Studies in
Central & East Asian
Religions

Volume 9 1996

CONTENTS

The Tokharians and Buddhism^

Xu Wenkan

Introduction: On the Tokharians and the Yuezhi From the end of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth, a great number of manuscripts in Indo-European languages were discovered in northwest China (mainly in Xinjiang and Dunhuang, Gansu). It has been revealed that the languages in which these manuscripts were written include Gandhad, Pahlavl, Sogdian, Parthian, Khotanese, Tumshuqese, etc. Also found were texts in another ancient Indo-European language, different from the Indo-Iranian languages listed above and written in the Brahml script. Two dialects of this language, A and B, have been identified.! Based on the colophons of *Maitrisimit*, a famous Buddhist play written in Uighur, F. W. K. Muller, E. Sieg, and W. Siegling named this ancient language //Tokharian/, in their works. One of these Uighur colophons, no. 48, reads:

Nakridis ulusta toymis Aryafintri bodisvt ksi acari Antkak tilint in'… To%ri tilinca yaratmis Il-baliqda toym'is PrtanyarakSit ksi a^ari To%ri tilintin Tiirktilin2a avirmis Maitri… [si]mit nom bitig.2

W. B. Henning has translated this paragraph into English as follows:

The sacred book Mflifrej/fl-Samiti which the Bodhisattva gimi flcaryfl Aryacandra, who was born in the country of Nagaradesa,3 had com-

* I wish to express my gratitude to Julia Luo, Jidong Yang and Victor H. Mair for assistance in the preparation of this article for publication.

Ji Xianlin, "Tuhuoluoyu de faxian yu kaoshi ji qi zai Zhong-Yin wenhua jiaoliu zhong de zuoyong [The Discovery and Studies of Tokharian and Its Function in the Cultural Communication between China and India]"/ in his *Zhong-Yin wenhua guanxi shi lunwen ji* f A Collection of Articles on the Cultural Relations between China and India]. Beijing: 1982.

F. W, K. Miiller und E. Sieg, "Maitrisimit und Tocharisch," SB/4W (1916), p. 414; and F.W.K. Miiller, "Toxr! und KuiSan (Kusan)·f, SB/\W(1918), pp. 566ff.

W. B. Henning suggests that the correct transcription of N'kry8yS, which was transcribed by F. W. K. Miiller and others as Nagaradesa, should *be* ^knySys^, equivalent to Agnidesa, the Sanskritized name for Agnean. Cf. Muller, "The Name of the Tokharian

posed^ in the Twyry language from the Indian language, and which the *guru acarya* Prajnarakita, who was born in Il-baliq5 translated from the TwTry language into the Turkish language.

During the decades that followed, many scholars hotly debated the nomenclature of this language and a series of related historical, geographical and ethnological issues, and especially its relationship to the Yuezhi and Kushan peoples.[6] Most of them hold that the Tokharian dialects A and B are actually Agnean and Kuchean.[7] However, many questions about this theory still need to be resolved, and //Tokharian/ as a useful term should not be dismissed.

The extant Tokharian documents date from the period between the sixth and the eighth centuries. However, Tokharian itself is an ancient Indo- European language belonging to the Centum branch, more closely related to Celtic, German, Italian, and Greek than to other languages.[8] This means that an Indo-European people rather than those speaking Eastern Iranian (the Satem branch) entered modern Chinese territory at a very early time. The British scholar T. Burrow, who studied the KharosthI documents unearthed in Niya,

Language", /4M 1 (1949), p. 160. The same word reads "Najie"那竭 in the 法顯傳[Biography of Faxianl, and "Najieluohe 那竭羅易"in the second chapter of the Da Tim 又:nyw 力•大磨® 游記[The Great Tang Accounts of Travels in the Western Regions[1].

"Yaratmis" means "to edit and translate"; see Ji Xianlin, 'TTuhuoluowen he riuihewen ben Mile huijian ji xingzhi qianyi [A Brief Discussion of the Nature of the Tokharian and Uighur Versions of Maitreyasamiti]", *Beijing daxue xuebao 2* (1991), p. 65. Rerikh, a Tibetolo- gist of the former USSR, also thinks that this word corresponds to Tibetan "'gtan-la 'bebs-pa", meaning "to collate and edit [classics]", NAA 6 (1963), p. 123.

F. W. K. Miiller and others identify Il-baliq with Ili-baliq or Ila-baliq (near present-day Yining) of the Yuan and Ming periods. Cf. F. W. K. Muller und E. Sieg, *op cit*., p. 416. Yet as Paul Pelliot has pointed out, this identification is debatable. Cf, P. Pelliot, 'Tokharien et koucheen^, *Journal Asiaticjue* 224 (1934). See also the Chinese translation of this article by Feng Chengjun in: *Tuhuoluo yu kao* [Apropos the Tokharian Language], Beijing: 1957, p. 94. J. Hamilton, on the other hand, regards "Il-baliq" as having the meaning of "capital", probably referring to the capital of the Uighur empire, Qoco. See also his discussion of A. von Gabain's *Maitrismit* I, in: *T*oung Pao* 46 (1958), p. 443; and Geng Shimin, MGudai Weiwuer yu fojiao yuanshi juben *Mile huijian ji* (Hami xieben) yanjiu [A Study of the Buddhist Play fvlaitreyasamiti in Ancient Uighur (the Hami Manuscript)]", *Wenshi* [History of Literature] 12 (1981), p. 215.

Wang Jingru, "Lun Tuhuoluo ji Tuhuoluo yu [On the Tokharians and Tokharianl", *Zhongde xuezhi 5*, nos. 1-2 (1943). See also Buddha Prakash, ^Thakura/' *CAJ* 3 (1957); Yu N. Rerikh, y/Tokharaskaya problema [Problems Concerning the Tokharian Language]/y, *NAA* 6 (1963); Huang Shengzhang, ^Shi lun suowei Tuhuoluo yu[7] jiqi youguan de lishi dili he minzu wenti (A Preliminary Discussion on What is Called "Tokharian Language and Its Related Historical, Geographical and Ethnic Issues]"', in: *Xiyu shi* Iwncon^lAnthology on the History of the Western Regions], Vol. *2*, Urumqi, 1985.

Cf. Geng Shimin and Zhang Guangda, ^Suolimi kao [A Study on Sulmi/Solmi]" *Lishi yanjiu* [Historical Studies] 2 (1980), p. 156. Nevertheless, some scholars still hold that the name //Tokharian/ is probably correct. See W. Thomas, /rZu skt. tokharika und seiner Entsprechung im Tokharischen" *Kuhns Zeitschrift fiir vergleichende Sprachforschung* 95:1 (1981).

D. Q. Adams, /yThe Position of Tokharian among the Other Indo-European Languages^, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 104 (1984).

Loulan and Shanshan, pointed out long ago that many grammatical phenomena and the vocabulary of Niya vernacular were close to Tokharian.9 Therefore, the residents of the Shanshan state were speaking a Tokharian language which was somewhat different from the later Agnean and Kushan. That is to say, there existed a third Tokharian dialect, and the Tokharian entry into the Tarim Basin can be traced back to the second and third centuries. Furthermore, there have been some very important archaeological discoveries in Xinjiang in recent years which may provide new clues to the origin of the Tokharians. For example, in 1979 the Institute of Archaeology at the Xinjiang Academy of Social Science excavated forty-two ancient tombs in the lower Kongque River valley, seventy kilometers west of the presently dry Lake Lop-nor. These tombs, which constitute an important site of the Gumugou Culture, date from the Bronze Age, approximately 3000 years ago. The anthropometric studies of the human skulls collected from these tombs have shown that the Gumugou people possessed primitive Caucasoid features and that their physical characteristics had certain similarities to the Nordic or northern European type.[9] [10] Moreover, a large number of mummies has recently been found in Xinjiang. These mummies, of which the oldest date from 4000 BC, also show Caucasoid features. May we surmise from these facts that, as early as three or four thousand years ago, the Caucasian residents of the Tarim Basin were already in certain ways related to the Tokharian people who came later?

The Yuezhi 月支 people recorded in the Chinese histories might be related to the Tokharians. Since the 1970s several scholars have proposed that the Yuezhi were a branch of the Tokharians. Detailed arguments can be found in articles by B_ Henning, A. K. Narain, Lin Meicun 林梅村,and myself^[1]

9 T. Burrow, 'Tokharian Elements in Kharosthi Documents"/ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1935).

Han Kangxin, "Xinjiang Kongquehe Gumugou mudi rengu yanjiu [A Study of the Human Bones from the Gumugou Cemetery in the Kongque River Valley, Xinjiang]"/ *Kaogu xuebao* 3 (1986); "Xinjiang Kongquehe Gumugou muzang rengu de renleixue tezhen [The Anthropological Characteristics of the Human Bones of the Gumugou Cemetery in the Kongque Valley, Xinjiang]"/ in: *Zhongguo kaoguxue yartjiu*: *Xia Nai xiansheng kaogu wushi nian jinian lunwen ji* [Research on Chinese Archaeology—Articles Collected on the Fiftieth Anniversary of Mr. Xia Nai's Archaeological Studies!, Beijing, 1986. The tombs are actually located in the sandy hills of the second plateau above the northern bank of the river.

n Cf. W. B. Henning, 'The First Indo-Europeans in History/' in *Society and History*: *Essays in Honour of Karl August Wittfogel*, ed. by G. L. Ulman. The Hague, 1978; A. K. Narain, ''On the 'First' Indo-Europeans"/ in: *The Tokharian-Yuezhi and Their Chinese Homeland*: *Papers on Inner Asia* 2. Bloomington: 1987; Idem, ^Indo-Europeans in Inner Asia", in: *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia,* ed. by D. Sinor. Cambridge: 1990; Lin Meicun, "Kaituo sichou zhi lu de xianqu—Tuhuoluo ren [The Pioneers on the Silk Road—the Tokharians]"/ *Wemvu* 1 (1989); and Xu Wenkan, ''Cong yijian Poluomi zi boshu tan woguo gudai de Yin-Ouyu he Yin-Ouren [Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans in Ancient China: From the Investigation of a Manuscript in Brahmi Script]"/ in: *Ji Xiatilin jiaoshou bashi huadan jinian lunwen ji* [Articles Collected on the Occasion of Professor]i

It is commonly accepted that the "Yuzhi" 禺知 people mentioned in the Mw z/mfln 穆天子傳 [Biography of Mu, the Son of the Heaven】,the luzhi 〃 禺氏 people in the "Wanghui"王會 chapter on Yf 逸魚書,
as well as in the "Guoxu"國畜,"Kuidu"挨度^ "Qingzhong jia"輕重甲,and "Qingzhong yi"輕重乙 chapters of Gwanz 丨管子[Book of Guanzi], the '/Yuezhi'/ people in the '"Yiyi chaoxian'/ chapter of *Yi zhoushu*, and the "Niuzhi 〃 牛氏 people in the "Dishu"地數 chapter of Guanz!', are all the same as the Yuezhi people. During the Qin and Han Dynasties, the Yuezhi were one of the three major ethnic groups (the other two were the Eastern Hu and Xiongnu) to the north of China, living between Dunhuang and the Qilian Mountains, "residing wherever there were water and grass". So they must have been active in the vast area from the Tarim Basin to the Ordos Grassland. The power of the Yuezhi was weakened after they were defeated by the Modu Shanyu of the Xiongnu. After their king was killed by another Xiongnu leader, Laoshang, the Yuezhi were divided into two groups, one called Greater Yuezhi and another called Lesser Yuezhi. The former moved westwards, conquered Bactria, and established a kingdom in south Central Asia, leaving a remarkable chapter in world history.

It is after the westward migration of the Tokharian-Yuezhi people that the term "Tokharian" began to appear in the documents of various languages. According to Strabo's *Geography* (xi. 8.2), the four nomadic peoples who took Bactria from the Greeks were the Asii, Gasiani, Tochari, and Sacarauli. Trogus, on the other hand, records that "the Scythian tribes, the Saraucae and Asiani, conquered Bactria and Sogdiana",and that "the Asiani [became] the kings of the Tochari, and the Saraucae were destroyed"• We believe that one or a few of the four peoples who were mentioned in the Greek sources as having conquered Bactria must have been the Yuezhi. The Yuezhi was a tribal federation dominated by the Tokharians. Yet in the course of their westward migration, they also absorbed various Eastern-Iranian speaking ^aka tribes.*[12] According to "Xiyu zhuan"西域傳[Account of the Western 反 egions] in both the HAM s/zw 漢書[History of the Han Dynasty】 and How /ifln s/zw 金漢書 [History of the Later Han Dynasty】,the Greater Yuezhi were later broken into "five divisions under five xiTiow 翕侯 leaders", of which the Kushan division was the most powerful. In the early first century, the Kushan *xihou* Kujula Kad- phises unified the five divisions, broke away from the control of the Hel- lenized Bactrian dynasty, and established the Kushan Empire.

All the different Tokharian groups mentioned above were influential in the transmission of Buddhism across Central Asia to China. In the following section I will explore this point, relying principally on Chinese sources.

Xianlin's Eightieth Birthday], ed. Li Zheng *et al*. Nanchang, 1991.

[12] A. N. Zelinsky and Y. G. Rychkov point out that the physical attributes of the early Kushans are similar to that of the Yuezhi, belonging to "north-Europoids"/ which were distributed from Europe to Sayano-Altai during ancient times; see *Kushan Studies in U.S.S.R.*, Calcutta, 1970, p. 179.

The Tokharians, the Yuezhi and the Transmission of Buddhism to China

Buddhism spread to northwest India and its neighbouring countries very early. According to the Asokan inscriptions, Indian envoys reached Parthia, Bactria, Egypt, and Greece. We know for sure that as early as the mid-third century BC, Buddhism flourished in Qandahar in southern Afghanistan. In the early second century BC, the Bactrians, who were ruled by the Greeks, invaded northwestern India, but later Bactria itself became divided. Menander (or Menandros, rendered as Milinda in Pali), the king of the Hellenistic city state whose centre was Sagala (modern Sialkot in Pakistan), is well known for his discourse with Nagasena, a prestigious monk from Jibin (present-day Peshawar, Pakistan), and was allegedly converted to Buddhism. This discourse was recorded and compiled into the *Milindapafiha* in Pali and translated into Chinese as the Nflx/flw /i.wg 那先比丘經[Siifrfl of Bhik^i N5gasena】.l3

After the Tokharians, namely the Yuezhi, conquered Bactria in the middle of the second century during their westward migration, they inherited Buddhism, which had already taken root there.

At the latest the Greater Yuezhi had converted to Buddhism by the first century BC. The country expanded rapidly after Kujula Kadphises established the Kushan Dynasty, and within one hundred years the Yuezhi had invaded Parthia, taken Gaofu (today's Kabul in Afghanistan), and destroyed Puda (today's Gwadar in Pakistan) and Kashmir. From the first century AD, the famous Gandharan art began to appear. In the early second century, the king of the Kushans, Vima Kadphises, known in the Chinese sources as Yan'gao- zhen 閻膏珍 ,further expanded the country by occupying the Indus River region in Pakistan. Then the Kadphises royal house was replaced by the -ska family. The founder of this new royal house was the historically renowned Kaniska.^4

The exact date of Kaniska's accession to the Kushan throne has not been confirmed, and the entire chronology of the Kushan empire has also been the subject of heated controversy.^ According to our present understanding, [13] [14] [15]

13 T. 1670.32.

14 I. V. V. Ivanov has studied the suffix of the name of this Kushan king, and regarded it as being derived from Kuchean. Cf. Ivanov, ^Yazykovyue dannyie o proiskhozhdenii Kushanskoi dinastii i Tokharskaya problema^/, *NAA* (1967), p. 3. H. W. Bailey and W. B. Henning regard the name //KaniskaM as consisting of the combination of the root *kan* and the suffix *-iska* (-iska), which makes it term of praise meaning ''the most youthful and energetic^/. This name could also have been a Bactrian term: **kanistaka* > **kanistka* > *kaniska*. Refer to J. Brough, "Nugae IndoSericae",in: VV. B. /■fenm.ng Memori'a/ Vo/i/me, ed. M. Boyce and 1. Gershevitch, London, 1970, pp. 85–6.

15 These issues were the primary topic of two international conferences held in London in 1913 and 1960, and they were also discussed during the conference on Kushan civilization, which was held in Dushanbe in 1968. However, no consensus on the matter has so far been reached. Cf. Buddha Bashmi Mani, *The Kushan Civilization*: *Studies in Urban Develop-*

Kaniska's accession probably occurred sometime between AD 78 and 144, with the year AD 128 being the most likely specific date. Since Kaniska employed a policy of supporting and sponsoring various religions, Buddhism was able to develop rapidly. The famous Fourth Council of Buddhism (actually a conference of the Sarvastivada school) was summoned during Kaniska's reign. He built Buddhist temples and *stiipas* throughout the kingdom. The Jaurya (Queli 雀離)StGpa, which he built at his capital Purugapura (today's Pesha- war), was reportedly seen by the Northern Wei emissary Song Yun 宋雲 and a pilgrim Huisheng 惠生 who passed by here on their way to India in search of Buddhist scriptures in the early sixth century. 16 Research has shown that Queli and Zhaohufi 昭估釐}[7] the name of another Buddhist temple in Kucha reported by Xuanzang 玄突 in the first chapter of his Dfl Tang •大唐西-
域言己[Accounts of the Western Regions], must be the same Tokharian word.18
The most important Kushan Buddhist site excavated in former Soviet Central Asia is Kara-tepe in ancient Termez. The archaeological find include stone statues, sculptures, Kushan coins, and inscriptions in the Kharosthi and Brahml scripts. There are also inscriptions in local Bactrian, written in a
cursive style of Greek script. 19
Zhang Qian's 張騫 journey to the Western Regions during the Western Han period marked the official opening of the Silk Road, which connected inland China with Central Asia. It has long been a hotly debated issue when Buddhism was transmitted from India to China. Nevertheless, one thing is known for sure: the Tokharian-Yuezhi people played a key role in this transmission. In a passage from Yu Huan's 魚豢 Wef/we 魏略[A Brief History of the Wei] quoted by Pei Songzhi 裴松之 in his commentary to the "Dong Yi zhuan 藥夷傳 '[Account of the Eastern Aliens] chapter in the Wdz/n.魏志[History of the Wei] on the SflMgwo zW 三國志[History of the Three Kingdoms], there is a clear record: [16 17 18 19]
merits and Material Culture, *Delhi, 1987, pp. 2–13.*

[16] qiWan 々•洛陽伽藍記[Accounts of Buddhist Temples in Luoyang】, chapter 5, T. 2092.51. See also W. J. F. Jenner, *Memoires of Loyang*: *Yang Hsiian-chih and the Lost Capital* (*493–534*), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981, pp. 269–71.

[17] Also referred to as "Queli da qirvgjing 雀離大清淨",in the S/n_s/«_ xiy« [Account of Buddhist Western Regions】,as cited in S/iwi/ing Z/IM 水經注[Commentary on the Book of Water】,and as "Queli da si 雀離大寺"in the "Biography of Kum§rajiva" as found in the second chapter of 高僧傳[Biographies of Eminent Monks], T". 2059.50.

[18] In the context of Ban's expedition to Karashar, "Ban Yong zhuan 班勇傳[Biography of Ban Yong]〃 in: How Hflns/iw, tlie text refers to a place called "Jueli guan 爵離關〃(the Jueli Pass), which is another transcription of this word. This question has been been discussed in P. Pelliot, ^Tokharien et Koutcheen"; P. Boodberg, 'Two Notes on the History of the Chinese Frontier", H//4S 1 (1936), pp. 290–1; E. Pulleyblank, "An Interpretation of the Vowel System of Old Chinese and Written Burmese", *AM* 10 (1963), pp. 206–7.

[19] *B. Ya. Stavisky, ''Kara Tepe in Old Termez: A Buddhist Religious Center of the Kushan Period on the Bank of the Oxus'", in* From Hecataeus to Al-Huwarizmi: Bactrian, Pahlavi, Sogdian, Persian, Sanskrit, Syriac, Arabic, Chinese, Greek and Latin Sources for the History of Pre-lslamic Central Asia, *ed. J. Harmatta. Budapest, 1984.*

In the first year of the Yuanshou Reign of the Han Emperor Aidi 哀帝, Jing Lu 景盧^ a student at the Grand Academy, received the dictation of the fwfw 户 浮 屠 經 from Yicun, an envoy sent to China by the king of the Greater Yuezhi. It was he who had re-established [Buddhism in China]. All the terms such as pwsflz•蒲塞,sflwgmew,桑門,bow;⑶但聞, shwioeri 疏問,boshwxifm 白疏聞,biqiw 比丘,and chenmeft 晨門 appearing in this *sūtra*, are titles of [the Buddha's] disciples.

This event is also reported in the following works; Liu Xiaobiao's 案!J 孝標 commentary to the "Wenxue 文學[Literature]" chapter of S/n_s/iwo xz'nyw 世説新語[New Words and Sayings of the World]", "Shi Lao zhi 釋老志 [Treatise on Buddhism and Daoism]", in the Wds/zM 魏書[History of the Northern Wei]", "Jingji zhi 經籍志[Bibliographical Treatise]", Sm's/zw 陧書 [History of the Sui], the fifth chapter of Falin's 法林 BzVmz/ieng /ww 辯主論 [Treatise on Defending the Right], Zhang Shoujie's 張守食 ffcommentary to the "Dawan liezhuan 大宛列傳[Account of Ferghana]", the SW//史記[Records of the Historian], the 193rd chapter of the *Tongdian* [The Comprehen- sive Codex], the BwtW/zfl's [/wfw 浮屠經]of the Jin and Song

dynasties cited in the 196th chapter of Towgz/iz•通志[Comprehensive Accounts], and *Jin zhongjing* [The Middle Sūtra of the Jin] quoted in the second chapter of the *Guangchuan huaba* 114[Guangchuan's Postscripts to Paintings】. However, Jing Lu's name is written as Qin Jingxian 秦景憲 in the *Weishu*, and in *Bianzheng lun* we find another version of the story about Qin Jing going to the Yuezhi country, whose king ordered his son to teach [Qin] the *Futu jing*, which is similar to the account in the *Jin zhongjing*.

After the Greater Yuezhi migrated westwards to Bactria, they quickly assimilated themselves to the local culture. Therefore, it is highly possible that Buddhism was prevalent there in the late first century BC, and that a Greater Yuezhi envoy to China at that time orally transmitted a Buddhist scripture to a Chinese student. 20 Tang Yongtong has correctly pointed out that the Greater Yuezhi's invasion of Bactria was an important event in the history of Buddhist transmission to China, that the Greater Yuezhi converted to Buddhism during the Western Han period, and that Buddhism probably came to China from Bactria. Therefore the beginning of Buddhist translation should be traced back to the late Western Han.2i The scripture(s) referred to as *Futu jing* said to have been translated in this period might have been a scripture describing Bud- dha's life, similar to the later *sūtras* like the *Benqi jing* [Sūtra on the [*21]

2○ Note that oral transmission of scriptures was a tradition of Indian Buddhism. Early Chinese Buddhist *sūtras* were also transmitted in this way.

21 Tang Yongtong, *Han Wei Hang Jin Nanbei chao fojiaoshi* [A History of Chinese Buddhism during the Han, Wei, Western and Eastern Jin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties], Beijing, 1983, p. 36.

Buddha's Origin],[22] and the Bemz•叩/i_«g 本彳了經[Siitra on the Buddha's Deeds].[23 24 25] Later on, quite a few Budidhist monks from the Greater Yuezhi began to arrive in China for missionary and translatioiv work.

There is a well known legend in which it is told that, in the seventh year of the Yongping 永平七年 reign, i.e. AD 64, the Emperor Mingdi 明帝 dreamed of the Buddha and then sent envoys to the Western Regions in search of the Buddhist teachings. This highly fictional story has many different versions. Its earliest version is found in the preface to *Sishier zhang jing* [Sūtra in Forty-two Sections]:

One night in the past, the Emperor Han Mingdi dreamed of a deity, who had a golden hued body and rays like the light of the sun emanating from his neck, flying in front of the palace. This made the emperor ecstatic and pleased. The next day the Emperor asked his ministers: "Who was that person?" The learned Fu Yi answered: "I have heard that in India there is a person who has obtained the Way, called the Buddha.

He can easily rise and fly. He is most likely the deity you dreamed of/[7] Upon hearing this, the emperor understood and imme-diately sent twelve people, including the envoy Zhang Qian, the Court Gentleman Qin Jing, and an erudite student Wang Zun to the Greater Yuezhi. They copied the *Sūtra in Forty-two Sections* and placed it in fourteen stone cases. [The emperor] established *stuyas* and temples [for the *siitra]*. Thus the Dharma was widely spread, and Buddhist temples were set up everywhere.

Later various elements were added to the story, such as that when Zhang Qian and Qin Jing arrived in the Western Regions they met a monk called Zhu Moteng i.e. Kasyapa Matahga, from whom they copied the scripture

in question, then returned to Luoyang, where it was kept in the fourteenth stone chamber of Lantai MS or Orchid Tower.24 All of these stories concerning the earliest transmission of Buddhism to China involved the Greater Yuezhi. Despite their obvious fictional elements, they clearly indicate that it was the Yuezhi who were most closely linked with the early Buddhist translations in China.

Here we cannot discuss problems such as the authenticity, translation and nature of the *Sūtra in Forty-two Sections* in detail. However, its close relation with *Dharmapada* [Faju jing has to be pointed out.25 The Gandhari

22 *T.* 184.3.

23 T. 193.3.

24 CTiw sanzfln 又 y_i_ /_i•出三藏記集記(Collection of Records on the Translation of the Chinese Tripitaka), ch. 2. *T.* 2145.55.

25 Cf. Lii Cheng, *Zhongguo foxue yuanliu liiejiang* [Lectures on the Origin and Development of Chinese Buddhism], Beijing, 1979, pp. 20–2. In this study the author has pointed out that the *Sūtra in Forty-two Sectionsand* the *Dharmapada* translated by Zhi Qian are quite similar in form. Furthermore, he has pointed out that approximately

version of this scripture written in Kharosth! script discovered in Khotan was thoroughly examined by J. Brough in the early 1960s.[26] [27] * [29] Kharosth! was one of the official scripts used by the Kushan Empire, and the grammar and vocabulary in this Kharosthl Buddhist scripture resemble those of the KharosthI inscriptions of the Kushan Empire. Hence a careful comparison between the Gandhari *Dharmapada* and the Chinese *Sūtra in Forty-two Sections* would be most helpful.

Professor Ji Xianlin has already argued that the languages of ancient Central Asia and Xinjiang, such as the various Iranian and Tokharian languages, influenced the Chinese translation of Buddhist scriptures.27 As early as 1947, he demonstrated that the Chinese word *fo* is not a direct translation from the Sanskrit *buddha,* but probably of Tokharian origin, such as *pcit-* in Agnean and *pud-* [or *pud-]* in Kuchean. Yet, according to Bernhard Karlgren's reconstruction, the ancient pronunciation of the Chinese character/◯ ^ *b*' *iw◯y* jb'iu^t begins with a voiced consonant, while in Tokharian it always begins with an unvoiced consonant. In 1970, the German scholar F. Bernhard supported Ji's hypothesis, maintaining that *fo* was a transcription of **but* in a Tokharian dialect that predates the A and B dialects (cf. *pudnakte* in the B and *ptafikcit* in the A dialect).28 E. G. Pulleyblank also regards the original form of *fo* to be few f .29 In 1979, a small bronze statue of a sitting Buddha, inscribed with one line of Kharosthl letters on the bottom, was found at a site in the ancient Chinese capital of Chang'an. According to Lin Meicun, it is dated to no later than the end of the fourth century, and it was evidently produced by the Yuezhi immigrants from Kushan who had been moving to China in increasingly great numbers since the mid-second century.30 The inscription on the bottom of this statue contains a word meaning Buddha, written as *buca*. The transformation from *t* into c is a known feature of Tokharian, also seen in the oldest stratum of Tokharian used in Kharosthl documents from Loulan.

two-thirds of the former work is identical with passages from the latter, hence it would not be incorrect to refer to the former as a sort of copy of the latter.

26 J. Brough, *The Gandhari Dharmapada,* Oxford, 1962.

27 Cf. Ji Xianlin, /yFutu yu Fo [On Futu and Fo]"/ reprinted in *Zhong Yin wenhim guanxi* s/n_ fwniyen 々•; and his "Zai tan Futu yu Fo [Another Discussion on 尹 utu and Fo] 〃 ,Lfs/if *yattjiu* 2 (1990).

並 R Bernhard, "G5ndhSri and the Buddhist Mission in CervtTzil Asia, Ai\jaU", irv: Papers on *Indology and Buddhism Presented to Oliver Hector de Alwis Wijesekera on His Sixtieth Birthday,* ed. J. Tilakairi. Peradeniya, 1970, p. 59.

29 E. G. Pulleyblank, ''Stages in the Transcription of Indian Words from the Han to Tangw, in: *Sprache des Buddhismus in Centralasien,* ed. K. Rohrborn and W. Veenker. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983, p. 78. The most recent publication on Chinese *fo* and its Iranian correspondence can be found in W. Sunderman, "Manichaean Traditions on the Date of the Historical Buddha^, in: *The Dating of the Historical Buddha,* ed. H. Bechert, Gottingen: 1991, pp. 426–9.

3◯ Cf. Lin Meicun, "*A* Kharosthl Inscription from Chang·an/', reprinted in: *Ji Xianlin jiaoshou bashi huadan jinian lunwen ji*.

Therefore, *buca* is a Tokharian term used by the Yuezhi people. This evidence further confirms Ji's hypothesis.

The Yuezhi Buddhist Translators in China

It is possible to know a great deal about the situation of Buddhism in the Greater Yuezhi kingdom through the Buddhist scriptures which were brought from that country to the East and there translated into Chinese.

Most of the people who came from the Western Regions to China and adopted the Chinese surname Zhi 支 during the second to fifth century were more or less related to the Yuezhi. One of them, Lokaksema (Zhi Loujiachan 支婁迦懺,sometimes abbreviated to Zhi Chan 支懺),was the most famous Buddhist translator during the Later Han period. He was originally a Kushan *sramana* and arrived at Luoyang in the late years of the Emperor Han Huandi's reign. In AD 178 and 179, he translated more than ten Buddhist sūtras from Central Asian languages into Chinese, including the *Astasahasrika- prajnaparamita sūtra, the Suramgamasamadhi siitra,* the *Pratyutpannabuddha- sammukhavasthitasamadhi sūtra,* the *Ajatasatrukankrtyavinodana,* and the *Ratnakuta.* Among the *sūtras* translated by Lokaksema the most noteworthy is that belonging to the *prajfiaparamita* class of scriptures which laid the foundation for the early development of Mahāyāna Buddhism in China. The fact that his translation of the *Astasahasrikaprajfiaparamita sūtra,* also called the Xwopz'n borwo ,J、品般若[Small Prajf\Sp5ramit5】,had already been re-translated twice by the time of Kumarajiva clearly shows its great influence. The Madhyamika school of Mahāyāna might have evolved from the Maha- samghika tradition, which originated in southern India and had been transmitted to the north by the time of Kaniska. Chinese Buddhists regard Asvaghosa as the first advocator of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and he was said to have been highly respected by King Kaniska. During the Eastern Han period, Mahāyāna scriptures had already become popular in the Kushan Empire. By the end of the Eastern Han, Mahāyāna *sūtras,* including the Prajnaparamita and the *Vaipulya* classes of scriptures, had made their way to China. Therefore, it is not surprising at all for us to see that the early Mahāyāna Buddhist system in China was established by the Yuezhi Lokaksema, rather than by someone of another nationality.

It is known that a Yuezhi monk, Zhi Yao 支曜,engaged in Buddhist translation at Luoyang in AD 185. The C/ieng/M gMfln 客 mfng 成具光明經

[Sūtra on the Completion of Brightness], is the only extant translation that can be definitely identified as being made by Zhi Yao, also belongs to the Mahāyāna tradition.

One of Zhi Chan's known students was Zhi Liang 支亮(also styled Jiming It is uncertain whether he was an *upasaka* or *sramana,* and some scholars even suggest that Zhi Liang and Zhi Yao were actually one and the

same person. 31 In Chinese both Hang and yao mean “light” or “brightness”; they were probably used to translate the same Sanskrit word *prabhasaka*.

Another Yuezhi monk Zhi Qian 支謙(also named Yue 越 and styled Gongming 恭明)translated as many as thirty-six Buddhist sSfrfls in for- ty-eight chapters between AD 222 and AD 253. His grandfather, Fadu 法度,the leader of the several of hundreds Greater Yuezhi people who migrated to China during the reign of the Emperor Han Lingdi, was appointed Court Gentleman by the Han court. Zhi Qian studied with Zhi Liang and thus became the second generation disciple of Lokaksema. He is said to have studied Buddhist texts from the age of ten and various Central Asian languages from the age of thirteen. He is said to have mastered six languages and was well read in the Chinese classics. Sun Quart 孫權,the ruler of the Wu Kingdom, was deeply impressed by Zhi Qian’s explanation of Buddhist scriptures and gave him the title of Boshi Wi, i.e. Erudite Scholar, with the responsibility of working with Wei Zhao 韋昭 and other scholars to counsel and instruct the crown prince. 32 The scriptures that he translated covered a wide spectrum, including both Mahāyāna and Hlnayana texts. His most important translations include the *Vimalaklrtinirdesa [Weimojie jing* IPM] in two chapters, the *Astasahasrikaprajnaparamita sūtra [Da mingdu zvuji* 矢明度無極經][31 32 33 34 35] in four chapters, a biography of the Buddha, the Tflizi *ruiying jing* [The Scripture on the Auspicious Deportment of the Prince],34 etc. He also collated Wei Zhinan’s 維抵難 translation of the D/jarmfl- *pada*. Zhi Qian inherited Lokaksema’s philosophical system and tried to make his translations smooth and readable. For example, when he was translating the *Anantamukhasadhaka-dharam*,^ he succeeded both in maintaining the original eight-syllable format and correctly translating the meaning, instead of just transcribing the sounds. He proved himself to be a literary master well versed in rhymes and cadence, as shown in his composition of the *Zan pusa* “fln/w 贊菩薩連句梵_ [Hymn of Linked Verse in Praise oi the Bodhisattva]. The scriptural commentary he made for his own translation of the ^*alistambhaka sūtra* is the earliest example of this kind of Buddhist literature in China.

Yet another Buddhist translator with the surname “Zhi” was Zhi Jiangjie- liang 支疆接梁 (Kalasivi?), who also might have come from the country of the Yuezhi- While residing in Jiaozhou 交州(present-day Hanoi in Vietnam)

31 For a discussion of this, see Lin Meicun, “Guishuang Dayuezhi ren liuyu Zhongguo kao [A Study of the Yuezhi Immigrants in China]”, in: *Dunhuang Tulufan xue yanjiu lunwen ji* [Collection of Papers in the Field of Dunhuang and Turfan Studies], ed. Jiang Liangfu and Guo Zaiyi. Shanghai, 1990, p. 722.

32 Cf. ch. 13 of the *Chu sanzang ji ji*.

33 T. 225.8.

34 *T*. 185.3.

35 T. 1011.19.

in either AD 255 or AD 256, he translated the *SaddharmapundarTka sūtra*

However the most eminent translator during the Western Jin period was Dharmarak^a (Zhu Fahu 竺法護),whose ancestors had lived in Dunhuang 敦丈皇 for generations. Although he was of the Yuezhi nationality, when Dharmaraksa became a monk at the age of eight under an Indian monk Zhu Gaozuo 竺尚座,he adopted his teacher's surname. When he was young, Dharmaraksa travelled with his teacher to many countries in the Western Regions and learned several Central Asian languages and scripts. Following this he returned to China with a large number of Buddhist texts. In AD 266 he travelled from Dunhuang to Chang'an and Luoyang, and later crossed the Yangzi River. During his travels he is said never to have stopped teaching and translating. He translated some one hundred and fifty Hlnayana and Maha- yana *siitras*,^ virtually covering all important texts circulating in the Western Regions. Thus, he greatly expanded the possibilities for the further development of Mahāyāna Buddhism in China. Among the eighty-six translations attributed to Dharmaraksa that have survived up to the present are the *Pancavimsatikasahasrikaprajfiaparatnita sūtra*^ in ten chapters, the *Saddharma- pundanka sūtra*[36 37 38 39 * 41] in ten chapters, the *Dasabhumika sūtra^o* in five chapters, the *Lalitavistara* in eight chapters, etc. Dharmaraksa was often assisted by men like wp 泛 sdfl Nie Chengyuan 聶承遠 and his son Nie Daozhen 囊道真,who not only took the responsibility of writing down Dharmaraksa's oral recitation and checking the translation, but also translated some texts by themselves. Besides, they recorded information about the original texts and the place of translation, which constituted the earliest Chinese Buddhist catalogue commonly called the *Nie Daozhen lu* [Nie Daozhen's Catalo
gue] .41

Although their ethnic attributes are not specified in scriptural catalogues, Zhi Fadu 支法度 and Zhi Daogen 支道瑕 two other BuAdhist translators active during the fourth century, were most likely directly or indirectly related to the Yuezhi.

According to *Biqiuni zhuan* 比丘尼傳[Biographies of Nuns],[42] the monk Sengjian obtained the *Mahasamghikakarmavacana* and the *Pratimoksa* for nuns in the Yuezhi country between AD 335-42, and translated them at

36 r. 263.9.

37 See ch. 2 of the C/iw /!' // • Cf. the entry in the s/ii)• | /« 開兀釋教錄[Catalogue of Buddhism during the Kaiyuan Period】,T. 2154.55. Here it is stated that he translated one hundred and seventy-five texts.

38 *T*. 222.8.

39 *T*. 263.9.

4〇 T. 285.10.

41 This scripture is no longer extant, but is referred to in the second chapter of the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, *T*. 2154.55, 49c–97a, pp. 500b, 501a.

42 *T*. 2063.50. See also, *Lives of the Nuns*: *Biographies of Chinese Buddhist Nuns from the Fourth to Sixth Centuries*, tr. Kathryn Ann Tsai, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994, p. 19.

Luoyang. This fact indicates that the *Bhiksuni Pratimoksa* was in circulation in the Yuezhi. There was also a monk by the name of Zhi Shilun 支施言命(fl. late 4th cent.), who translated some *Vaipulya* scriptures, including the *Susthi- tamati[devaputra sūtra]paripracha,*^ the *Shang jinguangshou jing* 上金光首- *M*. [Scripture of the Supreme, Golden Light Usnlsa?][43] [44] [45] and the *Suramgama- samadhi siitra*.

After the Former Qin Kingdom (359-94) unified North China and re-established direct communication with the Western Regions, a Tokharian monk called Dharmanandhi (Tanmonanti 暴摩難提)arrived in China and translat- ed the *Madhyamagama* and the *Ekottaragama* sometime during the Jianyuan reign period, i.e. AD 364-89. These are the earliest translations of major Agamfls. The two eminent Chinese monks, Daoan 道安(d. 385) and Fahe 法和(fl. 4th cent.), examined these Agflmas, while the former wrote a preface for the Chinese version of the *Ekottaragama*.

In AD 433, the monk Daotai 道泰 obtained the Sanskrit version of the *Mahavibhasa* in more than one hundred thousand *gathas* from the area west of the Pamirs. Four years later, this *sūtra* was translated into Chinese at Liangzhou 梁州 by Buddhavarman, who was also said to be of Tokharian descent.45 It is well known that the *Mahavibhasa* was quite popular among the Yuezhi.

In summary, Yuezhi monks translated a great number of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese, most of which seem to have been Mahāyāna *sūtras*, including the *Avatamsaka*, *Vaipulya*, *Prajnaparamita*, *SaddharmapundarTka* and *Nirvana*. These translations greatly accelerated the development of Chinese Buddhist doctrine and philosophy. As for the original languages in which these scriptures were written, no thorough examination has been made so far. It seems that most of them were written in some form of Sanskrit or Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, though some probably contained elements of various Central Asian languages including Tokharian. The question as to whether many of the early Chinese Buddhist *siitras* were translated from Central Asian languages is still an important subject that needs further study.

Kumarajlva and Kuchean Buddhism

Kucha was a state established by the Tokharians on the northern edge of the Tarim Basin, and it is not clear when Buddhism first spread to this area. An account in the Aywwflwg ffli'zz' ymywfln /'z'ng 阿育王太子壞目因緣經 [Scripture on the Causes and Conditions of Prince Asoka)[46] which says that

43 T. 342.11.

44 This scripture is no longer extant.

45 His biography can be found in the Dfl 又;dyow w'M/fl《flose 叩 大唐西遊法高僧傳[Biographies of the Great Tang Monks Who Travelled to the Western Regions in Search of Dharma], ch. 1. *T*. 2066.50.

46 *T*. 2045.50.

Kucha was among the lands A 会 oka gave to his son Fayi 法益 is obviously a fable and should not be taken at face value. However, according to Chinese sources, as early as the third century some Buddhist monks from Kucha arrived in the Chinese heartland to translate and teach. It is for example recorded that a Kuchean prince referred to as Bo Yan 白延 took part in the translation of the *Suramgamasamadhi sūtra* together with Zhi Shilun. It is also said that Bo Yan was good at both Chinese and foreign languages, well read in a variety of classics, and that he mastered both Buddhism and Confucianism. Other Kuchean Buddhists active in China during the Western Jin period were the layman Shan Yuanxin 單兀信 and Srimitra (Bo Shilimiduoluo 帛尸 梨密多羅),a member of the Kuchean royal house. Another famous monk, Fotudeng 佛圖澄,who arrived at Luoyang in AD 310 and whose original surname was Bo 帛,was also a Kuchean. After the Later Zhao regime was established, he became a confidant of the Zhao rulers such as Shi Le 石勒 and Shi Hu 石虎• He advised them to be lenient, and made every effort to spread Buddhism among the common people. Although he is not credited with having translated any Buddhist *sūtras*, he worked in northern China for many years and had a great impact on the subsequent development of Chinese Buddhism.

During the fourth century Buddhism became increasingly popular in Kucha, and the number of Buddhist monks in that country reached more than ten thousand. In the capital alone no less than one thousand temples and *stupas* were established, and Buddhist statues were worshipped in the royal palace as well as in the temples. Some temples were magnificent and extensive, including the famous Queli Temple located at Subasi to the north of the seat of today's Kucha County, whose remains have been found by archaeologists.[47] At that time the most famous monk within the Hinayana Buddhist clergy around Kucha was Buddhak?ema (Fotushemi 佛圖舌彌)• He was in charge of many temples, including three large ones for the nuns, some of whom were princesses of the royal houses of Eastern Central Asian kingdoms, and who had come to Kucha to learn Buddhism. The Kuchean *Vinaya* was said to be very strict and even attracted monks from the Eastern Jin, who travelled the thousands of miles to request Vinaya texts from Buddhaksema. Thus we can conclude that Kucha had become one of the most important Buddhist centres at that time. The earlier Buddhist caves at Qizil were also constructed during this period. In these caves many Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts have been found dating from the second to fourth centuries. The majority of these belong to the Hinayana.

The most famous Kuchean monk was undoubtedly Kumarajlva (344-c. 413), whose dates are variously given. According to Sengzhao's *Jiumoluoshi*

[47] See Chao Huashan, "Xinjiang Kezier shiku kaocha yanjiu jianshi yu Xinjiang wenwu zai guowai de liuchuan [A Brief History of the Investigation and Studies of the Qizil Caves and the Distribution of Xinjiang Cultural Relics in Foreign Countries]/, reprinted in: *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu lunwen ji*, p. 618.

/fls/n_ 鳩摩羅什法師誄[Memoir of the Dharma Master KumSrajiva],[48]
Kumarajlva's father, Kumarayana, was an Indian. He resigned from the post of prime minister, became a monk, and then travelled across the Pamirs to Kucha where he was warmly welcomed by the reigning king. He was appointed to the position as court teacher, and eventually married the king's sister, Jiva. When Kumarajlva was seven years old, he left home along with his mother and went to study the scriptures of the *Abhidharma* with Buddhaksema. At the age of nine, Kumarajlva travelled with his mother across the Indus River to Kashmir, and further to Yuezhi (Gandhara?), Kashgar and other places before they arrived in Yarkand. The Buddhist *sūtras* Kumarajlva studied prior to his twelfth year were Hinayana texts, especially those of the Sarvastivada School, which was popular in Kashmir. However, after he met the prince Suryasoma of Yarkand in Kashgar, he turned his interest to the Mahāyāna. In addition to Hinayana and Mahāyāna Buddhism, Kumarajlva also studied the four *Vedas* and the *pancavidya*. After he returned to Kucha via Aksu, he became a *bhiksu* connected to the royal palace until he reached the age of twenty.
In the course of time Kumarajlva's reputation reached China, where Daoan suggested in a letter to Fu Jian the ruler of the Former Qin, that Kumarajlva be invited to China. In AD 385 Fu Jian sent some troops under general Lii Guang 呂光 to Kucha and forcefully brought Kumarajlva with them back to Liangzhou. As it happened Fu Jian was assassinated soon after, and Lu Guang established his own regime in the Liangzhou area, the Northern Liang :] 亡涼, where Kumarajlva stayed for more than ten years. In AD 401 Liangzhou fell to Yao Xing 姚興,the founder of the state of Later Qin 後秦,who invited Kumarajiva to Chang'an and gave him the title of "national preceptor" 國師. After that time, Kumarajlva began to translate *sūtras* with the assistance of hundreds of monks.
Among the hundreds of rolls of Buddhist texts translated by Kumarajlva in Chang'an were the *Mahaprajmipdramita sūtra,* the *SaddharmapundarJka sūtra,* the *Vimalaklrtinirdesa sūtra,* the *Amitabha sūtra,* the *Vajracchedika- prajfiaparamita sūtra,* etc. Most of them were Mahāyāna scriptures and re-translations. Kumarajlva also introduced the Madhyamika school of Indian Buddhism systematically to China and translated representative works of this school including the *Madhyamika sastra,* the *Sata sastra,* the *Dvadasanikaya sastra,* the *Mahaprajnaparamita sastra,* and *Satyasiddhi sastra*. Kumarajlva started a new epoch in the history of Buddhist translation in China because he was successful ir\ both correctly rendering the original meaning and expres- sing it in elegant Chinese. That is the reason why Sengyou 僧祐(445-518), in the first chapter of *Chu sanzang ji ji* makes a distinction between Kumarajlva's "new" translations and the "old" ones made by all his predecessors.
48 T. 1856.45.

As a master of Buddhist translation, Kumarajlva authored only a few works himself, including the *Shixiang lun* [Treatise on the Marks of Reality]. This work, which is said to have systematically expressed his philosophy, has unfortunately long been lost. His correspondence with Huiyuan 慧遠(344–416) was collected by later scholars and preserved in a book titled 大乘大義章[Essays on the Essence of Mah5-yana]49 in three chapters. Most recently, an ancient manuscript of Kumarajiva's *Dasheng Pusa rudao sanzhong guan* [Three Contem plations of the Enlightened Mahāyāna Bodhisattva], has been found in Nagoya, Japan.[49] [50] Its authenticity, however, needs further examination.

