

The Merging of Tiantai and Vinaya: The Monks of Ximing Monastery and Mount Tiantai*

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Abstract: The merging of Tiantai and Vinaya ideologies represents a defining characteristic of the Tiantai school during the Song dynasty. When did this merging begin? This study intends to conduct some preliminary investigations on this topic. The paper will divide the subject into three parts: the first analyzes the transmission and lineage of the Ximing Monastery's 西明寺 Vinaya monks. Although Ximing Monastery represented a vital center for Vinaya study during the medieval period, its monastery's transmission lineage remains unclear. This study focuses chronologically on sorting out the Vinaya monks stationed at Ximing Monastery. Secondly, this study traces the trajectories of the monks of Ximing Monastery who spent time at Guoqing Monastery 國清寺. By investigating their trajectories, the study forms a clearer picture of the contributions made by Vinaya monks of Ximing Monastery to the Vinaya studies of Zhejiang. Lastly, this study examines the merging of the Tiantai and Vinaya traditions.

* Translated by Michael Cavayero (Peking University; michaelcavayero@gmail.com). This article represents a phase of achievement of the 2018 project 'Translation and Research of Important Literary and Artistic Texts of Indian Classical Sanskrit', 印度古典梵語文藝學重要文獻翻譯與研究, supported by the Major Program of the National Social Science Foundation of China 國家社科基金重大項目, project No: 18ZDA286.

The study will examine the process of those Vinaya monks of Ximing Monastery who gradually shifted towards the Tiantai teachings. Through the investigation of the above aspects, this study will offer a clearer understanding of the relationship between the Vinaya monks of Ximing Monastery and Mount Tiantai, and thus will advance our knowledge on the integration of the Vinaya of Tiantai teachings in this period.

Keywords: Tiantai 天台, Ximing Monastery 四明寺, Guoqing Monastery 國清寺, Vinaya Buddhism 律學

DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.15239/hijbs.04.01.11>

1. Introductory Questions

This study focuses on the interactions between the Vinaya monks of the Ximing Monastery 西明寺 and Tiantai 天台 monasteries. The study aims to understand further the reasons for the Tiantai and Vinaya traditions' mutual integration during the Song dynasty.

A significant characteristic of Tiantai Buddhism is the merging of Tiantai and Vinaya principles. Vinaya masters practiced Tiantai methods, and Tiantai monks, likewise, learned Vinaya studies. Although it is impossible to determine when this kind of merging began, it was by no means a sudden phenomenon. This article intends to examine this process of integration and will divide the discussion into three parts.

The first part will focus on the lineage and transmission of Vinaya school or lineage, particularly within the Ximing Monastery. The Vinaya lineage of Ximing Monastery begins with Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) and without question, the promotion of the *Sifen lü* 四分律 [Skt. *Dharmaguputaka-vinaya*; Four-Part Vinaya]. However, Daoxuan's successors remain relatively unclear. This section will focus on the site of Ximing Monastery to analyze this lineage of Vinaya Buddhism and explore its development.

The study will also discuss Tiantai monasteries that became essential locations in merging Vinaya and Tiantai Buddhist lineages. Tiantai Buddhism includes both the Guoqing Monastery 國清寺 lineage and the Yuquan Monastery 玉泉寺 lineage. Guoqing Monastery represented a location that flourished continuously due to the support of the King of Wuyue 吳越王 (852–932) and a site where many Vinaya masters promulgated the dharma. Yuquan Monastery served as the place where the Northern Chan 北宗禪 patriarch Shenxiu 神秀 (729–828) promulgated the dharma and contributed significantly to the merging of Tiantai and Chan Buddhisms. Thus, this article will also focus on Guoqing Monastery as an essential site for our discussion.

Finally, the study will consider the integration of Vinaya monks within Tiantai Buddhism and investigate the Vinaya monk Huize 慧則 (835–908) and his successors and their pursuits of Tiantai doctrines to analyze and observe this interaction.

Based on our analyses of the above aspects, this study hopes to clarify the merging and interactions of the lineages and transmissions of the Vinaya monks of Ximing Monastery with Tiantai Buddhism during the late Tang to early Song period.

2. Ximing Monastery's Tradition of Vinaya Studies

Ximing Monastery's Vinaya lineage began with Daoxuan. After the death of Daoxuan, many monks visited Ximing Monastery to study, and pay respects to his legacy. This study will survey chronologically the Ximing Vinaya masters of successive dynasties.

First include the Vinaya masters who were contemporaries of Daoxuan, many of whom also lived at Ximing Monastery. The first is Daoshi 道世 (?–684), made famous by his compilation of the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 [Pearl Forest of the Dharma Grove]. Daoxuan once explicitly referred to Daoshi as a Vinaya master in his *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* 集神州三寶感應錄 [Collected Records of the (Mysterious) Stimuli and Responses Related to the Three Jewels in China].¹ Next is the Vinaya master Jundu 君度². Jundu was a disciple of Tanguang 曇光 (559–684), and Tanguang inherited the Vinaya

teachings from Fali 法礪 (569–635) and Daoshuo 道燦. In this regard, the transmission of Vinaya studies of Ximing Monastery also absorbed the Xiangbu (Xiang Province) school (Ch. Xiangbu zong xiangbu zong).

