the Northern Qi Dynasty had collapsed, during the suppression of Buddhism in the Northern Zhou, a certain official named Guo Mi 郭彌 (d.u.), during his sick leave, lived in his house in his native place and provided food and lodging for old monks who were forced to return to the laity. One day, when his housemaid heard knocks and answered the door, she saw a monk holding an alms bowl and a staff. The monk told her that he came from the Zhulin monastery and was compelled to beg. The housemaid scolded him, saying with contempt that he should only have said that he came for begging but should not have pretended to holiness by claiming that he came from the monastery. In an instant the monk disappeared and could not be found, and only then did the housemaid realized that he was a transcendent person and regretted very much having said the offensive remarks.⁶¹ It was still believed in Daoxuan's times that Mount Gu was populated by such kinds of religious practitioners. And it seems that the ruling class of the Northern Qi had great admiration for them. It is said in Daoxuan's biographical work that a certain emperor in this period, whose identity is not revealed⁶², for

⁶⁰ Before this, perhaps only crude monastic quarters existed. Mount Gu was located on the way from Luoyang to Ye and that from Ye to Taiyuan 太原, so naturally more monastic constructions were built there when Ye became an important political centre. See Wang Zijin 王子今, "Beichao shiku fenbu de jiaotong dili xue kaocha" 北朝石窟分佈的交通地理學考察 (Investigation into the geography of the paths where the Northern Wei grottos are located), in *Beichao shi yanjiu: Zhongguo Weijin Nanbei chao shi guoji xueshu yantao hui lunwen ji* 北朝史研究: 中國魏晉南北朝史國際學術會論文集 (The papers for the international academic conference on the history of the Wei, Jin, and the Northern and Southern Dynasties in China), ed. Yin Xian 殷憲 (Beijing: Shangwuyin shuguan, 2004), 494-495. The 1159 inscription mentioned above says that since the mountain was located on the way from Ye to the supplementary capital Jinyang 晉陽 (the administrative office for Bingzhou 并州), Gao Yang erected an abode on the bottom of the mountain. After seeing several hundred holy monks taking part in Buddhist practices there, he decided to build the Shiku monastery.

⁶¹ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 25.647c-649a.

⁶² Wen Yucheng identifies the unnamed monarch as Gao Yang, but Zhao Lichun finds it difficult to accept due to lack of evidence. See Zhao Lichun, "Cong wenxian ziliao lun Xiangtan shan shiku de kaizao niandai" 從文獻資料論響堂山石窟的開鑿年代 (A textual study on the construction time of the Xiangtan Mountain caves), *Wenwu chunqiu* 文物春秋 2 (2002): 29.

example, frequently visited Daofeng 道豐 (fl. later half of the sixth century) on his way back to the capital. The stories of this monk show that he belonged exactly to this kind of mysterious wonderworkers. The emperor once gave him some wine and steamed pork (?) haunch meat (*zhun* 肫) and told him to consume them. Daofeng was pleased to do so; the emperor laughed and later left. Then Daofeng asked his disciples to take out the wine and the meat from his bed. They had not been touched at all. He also cured a monk suffering from a disorder caused by his meditation practice. The latter was a monk living on Mount Gu; one day he got delirium, deluding himself into believing he was a Buddha. He soon recovered when Daofeng treated him with acupuncture. On his deathbed Daofeng told his disciples where they could find a spring nearby so that they did not need to bother themselves carrying water along mountain paths. This spring still existed in Daoxuan's day.⁶³

Due to its seclusion and sanctity, the mountain was selected by the Gao family as the place to construct the imperial mausoleum. This was, however, not the only case of an imperial burial site being situated in a cavern in a sacred region.⁶⁴ Empress Wen 文后, *née* Yifu 乙弗氏 (d. 540), in the Western Wei Dynasty, for example, was also buried in Mount Maiji—a centre of Buddhist meditation populated by monks as early as the first half of the fifth century. She was a favourite of Emperor Wen (r. 535-551), but, in order to ally himself with Rouran 柔然 (or Ruru 蠕蠕; a state of this ethnic minority) the emperor dethroned her and married a princess of this state (posthumous title: Empress Dao 悼皇后, *née* Yujiulü 郁久閼 [526-540]). After having been dethroned, she was forced to leave the palace and

⁶³*Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 25.647b-647c.

⁶⁴ There are also other examples of burial in caves in different ages. Two Eastern-Han cave-tombs, for example, are found in Sichuan, one of which is in Mahao 麻壕 and the other in Peiziwan 沛子灣. And both these two tombs reflect the impact of Buddhism; in them there are images of the Buddha with the halo, carved in high relief.

become a nun. She then lived in the Qin Prefecture 秦州 with her son (the then Qin State prefect). But the emperor, who still had affection for her, later asked her to return to the laity and let her live in the palace furtively, with the intention of restoring her status. Later Empress Dao died from a miscarriage, and the Rouran carried out an invasion of the Western Wei, which was thought to be a revenge attack. To patch things up, the emperor ordered the dethroned empress to commit suicide. After her death she was entombed in a niche on Mount Maiji, which was given the name Jiling 寂陵. Her body was buried there until the mausoleum (called Yongling 永陵, in Fuping 富平 of Shaanxi 陝西) for Emperor Wen was completed and it was moved there.⁶⁵ The empress's tomb in Mount Maiji is commonly thought to be located in a vault at the back of the grotto no. 43 (commonly called the Wei-Empress Tomb [Weihou mu 魏后墓]) in the mountain, with a Song-made Buddhist image standing in the front (Figure 5.3). This vault, the only one of the kind in the mountain, is about the same size as the chamber for Gao Huan (or Gao Yang) in Mount Xiangtang.⁶⁶ The story of the dethroned empress indicates that she was interred in the cave-tomb not only because of expediency, but also because the burial had to be shrouded in secrecy during the tension between the two nations along the border.

Although her cave-tomb does not have any stūpa images sculpted in high relief or a central pillar stūpa, the story of this dethroned empress shows that it was not rare for the elite to place tombs in mountains when it wanted to keep them secret. Therefore, it seems natural

⁶⁵ *Beishi* 507.506-507.

⁶⁶ The vault is 1.73 meter in height, 3.2 meter in depth, and 2.5 meter in width in the front (2.15 meter in the back). See Fu Xinian 傅熹年, "Maiji shan shiku suojian gu jianzhu" 麥積山石窟所見古建築 (The ancient architecture seen in the grottos in the Maiji Mountain), *Zhongguo shiku, Tianshui Maiji shan* 中國石窟·天水麥積山 (Grottos in China—Mount Maiji in Tianshui), eds. Xia Nai 夏鼐 et al. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998), 203-204.

that the court placed Gao Huan's (or Gao Yang's) tomb in Mount Xiangtang in order to conceal the location. The *Zizhi tongjian* writes that to conceal the burial of Gao Huan, after the coffin had been placed in the cave, the royal family killed all the craftsmen who built the tomb. But this failed to keep it secret forever. When the Northern Qi Dynasty fell, the son of one of the craftsmen stole the treasures from the tomb. According to the *Bei Qi shu*, on his deathbed Gao Huan told others not to hold any funeral; hence the family did not hold one until more than five months after his death. Two months later he was buried in the west of Ye and the mausoleum was called Yiping ling 義平陵.⁶⁷ The tomb in Mount Gu, the *Zizhi tongjian* says, was sham. Some sources, however, say that this tomb was the genuine place Gao Huan was buried and the other one was sham.⁶⁸ Anyway, building more than one tomb for deception certainly was aimed at preventing robbery and possibly wicked destruction by enemies. At that time the Gao family had controlled the emperor of the Eastern Wei Dynasty but encountered the threat of the rebel Hou Jing 侯景 (d. 552).⁶⁹

But Daoxuan thinks that it was the tomb erected by Gao Yang. Liu Dongguang 劉東光 agrees with him, pointing out that Gao Huan was not in favour of Buddhism so it is less likely that the tomb was set up by him. After listening to some certain sorcerers' prophecy that the Gao family would be overthrown by people in black clothes, Gao Huan did not wish to meet any monks because their robes were black. Gao Yang, however, believed in

⁶⁷ *Bei Qi shu* 2.23-24.

⁶⁸ Based on the *Yuan yitongzhi* 元一統志 (or *Da Yuan yitongzhi* 大元一統志; Gazetteer of the unified Great Yuan), which writes that Gao Huan was buried secretly in Mount Gu, the *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 (Yongle encyclopaedia) says that the tomb in Fuyang 滏陽 (or the Fu River 滏河)—the Yiping mausoleum in the west of Ye—was a forgery. This is accepted by Liu Shufen. "Shishi yiku—zhonggu fojiao lushizang yanjiu zhi er" 石室瘞葬—中古佛教露屍葬研究之二 (Cave burial—A study on medieval Buddhist burials with exposed corpses, part II), in her *Zhonggu de fojiao yu shehui*, 271.

⁶⁹ Zhao Lichun, "Cong wenxian ziliao lun Xiangtan shan shiku de kaizao niandai," 28.

Buddhism. The *Bei Qi shu* writes that he abstained from meat and lived in the Ganlu monastery 甘露寺 (in Liaoyang 遼陽) for some time practicing meditation, and that he built the Dazhuangyan monastery 大莊嚴寺. These suggest that Gao Yang was the one who more likely built a tomb for himself in the mountain inhabited by monks practicing meditation in seclusion.⁷⁰

However, even if we accept that the tomb was built for Gao Yang as suggested by Daoxuan, it is still possible that it was a sham grave, given that he was buried, according to the *Bei Qi shu*, in the Wuning Mausoleum (Wuning ling 武寧陵), which suggests that the cavern tomb in Mount Xiangtang was dug out to deceive others. This history does not tell us where the Wuning Mausoleum was. It was perhaps not far from the Yiping Mausoleum, both located in the imperial graveyard for the Northern Qi royal family in present-day Ci County 磁縣 of Hebei. A grave, decorated with a delicate mural and housing many funeral objects, was excavated in 1987 to 1989 in the Wanzhang Village 灣漳村 in the county, and it is thought to be the tomb for Gao Yang—the Wuning Mausoleum.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Liu Dongguang also proffers more reasons for associating the tomb with Gao Yang. The Eastern Wei government, which was controlled by Gao Huan, restricted the growth of Buddhist monasteries and thus ordered that the newly-established monasteries be destroyed in 538. Liu Dongguang argues that even if Gao Huan had supported Buddhism, he would not have dug out a cave tomb with a stūpa for himself as this would have arrogated to himself the right to have a stūpa for his body. According to Buddhism, apart from the three kinds of Buddhist holy figures, only the universal emperor (*cakravartī*) has a stūpa after his death. Therefore, it is more likely that Gao Yang, who had seized the sovereignty from Emperor Xiaojing 孝靜帝 (r. 534-550) in the Eastern Wei Dynasty, built the stūpa tomb for himself in accordance with his flaunted image as an universal monarch for himself. See *Bei Qi shu*, supplement, 10.136, 4.61-66; Liu Dongguang, “Shi lun Beixiangtang shiku de zaojian niandai ji xingzhi” 試論北響堂石窟的鑿建年代及性質 (A tentative discussion of the construction time and the nature [construction purpose?] of the grotto in the Northern Xiangtang), *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 4 (1997): 68-69, 73-75.

Liu Dongguang has a point, but, as shown in the discussion in this chapter, Chinese laymen did not follow Buddhist scriptural tradition of stūpas when they built stūpas for their deceased ancestors; therefore stūpas were not limited to emperors in medieval China.

⁷¹ *Bei Qi shu* 4.67; Luo Zongzhen, *Wei Jin Nanbei chao kaogu*, 86.

