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SCRIPTABLE

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EDITORIAL

Scriptable is an irregular review of what was once called the belles-lettres, where we essay upon a wide assortment of current books and articles with an eye open for "the beautiful jumble of discordant congruencies" derived from the authors and titles under discussion. We cast a wide academic net through the social sciences and humanities, with a strong orientation toward current events, social theory, religious and cultural studies.

With this number we move away from simple reportage of current scholarship to something more ambitious. The body of each issue includes editorial essays examining themes inspired by the works under consideration. Our Annotated Bibliography will review, list and link the titles under discussion, providing a faithful summary of its content and audience.
Our purpose is to inform and entertain. Through the review essays we hope to visit new and timeworn places through unsettled ideas in currency newly minted. Perhaps to see the outlandish as intimate and to show up the familiar as stranger than before thought.
Each issue should surprise.

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HOME/FRONTS: CONTEMPORARY WAR IN BRITISH LITERATURE, DRAMA, AND FILM by Janina Wierzoch [Culture & Theory, Transcript-Verlag, 9783837651874]

In recent years, the US-led invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq have had an impact on the UK rivalled only by Brexit and the global financial crisis. For people at home, the wars were ever-present in the media yet remained distant and difficult to apprehend. Janina Wierzoch offers an analytical survey of British contemporary war narratives in novels, drama, film, and television that seek to make sense of the experience. The study shows how the narratives, instead of reflecting on the UK's role as invader, portray war as invading the British home. Home loses its post-Cold War sense of »permanent peace« and is recast as a home/front where war once again becomes part of what it means to be »us«.

Janina Wierzoch has been working as a research assistant at Universität Hamburg and as a lecturer at Leuphana University, Lüneburg. She holds a degree in British literature and culture, media studies, and German literature. Her research and teaching interests include British prose fiction from the 19th century onwards as well as contemporary drama; a special focus lies on film and television, also extending to other visual and new media.

On 27 May 1997, just weeks after he assumed office, Britain's Prime Minister Tony Blair stated at a NATO meeting:

> Mine is the first generation able to contemplate the possibility that we may live our entire lives without going to war or sending our children to war. That is a prize beyond value. ("Statement")

The statement, spoken in the context of improved post-Cold War NATO-Russian re-lations, was rendered particularly ironic when, just a few years later, Britain was on the brink of more than a decade of war on two fronts: in Afghanistan (2001-20141) and in Iraq (2003-2011). Even at the time, Blair's claim of a new, peaceful "European landscape" ("Statement") revealed a "misplaced Kantian confidence in the future," Christopher Coker writes (vii; also, Mom 57). The "smug western European belief that they had 'conquered war'" ignored, if nothing else, the conflict-ridden Balkans (Ball 541). In Anna Geis, Lothar Brock, and Harald Müller's Democratic Wars, Christopher Daase observes that "democracies are not inherently peaceful" (74). Theories of democratic peace, Daase argues, must take into account democratic belligerence born out of "non-recognition, exclusion and enmity" towards nondemocratic states (75). The conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq, then, are symptomatic of a Western "culture of fear," as outlined by Coker in War in an Age of Risk (viii), not its contradiction. And yet, for a culture that pathologises risk-taking (Coker ix), that separates "war

making and its civilian support" (Imber and Fraser 384), and believes that, in the present context, war is "'brought home' to a nation that is not itself at war" (Walklate, Mythen, and McGarry 152) war signifies a disruption, a destabilisation which calls for a response and an effort to come to terms with the realities of war.

War as a threat to British life became an issue when casualty numbers rose noticeably after 2005.2 The reality of dead British soldiers returning to a "casualty averse" (Chin 14) homeland was addressed in what came to be known as "the Wootton Bassett phenomenon" (Freeden 1). 'Bodies of evidence' appeared in the Wiltshire market town of Wootton Bassett after repatriation flights from the battlefields in Afghanistan and Iraq had been redirected to the nearby military airbase RAF Lyneham in the early months of 2007 (Jenkings et al. 358). On 13 April, the first of 167 convoys carrying the bodies of British servicemen killed abroad passed through Wootton Bassett (K. Davies 247). Just a few residents, led by veteran members of the Royal British Legion, gathered to honour the dead on this occasion (Freeden 3). They responded, "on behalf of the nation," as Nick Hewitt argues, "to a situation unprecedented in British history: the trickle home of the dead from an ongoing, morally questionable war of uncertain outcome" (3).

In the following months and years, the spontaneous tribute, repeated whenever the cortèges passed, evolved into a ritualised "spectacle of solemn public grief" (Jenkings et al. 360). At times, more than a thousand people attended the events—civilians and military, relatives and officials, tourists and locals (K. Davies 247). After July 2009, nation-wide news reports boosted the public perception of this "grassroots" initiative (Freeden 3) and "cement[ed] the status of the events as semi-official displays facilitated by the necessary civic and policing authorities, local businesses and social groups" (Jenkings et al. 358). Official recognition followed in 2011: Prime Minister David Cameron announced that the town would receive the title Royal to acknowledge its commitment to honour the war dead (Jenkings et al. 362). "[T]o propose alternative relations," Katie Davies argues, artists and photographers created counter-narratives to official and media interpretations (243; also, Walklate, Mythen, and McGarry 152). Davies's own video installation The Separation Line (2012) reproduced the ceremonies in size, duration, and camera perspective to offer "time and space" for reflection and reveal the "gap" between "ceremonial reality" and representation (244, 255-256). As a whole, the Wootton Bassett phenomenon contained the reality of British soldiers dying abroad in a public ritual of mourning and commemoration. The ceremonies thus exemplify a process of cultural signification and appropriation of the contemporary war experience through the exchange of competing and complementary narratives (Korte and Schneider, Introduction 4).

As "key external event[s]" of the 2000s (Bentley, Hubble and Wilson, "Fiction" 4), the US-led invasions ofAfghanistan and Iraq had an impact on Britain comparable only to the effect of the global financial crisis of 2007 and 2008 (Chin 4). Yet, for a majority of the British population these wars never materialised as they did in the ritualised 'body count' of Wootton Bassett. The wars were waged far away, civilians were not in any real physical danger, nor was there compulsory military service as in earlier wars (M. Andrews 232). Elena V. Baraban, Stephan Jaeger, and Adam Muller argue that for most North Americans and Europeans the contexts in which people go to war with one anotherappearabstract.... Not havingwitnessedwardirectly, most Westerners come to understand and respond to these recent conflicts through their representations in journalism, politics, and Internet blogs, as well as in works of art, literature, and cinema. (6)

Baraban, Jaeger, and Muller's observations confirm that, for British audiences, the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq existed almost exclusively as transmedia3 represen□tations. In their virtual

quality as media phenomena, the wars were as momen□tous and ever-present as they were distant and difficult to apprehend for people at home. Gillian Youngs argues that the wars possessed "pervasive qualities of vague□ness" that distanced people "from the bigger picture" of the missions undertaken in their name (932). To make sense of war in the "age of hyperreality," to render war meaningful as contemporary experience, "narrative ... is all important," Coker notes in a nod to Jean Baudrillard (Coker 9). The military campaigns may be carried out on Afghan and Iraqi battlefields, but the cultural meaning of recent warfare is fought out elsewhere: within the British home sphere and in a variety of British texts and media.

To investigate the cultural negotiation of the British experience of recent warfare, the present project therefore looks at narrative representations of war. More specifically, the focus is on fictional narratives in British literature, drama, and film set against the backdrop of the largely concurrent campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq, Britain's most recent experiences of extended warfare. The study asks how the narratives conceive of these conflicts and how war, in turn, impacts on ideas of British life and culture. Evidently, narratives ofwar go beyond fiction: News reports and documentary, politics and historiography, memorials and museums, even "the productions of war planners and ... the fantasies and theories of strategists" (Deer 1, 4)—they all tell stories of war. In War and Cinema, Paul Virilio claims: "There is no war ...without representation" (6; also, Soncini 8). Still, literature has a specific relation to war representation. In Culture in Camouflage, Patrick Deer writes that literary texts have "a privileged perspective on the action" due to their "emphasis on personal expression, on witness and memory, on narrating the seemingly unnarratable, and on the role played by rhetoric in war-making" (5). It is impossible even to "identify 'war itself' as an entity apart from a powerful literary tradition," Jean B. Elshtain observes (55). The assumption that through fictional narratives meaning is ascribed to complex cultural experiences is based on the premise that fiction is not antithetical to reality but the product of "acts of fictionalizing," as Wolfgang Iser writes: "The fictive ... might be called a 'transitional object,' always hovering between the real and the imaginary," reproducing reality but also exceeding its limiting determinacy (20). More particularly, fictions of war introduce "imaginary positions in which conflicts can be safely explored and worked through to a potential resolution," Graham Dawson explains in Soldier Heroes (20).

A comprehensive history of war representation as a context for British narratives on contemporary war exceeds the bounds of this study, even if it is reduced to literary works. But it must be noted that war has given rise to a long line of texts and genres of cultural significance, ranging from classics like the Iliad (McLoughlin, Authoring) to World War I poetry and Cold War spy fiction (Hammond; also, Peebles 4-5). Kate McLoughlin argues in Authoring War that the history of the representation of war in literary texts and other fictional media reveals distinct lines of continuity. First and foremost, war narratives across the centuries share the "difficulty of conveying war's extremeness" (McLoughlin, Authoring 16; also, Oostdijk 355). But "even as it resists representation, conflict demands it," McLoughlin notes (Authoring 7). Indeed, war has produced a plethora of literary styles, themes, and aesthetics to reflect such diverse experiences as the trench warfare of the First World War (Booth) and the anxieties of the War on Terror (K. Miller).

Rather than defining a new genre of Iraq and Afghanistan war fiction, this project explores the literary, dramatic, and film texts as contributions to the cultural negotiation of Britain at war today. Fictional narratives that deal with the recent conflicts tell their stories of war to come to terms with and render meaningful the contemporary experience of war. As fiction, they do not focus on 'the facts' of war but conceive of war as an experiential reality of British life. Given that war in general signifies a conflict between two parties, it comes as no surprise that research on literature of recent

warfare emphasises the other side and explores them-versus-us constellations (e.g., A. de Waal, "(Sub)Versions"; Galli) or the negotiation of cultural differences (e.g., O'Gorman), including respective postcolonial implications. But these dichotomies are not the focus here. The present study is interested in the introversive 'look at ourselves' that characterises British narratives of recent warfare. The examined texts conceive of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq not primarily as military invasions of foreign territory by a Western alliance against terrorism but rather as an imaginary invasion of war into the British sphere of home, as a disruption that challenges cultural values, privileges, traditions.

In War and the Cultural Construction of Identities in Britain (2002), Barbara Korte and Ralf Schneider state that any war has a profound effect on the construction of identity of those involved (Introduction 2). But more recently, Korte and Schneider go on to explain, the interest in this function of war is based on a "postmodern awareness" of the problematics of identity formation: States of war today draw attention to frictions between different levels of identity, such as communal and individual (Introduction 2-3). This renewed significance of war for what it means to be 'us' gives weight to the claim of the present study that, in the examined narratives, contemporary war appears as a violent irruption into British life. This invasion of war into the sphere of cultural belonging signifies discontinuity, defamiliarisation, and extraneousness and leads to a crisis of meaning and signification at home. Further, this study claims that fictional representations of recent warfare work to dissolve the strangeness and incommunicability of war to integrate the experience into their narrative of British life. The stories create or reveal an interconnection of culture and war to work against feelings of alienation and (re)discover war as a reflection of culture on itself. As the narratives play through this process of negotiating war, what remains is a sense of vulnerability and at the same time a sort of resistance, that is, a subjection to the grand event of war as well as a sense of continuity in the face of violent conflict.

In the narratives examined in this study, the cultural self-perception of common British life under the strain of war is central. This concern links to how the history of mentalities, a branch of the French Annales school, thinks about cultural change. Unlike earlier approaches to cultural history, the history of mentalities does not look at high culture but is interested in the shifting "attitudes of ordinary people toward everyday life," Patrick H. Hutton writes ("The History" 237). The approach focusses "on unspoken or unconscious assumptions, on perception, on the workings of 'everyday thought' or 'practical reason,'" Peter Burke explains (162). Similarly, the present study investigates narratives that deal with ordinary people and their everyday experience of war rather than with decision-makers at the centre stage of politics. The history of mentalities is further concerned with gradual long-term developments (Hutton, "Mentalities" 801)—in that regard, Fernand Braudel's "macrohistorical" work is paradigmatic (Andrea 605). The present study also looks at more subtle changes but does not claim to identify long-term shifts. The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq are too recent to argue for lasting effects as their impact competes with cultural "modes of resistance": "the inertial power of habits of mind, conventions of speech, and visceral convictions that inhere in the common sense of tradition" (Hutton, "Mentalities" 801). More recent and future events may cast a different light on these conflicts. The present project therefore aims at identifying current strategies of dealing with and making sense of contemporary war in fictional narratives.

The argument this study makes about the narrative negotiation of war as an intruder into British life rests on an idea of culture as a sphere of belonging, or 'home,' confronted with an unsettling, seemingly unfamiliar sphere of war. Home, in the present context, stands for what Isabel Capeloa Gil calls "the anthropological ordering enacted by culture"; in direct contrast, war signifies an

"extraordinary experience of mutual destruction" (32). Gil notes that, against the backdrop of the modern-day nation-state and its inveterate bourgeois family ideal, the experience of war calls for a reaffirmation of the domestic order of home and family (32). The present study, however, argues that, since war not only invades home but is also allocated within the British experience in the examined narratives, home is not simply reaffirmed as it was. Rather, home is challenged by the exposition to war and transformed into a home/front4—a home sphere that integrates or rediscovers traits of war. The terminological triad of home, war, and home/front that is central to this project will be further specified in chapter 2.

In the present study, the theoretical underpinning for the process of negotiating home in the face of war is Yuri M. Lotman's semiotic model of culture (chapter 3.1.) or, more precisely, his idea of a dynamic semiosphere that is defined as both the product of semiosis of a given culture and the precondition of its existence and development (Universe 125). To begin with, home and war are assigned to the opposition of semiosphere and extrasemiotic space. Just as Bernd Hüppauf defines war as an antithesis of culture (15), the fictions examined here designate war as external and alien to British culture—eagerly disregarding Britain's active role in the actual campaigns abroad. Home, on the other hand, is in principle located at the centre of the semiosphere. Lotman, Russian semiotician and cultural historian, at one point defines home as a place of "one's own ... of safety, culture" (Universe 185). A crucial determinant of his model is the boundary of the semiosphere: It is, according to Lotman, a place of increased semiotic exchange ("On the Semiosphere" 208-209) or, in other words, a dynamic "mechanism" that accounts for the change of culture over time (Universe 136-137). For the present project, the boundary provides the infrastructure or 'gateway' for the semiotics of war to enter the cultural home sphere. Thus, the model is particularly suited to represent—to render visible and comprehensible—the reworking of home into a home/front. A reading of the selected works of prose literature, drama, and film along these lines facilitates an understanding of how fictional narratives contribute to the cultural conceivability of the wars, to the process of rendering war meaningful in the context of Britain today.

The narrative configuration of this negotiation of home and war varies across texts and media. By way of example, Pat Barker's short story "Subsidence," published in the Guardian Review in July 2003, reveals how an interconnectedness of home and war may be established in fiction. In "Subsidence," the primary sphere of belonging is the middle-class family of Ruth. Their home in the former coal district of County Durham stands on shaky ground: Cracks in the walls tell of the "cavernous darkness" of the disused coal mines in the ground beneath the house. On a figurative level, the broken plaster is symptomatic of the fading substance of Ruth's marriage. Her husband Matt's adulterous detachment from home and the communal subplot of the coal mining past resonate, subtly but significantly, with a third narrative thread: News reports on the war in Iraq, glossed over "like a bad action movie," claim Ruth's attention. At first, the reports seem to be random occurrences of everyday life. But the reports are translated—in Lotman's sense of the word—into a more invasive experience, as they interlink with the representation of family and community. Semiotic overlaps connect news reports and communal history: Because the area's past is so vibrantly present in the mind of Ruth, the war journalists calling out "Gas! Gas! Gas!" in a television report she watches seem to echo the shouts of miners long since vanished from the community. Another passage interlinks war and family: When the falsity of the 2002 September Dossier on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction (chapter 2.1.) is reported on radio, the exposure of the betrayal of the public coincides with Ruth's discovery of her husband's marital infidelity. The breach of trust in the private home comes to signify the waning justification of the invasion—and

vice versa. By establishing these connections, some more openly than others, "Subsidence" creates a continuity between the broken family of Ruth, Durham's lost identity as a mining community, and the disillusioned country at war that makes for an insubstantial or 'cracked' home/front across private, communal, and national strata.

All of the examined narratives of recent conflict bring into contact culture and warfare, but they explore different forms of connectedness. On the superordinate level of the present project, the interaction of home and war in the examined narratives is conceived as an invasion of war into the sphere of home. This term not only ironically inverts the fact that it was indeed British forces who intruded foreign countries (Araújo 62) and exposes the narratives as particularly self-involved representations. The term invasion also captures how the experience of war is understood as unsettling, overpowering, and incapacitating. On the level of the individual analyses, the narratives answer to the suspension of the order of home by negotiating a possible contact or even reconciliation between the spheres. They probe ways to render conceivable the violent experience of war that is introduced to the space of belonging. Each narrative presents this interrelation between the spheres on its own terms: The contact and subsequent interaction may be spelled out, for example, as a visual, acoustic, spatial, or associative merging of home and war spheres, as a superimposition of one sphere onto the other, as a seamless transition between home and war, as a temporary replacement of one sphere with the other, or as the build-up of a metaphoric imagery interrelating home and war. By exploring the allocation of war within the home sphere along these lines, the texts find their own ways to make sense of the recent wars.

This primary interest of the present study is complemented by a second concern: the question how different media contribute to the cultural negotiation of the wars in media-specific ways. In turn, the project also investigates how war is represented beyond the limitations of a single medium. Therefore, the study's material basis is intermedial if only, following Werner Wolf's categorisation, in an extracompositional sense (29). With its transmedial corpus, the study reaches across "boundaries between conventionally distinct media" (Wolf 19). The texts themselves are not transmedial in the sense of Henry Jenkins's notion of transmedia storytelling as defined in Convergence Culture (2006).5 Still, the heightened interest in the mediality and intermediality of narrative in recent scholarship informs the present study (Ryan, "Narration" par. 30). Novel, drama, and film were chosen to exemplify the diversity of media fictionalising the recent wars.6 The British stage has responded quickly and with a wide variety of productions to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. There is also a considerable selection of film and television productions from the UK that are relevant to this study—though the respective US-American output overshadows British productions in number, public and critical recognition, and aesthetic and artistic influence (Hißnauer 183). British writers of narrative fiction took time to respond to the recent wars. Though there are a few early examples, only towards the end of the 2000s and reaching into the next decade contemporary warfare appears more frequently as a theme in the British novel.

This study assembles media texts distinct in their mediality but also comparable on the level of the narrative: They are similar in terms of length, narrative complexity, and their propensity to create a coherent story world (e.g., Monaco 44). For Wolf, film and drama "continue to be more or less related to literature while having developed their own profile" (22). It is the way these media are used in the cultural context that entrusts them with a function similar to that of text-based literature, even if their character and conditions have led to distinct conventions of storytelling. The three main chapters of this project thus focus on culturally established, accessible storytelling media presenting fictional—or at least decidedly fictionalised—narratives that draw on the same general

subject matter: the recent conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. To limit the choice of texts, the project stipulates that this topical reference must be made explicit: Works included here may not necessarily present combat operations or foreign battlefields, but they all share a direct and not merely figurative reference on the story level to either or both of these wars to, again, ensure comparability across media boundaries. It is the experience of the reality of conflict—the manifestations, repercussions, problematics, absences the wars abroad cause in the cultural home sphere—that finds expression in these narratives.

In other aspects, the selected media differ, for example, in terms of specific narrative conventions, means of storytelling, or target audiences. As Marie-Laure Ryan observes, "different media have different affordances, giving them different expressive power" ("Transmedial" 368). The respective differences spring from distinctions on various levels. In reference to Ryan, Wolf lists differences on the grounds of, for instance, mono- versus plurimediality (e.g., the text-based novel versus the audiovisual medium of film), spatio-temporal extension (e.g., prose fiction is temporal, theatre spatio-temporal), or the specific role the medium is assigned in culture (e.g., the status of theatre as high culture as opposed to television as popular culture) (38). The complex mediality of a given narrative, which this list of criteria reveals, is crucial: The medium is not just a neutral means to deliver information, the medium has an impact on the narrative content (Ryan, "Narration" par. 2). From this perspective, the narratives presented in novel, drama, and film can also be understood as three distinct cultural responses to recent warfare. The reflexivity and imagination of the novel (e.g., Ryan, "Transmedial" 368) are juxtaposed with the immediacy and affective potential of dramatic performance (e.g., Fischer-Lichte, Performativität 61-62) and the diversity and scope of audiovisual narration in film and television (e.g., Monaco 43, 49-50) to explore the possibilities and limitations of representing an unsettling or even traumatic war experience indifferent media. The novel is strictly text-based, at least in the cases relevant here, while drama and film, which use a variety of semiotic codes, are plurimedial (Wolf 27).

The choice of media for this study of contemporary fictions of war seeks to balance a diversity of media perspectives with the compatibility of the results of the media-specific analyses. To make sure that an overall conclusion can be drawn in the end, the examinations of novel, drama, and film are guided by questions that apply to all media texts. These questions or, more generally, areas of interest arise from the elaborations in the following chapters. Based on the structural and terminological framework of Lotman's notion of culture (chapter 3.1.), the present project's understanding of contemporary war (chapter 2.1.), (the British) home (chapter 2.2.), and home/front (chapter 2.3.) yield analytical categories and aspects to govern a targeted analysis of the narratives set against the backdrop of the British military engagements in Afghanistan and Iraq. The questions aim at the narrative construction of war, home, and home/front as constituents of the fictional negotiation of British life in times of contemporary warfare. The thesis of the present project suggests and investigates the interlinking of home and war spheres in the examined fictions. The modification of (spaces, ideas, and identities of) home in the context of war is the ultimate interest of the analyses. The specific areas of inquiry lead back to the general interest in the conflation offront (that is, war and its implications) and home (British culture) into a modified space of belonging that is captured in the term home/front.

While this is the argumentative guideline of the present study, the three main chapters—which focus on novel (chapter 4.), drama (chapter 5.), and film (chapter 6.) respectively—are both synoptic and analytic. For one thing, the chapters in¬troduce and examine the media-specific corpora of British works set against the backdrop of contemporary war in Afghanistan and/or Iraq that were identified

in preparation for this project. Within these exploratory subchapters, selected texts are analysed more closely to sound out the diversity of narrative home/fronts in contemporary fictional media from the UK. Though on practical grounds most of the readings must be relatively brief, this approach offers the possibility to work out media-specific emphases that emerge beyond the individual texts. For an¬other thing, the second part of each chapter further substantiates the proposed thesis of this study by presenting a more focussed in-depth analysis of a single text from the respective field. These close readings exemplify the affinities of the medium: Graham Swift's Wish You Were Here (2011) will illustrate the construction of the home/front in the text-based narrative of a novel (chapter 4.2.); the dramatic construction of a war-torn home identity is exemplified by Simon Stephens's Motortown (2006) (chapter 5.2.); and the television serial Occupation (2009) will be the object ofthe more detailed examination ofthe home/front in a film narrative (chapter 6.2.). In terms of content and setting, for instance, Occupation devotes much attention to the action in the war zone; Motortown shows a pronounced interest in the return of the soldier to a small-scale domestic setting; and the novel Wish You Were Here is particularly focussed on the inner world of its protagonist. In the concluding chapter, the results from the analyses will be consolidated to come to a transmedial understanding of the cultural response to contemporary warfare in British fictional media.

Home/Front

The term home front, which in general denotes the civilian sphere of belonging of a given country at war, implicates a number of paradoxical tensions for the reason that the home ideal as described above stands in opposition to key aspects of what it means to be at war: Home is community, war is opposition; home is a secure space, war is guided by violence; the home is private, war is a state affair; and so on. Because of these semantic as well as historical connotations of the term home front, the home/front of the present project must be differentiated from other uses of the term.