Following this include the Vinaya monks active in Ximing Monastery after Daoxuan's death from 670 to 700. Daoxuan died in the second year of the Qianfeng 乾封 reign (667). He had many disciples and monks who came to study with him at Ximing Monastery during that time. Here, we will only list several monks who have been cited in historical records as monks particularly associated with Ximing Monastery. The first is the Vinaya master Daci 大慈 (618–752), whom Daoxuan personally ordained. Daci does not appear in any monastic records. However, we know that he composed a commentary of the *Xingshi chao* 行事鈔—*Sifen lü shanfan buque xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔 [Note on Practices Based on the Four Part Vinaya, Unnecessary Details Removed and Missing Gaps Filled], Daoxuan's Commentary on the *Sifen lü*.³ In addition, when Daoxuan built an altar (Ch. *tan* 壇) for bestowing the precepts at Jingye Monastery 淨業寺 of Mount Zhongnan 終南山, he was accompanied by Daci together with the Vinaya masters Zhenyi 真懿 and Siyi 四依.⁴ Zhenyi was a student of Huijin 慧璉 (?–635), who was a student of Zhishou 智首 (567–635)⁵, Daoxuan's major mentor.

¹ See *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu*, T no. 2106, 52: 3.435a17–18: 統在西明寺道律師新撰《法苑珠林》百卷內具顯之矣。

² See his biography at *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 22.624a24–b9: 釋曇光, 姓張氏, 汴州人。自幼及長, 潔志清範。諸有勝徒, 莫不登踐。於礪、燦兩師, 聽受成教 西明寺律師君度, 奕奕標舉, 一時俊烈, 亦光之所進也。今麟德二年, 東都講說師資導達, 彌所欽羨。

³ *Xingshi chao zhu jia ji biao mu*, X no. 741, 44: 303b15–16: *Xingshi chaoji* name and number of juan not included. The right part [of the document], the account of the Tang Ximing Monastery Vinaya master Daci (行事鈔記^{未考記}右一部唐京師西明寺大慈律師述)。^{名及卷數}

⁴ *Guanzhong chuanglei jietan tu jing*, T no. 1892, 45: 816b28–c19: 京師西明寺大德真懿律師、...京師西明寺大德薄塵法師、...京師西明寺大慈律師、...京師西明寺四依律師。

⁵ *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 22.615b28–c3: 時又有沙門滿德、善智、

Based on this information, we can gather that Zhenyi was Daoxuan's younger fellow-novice and received ordination at the stone altar of Jingye Monastery along with Daci. Daoxuan believed Zhenzi to be a talented Vinaya master and once discussed the practice of circum-ambulatory meditation of the Buddha (Ch. *raofo* 繞佛) with him.⁶ Regarding the Vinaya master Siyi, currently, there remain no extant records. Thus we know very little about his life.

Next include the Vinaya masters who were active at Ximing Monastery from 700 to 750. Those whom we can verify via historical accounts include Chongye 崇業 (614–742), Xuantong 玄通 (666–767), Zhiyuan 智遠 and Jingyun 景雲. Chongye is recorded in the *Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 [the Song Collection of Biographies of Eminent Monks] as a successor of the 'Nanshan Vinaya school' (Ch. Nanshan lüzong 南山律宗) and a direct disciple of Daoxuan. The Tang Emperor Ruizong 睿宗 (662–716) highly regarded Chongye. Chongye even administered the Bodhisattva Precepts to the Emperor. In the fourth year of the Kaiyuan 開元 reign (716), Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (685–762) bestowed Chongye with a reward. The famous literatus and former Chancellor of the Tang court, Su Ting 蘇頌 (670–727), composed the 'Tang Chang'an Ximing si tabei' 唐長安西明寺塔碑 [The *Stūpa* Tablet of Ximing Monastery in Tang Chang'an] to commemorate this event.⁷ Chongye died during the Kaiyuan reign (742).⁸

The Vinaya master Xuantong was active during the Shenlong 神

真懿、敬道者，同班所學，慕義朋從，德慧悟天開，談說弘暢；智博解深奧，情欣護法；懿導說有功，化行多阻；道抱素自資，性存經史。多從物故，懿獨存焉，揚敷京輦。

⁶ Daoxuan, 'Chu jingchu gao' 出淨廚誥 [Announcement of Producing Pure Cooking], *Quan Tang wen* 911.9501a: 有京師西明寺真懿律師，今之律匠也。

⁷ 'Tang Chang'an Ximing si tabei', *Quan Tang wen* 257.2598a: 令大律師崇業，約身利物，維忍辱之行，全信役仁，守毗尼之律，明齋壘，壑比持緼，摧伏魔障，弼成學徒。

⁸ *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2061, 50: 14.795a16–25: 釋崇業... 爲帝授菩薩戒... 開元中微疾，囑弟子曰：'吾化窮數盡，汝曹堅以防川，無令放逸'。語訖，終於所居寺之別院。業即南山之嗣孫矣。

龍 reign (705–706). After Yijing 義淨 (635–713) completed his translation of the *Wufen lü* 五分律 [Skt. *Mahīśasakavinaya*; the Five-part Vinaya], the Vinaya Master Aitong 愛同 (active 700s) produced a commentary and requested that Xuantonɡ polish its language.⁹ When the Vinaya Master Zhiyuan lectured at Ximing Monastery, Jianzhen/Jp. Gaijin 鑑真 (688–763), the monk who later became the founding patriarch of Vinaya Buddhism in Japan, was also a pupil there.¹⁰ In the twenty-fifth year of the Kaiyuan reign (737), Chen Huan 陳環 composed a tablet inscription for Xuantonɡ, however, this tablet is no longer extant.¹¹ There are no known records regarding the Vinaya master Jingyun. Nevertheless, during the Kaiyuan reign, the monk Yuanzhao 圓照 (727–809) was ordained by Jingyun at Ximing Monastery.¹²

From 750 to 800, records of the Ximing Vinaya master Yuanzhao are verifiable. The *Song Gaoseng zhuan* records Yuanzhao's biography and details his life and activities at Ximing Monastery.¹³ The information supplemented here is that, in the second year of the Zhenyuan 貞元 reign (786), when the monk Dada 大達 (770–836) was ordained, Yuanzhao issued his complete precepts at Ximing Monastery.¹⁴

⁹ *Song Gaoseng zhuan*. T no. 2061, 50: 14.796b2–4: 著《五分律疏》十卷，復遺囑西明寺玄通律師重施潤色。

¹⁰ *Sankoku buppō denzū engi*, B no. 186, 32: 3.669b7–9: 鑑真隨西京禪定寺義威律師，聽法礪律師四分律疏一遍，次就西明寺遠智律師，聽彼疏一遍。

¹¹ See the record on Chen Huan in the section on *shushou* 書手 in the *Jixian yuan huazhi* 集賢院畫直. See Tao, coll., *Jinglong wenguan ji*, 346–347.

