

宋学先觉孤山智圆 思想研究

韩剑英 著

中国社会科学出版社

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序：仰望崇高

《宋学先觉孤山智圆思想研究》是韩剑英在其博士论文基础上增补修订完成的学术专著。

韩剑英本科和硕士研究生阶段均在北京大学哲学系学习，专业方向是中国哲学和宗教学，后在北京信息科技大学担任哲学教师，2004 年在职考取了中国人民大学宗教学专业博士研究生，在我的指导下攻读博士学位。韩剑英外语基础较好，入学后经考试可以免修外语，兼以在北大哲学系打下了坚实的专业基础，使其很快就进入到博士论文选题和相关资料收集阶段。

在博士论文开题时，韩剑英就大胆地提出了一个看法：宋代以孤山智圆为杰出代表和理论集大成者的天台宗山外一系发展了隋唐以来佛教中国化中最具哲学思维的天台思想，并以天台教观为理论指导，站在北宋初年社会历史新高度上拣择、诠释佛教核心经典和儒家重要经典，使佛学成为宋学斯文鼎盛的重要源泉，在彼时的公民教育中发挥着巨大的思想源作用。

韩剑英的这个看法是很有挑战性的。在佛教与宋代思想的关系问题上，传统的佛教思想史和相关学术研究往往注重的是华严宗、禅宗与宋明理学的关系，对天台思想与宋明理学的关系重视不够、研究不深；而对天台宗的研究，一般也都是以山家一系为中心，认为山家一系才是天台的正宗，不重视甚至排斥山外一系。可以说，韩剑英以天台宗山外系代表孤山智圆为宋学先觉的思想，不仅对深入辨析宋初天台宗山家山外论争的实质、恰当认识天台宗山家山外的历史地位具有重要意义，而且对于细致剖析佛学对初期宋学思想形成的深刻影响、全面揭示佛教在宋初时代转换之际的历史贡献等，亦具有填补学术研究空白的重要价值。

《宋学先觉孤山智圆思想研究》全书分为绪论和正文（五章），绪论和第一章探讨了“智圆宋学先觉”这个命题中需要首先澄清的一些问题，如“宋学”、“宋学先觉”的界定，智圆成为“宋学先觉”的主、客观条件等。第二、三、四、五章是本书的重点，分别从天台思想、佛教思想、儒学思想、道教思想以及儒释道三教关系五个层次来论述智圆作为“宋学先觉”的思想内核及其历史影响。

在论著中，韩剑英从天台学、佛学、儒学、中国哲学、历史学、社会学多重视角，以孤山智圆思想为中心，以天台山家山外论争与宋学的萌芽和形成为外缘，以宋学重要代表人物的思想为旁证，以心性论为契入重点，通过孤山智圆宋学先觉思想及影响，考察了处于唐宋转型期重要环节的宋初天台义学的变化、宋初思想的旨趣、三教关系的互动，特别是宋学形成变化的原因、表现及对后世的影响，并以此为基础，重新观照天台义学在北宋初年儒学复兴中的地位，以及它与宋学的内在关联性等一系列重要论题，强调智圆旨在会通三教的心性论，称赞“智圆和他同时代的儒、释、道三家的先觉们，共同努力，极力承担，造就了一代以心性学为核心，学风、文风改革为先导，五经周孔之道若纵若衡，三观四教若明若暗，终于达成了达天道而重人事、气势磅礴、生生为易的宋学气象”，归纳出智圆“易简”、“复性”、“圆融”、“事功”的四个特点。这些结论都是比较有新意的，有其天台史、佛学史和中国思想史的理论意义，突出了佛学特别是天台义学在宋学形成中的内在关联和刺激作用。

在与韩剑英论文思想交流的过程中，她曾数次引用宋初赞宁大师对其同时代天台山外一系鼻祖慈光晤恩的高度评价：“河汉中有鱼泝流而上者何？潜泳有所取故”（《宋高僧传》卷第七“大宋杭州慈光院晤恩传”）。她认为这句话充分体现了天台山外一系在北宋初年强烈的忧患意识、主动的问题取向、深潜谨重的修行风格、独立特行的高迈风骨。韩剑英对天台山外精神充满了无限的敬仰，对山外精神浸润其中的宋学理念及其对北宋初期社会人心的建构怀抱着真诚的向往。在韩剑英书稿即将付梓之际，我愿借用我的一本自选集的书名《仰望崇高》作为序名，以此分享她的喜悦和成果。

