Janine Anderson Sawada, *Confucian Valued and Popular Zen: Sekimo Shingaku in Eighteenth Century Japan.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993. ISBN 0-8248-1414-2

Sawada's book discusses the development of the ethical religious movement Shingaku from the period after the death of its founder, Ishida Baigan, through its period of major growth in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Much attention has been devoted to Shingaku's earlier history by Japanese and Western scholars, including Robert Bellah (*Tokugawa Religion*, New York: Free Press, 1957), whose well-known argument that religion reinforced Takugawa Japan's emergent economic ethic and thereby provided a major stimulus towards the growth of a modern industrial society, paid particular emphasis to Baigan's teaching and to Shingaku's social functions. As Sawada points out, however, such studies have overlooked the spiritual and individual functions and orientations of Shingaku, and have paid little attention to Shingaku as it developed after Baigan's death. Her admirably researched and balanced book goes some way towards filling such lacunae by concentrating on the formation of post-Baigan Shingaku teaching and practice, primarily through an investigation of the life and work of Ishida's disciple, Teshima Toan (1718–86), and of Toan's own successors and disciples.

Sawada shows how Shingaku emerged as a popular movement which synthesised various important religious traditions and ideas prevalent in Tokugawa Japan, notably neo-Confucian ethical values and attitudes and Zen Buddhist praxis. In the first chapter Sawada discusses Shingaku in the context of the development of popular learning and education, especially for the non-samurai classes, such as farmers, merchants and artisans in Tokugawa, and against the background of the growth of popular learning and education. In this context she draws attention to the activities of travelling teachers and storytellers—primarily Shintō popularizers and Buddhist sermon-tellers—who spread an accessible religious creed amongst the populace, and in whose footsteps Shingaku popularizers and itinerant teachers of the latter half of the Tokugawa penod, trod.

Toan was, as Sawada shows, the principal driving force behind Shingaku's popularization, and it was his success in simplifying and adapting canonical teachings to the needs and understandings of the ordinary people, and in preaching sermons and publishing educational texts aimed not just at adults but also at children, that provided the foundations for Shingaku's expansion in the latter part of the eighteenth century. In Chapter Two we are given a general account of his life. The problem here is that primary sources for Toan's life are scarce, and Sawada has had to be largely dependent on the anecdotal biography of him compiled by his disciples. Because of this, the picture of Toan left to posterity is unsurprisingly tinged with a degree of hagiography, and perhaps a little too emphatically (at least in the eyes of this slightly cynical modern reader) focused on his piety, frugality, and dutiful goodness. However, Sawada manages to give as balanced and fair, if perhaps rather one-dimensional and colourless, a biographical outline of his life as is possible under the circumstances.

Chapter Three provides a thorough account of his teachings. The central theme of Toan's teaching, which reflects the debt owed by Shingaku to Zen Buddhism and, in Toan's case, especially to Tokugawa Zen masters such as Bankei, was of the "uncalculating original mind" (p. 59). Here Toan speaks in terms that resonate with the language of Zen: to be uncalculating was to be unselfconscious, natural and spontaneous, and meant following one's original nature and knowing one's original mind.

Since Shingaku was a practical way of action (in other words, since it was in reality a *religion* rather than merely a school of philosophy) it went beyond philosophic pronouncements, or the promotion just of ethical codes of conduct, to asserting the importance of attaining some form of spiritual awakening and to providing a means of achieving this through praxis. Chapters Four and Five provide an account of such Shingaku ways and methods of cultivating the mind. Again, whilst neo-Confucian elements are discernible, especially in terms of its stress on ethical rules and behaviour (which in themselves basically reinforced and upheld the hierarchic nature and order of Tokugawa society), much was owed to Zen in terms of a focus on "quiet sitting", which in form resembled *zazen*, Zen meditation. As a result of such meditative contemplation, usually practised in groups and in strenuous training sessions reminiscent of Rinzai Zen, the Shingaku students understanding would "burst open" (p. 75). In an analysis similar to the Zen of Hakuin, Toan emphasised the importance not just of faith in the path, but of doubt as a spur to further practice.

Besides these similarities to and borrowings from Zen one detects clear affinities in terms of teaching and practice with the new religions that emerged in Japan during the Tokugawa and Meiji periods: the emphasis on self-cultivation and on "polishing the mind" through practices such as contemplation, piety and study, and the importance of group meetings, usually with a spiritual leader or counsellor, which provided a forum for discussion and

dialogue, and served as a balance to Shingaku's focus on quiet sitting. Shingaku thus aimed at a middle path between the (in its eyes) over-emphasis on study and debate in neo-Confucianism, and quietism in Buddhism (pp. 99–101). With the organization of such discussion and meditation groups Shin- gaku developed a chain of meeting houses, and thus developed as a fully fledged religious community.

In one of the most interesting sections of the book, Sawada in Chapter Six shows how Toan and his successors sought to build a wider base for the movement by teaching not only adults but children, by writing educational books for them and composing songs with simple ethical messages for their schooling. Here the focus is more evidently Confucian, concerned with providing children with a solid ethical basis for their lives, and stressing the importance of good etiquette, of caring for one's health, and for maintaining proper decorum and some segregation between the sexes from an early age: "boys are like fire, Toan warns, girls like firewood" (p. 116), an admonition that rings as true today as then. If the individualized superstructure, as it were, of Shingaku practice and spirituality sounds more akin to Zen, its underlying social and ethical premisses appear to be solidly rooted in Confucianism, with (as is typical in Japanese religious movements such as the new religions) a strong affirmation of Japanese cultural and social identity in which children are informed of the close links between Japan and its Shintō gods, and between themselves and their ancestors.

Such methods of explaining Shingaku teachings evolved into a highly successful form of story-telling, which became the basis of all Shingaku proselytism after Toan's death. However, as Chapter Seven suggests, such expansion in the late eighteenth century, as is often the case, was at the expense of its core praxis: Shingaku education was eventually reduced to such story-based talks, the emphasis on meditative practice declined, and an increased focus on the social behaviour of its members was balanced by a decline in the drive to individual cultivation. Increasingly, too, as Shingaku grew, its central organization strove to regulate its preachers and teachers, and to establish rules to this end. All of this presents a typical pattern of change that wrill be familiar to all who have studied the effects of expansion on religious movements and the effects of their increased bureaucratization and socialization. Unfortunately, however, although Sawada documents these changes, she does not venture to comment on them or to suggest ways in which the case of Shingaku can be interpreted in the wider context of the developmental patterns of Japanese (or other) religions. One is thus left with the feeling that the chance to present an analysis of quite why such changes, and such an apparent decline in the spiritual core of religious teachings, might occur, has been missed.

Sawada further argues that Shingaku was a distinctive new social and religious phenomenon because it stood separate from the established religious traditions of Buddhism, Shintō and Coafucianism, and because its teachers

were members of the laity and not directly affiliated to one or other of these traditions. Thus Shingaku represented an "implicit challenge" (p. 157) to the established socio-religious order (just as, one might add, do the new religions with their lay focus), although, as Sawada notes, the inherent conservatism it taught, in terms of filial piety and civil and ethical action, ultimately made it attractive to the Tokugawa government, which enlisted its help in order to persuade the Japanese people to accept the social mores it espoused. Again, one is led to think of many parallels (not, however, discussed in the text) with the new religions.

As a sound exposition of Shingaku as a religious movement, this is a fine piece of work which provides valuable information on its later developments, and on its assimilation and synthesis of its particular philosophy and path of practice. Speaking from my perspective as someone concerned with the social developments of religious movements, I was, however, disappointed on a number of points. As noted above, the links between Shingaku and the new religions, and the extent to which it provided a model for the emergence of these important religious phenomena, are touched upon, but not analysed or dealt with at any length. There is little data or evidence presented to show just how important Shingaku was numerically; whilst we are told that around a hundred meeting houses existed at one stage, there is no real disscussion of just how far it really did spread amongst the populace, what effects it had on the lives of its members, who they were, why they joined, or indeed, what experiences they had in Shingaku. Without some sociologically based and informed analysis of such issues, it is perhaps difficult to wholly accept the use of terms that Sawada uses in the context of Shingaku such as "popular" and "popularization". Indeed, if we are (as is briefly suggested in the Conclusion) seeing something of the genesis of Japanese new religions here, one is tempted to ask whether any other of the phenomena so closely associated with Japanese new religions—and, indeed, in practice with the established religions such as Buddhism—such as spiritual healing, miracles, the use of incantations, spells, amulets and magical rituals, ever emerged in the movement. We are given no hints either way, yet one is led to ask, if these did not occur in Shingaku, why not (given the nature of other Japanese popular religions)? Given the immense importance of such issues in the new religions, and especially in their original developments (one should never forget, for example, that the original development of the religious cult around Nakayama Miki of Tenrikyō was due to her apparent powers as a healer and bestower of safe childbirth), one is tempted to suggest that if Shingaku were truly a model for later new religions, it would have exhibited some of these tendencies as well. If it did not, indeed, would this not be a reason why Shingaku failed (unlike the emergent late Tokugawa new religions) to make the transition into the modern (i.e. post-Meiji) era?

Despite these points (which, I admit, probably stem more from my own interests and what would concern me in terms of the study of religious move-

ments, rather than from any perceived failing on Sawada's side) this book presents us a with a broad and detailed account of the historical and philosophical developments of Shingaku. Soundly researched and clearly written, it will be of value to all who are interested in Japanese religious history, in studies of Tokugawa Japan, or in the social and religious developments that have provided the background for the orientations of post-Meiji religion.

Ideograms
Shingaku 心學
Ishida Baigan 石田梅岩
Teshima Toan 手島堵菴

Ian Reader
University of Stirling

Inagaki Hisao, *The Three Pure Land Sutras: A Study and Translation.* Kyoto: Nagata Bunshodo, 1994. ¥2700.[1]

Since the sixties Inagaki Hisao, professor at Ryūkoku University and president of the International Association of Shin Buddhist Studies, has been contributing much to the dissemination of the world of thought of Pure Land Buddhism among Western readers. He has translated Shandao's works, *Guannian famen* and *Banzhou san*, the "Chapter on Easy Practice" (Japanese: *Igyō-bon*) of the *Daśabhūmika-vibhāṣā*, attributed to Nāgārjuna, and was, *inter alia*, involved in the exemplary translation of the so-called *Meditation Sūtra*, produced by the Ryūkoku Translation Center under the direction of Yamada Meiji in 1984.