¹² Some scholars have argued that the name 'Jingyun' refers only to a monastery rather than a specific person. However, this theory remains unsupported and thus is open to further examination. See Fu, annot. & coll., Tao and Chen, supplemented, *Tang caizi zhuan jiaojian buzhen*, 113.

¹³ See Yuanzhao's biography in *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2061, 50: 15.804–805.

¹⁴ See Pei Xiu 裴休 (791–864), 'Tang gu zuojie senglu neigongfeng sanjiao tanlun yinjia dade Anguosi shangzuo cizi fangpao dada fashi Yuanmi/Xuanmi tabei ming' 唐故左街僧錄內供奉三教談論引駕大德安國寺上座賜紫方袍大達法師元/玄秘塔碑銘 [Epitaph Inscription for the Xuanmi Pagoda dedicated to

From 800 to 850, the foremost Vinaya masters active at Ximing Monastery included Huizheng 惠正 and Xuanchang 玄暢 (c.796–875). Regarding these two figures, there has already been ample discussion examining their records in other places. Thus we will only make a brief mention of them here. Concerning Huizheng, there is little extant information. Huizheng was possibly a direct disciple of the Esoteric master Bukong 不空 (Amoghavajra, 705–774). Xuanchang was born in the twelfth year of the Zhenyuan reign (796) and became ordained as a monk in the tenth year of Yuanhe 元和 reign (815). He died in the second year of the Qianfu 乾符 reign (875). Following the ‘Huichang Persecution of Buddhism’ 會昌滅佛 (840–846), Xuanchang made significant contributions towards the revival of Vinaya studies in the late Tang empire.¹⁵

When the Tang dynasty fell to war and chaos in the second half of the ninth century, the late Tang peasant uprising led by Huang Chao 黃巢 (875–884) burned down Chang’an. Moreover, Ximing Monastery also fell to destruction. During this period, the Ximing Vinaya monks took refuge in various locations. At that time, the southern regions of Jiangsu and Zhejiang were relatively safe, and the King of Wuyue 吳越王 (852–932) was known to have made great efforts to protect Buddhism. Thus, the south became a primary refuge for monks fleeing the chaos. It was in light of these circumstances that Xuanchang’s disciple Huize traveled to Guoqing Monastery 國清寺 located on Mount Tiantai, and thereby forged the opportunity to merge the teachings of the Tiantai and Vinaya Buddhist traditions.

Dharma Master Dada, the late Tang Monastic Registrar of the Left Street, Palace Chaplain, Lecturer for the Imperial Conference of Three Teachings, Chariot-leading Great Virtue, the Anguo si Abbot and the Bestowee of Purple Robe], *Quan Tangwen*, 743.7694. The tablet inscription records that when [Dada 大達] was seventeen-years-old, Yuanzhao initiated him into monkhood, and in Kaicheng 開成 1 (836), he died at the age of sixty-seven. Based on these records, we can estimate that he was initiated into monkhood in Zhenyuan 貞元 2 (786).

¹⁵ See the chapter of ‘Fushou zhuan yuan Huichang miefo yu ximingsi’ 福壽莊嚴：會昌滅佛與西明寺 [The Huichang Persecution of Buddhism and Ximing Monastery], in the author’s monograph (Zhan, *Ximing Dongxia*).

Throughout the more than two hundred years of Ximing Monastery's history, the tradition of Vinaya studies that began with Daoxuan remained unbroken. Although the lineage of some of the Vinaya masters remains unclear, for the most part, we can trace each of these masters as inheritors of the Ximing Vinaya lineage. In this regard, Ximing Monastery served as an important site for the Vinaya studies that flourished during the Tang dynasty.

3. The Flourishing of Vinaya in Eastern and Western Zhejiang (*Liangzhe*): Huize and Xijue and the Vinaya Studies of Jiangsu and Zhejiang

In the above discussion, we analyzed the lineage of the Vinaya studies of Ximing Monastery. Below, we will examine the relationship between the Vinaya monks of Ximing Monastery and the flourishing of Vinaya Buddhism in the Zhejiang region. We will also survey the activities of the Vinaya monks of Ximing Monastery at Guoqing Monastery.

First, we will observe the activities of the Vinaya monks of Ximing Monastery at the Guoqing Monastery located at Mount Tiantai. Contact between Vinaya monks of Ximing Monastery and Tiantai Buddhism began long before Huize. As early as the thirteenth year of the Dali 大曆 reign (778), when Yuanzhao collated the commentary of the *Sifen lü* 四分律疏, one of the names on the list of contributors included that of 'Daosui of Ximing Monastery' 西明寺道邃.¹⁶ During the Dali reign, the Ninth Patriarch of Tiantai Buddhism, Daosui 道邃 (fl. 805), studied the Tiantai doctrines with Zhanran 湛然 (711–782)¹⁷. Based on such evidence, it is possible to assume that

¹⁶ Yuanzhao, 'Chi qianding *Sifen lü* shu xu zou' 敕僉定四分律疏序奏 [Answer to the Imperial Edict ordering the Verifying the Commentary on the *Sifen Lü*], Chen, comp., *Quan Tangwen bubian* 56.678: 西明寺道邃, 興泚, 本寺寶意.