No matter whether the cavern tomb in Mount Gu was set up for Gao Huan or Gao Yang, it was probably a temporary burial site built with few resources, like the cave-tomb for the dethroned Queen Wen. This may explain why it was crude and was located in a cavern in the mountain. It is a place not easily discernable and short of space. The Gao family probably did not intend to have an impressive, spacious monastery (or ancestral shrine) inhabited by many monks acquiring merits, but wanted a vault for Gao Huan / Gao Yang only. If so, it should not be hard to understand why the cavern tomb was less grand and noticeable when compared with the imperial monasteries discussed above—those built for Xiao Yan's parents and the Queen Mother Wenming. They were decorated by conspicuous funerary constructions such as various animal carvings and inscriptions. The Great Aijing monastery was so impressive that Daoxuan thought it could match heaven. The distance between the main entrance and the middle courtyard (*zhongyuan* 中院) was seven *li* (2 1/3 miles), and the courtyard was connected through verandas with other thirty-six courtyards populated by more than a thousand monks. This is the picture of it given by Daoxuan, and it is perhaps not an exaggeration because the monastery is mentioned in the criticism of Xiao Yan as evidence for his massive expenditure on building Buddhist temples.⁷² And the Great Zhidu nunnery, built in a position along the way from the imperial court to local markets, was also impressive; it was equipped with a majestic hall and living quarters for five hundred nuns.⁷³ Although the extant textual material contains no depiction for the Siyuan monastery as it does for these two temples, as the pivot in the first stage (479-480) of the twelve-year construction project (479–491) of the mausoleum, the monastery should also have been the building entailing considerable resources of the state. It was built in the open area on Mount

⁷² *Weishu* 98.2187.

⁷³ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 1.427a.

Fang because Emperor Xiaowen hoped that, together with other funerary constructions, it would become the object of respect when looked at from afar.⁷⁴ Hence, as the two temples of the Xiao Liang Dynasty were, it was large too, covering 5039.72 square meters (the area on which its remains are scattered) and having a hall and monastic quarters.⁷⁵ The cave-tomb, in contrast, was much smaller (12 meters in depth, 12 meters in width, and 11 meters in height)⁷⁶. Although it is the biggest cave in Mount Xiangtang, it is no match for these temples.

The above background information is helpful in conjecturing a picture about the stūpa there. Rather than being a lofty, impressive construction, it was relatively crude, unlike those multi-storied ones standing in the above-mentioned monasteries. Both the ones in the Great Aijing monastery and the Great Zhidu nunnery were seven-storied. And that in the Siyuan monasteries was also a huge building, and this can be inferred from the fact that its remains cover more than three hundred square meters. These temples were dwelled by monks and nuns who possibly were moved intentionally by the states to there, and thus the stūpas were probably venerated by them daily, although it has to be admitted that the worship there was intended to be directed towards the deceased imperial family members, not the veneration that can non-controversially be defined as Buddhist stūpa worship. It is hard, however, to confirm definitely that the stūpa in Mount Xiangtang was the object of worship by monks there even though it was placed in the area where many monks lived for meditative

⁷⁴ *Weishu* 13.330.

⁷⁵ Datong shi bowu guan, "Datong Beiwei Fangshan Siyuan fosi yizhi fajue baogao," 6-24.

⁷⁶ These are the measurements mentioned in Tsiang's dissertation, but those recorded by Tokiwa Daijō and Zhao Lichun are different (Tokiwa: 12.9 to 11.38 meters in width, 7.01 meters in depth from the entrance to the stūpa-pillar) (Zhao: 12.5 meters in depth, 12.5 meters in height, and 13 meters in width). See Tsiang, "Bodies of Buddhas and princes," 13; Tokiwa, *Shina Bukkyō shiseki tōsaki* 支那佛教史蹟踏査記會 (Collected investigation records of Buddhist historical sites in China) (Tōkyō: Kokusho kankōsho, 1972), 499; Zhao Lichun, "Xiangtang shan Bei Qi taxingku shulun," 64.

cultivation. The appearance of this tomb stūpa may not lead to this conclusion because it had the same features as those of many other stūpas. Its three facades each are engraved with a Buddha and two bodhisattva figures. Only its top joins to the cave at the back; therefore there is a passage that one can walk along and circumambulate around the stūpa. On the faces of the cave there are fourteen niches carved in the form of stūpas (five each on the both sides and two each on the back and the front). Seemingly, secluded and decorated with Buddhist carvings, this cave could have been an ideal place for monks on Mount Xiangtang to practice. Nonetheless, it is hard to know whether this cave eventually became a place of monastic worship. There are no sources describing monastic worship there. Besides, the coffin, which was placed in the rectangle chamber, was placed right above the image of the Buddha figure carved on the stūpa—the position usually thought to be of supremacy, so it appears that, when worshippers circumambulated and prostrated themselves, they ended up paying their respects direct towards Gao Huan (or Gao Yang) rather than the Buddha. Although the chamber was hidden in the third (counting from the west to the east) of the four niches and it might not easily be noticed, locals probably knew that this stūpa was a tomb, as Daoxuan learnt of this when he went on a trip to Mount Xiangtang. Hence, it seems natural that the stūpa was simply regarded as an imperial tomb by monks living on Mount Xiangtan and did not attract their worship. This is not a totally baseless speculation. Considering that they were not ordered by the state to stay in the Siku monastery as their fellows of the other monasteries were, and that in the mountain there were other caves dug in the Northern Qi Dynasty⁷⁷—the caverns also engraved with Buddhist figures and some with stūpas as pillars, they then obviously could take Buddhist practices in these caves other than the tomb-cave.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Among the total of thirty-one caves in Mount Xiangtang, in both northern and southern regions, except for

5.4 Sepulchral Stūpas Erected for Dead Local People

Next we are going to deal with the sepulchral/funerary stūpas set up by local people by studying stories about them. The people who built these stūpas were much less prominent than the imperial elite discussed above, and thus could not construct stūpas together with Buddhist monasteries nor could they set up stūpas as impressive and lofty as those built by the elite. But they were local affluent people, not those totally unprivileged in society. Therefore, they could afford to have epigraphs engraved on their funerary stūpas. Besides, like those built by the imperial elite, these stūpas were also a reflection of Chinese laymen's understanding of stūpas.

One of the stūpas that can be traced in the extant material is the one erected in Sun Liao's 孫遼 (d.u.) graveyard by his sons. This stūpa, which was set up in 525 (the 5th year of the Zhengguang 正光 era in the Northern Wei Dynasty), does not exist now, but the inscription on it does. It tells us about the life of a local Buddhist and the reason why the stūpa was erected for him. The first part of the inscription focuses on his story. It says that Sun Liao, a native of Dingzhou 定州 (in Heibei) who lived in Julu 鉅鹿 (in Pingxiang County 平鄉縣 of Hebei), was a Lancang magistrate 蘭倉令 (a county in Hanyang County 漢陽縣 [in present Gansu]). After he had converted to Buddhism in his childhood, he became a pious Buddhist, abstaining from wine and meat and obeying Buddhist precepts. He took

the tomb-cave, there are eleven dug out in the Northern Qi Dynasty (four located in the northern region and seven in the southern one).

⁷⁸ The cave-tomb was possibly less attractive to Buddhists and non-Buddhists. Liu Qi 劉祁 (1203-1250) in the Yuan Dynasty, for example, went on a trip to the mountain, but did not go to the tomb-cave even though he had visited others in the northeastern of the mountain. Liu Qi, "You Linlü xishan ji" 遊林慮西山記 (A record of a trip to the mountains in the west of Linlü), in *Guiqian zhi* 歸潛志 (Records written in retirement) (See Cui Wenyin 崔文印 [colla.], *Guiqian zhi* [Taipei: Taiwan shangwuyin shuguan, 1983] 13.162-167). This travel account, as well as some passages, is not found in the version collected in *SKQS* (vol. 1040).

pleasure in meditation and even sacrificed his own body by burning two of his fingers as offerings. In the Yanchang 延昌 era (512-515) he was recommended to be the magistrate in Lancang. Although he had declined, he was not exempted from this duty. During the time when he was the magistrate, he performed well in governing the county, winning the locals' support. After a term in office, he went to the capital and continued to serve in the government. At the age of sixty-seven, he passed away. After the story of his life, the inscription deals with the reason why his sons erected a stūpa for him.

[He] had sons Xianjiu 顯就, Lingfeng 靈鳳, Zichong 子冲, and so on. Writing down what they remembered about their deceased father's accomplishment in unadulterated sincerity, they in reverence made a stūpa and placed it in the graveyard in hope of making [his] achievement as immortal as Mt. Sumeru and his sense (*li* 理) as brilliant as the sun and the moon. [His story] will forever be transmitted far and near (lit. *yier* 懿邇 = *xiaer* 遐邇?). The example [he set] will be conveyed enduringly.

有子顯就、靈鳳、子冲等，追述亡考精誠之功，敬造浮圖一區⁷⁹，置於墓所。願令事與須彌等壽，理與日月齊明，永流懿邇，式傳不朽。⁸⁰

Here we read an example of stūpa inscription not distinct from tomb epitaphs (*muzhiming* 墓誌銘). By setting up the stūpa Sun Liao's sons intended to make Sun Liao renowned for his achievement for generations, exactly the purpose the authors of tomb epitaphs commonly had. Except for the Buddhist geographic term "Sumeru," they also used the expressions familiar

⁷⁹ The original character is composed of *tu* 土 on the left and *qu* 區 on the right.

⁸⁰ "Sun Liao futu ming" 孫遼浮圖銘 (The inscription for the Sun Liao stūpa), originally collected in the *Zhongzhou zhongmu yiwen* 中州冢墓遺文 (Left grave[stone] texts in Zhongzhou), reprinted in Guojia tushuguan shanben jinshi zu (ed.), *Xianqin Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbei chao wenxian quan bian* 1: 288-289. It is also reprinted in the *Han Wei Nanbei chao muzhi hui bian* 漢魏南北朝墓誌彙編 (A compilation of tomb epitaphs [composed in] the Han, Wei, and Southern-and-Northern Dynasties), ed. Zhao Chao 趙超 (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chuban she, 1992), 147-148.

to epitaph authors.⁸¹ As for the language, after the above quotation, they concluded the inscription with *ming* 銘 (the praise in rhymed prose as the conclusion). Such shift in the literary style from unrhymed prose to rhymed prose is common to tomb epitaphs too.⁸² Since the composition purpose, terms, and literary style are similar to these gravestone writings, the inscription is considered to be one of them and thus is collected together with them in one compilation. One may find the only distinguishing point of it is that it is called “*futu ming*” 浮圖銘 (stūpa inscription). But the stūpa set up for Sun Liao was merely a tomb stone, having no holy nature at all. Though he is praised for his devotion to Buddhism in the inscription, it is clear that Sun Liao was simply a mundane person without any remarkable achievement in Buddhist cultivation. Judging by the Buddhist canonical tradition of stūpas that is stated in Chapter One of this dissertation, his sons had no grounds for setting up a stūpa for him. Evidently, they ignored the tradition and went totally beyond the bounds of reason accepted by Buddhist vinaya redactors. It would be striking if we juxtapose this inscription with the story in the vinaya literature discussed in Chapter One. The story says although the monk Jialiuluotishe 迦留羅提舍 was thought to be an ordinary person, a stūpa was set up for him by seven nuns, and the stūpa was destroyed by the monk Jiatio.

⁸¹ Similar expressions for the hope of perpetuating the deceased ancestor’s story (mainly his achievements) can be found in many epitaphs collected in Zhao Chao’s book, mentioned in note 80. For instance, an epitaph for a certain man called Yu Zuan 于纂, holding the position of Grand Master for Splendid Happiness (Guanglu dafu 光祿大夫) in the Northern Wei, reads “...hence the stone was carved for spreading his glorious [deeds] and making the example [he set] be known enduringly so that [his fame] lasts as long as the Heaven, being perpetual with the Earth forever” (乃刊石傳輝, 式揚不朽, 俾與天長, 永共地久). See Zhao Chao, *Han Wei Nanbei chao muzhi hui bian*, 201. For more examples, see Li Xiaoshu 李小樹 and Zou Shaorong 鄒紹榮, “Liu ming xinli qudong xia de Han Jin shubei zhi feng yu shizhuan xiezuo” 留名心理驅動下的漢晉樹碑之風與史傳寫作 (The custom of inscription erection from the Han to the Jin [sic], driven by the intention of making the fame of [one’s ancestor spread], and historical writing), *Zhongguo renmin daxue xuebao* 中國人民大學學報 (Journal of the Remin University of China) 4 (2007): 132.

⁸² Li Shibiao 李士彪, “Han Wei Liuchao de jinbei yu beiwen de yanbian” 漢魏六朝的禁碑與碑文的演變 (The prohibition against tablet [carving] and the development of inscriptions in the Han, Wei, and the Six Dynasties), *Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua* 中國典籍與文化 (Chinese books and culture) 4 (1994): 86.