At the beginning of 1994, the publishing company Nagata Bunshōdō in Kyoto published another work by Inagaki which is entitled, *The Three Pure Land Sūtras: A Study and Translation*. After opening this book, one notices that it offers much more than the title indicates. The translation—Part 2 of the book—occupies only 137 out of 465 pages. In the first part of the book, entitled simply "Studies", Inagaki offers a historical overview of the development of the Amitābha/Amitāyus cult from its beginnings in India to its sectarian independence in Japan. Anyone who works in this field will know how difficult it is to draw a fairly reliable and consistent picture of the history of this Buddhist faith in only about 200 pages. If I may present my conclusion in advance, I must say that Inagaki has been quite successful.

The author opens his study with a brief summary of the contents of the so-called *Three Pure Land Sūtras*. By doing so, he enables readers who are not familiar with the matter to gain a foretaste of the contents of the following 400 pages. Afterwards, Inagaki endeavours to show the religious background of faith in the Buddha of Immeasurable Light/Life and his Land of

[1] The reader is also referred to the notice on p. 117, below—*Ed*.

Bliss in the Western Direction. Instead of outlining the major theories about the origins of the Amitābha cult, such as Fujita's, Yūki's, Ogiwara's, and Mochizuki's, to mention just a few, Inagaki contents himself largely with expounding his own rather ahistorical explanation. As can be seen in his article, "Amida Samadhi and Nembutsu Samadhi" (*The Pure Land*, New Series 2 (1985), pp. 79–89), the theory of the so-called *Amithābha-samādhi*—a term which was probably not in usage until the late Edo Period (c. 1615–1867) in Japan—occupies a key position in Inagaki's understanding of Pure Land Buddhism. In his opinion, the so-called *Larger Sukhāvatī-vyūha* owes its formation to the state of mystic absorption Śākyamuni was in when he contemplated Amithābha. "This samādhi was then shared by disciples of superior spirituality, who in turn transmitted it to later generations. Thus for a few centuries the essentials of the Pure Land teachings were transmitted through samādhi, until it was codified and translated into the languages of different periods and places" (p. 16). This theory may, from a religious perspective, constitute a convincing explanation to the question, why there are various different versions of the *sūtra*. It may also help the believer to dispel the suspicion that the Amitābha scriptures might be a relatively late product of monks or even the laity. From a historical standpoint, however, Inagaki's thesis about the "samādhi as the source of the teaching" (p. 13) of Mahāyāna—in contrast to the Theravāda, which "is based on the Buddha's spoken words" (p. 58)—remains pure speculation and does not contribute to any progress in academic research on the origins of early Pure Land Buddhism. In my estimation, the book would have been even better than it actually already is, if the author had restrained himself a little more from giving an account of his personal religious ideas. Too often, for instance, his preference for the much disputed idea of *tathāgata-garbha* ("Buddha-seed") becomes manifest, a concept which was not at all representative of most of the branches of Pure Land Buddhism in China. In the case of Japan, Hōnen's (1133–1212) doctrine, based primarily on the teachings of Shandao (613–681), may even be interpreted as an attack on the prevailing *hongaku* thought of the Tendai and Shingon schools, which is closely connected with the notion of the "Buddha-seed". Thus, terms such as "Great Self" (p. 35) or the assertion that Amithaba's wisdom "reveals our real nature" (p. 23) must be regarded as misleading for the understanding of Pure Land Buddhism as long as their ideological background is not accounted for clearly. Otherwise the usage of terms such as "great self" or "our real nature" suggests that such concepts were a vital element of the mainstream of the school in question. The fact that Inagaki writes from the standpoint of a believer becomes particularly evident in his summary of Part 1. By maintaining on page 201 that "Pure Land Buddhism is also applicable to Theravādins" because "in the Pure Land there are arhats and sages of lower ranks", for example, he simply ignores the fact that such "concessions" to the Theravādins made in the Mahāyāna scriptures are to be seen as apologetic and even discriminatory

statements rather than as a real act of kindness. Furthermore, the repeated assertion that Amitābha's Buddha-land Sukhāvatī lies beyond the sphere of *saṃsāra* might lead the less informed reader to the misconception that this aspect of the character of Sukhāvatī had never been a subject of lively dispute among Buddhist thinkers. In fact the opposite is the case, as becomes quite obvious in Chapter 3 ("Development of the Pure Land Teaching in China") of Inagaki's own book.

Besides the above mentioned weak points, Part 1 of Inagaki's work offers a huge amount of valuable information. The author does not confine himself to the presentation of the best known Pure Land pioneers such as, for example, Nāgārjuna (c. 150–250), Vasubandhu (c.320–400), Tanluan (476–542), Daochuo (562–645), Shandao, Genshin (942–1017), and Hōnen, the men who are, according to Shinran's *Kōsō-wasan* and other writings, regarded as the so-called Seven Patriarchs of the Shin tradition. He gives a short account of a few biographical details and the main ideas regarding Amitābha/Amitāyus and his Pure Land of twenty-one Chinese and twenty-one Japanese, including thinkers who are not too well known for their contributions to the development of Pure Land Buddhism, such as Zhiyan (602–68) and Fazang (643–712) of the Huayan school in China or Shōkai (†1017) of the Hossō school in Japan, etc. In addition, Inagaki has translated some important passages from the works of these historical figures, which enables readers who are not familiar with either written Japanese or Chinese to gain some valuable insight in the way Buddhist authors think, argue, and express themselves. Extraordinarily helpful are (at least most of) the many diagrams in the book which make it possible to grasp the different conceptions of the Pure Land or the classification scheme (Chin, *panjiao*) of various Buddhist thinkers, etc., at a glance. Thanks to this vivid form of representation the work is not least suitable for specialists, who will be thankful to be given the chance to fill this or that gap in their memories so easily, and avoid the arduous method of looking everything up in Mochizuki's *Bukkyō daijiten* or in the original texts. But even if one wishes to investigate these matters in the Taishō edition of the Sino-Japanese canon, or another relevant source, this is easily done, because Inagaki offers detailed references in the notes which follow each of the two main parts of his book.

Nevertheless, some more critical remarks have to be made. Although Inagaki deals with more than forty persons who are in some way relevant to Pure Land Buddhism, he does not mention even one of the Korean thinkers, like Wŏnhyo (617–86) or Kyŏnghŭng (–681–). Furthermore, in my opinion, he should have given the name of Prince Shōtoku's (574–621 or 622) teacher from Koguryŏ in the Korean spelling instead of rendering it as "Hui-t'zu" in the Chinese pronunciation (p. 140).

As has been indicated above, critical distance is sometimes missing in Inagaki's study. He seemingly does not, for example, question the traditional view that the statue of Śākyamuni in the Shōryō-ji (also pronounced

Seiryō-ji) was carved in India for King Udayana as a portrait of the living Buddha. Furthermore, he repeats the old cliché of Ryōnin and Hōnen as the founders of two sects, called Yūzū-nenbutsu-shū and Jōdo-shū respectively, which hardly bears close historical examination. Both religious groups gained the status of independent and officially recognized sects only several hundred years after the death of their alleged founders. Besides that, neither Ryōnin nor Hōnen seems to have been particularly interested in establishing his own religious institution and thereby breaking away from the Tendai-shū organizationally. The rendering of such sectarian paradigms may be justifiable if we take into account the limited space of Inagaki's study. However, the extremely simplified, if not just wrong, assertion that the *ikkō senju nenbutsu* movement was persecuted only because the "growing popularity of Hōnen's teaching aroused jealosy in monks of other sects" (p. 175) should and could have been avoided for the sake of a fair and historically correct treatment of the so-called old sects.

In the second part of his book, Inagaki presents the translations of the *Three Pure Land Sūtras,* the various existing Sanskrit and Chinese editions of which he lists in Part 1 (pp. 55–7). The question might be raised, why there should be any need for a further translation of these scriptures despite the fact thataccording to Inagaki (p. XII)—of the so-called *Larger Sukhāvatī-vyūha* there exist a dozen complete translations in European languages, of the *Contemplation Sūtra,* six, and of the *Smaller Sukhāvatī-vyūha,* at least one. Inagaki justifies his venture by emphasising that for Japanese immigrants "the basic canon of their religion is still not readily available in English translation" (p. XII). This statement is certainly true and shows at the same time that Inagaki's book is indeed meant to be mainly a religious book rather than a scholarly work. Inagaki's declared motivation makes the above mentioned points of criticism at least understandable. However, not only believers of one of the various Japanese Pure Land denominations should appreciate a good, comprehensive, and yet compact study of one of the major Buddhist traditions as well as a reliable translation of three extremely important canonical scriptures. In my view, however, Inagaki has largely succeeded in satisfying both demands.

The texts Inagaki chose for his translation are what we might call the vulgatae of Japanese Pure Land Buddhism, namely:

1. The *Foshuo Wuliangshou jing* (T. 360, tr., according to tradition, by Saṃghavarman, but probably actually tr. by Buddhabadra and Baoyun; also known as the "Wei text");
2. The *Foshuo Amituo jing* (T. 366, tr. by Kumārajīva);
3. The *Foshuo guan Wuliangshoufo jing* (T. 365, tr. by Kālayaśas).

Inagaki's translations are of excellent quality. In addition, the translations include references in brackets which enable the reader to find every passage

quickly and easily in Volume 12 of the Taishō edition. (Incidentally, Inagaki erroneously writes on page *XXII* that this edition consists of 55, rather than 85 volumes.) The looking up of certain passages in the Taishō, as well as in Inagaki's own translation, is further simplified by synopses of each *sūtra*, given in Appendix 1, and a further synopsis of Dharmākara's forty-eight vows in Appendix 2. Anyone who has ever experienced the trouble of searching for some passage in the Taishō canon will be grateful for such an aid. Appendix 3 offers a very convenient survey of the various lineages of Pure Land masters, beginning with Daochuo's *Anle ji* and ending with Gyōnen's (1240–1321) *Jōdo-genru-shō*.

The presentation of three "Amitābha *dhāraṇī*" in Appendix 4 is somehow unexpected. Nevertheless, it should be welcomed as supplementary information on an aspect of Pure Land Buddhism which has too often been neglected, namely the esoteric Amitābha cult as practised in the Shingon and Tendai schools.[2] The three *dhāraṇī* which Inagaki comments on and which be gives in their Sanskrit original (in transcription) and in English translation, are the following:

1. The "Principal Dhāraṇī of the Tathāgata Amitāyus (S. 380)" taken from the *Wuliangshou rulai guanxing gongyang yigui* (T. 930)
2. A "Small Dhāraṇī" from the same text
3. A "One-syllable Dhāraṇī" from the *Dale jingang bukong zhenshi sanmeiye jing banruo bolemiduo liqu shi* (T. 1003)

The diagrams in Appendix 5, which show some major aspects of Buddhist cosmology, such as the "six realms of Samsara", the "heavens in the world of form", etc., are quite helpful, too, since readers who are not able to use the major reference books might have some difficulties in gaining access to this information. Readers who are able to use the dictionaries of Mochizuki, Nakamura, and others, will again be glad of the relief of not being forced to use them.