In British culture, the idea of a home front refers above all to the World Wars and in particular to "the Home Front myth of the Second World War" (Korte, "Wars" 14). The myth purports an "unprecedented social and moral solidarity" of the British in the face of "total war," epitomised in the experiences of the Blitz and Dunkirk (Harris 17-18). Considering the famous civilian flotilla disembarking once again to save 'our' troops in the 2017 blockbuster Dunkirk, the myth still keeps today (Rodriguez). In reality, Jose Harris notes, neither the distribution ofwealth, the industry, nor class or gender roles were revolutionised in the ways the Home Front myth suggests; resistance, discontent, and despondency were very well present in Britain at the time (19). Though television series have, in recent years, touched upon aspects that challenge the image of "the 'People's War,'" cultural production in general has kept alive the association of the home front with World War II, "Britain's 'good war,'" as Maggie Andrews writes in her contribution to The Home Front in Britain (2014) (235-236). The articles in this volume, edited by Maggie Andrews and Janis Lomas, give an outline of established themes of the discourse on the British home front in the World Wars, such as domesticity and work as well as femininities and masculinities.

The idea of home/front in this study does not directly relate to such established notions of the term home front. Not only do the realities of historical and present life in Britain differ as to how war interferes with home society; in the present project, the home/front is also located on an abstract, figurative level to present the narrative process of conflating war and home in the examined fictions. And yet, references to previous home front contexts are not entirely without relevance. Still present

in cultural memory through popular media or practices of remembering, World War home fronts are explicitly referenced in at least some of the texts this study investigates.

In the contemporary context, one understanding of home front is that of domestic, or homegrown terrorism, a problem the UK addresses through CONTEST, the Home Office's counterterrorist strategy since 2003 (House of Commons 4; also, Chin 22, chapter 7). As a separate issue of the War on Terror, however, domestic terrorism is not a major issue in narratives dealing with the military campaigns. Effectively, Britain is hardly ever presented as a multicultural society in narratives of the recent military campaigns, whereas London River (2009), a film about the 2005 London bombings, emphasises Britain's cultural diversity. Still, homegrown terrorism may be present as a generalised threat fostering cultural anxieties as, for instance, in the novel Wish You Were Here were the protagonist at one point ponders possible terrorist links to the caravan site he owns (61) (chapter 4.2.). In "The 'New Home Front' and the War on Terror," Gillian Youngs explores in more detail the "multiple dimensions" of the home front in a War on Terror context—only one of these dimensions is domestic terrorism—and their political and ethical implications (925).

Another home front is the virtual front created by communications technologies; this is a terrain much harder to control than in older wars, Youngs claims, giving the example of the circulation of the Abu Ghraib pictures (927). Further, Youngs notes how the War on Terror dilutes distinctions between war and home front: Not only do communications technologies dramatically decrease, if not override, the distance of battlefield and homeland regarding the flow of information; the separation of the foreign and the domestic is also obliterated by the simultaneous action against external and internal threats (928, 930). As a last point, Youngs argues that multiculturalism, often bound up with "racialized gender politics," is a new home front in the War on Terror because it has created an awareness for the cultural diversity of Britain that so far had been "largely taken for granted" (934, 936).

Some of these old and new home fronts may be relevant for texts in the corpus of this study on the level of themes and content. The home/front concept at the basis of this study, however, denotes the process of negotiating home in times of contemporary war in narrative fictions of different media. The term home/front is chosen to illustrate how the British cultural home sphere is challenged and affected by the contemporary wars (or fronts) abroad. The term is particularly suited for the purpose of this study because it captures the simultaneously unifying and alienating effects of war on the home. In this study, the home/front term is used to reveal how the fictional material opens up a space to express and think through the tensions between home and war spheres. Moreover, the "inextricable links between wars fought at a distance and the multiple connections with home societies" that are expressed in the term home front relate to both macro and micro levels of home, as Youngs writes (926), which are constitutive of the present project's notion of home as well.

The central claim is that fictions of contemporary war in Britain may best be understood if they are read as narrative negotiations of home that transform the sphere of belonging into a home/front. The home/front, as it is used in this study, does not only denote an endpoint or final arrangement that the narratives arrive at. Instead, the term also describes the process of renegotiating home in the face of war on the level of the individual texts, a dynamic narrative self-diagnosis of Britain at war. Taken together, the narratives contribute to the wider cultural process of exploring the signification (and significance) of the complex experiences that constitute these all too recent wars. The term home/front—applied to the narratives—thus covers a diversity of negotiations of Britain

at war and marks the point where the different narratives intersect despite all text- and media-specific differences.

HOTEL CHELSEA: LIVING IN THE LAST BOHEMIAN HAVEN by Colin Miller and Ray Mock, Foreword by Gaby Hoffmann and Alex Auder [The Monacelli Press, 9781580935258]

An immersive photographic tour of the legendary Hotel Chelsea, whose residents share their spaces, their stories, and a delirious collective history of this landmark.
Jackson Pollock, Robert Mapplethorpe, Patti Smith, Dylan Thomas, Arthur Miller, Bob Dylan, Arthur C. Clarke, Andy Warhol, William S. Burroughs, Janis Joplin, Eugene O'Neill, Rufus Wainwright, Betsey Johnson, R. Crumb, Thomas Wolfe, Jasper Johns—these are just a few of the figures who at one time occupied one of the most alluring and storied residences ever: the Chelsea Hotel. Born during the Gilded Age and once the tallest building in New York, the twelve-story landmark has long been a magnet for artists, writers, musicians, and cultural provocateurs of all stripes.

In this book, photographer Colin Miller and writer Ray Mock intimately portray the enduring bohemian spirit of the Chelsea Hotel through interviews with nearly two dozen current residents and richly detailed photographs of their unique spaces. As documented in Miller's abundant photographs, these apartments project the quirky decorating sensibilities of urban aesthetes who largely work in film, theater, and the visual arts, resulting in deliriously ornamental spaces with a kitschy edge. Weathering the overall homogenization of New York and the rapid transformation of the hotel itself—amid recent ownership changeovers and tenant lawsuits—residents remain in about seventy apartments while the rest of the units are converted to rentals (and revert to a hotel-stay basis, which had ceased in 2011).

For the community of artists and intellectuals who remain, the uncertain status of the hotel is just another stage in a roller-coaster history. A fascinating portrait of a strand of resilient bohemian New Yorkers and their creative, deeply idiosyncratic homes, *Hotel Chelsea* is a rich visual and narrative document of a cultural destination as complicated as it is mythical.

An immersive photographic tour of the Hotel Chelsea and the current residents living in one of New York's most legendary landmarks.

Jackson Pollock, Andy Warhol, Patti Smith, William S. Burroughs, Thomas Wolfe— these are just a few names on the long and storied list of past figures who once occupied the Hotel Chelsea. Born during the Gilded Age (and once the tallest building in New York City), the twelve-story landmark was, and still is, a haven for artists, writers, musicians, and cultural provocateurs of all stripes. In **HOTEL CHELSEA: LIVING IN THE LAST BOHEMIAN HAVEN** photographer Colin Miller and writer Ray Mock profile the apartments of nearly two dozen current residents with detailed photographs of their unique spaces that continue to embody the bohemian spirit of the hotel. The

apartments showcase the often maximalist, quirky decorating sensibilities of these urban aesthetes, most of whom are members of the creative industries, resulting in a diverse collection of deliriously ornamental spaces with a campy edge.

A conversation between sisters Gaby Hoffmann and Alex Auder serves as the book's foreword as they recall their experience growing up in the hotel with their mother, Warhol superstar Viva: "I go through a somatic journey," says Auder. "Through the lobby-I-know-like-the-back-of-my-hand, sneak into the sinister El Quijote bathrooms to tend to my recurring bloody nose, up to the first floor elevators if I don't feel like talking to Merle, and while I wait for the gold elevator I spit into the first-floor stairwell to see how it differed from spitting from the 7th floor."

The Hotel Chelsea—amid recent ownership changeovers, legal conflicts, and the conclusion of a long renovation for rooms that will soon open up as a luxury hospitality destination—is still integral to the fabric of New York cultural life, and Hotel Chelsea is a fascinating portrait of the residents that keep it as vibrant as it is mythical.

Colin Miller is a photographer whose work focuses on architecture and interior design throughout the world. His photographs have been published in a variety of magazines, books, and websites including Elle Décor, Architectural Digest Germany, The New York Times, Town & Country, and Bon Appétit, among many others. He studied photography at the New York University Tisch School of the Arts.

Ray Mock is a graffiti documentarian, street art critic, zine maven, and founder of the street art/editions publisher Carnage. He is the author of Banksy in New York (2014) and a frequent contributor to Juxtapoz, VICE, Mass Appeal, The Creators Project, and other publications.

Gaby Hoffmann is a mother, actress, and director, most recently seen in the final season of Amazon's groundbreaking series Transparent.

Alex Auder is a a performance artist, actress, writer, provocateur, and yoga teacher, and a featured character in the HBO series High Maintenance.

Tony Notarberardino

The bedroom

Tony Notarberardino's apartment is one of the most visually arresting in the Chelsea Hotel. It consists of two rooms joined by a colorfully painted cuvred hallway. Both rooms are filled with Notarberardino's collection of wondrous objects, photographs, furniture and garments, yet each has its own visual identity owing to the elaborate murals left behind be a previous tenant, the enigmatic artist Vali Myers, in what is now Notarberardino's bedroom.

Man-Laï

The living room

In the living room, the fireplace and the wall opposite are painted a rusty red, giving the space a warm, earthy glow. Newly installed stained glass above the balcony doors evokes the hotel's original transom windows.

Review

"...A heartfelt celebration of the Chelsea as it is today."
—Aimee Farrell, *T: The New York Times Style Magazine*

"...A big, colorful celebration of more than two dozen residents, their living spaces and their stories."
—Katherine Roth, Associated Press

"A behind-the-scenes look into the hotly contested battle to preserve one of New York's most storied residences."
—Geoffrey Montes, *Galerie Magazine*

"The book beautifully captures around half of the remaining residents and their apartments, many of which feature layers of fabrics, art, wallpaper, textures, and a life lived—a maximalist aesthetic you might expect to find there, and a storied tapestry you would never find at a regular hotel. These are the apartments of New Yorkers—collectors of life, eccentric devotees of the city, haters of a cookie cutter. Their homes will soon live in stark contrast to the hotel rooms being built around them for tourists."
—Jen Carlson, Gothamist

"An ode to the Gilded Age residency in the new millennium."

—Sara Rosen, Feature Shoot

"While times have changed, Mock and Miller discovered through documenting the intimate lives of these stalwart residents that the hotel's bohemian spirit still prevailed. Their book, *Hotel Chelsea: Living in the Last Bohemian Haven*, opens a window into this world, featuring the quirky décor and style of these New York aesthetes with their equally colorful and eccentric lives."
—Laura Powers,
"...*Hotel Chelsea: Living in the Last Bohemian Haven*, is part love letter to the bygone spirit of the hotel and part awareness campaign, offering insight into the complicated socio-economic dynamics of the hotel's current iteration."
—Julia Brenner Forbes

Sheila Berger & Michael Rips

A tale of two apartments at the Hotel Chelsea

Berger and Rips have a penchant for reinventing their environment, keeping their home in a constant state of flux. When they were presented with the opportunity to design a renovated apartment from scratch (and escape the noise of the construction elevator situated right outside their daughter's bedroom window), they jumped at it, though not without agonizing over the decision. Their story is thus of two homes in the Chelsea, one with a history and the other with a future. <>

Salvation and Destiny in Islam: The Shi`i Ismaili Perspective of Hamid al-Din al-Kirmānī by Maria De Cillis [Shi'i Heritage Series, I.B. Tarus, 9781788314930]

Medieval Islamic philosophers were occupied with questions of cosmology, predestination and salvation and human responsibility for actions. For Ismailis, the related notions of religious leadership, namely the imamate, and the eschatological role of the prophets and imams were equally central. These were also a matter of doctrinal controversy within the so-called Iranian school of Ismaili philosophical theology. Hamid al-Din al-Kirmani (d. after 411/1020) was one of the most important theologians in the Fatimid period, who rose to prominence during the reign of the imam-caliph al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah (r. 386/996–411/1021). He is renowned for blending the Neoplatonic philosophical heritage with Ismaili religious tradition.

This book provides an analysis of al-Kirmani's thought and sheds new light on the many layers of allusion which characterise his writings. Through a translation and analytical commentary of the eighth chapter of al-Kirmani's Kitab al-Riyad (Book of Meadows), which is devoted to the subject of divine preordination and human redemption, Maria De Cillis shows readers first-hand his theologically distinctive interpretation of qada' and qadar (divine decree and destiny). Here, al-Kirmani attempts to harmonise the views of earlier renowned Ismaili missionaries, Abu Hatim Ahmad b. Hamdan al-Razi (d. 322/934), Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Nasafi (d. 331/942) and Abu Ya'qub Ishaq b. Ahmad al-Sijistani (d. c. 361/971). De Cillis skilfully guides the reader through al-Kirmani's metaphysical and esoteric correspondences, offering new insights into Shi'i/Ismaili philosophical thought which will be of great interest to those in the field of Shi'i studies and, more broadly, to scholars of medieval philosophy.

The debate over free will versus divine predestination — a debate grounded in theology and politics — is a topic that has been thoroughly analysed in literature on classical Islamic thought. Having investigated the subject of qadā' and qadar (often translated as decree and destiny) in the thought of Avicenna, al-Ghazãlī and Ibn 'Arabi,' the idea of exploring the same subject from the viewpoint of an Ismaili intellectual like Hamid al-Din al-Kirmāni (d. after 411/1021) appeared initially to be a repetitive task. However, once probed, the Ismaili stance on the issue appeared to be too unconventional and thought provoking to be casually dismissed. Besides al-Kirmãnī's position, Ismaili theological and philosophical speculations on predestination have been voiced by renowned scholars such as, inter alia, Abu Haim Ahmad b. Hamdan al-Rãzī (d. 322/934), Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Nasafi (d. 332/943) and Abu Ya`qub Ishāq b. Ahmad al-Sijistānī (d. ca. 361/971), and the Fatimid jurist al-WI al-Nu`mān (d. 364/974) who endeavored to interpret the precise meanings of the two words qadā' and qadar as they appear in the Qur'an, finding for them apt correspondences with the Ismaili celestial and terrestrial hierarchies.

Theoretical debates and meticulous disputes developed — despite some apparent degree of futility, as Ivanow has highlighted — most probably because, in the Ismaili doctrine, a question of great significance was linked with the topics of qadā' and qadar, namely, the lawfulness of renouncing the prescriptions of the Islamic law (sharī`a) relative to the religious obligations and the forms of worship.

Despite being almost certainly synonyms, in the Qur'an the term qadā' is used to indicate a measure, a judgement and a decision. Its verbal form, qadā signifies 'to decree', 'to judge', 'to accomplish. Islamic speculative theology, kalām in particular, assigns to this word the idea of predetermination and refers to it as a divine `universal decree'. Qadā' is a perfect and specific divine plan which is designed by God in aeternitate, determining all things and events.' On the other hand, qadar generally refers to the divine decree operating in time and it is often linked to the idea of fate or destiny. In the Qur'an it appears mostly in the verbal form of qaddara, with the meaning of determining something according to a specific measure.

As will surface in this study, the need to clarify which of qadā' and qadar came first - a question that was intensified by the demand to identify which of these two corresponded to the Ismaili cosmological figure of the Antecedent (sãbiq) and which to that of the Follower (tālī), which to the enunciator-prophet (natiq) and which to the Imam/foundation (asas), which one to the qā'im bi'l-quwwa and which to the qã'im bi'l-fil - suggests that something important was at stake for all those intellectuals who engaged in laborious deliberations on the topic.

Spurred mainly by the need to shield Ismaili Islam from charges of antinomianistic indulgence and incarnationist assumptions, which had spread particularly following the rise of the Druze movement during the Fatimid period, Ismaili missionaries (dā'is) such as al-Kirmānī felt the urge to formalise which doctrinal traits were legitimate and acceptable and which were not, and to anchor the former under the aegis of the Fatimid Ismaili da`wa. Erroneous identifications of qadā' and qadar might have had serious implications: so, for instance, al-Sijistānī's - according to many of his peers - incorrect intimations that there existed a correspondence between the qadā', the Imam and the Antecedent on the one hand, and the qadar, the Follower and the nātiq on the other,' could have led the community to a fallacious the final qā'im with minor qiyāmas foreshadowing the great Resurrection.

Even though the exact identification of such figures goes beyond the scope of this work, it will be pointed out - particularly in part II - how veiled under the discussions on qadā' and qadar were suggestions aimed at identifying the nature, roles and ranks of such qã'ims, particularly in relation to the final Riser.

Within Sunni Islam, the issue of decree and destiny, also discussed in terms of predestination versus free will, received great attention from a very early stage. This inaugurated theoretical debates between the schools of thought espousing the predestinarian view - initially identified with the Jabriyya (from jabr, compulsion) for whom all is pre-ordained by God's will, and their opponents - designated by their challengers as Qadariyya (qadar, destiny), who sponsored the idea that human beings act according to their will and are consequentially responsible for their deeds. From the 4th/10th century, some among the speculative theologians of Islam, the Mutazilites, who were predominantly concerned with defending the ethical nature of God's justice, maintained that humans are capable of distinguishing good from evil, with or without divine revelation, and are capable of choosing freely which way to act, thus becoming responsible for their actions. Hence, in their view, in the hereafter, humans are rewarded or punished accordingly by God.

In contrast, the Ash`arites - whose theological stances prevailed between the 4th and 5th/10th and 11th centuries - mainly propounded a predestinarian view. Their arguments, which were eventually followed by the majority of Sunni traditionalists, stressed God's omnipotence: God creates both good and evil acts as He is not bound by any compulsion or any duty towards humankind. What He commands is necessarily right, and what He condemns is necessarily wrong. Therefore, since what God creates is intrinsically and necessarily just, He cannot be accused of unjustly punishing humans for actions He created for them.

As illustrated by Farhad Daftary and Faquir Muhammad Hunzai, the classical Ismaili views in this theological debate date back to the the real meaning of the revelation and the sharī`a with its precepts and dicta.

Generally speaking, al-Kirmãnī's position on divine decree and destiny reflects that of the majority of Ismaili authors of the Fatimid era in their belief that if, on the one hand, humans have the freedom to choose between good and evil deeds, on the other hand, they lack understanding of the Qur'anic truth which makes such freedom insufficient to guarantee their salvation. In order to attain deliverance and reward in the next life, man's knowledge - which is inadequate for him to be able to make the right choice and elevate him along the spiritual ladder of redemption - needs to be honed by the guidance of a divinely appointed hierarchy of authoritative teachers: the prophet, his legatee (wasi), the rightful Imam of the time and the whole chain of dignitaries including the hujjas and the dã`īs. Despite the great emphasis placed on the philosophical quest, Ismaili doctrine such as al-Kirmãnī's `remained essentially revelational rather than rational, and this meant that no rational enquiry could ever indicate the right path on its own and that, by extension, no pure rational approach could ever be addressed to the issue of divine predestination.

In the course of this study, it will be examined how the concept of Revelation - intended as tanzil and sharī`a - brought about by the enunciator-prophet and interpreted by his Imam, shapes the core of al-Kirmānī's notion of the imamate. On the one hand, his attitude to the discussions on predestination aims to `canonise' the irrevocability of both the imamate - in particular the Fatimid view of the Imam-caliph's role - and the religious law, in both its esoteric and exoteric facets, thus harmonising some discordant positions held by a number of his fellow theologians. And on the other

hand, it intends to moderate potentially extremist views, curbing these according to al-Hãkims Fatimid Ismaili doctrine. Indeed, the historical backdrop against which al-Kirmãnī operates - the theological, philosophical and legal debates that had originated and developed within Ismailism up to the reign of al-Hakim - provides the reader with the theoretical frame with which al-Kirmãni's discourse of qadā' and qadar must be approached.

Following the reform of `Abd Allah al-Mahdī (d. 322/934) in 286/899 and his claim to the imamate as Ja`far al-Sādiq's descendant, the Ismaili cyclical scheme of religious history underwent significant changes. The idea of continuity of the imamate, allowed by the newly proposed belief in the subsistence of more than one heptad in the era of Islam, consequently withdrew any eschatological flavour from the seventh era - until that time perceived as the spiritual age of the Mahdī. In contrast to the Fatimid Ismailis, the non-conforming Qarmatis, after the schism of 286/899, continued to believe that with the first appearance of Muhammad b. Ismā`īl the final, seventh era of history had already begun. In particular, they emphasised that Muhammad b. Ismā`īl's mahdiship would bring to a conclusion the era of Islam. The exoteric aspect of Muhammad's law was to be lifted and, consequently, rituals and religious obligations of Islam would be revoked. Ideas on such a messianic figure started to be detailed in many sources, such as al-Nasafī's Kitāb al-Mahsūl (Book of the Result), where the cycle marking the end of the sacred history of humanity is portrayed as an age in which the religious law could be dispensed with.

The distinction between the visible and invisible realms indicated above, which is alluded to in the Qur'anic distinction between the `ālam al-ghayb and the 'edam al-shahāda, was certainly not new to al-Kirmani or the Ismailis: Sunni theologians, too, differentiated these dominions, obviously offering for them different interpretations. This was the case for the champion of Sunni Islam, the `Proof of Islam' (hujjat al-islam) Abu Hamid al-Ghazãlī (d. 505/1111) who speaks of the jabarūt realm as a midway kingdom between that of mulk, the material world (also called the 'alam al-khalq), and that of malakūt, the world of mystery and sovereignty (also called 'ālam al-amr or the reign of command). Al-Ghazãlī identifies the latter as the world of the preserved Tablet (al-lawh al-mahfūz) on which divine predestination is recorded. Due to its intermediary status, al-Ghazãlī believed the world of jabarut to be conjoined to the world of malakūt by the eternal power of God. Although al-Ghazãlī never stressed that there occurs a rigid correlation between the things in the world of creation and the realm of command as al-Kirmānī does, he emphasised that being aware of the nature of jabarūt allowed humankind to realise that all existents and events of this earthly world are merely symbols (amthāl) of the world of malakūt. For 'the Proof of Islam', the crossing of the jabarūt realm by the wayfarer on the path of knowledge meant discovering the real sense of tawhīd, with the human being attaining realisation of God as the ultiIIImate disposer of causes and the principle of predestination. In similar terms, it will be observed, al-Kirmãnī speaks of the 'alam al-din as the point of contact between the world of the Intellect - or world of origination - and the physical world.57 As an intermediate realm, access to this linking dominion, he clarifies, requires all Ismaili believers to embark on a process of perfection,58 aiming at developing a deeper understand¬ing of their soul, thus necessitating for the latter the acquisition of its full intellectual nature. This is reachable by attaining to the real sense of tawhīd - namely, acknowledgment of all existents' non-divinity - and comprehension of the functions of the hudūd in the Ismaili hierarchy through whose mediation perfection becomes possible. In order to recognise the dignitaries' status, the believer must obey them as a whole. Consequently, obedience to the dignitaries corresponds to obedience

li to the highest living dignitary, the Imam of the time, and indirectly, obedience to God. Such a stance will surface in al-Kirmānī's treatment of the notions of Resurrection and transmigrationism.

For al-Kirmānī's Ismaili noetics, it is the teaching of the prophets and the Imams - often referred to as the human manifestations of the Agent, or Active, Intellect - that is the instrument through which the human soul can actualise its potential intellective/rational nature, becoming truly `human' and thus able to open the door to salvation. The latter, it will be elucidated, Hamid al-Din perceived as the result of humans' choosing to obey the guidance of their guides, the Imams. And it is with this perspective in mind that, throughout this study, the `ālam al-din will disclose itself to be the dominion in which the notion of a merciless predestination is relativised: by bringing forward a religious law and by providing instructions on its injunctions in both their exoteric and esoteric aspects, the members of this realm allow the believer to understand and experience that the way to recompense and reward transcends any ruthless predestinarian perspective.

Now, should the question of predestination from a Fatimid Ismaili angle be shifted onto the level of the Intellect's realm given that God is beyond any direct relationship with the created world? Is it then the Intellect who takes on the `duties' of the Qur'anic God and His role as Predeterminer? Or are the prophets and the Imams, as human manifestations of the Intellect and the Soul respectively, responsible for predestination? Is there any predestination given that human agents are free to choose between good and evil after having been guided by their authoritative teachers?

The present investigation will attempt to tackle these and further questions. It is divided into two main parts: the first, rather than being merely an introduction to the second part, provides an overview of al-Kirmãnī's central ideas, investigating the influence exercised on his thought and works by, inter alia, the writings of Plotinus and Proclus, the Neoplatonic-inspired al-Fārābī, and al-Kirmãnī's fellow dā`is al-Nasafi, al-Sijistānī and al-Rāzi. By analysing primary and secondary sources, the first section aims to familiarise the reader with al-Kirmānī's theories on God, cosmogony, cosmology, the notion of the imamate, the eschatological roles of prophets and Imams, and so forth. In addition, it attempts to provide links between the foregoing concepts and the notions of qadā' and qadar.