Eventually a conflict occurred between the monks including Upāli and the nuns.⁸³ Buddhist vinaya redactors clearly considered that building a stūpa for an ordinary monk/nun would be controversial, let alone a stūpa for a layman. Viewed from this perspective, the stūpa for Sun Liao can hardly be defined as a Buddhist stūpa.

Brief mention should be made of the two sentences in the above quotation about Sun Liao's achievements, through the erection of the stūpa, will be made as immortal as the Sumeru and as brilliant as the sun and the moon.⁸⁴ They seem to be a wild exaggeration when used to describe Sun Liao's deeds. These terms did not originate from his sons, and were probably derived from the stūpa inscription of the Guangzhai monastery 光宅寺—a temple built in 507 which was transformed from the residence in the Moling County 秣陵縣 (present-day Nanjing 南京 city) Xiao Yan lived before coming to the throne. The stūpa inscription for this imperial temple, written by Shen Yue, one of his contemporaries and a famous literati member, is full of praise for the donation Xiao Yan made. It says that “In the present [his] achievement is [as grand as] [Mount] Sumeru and [his] sense is as boundless as the Heaven and Earth.”⁸⁵ These expressions certainly do not suggest that the Guangzhai stūpa bore any similarity to Sun Liao's stūpa in terms of the cause of its erection, the size, or other aspects. But they show that, no matter whether the stūpas were erected on the land of the residence of the ruling class or in the burial ground of the local elite, the inscriptions engraved on them were intended to flaunt the achievements of the two lay Buddhists and to

⁸³ See section 1.1.4.3 of Chapter One.

⁸⁴ “Sun Liao futu ming” in Guojia tushuguan shanben jinshi zu (ed.), *Xianqin Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbei chao wenxian quan bian* 1: 288: 願令事與須彌等壽, 理與日月齊明.

⁸⁵ Shen Yue, “Guangzhai si cha xia ming” 光宅寺刹下銘 (The inscription at the bottom of the mast [of the stūpa in] the Guangzhai monastery), *Guang Hongming ji*, T no. 2103, 52: 16.212c: 今事與須彌等同, 理與天地無窮. In addition to praising the donation, the inscription also depicts the loftiness of the stūpa, which, as one may easily guess, is attributed to the emperor's merits.

make them be known forever. This intention of reminding people of one's (or the ancestor's) deeds, not the Buddha's or other Buddhist holy figures', is not markedly different from that of many inscriptions unrelated to Buddhism.⁸⁶

Another example of local funerary stūpas I shall discuss is the one set up by the people in the Biaoyi village 標義鄉 (in Dingxing County 定興縣 of Henan) in the Northern Qi Dynasty. It is neither extant nor mentioned in any extant sources. But, thanks to an existing stone column called the Yicahui column (Yicahui shi zhu 義慈惠石柱; The stone column [in commemoration of] voluntary, compassionate welfare), an inscription written in 562 (the 1st year of the Taining 太寧 era) carved on it tells us the story of the cemetery where the stūpa stood, and we can therefore conjecture the reason why the stūpa was erected.⁸⁷ Before turning to the story, it is necessary to give a brief portrayal of the background to this cemetery. The graveyard was provided by the villagers for dead refugees, who were killed in the riots headed by the people such as Du Luozhou 杜洛周 (d. 528) and Yu Xiuli 于修禮 (d. 526). The rioters were those who had surrendered to the Northern Wei government in an

⁸⁶ For this commemorative function of inscriptions, see Li Xiaoshu and Zou Shaorong, "Liu ming xinli qudong xia de Han Jin shubei zhi feng yu shizhuan xiezuo," 128-133. Tomb epitaphs share some similarities with inscriptions and both are usually full of praise for one's achievements. Tomb epitaphs became popular because the Cao Wei government and later authorities prohibited the erection of steles engraved with inscriptions. But, usually buried in graves, tomb epitaphs were not banned as were inscriptions. For the history of these two categories of writings, see Li Shibiao, "Han Wei Liuchao de jin bei yu beiwen de yanbian," 85-87.

⁸⁷ The inscription, titled "Biaoyi xiang Yicahui shi zhu song" 標義鄉義慈惠石柱頌 (The eulogy [inscribed on] the Yicahui column of Biaoyi village), is collected in the *Dingxing xian zhi* 定興縣志 (The record of Dingxing County), which was compiled in the sixteenth year of the Guangxu 光緒 period (1890), and its reprint is found in Guojia tushu guan shanben jinshi zu (ed.), *Xianqin Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbei chao shike wenxian quan bian* 2: 429-433.

Luo Zhewen, Liu Dunzhen, and Liu Shufen have studied this inscription. See Luo Zhewen, "Yicahui shizhu" 義慈惠石柱 (The Yicahui stone column), *Wenwu* 9 (1958): 67-68; Liu Dunzhen, *Liu Dunzhen wenji (er)* 劉敦楨文集 (二) (A collection of Liu Dunzhen's articles, the second volume) (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1984), 38-73; Liu Shufen, "Bei Qi Biaoyi xiang Yicahui shizhu—Zhongguo fojiao shehui jiuji de ge'an yanjiu" 北齊標義鄉義慈惠石柱—中古佛教社會救濟的個案研究 (The Yicahui stone column in the Biaoyi Village, [dating to] the Northern Qi—A case study of welfare in the Buddhist society in the medieval time), *Xin shixue* 新史學 (New History) 5.4 (1994): 1-47.

uprising in 524 (the so-called “The Six-garrison Riot” [Liuzhen zhi luan 六鎮之亂]). They were originally soldiers in the six garrisons on the border of the state.⁸⁸ They rose up but were suppressed next year by the state with the help of the ethnic minority Rouran. After the uprising, the surrendered people, who amounted to more than two hundred thousands, were moved to three prefectures in Hebei—Dingzhou 定州, Jizhou 冀州, and Yingzhou 瀛州. But at the time Hebei saw drought and famine, thereby causing these refugees to rebel against the state again. This sweeping disturbance was not ended until 528, and it seriously affected Fanyang 范陽 (Youzhou 幽州), the region in which Dingxing County was situated.

Against this background the Baoyi villagers provided burial for those dead and food for those hungry refugees, and built a welfare lodge. At the beginning, the villagers simply buried the dead when faced with a large number of corpses that were left unattended, the miserable scene of which is described in the inscription:

Yan and Zhao became the places occupied by rebellious soldiers... When massacres occurred in [local] towns and communities, they all left them chaotic. When watched, corpses exposed in the sun [in these places] were like the remains gathered in the Northern Mountain⁸⁹ (Beishan 北山), and changed [the land] far and near to a red place with blood flowing like a river.

燕趙成亂兵之地.....屠戮城社, 所在皆如麻亂, 形骸曝露, 相看聚作北山, 流血如河, 遠近翻為丹地.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ The garrisons are Woye 沃野, Huaishuo 懷朔, Wuchuan 武川, Fuming 撫冥, Rouxuan 柔玄, and Huaihuang 懷荒, the first five of which are located in Inner Mongolian Plateau and the last one in the north of Zhangbei County 張北縣 in present-day Hebei.

⁸⁹ Northern Mountain, or Beimang shan 北邙山, was in the northeast of present-day Luoyang in Heinan, and was the graveyard of the ruling class. As shown in the previous chapter, some monks who were in the elite's favour were also buried there after death.

⁹⁰ *Xianqin Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbei chao shike wenxian quan bian* 2: 429.

Hence, a local person named Wang Xingguo 王興國 (d.u.) and his fellow villagers started to collect the remains and buried them all in a tomb, regardless of their gender and without identifying them. They not only gave them the burial, which was called “*xiangzang*” 鄉葬 ([communal] burial [given by] the village), but also made offerings to them, and possibly assembled monks (lit. *ji seng* 集僧) and asked them to perform rituals for them. To deal with the starving refugees, who were on their way to their native places and passed by the village, they lodged them beside the cemetery. Later a charity hall (*yitang* 義堂) was set up. In 544 (the 2nd year of Wuding 武定 era [of Emperor Xiaojing 孝靜 in the Eastern Wei]) Lu Wenyi 盧文翼 (d.u.) of the powerful Fanyang gentry invited Tanzun 曇遵 (fl. later half of the 6th century) to spread Buddhism there. Tanzun was one of Huiguang’s 慧光 (468-537) disciples, and the latter was the state-appointed administrator of Buddhist monks (Guo seng tong 國僧統). He brought a number of lay disciples, and some of them became supporters of the charitable services in the village. Sometime after 546, the villagers moved the welfare lodge as the official way where it stood beside was rerouted. After the move to a new location (the place where the inscription now stands), the hall was expanded on the land donated by a local person named Yan Seng’an 嚴僧安 (d.u.) and other villagers. Afterwards, the villagers offered help at the hall for the needy on a greater scale. In 557, for example, they had provided help for the needy when a large number of people were then returning to their native lands after having been ordered two years previously to mend the Great Wall. Without any provisions given by the state, many of these people fell sick and died on the way, and were faced with a more tragic situation when plagues of locusts occurred in Henan and Hebei. To help them, the Biaoyi villagers furnished those sick with medications, and “gave a

collective (塋 = 塋 *tuān*) burial to those dead, went on fasts, held funerals for them, and went into mourning [for them] as if they all had been their relatives.”⁹¹

This was a charity society initiated by seven Buddhist villagers and later jointed by more lay Buddhists, so it does not come as a surprise that its hall was furnished with a stūpa when it was expanded. According to the inscription, the project of the expansion was headed by a devout Buddhist named Lu Heren 路和仁, who was among Tanzun’s lay disciples. He changed the structure of the hall.

Then he altered the main building beside the gate, transforming it into a walled yard [and building] a stūpa [that was so high that it could] reach clouds. Both competed with each other for splendour when lighted by the sunset. Its rafters [were so lofty that they] were connected to the galaxy, and were arrayed densely with towering mountains. It was not different from a Buddhist monastery, although it was called a charity quarter (*yifang* 義坊).

乃修造門堂, 改創牆院, 寶塔連雲, 共落照以爭輝, 薨宇接漢, 將危峰以鬱迥, 雖曰義坊, 無異伽藍.⁹²

The hall was probably not inhabited by any monks, so the inscription stresses that it was not a Buddhist monastery. Then it is interesting to know why it was furnished with a tall stūpa as a Buddhist temple was. The stūpa was certainly not set up for monks for any religious practices. Among the patrons listed at the end of the inscription there is no one who had a dharma name. And the inscription also does not say that it was used by local lay Buddhists to worship, so a possible reason for the erection of the stūpa was that it was a tombstone, marking the place where the unidentified dead refugees were buried. After the charity society had been initiated, it provided the needy with interment, and its lodge was set up in the

⁹¹ *Xianqin Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbei chao shike wenxian quan bian* 2. 431: 死者塋埋, 齋送追悼, 皆如親戚.

⁹² *Xianqin Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbei chao shike wenxian quan bian* 2: 431.

cemetery. After its move, it continued to bury the people who died on the way to their homes. The column on which the inscription was engraved also belonged to “the funerary column”—objects often seen in tombs.⁹³ It is obvious that the hall was a locus in the cemetery where funeral and burial services were held. Hence, the stūpa, which stood beside it in the graveyard and had nothing to do with religious practices, was probably a gravestone or a funerary object. Certainly it cannot be defined as a stūpa in the sense accepted by Buddhist vinaya redactors, who agreed to erecting stūpas for dead ordinary monks, but not for dead laymen. Evidently, the Biaoyi villagers did not know this Buddhist custom and simply set up the stūpa because of their compassion and possibly hope too for protection against the dead refugees.