方立天

2013年10月 于时雨园

摘 要

传统上关于孤山智圆(976—1022)的认识,主要受到了历史上天台宗“山家”、“山外”分立思想的影响,局囿于天台一宗,把智圆仅仅看作“山外”派的代表人物,并往往从山家立场来评价智圆,而从根本上忽视了智圆作为北宋初期一代思想家立足于社会历史对宋学形成和发展所做出的主动思考和积极贡献。

本书认为,孤山智圆思想乃是宋学的先觉,而智圆作为先觉对宋学的贡献既包括思想义理上的、也包括具体历史进程中的。本书即以理为主、以事为辅,理事相即,考察作为一代思想家的孤山智圆在宋学形成之前、站在唐宋历史转折点上,以高世之才,弥天之笔,备览史籍,博寻经疏,对宋初儒、释、道三教核心思想和根本经典的简择,孤山智圆本人也通过这些思想和经典在宋学形成和发展阶段的流布,并在一定程度上实现了立身行道、垂裕后世的愿望,也在客观上成为了气势磅礴的宋学的先觉者和先行者。

本书包括绪论和正文六章。绪论和第一章中探索了“智圆宋学先觉”这个命题中需要首先澄清的一些问题:“宋学”、“宋学先觉”的界定、智圆成为“宋学先觉”的主观和客观条件、智圆“宋学先觉”思想产生的历史背景、时代呼唤宋学先觉的出现以及在智圆之前以王禹偁、赞宁为代表的宋学问题意识与理论思考。

第二、三、四、五章是本书的重点,分别从智圆天台思想、佛教思想、儒学思想、道教思想以及儒释道三教关系五个层次来谈智圆思想中的“宋学先觉”内核及其影响力。第二章“天台思想”,是智圆首先作为天台思想家的支点,也是智圆宋学先觉思想的哲学和逻辑的前提;第三章

“佛教思想”，是智圆作为佛教思想家，对整个佛教以及天台之外其他佛教宗派发展的思考和方案，是智圆成为“宋学先觉”的现实基础；第四章“儒学思想”，是智圆以天台思想为方法论所简择的儒家思想，构成了智圆“宋学先觉”思想的直接原因；第五章“道教思想”与“三教关系”思想，侧重从智圆“以儒解道”和三教“内外说”来厘清11世纪三教关系之间的互动以及智圆在其中的作用，从而进一步论证智圆以三教学说为内核的“宋学先觉”思想的历史地位。

具体而言，第二章论述智圆天台思想，主要围绕智圆在山家山外争论中的表现、他对天台宗旨不同于一般的理解以及在天台思想转向中的地位进行了辨析。一般认为，在山家山外争论之中，山外一系极为被动，而在争论之后，山家完全败北并从此在历史舞台中消失。这种观点是值得商榷和探讨的。本书通过对山家山外争论进程的分析，认为在山家山外争论中，山外一系包括孤山智圆一直处于主导的位置，智圆直接参与、引导并中止争辩，从而使这场前后历经七年的争辩从单纯的教团内部争论直接契入并面向了宋学的主题。更为重要的，智圆的思想是一个自觉主动的、系统建构的理论体系，随着社会历史和思想文化的发展，天台内部对智圆先觉思想义理也开始逐渐在一定程度上予以认同和接受。以智圆为代表的山外一系在北宋初年强烈的忧患意识、主动的问题取向、严谨的典籍考据、深潜的冰清梵修以及独立特行的风骨，不仅是宋学精神在佛教中的体现，同时也是山外一系天台学者对宋学精神涵养的最重要历史贡献。