The second part focuses more specifically on the issue of predestination by looking in particular at the concepts of qadā' and qadar as these are presented in the eighth chapter of al-Kirmãnī's Riyãd. To this end, this work offers a translation and a thorough analysis of that eighth chapter, providing extracts in translation from several of al-Sijistānī's works (in an endeavour to corroborate the views he held in the no longer extant Kitāb al-Nusra) as well as al-Rāzī's Kitāb al-Illāh, whose shortcomings were denounced in al-Kirmānī's Riyād.

One of the main aims of this study is to clarify why al-Kirmānī links the notion of actuality to the problematic task of identifying which entity corresponded to the figure of the Antecedent (sābiq). As will emerge from the analysis of the eighth chapter of the Riyād, whereas al-Kirmãnī's fellow da'is, al-Nasafi, al-Sijistānī and al-Rāzī, made such an entity correspond either to the qadā' or the qadar, al-Kirmānī's rejection of some of his fellow Ismailis' ideas and the emphasis placed on the identification of the Antecedent with the first originated being - (al-mubda` al-awwal), that is, the Intellect - was intended to avoid connecting the sãbiq with the eternal divine amr/kalima (Command) which was thought by such pivotal Ismaili thinkers to precede even the first intellect, thus entailing an elusive form of shirk (polytheism) to be in place.

It will be further observed why al-Kirmānī charges the notion of actuality of the qā'im in particular, and the imamate in general, with high importance in order to prove, besides their necessary character, the mistaken nature of al-Sijistānī's and al-Rāzī's outlooks. Further, the necessity of the imamate comes to be associated with the task of demonstrating - in the discourse on predestination - which of qadā' and qadar corresponds to the nātiq and which to the Imam of the time. For al-Kirmānī, establishing the precedence of the prophet over the Imam as the manifested/actualised forms of the Antecedent and the Follower brought in also the delicate discourse of having to institute the precedence (and indispensability) of the prophetic sharī`a (including all its precepts and injunctions) over its solely esoteric explanation which, carried out by the Imam, was perceived as the major tool triggering the passage from the potentiality embedded in the religious law - locked into its exoteric facet - to its fully actualised character.

Other significant issues will be touched upon in the discussion on the divine decree: particularly, it will be analysed why al-Sijistānī's belief - apparently explicitly stated in al-Nusra - that the Soul could be identified with the actualised qadar urged al-Kirmānī to challenge the difficult question of the Soul's fall into Nature and its lurking underpinnings of transmigration (tanāsukh).

Overall, this study will reveal in what terms al-Kirmānī's discourse on qadā' and qadar served as the grounds on which to consolidate fundamental doctrinal points whose Fatimid Ismaili nature needed to become definitive.

Throughout this study, it has become evident that with regard to the issue of the divine decree, al-Kirmāni's main agenda was to clarify the nature of the qadā' and the qadar as manifestations (i.e. actualised forms) belonging to the world of nature and the world of religion rather than the world of the intellects. These are not merely distant Qur'anic notions but actual signifiers of the world in its aspect as (i) the members of the Ismaili da`wa, particularly the enunciator-prophet and the Imam, and as (ii) the latter's tasks that are accomplished in their bringing forth, respectively, the tanzil and sharī`a, and their ta'wil.

In the cosmological system expounded by al-Kirmānī, the first three intellects' creative functions, it has been observed, are said to operate at the level of forms: thus, the first intellect produces the forms of the qadā' and the qadar, the second intellect allots them, according to the providential mission assigned to the world of the Soul, and the third intellect, tasked with the tarkib of things, endows the qadā' and the qadar with their material substrata, thus rendering them actual, entified existents as the pairs nātiq/Imam, tanzīl+sharī`a/ta'wīl. It is in this sense that, contrary to al-Sijistāni's and al-Nasafī's idea in which the Intellect could be associated with both actuality and potentiality - through the Intellect's capacity of intelligising all forms encompassed within his essence - al-Kirmānī, in order to preserve the absolute per¬fection and intrinsic unity of the first intellect, makes exclusively the third intellect the compendium of all forms. Despite being named 'the one who is delayed' in attaining its second perfection when compared to the first two intellects' instantaneousness, the third aql's multiplicity - which is the result of its diverse objects of contemplation - preserves, like the two intellects preceding it, its actuality just like its corresponding terrestrial compositions.

This investigation has shown how the terms qadā' and qadar offer themselves to parallel interpretations; thus, according to al-Sijistāni, the first two intellects of the Pleroma - which are also indicated by the terms Antecedent and Follower - correspond to the Imam as the qā'im in

potentiality in his double aspect as (i) the current Imam who, despite being in concealment, is yet virtually actual through the undertakings carried out by his devoted representatives of the da`wa, and (ii) the same Imam who will return as the absolute, final Resurrector. Against such views is al-Kirmānī's idea of the Fatimid notion of the imam-qā'im, with specific reference to the Fatimid Imam of his time - al-Hākim - whose divine nature is refuted and whose cycle does not bring to an end the dawr of Islam. Conversely, because al-Rāzī speaks of the qadā' and the qadar as two followers that are preceded by the sābiq/al-`aql al-awwallamr, he indirectly identifies them with the Imam in concealment and with ta'wil. So, in a way, by avoiding any connection with the first and the second intellect, al-Rāzī's idea comes closer to al-Kirmānī's standpoint.

The `meritocratic enactment of tawhīd, which underscores the intellectual hierarchy and which makes the devotional efforts of all believing practitioners `salvific', truly underpins al-Kirmānī's idea of what predestination entails. In a sense, it explains why emphasis on the permanent actuality of the decree and destiny had important theoretical and doctrinal implications. Firstly, such an idea infers the necessity of the imamate and the absolute indispensability, at all times in human history, of appointed guides such as the natiq and the imam; secondly, it points out the mandatory quality of the religious law and its hermeneutical esoteric interpretation; and, thirdly, it also serves as an instrument against certain undercurrents of antinomianistic and transmigrationist implications. Needless to say, from al-Kirmãni's Fatimid perspective, this meant that just as the Imam of his time, al-Hākim - as the current, present or actual qā'im - was enforcing the law so as to deter any deviance from the Ismaili Fatimid `canon, so the future qā'im will implement an unparalleled form of sharī`a, leading humankind to the most complete form of knowledge and, despite the law's binding force, to ultimate intellectual freedom.

In Part One of this study, I analysed how al-Kirmãni evaluates the agency of human actions. He links it with the notion of the recompense and clarifies that the latter is the form of a divine principle (Providence/Justice) which makes humans aware of the distinction occurring between good and evil, reward and punishment. All the indications that draw these distinctions are specified in the sharia which, consequently, renders all individuals morally responsible for obedience or disobedience to its edicts and its guidelines, which are further explained by divinely appointed teachers. Humans can acquire the capacity to pursue the path of compliance and the understanding of such guides' teachings by actualising the passage from their potential to their actual intellect, that is, from their first to their second perfection, from their biological birth to their spiritual rebirth, thus becoming true qā'ims. Luckily, help is at hand: the intellectual Pleroma, with the support of the celestial bodies, endows human beings not only with a body - an instrument that is necessary in the initial cognitive process in performing superogatory and devotional acts - but above all, endows them with a soul that must be trained and become fit to recognise and receive celestial benefits. By actualising their spiritual make-up, human souls become more and more truthful to their nature as `vestiges' of the Universal Soul, thus prompting the latter's providential bestowals. Individual souls retain and augment their `soulness' through a purposeful surrender to the celestial benefits which are brought and `entified' in creation in the guise of the members of the da`wa and their soteriological `tools.

In Part Two, we witnessed al-Kirmānī's criticism of al-Razi's and al-Sijistānī's attempts to identify the qadā' and the qadar with the cosmological figures of the Antecedent and the Follower. On several occasions, he clarifies that these endeavours are metaphysically and logically redundant because, just like the sābiq and the tali, neither the qadā' nor the qadar can be associated with temporality, nor with a temporal passage from potentiality into actuality. It is admissible, as mentioned above, to

acknowledge some correctness in al-Rāzī's merely logical sequence which identifies both the qadar and the qadā' as two Followers with regard to the amr and the qadar itself, respectively. And, in turn, it is possible to discern some degree of accuracy also in al-Sijistānī's confirmation of qadar's nature as being the Follower apropos the amr but not with regard to the qadā'. Nevertheless, even these stances, which not only infer the precedence of the amr/ kalima to the first originated being, but also lead to mistaken iden¬tifications of the qā'ims, had to be re-evaluated. To prove his point, al-Kirmãni ventures into strenuous associations, subtly elaborating what his colleagues' idea of `potentiality' really entails.

Thus, in the three meanings addressed to both the qadā' and the qadar - recounted in Fasls Three to Eight - al-Kirmãni's understated focus is on reassessing the meaning of bi'l-quwwa as ka'l-kā'in: the actual commands and prohibitions that are manifested in any prophetic cycle by clear religious laws are `potential' only with regard to their esoteric interpretations, which may vary despite being continuously present and being carried out by the Imams. The significations of the qadā' and the qadar as, correspondingly, (i) the events and qualitative changes actualised by moveable and quiescent things and, (ii) the world of Nature determined in actuality by means of its very existence, highlight exactly this argument. The foregoing meant that just as the Fatimid Imams are actually perfected and alive (recall the importance of hayāt in the discussion on the Intellect and the meaning of ba`th as an intellectual coming-back-to-life), likewise, the world (with its members) is purely by dint of its own existence becoming, however, truly existent through its receptiveness to ta'yid (namely, upon receiving and accepting a lawful religious guidance). It is probably in the line of such reasoning that al-Kirmãni maintains an accommodating approach towards his fellow dā`īs' speculative flaws when, as reported in Fasl Eight, they identify the qadar as the actual creation of the revelation and the divine law, whilst signifying the qadā' as the act of qadar, namely as the esoteric hermeneutical interpretation of the divine khalq, serving the survival of all humankind in general, and the `resurrection' of the believing community in particular.

The lengthy discussion about Moses' not yet accomplished nātiq-ship, whose full attainment is said to depend on his obedience to the explanatory injunctions and spiritual benefits conveyed by the lower celestial faculty al jadd, requires the latter's intermediacy to be conveyed through an actualised member of the `ālam al-din, Shu'ayb. It is he who, according to al-Kirmãni, echoing Khidr's endeavours, which are illustrated in the Qur'ān, instructs Moses on his appointed time and assignment, thus highlighting the import of a divinely measured allotment. Shu`ayb, as the architype of the sāhib al-amr, acting during the zamān al-fatr, testifies - whilst denouncing al-Rāzī's contention of al-Mu'izz's claim as the Imams khalifa - Moses' nature as an asās prior to his transition onto a full nātiq-ship.

The emphasis placed on individual limits - as both ontological/ metaphysical ranks and gnoseological/temporal thresholds - resonating in al-Kirmānī's idea of the intellects' enactment of tawhid as a realisation of their own non-divinity (hinting at the non-divinity of al-Hakim himself), is also propounded by al-Rāzī in the Islãh, both in his reassessment of Moses' degree of four-ness (martabat al-arba`iyya), and in his acknowledging the qadar as the hadd al-nātiq and the qadā' as the hadd al-asās.

Fulfilling his role as one of the greatest dā`is of the Fatimid time and harmonising the views of al-Rãzi and al-Sijistānī on an issue with such numerous doctrinal repercussions meant the need for al-Kirmānī to provide a clear-cut Ismaili - and specifically Fatimid - response against distorted ideas on

messianism, accusations of illegitimate imamism, divine incarnationism and antinomianism. But it also meant encouraging individual practitioners to experience a whilst-on-earth-spiritual `resurrection' - epitomised in the Prophet's isrā' - by becoming qā'ims themselves. This is to be achieved by following, whilst acknowledging their specificity, the spiritual trainings offered by the diverse members of the da`wa. For them, knowledge of the law's inner meaning does not make the sharī`a redundant, but rather, understanding of the bātin accentuates the crucial role of actions, enacting soul's `elevation.

Ultimately, in his political and doctrinal agenda, what really counted for al-Kirmãni was to underscore the essential, inescapable nature of tawhīd whose authentic and deepest sense unfurls in the recognition of all existents' non-divinity (including that of the Imam of the time!), obedience to the religious law, and the actualisation/acquisition of the potentialities that are inherent in every trait of God's creation. <>

THE MAN OF LIGHT IN IRANIAN SUFISM by Henry Corbin, translated from the French by Nancy Pearson [Omega Publications, 9780930872489]

A penetrating analysis of the writings of the great Persian mystics on the quest for dawning light in the spiritual journey. Suhrawradi, Semnani, Najm al-Din Kubra and other Sufis.

He brings them forth from the shadows into the light. Qur'an II.258

Anyone who has been moved by the supernal glory of the moment when the Sun emerges from the eastern horizon has an inkling of the spirituality of light. This inchoate experience of the community of the luminous and the numinous is the point of departure for the Wisdom of Illumination formulated by Shihaboddin Yahya Sohravardi, the great reviver of Hermetic gnosis in Islam who suffered a martyr's death in 12th C Syria. At the heart of Sohravardi's mystic science is the recognition that the "I" of every self-aware entity is a pure, immaterial light.

While Sohravardi's works exercised a profound influence on spiritual and intellectual currents within Islamdom, they were never translated into Latin and thus remained virtually unknown in the West for centuries. Henry Corbin (1903¬1978) deserves the lion's share of credit for the redressal of this state of affairs. As a young man Corbin was introduced to Sohravardi by his teacher Louis Massignon, who presented him with a lithography of the martyred shaykh's Arabic masterpiece Hikmat al-Ishraq. The penny dropped. In his correspondence with Massignon years later, Corbin spoke of Sohravardi as "mon shaykh" (my spiritual guide). Far from merely serving as a research topic, Sohravardi had become Corbin's initiator.

Thanks to Corbin's lifelong commitment to editing, translating, and (most importantly) interpreting the writ¬ings of Sohravardi and his commentators, the Master of Illumination has increasingly become a source of fresh inspiration for philosophers, psychologists, artists, and mystics in the West. One might venture to compare Corbin's contemporary unveiling of the Wisdom of Illumination with Sohravardi's high-spirited revival of the gnosis of ancient Iran in his own era. Like that of Sohravardi, Corbin's work harmonizes critical reasoning and visionary intuition, modes of knowing now, more than ever, out of sync. In revalorizing imagination as an epistemological category Corbin coined the term "imagi¬nal," an expression which has quickly gained wide inter¬disciplinary currency.

While the presence of Sohravardi inspired and oriented Corbin's work, it by no means confined his interests. The Wisdom of Illumination has no use for ta`assub, "fanati¬cism." Steeped in alchemy, angelology, color symbolism, cosmology, geosophy, Grail lore, hiero-history, love the¬ory, subtle physiology, sacred geometry, sophiology and theophanic phenomenology, Corbin's oeuvre of some two hundred critical text editions, books and articles constitutes a monumental contribution to the fields of Islamic philosophy, Sufism, and Shi'ite esotericism.

In the present volume, Corbin weaves the fiber of Sohravardi's metaphysics into a tapestry resplendent with the colors of German romanticism, Mazdaism, Manicheism, Hermeticism, and the Sufism of Ruzbehan Baqli, Najmoddin Kobra, Najmoddin Razi, Shamsoddin Lahiji, and Alaoddawleh Semnani. The awakening of the body of light is the theme. The transformative experiences of illumination described in these pages amount to nothing less than the fulfillment of a supplication that resounds to this day in mosques from the Maghreb to Java:

> O God,
> Place light in my heart, and light in my soul,
> Light upon my tongue, light in my eyes
> And light in my ears,
> Place light at my right, light at my left,
> Light behind me and light before me,
> Light above me and light beneath me.
> Place light in my nerves and light in my flesh,
> Light in my blood, light in my hair
> And light in my skin!
> Give me light, increase my light, make me light!

Zia Inayat Khan

Excerpt: Orientation is a primary phenomenon of our presence in the world. A human presence has the property of spatializing a world around it, and this phenomenon implies a certain relationship of man with the world, his world, this relationship being determined by the very mode of his presence in the world. The four cardinal points, east and west, north and south, are not things encountered by this presence, but directions which express its sense, man's acclimatization to his world, his familiarity with it. To have this sense is to orient oneself in the world. The ideal lines that run from east to west, from north to south form a system of a priori spatial evidences without which there would be neither geographic nor anthropological orientation. And indeed, the contrasts between Eastern man and Western man, between Nordic man and Southern man, regulate our ideological and characterological classifications.

The organization, the plan, of this network has depended since time immemorial on a single point: the point of orientation, the heavenly north, the pole star. Is it enough, therefore, to say that spatialization, developed horizontally toward the four cardinal points, is completed by the vertical dimension from beneath to above, from the nadir to the zenith? Or rather are there not in fact different modes of perception of this same vertical dimension, so different in themselves that they modify the orientation of the human presence, not only in space but also in time? "Orientation in time" refers to the different ways in which man experiences his presence on earth, and the continuity of this presence within a kind of history, and the question as to whether this history has a sense, and if so, what sense? This in turn raises the question whether the perception of the heavenly pole, of the vertical dimension tending toward the cosmic north, is a uniform phenomenon, physiologically regulated by constant laws, or whether the phenomenon is not in fact regulated and

diversified by the very mode of being of the human presence orienting itself? Hence therefore the primordial importance of the north and of the concept of the north: it is in accordance with the way in which man inwardly experiences the "vertical" dimension of his own presence that the horizontal dimensions acquire their sense.

Now one of the leitmotive of Iranian Sufi literature is the "Quest for the Orient," but this is a Quest for an Orient which, as we are forewarned (if we do not already realize), is not—and cannot be—situated on our geographical maps. This Orient is not comprised in any of the seven climes (keshvar); it is in fact the eighth clime. And the direction in which we must seek this "eighth clime" is not on the horizontal but on the vertical. This suprasensory, mystical Orient, the place of the Origin and of the Return, object of the eternal Quest, is at the heavenly pole; it is the Pole, at the extreme north, so far off that it is the threshold of the dimension "beyond." That is why it is only revealed to a definite mode of presence in the world, and can be revealed only through this mode of presence. There are other modes to which it will never be revealed. It is precisely this mode of presence that characterizes the mode of being of the Sufi, but also, through his person, the mode of being of the entire spiritual family to which Sufism—and especially Iranian Sufism—belongs. The Orient sought by the mystic, the Orient that cannot be located on our maps, is in the direction of the north, beyond the north. Only an ascensional progress can lead toward this cosmic north chosen as a point of orientation.

A primary consequence already foreseen is, to be exact, a dislocation of the contrasts regulating the classifications of exoteric geography and anthropology, which depend on outer appearances. Eastern men and Western men, Northern men and Southern men, will no longer be identified by the characteristics previously attributed to them; it will no longer be possible to locate them in relation to the usual coordinates. We are left wondering at what point the loss comes about in Western man of the individual dimension that is irreducible to classifications based on exoteric geographic direction alone. Then it may happen, just as we have learned to understand alchemy as signifying something quite different from a chapter in the history or prehistory of our sciences, that a geocentric cosmology will also be revealed to us in its true sense, having likewise no connection with the history of our sciences. Considering the perception of the world and the feeling of the universe on which it is based, it may be that geocentrism should be meditated upon and evaluated essentially after the manner of the construction of a mandala.

It is this mandala upon which we should meditate in order to find again the northern dimension with its symbolic power, capable of opening the threshold of the beyond. This is the North which was "lost" when, by a revolution of the human presence, a revolution of the mode of presence in the world, the Earth was "lost in the heavens." "To lose sight of the North" means no longer to be able to distinguish between heaven and hell, angel and devil, light and shadow, unconsciousness and transconsciousness. A presence lacking a vertical dimension is reduced to seeking the meaning of history by arbitrarily imposing the terms of reference, powerless to grasp forms in the upward direction, powerless to sense the motionless upward impulse of the pointed arch, but expert at superimposing absurd parallelepipeds. And so Western man remains baffled by Islamic spirituality, with its powerful call to recollection of the "pre-eternal covenant": and by the heavenly Assumption (mi'rāj) of the Prophet; he does not even suspect that his own obsession with the historical, his materialization of "events in Heaven," can be equally baffling to others. In the same way, the Sufi "Heavens of Light" will remain forever inaccessible to the most ambitious "astronautic" investigation, their very existence not even being suspected. "If those who lead you say, `Lo! the Kingdom is in the

sky!,' then the birds of heaven will be there before you ... But the Kingdom is within you and also outside of you." <>

THE ALCHEMY OF HUMAN HAPPINESS (FI MA`RIFAT KĪMIYA' AL-SA`ĀDA) by Muhyiddīn Ibn 'Arabi, Introduction and Translation by Stephen Hirtenstein [Mystical Treatises of Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi, Anqa Publishing, 9781905937592]

The quest for happiness and fulfilment lies at the very heart of all human life, and in the teaching of one of the world's greatest mystical writers, Ibn 'Arabi, true happiness consists in the vision of One Reality underlying all manifestation. This is a goal within the potential of every person. In this first English translation of a core chapter from the famous Meccan Illuminations (al-Futuhat al-Makkiyya), Ibn 'Arabi comprehensively summarises all his major teachings on human perfectibility and true happiness. Using the imagery of alchemy and ascension, he gives the reader a unique insight into the spiritual journey by contrasting two ways of acquiring knowledge: the rational and the mystical. With an introduction to Islamic alchemy, the Hermetic tradition and the mysterious elixir, this book is an essential text for anyone interested in Sufism, Islamic spirituality or medieval alchemy.

The author of this work and the book from which it is drawn need little introduction. Ibn 'Arabi (1165-1240), known as Muhyī al-Din (`The reviver of religion') and al-Shaykh al-akbar (`the greatest spiritual master'), is one of the most profound mystics and authors in any tradition. His many writings have long been regarded in the Islamic world as essential to the deepest understanding of the nature of Reality and the possibility of human realisation.

Born in Murcia in south-eastern Spain in 560/1165, Ibn 'Arabi spent the first thirty-five years of his life with various spiritual masters in Seville, Cordoba, Fez and other towns in the Maghrib, before leaving his homeland to go on pilgrimage. He arrived in Mecca in 598/1202 at the age of thirty-seven, and almost immediately began work on what would become his magnum opus, al-Futūhāt al-Makkiyya (The Meccan Illuminations), which took several decades to complete. Although we do not know the exact date when chapter 167, the particular part of the work translated in this book, was composed, it would seem plausible that it was done sometime within the following ten years, when he was travelling and living in the Mashriq.

The full title of chapter 167 is 'On the inner knowing of the alchemy of human happiness' (fi ma`rifat kīmiyā' al-sa`āda). This is a clear reference to a well-known work written some 100 years earlier by the great theologian Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), entitled Kīmiyā' al-sa`āda (The Alchemy of Happiness). Al-Ghazãli's work was written in Persian as a popular abridgement of his much longer Arabic Ihyā' `ulūm al-din (The Revival of the Religious Sciences). It primarily discusses spiritual alchemy in a fairly standard philosophical manner: beginning with the implications of the famous prophetic hadith `whoever knows their self knows their Lord', he examines in turn the knowledge of the self, the knowledge of God, the knowledge of this world and the knowledge of the next world. Al-Ghazãli then considers highly practical issues such as whether the religious life is enhanced or hindered by practices such as music and dancing, meditation and abstinence, and whether it is better to be married or not.

Whether he had read al-Ghazālī's work or not, Ibn 'Arabi takes the idea of alchemy in an altogether different direction, and apart from the overall subject matter of spiritual transformation, the two works could hardly be more different in tone and content. Ibn 'Arabi is much less concerned with generalities or practical details, and he links the way alchemists view their art to mystical ascension and spiritual journeying. His concentration is primarily on experiential knowledge (ma`rifa) of the heart — a direct immediate knowing — and how this contrasts with intellectual understanding. This difference between two great authors is in itself unsurprising, since Ibn Arabī's use of his illustrious predecessor's work was both a mark of respect, a nod to the huge contribution to philosophy, theology and Sufi thinking which al-Ghazālī had made a century earlier, and a way of demonstrating to his readers that he was writing in a very different way.

Earlier mystical writers viewed alchemy as a means of spiritual transformation: for example, the famous Egyptian Sufi Dhū'l-Nūn al-Misrī (d. ca. 245/859), who came from the town of Ikhmīm (Gk. Panopolis), a major centre of Hermetic teaching, is credited with several alchemical treatises drawn from the Graeco-Egyptian Hermes tradition.'

Some Muslim philosophers, such as the great master of the eastern Peripatetics who was closest to the Greek philosophical tradition, Ibn Sina (d.428/1037), cast doubt on the power of alchemists to effect real substantial transmutation, viewing it solely as an art of imitation:

> As to the claims of the alchemists, it must be clearly understood that it is not in their power to bring about any true change of species. They can, however, produce excellent imitations, dyeing the red [metal] white so that it closely resembles silver, or dyeing it yellow so that it resembles gold... In these [dyed metals] the essential substance remains unchanged.'