5.5 The Stūpa for Feng Liang 馮亮 (d. 513): An Exceptional Case

We may speculate to some extent about monks’ attitudes towards the stūpas set up by laypeople for their ancestors. First, it seems that monks did not participate in the construction of the monasteries and the stūpas we have examined, or at least they did not participate to the extent that would draw Chinese authors’ attention. Overall the picture of their activities with these constructions is very vague. This suggests that possibly although some resided in the temples, monks stayed away from the laymen’s construction of them. Second, the stūpas were built usually because either the ancestors or the descendants were Buddhists. Under the

⁹³ The funerary column is called *mubiao* 墓標 (the tomb marker), or *lingbiao* 陵標 (the imperial mausoleum marker) if it is in the imperial mausoleum. It should be noted, however, that the inscription is not an epitaph because it deals with the contribution the patron villagers made, not the lives of the dead refugees. See Liu Zhewen, “Yicahui shizhu,” 67; Liu Dunzhen, *Liu Dunzhen wenji (er)*, 58-59; Xiao Mo, *Zhongguo jianzhu yishu shi*, 280-281.

circumstances, the stūpas were simply objects indicative of their Buddhist belief. Some of them were engraved with inscriptions; they then became objects used to flaunt the ancestors' accomplishments and/or the descendants' filial piety. Third, the use of the stūpas in such an arbitrary way perhaps caused monks not to involve themselves in it. Or it is also possible that if monks had been in charge of stūpas in the way as they had been prescribed by Buddhist scriptures, Buddhist laymen would have found it hard to have stūpas erected for their ancestors if they had listened to them. It is, however, not alleged that monks in China erected stūpas totally in the same way as they were required by the scriptures, as shown in the previous chapter. Anyway, they were stricter than laymen about building stūpas for dead laymen. To demonstrate the sharp contrast between monks' and laymen's stances, it is necessary to study a stūpa for a lay Buddhist that is distinct from the stūpas discussed above.

This stūpa was set up for a pious lay Buddhist, Feng Liang, in the Northern Wei Dynasty. This is the only funerary stūpa of the kind I have found in the extant textual material, which bears closest similarity to the stūpas for dead monks discussed in previous chapters. Before treating the stūpa, it is necessary to examine the life of Feng Liang, which is related in the *Weishu*, the only source about the stūpa.⁹⁴ Feng Liang, a native of Nanyang 南陽 (in present Henan), was fond of reading Buddhist *sūtras*. He went to Yiyang 義陽 (in present Henan) with his uncle Cai Daogong 蔡道恭 (d. 504), a general serving in the Xiao Liang government, but was captured by Prince of Zhongshan 中山王 Yuan Ying 元英 (d. 510) when the latter conquered the place in 500. The prince had heard of him so he treated him with courtesy. Soon after he arrived in Luoyang, he left and led a reclusive life in a place

⁹⁴ The story about Feng Liang in the *Beishi* (juan 88) and the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Imperial reviewed encyclopaedia of the Taiping era, compiled by Li Fang 李昉 [925-996] et al.) (Wang Wuyun 王五雲 [ed.], *Taiping yulan* [Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuju, 1975, rpt.] 504.2431a) are taken from the *Weishu* (juan 90).

of Buddhist cultivation nearby, Mount Song 嵩山 (in Dengfeng County 登封縣 of Henan). But he was grateful to the prince for his kindness, so he felt sorrowful when he attended the funeral of the prince. Not only the prince, but also Shizong 世宗 (the posthumous title of Emperor Xuanwu 宣武帝 [r. 500-515]) admired him. He was assigned by the emperor to be the supervisor of imperial guards (*yulin jian* 御林監) and to give him sermons on the *sūtras* about the ten stages in the bodhisattva wisdom (*shidi* 十地), but he was unwilling to serve the court and therefore refused. He was once requested by the emperor to wear a *ze* 幘 turban (a kind of headgear for low-ranked officials) when granted an audience, but he insisted on having a *jin* 巾 turban (a kind of headgear, made of thin silk, for common people).⁹⁵ This was a gesture of his fierce determination not to hold any office, so the emperor did not force him anymore. He returned to Mount Song, leading a life almost no different from a monk's. He concentrated on falling prostrate and reciting *sūtras* with monks, and lived on a vegetarian diet. In 509 Wang Chang 王敞 (fl. 509), the Royal Scribe in the Palace (Dian zhong shiyu shi 殿中侍御史), rose up, implicating the monks on the mountain. Feng Liang was also taken to the Department of State Affairs (Shangshu sheng 尚書省), but was freed less than twenty days later. He did not dare to return to Mount Song right away, but lived in the Jingming monastery 景明寺⁹⁶ in Luoyang, where the emperor provided him with food, clothes, and attendants. Feng Liang, however, preferred to live on Mount Song and returned there. Hearing that Feng Liang was good at building secluded quarters fitting the natural landscape,

⁹⁵ For the usage of these two kinds of turbans, see Zhu Dawei et al., *Wei Jin Nanbei chao shehui shenghuo shi*, 57-58.

⁹⁶ The account of the monastery can be found in the *Luoyang qielan ji* T no. 2092, 51: 3.1010a-b (Zhou [colla. & annot.], *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 3.57-58; Wang [trans.], *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries*, 124-127).

Shizong ordered him, as well as others such as the monastic governor Sengxian 僧暹 (d.u.) and the Luoyang magistrate Zhen Chen 甄琛 (d. 525), to build a monastery on the mountain and provided them with construction resources. This monastery was called Xianju si 閑居寺, which blended in the surroundings on the mountain. In 513, he went to the capital. It was winter at that time, and he got sick. The emperor immediately had him taken back to the mountain. Only a few days after his return, he died in the Daochang monastery 道場寺. The emperor provided two hundred *pi* (one *pi* 匹 = four *chi*) of silk for his funeral. On his deathbed he told his nephew to put a (new?) hat⁹⁷ on his body and dress it in (new?) clothes, and put in his left hand a wooden plate (*ban* 板; the official's plate for writing down notes) and in his right hand a copy of the *Classic of filial piety*⁹⁸, and then place his body on a big stone a few *li* away from habitations. After more than ten days, his body was cremated. On the spot of the cremation, a stūpa and a *sūtra* storehouse (*jingzang* 經藏) were built.⁹⁹

Feng Liang was clearly a reclusive, pious Buddhist admired greatly by the emperor. The emperor attached high importance to the translation of a treatise on the doctrines of the ten stages, Vasubandhu's *Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra* (*Shidi jing lun* 十地經論; Treatise on the *sūtra* of the ten stage), which was conducted in his times.¹⁰⁰ Feng Liang was well acquainted with the doctrines, so the emperor asked him to explain them to him. This is

⁹⁷ The character is included in no dictionary that I have been able to consult. Its left side is *jin* 巾 and its right is made up of 冫 on the top and 白 at the bottom. It may be a misprint for *tao* 帽 (a kind of casual hat).

⁹⁸ In his treatise on proper funerals “Duzhong” 篤終 (sincerity and death), Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 (215-282), a famous Confucian living from the Eastern Han to the Western Jin, expresses his wish to have a copy of this classic buried with him after death, as a token of his commitment to the value of filial piety. The treatise is found in *Jinshu* 51.1417-1418. This demonstrates that Feng Liang, who also made such a request, was not only a Buddhist, but also a Confucian.

⁹⁹ *Weishu* 90.1930-1931.

¹⁰⁰ For a discussion of the translation of the treatise, see Tang, *Han Wei Liangjin Nanbei chao fojiaoshi*, 613-614.

perhaps the reason why he earned the emperor's trust, was freed, and was asked to build the Xianju monastery on Mount Song. But his profound Buddhist knowledge does not seem to sufficient to explain why a stūpa was set up for him, given that even not every member of the Buddhist order was buried in a stūpa at that time, as shown in Chapter Four. Although he was in favour with the emperor, the *Weishu* does not say that the latter allowed a stūpa to be built and only that he provided aid to the funeral. At this point it is still not clear why the stūpa for Feng Liang is different from the stūpas discussed in this chapter. Sun Liao's sons and the Biaoyi villagers erected stūpas but it seems that they had not received permission from the state either.

A story of Feng Liang's body, coming after that of his life in the *Weishu*, may solve this mystery. It says that he died in the severe winter. Snow had been falling continuously, and birds and beasts were starving in the forest. Huixu 惠需 (d.u.), a monk from Shouchun 壽春 (in Anhui), took a look at his body every morning. He found that his body, exposed to the air without protection, remained intact and the clothes stayed unchanged. The body was only covered with dust and sleet and had marks (lit. *wen* 紋) left behind by insects and birds, so every morning he cleaned them off. One day Huixu opened a hand of the body and put ten grains of millet onto it. These grains of millet were those given to Feng Liang by the Dharma master Xin 信法師 (d.u.)—his old friend in the south—and those viewed as the objects symbolizing ten stages in the bodhisattva wisdom that Feng Liang was going to reach in the future. Next morning Huixu found that these grains had been eaten by worms and birds, but the body was not bitten at all. On the day when the body was cremated, there was dense

white fog rolling in from the ground to the sky. This phenomenon lasted for the entire morning and surprised all monks and laymen on the mountain.¹⁰¹

As shown in Chapter Four, unusual phenomena happening to the corpse were usually read as evidence that one had transcended mundane existence and became extraordinary. The story of Feng Liang indicates that he was not thought to be a holy individual when he was alive, although he was a devoted Buddhist and knew well about Buddhist doctrines on the ten stages. Possibly when his body did not decompose and was not bitten, it was believed that he was not mundane. Only then did Huixu cremate the body of Feng Liang and build a stūpa. The discussion in the previous chapter shows that cremation was considered to be indicative of one's holiness. The story of Feng Liang displays that the Buddhist order did not act differently when it handled the bodies of the laymen who were thought to be of transcendence.

However, it is unlikely that the bodies of the other deceased lay people we investigated above were cremated before being placed in stūpas. Perhaps most of their stūpas did not house the bodies. Among all the stūpas, only the one erected for Gao Huan (or Gao Yang) bears a closest resemblance to the one for Feng Liang because the imperial casket was perhaps once placed in it. But the size of the rectangle chamber in it was large enough to contain a coffin for the whole body, and would not have been dug out for a small relic receptacle; the body in it might not have been cremated either. Then, it can be concluded that although lay people erected stūpas for their ancestors, they generally did not hold cremation. Then the stūpas were in fact funerary carvings or part of ancestral shrines, instead of reliquaries for relics.

¹⁰¹ *Weishu* 90.1931-1932.

Possibly because lay people built stūpas in such an arbitrarily way, and these stūpas did not carry any Buddhist connotations stated in Buddhist scriptures, they were not thought to be improper and did not evoke any antipathy to Buddhism in the eyes of anti-Buddhists, when they were constructed in the cemetery and/or as part of ancestral shrines. Under the circumstances, even the stūpa for Feng Liang did not catch people's attention as the cremation for his body did. Xu Qianxue 徐乾學 (1631-1694), a Qing official, for example, in his *Duli tongkao* 讀禮通考 (Comprehensive investigation when reading the [Classic of] propriety) criticizes Buddhist cremation for the violation of Confucian propriety and quotes the story of Feng Liang as an example, but takes no notice of the construction of the stūpa for him.¹⁰² Hai Bo also plays attention to the cremation for Feng Liang's body and considers it as the first instance of its kind in China. But it seems that he is not aware that the stūpa was set up for him, so he thinks that stūpas for dead laymen did not appear until the Tang.¹⁰³ It appears that Buddhist cremation was separated from the Buddhist stūpa, although in Buddhist scriptures the two are often linked together.

5.6 Concluding Remarks: Some Aspects of Stūpas for Deceased Laymen

Except for that built for Feng Liang, the stūpas studied in this chapter were not basically different from many other stūpas in China that were erected by offspring for their deceased ancestors. The latter group was not only erected as part of graves or ancestral shrines, but they were also constructed for gaining merits for both ancestors and descendants,

¹⁰² Xu Qianxue, *Duli tongkao*, in *SKQS* 114: 86.2a-10a.

¹⁰³ Hai Bao, *Foshuo siwang*, 167, 179.

the intended functions shared by these stūpas. The one in the Biaoyi village was not established for fulfilling this function, but it could have been used as a gravestone for the miserable dead refugees who could never return to their native places and died there. This stūpa was a part of the local welfare service instead of an act of filial piety. It, however, and the others discussed in this chapter were obviously not a reflection of the Buddhist canonical tradition of stūpas, which did not permit the construction of stūpas for the people unskilled in Buddhist cultivation. In the Eastern Han, people already set up stūpas for the unholy dead, but, if judged with the tradition, these stūpas were not understood in their Buddhist canonical sense. The same can be said of the imperial stūpas in the Six Dynasties—the ones set up for Xiao Yan's parents and for the Queen Mother Wenming. Although they might have been worshipped by monks living in the monasteries, the monastic activities associated with them are not clearly known, and in no sense can the stories of these stūpas portray Buddhist stūpa worship. Although these stūpas probably looked the same as others, it is more appropriate to define the worship performed there as Chinese filial piety and ancestral worship than as Buddhists' veneration of holy, revered figures.

