
Learned and critical discussions of the rNying ma pa tradition are relatively recent in the annals of Tibetology, and historical studies of the literature of this tradition are virtually non-existent. An especially important and perplexing problem concerning the canonical literature of the rNying ma pa is the history of the Ati yoga scriptures and doctrine—the epitome of the rDzogs chen, or the Great Perfection, system of meditation. Was this doctrine a veiled continuation in Tibet of Ch’an traditions introduced in the dynastic period? What historicity can be gleaned from the hagiographies of the Indian patriarchs associated with these scriptures by the tradition? Was Ati yoga indigenous to Tibet, or did it originate in some form in India? Were its origins truly so ancient as claimed, or was it a much later development? As broad and groping as these questions may seem they have puzzled many well-read students of Tibet. With the publication of Dr. Karmay’s study a firm foundation has now been laid for a historical understanding of rDzogs chen.

Many important sources for the study of this problem have been put to excellent use by our author. With the considerable publication efforts of Tibetans in India over the past decades, numerous hitherto unavailable and unknown texts have come into our libraries. One such example is the 10th century treatise of sNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes, the bSam gtan mig sgron, an extensive discussion of four meditative systems in dynastic Tibet: the Indian scholastic, the Chinese Ch’an (or cig car), the Tantric, and Ati yoga. Similarly, the writings of Rong zom chos kyi bzang po, an eleventh century exegete, have promised to contribute much to historical studies of the rNying ma pa, especially his commentary on a writing attributed to Padmasambhava, the Man ngag lta ba’i phreng ba, and the archaic recension of this text which his writings contain. These works have been fully utilized by Karmay.

Interest in the Tibetan manuscripts from Dunhuang has also revived over these past two decades, parallel with the expanding collections of Tibetan literature, in which context these dynastic period manuscripts can be more broadly studied. The discovery of various Ch’an writings among the Tibetan manuscripts has created a flurry of scholarly activity that is revising the early history of Ch’an in China and writing the history of Ch’an in Tibet. Certain of the Dunhuang manuscripts also represent Ati yoga texts whose similar importance to the history of this meditative tradition in Tibet is demonstrated for the first time by Karmay.
In brief, our author has deftly managed to exploit the ancient Dunhuang manuscript materials, rare arcaic texts of importance, and later expository and polemical literature in the investigation of a well-chosen problem in the history of Tibetan religion. The product deserves, and will reward, careful attention; and the content is so rich that I am limited to only a few comments in this sketchy summary of the book.

Following an introductory chapter on Buddhism in dynastic period Tibet and its legacy, the book is divided into three parts. Part I examines the early translator monk, Vairocana, to whom an important founding role is assigned in the rDzogs chen tradition. Vairocana’s hagiography, the Vairo 'dra 'bag, is the central object of this study, and a chapter by chapter summary of the lengthy text is provided, in search of the historical facts of Vairocana. This is an informative exercise with full reference to the other notices of Vairocana, and as a result the Vairo 'dra 'bag is dated to the early fourteenth century, and the core biographical details to the twelfth. Yet, little historical information can be separated from the abundance of myth, and Karmay can justifiably question the attribution to Vairocana of the translation of the Rig pai khu byug, an Ati yoga text from Dunhuang studied in Part II. The road to a history of early rDzogs chen that leads from tradition’s religious esteem of Vairocana appears to be something of a cul-de-sac, which we previously have not had the research to surmise.

Part II, containing five chapters, treats the most arcaic sources for a history of rDzogs chen. In the first chapter of this section two Dunhuang manuscripts representing Ati yoga texts are edited and translated. These are numbers 647 and 594 of the Stein collection in the India Office Library, the Rig pai khu byug and the sBa pa'i rgum chung, respectively. An excellent discussion of the place of these texts in later rDzogs chen literature, and of the Buddhagupta/guhya to whom the latter work is attributed, introduces the translations; this leads to two dynastic period texts by gNyan dpal dbyangs, which are also edited and translated.

The second chapter, on Cig car (or Sudden Enlightenment), is weaker than the rest, because the author makes little use of the considerable information on Ch’an Buddhism in Tibet to be found in publications on the subject that have appeared over the past decade. This chapter contains, on the other hand, a full and informative discussion of references to the cig car tradition in received Tibetan literature and of the cig car chapter in the bSam gtan mig sgron. A small annoyance, however, somewhat symptomatic of the general bibliographical weakness referred to above, is the repeated quoting from Tucci’s The Religions of Tibet from its French translation. The English translation has been around nearly as long, and the work was originally published

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in German. This is a petty enough criticism, and an editor or reader might have taken care of such a matter of form; however, this particular book is not especially pertinent to current scholarly assessments of the subject.

The remaining two chapters of Part II trace the development of rDzogs chen in the tenth and eleventh centuries, relying mainly, and respectively, on the works of sNubs chen sangs rgyas ye shes and Rong zom chos kyi bzang po. This continues the careful historical method that pervades the book, since Karmay allows dated materials to describe the rDzogs chen formulations of that given period and avoids chronological syncretism.

The third section of the work begins with a consideration of the Mang gnag Lta ba’i ’phren ba, attributed to Padmasambhava. Again the text is translated in full and edited. (A version of the text in the gDam ngag mdzod and the commentary of its compiler, ’Jam mgon kong sprul bio gros mtha’ yas, is not cited, but the text appears to stem directly from the version of the work given by Rong zom, which is used.) Karmay sees this text as transitional, because his researches have led him to conclude that “… rDzogs chen is itself after all a development of the tantric meditation of sampannakrama of the Mahāyoga tantras”, and he finds here an original source of the syncretism known as the doctrine of rDzogs chen which, in this case, dates back to the late ninth century. It is not argued clearly that the development spoken of here is one that increasingly embraces indigenous Tibetan conceptions of mind, although such can be inferred from the selection of materials studied.

The remaining chapters in Part III contain an especially lucid summary of particular rDzogs chen theories, their origins, and trends in their development for rNying ma pa as well as Bon circles. Any readers perplexed about rDzogs chen, especially those who have waded through previous publications, might very well feel they have at last discovered an isle of sense. Karmay’s straightforward approach to the literature and its lexicon is not only refreshing, it is especially informative and useful.

The few petty criticisms I have voiced in the above sketchy summary are disproportionate to the praise warranted this excellent contribution. Substantial evaluations of Dr. Karmay’s analysis and thesis will have their place in further researches related to this subject, since The Great Perfection has already become an essential reference in the field.


With increasing frequency expensive books on Tibetan art appear in bookshops. They have nice colour reproductions, another more or less interesting selection of paintings, but they seldom add much to what has come before.

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The volume under review here does not belong to this category of publications. Instead, *Secret Visions* is the beautiful presentation of a unique, dated, and fine example of Tibetan art, demonstrated to have been close to the person of one of the most important historical figures of the medieval Lamaist world.

In brief, this work reproduces a fine manuscript in gold on black paper of hitherto unknown illustrated texts by the Vth Dalai Lama. According to the colophons, the manuscript was executed by members of the Vth Dalai Lama’s closest entourage, under his supervision. The colophon to the main portion of the manuscripts records the date 1673, while the colophon of another portion of the manuscript is dated 1693, eleven years after the death of the author. This discrepancy is discussed in the introductory text, but it does not cast doubt on the provenance of the manuscript: it merely raises moot questions about the vicissitudes of the manuscript’s final completion.

The fifty-five illustrations of the manuscript—extremely fine examples of Tibetan art—are in gold line with colour highlights. They represent ritual implements, altar configurations, fire sacrifice hearths, elaborate dough and butter sacrificial cakes, and effigies. The illustrations pertain to the ritual practice of visionary texts and generally, in the present instance, to the magical slaying of demons, or demons in the form of human adversaries. In the work under review self-censorship, it seems, avoids referring the gruesome and cruel images that pervade the illustrations to magical rites of slaying, and precludes any discussion of the practices. The subject of destructive rites in Tibetan religious practice is a sensitive issue culturally. Perhaps it always has been so in Tibet, not only because of the obvious ethical contradictions with the Buddhist creed, but also because of a traditional concern over the possibility of lethal power in the hands of one’s adversaries or miscreants. After all, the current Dalai Lama sanctioned this publication with a letter that ends with the wish that the materials contained in the text not be misused.