This kind of scepticism may partially explain why in this chapter of the Futūhāt Ibn 'Arabi is keen to portray the difference between the mystical and philosophical approaches in stark and dramatic terms: his concern is not with whether this transmutation is possible in physical terms but with the inner transformation that is opened up by the spiritual path. He seems to have found it particularly important to emphasise that spiritual transformation is real and attainable, but only as a stage beyond what can be reached through the intellect.

Mystical writers generally make a very clear distinction between `divine alchemy for the soul', practised within, and human alchemy whose obsession with physical gold was viewed as a major distraction from the spiritual path. In a story about a king (who symbolises the Universal Spirit) and his six sons, related by `Attār (d.618/1221) in his 'Book of the Divine' (Ilāhī-nāma), the sons reveal to their father their dearest desires: the sixth child is keen to know the science of alchemy, in order to transform the world into a place of faith and to allow everyone to enjoy wealth (and make poverty history). He is warned by his father against being overpowered by greed, pride and ambition. While the son believes that the alchemical art can benefit both the worldly and religious life, the father emphasises that it is impossible to have gold and religion, and true happiness can only be achieved through the elixir of suffering. Commenting on a story about Plato, `Attār reminds the reader to 'turn your body into a heart and turn your heart towards pain — this is the way that true men practise alchemy'. His final story tells of a deer which eats nothing but one or two sweet flowers for 40 days (the traditional period of retreat), and then breathes in the new dawn's air: 'when that breath passes into its life's blood, musk flows from its navel... who knows this kind of breath in the world, by which blood is turned into musk in a single instant?... Practise this alchemy if you are a man of the Way, for this is a divine alchemy for the soul."

Like 'Attar, Ibn 'Arabi views alchemy according to its underlying meaning but is not so disparaging about it as a human endeavour. He uses the principle of transformation or transmutation as the basis for explaining alchemy as a science that is at once physical, spiritual and divine. He equates the knowledge of alchemy with the return to the original state of what the Quran calls 'the finest stature' (ahsan taqwīm), according to which God created the human being.' The juxtaposition of alchemy, ascension and happiness, as well as an almost scientific classification of mystical knowledge, makes this one of the core chapters of the Futūhāt. It is a tour de force, almost novel-like in its use of characterisation and story-telling.

Chapter 167 within the Futūhāt

The 167th chapter from the Futūhāt can be found approximately one-third of the way through this work, within the second section on spiritual behaviour (fasl al-mu`āmalāt). For the purposes of this translation we have treated it as self-standing, partly because it is unusually designated by the author as a complete `part' (juz') in itself.' It is possible that this chapter was originally written at an earlier date as a treatise in its own right, perhaps even under a different title, before being incorporated into the Futūhāt — one feels that there is a certain completeness about the way it is constructed and the way it manages to touch upon all of Ibn Arabi's teaching in a succinct and comprehensive manner. At the same time, it is very much part of a whole book, one chapter amongst many, having a particular place within a vast network.

The division of the original Futūhāt (autograph Evkaf Muzesi, 1845-81) is complex: its 560 chapters (Mb) are spread across thirty-seven physical volumes (sifr), each of which consists of twenty quires of paper (a quire being eight leaves or sixteen sides of paper, or parchment in medieval times), i.e. totalling over 11,000 pages of handwriting. Each volume is divided into seven parts, making a total of 259 `parts' (juz'). The whole book is also divided into six `sections' (fasl) that are designated in the table of contents (fihris), and these have attracted some detailed study, most notably by Michel Chodkiewicz. As a result, the `parts' have tended to be relegated to secondary importance, yet they reveal a most interesting structure in their own right. The long chapters of the Futūhāt comprise several parts: for example, the 73rd chapter (which opens the second volume in the printed Beirut edition) contains five parts (juz' 75-9) on the various types of spiritual men (qutb, abdāl, etc.), followed by twelve parts (juz' 80-91) on the answers to al-Tirmidhi's questionnaire. After a further twelve parts (juz' 92-103) in which he discusses the many stations (maqāmāt) of spiritual endeavour and how to go beyond them by `abandoning' (tark) them, Ibn 'Arabi turns his attention to divine friendship or sainthood (walāya) at the end of Part 104 (chapter 152) and follows it with:

> Part 105 (chapters 153-6): on the forms of sainthood and the station of prophethood;
> Part 106 (chapters 157-61): on prophethood and messengerhood in its various forms and the station of closeness;
> Part 107 (chapters 162-6): on the poverty of total dependence upon God (and its complement, independence), tasawwuf (Sufism), realisation and wisdom (especially in relation to the people of blame, the malāmiyya), i.e. the various ways that closeness can be viewed;
> Part 108 (chapter 167): on the alchemy of happiness.

In other words, this chapter builds on an analysis of the various typologies of spiritual human beings and degrees of attainment, the differences among those charged with announcing truths (saints, prophets and messengers), and the principles of spiritual realisation.

In addition, a close reading of the text shows more or less explicit links from one chapter to the next provided by the author, often in the final sentence. For example, chapter 164 ends with the line 'May God make us one of the Sufis who uphold the rights (huqūq) of God and prefer the side of God', huqūq (the plural of haqq) being related to the actualisation or realisation of these rights (tahqīq), which is the subject of chapter 165. Chapter 166 concludes with 'The sages have rulership in the world by virtue of the path established by revelation, which God has prescribed for His servants that they might follow it and thus be led to their true happiness', happiness (sa`āda) forming the central theme of chapter 167.

Chapter 167 itself is set out as two distinct divisions: the first deals with alchemy (al-kimiyã'), making this text one of the major surviving examples of Islamic alchemy; and the second with spiritual ascension (mi`rāj), a subject that Ibn 'Arabi discusses in many different ways. It is clear from Ibn `Arabī's exposition here that the reader is meant to contemplate alchemy within its deeper context of spiritual transformation: how the base lead of ordinary humanity may be transmuted and perfected into the gold of true human nature. <>

PLANT TREES, CARRY SHEEP: A WOMAN'S SPIRITUAL JOURNEY AMONG THE SUFIS OF SCOTLAND, A MEMOIR by S.A. Snyder [Luna River Publishing, LLC, 9781733292511]

Sarah flees an unfulfilling life in Montana to volunteer at a spiritual retreat in Scotland. But Braemar House seems more religious cult than safe haven. Not only is she expected to plant thousands of trees, look after flocks of poultry, and chase truant sheep, there are toilets to clean, dishes to wash, and firewood to chop. Can Sarah navigate contrasting spiritual beliefs under sometimes maddening circumstances to find her heart's longing? God, help her!

A personal and slightly fictionalized account on a spiritual retreat on the Borders of Scotland at the Chisholm Institute of the Beshara Foundation. Insightful, humorous and naive. Worth a read. Perhaps someone will solicit memoir essays from others who have had association with Beshara courses.?

> Your task is not to seek for love, but merely to seek and find all the barriers within yourself that you have built against it. —Jelal ad-Din Rumi

O my YOU would go to Scotland to plant trees and land yourself a nude modeling gig.

The thought occurred as I sat on a metal folding chair atop a paint-splattered table while five strangers interpreted my birthday suit in colored chalk on giant sheets of white paper. It was only the first of two times that I would remove my clothes for these artists. Even though my living expenses were nearly nil, having an extra twenty-five pounds sterling would be nice, although it wasn't a lot considering the effort to sit motionless for two frigid hours. How would I spend my cold-earned cash? A trip to the tropics would be nice! Thinking of warm climates didn't make me feel warmer. So instead, I began recalling what had brought me to these windy moors only a month earlier.

Ever since I was a young teenager I had been cultivating a deep love for Great Britain. Eleven years before my Scottish adventure, I had taken a break from college to live and work on a red deer park in England. My post-college dreams to tour the world and teach others about wildlife conservation led to Peace Corps service in Africa, which was cut short by civil conflict. I returned home to Montana to pursue environmental journalism instead. Freelance gigs barely paid the bills, never mind travel. Though blessed with mountains, sparkling rivers, and plenty of elbowroom, Big Sky Country began to feel isolating.

My midlife crisis began at thirty-four, an age at which most people were settling into careers and having families. I never wanted children, but I was lonely, and work was unfulfilling. Were there better opportunities elsewhere in romance and career? Montana's job scene was bleak; romantic

prospects didn't exist; and thoughts of if-onlys and paths-not-trod invoked feelings of purposelessness and depression.

And then there was my spiritual crisis.

I was raised a Presbyterian, but in my early twenties I began yearning for more than the Church offered. Teachings of Buddhism, Taoism, and other Eastern mystical practices became more alluring, as did Christian mystics (Meister Eckhart, Thomas Merton, and Pierre Teilhard de Chardin) because of their transcendent views that bucked traditional religious dogma. Occasional retreats, workshops, and group meditations sparked something in my soul, yet mostly, life felt empty. I expected more divine guidance, signs to nudge me toward ... something. Erratic prayers became missives demanding God improve my dead-end life. Unsure what I needed—or even wanted—I thought I might find it somewhere other than home.

In early 1998, I began searching the internet for conservation work in Great Britain in exchange for room and board. Volunteering was the only way since I was an American and didn't qualify for paid work. By email I introduced myself to conservation-oriented organizations, listing my knowledge and talents: forestry, wildlife biology, all-around outdoor laborer. Of the half-dozen replies, one looked promising. A man named William at a place called Braemar House invited me to a two-hundred-acre private estate in Scotland. They needed help with a tree-planting project. I would have my own room, and all communal meals would be cooked for me. I excitedly read William's email numerous times. Pay dirt or just too good to be true? A follow-up phone chat with him persuaded me it was worth the risk.

Braemar billed itself as a "school of esoteric education" for adults, a spiritual retreat. Its website was filled with passages about the "Unity of Existence" and love and God. Here was a bonus: I could plant trees AND find my way through the spiritual forest at the same time! A few things on the website unnerved me though, mostly a lot of Arabic script and quotes from the Qur'an. Like most Americans, what little knowledge I had of Islam wasn't positive. On the other hand, the website also quoted the twelfth-century Sufi poet Rumi, whom I adored. His love poems to God had always stirred a longing in me for closeness with the Beloved. But who exactly were these Braemarites? What was their brand of esoterica? Personal reservations set aside, I accepted William's offer, secured the necessary visas, and began closing down my life in Montana. Five months later, I arrived in Great Britain.

The voice of one of the artists brought my mind back to the drafty studio.

"How are you getting on up there?"

"Fine," I half-lied.

"Well, I'm certainly impressed. Surely, you must be freezing."

Surely, she could tell.

"Can you manage for another hour, or do you need to give it a rest?"

"No problem," I said, immediately regretting it.

"It's a good job you are fit, my girl. I dare say you'll be doing plenty of hard work on the estate," Rafi said, scratching his chalk in large strokes across the paper on his easel.

Rafi, Braemar's maintenance man, had set up the modeling gig just a few weeks after I arrived to help me earn money, although he might have had other motives for wanting to see me alfresco. But never mind. Baring my body for the sake of art was nothing compared with baring my soul, I would come to find out. In Scotland, I would learn to love God, and Man—one in particular—though the path was nothing like I had imagined. <>

Explorations in Indic Traditions: Theological, Ethical, and Philosophical

The region historically known as the Indian subcontinent (and more recently as South Asia) is rich with ancient and sophisticated traditions of intellectual and contemplative investigation. This includes both indigenous traditions (Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, and Sikh) and traditions that have found a home in this region (Islamic, Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian). This series is devoted to studies rooted in critical and constructive methodologies (such as ethics, philosophy, and theology) that show how these traditions can illuminate universal human questions: questions about the meaning of life, the nature of knowledge, good and evil, and the broader metaphysical context of human existence. A particular focus of this series is the relevance of these traditions to urgent issues that face humanity today—such as the ecological crisis, gender relations, poverty and social inequality, and religiously motivated violence—on the assumption that these traditions, far from being of merely historical interest, have the potential to enrich contemporary conversations and advance human understanding. <>

Beacons of Dharma: Spiritual Exemplars for the Modern Age edited by Christopher Patrick Miller, Michael Reading, and Jeffery D. Long [Explorations in Indic Traditions: Theological, Ethical, and Philosophical, Lexington Books, 978-1498564847]

Today's globalized society faces some of humanity's most unprecedented social and environmental challenges. Presenting new and insightful approaches to a range of these challenges, the timely volume before you draws upon individual cases of exemplary leadership from the world's Dharma traditions—Hinduism, Sikhism, Jainism, and Buddhism. The volume's authors refer to such exemplary leaders as "beacons of Dharma," highlighting the ways in which each figure, via their inspirational life work, provide us with illuminating perspectives as we continue to confront cases of grave injustice and needless suffering in the world.

Taking on difficult contemporary issues such as climate change, racial and gender inequality, industrial agriculture and animal rights, fair access to healthcare and education, and other such pressing concerns, *Beacons of Dharma* offers a promising and much needed contribution to our global remedial discussions. Seeking to help solve and alleviate such social and environmental issues, each of the chapters in the volume invites contemplation, inspires action, and offers a freshly invigorating source of hope.

While effective religious leadership can be found in virtually every context and corner of the globe, rare is that religious leader who can rightfully be considered a world-transforming "beacon." Whether sheikh, swami, or rabbi, priest, pastor, or acharya, a religious beacon not only serves humanity as a "source of light or inspiration"' (to borrow from Merriam-Webster' s), but also guides fellow spiritual seekers on a sacred journey from despair to hope, from ignorance to knowledge, from apathy to action, and from bondage to deliverance. The religious beacon is thus one who actively "dispels darkness"' in the world, illumining the way forward in a way that few others can and therefore serving as a conduit for unprecedented change both individual and communal. What makes such a leading figure stand apart from the rest? A whole variety of factors, of course, and as Ira Rifkin notes in the edited volume Spiritual Leaders Who Changed the World, sometimes the "important quality that elevates an individual to the level of true spiritual leader and innovator"' cannot be put into words and hence remains ultimately an enigma.

Celebrating and analyzing such world-changing religious leadership, the volume before you hones in upon "beacons of Dharma" in particular: exemplary leaders from the Dharma traditions originating in India and South Asia—whether Buddhist, Jain, Sikh, or Hindu. Chapter by chapter, each individual

contributor to Beacons takes up a twofold task: (1) to uncover new and insightful scholarship about each of their particular Dharmic figures of focus (their distinct philosophies, ethical commitments, overall life work, etc.); and (2) to offer a thoughtful, innovative proposal about how the remedial and redemptive power embodied by each of these figures may most effectively be harnessed in order to best serve our contemporary world. As humanity strives to collectively address some of our present era's most pressing, intractable, and tenacious issues, we are confident that each of these chapters offers a unique and compelling source of inspiration and hope. Drawn from specific religious and sociohistorical contexts, the volume is thus at its core a hopeful meandering through the multiple refractions, reflections, and expressions of light as emanated by such Dharmic religious leaders and visionaries.

Taking a general inventory of the various manifestations of violence, strife, and discord that exist in today's globalized world, we as editors observe scenarios and patterns that are both unprecedented as well as cyclically "samsaric" (invoking in the latter case a fundamental perspective from the Dharma traditions themselves). We say unprecedented because of the way in which the various key issues and defining circumstances of our contemporary times are often seemingly unchartered and bewilderingly difficult to diagnose—not to mention overcome or even sometimes just begin to alleviate. Consider, for instance, the current crisis and ongoing threat of global climate change. With our planet's mean temperature having already heated 0.8 degrees C above preindustrial levels, and with the vast majority of scientists in agreement that a further 1.2 degree increase risks utter catastrophe, never before has there been a global issue of such unfathomable scale, unpredictability, and dire universal urgency. In the meantime, moreover, as we as justice-seeking citizens of the world strive for the establishment of societies that are far more compassionate and egalitarian—and compassionate and egalitarian in practice, and not just in name—we are discovering ever more about just how deeply entrenched and insidious are the various forces of resistance that stand in the way. From patriarchy to racism, class privilege to neocolonialism, and again from ecological destruction to anthropocentrism (among other such key contemporary concerns), it has recently become all too clear how these as well as other major social and ecological issues tend to be constituted by anything but isolated or surface-level dynamics, but instead by forces which are highly pervasive, deeply ingrained and perniciously systemic.

The discordant global scenarios and patterns that we identify in Beacons can be considered cyclically "samsaric," moreover, when we take into account the Dharma traditions' recognition of the general inevitability—as well as the repetitive cyclicality—of human suffering and limitation. While across Dharmic religious contexts there of course exists for the term "samsara" subtle nuances to acknowledge, all things considered each of the four Dharma traditions actually espouse a rather similar definition of this concept. Invoking in its original Sanskrit a sense of "perpetual wandering," samsara refers to the cycle of birth, death, and rebirth which humans (as well as, for that matter, all other living beings) find themselves incessantly caught within, experiencing on the one hand myriad possibilities for spiritual growth and happiness, but also on the other a relatively limited and suffering-laden existence. Here, while full or partial liberation from samsaric limitation and suffering can come through a variety of means—via, for instance, the improvement of one's karma through right action, by attaining spiritual knowledge, or through practices of devotion, self-purification, and meditative self-awakening (among other such possibilities)—still, that each person must invariably contend with their own sense of (often fierce) egoic entrapment remains inescapable.

And yet, just as samsara is generally understood as applying to all of living, conditioned existence at the level of the individual samsara-bound subject, so too can it be seen as pervading (albeit in a less

acknowledged sense) our more macro, social, and political expressions of life as well. In this respect, Beacons recognizes a natural advantage in terms of how Dharmic worldviews and leaders tend to presume from the outset that global and social issues have an intrinsically samsaric quality about them, eddying around as they do in all-too-familiar and stubborn whirlpools of complexity and self-perpetuation—delusion tending to beget further delusion, egoity that of further egoity, and affliction producing yet further affliction. Hence, in light of just how samsarically systemic and deeplyingrained contemporary global and social issues have revealed themselves to be (whether spiritual, ecological, justice-based, or otherwise), we thus wonder if spiritual leaders from the Dharma traditions are perhaps especially well suited to the task of offering forth remedial solutions—solutions that, as it were, go right to the very heart and root of the issue. Regardless of whether true or not, what we can say for sure is that the luminaries covered in this volume do certainly espouse (and themselves embody) modes of transformation that are at once holistic, penetrative, and built for overcoming even the most vexing of modern day predicaments.

Lastly, often achieving a state of self-realization or profound spiritual fulfillment, rather than repairing into their own private world of supernal clarity and bliss, beacons of Dharma are also known for deeply caring about the larger surrounding world in which they find themselves, they find themselves, almost by rule being pronouncedly self-sacrificial when it comes to expressing a radical commitment to social change. Thus, while providing living proof for Roger Gottlieb's insight that "morality and transcendence are the twin axes along which authentic personal and communal existence develops," a beacon of Dharma also exemplifies also epitomizes Veena Howard' s observation about how the Dharma traditions naturally "accommodate the aspect of individualistic spirituality within their fold, but it is always connected to a higher purpose and the telos of collective well-being."' And hence, no matter how unprecedented or fiercely samsaric global or social issues may ultimately prove to be, because of their tremendous selflessness, compassion, and rare degree of spiritual awakening and insight, when it comes to illumining humanity's most ideal path forward, it is fair to say that beacons of Dharma can surely be relied upon.

Beacons as a Central Metaphor

As alluded to earlier, the term "beacon" variously indicates a guiding fire, light, or personage—in essence, a brightly burning torch to lead one' s way through the proverbial dark. While these connotations speak to the word's core semantic basis, as the central metaphor binding together the various chapters of this volume, the term "beacon" also becomes intimately bound up with implications of spiritual transformation, hope, and the attainment of the knowledge capable of converting samsaric suffering into freedom. Though the positive symbolism of light is virtually universal to world religious traditions, there are certainly a rich multitude of examples also to be found in each of the Dharma traditions, as most any Jain, Buddhist, Sikh, or Hindu can attest. For the sake of acknowledging—and in a way, paying homage to—such cherished symbolism, let us now briefly consider some of the most prominent of these various luminescent associations.

Starting with the light symbolism found across various Hindu contexts, while this could be listed out almost endlessly, certainly deserving of mention here is the prevalence of devotion directed toward the sun god Surya, the ritual importance of the fire deity Agni, and the offering of light (arati) that is often made during a devotionally-oriented Hindu's regular puja worship. In the Hindu festival of Diwali, moreover, lamps (deepam) are displayed that invite the presence of the goddess Lakshmi; while these represent the triumph of light over darkness, they also symbolize the yearning for the forces of ignorance, despair, and malice to be defeated by knowledge, hope, and goodness. Jains and

Sikhs also celebrate their own versions of Diwali: for Jains the lamp symbolism is reinterpreted to chiefly stand for the liberation of Mahavira, while for Sikhs the main connotation is one of justice—namely, the commemoration of the freeing of the sixth Sikh guru (Guru Hargobind) from the captivity of the Mughals.

Buddhists also deeply treasure light as a religious symbol, such as when one takes refuge in the light of the Buddha's teachings (one of Buddhism's " Jewels"), or when, within Mahayana Buddhism in particular, one finds a special focus placed upon the light and warmth of inner compassion. In a similar regard, many Hindus and Jains are familiar with the light and heat aspects of tapas, envisioned as a modality of asceticism or yoga whereby fiery heat energy becomes generated within the body, in turn activating an intense mode of self-transformation. Lastly, and to bring this very briefest of surveys to conclusion, each of the Dharma traditions also often speaks of an inner light that over time develops within oneself, as a result of one's ongoing commitment to sincere religious or spiritual practice. For Buddhists, for instance, this refers to the "light" of spiritual awakening, and for Sikhs to the indwelling light of God (Ik Onkar). For Sikhs such luminescence also becomes vividly expressed, moreover, through the traditional iconography of the Ten Sikh Gurus, wherein each of these mystics and foundational religious leaders is depicted with radiantly shining halos around their heads, so as to convey holiness and Divine realization.

While the metaphor of light can also be expressed in manifold ways when speaking about the power of spiritual and ethical leadership—for example, the light of wisdom and inner illumination, rejuvenating and healing light, the cautionary light of a lighthouse, and the light that is capable of exposing injustice in the world—the metaphor also implies, on the more negative end of things, the possibility of light as the alluring, blinding, and seductive qualities of Dharmic inspiration and leadership gone awry. In this regard, while a vast majority of the volume's chapters are undergirded by a sense of deep hope and optimism, the volume nevertheless resists becoming a patchwork of uncritical hagiography, instead whenever possible acknowledging the potential "shadow side" of the power of light. As with so many other significant forces of persuasion in the world, we recognize how the power of Dharmic leadership is in the final analysis ambivalent, with the potential for bringing forth a great deal of good to the world, but also producing every now and again some rather regrettable consequences as well (as with, for instance, the many cases of spiritual charlatanism, sexual abuse, and coercive brainwashing that have been known to transpire). Where applicable, then, we have asked each of our contributors to acknowledge whatever shadows may exist pertaining to their particular beacon of focus. In hopes of portraying a more honest overall picture of Dharmic leadership and spirituality—with both its advantages as well as its potential pitfalls accounted for—the added benefit here is that hopefully in the process we will all learn to become better equipped to deal with such pitfalls and shadows as we encounter them within our own lives or religious communities.

Finally, though we choose to speak of the exemplars presented in the following chapters as collectively belonging to "the Dharma traditions," we also recognize the limitations of such a framework and the ways in which Hindu conceptions of Dharma may, under the heading of "Dharma," inadvertently suggest a hegemonic subsuming of other traditions into the Hindu fold. We therefore wish to acknowledge, following Veena Howard, that "Dharma, with its multitude of meanings, is inherently pluralistic," and that our use of the term is merely a matter of semantic convenience, and not at all one of imperious intent. As is well known by scholars of Indic religious traditions, the term dharma (or Jain dharm, Sikh dharam, Buddhist dhamma) is polyvalent and uniquely understood within each traditional context. Thus, by invoking the notion of Dharma as an

organizing concept in the volume, far from denying or glossing over the term's distinctiveness across traditions, the volume rather aims to in fact underscore such a factor of difference, celebrating the unique and vibrant ways by which this all-important term is variously deployed, understood, or given prominence.

Literature Review

Scholarly studies of gurus and religious figures from Indic and Indic-inspired religious traditions continue to attract attention from both academic and popular readerships. Singleton and Goldberg's Gurus of Modern Yoga (2014), Copeman and Ikegame's The Guru in South Asia: New Interdisciplinary Perspectives (2012), as well as Gleig and Williamson' s Homegrown Gurus: From Hinduism in America to American Hinduism (2013), all serve as clear testaments to the ongoing relevance of guru-based scholarship. These volumes come in the wake of a number of other early edited publications that have focused upon gums and religious leadership, including Story's Feet of Clay: Saints, Sinners, and Madmen (1996); Queen and King's Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia (1996); Pechilis's The Graceful Guru: Hindu Female Gurus in India and the United States (2004); and Forsthoefel and Humes' Gurus in America (2005). Insofar as Beacons is an edited volume concerned with influential religious personae from Dharma traditions, it both fits within, as well as richly augments, the genre heretofore described.