Laymen in the Six Dynasties considered that these stūpas were simply among other Buddhist constructions aiming for acquiring blessings for their dead ancestors. Xiao Yan erected tall stūpas as well as the grand temples for his parents, and Emperor Xiaowen of the Northern Wei Dynasty also built one and the Siyuan monastery for the Queen Mother Wenming. Buddhist temples alone were sometimes put up by laymen in their ancestors' graveyards without stūpas. For example, the Chanting 禪亭寺 and the Xiaoi 孝愛寺 monasteries were the temples in Jingkou 京口 (in present-day Zhenjiang 鎮江 County of Jiangsu) set up by Xiao Huikai 蕭惠開 (422-471) in the Liu Song Dynasty and in Yizhou 益

州 (Shu 蜀) by Xiao Hui 蕭恢 (475-526) in the Xiao Liang Dynasty respectively. Xiao Huikai, whose family members were Buddhists, set up four temples when his father passed away. The Chanting monastery, one of them, was located in his father's graveyard in Jingkou.¹⁰⁴ And Xiao Hui, one of Xiao Yan's brothers and lay followers of a Samarkand (or Soghdiana 康居) monk Daoxian 道仙 (the late 5th to the late 6th centuries), was a dutiful son. When his mother died, he constructed a monastery in her burial ground and it was called Xiaoi si (Filial affection monastery).¹⁰⁵ Like that of the imperial funerary stūpas discussed in this chapter, the construction of these Buddhist constructions was also regarded by the elites as a means of ancestral worship.

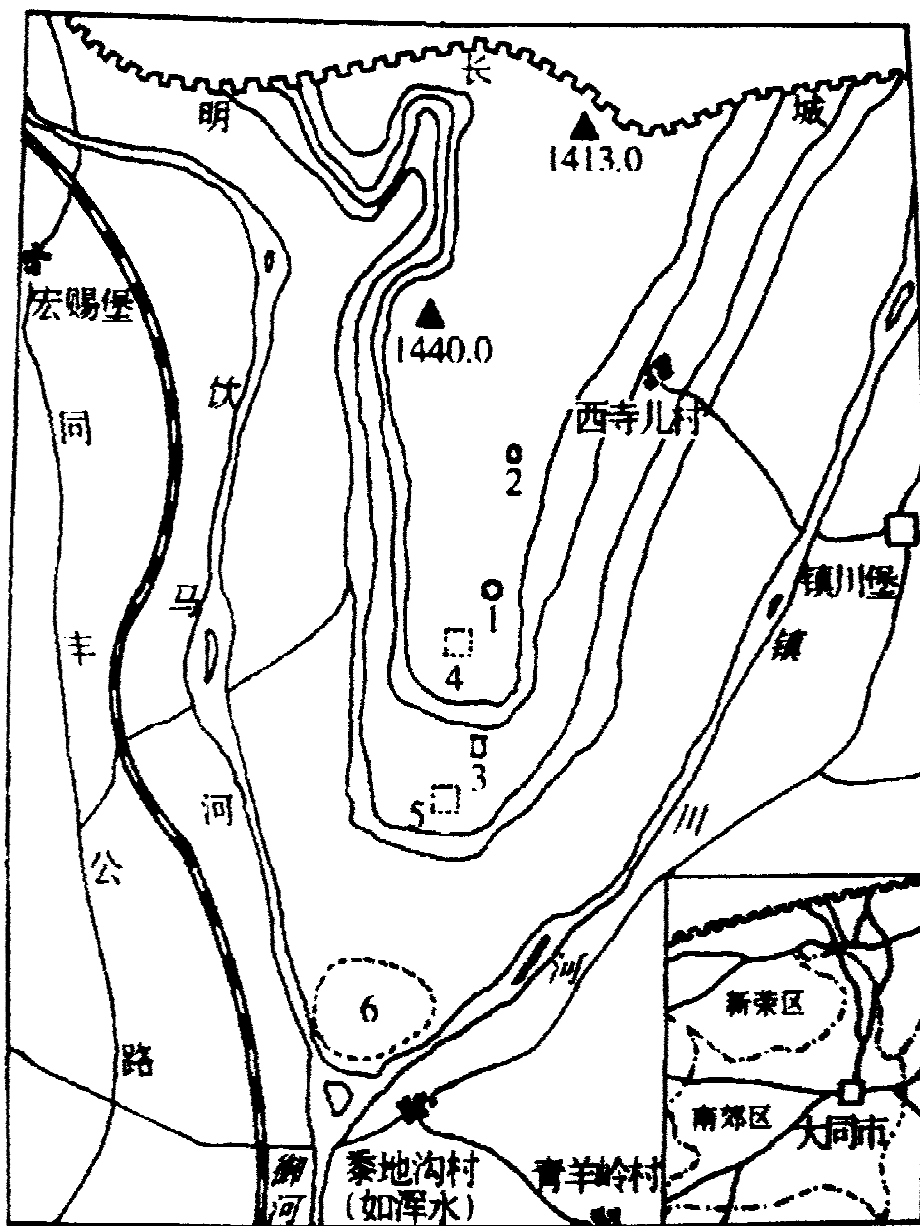
However, it seemed acceptable for lay people in China to build monasteries in graveyards. Buddhist scriptures do not prohibit monks from living in cemeteries when they seek for places for cultivation in seclusion.¹⁰⁶ On the contrary, as stated in Chapter One, they instruct that stūpas be stand in places accessible to all people for worship. Therefore, from this point of view, it was improper to have stūpas in graveyards or even as funerary monuments. Evidently, the lay people were not aware of the distinction between monasteries and stūpas and regarded them all as means of gaining merits.

¹⁰⁴ The other three were located in Nangang 南岡 (on Mount Zhong of Jiankang), Qu'e 曲阿 (the location of his old residence, in Southern Xuzhou 南徐州), and Fengyang County 封陽縣 (his fief) and were called the Chan'gang si 禪岡寺, Chanxiang si 禪鄉寺, and Chanfeng si 禪封寺 respectively. These four monasteries were possibly large temples in view of Huijiao's remark that Fakai 法開 (d.u., a Yuhang 餘杭 [in Zhejiang] native) of the Qi Dynasty lived in the Chan'gang monastery when he was in the capital. See *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 8.380c; Tang (annot. & annot.), *Gaoseng zhuan*, 332; *Songshu* 87.2200.

¹⁰⁵ The monastery was next to an enclosed ground for raising animals (*yuanyou* 苑囿) and hence it could not expand. It was moved to another place and renamed "Fusheng si" 福勝寺 during the Daye 大業 era (605-618). See *Liangshu* 22.351; *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T no.2060, 50: 8.380c; Suwa Gijun, *Chūgoku Nanchō bukkyō shi no kenkyū*, 207-211.

For the study of the role of a Buddhist monastery as an ancestral shrine, see Ogawa Kan'chi's 小川貫式 "Futo-shi to shidō" 浮屠祠と祠堂 (Buddhist shrines and ancestral shrines), *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 (Journal of Indian and Buddhist studies) 19.2 (1971): 42-47.

¹⁰⁶ Such cultivation abodes are called *moji'alanre* 摩祭阿蘭若 (*mātaṅga-āraṇya*).



图一 思远佛寺及陵园遗址分布示意图

1. 水固陵 2. 万年堂 3. 思远佛寺 4. 永固堂
5. 斋堂 6. 灵泉池(虚线为未发掘者)

Figure 5.1 The Remains of the Siyuan Monastery and Other Funerary Buildings¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ It is taken from "Datong Beiwei Fangshan Siyuan fosi yizhi fajue baogao," 4.

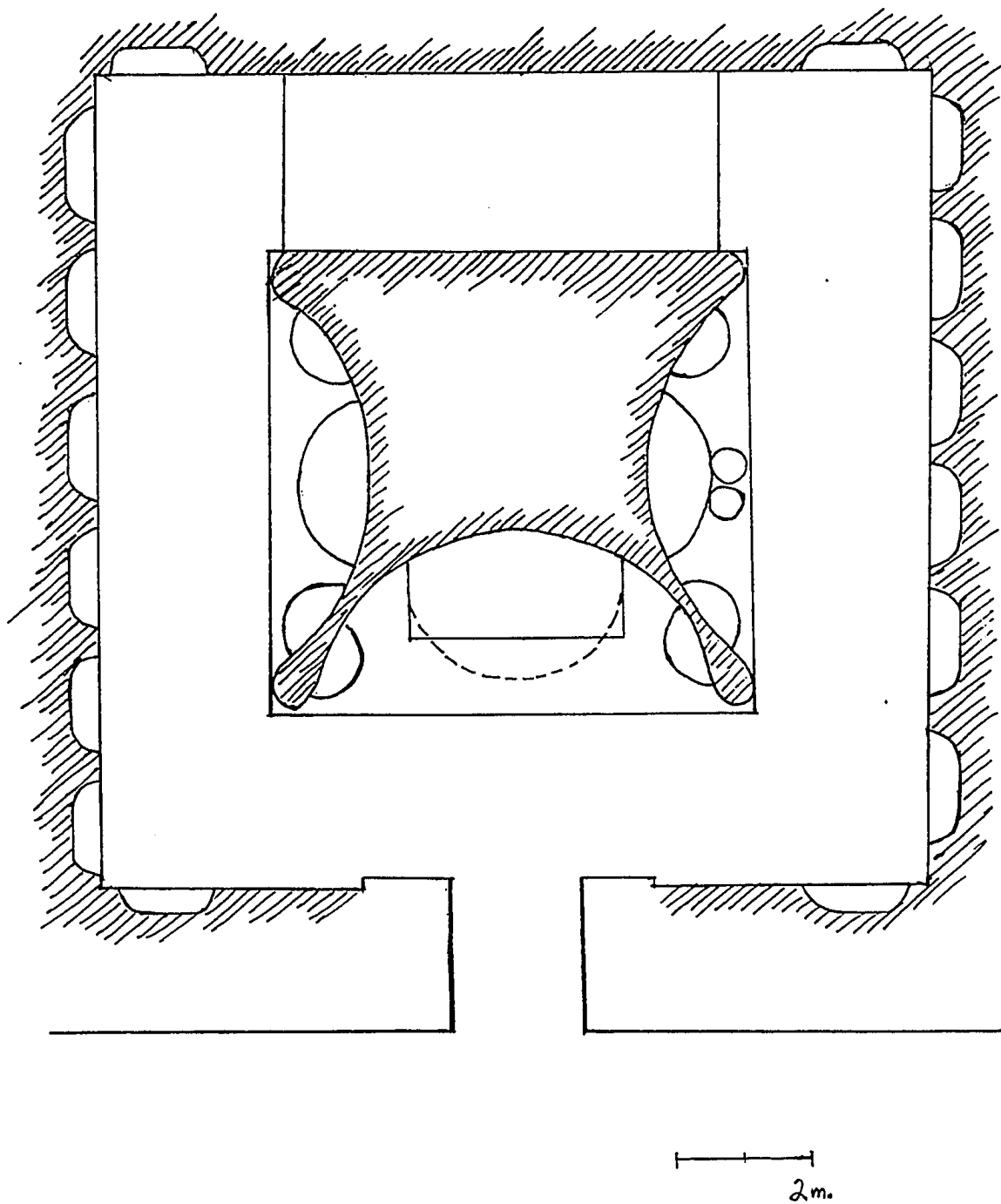


Figure 5.2 Plan of the Great Buddha Grotto in Mount Xiangtang¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ Tsiang Mino, "Bodies of Buddhas and princes," 14, figure 1.1.