Karmay’s lucid synopsis of Tibetan history orients the reader to the Vth Dalai Lama’s personal importance in the formation of the lamaist state and culture. Brief comments by Heather Stoddard, which are informed, pertinent, and somewhat ebullient, follow on the artistic place of the manuscript. Omitted here is any discussion of the Chinese art of manuscripts calligraphed in gold on dark, usually blue or purple, paper. This tradition certainly bears on the history of the Tibetan practice, since it long predates any Nepalese examples of the craft, which Stoddard does cite. Indeed, Nepal learned paper technology from China, like everyone else, and most probably via Tibet; hence one would suspect a similar route for the practice of gold writing on dark paper.

We are then provided with a careful synopsis of the first and longest portion of the manuscript, which summarizes and places in correct chronological sequence the visionary experiences of the Vth Dalai Lama, previously recorded in the Secret or Sealed Biography. Karmay is conscientious in referencing
this narrative to the text of the Secret Biography and to the illustrations, when they correspond to the visionary experience recorded. We are, nonetheless, missing some important information in this exercise. The visions relate the initiation of the Dalai Lama into a given ritual, or are visions in which he sees the various objects which are illustrated, but they give no particulars concerning the rituals themselves, and the illustrations are almost exclusive of ritual paraphernalia. The question foremost when viewing the illustrations is not, “I wonder when he saw these things?” but, “In what the ritual context are the objects used, and what is their function?”

There are sixteen texts in the manuscript, reproduced following the colour plates of the illustrated portions, the English summary of the first of which I have just discussed. The second of these texts, which continues the recounting of the visions chronologically, is also summarized. Thereafter the briefest of descriptions are allotted to the remaining fourteen texts that deal with ritual particulars—mantras, iconography, and the like. Herein lies the greatest shortcoming of the work. There is no such thing as an exhaustive treatment of anything, but some broader discussion of the rituals to which the illustrations pertain would certainly have been desirable. That any such discussion was omitted we probably owe to the author’s silence with respect to the culturally sensitive nature of the materials. Specifically, reference should have been made to the collected writings of the Vth Dalai Lama. From the time when his works were committed to xylographic blocks approximately one hundred and fifty titles were relegated to a secret or sealed portion of the corpus. The printing of these blocks was controlled and copies of this portion of his writings are consequently rare. However, they are available and catalogued in full.3 I am not personally certain, but on the basis of the titles it appears that texts therein bear on the ritual particulars illustrated in the present manuscript. There is, however, no mention even of the existence of these secret writings of the Vth Dalai Lama, much less any attempt to cross-reference them to the texts and illustrations of the manuscript.

Otherwise, and this last shortcoming represents a large project for which this book will be of great value, The Secret Visions of the Vth Dalai Lama is a beautiful book, in printing, design, and explication, and we can thank all concerned with its publication. Considering the high production values that have resulted in this handsome product, it is relatively inexpensive, for which thanks are due as well.


It is striking that the author of a critical study of biography should find him

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self at pains to apologize for his frank disbelief of the wildly irrational claims of his subject. Nevertheless, Michael Aris, in this well-written and intelligent study, spends some time in defence of a rational premise that in any other context would be a given: that a person who claims to have extracted a book from the solid rock within which it had been long ago secreted, along with other equally irrational claims, is engaging in deceit. The pious regard for the scripture and its finder created by religious mythology is threatened by this type of observation, but critical understanding is enhanced, if only by revealing the meaningful dependence of the text on the mystical institution of its discovery. Nevertheless, Aris is clearly sensitive to the tenor of much of Tibetan studies today and would not like to step too roughly on the toes, it seems to me, of the growing number of fundamentalists.

The book is divided into two equal parts treating the biographies of Padma gling pa and the Sixth Dalai Lama. Both men were kinsmen who hailed from what is now Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh. Aris’ broad literary and cultural knowledge of Bhutan is well attested in his previous valuable monograph, Bhutan, and greatly enriches his treatment of the subjects in this study. These juxtaposed biographical studies are brought into a closer and fascinating relationship through the author’s attention to a single theme in both men’s lives: deception. The forms assumed by this theme are disparate, but no less identifiable.

The premise of Aris’s treatment of Padma gling pa is that he was a charlatan. This is a sound conclusion to draw from the theatrical public stagings of his early “recoveries” and, indeed, the entire mechanism of such events—the secret foreknowledge of the place of discovery and the opportunity to hide in advance what is to be discovered. There is a variety of deceit, likewise, in the institution of the reincarnating religious patriarch, the claiming to be now the same person who was previously any number of renowned religious figures. Both mechanisms work to bestow authority on the claimant, and, hence, patronage, wealth, and power. These are not insignificant forces for understanding the life of an individual who utilized them, or for understanding the culture in which they became institutionalized.

One cannot expect everything of a study that limits the discussion of a major cultural and literary figure to only one hundred pages, so the value of the work is not necessarily diminished by certain lacunae. Particularly evident in this case is reference to the literature which Padma gling pa authored. This assumes a certain gravity when evidence for the charge against Padma gling pa is his lack of learning. As the author of twenty volumes of “rediscovered” literature, it is only reasonable for us to assume a degree of conformity with the literary genre into which these writings were introduced. If they were utterly idiosyncratic, as one might expect of a person purporting to write on a topic of which he knows nothing, then some discussion of how these could have been accepted, by even some factions of the normative tradition, is in order. If these writings were simple recastings
of previous ritual literature, again, although such literary production would require less learning and seemingly would be rather transparent in this respect, some demonstrations of this would be in order as well. As it is, we are left with the conundrum of the revered and extensive literary production of an unlearned man.

Likewise, the rather improbable scenario of Padma gling pa having mastered in his youth a large number of arts—stone work, metallurgy, weaving— is introduced in Aris’ argument as providing a plausible basis for Padma gling pa’s deceits: he carved the stones presented as bearing the impression of his feet, he forged the metal chests said to contain his textual discoveries, and so on. Since the premise is implausible, the entire argument seems unnecessary. Perhaps the author had in mind pious critics against whom further rational evidence might be needed.

The historical sketch of Padma gling pa’s life is otherwise exceptionally rich, situating him in the major political events of his time and painting a varied canvas of the personal dramas and petty affairs that coloured his career. What emerges from the skilful telling is the story of man of a particular culture and epoch, and not the simplistic reporting of the miraculous deeds and life of a god. Indeed, the intellectual value of the myths enshrouding the saint is heightened as the historical figure they enclose is revealed—that is, if one’s object is understanding rather than worship.

The story of the later kinsman of Padma gling pa who was enthroned as the Sixth Dalai Lama, Tshangs dbyangs rGya mtsho, is a perfectly Byzantine tale. Whereas Padma gling pa perpetrated falsehoods, Tshangs dbyangs rGya mtsho’s life was utterly entangled in them. He was secretly recognized at an early age as the reincarnation of the Vth Dalai Lama, whose death was at the same time a closely guarded secret in Tibet; and he was secretly imprisoned in a geographical and political limbo until, thirteen years after the event, the demise of the great Vth could no longer be concealed.

In a dramatic transformation from child prisoner to god-king of Tibet, the youthful VIth Dalai Lama had reason to mistrust those around him. By extension he seems to have grown quickly cynical about the office to which he was elevated and the institutions on which it rested. He progressively refused to follow the course laid before him and wilfully neglected the incumbent duties of the throne. He became no less than an incarnate embarrassment to the office.

There was subsequently much romanticizing of this tragic life, the worldly young man unabashedly seeking sensual companionship while bound to the monk’s station. His famous poems, inspired by the young ladies of Lhasa and its red light district, testify to this.⁴ He may have been, if not wilfully

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self-destructive, naïve about the consequences of his behaviour, but it did lead to his dethronement and his exile, an exile en route to which he died. But the story does not end here.

Subsequently there appeared a biography of the VIth Dalai Lama’s later years—after the supposed death. As it would tell it, the death was a deceit, and the VIth Dalai Lama escaped his exile to roam incognito across Tibet to India, Mongolia, and China. If but another layer of deception is thought lacking here, Aris demonstrates most convincingly the deceit which the later “biography” is. To add further wrinkles to the plot, the current government in exile appears to acknowledge the later apocryphal biography as official history, but does not seem concerned that the VIth’s incarnation as the VIIth Dalai Lama was reigning during the former’s continued peregrination!

In the biographies of saints presented so intelligently here by Aris, we have the depth and folly of life everywhere. These are human stories, and presenting them as such represents a notable accomplishment, since the arcane idiom of medieval Tibetan hagiography has concealed them, and broad learning and discernment have been necessary for their rediscovery. The mystical appropriation of power is far from moribund in the modern world, and we should seek to understand its mechanisms and its tyrannies, in whatever garb they might be concealed.