In addition to these edited works, a number of individual manuscripts dedicated to exemplary or charismatic religious figures have been published in recent years. These have included historical studies such as, most notably, Foxen' s Biography of a Yogi: Paramahansa Yogananda and the Origins of Modern Yoga (2017); Howard's Gandhi's Ascetic Activism: Renunciation and Social Action (2013); and Williamson's Transcendent in America: Hindu-Inspired Meditation Movements in America (2010); as well as ethnographic accounts including Urban's Zorba the Buddha: Sex, Spirituality, and Capitalism in the Global Osho Movement (2016); Lucia's Reflections of Amma: Devotees in A Global Embrace (2014); James's Ecology is Permanent Economy: The Activism and Environmental Philosophy of Sunderlal Bahuguna (2013); and Srinivas's In the Presence of Sai Baba: Body, City, and Memory in a Global Religious Movement (2008). Popular journalistic accounts of gurus have also recently found acceptance in both scholarly and non-scholarly circles in works such as Michelle Goldberg's The Goddess Pose: The Audacious Life of Indra Devi (2015), Philip Goldberg' s American Veda: From Emerson and the Beatles to Yoga and Meditation—How Indian Spirituality Changed the West (2013); and Robert Love's The Great Oom: The Improbable Birth of Yoga in America (2011).

Of all the works mentioned here, James (2013), Copeman and Ikegame (2012), Queen and King (1996), and Pechilis (2004) come closest to the general design of the current volume as they too address contemporary global concerns (i.e., ecology, social justice, and gender) by interfacing these issues with the unique perspectives offered by certain select religious figures. With this being said, the main difference here is that James's (2013) publication is a complete manuscript dedicated to a single religious leader in particular, whereas Beacons features a far more comprehensive assortment of figures. Furthermore, though Copeman and Ikegame (2012) attend to a number of guru figures in different traditions, they are not committed to the contemporary period nor is their intention to identify remedial possibilities from the religious figures they present. Additionally, they restrict their study within the geographic region of South Asia alone. Finally, Queen and King (1996) and Pechilis (2004) tend to cover religious figures and the transmission of their teachings within one particular religion alone: that is, Buddhism and Hinduism, respectively.

With this brief review of extant guru-based literature in mind, Beacons is innovative to the extent that it draws together scholars from a number of disciplines whose religious figures grapple with an array of distinct and yet interrelated challenges of the global twenty-first century. Beacons sees the manifold advantages of having these issues addressed collectively within a single publication. Indeed, as readers make their way through each distinct figure and issue, we invite everyone to ponder shared global challenges from the lens of having a whole myriad of different remedial strategies and modalities available.

While some of the chapters of this book feature popular Dharmic figures about whom much has been published in individual scholarly works—such as, for example, the chapters that focus on Gandhi (cf. Alter 2000; Howard 2013), Swami Vivekananda (c.f. Beckerlegge 2006), Mata Amritanandamayi (Amma) (cf. Lucia 2014), and Yogananda (cf. Foxen 2017; Goldberg 2018), the book makes no attempt at being even remotely comprehensive in this regard, with egregious omissions of so-called "essential figures" abounding. By this same token, however, Beacons is proud to highlight the inclusion of a number of lesser known Dharmic figures (e.g., Swami Jyotirmayananda, Acharya Chandanaji, and Chatral Sangye Dorje Rinpoche) about whom little to no scholarly work has currently been published. Overall, the volume thus presents readers with content concerning popular Dharmic figures that one would expect to find in a volume concerned with Dharmic spiritual leaders and their movements, though it also navigates some unchartered waters by offering new and illumining introductions to previously occluded personae—whose example and inspiration are, nevertheless, clearly deserving of our attention.

Summary of Chapters

Though there are, of course, a number of alternative ways in which the chapters in this volume could be serviceably ordered (chronologically, for instance, or by particular Dharma tradition), we ultimately decide to divide Beacons into three separate overarching categories, each of which represents a unique domain of envisioned global transformation. In the order they are presented in the book, these include (1) "Service, Compassion, and Humanitarianism," (2) "Ecology and Environmental Activism," and (3) "Peace, Knowledge, and Social Justice."

Starting with the "Service, Compassion, and Humanitarianism" section, we begin with Anne Vallely's account (chapter 1) of the revolutionary, fierce compassion of Pujya Shri Acharya Chandanaji (b. 1937), a Jain nun whose unorthodox interpretations of Jain doctrine continue to inspire critical social work in India. In this first chapter, Vallely takes us through the events that eventually led Chandanaji to lead Veerayatan, a social justice initiative intended to restore dignity to the land of Jainism's founder Mahavira in Rajgir, Bihar, through the practice of service, education, and inner spiritual development.

Next, Jeffery Long (chapter 2) shares the global impact of Swami Vivekananda's (1863-1902) religious pluralism followed by the women's education and political initiatives of his Irish-born disciple, Sister Nivedita (1867-1911). In his exploration of the legacy of these two beacons, Long corrects several misconceptions regarding Vivekananda's apparent connection with more contemporary Hindu nationalist movements, while also demonstrating Nivedita's strong political affiliations during India's struggle for independence. As Long ultimately shows, Vivekananda and Nivedita's shared legacy consists of the creation of the first highly influential international Hindu movement, the influence of which persists into the present.

Following Long, Rita Sherma (chapter 3) presents the remarkable life narrative of the Bengali Hindu saint Sri Ramakrishna (1836-1886), guru of both Vivekananda and Sister Nivedita. Sherma traces the various factors that led to Ramakrishna's radical embrace of the Divine as consisting of—as well as going beyond—a multiplicity of externally manifested divine forms (such as Vishnu, Shiva, Devi, and myriad others). While showing how for Ramakrishna such mystical pluralism could not merely be theorized about but must also be directly experienced, Sherma also demonstrates how this perspective is far more theologically nuanced than we might imagine it to be. In terms of recognizing religious difference, for instance, Sherma shows how Ramakrishna's life model and teachings not only avoid the problematic downplaying of such religious difference, but in fact ultimately more deeply acknowledge and celebrate it.

In chapter 4, Priyanka Ramlakhan explores the Integral Yoga teachings of Swami Jyotirmayananda (b. 1931), whose reinterpretation of the Hindu concept of svadharma (personal dharma) is shown to positively encourage one's individual freedom of expression. Jyotirmayananda's revisioning of svadharma not only opens up horizons of possibility beyond restrictive traditional norms (such as caste, gendered social roles, etc.), but also encourages practitioners to capitalize upon their own special abilities and unique life commitments. Providing an overview of Jyotirmayananda's life and teachings, Ramlakhan outlines the way in which his open and innovative philosophy brings forth a profound impact upon his various modern-day disciples, who in turn become, in their own lives, further empowered to serve the world.

In the following chapter (chapter 5), Sreedevi Bringi looks at the life of Mata Amtritanandamayi (b. 1953)—known affectionately by her followers as "Amma"—and shows how Amma, through her embodiment of the loving mother archetype, expresses unconditional love, compassion, and selfless service through what Bringi identifies as her embodiment of the loving mother archetype. While celebrating Amma's extensive worldwide humanitarian efforts, as well as her personally hugging, to date, a remarkable 33 million people during her global darshan tours, Bringi also shows how Amma helps her devotees overcome the prevalent modern psycho-spiritual issues of depression, anxiety, and lack of community through encouraging them to practice selfless service (seva) in the world.

In the first section's final chapter (chapter 6), Suzanne Schier-Happell examines the life and legacy of Sri Sarada Devi (1853-1920), familiar to many as the wife of Sri Ramakrishna and yet who was also indisputably a profound beacon of Dharma in her own right. Noting how "Holy Mother" has often been overshadowed by the abundance of attention given to her husband, Schier-Happell presents an informative and compelling wealth of testimonial data from Sri Sarada Devi's contemporary North American devotees within the Ramakrishna Order, who together describe the life-changing impact Holy Mother has exerted upon their lives. Through touching upon such themes as the power of the divine feminine and unconditional love, as well as Sri Sarada Devi's encouragement to disciples to freely negotiate their own path of spirituality, Schier-Happell demonstrates the Holy Mother's distinctly empowering style as a spiritual teacher.

Section 2, "Ecology and Environmental Activism," begins with a chapter (chapter 7) by Westin Harris wherein he demonstrates the ways by which the literary corpus of Tibetan Master Chatral Sangyé Dorje Rinpoche (1913-2015) constitutes a body that has traveled across vast geographical distances to influence devotees to adopt vegetarianism, and also more broadly, an ethical stance toward the proper treatment of animals. Most significantly, Chatral Rinpoche effected such influence while living primarily in seclusion, thereby amounting to what Harris calls "erimitic engagement." Chatral Rinpoche's widespread influence forces us to revisit central questions in the study of Engaged

Buddhism, the dichotomy of "traditional" versus "modern," and, ultimately, what constitutes effective social engagement in the practice of contemporary Buddhism.

In the next chapter (chapter 8), Michael Reading explores the life and legacy of Acharya Sri Tulsi (1914-1997), former head of Jainism's Terapanth sect as well as founder of the non-sectarian Anuvrat Movement. Focusing upon Tulsi's vision of Anuvrat as a potent model for spiritual and ethical vow-taking, Reading examines how such a practice as this can be made vitally applicable to the urgent task of modern eco-conscious living. In addition to its value for bringing about minimally consumptive global citizens, Reading also shows how such vow-taking increases one's personal storehouse of spiritual energy, thereby leading to a supercharged state of humanitarian vigor that Tulsi's own life vividly expressed, and indeed that anyone may potentially cultivate and draw upon within their own pursuit of myriad eco-remedial aims.

In chapter 9, Christopher Miller considers Paramahansa Yogananda's (1893-1952) understudied vision for creating "World Brotherhood Colonies," otherwise understood as intentional spiritual communities where members predominantly from America's Judeo-Christian middle-class might convene to meditate regularly and live simply according to yogic principles and practice. Using Ananda Village in Nevada City, California, as a case study, Miller shows how Yogananda's vision led to the formation of resilient communities grounded in an ethos of austere environmental stewardship and socially responsible living.

Bringing the section to a close, Veena Howard (chapter 10) elucidates ecofeminist activist Dr. Vandana Shiva's (b. 1952) interpretation of the Gandhian principles of ahimsa (nonviolence) and swadeshi (use of local products). Howard shows how Shiva applies these principles, both of which are grounded in Gandhi's understanding of dharma, in the face of globalized, hegemonic corporate food systems in order to promote alternative forms of nonviolent farming. Howard also outlines how such alternative forms of farming focus upon sustainable, self-sufficient, and harmonious relations with the natural world.

Chapter 11 initiates the volume's final section, "Peace, Knowledge, and Social Justice," wherein Judith Simmer-Brown focuses upon American-born Perna Chodron (b. 1936), a practitioner of Tibetan Buddhism whose teachings and books have become immensely popular over the last couple of decades. Highlighting Chodron's hallmark emphasis upon the wisdom of seeing life's difficulties as profound spiritual opportunities and its toughest setbacks as blessings in disguise, Simmer-Brown also explores Chodron's Buddhist-based strategies on social engagement and anti-racist activism. Focusing on Chodron's creative re-purposing of the traditional lojong (bodhisattva mind training) teachings, Simmer-Brown argues that such anti-racist potential is not only timely, but is also especially relevant for American Buddhism, in particular—which, as she observes, has long experienced issues of white privilege and spiritual bypassing.

In the following chapter (chapter 12), Nikky Guninder Singh explores the legacy of the Punjabi poet and writer Bhai Vir Singh (1872-1957), a pivotal and prolific figure within the Sikh renaissance movement. While outlining Bhai Vir Singh's multifaceted impact upon furthering the collective interests of the global Sikh community, Guninder Singh also analyzes the distinguished Sikh poet's overall aesthetic vision. By exploring Bhai Vir Singh's pluralist aesthetics, his somaesthetics, and his environmental aesthetics, Guninder Singh shows how each of these unique aesthetic visions provides just the right kind of perspective and inspiration to help modern individuals address a number of issues, both personal as well as communal.

In chapter 13, Kusumita Pedersen shares Sri Chinmoy's (1931-2007) vision for world peace via meditation and spiritual transformation. Pedersen takes us through Chinmoy's own spiritual journey in meditation and yoga, which eventually brought the guru to the United Nations where he inspired and taught regular Peace Meditation in order to positively transform the organization from the inside out. The chapter culminates with a description of Chinmoy's global "Peace Run" and its powerful symbol, the flaming torch. Chinmoy's practical vision for achieving peace ultimately resides, as Pedersen argues, in a form of transformation that is, at root, spiritual in nature.

Next, Tanya Storch (chapter 14) uncovers the remarkable legacies of two Buddhist nuns of fourth-century century China, Jingjian (292-361 CE) and Zhixian (300-370 CE), whose lives are recorded in the sixth-century biographical text Biqiuni zhuan. At a time when women were barred from monastic access, Jingjian and Zhixian boldly and innovatively challenged the patriarchal status quo, becoming the first women to receive ordination into the Buddhist sangha in China. While Storch celebrates and analyzes these two trailblazing legacies, she also shows how their personal life models of courage, creative adaptation, and spiritual awakening provided for later Chinese nuns a profound example to draw upon and emulate, with such perseverance and awakening also becoming highly inspiring for later Chinese Buddhists as well as humanity in general.

Finally, bringing the section and volume to a close, Nirinjan Khalsa and Francesca Cassio (chapter 15) present the ways by which a number of recent Sikh beacons—Bhai Jwala Singh, Bhai Avtar Singh, Bhai Gurcharan Singh, Bhai Kultar Singh, and Bhai Baldeep Singh—have carried forward Sikhism's unique musical heritage. In doing so, Khalsa and Cassio highlight the ways these exemplary individuals have navigated the historical processes of colonization, partition, and contemporary politics to preserve Sikh musical pedagogy, practice, and production into the present. The authors also explain how the Sikh category of dharam comprises a unique part of the wider Sikh spiritual path (marga), which can be traced back to Sikhism's founder, Guru Nanak (1469-1539). <>

Noor-un-nisa Inayat Khan: Madeleine: George Cross MBE, Croix de Guerre with Gold Star by Jean Overton Fuller [Suluk Press, Omega Publications, 9781941810323]

Noor Inayat Khan (1914-1944) was SOE s first woman wireless transmitter in German Occupied Paris during World War II. Posthumously awarded the George Cross MBE and Croix de Guerre with Gold Star for her outstanding wartime service and heroism on behalf of the Allied cause, Noor s remarkable and inspiring life have been commemorated in numerous war memorials, WWII histories, and several films.

Born to an American mother, Ora Ray Baker, and an Indian Sufi father, Hazrat Inayat Khan, Noor was raised in France, studying music under Nadia Boulanger and child psychology at the Sorbonne. Her children s stories appeared in Le Figaro and were broadcast over Radiodiffusion Francaise, and her book "Twenty Jataka Tales" was published in London. Her writing career was interrupted by the German invasion of France in 1940. The Inayat Khan family fled to England, and Noor enlisted in the WAAF where she trained as a wireless transmitter. Her Parisian background and wireless skills led to her recruitment by the SOE (Special Operations Executive). In 1943 she was secretly flown back to France where she began her undercover work under the code name Madeleine. Constantly on

the move between multiple locations and using false identities, Noor transmitted messages for the SOE s French and RF (République Française) sections, and for De Gaulle s Free French network. Betrayed by an acquaintance, she was captured by the Gestapo and held for interrogation in Paris. After repeated escape attempts, she was deemed a dangerous prisoner and transferred to Pforzheim prison in Germany, where she was held in maximum security and solitary confinement. As the war drew to an end in the fall of 1944, Noor was transported to Dachau, where she was executed. Her last word before being shot was Liberté!

This new edition of Noor-un-nisa: Madeleine includes previously unpublished material including a retrospective by Noor s brother Vilayat Inayat Khan, Noor friendship with the author, and further research on Noor s life and the SOE.

Review

The pleasure **JEAN OVERTON FULLER** will give to many people by telling us so much more of Noor-un-nisa Inayat Khan's early life is immense. Noor, for her service in SOE, has a special place of her own in the history of the Second World War which will never be forgotten by her contemporaries. Her war service makes wonderful reading.

I like to think, however, that today's youth, anxious as it is apparently to forget history, will be curious in human terms to read about the real characters and background of those who served the free world with such gallantry before many of them were born. This to me is the especial fascination of this book. —Irene Ward, Baroness, North Tyneside CH, DBE

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Jean Overton Fuller was a personal friend of Noor and her family. Her account of Noor's life and wartime work was based on official documents and extensive interviews with Noor's family, friends, fellow SOE agents and administrators, Résistance members, Noor's German interrogators and jailers, and other prisoners of war. Additional WW II titles by the same author include The Starr Affair and Déricourt, the Chequered Spy. <>

Muslim American Politics and the Future of US Democracy by Edward E. Curtis IV [New York University Press, 9781479875009]

Reveals the important role of Muslim Americans in American politics

Since the 1950s, and especially in the post-9/11 era, Muslim Americans have played outsized roles in US politics, sometimes as political dissidents and sometimes as political insiders. However, more than at any other moment in history, Muslim Americans now stand at the symbolic center of US politics and public life.

This volume argues that the future of American democracy depends on whether Muslim Americans are able to exercise their political rights as citizens and whether they can find acceptance as social equals. Many believe that, over time, Muslim Americans will be accepted just as other religious minorities have been. Yet Curtis contends that this belief overlooks the real barrier to their full citizenship, which is political rather than cultural. The dominant form of American liberalism has prevented the political assimilation of American Muslims, even while leaders from Eisenhower to Obama have offered rhetorical support for their acceptance.

Drawing on examples ranging from the political rhetoric of the Nation of Islam in the 1950s and 1960s to the symbolic use of fallen Muslim American service members in the 2016 election cycle, Curtis shows that the efforts of Muslim Americans to be regarded as full Americans have been going on for decades, yet never with full success.

Curtis argues that policies, laws, and political rhetoric concerning Muslim Americans are quintessential American political questions. Debates about freedom of speech and religion, equal justice under law, and the war on terrorism have placed Muslim Americans at the center of public discourse. How Americans decide to view and make policy regarding Muslim Americans will play a large role in what kind of country the United States will become, and whether it will be a country that chooses freedom over fear and justice over prejudice.

Review

"Reminding us that the Nation of Islam and Malik El-Shabazz are the predecessors of the contemporary landscape of Muslim politics, Curtis describes the challenges to liberalism and American empire that came through the forging of an Islamic liberation theology. Written by one of the leading scholars of Muslim history in the United States, this is an urgent book for our time." (Junaid Rana,Author of Terrifying Muslims: Race and Labor in the South Asian Diaspora)

"Argues that full cultural and social citizenship has not yet been achieved, yet Muslim Americans matter to key events and ideas in modern America." (Kathleen Moore,University of California, Santa Barbara)

Once asked by a French reporter about the "Negro problem" in the United States, African American writer Richard Wright replied that "there isn't any Negro problem; there is only a white problem." Black studies scholar George Lipsitz points out that "by inverting the reporter's question, Wright called attention to its hidden assumptions—that racial polarization comes from the existence of blacks rather than the behavior of whites, that black people are a `problem' for whites rather than fellow citizens, and that, unless otherwise specified, `Americans' means 'whites.' Though Wright's response to anti-Black racism remains relevant primarily to the discussion of African American life, this formulation can also shed light on the way in which Muslim Americans function as a religious and often racial Other who are denied full political and social citizenship in the United States.

The future of US democracy depends on the question of whether Muslim Americans are able to exercise their political rights as US citi¬zens and whether they can find acceptance as social equals in US society. This statement is not hyperbolic. The place of Muslims in the United States is a bellwether for the nation's purported embrace of liberal values such as freedom of speech and religion, equal justice under law, and equal opportunity. These values are the primordial symbols of liberal democracy. They are embraced by Republicans and Democrats. But these values do not apply to all Americans. They often do not apply to Muslims. The problem is not Muslims; the problem is America. Though many Muslims have sought to contribute to the democratic life of the United States since the 1950s, their efforts to "be" or "become" American have not protected their basic liberties. Even when Muslims proudly embraced assimilation, the terms under which they negotiated their political belonging to America failed them. This book explains why the nation is, at best, ambivalent about Muslim political participation and, at worst, terribly cruel. Neither the Republican nor the Democratic Party has offered full equality to Muslim Americans because these parties' politics are inextricably bound to policies and orientations that operate partly through the denial of Muslim people's full humanity and dignity.

Muslim American politics have been a barometer of US democracy since the 1950s. Though small in numbers, the presence of Muslims on American soil rose to national political prominence during the Cold War and then the twenty-first-century war on terror. They have often acted as the social and political margin against which the center of US political belonging has been forged. In the 1950s and 1960s, it was the Nation of Islam, at the time the largest and best-known US Muslim group, and Malcolm X that played a foil in political debates over civil rights and US foreign policy. Defined by Republicans and Democrats alike as a religious cult and a radical political threat to the republic, the Nation of Islam was constructed by liberal civil rights icons such as Thurgood Marshall as a form of Black nationalism that must be rejected and even surveilled by the government. Likewise, Malcolm

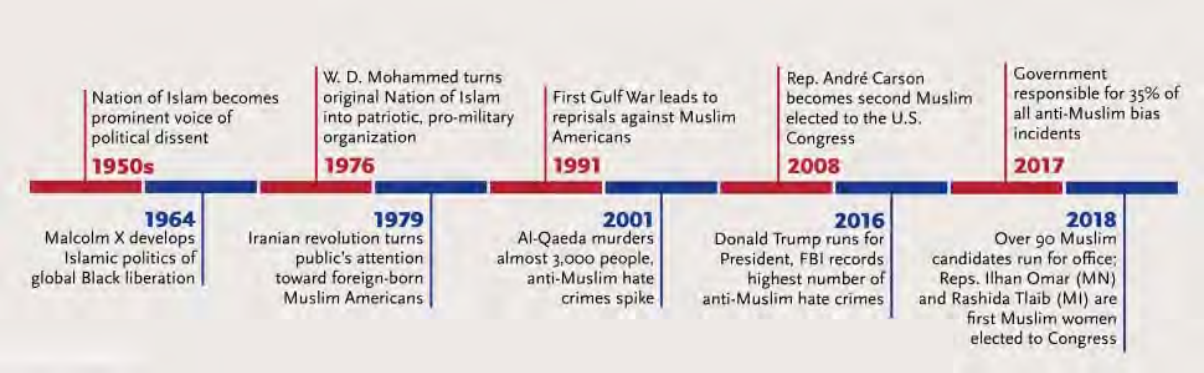
X's emerging Islamic ethics of revolution was seen as a threat to America not only because Malcolm X reminded Black people of their (liberal) rights to self-defense but also because he organized opposition to US neocolonial control and military intervention in the Global South. During the Cold War, Black Muslims linked the domestic challenge of anti-Black racism to the struggle for Afro-Asian self-determination. Their repression by the federal government exposed the extent to which American democracy was not only hypocritical, but also fundamentally undemocratic in its racist and imperial orientation.

Similarly, in the era after the attacks of September 11, 2001, so-called immigrant Muslims—some of whom could trace their family histories in the United States to the late 1800s and early 1900s-became a fundamental "problem" for US democracy. The central role of Muslims in American political life was made plain when, after Donald Trump's election in 2016, foreign visitors from several Muslim-majority countries were banned from entering the United States. But even before President Trump made a home in the Oval Office for blatantly racist anti-Muslim rhetoric, the administrations of both George W Bush and Barack Obama showed how American political values such as religious liberty, freedom from unreasonable searches, and guarantees of equal protection under the law were too often null and void when it came to both Muslim American citizens and Muslims living under US military occupation or political control. Since 9/11, the treatment of Muslims has exposed the rotten core of American democracy, and that rot has been disturbingly bipartisan.

The main argument of the book is that dominant forms of American liberalism have prevented the political assimilation of Muslim Americans; Muslim Americans have sometimes resisted and more frequently accommodated American liberalism, but in either case, they have never been afforded full citizenship. In scrutinizing the role of liberalism in preventing the assimilation of Muslims into the nation-state, I focus on liberalism as an institutionalized, structural reality that assumes power in a variety of social, economic, and political domains, especially in the military, foreign policy, the courts, and law enforcement agencies.' I contend (1) that racism and imperialism have been central to the practice of American liberalism; (2) that Muslims have played especially prominent roles since the 1950s in the way that American liberalism has unfolded; and (3) that Muslims have both challenged and sustained a form of liberalism that offers them only limited inclusion in the republic.