Concluding Remarks

Until the fifth and sixth centuries, Buddhism was still flourishing in Kucha. It was during this period that most of the Kuchean votive caves were built. Many Buddhist scriptures in Tokharian B (Kuchean) as well as temple registers and accounts of begging for alms dating from this period have been discovered. As seen in the wall-paintings in the caves as well as in the excavated scriptures, Hlnayana Buddhism was still dominant in that area. During the AD 720s, Xuanzang passed through Kucha en route from China to India. In his Do Tflwg xz'yw 夭唐西游言己[Record of the Western Regions] he reported that there were more than one hundred Buddhist temples and no less than five thousand Hlnayana monks and nuns. He also visited the two Zhaohuli Temples in the east and west, namely the great Queli Temple mentioned above. From the mid-seventh to the late eighth century, many Chinese people migrated to Kucha. Because of the cultural exchanges between the Chinese and Kucheans, some Buddhist caves mixed the art styles of both. From the second half of the ninth century, the Uighurs gradually replaced the Tibetans as the controllers of Kucha. The Uighurs also converted to Buddhism and tried hard to resist the eastward spread of Islam. The Turks had long since entered Kucha. Gradually they became dominant in the local population during later periods and eventually assimilated the native Kuchean population, while the Kuchean language was eventually replaced by Uighur. By the thirteenth century, the Kuchean people had converted to Islam. The Buddhist culture of the region as well as the Tokharian-speaking Kucheans themselves gradually disappeared from Central Asia.

However, the extinct Tokharians and their relation with Buddhism have been discovered by modern archaeology. All the Tokharian documents have been written in a form of slanted Brahmi, which is referred to as Northern Turkestan Brahmi by L. Sander. The Buddhist literature written in ancient

[49] This work is no longer extant, but is referred to in several later works and scriptural catalogues.

[50] *Cf. Ochii Toshinori,* The Manuscripts of Nanatsu-Dera: A Recently Discovered Treasure-House in Downtown Nagoya, *Kyoto: The Italian School of Oriental Studies, 1991, pp. 41-5.*

Kuchean and Agnean consists mainly of such works as the *Udanavarga* and its commentary the *Udanalamkara*,^ the *Pratimoksa*,^- the *Karmavacana, Karma- vibhanga*, the *Pratltyasamutpada*, the *Abhidharmakosa*, the *Catusparisat sūtra*, the story of Nanda and his wife Sundari, Matrceta's *Buddhastotra*, etc. Also found were the *Punyavanta-jataka*, a variety of *avadana* stories taken from the *Aranemi Jataka* and so forth. Most of these stories are also found in the *Avadanasataka*, the *Divyavadana*, the *Jatakamala* and in the *Avadanakalpa- lata*. In the early twentieth century, the German expedition led by Griinwedel and Von le Coq found some fragments of the *Maitreyasamiti* at Sorsuq near Karashahr (Yanqi). In the winter of 1974, a further forty-four sheets, altogether eighty-eight pages of the same work, were found in an ash pit near the north temple at the Siksim site, also in the vicinity of Karashar.53 Other Buddhist texts related to the Maitreya cult included the *Maitreyavadanavyakarana*, whose contents are in large part the same as those of *Maitreyasamiti*, but also have some significant differences. In addition to the above findings, there are also manuscripts and cave inscriptions related to Buddhism. Besides Buddhist literature, there are medical, legal, economic and Manichaean documents 54

See *Tocharische Sprachreste*: *Sprache B*, herausgegeben von Emil Sieg und Wilhelm Siegling, Kommentar nebst Register versehen von Werner Thomas, Gottingen, 1983–.

Cf. Klaus T. Schmidt, Der Schlu&teil des Pratimoksa sūtra der Saruastivadins: Textiti Sanskrit and Tocharisch A verglichen mil den Parallelversionen anderer Schulen, Auf Grund von Turfan-Handschriften, herausgegeben und bearbeitet, Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden *XIII, Abh. d. Ak. d. Wiss. in Gottingen, Phil-hist. Kl., Dritte Folge Nr. 171, Gottingen, 1989.*

Cf. Li Yuchun and Han Xiang, '"Xinjiang Yanqi faxian tuhuoluo wen A (Yanqi yu] ben Mile huijian ji juben canjuan IThe Manuscripts of Maitrisimit in Tokharian A (Agnean) Discovered in Karashar, Xinjiang]./, *Wenwu* 3 (1983); and ji Xianlin, 'Tuhuoluo yu A zhong de sanshier xiang [The Thirty-two *laksanas* in Tokharian *A]*", *Minzu yuwen 2* (1982).

For general information about the field of Tokharian studies, which due to the lack of space cannot be discussed in detail here, the reader may refer to such catalogues as E. Schwentner, *Tocharische Bibliographic 1890–1958*, Berlin: 1959; St. Zimmer, Tocharische Bibliographic 1959–1975 (Heidelberg: 1976). Refer also to W. Thomas, *Die Erforschung des Tocharischen* (*1960–1984*) , Stuttgart: 1985; Ji Xianlin, *Durthuang Tulufan Tuhuoluoyu yanjiu* doolujiA Discussion of the Research on Tokharian Language in Dur\huai\g and Turfan]. Taipei: 1993; and Vaclav Blaiek, 'Tocharian Linguistics during the Last 25 Years^, *Archiv Orientdlni* 56 (1988).

Schwarze Magie im tibetischen Buddhismus

Peter Schwieger

"Schwarze Magie in tibetischen Buddhismus": Der Titel des Aufsatzes weckt unwillkurlich gleich in mehrerer Hinsicht Unbehagen. Da ist zum ersten der Begriff der Magie. Dieser Begriff hat eine wechselvolle Geschichte, die vor allem durch die intensiv gefiihrte Diskussion um seine Abgrenzung zum Begriff der Religion gepragt ist. In dieser Diskussion wurde kein Konsens erzielt und selbst Fortschritte in dem Bemuhen um eine genaue Unterschei- dung der Begriffe werden teilweise heftig in Abrede gestellt. l Das - wie auch immer geartete - Verhaltnis von Magie und Religion beriihrt sodann die alte Frage, inwieweit wir es beim Buddhismus uberhaupt mit Religion zu tun haben. Diese Frage ist fiir die Moglichkeit einer Beziehung zwischen Magie und Buddhismus insofern relevant, als es von philosophischer, ethnologischer und relxgionswissenschaftlicher Seite in der spateren Phase der Diskussion um die Begriffe "Magie" und "Religion" eine Reihe von Stimmen gibt, die darauf hinweisen, dafi eine genaue Abgrenzung zwischen Magie und Religion schlechterdings unmoglich sei.[1] [2] *

Doch unabhangig davon, zu welchem Schlufi man auch in der Frage nach der Einordnung des Buddhismus gelangt, ist die Bedingung der Moglichkeit von Magie im Buddhismus zu priifen. Wird hier nicht Unvereinbares in einen Zusammenhang gezwungen? Die Frage stellt sich bereits fiir die Begriffe ''Magie^ und //Buddhismus"/ um so mehr fiir den behaupteten Zusammen- hang von "schwarzer Magie" und "tibetischem Buddhismus", der doch das Mahāyāna mit seinem Ideal des selbstlosen Bodhisattva impliziert.

Hier mag manch einer einwenden, daC wir doch haufig auf magische Praktiken als Bestandteil einer unter dem Mantel der Hochreligion wuchern- den Volksreligiositat treffen. Dies trifft jedoch nicht auf die magischen Praktiken im tibetischen Buddhismus zu. Diese Praktiken haben vielmehr ihren genau bestimmbaren Platz innerhalb eines hochkomplexen Lehrgefiiges

1 Vor allem Wax (1963): S. 341ff.

2 Z.B: Dux (1982): S. 166f; Pettersson (1957); Wax (1963); Macho (1981): S. 336; Levi-Strauss (1981[4]): S. 256.

mit philosophischer Grundanschauung. Von daher ist anzunehmen, daC in den Prinzipien dieser Grundanschauung bereits die Moglichkeit zur Magie angelegt ist. Dem Charakter der Volksreligiositat widerspricht des weiteren, dafi diese Praktiken von langjahrig ausgebildeten Geistlichen ausgefiihrt werden, die diesbeziiglich iiber ein bis ins einzelne genau tradiertes Spezial- wissen verfiigeri. Dafi daneben volksreligiose Formeri der Magie existieren, soli nicht bestritten werden.

Der Versuch, die Magie als populares Zugestandnis zu erklaren, fiihrt auch nicht weiter, da er die prinzipielle Moglichkeit solcher Praktiken nicht aus der Grundanschaung des Lehrsystems erklart. Er verdeckt zudem, dafi diese Praktiken durchaus nicht nur fiir Belange des einfachen Volkes, sondern - frei von der Moglichkeit des Zynismus - auch fiir Belange der Geistlichkeit selbst sowie fiir das Ausraumen von Hindernissen auf dem buddhistischen Er- losungsweg eingesetzt werden.

Aus dem hiermit umrissenen Fragenkomplex ergeben sich im folgenden sechs Schritte: Zuerst mochte ich einige Grundziige der Diskussion um eine Theorie der Magie reflektieren. Im zweiten Schritt frage ich nach den Beding- ungen der Moglichkeit von Magie im Buddhismus allgemein. Nachdem in diesen beiden Schritten bereits wesentliche Ziige der Magie zur Sprache gebracht werden, fasse ich in einem dritten Schritt ihre wichtigsten Charak- teristika zusammen, so wie sie in der Diskussion um eine genauere Bestim- mung des Begriffs hervorstechen. Daran schliefit sich die spezielle Frage nach der Rechtfertigung von schwarzer Magie im tibetischen Buddhismus an. In einem fiinften Schritt zeige ich am Beispiel einer tibetisch-buddhistischen Schule auf, wo der besondere Platz der Magie im gesamten Lehrgefiige ist. Im Anschlufi an die systematische Einordnung der Magie im tibetischen Buddhismus werde ich dann schwarze Magie an einem ausfiihrlichen Beispiel beschreiben. Die Absicht ist, auf diese Weise derartige Praktiken nicht lediglich als ein Kuriosum vorzustellen, sondern verstandlich zu machen, dafi sie von einer gleichsam kulturspezifischen Rationalitat geleitet werden.

Am Anfang der Diskussion um den Magiebegriff standen evolutionistische Modelle, die vor dem Hintergrund der einen Sinn, ein Ziel oder einen Weltplan zugrundelegenden und danach wertenden Betrachtung der Ges- chichte in der Philosophic des 19. Jahrhunderts aufgestellt wurden.3 Am bekanntesten ist der Versuch des Schotten James George Frazer (1854–1941), die Magie als unterste Stufe einer dreisprossigen Fortschrittsleiter aus Magie, Religion und Wissenschaft abzugrenzen. Frazer’s Magiebegriff, der vor allem auf dem sogenannten Gesetz der Ahnlichkeit (Law of Similarity) und dem Gesetz der Beriihrung oder Ansteckung (Law of Contact or Contagion) beruht,4 ist bereits friih kritisiert worden. 5 Wesentlich fiir die Aufgabe der Theorie Frazer’s und der evolutionistischen Hypothese iiberhaupt war die

Zu Parallelen zu Hegel vgl. Macho (1981): S. 331.

Frazer (1949): S. 11.

Siehe dazu vor allem Widengren (1945).

Tatsache, dafi Magie als irreligiose Vorstufe in der Entwicklung zur Religion weder in der Religionsgeschichte noch im sozialen Leben schriftloser Volker der Gegenwart nachzuweisen war. Man kam vielmehr zu dem Schlufi, dafi Magie und Religion stets nebeneinander zu finden waren.[6 7] Claude Levi-Strauss driickt es in seinem Buch *Das wilde Denken* so aus: "'Es gibt ebensowenig eine Religion ohne Magie, wie eine Magie, die nicht wenigstens ein Kornchen Religion enthielt./,7 Wenn auch in der Folge der Magiebegriff aufgrund mangelnder Unterscheidbarkeit vom Begriff der Religion iiberhaupt verloren zu gehen drohte und man ihm sogar schon ein /yanstandiges Begrab- nis,r wiinschte,[8 9 10 *] so halt doch die Mehrzahl der Diskussionsteilnehmer an der Grunderkenntnis Frazers fest, dafi Religion und Magie nicht ein und dasselbe sind.

Wahrend die evolutionistische Theorie nach 1920 in der vergleichenden Religionswissenschaft weitgehend iiberwunden schien - so diagnostizierte es jedenfalls 1945 der schwedische Relgionswissenschaftler Widengren,9 sind ihre Nachwehen noch eine ganze Weile spurbar. Selbst ein Forscher, wie der Ethnologe Claude Levi-Strauss, der mit seinem Strukturalismus doch eher ein raumliches Paradigma bevorzugte, hat in seinem melancholischen Abgesang auf die gesamte Zivilisation, mit dem er im romantisierenden Blick zuriick sein schones Buch *Traurige Tropen* beschliefit, die Fortschrittsleiter einfach umgedreht: y/Die Menschen/, so schreibt er, /7haben drei grofie religiose Versuche unternommen, um sich von der Verfolgung der Toten, der Boshaftigkeit des Jenseits und den Angsten der Magie zu befreien. In einem Abstand von etwa einem halben Jahrtausend haben sie nacheinander den Buddhismus, das Christentum und den Islam konzipiert; und es fallt auf, da£ jede dieser Etappen in bezug auf die vorherige keirxen Fortschritt, sorvdern vielmehr einen Riickschritt bedeutet/'io Hatte Levi-Strauss auch den tibetischen Buddhismus naher gekannt, er ware sicher iiberrascht gewesen, treffen wir in ihm doch fast das ganze Repertoire magischen Verhaltens an, was sich nur irgendwo nachweisen lafit. Doch der Buddhismus kommt bei Levi-Strauss noch ganz gut weg. "Fiir den Buddhismus gibt es kein Jenseits", f谷hrt er fort, "alles beschrankt sich auf eine radikale Kritik, deren sich die Menschen nie wieder fahig erweisen sollten und an deren Ende der Weise zu einer Verweigerung des Sinns aller Dinge und Wesen gelangt: einer Disziplin, die das Universum und sich selbst als Religion aufhebt."u Hier sind wir bereits bei der Frage, ob es sich beim Buddhismus iiberhaupt um Religion handelt. Claude Levi-Strauss bezeichnet ihn einerseits als Religion, genauer gesagt ganz treffend als die grofie Religion des Nichts-Wissens; andererseits

6 Vgl. Widengren (1945): S. 91.

7 Levi-Strauss (19814): s. 256.

8 E. Smith, "African Symbolism"/ *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 1952, S. 38, zitiert nach Pettersson (1957): S. 324.

9 Widengren (1945): S. 87.

10 Levi-Strauss (1978): S. 405.

n Levi-Strauss (1978): S. 405.

sieht er den Buddhismus im Lichte seiner philosophischen Parallelen zum Marxismus, insofern beide y/das Problem der Metaphysik auf das des menschlichen Verhaltens" zuriickfiihren.[12] [13] [14] [15] Dariiber hinaus ist fiir ihn der Buddhismus wie andere Hochreligionen auch ein Versuch, y/der Mafilosigkeit der primitiven Kulte Herr zu werden". Aber anders als etwa der Islam tut der Buddhismus dies - um es in seinen etwas nebulosen Worten auszudriicken - "dank der einigenden Befriedigung, die dem Versprechen auf die Riickkehr in den miitterlichen Schofi innewohnt".13 Mit anderen Worten: Die Vielzahl der primitiven Kulte, zu denen auch die magischen Praktiken gehoren, soil durch das Versprechen auf die individuelle Erfahrung der urpsriinglichen Einheit des Seins eingedammt werden.

Nun ist durchaus bereits gezeigt worden, dafi mystische Weltsicht und Magie einander nicht ausschliefien mussen. Dem Autor, an den ich in diesem Zusammenhang denke, haftet das aus der Ethnologie bekannte Stigma des kulturellen Uberlaufers an. Er beschreibt die Dinge nicht von der Warte des distanzierten Beobachters, sondern ordnet und wertet sie bewufit aus seiner Weltanschaung und aus seiner personlichen religiosen Erfahrung heraus. Um jedoch einer allzu schnellen Abwertung seiner theoretischen Ausfiihrungen vorzubeugen, sei daran erinrvert, dafi in der Diskussiorv um eine Theorie der Magie einer der gravierendsten Einwande gegen eine weitere Verwendung des Begriffes in der wissenschaftlichen Diskussion der Vorwurf des Ethno- zentrismus war, insbesondere der Vorwurf, der Begriff der Magie sei gegen ein ideales Christentum als Modell fiir das, was man unter Religion zu verstehen habe, abgegrenzt worden. 14

Der Autor, auf den ich hier verweise, ist der gebiirtige Deutsche Lama Anagarika Govinda. Offensichtlich in Anlehnung an die Trias des James Frazer entwickelte er eine ebenfalls evolutionistische Theorie an Hand der indischen Geistesgeschichte.15 Ohne hier naher auf seine Theorie einzugehen,

Levi-Strauss (1978): S. 409.

[13] Levi-Strauss (1978): S. 404.

[14] Siehe z.B. Pettersson (1957).

[15] Govinda hatte seine Theorie zuerst in seinen Vorlesungen an der indischen Universitat von Patna entwickelt, wo er von 1936 bis 1937 als Lektor tatig war. Teile von Govindas Vorlesungen waren in begrenzter Auflage in Indien veroffentlicht worden, doch schon bald vergriffen. Bei einer spateren Neuveroffentlichung hat er - wie er im 1961 verfafiten Vorwort betonte (Govinda o.J.) - zwar zusammengefafit, neu formuliert und erganzt, doch ging er dabei nach wie vor nicht iiber die Einbeziehung des Theravada-Buddhismus hinaus. Erst in seinem spateren Werk *Grundlagen tibetischer Mystik* (Govinda 1972) weitete er seinen Blick auf Mahāyāna und Vajrayāna aus. Govinda unterscheidet drei zeitlich aufeinanderfolgender Stufen menschlicher BewuGtseinszustande: Animismus, Theismus und Anthropoismus. Der Bewufitseinslage des Animismus entspricht das Zeitalter der Magie. Fiir Govinda verschwindet die Magie jedoch nicht mit der Religion. Sieht es in der virsprunglichen Formulierung seiner Theorie noch so aus, als ob sich auf der dritten Stufe, verwirklicht insbesondere in der Lehre des Buddha statt wie bei Frazer in der Wissenschaft, dann keine Spuren der Magie mehr finden, so begegnen wir doch in Govindas spaterem Werk *Grundlagen tibetischer Mystik*, auf dieser Stufe wieder der Magie, vor allem in der von Govinda selbst als Sonderform bezeichneten Mantrik.

mochte ich lediglich zwei Aspekte herausgreifen. Der erste betrifft die Frage, ob wir es beim Buddhismus mit einer Religion zu tun haben. Govinda lost diese Frage durch eine Differenzierung des Gesamtphanomens: „7Als Erlebnis und Weg der praktischen Verwirklichung ist der Buddhismus eine Religion; als gedankliche Formulierung dieses Erlebens ist er Philosophic; als Resultat systematischer Selbstbeobachtung ist er Psychologie; und aus diesem allem ergibt sich eine Norm des Verhaltens, die wir innerlich als Ethik, von aufien
gesehen als Moral bezeichnen."16
Der zweite Aspekt betrifft die Magie. Wesentliches Element der Magie ist fur Govinda ihr Gebundensein an die Sprache bzw. an die Ausdruckskraft menschlichen Geistes iiberhaupt. ^Jedes Ding, jeder Vorgang, wurde als die Verkorperung seines «Namens» aufgefalit^, schreibt er. ^Den «Namen» einer Kraft, eines Wesens oder eines Dinges zu «wissen», d.h. voll und ganz in seinem Bewufitsein zu vergegenwartigen, bedeutete so viel als es zu beherr-schen."i7 Und in Anlehnung an Novalis charakterisiert Govinda Magie wie folgt: "Denken ist Machen, dies ist das Grundprinzip aller Magie, insbeson- dere der Mantrik. Durch das Festhalten, durch rhythmische Wiederholung eines schopferischen Gedankens, einer Idee, einer Vorstellung oder eines Bildes, summiert sich dessen Wirksamkeit, gleich der eines Tropfens, bis es alle Tatigkeitsorgane mitreifit und zur geistigen und materiellen Tat wird/'[16] [17] [18] Der Mantrik - von Govinda als Sonderform der Magie bezeichnet - aber begegnen wir im Vajrayāna, dem Buddhismus Tibets, sowohl auf der Ebene der mystischen Erfahrung der Einheit des Seins, als auch auf der Ebene der Zuwendung zur Welt.
Doch was erklart die Verbindung von mystischer Erfahrung und Magie? Gibt es etwas, was beiden gemeinsam ist?
Zunachst mochte ich ein Moment in Govindas Magiebegriff festhalten, das er als konstitutiv herausstellt: Es ist die Ausdruckskraft menschlichen Geistes, die zutiefst schopferisch ist. Im magischen Verhalten steht der Mensch ganz im Banne seiner eigenen Ausdruckskraft. Die Intensitat dieser Kraft, mit der das Ausgedriickte im Bewufitsein vergegenwartigt und vor dem inneren Auge lebendig wird, macht sie zur Einbildungskraft, zur Imagination. Der Imagination kommt in der Praxis des tibetischen Buddhismus eine zentrale Stellung zu. Imagination allein, oder um es mit dem griechischen Fremdwort auszudriicken, Phantasie, ist noch keine Magie. Allerdings steht sie ihr bereits sehr nahe. "Die Phantasie", so hat Charles Baudelaire geschrieben, "zerlegt die ganze Schopfung nach Gesetzen, die im tiefsten Seeleninnern entspringen, sammelt und gliedert ihre Teile und erzeugt daraus eine neue Welt." Etwas Ahnliches tut der yogin im *sadhana*, mit dem Unterschied, daC seine Evokation primar den Regeln einer genau festgelegten Vorschrift folgt. Das, was allererst die Brucke zur Magie schlagt, das, was Govinda als

16 Govinda (o.J.): S. 1.
17 Govinda (o.J.): S. 15.
18 Govinda (19723) S. 155.

Schliisselelement im Bewufitsein der Menschen des von ihm postulierten magischen Zeitalters enthalten glaubte,i9 ist das Verschwinden der Grenzen zwischen Subjekt und Objekt. Dieses Element aber enthalt auch der Buddhismus in Philosophic und Praxis. Insofern namlich auch hier am Ende der Praxis die gegensatzlichen Pole von Subjekt und Objekt aufgehoben sind, ist die Moglichkeit einer subjektiven Logik grundsatzlich gegeben. Die aufiere Welt der Objekte ist eine triigerische Erscheinung des eigenen Geistes ebenso wie alle anderen Erscheinungen des Geistes: Traum, Vision, Halluzination, Vorstellung. Warum dann nicht die eine Welt, die sogenannte unreine, im Geiste auflosen und in der Imagination eine Gegenwelt erzeugen? Das
ist genau das, was der yogin tut. Es ist ein Spiel: Es wird nur die eine Illusion gegen die andere getauscht. In dem Moment nun, wo dieses Spiel nicht mehr lediglich unmittelbares Mittel auf dem Weg zur Erleuchtung ist, also Mittel, um die Leerheit aller Erscheinungen zu erfahren und zu begreifen, sondem fur allemoglichen anderen Zwecke, aber auch fiir der Erleuchtung vorgelagerte Ziele instrumentalisiert wird, ist dieses Spiel pure Magie. Dann wird - und ich greife hier eine Formulierung von Gunter Dux auf - ‘‘das subjektivische Schema aktiviert”/ ein Schema, auf dem sowohl religiose als auch magische Praktiken beruhen, und es //kommen·/ - wie Dux es ausdriickt - y/Qualitaten der Sozialwelt in Bereichen ins Spiel, die fiir uns einer rein technologischen, sinnentleerten Betrachtung unterworfen sind. In der Praxis fliefien damit liber die subjektivische Logik wunderbare Inhalte ein, Inhalte, die Menschen im Verkehr untereinander entwickelt haben: Achtung, Verehrung, Liebe^, Inhalte, die traditionell mehr der religidsen Seite zugeordnet werden, aber “ebenso Zorn, Aggression, der Versuch zu feilschen oder sich vertraglich abzusichern”, Inhalte, die insbesondere als Teil magischen Verhaltens auftauchen.20

Ich habe aufgezeigt, dafi die Bedingung der Moglichkeit von Magie im Buddhismus in der Aufhebung der Subjekt-Objekt-Dichotomie liegt. Hiermit ist eine alternative Sichtweise der Welt bezeichnet, die der Buddhismus mit der Mystik iiberhaupt gemein hat. Was dann allerdings den Schritt von der Moglichkeit von Magie zur Wirklichkeit von Magie auslost, so ist es der Aspekt des tibetischen Buddhismus, den Samuel seine pragmatische Orien- tierung genannt hat.2i

Malinowski erkannte, daC insbesondere der Ausdruck von Emotion bei der Ausfiihrung magischer Riten wesentlich ist.[19 * 21 22] Dies lafit sich auch anhand der magischen Praktiken im tibetischen Buddhismus zeigen. Wenn Malinow- ski etwa einen Zauberer beschreibt, der in wiitendem Tonfall sagt: “Ich breche

19 Vgl. Govinda (o.J.): S. 12.

2◯ Dux (1982): S. 164,166. Vgl. auch Morth (1978): S. 23–26.

21 Die Instrumentalisierung dieser Sichtweise generell, ob nun als Mittel zur Erlangung der Erleuchtung oder als Mittel zur Erlangung weltlicher Ziele, wird von Samuel als der schamanistische Aspekt des tibetischen Buddhismus charakterisiert und dem klerikalen Aspekt gegeniibergestellt. Vgl. Samuel (1993): S. 8, 9.

22 Malinowski (1925): S. 85f.

-ich verdrehe - ich verbrenne - ich zerst6re'',23 dann kdnnte diese Be- schreibung auch auf einen tibetischen Ritualpriester bei der Ausfiihrung eines Feindvernichtungsrituals zutreffen. Wesentliche Ziige der Magie wurden bereits zur Sprache gebracht, wenn auch einige nur fluchtig. Hervorheben mochte ich vor allem noch den for- dernden Charakter der Magie, in dem haufig das wesentliche Kriterium gesehen wurde, das Magie von Religion unterscheidet. Fur die Religion sah man dagegen vornehmlich die Haltung der Unterwerfung und der Ehrfurcht als kennzeichnend. Auch die wesentlichen Prinzipien der Magie, die auf dem Sympathieglauben beruhen, sollten in Bezug auf das unten angefiihrte Beispiel aus dem Kontext des tibetischen Buddhismus in Erinnerung gerufen werden: "Gleiches bewirkt Gleiches", "das Prinzip des Gegensatzes",der Beriihrungs- und Ansteckungszauber, der Grundsatz des *pars pro toto* und die imitative
Magie 24
Petzoldt hat den instrumentalen Charakter der Magie als ihr bestimmendes Moment herausgestellt und noch einmal darauf hingewiesen, dafi er eng einhergeht mit der "'Uberzeugung von der automatisch wirkenden, zwingen- den Kraft des magischen Ritus[r,.23] [24 25] Wie Luhmann betont, gibt es in der Magie weder den Zufall noch die '"Reaktionsfreiheit derjenigen Machte, auf die und gegen die sie angewendet wird 〃.[26]
Der instrumentale Charakter riickt die Magie in die Nahe der Technik, doch im Gegensatz zu dieser bleibt die Magie den unmoglichen Wiinschen vorbehalten.[27] Malinowski schreibt: "Magie beruht auf dem Glauben, dafi Hoffnung nicht fehlschlagen und der Wunsch nicht triigen kann. Die Theorien der Wissenschaft sind durch Logik bestimmt, die der Magie durch Assozia- tion von Ideen, die durch Wiinsche beeinflufit sind/'[28 29 30] Thomas Macho fiihrt diesen Gedanken fort: ''Die Instanz des Wiinschens, und der Magie als einer sozialen und institutionellen Realitat, ist die Einbildungskraft./'29 Den Zusammenhang von Wiinschen und Einbildungskraft in der Magie hat schon vor etwa dreieinhalb Jahrhunderten der Mystiker Jakob Bohme gesehen: '"Magia ist die Mutter der Ewigkeit, des Wesens aller Wesen, denn sie machet sich selber; und wird in der Begierde verstanden. Sie ist sich selber nichts als nur ein Wille; und derselbe Wille ist das grofie Mysterium aller Wunder und Heimlichkeit, und fiihret sich aber durch die Imagination des begierigen Hungers in Wesen. 〃 3◯ Doch die Magie hat der Beziehung zwischen Wiinschen und Einbildungskraft einen neuen Aspekt hinzugefugt, einen sozialen. Claude

23 Malinowski (1925): S. 89.
24 Petzoldt (1978): S. VIII–IX Anm. 1.
25 Petzoldt (1978): S. VIII, XI. Zum Automatismus der Magie vgl. z.B. Bertholet (1926–27): S. 123.
26 Luhmann (1982): S. 253f.
27 Macho (1981): S. 340.
28 Malinowski (1925): S. 103.
29 Macho (1981): S. 342.
30 Ich verdanke dieses Zitat Macho (1981): S. 347.

Levi-Strauss hat den sozialen Aspekt als dritte Komponente des Glaubens an die Magie angesprochen. Die erste ist y,der Glaube des Zauberers an die Wirksamkeit seiner Techniken", die zweite ist der Glaube "des Kranken, den jener pflegt, oder des Opfers, das er verfolgt, an die Macht des Zauberers selbst", die dritte ist "schliefilich das Vertrauen und die Forderungen der offentlichen Meinung, die standig eine Art Gravitationsfeld bilden, in dem die Beziehungen zwischen dem Zauberer und denen, die er verzaubert, liegen und sich definieren lassen."31 Thomas Macho nennt dieses Gravitationsfeld ein Diskurs- und Handlungsfeld fiir die "unmdglichen Wiinsche' In der Magie bleibt die Einbildungskraft nicht im Privaten stecken, sondern ihr wird die Kompetenz fiir das soziale Machen der ^unmoglichen Wunsche/, zugesproch- en.32

Wenden wir uns nun der speziellen Frage nach der Rechtfertigung von schwarzer Magie im tibetischen Buddhismus zu. Mit weifier Magie bezeichnet man allgemein solche magischen Rituale, die der Gemeinschaft dienen und das Wohl ihrer einzelnen Mitglieder im Auge haben. Schwarze Magie hingegen ist egoistisch motiviert; bei ihr geht es um die Befriedigung eigen- niitziger Wiinsche nach Reichtum, Einflufinahme, Macht und Verfiigungs- gewalt iiber andere. Dies entspricht auch weitgehend der Unterscheidung, die in tibetischen Texten selbst getroffen wird: Schadenszauber wird als schwarze Magie der Nutzen bewirkenden weifien Magie gegeniibergestellt. Gelegent- lich findet man noch eine dritte Kategorie hinzugefiigt, die bunte Magie, mit der Verrichtungen bezeichnet werden, die sowohl Schaden als auch Nutzen bringen.33 In Bezug auf die Motive der schwarzen Magie ist allerdings bei den entsprechenden tibetischen Ritualen eine Doppelbodigkeit festzustellen. Selbstverstandlich sollen auch sie nur dem Nutzen der buddhistischen Lehre und der Lebewesen dienen. Im Idealfall ist ihre Ausiibung Teil der Geschick- lichkeit des Bodhisattvas in der Anwendung der Mittel, durch die er anderen auf dem Weg zur Erleuchtung voranhilft. Doch dafi dies vielfach nur eine stereotyp wiederholte konformistische Roskel ist, die als Begriindung fiir die Aufnahme entsprechender Ritualvorschriften in das religiose Schrifttum herhalten mufi, lassen bereits die Ziele verschiedener ritueller Verrichtungen erahnen: Reichtum, Verfiigungsgewalt liber andere, z.B. iiber eine Frau, Stiften von Zwietracht, etwa zwischen einem geistlichen Lehrer und seinem Schuler, Bekampfung eines anderen Tantrikers, etc. Wenn - wie oben dargelegt - die Grenzen zwischen Subjektivitat und Objektivitat verschwimmen, wird es allzu leicht zur Ermessenssache des Einzelnen, ob nicht gerade die eigensiichtigen Wiinsche diejenigen sind, die dem Wohle der Allgemeinheit und der Religion [31] [32] [33]

[31] Levi-Strauss (1949): S. 257f. Marcel Mauss hatte bereits in ahnlicher Weise den sozialen Aspekt der Magie beschrieben, etwa wenn er in Bezug auf den Magier schreibt: ''Es hat den Anschein, als bildete die Gesellschaft in einigem Abstand um ihn eine Art ungeheures magisches Konklave, was dazu fiihrt, dafi der Magier sozusagen in eine besondere Atmosphere eingehiillt lebt, die ihn iiberall hin begleitet." (Mauss 1978: S. 170).

32 Macho (1981): S. 346, 343.

33 Siehe etwa Schwieger (1995): Nr. 1251e.

dienen. Dafi diese Grenzen zwischen Eigen- und Gemeinnutz in der Praxis verschwimmen und auch bewufit iiberschritten werden, liegt auf der Hand. Wie unscharf diese Grenzen gezogen sind, zeigen die Biographien von Mi-la-ras-pa und Mar-pa. Wahrend Mi-la-ras-pa zur Reinigung seines durch Ausiibung schwarzer Magie angesammelten iiblen Karmas von seinem Lehrer Mar-pa schwerste korperliche Arbeit als eine Form von Bufie auferlegt wurde, soli Mar-pa seinerseits von einem anderen Schuler namens "Tshur-dbang-nge als Voraussetzung fiir die Erteilung von Unterweisungen die Ausiibung schwarzer Magie verlangt haben, um auf diese Weise einen ihm iibelgesinnten. Vetter zu toten.[34] [35]

Die Frage nach der Rechtfertigung der schwarzen Magie aus tibetisch-bud- dhistischer Sicht ist die gleiche, wie die Frage nach der Vereinbarkeit von an sich schwarzen Taten, etwa das Toten, mit der buddhistischen Moral. Wie eine solche Frage beantwortet wird, zeigt die Art und Weise der Uberlieferung der Geschichte von der Ermordung des buddhismusfeindlichen Konigs Glang-dar- -ma durch den Monch dPal-gyi rdo-rje. Die Billigung dieser Tat wird mit dem iibergeordneten Wohl der buddhistischen Lehre und der Lebewesen allge- mein gerechtfertigt, sowie mit dem Argument, auf diese Weise das Opfer des Mordes vor der weiteren Anhaufung iiblen Karmas zu bewahren.

Schwarze Magie richtete sich jedoch nicht nur gegen Feinde des Buddhis- mus, sondern auch gegen konkurrierende Lehrer, deren grofieres Ansehen etwa mit Mifigunst beobachtet wurde, vor allem wenrv es dazu fiihrte, da£ sich die eigenen Schuler einem solchen renommierteren Lehrer zuwandten.35 Natiirlich wurde dann jede Mifigunst und boswillige Absicht in den Vorwand gekleidet, dafi der attraktivere Lehrer doch in Wirklichkeit falsche Ansichten vertreten und seine Schuler statt zur Buddhaschaft auf einen Irrweg fiihren wiirde.

Wie wir uns konkret den Kontext vorzustellen haben, in dem schwarze Magie im Konkurrenzkampf buddhistischer Lehrer vorkommen konnte, erzahlt uns eine im Deb-ther-sngon-po iiberlieferte Episode aus dem 11. Jahrhundert. Ob sich die Episode wirklich genau so wie iiberliefert zugetragen hat, ist nicht von Bedeutung. Wichtig ist, dafi sie offensichtlich fur moglich und keineswegs fiir ungewohnlich gehalten wurde. Der rNing-ma-pa-Gelehrte Zur-chung Shes-rab-grags-pa, also Zur-po, der Jiingere, sammelte aufgrund seines Ansehens, das nicht nur auf seiner Gelehrsamkeit, sondern auch auf seinen aufiergewohnlichen magischen Fahigkeiten beruhte, zahlreiche Schuler um sich. Ein Monch namens Khyung-po, der zu der neuen, von Atiśa und Rin-chen-bzang-po begriindeten reformierten Richtung des tibetischen Buddhismus gehorte, sandte vier seiner Schuler zu Zur-chung, damit sie ihn nach seiner Lehrmeinung befragen und ihm in der Disputation die Uber-

[34] Roerich (1976[2]): S. 414f. Vgl. auch Snellgrove (1987): S. 498. Laut Stein (1993): S. 166, verlangte Mar-pa auch von Mi-la-ras-pa in einem Fall die Ausiibung schwarzer Magie.

35 Zu einer entsprechenden Ritualvorschrift siehe beispielsweise Schwieger (i.H.b.): Einleitung bzw. Beschreibung Nr. 1503.6.

legenheit der Anschauungen ihres eigenen Lehrers demonstrieren sollten. Doch wider Erwarten waren seine Schuler so von Zur-chung beeindruckt, dafi sie versprachen, ihren Lehrer Khyung-po zu verlassen und Zur-chung zu folgen. Als Khyung-po dies erfuhr, rief er aus - ich zitiere nach der Uberset- zung von Roerich -:

Zur-chung Shes-rab-grags-pa, a man of such wrong views, as he, and a leader leading all beings on the wrong paths, if he were destroyed, the murderer would doubtlessly attain Buddhahood. Therefore (the Buddha) had permitted even objectionable acts, if they were useful.

Diese Aufierung Khyung-po's wurde wiederum Zur-chung hinterbracht, dessen Reaktion auf die damalige Diskussion um die angeblich verderbte Praxis unter den sich auf die erste Ausbreitung des Buddhismus zuriick- fiihrenden Tantrikern anspielt, hier vor allem auf das unter bestimmten Umstanden gerechtfertigte und dann *sgrol-ba*, „Befreiung" genannte Toten:

I was of the opinion that the belief that one might attain Buddhahood through murder, belonged to the system of Tantra only, and not to that of the Sūtras, but such a great scholar, as Khyung-po-grags-se, has now said that by killing Zur-chung-ba one might attain Buddhahood, therefore in the depth of his mind he has followed my doctrine, and therefore I became pleased![36]

Auf die Frage, wie in der Tradition der rNing-ma-pa die Gleichsetzung von Toten und Befreien gerechtfertigt wird, ist kiirzlich Cathy Cantwell in einem Vortrag ausfiihrlicher eingegangen: „Vajrayāna ritual killing is said to fully liberate the being who is killed, into the Buddha fields, and through the ritual activity the practitioner gains power and extended life-force." In other words, the killing is not only harmless, but is actively beneficial both for the practitioner and for the victim/[7] Doch diese Rechtfertigung impliziert die gleiche Problematik, wie sie fiir die Ausiibung schwarzer Magie im Buddhismus iiberhaupt gilt. Darauf wies ebenfalls Cathy Cantwell hin:

The problem with the justification for killing, which applies equally to different contexts—ritual killing, meat eating, euthanasia—is that it is dependent on the practitioner's own intention and skill, and this cannot
be judged from outside.[37]

In der Art ihrer Ausfiihrung entspricht die schwarze Magie im tibetischen Buddhismus ebenfalls in vielen Ziigen dem, was andernorts vorgefunden [* 37]

% Roerich (1976^V. S. 119f. Die Episode ist nacherzSWt in Snellgrove (1987): S. 466.
37 Cantwell (i.E.b.).

wurde. So erwahnt beispielsweise Malinowski38 aus seiner Erfahrung in Melanesien den Gebrauch gespitzter, gefahrlicher Gegenstande und iibel- riechender und giftiger Substanzen in der schwarzen Magie. Das Gleiche ist fiir die schwarze Magie im tibetischen Buddhismus charakteristisch. Hinzu kommt jedoch in diesem Kontext das fiir die buddhistische Praxis typische Spiel mit der Welt der Erscheinungen.

Zu Anfang habe ich davon gesprochen, dafi im tibetischen Buddhismus die magischen Praktiken ihren genau bestimmbaren Platz innerhalb eines systematischen Ganzen haben und wir uns hier nicht mit irgendeinem subkulturellen Phanomen befassen. Ich mochte dies hier kurz am Beispiel der rNing-ma-pa darstellen.

In der rNing-ma-Schule wird dieses System durch die sogenannten neun Fahrzeuge gebildet, die in ihrem Kern neun verschiedene Methoden zur Erlangung der Buddhaschaft darstellen. Die magischen Praktiken haben ihren Platz im Fahrzeug des *mahayoga*. Die Praxis des *mahayoga* besteht vor allem in der Meditation der Stufenfolge der Erzeugung, *bskyed-rim*. Hierbei erzeugt der yogin in schrittweiser Aufeinanderfolge der Imagination, ausgehend von der Leerheit, das Bild der Gottheit aus der ihr zugeordneten Keimsilbe, einer einzelnen Mantra-Silbe. Letztlich meditiert er auf diese Weise alle Erscheinungen als die *mandalas* der Gottheiten. Im Vertrauen auf die Geschicklichkeit in der Anwendung der Methoden vermag der yogin sich an allem zu erfreuen, ohne irgendwelche Erscheinungen festhalten zu wollen.39 Es ist dies die Geschicklichkeit, alle aufgrund karmischer Verstrick- ungen unreinen Erscheinungen in reine zu verwandeln, d.h. die belebte Welt in die Gottheiten und Buddhas und die unbelebte in ihre Palaste und himm- lischen Spharen. Die Moglichkeiten erscheinen unbegrenzt. Kein anderes der neun Fahrzeuge enthalt daher ein so reichhaltiges Angebot von Praktiken wie das Fahrzeug des *maha\/oga*. Auf dieses Fahrzeug entfallt daher auch der mit Abstand grofite Teil des rNing-ma-pa-Schrifttums. Die Menge der Texte bietet im Grunde jedoch keine allzu grofie Vielfalt, sondern demonstriert immer neue Variationen ein und desselben Spiels: Auflosen der gewohnlichen Welt in die Leerheit und Schaffen einer reinen Welt aus der Leerheit heraus. Das Ganze ist - auch wenn es fiir Aufienstehende in seinem unerschopflich wirken- den Detailreichtum manchmal so aussehen mag - kein Spiel frei schopferischer Krafte. Die Texte schreiben jeden Schritt der Imagination und jede Einzelheit des visualisierten Bildes minutios vor. Natiirlich sind auch die Gegenstande reiner Erscheinungen nicht-existent, doch sind diese Erscheinungen gleichsam die magischen Erscheinungen (*cho-'phrul*) von Korper, Rede und Geist der Buddhas, oder anders ausgedriickt, das Spiel des urspriinglich reinen Geistes.

Als Teil dieses Schauspiels konnen die magischen Praktiken ausgeiibt werden. Begreift und erfahrt der *yogin* die gesamte Welt der Erscheinungen als leer, und beherrscht er den Prozefi der Erzeugung der Erscheinungen aus [38] [39]

38 Malinowski (1925): S. 87.

39 Nach Dharmasri, zitiert in Thondup (1989): S. 38

der Leerheit, so verfiigt er iiber die Moglichkeit der Erzeugung, Kontrolle und Ausiibung gottlicher Krafte. Schliisselpunkt hierfiir ist die Keimsilbe der Gottheit, in der all ihre Kraft konzentriert ist. Visualisation und Rezitation dieses *mantra* vermogen daher diese Kraft zu wecken. Statt seines gewohnlic- hen Korpers, seiner gewohnlichen Rede, seines gewohnlichen Geistes handeln jetzt Korper, Rede und Geist der Gottheit. Die Ziele konnen im Grunde beliebig sein, sollten jedoch stets zum Wohle der buddhistischen Lehre und der Lebewesen gewahlt werden. Vor allem fiir die Ziele der schwarzen Magie stellen die furchterregenden machtigen Gottheiten das richtige Werkzeug dar.

Die magischen Praktiken, egal welcher Art, sind daher immer gebunden an den Kult einer ganz bestimmten Gottheit und sind auch im Rahmen dieses Kultes iiberliefert. Die damlt verbundene quasihistorische Begriindung der magischen Praktiken ist kein Spezifikum der tibetischen Magie. Malinowski schreibt: “In jedem Fall bedeutender Magie finden wir unweigerlich die Geschichte, die ihr Vorhandensein begriindet. In einer solchen Geschichte wird berichtet, wann und wo die Magie in den Besitz der Menschen kam, wie sie einer lokalen Gruppe, einer Familie oder einem Klan zu eigen wurde.”[40] Die mythologische ‘‘Bezugnahme auf Ahnen oder Heroen der betreffenden Kultur’[7], von der Malinowski spricht, wird im Kontext des Lehrgefiiges der rNing-ma-pa in der Regel durch die semihistorische Gestalt des Pad- masambhava vertreten. Aber ahnlich den Heroen anderer Kulturen ist Padmasambhava nicht der Erfinder magischer Riten, sondern nur derjenige, der sie zu den Menschen gebracht hat. Er selbst hat sie von den Gottem und Damonen empfangen .41

In der schwarzen Magie des tibetischen Buddhismus allgemein spielen Substitute und *imagines* eine zentrale Rolle. Wir finden sie daher auch in einem besonders finsteren magischen Ritual wieder, das man beispielsweise gegen einen Tantrikerkollegen anwendet, selbstverstandlich tunlichst nur gegen einen, der seinen religiosen Eid gebrochen hat. Wesentliches Utensil ist in diesem Fall ein *khram-shing* oder *khrom-shing*. Nebesky-Wojkowitz hat *khram-shing* als eine Art mit Kerben versehenen Stock oder Brett in der Form eines Sechsecks beschrieben, der von vielen tibetischen Gottheiten als magis- che Waffe getragen wird, mit der sie Feinde vernichten konnen. Verwendet man ein solches Holz mit dem Ziel der Feindvernichtung, dann sollte Nebesky-Wojkowitz zufolge die Zahl der Kerben im Holz mit der Anzahl der Lebensjahre des Opfers iibereinstimmen.42 Diese Anweisung habe ich jedoch

4○ Malinowski (1925): S. 89.

Vgl. Malinowski (1925): S. 90.

Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1975): S. 358. Vgl. zum *khram-shing* auch Rona-Tas (1956). Der Ursprung des *khram-shing* geht auf vorbuddhistische Zeit zuriick. In chinesischen Berichten aus der Tang-Dynastie finden sich Hinweise, dafi in Tibet zu der Zeit vor Einfiihrung einer Schrift neben Knotenschniiren solche Kerbholzer als eine Art Gedachtnisstiitze in offiziellen Angelegenheiten benutzt wurden. In Chinesisch-Turkestan gefundene Kerbholzer dieser Art lassen darauf schlieGen, dafi sie noch im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert von der dortigen tibetischen Besatzung fiir einfache Aufzeichnungen und Mitteilungen verwandt wurden. Siehe

nicht generell bestatigt gefunden. Wir werden jedenfalls gleich eine andere Art dieses Holzes kennenlemen.

Das *khram-shing* genannte Kerbholz gehort zu den typischen Waffen der unter dem Namen *ma-mo* zusammengefafiten Klasse weltlicher Gottheiten.43 In der rNing-ma-pa-Textsammlung *Riti-chen gter-mdzod* begegnet man diesen Gottheiten vor allem als ein Werkzeug, um auf magische Weise schadliche Einfliisse auszuiiben, insbesondere Elend und Krankheiten zu schicken. Auch im Mittelpunkt des im folgenden beschriebenen Ritus steht eine Gottheit, die dem Rin-chen gter-mdzod zufolge zur Klasse der *ma-mo* gehort, zugleich aber als *mkha'- gro-ma* bezeichnet wird, und zwar Seng-ge'i gdong-can-ma, "die L6wengesichtige 〃 . Mit ihrer Hilfe wird nicht nur schwarze, sondern auch weifie, Nutzen bewirkende Magie betrieben. Naher wollen wir uns hier ein Beispiel fiir schwarze Magie in ihrem Kult anschauen. Der Titel der entsprechenden Ritualvorschrift lautet: ^Unterweisung uber das Toten mittels des *khrom-shing* und der *'bru-bkra* als profunde, besonders (wirksame) Abwehr".44

Wahrend im Titel und im Text selbst der Ausdruck *khrom-shing* verwen- det wird, taucht unter der zugehorigen Abbildung45 der Name *khram-shing* auf. Beide Namen bezeichnen zwei unterschiedliche bildliche Aspekte ein und derselben Sache. *Khrom-shing* ist ein Holz, auf das *khrom-mig* genannte Felder gezeichnet wurden. *Khrorn* heifi eigentlich Marktplatz und *mig* Auge, doch zusammen werden sie hier synonym gebraucht zu dem Ausdruck *chos-'byung*, ein Wort, bei dem man in diesem Kontext erst recht nicht von seinen Bestandteilen her auf seine Bedeutung schliefien kann. *Chos-'byuttg* bezeichnet hier die magischen Dreiecke, wie sie in vielen tantrischen Ritual- vorschriften zu zeichnen vorgeschrieben werden. In dieser Bedeutung ist *chos-'byung* auch in tibetischsprachigen Worterbiichem belegt.[* 43 44 * 46 47] *Khram-shing* dagegen ist die Abkiirzung fiir *khram-kha'i shing*. *Khram-kha* ist der Name fur die auf das Holz gezeichneten oder eingeritzten, magische Abwehrkraft besitzenden Kreuze, die hier durch Aneinanderreihung der *chos-'byung* entstehen. Durch sie wird das Ubel auf seine Verursacher, die Feinde und iibelwollenden Damonen, zuriickgeworfen. *'Bru-bkra* bezeichnet die Mantra-Silben, die in die *chos-'byung* geschrieben werden 47 Zur Herstellung des *khram-* oder *khrom-shing* nimmt man ein vierkantiges Rosen- *(se-ba)* oder Berberitzenholz *(skyer-pa)* oder aber das Holz des Gla-ba-Baumes,[48] vermutlich ebenfalls ein dornenbewahrtes Holz. Die Dicke des Holzes sollte etwa der Spanne zwischen dem ausgestreckten Daumen und dem kleinen Finger, also etwa 15 cm, entsprechen. Die Lange sollte mit der Entfernung von

Snellgrove & Richardson (1980): S. 29, 76.