The following bibliography of (probably) all translations of the *Three Pure Land Sūtras* in European languages is unfortunately not too well formatted and thus lacks clarity. The lack of a bibliography of secondary materials is acceptable because of the detailed reference notes at the end of each of the two parts of the book.

Finally, Inagaki's work has two indices, one "General Index" (Appendix 8) and one "Glossarial Index" (Appendix 7) which will be particularly useful for newcomers to the translated *sūtras*. In addition, the book contains three supplementary charts which show the structure and composition of the Muryōju-kyō Mandara, the Taima Mandara and the Amida-kyō Mandara. Rather

[2] However, the reader may be referred to the following article ou the esoteric *nenbutsu*: James H. Sanford, "Breath of Life: The Esoteric Nenbutsu", in: I. Astley (ed.), *Esoteric Buddhism in Japan*, SBS Monographs, No. 1, Copenhagen: SBS, 1994, pp. 65–98.

small photographic reproductions of each of these *mandara,* from the collection of Harold Stewart (whom Inagaki thanks for his collaboration) are presented at the beginning of the book.

In conclusion I would like to say that Inagaki really deserves to be praised for this fine study and translation, which makes information on Pure Land Buddhism much more easily available. Regardless of the minor insufficiencies mentioned above, he has certainly succeeded in creating a work which is suitable both for students or other interested persons who are looking for an easily comprehensible primer, and for scholars of Buddhism who need a reliable translation of the *Three Pure Land Sūtras* and a reference book on major concepts of Pure Land Buddhism which is easy to handle. Last but not least it should be mentioned that Inagaki's book is comparatively cheap, costing only ¥2700, which is much less than one would expect. In any case, neither interested private individuals nor universities should be too reluctant to part with that amount for such a fine book.

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Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China. Edited by Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993. 379 pages. Hardbound. US$35.00.

Within the world of academic publishing the University of Hawaii Press has been at the forefront of publishing studies on East Asian religion for the past two decades, and the present compilation is yet another *tour de force* in this field. *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China* offers a series of high quality contributions on Tang and Song religion and beliefs, and as such is a highly welcome contribution to the ongoing wave of research on Chinese religion. Instead of focusing on Chinese religion as divided into distinct traditions such as Buddhism, Daoism, Confucianism and popular religion, the editors have chosen to make a book which deals with them all in a inter-related whole provided by the reality of Chinese culture in the periods under discussion. The book contains the following chapters.

Chapter 1: "The Religious and Historical Landscape", written by the editors. Here the *topoi* of the individual articles are presented, and their individual importance reflected in the light of the other contributions. Furthermore, each study is placed within the larger context of Chinese culture and religion.

Chapter 2: "The Expansion of the Wen-ch'ang Cult", by Terry F. Kleeman. This chapter discusses the development and spread of one of the most important popular cults in China; namely that of Wenchang, the "God of Literature". Kleeman does a good job at tracing Wenchang's different roles, and especially his rise as a major deity wnthin Daoism. Although the author has

chosen to discuss the formation and spread of the Wenchang cult in China—primarily from the Song and onwards—I believe that he should have tried to enlighten his readers on the importance of the original site itself as a centre of pilgrimage and worship. The temple as it stands today reflects a reconstruction from the eighteenth century, and it is a gigantic complex of several tens of halls covering a wide area. It is considered the centre and origin of the Wenchang cult by the local people, and in fact still functions as such. In addition there are a few minor points in the article with which I disagree. On p. 45 the author informs us that the Wenchang Temple is located in Zitong, "a small town in northern Szechwan". In fact Zitong is now the county capital of Zitong xian, north of Chengdu in the central part of Sichuan. Elsewhere Kleeman deplores the "dearth of Sung sources on Szechwan" (p. 58). But is this really so? How about the *Jinshi yuan* (Garden of Metal and Stone), a comprehensive collection of epigraphical materials covering the Tang and Song periods, or the *Shu zhong ming sheng ji*, the *Shu zhong ren wuji*, or the *Shu zhong fang wu ji*, just to mention a few important works?

Chapter 3: "Gods on Walls: A Case of Indian Influence on Chinese Lay Religion?" by Valerie Hansen. In this presentation the author sets out to investigate the origin of a particular class of popular gods within medieval Chinese society. A main hypothesis of this article is that the Indian god Vaiśravaṇa played an important role in "lifting" the early non-classified gods of the Walls-and-Moats into the later hierarchical pantheon of Chinese popular religion. Hansen's presentation provides much interesting information, but in the end she has no real solid evidence for her insistence that Vaiśravaṇa, the Northern Heavenly King of Buddhism, was the progenitor of the Chinese wall gods. In fact guardian deities and spirits for walls, doors, etc., can be documented as far back in history as the Western Han dynasty, although there is good reason to consider the tradition to be even older. Furthermore, whilst it is true that Vaiśravaṇa is consistently used in Chinese Buddhism as a protector of both holy and secular places, I do not believe that he has anything to do with walls as such. On p. 80 Hansen mentions that Vaiśravaṇa was "introduced to China from Khotan". This is probably not incorrect, but it is not enough to leave such a statement standing by itself. Vaiśravaṇa was introduced to China as part and parcel of Indian Buddhism, and Khotan was just one of many places, not counting the most obvious sources, namely the scriptures, from which the Chinese came into contact with this Indian god. I do not believe that Vaiśravaṇa "forms a missing link between the early indigenous Chinese gods and the later office-holding ones", as claimed by the author. Later in her article Hansen incorporates a section on Guan Yu, the God of War, but without any apparent justification (pp. 88–90). Guan Yu is of course a popular protector, but he likewise has no particular connection with walls. The cults of Vaiśravaṇa, Guan Yu, and the Wall-and-Moat Gods are worthy of study in their own right, but just why the author has chosen to embark on such an investigation as the present one, I fail to see.

Chapter 4: “The Growth of Purgatory”, by Stephen F. Teiser, continues in the track laid down by the author’s earlier study on the Ullambana or Ghost Festival. After a lengthy introduction in which the author traces the historical development of the netherworld and its torments in China, he sets out to discuss an apocryphal *sūtra* that focuses on purgatory. Teiser shows that the previous date of A.D. 926, generally considered the time the “new” kind of Buddhist purgatory had become inhabited by the ten kings, is no longer tenable. Instead he puts forth evidence to the fact that already by A.D. 660 there is a reference to them in the Chinese Buddhist sources (pp. 120–1). Towards the end of his article, Teiser discusses the Daoist elements in purgatory, and how it eventually became non-denominational. I agree that the Buddhist hell as modelled in accordance with the Chinese cultural vocabulary came into vogue early in the Tang dynasty, but I must disagree with the author that “it is in the tenth-century copies of The Scripture of the Ten Kings that the modern conception of purgatory achieves its most convincing form” (p. 121). Among the Buddhist sculptures on the western cliff wall at Yuanjue Dong in Anyue county in Sichuan, there are two tableaux of purgatory showing the ten kings seated by their respective tables, and presided over by Kṣitigarbha (groups nos. 80 and 84). These sculptures date from the late ninth century, and they are simply too well organized iconographically to be the earliest examples. Hence we may safely consider the purgatory tableaux with the ten kings as having come about at least as early as the middle of the eighth century. As is the case with Teiser’s other work, the present article is meticulous and highly detailed, and provides the reader with much new and interesting information. It is refreshing to see that American scholars, other than those who study Chan Buddhism and Chinese literature, are beginning to utilize the primary material from Dunhuang.

Chapter 5: “Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch’an Buddhism”, by T. Griffith Foulk. In this chapter the author surveys the most commonly held misconceptions as regards Chan monasticism in the Tang and Song dynasties. Deep-rooted misconceptions concerning the sources—especially the *yulu*-material (“recorded sayings”)—the development of Chan lineages and schools, and the supposed decline of Chan Buddhism during the Song dynasty, are subjected to scrutiny, and shown on the basis of careful research of primary material to have very little basis in the fairly numerous primary sources. In particular Foulk shows that the Song period was a time when Chan Buddhism flourished greatly. The core part of this chapter focuses on the function of the large Chan monasteries during the Song. This part provides extremely interesting reading, with illuminating insights offered along the way. It is particularly refreshing to see the Baizhang myth concerning the origin of Chan monasticism punctured (pp. 156–9). However, he fails to note that communal farming and a certain degree of economic independence were indeed in vogue in Buddhist monastic communities prior to the Huichang suppression of A.D. 845 (referring to Ennin’s diary). In the

second half of his presentation Foulk unfortunately becomes uncommonly parsimonious with his annotation, which elsewhere in the article is highly informative. This is a pity, since it causes many of his important observations in this central part of the presentation to be reduced to undocumented assertions. He does not, for example, provide any evidence for his information on the master-disciple relationship in the Song monasteries (pp. 181–2), and likewise his important description of the rituals is also without any references (pp. 183–4). I am not overly happy with his consistent translation of *deng* (lamp) as throughout the article, although I can see why he has chosen this interpretation. However, it does cause some problems when considered in relation to later "lamp" collections. Despite these minor points the article is really a first-rate contribution to the study of Chinese Chan Buddhism, and corrects many traditional misunderstandings.

Chapter 6: 'The Response of the Sung State to Popular Funeral Practices", by Patricia B. Ebrey. Here the author addresses the issue of how the ascending Neo-Confucian class of government officials during the Song sought to impose a uniform funerary ritual on the general populace, and how they responded to "illegal" practices. Ebrey makes a systematic survey of the current funerary traditions in China at that time, including belief in *sha* spirits, Buddhist rituals, and geomancy. It is interesting to see that despite strenous efforts on the part of the Neo-Confucians, they never really succeeded in implementing a uniform and universal funeral service.