Liberalism is a much disputed and debated ideology whose meaning has changed over time, but one of its core elements in the context of US politics is the idea that the government has the responsibility to protect and advance the liberty of individuals. The American Declaration of Independence and the US Constitution's Bill of Rights identify human individuals—and their rights to property, free speech, the free exercise of religion, and so on—as the foundation of a just, functioning nation. But not everyone in the American nation-state has been considered worthy of

liberty. As it was institutionalized and practiced in the United States, liberalism excluded Native Americans, Africans, women, and others. The franchise was given mainly to white men, who ruled an ethno-national state. American freedom and democracy for white men rested on the ethnic cleansing of Native Americans—who were not considered part of "the people"—and on the racialization of human slavery. The nation not only denied liberty to racial others, it also made and enforced laws designed to protect the people—that is, the dominant ethnoracial group—from the aliens in their midst. Thus, the freedom of white people was created through the denial of liberty to African Americans and other nonwhites who lived under colonial domination inside their own country.



From the earliest days of the republic, the racist logic of American liberalism extended to its war-making abroad. As it so happened, the American form of liberalism was also defined in opposition to Islamic religion and Muslim cultures. The first overseas war conducted by the United States was fought from 1801 to 1805 against the North African principality of Tripoli, which demanded tribute from US-flagged ships that wished to pass safely through its waters. American leaders insisted that these levies were a form of bondage that threatened freedom of movement and trade. The federal government did not pay up, and after American ships were detained by the so-called Barbary states, Thomas Jefferson's 1800 presidential campaign criticized the nation's second president, John Adams, who preferred to negotiate his way out of the impasse. The newly elected Jefferson decided instead to go to war. The US Navy largely dominated the seas during the conflict, but when sailors of the U.S.S. Philadelphia were taken prisoner in 1803, the tough-talking Jefferson reversed course and ended up negotiating a truce with their captors in exchange for $60,000 in ransom. From that time until the present, war-making in Muslim lands has been frequently interpreted by US policymakers and citizens alike as a struggle for liberty and freedom over and against what are said, in blatantly racist terms, to be Islam's and Muslims' tendencies toward despotism, ignorance, and fanaticism.' As we will see in the chapters that follow, US liberalism's supposedly benevolent military intervention abroad, including in places where Muslims live, is essential to explaining why Muslim Americans are not offered full political and social citizenship in the United States.

American liberals have imagined the United States as an exceptional nation, often as a divinely ordained "city on a hill" with a solemn duty to liberate the earth from those who would prevent the free exchange of ideas and goods. In this mythological view of America, it is America's calling to protect and serve the ideals of individual liberty at any cost.' As this ideology of American global leadership took root and assumed form, US political leaders explained why it was necessary and often beneficial to occupy the lands of Native Americans and later to colonize Hawaii, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, where the United States occupied and eventually massacred an indigenous

Muslim population during battles at Bud Dajo and Bud Bagsak. No matter how violent it was, the American empire was framed as consonant with liberal ideals, a benevolent intervention essential to the global expansion of democracy, free markets, and individual rights.

For much of US history, the practice of an ethno-racial, colonial liberalism caused little concern for its rulers. There were always exceptions, of course. But even when US political leaders sought to expand some individual rights to nonwhite people, they often did so in a way that preserved white supremacy in either law or fact. The period after World War II was different, however, as a critical mass of US politicians began to pass laws designed to ensure that liberalism's promise applied to people of color as well as to whites, to women as well as to men, to immigrants as well as to native-born Americans. It is important to note that both Democrats and Republicans in this era were proponents of liberalism—notwithstanding the popular understanding that a "liberal" is the same as a Democrat. Democrats and Republicans debated which laws and policies would best protect and promote individual liberty and the pursuit of happiness, but they were largely united in their devotion to liberalism in contradistinction to socialism and communism. Institutional liberalism became associated in the 1950s with so-called consensus politics, defined not only by opposition to the Soviet Union and communism but also by its support of a variety of sometimes contradictory elements. Postwar institutional liberalism largely supported the welfare state, corporate rights, the repression of domestic dissent, and the expansion of individual religious liberty along with a theoretical separation of religion from the state. As many proponents of liberalism are inclined to point out, squashing domestic dissent is something liberals should oppose. But the experience of Muslim Americans demonstrates the necessity of describing liberalism as it actually was and is, liberalism in practice, not liberalism in theory—that is, what its proponents wished it could be. The denial of freedom to Black people, for example, has been perfectly compatible with the lived reality of institutional liberalism.' And as Africana religions scholar Sylvester Johnson points out, "the relationship between freedom and its others has to be explained instead of being dismissed as mere hypocrisy or contradiction." To do so in the United States, one has to explain the denial of freedom to Muslim Americans since World War II.

Muslim Americans have long hoped that they might become full citizens in the United States, and American political leaders have offered rhetorical support for their assimilation. Beginning with President Eisenhower and continuing through President Obama, both Republican and Democratic presidents have articulated the idea that Muslims, like other religious minorities, can become genuine Americans, especially if they willing to serve in the US military and fight its ideological enemies. They, too, could enjoy the fruits of liberalism. But at the same time that these presidents called out Muslims as potential citizens deserving of American rights and liberties, their policies and rhetoric alienated Muslims from the liberal dream. Because American liberalism in practice accommodated racism at home and colonial intervention in the developing world, the state often framed anyone who opposed the status quo, including white supremacy and military domination abroad, as a potential enemy.

This is why politics rather than culture is key to understanding the assimilation of Muslim Americans. There is a popular, liberal idea that over time Muslim Americans will be accepted like every other immigrant group—it is said that as Muslims assimilate to US culture, US culture will be able to assimilate them. But any theory that explains contemporary anti-Muslim bias, discrimination, and violence in terms of cultural difference rather than the dynamics of US politics naively or perhaps cynically ignores the roots of the American problem with Muslims. Some of the fiercest Muslim American critics of US democracy have been African Americans, who are not only assimilated to US

culture but who have played an inordinately large role in creating it from the 1600s until today. This is why African American Muslims have been able to mount effective criticism of the United States—put bluntly, Black people know America and how America works. Blaming cultural difference for a lack of assimilation may not be sound analysis but it can be an effective rhetorical strategy, as Richard Wright pointed out, to blame the

victims of US democracy for their lack of assimilation. As Ibram Kendi contends, some Americans have long explained anti-Black racism as a white reaction to the supposed problems of Black culture, it pathology, and its criminality." Antiracist scholars have offered a more convincing case: the lack of racial equality in the United States is not the result of African American culture but instead of structural and institutional anti-Black racism." When applied to the case of Muslim Americans, this approach to understanding inequality suggests that it would be fruitful to focus less on how Muslims are culturally different and more on how various cultural differences are deployed in public discourses regarding Muslim American political and social engagement.

As we will see, some of the loudest Muslim critics of American liberalism could be found in Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, the most prominent Muslim organization in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s. The Nation of Islam challenged white supremacy, rejected US war-making in the developing world, criticized American nationalism, and scoffed at the allure of half-hearted, legally oriented approaches to Malik El-Shabazz's political radicalism is essential to understanding Muslim American politics today because he made clear the stakes of cooperating with a racist and colonial regime. Shabazz lampooned liberal African American civil rights leaders as "Uncle Toms." As long as people of color cooperated with a system that rested on US imperial domination, he argued, they would never be free or equal in the United States. At the same time, even Malcolm X's radical politics sometimes appealed to liberal ideas and liberal institutions, especially the United Nations, as he sought to advance his political agenda of Black liberation.

The postwar US political, military, and economic empire that Malcolm X threatened with violent revolution has changed over time, as Sunaina Maira observes: contemporary "imperialism is marked by invisibility, secrecy, and flexibility in its operation of power, and by nebulous, nonterritorial forms of domination that do not resemble traditional forms of territorial 'colonialism.' Today, US imperial power goes well beyond conventional occupation. Its military component is sustained by approximately eight hundred military bases along with a triad of superior air, land, and sea forces." They are an essential component of the government's foundational commitment to the preponderance of US global power, which has been the policy of both Democratic and Republican administrations since Harry S. Truman.

Keeping the US commitment to global military dominance front and center explains why US democracy failed Muslim Americans and others not only during the Cold War but also in its aftermath. In the late twentieth century, the Islamophobic gaze of Americans turned away from Black Muslims as a primary national security threat. The US nationstate and its policymakers, law enforcement officers, political lobbies and think tanks, intelligence agencies, and other centers of power focused instead on "foreign" Muslims inside America. Chapter 4 explains this geopolitical transformation as US political institutions increasingly worried about the threat of transnational political Islam. Conservative political activists and liberal scholars alike worried about what they saw as a tension between Muslim Americans' links to the global community of Muslims, on the one hand, and their commitment to the US nation-state on the other. Could Muslim Americans be loyal to

both? Were they able to accept the liberal bargain of operating within the legal and political constraints of the US nation-state?

Rather than analyzing Muslim American participation in electoral politics or another formal realm of politics, chapter 4 offers an ethnographic lens on the lives and thoughts of four Muslim American women, all of whom were living in Jordan at the time I interviewed them in 2009 and 2010. As the chapter shows, gender played an especially central role in how Americans thought about Muslim identity. For many non-Muslim Americans, one of the most visible signs of a foreign presence, transformed into a political fetish, was the veil. After 9/11, Muslim American women, especially those who wore head scarves, came to occupy what Juliane Hammer has called "center stage" in public discourse on Islam.' I was interested in discovering whether these women's residency in Jordan transformed their attitudes toward the United States and their identities as Muslims, and I discovered how gender played a role in both questions. Careful to express clear loyalty to the US nationstate, these four women also refused to abandon a sense of solidarity with other communities, including the global community of Muslims and especially Palestinians. Rather than seeing these identities as contradictory or confused, all four women argued that such plural identifications were ethical and rational and expressed the deepest ideals of both Islam and America, including the liberal idea of gender equality. In so doing, these Muslim Americans also imagined a world in which a binary political view of Islam versus the West, the view so dominant in both liberal and conservative US politics, could be transformed and perhaps reconciled. They embraced a form of liberalism that would no longer be tied to war-making in Muslim lands. But they also felt the need to defend or explain Islam's views on women, and it became apparent how powerful the discourse of liberal intervention on behalf of women remained in their lives.

Chapter 5 then reveals a very different reaction to the challenges of Muslim American political participation after 9/11. One ultimate sign of political assimilation is the willingness of citizens to sacrifice themselves

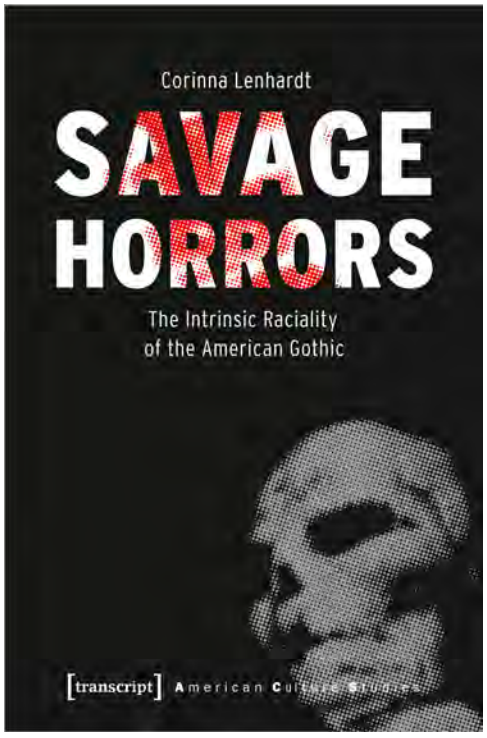
in battle for their nation. It is so central to nation-making that such sacrifices become the stuff of songs, memorials, and even myths. In the US presidential elections of 2008 and 2016, the blood of two fallen soldiers named Khan became part of a new American myth that might be called the myth of the fallen Muslim American soldier. This chapter explores how US politicians, including Colin Powell and Hillary Clinton, em¬ployed the memories of Kareem Khan and Humayun Khan to renew devotion to the ideals of a liberal, multicultural America. I argue, however, that in focusing on the incorporation of foreign Muslims into the nation, politicians such as Powell and Clinton offered an ambiguous embrace.

By emphasizing the importance of gaining Muslim American support in the war against terrorism, US politicians pointed to the very liminality of Muslim Americans. Muslim Americans were part "us" and part "them." Somewhat suspect—valuable precisely because of their nearness to the enemy—Muslim American service members gave their own blood in an embodied testimony that the US war on terror was just and right. Muslim American participation in the US-led war on terror and Muslim American attempts to support US military, political, and economic intervention in Black and brown nation-states simultaneously othered Muslim Americans, evoking not only empathy and admiration among non-Muslims but also orientalist ambivalence. It is hardly surprising, then, that such efforts did little to quell popular violence and government oppression against Muslims.

The conclusion then considers how the fates of Muslims and America are tied in our current moment, contemplating how the destiny of US democracy will depend on what some have called "the Muslim question." I analyze the activism of Muslim American community organizer and Women's March cochair Linda Sarsour as an example of how Muslim Americans can challenge some of the most powerful, conventional bipartisan platforms of contemporary US politics while also pledging their allegiance to the country and its liberal ideals.

This book thus ends as it begins—as a jeremiad. It critiques the failures of US democracy and points to the failures of liberalism as a key cause. But just beneath the surface of my lament is the hope that American democracy can become something different. The book's moral vision—its "bias"—is born from a desire to see an American community in which Muslims, and all people who have been victimized by American democracy, can flourish and live without the fear of social, political, or economic discrimination. That moral vision is rooted in the idea of a "beloved community" that embraces social equity, justice for all, and peaceful conflict resolution. Solving the problem of Muslim political assimilation offers important signposts along the road to that kind of democracy. <>

Savage Horrors: The Intrinsic Raciality of the American Gothic by Corinna Lenhardt [American Culture Studies, Transcript-Verlag, 9783837651546]



The American Gothic novel has been deeply shaped by issues of race and raciality from its origins in British Romanticism to the American Gothic novel in the twenty-first century. Savage Horrors delineates an intrinsic raciality that is discursively sedimented in the Gothic's uniquely binary structure. Corinna Lenhardt uncovers the destructive and lasting impact of the Gothic's anti-Black racism on the cultural discourses in the United States. At the same time, Savage Horrors traces the unflinching Black resistance back to the Gothic's intrinsic raciality. The African American Gothic, however, does not originate there but in the Black Atlantic – roughly a decade before the first Gothic novel was ever written on American soil.

Corinna Lenhardt, born 1982, received her PhD in American studies from Universität Münster, Germany. Her research and teaching interests include African American and ethnic studies, race, gender, and popular culture.

"You say I am wilderness. I am. Is that a tremble on your mouth, in your eye? Are you afraid? You should be." (Toni Morrison, A Mercy 155)

Excerpt: In his 1992 text-based painting Study for Frankenstein #1,1 African American artist Glenn Ligon combined into one artwork, measuring 30 1/8 x 20 in., the complex, interwoven history of race and racialization2 in the Gothic writing tradition, past and present, European and North American, Black and white. The present study requires roughly 300 pages to do the same. Study for Frankenstein #1 consists of one sentence from Mary Shelly's world-famous 1818 Gothic novel Frankenstein, which is repeated four times. The stenciled black letters on white canvas become increasingly blurry until they cease to be legible, creating a thick black smear: "Sometimes I wished

to express my sensations in my own mode, but the uncouth and inarticulate sounds which broke from me frightened me into silence again." Ligon is well-known for frequently drawing from the writings of African American authors, leaders, and activists,3 and he has quoted a few texts by white authors that are explicitly concerned with race and racism (e.g., Jean Genet's 1959 play The Blacks and Richard Dyer's 1988 watershed essay "White"). At first glance, Study for Frankenstein #1 "seems to be his only use of a text by a white author that does not manifestly address racial themes" (Young 221). Yet, by choosing Frankenstein, Ligon "draws Shelly into the orbit of these authors, white and black, who write explicitly about race" (ibid.), and, in doing so, he uncovers the thematic undercurrents of race and racialization generally and of Blackness more specifically at the heart of the iconic Gothic novel book-length study Black Frankenstein: The Making of an American Metaphor. Although yellow-skinned, black-haired, and black-lipped in Shelly's novel, the monster "was painted blue in nineteenth-century stage incarnations, and tinted green in twentieth-century cinematic ones, [but] the monster's color nonetheless signifies symbolically, on the domestic American scene, as black" (Young 5). The long cultural afterlife of Frankenstein's monster in the United States can thus be understood as one instantiation of what Toni Morrison referred to as "American Africanism," the discursively fabricated "brew of darkness" and of "rawness and savagery, that provided the staging ground and arena for the elaboration of the quintessential American identity" (Playing 44). Study for Frankenstein #1 forcefully evokes this "brew of darkness" and dyes Frankenstein B/black. That is, Frankenstein's monstrosity is rendered a matter of racial Blackness by the extensive use of a blackcolored oil stick. The letters discursively blend racial Blackness and black colorcoding (B/blackness)4, becoming increasingly smudged and difficult to contain in the stencils' faintly visible outlines, until, reflecting the ending of Frankenstein, both the text and the monster are "lost in darkness" (Shelly 324) and in impenetrable B/blackness. Thus, Ligon renders visible both the racialized discourse out of which Frankenstein (the novel and the icon) was created and the racialization that Frankenstein has initiated (and continues to initiate) itself.

By making race and racialization visible in the discursive materiality of Shelly's novel, Ligon's (re-)creation of Frankenstein's monster, as an instantiation of antiBlack racial discourse, integrates the Gothic novel into the longstanding history of discursive construction, visually (including literarily) depicting Black men as monstrous threats that must be policed, battled, overcome, and punished (beaten, incarcerated, tortured, lynched) by white men. Adopting a broad perspective, he engages with the history of anti-Black racism, by showing how the white discursi¬ve gaze creates "the Nigger [as] possessing only the nature of a savage thing, driven almost solely by his animal intuitions and lust for violence," until the Black man is completely stripped of the "sociological, historical, or economic causes for his behavior" (Curry 197, original emphasis). That Ligon created his version of a visibly B/blackened Frankenstein in 1992, the year of the Rodney King riots in Los Angeles, implies both the actuality and continuity of the racist discourse of the Frankensteinian Black male as a "savage thing" (Curry 197).

Yet, Ligon's Frankenstein does more than visualize white discursive violence. Located narratively on the brink of the monster's rebellion against his creator, the painting's blackness must also be read as conquering the white canvas, representing the survival and triumph of B/blackness over whiteness and the normative order of clear-cut and white-framed discursive stencils. Thus, Ligon's painting achieves to voice what Shelly's monster cannot: its "own sensations in [its] own mode." This mode consists chiefly of Shelly's (racialized) Frankenstein as a basis on which political dimension and actuality can be balanced with a unique aesthetic in a powerful painting. Joining the large group of writers, filmmakers, artists, and musicians who have adapted and/or worked with Frankensteinian

material, Ligon created a new, discourse-strategic version of the monster that self-reflexively and critically highlights and functionalizes its history of racialization and anti-Black racism as part of the visual legacy of the Gothic icon. Once we have encountered Ligon's Study for Frankenstein #1 and connected it to the iconic Gothic novel, we can no longer dismiss the monster's discursively inscribed Blackness. In other words, we cannot think of Frankenstein outside its racialized box. In this respect, Ligon has created a contemporary African American portrait of Frankenstein, by "studying" its racialized (and racializing) textual origins in nineteenth-century British Gothic fiction.

My interpretation of Ligon's painting sheds light on one important aspect of his artwork: his quotation and deconstructive reworking of a Gothic icon to depict the hateful racialized discourse underlying the construction of the monstrous Black male body. Other possible contexts, such as Ligon's engagement with homosexuality and homophobia (Young 225) and the discussion on the possibilities and limitations of what he calls a "post-black" aesthetic, have been excluded from my argument. I do, however, argue that highlighting Ligon's creative engagement with the Gothic vis-à-vis race and raciality is essential to better understand not only Study for Frankenstein #1 but also the Gothic. Indeed, the underlying strategy—Ligon's complex creative unpacking and deconstructive reworking of the Gothic icon's racialization—is archetypal of a branch of literature and art we call "African American Gothic" and what we tend to consider under the umbrella notion of "the American Gothic."

In this study, I inquire into and extensively survey the relation of the American Gothic—both White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) and African American in origin—to race and raciality, from its origins in eighteenth-century Britain to the American Gothic novel in the twenty-first century. As many African American artists and writers, such as Toni Morrison, Colson Whitehead, and Glenn Ligon, have repeatedly and successfully drawn attention to the problematic relation of the (American) Gothic to race and raciality, my study is far from the first to adopt a critical perspective on this relation.6 However, it differs significantly from preceding studies in terms of scope and consequences. By focusing on race and raciality in a range of Gothic texts and socio-cultural contexts, I delineate the intrinsic raciality that is discursively sedimented and conventionally encoded in the Gothic's uniquely binary structure. This finding remarkably contrasts the traditional approach to race in Gothic fiction, which is summarized by Bienstock Anolik and Howard as [an] examin[ation of] texts in which Gothic fear is relocated onto the figure of the racial and social Other, the Other who replaces the supernatural ghost or grotesque monster as the code for mystery and danger, becoming, ultimately, as horrifying, threatening and unknowable as the typical Gothic manifestation.

I argue that there is no typical Gothic manifestation that is not already racialized or racializing. Whether a ghost, monster, or undefined lurking presence, the entities that are employed to create Gothic atmospheres and hauntings in fiction are intrinsically connected to discursive racialization. Additionally, based on my discussion of the earliest Gothic texts, I create two divisions of racialization: the Gothic other and the Gothicized Black abject. Arguing that we must account for a crucial discursive shift from one type of Gothicized savagery to the other—that is, from the Native American Savage Villain to the Africanist Savage Villain as the thingified Black abject—I employ Sabine Broeck's notion of white abjectorship to discuss the Gothic. The abject Gothicized Black presence in WASP American Gothic literature must be understood as having a destructive and lasting impact on the cultural discourse in the United States. Yet, as Ligon's Study for Frankenstein #1 makes abundantly clear, this is only one aspect of the Gothic.

The Gothic, I argue, must be understood as an ultra-adaptable, discursively active writing strategy whose racialized (and racializing) quality can also be employed creatively and critically by historically and culturally marginalized groups and individuals. More precisely, I claim that consistent and thorough inclusion and visualization of race and raciality are required in discussions of (American) Gothic texts—and the "brew of darkness" that Ligon draws upon and carves into the white (intertextual) background—to fully understand the potentials and limi¬tations of one of the most consistently popular types of fiction (and art). A focus on race and raciality, which arguably predetermine and predefine other categories of (external and self-)identification, such as gender and class, requires rethinking of the (American) Gothic as the appropriate genre for the excluded, marginalized, and silenced. However, such a focus all too often entails including, centering upon, and voicing only the needs and stories of WASP protagonists that are presumed to be underprivileged.7 In other words, a substantive working definition of the (Ame¬rican) Gothic must include the subversive, and even deconstructive, strategies of an artist such as Glenn Ligon, who strategically uses the Gothic as a reference and point of departure to claim his voice in the art scene, political discourse, and hybrid historiography of the United States.

It is for this purpose that I introduce the notion of the "Gotheme." "Gotheme" is a neologism loosely based on Roland Barthes's semiological notion of "myth" and is directly derived from Claude Lévi-Strauss's notion of "mythemes" (Lévi-Strauss 206ff.). It describes an irreducible, unchanging unit of signification that always consists of a dichotomy, of which the destructive element is foregrounded against the foil of its only potentially corrective counterpart. In my study, the concept of the Gotheme replaces the so-called "laundry list definitions" of the Gothic, which synchronically and diachronically describe the stereotypical props, settings, and characters (e.g., items as diverse as a haunted castle, the pitch-black interior of a spaceship, trap doors, an evil monk, Frankenstein, Edward Cullen, an innocent maiden, and Marilyn Manson) as they appear in texts that are deemed "Gothic." Similarly, Gothemes describe recurring plots, scenes, props, character types, and locales at the core of ultra-adaptable Gothic imagery, as dichotomies of contrasting elements; the horror of being incarcerated needs the foil of freedom, chaos needs harmony, and the dark villain needs a fair hero. It is in this binary construction of the Gothic that its explosive potential lies: Gothemes are sedimented discursive patterns as well as interpellated messages that need to be "appropriated" (Barthes 119), thus allowing the discourse to be changed. I will not employ (or defend) a structuralist approach to literature. Rather, my understanding of the specifically structural conventionality of Gothic novels implies careful dissection of repetitive and constantly replicating structural elements.