43 Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1975): S. 270, 358.

44 NShere Angaben zum Text in Schwieger (1995): Nr. 1251f.

Schwieger (1995): Nr. 1252.

46 Bod-rgya tshig-mdzod (1985): Bd. 1, S. 841; Dagyab (1966): S. 216.

47 Vgl. die Abbildung am Ende des Aufsatzes.

« Vgl. Jaschke (1881): S. 79.

der Spitze des Mitteifingers bis zum Ellbogen iibereinstimmen, also ungefahr 45 cm. Auf das obere Ende des Holzes zeichnet man ein weifies Lowengesicht mit drei Augen. Das untere Ende bildet ein drei Schneiden besitzender Ritualdolch. Das Material zur Anfertigung der Zeichnung ist eine Mischung aus neun verschiedenen Giften,49 dem Blut von lebenden, ausschliefilich schwarzen Tieren, und zwar Hund, Schwein, Katze, Pferd, Muli, Esel, mannliches und weibliches *mdzo,* des weiteren dem Menstruationsblut einer kinderlosen Frau, offenbar eine besonders iible Substanz, und aus irgendwelcher Tinte.

Ausfiihren soil man die Zeichnung an einem Donnerstag, an dem sich der Mond im Mondhaus dByug alias Tha-skar5○ befindet, zu der Zeit, die mit dem Sterben verbunden ist. Dazu begibt man sich in ein sehr schwarzes, finsteres Haus in Klausur und nimmt im hellen Schein einer Fackel, deren Flamme aus dem geschmolzenen Fett und Mark eines auf des Messers Schneide getoteten Menschen und einem Leichentuch gespeist wird, den Federkiel eines Raben, einer Eule[5]】 oder eines Huhns zur Hand. Beim Zeichnen und Schreiben soli man den Federkiel verkehrt herum in der Hand halten. Auf das Holz soli man dann die Khrom-mig- oder Chos-'byung-Felder zeichnen, und zwar so, dafi sich insgesamt zweimal 14 von ihnen ergeben.

In die verschiedenen Felder schreibt man sodann 14 im einzelnen vor- gegebene Mantra-Silben, die *'bru-bkra,* sowie genau plaziert eine Reihe Ubel abwehrender Beschworungen: "Alle Schadigung durch Mantra-Rezi-tation, die meinen Korper behindert, soil zuriickgeschickt werden!", "'Der durch feindliche Tantriker meiner Stimme durch Verfluchung gevibte Schaden, alle Unterdriickung [meiner Stimmel, soil zuriickgeschickt werden!'', "Alle Schadigung, die meinen Geist qualt, unterdriickt oder fesselt oder die den Geist verwirrt, soil zuriickgeschickt werden!", '"Alle Schadigung meines Korpers, meiner Rede und meines Geistes durch die Schutzgottheiten von Tantrikern, durch *gshin-rje* oder *ma-mo,* z.B. Schadigung durch die *sde-brgy- ad* und *'byung-po,* Verwiinschungen, iibles Geschwatz, das, was (als magische Waffe gegen einen selbst) geschleudert wird, Fliiche und auf magische Weise gesandte schadliche Einfliisse, soil zuriickgeschickt werden!" Die iibrigen drei Seiten des Holzes werden ganz genau so gestaltet und beschrieben.

Der Ritualdolch am unteren Ende des Holzes wird blau angemalt. Auf seine drei Seiten schreibt man dann zusammen mit dem Namen des Feindes die Mantra-Silben, die seinen Tod bringen sollen: ^Dieser boswillige Feind und Verursacher von Hindemissen *(dgra-bgegs)* namens Soundso zusammen mit seinem Gefolge; *ma ra ya phat."*

Nun fiihrt man die grundlegende Imagination aus, die das Holz erst zur magisch wirksamen Waffe werden lafit. Man ladt formlich die sogenannte [* 51]

Btsan-dug, bong-dug, re-lcag, lug-dug, ra-dug, spyang-dug, bya-rgod-spos, 'dre- dug, thang-phrom.

5○ Zu den Mondhausem vgl. Schuh (1973): S. 147f.

51 Zur Auswahl werden zwei Arten von Eulen gestellt: *'ug-pa* und *srin-bya.*

Arbeits-dakim Phra-men Sha-za nag-mo, "'die schwarze Fleischfresserin"/ ein. Sie zeigt ein abweisendes Gesicht. In ihren beiden Handen halt sie jeweils einen aus Meteoreisen gefertigten Ritualdolch. Sie ist nackt und ohne Sch- muck, doch ihr ganzer Korper ist voller Augen, die den sogenannten *khrom- -mig* des Holzes entsprechen. Ihr Unterkorper ist der Ritualdolch, der sich in das Herz des den Eid verletzt habenden Feindes bohrt. Man stellt sich die *dakint* inmitten lodernder Feuerzungen vor. Aus den 14 Mantra-Silben innerhalb der *chos-'byung* strahlen unermefiliche Haufen von Waffen aus. Alle Kraft der weltlichen und iiberweltlichen Gottheiten, ihre Starke und Zauber- kraft erscheint in Form mannigfacher Waffen. Dadurch, dafi diese *dakim* durch die Einbildungskraft eins wird mit dem Holz, soil es die Kraft dieser ganzen vorgestellten Ansammlung von Waffen bekommen. Sieben Tage rezitiert man aufierst fest die 14 Mantra-Silben und die Anweisungen, durch die die Gottheit mit der Verfluchung des Feindes beauftragt wird. Immer wieder lafit man auf imaginative Weise die Gottheit mit dem Holz verschmel- zen.

Nach Aufhebung der Klausur soil man Erde von neun zerstorten oder verlassenen Orten sammeln: Erde an der Seite eines niedergebrannten Tempels, Erde an der Seite eines verfallenen Thrones, an der Seite eines zerstorten *stupa,* an der Seite einer zerstorten Burg oder eines zerstorten Gutshauses, Erde von einem leeren Platz, an dem Leichen verbrannt oder versteckt wurden, Erde von dem verlassenen Schlachtfeld eines ungerechten Krieges, Erde vom Ort einer zerstrittenen Monchsgemeinschaft, von einer zerstorten Briicke und aus einer zerstorten Stadt. Ebenso sammelt man Kot von Hunden, von Menschen allgemein, insbesondere aber von mannlichen und weiblichen Leprosen, aufierdem Schweinedung, zerbrochene Steine, zerbrochenes Holz, eine Leichenplatte[52] und ein Paar Mahlsteine.

In der ersten Nachthalfte grabt man an einem Platz, von dem gewiC ist, dafi sich an ihm die Klu-bdud-Geister aufhalten, also an einem Ufer7 am Fufie eines Baumes oder mitten in einer Quelle, ein dreieckiges Loch, in das man etwa bis zur Taille versinkt. Die Seiten kleidet man mit Steinplatten aus, so dafi sich ein dreieckiger Kasten ergibt. Hinein legt man das Abbild des besonderen Feindes, gegen den sich die Magie richtet. Als Grundsubstanz fiir die Herstel- lung des Abbildes nimmt man Teig, fiigt jedoch Haare des Feindes, Stiickchen seiner Kleidung, denen sein Geruch anhaftet, groCere oder kleinere aus seinem Korper stammende Unreinheiten, Nasenschleim und Kot hinzu. Falls feststeht, dafi sich die Magie gegen einen Tantriker richtet, so miissen auf jeden Fall eine ganze Reihe solcher Substanzen verwendet werden, heiCt es. Auf diese Weise kommen hier zugleich zwei magische Prinzipien zur An- wendung, das der Analogie und das des *pars pro toto.*

Die verschiedenen Substanzen erganzt man noch durch einen *gtor-ma,* einen Opferkuchen, den man fur seine Schutzgottheit hergestellt hat, sowie

52 *Ro-g.yam,* evtl. ein Stein, auf dem die Leichen zur "Luftbestattung" zerstuckelt wurden.

durch ein zusammengerolltes Zettelchen mit dem besonderen Mantra der Schutzgottheit. Alles vermischt man mit Wasser und formt daraus nach allgemein iiberlieferter Art und Weise das Abbild.

Dieses Abbild legt man auf den Rucken, also mit dem Gesicht nach oben. In seine Herzstelle steckt man, ohne zu zaudern, das untere Ende des *khrom-shi- ng,* die Spitze des Ritualdolches. Dann fiillt man das Loch bis zum Rand mit der zuvor gesammelten Erde und den iibrigen unreinen Substanzen, des weiteren mit allenmoglichen Knochen, Hornern und Dornen. Dann driickt man das Ganze mit der Leichensteinplatte nieder, auf die man zuvor mit dem zu Anfang hergestellten Schreibmaterial einen gekreuzten *vajra* gezeichnet hat. Um dieses Vajra-Kreuzzeichen schreibt man:

Dieser Feind Soundso, Mensch, Besitz und Gefolge, soli *stvam bha ya* niedergedriickt werden, *jam bha ya* niedergedriickt werden, *mo ha ya* niedergedriickt werden!

Jetzt driickt man das Ganze noch mit dem Paar Mahlsteine nieder, wobei die beiden Mahlsteine falsch herum aufeinanderliegen sollen. Zu guter Letzt fiillt man den Rest des Loches mit Erde oder Steinen auf und sprenkelt intensiv Wasser dariiber.

Bei all diesen Verrichtungen ist darauf zu achten, dafi man von niemandem beobachtet wird und keine Spuren hinterlafit. Am Ende reicht man Opfer- kuchen an den *gzhi-bdag,* den Ortsgeist.

Bis die gewiinschte Verrichtung in die Tat umgesetzt ist, soli man fortfahren, die Gottheit mit ihrer Ausfiihrung und mit der Verfluchung zu beauftragen, wobei man bestandig die entsprechenden Rezitationen und Imaginationen wiederholt. Zum eigenen Schutz soli man wahrenddessen ein bestimmtes Amulett am Korper tragen.

Vorausgesetzt, man halt sich sorgfaltig an die hier wiedergegebene Anleitung, so wird zweifelsfrei vor Ablauf eines Monats der Erfolg eintreten. Der Feind wird samt Besitz und Gefolge vernichtet werden, oder zumindest wird ihm - wie es heifit - ein grofies Ungliick widerfahren. Sobald es untriig- liche Zeichen fiir den Erfolg gibt, holt man alles restlos wieder aus dem Loch heraus. Entweder zerstort man dann alles mit dem *vajra* oder man fiihrt nach entsprechender Vorschrift ein Waschungsritual aus. Am Ende wirft man alles in einen grofien Flufi.

Ich will mit diesem Beispiel aus einem schier unerschopflichen Schatz magis- cher Praktiken schliefien. Ich hoffe, hiermit nicht nur Obskuritaten vorgefiihrt, sondern auch den engen Zusammenhang zwischen Magie und Buddhismus in Tibet sichtbar und besser verstehbar gemacht zu haben, so daC als Fazit bestehen bleibt: Magie ist in Tibet kein Randphanomen, sondern ein in Theorie und Praxis integrierter Bestandteil des Buddhismus.

bV.§
视 *X* 叩
為。'

3lS;g

•- o
丕 s
VI *知*
«1|叫

尸 2

$
34?

叫

---

^◯S^'vs!o«
\^4>*◯◯3(94>^^ *Y* ^ • [1]
J3WA
T
.為
Abdruck von einem *khram-shing.*

Bibliographie

Bertholet, A. (1926/27), *Das Wesen der Magie,* in Petzoldt *(1978),* S. 109–134.

Bod-rgya tshig-mdzod (1985), *Bod-rgya tshig-mdzod chen-mo,* 3 Bde. Beijing: 1985.

Cantwell, C. (im Erscheinen begriffen), 'To meditate upon consciousness as Vajra-Ritual 'killing and liberation' in the r5jing-ma-pa tradition", wird erscheinen in: *Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the IATS at SchloQ> Seggau-Graz, June 1995.*

Dagyab, L.S. (1966), *Tibetan Dictionary.* Dharamsala.

Dux, G. (1982), *Die Logik der Weltbilder.* Frankfurt am Main.

Frazer, J. *G. (1949),* The Golden Bough. A Study in Magic and Religion *(abridged edition). London.*

Govinda, Lama Anagarika (o.J.), Die psychologische Haltung der friihbuddhistischen Philosophie. *Wiesbaden.*

(1972[3]): Grundlagen tibetischer Mystik. *Weilheim/Obb.*

Jaschke, H.A. (1881), *A Tibetan-English Dictionary.* London. Reprint 1972.

Levi-Strauss, C. (1949), /yDer Zauberer und seine Magie-/. In: Petzoldt (1978), S. 256-78.

Levi-Strauss, C. (1978), *Traurige Tropeti.* Frankfurt am Main.

(19814), *Da s wilde Denken.* Frankfurt am Main.

Luhmann, N. (1982), *Funktion der Religion.* Frankfurt am Main.

Macho, T. (1981), ^Bemerkungen zu einer philosophischen Theorie der Magie". In: Duerr, H.P. (Hrsg.), *Der Wissenschaftler und das Irrationale,* Bd. \, Frankfurt am Main 1981, S. 330–50.

Malinowski, B. (1925), y/Die Kunst der Magie und die Macht des Glaubens"/ n Petzoldt (1978), S. 84-108.

Mauss, M. (1978), *Soziologie und Anthropologie,* Bd. 1: *Theorie der Magie, soziale Morphologie.* Mit einer Einleitung von Claude Levi>Strauss. Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Wien.

Morth, I. (1978), ^Zur Konstitutionsanalyse religioser Phanomene, Kontingenz und Konsistenz der Lebenswelt^. In W. Fischer und W. Marhold (Hrsg.), *Religionssoziologie als Wissenssoziologie.* Stuttgart,
Berlin, Koln, Mainz.

Nebesky-Wojkowitz, R. de (1975), *Oracles and Demons of Tibet. The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities.* Um eine Einfiihrung von Per Kvaeme vermehrter Nachdruck der Ausgabe von 1956.

Pettersson, O. (1957), /rMagie - Religion. Einige Randbemerkungen zu einem alten Problem' In Petzoldt (1978), S. 313–24.

Petzoldt, L., [Hrsg.] (1978), Magie und Religion. Beitrage zu einer Theorie der Magie. *Darmstadt 1978.*

Roerich, G.N. (19762), *The Blue Annals.* Delhi, Varanasi, Patna.

Rona-Tas, A. (1956), 'Tally-stick and Divination-dice in the Iconography of Lha-mo-/. In: *Acta Orientalia Hungarica,* Vol. VI, 1–2. Budapest, S. 163–77.

Samuel, G. (1993), Civilized Shamans. Buddhism in Tibetan Societies. *Washington, London.*
Schuh, D. (1973), Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Kalenderrechnung. *Wiesbaden* (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, *Supplementband 16).*
Schwieger, P. (1995), Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke. *Teil 11* (Die mTshur-phu-Ausgabe der Sammlung Riti-chen gter-mdzod chen-mo, *Bande 14 bis 34). Stuttgart.*
(im Erscheinen begriffen): Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke.
Teil 12 (Die mTshur-phu-Ausgabe der Sammlung Rin-chen gter-mdzod chen-mo, *Bande 34 bis 40). Stuttgart.*
Snellgrove, D. (1987), Indo-Tibetan Buddhism. Indian Buddhists and Their Tibetan Successors. *London.*
Snellgrove, and D. Richardson, H. (1980), *A Cultural History of Tibet.*
Boulder, Colorado (Reprint of the edition publ. by Praeger, New York).
Thondup (Rinpoche), Tulku (1989), *Buddha Mind. An Anthology of Longchen Rabjam* s *Writings on Dzogpa Chenpo.* Ithaca, New York. Widengren, G. (1945), "Evolutionistische Theorien auf dem Gebiet der vergleichenden Religionswissenschaft", in Lannczkowski, G. (Hrsg.), *Selbstverstandnis und Wesen der Religionswissenschaft.* Darmstadt 1974, S. 87–113.
Wax, M. und R. (1963), "Der Begriff der Magie". In: Petzoldt (1978), S. 325–53.

Political and Ritual Aspects of the Search for Himalayan Sacred Lands 冷

Franz-Karl Ehrhard
University of MUnster

Introduction

The seventeenth century was the period in particular in which sacred sites like gNas Padma-bkod, in the south-eastern border region of Tibet, were systematically visited by treasure discoverers of the rNying-ma-pa school. The temples dating to the early royal period had a special significance for the treasure discoverers active at this time here in the extreme south of Tibet and for their search for the hidden paradises.[1] Parallel to this phenomenon were the efforts to revive, by way of new foundations or renovations of old structures, the "places of realization" (sgrwb gnfls) in areas that were once the southern border of the old Tibetan kingdom. In this context, a number of sites were chosen that possessed special qualities because of the spiritual presence of Padma- sambhava or the early yogins of the bKa'-brgyud-pa school.

An important scheme for classifying the sacred sites associated with Padmasambhava sites prophesied by the master as spots for the spiritual exercises of his future disciples consists of five so-called '"solitary places"' *(dbeti gnas)*. One of these sites, in lHo-brag mKhar-chu, in the border region between Tibet and Bhutan, is termed the "solitary place of [Padmasambhava[7]s] heart" *(thugs kyi dben gnas)*. It is of significant interest that a monastery with the name of dGa'-ldan bDud-'joms gling was also founded in lHo-brag [* i]

* The research presented here was conducted under the auspicies of the programme "Staatenbildung und Siedlungsprozesse im tibetischen Himlaya" of the German Research Council (DFG). Special thanks go to Dr. T. Y. Tashigang/ Institute of Tibetan Medicine, Delhi, for making the writings of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje available, and for all the inspiring discussions. In the final preparation of the paper D. P. Jackson and Burkhard Quessel (both University of Hamburg) have been very helpful.

i For the different ^treasure discoverers[w] *(gter ston)* active in gNas Padma-bkod from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries, see Ehrhard (1994). In a further article I have tried to show that the '"hidden valley[/,] *(sbas yul)* as a concept of religious space can be found in the same period in Glo-bo smad, i.e. southern Mustang, on the local and regional level; see Ehrhard (in press a). It is interesting to note that the influence of treasure discoverers like Rig-'dzin bDud-Mul rdo-rje (1615–72) is traceable in both the south-eastern and the south-western border regions.

mKhar-chu under the predominantly dGe-lugs-pa regime established by the 5th Dalai Bla-ma Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1617–82) and the sDe-srid Sangs- rgyas rgya-mtsho (1653–1705).[2 3]
By giving some details concerning the political and ritual aspects that accompanied the travels of Tibetan priests and yogins into border areas like lHo-brag mKhar-chu, the following observations should first of all make it clear that these journeys must be seen as an immediate response to the religious and political situation that characterized Tibet at the beginning of the eighteenth century. This was a time when Tibet was involved in the power struggle between the Dzungars and the Qing Dynasty. The border-areas in the south had not only to be controlled by military and ritual means but also offered protection and were places for spiritual revitalization. By implication I hope thus to show why the importance of these places was not restricted to the seventeenth century but continued up into the eighteenth century.

The Life of Grub-Thob Blo-bzang Lha-mchog

As a kind of introduction I would like to present some material concerning different sites in lHo-brag and the person of Grub-thob Blo-bzang lHa-mchog (1672–1747) from lHo-brag Gro-bo lung, based on his autobiography. There are two reasons for focusing on him: first, his name is directly connected with the monastery of dGa'-ldan bDud-'joms gling in mKhar-chu, and second, his religious activities included the opening and identifying of hidden valleys in the region of lHo-brag. This point is highlighted by Kan-thog Si-tu Chos-kyi rgya-mtsho (1880–1925), who paid a visit to the sacred sites of lHo-brag mKhar-chu in the year 1919 and reported:

The *bhiksu* lHa-mchog, a disciple of Rig-'dzin Pad-phrin [= rDo-rje brag Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las (1640–1718)] [and] prophesied by 'Ol-kha rje-drung [= Sle-lung bZhad-paʿi rdo-rje (b. 1697)], was an opener of the doors to a few minor solitary places and to sacred sites like Seng-ge ri and the hidden valley Long-mo lha-steng.3

2 For the five "solitary places^ see, for example, gTer-chen O-rgyan gling-pa, *Padma bka 'i*

yi 客， chapter 95 (nw ’〇«客 s 《nfls bston pfl’He’w), p. 589.3-7. Cf. K. Dowman (1988: 288-90), and Ricard (1994: 272-3) for a description of this scheme, which is sometimes enlarged by a group of further three sacred sites. In Ferrari (1958: 56–7) one finds a list of the different sacred sites in lHo-brag mKhar-chu as described by ’Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse dbang-po (182-92). It should be noted that near lHo-brag mKhar-chu is the location of the lHo-brag Khom-mthing lha-khang, one of the mTha'-'dul temples of Srong-btsan sgam-po. The foundation of the monastery dGa'-ldan bDud-'joms gling is mentioned in Ngag-dbang Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho, *Du ku la'i gos bzang*, vol. 3, 417.15ff., and in Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, *Bai du rya ser po'i me long*, p . 400.13–19 (founded in 1682!). The ritual texts of this monastery were published recently under the title *mKhar chu bdud 'joms gling gi 'don cha'i skor,* 1015 pages. Delhi: Konchog Lhadrepa, 1994. Several works of the 5th Dalai Bla-ma are also contained in this collection.

3 Chos-kyi rgya-mtsho, *Nor bu zla shel gyi me long*, p. 309.4–5. Further remarks by Chos-kyi rgya-mtsho justify the conclusion that there existed a "line of incamations 〃 （sfcw of Grub-thob 合 lo-bzang lHa-mchog; they were known under the name bDud-’joms

Blo-bzang lHa-mchog began his religious career in the year AD 1679, when he received his name on the basis of a written document from the hand of the 5th Dalai Bla-ma. The place where this occurred was also linked to the person of the spiritual and worldly ruler of Tibet at that time; it was the monastery dGa'-ldan Don-gnyis gling, located in lHo-brag as well, and founded by the 5th Dalai Bla-ma in person thirty years earlier in AD 1649.[*4]

The main teacher of Blo-bzang lHa-mchog for the next years was a certain Ngag-dbang nor-bu, who also supervised his first retreat. In a detailed passage of the autobiography we find that Ngag-dbang nor-bu had been nominated by the 5th Dalai Bla-ma and sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho to perform certain rituals in dGa'-ldan bDud-'joms gling. The reason for this lay in his ability to bring under control a certain demon called an "Indian demon who brings ruin to the land of Tibet'[7] *(bod yul [r]phung byed kyi rgya 'dre),*[n] an Indian demon of the border[-/] *{mtha'i rgya 'dre zhig),* or simply *"a.* demon of the border[77] *{mtha[r] 'dre).* Different journeys followed, and one also brought the young novice to lHa-sa, where he received his final ordination as a monk in the year AD 1696. This ceremony was supervised by a certain dGe-slong 'Jam-dbyangs grags-pa in the Potala palace.[5*]

In AD 1703 Blo-bzang lHa-mchog visited lHa-sa a second time. At that time a change had taken place at the top of the Tibetan government which the monk from lHo-brag described with the following words:

Then rGyal-dbang Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho [1683–1706] put on the gling-pa'i sPrul-sku.

4 Concerning the foundation of dGa'-ldan Don-gnyis gling in lHo-brag rDo-bo rdzong, see Ngag-dbag Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho, *Du ku Inigos bzang,* Vol. 1, 300.19-301.3, and Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, *Bai du rya ser po[f]i me long,* 397.24–398.4. Compare also Ishihama (1993:49). According to Grub-thob Blo-bzang lHa-mchog, *IHo brag gro bo lung grub thob bio bzang lha mchog rin po che'i mam thar,* 98 fols., n.p., n.d. (hereafter *rNam-thar),* p. 16.1, this monastery was one of the "thirteen islands, [that are】 the convents of patron and priest" *(mchod yon gyi grva tshang gling bcu gsum)* of the government of the 5th Dalai Bla-ma and sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho. This holds also true for the monastery dGa'-ldan bDud-'joms gling. Cf. the list of the "thirteen colleges of the teaching" *(chos grva bcu gsum)* in Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, *Bai du rya ser po[f]i me long,* 396.14–400.19. The patron refers in this case to Gu-sri bsTan-'dzin chos-rgyal (1582–1655) and his successors. See the remark by Sum-pa mkhan-po (1704–87) translated in Ho-chin Yang (1969:39).

5 The motives for nominating Ngag-dbang nor-bu for duties in dGa'-ldan bDud-'joms gling are described in *rNam-thar,* 25.3-26.5. He is mentioned under the name Byang-gling Bla-zur Ngag-dbang nor-bu in Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, *Bai du rya ser po[f]i me long,* p. 400.14–15. This name links him to the rNying-ma-pa monastery gSang-sngags Byang-chub gling, founded by the 5th Dalai Bla-ma in 1651 (just before his journey to the Manchu court), cf. Karmay (1991: 344). gSang-sngags Byangs-chub gling in Chu-shur is also counted as one of the thirteen *mchod yon gyi grva tshang gling.* See the list (as in note 4), pp. 399.20-400.2. Basic biographical information on the person of 'Jam-dbyangs grags-pa is provided by Karmay (1988:16): a very learned monk and in his capacity as private secretary would often act as scribe ... ; ... the Dalai Lama stated that this monk was an adept of the rDzogs-chen philosophy. He took an active part, with the Regent, in building the Red Palace of the Potala, the tomb of the Dalai Lama, and in establishing the commemoration day of the latter's death." See also the appendix, below.

robes of the Dharmaraja Srong-btsan (sgam-po); the eldest son of Mi-dbang Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho was installed on the throne [which he occupied] together with King lHa-bzang [1658–1717] ...6

The unstable political situation which was created by this constellation, which finally resulted in the end of the Qosot rule over Tibet and the invasion of the Dzungars in AD 1717, is common knowledge.[6] [7] In the life of Blo-bzang lHa-mchog, this period was dominated by his meetings with rDo-rje brag Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las and the spiritual practices he received from this master. Although rDo-rje brag suffered from attacks by King lHa-bzang, Blo-bzang lHa-mchog nevertheless visited lHa-sa twice during this period. Between these visits he spent over five years in retreat in lHo-brag.

It was in lHo-brag that the news reached him of the death of rDo-rje brag Rig-'dzin, who had been killed by Dzungar soldiers in the year AD 1718. Knowledge of the decline of the teachings of the rNying-ma-pa school and the great sadness at the death of his teacher prompted Blo-bzang lHa-mchog soon afterwards to move to *"a* hidden sacred site^ *(sbas gnas)*. In the night following his decision he conceived the idea of directing his steps to a sacred site named Seng-ge ri ("'Lion Mountain^). Two factors motivated him: first, certain written documents had extolled this spot, including a ^certificate of prophe- cies^/ *(lung byang)*, and second, rGyal-dbang Lo ras-pa (1187–1250), an early master of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa school, had already stayed for an extended period at the "Lion Mountain"， and had thus sanctified it.[8]

I shall not go into the details of the journey that brought Blo-bzang lHa-mchog to the paradisical site. In the end he reached the "realization cave" *(sgrub phug)* and the //residence^/ *(gdan sa)* of rGyal-dbang Lo ras-pa and erected a first, provisional shelter nearby. The autobiography of Blo-bzang lHa-mchog provides long descriptions of the natural beauty of this spot, including the varieties of bird songs and the manifold flowers and herbs found on the site. Accordingly Blo-bzang lHa-mchog called the place "Flower

6 *rNam-thar*, p. 29.5–6. For these events see Petech (1988: 209–10). For references to the 6th Dalai Bla-ma's renouncing his monastic vows and adopting the way of life of a temporal ruler, see *ibid.:* 204. A description of the outer appearance and character of Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho can be found in the autobiography of Sle-lung hZhad-pa^ rdo-rje, *rTogs-brjod*, 65.5–66.6, and 79.3–80.6; he met the 6th Dalai Bla-ma and his companions in the years AD 1702–3. The activities of the 5th Dalai Bla-ma as a reincarnation of Srong-btsan sgam-po are described in Ishihama (1993: 53–4).

7 See e.g. Petech (1972: 32–50), and Dabringhaus (1994: 37–8, 48–50). Compare the corresponding chapter in the biography of the ruler Mi-dbang bSod-nams stobs-rgyas, who was the centre of the Tibetan resistance against the Dzungars; Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal, *'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'igtam*, 258.4–299.10.

8 The arrival of Lo ras-pa dBang-phyug brtson-'grus in lHo-brag and his stay in Seng-ge ri is described, for example, in Padma dkar-po, *bsTati pa'i padma rgyas pa'i nyin byed*, 439.17–440.5, and in the biography written by rGod-tshang ras-pa, *bDud rtsi'i phreng ba*, p. 108.1 Iff. His activities in lHo-brag included the renovation of the mKhar-chu'i lha-khang, i.e. the lHo-brag Khom-mthing Iha-khang (see note 2). rGyal-dbang Lo ras-pa is the founder of the lower 'Brug-pa school *(smad 'brug)*.

Island[r] (me tog gling).
The sacred site of Seng-ge ri, which was first identified as such by one of the early yogins of the bKa'-brgyud-pa school in the thirteenth century, also attracted the attention and visits of other masters in the early eighteenth century. For instance, the autobiography of Sle-lung bZhad-pa[r]i rdo-rje from 'Ol-kha states that he, too, visited sBas-yul Seng-ge ri in the year AD 1722 and met Blo-bzang lHa-mchog in the "'inner part of the sacred site'[7] *{gnas nang)*. Together they celebrated a *ganacakra,* and Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje, too, was impressed by the natural qualities of the place. A dream Sle-lung bZhad- pa'i rdo-rje had at the time had long-ranging effects for the spiritual bond between the two yogins. In the dream, he received a prophecy that a further hidden valley should be opened to the north-east of Seng-ge ri. According to the corresponding information in the biography of Blo-bzang lHa-mchog, this area was called sBas-gnas "Or-mo lha-sa, and both sources agree that in this area the palace of Yam-shud dmar-po, king of the bTsan demons, was located.[9]
The prophecy that the "hidden sacred site" (sbfls gnfls) 'Or-mo lha-sa should be opened was obviously linked with the person of Blo-bzang lHa-mchog, but a few years had to pass before it came true. In the meantime the civil war of AD 1727–8 had been brought to an end by Mi-dbang bSod- nams stobs-rgyas (1689–1747), and the seventh Dalai Bla-ma sKal-bzang rgya-mtsho (1708–57) was installed, even if without any legal backing and while still in exile. A piece of good news for Blo-bzang lHa-mchog was that the rebirth of his teacher, bsKal-bzang Padma dbang-phyug (b. 1720), had been officially en-throned in rDo-rje brag. This message was received by him with great joy, "like a peacock hearing the [rolling] sound of thunder'[7] *{rma by a 'brug sgra thos pa bzhiti)*.
Soon afterwards, in the year AD 1733, the time was ripe to follow the instructions of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje and to open the hidden site of "Or-mo lha-sa. The autobiography gives a detailed description of the journey and of how Blo-bzang lHa-mchog identified different parts of the sacred landscape. As mentioned in the prophecy, he came upon the palace of Yam-shud dmar-po.
The next year Blo-bzang Bla-mchog was again in the company of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje, and the subject of the opening of sacred sites came up for discussion. During this time Blo-bzang lHa-mchog received a written docu-

[9] Concerning Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje, his preceding incarnations, and his status as the rebirth of lHo-brag Grub-chen Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan (1326–1401), see the data in Ehrhard (1994:14, note 10). His visit to Seng-ge ri is described in Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje, *Rig pa 'dzin pa bio bzang 'phrin las kyi rtogs pa brjod pa skal bzang dga' ston,* 375 fols., in "Collected Works," vol. 1, 648.3–650.2. At the time he was on his way to Thig-phyi in lHo-brag, the former residence of lHo-brag Grub-chen Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan (for the meeting of Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang grags-pa (1357–1419) with lHo-brag Grub-chen in Thig-phyi in the year 1395, cf. Ehrhard (1992: 50–52)). Shortly before Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje's arrival, another person came up with the information that in the year AD 1723 several entrances to the sacred site mKhan-pa ljongs should be opened, cf. *ibid.,* p. 651.1. This name refers to a mountain valley in Bhutan just south of the Tibetan border.

merit that repeated the events that happened in the years AD 1722-33. At the farewell ceremony Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje spoke the following words to his guest: /yWhat is of use to others, fi.e.] turns them towards the *dharma*, mainly the seizing, protecting and spreading of hidden sacred sites, you should do as much as you can!'r Nearly identical words were spoken at a third and final meeting between the two masters; this happened a few years later at the time when the renovation of the temple of Thig-phyi in iHo-brag was brought to a successful conclusion.[10]
The years AD 1734–5 again saw Blo-bzang lHa-mchog in rDo-rje brag, where he met the young rDo-rje brag Rig-Mzin and offered him the teachings of the rDzogs-chen cycle *Thugs rje chen po 'khor ba dbyings .s^nallast* years were spent in the region of Seng-ge ri and 'Or-mo lha-sa, and he also erected a temple at the latter spot. Shortly before his death he wrote down the monastic rules for his successors at the two sacred sites in lHo-brag.[11]
Political and Ritual Aspects
The presence of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje in the southern border areas of rKong-po and lHo-brag and his persistent interest in the search for hidden valleys and their popularization should be interpreted against the background of his relationship with the "ruler" *(mi dbang)* bSod-nams stobs-rgyas from Pho-lha. An investigation of their relationship will help us better to understand the religious and political practices that accompanied the search for paradisiac sites in the south of Tibet.[12]
The first meeting between the twenty-eight-year-old priest and the thirty- seven-year-old, war-tested politician occurred, according to the available sources, in the year AD 1726. The place was rNam-grol gling, the residence of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje in 'Ol-kha. At that time bSod-nams stobs-rgyas was on his way to the hot springs at 'Ol-kha stag-rtse and also visited the statue of Maitreya at rDzing-phyi, which had been erected by Tsong-kha-pa * 1
i○ The written document of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje for Blo-bzang lHa-mchog can be found in *rNam-thar,* 110.5–113.6 *(gsang lung them byang).* The second meeting took place in sPyan-g.yas, the home of the wife of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje. For the valley of sPyan-g.yas, to the south of Phyong-rgyas, cf. Ferrari (1958: 53). For the quotation see *rTogs-brjod,* p. 123.3–4.
^ The transmission of the rDzogs-chen cycle, *Thugs rje chen po 'khor ba dbyings sgrol* is mentioned also by bsKal-bzang Padma dbang-phyug, *gZhon nu bun ba'i yid 'phrog,* pp. 159.3 and 187.2–188.1. The "monastic rules" *(bca' yig)* were written down in the year AD 1746 and are contained in the RNAM-THAR, *179.3–191.3. A* ritual work dedicated to the protectors of 'Or-mo lha-sa (written by Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje) is contained in *mKhar chu bdud 'joms gling gi 'don cha'i skor* (as in note 2), pp. 611–15; *sBas gnas 'or mo lha sa'i gnas bsrung gi gsol mchod.*
[1]2 In Ehrhard (1994: 6–8) there is a short resume of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje's journey to gNas Padma-bkod in the year AD 1729 and his connection with Rig-'dzin Chos-rje gling-pa (1682–1725).The following observations should also contribute some material towards an understanding of the religious situation in Tibet at a time when the Manchu dynasty asserted hegemony over Tibet. For the ambivalence on the part of the early Qing emperors towards Tibetan Buddhism, cf. Hevia (1993).

Blo-bzang grags-pa. Although this journey of the ruler has been described in previous studies, the contact between Sle-lung bZhad-paʾi rdo-rje and bSod-nams stobs-rgyas has been altogether neglected. Attention has focused exclusively on rje-btsun Mi-'gyur dpal-gyi sgron-ma (1699–1769), the daughter of Rig-'dzin gTer-bdag gling-pa (1646–1714), and on the fact that the ruler received teachings of the rNying-ma-pa school from her.[13] [14]

To put these contacts in a wider context, it must be pointed out that the rNying-ma~pa school suffered two phases of suppression at the beginning of the eighteenth century, i.e. in the years AD 1717 to 1720, during the invasion of the Dzungars, and in AD 1726 under the Manchu ruler, the Yongzheng 雍正 Emperor (r. 1723–35). The later attack against the ^teachings of the Old Translations" (SMgfl 'gyur *gyi chos lugs)* were openly proclaimed by the Emperor in the form of an edict which had been issued at the instigation of the Tibetan minister Khang-chen-nas (d. 1727). Directly after the proclamation of the edict, bSod-nams stobs-rgyas reacted strongly against the accusation of heresy to which the rNying-ma-pas was subjected]4 This event occurred shortly before bSod-nams stobs-rgyas left for 'Ol-kha stag-rtse. Concerning his meeting with rje-btsun Mi-'gyur dpal-gyi sgron-ma, the biography of the ruler reports only that the local people did not provide any offering or service to the daughter of Rig-'dzin gTer-bdag gling-pa, being afraid of the recently proclaimed edict that "no respect should be shown towards the followers of the old mantras" *(gsangs sngags rnying maʳi srol 'dzin pa dag la bsnyen bskur mi bya'o).*

In spite of this, bSod-nams stobs-rgyas received Rig-'dzin gTer-bdag gling-pa's daughter in the traditional way *igna' bo'i srol ji Ita ba bzhin tu)* and offered her his battle horse *(g.yul du ʳjug pa'i bzhon pa).* From rje-btsun Mi-'gyur dpal-gyi sgron-ma he obtained various inititiations in return, including the cycle *Zab chos rig 'dzin thugs thig,* a treasure work of Rig-'dzin

For the valley of Sle-lung, the residence rNam-grol gling, and rDzing-phyi to the east thereof, cf. Wylie (1962: 91), where it is stated that ʷthe unidentified 'Ol-kha Rje-drung-pa refers to the incarnation line of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje". The journey of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas to 'Ol-kha stag-rtse and the meeting with rje-btsun Mi-ʾgyur dpal-gyi sgron-ma has been previously dealt with *by* Petech (1972:109–110), whose account in turn was based on that by Dhondup (1984: 88).

14 A resume of the persecutions of the rNying-ma-pa school at the beginning of the 18th century—also based on Petech (1972)—can be found in Martin (1990: 5–6); compare with Mayer (1992: 183). The questions raised by Martin and Mayer concerning the "specific measures Khang-chen-nas brought against the rNying-ma-pa sect^, and ʸthe reason for these foreign attacks on the rMying-ma-pas" could be answered by referring to the wording of the edict of AD 1726. We find therein the explicit prohibition of ritual acts such as ʷmagic rites for subjugating foesᶠ *(drag las mnan pa),* burning rites[w] *(bsreg pa),* or "hurling of ritual offeringsᴹ *(gtor zo 'phang pa);* see the text in Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal, *'Jig rten kuti tu dga' ba'i gtam,* p. 482.15–17. These ritual acts are also known as *mnan sreg 'phang gsum.* For the textual basis of these three activities, cf. Boord (1993:197–206).

gTer-bdag gling-pa.15

A far longer passage in the biography of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas immediately following the one just mentioned describes a meeting with a second person in the same year, i.e. AD 1726, who turns out to be none other than Sle-lung bZhad-pa^{r}i rdo-rje. The ruler also received from this teacher various initiations and teachings, among which I shall only mention the spiritual authorization *(rjes su gnang ba)* for the deity sKrag-med nyi-shar. After the transmission of these teachings, Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje uttered a series of items of advice for the politician's serious consideration. They started with the characterization of Khang-chen-nas as an emanation of the deity sKrag-med nyi-shar and an assertion of the merits he derived from that status. But the power of these merits would soon be exhausted, as the minister was at the time said to be "offending against the doctrine of the Great Secret's essence" *(da ni gsang chen snying po^{r}i bstan pa la rma byin par byed)*.

For bSod-nams stobs-rgyas himself, Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje came forward with some advice that obviously must be seen as relating to his strong reaction against the edict of the Manchu ruler Yongzheng. The tradition of the dGe-lugs-pa was thereby characterized as something the ruler could place confidence in *{zhva ser cod pan 'chang ba^{r}i rings lugs 'di ni yid brton rung ba'o)*, the reason for this being the supposed purity and continuity of the teachings of Padmasambhava, Atisa and Tsong-kha-pa. What we see here is, in my opinion, an effort on the part of the priest from rNam-grol gling to add some critical perspective to the standpoint of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas with the aim of dissolving the polarization between the dGe-lugs-pa and the rNying- ma-pa schools.[15] [16]

[15] Cf. Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal, *'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gtam,* 494.20–495.14. This was obviously not the first contact between the lady from sMin-grol gling and bSod-nams stobs-rgyas. Cf. Khyung-po ras-pa, *Dad pa'i gdung sel,* p. 102.4ff. This meeting took place in the year AD 1719 and was followed in AD 1720 by the proposal of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas that the *rje-btsun-ma* should move to rKong-po and by further contacts. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 104.5 ff. It should be mentioned that rje-btsun Mi-'gyur dpal-gyi sgron-ma in the year AD 1718 had escaped the Dzungar armies and had found refuge in the hidden land ^ras-mo ljongs, identical with present-day Sikkim. There she had been welcomed by the king, 'Gyur-med rnam-rgyal (r. 1701–33), and by dPa'-bo 'Jigs-med rdo-rje (b. 1682), the second incarnation of lHa-btsun Nam-mkha· 'jigs-med (1597–1653). See the resume of these events in bsTan-pa'i sgron-me, *Rang bzhin bden brjod ngo mtshar shel gyi adar^a,* 6.20–7.13.

^6 For the meeting between the bSod-nams stobs-rgyas and Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje, see Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal, *'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gtam,* 495.15–499.5. This passage has been dealt with in some detail, as the advice has up to now been ascribed to the daughter of gTer-bdag gling-pa (and thus the position of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas has been misrepresented). Cf. Petech (1972: 110), ^{w}She prophesied the ruin of Khang-chen-nas because of his persecution of the rNying-ma-pa, and tried to induce P'o-lha-nas to join her sect; of course he refused and reasserted his dGe-lugs-pa faith.^{M} See also Dhondup (1984: 88). The role of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje as mediator should be seen against the background of his role as reincarnation of lHo-brag Grub-chen Nam-mkha· rgyal-mtshan and keeper of the visionary teachings of this master, cf. *rTogs-brjod,* p. 618.5ff. In Ehrhard (1992: 56), the integrative capacity of the teachings of lHo-brag Grub-chen in eighteenth-century Tibet has also been mentioned.

Two years later, in AD 1728, Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje acted as mediator between the seventh Dalai Bla-ma bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho and bSod-nams stobs-rgyas, who had just successfully ended the civil war. As Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje has stated:

The earth-monkey year (i.e. AD 1728), a truly bad time for dBus and gTsang: I arrived in lHa-sa when the troops of gTsang had [just] reached Central Tibet. As the opening provided by [this] lucky coincidence suited [the purpose of] the ruler bSod-nams stobs-rgyas, I managed to pacify the disturbances between dBus and gTsang. Having performed a great wave of service for the excellent system of patron and priest and for the Highest Sovereign (i.e. the Dalai Bla-ma), I returned.*17*

We have now reached a point where we can look back on the journey of Sle- lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje to gNas Padma-bkod. This undertaking had occurred in the year AD 1729, shortly after bSod-nams stobs-rgyas came to power. The relevant ''description of the route"（/紐 yi_g) to the paradisiac site contains some clues as to Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje's motives for moving to the wilderness of south-eastern Tibet at this particular time:

The earth-male-monkey year [i.e. AD 1728]: As a means of avoiding the border armies in the iron-male-dog year [i.e. AD 1730], I had to pass on towards the supreme sacred site gNas Padma-bkod. And as subsidiary conditions for these [undertakings] it was necessary to execute countless sequences of auspicious ceremonies, such as feasts and fire offerings at the places of realization of the Guru [i.e. Padmasambhava] in the paradise grove of Kong-yul, offerings for Gesar at the solitary places touched by Gesai^s feet, [and] atonement rituals for the great demon-pro- tector in t 失 e places of [the deity】 sKrag-med nyi-shar, such as Brag-gsum mTsho-mo_che.l8

This statement can be interpreted to mean that Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje began his journey with the goal of establishing a degree of stability in the [*18]

^ See Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje, *ITad mo'i khrong khyer,* p. 336.4–5. Compare also the statement in Kun-bzang Nges-don klong-yangs, *Norbu do shal,* p. 315.1–2: "By furthering in a proper way the agreeable resolution between the Seventh Sovereign bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho and the ruler, the d/wrmar 句'a, he averted disagreeable conditions for them. 〃 See also Schwieger (1985: LXIV-LXV). For the relationship between the *yon bdag-ruler and the mchod gnas-bla ma* as the ideal foundaKon of Tibetan political theory, see Seyfort Ruegg (1991: 448–51).

18 For the journey of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje to gNas Padma-bkod in the year AD 1729 and the text *dGa' byed bden gtam,* see Ehrhard (1994: 7–8). The quotation can be found in the text, pp. 392.6–393.2. According to Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal, *'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gtam,* p. 496.9, the deity sKrag-med nyi-shar is a <'protector/' *(srung ma)* of the cycle *gSang bdag snyan brgyud.* This is the name for the teachings of lHo-brag Grub-chen, cf. *rTogs- brjod,* p. 622.5.

southern border regions for the newly established government of Bsod-nams stobs-rgyas. This was an urgent necessity because Central Tibet was still endangered by the attacks of the Dzungars and the problems with Bhutan were also acute. As it turned out, bSod-nams stobs-rgyas mastered all these difficulties successfully.[19]

Buddhist Myths

Concerning the religious and political practices connected with the search for hidden valleys, it should be mentioned again that in the case of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje the destinations were sites that only a few years earlier had been identified by persons like sTag-sham Nus-ldan rdo-rje (b. 1655) and Rig-'dzin Chos-rje giing-pa (1682–1725). While these treasure discoverers first opened the sacred sites, i.e. tamed the wilderness through their rituals and became masters of the territory, their successors were able to share their footing by following the same routes and repeating the rituals of their masters at the previously established locations.

That this control over a certain territory was indeed transferred from a treasure finder to his disciple can be aptly shown in the case of gNas Pad- ma-bkod. Rva-ston sTobs-ldan rdo-rje (fl. 17–18th cent.), a disciple of gNam- lcags rdo-rje rTsa-gsum gling-pa (fl. 17th cent.) and also of a certain Chos- gling bDe-ba'i rdo-rje (fl. 17th cent.), received from this latter teacher the order to open a particular site and write down a "'clarification of the sacred site *(gnas kyi gsal cha)"* . The words uttered on that occasion were, "'Because you are the master lof this site] *(bdag po khyod yin pas) ...* [20] We shall see

now that during his journey in the year AD 1729 Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje also obtained rights over certain territories.