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The interest of different scholars outside Japan in the personality and works of the Japanese Zen monk Ikkyū Sōjun (1394–1481) is praiseworthy. His unorthodox and sometimes shocking behaviour, as well as unconventional poetry in *kanbun* were lately the subject of studies in such faraway places as Canada, Russia, USA, FRG, and South Korea. In some way all these studies used a solid background prepared by persistent publications of the Japanese specialists for the last decades.

Sonja Arntzen’s work is a result of her attentive and long-term reading of *Kyōunshū* [The Anthology of the Crazy Cloud], named after the sobriquet Kyōun that Ikkyū often used. The publication is a further step forward after her pioneering work, *Ikkyū Sōjun: A Zen Monk and His Poetry*, Bellingham:
Western Washington State College Press, 1973. Without wasting much time dealing with Ikkyū’s eccentric life and conduct, Arntzen focuses her attention on his poetry, taking it as a very convenient means of exposing his specific approach to Zen. Instead of exalted admiration of his unusual treatment of Zen subjects and his licentious living, she rather suggests for her readers an adequate rendering of his verses, followed by her comprehensive comments. In her introduction, rather short to cover all the aspects of Ikkyū’s many-sided activity or to elucidate dubious facts of his riddle-bound biography, Arntzen just glimpses a few crucial points in his life, and certain ideas that are present later in his sometimes clumsy poems. Of greatest interest are her considerations of Ikkyū’s poetry with its immanent “dialectic of non-duality” abounding in obvious or hidden allusions to the Chinese Chan masters or just ordinary poets. Arntzen tries to unveil a mysterious mist above his poems, though accepting that “it is not necessary to recognize all the allusions, nor [sic] know precisely what they stand for” (p. 58). Nobody can be sure now to get the true understanding of Ikkyū’s turbulent nature beyond his words. Arntzen stresses the fluctuating content of the poems:

“As the reader’s mind flows through the poem, contradictory elements manifest themselves and in turn dissolve into one another. On the surface, the poem says one thing, by a suggested undercurrent, often brought into being by allusion, says the opposite and cancels the surface theme out.” (p. 39)

And she is correct, because the interpretation of Ikkyū’s poetic messages can be often in some way equated to the solving of a kōan.

Arntzen translated 144 poems by Ikkyū, or about 15 per cent of the whole text of the Kyōunshū, and she claims that “a complete translation would not only be unwieldy, but its necessity is debatable. ... Many poems treat a common theme in similar vocabulary. To include them all would be repetitious” (p. 60). Nevertheless I am of the opinion that a complete translation of the Crazy Cloud Anthology would help not only to understand what Zen themes were of primary importance for Ikkyū, and in what way they correspond with his way of living, but also to delineate the specific character of the Daitoku-ji line to which he belonged, in contrast to other traditions in Japan. Moreover, the commentaries to his verses, detailed and well-documented as Arntzen’s are, can be used as a steady guideline by anyone who wishes to uncover the deep-rooted principles of Zen philosophy. The book by Arntzen is in fact a good introduction to an unorthodox Zen teaching as promulgated by an eccentric and gifted person.

The edition’s charming design and a very convenient method of placing the original kanbun texts along with their translation make the reading of the book a real joy for those who would like to compare the original with the translations, which as a rule are not only refined and well-sounding, but quite exact.
Another book on Ikkyū, written by E. Steiner, has been accomplished on a quite different level and has as its aim to present Ikkyū as “a creative person” in the broadest cultural context of the Muromachi period. It is the first attempt to expose Ikkyū to a Russian audience as an unconventional sexual libertine who may be fascinating owing to his many-sided talents and scandalous fame in the Buddhist environment. Without any doubt the purpose sounds intriguing, but the reader constantly feels dissatisfaction with the methods used by the author.

Almost total ignorance of previous Japanese studies on Ikkyū (it is enough to mention just recent monograph publications by Ichikawa Hakugen, Yanagida Seizan, Minakami Tsutomu, Nishida Masayoshi, Murata Taihe, Hirano Sōjō, et al.) is amazing. The only book on Ikkyū in Japanese included in the Bibliography is Ono Yoshio, Fūkyō shi Ikkyū, Tokyo, 1976. Among the English language books on Ikkyū are the earlier work by S. Arntzen, q.v., James Sanford’s Zen-Man Ikkyū, Chico (Calif.), 1981, and the book by Jon C. Covell and Yamada Sōbin under the strange title, Ikkyū’s Controversial Way, Seoul, 1980 (it should surely be, “Zen’s Core: Ikkyū’s Freedom”). I was surprised to notice that rather long passages from these works are too often “lifted”, obviously because Steiner hates the copyright rules and prefers to make references only at random and at his own wish. To enumerate only the obvious cases of plagiarism would turn my review into a tedious list of correspondences. Those who are eager to know how James Sanford’s work sounds in bad Russian translation may compare long passages of Steiner’s book against Sanford’s: e.g. Steiner’s p. 54 against Sanford’s pp. 16–17; Steiner’s p. 57 against p. 20; p. 67 against p. 25–6; p. 99 against pp. 44–5 (the date of Kūkai’s birth misprinted by Sanford as 744 instead of 774 is borrowed as well); etc. The same can be said concerning the works by Arntzen and Covell, who are rarely referred to, though their translations and commentaries on poems are extensively used by Steiner. As a result the Russian transcriptions of Chinese names are often written erroneously; this is possible if a person does not know the correspondences between the Wade-Giles system and the standard Russian system for the transcription of Chinese names.

However, it would be unjust to label the work by Steiner as pure plagiarism. Sometimes he proclaims ideas that are unquestionably his own. Dealing with the state of satori, he compares it to the Confucian concept ren (benevolence, humanity), and as a result labels it as “an altered state of mind” (p. 72). The final aim of any meditation, claims Steiner, is to switch off the left hemisphere of the brain and to agitate the latent activity of the right hemisphere. But to experience this state too often and for a long time is a very dangerous thing, and it is the reason why Yan Yuan, the favourite disciple of Confucius, died prematurely (p. 75).

Much attention is paid to Ikkyū’s influence on medieval Japanese arts: calligraphy, ink painting, tea ceremony, Noh theatre, renga poetry, etc. A
non-sophisticated reader would be very grateful to Steiner for his efforts to prepare such an exquisite salmagundi-like dish spiced with thrilling facts and revelatory conclusions. But the specialist must be careful in using his statements without additional checking, and because references to the works used are often absent it is not easy to trace the sources of his mistakes, spurious suggestions, mis-transcriptions, or crazy ideas.

Perhaps the reader will be surprised at the information that *The Book of Tea* [Cha Jing] was compiled by the famous literary man [?] Lu Yu (who died in AD 804) in the thirteenth century [*sic*], and that he was worshipped throughout China as the god of the kitchen (p. 200); that the well-known Chinese monk Zhu-hung (1535–1615), especially famous for his joint practice of the Chan and Pure Land traditions, made, according to Steiner, “a clear distinction between *zuochan* and *nianfo*” (p. 134). Concerning Ciming (987–1040), a Chinese Chan monk who “was stabbing himself in the thigh to keep awake for meditation” (Arntzen, *op. cit.*, p. 67), Steiner makes the astonishing conclusion that “self-immolation of this monk resembles a pathological case of auto-eroticism, when the rejection of flesh is substituted by the highest self-concentration, a sort of masochistic narcissism that is not appropriate to a real monk” (p. 105).

Being tired of searching for the real sources of Steiner’s inspiration, I prefer now to turn back to Arntzen’s translations and to quote a poem typical of the “crazy Zen” of Ikkyū:

**DELUDED ENLIGHTENMENT**

No beginning, no end, this mind of ours;  
It does not achieve Buddhahood, the innate mind.  
Innate Buddhahood was the Buddha’s wild talk.  
The beings’ innate mind is the path to delusion.

(p. 149)

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At long last we have here a book which introduces and discusses the role and significance of Daoism and Daoist rituals in the cultural and social setting of contemporary Taiwan. It is mainly based on a series of lectures given to college students in 1983, but despite its title it is not a “beginner’s book”, nor is it just an introduction. The book is divided into three parts, plus a short introduction, a conclusion, and four appendices. The three main parts are
as follows: Part I, "The Context of Taoist Ritual", is sub-divided into three chapters: Ch. 1, "Liturgical and Cosmology: Chinese Numerology”, deals with the general context of the Daoist ritual in relation to traditional Chinese beliefs on cosmology and the science of numbers; Ch. 2, “Liturgy in Time: The Chinese Festival Calendar”, discusses the temporal aspects of various religious practices; and Ch. 3, entitled “Liturgy in Space: The Taoist Altar”, sets forth the norms of activity connected with the Daoist sancti loci, i.e. the temples and the altars.

