

# A Missing Buddhist Biography: Li Yong 李邕 (678–747) and His Stele Inscription for Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667)\*

ANNA SOKOLOVA and ANN HEIRMAN

Ghent University, Department of Languages and Cultures, Blandijnberg 2, B9000 Gent, Belgium  
E-mail: Ann.Heirman@UGent.be  
Corresponding Author: Anna.Sokolova@UGent.be

Received: November 18, 2019 • May 23, 2020

© 2020 Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest



## ABSTRACT

The first recorded biography of Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) – regarded as the *de facto* founder of the Vinaya ‘school’ in China – was a stele inscription composed by the scholar-official Li Yong 李邕 (678–747). No longer extant, this inscription was the main biographical source on Daoxuan until the Song Dynasty as well as Zanning’s 贊寧 (919–1001) primary source for his entry on Daoxuan in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (*Biographies of Eminent Monks [Compiled] under the Song Dynasty*). This paper investigates how Li Yong engaged with a monastic community headed by Daoxuan’s disciples in the prefecture of Zizhou 淄州, Henan Circuit. We argue that this group of monks commissioned Li Yong to compose a number of stele inscriptions for Daoxuan himself and several of his disciples and associates.

## Keywords

Daoxuan, Li Yong, Vinaya, Zizhou, Mount Taishan, stele inscriptions

\* We wish to thank Ang Zou (Faling) for his insightful suggestion to conduct a study on Li Yong and for the valuable comments he offered during this study. We also would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers of the *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* for their helpful commentaries. This research was supported by the Research Foundation Flanders (FWO).

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The earliest extant biography of the eminent Tang Dynasty monk Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) is Zanning's 贊寧 (919–1001) account of the master's life in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (*Biographies of Eminent Monks [Compiled] under the Song Dynasty*; hereafter SGSZ).<sup>1</sup> However, according to Zanning, the first biographical account of Daoxuan was an inscription on a stele (lit. 'wei bei song de' 為碑頌德, '[inscription for a] stele made in praise of [Daoxuan's] accomplishments'),<sup>2</sup> composed by the scholar-statesman Li Yong 李邕 (678–747).<sup>3</sup> There is further evidence that Li Yong composed a biographical account for Daoxuan, as attested by the scholarly monks Yuanzhao 元照 (1048–1116) and Zhiyuan 智圓 (976–1022). Yuanzhao refers to a 'xing zhuang' 行狀 ('record of deeds')<sup>4</sup> composed by Li Yong, which alongside two other texts – a stele inscription composed by Yan Houben 嚴厚本 (?–?) in 841<sup>5</sup> and Zanning's biography in the SGSZ – has been used as a source for a compilation of a 'zan song' 讚頌 ('hymn of praise') for Daoxuan (李邕行狀, 嚴原本碑, 大宋高僧傳, 後賢多採為讚頌).<sup>6</sup> Zhiyuan also refers to a 'xing zhuang' by Li Yong as a source material (按李邕行狀) for a 'praise' ('zan' 讚) for Daoxuan.<sup>7</sup> Although the text referred to as a 'praise' by Yuanzhao and Zhiyuan is not extant and the identity of its author is unknown, it is clear that Li Yong's epitaph served as its basis.

The Japanese pilgrim-monk Ennin 圓仁 (793–864) lists two titles of texts dedicated to Daoxuan which can tentatively be considered as Li Yong's work. He refers to these texts in his two travelogues: the *Nittō shingu shōgyō mokuroku* 入唐新求聖教目錄 (*Catalogue of Newly Acquired Sacred Teachings on Entering Tang*; T 55.2167) and the *Nihonkoku Jōwa gonen nittō guhō mokuroku* 日本國承和五年入唐求法目錄 (*The Catalogue of Entering Tang in Search of the Dharma, the Fifth Year of Chenghe Era of Japan*; T 55.2165), under the headings 'Da Tang Ximingsi gu dade Daoxuan lüshi zan' 大唐西明寺故大德道宣律師讚 ('Praise, with Preface, for the *Bhadanta* Vinaya Master Daoxuan of the Ximing Monastery of the Tang [Dynasty]'),<sup>8</sup> and 'Tang gu Zhongnanshan Linggansi da lüshi Daoxuan xingji' 唐故終南山靈感寺大律師道宣行記 ('Record of the Deeds of the Late Vinaya Master Daoxuan of the Linggan Monastery of Nanshan').

<sup>1</sup> For Zanning's biography of Daoxuan, see SGSZ, T 50.2061: 790b8–791b26.

<sup>2</sup> T 50.2061: 791b15.

<sup>3</sup> T 50.2061: 791b13–15.

<sup>4</sup> A 'record of deeds', as the name suggests, was composed specifically to record the path and deeds of a particular person. This literary form typically included a biography of a deceased person, and could be inscribed on stone or used as a source material for a stele inscription. For a general overview of commemorative writings in the Tang Dynasty, see, for instance, Luo 2003. We presume that the 'record of deeds' refers to the inscription for Daoxuan's stele mentioned by Zanning. Throughout this paper, we, therefore, refer to Li Yong's biography of Daoxuan as a 'stele inscription'. We also allow for the possibility that Li Yong could have composed more than one text for Daoxuan.

<sup>5</sup> The date is attested by Zanning, T 50.2061: 791b13–15.

<sup>6</sup> See 'Ji Nanshan lizan' 集南山禮讚 ('Compilation of Praises for Nanshan[s] Death Anniversary') by Yuanzhao, XZJ 130. 194. There is a study of 'Ji Nanshan lizan' by Wang Chuan (2006), which, however, does not examine the sources of the 'Ji Nanshan lizan'. This study, therefore, does not clarify the origin of the praise for Daoxuan nor the role of Li Yong's record in compilation of this praise.

<sup>7</sup> See 'Nanshan zushi lizan wen' 南山祖師禮讚文 ('The Eulogy for [the Late] Patriarch Nanshan') by Zhiyuan, XZJ 130. 196. This reference to Li Yong by Zhiyuan indicates that Li Yong's biography of Daoxuan was widely circulated during the Northern Song dynasty (690–1127). This is further proven by a reference to 'xing zhuang' by Yunkan 允堪 (?–1061) in his version of 'Nanshan zushi lizan wen', XZJ 130.202.

<sup>8</sup> T 55. 2167: 1087a9 and T 55. 2165: 1075c19, respectively.



han of the Tang’).<sup>9</sup> With regard to the first text, this is possibly the same praise which is included in the *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 (*Prose of the Tang*; hereafter *QTW*), compiled by Dong Hao 董浩 (1740–1818), under the title ‘Nanshan lüshi zan’ 南山律師讚 (‘The Praise for the Vinaya [Master] Nanshan’) attributed to Emperor Muzong 穆宗 (r. 820–824).<sup>10</sup> The emperor’s authorship of this text is, however, highly unlikely because an imperial commendation would surely not remained unattested by Song Dynasty authors, including Zanning. This praise must have been retrospectively attributed to Emperor Muzong, initially being a work of another author. Unfortunately, we lack any sufficient evidence to make definitive presumptions regarding Li Yong’s relation to this text. With regard to the second reference by Ennin, the ‘Tang gu Zhongnanshan Linggansi da lüshi Daoxuan xingji’, this title suggests that the text under its heading could be referred to as a ‘*xing zhuang*’ (‘record of deeds’) in Song Dynasty sources which would mean that this could in fact be a record composed by Li Yong, or that this text was at least based on Li Yong’s record.

The references of Zanning, Yuanzhao, Zhiyuan and Ennin to sources related to Daoxuan overall indicate that Li Yong’s epitaph was the earliest biographical account of Daoxuan, that it was the most well-known and widely disseminated biography of Daoxuan in the decades following the master’s death, and it was certainly an essential source for late biographical accounts on Daoxuan, including Zanning’s biography.

This paper explores the intricate network in which Li Yong’s stele inscription for Daoxuan was commissioned and composed. We learn that the author was an esteemed, illustrious writer but also a notorious politician who composed monastic epitaphs to support himself during periods of demotion and exile. Moreover, we suggest that his stele inscription for Daoxuan was commissioned by a group of monks headed by some of the master’s direct disciples in the prefecture of Zizhou 淄州, Henan Circuit<sup>11</sup> (where Li Yong held several minor government positions following his demotion from high office), and others on Mount Taishan 泰山.<sup>12</sup> Our conclusion is that this was just one of a series of commemorative texts that Li Yong composed for Daoxuan and his circle of disciples and associates. The close connections among these monks attest to the existence of a consolidated community of followers of Daoxuan who aimed to assert and secure their doctrinal genealogy and identity by commissioning biographies of themselves and their late masters.

This study connects to a broader discussion on stele inscriptions as major source materials for biographical accounts which are contained in normative monastic biographical collections.<sup>13</sup> This paper attempts to contribute to this issue by bringing into light the local aspects of the religious, social as well as political processes through which stele inscriptions as monastic biographies came into being. The case of Li Yong’s engagement with composing stele inscriptions in Zizhou illustrates that the production of stele inscriptions for local monks was an outcome of literati’s strategies to ingratiate themselves within certain localities during the periods of political demotions and exiles. Moreover, this case reflects some tensions of complex and multifaceted relationships

<sup>9</sup> T 55. 2167: 1087a8 and T 55. 2165: 1075c18, respectively.