As mentioned in several passages of his works, this authorization came directly from the *dakinis* in the form of so-called "'introductory certificates/, hyawg) for the sacred sites to be opened. These places bear the name lHo-gling, Nub-gling and Byang-gling, and their topography is defined in relation to a "sacred mountain" *(gnas ri)* with the name "'Heap of Jewels[77], i.e. Rin-chen spungs-pa. 21 The exact location of this mountain and surrounding

See Petech (1972:161), 'The foreign policy of P'o-lha-nas scored a great success in this period"; and Dhondup (1984: 97–8), "fn Iiis foreign policy Miwang Pholanay was able to secure suzerainty over Bhutan by following a similar policy of supporting all the Bhutanese factions as the Manchu did in Tibet. ... Through the contacts in Ladakh, he succeeded in keeping a close watch on the movement of the Dzungars.[w]

2○ For information on gNam-lcag rdo-rje rTsa-gsum gling-pa and Rva-ston sTobs-ldan rdo-rje, see Ehrhard (1994:16, note 18); compare Ricard (1994: XXVIII, note 41) and the chart in *ibid.,* p. 570. This information is based on Gu-ru bKra-shis, *Ngo mtshar gtam gyi rol mtsho,* pp. 581.21–582.19. For the journey to gNas Padma-bkod, cf. *ibid.,* p. 582.3–8. During the later part of his life Rva-ston sTobs-ldan rdo-rje served the role as ·/priest·/ *(mchod gnas)* for the ruler bSod-nams stobs-rgyas.

For this authorization, see the text ITal (= ITad) chung nikha' 'gro'i dga' chal *f*= tshal) gyi gnas sgo gsar du phye ba'i lam yig bden pai zungs Idan *in: ^Collected Works[77], vol. 9, p. 205.3–5; compare also the text,* Yid bzhin gyi nor bu ratna ta re'i lo rgyus mthong na kun

places is material to the next meeting between Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje and bSod-nams stobs-rgyas, which took place in the year AD 1730, again in the residence of rNam-grol gling.
At that time one of the sacred sites which had been prophesied on the way back from rKong-po had already been opened; it was the so-called lHo-gling, now known under the name gNas-mchog gSal-dvangs ri-bo-che. As Sle-lung bZhad pa'i rdo-rje was quickly back in rNam-grol gling, we must conclude that the mountain Rin-chen spungs-pa and surrounding places are located in the vicinity of his residence, i.e. in 'Ol-kha. Confirmation of this can be found, in fact, in a text dedicated to the meeting in rNam-grol gling in the year AD 1730. It is further documented in this work that on that occasion Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje climbed with the ruler to the peak of the sacred mountain and made known to him the different sites for which he was authorized, '"We climbed the peak of the sacred mountain; for my part, I offered [Mi-dbang bSod-nams stobs-rgyas] a rough identification of the layout of the sacred sites
to the south and north of the mountain Rin-chen spungs-pa. 〃 22
Having just considered the transfer of control over a certain territory from one person to another, we can now see how a journey to a sacred site in the southern border areas can also result in the authority to idealize and spiritualize the landscape to which the traveller returned. The authorization was not restricted to sLe-lung bzhad pa'i rdo-rje: in the same way the ruler Mi-dbang bSod-nams stobs-rgyas acquired a new status as an emanation of Yam-shud dmar-po, king of the bTsan demons. Although Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje makes the remark that this status was already known to him at their first meeting in the year AD 1726, it was only now, after his becoming the head of a new government and the first successes in his foreign policy, that bSod-nams stobs-rgyas himself learned of it.
The importance of this new spiritual identity of the ruler is seen in the fact that the quotations from literary sources which Sle-lung hZhad-pa'i rdo-rje brought forward in this respect were included in the biography of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas, written three years later, i.e. in AD 1733. These were, first, a passage from the cycle, *gZigs snang gsang ba rgya can ma* of the 5th Dalai Bla-ma, and second, a quotation from the writings of Chos-rje gling-pa.[* 22 23]
dga' in: '"Collected Works"', vol. *9,* p. 275.2–4.
22 See the text, Mi *dbang bsod nams stobs rgyas mam grol gling du byoti pa'i lo rgyus ngo mtshar 'bum snang,* 41 fols., in： ^Collected Works"', vol. *9,* p. 327.1-2. In this text we also find the location of the sacred mountain Rin-chen spungs-pa; cf. *ibid.,* p. 282.1-2. For the opening of the site gNas-mchog gSal-dvangs ri-bo-che, i.e. lHo-gling, see, *Yid bzhin gyi nor bu ratna ta ra'i lo rgyus mthong na kun dga'* (as in note 21). This text was composed by Sle-lung bZhad-pa*i rdo-rje at the request of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas.
23 For the quotation from the cycle *gZigs snang gsang ba rgya can ma* that qualifies bSod-nams stobs-rgyas as an emanation of Yam-shud dmar-po, cf. *Mi dbang bsod nams stobs rgyas mam grol gling du byon pa'i lo rgyus ngo mtshar 'bum snang* (as in note 21), p. 282.4ff. Compare also Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal, *'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gtam,* 79.4-80.10. In both cases the quotation is interpreted as indicating the opposition between Khang-chen-nas (an emanation of the deity sKrag-med nyi-shar) and bSod-nams stobs-rgyas. The quotation

Concluding Remarks

With these details I conclude my observations concerning the relationship between the ruler and the priest. It should have become clear that Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje played a hitherto unnoticed role in the development of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas from minister and warlord to the ruler of Tibet who provided his country with a certain degree of political stability up to his death in the year AD 1747. Further proof of the importance of this teacher for the undertakings of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas is the fact that the catalogue of the so-called sNflr f/wmg Wcfl, 'gywr (sponsored by bSod-nams stobs-rgyas in the years AD 1730–1) came from the pen of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje.[24]

Concerning the current research on hidden valleys in Tibetan cultural areas, I might point out that, aside from questions of political history and religious geography, the various aspects of Buddhist myths, i.e. the forms of symbolic representation, the ritual activities and spiritual practices that were part of the journeys into the untamed wilderness, are a field worthy of study. As we saw in the case of Blo-bzang lHa-mchog, the *dharmapala* Yam-shud dmar-po had his residence in the innermost recesses of the newly opened site in lHo-brag, and Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje went to gNas Padma-bkod to bring offerings to the deity sKrag-med nyi-shar. These protectors of the Buddhist teaching, their myths and related rituals came alive in the persons of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas and Khang-chen-nas, two politicians during a particularly difficult time for Tibet. And it is not a great surprise that this period of military attacks from outside and inner political conflicts should have coincided with a period when the paradisiac sites in the south promised not only refuge but also spiritual transformation. It is this very quality that constitutes sacred sites, according to Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje:

Nowadays when one travels to these sacred mountains one naturally [experiences] resplendent terror, and [at the same time] is at ease, and in one's stream of consciousness a new spiritual experience of the concep

from the _yvritings of Chos-rje gling-pa can also be found in both sources and is ascribed to the text *Atsarya sa le'i zhus len.* Cf. p. 287.1 ff. and p. 80.10–82.18. But in a further work of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje, the *IHa gcig rdo rje skyabs byed kyi 'khrungs khang du dam can rgya mtsho'i bsti gnas gsar du bskrun pa'i deb ther rin po che'i 'phreng ba* in: "'Collected Works", vol. 9, p. 475.2ff, the quotation is ascribed to the text, *rTsa gsum dril sgrub kyi lung bstan.* For Tibetan beliefs concerning the *dharmapala* Yam-shud dmar-po, see Nebesky- Wojkowitz (1956: 168–70). The myth of Yam-shud dmar-po (a younger brother of the Buddha Śākyamuni, who after creating initial disturbances, was obliged to act as a protector of the teaching) is narrated by Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje in *sNgon med legs bshad,* Vol. II, 67.19–25.

[24] This is the text, *rGyal ba'i bka' 'gyur ro cog gi gsung pa rin po che srid gsum rgyan gcig rdzu 'phrul shing rta'i dkar chag ngo mtshar bkod pa rgya mtsho'i Ide mig,* 127 fols. (missing from the "Collected Works^). It is mentioned in Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal, *'Jig rten kuti tu dga' ba'i gtam,* 82.19–20, and 746.1–2. For further information on this blockprint, see Jackson (1989: 93). This text is gradually attracting the interest of concerned scholars, cf. e.g. Eimer (1994:310). bSod-nams stobs-rgyas and his sister Padma Chos-'dzoms were also active in propagating the tradition of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum.* For this, see Ehrhard (in press b).

tion-free [unity of] bliss and emptiness flames up. [There are] the peculiar noises of the assemblies of the Mothers, *dakinis* and Titans, deep sighs are uttered, the sounds of songs, dances and instruments come forth, and the spontaneous sound of the secret mantras rolls on; a sweet-smelling fragrance spreads around, and so forth. The occurrence of these things in the common experiences of different people is by itself
enough to make [these places】 objects to trust in![25]

Appendix

The Missing Summaries of the gZigs snang gsang ba rgya can A unique source for research into the political and religious life of seventeenth-century Tibet and the field of Buddhist myth and ritual is the collection of manuscripts edited by S. G. Karmay under the title *Secret Visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama.* In the discussion of the works relating to the tradition of the *gZigs snang gsang ba rgya can ma* the following statement is made: 'There are no texts which contain summaries of the last five sections of the *rGya-can.* These sections are devoted to the record of the visions that occurred from AD 1674 to 1680, and the first few months of 1681// (Karmay 1988:18).

As indicated in an earlier article (Ehrhard 1993: 78-9), a further manuscript in the cycle was photographed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP) in 1987, the *gZigs snang gsang ba rgya can ma,* 578 fols., reel no. E 2134/2 – E 2135/1. A close inspection revealed that the missing summaries are contained in this collection. They are to be found in a text called *rGya can gyi ʳkhrul snang rnga chen ma shar bar gyi bkod pa zhing khams rgya mtsho'i yid 'phrog,* 64 fols. Here follows a survey of the five sections and the respective years of the summarized visions:

1. *Pad dkar rgya can*	fols. 2a/l–11b/2	1674–5
2. gDugs dkar rgya can	fols. 11b/2–19b/6	1676
3. *Chos gduṇ g.yas ʳkhyil rgya can*	fols. 19b/6–33a/6	1676–7
4. *gSer nyaʳi rgya can*	fols. 33a/6–9b/2	1678–9
5. *rGyal mtshan rgya can*	fols. 49a/2–63a/5	1680–1

According to the colophon the text was written in AD 1685 by 'Jam-dbyangs grags-pa, a monk who took an active part in editing texts, especially in the 5th [25]

[25]*See gNas chen zangs mdog dpal ri'i cha shas las 'phros pa'i gnas ri lo rgyus da ki dgyes pa'i glu dbyangs,* in: "Collected Works'[7], Vol. 8, 155.5-156.1. The context of this passage provides further material for the origin of sacred sites and the myth of the Heruka (Mahesvara/Rudra). Cf. Davidson (1991: 229, note 6), with special reference to the discussion of this myth by Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje in *sNgon med legs bshad,* Vol. I, 1–103. For the inclusion of the ritual text *rGyal po rtse mdos* (otherwise unavailable) in the same collection, cf. Karmay (1991: 343). The myth of Ganesa *(tshogs bdag)* as narrated in this collection is referred to in Krishan (1992: 65 ff).

Dalai Bla-ma^ later works. It was at this time that *thangkas* depicting the visions of the 5th Dalai Bla-ma were painted on the orders of sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho. The colophon reads (fol. 64a/6-b/6):

The sequence of the visions of the sealed volume which manifested [in the period】 from the wood-tiger [year, i.e. AD 1674] up to the [time when] the water-dog [year, i.e. AD 1682] had not yet appeared, when the artist ’Jam-dbyangs rin-chen drew the preliminary sketches [for the *thangkas]* to be set up by the ruler Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, who came [into this world] as a master over the breadth of heaven and earth, pursuant to the intent of the prince Mu-ne btsan-po the full understanding [of the composition of the text] mainly arose. [This work) was completed on the dMar-po ri, the palace of Arya Lokesvara, by the editor, the one who compiled it, the respectworthy Vidyadhara 'Jam-dbyangs grags-pa, on the tenth day of the monkey month of the year *khro-bo,* also called *krodha* [i.e. AD 1685], [that is on the day] when one cries out for him who is called rDo-rje thogs-med rtsal, the old mantrika from Za-hor, or Gang-shar rang-grol [i.e. the 5th Dalai Bla-ma], at the special time when *vlras* and *dakinls* come together like clouds; and it was put to paper by Blo-bzang dbang-po, one whose technical skills attain [all] limits. May it be auspicious for all!

Bibliography

Tibetan Sources

Kun-bzang Nges-don klong-yangs (b. 1814): Bod du byung ba'i gsang sngags snga ʳgyur gyi bstan 'dzin skyes mchog rim by on gyi mam thar [nor buʳi do shal], *186 fols. Dalhousie: Damchoe Sangpo, 1976.*

bsKal-bzang Padma dbang-phyug, 3rd rDo-rje brag Rig-'dzin (b. 1720): IHa rigs kyi btsun pa bskal bzang padma'i ming can rang nyid kyi rtogs par brjod pa 'jam gnyen ut pa la gzhad paʳi dgaᶠ tshal [gzhon nu bun dbhu'i yid ʳphrog], *185 fols. Leh: Pema Choden, 1973,1–370.*

Khyung-po ras-pa (b. 1715): *rje btsun mi 'gyur dpal gyi sgron maᶠi mam thar [dad paʳi gdung sel],* 119 fols. Thimphu: National Library of Bhutan, 1984.

Gu-ru bKra-shis, sTag-sgang mkhas-mchog (18th/19th cent.): bsTan pa'i snying po gsang chen snga ʳgyur nges don zab moʳi chos kyi ʳbyung ba gsal bar byed pa'i legs bshad mkhas pa dga' byed. [ngo mtshar gtam gyi rol mtsho], *1058 pages. Xinhua: mTsho-sngon mi-rigs par-khang, 1990.*

Grub-thob Blo-bzang lHa-mchog (1672–1747): IHo brag gro bo lung grub thob bio bzang lha mchog rin po che'i mam thar, *98 fols., n.p., n.d.* (=rNam-thar).

rGod-tshang ras-pa (1189–1258): *Chos rje lo ras paʳi mam par thar pa [bdud rtsiʳi phreng ba],* 113 pages. Xinhua: mTsho-sngon mi-rigs dpe-skrun khang, 1993.

Ngag-dbang Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho, 5th Dalai Bla-ma (1617–82): Za hor gyi ban de ngag dbang bio bzang rgya mtsho'i 'di snang 'khrul ba'i rol rtsed rtogs brjod kyi tshul du bkod pa [du kii la'i gos bzang], *3 vols. Xinhua: Mi-dmangs dpe-skrun khang, 1989–1991.*
Chos-kyi rgya-mtsho, Kah-thog Si-tu (1880–1925): *Si tu chos kyi rgya mtsho gangs Ijongs dbus gtsang gnas bskor lam yig [nor bu zla shel gyi me long],* 270 fols. Tashijong: The Sungrab Nyamso Gyunphel Parkhang, 1972.
bsTan-pa'i sgron-me (b. 1933): gSang chert rnying ma'i 'dus sde 'og min o rgyan smin grol gling nges pa don gyi dga' ba'i tshal chen po'i dkar chag rang bzhin bden brjod [ngo mtshar shel gyi adarsa], *387 pages. Siling: Zi-ling mi-rigs par-khang, 1992.*
Padma dkar-po, 4th 'Brug-chen (1527–92): *Chos 'byung [bstan pa'i padma rgyas pa'i nyin byed],* 464 pages. (= *Gangs can rig mdzod,* vol. 19). Xinhua: Bod-ljongs bod-yig dpe-rnying dpe-skrun khang, 1992.
Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal, mDo-mkhar Zhabs-drung (1697–1763): dPfl ｜ *dbang po'i rtogs pa brjod pa [ʳjig rten kun tu dga ba'i gtam],* 861 pages. Xinhua: Si-khron mi-rigs dpe-skrun khang, 1981.
Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, sDe-srid (1653–1705): dPal mnyam med ri bo dgaʾ Idan pa'i bstan pa zhva ser cod pan 'chang ba'i ring lugs chos thams cad kyi rtsa ba gsal bar byed pa [bai durya ser po'i me long), *523 pages. Siling: Khrung-go'i bod-kyi shes-rig dpe-skrun khang, 1989.*
Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje (b. 1697): Dam can bstan srung rgya mtsho'i mam par thar pa cha shas tsam brjod pa [sngon med legs bshad], *2 vols. Leh: T.S. Tashigang, 1979.*
:gNas mchog padmo bkod du bgrod pa'i lam yig [dga' byed bden *gtam],* 53 fols., in "'Collected Works/[7] vol. *8,* pp. 389–493. Leh: T. Sonam and D. L. Tashigang, 1985.
:gNas thor bu mams gyi lo rgyus [Itad mo'i grong khyer], *23 fols., ibid.,* 327–371.
:Rig pa 'dzin pa bio bzang ʳphrin las kyi rtogs pa brjod pa skal bzang *dga' stort,* 375 fols., in: "'Collected Works[7]', vol. 1,1–748 (= *rTogs-brjod):*
O-rgyan glin-pa, gTer-chen (1329-1367): O rgyan gu ru padma 'byung gnas kyi skyes rabs mam par thar pa rgyas par bkod pa [padma bka'i thang yig], *792 pages. Xinhua: Si-khron mi-rigs dpe-skrun khang, 1988.*
Secondary Litrature
Boord, M.J. (1993), The Cult of the Deity VajrakUa: According to the Texts of the Northern Treasures Tradition of Tibet (byang-gter phur-ba). *Tring:* Buddhica Britannica Series Continua *IV.*
Dabringhaus, S. (1994), Das Qing-Imperium als Vision und Wirklichkeit. Tibet in Laufbahn und Schriften des Song Yun (1752–1835). *Munchener Ostasiatische Studien 69. Stuttgart.*
Davidson, R. M. (1991), "Reflections on the Mahe§vara Subjugation Myth: Indie Materials, Sa-skya-pa Apologetics, and the Birth of Heruka". *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies,* Vol. 14 (2), pp.

197–235.
D
I
Dhondup,K. (1984), The Water-Horse and Other Years: A History of 17th and 18th Century Tibet. *Dharamsala.*
owman, K. (1988), The Power-Places of Central Tibet: The Pilgrim's Guide. *London and New York.*
Ehrhard, F. K_ (1992), "The 'Vision' of rDzogs-chen: A Text and its Histories", in *Tibetan Studies.* Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies, vol. 1, pp. 47–58, Narita.
(1993), "Two Documents on Tibetan Ritual Literature and Spiritual *Genealogy[77]*. Journal of the Nepal Research Centre, *Vol.* 9, *pp. 77–100.*
(1994), 'The Role of Treasure Discoverers[7] and Their Writings in the Search for Himalayan Sacred Lands". *The Tibet Journal,* Vol. 19 (3), pp. 1–20.
(in press a), "Concepts of Religious Space in Southern Mustang: The Foundation of the Monastery sKu-tshab gter-lnga.[/]
(in press b), "Recently Discovered Manuscripts of the rNying-ma rgyud-'bum from Nepal/'
Eimer, H. (1994), [/7]Zur Problematik der Stellung des Narthang Druckes in der iiberlieferung des tibetischen Kanjur[/]. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft,* Stuttgart: Supplement 10, pp. 307-12. Ferrari, A. (1958), *Mk'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet.* Serie Orientale Roma 16. Rome.
Hevia, J. (1993), "Lamas, Emperors, and Rituals: Political Implications in Qing Imperial Ceremonies". 77ze /owrmif *of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* Vol. 16 (2), pp. 243–278
Ho-Chin Yang (1969), *The Annals of Kokonor.* Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series 106. The Hague.
Ishihama, Y. (1993), "On the Dissemination of the Beliefin the Dalai Lama as a Manifestation of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara[r]. *Acta Asiatica: Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture* Vol. 64, pp. 38–56
Jackson, D. P. (1989), The 'Miscellaneous Series' of Tibetan Texts in the Bihar Research Society, Patna. Tibetan and Indo-Tibetan Studies 2. *Stuttgart.*
Karmay, S. G. (1988), Secret Visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama: The Gold Manuscript of the Fournier Collection. *London.*
:(1991), "L'Homme et le Boeuf: le rituel des Glud ('Ranqon')''. /owrnW *Asiatique* 279 (3–4), pp. 27–381.
Krishan, Y. (1992), "'Ganesa in Tibet[/]. *The Tibet Journal* 17:2, pp. 65–71
Martin, D. (1990), "Bonpo Canons and Jesuit Canons: On Sectarian Factors Involved in the Ch'ien-lung Emperor's Second Goldstream Expedition of 1771–1776. Based Primarily on Some Tibetan Sources[/]. *The Tibet Journal* 15:2, pp. 3–28
Mayer, R. (1990), 'Tibetan Phur-pas and Indian Kllas[r]. *The Tibet Journal* 15:1, 3–41; corrected version in *The Buddhist Forum* Vol. 2 (Seminar Papers 1988–90), New Delhi, 1992, pp. 163–192
de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, R. (1956), Oracles and Demons of Tibet. The Cult and

Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities. *s'Gravenhage (reprint; Graz, 1975).*
Petech, L. (1972), China and Tibet in the Early XVIIIth Century. History of the Establishment of Chinese Protectorate in Tibet. Monographies du T'oung Pao *1. Leiden.*
(1988), *Selected Papers on Asian History.* Serie Orientale Roma 60.
Rome.
Ricard, M. (1994), The Life of Shabkar: The Autobiography of a Tibetan Yogin. *Albany: SUNY Press.*
Schwieger, P. (1985), Die Werksammlungen Kun-tu bzan-po'i dgons-pa zan-thal, Ka-dag rah-byun ran-sar und mKha'-'gro gsan-ba ye-ses-kyi rgyud. *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland XI,9. Stuttgart.*
Seyfort Ruegg, D. (1991), ^mchod yon, yon mchod and mchod gnas/yon gnas: On the Historiography and Semantics of a Tibetan Religio-Social and Religio-Political Concept[r]. In: *Tibetan History and Language: Studies Dedicated to Uray GQza on His Seventieth Birthday.* Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 26, Vienna, pp. 329–51.
Wylie, T.V. (1962), The Geography of Tibet According to the Dzam-gling- rgyas-bshad. Serie Orientale Roma *25. Roma.*

Binding Sutras and Modernity:
The Lire and Times of the Chinese Layman Yang Wenhui (1837–1911)

Gabrielle Goldfufi
University of Leipzig

Introduction

Buddhism in late imperial China was exposed to the same set of problems which the rest of Asian Buddhist culture had to face: namely colonialism, the influx of Western science and philosophy and the Christian missions. Questions arose as to whether one should abandon or reformulate the tradition and link it to nationalism, or whether one should refer to Buddhism as a religion or as a philosophy, and whether the status of the laity and clergy should be revised. However, neither the way Western impact worked nor the pre-existing structures were the same in each country and therefore the features of a modernized Buddhism would naturally differ considerably in countries such as Sri Lanka, Thailand, Tibet, Korea, Japan or China.

The process of the transformation of Buddhism in modem China has begun to attract growing attention among Western scholars.[1] For further research we still need to inquire more about the general development and the relationships of major personalities, who influenced the direction of history within the Chinese tradition. Chinese historiography itself has largely exemplified general outlines through personal action. As for Chinese Buddhism, personal initiative and individual charisma in many respects resulted in a deviation from narrow sectarian activities and affiliation.

Modern Chinese Buddhism can be roughly divided into three periods; the last fifty years of the Imperial Period, i.e. 1860-1911, the Republican Period [1]

1 Studies on modem Chinese Buddhism in Western languages have been carried out by Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900–1950,* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967; *The Buddhist Revival in China.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968; *Buddhism under Mao,* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972. See also Chan Sin-wai, *Buddhism in Late Ch'ing Political Thought,* Hongkong: The Chinese University Press, 1985; and Gotelind Muller, *Buddhismus und Moderne: Ouyang Jingwu, Taixu und das Ritigen um ein zeitgemciGes Selbstverstandnis im chinesischen Buddhismus des fruhen 20. Jahrhundert,* Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993, just to name a few.

(1912–45), and Buddhism after 1945. Each of these phases was marked by the lives of several eminent men. Best known in the West are two representatives of the second period with Taixu (1890–1947) for the clerical side, and Ouyang Jingwu (1870–1943) for the laity. As for the first period—which I shall focus on here—the central person to react to the new transformation taking place in Chinese society was the lay man Yang Wenhui.[2] This man, whom Holmes Welch has called the "Father of Modern (Chinese) Buddhism" endeavoured to translate these changes into the structure of Chinese Buddhism in order to prepare it for further development by following generations.[3]

Difficult Conversion and Fervent Devotion

Yang Wenhui, whose public name (z○ was Renshan, was bom in 1837 in Shidai, in Anhui province. Instead of preparing for the official exams, which would have opened to him the career of a civil servant or mandarin, he spent most of his time writing poetry and in self-cultivation. His father held an official position and was related to some of the most important reform politicians of the post-Opium War period in China. Thanks to these connections, of which that with Zeng Guofan (1811–72) was especially important, Yang Wenhui was later able to obtain an official position in spite of his refusal to take part in the examinations.

When the Taiping Rebellion devastated central China in the 1850s, Yang's

[2] Yang's works have been collected and published by the Nanjing Scriptural Press in Van 牙 Rensftfln /MS/H. y/zfiw 楊仁山居士遺著丨 Posthumous Works of the Layman Yang Renshan], 10 vols. + 1 vol., Nanjing, 1918 and 1996 [hereafter: *Posthumous Works]*. The latest Taiwanese reprint is by Xinwenfeng, 1993. The collection contains the following texts, the WJM 客 Rens/wn s/i/We 楊仁山居士事略[Yang's "official biography^], the inscription of his memorial stele, etc. (vol. 1); Buddhist commentaries, the *Dazong di xuan wenben lun* Wezftw 大宗地玄女本論略注（vols. 2 and 3; they can also be found in the Dflim7z5n zofcwzSfcyS 大日本續藏經（hereafter: ZZ), vol. 73); the Buddhist educational manual and a short history of the Chinese Buddhist schools (vol. 4), the *Guan wuliangshou fo jing liielurt* 觀無量壽滿經略論（vol. 5>; Daoist and Confucian commentaries (vols. 5 and 6>; a collection of speeches, essays, forewords, editorial notes, catalogue of printed books, many letters to Chinese and Japanese contemporaries, etc. (vols. 7–10), called the *Deng bu deng* gwim zafw 等不等觀雜錄（hereafter: Wrihrtgs), as well as some exegetical writings about Japanese Pure Land Buddhism (vol. 11). For other texts, letters, reminiscences, etc., see the 加/吨 /zwibian 金陵刻經處歷史資料匯編[Historical Materials on the Nanjing Scriptural Press], 7 vols., Nanjing, 1989 (unpublished); and Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, pp. 2–10. Due to the growing interest in pre-modern Chinese Buddhism, various Chinese scholars in the People's Republic and Taiwan have dedicated articles to Yang in the last few years, the most recent of these being Yu Lingbo's book, *Yang Renshan jushi pingzhuan* [A critical biography of the layman Yang Renshan], Taibei: Xinwenfeng, 1995. See also Lou Yulie's study, "'Zhongguo jindai foxue zhenxing zhe Yang Wenhui [Yang Wenhui, the Reviver of Modem Chinese Buddhisml'% *Shijie zongjiao yatijiu* 1 (1986), pp. 28–32. For further bibliographic details see my dissertation, "'Maieutique pour un bouddhisme de demain: Yang Wenhui (1837–1911) - Laic, imprimeur et modemiste dans la Chine au seuil du XXe si^de", Paris, INALCO, 1995.

[3] For this first period some outstanding personalities from the clerical side, Including Yinguang 印光（1861–1940) and Xuyun 虛雲 (1848–1959) should also be mentioned.

family was forced to flee from their home, and ended up wandering from place to place for a period that lasted almost ten years. When his father died in 1863 peace reigned again in most parts of the empire. However, Yang himself fell seriously ill after the burial, and both events marked a turning point in his life. As the only son, he was forced to take office in order to support his family, and during his illness he had found consolation in Buddhist books.

Most certainly he read the *Dasheng qixin luti* [Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna], a Chinese apocryphal work, which Yang believed to be a translation of the *Sraddhotpada sastra* ascribed to the Indian master Asvaghosa. This short treatise was, and still is, one of the most popular texts in Chinese Buddhism, and it has often served to bridge the gap between the literati officials trained in the Confucian value system and the Buddhist believer. According to Hakeda it ^is a comprehensive summary of the essentials of Mahāyāna Buddhism, the product of a mind extraordinarily apt at synthesis".[4] For Yang the text represented the "essence of the *Tripitaka* itself", and was to serve him as a "guideline" throughout his life.[5]

His granddaughter Yang Buwei, who later achieved some fame in the United States for her *Autobiography of a Chinese Woman*, writes about her grandfather's conversion to Buddhism:

Suddenly he realized that love, family, and country held no interest for him. From then on he began searching for sutras in all the bookshops, monasteries, and temples, and got his friends to search on his behalf. Whenever he heard that there was some important sutra tucked away somewhere, he would not rest until he had gotten hold of it. He went everywhere discussing scriptures with eminent monks.[6]

His granddaughter also tells us of another more romantic side that was related to his conversion to Buddhism. It appears that Yang had insisted on marrying a girl he had been engaged to since childhood and who became disfigured by illness during her youth. In the 1860s he fell in love with a beautiful and highly educated girl and wanted to make her his second wife. However, his first wife, who had just given birth to a son, refused to accept this new marriage. In deep depression Yang then renounced the world and turned to Buddhism.

4 Yoshito S. Hakeda, *The Awakening of Faith.* New York & London: Columbia University Press, 1967, p. 3.

5 Cf. Yang/ "Yu Zheng Taozhai shu 與鄭陶齋書[Letter to Zheng Taozhai】"，in: V^r/ows *Writings,* vol. 6, pp. 3a-4b.

6 Cf. Chao (Yang) Buwei, *Autobiography of a Chinese Woman,* New York, 1947, pp. 82–88, quoted in Welch, *Buddhist Revival,* p. 3. Yang Buwei was still a young girl when her grandfather died, therefore many of her accounts of Yang Wenhui must have been merely told to her. In her various biographies of the Buddhist reformer which she published in Taiwanese popular magazines *{Zhuanji wenxue, Puti shu etc.),* information on Yang's life differ notably. Despite this they are still a valuable source for his family background and other details of his private life that none of the other sources provides.

Thanks to his father's connections, Yang took on a job in the section of building and engineering at the staff of the reform politicians in Nanjing. In his old age Yang recalled that during most of his life he had to reconcile both his vocation as a lay Buddhist and his work to support the family. Only as an old man could he fully dedicate himself to Buddhism:

By nature I like solitude and I am not inclined to fame and wealth. When I was twenty-seven years of age, my father passed away. My family was poor, my mother was old and they had nothing which we could subsist on. For thirty years I have followed the path of a civil servant in China. I served in the provinces of Hubei and Jiangsu, and abroad I served in England and France. Only in my spare time could I roam in my Buddhist books, but luckily I could nevertheless gain a glimpse of enlightenment. Now I have charged my sons with my wordly affairs. I am seventy years old and my strength is fading away. I pray that all my friends and relatives may forgive me in my wish to retire from all social obligations. In the evening of my life, I wish to devote myself fully to philological work, to compilation [of the scriptures], to deepen my knowledge about the *siitras,* and to carving and printing them.[7 8]

Yang never took the bodhisattva vows or followed any particular teacher. Neither did he consider becoming a monk in order to realize the Buddhist teachings. In his eyes intellectual freedom was severely limited by the monastic hierarchy and time for study and research was reduced by the manifold obligations inmates in a monastery had to fulfil. Moreover he was convinced that most of the famous masters of his times were basically corrupt and "false Buddhas" who wanted fame and money, and who did not lead people along the path of enlightment.8 He did not deny traditional Buddhist demeanour, though. He would only eat vegetarian food, he was sexually abstinent in his later days, and followed the devotional tradition of the Pure Land (Jingtu 淨土). His main effort was concentrated on collecting, reading, collating and printing Buddhist texts and on distributing them throughout China and even abroad. As a layman (/ws/n•居士） he wanted to use the possibilities of an "independent" life outside the walls of the monastery in order to promote the Buddhist cause.

Lay Buddhism was already a salient feature of the late imperial period.

[7] Yang, Xfe fce 謝客啟[Dismissal】，in: Vflriows Wn'Hngs, vol. 5, p. 3a. See also his, YM *Shi Weijing shu yi* 與釋惟靜書—[First letter to the monk Weijing], in: Wriows Wri_fin 客 s, vol. 5, p. 17a. He states that since he has "retired" and is able to devote himself entirely to his Buddhist obligations, and that he sees no difference between his life at home and a life in a (small) monastery. In fact, Yang had already retired from public service when he was fifty- two years old. This gave him more than twenty years to work for the Buddhist cause.

[8] For Yang^ defence of the advantages of autonomous lay status, see *Letters to Gui Bohua 1 and* 2, in: *Various Writings,* vol. 6, pp. 7a–11a.

With Yang there appeared a new type of "lay pride", which was to become characteristic for the Republican period, and which appears to have been the necessary outcome both of the secularization of Buddhism and the various contacts with the West.9 Especially from the second generation onwards, laymen wanted to play leading roles in the development of the religion, in teaching and research as well as in regard to social action. The famous political reformer and scholar Liang Qichao (1873–1929), who was very much inclined to Buddhism, wrote that, have nothing special to say about the monks in the Qing period. ... There were only some laymen worth mentioning, among whom the most recent one was Yang Wenhui. He (i.e. Yang)/[7] Liang added, [7/]got his inspiration from Huayan Buddhism and taught his disciples the principles of Pure Land. He knew the [Buddhist] classical texts perfectly well, and he studied them constantly. Still today many of those engaged in Buddhism were incited [to do so] by his words/'[11]

The Printing Venture

Nanjing and the whole area of the lower Yangzi—generally referred to as Jiangnan—were traditionally centres of both printing and Buddhism. It had suffered greatly from the Taiping Rebellion, and as temples, libraries and printing houses had been destroyed, Yang had great difficulty in obtaining Buddhist texts. ^ But "because of the devastations there were no texts to be had and the words of the Buddha in the Chinese Tripitaka were nothing but dead letters," Yang stated desperately.u

As a consequence, in 1866 he resolved to dedicate himself to printing and with some colleagues who were also Buddhists he founded the Nanjing Scriptural Press (Jinling JKejingchu 金陵刻經處).[9 10 11 12 * 14] With this decision Yang engaged in one of the main traditional activities of a lay Buddhist —together with public charity, liberation of animals, donations for temple building and

9 Cf. Goldfufi, [-/]Maleutique[-/], in the chapter, "Laicite entre tradition et modernite[-/]. Parallel developments can also be seen in Theravada Buddhism. See, Richard Gombrich and Gananath Obeyesekere^ *Buddhism Transformed: Religious Change in Sri Lanka,* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988; Heinz Bechert, *Buddhismus, Staat und Gesellschaft in den Landern des Theravada-Buddhismus,* 3 vols. Frankfurt and Berlin: A. Metzner, 1966-73.

10 Cf. Welch, *Buddhist Revival,* pp. 23-50.

11 Liang Qichao, ZhoNggwo /o/fl yflJige s/iwo/iie 中國佛法興衰沿革說略[An Outline of the Successive Transformations and Changes of Chinese Buddhism], *Foxue yanjiu* sfn'bfl p 丨佛學研究十八篇[Buddhist Research ~ 18 Essays], Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989, p. 14 (reprint of the original edition from 1936).

12 It is estimated that literacy was then far more advanced in China than in Europe. Mainly during the last centuries, the Qing dynasty encouraged primary schooling throughout the country. Therefore in traditional China reading Buddhist texts was already an essential part of basic Buddhist lay piety. See Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China,* Ann Arbor： University of Michigan Press, 1979.

Cf. Yang Renshan jushi shiliie, in: Posthumous Works, vol. 飞， p. lb.

14 All kinds of documents, including declarations about the foundation, projects, and official correspondence up to the recent activities of the Scriptural Press, are collected in vols. 6 and 7 of the *Historical Materials on the Nanjing Scriptural Press.*

the support of the *samgha.*

The growing importance of lay Buddhism was then for many believers a natural outcome due to the "degeneration of the Law" (mo/fl 末法),15 and Yang considered printing and spreading the *dharma* the adequate action within this period. But rather than gathering merit he wanted to preserve and update the national spiritual heritage and prepare the Chinese Buddhists for the challenge of Westernization.

In the East and in the West reforms are instigated in every country with the exception of the field of religious affairs. There one sticks to the old without changing anything. If one revived them in the same way, one could make people understand the advantages of respect for religion in order to strive for a better world. How can just our China not be like that?l7

The first printed edition of the *Tripitaka* had been ordered by the first emperor of the Song Dynasty and it was completed in AD 983. Ever since then—both in China and Korea—voluminous editions of the Buddhist Canon were prepared both under imperial auspices and with the help of *private* contributions from pious laymen anxious to accumulate meritorious *karma.* In addition to that, innumerable individual publications of *siitras,* sermons, edifying tales or moral books were printed—and also written—by laymen throughout the centuries. As for the printing of the T*ripitaka* in the twentieth century, Holmes Welch is completely right when he states:

The achievement that has most impressed some [foreign] observers was the reprinting ... of the complete Tripitaka, as well as parts or sequels thereof. This is certainly evidence of Buddhist wealth and piety, but it does not necessarily indicate readership. The Tripitaka, with its millions of words, was like Dr. Eliot's five-foot shelf—decorative and inspiring. It was usually the individual *siitras,* printed and purchased separately, that were well-thumbed.[15 16 17 18]

Yang had also made plans for the printing of a *Tripitaka.* He wanted to complete the extant Chinese editions by adding recently discovered texts to the corpus, and to compare the Chinese versions with the originals in Sanskrit. This task was never completed, however.

15 Cf. Ogawa Kan'ichi, ^Koji bukkyo no kinseiteki hatten [Modern Developments in Lay Buddhism]^/, *Ryukoku daigaku ronshii* 339 (1950), pp. 46–74.

16 For the production of the Nanjing Scriptural Press and its associated houses until the year 1902 see, Foxwe s/iwmw biflo 佛學書目表[Catalogue of Buddhist Books】，in: Various *Writings, vol. 2.*

17 Cf_ Yang, Z/iirni ce 1 支那佛教振興策策一 [Plans for the Revival of Chinese Buddhism 1], in *Various Writings,* vol. 1, p. 16a.

18 Welch, Buddhist Revival, *p. 99.*

In 1866, Zheng Xuechuan 鄭學川 from Jiangdu (1826?–81) also made a vow to dedicate himself to printing. He chose to become a monk and was known then both under the name Miaokong 妙空 or just as "the carving monk" (Kejingseng 刻經僧).While he operated houses of scriptural presses in Yangzhou, such as the Jiangbei Kejingchu 江北刻經處，and in five other places, he collaborated with Yang on the *Tripitaka* project and became (at least for some time) the clerical head of the Nanjing Press. Welch sees in Miaokong the true founder of modern Buddhist printing, but I prefer to stress the collaboration between him and Yang rather than to argue on the basis of a temporal hierarchy which is difficult to prove.

In the preface from 1911 of the Supplement to the Chinese *Tripitaka,* the famous Japanese buddhologist Nanj5 Bunyti 南條文雄(1849–1927) honors the work and the contribution of Yang who had furnished many Chinese texts not yet included in preceding Japanese editions. Nanj5 also refers to a letter in which Yang confirms the collaboration with Miaokong on his personal *Tripitaka* project. However, in the course of thirteen years they had only printed about two thousand fascicules. Yang complained that they had to make a lot out of nothing as they could not raise enough donations, especially from the rich officials,"among whom only very few believers could be found". After Miaokong's death in 1881 the work almost ground to a stop because the latter had mainly been in charge of collecting money.[19]

However, Yang had also committed himself to some slightly different tasks, namely publications more accessible to a broader readership and their purse. In 1910, shortly before his death, he wrote the *Baogao tongren shu* 報告同人書[Report to My Colleagues] in which he specified the projects he had engaged in, suggesting that they should be completed after he had passed away.[20] [21] [22]

There was the compilation of fi'yao 提要 or bibliographical notes on the Buddhist Canon 大藏經)and its Supplement (XwzflMg 續藏經)which

followed the example of the Sffcw h.yao 四畬提要（Bibliographical Notes on Four Magazines). With this book Yang mainly wanted to make access to Buddhism easier for beginners, because in his opinion the swfra-literature was so complex that people had problems in choosing what to read 21

Secondly he had planned to publish a *Digest of the Buddhist Canon* (Dflzfln 客 /～如大藏集要）in about three-thousand fascicules which should also help to direct the reading of believers, "[because] if one fixed what to keep and

what to eliminate, the readers would not risk going astray[7'].22

[19] Cf_ NanjS BunyO, Introduction, Dfl/m7/o« zo*wz 欲大日本續藏經[Supplement to the Chinese Tripitaka], Tokyo, 1911, pp. 17a–18b.

[20] Cf. Yang, [y/]Baogao tongren shu[»/] in: *Various Writings,* vol. 5, pp. 3b–5a.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 4a.

[22] *ibid.*, p . 4ab. For the structure of the *Digest,* see *Various Writings,* vol. 3, pp. 7a–9a. Besides the texts of the different schools, there were sections for biographies, Confucian and Daoist texts. According to Yang "there is only one origin, but many ways 方便）

to get there[/]. *ibid.,* p. 9a. A section "spreading and protection" of the Buddhist law, since,

After his death, Yang's successors continued this work, but in spite of a call for donations in the first Chinese Buddhist magazine, the *Foxue congbao* 佛學叢報[Journal of Buddhist Studies], in 1914, the necessary money could not be raised to finish the project. Meanwhile a *Tripitaka,* the *Longzang* edition 龍藏本 of the Qing, had been reprinted in Shanghai between 1909 and 1914, and more editions followed in the Republican period (in one of which, the *Bainazang,* comprising Yang's texts, were included).[23] The Nanjing Scriptural Press finally published a Ch.gesf 〇/ 认 e 藏要】
under the direction of 6uyang Jingwu 歐陽竟無,Yang's main disciple.
Yang's *Report* also mentions the urgent publication of his *Deng bu deng* zfl/w 等不等觀雜錄 [Various Writings】， which was almost completed. This work comprised about a hundred pages, which, however, was still "lacking a general structure". As the speeches, letters, essays, etc., included here closely reflected the various Buddhist themes with which Yang was preoccupied, a urgent publication seemed desirable so as to include this material in general discussions in Buddhist circles.[24]
Towards the end of the *Report,* which could be interpreted as a kind of last will of the old editor, Yang expresses his hope that a *Tripitaka* would one day be published by his printing press. But he also warns his successors to keep up the high standard of the production of texts and rather not to associate with other printing houses. This might be less demanding (probably for commercial reasons), but errors in the collation, compilation and printing of the material could mislead the readers in their beliefs.[25]
However, that which gave "immortal fame" to Yang's printing venture was his unquenchable desire to acquire old Buddhist texts which had been lost in the course of history, and to offer them again to the world. Here his collaboration with Nanjo Bunyu was of vital importance. Yang not only sent books to the Japanese buddhologist, but in the course of time also received from Nanjo more than two hundred major works of Chinese Buddhism which had disappeared from the continent but which had been preserved in Japan. Many

according to Yang, ʷit is the task of the monks to eliminate what is bad and to show what is rightʷ, cf. *ibid.,* p. 8b. Yang insisted that such a book was especially meant for "beginners". All in all Yang drafted about a thousand fascicules.

23 This canon was also called Yaw 客 Wenhwi 楊文會藏（Yang Wenhui's Tripifaka). Cf. Yu, *Yang Renshati jushi pingzhuan* pp. 301-2.

24 *Yang,* Baogao tongren shu, *in:* Various Writings, *vol. 5, p. 4b.*

25 In addition to the works mentioned in the *Report,* the editor of Yang's *Posthumous Works* mentions other, more /,grand/ projects. Among these were the *Xianshoufa ji* 賢首法集丨 Collection of the Worthy and Primary Teaching】， a collection of Huayan texts (100 volumes); the Hwflyan zftws/iw 華嚴著述集要[Essential Collection of All the Transmitted (texts) of the Huayan (School)], a collection of twenty-nine important commentaries written by masters of that school; two series of texts from the Pure Land tradition; a compilation of commentaries and texts relating to the *Dasheng qixin lun,* etc. Cf. *Posthumous Works,* vol. 1, pp. lb–2a. See also *Various Writings,* vol. 3. For the prefaces and postfaces to the various *sutras* and other texts printed in Nanjing, cf. the *Catalogue,* in: *Various Writings,* vol. 2.

of these texts came from the Pure Land tradition, including the works of the patriarchs Tanluan ft 鸞（476–542), Daochuo 道掉（562–645) and Shandao 善導（613-81).[26] [27] [28] [29] [30] [31] [32] Other works were about Buddhist logic including texts belonging to the Weishi/Faxiang school 唯識/法相宗.Mainly with the publication of Kuiji's 窺襄（632–82) work, the C/iengzyez. •成唯識
論述記[Record of the Transmission of the Cftewg weisfti Zw" I?[7] in twenty fascicules, Yang effectively stimulated the growing Buddhist penchant of his time for intellectual speculation 28 This very philosophic school, which had been more or less abandoned for centuries, gained from then on an unprecedented popularity with the intelligentsia and at the same time made Yang a well-known personality .29 The high theoretical level and the subtle analysis of consciousness found in these works appealed to the young reform-minded intellectuals who wanted to re-vitalize the fossilized tradition.
They also saw in it an answer to the challenge of Westernization, as an "indigenous ideology" which could open up new areas for development.3○
With the publication of another of Kuiji's texts, the *Yinming ruzheng lilun shu* 因明入正理論疏[Commentary to the N5yaprave§a ^strapi in eight fascicules, lost since the Song dynasty, Yang also stimulated the "yz'nmmg fashion" of Indian logic which must certainly be seen as an "Asian answer" to the introduction of Western logic.32
According to various sources, during Yang's lifetime the Nanjing Scriptural Press and its associated houses in Yangzhou, Suzhou, etc., distributed more

26 Cf. *Various Writings,* vol. 3, p. lb. Because of the financial difficulties Yang's Scriptural Press always had to face, he could not print all the books he had been sent. For the list of the published texts, see the *Catalogue,* in: *Various Writings,* vol. 2, and Yang's editorials notes, postscripts, etc., *ibid.,* vols. 3, 7 and 8.

27 T. 1830.43.

28 The Weishi/Faxiang, which has always been considered the most "philosophic" of all the Chinese Buddhist schools, arose in the mid-7th century with Xuanzang's *Cheng weishi lun* [The Treatise on the Attainment of Mind-Only], T. 1585.30. His disciple and successor Kuiji commented on it with his *Chengweishi lun shuji.* Yang was very proud to return this ·/classic·/ to the Chinese academic world thanks to the help of Nanjo Bunyu. Cf. Yang's foreword in *Various Writings,* vol. 3, pp. 16b–17a.

29 Cf. the *Catalogue,* in: *Various Writings,* vol. *2,* pp. 6a-7b. In the Faxiang section are the fundamental texts of (and for) this school already given, including the *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論，T. 1585.31, in 10 fascicules; the C/ieng we ｜ s/n' /MM s/m/｜，T. 1830.43; the voluminous *Yogacarabhumi iastra, T.* 1579.30, in 100 fascicules; the *Sandhinirmocana sutra,* T. 676.16; and the ｜《愣嚴經[^iirarigama si7fra], T. 945.19, etc.