Chapter 7: "Not by the Seal of Office Alone: New Weapons in Battles with the Supernatural", by Judith Magee Boltz. Boltz's article deals with the development of "Thunder Magic" (*leifa*), one of the distinct and popular cycles of rituals, as employed by local government officials and practitioners of the Tianshi Dao during the Song dynasty. In a convincing manner the author shows that there was a direct connection between this tradition and the use of powder, and she packs her account with fine examples and first rate references. Unfortunately she goes so far as to reduce the "magical" aspects in the Thunder Magic to the skilful use of powder. In my opinion this is really too deconstructionalist and rationalist an approach. I am not convinced that the practitioners of Thunder Magic were simply a bunch of Houdinis, who exploited the naive and credulous believers with their firecracker-tricks. There is more to it than that.

Chapter 8: "Channels of Connection in Sung Religion: The Case of Pai Yu-ch'an" by Judith A. Berling. In this chapter the author seeks to throw light on some of the modes, norms and vague boundaries which functioned in popular Song religion, through the example of Bai Yuchan (b. *c*. 1194). He was a Daoist lay official and scholar, in effect an ordinary person, who rose to the status of an elite figure. In the course of his career he was affiliated with the Zhengyi tradition in Southern China, but later became a patriarch in his own right. Among Berling's important observations is her discussion of some of the aspects connected with the individual's discussion of embarking on a

career as a Daoist practitioner (p. 308). Likewise her description of Mt. Wuyi as a center of religious interaction during the early thirteenth century. On page 310 a portrait of Bai is described as showing him standing "next to a cauldron, evoking the alchemical process" (pp. 310–11). I see the portrait as showing the master standing next to a large wine jar in the process of drinking from the small pot he holds in his right hand.

Chapter 9: "Southern Sung Academies as Sacred Places", by Linda Walton. In this article the focus is on the Neo-Confucian institutions as exemplified through the Illumined Way Academy, which was originally established as a memorial shrine to Cheng Hao (1032–85), a founding father of the tradition. Walton describes the evolution and history of the academy in great detail, and notes that it functioned in much the same way as Buddhist and Daoist temples, with individual shrines housing images of the masters of the Neo-Confucian tradition. In effect much of the article is largely descriptive.

The individual articles cover a wide aspect of religious life in the periods under discussion. As a whole, one could perhaps argue that they provide the reader with a somewhat unbalanced view of Tang and Song religion, since the importance of institutionalized Buddhism and Daoism has been greatly played down in relation to the other topics. However, the "holistic" approach of the book, i.e. the attempt at seeing all the religious aspects as parts of a larger whole without too much stress on the dichotomy between elite versus folk religiosity, is really the strength of the book, as it provides Chinese religion with a scenario closer to the cultural and historical reality than that normally found in more topically oriented studies. All in all, an excellent book which provides stimulating and highly interesting reading, and which is bound to become a classic within the field of Chinese religion.

(HHS)

Lost Empire of the Silk Road: Buddhist Art from Khara Khoto (X–XIIIth century). Edited by Mikhail Piotrovsky. Thyssen-Bornemisza Foundation. Milano: Electa, 1993. 292 pages, 113 colour plates and numerous b/w illustrations.

The present catalogue was made for the exhibition of the unique Kozlov Collection of Xixia religious art kept in The State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg. It is the first time that this important material has been made available to an international audience, and for this effort we are thankful to the Thyssen-Bornemisza Foundation. The exhibited material represents the cream of extant Buddhist paintings from the Tangut culture of the state of Xixia (982–1227, 1038–1227).

The catalogue consists of the following sections: the opening essay, "The Inner Evolution of Buddhist Iconography", by Stephen Batchelor, is devoted to a presentation of the spiritual values hidden beneath the images and symbols of Buddhist art, with special emphasis on Tantric Buddhism. Although

written from a considerably less scholarly point of view that the other contributions to the catalogue, Batchelor succeeds in presenting the reader with a useful and succinct picture of what constitutes Tantric Buddhism. As such this is a highly useful introduction to the otherwise arcane world of Lamaism, which to a great extent dominates the exhibited Tangut paintings. One could wish that Batchelor's presentation had also included the Chinese Buddhist aspects needed for a full appreciation of Xixia Buddhism.

Following this comes Kira Fyodorovna Samosyuk's "The Discovery of Khara Khoto", an article which deals with Kozlov's expeditions to Central Asia and his discovery of, and excavations in, the lost town of Khara Khoto. This is essentially a presentation of the necessary information needed for an understanding of Kozlov's achievements.

The State of Great Xia (982–1227 A.D.)", by the Russian Tangut specialist, E. I. Kychanov, provides the historical background for the Kozlov findings. It includes a discussion of the origin of the Tangut people, the founding of the state of Xixia, a brief survey of Tangut political history, Tangut society, Buddhism in the Tangut Empire, etc. It is brief but informative.

In "The Art of the Tangut Empire: A Historical and Stylistic Interpretation", Kira Fyodorovna Samosyuk tries to account for the characteristics of the multi-cultural influence of Tangut Buddhist art. The article deals with Tangut culture, the Buddhist background, Buddhism in Xixia, the Buddhist pantheon, iconography, style, dating the paintings, etc. The author succeeds in accounting for the characteristics of Tangut Buddhist paintings, mainly those done in Tibetan style. However, her presentation of Buddhism under the Xixia leaves much to be desired, and reveals a rather superficial knowledge of Tangut Buddhism. For some reason she avoids mentioning the Buddhist schools active in Xixia, such as the Tiantai, Chan, and Jingtu, although she does mention the Tibetan schools of Sa-skya-pa and the bKa'-brgyud-pa (here wrongly referred to as the Karma-pa sect, pp. 82–3). It is surprising that the Chinese schools are not mentioned at all, especially since there is such a great amount of Tangut scriptures in St. Petersburg that belong to these traditions.

Maria L. Rudova discusses the paintings done in Chinese style in her, "The Chinese-Style Paintings from Khara Khoto". To this end she has selected a few characteristic groups of images including Amitābha and Avalokiteśvara. Like the previous article by Mme. Samosyuk, she devotes considerable space to analysing the Sino-Tibetan influence evident in Tangut painting, as well as an attempt at accounting for the non-religious works. In her article the author seeks to account for the "Chinese and Tibetan influence on Tangut painting" (pp. 93–7), which I believe constitutes a methodological problem on Mme. Rudova's part. Tangut painting is not a uniform tradition, but a hybrid one characterized by almost purely Tibetan and Chinese styles, and a mixture of Sino-Tibetan styles with occasional Tangut iconographical elements. There is no such thing as Tangut painting divorced from that of

China and Tibet, and in any case the exhibition fails to produce a single such work.

The text part of the catalogue is concluded by Robert Bruce-Gardner's brief essay, "Some Observations on Comparative Technique: Tibetan Style Paintings from Khara Khoto". This final contribution is devoted to a discussion of the materials and the techniques employed by the Tangut craftsmen in producing their works of art. Although much too short, when one takes the importance of the topic into consideration, this essay is very useful and important, as it seeks to provide for the main technical features with which one may be able to identify Tangut paintings.

Following this comes the catalogue part proper, consisting of 87 individual entries with the colour plates and illustrations. The catalogue is concluded by an appendix containing a standard glossary, a bibliography of works mainly in Russian, and an index.

The catalogue is very well produced and has clearly been envisaged to appeal to both the non-specialist as well as the specialist. The plates and illustrations are of the first order and provide the reader with the best possible means to appreciate the Buddhist art of the Tanguts in Khara Khoto. In short the appearance of this catalogue is very important, as it provides us with the first comprehensive understanding of Tangut Buddhist painting. It is of course also significant for the study of early Tibetan Buddhism, as well as for Sino-Tibetan painting of the type we first encounter in Dunhuang and Anxi.

Although the exhibition (and the catalogue) claims to be devoted to the art of Khara Khoto, it is primarily concerned wdth religious paintings. The exhibition only contains eight or nine items other than paintings and prints, and among the latter there are only three examples of non-religious paintings or drawings. Hence it would have been more correct to give the catalogue the title, "Buddhist Paintings from Khara Khoto".

There is a number of problems with the catalogue texts themselves, and I shall here only mention a few of the more glaring ones. Obviously there is a certain confusion here and there as to the correct identification of the styles and iconography of the Buddhist paintings. The important "Double-Headed Buddha" in plate 1 (pp. 104–5) is not treated in a sufficiently thorough manner. Why does K. S. not relate it to the other similar images found along the Silk Road? At least there are a few comparable examples in Dunhuang which ought to have been discussed in connection with this significant image. The xylograph in plate 30 (pp. 168–9) is wrongly identified as "Mahākāla-a-Vighnāntaka". It is clearly an image of Vajrapāṇi in his most typical posture according to standard Tibetan-style iconography. Plate 43 (pp. 190–3) carries the title, "The Pure Land of Amitābha and Bhaiṣajyaguru with Seven Companions"; however, I see no reason to involve the Medicine Buddha here. The painting obviously shows the Pure Land of Amitābha only. Furthermore M. R. should have stressed the strong Chinese stylistic influence in the paint

ing. The painting of Kubera in plate 55 (pp. 220–5) is clearly an example of a Tibetan-style *tangka* drawn in a purely Tibetan iconographical language, hence M. R.'s tedious references to the Chinese tradition are superfluous. The designation "Crowned Buddha" is not very precise, and reveals K S.'s lack of insight into esoteric Buddhist iconography (pp. 234–7). The only possible identification is with Vairocana/Rocana. In the text accompanying plate 65 ("Buddhist Patriarch and Emperor") K. S. endeavours to spin a long tale over a rather basic topic. Of course the painting depicts the meeting between Liang Wudi (r. 502–50) and Bodhidharma, the semi-legendary founder of Chinese Chan. The bronze vessel on plate 68 is an incense burner, not an altar cup. The xylographs in plates 85 and 86 are not "magic circles", they are block-printed talismans in the shape of *maṇḍala*, to be worn on the body by the believer. In fact the text clearly mentions the function of the items, so why not state this?

As a general criticism I find that the authors ought to have made greater use of the now very well documented material from Dunhuang and Anxi, i.e. the wall-paintings and the painted banners, and also whatever is available on early Tibetan painting and iconography, in order to come up with a better stylistic and iconographical framework for understanding the Tangut paintings in the Kozlov collection. Another aggravating matter is their consistent (conscious?) neglect of the rather extensive Chinese secondary material published on the Tanguts and their religion. Needless to say, had the authors consulted this material, as well as the more recent Western studies, it is obvious that they could have solved some of their problems in a more academic manner.

Despite its various flaws, *Lost Empire of the Silk Road: Buddhist Art from Khara Khoto (X–XIIIth century)* is an extremely fine catalogue, which does full justice to the important and impressive Kozlov collection. It is an indispensible tool for understanding Xixia Buddhism, and its arts in particular, and it is by far the single most important contribution to the study of Tangut religious culture to appear in a Westem language for many years. It can be highly recommended.