¹⁷ *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2061, 50: 29.891a10–11: 'In the years of the Dali reign, Zhanran entrusted the *Zhiguan fuxing ji*' (大曆中, 湛然師委付《止觀輔行記》).

the figure ‘Daosui of Ximing Monastery’ was concurrently the Ninth Tiantai Patriarch. Still, the more substantial connection between Tiantai Buddhism and the Vinaya monks of Ximing Monastery appears predominantly in the case of Huize. Using relevant records from the *Song Gaoseng zhuan* we can conduct further investigations concerning Huize’s activities.¹⁸

Based on his biographical records, Huize was active in Ximing Monastery for nearly two decades and followed Xuanchang in promulgating the Vinaya teachings. In his middle age, Huize left Chang’an due to the Guangming Rebellion 廣明之亂 and took refuge in Guoqing Monastery for nearly ten years. During his time seeking refuge, Huize encountered the literatus Gao Pian 高駢 (821–887), who has a biography recorded in the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 [Old History of the Tang Dynasty].¹⁹ According to legend, during the Huang Chao uprising in the first year of the Guangming 廣明 reign (880), Gao Pian assembled an army to protect himself. After facing defeat in the first year of the Zhonghe 中和 reign (881), he began praying to immortal deities. Around this time, Gao Pian met Huize, and in the second year of the Zhonghe reign, he invited Huize to teach the Vinaya at Fayun Monastery 法雲寺. The Huainan 淮南 Fayun Monastery is in Yangzhou 揚州.²⁰ This monastery was once the residence of the Jin dynasty General Xie An 謝安 (320–385).²¹ In the second year of the Zhonghe reign, Gao Pian orchestrated numerous religious activities at this site. On the fifteenth day of the first lunar month (Zhonghe 2.1.15 = February 6, 882), he organized a feast for the people at Fayun Monastery while requesting the blessings of the bodhisattvas Śāriputra 舍利弗 and Avalokitēśvara 觀世

¹⁸ See Huize’s biography at *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2061, 50: 16.809.

¹⁹ See Gao Pian’s official biography at *Jiu Tang shu* 182.4711–4712.

²⁰ Li, *Tang wudai fosi ji kao*, 143.

²¹ *Fayunsi zhi*, in *Yangzhou huafang lu*, 82: 晉寧康三年, 謝安領揚州刺史, 建宅於此. 至太元十年, 移居新城, 其姑就本宅爲尼, 建寺名法雲, 手植雙檜; 謝太傅祠, 安故宅, 內有法雲寺, 舊有雙檜; 謝太傅祠, 安故宅, 內有法雲寺, 舊有雙檜. Furthermore, *Mozhuang manlu*, *Sibu congkan* 6.109, also states: 揚州呂甫觀文宅, 乃晉徵西將軍謝安宅. 在唐爲法雲寺. 有雙檜, 建炎後遂亡.

音.²² On the twenty-third day of the seventh lunar month of that year (Zhonghe 2.7.23 = August 10, 882), he organized another feast at Fayun Monastery and prayed for blessings.²³ On the twenty-seventh day of the lunar seventh month of the same year (Zhonghe 2.7.27 = August 14, 882), he organized yet another feast, copied the scriptures, and prayed for blessings.²⁴ Based on this information, we can assess that while at Fayun Monastery, Gao Pian must have arranged Huize's teaching of the Vinaya as a part of his many Buddha worshipping activities. Following this, Huize traveled to the State of Wu 吳地.

Concerning the time between his travels to the State of Wu and residency at Guoqing Monastery, Huize's records remain vague. According to his biographical records, after completing his teaching of the Vinaya at Fayun Monastery and while beginning his travels to the State of Wu, Huize was retained by the prefectural governor Duke Yang 刺史楊公. Duke Yang possibly refers to Yang Xingmi 楊行密 (852–905), the Wu founder and warlord.

In the third year of the Guangqi 光啓 reign (887), Duke Yang occupied Yangzhou 揚州. In the following year, his armies were defeated, forcing him to flee to Xuanzhou 宣州. Based on the above information, we can conclude that Huize taught the Vinaya at Fayun Monastery for five years. Following this, and due to the defeat of Gao Pian's armies, Huize then fled to Yangzhou, where he was detained or persuaded to stay by Yang Xingmi. The state of Wu and Guoqing

²² 'Tianwangyuan zhai ci' 天王院齋詞 [Feast Text of the Tianwang Cloister], in Dang, colla. & annot., *Guiyuan bigeng ji jiaozhu*, 518: 唐中和二年太歲壬寅正月望日, 具銜某敬請僧某乙設齋於法雲寺天王院。

²³ 'Wei gu zhaoyi puyue zhaici ershou' 爲故昭義僕射齋詞二首 [Two Feast Lyrics for the late *zhaoyi puyue*], Dang, colla. & annot., *Guiyuan bigeng ji jiaozhu*, 522: 'On the 23rd day of the seventh month of the second year of Zhonghe, a feast was set up at the Fayun Monastery for the nephew of late *zhaoyi* and his two grandsons' (中和二年七月二十三日, 爲故昭義姪孫僕射及二孫子敬設齋於法雲寺)。

²⁴ See the second poem of the 'Wei gu zhaoyi piushe zhaici ershou': 中和二年七月二十七日, 某官某乙奉太尉處分, 爲故昭義僕射於法雲寺設三百僧齋, 並寫《金光明經》五部, 《法華經》一部, 永充供養。