30 *For details cf., Chan,* Buddhism in Late Ch'ing Political Thought, *pp. 29–49.*

31 T. 1840.44.

32 The study of *yinming* florished especially in the Republican period. On the basis of this research the Buddhists argued for the timelesness of Buddhist thought and doctrine. In 1922, for example, Taixu published the "first independent modern work" in Chinese on Indian logic. Cf. Uwe Frankenhauser, "Logik und Selbstverstandnis in China *zu* Begirm *des* 20. Jahrhunderts·/·, in *Chinesisches Selbstverstcindnis und kulturelle Identitat - "Wenhua Zhongguo",* (Collected Papers of the 6th annual meeting 1995 of the German Association for Chinese Studies), ed. by Christiane Hammer and Bernhard Fiihrer. Dortmund: Projekt Verlag, 1996, pp. 69–80.

than one million Buddhist texts. The *Catalogue* gives one hundred and thirteen titles in about 1910 fascicules for the year 1902 alone. Yu Lingbo 于凌波 estimates that all in all the number of fascicules printed amounted to approximately two thousand, and in his *History of Chinese Buddhism* Kenneth Ch'en, who unfortunately is more than brief about the whole question of contemporary Buddhism, adds that "more than anyone else Yang was responsible for the revival of Buddhist literature through his publication endeavours".33 Finally the JinZfng fce/iVigc/zu WIM/M 金陵刻經處目錄[Catalogue of the Scriptural Press] published during the Republican period contains more than 530 titles, which represented an essential part of the Buddhist texts published at that time.

Throughout the first sixty years of publication by the Press, the main emphasis was placed on books from the Pure Land tradition for its practical and devotional aspects, and on the Weishi/Faxiang and Huayan traditions for their theoretical and philosophic insights. A special section was reserved for the *Awakening of Faith* and its commentaries. They were followed by the major works of esoteric Buddhism and Chan. Some of the main *sutras* were printed in bilingual editions with the Sanskrit text in transcription. The Press also published many historical, biographical and apologetic works on Chinese Buddhism, as well as some books pertaining to the Confucian and Daoist persuasions.

It is interesting to see that much of the commentarial literature was not chosen from the repertoire of classical Chinese Buddhist tradition, i.e. works written during the Nanbei Zhao, the Tang and Song dynasties, but were mainly by authors—both monks and laymen—from the two latest dynasties.[33] [34]

In spite of the fact that the Buddhism of the Ming and Qing has often been referred to as "decadent", modem Chinese Buddhists were more aware of these works and felt a closer affinity with them in terms of approach and formulation. For some reason modern researchers—perhaps with the exception of Japanese scholarship—have only become interested in these later periods of Chinese Buddhism recently, and have begun to realize their importance. This includes the major developments in the sinicization and popularization of Buddhism, the impact of Buddhism on vernacular literature during the Ming and Qing, the move towards lay Buddhism, the rise of public charity, the interaction with esoteric Buddhism 密教,and the discourse with

33 Cf. Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China,* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964, p. 449. See *Catalogue,* in *Various Writings,* vol. 2; and Yu, *Yang Renshan jushi pingzhuan,* 197-8, who also speaks of the distribution of one hundred thousand Buddhist images. See also Jiang Weiqiao, *Zhongguo fojiaoshi* [The History of Chinese Buddhism]. Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1935.

34 Yang admits in many letters that two of his favorite Buddhist authors, who greatly influenced his basic readings in Buddhism, were Zhuhong 株宏（1535–1615) and Hanshan Deqing 愁山德清 (1546–1623) both from the Ming. Cf. mow /wn sliw 與某君書[Letter to a Certain Gentleman], in: *Various Writings,* vol. 6, p. 28a.

Christianity. All these issues still need to be studied further.35

Journeys to the West and to the East

Let us return to our account of Yang Wenhui. As part of his interest in modernization and the West he went to Europe twice, from 1878 to 1881 and from 1886 to 1889.36

At that time all kinds of knowledge about the West were already being circulated in China, but in contrast to the situation in Meiji Japan only few Chinese had gone abroad to familarize themselves directly with the culture of the colonial powers. Yang, who was asked to join the recently opened foreign mission in London, had such a rare opportunity, and he spent his time inquiring about the political, economical, technical and educational conditions in Europe.[35 * 37 38] In this way he also gained knowledge of the recent trends and achievements in Oriental studies in the West.

It is also here that Yang first made his personal acquaintance with Nanjo Bunyu, who worked and studied with Friedrich Max Muller (1823-1900) at Oxford, and who was then mainly concerned with the project of the *Sacred Books of the East.* Yang's stays in Paris were also dedicated in part to bud- dhological scholarship, and it is highly likely that was introduced to some French scholars like Burnouf or Julien.

Yang was certainly struck by the European interest in Eastern religions and the efficiency of Western philological and historical critical research in this non-Buddhist part of the world. For centuries the need for knowledge of Sanskrit and Pali, and philological questions about the *sutras* had been ignored by Chinese Buddhists. 38 Yang understood the necessity for the

35 Several studies on this topic, all carried out in English language, are e. g. Timothy Brook, *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the Formation of Gentry Society in Late-Ming China,* Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1993; Yu Chiin-fang, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China: Chu-hung and the Late Ming Synthesis,* New York: Columbia University Press, 1981; and Hsii Sung-peng, *A Buddhist Leader in Ming China: The Life and Thought of Han-Shan Te-Ch'ing,* University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1979.

Documents on this period can be found in the diaries of the Chinese diplomates, such as Zeng Jize or Guo Songdao; in the recollections of Nanjo Bunyu; in the life-long correspondence between Yang and Nanjo in: *Various Writings,* vol. 7 and 8, as well as in some other letters and reminiscences of Yang conserved both in his *Posthumous Works* and in the *Historical Materials.*

37 Yang was not the only Buddhist to travel around outside his motherland. Especially monks made "fund-raising tours" mainly among the communities of Overseas Chinese in East Asia. On the same occasion they also wanted [y]to spread the *dharma* and to visit the holy places of Buddhism. One of the most inveterate travellers of the past century was Hsii-yun [Xuyun][w]. Welch, *Buddhist Revival,* p. 191.

38 The study of Sanskrit soon became an important issue in the Buddhist and academic circles. Zhang Taiyan 章太炎（Binglin 炳麟，1868–1936) had a rather controversial exchange of letters with Yang on that subject. Cf. Vang, *Various Writings,* vol. 8, pp. 25b–27b. See also Rao Zongyi, "Tan Zhang Taiyan dui Indu de xiangwang (Concerning Zhang Taiyan's Arguments against Turning towards Sanskrit)[z] *Mingbao yuekan* 1 (1990), pp. 113–14; and Robert H. van Gulik, *Siddham: An Essay on the History of Sanskrit Studies in China and*

reintroduction of these disciplines and more intense scholarly research in his motherland. His correspondence with Nanjo Bunyu39 also gives reason to believe that he, who had always been critical of an official career, had simply taken the opportunity to join the foreign mission with the sole purpose of becoming introduced to Western methods of research. 4◯ After his return he committed the Scriptural Press to the task of producing and distributing philologically flawless editions. Western scholars like de Groot went to Nanjing especially to purchase the high-quality texts they needed for study and translation.41

While still in Europe, Yang asked Nanjo for the Sankrit originals with transcription and translation (mainly of the Amitabha *sutras)* with the intention of printing them. He also looked in vain for the Sanskrit original of the *Awakening of Faith,* but found no positive answer.42

Yang was also struck by the strong "Buddhist fashion" in Europe and the variety of reflection on Eastern systems of thought. 43 As early as 1878, according to some of his letters, he believed the Europeans to be well disposed to receive the *dharma,*^ and he even called Paris the "'capital of Buddhism/· 45 However, he also realized that Chinese Buddhism first had to undergo a thorough reform within the general context of a general modernization of Chinese society in order to bring China up to the same level as that of the Western countries.

Reforms in the West mainly aim at two targets: expansion of trade and the promotion of religion. ... In our country we have begun to have people to promote trade little by little, but do not do for religion. ...

The Buddhist Association has more than 100,000 members, neverthe- [39] [40] [41] [42] [43] [44] [45]

Japatt, Nagpur: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1956.

39 The two men exchanged letters for the rest of their lives, i.e. between 1879–1909. Cf. Yang, *Various Writings,* vols. 7 and 8.

40 Cf. 7/Letter to Kasahara Kenjo and Nanjo Bunyu"/ *Various Writings,* vol. 7, p. 2ab.

41 *E.g. J. J. M. de Groot,* Le code du Mahāyāna en Chine: son influence sur la vie monacale et sur le monde laicjue, *Amsterdam: Johannes Miiller, 1893, p. 13.*

42 The *Awakening of Faith* remained Yang's uncontested favourite of all the Buddhist texts. He published it several times and therefore was eager to acquire the Sanskrit version. He never doubted its authenticity and recommended its study repeatedly in his letters. Cf. Yang, *Various Writings,* vol. 6.

43 Cf. Henri de Lubac, *La rencontre du Bouddhisme et de VOccident,* Paris: Aubier, 1952; and Raymond Schwab, *La renaissance orientale,* Paris: Payot, 1950.

44 Cf. "Letter to Kasahara KenjQ and Nanjo BunyQ", p. 2a. Yang was the first Chinese to believe in a "world Buddhism", in fact long before taixu and even before he gained knowledge of similar tendencies in Theravada Buddhism. As for Paris, "capital of Bud- dhism"/ one could almost ask if Vang did not have after all some prophetic abilities in view of the huge number of Buddhist believers (more than two million) in France today. Cf. Frederic Lenoir, MLa vague bouddhiste. De plus en plus de Franqais sont seduits par la modemite du bouddhisme, ses valeurs et son etique^, *L'Express,* n°2364 (1996), pp. 48–54 (and some other articles on the same subject, *ibid.,* pp. 57–62).

45 Cf. *Various Writings,* vol. 8, p. 19a.

less their knowledge of Buddhism is still limited, and as far as the most subtle and mysterious aspects of the teaching are concerned, they still do not understand them. Therefore even the most eminent and intelligent scholars cannot grasp the faith yet. However, we have the intention of reviving the real teaching of Śākyamuni. This is why we have to [go back to our roots] and start from India and then spread the faith to the whole world. China is an old and highly respected civilization and shall not be despised as a country of savages. Let us engage in this large enterprise! Without sufficient funding we cannot succeed and we therefore need the financial support of the high-ranking officials. But after several years we will obtain results: not only will Buddhism stand up to all the Western religions, but in the long run it will surpass them and become the most important religion in the world. Such success would be wonderful, would it not?46

After his second return to China in 1889 Yang finally abandoned his public obligations and dedicated himself exclusively to Buddhism under the headings of publication, education, and the propagation of Buddhism inside China and abroad.

In 1893 Dharmapala (1864-1933), the well known Buddhist reformer of Sri Lanka, toured East Asia on behalf of the Maha-Bodhi Society. He had just participated in the Parliament of Religions in Chicago[46] [47] and now came to China to secure support for the revival of Buddhism in India. After his arrival in Shanghai, Otto Franke served as interpreter, Joseph Edkins and Timothy Richards arranged the meetings with Chinese Buddhists. Yang was eager to contact Dharmapala in order to discuss the matter of Buddhist reform. In a speech addressed to the monks in the Longhua Temple 龍華寺 in Shanghai in order to obtain Buddhist missionaries for India, Dharmapala said:

I, Dharmapala, Representative of the Southern Buddhists, and General Secretary of the Maha-Bodhi-Society, in their name greet you, Beloved Brothers.

You know that the birthplace of the religion of the Tathagata Sakaya Muni is India, and from thence Buddhism spread to the out-lying countries. ... Now there is no Buddhism in India, and my object in coming to this great country is to inform my Chinese co-religionists of this fact and ask their support and sympathy for the rehabilitation of this religion. India gave you her religion and now I appeal to you to

[46] Cf. Yang, ,yZhina fojiao zhenxing ce 2 (Plans for reviving Chinese Buddhism *2)"*, *Various Writings*, vol. 1, p. 17ab.

47 ◯n the Parliament, cf, 77re WbrW's ◯/ 2 vols., ed. by John Henri Barrows. Chicago: Parliament Press, 1893. See also Mary Barrows and John Henri Barrows, *A Memoir*. Chicago： Fleming H. Revell, 1904; and in a recent edition, *The Dawn of Religious Pluralism: Voices from the World's Parliament of Religion, 1893, ed. by Richard Hughes Seager*. La Salle, Illinois： Open Court, 1993.

help her in her hour of need....
To restore these sacred sites, to station Bhikchus from all Buddhist countries in these places, to train them as Buddhist missionaries to preach Buddhism to the people of India, to translate again from Chinese the Buddhist Scriptures into Indian languages, is our object, and to carry out this great scheme, we have formed a great Buddhist Society, called the Maha-Bodhi-Society, on an international basis.[48]
The monks did not respond positively to his demand and Dharmapala had to leave China without the hoped for success. He kept in contact with Yang even if he found him reluctant, too, mainly because of the political implications of sending such a Buddhist delegation to India and the problem of communication. None of the Chinese monks could speak any foreign language. Yang suggested that Indians should come to China individually and translate back into Sanskrit those vital texts of the Canon which were preserved only in Chinese.
Education and the New Buddhism
From that moment onwards Yang modified his position, especially since he became increasingly interested in the question of education,[49] and in 1908 he opened at the Scriptural Press a school for Buddhist students, the Qihuan Jingshe 抵桓精舍 or Jetavana Hermitage.[50] Originally Yang had planned to open a school for monks.[51] [52] Then, in 1906, he published the *Fojiao chuxue* 佛教初學課本[Manual for Basic Buddhist Instruction], which could be used both at the school and for public distribution.52
48 Otto Franke, "Eine neue Buddhistische Propaganda", *T'oung Pao* V (1894), pp. 301-3.
49 Around the turn of the century more and more students came to see him and ask for instruction. Usually he put them up in his house, but eventually realized that it would be better to have a special building constructed for this purpose. He was again too short of money to do so, but continued to cherish the idea of a school of his own. Cf. "Letter to Li Xiaoyun", *Various Writings*, vol. 5, pp. 28b-29a.
[5]○ Cf. Yang, "Qihuan jingshe (aixue ji 祇渔精舍開學記[Opening discourse of the Jetavana Hermitage]", VarfoMSvol. 1, pp. 22b-23a. The classes were open to both lay people and monks.
51 For some time Vang was desperately looking for qualified teachers, but was finally forced to abandon Kis plans for lack of money. Cf. *Various Writings*, vol. 1, pp. 17b–22a. Critics of Buddhism mainly blamed the monks for their lack of education and their scant knowledge of Buddhist texts. During the widespread reform of Chinese society after the Opium Wars, general education was considered a *conditio sine qua non* of a successful transformation and modernization of the country. The growing reproach of the monks as being "uncultured parasites on society" therefore put the very existence of the monkhood and Buddhism in danger. As a consequence the issue of education became one of the most important questions in the Buddhist modernization movement. See also Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, pp. 703–120.
52 The publication of Buddhist "catechisms" or '"bibles" was also very fashionable in other Asian countries. After Olcott's *Buddhist Catechism*, published in 1881 in Sri Lanka, there followed for example in Japan the *Bukkyd seiten* by Nanjo Bunyu and Maeda Eun (Tokyo, 1905), and the *Shinshu dai seiten* by Ando Masazumi (Tokyo 1916). Yang's

At that time the Chinese government called for the confiscation of Buddhist temples and their conversion into public schools.[53] [54] In parallel, the Japanese Shinshii 真宗[Reformed Amida School] had launched a mission on the Chinese continent and opened temples and Japanese schools analogous the other colonial powers, a phenomenon Yang deeply resented.

Just like the Protestants and the Catholics who open schools and engage in education [in China], today Japanese temples spread [their] teaching. They open schools on general Japanese education and everywhere attract the people to follow them. The newly created East Asian Buddhist Association is now making contact with China and Korea: its aim is to make Buddhism flourish in the same way as the Westerners propagate their religions. Our country's Buddhism has been declining for a long time already. If we do not re-organize it in time, not only will we be mocked by our neighbours, but our country's political power might be seized, I am afraid.54

Textbook was preceded by a very similar manual written by the famous monk Yinguang. Both books were inspired by a booklet published in 1621 by the monk Guangzhen 光真, Following the very popular scheme of the *San zi jing* [Three Character Classic)] used in traditional China both as the first approach to reading and to teach Confucian ethics to children, Chuiwan Laoren 吹萬老人 published a Sft 抑 o sflM zf /!•% 釋教三字經[Buddhist Classic in Three Characters】 for the same purpose. Yinguang's and Yang's versions were in effect greatly enlarged versions of this text. Yang published a version with extensive commentaries, taking into account the recent progress made both in Buddhist historiography and in philology, cf. *Posthumous Works*^ vol. pp. la-59b and various independent editions. Today this little handbook is still used for basic Buddhist instruction. Yang also published a collection of texts in the classical language for Buddhist instruction on the secondary level, the Fo/iflo fceben 佛教正學古文課本[The Buddhist Textbook for the Correct Study of Classical Texts] in 4 volumes.

53 Cf. Welch, *Buddhist Revival,* pp. 10-15 and pp. 103–20. Vang, /7Zhina fojiao zhenxing ce yi 支那佛教振興策一' (Plans for reviving Chinese Buddhism \)f, *Various Writings,* vol. 1, p. 16a: 'Today hundreds of things are renewed. Everyone wants to take away the property of the monasteries to finance public education so as to provide the people with the things they need. This will not work out very well, I am afraid, and one had better leave religious property in the hands of the monasteries so that they can revive their proper teaching and that both [systems] co-operate in the reform process/'

54 Cf. *ibid.,* p. 16ab. Even if Yang himself was a fervent devotee of Pure Land Buddhism and since the 1870s had had direct contacts with Japanese Amida adherents like Nanju Bunyu and with their monastery in Shanghai (already established in 1876X Yang would not tolerate the Shinshu //mission·/ activities which were directly linked to the political interests of Japan in colonial China. Cf. Otto Franke, ^Japans asiatische Bestrebungen·/, *Ostasiatische Neu-bildungen,* 1911, pp. 136–57 (first published in *Deutsche Rundschau,* August 1903), and y·Die Propaganda des japanischen Buddhismus in China7', *ibid.,* pp. 158–65 (first published in *Kolnische Zeitung,* 2. 6. 1905). On the Buddhist developments in Japan see also James Edward Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan: Buddhism and its Persecution,* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990. On the theoretical side, Yang was fiercely opposed to the importance being given by the ShinshQ to the issue of "other-power" •他力]一 salvation by Amitabha/Amida — following himself the interpretation of an interaction between "self-power" •自力】and "other-power".

If the government, instead of confiscating the monasteries[7] property, would encourage religious schooling, Yang concludes, secular and religious forces could co-operate in the reform process. Therefore he finally decided to open his own Buddhist school and to link it with "old mission projects" and the idea of an "international Buddhism" that he shared with Dharmap5la. Fortunately the statutes of the school have been preserved in a German translation.55 They stipulate that the students—laymen and monksshould first take three years of basic instruction in Buddhism, Chinese and English in Nanjing. Yang did not ask for governmental authorization, so as to be able to teach and work without any constraints. He only asked for Nanjo Bunyu's advice and collaboration both for this stage and the following step, in which he foresaw that the students should go to Japan and then to India for advanced studies and in order to learn Sanskrit. They would then participate in the revival of Buddhism in India. Ultimately they were to go to the West in order to convert Westerners to the Buddhist teaching.

Even if Yang had to give up this experiment after only one year —again for financial reasons 一 he had both set standards for Buddhist education and although he did not realize it, at the very least stimulated a new generation of Buddhist scholars and activists, who were to become the leading figures in the modernization movement in Republican China. At this time several other educational projects were set up, mainly to react to the anti-Buddhist policy of the government. However Yang's school seems to have been the most influential of these by far.56 It also was the first time in Chinese history that monks had come to study under a layman.

Propaganda, Mission and Misunderstandings

Before engaging in education, Yang was already busy with some other activities concerning the promotion of Buddhism. In 1894 together with the well-known missionary Timothy Richard he translated the *Awakening of Faith* into English. The translation is known for being too Christian in both approach and choice of phrasing. In his preface Richard explained that he considered the *Awakening of Faith* to be a Christian book, "an Asiatic form of the same Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in Buddhistic nomen- clature.[/' 57] Vang was at first very enthusiastic about having the book translated. In his opinion it was the most important work for understanding Buddhism, as to his mind it was a summary of all its important teachings.[55 56 57 58] He had therefore given it to Richard several years prior to the start of the

55 Otto Franke, ^Ein buddhistischer Reformversuch in China[,r], *T'oung Pao* 2 (1909), pp. 567-602.

56 Other schools for monks [se«g;o^fl"g 僧學堂]were opened, e.g., in the Kaifu Temple 開福寺 in Changsha and in the Tianning Temple 天寧寺 in Yangzhou.

57 The Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna Doctrine - the New Buddhism, *Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1907, p. VI.*

58 E.g. Yang, "Letter to Zheng Taozhai[",/] in: *Various Writings,* vol. 6, p. 4ab.

translation project, and had published several editions of the book.
When he finally found out how Richard had actually translated the text, Yang became very upset. It was because his knowledge of English was simply too limited for him that he had been unable to supervise the work in progress. The Christian tone of the translation was in stark contrast to Yang's deep-felt conviction, which was to strengthen Asian-Buddhist culture and to take the *dharma* to the West. For this reason he refused categorically ever again to participate in any translation of a Buddhist text together with Westerners.59 Basically Yang would not acknowledge the idea then prevalent in the West —spread from the Theosophical Society to many European universities— which sought to establish a "universal, rational and authentic world reli- gion."6○ Nonetheless, the enthusiasm for the very "intellectual" Weishi School shows that Chinese Buddhism did not remain untouched by this general tendency, and especially the late Qing intellectuals sought to reinforce the rational aspect of its teachings.[59 * 61 62]
In many Western publications as well as at the Parliament of Religions in Chicago, the tendency to bring back the other major religious systems (and their founders) to basic Christian values was predominant. Therefore one also had to search for the original and authentic elements in Buddhism that would lead to that universalization, and free it from the later distortions of the Mahāyāna. In 1895 Max Muller wrote to Dharmapala on this subject as follows:
You should endeavour to do for Buddhism what the more enlightened students of Christianity have long been doing in the different countries of Europe: you should free your religion from its latter excrescences and bring it back to its earliest, simplest, and purest form as taught by Buddha and his immediate disciples. If that is done you will be surprised to see how little difference there is in essentials between the great
religions of the world.62

59 Yang, "Letter to Nanju Bunyu", no. 13, in: *Various Writings*, vol. 7, p. 23a.
For the problem of acculturation of Buddhism in the West, cf. Lubac, Rencontre, and more recently Thomas A. Tweed, *The American Encounter with Buddhism 1844–1912*, in: *Victorian Culture and the Limits of Dissent*, Bloomington, 1992. See also Martin Baumann, *Deutsche Buddhisten: Geschichte und Gemeinschaften*, Marburg: Diagonal Verlag, 1993.

61 In spite of this rationalist tendency, a strong inclination for pseudo-scientific experiences can be seen in these circles. It is possible that the traditional divination rituals—-like spirit-writing—which were extremely popular with the Qing literates, were somehow substituted by experiences with electricity, magnetism, by ether theories and the very fashionable spiritist meetings. See for this aspect the chapter "Les annees 1890 et l'enthousiasme bouddhique: le scientisme et l'enseignement Weishi/Faxiang", in my dissertation. For the traditional Qing practice, cf. Richard J. Smith, "Divination in Ch'ing Dynasty China", in: *Cosmology, Ontology, and Human Efficacy: Essays in Chinese Thought*, ed. Richard J. Smith and S.W.Y. Kwok, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, p. 154.

62 Friedrich Max Muller, *The Life and Letters of the Right Honorable Friedrich Max Muller, 2* vols., London: Longman's, Green, & Co., 1902, pp. 350–1.

Ever since the Jesuits had initiated their conversion activcities in East Asia, missionaries up to modern times had either severely attacked Chinese Buddhism on the basis of Christianity, or else pursued a policy of ^recon- ciliation". Richard's translation should be seen as standing squarely in this tradition. Yang, in spite of his criticism, also followed this development to a certain extent. As far as the philological aspect was concerned he tried to modijfy the distorted Chinese versions of the classical *sutras* (and their interpretations). He also hoped to get hold of the Sanskrit version of the *Awakening of Faith*, in order to prove its claim for truth and authenticity. At the same time he insisted on the "Chinese tradition" of Buddhism which he wished to strengthen for the sake of his own country.

Around the turn of the century, Yang participated in numerous conferences and associations dealing with Buddhist research, its modernization and a general social reform. He felt that it was essential that China should catch up with the technological and scientific progress of the West, and that Buddhists should follow a double path in recovering their identity so as to become responsive to the modern world with its social, political, and economic problems.[63]

Some of the young political reformers like Tan Sitong *譚嗣同*（1865-1898), Liang Qichao *梁啟超* and Xia Zengyou *夏曾佑*（1863–1924) could be found in the circle around Yang. They were not necessarily believers, but for utilitarian reasons took on some Buddhist ideas like the bodhisattva ideal, equality, methods of rational analysis of reality and consciousness offered by the Weishi/Faxiang school, as well as openness to scientific reflection and its philosophical structures, leading at the same time to atheism and to a popular religion they could use to move the people.[64] [65] They "tried" Buddhism while as the same time engaging in various Western systems of thought without sticking to it for any length of time. However, none of them proved to be the panacea which could help transform China quickly into a modern society, and the late Qing reformers, including the "buddhophile" intellectuals, tended to become quite frustrated with the inefficiency of their political and social involvement. The Buddhist fashion in the intellectual circles therefore declined gradually in the first half of the twentieth century.

In contrast to them, the believers_laymen and monks—continued to commit themselves fully to the traditionalist Buddhist cause, without any notable change.65 Yang refused to take any other political (or social) action

[63] Cf. Yang,Various *Writings*, vol. 1.

64 Cf. Chan Sinwai, "Buddhism and the Late Ch'ing Intellectuals", TTie Jowrnaf ○/ TTie *Institute of Chinese Studies of The Chinese University of Hong Kong* Vol. XVI (1985), pp. 97–109. See also Paul A. Cohen, *Between Tradition and Modernity: Wang T'ao and Reforms in Late Ch'ing China*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975.

65 He still was aware of the enormous task and the little he could do in one lifetime to enhance the situation of Buddhism in his country. Cf. Yang^ "Banruoboluomiduo hui 4 般若波羅密多會四（Association of the Prajf\5p5ramit5 4)", Wri'oi/s 炉,vol. 1, p. 26b.

than that directly linked to his Scriptural Press, or to the questions of education, mission and forms of Buddhist organization that would lead to the revival of the teaching of ^akyamuni. This path was generally followed by most of the leading Buddhists in the Republican period. Beyond their undisputed contribution to the development of Buddhism in the twentieth century, the reformers did not really represent the majority of the Chinese Buddhist believers. They tried to reformulate Buddhist doctrine and structure so as to adapt them to what they thought to be the demands of a modem society. Whereas Yang was still very much indebted to the Ming and Qing notion of Buddhist piety, men like Taixu or Ouyang also focused on the rational aspects of Buddhism. Ouyang, in his capacity as an outstanding scholar, was a fervent defender of lay Buddhism, and he harshly criticized the clergy by denouncing their excessive rituals and many elements of Buddhist practice as superstition *(mixin* He insisted that Buddhism be given a special status as neither a religion nor a philosophy.[66 67 68] As for Taixu, he brought about the concept of *rensheng fojiao* 人生佛教，i.e. "Buddhism in the life of man"/ which aimed at a full integration in the process of transforming society. In both tendencies the problem of continuity remained largely unsolved because a good part of the out-moded tradition would first have to be abolished before new elements could be brought in. From this reshaping or rather re-invention of the tradition there immediately arose the question of traditional Buddhist identity, which would be hard to maintain under these circumstances. It is not surprising that the traditionalists did not share many of these ideas, but instead tended to follow more traditional masters like Xuyun 虛雲（1848–1959〉. Nevertheless the tendency towards a stronger participation of lay-Buddhists and the growing concern for all kinds of social affairs could not be re versed.67

Binding Sutras and Modernity

In 1901 Vang drew up a contract in which he divided all the family belongings between his sons and the Scriptural Press. Yang stipulated that the estate the press occupied, including the buildings and all its belongings such as the woodblocks and donations, should all become common property. 'The enterprise founded by me more than thirty years ago shall eternally be a public place for the production and distribution of Buddhist books/' he wrote.68 The family could reside there for ten more years and would then have to move out or pay a rent to the press. Probably because of these few

66 Cf. Muller, *Buddhismus und Moderne,* pp. 162–75.

67 Cf. my paper at the 7th annual meeting of the German Association for Chinese Studies (DVCS) in Berlin (26-27 October 1996), "Der moderne chinesische Buddhismus zvvischen Erneuerung und Neus,chaffung seiner Tradition"， which is going to be published in the Collected Papers 1997 by Christiane Hammer and Bernhard Fiihrer (Dortmund: Projekt Verlag).

68 Yang, ^Yangshi fenjia biju 楊氏分家筆具[Contract for the partition of the property of the Yang fair»ily)"/ in: *Posthumous Works,* vol. 1, p. lb.

sentences the Nanjing Scriptural Press has been able to continue its work until today.
Yang died in 1911, shortly before the fall of the Qing dynasty; however, the work at the Scriptural Press was continued by his disciples. Ouyang Jingwu finallly assumed overall responsibility. In 1914 he opened a research department at the Scriptural Press, and four years later he founded the Institute for Buddhist Studies (Neixueyuan 內學院 one of the centres of modern Chinese
Buddhism .69
The activity of the Scriptural Press was brought to a halt in 1937 with the Japanese occupation of Nanjing. It opened its doors again in 1952. At that time a committee for its protection, the Jinling Kejingchu Huchi Weiyuanhui 金陵刻經處護持委員會 was founded by twenty-five well-known personalities of the Buddhist world, some with excellent connections to (or a member- ship card of) the Communist party. The press possessed by then some 47,000 woodblocks. Several scriptural presses had been destroyed during the war, and after the Communist victory in 1949 most of the other Buddhist publishers, both lay and monastic, were closed down during the 1950s and their woodblocks were concentrated in Nanjing. Since the Nanjing Press was already public property, did the state perhaps see some moral obligation in keeping and maintaining it? Hence by 1965 the Scriptural Press held more than 150,000 woodblocks. During the Cultural Revolution, its function was again interrupted and parts of the buildings and woodblocks were burned, however in 1973 Zhou Enlai provided the press with the special protection of the state and ordered its reconstruction.70
Today the Scriptural Press has resumed its activities at its original location at the corner of Huaihai Street and Yanling Lane in the center of Nanjing. It stores an exceptional collection of woodblocks for both texts and religious images. The production of Buddhist scriptures has now started again even if a more contemporary scholarly approach for selection and lay-out could be desired. The books are still printed in the traditional fashion with woodblocks in vertical columns on double leaves with thread-stitched binding. They are sold throughout China—mainly in the closed circles of Buddhist temples, libraries and schools—as well as abroad.
The Press, which is actually one of the most important Buddhist printing houses in the country today, still functions under the high protection of the Chinese Buddhist Association (Zhongguo fojiao xiehui 中國佛教協會. Between 1981 and 1987 it printed and sold more than two hundred different [69 *]
69 Other Buddhist institutions where opened, for example by Taixu in Wuchang and in Fujian province, and by Han Qing イ ing 翰清靜（1884–1949) in Beijing. However, with the widening of Buddhist studies in the Republican Period, conflicts also grew within the Buddhist world, and rival institutions and organizations struggled for spheres of influence and national leadership. For details see Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, pp. 23–50.
7〇 Cf. Historical Materials on the Nanjing Scriptural Press, *vols. 6 and 7.*

Buddhist texts, altogether over 400.000 volumes.[7^]
There is also a rapidly growing number of works on Buddhism by commercial publishers, magazines are issued, temples are being rebuilt, meditation retreats and pilgrimages organized, and schools run again etc. In the last few years Chinese society is becoming increasingly interested in religious issues to the point that one may speak of a "religious fever[77] *(zongjiao* re 宗教熱）sweeping the country. Buddhism plays an important and active part in this religious movent. At the same time it is rediscovering its recent past, which will enable it to resume reform activities for which the ground was already laid by the first generations of leading monks in this century. Political pressure and control have not diminished, but Buddhist culture has certainly not vanished from mainland China either, as it was feared it would do a mere twenty years ago. On the contrary it is once more gaining ground in Chinese society. [71]
71 I have been unable to obtain more recent figures.

Review Article

Tibetan "Musical Offerings" (Mchod-rol): The Indispensable Guide

Hubert Decleer School of International Training Brattleboro, Vermont

Himalayan rituals

A few years ago, Franz-Karl Ehrhard wrote his ground-breaking article on two "'accession lists of teachings" *(thob yig)* microfilmed in the course of a Himalayan expedition for the Nepal Research Center & Manuscript Preservation Project.! These easily overlooked 19th century manuscripts, abounding in spelling mistakes, were to lead him to his now standard formulation about the spread of the Revealed Treasure *{gter ma)* lineage transmissions, such as those of Ja'-tson snying-po (1585–1656) and gTer-bdag gling-pa (1646–1714) specifically dealt with in these texts, throughout the Nepal Himalayas:

That one can still see in the mountain regions of Nepal bordering on Tibet these late-flowering blossoms of a movement that came to full fruition in the 14th century with Klong-chen rab-'byams-pa (1308–54) and Rig-'dzin rGod-ldem 'phru-can (1337–1408) is of a significance not to be downplayed, particularly at present, for the study of the region's cultural history and geography.

In one sweep the emphasis was on a switch from chronologically largely undefined clan histories (rws yfg) to the parallel lines of "spiritual genealogi- es" within Buddhist transmission. Only by pegging the former onto the latter, [1]

[1] Franz-Karl Ehrhard, 'Two Documents on Tibetan Ritual Literature and Spiritual Genealogy" *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre* Vol. IX (1993), pp. 77–100.

historically much better documented, was there a chance of also situating the Sherpa clan histories, and even their early migrations from Eastern Tibet, on a much surer footing doing away with what had often been calculated guesswork.

Gone too was the until then often major concern to study, the ^exclusive Sherpa- or Tamangness-/ in a Himalayan ritual. A *gterma* text encountered within the context of such a ritual obviously belongs to some major (Tibetan!) Revealed Treasure tradition: it did not just appear out of the blue, nor was it "a Tamang text" composed by the Buddhist grandfather of Peter-Paul Tamang in the village of Sisapani-gaon. Once connected to one of the major transmission lineages that go back to historically well defined personalities, a serious start can be made at anchoring the clan genealogical name lists of /'semi-literate'/' Himalayan groups to the secure dates of these contemporaries. Dr. Ehrhard has further demonstrated that spiritual lineages, from one generation to the next, travelled through both royal houses and local clans. By a systematic study of the numerous sacred biographies involved, the fuller picture can gradually be painted in, for one region or one historical period at a time.

For the study of Himalayan ritual, Mireille Helffer*s work on Mchod-rol,2 adds another panel to the diptych, the grand synthesis of her painstaking fieldwork on mostly Tibetan ritual music spanning a full two decades.3 This musical offerings *(mchod-rol)* volume is bound to become the standard reference work for some time to come. There is as little likelihood, in the foreseeable future, of another musicologist- cwm-TibetoIogist spending twenty years on the topic of Tibetan ritual music as there is of another Monseigneur Etiervne Lamotte devoting forty years to the translation of one single Maha- yana scripture from the Chinese sources.[2] [3] [4]

One wonders how Mireille Helffer got started on the subject. Could it have been that she saw the New Wave (Nouvelle Vague) movie with recordings of

2 Mireille Helffer, *Mchod-roJ, les instruments de la musique tibetaine,* Paris: CNRS Editions with Editions de la Maison des Sciences de THomme (Collection Chemins de Vethnologie), 1994. Also enclosed is a compact disc with recordings carefully annotated in the book, an innovation likely to become the foreseeable formula for any serious musicological work in the future, outdoing the classical and most admirable Cambridge Studies in Ethnomusicology, i.e. James Kippen, *The Tabla of Lucknow;* Bonnie Wade, *Khyal: Creativity within North India's Classical Music Tradition;* Regula Burckhardt Qureshi, *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan: Sound, Context and Meaning in the Qawwali,* that still rely on a cassette awkwardly added on.

3 ^Mostly Tibetan ritual music[M] in the sense that her range also includes an annotated LP of Nepali gaine fiddler-singers (in collaboration with A. W. Macdonald) and a study on the *damaru* type drum of Kumaon and Western Nepal (in collaboration with Marc Gaborieau), not forgetting her original Ph.D. work on the recitative melody types of the Gesar epic, *Les chants dans I'&popee tibitaine de Ge-sar d'apres le Livre de la Course au Cheval—versi- on chantie de Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin.Genhve* & Paris: Ubrairie Droz, 1977.

4 Moreover there has been a desertion from the field among the already minimal circle of specialists, with Ter Ellingson switching to Newari and Sri Lankan music, and Ricardo Canzio moving on to the Indians in the Brazilian rain forest.

Tibetan music showing in a sculptors studio? Were the early Amaud Desjardins documentaries on Buddhist Masters of the Tibetan exile responsible for her initial fascination with the subject matter, as they also included some of the first professional recordings ever heard by a larger public in the West? Was it her private challenge one day to decrypt those supremely elegant musical notations associated with Tibetan ritual music—her husband too, the well known concert pianist Mr. Claude Helffer, dealt with occasionally esoteric musical notations when working on the Premiere creations after the *aeuvre* of Olivier Messiaen—or could it have been her early acquaintance with the extremely learned Gene Smith, then still with the Library of Congress in Delhi, and with Ven. Matthieu Ricard of Zhe-chen Gompa at Bauddha (the latter formerly a harpsichord player himself)? Probably all these factors contributed to guiding and maintaining her interest in that direction.

Although work of hers on several Tibetan musical instruments has already appeared in the form of monographs—^on the Bonpo *gshang* bell, on the use of the large drums in the monastic setting, on the standard ritual bells, on various notations of ritual music and chant,—the scope of her latest opus presents the same within a much vaster panorama. Of particular importance is the way the author organized her materials, opting, as she did, not for a dead enumeration or museum-like catalogue by families of musical instruments, but for a classification according to their ritual function. Much thought has obviously gone into this ingenious classification:

Ceremonial instruments (the *long dung-chen* horn, the *rgya-gling* oboe)

Instruments for the assembly calls of the monastic congregation (the wooden gflndi' gong, the gong and conch shell)

Instruments basic to the structuring of time (the hanging and large hand-held drum, the three kinds of cymbals)

Ritual objects with aural function (various bells, two kinds of *damaru* drum, bone trumpet)

Emblematic instruments (the two types of lute, the flute)

As an immediate result, the presentation is very much alive, concerned foremost with live music. This is particularly reflected in the photography (for the bell: ^Procession of the young Rinpoches of Zhe-chen Monastery/' p. 192; for the *gcod damaru:* [y]Group of *sngags-pas* with their instruments, Lhasa 1991/' p. 249). Yet Helffer equally belongs to what one scholar tried in vain to launch as the anthropological school of ethno-philologists—a term she herself always avoided as all too pompous—since her field recordings and subsequent analyses thereof in the light of the corresponding musical scores are further backed up with extensive research in the scriptural and iconographic sources, not to mention near-exhaustive surveys of the pieces in foreign museum collections. Such an approach, along the lines of an entire range of different disciplines, is extremely rare indeed.

The way of the conch

It is hard to believe that one general music encyclopedia of long standing, by Corbet and Paap,5 still had this to say about Tibetan music a mere twenty years or so before Dr. Helffer started out on her research:

Tibetan esthetics, in fact, is a "science of sound" comprehended within *mantra,* which in their thought is connected with control of the energy within the human body. In his musical instruments, the Lama hears the counterparts of the sounds that, during perfect stillness, can be perceived inside the body. Within the body he hears:

throbbing, with its counterpart in the big drum, clashing, with its counterpart in the cymbals, rushing,with its counterpart in the conch shell,

ringing, with its counterpart in the bell,

throbbing, with its counterpart in the damaru, moaning, with its counterpart in the gyaling oboe, deep moaning, with its counterpart in the long horn and a shrill sound, with its counterpart in the bone trumpet The secret sound formulas *(mantra)* are able to bring about the true harmony of sounds, both within man and in his music.

Most hilarious in all this profundity is no doubt the "rushing, with its counterpart in the conch sheir. Here the author seems to have imagined that playing this instrument consists in holding it to one's ear and "hearing the ocean" (with the irrefutable internal logic that, for the Tibetan monks on their Roof of the World, hearing the ocean must represent some sort of mystic thrill)!

As one example of her research strategy, it is worth looking at what Dr. Helffer does for the same instrument. Her treatment includes:

Definition of the conch (Tib. *dung dkar* (y/white sheir"), Skr. *shan- kha);*

The physical alterations whereby it is turned it into a musical instrument: piercing the tip, occasionally adding a mouthpiece and/or an ornamental metal wing; with reference to famous pieces in museums (e.g. the Bhutanese one in Neufchatel).

Indian traditions: conch shells as war horns in the *Bhagavad Gita;* as Visnu's emblem, as one of the Eight Auspicious Emblems, as Indra^ offering to the Buddha. A discussion on the rare and much valued "clockwise spiraling^ conches, with mention of these as famous gifts in Tibetan history (related to the First Karma-pa, to Thags-pa, and to [5]

[5] What follows must have been a quick note taken in some public library, just at closing time, for I have no other bibliographical data than the names of the authors and the title in Dutch, *Algemene muziek-encyclopedie,Wo*\. IV, 528ff, the particular contribution being signed by one W. G. Gilbert.

Tsong-kha-pa) and as part of monastic treasures (Naropa's conch in the sTtog Palace, Ladakh). Association with the *nagas,* further iconographi- cal sources, etc.

The mythical origin of the conch according to Bon sources; its mention in popular song,6 as well as in the sacred biography of Padma ^d-'bar, basic tale for the mystery play *(a Ice lha mo)* of that name; and in two songs by 'Brug-pa kun-legs, etc.

Use of the conch as the calling signal for the monastic assembly, with references to *The Life of Milarepa,* to the travel accounts of F. Hue, to the musical observations by Waddell, Alexandra David-Neel, Fiirer- Haimendorf and Ricardo Canzio, corresponding to what is already noted in one passage of the Dunhuang texts, plus her personal observations and recordings at the Dpal-spungs, Khams-pa-gar and Ze-chen monasteries; and a few paragraphs on the role of the 'conch attendant'.

The musical scores for the conch play.

Dr. Helffer's major contribution, for the conch as for the other instruments, is in the region of the final section 6. It is definitely the first time that even a nonspecialist reader, with the assistance of her descriptive annotations, for each instrument's notation and its marginal written codes, can learn to imagine the actual music, for which the score fulfils the role of a mnemonic aid. For a number of pieces (for instance the call by the long horns referred to as Great Compassionate One *(thugs rje chert po)*, p. 58), Helffer goes as far as to provide: (a) the original Tibetan score, and a set of four "translations" , (b) a corresponding sonagram print-out, (c) the equivalent Western notation, (d) the Tibetan written code names, (e) a descriptive analysis, (f) the actual recording on the accompanying compact disc, (g) under its original Tibetan reference title, *thugs rje chert po.*

Most admirable too is the way the author has systematized her data, by first determining the musical value of each separate graphic convention and written formula, then isolating these, eventually presenting in various tables a comparison between the different monastic traditions. The latter further include the variations in "initial formula" and "finale" (pp. 54f, for the long horns).

Of particular interest too is her sub-chapter, *The onomatopoeias associated with the sounds of musical instruments* (pp. 293–5), which must have profited from her long acquaintance with the Gesar epic materials; *vide* the corre- sponding sub-chapter, Ornflmewfs regard fo soimd, in her Gesar work.[6 7]

6 With a slight oversight in line two of the Tibetan text *(dung geig dbus gtsang bla ma'i tshogs dung nya%* by analogy to the other strophes to be emended to, *dung geig dbus gtsang yul la ldiyer.*

7 Helffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 386–7. The work has recently been translated into Chinese; no publication data available. We can only hope that, before long, this earlier work of hers might also profit from a companion compact disc from the Ethnomusicology Lab of the CNRS.

This plainly is the last word; nothing further could be added.

Drum language

What immediately strikes the reader of the *Mchod-rol* treatise is the degree of sophistication where one would have expected it least: in the musical notations for instruments like the *damaru*, the bone trumpet or the long horns. Precisely by restricting her work to what, in a concluding chapter as in her title, Helffer aptly calls "[instrumental] offering music *(sabda puja)*"/ and leaving aside the Tibetan chant,8 it was possible for her to enter into these series of micro-studies with the requisite amount of detail, it now turns out, they amply deserved. Almost in passing, she provides the solution to a number of incomprehensible statements in the ancient texts. Take for instance the following passage from the Copper Isle Version *(zangs gling ma)* where Guru Rin- poche is at the last moment invited to help out the beleaguered Buddhist community at the Vajra Throne, threatened by Tlrthika debaters ready to take over all the institutions in the event of their own victory. He enters meditative stabilization, then:

With his hand he started beating the *gandi*, and the "Masters of Sound·r among the Tlrthikas in the four directions spoke: "Just now an un- pleasant sound is resounding, unlike any ever heard before." When they were being asked: "What does it say, that sound?" the Masters of Sound in the *east* replied: *"By* beating this big drum of mind set on enlightenment (manifesting as) loving kindness, I'll defeat those Tlrthikas with brains like foxes! That's what it says/' The Masters of Sound in the *south* replied: /yBy beating this big drum of mind set on enlightenment (manifesting as) compassion, I'll gather under my power those armies of demonic misleaders! That's what it says/' The Masters of Sound in the *west* replied: "By beating this big drum of mind set on enlightenment (manifesting as) joy, Til root out these assemblies of pernicious and troublesome arguers! That's what (the drum sound) is telling." The Masters of Sound in the replied: "By beating this big drum of mind set on enlightenment (manifesting as) equanimity, I'll pound to dust all these black assemblies of evil without exception! Thafs what the drum sound proclaims.''[89]

We are led to understand that Guru Rinpoche beats the *gandi*, but this is

8 Amply dealt with in Ter Ellingson, 'The Mandala of Sound: Concepts and Structures in Tibetan Ritual Music^, Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1979. It is obtainable through University Microfilms International (Ann Arbor and London), 1980.

9 In H.H. Dilgo Khyentse's edition, vol. I, p. 27, of the 64 volumes in the *Rin chen gter mdzod.* Compare the recent English translation by Erik Pema Kunsang, *The Lotus-born- —The Life Story of Padmasambhava,composed* by Yeshe Tsogyal, revealed by Nyang-ral Nyima Oser, Boston & London: Shambala, 1993, p. 50, where one could easily miss the reference to the *gandi*, as the translation only speaks of *"a* wooden drum·/.

perceived by the Tlrthikas as the beating of a large drum *(rnga chen),* with a message that can be decoded, at least by their "Masters of Sound[x,] *(sgra mkhan mams).'*[10]

In her own chapter on the *gandi,* Mireille Helffer (pp. 93-5), basing herself on a Vinaya text from the *bKa' 'gyur* and on a commentary to that passage by 'Jam-dbyangs gzhad-pa'i rdo-rje, also discovered "three sequences of the *rgyud* formula of 36 beats (18 heavy, 18 light; 36 x 3 making up 108 beats) in the present day practice; each sequence being accompanied by the enunciation of the same strophe (4 verses of 9 syllables = 36, meaning that one beat on the *gandi* corresponds to one syllable of the mentally recited strophe)/[7] The third verse of the mentally recited strophe is quite close in meaning to the Sound Masters' elucidation of the *gandi* sounds found in the above quoted passage from the Guru Rinpoche biography:

tib. text

Offering to the gods, *nagas* and *yaksasl* By beating this *gandi* (·/ghanti·/) of the Precious Three, *may the demon brains of the Ttrthikas dry out and break apart* and may the Buddha's teaching spread and be propagated farther and farther!