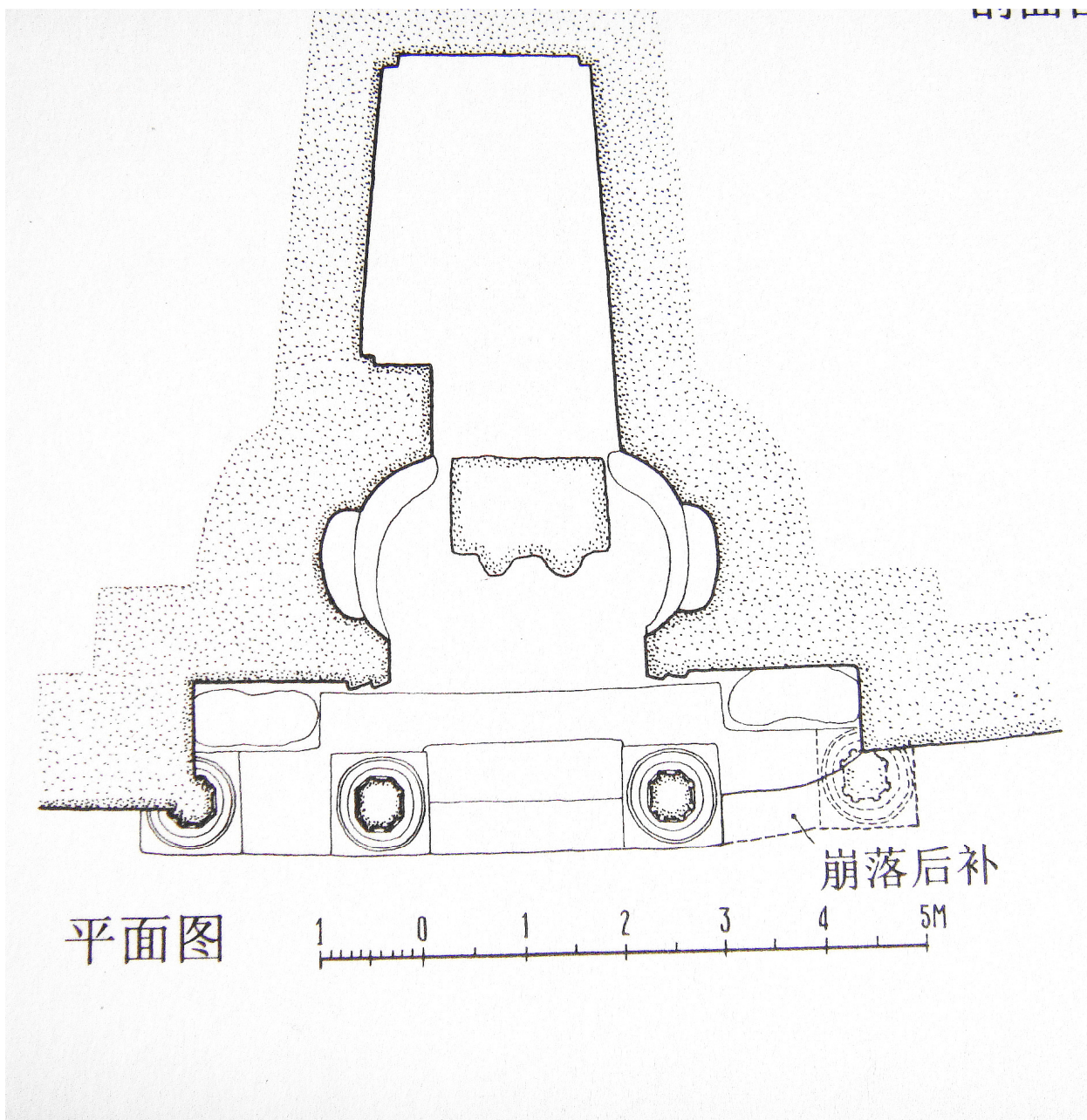


Figure 5.3 Plan of the Grotto No. 43, the Tomb of Empress Wen Née Yifu¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ Fu Xinian, "Maiji shan shiku suojian gu jianzhu," figure 5, 204.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Two questions were raised at the end of the introduction (Chapter One) of this dissertation: did Chinese Buddhists in the Six Dynasties perceive and venerate stūpas in the same way as they were prescribed by Buddhist scriptures? Clearly, the answer to this question is negative. We then come to the next question: what new characteristics did they give to these objects? As illustrated by this dissertation, the symbolic meanings Chinese Buddhists gave to stūpas were distinctly different from those stated in Buddhist scriptures. They generally did not understand stūpas as the Buddha (or other Buddhist holy figures), but only as sacred buildings and even as tombs (or funeral constructions). Apparently, they did not follow the Buddhist canonical tradition of stūpas. Consequently, as shown in extant textual sources, they usually did not venerate these holy objects. This, however, has not been discussed before, because the symbolic meanings of stūpas in China are seldom questioned. Instead, attention is usually focused on the evolution of these stūpas from Indian hemispherical (or domed) structures to local towers (thus being categorized as “pagodas”). This change in their architectural forms might not have necessarily mattered to Buddhists if they had still been equated with the Buddha (or other Buddhist holy figures). However, as shown in this dissertation, they were usually not thought to be equivalent to him. This means their Buddhist symbolic meanings, which were stressed by Buddhist scriptural compilers so as to distinguish them from others of non-Buddhist traditions, were no longer the fundamental feature to characterize Chinese stūpas in the Six Dynasties. This in fact urges us to ponder whether Chinese stūpas had real significance in Buddhist devotion, apart from housing Buddhist relics and images. Since this conclusion sheds some new light on stūpas in

China, it is necessary to sum up the findings discussed in this dissertation leading to it. Then, I shall point out how the findings help to understand stūpas in other pre-modern periods.

As I have illustrated in Chapter One, in Buddhist scriptures stūpas are not described as a kind of construction made of earth or wood and/or decorated by canopies and flags, but are regarded as the Buddha and other Buddhist holy figures revered by Buddhists. If, according to the scriptures, a stūpa is not understood this way, and, for example, is viewed as a tomb instead, it is not thought to be holy and therefore should not be worshipped. Stūpas for ghosts and non-Buddhist deities, for this reason, should not be the objects of veneration. Based on the belief that the Buddha continues to receive Buddhists' homage through stūpas, Buddhist scriptures urge them to perform various devotional deeds for these objects, prostrating themselves, making sacrificial offerings, and meditating on them, for example. This belief and the exhortations are probably considered to be authoritative blueprints by Buddhists, given that Buddhist scriptures are supposed to be held by them in deep reverence. Fervent about making Buddhist scriptures circulate in society, many Buddhists in the Six Dynasties made every effort to bring them to China and translate them, and among them there were many explicating stūpa worship. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that Chinese Buddhists were likely to perceive stūpas and worship them as they were prescribed. Even though not all of them could get access to Buddhist scriptures, they could probably learn of Buddhist ideas of stūpas through the foreign monks who carried out missionary work in China and were familiar with the texts. It is likely that Buddhist scriptures and monks provided Chinese Buddhists with guides to stūpa worship.

However, it seems that whether or not Buddhist stūpa worship was established in a particular society such as China did not depend on the availability of Buddhist texts or on the

accessibility of the monks, but on the ways Chinese people understood stūpas, which directly caused them to or not to accept stūpas as holy objects worthy of veneration. To demonstrate this, I study stūpas in the Six Dynasties from different angles in different chapters. Chapter Two discusses symbolic meanings Chinese people gave to stūpas in order to reveal whether or not they treated and worshipped them as the Buddha. Chapter Three deals with whether there was possible external impetus for worship, which was most likely Chinese people's belief in relics and Aśokan legends. Chapters Four and Five focus on funerary stūpas for Buddhist order and lay people respectively, another category of stūpas different from those for legendary holy figures examined in the previous chapters, for the purpose of revealing whether they were put up as objects of worship or simply as tombs (or funerary constructions). The discussion in these chapters cover varied sources, ranging from accounts about stūpas in capital cities and in cemeteries to those about their surroundings, from official historical records about political and social changes and geographical monographs to literary works about elite individuals' trips to monasteries and stūpas. Here are the findings presented in these chapters.

As stated in Chapter Two, although many stūpas were already set up in China in the Six Dynasties, there are few references in the extant material to worship of them. Many stūpas built by elites in capital cities were viewed as residences for Buddhist holy figures (or the statues of them) and signified elites' political and social status. Buddhist holy figures, in the eyes of elites, were similar to immortals in a way, who descended through the air while coming into contact with humans and hence could be more likely accessed when one climbed up a tall building. Therefore, many stūpas built by elites were lofty multi-storied towers stepped onto by some of them at will, and were depicted with the terms derived from the

Chinese immortality tradition. Some were also situated in monasteries with decorations related to the same tradition. It is little wonder that, under the circumstances, in the descriptions of them in the extant material, they bear surprising resemblances to the constructions and devices Emperor Wu set up for his immortality quest in the Han Dynasty.

If the stūpas alone did not evoke elite veneration of them, then did their enthusiasm for relics and legends of Aśoka help to arouse it? Relics, enshrined at stūpas, are often described in Buddhist scriptures as inseparable pairs of holy objects worshipped by Buddhists. As discussed in Chapter Three, they got to be known by Chinese people as they heard of the stories about the monks such as Fotucheng and Huiyuan, who obtained miraculously in China Buddhist statues and relics related to Aśoka. The people who were fascinated by these stories included members of the elite, some of whom even took these exalted objects for their personal veneration. However, they did not see the stūpas that housed the relics as entities as holy as the latter, and did not realize that stūpas were equivalent to relics in Buddhist scriptures. As two examples of these people, Xiao Yan and Chen Baxian, believed in the mighty power of the Buddha's relics, so they detached the relics that were alleged to be his from stūpas and took them to the palace for their personal worship. The relics, in their eyes, were similar to Chinese traditional political tokens for Heaven's sanction for their rule, and therefore they ought to be enshrined in the palace, not at stūpas, which, according to Buddhist scriptures, ought to be placed in open areas accessible to all. Although Xiao Yan returned some of the relics and built new reliquaries for them, these acts were not a reflection of his worship. By establishing the new stūpas, he aimed to remind people in Jiankang city that he was a powerful monarch like Aśoka blessed by the Buddha, but he did not come himself to worship them. In short, members of the elite class

were fascinated by relics, but usually only those that were renowned, and did not have the same interest in stūpas.

According to Buddhist scriptures, stūpas are living entities, so they should be limited to sacred persons. Those for ordinary beings, which are infused with their delusions and flawed personalities, are likely to cause social censure and therefore should not be worshipped. One may easily infer from the discussion in Chapters Four and Five that, not only the establishment of stūpas for Buddhist holy people, but also those for deceased monks and nuns in China did not agree with this Buddhist canonical tradition of stūpas. As shown in Chapter Four, instead of being equated with the monastic dead, these stūpas were viewed as funerary monuments, and were constructed according to Chinese local funerary customs. They were equipped with underground crypts, like their Indian counterparts, which had relics in their domes, and some of them even housed corpses of the deceased monks that had not been cremated. Besides, some of them, which were erected by elites for the monks they respected, were even situated on the southern slopes of some mountains, burial place circumstances thought to be ideal and propitious. These features of the stūpas clearly show that they were just erected as tombs. Under the circumstances, even though there were devotional deeds performed at them, this could not be counted as stūpa worship in the sense stated in Buddhist canonical literature. This may explain why they did not draw much attention from Huijiao and Daoxuan, who thus included only a few sketchy references to them in their collections of monastic biographies.

Funerary stūpas for deceased monks and nuns generally had nothing to do with Buddhist stūpa worship, and the same can be said of those for deceased laymen, which need to be put in the context of the tradition of Chinese ancestral worship. As discussed in Chapter

Five, out of filial piety some members of the elite built monasteries with stūpas or stūpas alone for their late parents, but these constructions were part of funerary complexes or served as ancestral shrines. Similar to traditional epitaphs, which are aimed to perpetuate one's deeds, the extant inscriptions written for them also contain flattery about elite filial duty and/or their late parents' merits. However, if judged by the Buddhist scriptural tradition of stūpas, these dead people did not meet the requirements for being memorialized through stūpas. And it is even not known whether some of them were Buddhists. Stūpas were set up as monuments to them in their burial grounds simply because their descendants were devoted to the religion, so they can be categorized as tombs in shape of stūpas. The one in the Biaoyi village, which was set up by some local villagers for dead refugees, was not associated with the Chinese tradition of filial piety, but, like others discussed in the chapter, it was not holy either in the sense stated in Buddhist scriptures. Not all the stūpas were erected for non-sacred lay Buddhists or those whose religious belief was not identified. Exceptions did exist though, like the one for Feng Liang, who was believed to have made a great achievement in cultivation. Overall, the funerary stūpas for deceased laity recorded in the extant material were not constructed according to the Buddhist scriptural tradition of stūpas. They, as well as those for the monastic dead, suggest that Chinese people adapted stūpas for their funerary needs, regarding them as monuments to the dead. Obviously, this is against the essence of stūpas stressed in vinaya and scriptural texts, which instruct that they be regarded as living objects of veneration after the Buddha's *nirvāṇa*.