<sup>10</sup> *QTW* 68.712.

<sup>11</sup> Henan Circuit was close to the north-eastern periphery of the Tang state. Specifically, the prefecture of Zizhou was located approximately one thousand kilometres from the Tang capital, Chang’an 長安 and 600 kilometres from Luoyang 洛陽, the Eastern capital. For the exact location of this prefecture on a Tang map, see Tan 1996: 48–49.

<sup>12</sup> Mount Taishan was located on the border between Zizhou and the adjoining prefecture of Yanzhou 兗州, both of which were in the Henan Circuit.

<sup>13</sup> For a comprehensive discussion of stele inscriptions as sources for monastic biographies, see Shinohara 1988.



within locally-based monastic communities when certain members of these communities sought to increase their own visibility on empire-wide monastic and secular scenes. The leaders of these local groups tended to commission well-established literati to compose commemorative texts which would articulate their statuses as lineal disciples of widely-recognized monastic figures and as heirs to related religious traditions.

## 2. LI YONG AND HIS ENGAGEMENT WITH BUDDHISM

### 2.1 Li Yong as an official

As far as we are aware, there has been very little investigation into the life and work of Li Yong.<sup>14</sup> That said, he was undoubtedly a famous statesman, writer and calligrapher during his lifetime. Indeed, his biography appears in two official historical records of the Tang Dynasty: the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (*Old History of the Tang*; hereafter *JTS*) and the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (*New History of the Tang*; hereafter *XTS*).<sup>15</sup> Specifically, he features in sections entitled ‘Biographies of the Fields of Literature and Arts’ (*wenyuan* 文苑 in *JTS*; *wenyi* 文藝 in *XTS*), alongside other outstanding literati of the Tang era, such as Li Bai 李白 (701–762), Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770) and Wang Bo 王勃 (649–676).<sup>16</sup> Moreover, in his *Chunming tuichao lu* 春明退朝錄 (*Record of Retirement in Chunming*), the scholar Song Minqiu 宋敏求 (1019–1079) asserts that literary collectors continued to hold Li Yong’s compositions in high regard well into the second half of the eleventh century.<sup>17</sup> Thereafter, however, many of his compositions were lost and his name fell into oblivion. Consequently, the brief biography that we present below is based exclusively on his entries in the *Old and New Histories of the Tang*.

Li Yong, courtesy name Taihe 泰和, was born in Guangling 廣陵 (present-day Yangzhou 揚州, Jiangsu Province). He was a son of Li Shan 李善 (fl. 630–689), a scholar who gained fame for his commentary on the literary anthology *Wen Xuan* 文選 (*A Selection of Refined Literature*). This anthology, which was commissioned by Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501–531), the eldest son of Emperor Wu of Liang 梁武帝 (464–549), continued to be seen as the most authoritative and comprehensive literary collection during the Tang Dynasty.<sup>18</sup> Li Yong was known as a child prodigy who assisted his father in his literary work. He received his first government appointment during the Chang’an 長安 era (701–705) in the court of Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690–705). As *Zuoshiyi* 左拾遺 (‘Reminder to the Left’),<sup>19</sup> he was responsible for correcting errors in state documents.<sup>20</sup> At

<sup>14</sup> For a single critical study of Li Yong’s biography, see Luo 1999.

<sup>15</sup> See *JTS* 190.5039–43; *XTS* 202.5754–57.

<sup>16</sup> For the *wenyuan* and *wenyi* sections, see *JTS* *juan* 190 and *XTS* *juan* 201–203, respectively. One surviving poem by Li Bai (*QTS* 168.1740) and two by Du Fu (*QTS* 216.2252; 2253) indicate that they engaged in literary exchanges with Li Yong.

<sup>17</sup> For a description of the perception and circulation of Li Yong’s works in the eleventh century, see Song 1979: 35.

<sup>18</sup> The *Wen Xuan* was a monumental attempt to preserve examples of every known form of literature. For its compilation and structure, see Hightower 1957.

<sup>19</sup> The translations of official titles and their rankings are based on Hucker 1985 unless otherwise specified. In Tang officialdom, each of the nine ranks was subdivided into *zheng* 正 and *cong* 從, resulting in an eighteen-level hierarchy. Hucker renders *zheng* and *cong* as *a* and *b*, whereas we prefer ‘major’ and ‘minor’.

<sup>20</sup> This post was not merely administrative but involved independent policy review. For a brief description of this post with reference to the career of Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846), see Waley 1949: 41–42.



this time, he was friendly with Zhang Jianzhi 張柬之 (625–706),<sup>21</sup> one of five instigators of the *Shenlong Geming* 神龍革命 ('Shenlong Era Coup'), which removed Wu Zetian from power and helped her son Zhongzong 中宗 (r. 684, 705–710) to regain the throne.<sup>22</sup> Following the coup, Li Yong was promoted to *Nanhe xian ling* 南和縣令 ('District Magistrate of Nanhe'), a seven minor position.<sup>23</sup> However, a few months later, Zhang Jianzhi fell into disfavour and was executed, while Li Yong was demoted to *Fuzhou sihu canjunshi* 富州司戶參軍事 ('Adjutant to the Revenue Manager of Fuzhou').

In 710, Li Yong participated in a coup organized by Li Longji 李隆基 against Empress Wei 韋皇后 (?–710),<sup>24</sup> the consort of Zhongzong who had recently poisoned her husband and seized the throne for herself.<sup>25</sup> Upon her death at the hands of the plotters, Li Longji restored his father Ruizong to the throne he had last held in 690. Initially, Li Yong's commitment to the coup enabled him secure two high-ranking positions at court: first *Zuotai dianzhong shi yushi* 左臺殿中侍御史 ('Left Imperial Censor'), then *Hubu yuanwailang* 戶部員外郎 ('Vice-Director in the Ministry of Revenue'). However, in 712, Ruizong yielded the throne to his son Li Longji, who then reigned as Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 until 756. One of the politicians who gained influence under the new emperor was Cui Shi 崔湜 (671–713),<sup>26</sup> Xuanzong's Chancellor and a staunch opponent of the political elite during Ruizong's reign. Consequently, Cui Riyong 崔日用 (673–722),<sup>27</sup> who had served as the previous emperor's Chancellor, was not only demoted but exiled from the capital. As a member of Cui Riyong's circle, Li Yong suffered similar demotion and exile, becoming *Shecheng cheng* 舍城丞 ('Assistant to the District Magistrate of Shecheng'), a lowly nine minor position on the remote island of Hainan. Xuanzong recalled Li Yong in 715, appointing him *Hubu langzhong* 戶部郎中 ('Supervising Official in the Ministry of Revenue') and then *Yushi Zhongcheng* 御史中丞 ('Palace Aide to the Censor-in-Chief'). However, this proved to be a brief respite as Xuanzong's new Chancellor, Yao Chong 姚崇 (650–721),<sup>28</sup> initiated another demotion, appointing Li Yong to the minor post of *Kuozhou sima* 括州司馬 ('Marshal of Kuozhou') in Zhejiang.<sup>29</sup> Li Yong's career never fully recovered, and thereafter he remained in minor posts until the end of his life. Any lingering hope of a return to court was finally extinguished in 725 when he was accused of corruption – a crime that carried the death penalty. Although pardoned, he was demoted yet again, this time to the low-ranking position of *Zunhua xian wei* 遵化縣尉 ('District Defender of Zunhua')

<sup>21</sup> For biographies of Zhang Jianzhi, see *JTS* 91.2936–42 and *XTS* 120.4321–23.

<sup>22</sup> Emperor Zhongzong was a son of Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 649–683) and Empress Wu Zetian and succeeded his father in 684. However, his mother deposed him less than two months later in favour of his younger brother Li Dan 李旦, who became Emperor Ruizong 睿宗 (r. 684–690, 710–712). Ruizong ceded the throne to his mother, and she then reigned in her own name until the coup of 705 (see Weinstein 1987: 47).

<sup>23</sup> Prefectural and county ranks varied according to the size and/or importance of the prefecture, with all prefectures classified as upper (*shangzhou* 上州), middle (*zhongzhou* 中州) or lower (*xianzhou* 下州). For example, according to *JTS*, Nanhe was a *xiazhou*, so all of its officials were, by definition, minor (*JTS* 39.41). See *JTS juan* 38–41 for more information on prefectural/county status and corresponding rank, and Xiong 1988: 110–12 for a table of ranks.

<sup>24</sup> For a biography of Empress Wei, see *JTS* 51.2171–75.

<sup>25</sup> See Weinstein 1987: 49.

<sup>26</sup> For biographies of Cui Shi, see *JTS* 74.2622–24 and *XTS* 99.3921–23.

<sup>27</sup> For biographies of Cui Riyong, see *JTS* 99.3087–90 and *XTS* 121.4329–31.

<sup>28</sup> For biographies of Yao Chong, see *JTS* 96.3021–29 and *XTS* 124.4381–89. See also Zhang Yue's 張說 (663–730) funeral epitaph for Yao Chong, written shortly after the latter's death (see *QTW* 230.2327–29).