(HHS)

Geri H. Malandra, *Unfolding a Maṇḍala: The Buddhist Cave Temples at Ellora*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993. 348 pages, with numerous illustrations. Paperbound. US$29.95.

Ellora has long been famed as one of the most important centres of Hindu sculptures in the Deccan, and the imposing and majestic Kailash Temple remains one of Indian most significant sanctuaries in Indian art. However, although information has been available for many years, few scholars have taken sufficient notice of the fact that among Ellora's thirty-four major cave

temples, twelve of these are purely Buddhist. These temples, which have not captured the same interest as the Hindu sanctuaries and their sculptures, were carved in the period from the early seventh to the early eighth centuries, and give evidence of a distinct and highly original type of Buddhist art, in which the Buddhas, bodhisattvas and deities are placed in symmetrical arrangements resembling esoteric Buddhist *maṇḍalas.*

The author of the present work, Geri H. Malandra, an Associate Professor at the University of Minnesota, has set out to account for the Buddhist cave-temples in Ellora, mainly from an art-historical perspective, although she has tried to incorporate as much supportive information from other disciplines as well. Her book consists of the following: "Introduction": a very brief attempt at placing Ellora in the context of art-historical research, and a methodological discussion of the use of "*maṇḍala*" as the internal unifying principle for the understanding of the development of the site. 1. "Tīrtha and Maṇḍala: The Place, The People, The Gods": This chapter contains lengthy discussions of the location, its geography, the people, its history, Ellora as a *sanctus locus*, Ellora as a Tantric Buddhist centre, and the meaning of "*maṇḍala*" in the context of Ellora. 2. "Buddhist Caves of the First Period: The Beginning of the Maṇḍala": this chapter consists of a systematic discussion and description of the early Buddhist caves on the site, namely caves 2–6, but in the order 6, 5, 2, 3 and 4, covering the period A.D. 600–50. 3. "Caves of the Middle Period: The Maṇḍala Grows": here the caves 8–10 are presented in that order. The period covered is A.D. 650–700. 4. "The Late Buddhist Caves: The Maṇḍala Unfolded": the caves treated in this chapter are nos. 11–12, 15–16, 25, and 22. Here we find the most significant esoteric Buddhist caves, with their extensive and complex groups of divinites in their *maṇḍala*-like arrangements. This final period of both greatness and decline took place from A.D. 700–*c*.750, according to the author. 5. "A Center on the Periphery: Ellora's Place in Buddhist Art": here the author discusses the Ellora Buddhist sculptures in relation to Indian Buddhist art, and in particular to that of central and eastern parts of the sub-continent. Malandra argues that in none of the other comparable sites are *maṇḍala* so well preserved, or central to the understanding of the sculptures (p. 92). She then proceeds to describe the main iconographical groups including images such as Bhṛkuṭī, Mahāmāyūrī, Cundā, Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara in pairs, Mañjuśrī, and Pāñcika and Jambhala. This part provides a detailed iconographical and stylistic discussion of the images in question. Next follows a short section on sculptures in other sites including Aurangabad, Nasik, Kanheri, etc., some of which in my opinion are not particularly relevant for an understanding of the Ellora Buddhist sculptures. This is followed by a discussion of other *"maṇḍala"* found across central India including Sāñcī, and Sirpur. The chapter closes with a discussion of comparable sites in Orissa and in southern India. "Conclusion": this is a very brief summary of the main hypothesis of the book, namely that what we see in the Buddhist cave temples of Ellora are

maṇḍala. In passing, the author tries to make a connection to Borobudur in Java and sites further east.

The work concludes with an appendix, consisting of a chronology of Ellora's Buddhist caves (including a highly useful and fully plausible identification of the site's various stages), references, and an extensive catalogue part with 256 figures and black and white illustrations.

It is obvious that Malandra has put a lot of effort into her study, and the reader is offered an impressive array of information and fine descriptions of the Buddhist art of Ellora. Her presentation of the site and its place in the historical setting is fascinating and learned. Of special merit are her detailed descriptions and her discussion of the iconography of the sculptures. Hitherto little research has been done on Indian esoteric Buddhist art from such an early date, and Malandra's contribution in this regard is indeed noteworthy. In this regard, her discussion and comparison of the art and iconography in the later caves is both interesting and illuminating (cf. esp. pp. 71–90).

Unfolding a Maṇḍala is a well designed book, with a fine balance between text and supporting illustrations or line-drawings. Even small details are generally supplemented by an illustration, which makes the book a pleasure to read. Although the quality of the black and white plates is not always as good as one could wish, they nevertheless serve their purpose well. In fact, the abundant illustrations and instructive figures in the book make it a fine example of how far these media may be used to emulate a three-dimensional experience. Malandra's study would be ideal as an inter-active programme on CD.

On the negative side, *Unfolding a Maṇḍala* has a number of problematic points, the most obvious of which I shall try to address in the following. First of all, there are problems with the author's use of terminology in the book, and in particular with the often used *"maṇḍala*". In some contexts, especially when dealing with Ellora, Malandra uses the term in the strict esoteric Buddhist sense, i.e. as indicating a special, designed circle and/or square form, subdivided into sections, each of which is presided over by a deity in accordance with a full ritual programme. Elsewhere, she uses it as a general term to indicate a Buddhist *sanctus locus* or sculptural site, which may not have anything to do with a *maṇḍala per se*. This ambivalence, which is apparent throughout the book, is problematic, not only because it weakens her own case, but because it may confuse the reader into believing that there are actual *maṇḍala* in locations where none can in fact be found (such as Sāñcī and Sirpur). Furthermore, I am unhappy with having a hierarchical and semi-symmetrical arrangement of images described as a "*maṇḍala*". A *maṇḍala* requires a centre with evolving compartmentalized "spokes" or "areas", not pyramidal and asymmetrical structures as are evident in Ellora (Figs. 2-1, 2-4, 2-6, etc.). Generally, I miss an argument for the inner logic, i.e. the ritual and hermeneutic understanding, of her *maṇḍala*.

I find that one of the major problems with Malandra's study concerns the

textual side. She claims that there are no available sources with which we may explain the arrangement of the esoteric/Tantric Buddhist art in the Ellora Caves (pp. 20–1). I believe that in order to argue convincingly that the arrangement of the caves and their sculptures constitute *maṇḍala* as such, it is imperative to come up with matching, or at least closely related, scriptural and/or matching iconographical evidence. Unfortunately the author is unable to do this. Not only does she not provide any other matching images, or arrangement of images, from other sculptural contexts, she is also unable to provide any indication of the type of "*maṇḍala*" she sees in Ellora with extant Tantric Buddhist works in either Sanskrit or Tibetan. This lack of connection between the Ellora Buddhist images and surviving esoteric Buddhist scriptures severely undermines her argument that we are dealing with Tantric *maṇḍala*. In fact, I remain largely unconvinced of her central thesis. For her *maṇḍala* theory to hold water, she would simply have to provide matching arrangements elsewhere, either in corresponding Buddhist art, or preferably in the scriptures. In fact, Malandra acknowledges this, but seems to see the partial correspondences to *kriyā-* and *yoga-tantra* texts as reflecting stages in the development of Tantric Buddhism (p. 90). Since the identifications of the individual figures in her *maṇḍala* are for the most part very precise, it is hard to understand that no corresponding *maṇḍala* can be documented in the fairly rich Tantric Buddhist literature, if indeed the arrangements in Ellora were meant to be *maṇḍala*. Although I am unable to come up with the esoteric textual material needed to prove or disprove Malandra's thesis, I feel certain that a close investigation in the Tibetan canons would yield at least some of the lacking evidence. In short, I believe that the author did not go far enough in her search for primary textual evidence, and that she jumped to some of her conclusions rather too quickly. The Buddhist cave temples in Ellora may be "*maṇḍala*" in the general sense of a structured holy site, but not necessarily so in a more strict, Tantric Buddhist sense. Her reference to Japanese Shingon Buddhism is entirely out of context (pp. 18–19). In fact, almost none of the examples she refers to can be compared with, or used to signify, the kind of Buddhist practice on the basis of which the Ellora esoteric art was created. There is, unfortunately, too much loose speculation in the study. *Maṇḍala* or no *maṇḍala*, a proper unravelling of the ritual use and scriptural background of Ellora's Buddhist art is still needed.

Despite the major methodological problem, and other minor glitches in this work, *Unfolding a Maṇḍala* is nevertheless an impressive work. It contains an abundance of interesting and useful information on Indian Buddhist art, and provides a well rounded art-historical discussion of the Buddhist sculptures in Ellora. Hopefully the author will be able to provide better evidence for her thesis through future research.

(HHS)

Maria Dorothea Reis-Habito, *Die Dhāraṇī des Groβen Erbarmens des Bodhisattva Aualokiteśvara mit tausend Händen und Augen: Übersetzung und Untersuchung ihrer textlichen Grundlage sowie Erforschung ihres Kultes in China.* Monumenta Serica Monograph Series XXVII. Skt. Augustin, 1993.

The study of esoteric Buddhism is gradually gaining momentum in academic circles, and the present work is an example of this interest. Avalokiteśvara stands in the foreground of the East Asian Buddhist tradition, and it is no wonder that this *bodhisattva* occupies a central position within esoteric Buddhism *(mijiao*/*mikkyō)*. Hitherto research on esoteric Buddhism in East Asia has largely been dominated by Shingon studies, but this tendency is now slowly changing, and Chinese esoteric Buddhism is coming more and more into focus. Maria Reis' work is a welcome contribution to this relatively new development, and through it the reader is provided with insight into a highly important and influential aspect of Chinese Buddhism, namely the cult of the Thousand-armed, Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara.