Monastery of Mount Tiantai are seemingly not in the same area. However, due to the paucity of historical evidence, we cannot further analyze Huize's situation. Huize lived at Guoqing Monastery for seven years, and in the first year of the Qianning reign, he left for the Aśoka Monastery (Ayuwang si 阿育王寺) in Mingzhou 明州. See relevant timeline below:

Age	Date(s)	Location	Activity
17	Dazhong 大中 7 (853)	Ximing Monastery 西明寺	Renounces secular life
20	Dazhong 大中 9 (855)	Ximing Monastery 西明寺	Enters Buddhist monkhood
26	Dazhong 大中 14 (860)	Ximing Monastery 西明寺	Follows Xuanchang (in study)
28	Xiantong 咸通 3 (862)	Chongsheng Monastery 崇聖寺	Teaches the <i>Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya</i>
32	Xiantong 咸通 7 (866)	Zuyuan 祖院	Replaces Xuanchang to teach the Vinaya
40	Xiantong 咸通 15 (874)		Receives the official precepts at the altar
46	Guangming 廣明 1 (880)	Xiagui 下邳	Seeks refuge
48	Xhonghe 中和 2 (882)	Fayun Monastery, Huainan 淮南法雲寺	Teaches the Vinaya
53	Guangqi 光啓 3 (887)	Guoqing Monastery, Mount Tiantai 天台山國清寺	Takes residence
60	Qianning 乾寧 1 (894)	Aśoka Monastery, Mingzhou 明州阿育王寺	Writes and receives further precept ordination
74	Kaiping 開平 2 (908)		Passes away

In the next part of the investigation, we will consider the relationship between the Vinaya monks of Ximing Monastery and the flourishing of the 'Nanshan Vinaya school' (Ch. Nanshan lü 南山律) in Zhejiang. Huize's biography makes no mention of his impact on the Vinaya studies in Zhejiang. However, in the biography of his disciple Xijue 希覺 (864–949), Huize is given a more detailed evaluation. While at the Aśoka Monastery, Huize wrote the *Jiyao ji* 集要記 [Collection of Important Records (on Vinaya studies)] in twelve *juan* expounding on the Nanshan Vinaya school commentaries. Xijue expanded this record to twenty *juan*, and it became widely popular in the eastern and western regions of Zhejiang.²⁵ It is not an exaggeration to say that Huize and his disciple Xijue became influential proponents of spreading the Nanshan Vinaya teachings in Zhejiang. Furthermore, their efforts laid a solid foundation for integrating or merging the Tiantai and Vinaya Buddhism, which followed.

Due to the paucity of historical sources, we cannot verify Huize's activities while residing at Guoqing Monastery. However, according to his biographical records, Huize is known to have taught the Nanshan Vinaya commentaries a total of seventy times during his life. Therefore, it is most likely that while at Guoqing Monastery, he also spent several years promoting the Nanshan Vinaya teachings, providing a unique opportunity to merge the Tiantai and Nanshan Vinaya Buddhist traditions/lineages. An observation of the activities of Huize's disciple Xijue is also necessary for our discussion to supplement our knowledge of Huize's activities at Guoqing Monastery.²⁶

Two years after Huize arrived at Guoqing Monastery, he promoted Vinaya studies and took on Xijue as a disciple. After Huize departed from Guoqing Monastery, it is unclear where Xijue went based on extant records; he could have followed Huize to Aśoka Monastery.²⁷ Xijue's biography records that he went to Yongjia 永嘉

²⁵ *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2061, 50: 16.810c1–2: 'The *Jiyao ji* 集要記 [Collection of Important Records], written by Huize, became widely popular throughout Zhejiang's eastern and western regions. Its popularity continued up until the time of Huize's death' (浙之東西, 盛行斯錄. 暨乎則公長往).

²⁶ See Xijue's biography at *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2061, 50: 16.810.

alone to teach the Vinaya. Qian Hua 錢鏐 (891–945), the prefecture magistrate, deeply admired Xijue. When Xijue became falsely accused of a crime, Qian Hua allegedly released him without investigating. Qian Hua served as the governor of Wenzhou 温州 and Mingzhou 明州 consecutively.²⁸ His term as the governor of Mingzhou was during the fourth year of the Changxing 長興 reign (933).²⁹ Before this, he served as the governor of Wenzhou. After being falsely accused, Xijue moved to the Daqian Monastery 大錢寺 of Qiantang 錢塘. While at the Daqian Monastery, King Wenmu 文穆王 (Qian Yuanguan 錢元瓘, 887–941) built the ‘Monastery of One Thousand Buddha Images’ (Ch. Qianfo si 千佛寺) and invited Xijue to serve as its abbot. However, according to other historical sources, Qianfo Monastery was constructed in the fourth year of the Kaiping 開平 reign (910).³⁰ The Daqian Monastery was constructed in the fifth year of the Kaiping reign (911).³¹ Thus, chronologically, there remain some inconsistencies regarding the order of construction of these two monasteries based on different historical accounts. Hence, we can deduce that Xijue arrived at Qianfo Monastery, not at the beginning of the monastery’s construction in 910, but only after 911. After serving as abbot to Qianfo Monastery, Xijue’s location becomes unclear. Zanning 贊寧 (919–1002) only provides ample records of his academic knowledge. The chart below documents his activities:

²⁷ *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2061, 50: 7.750c22–23: ‘[Haoduan] encountered Xijue at the Ayuwang (Aśokan) Monastery of Mount Siming in Zhejiang promoting the Nanshan Vinaya teachings’ (於四明阿育王寺遇希覺律師盛揚南山律).