Part II, “Basic Daoist Rituals”, consists of nine chapters with the first six chapters under the heading, “Liturgy for the Living: The Offering”, and the last three under the heading, “Liturgy for the Dead: The Ritual Merit”, as follows: Ch. 4, “The Basic Program”, which gives the general structure of a Daoist communal ritual (jiao); Ch. 5, “Preparations”, in which the author discusses the various ritual events which take place before the beginning of the jiao; Ch. 6, “The Announcement (fabiao), which deals with the despatch of the document or memorial to Heaven, where the Three Pure Ones (San Qing) reside. Here we are given a very thorough description of the progression of the ritual, including the Daoist masters ascent to Heaven through the stars of the Great Dipper, the so-called bugang. Ch. 7, “Sealing the Altar and Nocturnal Invocation”, gives a detailed presentation of the various exorcistic practices done by the Daoist priests in order to cleanse the altar of demonic influences, as well as a description of the actual “construction” of the main altar through the ritual of the Nocturnal Invocation; Ch. 8, “The Land of the Way”, discusses the central ritual of the jiao, which in fact consists of a whole set of nineteen connected rituals including “Pacing the Void” or bugang), “Purification of the Altar” (jingtan), “Invitation of the Masters” (lishi), “Reading the Memorial”(juyi), “Self-Introduction” (cheng fawei) and “Invitation” (shangqi), “Presentation of the Message (chengci)”, etc.; Ch. 9, “The Presentation of the Memorial”, which gives the details of an out-of-doors ritual dedicated to the Jade Emperor; Ch. 10, “The Basic Program of the Daoist Funeral Rite”, Ch. 11, “Opening a Road in the Darkness”, deals with the summoning of the souls of the deceased and includes the “turning on of the light” (kaiguang); Ch. 12, “Despatching the Writ of Pardon”, in which the Daoist priest petitions the gods on high to pardon the soul; and finally Ch. 13, “The Attack on Hell”, where the Daoist officiant together with a host of heavenly soldiers attacks hell in order to set the soul free.

Part III, “Liturgical Taoism and Chinese Society”. This section consists of two chapters: Ch. 14, “Taoism and Popular Religion”, is a general discussion of the role of Daoist rituals in relation to various popular cults, and Ch. 15, “Taoism and Political Legitimacy”, treats mainly the relationship between the State and Daoism along historical lines. The book is concluded with a lengthy and highly personal manifest under the title, “What is Daoism?” where the author, through comparing various religious aspects and beliefs, seeks to throw light on Daoism as a phenomenon.
Although the origin of the book in a series of lectures is readily apparent in its somewhat scattered form and overly discursive style, *Taoist Ritual in Chinese Society and History* is interesting reading, and a virtual goldmine of information even for the specialist. One of its great advantages is the author’s consistent attempt at contextualizing the Daoist rituals as practised in modern Taiwan through the use of enlightening passages culled from a host of classical works mainly from the Daozang. When it comes to the description of the individual rituals that make up the “programme” of the *jiao*, Lagerwey’s impressive knowledge and obvious fascination with his subject is brought out in the outstanding way in which he presents his information. His overview of the whole rite on the one hand, and his intrinsic descriptions of even the minor liturgic details conveys convincingly the structure and inner logic of the Daoist rituals in all their alien splendour. Previous works on the same subject by scholars such as K. Schipper and M. Saso, notwithstanding their merit as accounts of isolated rituals, have not succeeded in presenting a satisfactory overview of the contemporary Daoist liturgical traditions and their practices. For this reason, Lagerwey’s presentation is doubly welcome.

In the parts of the book more geared to the role of Daoism within the Chinese cultural and historical setting the author makes a point of going into lengthy discussion on which aspects are characteristic of Daoism. In this process of definition he takes to task a large number of the traditional Western misconceptions regarding Daoism, such as that of “philosophical Daoism” and “superstitious Daoist folk religion”, and rectifies them in a constructive and logical manner. Most importantly, however, he places Daoism in its institutionalized form centrally among the great religions of China.

Other good points about the book are its plates and the many illustrations accompanying the text. They are highly useful as they provide the reader with a better understanding of the often bewildering progression of the rituals in question. One could only wish that it had been possible to include double the number of photographs, integrated with the text. For the benefit of the learned reader the book is also provided with a very useful list of technical vocabulary, including the corresponding Chinese characters.

For a book with a scope as ambitious as the present work it is almost unavoidable that it should have a few shortcomings. In fact there are a few points which I would like to raise. The only major problem with *Taoist Ritual in Chinese Society and History* is its scope, which is simply too large to be contained in a single volume. Even for an introductory work of this kind it is obvious that it cannot keep what it promises, and this soon becomes evident as one progresses with one’s reading. That the title causes problems is obvious since it makes the reader expect a thorough treatment of Daoist rituals throughout the history of China on both the official level as well as the popular level, something which the book simply does not give. Although the title signals a wider scope of regional, cultural, and historical contexts, the book does in fact focus on the role of Daoist ritual within Chinese society in
modern Southern Taiwan (i.e. mainly the area in around the city of Tainan) only. For this reason, a title like “Daoist Ritual of Contemporary Taiwan in Historical Perspective” would have been more proper and less misleading.

The Conclusion of the book presents another problem. The highly discursive tone of this section does not go well with the rest of the book, which is strictly factual and to the point. Here the author seeks to clarify the main characteristics of Daoism in relation to other major religious traditions, but in doing so ends up in an absolute jungle of loose ideas, full of odd comparisons and “seems likes”, with items ranging from Greek philosophy, Christian communion, Hebrew prophets, Calvin, Voltaire—and so the list continues. It appears that the author has felt the need to state his own religious position in relation to Daoism; however, one may argue whether such an approach does help to clarify what Daoism is. In my opinion it rather gives us an idea of what Daoism is not.

An irritating point about this book is its form of annotation. The author does not provide proper notes, but limits himself to references located within the text itself. However, with a topic such as the one we have here, in which many not so obvious things are taken more or less for granted, the author ought to have presented a solid amount of footnotes. Annotation could also have been used with great benefit in his discussion of the common aspects of Chinese religion and beliefs, such as basic cosmology and numerology. Much of this has been said before, also in a Daoist context, and the author could easily have referred the reader to a standard work, with some comments in cases of disagreement.

Lagerwey’s consistent use of the term “liturgical Taoism” throughout the book to describe the institutionalized Daoist tradition is not satisfactory. Such a designation is much too general and tends to obscure the wide range of practices, both ritualistic, contemplative, and hygienic, which are characteristic of Daoist religion. It is possible that we can maintain a relatively clear-cut historical and perhaps even social distinction between Daoist masters of liturgy who mainly serve the community, and those who engage in meditative and alchemical practices with a more individual goal. However, from a hermeneutical and phenomenological point of view a rigid distinction does not really match with the classical sources. Furthermore it is commonly known that several of the important Daoist priests from modern Tainan also engage in neigong practices, something which would seem to invalidate the term “liturgical Taoism” as a general label.

One minor point which Lagerwey has omitted from his discussion of the Daoist liturgical procedures is the historical indebtedness to Buddhism. It remains unclear from the book to what degree Daoist rituals were influenced by especially Esoteric Buddhism (Mi Zong). The author mentions Tantric Buddhism in passing (p. 58), but any attempt at contextualizing the possible Buddhist influence is missing. It is hoped that Lagerwey at some later point will elaborate on this highly interesting connection, which might prove cen-
tral to our understanding of the development of Chinese liturgical practices as a whole.

There are obvious historical reasons why most scholars in the field of modern Daoism have focused on the tradition in Taiwan; nevertheless I believe that the author would have served his readers better had he at least given a survey of Daoism and Daoist rituals as practised in the PRC and Hong Kong today. From personal observations I know that Daoism is still very vital on the mainland, especially in Fujian, Guangdong, and Hunan, and it would have been both interesting and enhancing for the perspective of this book had such information been provided.

Although *Taoist Ritual in Chinese Society and History* is intended as an introduction to Daoist ritual aimed at a general audience interested in East Asian religion, with the exception of the first three chapters it is difficult to see it as such in view of its superlative information and complexity. In fact, the book is very much a specialist’s book and is a must for both the serious student and the more advanced researcher. Its obvious value lies not only in its being virtually the first scholarly work to introduce the intricate and complex structures of the Daoist rituals in modern Chinese society, but equally for its lucid presentation of an obscure topic. Despite its various minor flaws, the book can be highly recommended, and it is bound to be the reference work on Daoist ritual for years to come.