<sup>29</sup> Yao Chong served as Chancellor until 717, so Li Yong must have been demoted and exiled to Zhejiang at some point between 715 and 717.



in Guangxi. Three years later, he secured a modest promotion to *Lizhou sima* 澧州司馬 (‘Marshal of Lizhou’) in Hunan, and he later served as governor of Kuozhou 括州, Zizhou, Huazhou 滑州, Jijun 汲郡 and finally Beihai 北海, all located in the north-east of the Tang state.<sup>30</sup> However, in 746, he faced another charge of corruption. The following year, having been found guilty, he was executed on the order of Emperor Xuanzong.

Table 1 lists Li Yong’s posts throughout his career as well as locations and approximate dates of appointment. All of the information is provided by his entries in the official Tang histories.

Table 1. Li Yong’s official positions<sup>31</sup>

Office	Rank	Location	Approximate Date of Appointment
Reminder to the Left 左拾遺	8b	Chang’an	Beginning of the Chang’an 長安 era (701–705)
District Magistrate of Nanhe 南和令	7b	Nanhe (Hebei)	n/a
Adjutant to the Revenue Manager 司戶參軍事	9b	Fuzhou 富州 (Fujian)	707
Left Imperial Censor 左臺殿中侍御史	7b	Chang’an	710
Vice-Director in the Ministry of Revenue 戶部員外郎	6b	Chang’an	n/a
Assistant to the District Magistrate of Shecheng 舍城丞	9b	Yazhou 崖州 (Hainan)	n/a
Supervising Official in the Ministry of Revenue 戶部郎中	4a	Chang’an	715
Palace Aide to the Censor-in-Chief 御史中丞	4a	Chang’an	n/a
Marshal of Kuozhou 括州司馬	6b1	Kuozhou (Zhejiang)	n/a
Prefect of Chenzhou 陳州刺史	4a	Chenzhou (Henan)	n/a
District Defender of Zunhua County, Qinzhou 欽州遵化縣尉	9b	Qinzhou (Guangxi)	725
Marshal of Lizhou 澧州司馬	6b1	Lizhou (Hunan)	728
Prefect of Kuozhou 括州刺史	4a1	Kuozhou (Zhejiang)	735
Governor of Lingchang Commandery 靈昌郡太守 (also known as Prefect of Zi and Hua Prefectures 淄, 滑二州刺史) <sup>31</sup>	3b	Huazhou (also known as Lingchang 靈昌 and Huatai 滑臺) (Henan); Zizhou (Shandong)	n/a
Governor of Jijun and Beihai 汲郡, 北海二太守	6a	Jijun (Henan), Beihai (Shandong)	743

This overview of Li Yong’s career reveals several dramatic falls from grace when he was exiled from the capital. Indeed, over the course of a four-decade career, he spent no more than a decade or so in Chang’an. Consequently, it is safe to conclude that he wrote the majority of his work, including monastic texts, in the provinces.

<sup>30</sup> For their exact locations, see Tan 1996: 48–49.

<sup>31</sup> See below for a discussion of these alternative titles.





## 2.2 Li Yong's monastic literature

The largest portion of Li Yong's extant corpus comprises commemorative literature: stela inscriptions (*bei* 碑) for regional monastics and Buddhist monasteries;<sup>32</sup> funeral inscriptions that he composed for local officials, such as 'spirit-road epitaphs' (*shendaobei* 神道碑); and 'entombed epitaph inscriptions' (*muzhiming* 墓誌銘).<sup>33</sup> In addition, the *Taishō* canon contains numerous references to inscriptions that have not survived (see below). Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that Li Yong's texts for Buddhist monasteries and individual monastics constituted a substantial part of his original corpus of commemorative writings.<sup>34</sup>

That said, we know surprisingly little about Li Yong's personal attitude towards Buddhism. His son Xuanyan 玄宴 (742–800) became a Buddhist monk who displayed a deep and consistent interest in Vinaya.<sup>35</sup> Yet he was only five years old when his father died, which suggests that Li Yong had little or no direct influence on his decision to follow the monastic path. Regardless of Li Yong's religious persuasion, however, the official Tang histories reveal that he built a substantial literary reputation – not to mention a considerable fortune – as a result of his epitaphs for government officials and monastics. Moreover, as the following passage from the *JTS* indicates, he would accept commissions from anyone who was prepared to pay the appropriate fee, be they Buddhist or Daoist:<sup>36</sup>

Referring back to the past, Li Yong earned a great literary reputation at a very early age. He was especially good at stone inscriptions and ode-writing. [There were times] when he was demoted and sent far away; nevertheless, the gentry and [members of Buddhist] monasteries and [Daoist] temples from all over the country went to him. [They] brought [him] gold and valuable fabrics, requesting him to write a few words or so. The compositions he has produced [in response to such requests] are altogether numbered over several hundred [pieces]. [As for] the value of what he has been offered, it is simply great. Contemporary opinion reckoned he is incomparable in history among those who have made their fortune by selling their literary work.

<sup>32</sup> Li Yong's monastic stela inscriptions are recorded in *QTW* 262–264.2657–80. His surviving texts for monastics have been widely discussed as essential sources on the formation of medieval Chinese Buddhism. For a discussion of these inscriptions – and especially his epitaph for the prominent Chan master Songshan Puji 嵩山普寂 (651–739), 'Dazhao chanshi taming' 大照禪師塔銘 ('Stūpa Inscription for Chan Master Dazhao') – see Yanagida 2000: 46, 57, 95, 116 and 883.

<sup>33</sup> *Muzhiming* were carved onto various objects, typically flat slabs of limestone, which were then buried within tombs. *Shendaobei* were inscribed on stela that were placed in front of tombs. See Tackett 2006: 9–16 for further details of the various forms of Tang funeral writing. Li Yong's surviving funeral inscriptions are recorded in *QTW* 264–265.2680–96.

<sup>34</sup> That said, our estimation is tentative taking into view that probably about 95% of Li Yong's writings have gone. Zhang Jia (2016) arrives to this figure in his study of literary and epigraphic collections that constituted source materials for the compilation of the *QTW*.

<sup>35</sup> For a biography of Xuanyan, see *SGSZ*, T 50.2061: 893a20–b14.

<sup>36</sup> Buddhist monasteries (*si* 寺) and Daoist temples (*guan* 觀) were founded and supported by various strata of society, including members of the elite, officials and 'commoners', who would raise funds for the erection and inscription of commemorative stela. For a general overview of Daoist monasticism, see Bumbacher 2000: 431–493. Only one of Li Yong's Daoist stela inscriptions survives: 'Tang Dongjing Futang guan Deng tianshi jie' 唐東京福唐觀鄧天師碣 ('Stone Tablet for Celestial Master Deng of the Futang Temple in the Eastern Capital of the Tang'), *QTW* 265.2694–95.



初，邕早擅才名，尤長碑頌。雖貶職在外，中朝衣冠及天下寺觀，多賚持金帛，往求其文。前後所制，凡數百首，受納饋遺，亦至鉅萬。時議以為自古鬻文獲財，未有如邕者。<sup>37</sup>

Notwithstanding Li Yong's demotions, the accusation of corruption and his exile from Chang'an, provincial monastic communities no doubt continued to seek him out as a nationally prominent official and talented writer who might secure recognition for their institutions in elite circles.<sup>38</sup> This active interaction between Li Yong and local monastics reflects the specifically regional nature of his personal engagement with Buddhism. As Tables 2 and 3 reveal, he tended to compose texts for monasteries that were located in the immediate vicinity of his place of residence at the time.<sup>39</sup>

Table 2. Li Yong's Extant Buddhist Inscriptions<sup>40</sup>

Title	Li Yong's Place of Residence at the Time of Composition
'Yuezhou Huayansi zhongming bingxu' 越州華嚴寺鍾銘並序 ('Bell Inscription, with Preface, for the Huayan Monastery in Yuezhou'), QTW 262. 2657	Zhejiang
'Dazhao Chanshi taming' 大照禪師塔銘 ('Stūpa Inscription for Chan Master Dazhao'), QTW 262. 2657–61	Henan
'Guoqingsi bei bingxu' 國清寺碑並序 ('Stele Inscription, with Preface, for the Guoqing Monastery'), QTW 262. 2661–63	Taizhou 台州, Zhejiang
'Qinwangshan Fahuasi bei bingxu' 秦望山法華寺碑並序 ('Stele Inscription, with Preface, for the Fahua Monastery on Mount Qinwang'), QTW 262. 2664–65	Zhejiang
'Chuzhou Huaiyin xian poluo shu bei' 楚州淮陰縣婆羅樹碑 ('Stele Inscription for the Śāla Tree in the Huaiyin County in Chuzhou'), QTW 263. 2667–68	Jiangsu
'Zhengzhou Dayunsi bei' 鄭州大雲寺碑 ('Stele Inscription for the Dayun Monastery in Zhengzhou'), QTW 263. 2668–69	Henan
'Yuelusi bei' 嶽麓寺碑 ('Stele Inscription for the Yuelu Monastery'), QTW 263. 2669–71	Hunan
'Lingyansi bei bingxu' 靈岩寺碑並序 ('Stele Inscription, with Preface, for the Lingyan Monastery'), QTW 263. 2671–72	Shandong
'Da Tang Sizhou Linhuai xian Puguangwangsi bei' 大唐泗州臨淮縣普光王寺碑 ('Stele Inscription for Puguangwang Monastery in Linhuai County in Sizhou of the Great Tang [Dynasty]'), QTW 263. 2672–73	Jiangsu

<sup>37</sup> JTS 190.5043.