²⁸ See Qian Hua’s biography at *Shiguo chungiu* 83.1193: 鏐字輔軒……承制累授溫, 明二州刺史……開運二年卒, 年五十五, 謚日忠簡。

²⁹ *Yanyou Siming zhii*, SKQS 491: 344b: 錢鏐, 吳越王鏐之弟○[按日]吳越備史在長興四年

³⁰ *Wulin fanzhi* 武林梵志, B no. 161, 29: 2.506a7–9: 程中書珉作寺記。寺負錢塘就山, 唐開成四年建, 日‘龍興千佛寺’。The *Xianchun Lin’an zhi* (SKQS 490: 759b) also records this.

³¹ *Wulin fanzhi*, B no. 161, 29: 2.509a4–6. 先是, 梁開平五年, 吳越王於仁王廢院, 掘地得大錢, 以為瑞應, 因建大錢寺。The *Shiguo chungiu* (SKQS 466: 55d) also records this.

Age	Date	Location	Activity
25	Wende 文德 1 (888)	Kaiyuan Monastery, Wenzhou 温州開元寺	Renounces secular life
26	Longji 龍紀 reign (889)		Receives the official precepts
	Longji 龍紀 reign (889) - Qianning 乾寧 reign (894–898)	Guoqing Monastery 國清寺	Follows Huize to study the Vinaya
		Yongjia 永嘉	Teaches the Vinaya
	Kaiping 開平 5 (911)	Daqian Monastery, Hangzhou 杭州大錢寺	Moves after he is falsely accused of a crime
	Kaiping 開平 5 (911)	Qianfo Monastery 千佛寺	Assigned as master of the Monastery
81			Gives alms to all the monks in the land
85			Attains 'perfection' (passes away)

This section has provided a general analysis of the activities and locations of the Ximing Vinaya monks. In the process of promoting Nanshan Vinaya Buddhism and its teachings in Zhejiang, Guoqing Monastery served as the primary site of transmission for the Vinaya teachings of Ximing monks. Furthermore, the flourishing of Vinaya studies provided the necessary conditions for merging the Tiantai and Vinaya Buddhist traditions, which would gain significant momentum during this time.

4. Doctrinal Compatibility: The Merging of Ximing Monastery's Disciples and Tiantai Buddhism

The previous section discussed the legacy and transmission of the Ximing Vinaya monks and their influence on Vinaya studies in the Zhejiang region. This section will discuss the merging that occurred

between Ximing Monastery Vinaya disciples and Tiantai Buddhism. Below we will observe the specific trajectories of the monks Haoduan 皓端 (890–961) and Wuen 晤恩 (912–986) to consider this merging of Vinaya studies with Tiantai Buddhism.

First in our discussion includes the activities and transmission of Haoduan. Under the efforts of Huize and Xijue, the Nanshan Vinaya tradition of Ximing Monastery flourished in Zhejiang. Furthermore, Guoqing Monastery where the two of them lived also served as the birthplace of Tiantai Buddhism. Objectively speaking, the Ximing Vinaya studies and the Tiantai doctrines already had relatively advantageous conditions suitable for merging their traditions. In terms of actual development, the Ximing lineage of Vinaya studies most likely represents the true origins of the merging of Tiantai doctrine and Vinaya studies in the Song dynasty.

Historically speaking, Xijue, for the most part, embodied a traditional Vinaya monk, focusing on promulgating the *Sifen lü*. On the other hand, his disciple, Haoduan, marks the beginning of integrating Tiantai doctrine with Vinaya studies. According to the biography of Haoduan, after becoming ordained, he studied the Vinaya teachings with Xijue, and after this, studied the *Lotus Sūtra* (Ch. *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經; Skt. *Saddharmapundarīka-sūtra*) with the Dharma master Yun 雲 of Jinhua 金華. Haoduan's abilities received the attention of Wuyue King Wusu 武肅王 (852–932), and he taught the *Lotus Sūtra* in Luohan Monastery 羅漢寺 and Zhen-shen-ta Monastery 真身塔寺. At the same time, Haoduan followed the Tenth Tiantai Patriarch Xuanzhu 玄燭 (841–940) and studied the 'Threefold Contemplations' method (Ch. *yixin sanguan* 一心三觀) of Tiantai tradition. Finally, using the ten *juan* edition of the *Jingguangming jing suiwen shi* 金光明經隨文釋 ['Line by Line' Commentary of the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsōttama-sūtra** (*Sūtra* of Golden Light)], Haoduan was able to master the teachings of both schools.³²

³² See Haoduan's biography at *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2061, 50: 7.750c27–751a2: 於時有台教師玄燭者, 彼宗號爲第十祖. 端依附之, 果了一心三觀, 遂撰《金光明經隨文釋》十卷. 由是兩宗法要, 一徑路通. 忠獻王錢氏借賜紫衣, 別署大德, 號'崇法'焉.

In this regard, Haoduan received the transmissions of three figures: Xijue, Yun, and Xuanzhu.