This book is meant as a popular and non-scholarly introduction to the teachings of the Korean Sŏn (Jap. Zen) Buddhist master T’aego Pou (1301–82), and includes a partial translation of the *Taego Chip* [T’aego’s Collection]. Although it belongs to a category of modern Buddhist books mainly aimed at a non-specialist audience, which falls outside the scope of the present journal, it has nevertheless been reviewed here on the grounds that translations of Korean Buddhist works are extremely scarce.

According to the translator’s Preface,

*A Buddha from Korea* is intended to open a window on Zen Buddhism in old Korea. The book centers on a translation of the teachings of the great fourteenth-century Korean adept known as Taego, who was the leading representative of Zen in his own time and place. This is an account of Zen Buddhism direct from an authentic source. (p. xi)

In any case the present translation is yet another effort in the now considerable output of mainly popular translations of various classical works from the
East Asian Buddhist and Daoist traditions which J. C. Cleary and Thomas Cleary have produced over the last decade.

The book consists of a Preface in which the translator-commentator sets forth his purpose in translating this particular work. Next follows a slightly polemic Acknowledgements. Here J. C. Cleary gives his thanks to a list of prominent scholars in Korean intellectual history and then proceeds to criticize Korean “specialists’’ books for being impenetrably arid and for incorporating mistaken concepts of Buddhism. The translator states, “To provide material on Zen in Korea that would be informative and usable, the logical alternative was to translate primary sources, to give direct access to authentic spokesmen of the tradition” (p. xv). Next he goes on to present the Solso edition of T’aego Chip, which has served as his source. In passing we learn that the translator “was drawn back to T’aego to translate his words in full” (p. xvi). Finally Cleary admits that he is not a Korea specialist, but that he wants to “offer this book as a Zen translator” (loc. cit.).

Then follows a lengthy essay meant to introduce to the reader the whole gamut of East Asian Buddhist culture, including Zen, under headings such as The Coming of Buddhism to East Asia; Everyday Popular Buddhism; Institutionalization; The Buddhist Scriptures; Pure Land Buddhism; Zen Buddhism; The Three Religions; Rebel Buddhism; Buddhism in Korea; Silla; Confucian and Buddhist Influences; Korean Zen; More Korean Politics; Koryǒ Buddhism; Koryŏ: Confucianism and Power Politics; State and Society; Religion in the Mongol Period; Tantra; Pure Land and Other Lay Devotionalism; Millenarian Beliefs; Zen in Mongol Times; and finally some fifteen pages treating T’aego’s life, based on his stele inscriptions. This introduction takes up nearly half the book.

Then follows the translation itself, consisting of the Masters sayings, formal discourses, personal letters to disciples, poems, hymns, and miscellany. The book is concluded by a glossary of the most rudimentary sort.

From the start of this book it is apparent to the reader that we are here dealing with a modern example of Buddhist apologetics. This feature is particularly prominent in Cleary’s constant attempts at justifying T’aego’s involvement with the secular powers, upon which he drew for disciples, and economic and political support. There should really be no problem with the Sŏn Master’s political involvement, unless one tries to see him as something other than a human being working within a certain cultural and religious milieu. But perhaps this is the case? While there is to my mind nothing suspect in writing on Buddhism from a Buddhist point of view, it is uncomfortable to be presented with the sort of spiritual clutter which the translator-commentator apparently has the need to flaunt when he says in reference to the Sŏn masters, “As bodhisattvas they had a cosmic time-frame and complete equanimity motivating their compassion…” (p. 2).

As regards the introduction itself, apart from the fact that it is much too long and for the most part inessential in relation to both Taego and the T’aego
Chip, it is remarkable that Cleary has not taken the time to acquire a better grasp of Korean Buddhism (especially since he criticizes available scholarly works for harbouring misconceptions of Buddhism). In one instance, when trying to describe the situation of Korean Buddhism and Sŏn in particular under the Mongols, he says, “So heavy was the destruction in Korea that only very fragmentary records remain between Chingak (d. 1234) and T’aego (fl. 1340–81)” (p. 60). I do not know where the translator got his information from, but it is—to put it mildly—downright misleading. Apart from the fact that the woodblocks of the Tripitaka were burnt by the Mongols, we have an abundance of written Buddhist material from the latter half of the Koryŏ Dynasty to be able to safely dismiss such a statement as groundless. The reader needs only consult the Hanguk Pulgyo Chŏnsŏ, Vol. 6 and the Chosen Kinseki Šoran, which contain original scriptures and stele inscriptions from the years c. AD 1200–1392, to see for himself. In fact the only part of the introduction worth reading is the section on T’aego himself, since it is mainly based on primary sources.

As is the case with most of J. C. Cleary’s other translations, A Buddha from Korea is not a complete translation, nor is it literal in a strict academic sense of the word. This is not to say that the translation is not good. It is in fact rather good and also highly readable; and it does succeed to a large degree in “getting T’aego’s message across”. What is annoying, however, is that Cleary does not give any criteria for his translations, nor does he indicate the considerable redactions to which he has subjected the original text. In any case it is clear that he has only translated around 80 per cent of the T’aego Chip. Had he been a little more conscientious he could have made simple references to the modern standard edition of the T’aego Chip as found in the Hanguk Pulgyo Chŏnsŏ, Vol. 6, mentioned previously. This would have made the translation useful to a larger audience.

On account of the rambling and odd tone of the Introduction, A Buddha from Korea cannot be widely recommended as it simply contains too many formal errors. This is a shame since the translation itself is not bad, and testifies to a deep personal interest on the part of the translator. One could only have hoped that his devotion to Zen Buddhism had extended to the reader, too, so that he might have taken a more self-critical attitude to the style and contents of his own writing. This apart, the Introduction should have been cut down to half of what it is and centred strictly on T’aego and his time. To this end, the translator ought to have consulted the considerable amount of secondary literature on Koryŏ Buddhism and Sŏn available in the modern Korean language.

Chiefly because of the skilful lay-out done for the cover and the fine reproduction of the celebrated monochrome ink painting, “Contemplating the
“Water”, by the Korean painter Kang Hui-an (1419–65), the book presents itself very well. It is decidedly one of the most beautiful and aesthetically pleasing paperback covers to have hit the market in the past several years (this compliment goes to Shambala).

(HHS)

Brief Notices


Recent years have seen a resurgence of interest in the Central Asian cultures of the Silk Road. This has been the case not least in Japan, where much scholarly activity has focused on Central Asian Buddhism. As studies written in Japanese are inaccessible to the vast majority of Western scholars, this collection of carefully selected papers, translated into German, is particularly welcome.

The present volume consists of five studies. The first two deal with the Buddhist art of East Turkestan, and were first published in Seiiki bunka kenkyū 5 (Monumenta Serindica, Vol. 5, Kyoto 1962): Hadani Ryōtai, “Einführung in die buddhistische Kunst Ost-Turkestans”, and Ueno Teruo, “Skulpturen aus Ost-Turkestan”. The primary concern of both authors is to establish a typology by means of which Buddhist art from this area may be classified on the basis of stylistic criteria. The classificatory principle is that of stylistic influence; thus sculptural styles are classified as “Classical-Occidental”, “Oriental and Iranian”, “Gandhāran”, “Indian”, “East-Turkestanic”, and “Chinese”. The authors justly point out that “pure” examples of the relevant styles are less common than pieces where one style predominates while one or more others may also be identified.

The remaining three articles are by Ueno Aki, and have all been published in the journal Bijutsu kenkyū [Studies on the Fine Arts]: “Forschungs-material: Über farbige Papierbildfragmente aus Turfan” (1963); “Über ein Praṇidhi-Wandgemälde aus Büzülklik im Besitz des Eremitage-Museums” (1971); and “Darstellungen von Fu Hsi und Nü Kua aus Astana” (1974).

While papers constituting this volume do not discuss problems of interpretation (content, function, meaning), they do provide very careful description and, in the case of the article on Fu Hsi and Nü Kua, useful references to Chinese publications. The editor, Professor Hans-Joachim Klimkeit (Bonn), as well as the translator, Dr. Renate Herold (Tokyo), and the editorial secretary, Peter Pfandt, M.A. (Bonn), are to be thanked for establishing this link between Japanese and Western research on Central Asia.
The *Maitrisimit* is a Buddhist text in the form of a play (*nāṭaka*) focusing on the future Buddha Maitreya. It is written in Uigur, and although it is closely related to the extensive Maitreya literature in Pāli, Sanskrit, and Khotanese, and although there exists a version of the *Maitrisimit* in Tocharian A which is explicitly stated in the colophon to have been translated from an Indian original, such a version or prototype has so far not come to light.