This study will closely analyze the (re-)iteration8 of a central Gotheme and its implications, which are unique to American culture: the Savage Villain/Civil Hero (SV/CH) Gotheme. It originates in the early British Gothic, in which the essential gulf between hero and villain is composed of colonialist imagery with visual racial underpinnings; against the hero's highlighted whiteness and chivalrous nature, the villain stands out as "the terrible and fearsome 'other' who symbolizes the dark self of the colonizer and assures him of his own moral integrity and identity" (Althans 69). The reader of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century British Gothic fiction expected (and continues to expect) a violent clash between two larger-than-life characters and between civil values and savage anarchy. Gothic texts written during this time use an interesting device: The climactic moment in which the villain loses both his morality and the fear of God is marked by a change in the vocabulary used to describe the villain. As the angry, loathsome man betrays his humanity, his brow darkens, his eyes blacken, and his skin turns deep red, until he resembles a "savage, inhuman monster".

Early North American writers, most famously Charles Brockden Brown in the first fully-fledged American Gothic novel Edgar Huntly; or Memoirs of a Sleep-Walker (1799), imported the Gothic mainly from England, keeping the motif of savagery to depict the loss of civilized and pious human qualities within the Gothic villain. However, instead of just acting and looking like a savage, due to his uncivil immorality and blasphemy, the villain was blended with eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century America's personification of absolute wilderness: the ignoble "Indian" savage. The motif rose in popularity, due in part to the ongoing success of the now unique American Gothic, and the evil or ignoble savage was increasingly adapted and Gothicized, until it encompassed African and African American peoples as well, producing a perfectly horrid image of darkness: the Africanist Savage Villain.10 This shift from one type of Gothicized savagery to another must be understood as a monumental shift from Gothic otherness to the Gothicized Black abject. Sabine Broeck explained the discursive process of white abjectorship in this ontological repositioning of the Black body as a savage thing:

To come into being, the European subject needed its underside, as it were: the crucially integral but invisible partofthe human has been his/herabject, created in the European mindbywayof racializedthingification: theAfricanenslaved, an unhumaned species tied by property rights to the emerging subject so tightly that they could—structurally speaking—never occupy the position of the dialectical Heglian object as other, has thus remained therefore outside the dynamics of the human. ("Legacies" 118, emphasis in the original)

The alteration of the Gotheme in early American Gothic writing doubtlessly led to the creation of many thrilling texts for a fast-growing and almost exclusively WASP readership. While the white Civil Hero offers room for identification and condensed enactment of the contemporaneous ideology of WASP Americanness, the semantic extension of the Savage Villain has been narrowed so far as to exclude the entire WASP readership; to WASP Americans, villainous savagery is entertaining because it is not only "easily avoidable" (Balchin 254) but also racially and ontologi¬cally impossible. As I will show in great detail, a stereotypical motif as successful and problematic as the SV/CH Gotheme is open to criticism, creative rewriting, revision, and deconstruction by those it denigrates as being evil and thingified savages.

To undertake such a vast, interdisciplinary project, I mainly offer a starting point for better comprehension of the Gothic's (often highly problematic) relation to race and racialization, by carefully dissecting the WASP American Gothic tradition before delineating the Black/African American Gothic. My focus on the African American Gothic must not be mistaken as only a pragmatic choice; rather, as I describe in detail, the African American Gothic tradition not only offers the opportunity to trace the unique Gothic tradition born in 1789 in the Black Atlantic, outside of the WASP American context, but it also consists of a stream of literature that actively, strategically, and continuously reacts to the WASP American Gothic tradition from the 1830s onward. Understanding that the rethinking of the (American) Gothic has direct impacts on the core concerns of Gothic Studies and American Stu¬dies (especially on current debates following the intervention of Afro-Pessimism11), I carefully consider the complexity (i.e., the historical and cultural diversity) of the concept(s) it involves.

To make sense of the contemporary cultural plurality and generic hybridity of the (American) Gothic and to critically dissect the notions of the Gothic and American Gothic, this study closely reads WASP and African American Gothic novels, written by male and female American authors, from the interconnected perspectives of New Historicism, Critical Race Theory, and Gender Studies. Special

attention is paid to the historical, cultural, and sociopolitical contexts that formed the texts under scrutiny, while the state and prospects of the U.S. literary market and its strategies for acquiring an audience/customers are questioned. Given my special interest in the (American) Gothic's relation to race and raciality, I evaluate the texts' constructions of race and raciality in particular, and, given the Gothic's highly gendered binaries (e.g., the male hero/villain and the damsel in distress), I trace its intersection with gender.

The notion of "text" underlying this study is that which is applied in poststructuralist American Studies, thus making it inclusive and open to the utmost extent. Derived from the semiological approach of Roland Barthes, "text" is a cultural praxis and is therefore not limited to literary works or even to written text. Since American culture can be understood as "those stories that Americans tell one another in order to make sense of their lives" (Mechling 4), text becomes the medium, ritual, and spatial vehicle for storytelling. Application of this open, holistic notion of text places strong emphasis on the interconnectedness and intertextuality of the texts and the stories they tell. Drawing on Mikhail Bakhtin's key differentiation between monologic and dialogic works of literature, poststructuralist Julia Kristeva (Desire) emphasizes texts' intertextuality, which replaces traditional notions of intersubjectivity, thus relocating meaning from the author-produced text to the reader who is actively involved, not only with the text in question but also with the complex network of texts invoked in reading and writing processes. Although the implications of intertextuality are acknowledged, this study is limited to the discussion and comparison of intertexts and literary traditions explicitly suggested by the examined texts.

Despite its roughly sketched, radically open notion of "text," the main focus of this study is on a very narrow selection of literary texts: published print novels. This limitation might be surprising, but it is applied due to the unique character of the subject under study. The (American) Gothic has its origins in literature, specifically the English novel, and only over the course of the Gothic novel's success story have its leitmotifs evolved into the transmedial and transcultural conventional structures, motifs, and tropes with which we associate it today. I trace and analyze the Gothic's historical development and construct a working definition of the (American) Gothic to be examined, through the close reading and analysis of contemporary WASP American and African American Gothic novels. It is my hope that future research will take the next step and transfer this new notion of the literary American Gothic to contemporary American film, digital media, and so on, as well as to the many other ethnic variations of the contemporary American Gothic.

I have divided this study into three parts, each of which has been further subdivided into various chapters. "Part I: The Gothic and the Savage Villain/Civil Hero Gotheme" establishes a working definition of the Gothic and, by tracing the fixation on race and racial otherness in early British Gothic traditions, situates race and raciality as a key convention of the Gothic. More specifically, Chapter 2, "What Is the Gothic?", analyzes the notion of the Gothic both diachronically (i.e., etymologically and with regard to its conceptual history) and synchronically (i.e., with regard to the multitude of explanations and definitions prevalent in the field of Gothic Studies today). Engaging with the heated debate surrounding the definition of the Gothic means entering and making sense of a rapidly growing field of study that all too often dwells on a difficult-to-decipher, overly ornate style and/or which dismisses not only the need for but also the possibility of defining its subject. As one

is unable to comprehend the Gothic in terms of a "large, irregularly shaped figure" (Williams 23) and a "Frankensteinian process" that results in a "textual monster" (Kilgour 4), I develop a new discourse-strategic working definition of the Gothic that aligns with and extends recent scholars' work to renegotiate the (American) Gothic from a postcolonial perspective. I then narrow down the vast continuum of dichotomic structures and motifs used in Gothic writing strategies to the key SV/CH Gotheme, thereby integrating it into my working definition.

Chapter 3, "British Origins of the Savage Villain/Civil Hero Gotheme," delineates the origins of the racialized and racializing Gotheme in early British Gothic literature. By examining classic early British Gothic literature (including but not limited to The Castle of Otranto, The Monk, and Melmoth the Wanderer), I link the early Gothic's fascination by juxtaposing racially overdrawn characters, in terms of either savagery or civilization, to two contradictory versions of the myth of the "savage" Goths. The early Gothic seems to originate in hierarchically and exclusionarily structured discourses of race, belonging, and nationality. The staging of dichotomous characters in racialized terms, of either their villainous savagery or their heroic, civil virtues, creates a visibly marked and genuinely politically active national narrative produced by a young British nation, deeming itself to be under multilateral attack. I conclude Part I by tracing how the success of nationalistically inspired racial stereotypes, especially the juxtaposition of the racialized savage villain and the civil hero on British soil, triggered the migration of the SV/CH Gotheme across the Atlantic. Here, the SV/CH Gotheme will be utilized within another national narrative that opposes the British Gothic endeavor.

In "Part II: The Savage Villain/Civil Hero Gotheme: WASP American Origins and Iterations," the process of migration, adaptation, and translation of the early British Gothic's intrinsic raciality (within the SV/CH Gotheme) in WASP American literature is examined. The driving force of this part of the study is a hypothesis derived from my analysis of early British Gothic texts: If the SV/CH Gotheme, and thus raciality, is a conventional constant in past and present American Gothic novels, then the American Gothic must be understood as intrinsically racialized and racializing. This is a potentially devastating result with far-reaching implications, particularly for current debates in American Studies triggered by the intervention of Afro-Pessimism.

Chapter 4, "Early WASP American Adaptations," provides a basis for a rather pessimistic outlook on nineteenth-century white Gothic literature. This chapter illustrates how the British Gothic's racial other was adapted and how there was a momentous cultural shift from the initial type of Native American Savage Villainy to the Africanist Savage Villain, as the Gothicized Black abject, which swallowed and replaced the Native American other, due to greater political, social, and cultural urgency and actuality. Eventually, WASP American Gothic literature focused solely on the Africanist SV, and the noble savage became the stock stand-in character used to depict the Native American other in WASP American literature.

In Chapter 5, "Contemporary WASP American Iterations," the transition to the contemporary WASP American Gothic is traced and used to analyze the continuous presence of the racialized and racializing SV/CH Gotheme in a number of recent WASP American Gothic novels. To increase the depth of this necessarily selective survey, I provide a close reading of two contemporary mainstream bestsellers that are heavily pervaded with Gothic motifs and, more importantly, climactically constructed around the SV/CH Gotheme: Stephen King's The Girl Who Loved Tom Gordon (1999) and Karen Russell's Swamplandia! (2011). Both novels have Gothic undertones and focus on the coming-of-age of a female protagonist who is involuntarily left to her own devices in the North American wilderness. The fully iterated SV/CH Gotheme in these novels, as well as in the broader

North American literary landscape, indicates the continuous consistency of conventional early WASP American Gothic writing strategies in WASP American fiction. Discussion of the way in which the continuity of race and racialization in WASP American Gothic texts—specifically, the dehumanized and Gothicized Black abject (i.e., the Africanist Savage Villain)—directly fuels the arguments of Afro-Pessimism and thus concludes this section of the study, thereby motivating my critical engagement with African American literature in the third section. There, I explore whether the racialized WASP American Gothic patterns—and, most importantly, the SV/CH Gotheme—are conventional, and therefore potentially changeable, or ifthey are essential and intrinsic to the Gothic and, much like the rules of chess, definitive and invariable.

Part III: 'You say I am wilderness. I am'—Black Origins and African American Reiterations" continues the discussion of the Afro-Pessimistic implications of the previous section and examines the SV/CH Gotheme in Black Atlantic and African American texts from the nineteenth century to the early twenty-first century. The underlying premise of the third section is that ifAfrican American Gothic texts are intrinsically racialized and racializing and if the central SV/CH Gotheme cannot be reiterated outside the boundaries of race—that is, if intra-discursive emergence of "unthought" is impossible or undesirable—then the core of the Gothic might indeed be race/raciality. Reflecting the structure of the previous chapter, I trace the SV/CH Gotheme in early Black/African American texts, before examining the Gothic in contemporary African American novels.

Chapter 6, "Innovation and Resistance: The SV/CH Gotheme in Black Writing, 1789 to 1861," argues against scholarship that theorizes the African American Gothic as a merely reactive "anti-gothic" (Smethurst 29) type of writing. Instead, I trace a uniquely Black Gothic tradition stemming from Olaudah Equiano's The Interesting Narrative. In doing so, I establish an alternative point of origin for the American Gothic, beyond the cultural and geographic boundaries of WASP-dominated North America and within the Black Atlantic. In subsequent analyses of nineteenth-century and contemporary African American Gothic texts, I delineate the continuous presence of the SV/CH Gotheme in complex reiteration contexts and in terms of discourse-strategic efforts. I also identify the way in which it is strategically utilized, reiterated, and critically (re-)integrated into two writing traditions, self-reflexively and significantly complicating both the Gotheme and the Gothic writing strategies. In particular, Toni Morrison's gloomy recourse to seventeenth-century plantation life in A Mercy (2008) and Colson Whitehead's post-apocalyptic zombie wasteland in Zone One (2011) are analyzed in depth. These bestselling works coincide in their fictional discussion of Afro-Pessimistic assumptions and Black ontologies from within and vis-à-vis the Gothic writing strategy. In my analysis of Morrison's and Whitehead's creative and reiterative exploitation of the intrinsic raciality of the SV/CH Gotheme, I discuss the possibility of a discursive "unthought," that is, ofthe Gothic performed outside the conventional discursive boundaries of race and racialization.

Taken together, the three parts of Savage Horrors: The Intrinsic Raciality ofthe American Gothic establish and subsequently answer four consecutive questions:

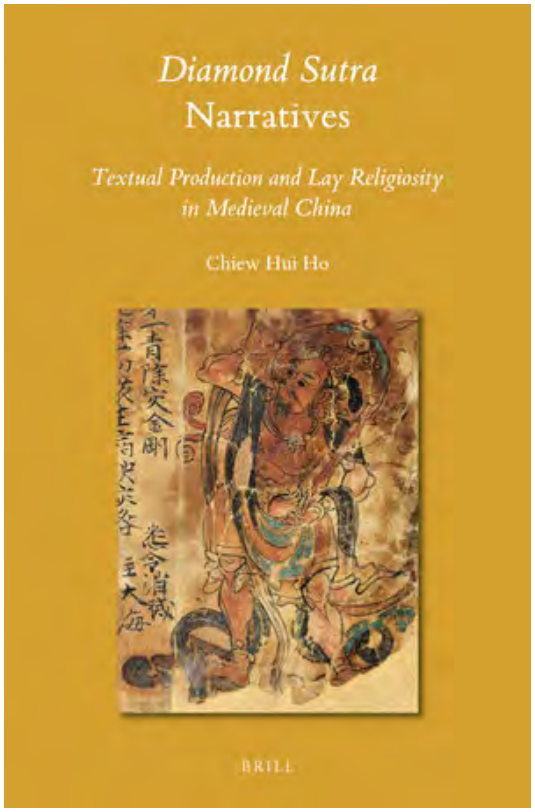
- What is the Gothic, and what is the core of the diverse texts categorized as American Gothic?
- Is this core the racialized and racializing SV/CH Gotheme?
- If so, how is the SV/CH Gotheme employed in Gothic novels by African American authors, who, according to WASP American Gothic conventions, belong in the racial category of the abject (i.e., the Africanist Savage Villain)?

- Is creative and discursive "unthought" possible? In other words, is it possible that future Gothic texts will establish a binary of villainy and heroism, without instantaneously equating villainy with monstrous Blackness (that is, the Gothicized Black abject/the Africanist Savage Villain) and heroism with white civility (which is often directly conflated with white supremacy)?

All four questions reflect the central dilemma of contemporary Gothic scholarship: What do we talk about when we discuss the Gothic? Is the old umbrella term still helpful for summarizing the variety of reiterative efforts by non-WASP American writers and artists? Only by seeking to define the Gothic can we describe and analyze the core of all (American) Gothic works and either retain the umbrella term or permanently reject it due to irreconcilable differences. But what if this core also acts as a divisor? What if, at the core of the Gothic, a racialized and racializing structural convention has tainted Gothic texts with racialization, denigration, and white abjectorship since the eighteenth century? What would the "American" in American Gothic signify then? <>

Diamond Sutra Narratives: Textual Production and Lay Religiosity in Medieval China by Chiew Hui Ho [Sinica Leidensia, Brill 9789004406728]

Contextualizing the sutra within a milieu of intense religious and cultural experimentation, this volume unravels the sudden rise of Diamond Sutra devotion in the Tang dynasty against the backdrop of a range of social, political, and literary activities. Through the translation and exploration of a substantial body of narratives extolling the efficacy of the sutra, it explores the complex social history of lay Buddhism by focusing on how the laity might have conceived of the sutra and devoted themselves to it. Corroborated by various sources, it reveals the cult's effect on medieval Chinese religiosity in the activities of an empowered laity, who modified and produced parasutraic texts, prompting the monastic establishment to accommodate to the changes they brought about.



It is said that during the Tang dynasty (618–907), the famous poet and statesman Bo Juyi (772–846) once wrote out the Diamond Sutra a hundred times for his sick mother and distributed the copies to different monasteries. After several hundred years, however, only one of the copies he made was left, preserved in a monastery on Mount Dongting) near Lake Tai in Wuzhong (in modern Suzhou, Jiangsu). Having survived turbulent times, this highly treasured copy was handed down from one generation to the next in the monastery until the Jiajing era (1522–1566) of the Ming dynasty.

In the forty-third year of the Jiajing era (1564), great floods inundated the fields in Wuzhong. The provision of rice fell, resulting in inflation. Consequently, obtaining food became a problem for the people there, including the great number of monks in the monastery on Mount Dongting. This was compounded by the fact that the benefactors of the monastery had stopped giving them alms due to the difficult times. With the monks at their wits' end, one of them, Bianwu suggested pawning the copy of the Diamond Sutra to Steward Yan, who headed the pawnshop attached to Grand Councilor Wang's residence in Shantang (in modern Suzhou, Jiangsu). Thus, they were finally able to obtain rice.

However, when the wife of the Grand Councilor, a pious Buddhist, later found out about the Diamond Sutra copy that had come into the possession of her household, she decided to donate the rice instead and have the sutra returned to the monastery. Just when Steward Yan was going to inform Bianwu to come and retrieve the sutra, he happened upon the monk at Mount Guanyin, who was making an offering to the bodhisattva. In this way, Bianwu retrieved the sutra.

While traveling on a boat on his way back to the monastery, Bianwu praised the generosity of the Grand Councilor's wife and told the people on board about the sutra. After persistent requests from fellow travelers and pilgrims to view the sutra, Bianwu unwrapped the sutra and placed it on the deck of the boat for them to see. Lo and behold, a gust of wind blew a page of the sutra away before Bianwu could reach it. What had been a happy occasion for everyone turned out otherwise,

especially for Bianwu. Upon reaching the monastery, he handed the abbot the sutra without informing him about the missing page.

Meanwhile, when Liu, the new, greedy prefect of Changzhou (modern Changzhou, Jiangsu) took up his post, he tried to find out about the sutra, which he had previously heard about from a learned recluse. Once, he hinted to several rich men who wanted to bribe him that they should acquire the sutra. Yet, despite their best efforts, they still did not manage to obtain the sutra for him, which made the prefect yearn to possess it even more. Thus, he schemed to obtain the sutra by having a criminal accuse the monastery of acting as a lair for keeping his plunder. The prefect then ordered the arrest of the abbot of the monastery. Having imprisoned the abbot, the prefect told the monk Bianwu to hand over the Diamond Sutra if he wanted to save the abbot. When the prefect finally got hold of the sutra from the monk, he discovered that it was not as magnificent as he thought and was moreover missing the first page. Having found that the sutra was incomplete and thus not worth a huge sum of money, he decided to return it to Bianwu, and he also freed the abbot upon the petition of the women in his family. It was then that the abbot came to know about the missing page of the Diamond Sutra copy. Bianwu recounted to the abbot how the page was blown away on that fateful day when passengers on board the boat asked to see the sutra.

When the abbot and Bianwu were aboard a boat on their way back to their monastery, a storm drove them to take refuge in a place where they saw a flaring flame. Upon reaching the place where the flame originated—a thatched abode—they found an old man named Yao who was reciting a sutra and also noticed a piece of paper pasted on the wall, which turned out to be the first page of the Diamond Sutra lost in the wind. When the monks inquired about it, the old man explained to them that he was an illiterate fisherman. After having heard of the Buddhist teaching of karmic retribution from his seniors, he had set his mind on practicing Buddhism. Because he could not read sutras, he cherished papers with written characters whenever he came across them. One day, he saw a flaring flame of fire drop to the ground and discovered a piece of paper with written characters, which he then pasted on the wall, and to which he paid homage. Later, a monk saw it, and he taught the old man to read the whole sutra. Gradually, the old man not only learned to read and became literate, but he was also later able to read other sutras.

The abbot and Bianwu then explained to the old man that, like him, they saw a flaring flame and followed the light that led them there; thus, they reckoned that the page of the sutra was manifesting its powers so that it could be found and be reunited with the other pages of the sutra. Bianwu further told the man about the provenance of the sutra copy and what had happened before they came to the place. Bianwu then showed the old man the rest of the sutra. The old man then took the first page of the sutra off the wall and returned it to the monks. They were all amazed at the powers of the sutra; it had not fallen into the hands of the prefect of Changzhou because it was missing its first page, and yet the first page was found, making the sutra whole again.

Following these events, the old man treated them to dinner and lodged them for the night. While asleep, the old man dreamed of Skanda, who told him that his sins would be eradicated on account of his protection of the sutra, and he would receive twelve more years of life. With deep gratitude, the old man followed the monks back to the monastery and engaged an artisan to mount the sutra. When the sutra was finally mounted, the old man recited the Diamond Sutra with the monks for an entire day and night. Each year, until he turned eighty, he would visit the monastery to recite the sutra; he passed away while sitting in the lotus position there.

The Problematique of Sinitic Buddhist Narratives

The preceding story is found in the Erke paian jingqi (Slapping the table in amazement, second collection), a compilation of stories composed and published in 1632 by the celebrated Ming-period writer, Ling Mengchu (1580–1644). Short vernacular stories like the above from the Song to the Qing period are referred to as huaben (sometimes cihua, or xiaoshuo). It differs from classical Chinese tales in that it is written primarily in colloquial Chinese, interspersed with occasional classical Chinese. Written in over 8,500 characters, this narrative provides an engaging and entertaining account involving the fate of a precious treasure—the only extant calligraphy of the Diamond Sutra executed by the famous Tang literatus Bo Juyi more than seven hundred years ago—owned by an unnamed monastery on Mount Dongting.

When this account was written, the art of fiction writing had blossomed, as epitomized by the great Ming novel Xiyou ji (Journey to the West), the fictionalized account of Xuanzang's (602–664) journey to India in search of Buddhist teachings and scriptures. In order to capture the attention of its readers, this story uses the uncertain fate of the precious Diamond Sutra copy to promote the development of the plot: taken together, the pawning of the sutra under extremely difficult circumstances, its retrieval due to the piety of the Grand Councilor's wife, the loss of its first page in unforeseen circumstances, the return of the incomplete sutra to the monastery, the scheme by Prefect Liu to possess it, and the sutra's final reunification with the lost first page—all these certainly cause its readers to speculate and anticipate the development of the plot. Moreover, the story is made more interesting by a variety of characters, with whom the readers, now and then, could undoubtedly readily identify—ingenuous monastics, a worldly pawnshop manager, pious Buddhists, and corrupt officials. Finally, key dramatic elements, such as disasters, dreams, and the power of sacred scripture for self-preservation, heighten the appeal of the story. Unmistakably, the story embodies further qualities of good storytelling than this unlettered writer could identify; if it did not, the collection that contains this story would not have been hailed as one of the most influential collections of the late Ming period, along with the first collection of the same title published in 1628, and three other collections composed by Feng Menglong (1574–1646): the Gujin xiaoshuo(Ancient and contemporary stories, 1620), the Jingshi tongyan (Penetrating words to warn the world, 1624), and the Xingshi hengyan (Enduring words to awaken the world, 1627).

Although a fictionalized account based on known facts about Bo Juyi copying sutras and donating them to monasteries, a much-abridged version of this story in fewer than four hundred characters was later collected in the Jin'gang jing xinyi lu (Records of new marvels of the Diamond Sutra)—a few years after the publication of the Erke paian jingqi—compiled by Wang Qilong, a Ming-period lay Buddhist. During the Qing dynasty, a version of this tale was included in another collection of Diamond Sutra narratives, the Jin'gang jing chiyan (A record of the [proven] efficacy of upholding the Diamond Sutra). Unlike Ling Mengchu's huaben version that includes many more descriptions and details about places, people, and events, these two later accounts are succinct renditions that are less focused on the art of storytelling; rather, in a direct manner, they convey the powers of the Diamond Sutra and the spiritual reward received by Yao, the old man.