The relationship between sound and meaning, hence, is one of association. Certain verses are being recited simultaneously with the drumming, beat for beat corresponding with one of its syllables. The triple *gandi* sequence consequently becomes associated with the recited strophe and, as with the *thugs rje chen po* piece for the long horns, is eventually named after it and easily recognized ("decoded") as such by listeners in the know.

When a similar claim is being made for royal proclamations by drum, we can only presuppose a parallel procedure, even though the text, taken literally, suggests otherwise:

Then the King had the *big hanging drum* beaten, so that the sound resounded, to be heard in all directions: "\, King Indrabodhi, will cause to come down like rain from the Precious Wish-fulfilling Gem everything one could possibly wish for. Whatever you want, whoever wants

One should not forget that *iabda-vidya* expertise of these Masters of Sound covered *all* areas of the ''arts and sciences of sound", including the entire field of Sanskrit studies and music theory. The Masters of Sound in the cardinal directions each interpreting the message, suggest that the *gandi* player consecutively turns towards these directions; seemingly a parallel to the "swastika steps^ recorded for the *gandi* player in the New sMan-ri Monastery (p. 96).

anything, come and receive it!/r Such a message did the sound pro-
claim.n

Even so, at least one learned musicologist in recent times has tried to resuscitate the romantic idea of a drum language able, by purely rhythmical means, to convey messages along linguistic patterns. In his erudite, though far from convincing article, "Ancient Indian Drum Syllables and Bu-ston's Sham-pa-言 a Ritual",* [12] Ter Ellingson comes up with a hypothesis to the effect that, "Indian drum patterns, used till at least the eight century AD. to represent linguistic utterances, later lost their significance and became stereotyped musical patterns." This is a bold statement, based on the very limited data of some nine syllables supposedly representing what he interprets as four corresponding rhythmical patterns. With Dr. Helffer (p. 145) we are greatly tempted to assign this "evidence" to the rank of "The Talking Drums Of The Jungle" feature from *The Phantom* comics (fig. 1)—if not to "drumology" science and its largely unsubstantiated claims, well reflected by Philippe de Baleine in a rec-orded conversation with one of its present day founders:

Author: What I didn't understand is how the drum talks. Does it send out some kind of sonorous ideograms, or does it talk like a human being, through syllables?

Prof. Niangorau-Bouah (Iw. University, Cote d'Ivoire, West Africa): The drum talks exactly like a human being, through syllables. ... The drum can reproduce just about every sound and tone produced by the human voice.

Author: So it is a language that follows closely the syntax of a language?
It is a series of auditory ideograms?

Prof. N.-Bouah: No, not at all. It's a language that "marks down" *(demarque)* the human voice. The drum emits entire sentences.[13]

Without wanting to react like the Cote d'Ivoire public who, "ferociously attacking his theories/,/ in the course of a public lecture in the Houphouet-Boigny stadium pelted Prof. N.-Bouah with empty beer bottles,[14] we much prefer Dr. Helffei^s minute counterchecks between evolving theory and actual practice, and her structural analyses that reveal the logic and system within these far from arbitrary drum compositions.

About symbolic values

^ Copper Isle Version, p. 9. The Eric Pema Kunsang translation, p. 35, has the more logical, 'Then the king let the great drum resound and the good news be announced in all directions."

12 *Ethnomusicology* (Sept. 1980), p. 448.

13 Philippe de Baleine, *Le petit train de la brous^P&ris:* Plon, 1982, as reviewed in *Lire* Vol. 8 (May 1982), pp. 78–83.

14 Lire, ibid.

The only reservation that could possibly be raised is with regard to the author's discussions on the symbolism of the instruments and her somewhat uncritical quotation from existing translations. Still within the conch chapter (p. Ill) she, for instance, reproduces an extract from a song by ·Brug-pa kun-legs:

/"//"//// tib. text

These clockwise spiraling conch shells, covered with image patterns, Tranquilly abide in the vastness of the ocean,
Unharmed by its ordinary inhabitants,
Unmoved by the ocean's waves.
They feed on the poison mind of the makara,
By their splendor suppressing the crimes (that take place) in the ocean.
The white conch shells of steady meditation
Reside in splendor amidst the great lake of the non-conceptual. What- Ever appears surfs on the waves of the authentic, for Cut through is the basic error of non-meditation.
They feed on the mind of those holding on to mind (as a thing),
By their splendor suppressing the self-fabricated contemplation Of the fools.[15] [16]

She then comments upon this as follows: "'In addition to the wealth of this aquatic symbolism, there further is the brilliant whiteness of the shell that may evoke the fine qualities of the spiritual master/[7] Thereupon an extract from another 'Brug-pa kun-legs song is quoted. Of course this is not "the symbolism of the conch" at all, nor especially a statement about "the conch symbolizing meditation". It is simply a matter of the Bhutanese yogin's temporarily, and in this one song, borrowing the image of the conch and of its traditional enemy, the *makara* sea monster. 16 Helffer is herself aware of the fact that in the next song, the presumed symbolism is of an entirely different order.

[15] Rolf A. Stein, *Vie et Chants de 'Brug-pa Kun-legs le YogUP^ris:* G.P. Maisonneuve and Larose, 1972, p. 258, after *The Autobiography, Songs and Instructions of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs* (the 1882 gNal Dre'u-lhas redaction), Darjeeling: Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1978, p. 199. English translation here after the original; with conch (singular) changed to plural, so as to avoid the third person inconsistent with the conch viewed as a living being, at the risk of diminishing the extreme rarity of clockwise-spiralling conch shells.

16 One wonders whether the sight of a hermit crab ('"bernard l'hermite") was at the origin of the belief and/or imagery of the conch that feeds on the *makara.*

The listing of poetic metaphors in the vain hope of tabulating supposedly "standard meanings", also attempted by Per Kvaerne in his Cary 泛 Songs edition, is a misguided method that leads nowhere. Symbolic meanings occur in a context and are not fixed algebraic equations. Nowhere is this perhaps clearer than in the famous song of Milarepa addressing a group of yogins encountered at Tigers Den (sTag-tshang) near Paro. They request from him a song that alludes to the symbolism of the [true yogin's dress and] *damaru* drum; Majestic Lord Mila replies with exactly that:

The shell-adorned strap around the waist Symbolizes the ornamented enjoyment body;
The clappers striking against the skins are The emanation bodies streaming from it.
And the sound it makes when spun Shows mastery over warriors and dakinis.

But then, after an admonition ("Do you get my meaning, ascetics?//Listen further, friends/,) he adds a Part II to the song, strictly symmetrical in structure and examples to the previous song, but where, irony supreme, each element of the dress and drum now goes to symbolize the very opposite, all aspects of the outstanding ignorance of the pretender yogin:

That shell-adorned strap around the waist Is a true sign of a twisted mind.
The clappers striking against the skins Mimic your knocking at doors for food.
And the sound the drum makes when spun Proclaims the laughter of derision.[17]

Helffer, likewise, does not always draw a clear distinction between what is an orthodox statement within a given tradition and what is a Western author's opinion, if not a deduction concocted on the spur of the moment. Thus, it may be easy enough to go along (p. 109) with Panchen Othrul Rinpoche's statement—obviously backed up by scriptural evidence—about the conch instrument, "Symbolizing the profound and melodious sound that carries far away the Dharma teachings which, in accordance with the nature, predisposition and aspiration of the disciples, awakens them from the deep sleep of ignorance and exhorts them to the good of self and others/[7] It is a very different

17 Rin-chen rnam-rgyal from the *Brag-dkar rta-so* (1473–1557), Majestic Lord Milarepa's Six Vajra-Songs and Miscellanea from the Oral Tradition modern blockprint, Rumtek, c.1984, with this Tagtsang episode starting at f. 97b). Translation in Kunga Rinpoche and Brian Cutillo, *Drinking the Mountain Stream and Miraculous Journey*, Novato: Lotsawa Publications, 1978,1986. For this section, cf. the latter volume, pp. 184 ff, *"A* Challenge from Four Ascetics.[M] This may well be the only major textual reference to the *damaru* drum missed by Dr. Helffer.

matter when we have also to read (p. 112) a symbolical explanation from the hand of a Mr. K. Dowman, which has about as much basis in tradition as the earlier quoted of Mr. W. G. Gilbert's conch horn.

The Target Audience

At first sight it may appear strange, coming from someone who has been ardently working on extremely rare Tibetan source materials, to find in the notes definitions pertaining to even the most common standard ideas and Buddhist terminology. Far from being redundant, we should understand that an important section of the public will consist of musicologists operating in their own specialized regions and not necessarily familiar with even the basics of Tibetan Buddhist traditions. This adaptation may well have constituted the most difficult aspect of Helffer's project: to address in a satisfactory manner several, very different interested groups, each with their own informed knowledge in one domain and blind spots in other ranges of learning. The same applies to scholars involved in Tibetan studies, but not necessarily specialized in Central Asian and Middle Eastern musical traditions: for them too, the *Mchod-rol* study has a few surprises in store. Regarding the training technique for the *rgya gling* oboe players, for instance the memoires of Rakra Tethong Rinpoche, or the *dobdob* monk's biography from the hand of Hugh Richardson, and the training diary of D. A. Scheidegger, the Swiss musician and musicologist, all agree on what a *zurna* oboe player goes through in Turkey (to develop "circular breathing" by means of blowing through a straw into a glass of water and learning how to make constant and even water bubbles!).

The volume also contains a mine of information for people with an interest in Indo-Tibetan Buddhist iconography; all the more reason to applaud the inclusion of the full colour plates after exceptional pieces (the Mahakala in his Brahmin aspect in the Lionel Fournier collection; the Bonpo *tsakali* images in Pala style from the New sMan-ri Monastery; the amazing Ma-gcig lab-sgron and the gCod transmission lineage *thangka* from the Zurich University Museum, etc.)—a rare feature in a musicological work. Among the iconographical material related to the bone trumpet, one further item might have been included, probably its earliest depiction in Western sources: the roaming Ngagpa portrait, with part of a bone trumpet emerging from his backpack (fig. 2**).**

The bibliography contains a list of original Tibetan sources little looked into so far; and the up-to-date discography (especially compact dies) is extensive. It does not, however, address yet another and potentially vast public of foreign Buddhist practitioners. Suppose someone is engaged in a *mi la bla rgyud* retreat, the Guru Yoga practice whereby one visualizes one's own *lama* in the form of Majestic Lord Mila. No doubt one of the most rewarding things to do for this person during the breaks in between meditation sessions would be to listen to the Mila songs as recorded by Stephan Beyer at the Mahāyāna Buddhist Nunnery of Tilokpur, Himachal Pradesh *(The Songs of*

Milarepa, Lyrichord LLST 7285, c.1973). Hence it might be worthwhile to compile a separate discography where the items for each set of recordings are ordered by meditative-ritual topic, like the Padmasambhava *mchod-pa* with the Mahakala offering of Lyrichord LLST 7270 (Swayambhu 1973). This would then function as a counterpart to the efforts by Tarthang Tulku to list the most important translations available so far in Western languages after the canonical works.^S

The work concludes (p. 314) on a note of surprise: this genre of musical offerings could so easily have disappeared from the face of the earth after the Tibetans' expulsion from their Chinese-occupied homeland. Nothing of the sort happened: far from being eradicated, this savant music, like other forms of Buddhist learning, instead conquered the earth. Even if less resplendant than in pre-1959 Tibet, at the earliest opportunity the monastic communities in exile did everything they could to to revive the musical traditions. Few refugee communities have ever directed their priorities to such a degree towards preserving their living culture intact.

The work, finally, contains a few inaccuracies. The head of the Gelugpa order is not the fourteenth Dalai Lama, but the 'Throne Holder of Ganden Wgfl' Wan Win. pfl, p. 10). Bde-mchog is a "main" Yidam, not a Protector (pp. 239, 270). And it is impossible that a certain *siitra*, by definition the Buddha's word, could have been authored by Dharma 会 ribhadra”（p. 89); obviously, what is meant is that the Indian Dharmasribhadra co-translated that *siitra* in collaboration with his Tibetan counterpart. Also the discussion about the origins of the *gandi* (p. 87) does not take into account the fact that it originated with (and is described in) the Vinaya, which is again the Buddha’s word; hence no need for any hypothesis about beating a tree trunk.

These few minor errors apart, Dr. Helffer's clear style at all times shines with precision and elegant diction, even for the most repetitive sequences: the rare synthesis of a specialized work that remains accessible to the serious non-specialist.

A Weird Note on "Tibetan Singing Bowls〃

It started off, the story goes, as a bequest to the Musee de THomme in Paris: the relatives of an enthusiastic and regular visitor to Nepal donated a collection of some sixty 'Tibetan singing bowls which no one knew what to do with[/]. They transferred the bequest to the musicologist responsible for the Himalayan collections, Mireille Helffer, who did not want to offend anyone either; all the less so, as she notes (p. 327), because of the interest shown towards these objects by a growing number of takers such as collectors, musicians, adepts of various religious movements, music-therapists, and so [18]

[18] Cf. *Crystal Mirror*, Vol. VII (1984), pp. 285–369. It would also be a welcome addition to any survey articles about the state of the art, like Helffer’s own "European Studies in Ethnomusicology: Historical Developments and Recent Trends", *Intercultural Music Studies* 4, pp. 87–101.

forth. These metal "singing bowls" first appeared in the tourist shops of Bhaktapur, sometime in the mid-seventies. At the time they were simply introduced and defined as a standard wedding present in the hilly regions, as yet without the epithets "singing" or "Tibetan". I distinctly remember taking a foreign guest around Kathmandu Valley a couple of years later, and as the visitor entered a souvenir shop, the shopkeeper happened to be ^demonstrat- ing" the high quality sound of "this piece" by turning a wooden stick (already specially crafted for that purpose) around the inner rim, first slowly, then with increasing speed, till the ringing sound became distinctly audible. With a straight face he went on, in a whisper, to assure the potential customer that "this is the way Tibetan /amfls, in private, enter meditation". "Here, you can try it yourself", he added, assuming a dreamy expression, supposed to represent *samadhi* in its early stage. After the customers left, I could not help bursting into laughter as he tried out the same on my visitor, a laughter in which he happily joined. It was merely a late addition to the Kathmandu street vendors' slang of the sixties, who used to approach foreign customers with the standard phrase, "Very old, very Tibetan."

None of this was to stop the development the "Tibetan singing bowls[M] were to undergo in Europe (p. 328):

They are being used by Western musicians for their acoustic qualities (cf. the compositions of Alain Kremski on some sixty bowls purchased from Paris antique dealers); lovers of floating music [New Age; advanced Kitaro, I suppose] find their vibrations out of this world; psychologists and music-therapists recommend their beneficial influence (cf. Eva Rudy Jansen, *Singing Bowls: A Practical Handbook of Instruction and Use*, translated from the Dutch, 1992). Collections of bowls were also gradually deposited in museums ... starting from the early 80s. ... One should also draw attention to the record published as early as 1981 by Alain Presencer, *The Singing Bowls of Tibet,* Saydisc CD SDL-326.

As Dr. Helffer emphasises: none of the musicologists who has worked on Tibetan music since the 1960s has ever come across a single 'Tibetan singing bowl", nor does any such bowl appear in the analytical treatise on bells and cymbals by the Tibetan author Humkarajaya. Accordingly, the lot deserves to be deposited in what my friend the art critic Freddy de Vree once started as a ''Museum Of Tiny Curiosities", as far away as possible from the prestigious Musee de THomme—like Dr. Helffer herself did, burying this note on the Tibetan singing bowls in small print among the appendices.

Let us not, in the meantime, overlook the fact that *Mchod-rol* will indeed be an indispensable guide for any future author who but touches upon Tibetan or Himalayan ritual and music, and failure to quote it will condemn the work as unprofessional.

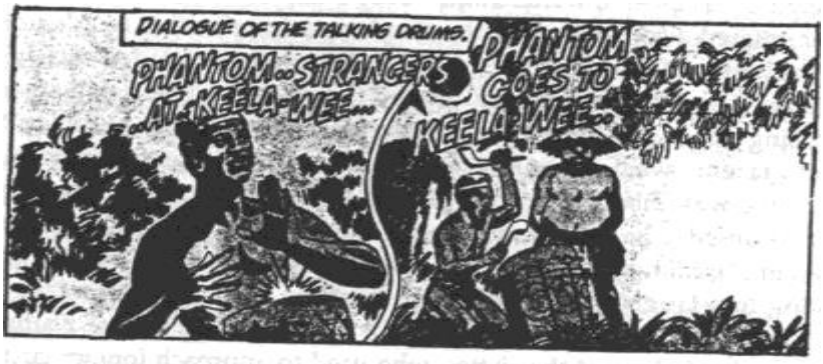

Fig. 1: A frame from the Phantom comic series featuring the "talking drum".

Fig. 2. Waddell, ***p.*** 212, after Giorgi.

Esoteric Patterns in Nichiren's Thought

Although Nichiren 日蓮（1222–82) is a major figure in Japanese Buddhism, most Western sources acknowledge little more in his thought than the harsh criticism he reserved for other forms of Buddhism and his exclusivistic devotion to the *Lotus Sutra [Hokek\/d* In constructing their identities,

the modern Nichiren denominations, different as their agendas may be, have also put great emphasis on this exclusivism. This, together with the stress historians place on the innovative aspects of Kamakura Buddhism, has helped create the image of Nichiren as a personality independent of, and in antagonism to, the established religious institutions of his time, including the Tendai sect 天台宗.This paper focuses on certain aspects of Nichiren's doctrine that may illuminate his debt to the traditions of thought current in his time, and the degree to which his doctrine must be regarded as a direct response to them.

Nichiren was engaged in a process of interpretation of the LWMS the text which had become the definitive sacred source of Tendai Buddhism and the foundation of the various systems created within that school. This enterprise led Nichiren to redefine the meaning of the *siitra* and to modify the exegetical tradition he inherited, developing a system of thought which conferred absolute value on the *Lotus Sutra* and established a religious practice entirely informed by it It was with this "exclusivism" that he entered the religious discourse of the Kamakura period (1192–1333).

Nichiren's hermeneutical endeavor was a search for orthodoxy in both theory and praxis, a search whose directions were defined, however, as much by ontological/soteriological needs external to the tradition as by the weight of traditional exegesis. His orthodoxy, in fact, concealed an unconscious

* This is a slightly modified version of a research report that first appeared in the *Japan Foundation NewsletterXXlU/No.* 5 (1995), 13–16.

assimilation of other forms of Buddhism, which skewed the traditional set of meanings but which eventually became essential to the very originality of Nichiren's thought. Thus, if we want to comprehend the constitutive elements of his uniqueness, we must first deconstruct the hermeneutical operation through which Nichiren defined his orthodoxy. The paradigm of interpretation as a *modus creandi,* that is, as the production of new meaning through an interaction between the mandate of a tradition and the historicity of the interpreter, will be heuristically valuable in this regard. Interpretation entails not only the literal understanding of a text, the *Lotus Sutra* in this case, but also the more general process of (re)signification of the reality informed by the text. The interpreter utilizes the existent terminology originating from the textual tradition, but also a set of ideas belonging to his historical dimension and not necessarily coinciding with that tradition. The canonical source (i.e., the *sutra* plus the exegetical works of Chinese Tiantai) offered Nichiren a constant point of reference. His perception of the possibilities presented by this source was filtered, however, through issues that had been raised in the development of Japanese Buddhism. Since early Chinese Tiantai, "distorted" during its temporal and spatial journey to Japan of the Kamakura period, was ultimately too distant to return to, Nichiren had to "reinvent" a tradition that was meaningful in his historical moment. Our analysis must therefore proceed from an essential first question: what can be defined as "tradition" for Nichiren? The modern exegetes of Nichiren's doctrine have emphasized, in various forms, Nichiren's claim to the restoration of an orthodox Tendai [/wwswz_ ho/cfce 純粋法華】, that is, a Buddhism centered on the Lofws going back to the Chinese Tiantai of Zhiyi 智顔（538–97) and Zhanran 湛然 (711–82) and to the early Japanese Tendai of Saich5 最澄（767–822). Supposedly, Nichiren pursued a Buddhism free of the esoteric elements whicli, in his view, had "corrupted" the Tendai established on Mt. Hiei from the middle Heian period onwards. This perspective asserts that, in order to maintain the superiority of the *Lotus Sutra,* Nichiren relentlessly criticized the esoteric schools, both Shingon (TOmitsu 東密）and Tendai (Taimitsu 台密), along with other forms of Buddhism. In the official exegesis, therefore, Nichiren's relation with mz.fcfcyo 密教(esoteric Buddhism) is defined exclusively in terms of opposition and negation. When we look at the shape that Nichiren's Buddhism eventually took, however, it is hardly to be denied that some of its most characteristic and fundamental elements derive from a patently esoteric matrix. Conspicuous examples are the object of worship, which consists of a *mandala,* the recitation of the title of the *sutra (daimoku **M** @),* which bears a resemblance to an esoteric *mantra,* and a certain understanding of the nature of the Buddha *(buddharon)* and of the way in which practitioners attain the highest enlightenment *(sokushin jobutsu* A doctrine that is sup posed to be //orthodox./ Lotus thought is thus expressed in unequivocally esoteric terms. Nichiren formulates alternative hermeneutical models which, while hovering within a traditional Tendai structure and explicitly negating

the value of esoteric teachings, do not succeed in escaping the linguistic and conceptual categories prevalent in his milieu.

The question of what it is that Nichiren legitimizes as his own tradition is more complex than first appears in other respects as well. The "orthodox" line of transmission of the Lotus teachings that he drew from Zhiyi to himself, with only Zhanran and Saicho as intermediaries, does not embody a doctrine that remained unchanged through the centuries. We wonder to what extent Nichiren was aware of the shift in emphasis that concepts and practices underwent in the process of transmission. In Zhiyi's work, for instance, we find very little trace of the theory of the "exclusivistic superiority" of the Lofws the c/z 油超八教 on which Zhanran was to elaborate! and which Nichiren would later take for granted as an enduring element of Tendai hermeneutics. On the other hand, the role that Nichiren attributes to Saicho in the maintenance of the superiority of the *Lotus Sutra* cannot be supported historically, as the system he instituted on Mt. Hiei gave the same place to Lotus teachings and esoteric teachings *(shikango* and *shanago* 5® 男 P 業).2 Nichiren chose to ignore Saich5's interest in mi.fcfcyo and directed his criticism only against Saich5's disciples, Ennin 圓仁（794–864) and Enchin 圓珍 (814–91), and against Annen 安蓮（841–903?), that is, against the thinkers who structured the Tendai form of *mikkyd.* Modern scholarship within the Nichiren denomination distinguishes three phases in Nichiren's attitude towards *mikkyd:* First, criticism of Kukai and the Shingon school; then, criticism of the Chinese patriarchs of esotericism; and, finally, criticism of Taimitsu.3 In my opinion, however, the focus of Nichiren's antagonism was all along the esotericism on Mt. Hiei, and his references to other *mikkyd* interpretations were only instrumental to this. Not only did he hardly distinguish between the two different traditions that we call Tomitsu and Taimitsu today, but an accurate reading of his works suggests that his understanding of *mikkyd* remains within the framework of Taimitsu categories. In the final analysis, we are struck by the realization that, in fact, his criticism did not deny any substantial aspect of esotericism per se, but was directed only against the subordinate position assigned to the *Lotus Sutra.* It was, so to speak, a problem of taxonomy.

One effective approach to recovering the dynamics of Nichiren's thought focuses on the principles he uses to arrange his *kyohan* ^C^\, the classification [*2 3]

Zhanran's classification of the *Lotus Sutra* as being in a category of its own, above all the other teachings *(chohakkyo),* creates an absolute superiority of the *siitra.* This evaluation seems to me to underlie most of Nichiren's arguments.

[2] Nichiren's appreciation of Saicho seems limited to Saicho's last works, like the *Ebydshu,* in which he criticized other schools of Buddhism in an attempt to defend the school he had just founded.

[3] Cf., for instance, the relevant entries of the *Nichiren iburt jiten rekishiheriDictionary* of Nichiren's Writings: Historical Section], compiled by the Nichiren kyogaku kenkyujo, Rissho University, Minobu: 1985.

of doctrines and *sutras* traditionally used in Buddhism as an interpretative scheme. This approach has never been fully utilized in Nichiren scholarship, probably because of the stress on the innovative aspects of Nichiren Buddhism. It is, in fact, a *communis opinio* that the lack of the traditional *kyohati* as a model of interpretation is a characteristic of Kamakura Buddhism, where the importance of tradition (in the sense of a corpus of scripture) is considered to have been replaced by the role of the teacher. Yet Nichiren appears to have given a fundamental hermeneutical function to *kyohan.* To begin with, the first of the five principles he deviced to establish the validity of a *sutra (gogihan* 五義判)， is fcy5 教（teaching;) and must be understood not simply as the teachings of the *Lotus Sutra* but as the *kyohan* of the *Lotus Sutra.* Nichiren's need to establish the correct doctrine (the implied purpose of any *kyohan),* takes the form of an insistence on the superiority of a single *sutra.* In this way, he becomes a perpetuator of the traditional forms of Buddhism, all of which put great emphasis on the hierarchical arrangement of teachings.

Nichiren had to confront two different types of *kyohan.* In the Tendai model of five periods, based on a supposedly chronological arrangement culminating in the *Lotus Sutra* (the final doctrine expounded), all teachings are regarded as having been preached by the historical Buddha according to the capacities of his listeners 五時八教).[4 5 6 7] In the Shingon classi

fication, on the other hand, the esoteric/exoteric polarity is the relevant interpretative principle, the esoteric teachings being the ultimate truth because they were preached by the absolute/universal Buddha, Dainichi nyorai, and the exoteric teachings regarded as inferior because they were preached by his temporal manifestation, Śākyamuni *(kenmitsu shoretsu* The order

ing principle of these two *kyohan* is slightly different: it is the superiority of the Buddha in Shingon and the superiority of the doctrine in Tendai. Between these two fundamental patterns we must place the classification systems of the Taimitsu thinkers Ennin, Enchin and Annen. They constructed, in various ways, a progressive identification of the *Lotus Sutra* with the esoteric *sutras,* namely the *Mahavairocana sutra, Vajrasekhara sutra* and the *Susiddhikara sutra,* which resulted in placing the *Lotus Sutra* in a slightly inferior position.6 The pattern used by those thinkers is known —with a formula probably coined by Nichiren — as /fs 加理同事勝，i.e. "The doctrinal assumptions [that the

Lotus and the esoteric *sutras]* are the same but the practice [of esoteric Buddhism] is superior.˙/ Here a famous argument of Shingon hermeneutics is reiterated/ and the performance of the three ˙/mysteries/˙, *mudra, mantra* and *mandala,* through which the practitioner identifies himself with the universal

4 Cf. the tenth chapter of Zhiyi's *Fahua xuanyi,* and Chegwan's *Ch'dnt'ae sagyo* 四教義.

5 *Cf. Kukai's* Benkenmitsu nikydron *and* Jiijushinron.

6 Cf. for instance, Ennin's *Soshitsujikydsho,* his *Sasagimon* and Annen's *Kyojigi.*

7 Cf. the statement of the *Puti xin lun that* only with the practice of Shingon the attainment of the buddhahood with this very body *(sokushinjobutsu)* is possible.

reality (sflwmz.fsw ywgfl 三密瑜仂 fl), is maintained as the most unfailing way to the perfect enlightenment.

The classification of *siitras* we usually find in Nichiren places the three esoteric *sutras* used in Taimitsu at the bottom and the *Lotus Sutra* at the top. The latter is divided into two parts, shflfcwmon 跡門 and Ziowmow 本門,with the highest position assigned to the *honmon* section, centered on the chapter in which the "infinite", not merely historical, existence of SSkyamuni as a Buddha (fcwow 河 sw_/5 久遠實成）is asserted?

Primacy of the Honmon: Although the division in two is one of the oldest patterns of *Lotus Sutra* exegesis, the priority of the *honmon* cannot be ascertained in Zhiyi who, if anything, gave precedence to the *shakumon* section, in which the notion of the true aspect of reality (/fssJroM 實相論）so essential to his system appears. The *honmon* was not primary for Saicho either.9 It became a central focus of attention only with the Taimitsu attempt to find in the *Lotus Sutra* elements that would make it function in an esoteric perspective. The defining element of the *honmon* is, in fact, a Buddha very similar to the universal-absolute Buddha *(hosshin* depicted in the esoteric *sutras.*

Nichiren's emphasis on the superiority of one section of the *sutra* reveals that a concern with the foundation of esoteric hermeneutics (i.e$_v$ the nature of the Buddha who preached the perfect teaching) is maintained in his system, and this contributes to a factual disappearance of the original Tendai scheme in five periods and the rise of other interpretative patterns. Nichiren no doubt had more than a fleeting acquaintance with the theory of the identity of Śākyamuni and Mahavairocana, which had been strongly asserted in Taimitsu since Saicho, and had assimilated Ennin's theory of a single Buddha encompassing all other possible Buddhas as his manifestations *(issaibutsu ichibutsu* 一切佛- —■佛It is only in this context that Nichiren's argument that the three Bud- dha-bodies are all infinite (sflwsWn mwsWmws/ziZ 三身無始無終）or that all the buddhas are emanations *(funjin* of Śākyamuni can be explained.

Ji and Ri: In Nichiren's understanding, the /#eternar, attainment of bud- dhahood by Śākyamuni Buddha of the *honmon (kuonjitsujo) is ji* or the actualization of the ultimate truth (户■ z.dimew sflMzen 事一念三千)• By contrast, he defines the doctrine expounded in the first part of the *sutra,* the potential for buddhahood of *sravakas* and *pratyekabuddhas (nijosabutsu* as the ultimate truth in principle (rz *ichinensanzen* _—念三千>.i○ It is the "concrete actualization" in the final analysis that establishes the superiority of the *honmon.* Even if we avcoid dwelling on the many implications of this idea, we cannot help noticing how curious this terminology sounds if taken as tradi-

Cf. for instance, Shingon shichiju shoretsu *and* Hokke shingon shoretsuji.

Cf. Asai Endo, *Joko nihon tendai honmon* s/i36yoto: 1973, 83–86.

[1○] *_Cf. in particular* Toki nyudono gohetyKatijin honzonsho, Shijo kingodono gohenji *and* Ota Saemonjo gohenji

tional Tendai exegesis. The concept of *ri* and *ji* as complementary exists in Zhiyi, but there we never find *ji* as connoting the highest truth. In Zhiyi the priority is placed on *ri,* which is defined as the fundamental aspect of reality coming before *ji,* its phenomenal aspect, even though it is not regarded as separable from it. ll In Taimitsu, however, *ji* was granted the role of a critical element in the definition of the highest truth (remember the *ridojisho* pattern), reflecting the importance in *mikkyd* of 〃practice〃/ that is, the experiential knowledge of the ultimate reality in the form of *mudra, mantra* and *mandala.* In Taimitsu we already find, in fact, a classification of the *honmon* section as *ji.* The inversion of the Tiantai categories that Nichiren operates would probably have been impossible without the shift of models consummated in Taimitsu. Proceeding from this, however, Nichiren moved on to elaborate his own doctrine. The "'actualization of the ultimate truth *(ji ichinen sanzen)"* became for him the essence of the *Lotus Sutra,* also encompassing the truth expressed in the *shakumon* section; it is this 'actualizing' aspect of the phenomenal world which constitutes the only eternal ground of any reality. Nichiren clearly asserts that, without the 'eternal enlightenment of Śākyamuni' described in the *honmon (kuonjitsujo),* the possibility of the perfect attainment of buddhahood by man represented in the *shakumon* section *(nijosabutsu)* is impracticable.12

Esoteric forms: The superiority of *ji* is also the ground on which Nichiren postulates a difference between his own and earlier Tendai teachings. "Ortho- dox〃/ Tendai is doomed to a partial understanding of the truth of the *Lotus Sutra* because it only expounds the "priciple *{ri)"* without performing the "actual practice (/fgy 行事行) 〃 through which the essence of the Lofws SiZfra is manifested. (Here we recognize a pattern that Taimitsu had already applied to distinguish between the Lotus and the esoteric *sutras).* Taimitsu had argued that it is possible only with *mantras* and *mandalas* to attain a visible, immediate kind of enlightenment; Nichiren establishes a *mantra* and a *mandala* which have the *Lotus Sutra* and its world as content. The practice which allows the wo 印 j 法華經了予 〇r practitioner of the Lofws to achieve iden-tification with the *dharmadhatu* represented by Śākyamuni consists of uttering the title of the *Lotus Sutra* in front of a *honzon* ("true object of worship^) constructed as a *mandala.*^ The linguistic and ontological im-plications of this leave little doubt about the force of the esoteric model. Nichiren did not go back to the Tendai kind of meditative practice *(sizhong* •四種三昧）already available as a form of experiential understanding of ultimate reality, but rather devised a new praxis more suitable to a cultural milieu under the sway of esotericism.

What Nichiren recognized as the orthodoxy he had to restore was a Tendai [11]

[11] Cf. for instance, the explanation of the six rofcM/C 六重本跡 in xwflnyf ch. 7.

Cf. for example, *Kanjin honzonsho*

The nature of this report does not leave us space to discuss the important analogies with the Taimitsu lotus *mandala.*

tradition shorn of the esoteric developments that had occurred within it. Nichiren exalted only this ideal legacy, which I have pointed out as historically nonexistent, as the tradition. Opposing it was the Tendai tradition with which Nichiren actually grew up, a teaching highly impregnated with *mikkyd.* The Lotus orthodoxy representing Nichiren's definitive thought was shaped through a process of synthesis in which the esoteric principles still played a very strong role, although differing from the role they had played in Heian- period Tendai •上古夫台 >• One is temped to conclude that Nichiren, in fact, transposed or translated into the language of the *Lotus Sutra* some basic *mikkyd* issues, and that he read a large portion of Zhiyi's interpretation with the esoteric formulations of Japanese Tendai in mind; this assimilation, in turn, eventually drove Nichiren away from Zhiyi's Tiantai and led him to establish his own orthodoxy. Viewed as the result of such a complex hermeneutical operation, Nichiren's Lotus exclusivism appears less idiosyncratic and arbitrary and reveals itself not so much as a dogmatic position but as part of a dialogue within Japanese Buddhism, disclosing one of the possibilities implicit in its dynamics.

Lucia D. Dolce University of Leiden

The Rediscovery of Uisang's *Ch'udonggi*

In Korea, the monk Uisang 義湘（625–702) is generally regarded as a major figure in the history of Silla 新羅 Buddhism. After having studied in China with Zhiyan 智嚴（602-86) he returned home, built many temples, and became the founder of the Korean Hwa6m School 華嚴宗• His influence spread widely, and in Japan, too, he came to be revered as one of the patriarchs of the Kegon School 華嚴宗.This is not so much because of his writings, of which very little remains. His reputation is based, rather, on various records concer- ning his life, such as his biography in the Song gfloseng 宋高彳曾傳

[Biographies of Great Monks [compiled during the] Song], records in the SamgMfc ywsfl 三國遺事[Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms】， which include a letter to him by his fellow-disciple Fazang 法藏（645–712), and passages in the writings of the Kory6 monk Kyuny6 均如（923–73). As far as we know, of his own writings only two survive, of which *Hwadm ilsung pdpkyedo* 華嚴一■乘法界圖[One Vehicle Diagram of the Dharma Worlds of the Flower-Garland】 is best known. In any case, Uisang does not seem to have been a very prolific author, perhaps, it has been suggested, because he did not feel that long expositions were of much use.[1] That a few words may be better

[1] Cf. Kim Tujin, *Kyunyd Hwadm sasang ydn'gu* [A Study of Kyuny6's Hwa6m Thought]. Seoul: Ilchogak, 1983, p. 318.

than many is also expressed in more poetic fashion by a legend about the writing of the *Popkyedo.* After he had been encouraged by Zhiyan to write down his insights into enlightenment, Uisang first composed a long text of ten volumes. At Ws masters urging he abbreviated this work and then the two of them committed everything that Uisang had written to the flames, with a prayer that only that should remain which exactly conformed to Buddha's teachings. In the end only 210 characters turned out to be fully fire-proof and those Uisang used to compose the *gatha,* written down in a peculiar diagram- matic form, which we know as ffsiiwg pd;认 yedo.2

Whatever the reasons, the material for an appraisal of Uisang's contributions to Korean and East Asian Buddhism is scanty at best. Considering this state of affairs, the discovery of a work that enables us to get closer to Uisang's thinking is an important event. In the Autumn 1996 issue of *Hankuk* 韓國學報（/owrmzf 〇/ JKorean Sfwdi'es, not to be confused with the English-language publication of that name) a Korean scholar, Kim Sanghyon 金相錢，argues his claim to have made such a discovery, and quite convin- cingly so.[2] [3] The work concerned is an exposition on Hwaom/Huayan doctrine, called •維凋記[Record of Ch'udong], a resume of Uisang's teachings written down by the most prominent of his direct disciples. Although of this text some quotations can be found in the writings of others, up till now it has been supposed to be no longer extant. Kim Sanghyon, however, has compared the known fragments of the *Ch'udonggi* with another work on Huayan thought, traditionally attributed to Fazang, to arrive at the conclusion that the correspondence of the two is such that one may speak of two versions of one work by Uisang (the one only surviving in fragments, the other complete).

The gist of the argument is as follows. It is said that Uisang once lectured for ninety days on the *Avatamsaka sutra* in a place called Ch'udong, for the spiritual benefit of the deceased mother of one of his disciples, who, in spite of the fact that she was a widow, had encouraged her son to leave her side and become a monk. Another of Uisang's disciples, Chit'ong 智通（n.d.), then wrote down the essence of his master's teachings in a work of two fascicles, entitled *RecordojCh'udong.* It was transmitted in Korea until the Koryo period and then lost out of sight forever, or so it seemed. In Japan, meanwhile, another work of two fascicles explaining Huayan doctrine was handed down, under the title *Huayan jing wenda* [Questions and Answers on the Avatamsaka Sutra]. It was considered to be by Fazang, but its authenticity as such was already questioned in the Heian period. Nonetheless it was included in the *Taishodaizokyo* (T. 1873.45) and the *Dainihon zokuzokyo* (new

[2] *The History and Culture of Buddhism in Korea.* Ed. by The Korean Buddhist Research Institute. Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1993, pp. 89–90.

[3] Kim Sanghyon, *"Ch'udonggi-wa* ku ibon *Hwadmgydng mundap* [The *Ch'udonggi* and its Variant Edition *Huayan jing wenda]," Hangukhakpo* 84 (1996), pp. 28–45.

edition no. 103), for through the ages the *Questions and Answers* found devotees as well as detractors. As late as 1959, Kamata Shigeo 鎌田茂雄 made a plea for the authenticity of Fazang's authorship. In 1983, however, Yoshizu Yoshihide 吉津宜英 suggested that it might have been written in Silla by someone close to Zhiyan, and pointed out similarities in terminology in this text and Uisang's P 印/cyedo.[4] [5] 会 ubsequently, Ishii Kosei 石井公成 provided more detailed corroborative evidence for the theory that a direct disciple of Uisang was the compilator.5

Now Kim SanghySn has not only confirmed that the *Questions and Answers on the Avatamsaka Sutra* contains the teachings of Uisang, but also found very strong evidence that this work is, in fact, nothing but a variant edition of the *Ch'udonggi.* As said, of the latter —although supposedly lost as a separate work — fragments were transmitted in the form of quotations in other texts. The priest Kyunyo, a major exponent of Hwaom thought in Korea, cites the *Ch'udonggi* in several of his writings, twelve times in toto. Because he sometimes quotes the same passage in different contexts, there are altogether nine fragments of the *Ch'udonggi* preserved in his works, with about 1200 characters. Carefully comparing these with the *Questions and Answers* on the *Avatamsaka sutra*, Kim Sanghyon has found corresponding passages for all of them. In addition to this, the total number of non-matching characters is so small that one cannot but conclude that the *Ch'udonggi* and the *Questions and Answers* are different editions of one and the same work. It is very unlikely that this would actually be by Fazang (and, consequently, that the attribution of the *Ch'udonggi* is erroneous). In the Heian period, doubts with regard to Fazang's authorship were mainly motivated by stylistic considerations, but from a doctrinal point of view, too, it is difficult to regard the *Questions and Answers* as his work. Such problems do not arise if one opts for the obvious solution of viewing the text as a record of Uisang's preaching. The attribution to Fazang should be understood in connection with his growing influence in late Silla Buddhism.

The identification of the *Ch'udonggi* with a work that in Japan was copied and reprinted from the Heian to the Tokugawa period (and finally, thanks to its transmission in Japan, included in the *Taisho Tripitaka)* is not only important because it grants us a new angle on Uisang's thought, but also because it will be helpful for our understanding of the historical relationship of Chinese, Korean and Japanese Buddhism.

Boudewijn Walraven
University of Leiden

[4] Yoshizu Yoshihide, "Kyurai jobutsu ni tsuite (On the Original Attainment of Buddha- hood)," *Indogaku bukkyogaku kenkyu* 63 (1983), 243–48.

[5] Cf. Ishii Kosei, *"Kegonkyo mondo* no chosha (The Author of the *Huayati jing wenda)," Indogaku bukkyogaku kenkyu* 33:2 (1985), and his *Kegon shiso no kenkyu* (A Study of the History of Avatamsaka Thought). Tokyo: Shunjusha, 1996.

The Classification and *Depositing of Books and* Scriptures
Kept in the National Library of Bhutan
Per Kjeld Sarensen
NLB, Thimphu

Guiding criteria for classifying and depositing written and printed books *(dpe deb)* kept in The National Library of Bhutan (hereafter; NLB, *'Brug rgyal yongs dpe mdzo):* All books are to be marked both with an inventory and a depository number. Books and prints are to be classified and deposited according to the following alphabetically arranged typological (i.e. genre) classification code (KA through NA) listed below in tandem with an additional letter code which indicates the book's sectarian provenience (bka', dge, mying, sa, jo and bon), whenever feasible or required. In other words, each book marked with a given type code is in addition assigned with a code providing information regarding the book's sectarian origin or affiliation, if identifiable. Canonical writings is coded and deposited separately. Books or collections coded with a sectarian letter-code are allocated to their respective sectarian depository found in the main-building. A non-canonical individual text or a collection/series of texts (belonging together), that is not directly and immediately to be identified as the writings) of a scholar or monk adhering to a distinct and known school *(chos lugs)*, shall be assigned with a depository or signature code and number that places it in the section solely arranged according to the overall genre classification (i.e. KA through NA) of the library depositories.

Accordingly, it is herewith proposed that the library accommodate three main depository sections *(rtsa ba'i sde tshan)* each with distinct holdings of books and prints:

Canonical Writings

Books and Writings Arranged According to Sectarian Provenance
Non-Sectarian or Genre-Classified Books, Writings and Prints
Sect Code
bKa': bKa' brgyud pa (all sub-schools and lines)
dGe: dGe lugs pa *incl.* bKa^{r} gdams pa
Sa: Sa sky a and Ngor
rNying: rNying ma pa (and rDzogs chen)
Jo: Jo nang pa *Bon:* Bo
1st Section: Canonical Writings
Section 1 will include, exclusively, all available editions of the Buddhist Canon *(bka' 'gyur and bstan 'gyur)* treasured in the NLB as well as individual or stray copies of any canonical work, such as *sutra-s* and *sastra-s* etc. A print or fascicle of a *sutra (.mdo), vinaya {'dul ba)* or *tantra (rgyud)* text, for instance, will consequently be marked or coded: 1-KA-xxxxx: The number 1 indicates section 1, KA indicating geme or type class (as given below) and the digits xxxxx indicating the relative depository number code to be given to the work in question.
2nd Section: Books and Writings Arranged According to Sectarian Provenience
Section *2,* covering by far the largest section in the library, shall be comprising all the *chos skad* and *rdzong kha* written books and scriptures, arranged and stored according to genre type and sect or school of its authors. A biography *(rnam thar),* for instance, of any of the great Sa-skya masters, written by one of his pupils, should thus be coded: 2-SA-DA-xxxxxxx. The number 2 for section 2, SA for the Sa-skya-pa school and DA for the typological category of the book (here *rnam thar),* and finally the digits xxxxxx for its depository number.
Notice: For reasons of simplification, the collected writings or a collection, a text-cycle *(chos skor)* or a set of books, for instance the *Rin chen gter mdzod,* the *sGrub thabs kun ^{r}dus, dGongs pa zang thal* or the *gDams ngag mdzod* etc. which may or may not contain works and texts that individually should require or claim a separate depository code and hence location, such a collection, since it is considered an inseparable and coherent grouping of books, shall be located under the code or class that is indicated by its main title, in this case invariably under TA, TA being the typological class code for collections.
3rd Section: Non-Sectarian or Genre-classified Books, Writings and Prints
Section 3 will comprise books or prints, that are usually not registered sectwise but mainly according to type, in other words classified and deposited purely

according to the type or genre characterizing its contents. A salient example may be ʳGos Lotsava gZhon nu dpal's *Deb ther sngon po,* which is assigned to section 3 and hence marked or coded 3-NA-xxxxxx. The number 3 indicating the third section, NA indicating the genre or type class (in this case a prominent specimen of the *deb ther* genre) as given below and xxxxxx again indicating its relative depos. number code to be given to the particular book in question.