It is not alleged that the form of stūpa worship presented in Buddhist canonical texts did not appear in the Six Dynasties. As stated in Chapter Two, there were many crude stūpas in the form of poles erected by common people and monks as objects of worship. They

increased rapidly, to the extent that they came to the elite class's notice. And, as evidenced by the story of Huida's pilgrimage to Aśokan stūpas in various places, which was discussed in Chapter Three, some people believed that worship of these stūpas would bring worshippers merit and eliminate their sins. If they had not had such beliefs, perhaps Xiao Yan would not have built two new reliquaries as replacements for the Changgan stūpa, which was claimed to be one of the reliquaries related to this Indian monarch, after destroying it and taking the relics away from it. Probably he noticed that the stūpa held the devotion of people in Jiankang and so hoped that his establishment of the new stūpas would help to propagate his image as a powerful monarch. This might not be surprising, because some common people as early as the Han Dynasty erected stūpas in the form of poles in tombs, when Emperor Ming had Buddhist images put in his mausoleum. This suggests that at least some (if not all) commoners regarded stūpas as the Buddha (or other Buddhist holy people), thus putting up and venerating them.

This is the picture of stūpa worship performed by these non-ruling people one can get from the extant material, although it is still vague and incomplete. Indeed, the entire picture of Buddhism in China remains unclear, particularly with regard to the role of common people in Buddhist development. This is not new to scholars of Chinese Buddhism. Erik Zürcher, for example, finds what is known about the religion unsatisfactory and only reflects “an extremely small fragment of the whole.”¹ This is a remark made years ago, but still holds true today, considering that, in the Northern Wei Dynasty alone, there were thirty thousand temples erected by common people in the entire northern empire, but only 839 by the elite, which was noticeably a relatively small number. But not much is known about these common

¹ Zürcher, “Perspectives in the Study of Chinese Buddhism,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* 2 (1982): 164.

temples, except that, according to Yuan Cheng's memorial, a number of them in Luoyang were furnished with crude stūpas and were adjacent to local shops. Many stūpas set up by these people were not recorded in the extant material. As easily inferred, neither could they afford to have inscriptions composed and carved for the stūpas, nor would the stūpas generally draw the literati's attention. Therefore, it is natural that these monuments and the picture of common people's veneration towards them cannot be completely understood.

At this stage, one may raise a question regarding the Buddhist order's worship of stūpas. The monastic biographical collections (e.g. Huijiao's and Daoxuan's), which are among the main sources for this dissertation, do not provide much information. But, as shown in this dissertation, at least some Buddhist monks and nuns worshipped them. The biographical collections do not frequently record the veneration performed by the Buddhist order, probably because many of its members could not settle down for long and perform the veneration, due to the distress caused by frequent political and social chaos and the consequential destruction of monasteries. It has to be admitted that the Buddhist order was not totally independent of elite influence in the ways they understood and treated stūpas. Probably seeing that many stūpas were set up in burial grounds,² Daoxuan and some other monastic authors defined stūpas as graves, and did not find that such a definition conflicted with the Buddhist canonical tradition of these objects. But it is interesting that Daoxuan still believed that the stūpa in the Riyan monastery, which had once housed the Buddha's relics,

² It seems to have been common for Chinese Buddhists from the Sui and Tang onwards to erect funerary stūpas for deceased laymen and monks. For example, the Three-stage sect, a Buddhist sect founded in the Sui, set up on Mount Zhongnan a stūpa forest (*talin* 塔林), which was a cluster of stūpas for its departed monks and lay followers. For a study about the forest and other funeral stūpas in the Sui and Tang periods, see Liu Shufen, "Linzang—Zhonggu fojiao lushi zang yanjiu zhi yi 林葬—中古佛教露尸葬研究之一 (Forest burial—a study on the medieval Buddhist burial with corpses exposed, part one)," in her *Zhonggu fojiao yu shehui*, 219-243; *idem*, "Tangdai suren de tazang," 290-316.

had extraordinary power even though the relics were moved by him and his teacher to the Chongyi monastery when the former was confiscated and the monks there had to move to other temples.³ This suggests that he did not simply view stūpas as constructions that were consecrated only because of relics. It seems that not only do we not know much about Buddhist beliefs among the general populace, but also there are still many issues concerning elite monks that have not been explored, although we usually think that we have relatively rich source material about them.

In spite of some unclear gaps in the picture of stūpa worship, it is certain that such worship in Chinese Buddhism was unavoidably shaped by ancient burial practices and veneration of dead family members. These deeply rooted traditions could not be successfully displaced even by devout Buddhist monastic members. They characterized stūpas in the Six Dynasties and made them markedly different from those narrated in Buddhist scriptures in nature.

One may wonder whether these stūpas, when dissociated from their Buddhist symbolic meanings, still strictly qualified as stūpas. They can still be called “stūpas,” but not in terms of the Buddhist scriptural tradition of stūpas. Stūpas were not Buddhist inventions, and believers of non-Buddhist traditions in India also set up stūpas, which are also described as “stūpas (*ta* 塔)” in the Buddhist scriptural literature but not as “the Buddha’s stūpas (*fota* 佛塔).”⁴ So, stūpas in the Six Dynasties, many of which were caskets or buildings housing remains dissociated from their Buddhist symbolic meanings, were no longer equivalent to

³ See Chapters 1 and 4 for details.

⁴ See Chapter 1, note 45.

relics in terms of their perceived sacred nature, and inevitably faded into insignificance when compared with them.

This probably still holds true for stūpas in other periods, as suggested by studies conducted by some scholars of Chinese Buddhism, who tend to focus on relic cults but seldom give the same attention to stūpa worship. Scholars of Indian Buddhism, however, usually do not separate the terms “stūpa worship” and “relic cult” from each other.⁵ In his book *The Buddhist Impact on Chinese Material Culture*, for example, John Kieschnick talks about relics at length in one of his chapters about Buddhist objects having sacred power, but does not do the same for stūpas, objects usually paired with relics.⁶ Huang Chi-chiang also wrote an article exclusively on the relic veneration held by the court in the Tang, in which stūpas were simply containers holding the relics venerated by Tang emperors.⁷ Apparently, while bearing in mind that Chinese people, especially elites, seldom paid homage to stūpas, it is not hard to understand why these two scholars give little attention to stūpas in their studies.⁸

In addition to Chinese stūpas, the findings of this dissertation probably help to understand those in Japan and Korea too, which were introduced from China and belonged to the same lineage. It is generally agreed that stūpas in these two countries were greatly influenced by those in China, given that a number of them were wooden multistoried towers and had some shared architectural features. This is well demonstrated by the three-storied

⁵ See Chapter 1, note 16.

⁶ Kieschnick, *The Buddhist Impact*, 29-63.

⁷ Huang Chi-chiang, “Consecrating the Buddha: Legend, Lore, and History of the Imperial Relic-Veneration Ritual in the T’ang Dynasty,” *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 中華佛學學報 11 (1988): 483-533.

⁸ For more examples of such studies on relic cult, see Liu Shufen, “Zhongguo lishi shang de sheli xinyang” 中國歷史上的舍利信仰 (Relic belief in the history of China), in her *Zhonggu de fojiao yu shehui*, 317-328; Zeng Qiyun 曾琦雲, *Sheli yu Xiuxing* 舍利與修行 (Relics and Cultivation) (Beijing: Zhongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2007), 2-47.

pagoda of Hokkiji 法起寺 south of Nara and by the five-storied one of Hōryūji 法隆寺 in the vicinity of Hokkiji—the two stūpas obviously modeled on those in China.⁹ It is possible that, apart from their architectural similarities, like those in China, stūpas in Japan and Korea were given different symbolic meanings from their Indian counterparts, and were understood as Buddhist buildings or tombs, but not as the Buddha or other Buddhist holy figures. This inference is certainly tentative and needs to be verified, but it points to a possible approach in studying them.¹⁰

In addition to the discussion of the development of stūpas, hopefully this dissertation also sheds new light on some issues about Chinese Buddhism such as the Sinification of Buddhism (or, the other way round, the Indianization of Chinese culture) and the features of Buddhist adaptation. These issues are still contentious. Although frequently discussed by scholars, there is no consensus. Hu Shi 胡適 (1891-1962) opines that the introduction of Buddhism in the Han resulted in the Indianization of China, which, he feels, is indeed the victory of Indian thought. Obviously, these comments are not completely objective and reflect his prejudice, which is thought to have kept him from studying this religion fairly.¹¹ Disagreeing with him, Kenneth Ch'en thinks that Buddhism was gradually sinified and was accepted an integral part of the Chinese way of life. To verify his views, in his *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism*, he expounds various aspects of Chinese life (e.g. ancestral worship and relationship between the Buddhist order and the state). In his eyes, Buddhism

⁹ Lothar Ledderose, "Chinese Prototypes of the Pagoda," 238-239. For a discussion of Chinese impact on stūpas in Korea and Japan, see Stratton, *The Evolution of Indian Stūpa Architecture in East Asia*, 105-113.

¹⁰ It would be beyond the scope of this dissertation to study the differences and similarities between Chinese stūpas and their Japanese and Korean counterparts, but this is an intriguing issue that I hope to investigate in the future.

¹¹ For Hu's points of view and comments on them, see Lou Yulie, Han Jianying (tran.), "Hu Shi's Study of Chinese Medieval Intellectual History," *Frontiers of Philosophy in China* 1.1 (2006): 71-72.

was radically transformed and departed significantly from its Indian counterpart.¹² Zürcher, also thinking that Buddhism did not remain the same, discusses in his *Buddhist Conquest of China* how the religion incorporated Chinese philosophical thoughts when it penetrated into the elite society.¹³

Robert H. Sharf, however, disagrees with both views on the Indianization of Chinese culture and the Sinification of Buddhism, because he thinks that they work on the same assumption that after Indian Buddhist teachings and practices had been transmitted to China, they encountered Chinese traditions, and hence were sinified and comprised Chinese Buddhism. This assumption, however, is not soundly based, as Chinese people were actually exposed to South Asian Buddhist monks and Sanskrit texts throughout medieval times only. But what the monks brought to China were perhaps the teachings and conventions prevailing in Central Asia, not India—Buddhism that was already transformed from its Indian prototype. In addition, he also thinks it impossible to know whether Chinese translations of Buddhist texts, including those deemed accurate (e.g. Kumārajīva's), were truly of Indian origins. Chinese Buddhism, in his view, was only the outcome of these people's encounter with Buddhism that "took place almost exclusively among Chinese themselves, on Chinese soil, in the Chinese language."¹⁴ The religion in this form was the product of these people, not of their sinification of "Indian Buddhism."¹⁵

¹² Ch'en, *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973) 12. Some other scholars also consider that Buddhism was transformed by Chinese culture; for example, Peter N. Gregory, who finds that Zongmi 宗密 (or Tsung-mi [780-841]) of the Tang incorporated Confucian ethical norms in Buddhist thought. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and Sinification of Buddhism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991).

¹³ Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*.

¹⁴ Sharf, *Coming to Terms With Chinese Buddhism*, 2.

¹⁵ For Sharf's arguments, see his *Coming to Terms With Chinese Buddhism*, 1-27.

It seems always dangerous to either generalize about the nature of Buddhism in China or to deduce that there was a constant mode for its interactions with Chinese culture. As Sharf points out, Buddhism had undergone transformations before it came to China and did not remain the same as it had been in India, and therefore its development in the new milieu cannot be regarded as the process of Chinese people's absorption and transformation of Indian Buddhism. However, Sharf's arguments are not completely convincing either. His assertion that Chinese Buddhism was simply the product of Chinese people implies that it was totally (or almost totally) independent of all Indian Buddhist elements and self-contained. It is, however, very unlikely that, simply because of Chinese Buddhists' own interpretations (or even inventions) of Buddhist ideas and conventions, Buddhism could evolve into a tradition competitive with Confucianism and Daoism (otherwise, it might have been amalgamated into one tradition with either one of these two Chinese traditions). He also insists that the Indian Buddhist tradition was not univocal, consisting of sundry philosophical ideas systematized into various schools.¹⁶ But the same comment can also be said of the nature of Chinese Buddhism, which varied from time to time and from place to place. Buddhism, as Arthur F. Wright points out, interacted throughout the centuries with all levels of Chinese culture and with all people of different social classes. It would be risky either to claim that a developmental mode at the philosophical level also works at the political or economic level, or to consider that people from different social backgrounds would respond to a foreign idea or institution in the same way.¹⁷ As shown in this dissertation, for example, although the extant materials give references (though sketchy) to stūpas worship by monks

¹⁶ Sharf, *Coming to Terms With Chinese Buddhism*, 4.