<sup>38</sup> For overviews of Tang scholar-officials' relations with Buddhism, see, for instance: Halperin 2006: 5–61; Nishiwaki 2000; Welter 2006; Poceski 2007: 89–95; Jia 2006.

<sup>39</sup> We deduced Li Yong's place of residence at the time of composition through analysis and cross-referencing of data contained in surviving inscriptions, the titles of lost inscriptions, and biographical information on Li Yong himself and the subjects of his inscriptions.

<sup>40</sup> The first fourteen texts are presented in the order in which they appear in the QTW. The final text is missing from the QTW but appears in the XZJ.





Title	Li Yong's Place of Residence at the Time of Composition
'Songyuesi bei' 嵩嶽寺碑 ('Stele Inscription for the Songyue Monastery'), QTW 263. 2673–75	Zhengzhou 鄭州, Henan
'Da Xiangguosi bei' 大相國寺碑 ('Stele Inscription for the Great Xiangguo Monastery'), QTW 263. 2775–76	Kaifeng 開封, Henan
'Haizhou Dayunsi Chanyuan bei' 海州大雲寺禪院碑 ('Stele Inscription for the Meditation Hall of the Dayun Monastery in Haizhou'), QTW 264. 2676–77	Jiangsu
'Donglinsi bei bingxu' 東林寺碑並序 ('Stele [Inscription], with Preface, for the Donglin Monastery'), QTW 264. 2677–79	Mount Lu 廬, Jiangxi
'Wutaishan Qingliangsi bei' 五台山清涼寺碑 ('Stele [Inscription] for the Qingliang Monastery on Mount Wutai'), QTW 264. 2679–80	Shanxi
'Tang gu Baimasi zhu fanyi Huizhao shentabei bingxu' 唐故白馬寺主翻譯惠沼神塔碑並序 ('Spirit Stūpa Inscription, with Preface, for the Late Chief Translator Huizhao of the Baima Monastery of the Tang [Dynasty]'), <sup>41</sup> XZJ 150.180–181	Lingchang (Huazhou), Henan

Table 3. Li Yong's Lost Buddhist Inscriptions<sup>42</sup>

Title	Li Yong's Place of Residence at the Time of Composition
Wei Wengang lüshi bei 為文綱律師碑, Stele Inscription for Vinaya Master Wengang (original title is lost), T 50.2061: 792b21	Zizhou, Henan
'Da Tang da Ciensi fanjing dade Ji fashi muzhiming bingxu' 大唐大慈恩寺翻經大德基法師墓志銘並序 ('Funeral Inscription, with Preface, for the <i>Bhadanta</i> <sup>43</sup> [and] Translator Master Ji of the Great Cien Monastery of the Great Tang [Dynasty]'), T 55.2165: 1075c15–16	Zizhou, Henan
'Tang gu Zhongnanshan Linggansi da lüshi Daoxuan xingji' 唐故終南山靈感寺大律師道宣行記 ('Record of the Deeds of the Late Vinaya Master Daoxuan of the Linggan Monastery of Nanshan of the Tang [Dynasty]'), T 55.2165: 1075c18 (tentatively)	Lingchang (Huazhou), Henan
'Da Tang Ximingsi gu dade Daoxuan lüshi zan' 大唐西明寺故大德道宣律師讚 ('Praise, with Preface, for the <i>Bhadanta</i> Vinaya Master Daoxuan of the Ximing Monastery of the Tang [Dynasty]'), T 55.2165: 1075c19 (tentatively)	Lingchang (Huazhou), Henan
'Fuzhou da lü gu Huaidao sheli bei song 福州大律師懷道闍梨碑頌 ('Tablet Hymn for the Late Ācārya Huaidao from Fuzhou'), T 55.2170: 1095c3	Lingchang (Huazhou), Henan

<sup>41</sup> This inscription, with some parts missing, is preserved in the *Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō*. For a study of this inscription, see Oda and Rika 2004.

<sup>42</sup> We have listed the texts in this table according to the locations where we believe they were composed. It includes surviving titles as well as Ennin's and Zanning's references to Li Yong's work in the *Taishō* canon and the *Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* collection. Some identical or very similar titles are included only once as we tentatively assume that they are references to a single text.

<sup>43</sup> See note 63 for an explanation of the term *bhadanta*.



Title	Li Yong's Place of Residence at the Time of Composition
'Tang gu da lüshi shi Daoyuan Shan Gong bei bingxu' 唐故大律師釋道圓山龔 <sup>44</sup> 碑並序 ('Stele [Inscription], with Preface, for the Late Vinaya Master Daoyuan of Mount Gong of the Tang [Dynasty]'), T 55.2165: 1075c14	Jiangxi
'Yangzhou Dongdayunsi Yan heshang bei bingxu' 揚州東大雲寺演和上碑並序 ('Stele [Inscription], with Preface, for Master Yan of the Dongdayun Monastery in Yangzhou'), T 55.2165: 1075c11	Jiangsu
'Nanyue ji' 南岳記 ('Record of Mount Nanyue'), T 55.2159: 1056b7	Hunan

As we mentioned at the start of this paper, Li Yong's biography of Daoxuan has enjoyed remarkable prominence, which led us to consider whether this was a one-off commission or part of a series that he composed for a network of the master's followers. Our enquiries have revealed that some of the subjects of Li Yong's epitaphs were indeed direct disciples of Daoxuan who were active in Henan, specifically on Mount Taishan and in the prefecture of Zizhou – that is, precisely where Li Yong spent several years following his exile from Chang'an. Hence, it seems reasonable to assume that Li Yong associated with members of the local Vinaya community, and that the latter commissioned him to write commemorative biographies of their most esteemed leaders, starting with Daoxuan himself.

In the next section, we argue that Li Yong's stela inscriptions for Masters Wengang 文綱, Huizhao 慧沼 and Kuiji 窺基 are directly related to his inscription for Daoxuan. Thorough analysis of all the available biographical data on these monks reveals their close association with either Daoxuan himself or at least the prefecture of Zizhou and Mount Taishan. Furthermore, two hitherto unknown disciples of Daoxuan – Masters Ciren 慈忍 and Mingke 名恪 – emerge as prominent leaders of the monastic community that was active on Mount Taishan and throughout the region. Finally, Mingke's connections to Wengang and Huizhao, and, through them, Master Chongye 崇業 – all of whom were leaders of Chang'an's great monasteries – attests to the fact that Zizhou's monastic community was firmly embedded in a powerful Buddhist network that extended from the capital to distant provinces of the imperial state.

### 3. DAOXUAN'S ASSOCIATES AND RELATED INSCRIPTIONS BY LI YONG

#### 3.1 Master Ciren 慈忍

According to Zanning, Li Yong composed his biography of Daoxuan in the first year of the Tianbao 天寶 era (742),<sup>45</sup> when he was serving as Governor (*taishou* 太守) of Lingchang 靈昌. Zanning writes:

<sup>44</sup> Probably Gonggongshan 龔公山, which is famous for the Baohua Chan Temple 寶華禪寺, in Jiangxi.

<sup>45</sup> Although Zanning writes that Li Yong composed his inscription for Daoxuan's stele in 742, this date is open to question. Indeed, Ang Zou has recently claimed that Li Yong composed his biography no earlier than 743 (see Zou 2019: 78. n. 196). His argument is based on the fact that Zanning states that Li Yong designated himself 'Governor Li Yong of Lingchang' – *Lingchang taishou Li Yong* 靈昌太守李邕 – in his inscription for Daoxuan,



In the first year of the Tianbao era [742] and the first year of the Huichang era [841], respectively, the Governor of Lingchang Li Yong 李邕 and the Director of the Ministry of Works Yan Houben 嚴厚本 composed [texts for] Daoxuan's stele in praise of his accomplishments.<sup>46</sup>

天寶元載靈昌太守李邕，會昌元年，工部郎中嚴厚本，各為碑頌德云。<sup>47</sup>

Li Yong composed a stele inscription for the Lingyan Monastery 靈岩寺 on Mount Taishan<sup>48</sup> during his time as *Lingchang jun taishou* 靈昌郡太守 ('Governor of the Commandery [*jun* 郡] of Lingchang') – the post he held when composing his epitaph for Daoxuan.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, the Song Dynasty epigraphic collection *Baoke congbian* 寶刻叢編 (*Compendium of Precious Inscriptions*), compiled by Chen Si 陳思 (1225–1264), attests that the Lingyan inscription was composed in 742<sup>50</sup> – the year that Zanning gives for the Daoxuan biography. The monastery was located on Mount Taishan, which stands between the two prefectures of Huazhou (also known as Lingchang)<sup>51</sup> and Zizhou, where Li Yong held concurrent appointments in the 740s (see Table 1). This supports the theory that he composed both inscriptions – one for Daoxuan and another for the Lingyan Monastery – while serving as governor.