CLASSIFICATION SCHEME

Class Code:

Canonical Scripture (Section 1):

KA: bka' 'gyur dang bstan 'gyur
mdo sde
'dul ba
chos mngon
rgyud 'burn
gzungs ᶠdus
bstod tshogs
rgyud
sher phyin
dbn ma
sems tsam
'dul 'grel
tshad ma *1 3.* sgra mdo *14.* sna tshogs

Extracanonical orParacanonical Scripture (Section 2 and 3):

KHA: mdo 'grel mtshan nyid kyi skor: *Any* 'grel ba, rnam 'grel, mam bshad, dka' 'grel, rgya cher bshad pa, mchan 'grel, mchan du bkod pa, rnam bzhag, brjed byang, zin bris su bkod pa *etc. on:*
['dul ba] mdo sde
dbu ma
sems tsam
tshad ma
phar phyin (bstan bcos)
grub mtha'

Paramitayana: Hermeneutics, Exegeses, Analyses, Explication, Annotation, Commentatorial Treatises or Summaries, Expose on Doctrine, Canonical Texts/Topics and Philosophy *(mtshan nyid)* as well as Thematically Related Indigenous Doxography *(grub mthaʳ).*

GA: sgrub thabs, gsang sngags dang rgyud 'grel kyi skor:
sgrub thabs, bsnyen sgrub, thugs sgrub, tshe sgrub, ril sgrub, sgrub skor, nor sgrub, mngon rtogs, bzlas brjod, bskyed rim, rdzogs rim
bla sgrub (bla [maʿi] sgrub [thabs]), gsang sgrub, bdag bskyed, bskyed rdzogs, bum bskyed, dmigs rim, sgom rim
bla ma'i rnal 'byor,
gzungs, sngags
rgyud dang rgyud ʳgrel Vgrel bshad, dka' 'grel, rnam bzhag la sogs pa]
bka' 'gyur dang bstan 'gyur nang ma tshud pa'i rdzogs chen dang rnying ma chos tshan ga ci ra in rung sde tshan 'di gi nang tshudpa in /dpe ʳbadpa cin I ring brgyuiTbkaʾ ma: gsangs sngags nang rgyud sde gsumr nye brgyud gter ma, zab mo dag snang, phyag rgya chen po la sogs pa gzum in/
Mantrayana: Invocational-Meditational and Propitiatory Texts and Books incl. *guruyoga*, as well as Indigenous Commentaries and Sub-Commentaries, and Expositions on Tantric Texts and Treatises. Lastly also All (Single-volume) Non-Canonical Tantric Scriptures *(bka' ma, gter ma)* foremostly of the rNying ma and rDzogs chen school. [NB! For separately transmitted or entire text cycles (e.g. *Klong chen snying thig, rNyingma rgyud 'bum*, etc.) as well as Collections of *sadhana, dharani* and *tantra* etc. See also under class code TA].
NGA: lam rim bio sbyong nyams len dang gsung mgur sogs kyi skor:
lam rim, thar lam
lam 'bras, slob bshad
bio sbyong
gsung bgros dang gsung thor bu, bka ' thor bu, ngag thor bu, bka ' rgya,
gsung mchan, mdzod
nyams len, phyag len
gsung mgur, rdo rje "i glu [mgur], chos glu, nyams mgur, thol glu Doctrinal Treatises and Compositions: Stages-on-the-Path and Mind-Training Texts, Miscellanea incl. Texts of Religious Experience, Songs of Spiritual Realization.
CA: smon lam dang gsol 'debs sogs kyi skor:
smon lam, gsol 'debs, 'dod gsol [gi smon tshig], mnga'gsol, smon ʳdebs,
byin 'debs, shis brjod, mchod brjod, gros 'debs, spyan ʳdren
bla ʾdebs [= bla ma'i brgyudpa gsol ʾdebs], zhabs brtan, brtan zhugs
phrin bcol
bsnyen yig, bsnyen pa
sdig bshags dang Itung bshagsʳ 'tshogs bshags, skong bshags dang
bskang gsol, bshags sdom dang bshags brjod, gso sbyong, bskang
gs◯
bstod pa, bstod tshogs, dbang bstod, mchod bstod
bsngo yig, bsngo ba

bka^{r} bsgo, rjes gnan
Prayer Texts: Aspiration *(pranidhana)*, Devotional, Supplication, Petitions for Blessings, Vows, Absolution and Confessional Texts etc. as well as Eulogies.
CHA: zhal gdams man ngag dang khrid yig gi skor:
zhal gdams, gdams ngag, gdams pa, gdams chos, man ngag
khrid yig, dmar khrid, lam khrid dmigs khrid, tshe khrid, don khrid
bslab bya
sngon 'gro, ngo sprod, klog thabs
yig cha
zhu *[s]* lan, yig lan, dris lan, thob yig, gsan yig
zin bris, mtshan tho, tho yig, par tho, brjed byang, sa bead
rtsod gleng, rtsod zlog
dgag pa, dgag lan
All Types of Esoteric Instructions, Precepts, Guidance Texts Propaedeutics, Monastic College Manuals and Obligatory Syllabuses as well as Question- Replies Manuals and Texts, Catechisms, Writings on Teachings Received, Synopses, Memoranda and Notes, Polemics, Apologetics, Critique, Dialectics etc.
JA: mdo sngags chos spyod sogs kyi cho ga'i skor:
sbyin sreggi cho ga, dkyil 'khor kyi cho ga, sbyang ba^{r}i cho ga, sa bcud bum sgrub kyi cho ga, sdom pa ^{r}bogs pa'i cho ga, rjes 'dzin cho ga, than thabs
phyag mchod [= phyag 'tshal dang mchod pa], mchod 'bul, gsol mchod, tshogs mchod, sgrub mchod, rnchod bstod, bsangs rnchod, mdiod phreng
bla mchod *[* = bla ma mchod pa ^{r}i cho ga]
bzlog bsgyur, gtor bzlog, gtor bshad, gtor 'bul, bdud bzlog, gto bsgyur, brul gtor, gtor ma, klu gtor, gto bcos, gtor cho ga, gtang rag, gzor gyi cho ga, tshe ’gugs
mdos cho ga, bsgyur mdos, mdos bzlog, glud, srog glud, ^{f}gegs sel, bcos thabs, Iho sgo
gcod, dur gcod, tshar gcod, zhi byed, 'khrugs bskong
las byang, las tshogs, las rim, rab gnas
gser bskyems, khrag skyems, ja mchod, Ito mchod
khrus gsol, byabs khrus
dbang cho ga, dbang bskur, bdag dbang, dbang bshad
Liturgical, Ritual and Ceremonial Texts: Apotrophaic, Purificatory, Protective or Prophylactic (Charm, Ransom), Votive, Performatory and Propitiatory Opuscula, Oeuvre and Manuals.
NYA: rig gnas che chung sogs kyi skor:
bzo rig pa, zlos gar, a Ice lha mo, 'khrab gzhung, sku rten bzhengs tshul thig rtsa skor, zhing dang dkyil 'khor gyi bkod pa, rten gyi skor tshad, ras ris 'bri tshul, bris yig, gtor bzo

sgra rig pa, sum cu dang rtags 'jug [gi ʳgrel ba], sgra brda'i bstan bcos, brda' gsar mying gi skor, dag yig, tshig mdzod, mngon brjod, snyan ngag, dper brjod, sdeb sbyor, ming gi mam grangs, yig bskur, dpe ris, legs bshad, lugs kyi bstan bcos
gso rig *[* = gso ba rig pa], smart gzhung, khog 'bugs/dbub, 'khrungs dpe
rtsis (mg dang dkar), rtsis gzhung, skar rtsis, mo rtsis, mo 'debs, [rmi lam bya sgra sogs kyi]
rtags dpyad, sho mo 'debs, zor phen, phyva
phrin
gtan tshigs rig pa
The Traditional Buddhist Sciences: Arts and Crafts, Iconography and Icono- metry, Grammar, Dictionary, Glossaries, Lexica, Poetry (Belles Lettres), Prosody, Medicine, Herbal Science, Astrology, Divination, Geomancy.
TA: gsung 'bum dang chos skor sogs kyi skor:
gsung 'bum, bka' 'bum, gsungs rab
chos skor, chos sde
Collected Writings *(opera omnia)*, Entire Text Cycles and Collections f. ex. Byams chos sde Inga etc., Sets and Series, but also Minor Writings.
THA: mam thar "khrung rabs dang gter chos sogs kyi skor:
mam thar [phyi nang gsang]
'khrungs rabs, skyes rabs, gdan rabs, khri rabs, sku phreng, gdung rabs
rtogs brjod
[bka'i] thangyig, bka'thang
bkaʳ ma, gter ma, gter chos, gter yig, gter lung, gter mdzod, gter byang,
kha byang, bris byang, zhal byang
(Sacred Hagiographies, Biographies, Birth-Stories, Throne-Successions, Monastic and Clan Genealogies, Chronicles, School Lineages, Mythographical Writings, Pseudo-epigraphica.) [NB! For multi-volumed Collections of *bkaʳ ma* or *gter ma*, *gter mdzod* see TA].
DA: rgyal rabs chos 'byung dang gnas yig sogs kyi skor:
chos 'byung, bstan ʳbyung
rgyal rabs, deb ther, yig tshang, lo rgyus
dkar chag, gnas yig, lam yig, gnas bshad, gnas bstod, byung khungs, skor tshad, lag khyer
bstan rtsis, reʳu mig
khrims yig, bca'yig, chab shog, phrin yig, yi ge, springs pa, springs yig
bka' chems, zhal chems
sgrung, gtam rgyud, gtam sgrung *[incl.* ge sar sgrung/rabs *text cycle]*
glu gzhas, glu deb, gtam dpe, dpe chos
be'u bum, 'bel gtam, mol ba
[ma ’ongs】byang

(Sacred and Secular Historiography: (Monastic or National) Chronicles, Genealogies, Records, Annals, Law Code Books, Documents, Dossiers etc. as well as Religious Chronology, Chronology Charts, Guides, Catalogues, Topographical Eulogies, Biographical Testaments, Registers, Tables of Contents, Topical Outline, Synopses, Tables, Narrative Literature, Stories, Tales, Fables, Myths, Songs (Secular, Non-Religious), Prophesies.)
NA: dpe deb sna tshogs kyi skor:
Miscellaneous Texts.

Seminar on the Zhiyi^s *Mohe zhiguatt* in Leiden

From the 13th–18th of January, 1997, the Department of Japanese Studies, the University of Leiden, on the initiative of Lucia Dolce and Professor W. J. Boot, hosted a week-long seminar on the *Mohe zhiguan/Makashikan* (Treatise on the Great Calming and Contemplation), the *opus major* of Zhiyi 智顔（538–597), the 办 /flcfo founder of the Chinese Tiantai School 天台宗 of Buddhism. The seminar was conducted by Paul L. Swanson of Nanzan University in Nagoya, Japan, and was attended by some sixteen scholars and advanced students from The Netherlands, Germany, Italy, and Denmark.

In the course of the seminar various parts of the *Mohe zhiguan* was read and its contents discussed, these parts included the important preface by Guanding 灌頂（561–632), Zhiyi's leading disciple, which forms a synopsis of the entire work; as well a most of chapter seven. The reading and the subsequent discussion was greatly stimulated and facilitated by the fact that Prof. Swanson had prepared a densely annotated translation of the parts of the *Mohe zhiguan,* in addition to providing a superb introduction to the text and a state of the art discussion of current scholarship in the field of Chinese Tiantai studies. This made it possible for in-depth discussion of the many abstruse points in the text, and also gave Prof. Swanson the oportunity to "test[7] his own reading of the text, which would sometime differ from that of the other participants in the seminar.

Among the issues touched upon during the seminar was Zhiyi's view(s) on the buddha-nature the *trikaya,* the use of formal logic in the *Mohe zhiguan,* his integration of the various classes of doctrines, and his mahayanaz- tion of the traditional meditation-practices ascribed to the *hinayana.* At some point a heated debate arouse on the question of Zhiyi's supposeed indepted- ness to the Sanlun 三論 monk Jizang 吉藏（549–623). In the course of the seminar there were also two presentations on related topics. Dr. Gregor Paul gave a lecture on the role of Buddhist logic, my 印•明理,in Japan during the Nara Period, and Jorg Plassen presented the findings of his latest research on Jizang.

There were two young German scholars in the meeting, Dr. Hans Kantor of Bonn, and Herr Jorg Plassen of Hamburg University, both of whom made a favourable and fine impression with their seriousness and erudition. It is indeed a great pleasure for an /y01d Rat/7 in the field of Chinese Buddhism to see that there is actually a new generation of competent scholars emerging in this rather lonely field of research here in Europe.

One could wish that the Asian departments of other universities would host similar seminaries attended by both senior scholars and advanced students, since it is a great stimulous for all participants to meet in a forum of this kind. Just imagine spending a whole week reading and studying a Chinese or Japanese text of your own choice in a forum of like-minded scholars! Lucia Dolce and Professor Boot are to be congratulated for making this seminar possible as well as for making it a great success.

Henrik H. Sørensen

Schuyler Jones: Tibetan Nomads: Environment, Pastoral Economy and *Material Culture.* The Carlsberg Foundation's Nomad Research Project. Thames and Hudson, Copenhagen 1996. Dkr 300,–

The present volume constitutes the eighth volume in the prestigious The Carlsberg Foundation's *Nomad Research Project,* a research undertaking which has been well under way for over a decade now and which initially was intended to pay tribute to an area within Danish anthropological research which has long stirred the curiosity and interest of researchers. The study of nomadism and pastoralism has been an almost century-old focal point in Denmark. Although financially burdensome the ambitious research programme was handsomely covered by the affluent Carlsberg Foundation, Denmark's largest non-governmental research-fund, without whose existence much of Danish research in the humanistics and related topics would come to nought.

During numerous field trips in a number of selected areas of the world with living nomadic and pastoral societies, foremostly in Central Asia, South West Asia and North Africa, Danish explorers were able to amass and eventually bring back a staggering amount of objects and artefacts of material culture. It is a rich collection by any standard, and in the case of the Central Asian Collection, gathered during a number of Danish Central Asian Expeditions, it must be considered unique and priceless. For many years innumerable objects—etnographica—thus piled up in Danish museums and collections, being mainly stored away, sharing space only with bundles of unpublished field notes, photographs (some unique pieces can partly be seen in the book) as well as film- and music recordings, all craving research and attention.

The huge project, now completed, and the outcome of which has been the handsomely made and richly illustrated volumes of which the one under review is Number 8, was launched in order to redress the most obvious imbalances in this respect: in other words to bring out the bulk of unpublished materials kept in the museums.

Limiting ourselves to the part of Central Asia comprising Mongolia and Tibet, the key figures behind this collector’s quest were Henning Haslund-Christensen (1896–1948) and HH Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark (1908–80). Haslund-Christensen was a self-made explorer and ethnographer,

who with astonishing energy and gusto, and tireless curiosity, in the 1920's and 1930's lived and worked among the peasants and tent-nomads of Mongolia. From his pen we have a number of highly readable, internationally acclaimed books about his adventures in Mongolia. Prince Peter was a noted anthropologist, specializing in polyandry and the Tibetan nobility, and he was a true afficionado and able connoisseur of the Central Asian peoples, spending several years during the fifties, as he did, in the Himalayas.

Today, Denmark can pride itself (and be the object of envy from other museums) of an astounding Tibetan but mainly Mongolian collection of artefacts, costums (see Henny Harald Hansen's *Mongol Costumes,* reprinted in the same series), jewellery (see Martha Boyer's *Mongol Jewelry,* in the same series), and utensils, all kept in the National Museum of Denmark. Equally important, a fine collection of scripts and texts, witness of the rich lamaist and autochothonous literature in Tibetan and Mongolian language, are kept in the Royal Library of Copenhagen. The *tibetica* and *mongolica* must be considered among the richest in Europe.

The aim of the present volume, as announced in the foreword, is to provide a brief account of the pastoral nomadic life in Tibet, but mainly to make available to the reader an illustrated record of the riches of the collection in the National Museum. The title (and subtitle) of the book is therefore quite misleading. As it were, the reviewer recalls, it was stipulated from the very outset in the mid-eighties that the fine collection of Prince Peter especially, i.e. textiles and costumes, should be the object of a detailed and scholarly satisfactory description. This is also evident for several reasons: Prince Peters collection of artefacts and textiles, quite unique, was mainly purchased through his broad connections and rapport with the leading figures of old Lhasa nobility. He had access to persons and objects no one else had. Small wonder that the specimens are unique, and today the National Museum in Denmark is the only place where such an array of fine dresses and textiles stemming from an old, now defunct culture has survived.

On both counts, i.e. a description of the rare objects, the main scope of the publication, and the account of nomadic life in Tibet, the book fails miserably. The description is more than meagre, and what is worse, the real *trouvailles* in the collection, the costumes and textiles, are unsatisfactorily described, barely moving beyond a simple and general descriptive analysis. The objects are rarely brought into a larger context, nor is an attempt undertaken to compare the items with other similar specimens or identify its Tibetan proveniance and terminology.

Apparently only sporadically used by the author are the results of the extremely important project which has been running in Bonn over many years now. Within the last fifteen years a number of German scholars, headed by our colleagues Hans Roth and Veronika Ronge, have aimed to set up a complete inventory of all the cultural objects (Sachkultur) kept in all the collections and museums in Europe. Registration in Bonn (Central Asian Seminar) is almost complete and its photographic documentation and

scholarly assessment of each item is excellent. It is more than a pity that the author has failed to exploit extensively this opportunity of acquiring proper scholarly help and guidance.
One cannot avoid, moreover, nourishes the suspicion that the nomadic theme in this context was taken up, in a rather popular and unscholarly fashion as it appears, in order to secure its inclusion in the overall project. What the reader is offered is a very general description of Tibet, the Tibetans and their everyday life, garnished with some beautiful pictures taken during the author's travels in Tibet. These shots do not, however, differ substantially from the kind of picture taken by the average tourist now flooding Tibet. What is more, we can find similar ones, more balanced, in any traveller's magazine. In the section dedicated to a description of the nomadic life, Jones' presentation is a rechaufee of Goldstein and Beall's study on the nomads of Western Tibet. The study does not represent any field work on the side of the author, but evidently only reflects the fruits of his intense reading of that of others.
The author's knowledge of Tibetan societies and cultures is meagre and obsolete to say the least, even to the point of embarrassment. For instance his authority on lamaism is Waddell's work from 1895 and Bell's books from the 1920's! In the section where the technical terms for the objects and specimens are given in Tibetan, barely any term is rendered correctly. Hence misspellings of Tibetan terms abound. It appears that the author (or the committee) has abstained from consulting Tibetological expertise, of which there should be plenty around, even in Denmark. Not surprisingly, the author, whose scholarly credentials, according to the backflap, centers around the *National Geographical Magazine*, is wholly unknown in Tibetological circles. The members of the committee, it appears, have either been ill-advised or have proved themselves incompetent.
Let me finish on a positive note, the book is beautifully printed, easy to read, fairly inexpensive, and most of the pictures of high quality.

Per K. Sørensen
Universitat Leipzig

[Ngag-dbang skal-ldan rgya-mtsho:] *Shel dkar chos 'byung. Histoiy of the "White Crystal"*. Religion and Politics of Southern La-stod. Translated by Pasang Wangdu and Hildegard Diemberger. Osterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veroffentlichungen zur Sozialanthropo- logie Band 1. [Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaf- ten.] Wien 1996. DM 59.60

A veritable feast of publications for Tibetologists has appeared in Vienna this year, all academic works published by the Osterreische Akademie der

Wissenschaft and supported financially by the Austrian Fonds zur Forderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung. As always, we must undoubtedly see the enterprising hands of Prof. Ernst Steinkellner behind these rich publishing efforts. We should express our gratitude to this eminent scholar and his flourishing institute.

In 1993 during a research trip through Western Tibet jointly organized by the Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences (TASS; Xizang Shehui Kexueyuan, Bod-ljongs spyi-tshogs tshan-rig-khang) in Lhasa and a group of young Austrian scholars (Universitat Wien), a unique manuscript fell into their hands, a rare windfall and a real trouvaille as it should turn out: the *Shel dkar chos 'byung* or the History of the Shel-dkar Monastery (est. AD 1385), a religious establishment early associated with the Bo-dong tradition, situated in the Western part of the gTsang Province, and one of the key political and cultural strongholds dotting the rugged westernmost Tibetan landscape. Indeed, the textproved to be an informative and rare local source that throws extensive light not only on the history of the once beautiful, now partly ruined Shel-dkar monastery (under rebuilding since the eighties, after falling victim to Chinese cultural revolutionary excesses), but the text also proffers details as to the genealogical and political history of the area of southern La-stod *(la stod Iho)* and the important ruling house of the lHo bdag lords up to AD 1731, a principality only fragmentarily mentioned in other contemporary sources. The work was completed by the author Ngag-dbang skal-ldan rgya-mtsho in the following year, after he had made extensive use of a number of texts, many currently non-extant or lost, such as the historical tract on ethnogenesis called *lHo pa^{r}i rus yig* and the mythographical and orally-based *Legs mdzad bcu gsum.*

The key translators of the beautiful manuscript, the discovery and occurrence of which in academic circles led to a rare incident of wrangling among Tibetological colleagues during the last (1995) LA.TS conference in Graz (Austria), are Hildegard Diemberger and Pa-sangs dBang-^{7}dus of TASS. Although admitting that their immediate aim with this book was a preliminary one, it is to be regretted that the translatiors decided to render this unique text into English only partially by way of paraphrases or summarizations. The amount of research carried out on the text by the translators in this first publication on *Shel dkar chos 'byung* is apparently somewhat limited. For this they should not be blamed. Still it is a pity that the opportunity was not used to offer a complete translation. Fortunately, to the great relief of colleagues and researchers, they have included, in facsimile, the complete manuscript of 118 folios, handsomely written and easy to read (the current richly decorated manuscript is an apograph dating from AD 1929). They have also made an index which lists all the personal names, the geographical locations and the titles which occurr in the book. The quality of the book is finally enhanced by the inclusion of some very beautiful and telling photographs taken during the research trip.

The text itself carries all the marks of the traditional *chos 'byung* genre, assuming even the character of a cento, in other words, a heterogeneous patchwork or compilation of lengthy quotations from his sources mixed with the author's own paraphrases and literary *rechauffee*. The author made extensive use of the sources available to him and he has attempted to redraw a richly faceted local history. The chronicle is divided into three sections as mentioned by the translators. After a brief, but important introduction outlining the genealogy of the ancient clans and ethnogenesis of the southern La-stod rulers and their political acendency during the Sa-skya-Yuan period, the second part is dedicated to a lengthy description of the so-called Thirteen Propitious or rather Successful Feats *(legs mdzad bcu gsum)* of Si-tu Chos kyi rin-chen, the founder of Shel-dkar rdzong and dgon pa, this part displaying some ahistorical or mythological overtones. Finally, the work consists of a very long section which tells the detailed story of the monastery (especially after it was turned into a dGe-lugs-pa stronghold during the paramount reign of the Vth Dalai Lama in the XVIIth century), its traditions and its abbatial *succession,* showing here clear reminiscenses *of* the *rnam thar* and *gdan rabs* type, on which the retelling is based.

All the sections nevertheless offer us fascinating, occasionally even unique reading. As said, the text reads easily and hence does not pose any major problem. The sections translated, accordingly, display only minor flaws, although the translation, in its contracted form, is not always quite faithful to the original. A very few, petty points could be brought to the reader[7] attention: for instance the term *sa dpyad* (pp. 48ff.) refers to the geomantic, divinatory and topographical investigation or probe prior to the erection of a Buddhist sanctuary. On p. 56 read *lung* and *rigs pa,* i.e. *agama* and *yukti,* i.e. scripture and logic. On p. 91 announcing the *lugs gnyis* rulership of the Vth Dalai Lama, by way of the celebrated dictum: its civil law resembles a golden yoke and its religious law a silken knot etc., where we, in lieu of *sgram,* should amend to sgrim [po], "tight" or "squeezing[ly】 firm".

Of particular interest is an essay by Guntram Hazod offered as an Appendix to this beautiful book, in which he provides us with an excellent analysis of some of the central themes in the text as well as addressing some of the compositional, cosmographical and mythological implications to be wrung from the text.

Per K. Sørensen Universitat Leipzig

Blondeau, Anne-Marie and Steinkellner, Ernst (eds.): *Reflections of the Mountains.* Essays on the History and Social Meaning of the Cult in Tibet and the Himalayas. Osterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaf- ten. Veroffentlichungen zur Sozialanthropologie Band 2. Wien 1996. DM 62,–

Studies on sacred mountains, the mountain deities and the cults associated with them, as well as the study of pilgrimage and on the many 'hidden lands' *(sbas yul)* formerly or currently located throughout (mainly along the border area of) Tibet have gained momentum in recent years. Increasing accessibility to areas previously closed to (Western) scholarship, alongside the discovery of new sites and information on their cults, and the burgeoning availability of field data, have virtually paved the way for a flurry of scholarly papers and fieldwork.

Already during the last IATS conference (1995) in Graz an entire panel session was dedicated to the mountain cult issue. Prior to that a round table meeting was convened in 1994 in Paris at Institute d'Extreme-Orient du College du France, thus heralding, it appears, collaboration between Austrian and French anthropologists and tibetologists. The proceedings in the present book present the first outcome of this new collaboration and its promising research.

It is naturally still premature to attempt a systematic survey or to plot out the landscape registering the numerous mountain and telluric deities in Tibet. They are far too many, yet they often remain little known or are moribund. In addition, the problems (requiring both textual experts and anthropological inquiries) involved in this sort of research and the far from uncomplicated question as to their often intricate and recondite practices as well as the interpretation of numinosity add to the fascination and intricacy of these traditions. Since these are still vivid, written expositions and sources must be combined with oral testimonies, often embedded in popular narratives and songs. Being kept mainly alive outside monastic institutions and being closely associated with popular creeds and notions and carrying no insignificant social implications, it is evident how important such beliefs and practices have been playing both in classical and contemporary times, traditions that in a Tibetan context may stretch back into pre-history and Tibetan religious ancestry (i.e. reaching back into pre-Buddhist times). Numerous local and national chronicles dating from the beginning of the current millennium and beyond, that bear witness to the paramount role played by the mountain gods *{yul lha, gzhi bdag* etc.) in mainstream Tibetan religious life, both locally and nationally. A salient and immediate example could be the document *Shel dkar chos 'byung,* reviewed above, where the pre-eminently religious, numinous, mythological, social and even political import of the local deities such as Pho-lha lha-btsan sgang-dmar and bKra-shis 'od-'bar and their cults are delineated. These traditions thus can boast of a considerable age and

continuity.
The book's importance for Tibetan studies cannot be stressed enough. It deals with some of the core beliefs in Tibetan societies. It raises a host of questions pertinent to a broader understanding of these religious and social phenomena. We are offered some uniformly good and readable essays, which attempt to address both theoretical and practical aspects of the cults involved as well as set out to highlight a number of representative samples of regional, terrestial and guardian deities. One of the co-editors Prof. A-M. Blondeau in a brief, but reflective foreword, skilfully recaps the numerous theoretical difficulties that bar a proper understanding of the popular ideologies behind these traditions. She rightly points out that a major obstracle lies within the demesne of language, terminology and classification. Dr. A. Gingrich, from another angle, has attempted in an essay to synthesize and add perspective to its theoretical foundation from the viewpoint of comparative anthropological analysis and in the light of the essays offered. It makes no sense to select and debate minor points here. The quality of the contributions is generally high.
In sum, it is a valuable supplement to the pioneering studies on Tibetan demonology, divination, ancestor and terrestrial cults and on popular belief and worship inaugurated by G. Tucci, R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, R. Stein, A. Macdonald (Spain) and, of late, continued by scholars such as S. Karmay and a host of younger colleagues.
Per K. Sarensen, Universitat Leipzig
Wisdom of Buddha: The Saṃdhinirmocana Mahāyāna Sutra (Essential Questions and Direct Answers for Realizing Enlightenment). Transl. by John Powers. Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 1995. 400 pages.
At long last we now have an English translation of one of the most seminal and important *sutras* of the *vijfianavada* tradition. Previously we only had access to Etienne Lamotte's old French translation from the 1930s, which despite its great merits, is somewhat out-moded, in addition to having been out of print for half a century.
Most importantly, the translation by Powers is smooth and readable, which makes the fairly complicated message of the *sutra* appear less abstruse. The usefulness of this publication is further enhanced by its bi-lingual structure, in which the Tibetan block-print has been placed opposite the English translation on alternating pages.
That we are dealing with much more than a pious translation meant for the mass-consumption of Western Buddhists is borne out by the fact that the translator has provided fairly comprehensive annotation, and extensive bibliography, including both original and secondary works in several languages, as well as a glossary and an index. This makes for a highly useful

and practical translation, hence the present work will be of great use to both laymen and specialists alike. This is also the reason why the book is as voluminous as it is.

There is very little to criticize in *Wisdom of Buddha: The Saṃdhinirmocana Mahaycina Sutra,* but if I were to point out one weakness, I would have prefered a comparative table in which the Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese versions of the text were compared (or at least included). This would have added to the value of the book, and made it useful for a wider range of scholars as well. In addition I would personally have preferred a slightly more scholarly introduction to the translation, however that is a minor issue.

As is usual for the publications of Dharma Publishing the volume is rather too colourful, which makes it look cheap. I find that the publishers ought to have published the book as a hardback edition, since a paperback of this kind is easily soiled and worn. Otherwise Powers' translation is a Wellcome contribution to the field of Buddhist studies, and it is highly recommended.

Henrik H. Sørensen

Japanese Popular Deities in Prints and Paintings: A Catalogue of the Exhibition. Kyoto: Italian School of East Asian Studies and Ecole Franqaise d'Extreme-Orient, 1994.

The study of Japanese popular religion, and in particular that associated with material culture, including images, shrines, paintings, ritual paraphenelia, etc., is a field that is still in its infancy. The present catalogue was made in connection with an exhibition devoted to popular religious paintings and prints held in Kyoto in November of 1994. Publications of this kind are both rare and highly welcome, since they throw light on an area of Japanese religious life that does normally not capture the interest of Western scholarship, and for this reason the present catalogue is a unique contribution, and a valuable guide to the iconography of popular religion in Japan. Although it is not apparent from the catalogue who wrote the text accompanying the plates, I suspect that Robert Duquenne of the Ecole Franqaise d'Extreme-Orient had a strong hand in it. In any case they all belong to his personal collection.

The catalogue contains some thirty-one plates of which three are in full colour. They represent a motley mixture of Shinto, Shinto-Buddhist and Daoist deities, and more orthodox Buddhist images, all with accompanying descriptive text. The historical range of the exhibits extends from the late Edo to the early Showa era. There are several highly interesting plates included here, of which mention should be made of no. 23, a print with *god-hdin* 牛王寶印['precious seals of the king of bulls'】， which unfortunately remains unexplained, and no. 27, showing a large Daoist talismanic print featuring Zhenwu 真舍，the god of the North. Otherwise the selection is valuable for

covering a wide range of more standard iconographical types known to collectors of these prints and paintings. Since it is customary to burn such prints at the beginning of Spring each year, very few have in fact survived, and hence Duquenne's efforts in preserving them for posterity should be commended.

Personally I miss a general introduction to popular Japanese religion, and its iconography in particular. It need not have been very long, but it would have been proper if the organizers had thought more about the spiritual context in which these prints and paintings were produced. There are simply too many self-evident items in the descriptive texts that will elude the average reader. I would like to know more about the function of the talismans that occur among; the exhibits. When taking the quality of many of the plates into account, it is surprising that the editors of the catalogue did not do a better job of it. Many of the plates are poorly reproduced and often fuzzy, which causes them to lose much of their intrinsic value. It is normally not such a good idea to produce photographic plates from uncoloured block prints, and it would have been better if the reproductions had been done as graphics in black and white. This would also bring many of the images closer to the way they were meant to be.

Despite these minor misgivings the catalogue is highly useful for anyone working with the iconography of popular religion in Japan, and it is my hope that it will serve to promote the charm and //magic/ of these popular divinities and stimulate the long overdue research into their iconography and cults.

Henrik H. Sørensen

Stephen F. Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism.* Studies in East Asian Buddhism 9. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994. 340 pages.

The present study is Stephen Teiser's second book, which continues along the lines laid down in his first opus, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China.* In that work the author dealt with the Ullambana ritual and the story of Maud- galyayana rescuing his mother from the torments of the hells, and in his new study he sets out to explore the development that resulted in the creation of a netherworld presided over by ten infernal kings, each of whom occupied a seprate office for the punishment of sinners.

The Scripture on the Ten Kings on which this study focuses is known in Chinese as the *Foshuo Yanle wang shouji jing* and it

belongs to the category of apocryphal Buddhist scriptures, i.e. pious works that were produced in China from the perspective of popular religious practice

and belief.[1] In his study Teiser bases himself on a substantial number of manuscripts of the scripture from the Maogao Caves in Dunhuang. The existence of this *pseudo-sutra,* and its related versions, has been known by concerned scholars for many years, however, it is only now—through the present study—that its contents and importance has become the subject of a thorough research, and thereby made available to a wider audience.

The book is divided into three parts, as follows:

Introduction: Here the author discusses the ideas behind purgatory, related practices, and the history of purgatory. This is all seen in the context of Chinese medieval religious practice.

Part One: Traces of the Ten Kings: //Memoriar/ rites. This opening section discusses the holding of memorial rituals by the relatives of a deceased person from the point of view of the Chinese cultural sphere but with special reference to medieval Chinese Buddhist beliefs. Much attention is given to the holding of the so-called "seven-seven ritual" Wqi. hwi•七七會)， and in this context Teiser also treats the issue of "transferring merit·/ *(huixiang* MfR]), although not in as direct a manner as one could have hoped.

"Artistic Representations' Here the author discusses the various painted representations that exist on the *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* with special emphasis on the illustrated manuscripts found at Dunhuang, and the few illustrated fragments recovered from the ruined cities and cave sanctuaries of Turfan. In passing Teiser mentions that "illustrations" in the form of sculptures of the Ten Kings also exist, but unfortunately he refrains from going into further discussion of this important point. Otherwise great attention is given to the connection between the artistic representations and various legends and anecdotes.

"Other Manifestations" • In this section Teiser discusses the appearance of the Ten Kings in Buddhist essays, encyclopedias, sermons, and rituals, as well as in Daoist liturgy. One significant source refers to the existence of the group as early as the middle of the seventh century. A lengthy part of the section is devoted to the importance of the monthly fast-days in popular Chinese Buddhism, in part of which King Yama and the bureaucrats of netherworld also figure. Teiser also investigates the role of the Ten Kings in the Uighur and Japanese scriptures of the nine to tenth centuries. Again the author's penchant for literary connections comes to the fore.

"Origin Legends" • This section deals with the making of the Ten Kings, and here the author traces the development of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings,* and produces conclusive evidence that it first arose during the second half of the Tang dynasty, or more precisely around the middle of the eigth century, however he also provides evidence that as early as the middle of the seventh *

^ Previously this text has been known under the title, *Foshuo Yexiu Shiwang shengqi jing* 佛説預修十王生七經.Cf. Zofcwz 欲(new edition) 1.21, pp. 408a–10b.

century, the Ten Kings existed as a group (cf. pp. 48f).
Part Two: Production of the Scripture. The first two parts dealing with the making of scrolls and booklets, provide detailed information. However, there is nothing that has not been said before by scholars such as Fujieda Akira, Jean- Pierre Drege *el. al.* Following this somewhat superfluos opening the book becomes extremely interesting. In six separate cases he presents the cultural and religious context in which the lore of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* was practised. Teiser eloquently works his way through a number of primary sources from Dunhuang to paint a vivid and highly detailed picture of popular religion in Shazhou during the tenth century. Although his accounts evolve around *The Scripture on the Ten Kings,* he succeeds in providing what amounts to a general holistic image of popular religious belief in late medieval China. Clearly this part of the book is the most engaging and enlightening.
Part Three: Text. In this rather brief chapter, Teiser discusses the language and genre of the scripture, as well as the general image of the infernal bureaucracy it paints. This is followed by a pictorial section in which reproduces one of the illustrated manuscripts, and a heavily annotated translation.
Finally the book is concluded by several appendixes including,
The Ten Kings of Purgatory;
Invitations to Memorial Rites and Related Memoranda;
Taoist Memorial Rites;
Illustrations to The Scripture on the Ten Kings;
Paintings of Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings;
Taoist Lay Feasts;
Buddhist Lay Feasts;
Uighur Fragments of The Scripture on the Ten Kings;
The Thirteen Buddhas;
Manuscript Copies of The Scripture on the Ten Kings;
A Chronology of the Life of Chai Feng-ta;
Texts Copied by a Man in His Eighties;
Texts and Inscriptions Mentioning Tao-chen;
The Bodhisattvas in The Scripture on the Ten Kings.
The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism is a veritable *tour de force* in the field of Chinese religion, and it succeeds in placing the cult of the Ten Kings of purgatory centrally within this tradition. Teiser is a serious scholar who goes to great lengths to provide solid textual evidence for his ideas and findings, and is moreover able to render this in an engaging and interesting manner.
One of the great merits about the present book is that its author admirably succeeds in bridging the gap between philology and the sociology of religious practice in an intelligent and engaging fashion. In a way it can be said that he makes the period under discussion and its people come back to life. Especially

the sections on the Buddhist practitioners in Dunhuang and their relationship with *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* are illuminating and interesting for their minute details and abundant information. The success of these sections hinges partly on Teiser's ground-breaking study of what amounts to a massive number of Dunhuang manuscripts, for which he should rightly be admired. The extent of his efforts can be readily gauged by looking at the contents of the extensive and comprehensive appendixes.

Teiser should also be lauded for trying to address such important issues as iconography and religious art, and in the process showing that there was in fact an organic connection between belief, practice and material culture in the form of painted and sculpted images and illuminated manuscripts in medieval Chinese religion. In this manner he succeeds in "painting" a more holistic picture of the time and space he treats.

In the beginning of the study the author makes a very useful argument for the use of religious art in furthering one's understanding of various aspects of Buddhist practice (p. 20). For too long the field of religious studies—at least as far as Chinese Buddhism is concerned—has ignored the importance of the study of material culture when dealing with such phenomena as practice and belief. Hence Teisei^s observation in this regard is highly Wellcome. However,

I would be cautious in using the term "art" when dealing with cult objects such as votive paintings and illustrated manuscripts (p. 42).

Having said this, I also feel to that it is necessary to deal with the mistakes and weaknesses of Teiser's work. First of all I would like to point out what I see as a basic problem of method within the present study. When dealing with such an extensive and important theme as purgatory and the netherworld in the context of medieval Chinese society, it is problematic to divorce and isolate one's arguments from the historical development of the netherworld as a whole in the manner Teiser has done. Here I refer to the fact that he has ignored or treated superficially much of the relevant primary literature, including several canonical *sutras*, and chosen to focus on a limited aspect ie. one apocryphal scripture, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings.* In the light of the sheer mass of sources I understand very well the insurmountable task of addressing the entire corpus of the relevant literature on purgatory in China in a concise and meaningful manner, as even that relating to Buddhism is by itself enormous. However, by deliberately organizing one's discourse on the basis of what amounts to a single scripture, and thereby ignoring the vast related material available, is not appropriate (pp. 11–15). As it were, the making of purgotary in medieval Chinese Buddhism began much earlier than the period Teiser treats, in fact by several hundred years (as I am quite sure he acknowledges), and his study would have been much more useful had he dealt with the earlier phase of the development as well. It also seems self- evident that *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* developed from a variety of sources, and it would have been useful if the author had been more interested in tracing this development that he has done. This might also have helped him

overcome some of the iconographical problems he runs into in the course of the book. In essence the same criticism can also be applied on his first book, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China,* in which he based his arguments on a limited number of primary sources, and to a considerable extent ignored the larger picture (I am here mainly referring to his rather //light-/ discussion of the tradition on the feeding of the hungry ghosts, i.e. the *-pretas,* including the extensive material relating to the *shuilu* 7K^ ritual, which he virtually ignores).

Somehow, the bodhisattva Ksitigarbha has faded from the context of the Ten Kings as treated by Teiser, although he does appear from time to time. While this is partly the result of focusing on the *The Scripture on the Ten Kings,* I am not sure that this reflects the actual cult of the Ten Kings, in which Ksitigarbha plays a most prominent role. When looking at the extant sculptural groups depicting the scenario of the netherworld with the Ten Kings, Ksitigarbha is always included (just as he is in the relevant banner-paintings from Dunhuang).

Although the author does deal with the concept of the relatives of the deceased making offerings on their behalf so as to improve their karma, he does not deal with this important issue in a methodical manner. The practice of transferrence of merit *{huixiang* is central to most Buddhist funeral

rites in medieval and pre-modern China, and I for one would have liked to see it dealt with more specifically in the context of the ten kings.

Among the leading primary sources on the cult of purgatory I miss the important apocryphal scripture, the *Da fanguang huayan shie pin jing* 華嚴十惡品經（Chapter cm the Ten Evils Section of the Avatar^isaka SCLtra).2 It is not known when this apocryphal scripture was written, but as it is first mentioned in the •歷代三寶記（Record of the History of the

Three Jewels) from AD 597, it is likely to date at least as far back as from the second half of the sixth century if not earlier. Among the Southern Song sculptures at Mt. Baoding in Dazu we find a tableaux with the Ten Kings flanking Ksitigarbha above an extensive senario of purgatory, and with the accompanying text of the *Da fanguang huayan shie pin jing* being inscribed on stone tablets placed in the cliff.[2 3] This indicates that at a certain time the cult of the Ten Kings and this apocryphal scripture were merged. I believe that Teiser ought to have looked into this connection, since it might have some consequence on his late Tang dating for the making of purgatory in connection with the Ten Kings.

It is also surprising not to find Michihata Yoshihide's important article,

2 Cf. *T.* 2875.85.

3 The correct identification of this scripture and the sculptural group no. 20 at Dafowan was made by Hu Wenhe in his, ^Sichuan moyai caoxiang zhong de *Da fangguang huayan shie pin jing biart* [The Avatarhsaka Ten Evils Section Sutra-tableaux in the Cliff-carvings of Sichuan]-/ *Dunhuang Yanjiu 2* (1990), pp. 16–25.

'Tonko bunkan ni mieru shigo no sekai [The Dunhuang Litterature and Its Vision of the World of the After-life]", in Teiser's bibliography, especially since much of the information he presents can also be found there.4 Likewise I miss the important works of Luo Huaqing 羅華慶 and Hu Wenhe, both of whom provide important new information on the representations of the Ten Kings and the netherworld.5 Although these omissions are relatively minor problems, I believe that if Teiser had consulted these sources, he could have improved on some of the weaknesses of his study. The fact that Teiser has chosen not to deal with the sculptural representations of the Ten Kings weakens his presentation, and that is a shame. Had he chosen to deal with the sculptural aspects of the Ten Kings, it would have substantiated his arguments considerably, and moreover have provided a better understanding of the ritual aspects relating to their worship.[4] [5] [6]

In addition to these points, the book does contain a godly number of minor mistakes. On page 23 Teiser wonders who took care of the rites dedicated to the ten kings on behalf of monks, and insists that this is not known due to a lack of sources. It may be that direct sources on worship of the ten kings in relation to funerary practices for deceased monks cannot be found, but it is well documented that the *sangha* held the rites—both primary and secondary memorial services—for it own members.

In footnote 19 on page 27, and later on pp. 43-8, the author argues that the important scripture on Ksitigarbha, the *Dizang pusa betiyuan jing* 地藏菩薩本願經（T. 412.13) was written as late as c. AD 936~43. This seems overly illogical to me, since one should then expect the ten kings to appear therein, which they do not do. It is true, as Taiser writes, that there is no trace of the scripture in the Tang catalogues, however, that in itself is not sufficient proof that it was not available at that time. In addition, the various internal pieces of evidence provided are not really convincing. Unless sound evidence is produced to support the Five Dynasties date, I should like to keep the early Tang dating.

On page 13 the author (an oversight I presume) places Mt. Jiuhua, the holy mountain-abode of Ksitigarbha, in Sichuan province. It should of course be located in Anhui unless some miracle has occurred.

4 Cf. *Totiko to Chugoku bukkyd* [Dunhuang and Chinese Buddhism], ed. Maklta Tairyo and Fukui Fumimasa, *Koza Tonko* 7, Tokyo, 1984, pp. 501–36.

5 Cf. Luo Huaqing, "Dunhuang Dizang tuxiang he 'Dizang Shiwang Ting' yanjiu (A Study of Ksitigarbha Pictures and 'Ksitigarbha and the Court of the Ten Kings')", *Dunhuang Yanjiu 2* (1993), pp. 5–14; and the previously mentioned article by Hu Wenhe.

6 For an interesting pair of Five Dynasties image-steles from the caves at Mt. Dali 大力山，see *Shifo xuancui* [Eng. subtitle: Essence of Buddhistic Statues), ed. Li Qingjie, Beijing: Zhongguo shijie yu chuban she, 1995, pi. 54. See also the wall-painting in cave no. 390 in Dunhuang, which dates from the Five Dynasties period. Cf. *Zhongguo bihua quanji.* Dunhuang Vol. 9: *Wudai-Song* [The Five Dynasties and Song], ed. Zhongguo bihua quanji bianji weiyuanhui. Shenyang: Liaoning meishu chubanshe, 1990, pi. 107.

On pages 43-4 the author refers to the existence of ʸTi-tsang *mandalas"* and *"mandala-\ike* pictures"/ when he is in fact referring to the votive paintings from Dunhuang. The same confusion results when he insists that, "Such representations used the principle of hierarchy and other rules of artistic grammar common to Chinese Buddhist *mandalas"* (p. 77). There is not a single *mandala* among these banner-paintings depicting Ksitigarbha and the ten kings (unless some new material I do not know has been found). It is a wide-spread mistake to refer to Buddhist paintings with many figures as *"mandalas". Mandalas* can normally only be found within the context of esoteric Buddhism (or Hindu tantrism), where they form part of a highly elaborate ritual type of practice. With the exception of Japanese Shingon Buddhism, there are no extant *mandalas* from China featuring Ksitigarbha as their main deity, and certainly none that also the ten kings. Since the Ksitigarbha cult in medieval China was not an esoteric tradition as such, the use of the term *"mandala"* in reference to votive paintings depicting Ksitigarbha and the ten kings is incorrect.

On page 54 Teiser insists that the ten lay feasts have their beginnings in the tenth century, but this is much too late. There is evidence that show that they were already practised during the late Nanbeizhao, and that they were closely related to the Four Heavenly Kings.[7]

On page 5 those who attain rebirth in the heavens are described as "for- tunate/,. This is of course nonsense, since everything in Buddhism is determined according to causation, or at least within the framework of *karma.*

On page 12 Teiser refers to the demon holding the Wheel of Rebirth according to the Tibetan tradition as //Mara"/. I do not know from which source this identification comes, but it is in any case wrong. The demon in question is the personification of impermanence, which indicates that everything within the wheel is subject to birth and death.

On page 31 the author, in reference to surviving banner-paintings depicting Ksitigarbha and the ten kings, find that although undated "their execution can reasonably be assigned to the tenth century"'. I have to admit that I am quite unable to follow the reasoning behind this argument. In order for this view to be consistent, Teiser should produce solid stylistic, iconographical sand historical evidence. Why is it that some of these paintings could not have been made during the ninth century? Could it be that the author considers the painter Zhang Tu (fl. 907–22) one of the first actually to paint this motif (p. 37)? Teiser is basing himself on surviving paintings found in Dunhuang, however, despite the fact that the findings from this area are extremely precious, there is also a great chance of over-estimating the information they provide precisely

[7] Cf. Henrik H. Serensen, ʸ,Divine Scrutiny of Human Morals in an Early Chinese Buddhist Sutra: A Study of the *Si tiamvang jing* (T. 590)"/ *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions* 8 (1995), pp. 44–83.

because it is all we have. Shazhou (Dunhuang) was located at the remote western end of the Chinese empire in those days, and was essentially in a border-area far from the central provinces. This means that traditions that flourished there only partially reflect those that existed closer to the center. Here I should also add that there exist two tableaux in stone among the carvings at the sculptural site of Yuanjuedong 圓覺洞 in Anyue 安岳,Sichuan province, dating from the Five Dynasties period. It is just not likely that a monument in stone was made so soon after the actual creation of the icono- graphical theme was first introduced.

Although I pointed to a number of issues in the foregoing with which I am dissatisfied, it is certainly not meant to indicate that Teiser's study is not a serious one. As I have already said, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* is a well written and solid scholarly contribution, and the points of criticism I have raised, should mainly be seen as additional perspectives that he could have addressed within the context of his discussion. As such his study has opened up yet another important aspect of Chinese religious life for us. It rightly deserves a wide readership, and I do not doubt that it is destined to become a classic in the field (although it may be a bit too specialized for coursework). All in all it can be warmly recommended.

Henrik H. Sørensen

Charles Holcombe, In the Shadow of the Han: Literati Thought and *Society at the Beginning of the Southern Dynasties.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994. 239 pages.

When compared to nearly all the other periods in Chinese history the study of the Nanbeizhao, or the Southern and Northern Dynasties, is still relatively underdeveloped. There are many reasons for that, but perhaps a major cause is the recent trend to focus on pre-modern and modern issues within the field. With this new book, *In the Shadow of the Han: Literati Thought and Society at the Beginning of the Southern Dynasties,* Charles Holcombe sets out to remedy this situation. Since the Nanbeizhao period is one of the most crucial and interesting periods in the history of China, where many of the central aspects of early medieval Chinese society were formulated, or re-formulated, and institutionalized, it is always good news when a new study devoted to this period appears. In addition to the usual bibliography and indexes, the book consists of the following chapters:

2. *Introduction: Reimagining China.* This introductory chapter is mainly devoted to the major issues on method in regard to the study of the period in question, including an attempt at accounting for the state of the art of research in the field. Here the author also takes previous approaches to the study of society in the Nanbeizhao to task, including the simplistic reductionism epoused by Chinese Marxists, and a critique of the Japanese "local community[7]' discourse.