智圆对浩瀚的天台教学进行了简择，他不以“性具”为宗，而以“三观”之学、“四教”之道为纲要，强调“真心”为境，“理性”为总，重视作为众生转凡成圣、去妄归真的修行。智圆对天台思想深入浅出的把和准确的运用，既继承了隋唐之际天台智顗所建立的教学体系、又把握了中唐荆溪湛然以来天台学的转向，同时立足北宋社会现实，简择藏、通、别、圆四教大小经典，在实际上扩展了天台教学的理论和现实范围。如智圆以“三德”旨归发挥《涅槃经》义，成为宋以后涅槃学的重要源流；智圆更以天台智顗独创的“天台三止”撰疏后来在宋学中广为流传的《首楞严经》，既为天台教学在宋学中的发展铺平了义理之路，也激发了天台中道思想的合理内涵成为了宋学思想的一部分。

第三章论述智圆的佛教思想，分析了智圆面对宋初即将到来的近世化潮流，以天台三观思想对佛教根本经典的解读与弘扬，并指出智圆佛教思

想的根本主旨以及在宋学中的影响。《四十二章经》、《佛遗教经》、《阿弥陀经》等在宋学中受到极大重视的佛教经典，与智圆在宋初的教判、体用等的宣扬都有着密切的关系。同时，他与省常、择梧、雪窦、庶几等的交涉，也反映出在智圆生前，其开权显实、扶律谈常、即小而大的佛教思想，已得到了一定的尊重和传扬。佛教为“复众生之性”之一大事因缘出现于世，而“复性以教化”等对佛教明确定位的思想在宋学发展进程中被广为接受和传播。智圆的佛学思想，也成为 11 世纪下半叶宋学发展时期律学、华严、禅宗繁荣发展和文人士大夫佛教思想的重要资源之一。

第四章论述智圆儒学思想。宋学的核心之一是儒学复兴，智圆在北宋儒学尚处五代以来衰落之际，身体力行，号召“准的五经”，特别是生生之《易经》；首建周孔道统，议立韩愈、文中子、扬雄之世业；并首倡“中庸”；主张复性、教道之学，开宋学中性情论的先河。同时，智圆以《易》为体、以《中庸》为宗、以周孔之道为法所建构的儒学思想与天台思想是一以贯之的，他以天台三观之学中的中道观与四教之道中的教学观与儒家思想进行了沟通，他所提出的性情论区别于中唐李翱的复性论，更能体现宋学“生生”之精神。

第五章论述智圆道教思想和三教关系论。宋以后三教融合，并以佛教之发展推动儒学之复兴，已是学术界之定论。而作为宋学的重要特征，这个历史进程在北宋百余年间发生了错综复杂的变化：在宋学萌芽时期，宋真宗三教共弘，然而道教的发展显然滞后于儒释二家，直到宋学发展后期，以心性性命学和三教融合思想为主要特征才实现了向内丹学的转变。而向内丹学的转向，与智圆的三教思想、心性性命学、以儒解道和以《黄帝阴符经》为核心的道教思想之间存在着一定的互动关系。

第六章明确指出智圆以天台三观之学、心性无外之旨对佛教根本经典的简择，构建了智圆与宋学交涉的广泛平台。士大夫作为宋学传承的主体，以治国平天下为理想，他们能从思想上出入佛老而不违其志，宋初佛教先觉者们对佛教的定位、义理和经典的简择功不可没。还有，智圆宋学思想的传播，是伴随 11 世纪天台宗的繁荣，包括知礼、遵式、仁岳、咸润、本如、处咸、从义特别是在佛教史传中极少记录的孤山慧勤、天台长吉等一大批天台思想家 and 实践家的出现，继承和发展了智圆所倡导的学术理路和立身行道之事，形成了与宋学代表人物的直接交涉，在客观上形成了传播智圆“宋学先觉”思想的重要途径。

在以上正文六章的写作中，本书始终在思考两个层面的问题。首先，为什么孤山智圆试图用佛教天台“三观”之学、“四教”之道来融摄儒释道三家义理并简择三教的根本经典？也就是说，智圆是如何在他的出世和入世思想中“一以贯之”的？第二，即便智圆思想具有了成为宋学先觉的因素，智圆成为宋学先觉是否具有现实的渠道和可能性？这两个层面的问题又分别从三个方面来论述：一是通过智圆所简择的三教经典的义理和影响；二是通过智圆以上思想在宋学形成、发展和转变时期在宋学代表人物如晁迥、范仲淹、欧阳修、王安石、苏轼、苏辙、张伯端等思想中或“约而同”、或“不约而同”的反映；三是通过智圆本人在11世纪早期与天台宗、其他佛教宗派、儒、道等人物的思想交涉，以及以智圆为中心，天台宗、其他佛教代表人物、儒、道与宋学代表人物的直接交涉。