During Daoxuan's lifetime, the Lingyan Monastery was a place of residence of one of his disciples, Ciren 慈忍. Daoxuan addresses this young monk directly in his treatise *Jingxin jieguan fa* 淨心戒觀法 (*Methods Recommended for the Cultivation of a Clear Faith [in Mahāyāna]*; T 45.1893).<sup>52</sup> Indeed, he explicitly states that he wrote the text specifically to help Ciren, who had recently entered the *saṅgha*, to implement the precepts as an aid of meditation.<sup>53</sup> In the preface, Daoxuan asserts that he 'composed [the treatise during the] summer retreat, and ordered it to be sent to the Lingyan Monastery on Taishan for Ciren' (夏安居撰令送泰山靈巖寺付慈忍受持).<sup>54</sup> Later in the same text, his affection for his disciple is manifest:

Ciren, I say to you, it takes seven lives to form the karmic bond between parents and their children. It takes several *kalpas* for that to be formed between a master and his pupils. The

---

and that *taishou* was reinstated as an official Tang title only in 743, having been abolished in 618 (see *JTS* 42.1790; *XTS* 49.1317). The usage of two different titles might, however, be due to the fact that the composition of Li Yong's inscription, its subsequent circulation, and the installation of a stele could have involved a lapse of time which resulted in an adjustment of the terminology.

<sup>46</sup> Translation by Zou 2019: 77–78.

<sup>47</sup> T 50.2061: 791b13–15.

<sup>48</sup> 'Lingyansi bei bingxu' 靈岩寺碑並序 ('Stele Inscription, with Preface, for the Lingyan Monastery'), *QTW* 263. 2671–72.

<sup>49</sup> Lingchang was officially designated a *jun* 郡 (commandery) for the first time in 742, the first year of the Tianbao era (742–756; see *XTS* 38.1436). The *JTS* records that Li Yong was transferred to Beihai at the beginning of this era (天寶初), and this is confirmed by the poet Du Fu, who states that Li Yong became *taishou* of Beihai 北海 at the beginning of Tianbao (*QTS* 216. 2253). The local gazetteer of Shuntian prefecture, *Shuntian fuzhi* 順天府志 (*Shuntian Prefecture Gazetteer*), gives a later date for Li Yong's posting to Beihai: the middle of the Tianbao era (天寶中邕為汲郡北海二太守; see Miao 2002: 688). Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that Li Yong was transferred to Beihai, but that although early in the Tianbao era, it is not as early as in 742.

<sup>50</sup> *Baoke congbian* (in *SKQS*), 682.192.

<sup>51</sup> Huazhou was renamed Lingchang in 742 but reverted to its original name in 758 (*JTS* 38.1436).

<sup>52</sup> There is no other reference to Ciren in the Buddhist canon.

<sup>53</sup> See Satō 1987: 53–71 for further information on this text.

<sup>54</sup> T 45.1893: 819b20–21.



meaning [of the bond] is deep, and the favour [bestowed upon the pupil by this bond] is great. The unwise man would not know it. You have just started your monastic life [but] already live away from me. I think of you every day; are you thinking of me? If you have someone on whom you can rely in the place where you live, then your time will be well spent. But what if there is no good master [who can teach you], on whom you can rely for your training? ... The instructions [that I] now [send to you are written] with no elegance [or] skilfulness.

告慈忍：父母七生，師僧累劫，義深恩重，愚者莫知。汝始入道，方復別師，且暮念汝，汝思吾否？彼若依止得好人，日夜有宜，如無善匠，心何所寄？…今此誠者體無華巧。<sup>55</sup>

The date when Daoxuan composed the *Jingxin jieguan fa* remains uncertain, although the Buddhist master and scholar Hongyi 弘一 (1880–1942) tentatively suggests the fourth year of the Xianqing 顯慶 era (659).<sup>56</sup> However, even if Daoxuan wrote the treatise as late as 667, the year of his death, it seems highly unlikely that Ciren was still alive in the 740s, when Li Yong composed his epitaph for Daoxuan. Consequently, we conclude that the Lingyan Monastery's allegiance to Daoxuan must have continued long after the death of his favourite disciple, and that subsequent generations of monks from that institution became the driving force behind Li Yong's engagement with what may be considered as a 'Daoxuan network'.

### 3.2 Masters Wengang 文綱, Mingke 名恪 and Chongye 崇業

According to the SGSZ, Li Yong composed at least two more funeral inscriptions for monks during his governorship of Lingchang, as he designated himself 'Huatai taishou' 滑臺太守 ('Governor of Huatai' – an alternative name for Huazhou/Lingchang) in his stela inscriptions for Vinaya Masters Wengang 文綱 (636–727) and Huaidao 懷道 (?–?).<sup>57</sup> We know relatively little about Huaidao,<sup>58</sup> but Wengang was one of Daoxuan's disciples who subsequently became one of the most prominent proponents of Vinaya during the Tang Dynasty.<sup>59</sup> Zanning mentions that Daoxuan personally conferred the dharma on Wengang (授法者文綱等),<sup>60</sup> and the latter also

<sup>55</sup> T 45.1893: 833b16–19; 834a3.

<sup>56</sup> Lin 1991: 403.

<sup>57</sup> The title of Li Yong's inscription for Wengang is no longer extant. The title of his biography of Huaidao is attested by Ennin in *Fukushū Onshū Daishū gutoku kyōritsuron shoki gesho tō mokuroku* 福州温州台州求得經律論疏記外書等目錄 (*Catalogue of Sūtras, Vinayas, Commentaries, Accounts, Non-Buddhist Scriptures and Other Items Obtained in Fuzhou, Wenzhou and Taizhou*) as 'Fuzhou da lü gu Huaidao sheli bei song' 福州大律故懷道闍梨碑頌 ('Tablet Hymn for the Late Ācārya Huaidao'; T 55.2170: 1095c3).

<sup>58</sup> According to Zanning's biography of Huaidao in the SGSZ, he served in the Aitong Monastery 愛同寺 in Fuzhou 福州 (Jiangxi). The author provides no information about Huaidao's association with Daoxuan or any of the latter's disciples. See SGSZ, T 50.2061: 834c10–21 for the complete biography. Although Zanning asserts that Li Yong composed his inscription for Huaidao during his time as Governor of Huatai, Ennin states that he wrote it while serving in Kuozhou 括州, referring to the author as 'Li Yong of Kuozhou' 括州李邕 (T 50.2170: 1095c3). Therefore, it is possible that Li Yong composed the text in Zhejiang, rather than Huatai.

<sup>59</sup> See SGSZ, T 50.2061: 791c16–792b25 for Zanning's biography of Wengang. See Heirman 2002: 413–416 for a detailed overview of Daoxuan's direct disciples.

<sup>60</sup> T 50.2061: 791a25.



studied under Daocheng 道成 (?–?),<sup>61</sup> a disciple of Vinaya Master Fali 法礪 (569–635), who was Daoxuan's own teacher.<sup>62</sup> Eventually accorded the honorific *bhadanta* (*dade* 大德)<sup>63</sup> at the Great Chongsheng Monastery 崇聖寺 in Chang'an,<sup>64</sup> Wengang was a key player in the Tang court's pro-Buddhist campaigns, including a series of relic veneration at the Famen Monastery 法門寺 between 704 and 708.<sup>65</sup> In a vivid description of the master's spectacular funeral, which took place in 727 in Chang'an, Zanning mentions several of the attendants by name, including a number of Wengang's close friends (*falü* 法侶) and disciples (*dizi* 弟子):

On the fifteenth day of the eighth month of the fifteenth year of the Kaiyuan [era, Wengang] passed away. At that time, he had lived for ninety-two springs and autumns. On the fourth day of the ninth month of the same year, a stūpa [was established] next to the monastery. [As the people] heard [about Wengang's death, they] mourned and rushed to take part in the funeral procession [and] gathered for the burial [with] fragrant flowers [and] ceremonial banners. Monks, laymen, Chinese and foreigners filled the city [and] blocked the rivers. [The mourners were so numerous that] the clouds had no space left [and] scenery could not be seen. At that time, [there were] several tens of thousands people. [Among those in attendance were Wengang's] friends, such as Huaisu 懷素, Manyi 滿意 [and] Chengli 承禮 [from] Jingzhao 京兆 (Xi'an in Shaanxi), Chongba 崇拔 [from] Xiangyang 襄陽 (Hubei), Fenglin 鳳林 [from] Fufeng 扶風 (Shaanxi), Hengjing 恒景 [from] Jiangling 江陵 (Hubei), Mingke 名恪 [from] Zizhou (Henan) [and] others. [The dharma friends] numbered over a hundred. [They] all said: “[with Wengang's demise,] the river of wisdom has lost its crossing ferry [and] the mansion of dharma lacks its supporting pillars!” [Also in attendance were] such disciples [of Wengang] as Daoan 道岸 [from] Huainan 淮南 (Jiangsu), Shenji 神積 [from] Shuchuan 蜀川 (Sichuan), Huiyi 慧顛 [from] Qilong 岐隴 (Shaanxi), Shenhui 神慧, Siyi 思義 [, and] Shaojue 紹覺 [from] Jingzhao, Hengxian 恒暹 [and] Chongye 崇業 [of the] Lüchang 律藏 [Monastery] (Shaanxi) [and] others. [Wengang's disciples] numbered well over fifty, and they all sincerely reckoned that even a coffin made of pure gold, even a well-built stūpa, could never convey their gratitude, not to mention repay what [Wengang] had given to them. Therefore, they invited the Governor of Huatai, Li Yong, to compose a stele inscription [for Wengang].