This study is divided into the following chapters: "Einleitung": here the author sets forth the topic of her study, and delineates the extent of her research. The cult of the Thousand-armed, Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara is placed within the greater context of the East Asian Buddhist tradition. I. "Die Metamorphose eines Bodhisattva": in this opening chapter Reis investigates the role of Avalokiteśvara in the scriptural tradition. This survey covers the *Lotus Sūtra*, the Pure Land scriptures, the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka sūtra* (T. 157, 158), the *Qing Guanshiyin pusa xiaofu duhai tuoluoni zhou jing* (T. 1043), and the *Kāraṇḍavyūha sūtra* (T. 1050). II. "Die Einführung des *Ch'ien-shou ching* in China": here the author discusses the introduction of the *Nīlakaṇṭhaka sūtra* in China, its position within esoteric Buddhism, Zhitong's preface to the scripture, differences between Zhitong's and Bhagavadharma's translations, a comparative review of the translations by Śubhākarasiṃha, Amoghavajra and Vajrabodhi, new evidence for the translation and spread of the scripture on the basis of the Dunhuang manuscripts, and finally a presentation of how the *sūtra* was used in Dunhuang. III. "Übersetzung des Textes": this consists of a fully annotated translation of T. 1060. The strength of this translation is that the annotation provides full comparison and discussion of the variants in other versions of the same or related scriptures. IV. "Die Glaubenspraxis der Dhāraṇī des Groβen Erbarmens in China": in this chapter the author contextualizes the practice of the Great Compassion Dhāraṇī in China through an investigation of its prominence in monks' biographies, its role in collections of Buddhist wondrous stories focusing on Avalokiteśvara, the Miaoshen theme in Republican China, and the place of the Dhāraṇī in the Chan monastic regulations. A Conclusion finishes the work.

The present study is the first ever undertaken in a Western language

on the cult of the Thousand-armed, Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara in China together with a fully annotated translation of the *Nīlakaṇṭhaka sūtra (Qianshou jing*; T. 1060). The author is right in pointing out the importance of this cult for an understanding of East Asian religion and culture, which for some odd reason has been greatly overlooked.

The author approaches her topic in a careful and systematic manner, which bespeaks a great familiarity with the diverse sources and their related problems. She is obviously well versed in the scriptures of the tradition, which she treats in a masterly manner. The annotation reveals her extensive use of both primary and secondary sources in Chinese and Japanese, and as regards the latter she evidently uses many recent publications. This thoroughness makes Reis' study a pleasure to read, and one is offered a plethora of significant information that not only brings the cult of the Thousand-armed, Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara into focus, but also provides for an understanding of its development and spread in the course of history.

Chapter IV is perhaps the most interesting part of this study, as it contains an abundance of new information on the importance of the cult of the Thousand-armed, Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara. The information on the Dunhuang manuscripts relating to this cult is especially welcome, as it provides us with important details on Buddhist practice in a well documented cultural context. In addition, the extent to which Reis is able to trace the cult all the way up to the Republican Period (1911–49) is quite impressive. This feature provides her study with a sense of continuity and relevance that is often lacking in other, similar studies.

Reis' study is thorough and systematic, and she approaches her topic in a careful and conscientious manner. However, there are a few minor points of criticism which I would like to raise. In Chapter I, I believe the author could have included a number of other esoteric *sūtra* in her discussion of the contextualization of the Thousand-armed, Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara and the *Nīlakaṇṭhaka sūtra,* including the *Ekādaśamukha-dhāraṇī sūtra* (T. 1070), the *Dhāraṇī-samuccaya* (T. 901), and the *Qianlun tuoluoni Guanshiyin pusa zhou jing* (T. 1035), not to mention the related cults of Mahāpratisarā and Cundī. This, I believe, would have provided a more complete picture, especially since the *Nīlakaṇṭhaka* displays a number of features such as healing, medicinal plants, the *homa* rite, invocation of demonic protectors, control over spectres, etc., which can be found in other esoteric scriptures that have Avalokiteśvara as their main protagonist. A more text-historical survey would have enhanced Reis' otherwise fine results.

Here and there in the text I have some reservations as regards the terminology, and implied status, of concepts such as "gemischter esoterischer Buddhismus" and "reiner esoterischer Buddhismus" (pp. 98–101). The author is here referring to the Japanese concept of *zōmitsu*, i.e. miscellaneous esotericism, in contrast to *junmitsu*, or pure esotericism. I am not particularly happy with the use of either term in a scholarly context, as they

imply strictly sectarian views that have little historical relevance beyond the hermeneutics of the Shingon tradition in Japan. Furthermore, they are not very useful for an understanding of the development of esoteric Buddhism. Shingon orthodoxy is not only a very poor standard for accessing the importance of esoteric Buddhist scriptures and practices in China, but is equally so in regard to this tradition in Korea and Japan, not to mention Tibet. Dr. Reis is seemingly aware of the problems connected with using these terms, but somehow she does not come up with an alternative model. I believe that we would come much nearer an understanding of the esoteric Buddhist tradition if we dropped these sectarian labels, and their implications of "pure" and "impure", since such ideas are usually only meaningful within the narrow confines of institutionalized religion. "Mixed" and "pure esotericism" have little relevance as descriptions of various aspects of esoteric Buddhism, especially not when they are used to distinguish between religious phenomena, since the logic on which these concepts are based is only meaningful from the sectarian perspective. Hence, it would be better to approach the great diversity of esoteric Buddhist traditions according to its doctrinal and liturgical development, i.e. from "primitive" esotericism to fully fledged Tantra.

One last point of criticism is the extremely poor lay-out of the book. Monumenta Serica, who are normally rather conscientious with their publications, have here clearly waivered in their standards and allowed a cheap and rather primitive product to find its way onto the market. The text has not even been been furnished with a basic computer font and is nothing but a fuzzy matrix print-out. That is not acceptable, and I believe that a study as well done as that of Dr. Reis deserves much better.

Die Dhāraṇī des Großen Erbarmens des Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara mit tausend Händen und Augen is a very fine study of an important esoteric Buddhist scripture and the tradition that evolved around it. It is bound to become a classic in the study of esoteric Buddhism in East Asia and is a must for everyone seriously interested in this influential tradition.

(HHS)

James Edward Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan: Buddhism and Its Persecution.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990; paperback edition, 1993. pp. xiv + 285.

This study of a crucial phase in the history of Buddhism in modem Japan, won the Hans Rosenhaupt Memorial Book Award of the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation when it was first published in 1990, and has now been released as a paperback, thereby making it more readily accessible to those bastions of modern scholarship, the grossly underpaid. Like all works in Princeton's paperback series, the present book presents itself well,

being pleasantly designed, and printed and bound with good quality materials. The only quabble I have here is the editorial decision to print the notes as endnotes, which I personally find a little irksome when I want to actually work with the book, rather than simply read it as a continuous piece. (In this latter sense, though, it should be pointed out, Ketelaar's book can be read as a continuous piece, evidence of the coherence of the overall concept.) Over a decade ago, in a lengthy article on the separation of Buddhism and Shintō in Meiji Japan, Allan Grapard lamented the lack of research on the plentiful materials that pertain to religion, politics and society in and around the Meiji Restoration.[3] Since then, despite the large volume of secondary sources available, there has been remarkably little work done. For this reason alone the present work was particularly welcome, and the present re-release is a further vindication of this.

Ketelaar presents his findings in five chapters and a conclusion. In Chapter One Ketelaar sets out the background to the radical policies of the Meiji government, analysing what he terms "the language of persecution". He gives important details of the steps taken by the government and examines the strands of anti-Buddhist thinking which developed in the Tokugawa period and which came to their fruition in the early years of the Meiji. In Chapter Two (pp. 43ff) the author examines the anti-Buddhist policies themselves and describes how they were implemented in Mito and in Satsuma as prime examples. To this end, Ketelaar has examined the local records and related what happened to the dictates of the central government.

Three central terms form the subject of Chapter Three (pp. 87ff), *sasei itchi*, *seikyō itchi*, and *seikyō bunri*. These are analysed in terms of their role in what Ketelaar terms "the construction and destruction of a national doctrine". It was from the failure of the government's religious policies that Buddhism rose to a position of some eminence and influence in the subsequent years, feat accomplished, as Ketelaar shows, by subscribing to all practical intents and purposes to the underlying ideals of the government. This prepares the ground for the fourth chapter, a particularly interesting one which bears the intriguing title, "The Reconvening of Babel: Eastern Buddhism and the 1893 World's Parliament of Religions" (pp. 136ff). I found this part of the work particularly instructive, because here the author demonstrates his ability to bring together an analysis of the internal problems of Japanese Buddhism with a detailed exposure of the motives which led to the conception and planning of the Parliament in the first place. It is becoming increasingly clear that complex motives underlay this Parliament, and the intermingling of such disparate religious traditions with purposes that were in large part at odds with each other and with their indigenous roots, makes

[3] Allan G. Grapard, "Japan's Ignored Cultural Revolution: The Separation of Shintō and Buddhist Divinities *(shimbutsu bunri)* in Meiji and a Case Study, Tōnomine", *History of Religions*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (February 1984), pp. 140–65. Ketelaar does not cite this article.

for a fascinating, multi-layered study with significance for various aspects of the study of religions and their place in modem thinking and society. There is one omission, however, from the treatment of this period, namely the involvement of the Buddhist cleryy in the Japanese imperial expansion on the continent in the last decade of the nineteenth century (a pattern which repeated itself in the decade preceding the Second World War). Whilst this is a topic which actually requires full and separate treatment, it would have been interesting to see Ketelaar bring in more material from this side of contemporary Japanese affairs, particularly in the light of his concern to underline the Japaense Buddhists' global concerns, which he deals with more explicitly in the final chapter.

Many of these themes are, then, continued in Chapter Five (pp. 174ff), which again helps to place many aspects of modern Japanese Buddhism, not least the ideas and attitudes of such well known figures as Anesaki Maseharu and D. T. Suzuki, into proper perspective. In this respect, Ketelaar's study is a welcome help in the university teacher's task of revising long-entrenched notions about Japanese spirituality, which often seem to have a life of their own in the minds of beginning students and the wider public. In this chapter, Ketelaar picks out links between Gyōnen's *Hasshū kōyō*, through to Meiji attempts to "construct" a united Buddhism, and to cosmopolitan tendencies (these in a sense built on the developments that began in the Tokugawa, namely of developping a sense of Japan's international role and destiny). These ideas also lie behind the attempts in the early years of this century to compile a Buddhist "Bible" (one legacy of which can still be seen today in many a hotel particularly in Asia, namely the Buddhist equivalent of the Gideons' Bible!).