¹⁷ Wright, "Buddhism and Chinese Culture: Phases of Interaction," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 17.1(1957): 18-19.

and commoners, they seldom record that by political elites. Nonetheless, this example does not suffice to lead to a general conclusion that Indian Buddhism did not penetrate elite society in China at all. Sharf's assertion, deduced from his study of a work by Sengchao 僧肇 (374-414), one of Kumārajīva's students, appears to be applied to, in Wright's view, only Buddhist dialogue with Chinese culture at the philosophical level in the medieval time.

In dealing with the interactions between Buddhist and Chinese traditions, or with Chinese absorption of Buddhism, instead of expounding broad generalizations and applying them to the whole religion, some scholars tend to express their views by examining specific aspects of Chinese Buddhism as examples. Those who study Buddhist apocryphal scriptures, for example, find that they are sources of indigenous elements in the Sinitic Buddhist traditions. These elements, including the patriotic idea of state protection (*huguo* 護國), were translated into Buddhist elements by Chinese people when these scriptures entered into the Buddhist canon.¹⁸ Chinese monks' self-immolation, James Benn finds, was also part of the Sinitification of Buddhism. Instead of an Indian practice continued and adapted by Chinese people, it was a mixture of their interpretations of some Buddhist texts (e.g. the *Lotus Sūtra*) and some local indigenous traditions (e.g. burning the body to bring rain, a practice predating the introduction of Buddhism). This extreme practice was reinforced and embellished when some apocryphal texts with mentions of it appeared and some stories of self-cremated monks were compiled into the collections of monastic biographies. These two kinds of works were eventually included in the Buddhist canon as exemplars of heroic practices.¹⁹

¹⁸ For a review of the scholars' studies on apocrypha, see Robert E. Buswell, Jr., "Introduction," in Buswell (ed.), *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990), 2-10.

¹⁹ Benn, *Burning for the Buddha*, 11.

Possibly classified as another kind of example for the Sinification of Buddhism too, stūpas in the Six Dynasties, as shown in this dissertation, were also adapted to the new milieu. However, is it appropriate to simply consider Chinese Buddhist beliefs, institutions, and conventions to be the phenomena of the Sinification of Buddhism? When many of them were complex and particular, do such generalized comments help to penetrate them? Stūpas, for instance, did not have noticeable connections with their archetypes narrated in Buddhist scriptural literature. Neither was their appearance inspired by the literature like the practice of self-immolation²⁰, nor did they need to be warranted through Buddhist apocryphal texts as was the *huguo* idea. They were accepted differently. Although they appeared in China as early as the Han Dynasty, their spread was not closely related to Chinese Buddhist scriptures, both genuine and apocryphal ones. As shown by this dissertation, they were not usually viewed as holy animate entities accepting Buddhists' veneration and offerings. In Chinese Buddhists' eyes, they were not living beings and did not own any property. Any damage done to them would not be taken as injury to or murder of the people they represented (or the images they housed) either. Moreover, Chinese Buddhists seldom had conflicts over whether they ought to worship those for ordinary monks and lay people, whereas some stories about such conflicts are narrated in Buddhist scriptural literature. Although the new connotations given to stūpas were in sharp contrast with their symbolic meanings stated in the literature, these objects never vanished from Chinese soil.

Besides Buddhist stūpas, this dissertation also provides other examples. Buddhist cremation were also imported “partially” only, if judged by its symbolic meanings taken by

²⁰ As mentioned in section 5.2 of Chapter Five, the Xiangxiang stūpa, which is thought to be the first stūpa, was established in the Eastern Han, in which most of Buddhist scriptures had not yet arrived in China and been translated.

Chinese Buddhists. Greater importance was attached to this practice in China (at least during the Six Dynasties), being a rite as recognition for a monk's achievement, which was sometimes held or sponsored by the state. However, it is viewed in Buddhist scriptural literature as a funerary procedure usually aimed at purifying a polluting corpse.

Aśokan legends were also not understood in China in the same way as they were related in Buddhist scriptures. Buddhist *sūtras* claim that the rebirth as a wheel-turning monarch like Aśoka is simply a kind of secular, impermanent blessings that can be attained by every one. In China, however, the legends were generally not perceived in the same way. Also, they held a fascination for Chinese people as there were local stories about monks' acquisition of sacred objects attributed to Aśoka. These stories drew attention from the ruling class in different dynasties, who strove to conjure up for themselves images of powerful monarchs like Aśoka. Although the stories interested commoners too, they tended to simply convince these people that some certain monasteries and stūpas in China could be traced back to the remote past when Aśoka lived, encouraging them to take Buddhist practices there for gaining merits and eliminating their sins. Through these stories, Aśokan legends attracted the interest of the society because some of their episodes became part of general culture, but these episodes did not remain the same as they were related in Buddhist scriptural literature.

These examples suggest that there was a different mode of Chinese absorption of Buddhism (or the interaction between this religion and Chinese culture): some Buddhist devotional objects, practices, stories, and rites interested and were adopted by Chinese people mainly because of their new Sinitic connotations, but not their canonical ones. They were already interpreted differently by Chinese Buddhists at the beginning, being put in the contexts of Chinese local political, social, and religious traditions. Though dissociated from

their canonical meanings, they were established in society. This indicates that their Sinitic connotations contributed significantly to their being accepted in the new milieu. Certainly, it is not alleged that Buddhist scriptures did not have a role in Buddhist development in China. However, considering that the ways they were accepted by Chinese Buddhists sharply differed from those the self-immolation practice and the *huguo* idea, it would be hard to classify all these constructions, convictions, and practices simply as the reflections of the Sinification of Buddhism, which possibly mislead us into simplifying them and ignoring their particularity.

Definitely, I cannot treat all issues about Chinese Buddhism in this dissertation. But, through the discussion of Buddhist stūpas and Chinese people's understanding of them, I hope to reveal a different mode these people used in adopting Buddhist objects and convictions, thus illustrating that the picture of Chinese Buddhism is always complex and ambiguous, so observations may vary with objects, places, and times examined. Therefore, it might be a vain effort to conclude that the religion developed only along one track or in one mode, by, for example, classifying its whole evolution either as the Sinification of Buddhism or as the Indianization of Chinese culture.

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Appendices

Appendix A: The Construction Time of the Stūpas Recorded in the *Luoyang Qielan Ji*

juan 1

Yongning Monastery—516

Changqiu Monastery 長秋寺—Xiaowen di's reign (471-499)

Yaoguang Monastery—Xuanwu di's reign (500-515)

Hutong Monastery 胡統寺—Xiaoming di's reign (516-528)

juan 2

Mingxuan nunnery 明懸寺—Xiaowen di's reign

Lingying Monastery 靈應寺—early Zhengguang period, 521 to 522

Qin Taishangjun Monastery 秦太上君寺 (Monastery of the Grand Duchess of Qin) —

Xiaoming di's reign

Pingdeng Monastery 平等寺—before 517

juan 3

Jingming Monastery 景明寺—Xuanwu di's reign

Two Qin Taishanggong Monasteries 秦太上公二寺 (Two monasteries of the Grand Lord of

Qin)—Xuanwu di's reign

juan 4

Chongjue Monastery 沖覺寺—before 521

Wang dianyu Monastery 王典御寺 (Monastery of Wang the Imperial Chef) —before 528

Baima Monastery 白馬寺—Han Dynasty

Baoguang Monastery 寶光寺—Jin Dynasty

Rongjue Monastery 融覺寺—before 521

Dajue Monastery 大覺寺—533

**Appendix B: Deceased Monks and Nuns Honoured with Funerary Stūpas: The Cases
Recorded in the Monastic Biographical Collections**

Gaoseng zhuan¹

“Exegetes (*yijie* 義解)”

Eastern Jin: Zhu Fayi 竺法義 (306-380) (*juan* 4, 350c-351a [172])

Jin: Zhu Shihang 朱士行 (203-282) (*juan* 4, 346b-c [145-146])

Eastern Jin: Zhu Sengfu 竺僧輔 (d.u.) (*juan* 5, 355b [195-196])

Liu Song: Shi Daowang 釋道汪 (d. 466) (*juan* 7, 371c-372a [283-284])

“Translators (*yijing* 譯經)”

Western Jin: An Boyuan 安帛遠 (fl. the late 3rd to early 4th centuries) (*juan* 1, 327a-c [26-27])

Eastern Jin: Śrimitra (Boshilimi 帛尸梨蜜 or translated as Jiyou 吉友) (d. 338-339) (*juan* 1, 327c-328a [29-31])

Liu Song: Guṇavarman (Qiunabamo 求那跋摩) (367-431) (*juan* 3, 340a-342b [105-109])

“Monks [renowned for] wonderworks (*shenyi* 神異)”

Liu Song: Shi Falang 釋法朗 (d.u.) (*juan* 10, 392c [387-388])

“Monks practicing meditation (*xichen* 習禪)”

Eastern Jin: Shi Xianhu 釋賢護 (d. 401) (*juan* 11, 396c [406-407])

Jin: Shi Faxu 釋法緒 (d.u.) (*juan* 11, 396c-397a [408-409])

Liu Song: Shi Sengzhou 釋僧周 (d.u.) (*juan* 11, 398b-c [414-415])

¹ The page numbers of the biographies in the *Taishō* canon are listed first, and are followed by those in the version edited by Tan Yongtong in square brackets.

“Monks penetrating precepts (*minglü* 明律)”

Xiao Qi: Shi Falin 釋法琳 (d.u.) (*juan* 11, 402a-b [437])

“Self-sacrificed monks (*wangshen* 亡身)”

Liu Song: Shi Tancheng 釋曇稱 (d. after 420) (*juan* 12, 404a [446])

Liu Song: Shi Fajin 釋法進 (fl. the first half of the 5th century) (*juan* 12, 404a-b [447])

Xiao Qi: Shi (?) Facun 釋法存 (d. 492-493) (*juan* 12, 405c [455])

Xiao Qi: Shi Tanhong 釋曇弘 (ca. 400-455) (*juan* 12, 405c [455-456])

Liu Song: Shi Sengqing 釋僧慶 (437-459) (*juan* 12, 405c [454])

Xu gaoseng zhuan

“Translators”

Chen: Paramārtha 真諦 (also called Kulanātha, translated as Junaluotuo 拘那羅陀) (499-469)

(*juan* 1, 429c-431a)

“Exegetes”

Xiao Liang: Shi Huiyue 釋慧約 (450-535) (*juan* 6, 468b-470a)

Eastern Wei: Tanluan 曇鸞 (476-?) (*juan* 6, 470a-c)

“Monks practicing meditation”

Northern Qi: Sengchou 僧稠 (480-560) (*juan* 16, 553b-555b)

“Dharma protectors (*hufa* 護法)”

Northern Zhou: Jing'ai 靜藹 (534-578) (*juan* 23, 625c-628a)

“*Sūtra* readers and chanters (*dusong* 讀誦)”

Northern Wei: Zhizhan 志湛 (d.u.) (*juan* 28, 686a-b)

“Monks abandoning bodies (*yishen* 遺身)”

Xiao Qi: Faning 法凝 (fl. late 5th century) (*juan* 27, 678a-b)

Northern Zhou: Sengya 僧崖 (489?-559) (*juan* 27, 678b-680b)

Northern Zhou: Puyuan 普圓 (fl. ca. 560) (*juan* 27, 680b-c)

Biqiuni zhuan

Liu Song: Huiqiong 慧瓊 (fl. 438-443) (*juan* 2, 938b)

Xiao Qi: Tanjian 曇簡 (d. 493) (*juan* 3, 943b-c)

Xiao Qi: Jingui 淨珪 (d. 493) (*juan* 3, 943c)

Xiao Qi: Tanyong 曇勇 (d. 501) (*juan* 3, 944b)