以開元十五年八月十五日怡然長往，時春秋九十有二。其年九月四日塔於寺側焉。聞哀奔喪執紼會葬，香華幢蓋，緇素華夷，填城塞川，簷雲翳景，蓋數萬

<sup>61</sup> See SGSZ, T. 50.2061: 791b27–c14 for Zanning's biography of Daocheng.

<sup>62</sup> In the *Sifen lü biqiu han zhu jieben shu* 四分律比丘含注戒本疏 (*Sub-Commentary on the 'Suggestive Annotation on the Four-Part Vinaya Bhikṣuprātimokṣa'*), Daoxuan mentions that he visited Fali to study Vinaya under him, but the latter passed away just one month after Daoxuan's arrival in 635. See XZJ 62.1025. See Zou 2019: 119 for a detailed discussion of Daoxuan and Fali.

<sup>63</sup> *Dade* 大德 (lit. 'great virtue') was originally a term of respect for the Buddha or esteemed monks, corresponding to the Sanskrit term *bhadanta*. However, it was also used as an official title conferred by imperial decree on monks of exceptional merit. During the Tang Dynasty, *bhadanta* was a common term of reference for elite monks in 'Great' state-sponsored monasteries. See Forte 2003: 1071–1085 for further information on *dade*.

<sup>64</sup> The Chongsheng Monastery, one of the major imperial monasteries in Chang'an, served as an auxiliary shrine for Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–649). See Chen 2004: 110.

<sup>65</sup> Chen Jinhua (2007: 158) demonstrates that Empress Wu Zetian and Emperor Zhongzong entrusted Wengang to transport the relic from the Famen Monastery to Luoyang and back again.



人。有若法侶京兆懷素，滿意承禮，襄陽崇拔，扶風鳳林，江陵恒景，淄川名恪等，百餘人，咸曰：「智河舟遷法宇棟橈而已哉！」有若弟子淮南道岸，蜀川神積，岐隴慧顛，京兆神慧，思義，紹覺，律藏恒暹，崇業等，五十餘人。並目以慈眼入於度門，金棺不迫，灰骨罔答，乃請滑臺太守李邕為碑。<sup>66</sup>

According to this account, Li Yong was commissioned to write a stele inscription for Wengang during his tenure as Governor of Huatai 滑臺 (i.e. Huazhou/Lingchang). As mentioned above, he was also Governor of Zizhou 淄州 at this time (see Table 1), so it is reasonable to assume that he composed the inscription for Wengang around the same time as he wrote his biography of Daoxuan.

There is further evidence of a connection between Li Yong's inscriptions for Daoxuan and Wengang in the form of a mysterious monk named Mingke 名恪 (?-?). Zanning terms this individual 'Zizhou Mingke' 淄川名恪 ('Mingke [from] Zizhou') in his account of Wengang's funeral, and also describes him as an outstanding disciple of both Daoxuan and Wengang in his biography of the latter master:

There was a Vinaya master Mingke from Zizhou. He was diligent in grasping the rules of Vinaya and persistent in searching for liberation. He used to attend the dharma lectures by [Dao]xuan. [Mingke] in person asked [Daoxuan] about some aspects of the introduction to the [*Xingshi*]chao.<sup>67</sup> Daoxuan recorded Mingke's name in the list of eyewitnesses at the end of [his] scripture.<sup>68</sup> He is included [in this biography] as a disciple of Wengang.

有淄州名恪律師者。精執律範切勤求解。嘗廁宣師法筵，躬問鈔序義。宣師親錄隨喜靈感壇 班名於經末，又附麗文綱之門也。<sup>69</sup>

It is also notable that the title of Wengang's biography in the SGSZ includes Mingke's name: 'Tang Jing shi Chongshengsi Wengang zhuan (Mingke)' 唐京師崇聖寺文綱傳 (名恪) ('The Narrative Biography of Wengang of the Chongshi Monastery in Jing[zhao] of the Tang [Dynasty] ([plus the biography of] Mingke)').<sup>70</sup> Assuming that Zanning based his biography of Wengang on Li Yong's stele inscription for the master (which seems highly likely), it may be concluded that the inscription contained a brief biography of Mingke that Zanning reproduced when writing Wengang's entry for the SGSZ. Clearly, then, Mingke was a Vinaya authority in Zizhou who was closely associated with both Daoxuan and Wengang.

The relationship between Wengang and the Vinaya community in Zizhou – principally represented by Mingke – is confirmed by the two monks' links to another Vinaya master, Chongye 崇

<sup>66</sup> SGSZ, T 50.2061: 792b9–18.

<sup>67</sup> *Sifen lü shan fan buque xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔 (*An Abridged and Explanatory Commentary on the Dharmaguptaka vinaya*, T 40.1804), Daoxuan's commentary on the Dharmaguptaka *vinaya*, composed in 626.

<sup>68</sup> We believe the 'scripture' 經 in question is Daoxuan's *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tu jing* 關中創立戒壇圖經 (*A Local Gazetteer of the Newly Built Ordination Platforms in Guanzhong*, T 45.1892). Daoxuan does indeed mention Vinaya master Mingke in a list of his disciples at the end of this text (T 45.1892: 817a2).

<sup>69</sup> SGSZ, T 50.2061: 792b21–24.

<sup>70</sup> SGSZ, T 50.2061: 791c15.





業 (?–?),<sup>71</sup> a *bhadanta* in the Ximing Monastery 西明寺 in Chang’an who was closely associated with Daoxuan during the latter’s lifetime.<sup>72</sup> Zanning includes Chongye in the list of disciples who attended Wengang’s funeral,<sup>73</sup> and later states, ‘At the beginning [of his monastic life, Chongye] studied Vinaya under Wengang together with Daoan 道岸<sup>74</sup> from Yiyang 弋陽 County (Henan)’ 初同弋陽道岸學毘尼於文綱之法集.<sup>75</sup> He also stresses that Chongye’s fame was equal to that of Mingke from Zizhou 與淄州名恪齊名,<sup>76</sup> which suggests a link between the two monks. Hence, we may say with some certainty that Mingke, an influential monastic leader in Zizhou, was closely connected with at least two of Daoxuan’s most renowned and respected followers – namely, Wengang and Chongye. This raises the intriguing possibility that Mingke may have commissioned Li Yong to compose epitaphs for his former masters, Daoxuan and Wengang, in the period when the esteemed author was working as a minor government official in Zizhou. That said, if there is any truth in Zanning’s claim that Mingke was a direct disciple of Daoxuan, Mingke would have been around ninety years old (or possibly even deceased) by the time that Li Yong composed his inscriptions in the 740s. Consequently, if not Mingke himself, then maybe a group of his disciples commissioned Li Yong to compose the epitaphs for Daoxuan and Wengang, and also asked him to write a biography of their own mentor, which was added to the Wengang inscription.

### 3.3 Masters Huizhao 慧沼 and Kuiji 窺基

Two more Li Yong inscriptions may be linked to the aforementioned Vinaya community in Zizhou: the epitaphs for Master Huizhao 慧沼 (650–714) and his mentor Kuiji 窺基 (632–682). Li Yong’s funeral inscription for Huizhao, entitled ‘Tang gu Baimasi zhu fanyi Huizhao shentabei bingxu’ 唐故白馬寺主翻譯惠沼神塔碑并序 (‘Spirit Stūpa Inscription, with Preface, for the Late Chief Translator Huizhao of the Baima Monastery of the Tang [Dynasty]’), is preserved, albeit with some sections missing, in the *Xuanzang Sanzang shi zi zhuan cong shu* 玄奘三藏師資傳叢書 (*Compendium of Biographies and Materials Related to Tripitaka Master Xuanzang*),<sup>77</sup> compiled in Japan by Jōin Saeki 佐伯定胤 (1867–1952) and Nakano Tatsue 中野達慧 (1871–1934). In this text, Li Yong states that Huizhao’s family was based in Zizhou (家住淄川).<sup>78</sup> Similarly, in his biography of Huizhao in the SGSZ, Zanning refers to this master as ‘Zizhou Zhao’ 淄州沼 (‘[Hui]zhao of Zizhou’).<sup>79</sup> We know that Huizhao was a close associate of Wengang as they both participated in Yijing’s 義淨 (635–713) translation bureau, which operated at the Jianfu Monastery 薦福寺 in

<sup>71</sup> See SGSZ, T 50.2061: 795a15–25 for Zanning’s biography of Chongye. He was also an administrator of the Great Fuxian Monastery 大福先寺. See Chen 2007: 429. n. 149

<sup>72</sup> Daoxuan moved to the Great Ximing Monastery immediately after its foundation in 659 to work on the production of a Buddhist manuscript canon for Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 649–683). See Zacchetti 2016. See Wang 2015 for a general study of the monastery, and Wong 2018: 10–16 for a recent enquiry into its establishment.