最后，在结论部分，本书对作为“宋学先觉”的孤山智圆的思想特点进行了总结，指出这些特征构成了宋学形成时期的理论框架，并形成了宋学发展和演变中不同时期不同派别的思想源泉。同时，在不同时期不同派别之间对以上特点的不同侧重所形成的阶段性失衡和由此产生的互动，平衡之中的变易，构成了宋学自我发展、自我批评的内在机制。

以上各章与问题，约总即理则一，约别就事则异，在智圆“宋学先觉”之说中乃是不一不异，即异而一，即一而异。智圆之理论，不囿于天台，不泥于佛教，其于中国佛教史、哲学史、思想史、文化史当有一席之地也！智圆之思想，圆融于心，棲真在性，应机于时，简易有功，别具一格，独树一帜，其于当代风气之变革演化或有补益也！

Abstract

Traditionally, it was a consensus among both Buddhists and intelligentsia that Zhiyuan (976 A. D—1022 A. D) was nothing but a representative of Shanwai (the Off-mountain, hereafter short as the Hypothesis of Shanwai), a sect of Tiantai school in Chinese Buddhism. This was mainly due to the influence of Shanjia (the Home-mountain), another sect of Tiantai, asserting that Shanjia was the legitimacy of Tiantai and Shanwai the heterodoxy. Later study of Zhiyuan was judged largely from Shanjia points and limited to the Tiantai school. It also ignored Zhiyuan's positive thinking and important contribution to Songxue's foundation and development as a great thinker at the early days of North-Song dynasty.

We regard Zhiyuan's theory as the embryo of Songxue system and Zhiyuan the Songxue Prophet both theoretically and historically (hereafter short as the Proposition of Songxue Prophet). By means of theoretical study and textual clues, we will discuss the characteristics and the possibility of Gushan Zhiyuan to be the forthgoer, standing at the turning point from Tang dynasty to Song dynasty, based on his noble behavior, predominant talent and creative understanding of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism.

This thesis consists of seven parts, including preface, and six chapters. In preface and chapter one, we discuss, first of all, the fundamental concepts, the proposition of Songxue Prophet. The following questions will be clarified: the

definition of Songxue and Songxue Prophet, the subjective and objective conditions and the historical backgrounds for Zhiyuan to become a Songxue Prophet, and the awareness and the theoretical thought of Songxue by Wang Yucheng and Zan Ning before Zhiyuan.

Chapter two, three, four, and five are key parts of the dissertation. The core of Songxue precognition and its influence are discussed from the following five aspects: Zhiyuan's Tiantai thinking, his thoughts of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucian, and the relations between the three religions. Chapter two talks about the thoughts of Tiantai school which is the philosophic and logic premise of Songxue precognition. Chapter three examines Zhiyuan's thought on the development of Buddhism on the whole, as well as on the development of Buddhist schools other than Tiantai. Chapter four discusses his Confucian thoughts which is the direct reason that Zhiyuan is regarded as the foregoer of Songxue. Chapter five introduces Zhiyuan's thoughts on Taoist, and the relations between the three teachings, which assured his historical position in the Songxue system.

During the arguments between Shanjia school and Shanwai school, Zhiyuan elaborated his unusual understanding of the Tiantai thinking and opinion on the role of Tiantai teaching in transformation. It was generally accepted that Shanwai school was always at passive situation in the arguments, and Shanwai, Zhiyuan in particular, lost the argument entirely. So Shanjia disappeared from the thinking history. In the author's opinion, this view is questionable. After analyzing plenty of literatures about their argument's, we find that Shanwai led by Zhiyuan dominated the whole discussion all along. It was exactly that Zhiyuan terminated this seven years long debate, and then directed the subject of the debate from Tiantai itself to Songxue. More importantly in the argument is that Zhiyuan strove actively and self-consciously to build a systematic theory. His attention was not to construct a pure thinking theory only, but to concern the development of society and culture. He wanted to build a systematic thought for the people and the country, which was the most remarkable feature of his theory. Because of it, his forward thinking of Songxue was gradually accepted within the Tiantai school. In

short, the Shanwai led by Zhiyuan had strong awareness for the people and the country. They studied literatures carefully and precisely, and practiced noblemindedly following Buddhist rules. These extraordinary characteristics revealed in common life, academic study, and spirit cultivation, showed the noble temperament of Zhiyuan and his school, which exactly reflected the spirit of Songxue in Chinese Buddhist.