More work on this and related topics is gradually finding its way into print. One recent and particularly welcome example of the stimulus provided by the present work, in Robert H. Sharf s recent article, "The Zen of Japanese Nationalism" (*History of Religions*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (August 1993), pp. 1–43), primarily an examination of the career of D. T. Suzuki. Also, not directly connected with Ketelaar's work, but in a vein which provides further perspectives, and in some ways more balanced perspectives, is that of John Breen, for example his instructive article, "Shintoists in Restoration Japan (1868–1872): Towards a Reassessment", published in the same year as Ketelaar's book (*Modern Asian Studies,* Vol. 24, No. 3, pp. 579–602). Another book published in the same year is Michael Pye's translation of Tominaga's *Shutsujō-kōgo*,[4] which Ketelaar deals with at some length (pp. 20–30). Ketelaar's concerns, however, are different from Pye's, and he provides us with interesting information on the way in which scholars of the Nativist persuasion made use of Tominaga's arguments, for their own ends (pp. 30–41). On the debit side, as it were, I do feel constrained to express my regret that

[4] Reviewed in the previous issue of *SCEAR*, pp. 198–204.

work done by two German scholars, Ernst Lokowandt and Peter Fischer, has not been taken into account.[5] Whilst much of this material would have taken Ketelaar off his chosen track, there is nevertheless quite some benefit to be gained from consulting it. That this is not the case is actually part of a broader regret, namely that scholars working in North America are often unaware of research done on this side of the Great Pond, and in many cases incapable of using it anyway. Still, it is not to be denied that the situation that led to Grapard's lament is now less regrettable.

In conclusion I would like to make one final point, which—I should like to stress—whilst occasioned by reading Ketelaar's book, is by no means restricted to it. One of the problems I have is with the central idea of the book, the "heretic-as-martyr". Whilst this is certainly true of what happened in the early years of the Meiji Restoration, it is, I would submit, not such an unpredictable development that one should make it the central principle, as it were, of a whole monograph. I rather have the feeling that it diverts attention from the subject matter of a significant portion of the book, namely the developments in Japanese Buddhism after this initial process was completed. It seems to me to detract from some at times hair-raising points in what Ketelaar is saying about the subsequent behaviour and policies of Buddhist organizations after the persecutions. If one of his main points is that Buddhist institutions subsequently held hands with those who had bitten them, then it seems to me slightly misleading to raise the issue of hereticism and martyrdom to the prime focus of attention. In many ways my criticism here is not so much about the basic research which Ketelaar has performed and documented, but rather about the tendency in recent years to express the results of one's research in terms of a pithy insight into one's subject matter, thereby immediately abstracting what one has to say from the basic material which permits one to say it. It is of course imperative that one should do more with one's materials than simply use them to produce facts, without considering broader issues which affect, one's perception of one's very materials. But academic study is by its very nature a continuous switching from very basic work on the sources to a reflective level and then back again. Few of us would describe our noble occupation as a "clean" job, despite the (hopefully) well worked out conclusions that eventually reach the printers press. On the other hand, I think that the increasing tendency to create easily assimilable (and in some cases, regrettably indisputable) slogans is even possibly dangerous, not least because it panders to political considerations enforced on academia from above by those who have precious little to say

[5] Ernst Lokowandt, *Die Rechtliche Entwicklung des Staats-Shintô in der ersten Hälfte der Meiji-Zeit (1868–1890)*, Studies in Oriental Religions, Vol. 3, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1978; Peter Fischer (ed.), *Buddhismus und Nationalismus im modernen Japan*, Berliner Beitrage zur sozial- und wirtschaflswissenschafllichen Japanforschung 4, Bochum, 1979; *idem* (ed.), *Eine Auswahl japanischer Forschuneen zu Faschismus und Ultranationalismus*, Hamburg, 1990.

to us. If I may cite one example of what I mean by the role of historical research in the study of religion in its cultural context, I should like to refer to Keith Thomas' 1971 study, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson; also available from Penguin, 1973). Whilst one might search in vain throughout its eight hundred or so pages for clearly articulated theoretical frameworks to aid our understanding of (or even to account definitively for) popular beliefs in sixteenth and seventeenth century England, Thomas nevertheless succeeds in providing a wealth of fascinating information *and* presenting it in such a manner that the book is an excellent starting point for deliberations on, for example, questions relating to modernity. My fear when I read books such as the one under review here, is that subsequent generations will instantly disagree with the basic ideas (in the present case that of heretics-as-martyrs) and simply ignore the rest of the work—more than a pity!

Apart from these various reservations, the book deserves in my opinion its place in the growing library of works on Japanese Buddhism in the modem age, not only for the information which it provides on the Japanese sources, but also for the ideas it contains on issues of broader theoretical significance.

(IA)

Brief Notices

Harry Halén and Bent Lerbæk Pedersen, *C. G. Mannerheim's Chinese Pantheon: Materials for the Iconography of Chinese Folk Religion*. Travaux Ethnographiques de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 15. Helsinki: Finno-Ugrian Society, 1993. 94 pages, 2 b/w plates, 443 illustrations.

The study of Chinese popular religion is still in its infancy, with so many blanks and unanswered questions that still need to be filled in and answered. Among the obscure and relatively little studied areas is that of the iconography pertaining to the pantheon of Chinese popular religion. Hence the present catalogue is a highly welcome contribution to the field. It consists of a fully illustrated presentation of a popular Chinese pantheon, which the great Finnish explorer and strategist C. G. Mannerheim compiled while passing through Lanzhou in Gansu province in 1908. It consists of the following parts: the *Introduction* is written by Bent Lerbæk Pedersen, and consists of a basic discussion of the various groups of deities included in the pantheon. *Comments on the Illustrations*: this section is divided into fourteen subsections, which cover Buddhist figures, Daoist figures, local and popular gods, stellar gods, roaming spirits, mountain gods, the thunder department, the water department, the fire department, the departments of diseases and medicine, gods of wealth, patron gods of craftsmen, patron gods of merchants,

patron gods of the military. Most of the commentary is in French, written in 1909 by the Belgian missionary, Father Van Dijk (1878–1948), and sometimes it is slightly odd. The section is concluded by a list of missing items, an index, and a reverse listing of corresponding numbers. The final section consists of the illustrations, a total of 443 numbered line-drawings.

The catalogue is an important contribution to our fairly limited knowledge of iconography in Chinese popular religion of the late Qing. As such the work by the two editors is very important and noteworthy, and it is now possible to proceed a little further along a way that has long been shrouded in darkness. When seen in connection with the collection and material compiled by the Dutch missionary De Groot in Fujian towards the end of last century, the value of Mannerheim's pantheon becomes even more obvious.

On the negative side the catalogue simply provides too little documentation on the individual figures, especially the more obscure ones, and I believe that Halén and Lerbæk Pedersen could have done a more thorough job on providing further information on the individual gods and spirits. For example, it would have been useful if there had been an attempt at comparing the Daoist images in the catalogue with the abundant iconographical information which can be gathered from the various works in the *Daozang*. Furthermore, it would have enhanced the value of the catalogue if the authors had written a more extensive account of the importance and function of the various gods within Chinese religion. It is obvious that some of the gods and Buddhist deities depicted in Mannerheim's pantheon were highly important down through the history of Chinese religion, whereas others have played a much more marginal role. The "greater" deities have a more universal and persuasive role, whereas the "lesser" ones are considerably more localized, and may also be limited in time. In addition, as we are dealing with a decidedly popular pantheon, I do not think that it makes much sense to divide the deities into distinct groups, such as Buddhist and Daoist divinities. After all, the average worshipper in the late Qing dynasty is not likely to have entertained any such distinction. Finally a critical annotation of Leo Van Dijk's slightly idiosyncratic commentary would have been in order. The two authors ought to have paid more attention to these issues, which would have enhanced the value of this otherwise useful and fine catalogue greatly.

(HHS)

The Dongfang zongjiao yanjiu [Eng. subtitle: Studies in Oriental Religions]. New Series 1 (1990), 2 (1991). Ed. by Dongfang zongjiao yanjiu bianji wei yuanhui. Taipei: Traditional Arts Research Center—National Institute of the Arts.

Between 1987 and 1988 the Manjusri Press in Taiwan published a noteworthy, but little noticed, journal on East Asian religions. What set this exclusively Chinese journal apart from many similar publications was its

high academic standard. For various reasons this remarkable journal folded after only two issues, unnoticed by most, but deplored by the few scholars outside of Taiwan who had found it stimulating and interesting reading. However, in 1990 the National Institute of the Arts decided to revive the journal under the same name, but as a "New Series". So far two issues have appeared. The latest issue of *The Dongfang zongjiao yanjiu* contains the following articles (in Chinese): "The Translation and Authorship of the *Ta-cih tu lun* (*Mahāprajñā-pāramitā śāstra*)", by Yin-shun; "The Unity of Ritual and Music in the *Yüeh Chi*", by Chiang I-ping; "The Significance of the Establishment of the *Nikāya vinaya*" by Chao-hui; "The View of the Spirit World and Its Subjugation in the *Tangyiian shen-chou jing*", by Li Feng-mao; "The Amitābha Crypt in Cave No. 169 of Ping-ling Monastery and Its Relation to Buddhist Doctrine and Meditational Practice", by Lai Peng-jeu; "The Debate over the *Wu pu ch'ien lun* in the Late Ming—The Different Positions and K'ung-yin Chen-ch'eng's Response", by Chiang Ts'an-t'eng; "The Confucian-Buddhist Debate Between Tai Chen and Feng Chi-ch'ing", by Huang I-mei; "The Manchu Version of the Tripiṭaka Housed in the Archives of the National Palace Museum", by Chang Chi-fa; "Hsiung Shih-li's Criticism and Assimilation of the Buddhist Doctrine of Emptiness: From 'Horizontal' Thusness to 'Vertical Creation'", by Lin An-wu; "Regional Religious Organizations and their Social and Cultural Foundatons", by Lin Mei-jung; "Folk Religion in Taiwan", by Wu Ning-yüen; *Selected Translation*: "Chinese Translation of *lTa ba'I khyadpar* (Version of Tun-huang, Pelliot Tibetan No. 814)", by Sheu Ming-en; "Chinese Thought and the Mahāyāna", by Hsü Yang-chu; "A Review of A History of Chinese Buddhism edited by Ren Jiyu", by Chou Po-k'an.

(HHS)

Jingtu zang huizui [The Complete Classification of the Pure Land Treasury of Scriptures]. 3 vols. Comp, by Zhiyu. Taipei: Xilian jingyuan, 1991. Hardbound.

It is common knowledge that the Pure Land tradition is one of the most pervasive aspects of East Asian Mahāyāna Buddhism, and especially so when one regards the area over which Chinese Buddhism held sway. The present work is a combined text concordance and index, and provides an introduction to all the standard material written in China down through the ages, including translations of Sanskrit scriptures and doctrinal compositions by Chinese monks and laymen.

The *Jingtu zang huizui* is divided into two parts: a text part and an index. The text part, in two volumes, contains all the scriptural references, each under its own heading, thus providing the user with an abundance of primary material easy of access. Furthermore, all the text passages have been punctuated, which provides for easier reading than the usual *Taishō* and *Zokuzōkyō* standards.