The lineage of Yun remains unknown. After studying with Jinhua Yun, Haoduan received orders from King Wu Su to teach at Luohan Monastery and Zhenshen-ta Monastery. Luohan Monastery most probably refers to the Anguo Luohan Monastery 安國羅漢寺 in Hangzhou 杭州. This monastery was expanded based on the original 'Luohan Cloister/Hall' (Ch. Luohan yuan 羅漢院) of King Qian 錢王 in the fifth year of the Zhenming 貞明 reign (919).³³ Zhenshen-ta Monastery was built for the great Tiantai master Zhizhe 智者大師 (Zhiyi 智顛, 539–598) in the seventeenth year of the Kaihuang 開皇 reign (596) of the Sui dynasty. The monastery was renamed Zhenjue Monastery 真覺寺 in the Song dynasty during the Dazhong 大中祥符 (1008–1016) reign.³⁴ In this regard, Jinhua Yun, proficient in both *mingshu* 名數 and the *Lotus Sūtra*, represented a direct line of Tiantai Buddhism. Furthermore, it was only in light of these circumstances that Haoduan, who studied with him, was able to teach the *Lotus Sūtra* in Tiantai monasteries. Around this time, while Haoduan was teaching at the Zhenshen-ta Monastery, he encountered Xuanzhu. Therefore, he could continue his studies of the Tiantai doctrines with him. The *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 [Complete Chronicle of the Buddha and Patriarchs] (completed in 1269) and *Shimen zhengtong* 釋門正統 [Orthodox Succession of Śā-kyamuni's Teaching] (completed c.1237) all record Xuanzhu's status as the Tenth Tiantai Patriarch. The latter two works both represent records compiled by Tiantai monks. Therefore, the transmission received by Haoduan from Jinhua Yun and Xuanzhu undoubtedly belongs to the Tiantai orthodoxy.³⁵ See an outline of Haoduan's trajectory below:

³³ *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T no. 2076, 51: 12.293a25–27: 梁貞明五年, 錢王廣其院爲安國羅漢寺, 移師塔於大慈山塢, 今寺與塔並存。

³⁴ *Chixiu Zhejiang tongzhi*, SKQS 525: 232.200c: 在縣北二十三里, 隋開皇十七年建, 僧智顛瘞焉。龕前置雙石塔, 號'定慧真身塔院'。宋大中祥符元年, 改今額。

³⁵ *Fozu tongji*, T no. 2035, 49: 22.246b24–26: 法師玄燭, 戒德定品, 慧業法門。講唱宗乘, 當世特立。大順初, 傳法帝京, 學徒數百, 左右悅隨。時謂其可繼荆溪, 尊

Age	Date	Location	Activity
9	Guanghua 光化 1 (898)	Lingguang temple 靈光精舍	Renounces secular life; enters monkhood
20	Kaiping 開平 3 (909)		Receives ordination
		Ayuwang Monastery 阿育王寺	Follows Xijue to study Vinaya
		Jinhua 金華	Follows Dharma Master Yun to study the <i>Lotus Sūtra</i>
		Luohan Monastery 羅漢寺	Lectures on the <i>Lotus Sūtra</i>
		Zhenshen-ta Monastery 真身塔寺	Lectures on the <i>Lotus Sūtra</i>
			Follow Xuanzhu to study Tiantai
72	Jianlong 建隆 2 (961)		Attains 'perfection' (passes away)

Haoduan inherited the teachings of Tiantai Buddhism and Vinaya Buddhism simultaneously and managed to intercede the two traditions seamlessly. Thus, we might argue that the actual merging of Tiantai and Vinaya Buddhism began with Haoduan. However, although Haoduan managed to merge the two traditions, his affinity was mainly in practice. According to his biography, in seeking to emulate the spirit of the Eastern Jin monk Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416), known for 'never crossing the Tiger Creek' 不過虎溪, Haoduan, likewise never left the walls of the Monastery for twenty years. He wrote and dictated more than seventy *juan* and reared over eighty disciples. Thus, Haoduan's efforts and contribution towards the greater impetus to merge Tiantai and Vinaya are often less evident in historical records.

稱為 '十祖' 云。 Cf. *Shimen zhengtong*, X no. 1513, 75: 5.316b3–4: 'At the time Tiantai Buddhism had master Xuanzhu, who was called the Tenth Patriarch' (時台宗有玄燭師者, 學者號為第十祖).

Next, we will consider the trajectory of Wuen. Haoduan's biography does not include the names of Haoduan's students. However, in the biographies of other monks, it is noted that among Haoduan's disciples, there was an important figure of Tiantai Buddhism, namely, Wuen.³⁶ Wuen was the initiator of the 'Off the Mountain' (Ch. Shanwai pai 山外派) the Song dynasty Tiantai lineage. The Tiantai lineage of the early Song begins with Qingsong 清竦 (d.u.). Under Qingsong emerges two lines of succession, the 'Home Mountain' faction (Ch. Shanjia pai 山家派) and the Off the Mountain faction. Wuen was the disciple of Zhiyin 志因 (fl. 944), who was the successor of Qingsong.³⁷ Furthermore, Wuen's stance to only promote the abridged edition of the *Jingguangming xuanyi* 金光明玄義 [Profound Commentary on the *Golden Light Sūtra*], and to consider the extended version as an inferior version of meditative practices altered by later generations, was the primary reason for the eruption of a schism in Tiantai Buddhism that formed the two factions. The *Shinan fuzong ji* 釋難扶宗記 [Record of Expounding Doubts to Bolster the Principles] by Zhili 知禮 (960–1028) points out this fact.³⁸ The controversy and schism between the Off the Mountain and Home Mountain factions of Tiantai Buddhism initiated by Wuen inspired a long-lasting debate. Since the concern of this section is mainly to analyze the process of merging that occurred between the Tiantai and Vinaya Buddhist traditions, we will not discuss the details of Wuen's doctrinal ideas any further. Our interest is purely in his life and sources of lineal transmission.

According to his biography, Wuen inherited teachings from three sources: a lineage of teachers from the Nanshan Vinaya school of the Huiju Monastery 慧聚寺 of Kunshan 崑山, Haoduan, and Zhiyin. Due to the paucity of historical information, it is impossible to verify

³⁶ *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2061, 50: 7.751c26–27: 'In the early years of the [Later] Jin (936–944) [Wuen] studied the *sūtras* and *śāstras* with Haoduan of Zuili' (晉天福初, 從樵李皓端師, 聽習經論).