While judging and sorting Tiantai's thinking, he didn't use the idea of the Nature Posses (性具) as the basic reference, but clung to the Three Views (三观) in Tiantai and the Four Teachings (四教). He stressed the True Mind (真心) as true sphere, and the Original Nature (理性) as the dominant thinking principle. With his above views, he emphasized sloughing off the evil in order to transform from the ignorant to the saint. We deem that Zhiyuan's study actually expanded the range of Tiantai thinking: firstly he inherited the compound systematic theory created by Great Zhiyi, the Tiantai's inaugurator, and followed the transformation of Tiantai since Jinxi Zhanran in middle Tang dynasty; so he judged and sorted the whole Buddhist thinking into four contents—the Tripitaka teaching (藏), the Pervasive teaching (通), the Distinct teaching (别), the Complete teaching (圆) based on the social situation in North Song dynasty. For example, Zhiyuan developed Nirvana Sūtra (涅槃经) depending on Three aspects of the Buddha's Virtue (三德), which became a key source for the study of Nirvana at latter time; and he cited Zhiyi's thinking of Samatha (三止) to explain Suramgama-sutra (首楞严经), which laid foundation for the development of Tiantai teaching in Song dynasty and made the Middle Way (中道) of Tiantai become part of the Songxue.

Chapter three is about Zhiyuan's Buddhist thought. We think Buddhist thoughts is the foundation in building Zhiyuan's Songxue and it offers the feasibility which he judged and classified other thoughts of Buddhist school except Tiantai sect. Facing the fact of a more secular and scholar-bureaucratic society in the early Song dynasty. He interpreted and carried forward Buddhist sutras with the Three-view of Tiantai. The core of Zhiyuan's Buddhist thinking and his influ-

ence to Songxue are discussed in this chapter. We demonstrate that Zhiyuan's trumpeting of Buddhist sutras and his interpretation of philosophical ideas had deeply effected the Songxue. For instance, Sutra in Forty-two Chapters (四十二章经), Sutra in Buddha's Teaching before Nirvana (佛遗教经), Amitabha-sutra (阿弥陀经) were highly valued in the Songxue due to his effort. It was also found that Zhiyuan's idea gradually received respectation and was spreaded through discussions with other Buddhist masters such as Xingchang, Zewu, Xudou, Shuji, ect. . He advocated showing Truth in expedient way, stressing Buddhist rules, and exhibiting Mahayana's mean in Hinayana's point. He interpreted the role of Buddhism was to recover the true nature of sentient beings. This idea was widely accepted by the North Song academic world, both Buddhists and Songxue scholars in the process of secularization in North Song. So Zhiyuan's thought is an important source not only for the prosperity of the Vinaya School, the Chan school and Huanyan school in the late eleventh century, but also for the establishment of Beisong intellectuals' Buddhist' thinking.

In chapter four, we analyze Zhiyuan's Confucian thought. The core of Songxue is to restore Confucianism from its decline since Five Dynasties. Zhiyuan preached and practised actively to rebuild Confucian systematic theory before Beisong Confucians. He preached the Five Classics as the standard, especially the Book of Changes (易经); established the Confucian Transmission (道统) at the beginning of Zhougong (周公) and Confucius, and commented on the theoretical and practical achievements of Hanyu, WenZhongzi, Yangxiong who were great Confucian masters; he was the first man to highly value the Book of Chungyung (中庸) in early North Song; he advocated the learning of Recovering Nature (复性) and inheriting Teaching (教道), and was a precursor of the theory of Nature and Sense (性情论) in Songxue. His Confucian thought with the book of changes as the core, and the book of Mean as the clue, was in accordance with the Tiantai thought. He compared the Middle Way (中道观) of Three Views and the Teaching View at Four teachings in Tiantai thinking to Confucian thinking. Based on his work, we deem that Zhiyuan's theory of nature and sense is different from Li'ao's theory of

recovering nature, who was a great Confucian master in middle Tang dynasty, and Zhiyuan's theory embodied much more of the thinking of constantly renewing in Songxue.