When one sees such a large amount of primary materials on Pure Land Buddhism as is compiled here, it is truly surprising how much esoteric material is embedded in the tradition. Thus we find *mantra* for rebirth in Sukhāvatī, *Amituo fo shuo zhou* (Amitābha Buddha Utters a Mantra), *Amitābha tathāgata hṛdaya mantra* (Amitābha Buddha Heart Mantra), and an *Amitābha tathāgata dhāraṇī*. In short, a wealth of "new" and interesting material.

This excellent handbook is a must for any student of East Asian Buddhism, and of Chinese Pure Land Buddhism in particular. It is easy to use and contains an inconceivable and invaluable hoard of knowledge pertaining to the Chinese Pure Land cult, including information culled from all the classical primary and secondary sources. Can be warmly recommended.

(HHS)

Chanxue yanjiu [Research on Chan Practice], Vol. 1 (1992). Edited by Chanxue Yanjiu Congkan Jibu. Nanjing: Jiangsu Guji Chuban She.

Within the past few years an increasing number of scholarly and semi-scholarly journals dealing with Chinese and Asian religions have appeared in the PRC. One of the most recent arrivals is the *Chanxue yanjiu* from Nanjing. There are several noteworthy points about this new journal. First of all it is printed in standard characters. Secondly, it features very little political dogma (of the kind you know!). Thirdly, its level is quite high when compared with the usual scholarship on religion published in the PRC. Fourthly, to have a serious journal published in the PRC which focuses exclusively on Chan Buddhism is in itself quite extraordinary.

The first issue is subdivided into ten thematic parts as follows: "Chantian chandi [Chan in Heaven, Chan on Earth]"; "Fo dao ju zongheng tan [A Talk on the Comparison of Buddhism, Daoism and Confucianism]"; "Chan yu shi [Chan and Poetry]"; "Gaoseng sixiang yanjiu [Study of the Thought of High Monks]"; "Gongan pouxi [Solving the Koan]"; "Chan zong shiyu [Words on the History of the Chan School]"; "Yue Zang shiyi [Searching in the Treasury for Things That Have Been Overlooked]"; "Wenwu kaoju [Artifacts as Textual Evidence]"; "Renwu chunqiu [The Spring and Autumn of Men and Things]"; "Chan yu shenghua [Chan and the Living Word]".

Among the articles included under these headings are studies on the patriarchal transmission of the lamp, the introduction of meditative practices from India to China; *prajñā* and contemplation; Liu Zongyuan (773–819), the great Tang literati, and his relationship to Buddhism; Dahui Zonggao (1089–1163), the founder of the *gongan* tradition in Chinese Chan; Taixu (1889–1947), the father of modern Buddhism in China; the *Lidai fa bao ji* [Record of the Historical Transmission of the Dharma Treasure], a transmission record of the Baotang Chan sect in Sichuan, etc. Issues of the *Chanxue yanjiu* are

probably not so easy to get hold of, but for the dedicated traveller in the PRC try the temple bookstores, or the Commercial Press in Causeway Bay in Hong Kong.

(HHS)

Rinzai roku ichi sakuin (Concordance to the *Record of Linji* (Rinzai)). Compiled by Urs App. Kyoto: International Research Institute for Zen Buddhism, Hanazono University, 1993. No pagination. Paperbound.

This is the first concordance volume in a projected series by the International Research Institute for Zen Buddhism under the dynamic leadership of Urs App, who is known foremost for his dedicated work on how to make classical Chan/Zen material available on electronic media. The present concordance is a useful introduction to one of the most important Chan/Zen scriptures, the *Linji lu*, the recorded sayings of Linji Yixuan (d. 867), the founder of the sect which bears his name. The compiler continues the tradition of Yanagida Seizan, one of Japan's leading experts on Tang dynasty Chan Buddhism, and the concordance is more or less modelled on the latter's monumental three volume concordance, the *Sotō shū sakuin* ([Concordance to the *Chodang chip*]; Kyoto University, 1976). There are a few minor mistakes, which are signalled by the compiler in the form of an enclosed "errata note", otherwise the present concordance is a very fine publication of great value to the more specialized student of Chan/Zen Buddhism. Furthermore, it is well made, with very clear print. Needless to say we are eagerly looking forward to the next publication in the series. There is supposedly an electronic version of the concordance available from the International Research Institute for Zen Buddhism, which of course would be very useful to have as well, but I have not seen it so far. For future publications in this Zen concordance series one would wish that the publishers might include a diskette with the electonic version in MAC and/or IBM standard as well.

(HHS)

Daojiao dacidian. Gen. ed. Wang Bingyang. Beijing: Huaxi Chubanshe, 1994. pp. 79, 1009. ISBN 7-5080-0112-5/B 054. 97 *yuan*.

This large-format encyclopedic dictionary of Daoism, published under the auspices of the Daoist Associations of China and of Suzhou (Zhongguo Daojiao Xiehui, Suzhou Daojiao Xiehui), will be a welcome addition to the bookshelves of those interested in what the Editors' introduction calls the only indigenous religion of the Chinese mainland. This volume contains almost 14,000 entries, arranged by stroke count and listed in a table of contents at

the beginning of the book, which also serves as the index. A further, full index might also have been of use, but since most of the entries are brief and to the point, and the list of terms quite extensive, this limitation can certainly be lived with. A listing of the texts and editions on which the cooperating institutes based their investigations, would also have been helpful. Notwithstanding these minor points of criticism the book contains a wealth of useful information and can be warmly recommended as another addition to the growing number of scholarly works and reference materials presently being published in the PRC.

(IA)

Jan Slavik, *Dance of Colours: Basic Patterns of Colour Symbolism in Mahāyāna Buddhism.* Ethnological Studies 41. Göteborg: Etnografiske Museet, 1994.

The first reaction of many readers when seeing this book will be to ask in what sense the book might be ethnological, not least because recent volumes in this series have reported primarily on field-work amongst the indigenous populations of South America. In fact, placing the present work in a clear and proper academic context becomes a major difficulty when reading the book, which actually treats a topic of considerable interest to students of Buddhism and of the History of Religions.

The book is in fact a doctoral thesis, presumably presented to the Seminar in History [*sic*] of Religions at the University of Göteborg. Apart from a discussion with Prof. Samdhong Rinpoche (Acknowledgments, p. vii), the only ethnographic element I could determine, the research is based on a selection of Buddhist texts, primarily of the Mahāyāna and of the Vajrayāna, and in English translation. As such the author, who is a librarian at the above-named museum, has dealt with much material which has the advantage of being readily available to students and scholars. On the other hand its usefulness as a research tool is rather hampered by the lack of clarity concerning the author's acquaintance with and use of the primary sources. It is also unclear which historical principles he has followed in his selection of materials and how he in fact defines terms such as *mahāyāna* and *vajrayāna* for the purposes of his study. For the crucial and fascinating issue of deciding on the nature of the Mahāyāna, for example, he contents himself with relying primarily on the work of Hirakawa and making passing reference to Williams and Schopen (p. 17), thereby ignoring the issues raised by the latter scholars. A discussion of these would have offered the reader much more, even if it would have necessitated a radical re-ordering of the treatment of the topic.

However, the main problem facing the author is that his book ostensibly places Mahāyāna Buddhism at the forefront, whereas most of what he presents to the reader as material for his theses comes from the Vajrayāna,

often from the latest phases of the latter and in the terms of the (exceedingly late) fourfold division of the *tantra* literature into *kriyā-*, etc. The historical and doctrinal development of a significant number of Buddhist traditions that make colour a matter of central practical importance is a topic of great value, but one becomes increasingly skeptical of the authors ability to do his task justice, not only in his treatment of the primary sources but also in his grasp of historical methods and his grasp of the subtleties of Buddhist scholastics. This is a pity, for particularly in the chapters on the Vajrayāna texts (Chs. 2 and 3, the actual core of the book) he selects and systematizes quite a wealth of information. As a useable thesis within the History of Religions, however, the work falls short of the mark through the aforementioned lack of historical rigour and, the reader occasionally suspects, through a tendency to the religious.

In addition to these serious flaws in method and the handling of the sources, the reader is continually interrupted by the flawed English and by inconsistencies, clumsiness, and mistakes in the formal tasks of citing the primary and secondary literature. The net result is a certain frustration which the inherent interest of the chosen topic fails to dispel.

(IA)

Roger Goepper, *Aizen-Myōō, The Esoteric King of Lust: An Iconological Study*. Artibus Asiae, Supplementum XXXIX. Zürich: Museum Rietberg, 1993. pp. 172, 6 colour plates, 41 black and white illustrations. ISBN 3-907070-51-8.

The present work is a long-awaited study of one of the most striking figures in the esoteric Buddhism of East Asia. Because of the importance of the work we have elected to treat it fully in the next volume of *SCEAR*: what follows are short notes on the contents.

The book is very handsomely presented and the fine paper and the excellent reproductions make it a pleasure to work with. The author expresses his intentions very clearly in his short introduction: “In our present iconological study on the King of Lust we shall not only analyze him iconographically and describe his variants and Mandaras, but we shall also search into the dogmatic background of Buddhist ideas which have taken material form in the figure of the deity. In addition we shall place him into the historical and social context that led to the spread of his cult in the Heian and Kamakura Periods since a divinity like Aizen cannot be understood merely from his religious basis” (pp. 11f).

Chapter I consists of a translation of the *Yugi-kyō* (T. XVIII/867), Chapter Five; Chapter II describes the basic form of Aizen-myōō. The following chapter details the iconographic variants of the deity, after which the author turns his attention to the parallel Indian and Tibetan deities, Ṭakki-rāja, and Rāga and Kāma. Chapter V deals with the various *maṇḍala* which pertain the

Aizen-myōō, Chapters VI and VII with the dogmatic and the historical and sociological backgrounds, respectively. After a short chapter on heterodox speculations and the Tachikawa Sect, the author sets out his materials on the symbolic forms (*sanmaya-gyō*), the seed syllables (*shuji*, Skt. *bīja*), and the *mantra* (*shingon*) of Aizen (Chs. 9–11). The book finishes with a long chapter on the rituals associated with Aizen, *inter alia* the Fire Ceremony (*goma-hō* [=Skt. *homa*]).

Finally, I cannot resist noting that the didactic, love-inspired wrath of the deity has worked in ways inconceivable to lesser mortals, and punished my previously attributing to him (*in print*) the female gender by causing the author of this monograph to type the initial of my Christian name with a "J" in his otherwise commendable Bibliography.

(IA)