Refugee State: A Brief Chronicle of the Eastern Chin. In this brief chapter Holcombe explores the historical dimensions of the Eastern Jin empire.
The Socioeconomic Order. This chapter deals with the way the society of Eastern Jin was organized with special emphasis on the literati. Holcombe also shows that a salient feature of the literati class was their relative independence from imperial authority, indeed an important point when seeking to understand its role in society.
The Institutional Machinery of Literati Ascendance. In this short chapter the author discusses the structures of government and the rise of the literati in this hierachy.
Literati Culture. This chapter is divided into two parts, one dealing with the xwanxwe (玄學), or "abstruse learning" movement (here mainly treated as a materialist and rational philosophy!), and one part which discusses Buddho- Daoism on the basis of the thought of Zhidun (314–66), a leading Buddhist literate and hermit.
"True Man": The Power of A Cultural Ideal. Here Holcombe devotes himself to a lengthy discussion of the 'hermit' ideal and how it became an accepted mode of behaviour for the educated elite.
Epilogue: Imperial Resforahon. This final chapter discusses the developments that took place within the literati class in the period following the collapse of Eastern Jin. Here the author is primarily concerned with showing that many of the privileges and traditions that were developed by the literati continued to a considerable degree in defining the cultural and social parameters governing the behaviour and influence of the educated elite in Chinese society.
Holcombe's book is a well written and serious study of a period and area in Chinese history that still needs much more attention from the scholarly community. He shows a masterly grasp of both the primary and secondary sources, including much of the recent Japanese scholarship in the field. In particularly the first four chapters read very well and the reader is provided a pristine insight into the workings of Eastern Jin society, although I must admit that I was becoming impatient waiting for the actual discussion of literati thought, which really only appears in the final two chapters of the book. Nevertheless, the book succeeds well in describing the role of the literati in Eastern Jin society, and in accounting for the special situation that governed the lives of the educated class. In the same vein the author's solid grasp of the history of the Three Kingdoms and the early Nanbeizhao makes his discussion of the post-Han developments especially worth reading.
On the negative side I feel that the title of the book promises much more than it actually holds (publicer's policy?). First of all Holcombe does not devote much space to his discussion of "literati thought" as such, although the reader is led to believe so. In fact the main chapter of the book, "Literati Culture", is much too skimpy and sketchy to do the subject much justice. The treatment of *xuanxue*, probably one of the most important intellectual features

of Eastern Jin culture, is mainly dealt with as a philosophical issue, and the phenomena refered to as "Neo-Taoism”（basically a misnomer, since in my opinion it had very little to do with real Daoism), is considered a paradox. I am also unable to follow Holcombe when he insists that *"Hsiian-hsiieh* philosophy took a more materialist, skeptical, path ..." (p. 104), or when he says that the later "Neo-Taoists〃 have a "rational, materialistic outlook" (p. 88). Probably my failure to come to terms with Holcombe's views is that he tends to reduce the *xuanxue* movement to a question of materialist and rational philosophy, and ignores that it was primarily a spiritual development in which the Lao-Zhuang philosophy was blended with Han Confucian meta-physics and a considerable input of early Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhist belief. To see it as rationalistic and materialistic is really to stress the information provided by the primary evidence beyond the point of acceptance. Somehow the author seems aware of this himself, since he elsewhere mentions that ^*hsiian-hsiieh* denies the efficacy of logic anyway[77] (p. 123). I also find it problematic to include Ge Hong (283–343), the author of the celebrated *Baobu zi,* in the context of *xuanxue* without accounting for his central position in main-stream Daoism of that period. Ge Hong was essentially a Daoist practitioner in the religious sense, not just a thinker or philosopher. Hence to quote him as part of a *xuanxue* argument, or on *a par* with a thinker such as Wang Bi (226–49) is really to confuse the issue. Ge Hong was in an entirely different league altogether. This of course leads directly to the problem of accounting for whether the intellectual movement referred to as "Neo- Taoism” really has anything to do with Daoism or not, and if so, in what way?

The section on Buddhism in the same chapter suffers from some of the same problems as that on *xuanxue.* I also find that to insist that the Eastern Jin Buddhists considered 彡 to be "real”（whatever that means) as opposed to the unreal phenomenal world, is not only caused by a failure to understand the basic tenets of the *prajfiaparamita,* but also by failing to understand how its teachings were understood by the Chinese Buddhists of the fourth century (p. 110). Perhaps one can not blame Holcombe for this lapse since it is quite a task to master the finer aspects of Buddhist thought from the period under discussion, but one could at least expect him to have consulted Tsukamoto's monunental study, *A History of Early Chinese Buddhism* (as translated by Leon Hurvitz in 1985 for Kodansha, 2 vols.), which discusses the connection between *xuanxue* and *prajnaparamita* exhaustingly. Lastly I should mention that it is problematic to let Zhidun and his writings stand as the sole representative of Buddhism (or Buddho-Daoism) in Eastern Jin.

Personally I think that Holcombe ought to have devoted more space and attention to the *xuanxue* movement and its interface with Buddhism, and reduced his stress on institutional and political issues. This would have made his study more balanced, and more interesting from the point of view of intellectual history. Nevertheless, *In the Shadow of the Han* is a serious and highly useful study that bespeaks the great potential of its author. For students

of the Nanbeizhao period it should not be missed, and it rightly deserves a large readership.
Henrik H. Serensen

Beata Grant, Mount Lu Revisited: Buddhism in the Life and Writings of *Su Shih*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994. 249 pages.

Interest in Song Buddhism is gradually beginning to make an inroad into academic circles working on Chinese Buddhism, a process which is now slowly changing the previous focus that Tang Buddhism has enjoyed for so long. The study of Buddhism under the Song offers a virtual feast of untouched primary material on the integration of Buddhist beliefs and practices with Chinese society during a period that has been characterized by many as the peak of Chinese culture. There have been numerous studies on Su Shi (1037–1101) or Su Dongpo, but despite their various qualities, few of them have noted the impact of Buddhist thinking on his literary output, and those that have done so, have barely devoted more than a line or two to the subject. As a long over-due study of an important aspect of Su Songpo's writing, the present book is a most welcome insight into the Buddhist sentiments of this celebrated poet of the Northern Song. Beata Grant's study consists of the following chapters: [1]

1. "Prologue". Here the author introduces the subject of her study and discusses the sources she uses.

"Buddhism in Eleventh-Century China". This chapter consists of a description of Buddhism under the Northern Song. This is not done as an analysis of it role within Song culture, but mainly by listing the various schools and sects that flourished during Su Shi's life, and with whose followers he had occasional dealings.

"Of Arhats and Altruistic Monks". Here the author discusses Su Dong- po's childhood and early political career, as well as his meeting with and attitude to Buddhism as a young man.

"In Buddha Country"• Here Su Shi's stay in Hangzhou, one of the great Buddhist centres south of the Yangzi, is dealt with. The author argues that it was at his official post in Hangzhou that a more serious interest in Buddhism developed. His knowledge of local Buddhist stories and localities is discussed at great length, as well as his acquaintances with monks belonging to the Chan and Tiantai schools.

[M]In a Wilderness of Mulberry and Hemp[/]. Beginning with Su Shi's reassignment to a post in Shandong in AD 1074, this chapter treats the poet's more involved study of the Buddhist scriptures, an interest which reflects heavily on his writings from this period. Many of the poems discussed here abound with references and allusions to the Buddhist canonical writings. The

Chinese apocryphal scripture, the so-called *Suramgama sutra* is referred to numerous times.
"An Ant on a Millstone" _ This chapter begins with Su Shi's exile in Huangzhou around AD 1080. During this exile Su Shi experienced a personal crisis, which is felt in his poems and letters. Again we find many allusions as well as direct and indirect references to the Buddhist scriptures including the important *Avatamsaka sutra.*
"A Thousand Kalpas in the Palm of His Hand". In this chapter the mature Su Shi and his Buddhist poetry are discussed. Here we also see a substantial influence of themes and concepts from his growing pre-occupation with the Daoist cult of immortality.
"Like a Withered Tree". This chapter deals with the last years of the poet's life, including his banishment to Hainan, but otherwise contains a handful of his best 'Buddhist' poems.
"Epilogue". Here the author makes a summary of the previous chapters. This is followed by the usual bibliography, glossary, and index.
It is obvious that it is classical Chinese literature and poetry in particular that interests the author, and it is also the chapters that are devoted to literary discussions and analysis that are the most captivating. The book offers interesting reading and is moreover well structured. I find particularly refreshing and useful the way the author mixes her discourse and historical progression of Shu Shi's life with samples of his poetry. This provides for engaged and enlightening reading.
Grant shows a good grasp of the Buddhist allusions and referrences which occur in Su's poetry, and her comments are generally lucid and to the point. I am not always sure that I agree with the way she interprets some of these, but that is not important for the over-all understanding of Sh Shi's Buddhist heart. I must admit that I think she credits the apocryphal *Suramgama sutra* with too much importance, and I wonder how much its message actually affected his thinking (esp. pp. 87-91).
The author has a good eye for references to objects of art that occur in Su Shi's writings, i.e. mainly Buddhist paintings, and she has many useful observations on individual paintings, iconography and artists (artisans). This amounts to a significant contribution to our understanding of the widespread practice involving Buddhist paintings in the period under discussion.
Another good point is the general poetic ambience of the study, which refreshingly succeeds in capturing the 'spirit' of Su Dongpo. The author should also be commended for not having overlooked the *Dongpo Chanxi ji* [Collection of Dongpo's Joy in Chan], an important Ming compilation by Xu Changru from AD 1590.
On the negative side I feel that the book to some extent suffers from the usual shortcomings that afflict studies on Buddhism written by someone outside the field. This is especially apparent in the introductory parts and

passages, where I sense a general lack of overview of the period in question including its society and general culture. Because of its unnecessary focus on sectarian issues, Grants survey of Buddhism under the Northern Song ends up being rather superficial. Especially since Su Dongpo was not really involved in or otherwise commited to sectarianism. This means that there is a general lack of insight into the more general and overall features that characterized Chinese Buddhism at that time (pp. 12–37). While reading through this section one gains the impression that the author is groping for relevant source material on which to base her claims. If this is the case it is absurd, since extant, primary material on Buddhism written during the Song is probably more abundant than that of any other period in Chinese history. This also includes the enormous out-put by other members of the Song literati class, who either flirted with Buddhism or who considered themselves to be devotees of that religion. In my view Grant's study—because it has many qualities—deserves an introductory chapter dealing exclusively with the literati-Buddhist issue during the Song from both a literary and a historical perspective. This would have placed her treatment of Su Dongpo within a much more accessible and logical context. Instead she provides a (very) general sectarian survey of Chinese Buddhism during the time under discussion, and "grafts"—so to speak—the character of Su Dongpo onto that to produce a strangely lop-sided construction. Here, the author's habit of quoting from or referring to secondary Western sources, is in my view overdone, and one cannot help gaining the impression that she is somewhat uncertain of her own understanding. It is of course a good thing to acknowledge from whom one gains one's ideas, but one should not rely indiscriminately on the opinions of others, as Grant sometimes does in her study.

What I also miss is a proper discussion of the influence of Chan Buddhist doctrine on the thought and writing on Su Shi. Although the author does refer to such an influence this is done mainly in passing (pp. 40–3, etc.), and in the light of the sources I should tend to think that this amounts to a serious oversight. This is a shame since she mentions and elaborates on the poet's historical affiliation with Chan on a number of occasions. Why not discuss in greater detail how Chan Buddhism affected his writing and thought?

Su Dongpo also wrote a number of memorial inscriptions for monks, some of which reveal interesting sides of his Buddhist involvement. Why have they not been dealt with here?

Despite my reservations and occasiconal misgivings, *Mount Lu Revisited* is a useful study of an important aspect of Su Dongpo's literary and philosophical sides with special reference to Buddhism. As such it deserves our attention and should not be missed by those interested in Song dynasty culture including literature and religion. However, I do wish that the author had devoted more attention to placing Su Shi more fully within the integrated literati-Buddhist context in which he lived and worked.

Henrik H. Serensen

Ruth W. Dunnell, The Great State of White and High: Buddhism and State Formation in Eleventh-Century Xia. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996. 278 pages. $ 49.00

In recent years the study of the peoples and cultures which have lived (and still live) in the border regions of the greater Chinese empire have begun to draw increasing attention of the scholarly community. However, some of these cultures, including the Tangut and their state of Xixia (1038–1227), have been largely beyond the grasp of people with a sinological background for the very reason that the majority of the extant written sources relating to these people were written in a script that was extremely hard for most to read. With the exception of a motly crew of older scholars—mostly made up of Russians, Japanese and a single New Zealander, Tangut studies have remained a virtual backwater for several decades. During the 1980s a new generation of Chinese scholars from the PRC emerged, and with the recent spate of archaeological findings relating to Tangut culture and religion in particular, it appears as if the field is finally ready to "take-off" • In any case Tangut studies, and in particular that part which relate to Buddhism, has now become accessible to a wider range of scholars.

Belonging to the younger generation of scholars who have been captivated by the Tanguts and their history, Ruth W. Dunnell is one of the few Western experts in that field outside of Russia, and her previous studies—mostly articles_have dealt with a number of aspects pertaining to the status of Buddhism among the Tanguts, and in particular its role as part of the legitimation of the rulers. Not only must Dunnell's book be seen as a most Wellcome contribution to Tangut studies world-wide, but it is also the first time in many years that a fine study such as this is being published in a Western language other than Russian.

The present study, Dunnell's first book, is devoted to an investigation of the role of Buddhism in the developoment of a Tangut state ideology during the first century of the existence of the Xixia empire. The work is divided into two parts and includes in addition to the usual appendixes and indexes:

Parti.

"Introduction"

"Buddhism and Monarchy in the Early Tangut State"

"Buddhism under the Regences (1049–1099)"

Part 2.

"A History of the Dayun (Huguo) Temple at Liangzhou"

"Annotated Translation of the 1094 Stele Inscriptions”

"Reading between the Lines: A Comparison and Analysis of the Tangut and Han Texts”

"Conclusion."

The author devotes a major part of the book to a discussion and careful study of the pair of stele-inscriptions, one in Tangut, the other in Chinese, which were set up—one on either side of the stele—in the Huguo Temple in connection with the repair of the Gangtong Stupa in AD 1094. She has previously worked with this material on a number of occasions,[1] and has clearly much knowledge on the subject.

The most fascinating and informative chapter in the book is that on the political role of Buddhism under the Regences (1049–99). This chapter is packed with details on the relationship between statecraft and religion during the late early phase of state formation of the Xixia, and the author provides for a thorough and authoritative historical discourse on this important period. As is evident from the list of contents Dunnell has limited her discussion to the early history of the Xixia state, and moreover remains focused on two sources only. Her annotation is copious and contains an abundance of useful and relevant information. In short, a highly qualified study that promises more of the same standard to follow.

Were I to point out any weaknesses with Dunnell's study it has more to do with its scope and limited used of the primary sources than with actual errors. There can be no arguing that the Huguo Temple inscriptions are important, and hence one can hardly blame the author for placing so much emphasis on them for the development of her argument, however, I am somewhat reluctant to credit them with the same degree of importance as does the author. I feel that Dunnell is placing too much importance on these sources — perhaps to the exclusion of other equally important ones—and in this way is allowing the inscriptions in question to set out the course for her argument rather than *vice versa.* This is a shame since it makes the study slightly imbalanced, and may cause us to lose sight of important contexts that other material might have revealed.

Another point with which I feel some misgivings concerns the way the author treats Tangut Buddhism. It is obvious from both the title as well as from the written material with which Dunnell works, that religion and Buddhism in particular play overshadowing roles. This is of course fully in line with the extant cultural material, including scriptures, sculptural images, architecture, cave sanctuaries, paintings etc., we have from the Tanguts, the large majority of which comes from a Buddhist context. For this reason I fail to understand why she has chosen to ignore the significance of this abundant material, much of which falls under the eleventh century, and instead concentrates on the more trivial information as contained in the remains of the

[1] Cf. Ruth Dunnell, 'The 1094 Gantong Stupa Stele Inscription of Wuwei: Introduction, Translation of Chinese Text, and Source Study", in Festschrift for Tatsuo Nishida on the Occassion of his 60th Birthday, ed. Akihiro Sato. Kyoto: Shokado, 1988, pp. 187–215; and ^Construction of Tangut Identioty in the 1094 Wuwei Stele Inscription"/ *Central and Inner Asian Studies* 7 (19920, pp. 61–114.

Tangut Tripitaka, and in the *Tangut Law* Corf^which was translated by E. I. Kychanov many years ago. One would at least have expected that Dunnell had attempted to account for the type, or rather types, of Buddhism that were current among the Tanguts in the period under discussion, but for some reason that has been more or less left out. This is surprising and hard to understand, since there is a an easy-to-use and quite useful Chinese publication available, namely Shi Jinbo's 史金波 XfjnVz /〇yffl〇 sW/we 西夏佛 教史略[A Brief History of Xixia Buddhism】,2 in which one may find much of the relevant information (it can actually be found in Dunnell's bibliography). The only attempt at defining Xixia Buddhism is done when the author refers to "Tantric Buddhism"; however, such a designation is too broad to be really meaningful if not accounted for in detail, i.e. contexualized. In any case Dunnell fails to distinguish between Chinese esoteric practices on the one hand, and Tibetan tantrism on the other, both of which were prevalent and important expressions of Buddhism in the Xixia state.

Related to this problem is that regarding the influence of Tibetan lamaism on Tangut culture. Although the period dealt with in Dunnell's study mainly covers the phase during which influence from Chinese (and Khitan) culture was at its peak, it would still have been interesting to know about the role played by the Tibetan Buddhists in Xixia at that time. Especially so since distinct traces from Tibetan tantrism can be found in the Tangut caves at Mogao and Yulin Kou in Anxi. However, in defence of the author, it should be noted that her focus is mainly historical rather than on the history of religion, hence one should perhaps not expect too detailed an analysis of distinct religious issues.

The Great State of White and High: Buddhism and State Formation in Eleventh-Century X/arepresents a pioneering study, in effect the first of its kind, and it therefore has both the advantages and the shortcomings that one would expect from such a work. When seen in relation to the overall achievement that Dunnell has accomplished with this book, the points of criticism raised above, are not really significant, but may be taken as indicaters of the need of further research. Having read it one can only admire the author for her determined effort in "excavating" as it were, the historical and cultural facts surrounding the political role Buddhism played in the formation of the Xixia state. There can be no arguing that this study is a major contribution to our understanding of the rise of the Tangut as a cultural and political unity, and it is destined to remain indispensible to any future studies on the role of Buddhism among the Tanguts, as well as the history of the Xixia state.

Henrik H. Sørensen

[2] Published by Ningxia renmin chubanshe in Yinchuan in 1988.

Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism 850–1850. *Ed.* Marsha Weidner. Honolulu: Spencer Museum of Art - The University of Kansas - University of Hawaii Press, 1994. 481 pages, 32 colour plates.

The study of Chinese Buddhist art has hitherto mainly been devoted to the pre-Song period, with the unfortunate result that a vast number of precious religious objects have been forgotten or simply ignored. The reason for this development should be seen in the previous history of the study of Chinese Buddhist art, which has either focused on pre-Tang and Tang sculpture, or on the wall-paintings, and banner-paintings from Dunhuang. Only recently has interest in the rich Buddhist sculptural art from the Ming begun to arouse interest, gradually followed by votive paintings and portraits. Still the sculptural art of the Song, Xixia, Liao and Jin dynasties need to be re-evaluated, and subjected to new, serious research.

The present volume, which is devoted to the Buddhist works of art that belong to this later period, is actually an exhibition catalogue—something which is hard to believe at first glance—since it with its monumental size amounts to a veritable telephone book. Despite its title, *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism 850-1850,* the book only deals with paintings, and one can hope that those who initiated this exhibition are planning a follow-up focusing on sculpture.

In addition to the standard foreword, preface, etc. *Latter Days of the Law* contains the following chapters:

"Introduction" by Marsha Weidner. A general by very well written introduction to Chinese Buddhist history and art with special emphasis on painting. She includes a most welcome revision of the now vastly outmoded concept that post-Tang Buddhism is degenerate and void of originality.

"Buddhist Pictorial Art in the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644): Patronage, Regionalism, and Internationalism" by Marsha Weidner. This is an excellent article that with its convincing knowledge of the period in question provides a highly useful introduction to the Buddhist painting of the Ming. I shall here limit myself to pointing out two minor mistakes. In discussing the wall- paintings of the Fahai Temple in Beijing the author refers to the presence of /7a Tibetan-influenced manner77 (p. 55), but fails to account for this iconographical trait further. Personally I disagree with her analysis, and would instead want to see the image as a late example of Sino-Tibetan art that was already undergoing a Sinitic transformation by the time the walls of the temple in question were being decorated. I also fail to agree that the *luohati* paintings of cat. 27 should reflect Sino-Tibetan iconography (p. 57). The composition is straight-forward main-stream Ming style, and the use of *gesso* was already employed on Buddhist sculptures and wall-paintings under the Jin dynasty if not before.

"Preserving the Nation: The Political Uses of Tantric Art in China" by

Patricia Berger. This article is an attempt at accounting for esoteric and Tantric Buddhist art as it unfolded in China. The first part is devoted to the early phase of esoteric Buddhism in China, followed by a discussion of the later developments including the influence from the Tibetan tantric tradition. Whereas the previous article was lucid and comprehensive, the same can unfortunately not be said by this one. To describe esoteric ritualism as "Tantric ideas" that have "surfaced in the context of Daoist-tinged Buddhism in the service of the imperial court" (p. 90〉 is to miss the point. The use of visualization in Chinese Buddhism dates all the way back to the introduction of Buddhism during the Eastern Han (p. 90). It also contains information that contravenes the catalogue itself. The identification of fig. 33 which is referred to as "Ratnasambhava”（p. 118) when the catalogue identifies the painting as representing Samantabhadra (p. 252). For lack of space I cannot list all the numerous mistakes and misunderstandings that marr this article. The result is confusing, and with the exception of the Yuan and Ming periods, the author is clearly out of her depths. Here the editor ought to have found someone with a little more knowledge of subject to write this important and central article.

"The Evolution of Buddhist Narrative Illustration in China after 850" by Julia K. Murray is a brief but highly informative article that takes the reader through the early wall-paintings rom the Mogao Caves, illustrated books, printed *sutra* illustrations etc. I would have liked a more detailed discussion of the terms *bianxiang, jingxiang,* and *jingbian,* which are here treated as meaning the same, however that is a minor point that does not subtract from the good impression the article left on me.

"Guanyin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteshvara” by Chiin-fang Yii. The author first discusses the canonical forms of the deity, followed by a presentation of new images that developed during the tenth to eleventh centuries, the feminine forms of Guanyin, Miaoshan etc. Chiin-fang Yii reveals a comprehensive knowledge of the lore surrounding the deity in question, and has many new observations to make. This makes the article one of the most interesting and engaging contributions to the present volume. There are however, a few points I would like to bring up. First of all I believe that the majority of Avalokitesvara images—both sculptures as well as paintings—dating from the Northern Song were of the male sex. The same holds true for the contemporary Korean and Japanese images. There can be little doubt that the female forms grew out of the miracle tales describing the various manifestations of the bodhisattva. The author also has some problems defining the differences and similarities between the various forms of the bodhisattva. She seems to overlook the fact that there is a clear tendency by the tradition to collapse the "Water-Moon Guanyin" with the "White Robed Guanyin" (pp. 156–7). Here I should also like to add that the latter is not a Chinese creation as indicated by the author, but an Indian form that first occurs in the esoteric context (which she actually mentions elsewhere, i.e. on p. 169). The *Dazhidu lun* is not a commentary to the *Mahaprajfiaparamita sutra*

(p. 156). There is also a wrong translation from a passage from the *Zhengdao ge 正道歌*• Yii's rendering is: 'To see the image in a mirror is not difficult. How can one grasp the moon in the waterT[7]' It should read: "The reflected image is not difficult to see. How can one grasp the moon in the water?" (p. 156). The canonical source for the dragon princess, who is often seen as the companion of Avalokite§vara, is not "esoteric texts", but the account of the dragon princess attaining enlightenment in the *SaddharmapundarTka* (p. 163). I am also reluctant to accept the view that the Miaoshan cult had anything to do with the late Tang sculptures of Avalokitesvara in Dazu. The Miaoshan cult developed much later (pp. 163–4). I wonder why the author neglects the various studies by Maria Reis on the Thousand-armed Avalokitesvara? Lastly I should add that extensive parts of this article have appeared in Chinese before.

"Depictions of the Guardians of the Law: Lohan Painting in China" by Richard K. Kent. Personally I fail to see why *arhats (luohans)* as a class merits the designation "guardians"?

"Catalogue with introductions to Buddhism and Buddhist subjects in Chinese art" edited by Alan G. Atkinson. This part of the book is sub-divided into the following sections: I. The Temple: Ritual, Devotion, and Study; II. Beyond the Monastery Walls: Professional Painters and Popular Themes; and III. From the Monks' Quarters to the Scholar's Studio. In the section on Buddhas and Buddhism esoteric Buddhism is treated in an off hand and superficial manner, and is simply seen as "the last major development in Indian Buddhist history". The author seems to forget that esoteric Buddhism forms an integrated part of Mahāyāna. Furthermore Buddhist *Tantras* in India developed as early as the fourth century AD (pp. 219–20). Elsewhere ritual manuals used in esoteric Buddhism are referred to as 'tantras' (p. 294)! Likewise, the description of an esoteric *mandala,* which is wrongly referred to as a 'Tantric Buddhist charm" is also full of mistakes and strange notions (pp. 296–8). I fail to see how the item in queston ends up showing "'strong influence of Indo-Tibetan religious art"（p. 298). Also Siddham script did not decline in the late Tang to be replaced by Lantsa style script (p. 298). In the section describing the paintings used for the Suilu ritual, there is a reference to 'radiant kings"'. This is obviously a mistake for *vidyaraja BflBE,* one of the major classes of protectors in esoteric Buddhism (p. 284). This goes to show that contemporary Western research on the esoteric Buddhist tradition still has a long way to go.

Somehow I also feel that Sherman E. Lee's rambling preface (pp. 9-18) should have been more carefully checked. It contains a number of formal mistakes and strange interpretations. First of all, I fail to see how Li Gonglin's painting (cat. no. 43) depicting Vimalaklrti and Manjusri should be seen as "The balance and rationality of the depiction is evident, epitomizing a Confucian rendition of a Buddhist text'[7] (p. 13). Further on he insists that the painting has become secular because Manjusri and the other deities have no

halos. What kind of logic is this? Elsewhere Budai is mentioned as a "transformed Maitreya", however the writer seems to have forgotten that Budai was a historical figure on whom the Maitreya "label" was later added (p. 14). In another vein Lee compares Chan painting with that done by the early Qing individualists such as Shi Tao, Luo Ping and Ji Nong (p. 14) on the grounds that they also experimented with their use of ink and types of brushes. However, such a comparison is irrelevant if not entirely misleading. The historical background and social context in which the early Qing individualists lived and worked were as removed from that of the Chan painters of the Song, as that of Picasso were from those who decorated the walls in the churches of medieval Byzans. In addition the inspiration of the latter had its origin in an entirely different type of aesthetics. I suppose this preface was included as a tribute to a scholar whose contributions to the field of Chinese art over the past several decades rightly have earned him many fans, however the present preface does him no honour.

When the *pros* and *cons* are weighed together, I cannot but conclude that *Latter Days of the Law* is a rather uneven publication. This is unfortunate since the ideas behind the catalogue and exhibition are indeed commendable. I would partly blame the editor (and the publishing company) for being too uncritical with the articles that went into the book. A little more expertise would have heightened the level of the book considerably. Nevertheless, books of this kind appear rarely, and despite its many errors and other problems it is certain to be studied and read by anyone interested in Chinese Buddhist art. In any case it is bound to be a useful companion to Thomas Lawson's classic catalogue on *Chinese Figure Painting.*

Finally it must be said that *Latter Days of the Lazv* is an extremely well- produced book which features a fine lay-out and beautiful reproductions of the many Buddhist paintings in question. Despite my personal misgivings it should not be missed by those seriously interested in Chinese art.

Henrik H. Sørensen

Hubert Durt, Problems of Chronology and Eschatology: Four Lectures on the Essay on Buddhism by Tominaga Nakamoto (1715–1746). *Italian School of East Asian Studies, Occasional Papers 4. Kyoto: ISEAS, 1994.*

The present work, the fourth in ISEAS[7] series of shorter works on East Asian history and culture, is the published outcome of four lectures held by Hubert Durt in Kyoto in May and December 1992. The contributions to this series have an almost cameo quality and the apparent reconditeness of their topics generally belies their broader significance for questions of cultural import. Such is certainly the case with Durt's present contribution, which demonstrates the value of a life-time spent turning over the manifold—and to the outsider

often quaint—stones of traditions which have been part and parcel of East Asia's intellectual and cultural life for centuries.

The book is also evidence of a growing interest in Japanese thought in the early modern period, and readers of this journal will immediately recall Michael Pye's translation of Tominaga's writings, *Emerging from Meditation,* reviewed in an earlier issue of not least because the approach taken

by Durt provides an interesting contrast and complement to Pye's. The latter's primary aim was to provide a translation which was capable of showing the modernity of Tominaga's critical bent, Durt is more concerned with using his series of *essais* to place Tominaga in a more comprehensive historical, cultural and scholarly context. As such the most salient feature of the Belgian scholars work in contrast to Pye's treatment is the manner in which the former's long-term experience in dealing with the textual and intellectual history of Buddhism, including emic and etic aspects of Buddhist chronology, especially in that religion's development in East Asia, come to the fore. The reader is thus treated to a veritable plethora of references to related items in the Buddhist canon which do much to reveal not only Tominaga's intellectual context but also the extent and limits of his learning, both of which of course were not Pye's primary concern. Importantly, too, Durt provides a different perspective at many individual points passim as well as correcting a number of errors in Pye's reading of the text.2 The two books together might thus be considered as being of interest for advanced undergraduate or elementary postgraduate teaching. Finally, it is also extremely pleasant to detect the original oral character of the essays at many points in this short work, a feature which those acquainted with the type of gathering, held in Kyoto with French-Italian regularity, will surely appreciate.

Together, the four essays presented in this short work provide the reader with that rare combination: a comprehensive survey combined with a wealth of enlightening detail. Following a short Introduction (pp. 1–4), in which he plots the course to be followed, Durt deals with 'The Buddhist Scholarship of Tominaga" (pp. 5–22), "Chronology: The Date of the Buddha's Appearance According to Tominaga" (pp. 23–40), "Eschatology: Parinirvapa of the Buddha and Degeneration of the Dharma" (pp. 41–56), and finally "The Long and Short Nirvana Sutras" (pp. 57–74). The valuable Bibliography (pp. 75–89) is divided into two sections, (A) Works and Collections Before 1850 and (B) Books, Collections and Journal Articles since 1850. The book is finished off

Tominaga Nakamoto, *Emerging from Meditation,* tr. Michael Pye, London: Duckworth, 1990; cf. my review in *SCEAR* 5/6 (1992–3), pp. 198–204, which also contains references to other relevant works.

Cf., for example, p. 19, n. 25, where Durt draws attention to Pye's confusion of the *prajfiaparamita-* and the *parinirvanasutras.* One assumes that the chronologies of the respective projects were not fortunate enough to be synchronized, given that Durt is accorded pride of place in Pye's Acknowledgements!

with a useful Index (pp. 91–8).

In the first chapter, Durt deals with the general character and contents of the Shutsujokogo, pointing out, in addition to the obvious scholarly qualities possessed by Tominaga, the sense of humour and irony which accompany—indeed which may be seen as a consequence of—his historical approach. Apart from the practical use of Durt's summary of Tominaga's work, this chapter's value lies in its pointing out less obvious literary characteristics as well as such determining factors as those listed on page 10: Tominaga's broad knowledge of the Buddhist canon, his lack of sectarian prejudice (rare indeed!), a distrust of the scholastic tradition on the grounds of its *a posteriori* justifications, and his keen attention to any chronological information in the Buddhist sources (although Durt is also keen to point out (p. 11) that Tominaga was not wholly sound in his historical reasoning). Durt also has a keen sense of the distinction between such historical reasoning and an if not a perfect, then a more or less adequate historical knowledge such as that enjoyed by Burnouf a century later, and uses this to point out the true achievement of Tominaga as lying in /ythe dynamics of his radical criticism and consequently the variety of his intuitions" (rather than simply looking at his methods and conclusions). Also very useful in this first chapter are what amount to notes on the terms used by Tominaga, which serve as useful stimuli for anyone approaching the original text. Here again, Durt provides a useful complement to Pye's translation, which for the reasons already mentioned, does not furnish the reader with the same degree of contextualization in Buddhist canonical terminology.

The second chapter, on chronology, draws very much on the excellent work already done by Durt on the date of the Buddha.3 Also welcome in this part of the book are references to aspects of East Asian chronology which fall outside the narrow confines of a merely Buddhist perspective, such as the elucidation of the significance of the reigns of Chinese kings (pp. 25f) or the treatment of the historical and classical sources (pp. 37ff). In general, there is much on the relevance of Chinese Buddhist habits here which contributes greatly to the rounded picture of Tominaga's scholarship and personality that emerges in the book. Durt's conclusion to the chapter is as surprising as it is impressive: "Tominaga's essay on Buddhism retains considerable value as a historical document. It stands as a monument to a bold (albeit sometimes poorly informed) philological approach and to the spirit of a man who attempted to make a rational interpretation of history7' (p. 40).

The penultimate chapter takes eschatology as its central theme, focussing on two of the shorter Nirvana sutras, the *Sutra of Mahamaya* (T. 383) and the *Sutra* [3]

3 See the detailed contributions to the collection, *The Dating of the Historical Buddha,* Vol. 1, Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, edited by Heinz Bechert: "La date du Buddha en Cor6e et au Japon" (pp. 458–85) and 'The Two Different Dates for the Life of the Buddha According to the Dotted Record' (pp. 486–9).

of the Annihilation of the Law (T. 396). In addition to his predominantly philological approach, Durt also brings in here for the first time objects of art as an essential part of the various expressions of the theme of *mappo* in East Asian Buddhism (it is also for this reason that the cover bears a reproduction of the central part of the Shaka konkan shutsugenzu, "Śākyamuni Rising from the Golden Coffin"， a Heian painting held by the National Museum, Kyoto).

After a brief resume of the character and significance of the idea of *mappo*, Durt proceeds to detail the progress of Tominaga's arguments, pausing on occasion to draw attention to the latter's witty treatment of some of the historical inconsistencies produced by the idea. For instance, in his account of the suggestion that Bodhldharma went east because Buddhism was in decline in India, Durt remarks with Tominagan dryness, 'Tominaga himself does not seem to be convinced that a decaying doctrine will be revived by travelling to another country. He derides the Zen people for making Bodhidharma a rival of Śākyamuni and is convinced that Bodhidharma is the most pitiful man on earth" (p. 44). However, it is probably in his handling of the scriptural background to Tominaga's treatment of eschatology that the strengths of Durt's approach in this chapter emerge, not least because he weaves the artistic traditions of the *parinirvana* into his otherwise philological and text-critical account. In his conclusion to the chapter, Durt makes the very valuable identification of Tominaga's actual purpose in dealing with eschatology, namely not the degeneration of the *buddhadharma* itself, but the fact that he perceives the Buddhist canon simply as a series of accretions *(kajo)*,[4] neither good nor bad in themselves: "What he deplores is the a-historical or the pseudo-historical judgement of the Buddhist scholarly tradition concerning that evolution" (p. 56).

The final chapter, actually the first one to be presented publicly, deals with the Nirvana literature, more specifically the long and the short Nirvana sutras. Here, Durt not only expands the scope of his textual material to include the Nirvana literature as a corpus (without suggesting that it is in any way wholly consistent about the final events in the life of the Buddha) to include *vinaya* regulations on death and funerals and the ritual prescriptions included there, as well as the importance of artistic representations and popular traditions. This chapter, which of the four is the least rounded, ending as it does rather abruptly, leaving the reader wondering a little what purpose the detailed listing of the relevant canonical and apocryphal texts might be, serves mainly to emphasise the breadth of Tominaga's erudition and thus "encourage us to study the Nirvana literature as a whole" (p. 74). It is perhaps the circumstance of this chapter's having been delivered in a different context to the other three (which were given together, as an independent series) that leaves the reader

[4] It should be noted that here, as elsewhere generally, Durt adopts Pye's terminology, which makes for a welcome degree of consistency.

hanging a little and wishing for a more detailed summary of Durt's perception of Tominaga's achievements and continuing value. Despite this drawback, the reader will still find himself picking up this little book time and again, thumbing backwards and forwards, finding something new, enjoyable and useful each time.

Ian Astley

Eastern Canons: Approaches to the Asian Classics. *Edited by Wm.* Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990 (pbk$_v$ 1995).

Among the numerous publications in the Columbia Asian Studies Series, we find, in the Companions Series, two books of great value for introductory and comparative approaches to the written sources of Asian cultures: Amy Vladeck Heinrich's *A Guide to Oriental Classics* (3rd ed$_v$ 1989) and Wm. Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom's *Approaches to the Asian Classics* (1990). Both works have recently been reissued in expanded, systematized, and updated forms. Heinrich's edition replaces the *Guide* of 1964, edited by de Bary and Ainslee T. Embree, and presents comprehensive and updated bibliographies on the individual classics and proposes topics for classroom discussions of these, while the *Approaches to Oriental Classics,* first published in 1959 and edited by de Bary, has come out in a modernized form (suggested by the substitution of "Asian" for the now somewhat outdated and even somewhat controversial "Oriental" in the title), leaving out some of the now less relevant contributions concerning the significance of Asian classics in the American university education of the fifties and sixties. The new *Approaches* reproduces a few of the essays originally published in the 1959 edition, but the greater part of the collection constitutes essays which—in the light of more recent research —either re-examine individual classics presented in the first edition or offer approaches to classics not treated therein.

Classics of four major Asian traditions, the Islamic, the Indian, the Chinese, and the Japanese, are, again, introduced by leading scholarly experts of Asian studies in America (at Columbia especially). As stated in the Preface, the essays are "aimed at the non-specialist'', and the classics presented are not necessarily the most obvious and famous ones, but often classic works less accessible to the general reader have been selected. The intention is to introduce in brief essays classics representative of their cultural tradition to a broader readership, and therefore the contributors "have not striven for originality of interpretation, ... but rather for what is most central and commonly understood about these works in their own tradition, what it is that has made them classics by general consensus over the centuries, and what it is that can still speak to us most directly today" (p. xi). To these remarks on the principles for selection in this volume, de Bary, in his well set-out article

on "Asian Classics as 'Great Books of the East'", adds: "instead …of looking for "Eastern" equivalents of Western classics, we were looking for what each of the several Asian traditions honoured themselves as an essential part of their heritage" (p. 42). Although most "classics" indisputably are found in religious traditions, the Asian canons, therefore, cannot be taken to constitute only Sacred Books of the East. Classic works of the literary and intellectual traditions must be canonized too in order to paint a fuller picture of the Asian civilizations' "distinctive aesthetic and intellectual qualities" (p. 43), and to support a more complete understanding of the religious canons. It is, however, as de Bary carefully points out, important to keep in mind that any Western collection or reading list of "Eastern canons", as evidenced by the present volume, is a synthetic construction (p. 42).

The inclusion in this volume of descriptive and interpretative essays of diverse religious works, epics, poetry, autobiographies, and histories of four major Asian traditions, covering a period of some three thousand years, does, I believe, provide the target readership not only with balanced consensus understandings of specific classics, but with general surveys of the distinctive cultural traditions as intended by the editors as well—works of all categories (with overlaps) from each tradition are presented. To the comparativist student or teacher to whom these works and traditions are little known, however, the editors' decision to leave out several of the most central classic works of those traditions is less fortunate. And the lack of uniformity in the presentations of the separate works forms a further, major obstacle to any new student who stresses the comparative approach. It may be unavoidable in a collective volume of this kind, but, certainly, its aiming both at students, who are in need of concise descriptive information about the texts, their historical, specific contextual, intertextual, and textual backgrounds, *and* at teachers is at times problematic. Some of the essays imply previous knowledge of the text and its background, and place more emphasis on discussing the approach which a Western reader (teachers especially) should take to an analysis of the text. Muhsin Mahdi's essay on the historical *Prolegomena* (Muqqadimah) of Ibn Khaldun demonstrates this problem. Mahdi's essay attempts [7]/to indicate some of the didactic problems faced in teaching this work on the undergraduate level, both in general courses on Islamic civilization and as a great book of a non-Western civilization" (pp. 98–9). Although the essay does contain basic information about the central themes of the *Prolegomena* (e.g. Ibn Khaldun vs. Islamic dominant traditionalist thought, the conflict of religious- -legal sciences and philosophic-rational sciences), most words are spent on warnings of incompetent Western readings, the problem of the apparent modernity of the text, etc. The non-specialist reader is not provided with much background information, such as the dates of the author, or any biographical data, the date of the completion of the text, the title of the full work (Kitab al-'Ibar), or any summary of its contents (to replace the previously published ones in the West which Mahdi finds to be distorted and defective).

The reader with no previous knowledge of Ibn Khaldun and his work must go elsewhere to obtain the basic textual and essential background information before reading Mahdi's—otherwise very inspiring—essay.

In other contributions of the volume, we do, however, find examples of a more fortunate combination of basic information for the new student and useful advice for the teacher. The article on *The Tale of Genji (Genji mono-* gflhw') by Haruo Shirane is exemplary in this respect: almost every piece of information necessary for a smooth and pleasant first (secondary) encounter with this great historical novel is provided (author, dating, title, summary of contents, style, effects, key themes, literary-historical significance, etc.), and, at the same time, one or two tips for the teacher of undergraduates are given. The main emphasis in this essay is—as expected—placed on description and interpretation of the classic.

Approaches contains several fine essays on famous autobiography-styled or diary-like works: Abu Hamid Al-Ghazall's didactic *Al-munqidh min al-dalal* (The Deliverance (or Deliverer?) from Error) is introduced by Peter J. Awn, Gandhi's *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* by Ainslee T. Embree, and Kamo no Chomei's diary-essay *Hdjoki* (An Account of My Hut) by Paul Anderer. While the latter two contain almost all the authorship and intertextual information one can expect to find in short presentations, the lack of reference in Awn's article to al-Ghazalfs other well known literary products, e.g. his major work *Ihya' 'u\um al-din* (The Revival of the Religious Sciences), is a little surprising—and certainly does not promote a fuller understanding of the *Munqidh.* Awn's article does, however, teem with appropriate (in a presentation of an "autobiography") author-biographical information based on internal and external evidence.

Co-editor Irene Bloom's introduction to the philosophical work of Mencius, Wing-tsit Chan's description of the *Lotus Sutra* (including a full chapter-by-chapter summary of the text), C. T. Hsia's essay on the voluminous *Honglou meng* (A Dream of Red Mansions), H. Paul Varley's essay on *The Tale of the Heike,* Donald Keene's "Kenko: Essays in Idleness (Tsure- zuregusa)" and Barbara Stoler Miller's account of Kalidasa's magnificent heroic drama Sakuntala all serve readers who do not possess any—or only little—previous knowledge of the texts presented. James Winston Morris' introduction to Farid Al-Dln 'Attar's *Mantiq al-Tayr* (The Conference of the Birds) is very enlightening, but, again, one wonders why 'Attar's other works like the *IlahT-namah* (Divine Book) and the *MusTbat-namah* (Book of Affliction), which also treat the recurrent themes of pantheism, the realization of God with the human soul, and knowledge of one's self as God and everything, are left unmentioned, and why such essential information as dating is not given. Other contributors display great initiative in, for instance, giving citations in transcription of the original language (Haruo Shirane on the poetry of Matsuo Basho), in bringing data concerning original manuscript versions and publication history (e.g. Philip Yampolsky on the *Platform Sutra of the*

Sixth Patriarch), and in the inclusion of a discussion of cross-cultural parallels (e.g. Robert Antoine on Indian and Greek Epics).

Approaches to the Asian Classics prominently demonstrates the in- controvertibly great value of including the study of diverse Asian classics in broader studies of culture and classics, general courses on the theory of science, the history of literature, philosophy, and religion, offered at universities in non-Asian countries. Its twenty-odd essays on individual classic works may prove very useful and inspiring to most non-specialist students, teachers, and more generally interested readers. For seekers of exact lexical entrees to the texts and comprehensive introductions of their background situations, Approaches is—in general—hardly the first place to look. Com- parativists may find it extremely useful to read all the essays gathered in this book and find it very illuminating to see expert reviews of great books of some of the greatest civilizations in the documented history of mankind, but the above-mentioned deficiencies, plus the lack of indices, make Approaches a less usable and user-friendly book to such readers.

Gunner B. Mikkelsen Department of East Asian Studies Aarhus University

Studies in Central and East Asian Religions is published once yearly by The Seminar for Buddhist Studies, Copenhagen (Denmark). The Editors welcome scholarly contributions which cast light on religious phenomena in the area encompassing Tibet and Central Asia, Mongolia, China, Korea, and Japan. Despite the name of our organization, this journal is intended to cover all aspects of religious life in the specified area. In addition, a wide variety of standpoints—e.g. philosophic, linguistic, historical, anthropological and sociological—will be accommodated.

General guidelines for the submission of typescripts: articles (c.20–30 pages in length) are to be typewritten on A4 paper (one side), with ample margins. Pitch should be lOcpi, with double line spacing. Footnotes are to be indicated clearly in the text (numbered continuously), and enclosed on separate sheets at the end of the article. Prior to publication, authors will receive one draft copy for corrections, on which only minor changes will be allowed. On publication, authors will receive ten offprints of their articles, plus one copy of the whole issue, free of charge.

Material will be accepted in English, French or German. Writers who use Chinese, Korean or Japanese sources are requested to append the characters quoted on separate sheets, with a clear indication of where the relevant characters belong in the text. Superscript letters are to be used in this case. A separate List of Characters, in alphabetical order, is also permissible.

Authors are encouraged to submit their work on floppy diskette. These should be in ASCII format (i.e. no word-processing codes), readable by MS-DOS and normally c.60–80Kb in length. Files in common word-processing formats will also be accepted. A printed version must be submitted at the same time. Macintosh files are also accepted. Authors should obtain details on submission in diskette form—including information on conventions for diacritical marks and other accents—from Ian Astley before preparing their files. The SBS recognizes and encourages the use of the Classical Sanskrit (Extended) codes (CSX) for information interchange agreed at the 8th World Conference on Sanskrit Studies.

Guidelines for transcription: for Sanskrit, Pali and other South Asian languages use the standard system given in A. L. Basham, *The Wonder That* Was *India,* Appendix X; for Chinese use the Rnyin system, for Japanese the modified Hepburn system. The standard devised by McCune-Reischauer, *The Romanization of the Korean Language", *Transactions of the Korean Branch, Royal Asiatic Society* 29 (1939), pp. 1–55, is to be used for Korean. For Tibetan, use the system recommended by the American Library Association rather than that proposed by Wylie (i.e. *h, n, s, £* rather than *ng, ny, sh, zh).* Finally, for Mongolian use the system found in Antonie Mostaert, *Dictionnaire Ordos,* pp. 769–809.

The deadline for the submission of typescripts is the 30th of June in the year of publication. Material for the *Forum* (5–10 pages/ 10–20Kb) and *Reviews* sections may be submitted up to the 31st of August. Material submitted after these dates can only be considered at the discretion of the Editors.