In chapter five, we reveal the relations between Confucius, Buddhism and Taoism in the eleven century, and the function of Zhiyuan in that process. The academic world generally reached a consensus that Buddhism promoted Confucius' renewal after integrating the three religions—Confucius, Buddhism, and Taoism at Beisong. However, the process is complex during the early hundred years in Beisong. We think it experienced four stages: in the first phase when Songxue was built, SongZhenzong, an emperor in early Beisong, supported equally three religions, but Taoism much lagged behind others; in the second phase of Songxue's development, Taoism developed fast, even transcended Confucius and Buddhism. The most important characteristic was that the Studies of Inner Alchemy (内丹学) was forming and the focus of thought in Beisong changed to inner alchemy after three religion were integrated. In fact, the transformation was closely related with Zhiyuan's theory, because his theory had involved similar issues such as his recognition of the relations between three religions, the Opinion of Only Mind, the method of explaining Taoist in Confucian, and the emphasis of the core degree of Huangdiyinfujing (黄帝阴符经) in Taoism. So the interactions and the balance between the three religions is an important part in the development of Songxue. It is also a key to understand Zhiyuan as the forthgoer of Songxue.

In chapter six, we discussed that Zhiyuan relied on Three views and Only Mind to sort and interpret Buddhist sutras, thus built a wide platform for communication between Zhiyuan and Songxue. In Song dynasty, scholar-bureaucrats were the main part in studying and carrying on Songxue. Although it was their ideal to manage reasonably the country and even the world, they absorbed but not to indulge in the thought of Buddhism and Taoism to enrich their theory in order to perform their ideal much more. The contribution of the Buddhist forthgoers of Songxue in the early Song dynasty can't be disserved, because the

forthgoers' important works effected undoubtedly on the bureaucrats' mode of thinking, such as they sorted sutras, interpreted the philosophy. Besides, Zhiyuan's thought of Songxue was widely spreaded due to Tiantai's prosperity in the eleventh century, and because of the appearance of lots of Tiantai's theoretical and practical masters like Zhili, Zhunshi, Renyue, Xianrun, Benru, Chuxian, Congyi, etc, especially Gushan Huiqin and Tiantai Chanji who had little record in Buddhist history of this period. They inherited and developed Zhiyuan's thought both in theory and practice, which made it possible for Tiantai's thinkers to communicate with the representatives of Songxue directly, resulting in the wide spreading of Zhiyuan's thinking.

While preparing the above seven chapters, we were trying to give answers to two questions: first of all, why did Zhiyuan tried to use the thinking of Three Views (三观) and Four teachings (四教), to integrate with the three religions and to sort the Buddhist sutras? In other words, how Zhiyuan kept consistent between reality and spirit? Secondly, was there channels and possibilities for Zhiyuan to become a forgoer of Songxue? In fact, these two questions can be answered from three aspects: (1) the sort and interpretation of sutras of the three religions and its influence, (2) the influence of Zhiyuan on the forming of Songxue, and on the representatives of Songxue like Chao Jiong, Fan Chongyan, Ouyang Xiu, Wang Anshi, Su Shi, Su Zhe, Zhang Boduan etc, (3) the interaction between Zhiyuan and and representatives from Tiantai and other Buddhist sects as well as Confucianism and Taoism.

Finally, at the end of this dissertation, we briefly summerize the characteristics of Zhiyuan's thought. We point out that these characteristics formed the theoretical framework In the early stage of Songxue, and they became the important source for the development and transformation of Songxue in the later time. Discussions and arguments among different schools of Songxue about the Zhiyuan's thought became a mechanism of self development and self-criticism for Songxue.

Although we divide Zhiyuan's thought into parts as discussed in each chapter, it is a whole system in the terms of the philosophical foundation. Zhiyuan's thought was not limited either to Tiantai, or Buddhism. It should have a proper position in the history of Chinese Buddhism, philosophy, thinking history and culture. We believe both his personality and his thought are helpful in many aspects to the modern society.