The Uigur *Maitrisimit* was published by Annemette von Gabain in 1957 and 1962 in the form of a fascimile edition of a manuscript originating from the vicinity of Turfan and brought to Berlin by the German Central Asian expeditions. This text was thereupon studied, edited, and translated by Tekin in 1980. In 1959, however, a second manuscript, now preserved in the museum in Urumchi, was discovered in the Hami district; this manuscript fills in many lacunae in the Turfan manuscript. It is the Hami manuscript which is here edited and translated by the two leading experts on Turkic Buddhism, Professors Hans-Joachim Klimkeit and Geng Shimin (Beijing).

When translating Buddhist terms, the authors have rendered the meaning as expressed by the Uigur version; thus öngüz tngri yir is rendered “nicht-farbige Götterwelt”, although the Sanskrit term is *arūpadevaloka* “the divine world of formlessness” (p. 7). An index of reconstructed Sanskrit terms has been prepared with the help of Dr. Helmut Eimer. The translation therefore provides valuable material for the study, still in progress, of the concepts and terminology of Turkic Buddhism.

An important motif in the text is the instruction and consecration of Maitreya by Buddha Śākyamuni. The authors point out that this conscious insertion of the future Buddha into historical time may well be of Iranian or Gnostic, especially Manichaean, origin (p. 2). It is also known that the play was performed on a “new day”. The authors suggest that this may refer to the first day of a half-month, and that this particular event was repeated annually. Whether this annual performance took place in connection with the celebration of the New Year is a question which cannot be answered (p. 7), but it is nevertheless tempting to suppose that the Maitreya festival might have been a Buddhist transmutation of an Iranian prototype.

The present work contains the text and translation of the first five of the twenty-eight chapters which make up the *Maitrisimit*. In addition, three other chapters have been published elsewhere by the authors: Ch. 10 (*Alt-orientalische Forschungen* 14 (1987), pp. 350–76); Ch. 11 (*ibid.* 15 (1988), pp. 315–66); and Ch. 16 (*Journal of Turkish Studies* 9 (1985), pp. 71–132).
One hopes that the entire text will eventually be published in the same excellent manner and that this important text may thus be placed at the disposal of Buddhologists, Turkologists, and historians of religion.

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Firstly a rapid survey of the papers of Weller (1889–1980) reprinted in these two handy volumes in the well-known and extremely useful series of _opera minora_ of the German Indologists: approximately one hundred pages dealing with Vedic studies, nearly all of it taken up by his “Die Legende von Šunahšepa im Aitareyabrahmāṇa und Šānkāyanaśrautasūtra” from 1956; then two brief papers on some problems in Aśoka’s inscriptions from Calcutta-Bairāṭ and Sāṃchī; some “general” papers on Buddhism, i.e. reviews of some of Conze’s books, and “Die Überlieferung des älteren buddhistischen Schrifttums” from 1928; eleven papers related to Pāli studies, most important among which are those on the Pāṭikasuttanta and the edition of the Jātaka in verse based on the Mandalay and Phayre manuscript. The remaining 400 pages of the first volume deal with Buddhist texts in Sanskrit. Here we find papers on Aśvaghoṣa’s Buddhacarita and Saundaranandakāvyā, and also Weller’s earliest contribution to the field, the dissertation on the prose of the Lalitavistara from 1915 (with a useful summary of the irregularities of orthography and sandhi in the Sanskrit manuscripts, pp. 495–6). Here we also find an _index verborum_ to the Sanskrit text of the Kāśyapaparivarta, a text to the investigation of which Weller’s name is intimately connected almost _in aeternum_. Finally a translation of the Brahmajālasūtra from the Tibetan and Mongolian. (Here Professor Rau could easily have reprinted Weller’s own edition of the Tibetan and Mongolian, hard to come by these days, without violating the statute of the Glasenapp Foundation.) Approximately 700 pages of the second volume contain translations from the Chinese: The Brahmajālasūtra and the Han and Sung versions of another of Weller’s old favourites, the Kāśyapaparivarta (Weller also translated the two other Chinese versions, but again the reader will have to look elsewhere for these also hard-to-come-by works). “Buddha’s letzte Wanderung” is a translation of the sūtra corresponding to the Mahāparinibbānasuttanta, i.e. Dīghanikāya XVI. An appendix to the paper on the Chinese version of the Dharmasaṃgraha deals with the Lakkhaṇasuttanta, which also belongs to the Dīghanikāya collection. Finally there are six papers pertaining to the history of art, a bibliography and various indices, etc.
Though Weller’s translations usually lack grace they are almost invariably reliable and accurate. As a philosopher Weller is as weak as can be: his interests seldom go beyond the realm of words, as is often the case with linguists. When annotating his translations Weller is never parsimonious, his style is too circumstantial, too many observations are trivial. His erudition and thoroughness, however, make Weller great in little matters, as it were. In retrospect, his life-long study of the Kāśyapaparivarta on the basis of Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese and Mongolian, is, in my opinion, a most significant contribution to Buddhist studies. These studies show in detail that the “holy” scriptures of Buddhism were never considered too holy to be revised and developed in the course of time. We are, in a word, dealing with “floating traditions”.

It goes without saying that Professor Rau, himself one of Weller’s old students, has done a fine job in editing and providing this reprint with a bibliography and various indices.


This reprint of thirty-two minor works, or rather selected minor works, can be regarded as a supplement, or a companion volume to the twenty-three papers by Waldschmidt reprinted in 1967 under the title Von Ceylon bis Turfan and still available from Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht in Göttingen.

Ernst Waldschmidt’s (1897–1985) contribution to Indology and Buddhology covers a long period—from 1925 to 1985. The history of Indian art and Buddhist canonical literature were his main fields of interest. Apart from some brief obituaries (Le Coq, Grünwedel, Lüders, Sieg, F. W. Thomas, Sir John Marshall, Valentina Stache-Rosen, etc.), and two papers pertaining to the history of art in India, this volume contains almost twenty papers dealing with Buddhist literature from Central Asian sources.

These papers show Waldschmidt as a scholar of aksaras lost and found. Identifications of fragments of sūtras from Central Asia, reconstructions and comparisons with parallel texts in Pāli and Chinese—these are the main features of Waldschmidt’s work, a feast for lovers of jigsaw puzzles of the Buddhological sort.

On the whole Waldschmidt’s work addresses itself to a very small and specialized group of scholars; one could probably count their names on one or two hands. To them this volume is indispensable. The bibliography and indices are done summa cum cura. All plates are reproduced in a satisfactory fashion.

A couple of Waldschmidt’s papers have a wider appeal. This goes for “Volks-kunst und Handwerk in Indien”, and “The Influence of Buddhism on German
Philosophy and Poetry”. Danish readers in particular will find some interesting personal reminiscences of Karl Gjellerup, whom Waldschmidt knew in Dresden from 1916 to 1919. It is also curious to notice what initially inspired Waldschmidt to take up Indological studies. Judging from his published work it would be hard to guess that it was the inspiration derived from reading Schopenhauer. There is not a word of philosophy in the corpus of Waldschmidt’s writings!

Students of Vajrayāna want to be aware of the Upasenasūtra dealt with here and in Von Ceylon bis Turfan. It is a snake-charm of a very early date, very popular in Chinese Turkestan (and probably in most other places), and contains mantras. The text clearly belongs to the “prehistory” of Vajrayāna. There are several echoes of this sūtra in later tantras.

The Glasenapp Foundation is now slowly running out of German Indologists who have left their opera minora for reprinting by later editors. It would still be useful to have the minor works of Richard Schmidt, Max Walleser, and Richard Pischel reprinted. And there are others—not to speak of some of the early papers of some of the German Indologists still among the living!


Only a short while after the splendid exhibition, “Vergessene Städte am Indus” in Munich, the beautiful capital of Bavaria once again has attracted the attention of a public interested in matters oriental, this time with the exhibition “Die Mongolen”, in the Haus der Kunst from 22 March to 28 May 1989.

The first part of this profusely illustrated catalogue contains 238 photographs of the finest items on display: paintings, weapons, jewelry, textiles, household utensils, costumes, masks, drums, thankas, etc. The second part is a book comprising fifty-nine essays by a large number of eminent scholars in the field on all aspects of Mongolia, its history and culture.