³⁷ Pan & Wu, *Zhongguo Tiantai zong tongshi*, 394.

³⁸ *Siming Renyue yishuo congshu*, X no. 948, 56: 5.848a9–10: 《金光明玄義》, 早歲聞浙陽慈光恩師, 專守略本。非觀心等義, 謂後人擅添。

details about the Nanshan Vinaya monks of the Huiju Monastery of Kunshan. Wuen learned the *sūtras* and *śāstras* from Haoduan of Zuili 構李. Zuili refers to Xiuzhou 秀州³⁹ (which later became the Jiaxing 嘉興 prefecture). Furthermore, as confirmed earlier, Haoduan represented a successor of both the Tiantai and Vinaya schools. Thus, it is without a doubt that Wuen represented a direct successor of the Nanshan Vinaya school teachings⁴⁰. See Wuen's trajectory below:

Age	Date(s)	Location	Activities
13	Tongguang 同光 2 (c. 924)	Xingfu Monastery, Mount Po 破山興福寺	Renounces secular life; enters monkhood
	Changxing 長興 reign (930–933) of the Later Tang	Huiju Monastery, Mount Kun 崑山慧聚寺	Studies the Nanshan Vinaya teachings
	Tianfu (early) 天福 reign (936–943) of Later Jin	Lingguang Monastery, Xiuzhou 秀州靈光寺	Follows Haoduan to study the <i>sūtras</i> and <i>śāstras</i>
	Kaiyun 開運 (947–950) reign of Later Jin	Ciguang Cloister, Qiantang 錢塘慈光院	Follows Zhiyin to study Tiantai
75	Yongxi 雍熙 3 (986)		Attains 'perfection' (passes away)

In summary, when transmitted to Xijue, the Nanshan Vinaya tradition still predominately taught the Vinaya. However, by the time

³⁹ *Fozu tongji*, T no. 2021, 49: 11.211b10: [He was] jailed in Zuili (The character Zui 構, pronounced as zui 醉, is a place name [the current day Xiuzhou 秀州]) (坐獄於構李 構音醉地, 名今秀州).

⁴⁰ See Wuen's biography at *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2061, 50: 7.751c23–752a1: 年十三, 聞誦《彌陀經》, 遂求出家。親黨饒愛, 再三沮之, 乃投破山興福寺受訓。後唐長興中, 受滿分戒。登往崑山慧聚寺, 學南山律。晉天福初, 從構李皓端師, 聽習經論。懸解之性天然, 時輩輒難抗敵。後微聞天台‘三觀’、‘六即’之說, 冥符意解。漢開運中, 造錢唐慈光院志因師, 講貫彌年, 通達《法華》、《光明經》、《止觀論》, 咸洞玄微。

Xijue's student Haoduan received the teachings, they had already begun to merge the teachings of Tiantai and Vinaya. Finally, by the time the teachings became passed to Wuen, they were almost entirely characterized by the doctrines of Tiantai. By this time, the mutual process of merging and absorbing by Vinaya Buddhism of Ximing Monastery and Tiantai Buddhism of Guoqing Monastery had already run its course. Now, the Nanshan Vinaya monks no longer identified themselves as Vinaya monks but rather as successors of Tiantai Buddhism aiming to promote the Tiantai doctrine.

5. Some Concluding Remarks

This study investigated how the transmission of Ximing Vinaya Buddhism and its gradual integration process with Tiantai Buddhism's Guoqing Monastery lineage provided a foundation for merging the Tiantai and Vinaya buddhist traditions/lineages in the Song dynasty. In this examination, we discovered that starting with the legacy of Daoxuan, Vinaya Buddhism that took shape at Ximing Monastery continued uninterrupted. Additionally, although the direct lineages of some of the Vinaya monks associated with the Ximing Monastery are still unclear, in many cases, their trajectories may be directly linked to the activities of the Vinaya monks from earlier generations. From this perspective, it becomes clear that the legacy of Ximing Vinaya studies remained continuous.

The peasant uprising led by Huang Chao in the late Tang destroyed the Ximing Monastery, and its monks became displaced. The Vinaya master Huize fled to the Guoqing Monastery and resided there for seven years, promoting the Nanshan Vinaya teachings. His disciple Xijue succeeded him. The two figures made outstanding contributions to the prosperity of the Nanshan Vinaya in the Zhejiang region. Furthermore, the flourishing of the Nanshan Vinaya lineage in Zhejiang provided the necessary foundation for the later merging of Tiantai and Vinaya Buddhisms.

Xijue's disciple, Haoduan, became a binary figure of Tiantai and Vinaya Buddhisms and followed the Tenth Tiantai Patriarch Xuanzhu to become a vital promulgator of Tiantai Buddhism.

Xijue's disciple Wuen developed into an even more critical Tiantai figure, becoming the earliest patriarch and creator of the doctrines of the Off the Mountain Tiantai faction. Although Wuen was also a former disciple of Haoduan and the Huiju Monastery lineage, in his process of promulgating the dharma to the outside world, he never exhibited the attitude of a Nanshan Vinaya master. The end of the Tang to the beginning of the Northern Song dynasty marks the crucial period when the Vinaya studies lineage of Ximing Monastery merged with Tiantai Buddhism. It had passed through four generations from Huize to Wuen, was transmitted for more than two-hundred years, and finally had reached its end.

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Abbreviations

- B* *Da zangjing bubian* 大藏經補編. See Secondary Sources, Lan, ed.
- SKQS* *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書. See Secondary Sources, Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan youxian gufen gongsi, comp.
- T* *Taishō shinsū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.
- X* *Xinbian xu zangjing* 新編卅字續藏經. See Secondary Sources, Xin wenfeng chuban gongsi, comp.

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