<sup>73</sup> SGSZ, T 50.2061: 792b9–18.

<sup>74</sup> Daoan (654–717), a prominent disciple of Wengang, was also active in Chang’an. See SGSZ, T 50.2061: 793a11–c27 for his biography.

<sup>75</sup> SGSZ, T 50.2061: 795a16–25.

<sup>76</sup> SGSZ, T 50.2061: 795a18.

<sup>77</sup> XZJ 150, 180–181. For biography of Huizhao by Zanning, see SGSZ, T 50.2061: 728c1–14.

<sup>78</sup> XZJ 150, 180.

<sup>79</sup> SGSZ, T 50.2061: 728c14.



Chang'an<sup>80</sup> between 706 and 710.<sup>81</sup> Huizhao's close links to Zizhou – where Mingke was a monastic leader – and Wengang in Chang'an strongly suggest that these three monks were members of a monastic network that extended all the way from the capital to the periphery of the imperial state.

Zanning's biography of Huizhao describes him as a disciple of the prominent translator Kuiji,<sup>82</sup> a figure of unprecedented authority in the Tang court and the founding abbot of the Great Cien Monastery 大慈恩寺.<sup>83</sup> Therefore, it is little surprise that Li Yong composed a stele inscription for the teacher as well as the pupil. His epitaph for Kuiji is recorded in Ennin's *Nittō shingu shōgyō mokuroku* and *Nihonkoku Jōwa gonen nittō guhō mokuroku*, each time under the title 'Da Tang Ciensi fanjing dade Ji fashi muzhiming bingxu' 大唐大慈恩寺翻經大德基法師墓志銘並序 ('Funeral Inscription, with Preface, for the *Bhadanta* [and] Translator Master Ji of the Great Cien Monastery of the Great Tang [Dynasty]').<sup>84</sup> Both Zanning – in his biography of Kuiji – and Zuxiu 祖琇 (fl. 1126–1164) – in his *Longxing fojiao biannian tonglun* 隆興佛教編年通論 (*Longxing Era* [1163–1164] *Comprehensive Discussion and Chronology of Buddhism*) – claim that Kuiji studied under Daoxuan.<sup>85</sup> This is not confirmed in any of Daoxuan's surviving texts, but we do know that Kuiji was a direct disciple of Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664),<sup>86</sup> who in turn was a close associate of Daoxuan.<sup>87</sup> Moreover, Zanning's biography of Huizhao states that he also studied under Xuanzang before becoming a disciple of Kuiji.<sup>88</sup> These intimate monastic connections may help to explain why Li Yong was commissioned to compose a stele inscription for Kuiji. The latter was surely a highly respected figure among Daoxuan's direct disciples and later adherents of Vinaya as well as the mentor of Huizhao from Zizhou – an important centre of Daoxuan's teaching.

Given Huizhao's close links to Zizhou, and Mingke's subsequent promotion of Daoxuan's teaching there, it is entirely feasible that the local monastic community sought out a talented, proximate author to compose epitaphs for Huizhao, Mingke's mentor Wengang, Huizhao's mentor Kuiji and, of course, Daoxuan himself. Therefore, we suggest that all four of these texts should be considered as a set that Daoxuan's followers in and around Zizhou commissioned from Li Yong.

<sup>80</sup> One of the foremost monasteries in the capital, Jianfu was sponsored by the imperial family. See Ono 1989: 3–4 and Chen 2010: 191–193 for further information.

<sup>81</sup> See Chen 2007: 415–438 for further information on the translation bureau, and pp. 236, 422–428 for a detailed discussion of its members, including Huizhao.

<sup>82</sup> SGSZ, T 50.2061: 728c6. For a study on Kuiji, see Weinstein 1959.

<sup>83</sup> The Great Cien Monastery, another institution with strong links to the imperial family, was a major centre for Buddhism and culture during the Tang Dynasty. See Chen 2010: 189, 199–200 for further information.

<sup>84</sup> T 55.2167: 1087a5 and T 55.2165: 1075c15, respectively.

<sup>85</sup> See SGSZ, T 50.2061:72a26 and *Longxing fojiao biannian tonglun* (XZJ 130. 559), respectively.

<sup>86</sup> Li Hongqing 李宏慶 (?–?) composed another stele inscription for Kuiji entitled 'Da Ciensi da fashi Jigong taming bingxu' 大慈恩寺大法師基公塔銘並序 ('Inscription, with Preface, for Master Ji of the Great Cien Monastery'; QTW 760.7895–96). According to this text, Kuiji died at the Cien Monastery in 682, whereupon his remains were transported to Fanchuan 樊川 (Shaaxi) and laid to rest next to the stūpa of his teacher Xuanzang.

<sup>87</sup> Daoxuan and Xuanzang collaborated in a translation group in 645, and both were summoned to the newly established Ximing Monastery in Chang'an in 659, becoming two of the institution's first residents. See Daoxuan's biography of Xuanzang in *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (*Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks*; T 50.2060: 446c8–459c9) and another biography of the same master entitled 'Da Tang Da Ciensi sanzang fashi zhuan' 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 ('Biography of the "Master of the Three Canons", Dharma Master [Xuanzang] of Da Ciensi under the Great Tang', T 50.2053), completed by Yancong 彦宗 (?–after 688) in 688, based on a draft by Huili 慧立 (615–?). Li 1995 contains a translation of the latter biography. See Deeg 2016 for further information on Xuanzang and his political influence.

<sup>88</sup> SGSZ, T 50.2061: 728c5.



#### 4. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this paper has demonstrated that fragments of information embedded in Li Yong's surviving stele inscriptions along with the titles of several of his lost texts reveal a network of devoted disciples and followers of Daoxuan more than seventy years after the Vinaya master's death. Moreover, although the subjects of these inscriptions ultimately attained positions of considerable authority in Chang'an's state-sponsored monasteries, it seems that they maintained close connections with a group of like-minded Daoxuan adherents in the distant prefecture of Zizhou, Henan Circuit.

Master Ciren, a devotee of Daoxuan who resided in the Lingyan Monastery on Mount Taishan, near Zizhou, was one of the key members of that monastic community. Although he had almost certainly passed away prior to Li Yong's arrival in Henan, the monastery's allegiance to Daoxuan was surely attributable to him, and it remained a prominent centre for his mentor's teaching long after his own death. Given that Li Yong composed a commemorative inscription for the Lingyan Monastery during his time in Zizhou, it is safe to assume that he was well acquainted with the institution's clergy.

As Zanning explains in the *SGSZ*, Mingke, another master who settled in Zizhou, was a devoted disciple of both Daoxuan and Wengang. The source of this information was Li Yong's untitled stele inscription for Mingke's principal mentor, Wengang. If we assume that Mingke, an esteemed Vinaya leader in his own right, was still alive and active in Zizhou when Li Yong assumed office there, it is entirely plausible that he commissioned Li Yong to compose inscriptions for his most renowned teachers, Daoxuan and Wengang. On the other hand, if Mingke had passed away before Li Yong's arrival in Henan, the addition of his biography to the Wengang inscription suggests that one or more of his direct disciples may have hired the author to commemorate not only their mentor, but his mentors too. In addition, Mingke was related to another master from Zizhou who was similarly associated with Wengang – Huizhao, who studied under the eminent monk Kuiji. The fact that Li Yong composed stela inscriptions for both Huizhao and Kuiji strongly suggests that these were commissioned by the same community of monastics from Zizhou.

The inscriptions that Li Yong produced for these monks illustrate the essential role that members of the literati played in the formation of Buddhist biographical narratives, group identity and lineage in medieval China. His texts were widely regarded as the earliest and most authoritative biographical accounts of Daoxuan and several of his disciples by the time that Zanning compiled the *SGSZ*, which in turn became the standard reference work on eminent monks of the Tang era. This case study demonstrates that Buddhist monastics understood the importance of commissioning such texts from professional literati in order to enhance their authority and gain recognition among the imperial elite. Specifically, the close collaboration between the monks of Zizhou and Li Yong reveals the centrality of such literati to the development of individual Buddhist communities and the promotion of their most esteemed members. The production by Li Yong of monastic biographies on behalf of the local Vinaya community in Zizhou was a multi-layered process that evolved through an interplay of several interconnected factors. First, Li Yong composed his inscriptions during the time when he held his appointment in Zizhou which indicates that local monastics only contacted Li Yong when he was in their close proximity. Moreover, Li Yong's fame as a prominent official and a prolific author of commemorative texts was surely highly valued by local monks who sought to enhance their own recognition in elite circles. Finally, taken into view Li Yong's reputation as a writer who made a fortune by composing



stele inscriptions for monasteries, it is reasonable to conclude that the contribution offered to Li Yong by members of Zizhou's community for composing inscriptions might have been a decisive factor for his engagement with the production of these biographies. From the above, it is clear that the Zizhou Vinaya monastic group was a major driving force behind the production of a set of biographies of Daoxuan and his associates. This encourages reassessment of the importance of regional monks who ultimately emerge as key actors in the formation of biographies of prominent monastic leaders during the Tang Dynasty.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- JTS *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書. Comp. Liu Xu 劉昫 *et al.* Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975.  
 QTS *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩. Comp. Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 *et al.* Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960.  
 QTW *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文. Comp. Dong Hao 董浩 *et al.* Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983.  
 SKQS *Jingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書. Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983–1986.  
 SGSZ *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳. Comp. Zanning 贊寧 (919–1001). T50.2061.  
 T *Taishō shinshu daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. Ed. TAKAKUSU Junjirō 高楠順次郎 *et al.* Tōkyō: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1935.  
 XTS *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書. Comp. Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 *et al.* Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975.  
 XZJ *Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經. Ed. MAEDA Eun 前田慧雲 and NAKANO Tatsue 中野達慧. Kyōto: Zōkyō Shōin, 1905–1912. This paper uses the Taiwanese reprint, (*Wan*) *xu zangjing* (卅) 續藏經, 150 vols. Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubangongsi, 1968–1970.