Both parts offer first class entertainment. The illustrations are interesting, all the essays are well-informed and highly readable, always short enough not to challenge the reader’s patience. Variatio delectat! This is a catalogue that even scholars can come back to again and again, in a way a companion volume to Walter Heissig’s highly treasured Die Mongolen, Düsseldorf/Wien 1979.

No sane Scandinavian can take these volumes in his hands without a deep feeling of regret, especially when he reads the chapter on “Skandinavier und Finnen in der Mongolei”. Magnificent were the pioneer efforts of Sven Hedin, Henning Haslund-Christensen, Kaare Grønbeck, et al., but Denmark and Sweden have utterly failed in producing scholars capable of handling their obligations and heritage properly. Without Walter Heissig, his students, and
a few others it is hard to see what Mongolian studies would have been like in Europe today. It would be a step in the right direction to have this Mongolian exhibition on display in the Scandinavian countries.


A knowledge of classical, literary, or written—or, for that matter, why not “canonical”?—Mongolian is necessary not just, of course, for Mongolists, but also for Buddhologists engaged in the study of Tibetan Buddhism. For a Buddhologist in general it is something of a luxury. Time is better spent on Sanskrit and Pāli, conditiones sine quibus non. Tibetan and/or Chinese (cum Japanese) depend on one’s particular interests. Mongolian, then, comes in as a sort of appendix to Tibetan, much the same way that Thai, Burmese, etc., come in as handmaids to Pāli. (Quite another matter is that one can sometimes regret that “pure” Mongolists display a lack of sufficient knowledge of Tibetan and Sanskrit!)

This little book is a reader with some observations on the grammar. The first ten selections for reading have been reproduced from N. N. Poppe, G. D. Sanžeev, et al., Učebnik mongol’skogo jazyka, Moskva 1940; the remaining four pieces from Popped well-known grammar and Jülg’s old Mongolische Märchen-Sammlung, Innsbruck 1868.

Buddhologists who take up canonical Mongolian will probably never find an official post in this field, but on the other hand they will never have reason to be out of work. A huge and undigested mass of Mongolia literature awaits the intrepid explorer. The area is not difficult of access any more. Having acquainted himself with the grammar of Grønbeck or Poppe the student can easily read this book on his own. After that he should be able to proceed with the help of dictionaries, etc. Hopefully, this reader will inspire him to do so!


The reader has to take this book in his own hands to realize what an enormous amount of conscientious work Bhikkhu Pāsādika has put into tracing, compiling, and editing the canonical quotations found in Vasubandhu’s Abhidharmakośabhāṣya. The result is a model of what such a compilation of citations should be. Originally intended as an ancillary project to the Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, the purpose
of the book, in the words of Bhikkhu Pāsādika, is also this: “Beider Erschließung buddhistischer Sanskrit-Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, insbesondere bei der Beschäftigung mit Fragmenten, hat man sich bereits durch die in den genannten Abhandlungen Vasubandhus (i.e. Abhidharmakośabhāṣya) und Yaśomitrās (i.e. Abhidharmakośavyākhyā) überlieferten Zitate wertvolle Möglichkeiten des Textvergleichs oder sogar der Textergänzung zunutze machen können. Auch für die weitere Arbeit mit buddhistischen Texten aus Zentralasien möge sich eine Zusammenstellung in dem Abhidharmakośabhāṣya hier und da verstreut, bisweilen nicht ohne weiteres erkennbarer Zitate nebst Angaben von Quellen und Parallelen als brauchbares Hilfsmittel erweisen.”

Bhikkhu Pāsādika arrives at the conclusion that Vasubandhu, when quoting Abhidharma texts, as a rule bases himself on the Sarvāstivāda or Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition. This is certainly true as far as it goes, but not very surprising, for let us not forget that Vasubandhu’s Kośa is a sort of summary of the Mahāvibhāṣa, a Sarvāstivāda work par excellence. So, after all, this conclusion does not tell us terribly much about Vasubandhu’s own background. For a more complete and true picture of this we will obviously have to trace the sources of his other works, especially the Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa, the Pratītyasamutpādavyākhyā, the Vyākhyāyukti, the Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa, and the Trīṃśikā, and then, I am sure, an entirely different result will emerge.

Many of the 536 quotations collected here also occur in other sources later than the Abhidharmakośa, not only in Abhidharma works such as Skandhila’s Abhidharmāvatāra and Candrakīrti’s Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa, but also in a large number of sāstras belonging to various branches of Mahāyāna philosophy. When dealing with the sources of such texts Bhikkhu Pāsādika’s painstaking work is bound to prove useful. Again and again we shall see that later authors tend to quote citations (or citations of citations) from the original texts rather than the original texts themselves. This observation, again, sometimes permits us to arrive at firm conclusions about the relationship between certain authors and their respective works. More than once quotations in common is all that permits us to link such sources together. In such cases even the slightest variants can be of great consequence, for variants or faults in common invariably indicate a source in common.


As Prof. K. Mimaki on behalf of the editorial committee rightly says in the Preface to this reprint, Prof. Kajiyama’s writings cover the following five fields: Madhyamaka philosophy, Mahāyāna sūtra, Buddhist logic and epistemology, the doctrinal position of several Buddhist schools, and Chinese
and Japanese Buddhist thought based on Indian Buddhist philosophy. This volume is a collection of reprints of all the papers (with two exceptions) published by Prof. Kajiyama in English or German, to wit:

1. Transfer and Transformation of Merits in Relation to Emptiness
2. Mādhyamika (for the Encyclopedia of Religion)
3. Transfer of Merits in Pure Land Buddhism
4. Stūpa, the Mother of Buddhas and Dharma-body
5. Woman in Buddhism
6. On the Meanings of the Words Bodhisattva and Mahāsattva in Prajñāpāramitā Literature
7. Mahāyāna Buddhism and the Philosophy of Prajñā
8. Later Mādhyamikas on Epistemology and Meditation
9. Realism of the Sarvāstivāda School
10. “Thus Spoke the Blessed One”
11. Three Kinds of Affirmation and Two kinds of Negation in Buddhist Philosophy
12. The Atomic Theory of Vasubandhu, the Author of Abhidharmakośa
13. Bhāvaviveka, Sthiramati and Dharmapāla
14. An Introduction to Buddhist Philosophy—an annotated translation of Tarkabhāṣā of Mokṣākaragupta
15. The Vaidalyaprakaraṇa of Nāgārjuna
16. Controversy between the Sākāra- and Nirākāra-vādins of the Yogācāra School—Some Materials
17. Buddhist Solipsism—a free translation of Ratnakīrti’s Santānāntaradūśaṇa
18. Bhāvaviveka’s Prajñāpradīpa (1. Kapitel)
20. The Avayavinirākaraṇa of Paṇḍita Aśoka

This book is simply a feast for all true lovers of Buddhist philosophy. The quality of reproduction, paper and binding is superb—thus corresponding beautifully to the contents behind the covers of the book, the delicious fruit of more than thirty years of research.

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While quite a number of the basic texts and commentaries on the main treatises and classics within Indian Buddhism and their translations into Tibetan, which form the textus receptus and are preserved above all in the Tibetan Canon, have for a long time been readily at hand, students and scholars have long felt the lack of some of the many important commentarial contributions by the early Tibetan erudites when conducting critical studies.

Fortunately, with the publication of catalogues and handlists of Tibetan collections of xylographs and manuscripts, as well as the more tedious and painstaking searching for individual prints outside Tibet, more and more of the key commentaries within Tibetan scholasticism have seen the light of day. The Rong-ston Phar-phyin, or the Prajñāpāramitā exposition by Rong-ston, is such an important treatise. The author, Rong-ston Shes-bya kun-rig (AD 1367–1449), can be ranged as one of Tibet’s greatest savants. The full title of the present facsimile reproduction is Shes-rab kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa’i man-ngag gi bstan-bcos mNgon-par rtogs-pa’i rgyan gyi ’grel-pa’i rnam-bshad tshig-don rab-tu gsal-ba. The subject presented in this commentarial exegesis (rnam-bshad, vyākhyāna) is on the crucial, albeit brief, Sphuṭārthā commentary by the late eighth-century Indian philosopher-ācārya Haribhadra on the Abhisamayālaṃkāra. This work, as adduced by Jackson in the introduction, is a key treatise which syntheses Prajñāpāramitā and Madhyamaka doctrines. In fact, the Prajñāpāramitā philosophy as expounded in the Abhisamayālaṃkāra had since the time of rNgog lo-tsā-ba Blo-Idan shes-rab (AD 1059–1109), the founder of Tibetan scholasticism, been one of the most studied topics for Tibetan scholars of Mahāyāna philosophy.

Besides supplying us with the reproduced text of the blockprint edition preserved in the Tibet House Library in New Delhi, Jackson in the introduction provided this book with a brief survey of Rong-ston’s life which casts light on his scholarly career; a list of his teachers, his pupils or students, and his patrons; a detailed description of his writings (both extant and lost); and the time of composition of the present treatise, as well as pertinent details on this earliest known xylographic edition. Finally, in the Appendix the text of the colophon is rendered, and Rong-ston’s main lineage of the transmission of the Abhisamayālaṃkāra is given, along with a useful topical outline (sa bcad, bs dus don) of the contents of the work.

Dr. David P. Jackson as well as the staff of the Biblia Tibetica Series, notably Shunzo Onoda, who is listed as collaborator for this work, must be thanked for the very careful reproduction of this old and rare edition of
Rong-ston phar-phyin. Furnished moreover with an informative and excellent preamble this book is bound to set the standard for future reproductions of key texts within Tibetan scholasticism.


The present volume is a provisional handlist of the Tibetan material preserved in the office of the Bihar Research Society. The holdings have hitherto been one of the least known and utilized of the major collections in the world. The many manuscripts and xylographs are the result of the bold and daring enterprise of the Indian scholar Rāhula Śāṅkṛtyāyana, who had the material brought back to India by mule from Central Tibet in the mid-thirties. Several attempts have been made to make the material more accessible, first in a provisional catalogue by dGe’dun chos-’phel (unpublished), then one by S. C. Sarkar in 1946. The sole published guide to this miscellaneous series is by G. R. Choudhary and T. Matsushima, which was sufficient to give a rough idea of the collection, but its value was lessened by its not listing titles and authors’ names in their full forms.

The present book is an attempt to fill the gap left by the previous catalogues. Jackson has recorded the titles and pagination, the names of the authors and the place of printing (whenever feasible) of the textual material, which is kept in bundles. From the detailed list prepared by Jackson it is evident that this collection contains some very interesting and important items. Suffice it to mention 1005 (B. no. 208), ’Phags-pa rnam-par myi-rtog-par ’jug-pa’i gzungs rgya-cher ’grel-ba by Kamalaśīla, an old manuscript (dbu-can), probably 12th–13th century; 1034 (B. no. 272), Rong-ston Phar-phyin (cf. previous recension); and 1289 (B. no. 459), bDe-bar gshegs-pa’i bstan-pa rin-po-che la ’jug-pa’i lam gyi rim-pa rnam-par bshad-pa by Gro-lung-pa Blo-gros ’byung-gnas (fl. 1100), a xylograph in 548 folios, and perhaps the first type of lam-rim genre in Tibet.

This handlist, which Dr. David P. Jackson has supplied with a handy author index and a title index, will greatly facilitate scholars’ and students’ study of Tibetan literature. Dr. Jackson must be heartily thanked for this important survey of a little known collection in India. Hopefully it will pave the way for others to engage in cataloguing the other half-dozen important collections of Tibetan writings outside Tibet.

(PKS)
This collection of essays by one of the leading exponents of The Kyoto School of philosophy is a reprint, without revisions, of Macmillan's 1985 publication (London).

The Kyoto School is one of the most profound expressions of the Japanese philosophic bent and a leading factor in the current philosophic and religious dialogue with the West, according at least to the various assertions made by the Western adherents it has gained. It does seem to me, though, that whether or not one derives any benefit from their writings depends on a simple propensity for this kind of intellectual discourse, rather than the innate attraction or coherence of the arguments themselves. Many of the assertions made in this collection of essays, written over the last two decades or so, belong to the context of an edifying seppō rather than rigorous philosophic argument. As such one often feels that much of the book requires a kind of act of faith before one can derive anything from it, and the difficulties involved in unravelling the threads of the real arguments can be rather frustrating.

One of the aims of the collection is a dialogue with the West, both with the Western philosophic tradition and with Christianity. Whilst Prof. Abe shows familiarity with the most important phases of these traditions, one frequently pauses to reflect on whether a more thorough knowledge, combined with more familiarity with the problems involved in cross-cultural comparison, would lead to significantly different results. The following quotation, for example, shows how such omissions can leave an innate sense of one's own cultural superiority untouched:

It should be clear that while Christianity and Buddhism are concerned primarily with the salvation of human existence, their ground for salvation differ [sic]: in Christianity it is personalistic, whereas in Buddhism it is cosmological. In the former, the personal relationship between a human and God is axial, with the universe as its circumference; in the latter, personal suffering and salvation reside in the impersonal, boundless, cosmological dimension which embraces even a divine-human relationship. (p. 31)

Buddhism does not even consider a divine-human relationship of the type which is central to Christian thinking and faith. One might point out many such slips, which frequently detract from the credibility of this collection as a whole. One is nevertheless compelled to give Abe credit for making an honest attempt at a task (the study of a completely foreign culture’s philosophic and religious tradition) which very few would feel equal to, and which even fewer would make anything of.
Another type of cross-cultural misunderstanding is evident in another essay (Chapter 9), a transcript of a meeting held with Christian missionaries in Kyoto in 1974. This item is largely only of historical interest now, but, in its portrayal, for example, of the Japanese playing the role of Zen master in a formalized mondō situation firing half-absurd questions at a Catholic priest whose questions deserve answering on their own level, does show clearly the kind of unnecessary knots cultures can get themselves into.

The first nine chapters (embracing Parts I and II, *Zen and its Elucidation* and *Zen, Buddhism, and Western Thought*) do, however, contain useful ideas, even though they are generally expressed in language which would benefit from the philosopher’s knife. These chapters also contain a number of diagrams in illustration of the ideas put forward by the author, but I must confess to not always being able to perceive the connections between them and the arguments in the text. Part III (*Three Problems in Buddhism*) deals with nirvāṇa, purity, and śūnyatā and tathatā. They are rather personal statements on these topics, thus limiting their usefulness as expositions of Buddhist dogma as such. Particularly, much of what is said about śūnyatā both here and elsewhere—although it presents a well-placed plea for not interpreting the concept negatively—would have Nāgārjuna turning in his urn. Part IV is a collection of meditations on “Religion in the Present and the Future” and is generally too loose to be of value.

Whilst the book underlines the importance of being aware of the underlying presuppositions and postulates of Zen teachings, it seems to me to take one step too many in the intellectual elucidation of them, producing as it does a complex and subtle superstructure of ideas which often clearly have a demonstrably affective origin.

The book has been carefully edited, and the cover—which juxtaposes a scowling Bodhidharma with a scowling Nietzsche—is quite amusing. And their eyes do not quite meet.


This work is a welcome addition to the growing literature on religion in Japan. It is most welcome for the manner in which it bridges the frustrating gap between detailed specialized studies and more general expositions. The former tend to be generally of a high standard but difficult to use outside their immediate surroundings because of the lack of an up to date survey of those surroundings. The latter are of increasingly limited usefulness. Prof. Naumann’s new book is based on ample primary and secondary literature, and takes little for granted. As such it stands in contrast to, for example, Joseph Kitagawa’s recent *On Understanding Japanese Religion* (Princeton, 1987), which in many ways is a simple re-packaging of twenty-five years’ research.
The book begins before history, building on and revising the authors previous work on this period, and giving varied discussion of the theories involved in explaining the first awakenings of the religious life on the Japanese islands. Further chapters deal with the transition from the prehistoric to the historic period, examining the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi* as sources for the history of Japanese religion. The mythology of the Japanese and the path from mythology and cosmology to worldly dominion is also traced. In this manner the background for the arrival of Buddhism is sketched. Buddhism's arrival and subsequent acceptance are also dealt with in a separate chapter, after which the state cult up to the composition of the *Engi-shiki* in 928 is set out in detail. The final chapter deals with religious developments of the Nara and Heian Periods in three sections, old and new cults, the intermingling of Buddhism and native ideas, and finally the ideas and practices formulated for the overcoming of one’s fate, and private religiosity.

A ten-page bibliography and a twenty-seven page index finish the work, adding to its usefulness as a tool for study. (Though I must say that I would have found precise references to the original texts—omitted to make the book more readable for the general reader—at least as useful. The habit—by no means consistent—of putting often quite long references in the body of the text rather than in footnotes, thus burdening the reader, makes this decision seem a little inconsistent.) On the whole, though, a most welcome addition to both the general reader’s and the specialist’s bookshelf.

(IA-K)