## REFERENCES

- BUMBACHER, Stephen Peter 2000. *The Fragments of the Daoxue zhuan*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.  
 CHEN, Jinhua 2002. *Monks and Monarchs, Kings and Kingship: Tanqian in Sui Buddhism and Politics*. Kyoto: Scuola Italiana di Studi sull'Asia Orientale.  
 CHEN, Jinhua 2004. 'The Tang Buddhist Palace Chapels.' *Journal of Chinese Religions* 32: 101–174.  
 CHEN, Jinhua 2007. *Philosopher, Practitioner, Politician: The Many Lives of Fazang (643–712)*. Leiden: Brill.  
 CHEN, Jinhua 2010. *Shingon–Tendai Strife as Seen in Two Twelfth-century Polemics, with Special References to Their Background in Tang China*. Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies in Tokyo.  
 DEEG, Max 2016. 'The Political Position of Xuanzang: The Didactic Creation of an Indian Dynasty in the Xiyu ji.' In: Thomas JÜLCH (ed.) *The Middle Kingdom and the Dharma Wheel: Aspects of the Relationship between the Buddhist Saṃgha and the State in Chinese History*. Leiden: Brill, 94–139.  
 FORTE, Antonino 2003. 'Daitoku 大德 (The Title of Great-Virtue).' In: *Hōbōgin 法寶義林: Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Bouddhisme d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises*, Vol. VIII. Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1071–1085.  
 HALPERIN, Mark 2006. *Out of the Cloister: Literati Perspectives on Buddhism in Sung China, 960–1279*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center.  
 HEIRMAN, Ann 2002. 'Can We Trace the Early Dharmaguptakas?' *T'oung Pao* 88: 396–429.  
 HIGHTOWER, James R. 1957. 'The Wen Hsüan and Genre Theory.' *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 20/3–4: 512–533.



- HUCKER, Charles. O. 1985. *Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- JIA, Jinhua 2006. *Hongzhou School of Chan Buddhism in Eighth through Tenth Century China*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- LI, Rongxi 1995. *A Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master of the Great Cien Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty*. [Translation of the original Chinese text by Śramaṇa Huili and Shi Yancong.] Berkeley, CA: Numata Centre for Buddhist Translation and Research.
- LIN Ziqing 林子青 1991. *Hongyi dashi quanji 弘一大師全集* [The Complete Works of Master Hongyi]. Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe.
- LUO Qingquan 羅清泉 1999. 'Liang "Tangshu: Li Yong zhuan" zhengbu' 兩 '唐書·李邕傳' 正補 [Correcting and Supplementing 'The Record on Li Yong in Two Tang Histories']. *Guangxi shiyuan xuebao 廣西師院學報* 4: 6–10.
- LUO Weiming 羅維明 2003. *Zhonggu muzhi ciyu yanjiu 中古墓志詞語研究* [Research on the Language in the Ancient Chinese Entombed Epitaphs]. Guangzhou: Jinan daxue chubanshe.
- MIAO Quansun 繆荃孫 2002. *Shuntian fuzhi (Qing) 順天府志 (清)* [Shuntian Prefecture Gazetteer (Qing Period)]. In: *Xuxiu Siku quanshu 續修四庫全書* [Supplement to the Complete Books in the Four Treasuries], Vol. DCLXXXVI. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe.
- NISHIWAKI Tsuneki 西脇常記 2000. *Tōdai no shisō to bunka 唐代の思想と文化* [The Thought and Culture of the Tang Dynasty]. Tokyo: Sōbunsha.
- ODA Akihiro 織田顕祐 and RIKI Miyai 里佳宮井 2004. 'Ri Yon sen "Tōko Hakubaji shuhon'yaku Keishyō kamitō hi nami jo" ni tsuite' 李邕撰 '唐故白馬寺主翻訳惠沼神塔碑並序' について [Spirit Stūpa Inscription, with Preface, for the Late Chief Translator Huizhao of the Baima Monastery of the Tang Dynasty' Composed by Li Yong]. In: Ōtani daigaku bunge gakkai 大谷大學文藝學會 [Ōtani University Literary Society] (ed.) *Chūgoku bungaku ronsō: Kawachi Shōen kyōju taikyū kinen 中國文學論叢: 河内昭圓教授退休記念* [Collected Papers on Chinese Literature: A Special Issue in Memory of the Retirement of Professor Kawachi Shōen], vol. 3. Kyoto: Ōtani daigaku, 315–333.
- ONO Katsutoshi 小野勝年 1989. *Chūgoku Zui Tō Chōan jūin shiryōshūsei 中国隋唐長安寺院史料集成* [Collection of Material about the Histories of Monasteries in Chang'an during the Sui and Tang Eras in China]. Vol. I. Kyoto: Hōzōkan.
- POCESKI, Mario 2007. *Ordinary Mind as the Way: The Hongzhou School and the Growth of Chan Buddhism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- SATŌ Tatsugen 佐藤達玄 1987. 'Dōsen no zenkan shīsō' 道宣の禪觀思想 [Daoxuan's View on Chan Meditation]. In: *Bukkyōshi Bukkyōgaku ronshū: Nomura Yōshō Hakushi koki kinenshū 佛教史佛教学論集: 野村耀昌博士古稀紀念集*. [Collection of Articles on the History and Teachings of Buddhism: A Collection to Celebrate the Seventieth Birthday of Doctor Nomura Yōshō] Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 53–71.
- SHINOHARA, Koichi 1988. 'Two Sources of Chinese Buddhist Biographies: Stupa Inscriptions and Miracle Stories'. In: Phyllis GRANOFF and Koichi SHINOHARA (eds.) *Monks and Magicians: Religious Biographies in India and China*. Oakville: Mosaic Press, 119–228.
- SONG Minqiu 宋敏求 1979. *Chunming tuichao lu 春明退朝錄* [Record of Retirement in Chunming]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- TACKETT, Nicolas 2006. *The Transformation of Medieval Chinese Elites (850–1000 CE)*. (PhD thesis, Columbia University)
- TAN Qixiang 譚其驥 1996. *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji: Sui, Tang, Wudai, Shiguo shiqi 中國歷史地圖集: 隋唐五代十國時期* [The Atlas of Ancient Maps in China: Sui, Tang, Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms Period], Vol. V. Beijing: Zhongguo ditu chubanshe.



- WALEY, Arthur 1949. *The Life and Times of Po Chü-i*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- WANG Chuan 汪娟 2006. 'Ji Nanshan lizan 集南山禮讚 [A Study of the 'Ji Nanshan lizan']'. *Foxue yanjiu zhongxin xuebao* 佛學研究中心學報 11: 143–182.
- WANG, Xiang 2015. *Ximing Monastery: History and Imagination in Medieval Chinese Buddhism*. Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing.
- WEINSTEIN, Stanley 1959. 'A Biographical Study of Tz'u-en.' *Monumenta Nipponica* 15/1-2: 119–149.
- WEINSTEIN, Stanley 1987. *Buddhism under the T'ang*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- WELTER, Albert 2006. *Monks, Rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- WONG, Dorothy C. 2018. *Buddhist Pilgrim—Monks as Agents of Cultural and Artistic Transmission: The International Buddhist Art Style in East Asia, ca. 645–770*. Singapore: Singapore University Press.
- XIONG, Cunrui 1988. *Sui–Tang Chang'an (AD 582–904)*. (PhD thesis, Australian National University)
- YANAGIDA Seizan 柳田聖山 2000. *Shoki zenshū shisho no kenkyū* 初期禪宗史書の研究 [Research on the Historical Documents of Early Zen]. Kyoto: Hōzōkan [originally published in 1967].
- ZACCHETTI, Stefano 2016. 'The Catalogue of All Canonical Scriptures.' In: Claudia WENZEL 溫狄婭 and SUN Hua 孫華 (eds.) *Buddhist Stone Sutras in China, Sichuan Province*, Vol. III. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 77–97.
- ZHANG Jia 張佳 2006. *Siku zongmu Tang ji tiyao huizheng pingyi* 四庫總目唐集提要會證平議 [Critical Study of the Newly Collated Tang Dynasty Explanatory Catalogue to the Complete Collection of the Four Treasures]. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe.
- ZOU, Ang 2019. *The Life of Daoxuan: According to Others and in His Own Words*. Singapore: Buddhist College of Singapore and Kong Meng San Phor Kark See Monastery.