These two Ming-Qing Diamond Sutra collections belong to a tradition of Chinese Buddhist tale compilations that can be traced to the fourth century. The first compilation of Buddhist stories dedicated to the salvific powers of Bodhisattva Guanyin (Sk. Avalokiteśvara) was composed by Xie Fu 謝((fl. late fourth century CE), a Buddhist layman and a close associate of the scholarmonk Zhi Dun (314–366), the renowned propagator of Buddhism among the gentry in Jiankang (modern

Nanjing). This collection, the Guangshiyin yingyan ji (A record of the proven response of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara) was followed by two other collections of Guanyin tales, the Xu Guangshiyin yingyan ji (Sequel to A record of the proven response of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara) compiled by Zhang Yan in the early fifth century, and the Xi Guanshiyin yingyan ji (Further sequel to A record of the proven response of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara) by Lu Gao (459–532).8 Research has shown that subsequent compilers of Guan-yin tale collections were aware of earlier collections and situated themselves within a distinct tradition of Guanyin tale compilation.

Apart from these three Guanyin collections, the Six Dynasties period (220– 589) also saw the advent of several other Buddhist collections. An early compilation, the Xuanyan ji (A record of proclaimed proofs), was attributed to Prince Kang of Linchuan, Liu Yiqing (403–444) of the Liu-Song dynasty (420–479). Liu, a noted scholar, was also the author of the Shishuo xinyu

d (A new account of tales of the world), a famous collection of anecdotes and witty characterizations, and the Youming lu(Records of the unseen and visible realms), a heterogeneous collection of tales with discernible Buddhist influence.11 Slightly later, Wang Yanxiu (fl. fifth century), probably a literatus of the Liu-Song period, was said to have composed the Ganying zhuan. (Records of sympathetic response), which only survives in two brief quotations, one of which is related to the intervention of Guanyin. At the end of the fifth century, Wang Yan (fl. 449–548), a personal acquaintance of Lu Gao, the compiler of the third Guanyin tale collection, wrote the Mingxiang ji (A record of signs from the unseen realm). In the sixth century, Hou Bo (fl. late sixth century) composed the Jingyi ji (A record of manifested marvels). A collection called Xiangyi ji (A record of signs and marvels), of which two tales survive, was known to have been circulated in the sixth century.

This tradition of Buddhist tale compilation continued, and many collections of Buddhist stories appeared later; thus, by the end of the Tang dynasty there was a substantial corpus of indigenous Buddhist tale collections. Among these collections are at least four compilations of Diamond Sutra accounts, which attest to the popularity of the Diamond Sutra in medieval China. The two Ming-Qing Diamond Sutra collections mentioned above—exhibiting continuity in both style and focus in relation to these earlier collections—were part of this tradition of Diamond Sutra tale compilation. Putting aside the veracity of the account about Bo Juyi's copy of the Diamond Sutra, it is obvious that the compilers of the two collections, like those who came before them, adapted it or oral accounts of it to their collections for the express purpose of touting the sutra. Despite their agenda for propagation and encouraging faith, these collections have long been considered part of the literary genre of zhiguai this is likely because the first Buddhist tales were compiled in the Six Dynasties, when writings of this genre were in vogue.

In modern scholarship, the genre of zhiguai—which literally translates as "the recording of the strange"—is used to refer to writings in literary Chinese on the subject of strange, supernatural, or inexplicable phenomena, which have their origins in early Chinese writings; they were in vogue in early medieval China but continued to be written after that. Their subjects consist of a variety of supernatural, unusual, and extraordinary phenomena related to extra-world places and their inhabitants—deities, immortals, ghosts, spirits, freaks of the natural world, and prodigies. The extant corpus of these writings from the Six Dynasties period consists of thousands of narratives and descriptive writings—often in short, simple classical prose—in more than eighty compiled or composed texts. The term zhiguai was not used as a term for this genre perhaps until the late Tang or much later. The term has its provenance in the first section of the Zhuangzi (Master Zhuang),

"Xiaoyao you" (Free and easy wandering), where we find perhaps the first instance of its use to refer to a record of the strange or a recorder of the strange called Qi Xie, which is the source of an account of a creature called the peng and its fantastic flight. This term was later used in the titles of a few Six Dynasties zhiguai collections, which might be part of the reason why it came to refer to this body of literature.

Although zhiguai writings have at times been considered the origin of Chinese fiction writing due to their fantastic content, it is uncertain how they should be construed in their own context—especially given their varied subject matter, format, and scope. The voices of their composers and compilers, when discernible from these writings themselves, such as those that emerge in the form of prefaces or notes, seem to situate themselves within the tradition of historical writing. Therefore, even though the eclectic nature of the corpus of zhiguai writings defies generalizations about them, they are, by and large, considered to be intimately related to modes of historical writings, especially cosmographical writings and records of prodigies, and thus attempts have been made to interpret them based on these relations.

The Shanhai jing (Classic of mountains and seas), often cited as a founding work of this genre, may be part of the tradition of cosmographical writings as represented by writings such as the Mu tianzi zhuan (Biography of Mu, Son of Heaven). Similar to the tour of inspection conducted by Mu that granted him knowledge and possession of items from distant regions and, by extension, his rule over the domains, descriptions in the Shanhai jing of remote lands and seas—and their strange flora, fauna, and inhabitants—determine the structure of the world and fix the relationship between the center and the periphery; this establishes the power and control the former assumes over the latter. Similarly, records of prodigies in zhiguai collections can be seen as extensions of the records of prodigies kept and included in the official histories of the Han that not only supplemented the usual sources of history but also served as sources for legitimizing authority or prognosticating the health of the empire.

With a large proportion of zhiguai writings composed and compiled in the southern and southeastern parts of China after the Han Chinese were forced to leave their northern heartland in the wake of the disintegration of the Han empire, zhiguai accounts, as cosmographical writings, may be read as attempts to order the "new world"; moreover, they endeavor to include in the structure of the Chinese world unfamiliar parts of China that were once considered remote and alien by bringing under its fold beings and creatures from these unfamiliar regions, such as mountains, seas, and the other realms. As records of prodigies, they continued to amass information about the "new world" that supplemented official histories. As extensions of certain branches of historical writing, however, zhiguai writings have a greater scope due to important Six Dynasties developments in philosophy, indigenous religions, and the growing influence of Buddhism. Even though their authors intended these stories to be read as history, it is impossible to deny their creative originality. The popularity of zhiguai writings of the Six Dynasties thus reflects a significant literary development situated at the crossroads of traditional historical writings and the creative impulse of fictional writings.

Although compilers of Chinese Buddhist tales may see themselves as compiling factual records of the wonders and responses of Buddhist deities and monastics, they were probably motivated by concerns unrelated to those of cosmographical writings and records of prodigies since they—at times distinctly apologetic—were teleologically directed to illustrate the truth and teachings of Buddhism through wondrous phenomena, such as the promised response of Bodhisattva Guanyin,

the superiority of Buddhist practice, and the benefits of cultic worship. These same concerns and motivations also apply to compilers of Diamond Sutra tale collections. While the huaben account of the above Diamond Sutra tale in the second collection of Erke paian jingqi may be open to various interpretations due to its richer content and its inclusion in a secular, heterogeneous story collection, the versions collected in Ming-Qing Diamond Sutra collections are straightforward accounts extolling the wonders of the sutra, and we may safely assume that Chinese audiences, then as now, did not find in them anything that is strange, or at least not inexplicable. Neither are they cosmographic in value nor have they much in common with the prodigies related in the zhiguai corpus. Moreover, it is inappropriate to assign the same self-understanding to the recorders of zhiguai writings and progenitors of Buddhist tales when these accounts seem to differ in their intentionality. It is, therefore, necessary to reconsider whether such Buddhist tale collections belong to the literary genre of zhiguai.

A related issue with respect to their association with zhiguai writings is that Chinese Buddhist narratives are also often considered fictional accounts, since zhiguai writings are generally thought to be the ancestors of Chinese fiction, which is a contentious point. Although this is true insofar as the subject matter and motifs of zhiguai writings were appropriated and developed further in later fictional genres, they did not seem to have been considered as fiction in the modern sense by their progenitors within the milieu in which they originated.27 In any case, this issue warns us against considering indigenous Buddhist stories as belonging to the genre of zhiguai and treating them as fictional writings in an unexamined manner, lest we succumb to what Glen Dudbridge has called the "tyranny of generic thinking," or the assigning of writings to certain genres or dynastic periods, and "giving legislative force to those categories in reading them." Given the fact that the first indigenous Buddhist tales and compilations were produced in early medieval China when zhiguai writings were in vogue and had a superficial resemblance, it is tempting to think of them as belonging to the same class and to question whether the events in them really happened. Moreover, it is challenging for the modern reader to conceive of these indigenous Buddhist tales as bearing any direct relation to the real world, especially when they seem to recount "strange" and supernatural phenomena—often so alien to modern sensibilities. Indeed, issues of authenticity and fictionality, which cast doubt on their reliability, have proved to be the stumbling blocks for realizing that they could be read as invaluable sources of religio-cultural history. While asking whether the events recounted in them really happened deters engagement with them as historical sources that could provide information on the past, judging them based on the category of fictionality cages them in literary formalism; this, in turn, could lead scholars to lose sight of them as multivalent religious narratives—which, when read in their own terms, could "show how that otherwise lost world saw and treated the lived phenomena of religious experience."

If literary approaches that only focus on particular aspects of zhiguai writings, such as their formal features, or take them as self-contained and self-referential aesthetic objects are inadequate for elucidating them, these approaches are even more so with respect to these indigenous Buddhist tales, simply because they are religious tracts born out of the oral narratives of people's experiences. While elite exegetes wrote commentaries to transmit Buddhist scriptural knowledge to later generations of monks and scholars, laypeople transmitted their experiences orally, conveying ideas, beliefs, and teachings across the different social strata of the population through such accounts. By the time these accounts were compiled, they had traveled from person to person and place to place, had been collected, and had undergone substantial editing. The processes of their transmission that led to their final compilation are too complicated to deconstruct given our lack of knowledge of the

circumstances of their circulation. Possessing a life of their own within communities of people who shared them, these narratives not only embody information about the religious outlook and practices observed by sizable groups of people across dissimilar backgrounds but also aspects of daily medieval life. As the essence of individual aspiration and spirituality, social relations and collective imagination, they can be fruitfully explored to reveal that which is not accessible in the usual canonical sources of Buddhism.

With this understanding, it is perhaps best to unpack the import of this significant corpus of Diamond Sutra tales by first contextualizing the Diamond Sutra, which is their subject of extolment and propagation. While an investigation of the sutra's place in Tang imagination could throw light on why the Diamond Sutra was singled out as an important scripture for devotion and how it might have inspired these tales, tracing the trajectory of its popularity will provide clues to the conditions that brought about its preeminence. Only then can we really appreciate the import, appeal, and endurance of this corpus of stories, their relationship to cult of the Diamond Sutra, and their influence on the substantial developments of Buddhist narratives.

The Diamond Sutra in Medieval China

The Diamond Sutra is classified as belonging to a body of Indian Buddhist literature called the Perfection of Wisdom (Sk. prajñāpāramitā; Ch. bore boluomi[duo]), which constitutes a major scriptural tradition of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Although it is not related to diamonds, the Vajracchedikā ־prajñāpāramitā (Jin'gang bore boluomi jing)—the Sanskrit title of the sutra—is thus translated because of the association of the vajra with the cutting properties of diamonds. Vajra (jin'gang), in the Buddhist context, generally refers to a mythical weapon, especially one wielded by the god Indra. Shaped like a circular discus or two transverse bolts crossing each other, or in the form of a thunderbolt, the vajra is more rightly a weapon capable of cutting the hardest of matter and thus presumably all the enemies' weapons. Therefore, the title of the scripture is better understood as the vajra of perfection of wisdom that is capable of shattering or destroying all forms of delusion.

The events in the Diamond Sutra are said to take place at the Jetavana Monastery (Qishu jigudu yuan) in the city of Śrāvastī (Shewei cheng 舍 ¡城), the capital of the state of Kośala, which was one of the biggest cities during the Buddha's time. The sutra begins with the return of the Buddha to the monastery after he had begged for alms in the city and had eaten his midday meal. Following that, Subhūti (Xuputi), one of the ten major disciples of the Buddha who was famous for his mastery of the Perfection of Wisdom, asked him how bodhisattvas who aspire to supreme and perfect awakening should master their minds. The Buddha's reply to Subhūti forms the rest of the sutra.

Little of certainty can be said about the provenance of the sutra except that it was probably composed in Sanskrit in India and brought to the western regions of China by the end of the fourth century. Undoubtedly, it was an important scripture in India as attested by various scholarly commentaries, such as those attributed to Vasubandhu (Shiqin/Tianqin) and Asanga (Wuzhuo), two learned Indian monks who likely lived in the fourth or fifth century, and the discovery of Sanskrit manuscripts of the text dating from the fifth to the seventh century in different parts of India.

In China, the Diamond Sutra was equally important, if not more important than it was in India. After it was translated into Chinese at the very beginning of the fifth century by the celebrated Kuchean monk Kumārajīva (Jiumoluoshi 344–413) in Changan (modern Xi'an), the scripture was translated at least five more times over the subsequent three centuries. It has, moreover, inspired more than sixty commentaries by some of the most learned monks in Chinese Buddhist history.

Evidence shows that it took quite a while before the influence of the Diamond Sutra could be perceived. In the Six Dynasties period, the Lotus Sutra and, to a lesser degree, the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra (Da boniepan jing) were more influential: the former due to its content and early inception into the Chinese scene, the latter because of the debate on Buddha-nature engendered by different positions propounded in the earlier and later parts of the text. A survey of three standard biographical collections of eminent monks covering the period from the Six Dynasties (220–589) to the beginning of the Song dynasty (960–1279) reveals that the Diamond Sutra did not become popular until the Sui-Tang period (581–907). In the respective sections of these collections containing biographies of monks who were well known for their recitation of scriptures, the Diamond Sutra is mentioned only twice in the Gaoseng zhuan (Biographies of eminent monks; T50.2059), and twice in the Xu gaoseng zhuan (Sequel to the Biographies of eminent monks). However, it is mentioned at least thirteen times in the Song gaoseng zhuan (Biographies of eminent monks compiled during the Song dynasty; T50.2061), indicating a marked increase in monastic engagement with the Diamond Sutra in the Tang. This trend is corroborated by the distribution of dated Dunhuang manuscripts of the Diamond Sutra: only one in the sixth century, but nine in the seventh century, and seventeen in the eighth and ninth centuries.

By the eighth century, the Diamond Sutra was influential enough to feature in the factional rivalry within the Chan tradition. The Liuzu tan jing (The platform sutra of the sixth patriarch; T48.2008), composed sometime in the eighth century, is an indigenous scripture written to resolve a conflict in early Chan that had been fomented by Shenhui (684–758), who carried out a vigorous campaign on behalf of his teacher Huineng's (638–713) "Southern school" against the "Northern school" of Shenxiu (606?–706). In the carefully constructed biography of Huineng, the legendary sixth patriarch of the Chan tradition, embedded in the Liuzu tan jing, the Diamond Sutra features prominently. Huineng, we are told, was an illiterate woodcutter who became awakened after he heard someone recite the Diamond Sutra. Subsequently, Huineng went to the Dongchan Monastery where he met the fifth patriarch Hongren (601–675), from whom he received the Diamond Sutra. Like Hongren, who taught that one could "see the [self]-nature by oneself and achieve buddhahood directly and completely" through the Diamond Sutra, Huineng mentioned that his teaching on seeing one's nature was based on the sutra. Some scholars have suggested that a connection between the fifth patriarch and the would-be sixth patriarch was forged through the transmission of the Diamond Sutra to foil the claim to patriarchy by another faction, which was associated with the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra. as It is reasonable to assume that the Diamond Sutra was of certain importance to be employed in this context.

Even when factional rivalry was no longer an issue, the Diamond Sutra remained important in the Chan tradition because of the role it played in the scripture and in Huineng's biography.

The Diamond Sutra was not only popular among monastics during the Tang period but also highly regarded by members of the Tang ruling house. Xuanzang was said to have translated the Diamond Sutra at the request of the second emperor of the Tang dynasty, Emperor Taizong (r. 626–649).45 In an important article written half a century ago, Fujieda Akira first drew our attention to the existence of some Dunhuang manuscripts of the Lotus Sutra and Diamond Sutra that appeared to have been sponsored by the early Tang court in the 670s. When Fujieda wrote his article, only twenty-four such manuscripts were known; to date, more than forty have been identified. Research has shown that these manuscripts were the products of an imperially sponsored sutra-copying project commissioned by Empress Wu Zetian (624–705) for the posthumous well-being of her

parents. This was probably prompted by the death of her mother in 670. Indeed, such imperial sponsorship of scripture-copying for the well-being of family members is not without precedent. Emperor Taizong is known to have authorized the copying of Buddhist scriptures for his deceased mother in 632 and 641, and Emperor Gaozong (r. 649–683) also sanctioned the copying of sutras in 656 for the recovery of Li Hong (652–675), the heir apparent, from an illness. According to the colophons, Empress Wu called for three thousand copies each of the Lotus Sutra and the Diamond Sutra.This staggering undertaking expended substantial resources and involved both government officials and monastics. Supervised by an overall controller and his assistant, the scriptures were first copied by scribes, then proofread separately by three proofreaders, and further verified by a group of distinguished monastics before they were mounted on rollers. There is no doubt that the transmission and popularity of the Diamond Sutra was boosted by the subsequent distribution of the Diamond Sutra copies resulting from this project throughout the country.

Having composed commentaries of the Xiaojing 孝經 (Classic of filial piety) in 722 and the Daode jing (Classic of the way and its virtues) in 735, Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 713–756) finally wrote a commentary on the Diamond Sutra later in 735 and even ordered it to be widely distributed and lectured on by monks. Emperor Xuanzong's commentary—based on Kumārajīva's translation of the Diamond Sutra—was probably lost by the Song because it was not collected in any Buddhist canons. Nevertheless, some of its content was referred to in a subcommentary on the Diamond Sutra, preserved in the Dunhuang manuscripts, authored by Daoyin 道氤 (668–740). In 1957, the discovery of Xuanzong's commentary among the "stone scriptures" collection of Fangshan was introduced in an article written by Lin Yuanbai. Subsequently, an incomplete commentary of the Diamond Sutra from Dunhuang manuscript S2068, transcribed and collected in the Taishō Canon as the Jin'gang bore jing xiezhu 金剛般若經挾註 (An interlinear commentary on the Diamond Sutra; T85.2739), was identified as Emperor Xuanzong's commentary. Undoubtedly, the prestige of Xuanzong's commentary must have elevat-ed the position of the Diamond Sutra, and the distribution of the commentary and the lectures on it throughout the empire must have further raised people's awareness about the sutra. Although Emperor Xuanzong's commentary— drafted in the same year as his one on the Daode jing—might have meant to "convert Buddhism and Daoism into tame instruments of the centralized government," it was not the first time such an act was attempted. The founder of the Tang dynasty, Emperor Gaozu n 祖 (r. 618–626), is known to have ordered lectures on these texts previously.

The imperial recognition first given by Emperor Gaozu might have prompted interest in the Diamond Sutra and gained for its a following among aristocrats. The Tang scholar Wei Shu (d. 757) notes in his Liangjing xinyji, (A new record of the two capitals) that a stele of Xingfu Monastery in Chang'an is carved with the Diamond Sutra written by Helan Minzhi (642–671), the nephew of Empress Wu, before her sponsorship of sutracopying. Built by Emperor Taizong for the deceased empress in the eighth year of the Zhenguan era (634), Xingfu Monastery was intimately connected to the royal family, and thus certainly patronized by aristocrats, as indicated by the stele. This is no doubt an avenue in which the Diamond Sutra gained publicity and was made known to a greater audience.

Beside the aristocrats, the Diamond Sutra was also popular among the cultured elite. Just as the gentry had played a pivotal role in the propagation of Buddhism in the Six Dynasties period, the literati had probably played an equally important role in popularizing the Diamond Sutra. They could have first learned about the Diamond Sutra through their knowledge of related court activities and

interaction with monastics, and later became interested in it due to their proclivity to learn about Buddhist doctrines or engage in the intellectual aspect of Buddhism. Apart from the philosophical aspect, the sutra could have also appealed to the literati due to the poetic elegance of Kumārajīva's translation, which was often the only version referred to by them. Allusions to the Diamond Sutra can thus be found in the poems of Tang literati, who also copied the sutra. The prestige of calligraphic art must have contributed to the popularity of the Diamond Sutra. Among the Dunhuang manuscripts is a rare stone rubbing of the Diamond Sutra written in 824 by the prominent Tang scholar-official Liu Gongquan (778–865) and carved on a stele. This rubbing is particularly significant because Liu was a renowned master calligrapher. In fact, he was considered, along with the famous Yan Zhenqing (709–785), to be one of the two most influential calligraphers of the late Tang, despite being a follower of the latter in calligraphic style. We can easily imagine the extent to which the Diamond Sutra permeated the life of the laity, especially the educated and the cultured elite, as interested students and connoisseurs of calligraphy sought a copy of Liu Gongquan's Diamond Sutra by making rubbings of it from the stele. No doubt, the Diamond Sutra was a subject of their conversations, as some of them went on to learn more about it and engage with it philosophically and religiously. The preservation of its calligraphy executed by generations of master calligraphers and commentaries composed by elite monastics since the Tang affirms the exalted place occupied by the Diamond Sutra in the consciousness of the cultured elite in premodern China.

The Diamond Sutra, however, was certainly not of interest only to the learned. It was also very much a part of the life of less erudite people in medieval China. It is the thousands of Dunhuang manuscripts of the Diamond Sutra and related texts—mostly produced by the laity—that bear testimony to its significance on the ground and the role it played in the life of the common people. Among the Dunhuang manuscripts, the number of Diamond Sutra copies ranks just after that of the Lotus Sutra, which comes in seven rolls, and the 600-roll Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra (Da bore boluomiduo jing), even though it is a single-roll text. Besides copies of the Diamond Sutra, other related items, such as its commentaries, lecture texts, tales and tale collections, were also found in the Dunhuang cave library. Most of these texts are handwritten copies, since the copying of scripture was considered an important avenue to accumulate religious merit. This also illustrates the importance of the Diamond Sutra in the medieval culture of scripture-copying. Perhaps the degree of veneration accorded to the Diamond Sutra on the ground is best exemplified by several extant manuscripts of the Diamond Sutra copied by an old man with his blood mixed with ink.

The Dunhuang find also yields a small number of printed copies of Buddhist scriptures, and we are fortunate to have a copy that is the world's first printed book with a precise date. Now preserved in the British Library, this copy of the Diamond Sutra—numbered Or.8012/P2—was printed with carved woodblocks on seven sheets of fine paper that were pasted together to form a scroll of over five meters. Its frontispiece is an illustration of the Buddha and Subhūti, the Buddha's main interlocutor in the scripture, as well as a host of other beings. This is followed by an instruction to the reciter of the scripture to chant the mantra for purifying the karma of the mouth, the mantra itself, and the names of eight vajra-beings. It concludes with another mantra and the colophon, which states, "Reverently made for universal distribution by Wang Jie on behalf of his two parents on the fifteenth day of the fourth month of the ninth year of the Xiantong era (May 11, 868)." While this printed copy of the Diamond Sutra may demonstrate the maturity of Chinese printing technique in the ninth century, more importantly, it illustrates an instance of the Diamond Sutra serving as the center where technology, commerce, and religion converged in medieval China. The production of printed copies implies wider distribution of the Diamond Sutra.

Given the traceable footprints of the Diamond Sutra in significant events, documented sources, and material culture given above, the question remains: why did the Diamond Sutra only become popular in the Tang period, two centuries after it was first translated? Although there is evidence of monastics reciting the Diamond Sutra as early as the late fifth century, it had not gained a following among either the monastics or lay Buddhists during the Six Dynasties. Even in northern China—as recent research made possible by a huge cache of inscriptions indicates—where religious societies (yiyi) flourished under the guidance of itinerant monks, little trace of religious activities related to the Diamond Sutra can be found, although the recitation of sutras was one of the many kinds of religious activities undertaken by people in the north. In his study of the Buddhist activities in Six Dynasties China, Hou Xudong has shown the prevalence of the cults of Śākyamuni, Maitreya, Amitābha, and Avalokiteśvara, and the forms of Buddhist activities related to them, such as the production of images and the copying and recitation of related scriptures. It is worth noting that the prevalence of the above cults was often related to various forms of active promotion by the ruling house, monastic communities, or members of elite circles, such as the aristocrats or literati.

Although it is baffling to find few activities related to the Diamond Sutra in the Six Dynasties, we do have a few traces of it during this period. The famous Six Dynasties poet Xie Lingyun (385–433) and the Jin-period scholarmonk Sengzhao are said to have composed commentaries on the Diamond Sutra, although their works probably did not reach a huge audience or generate much interest in the Diamond Sutra. According to a catalog of manuscripts, the Diamond Sutra was among the sutras copied by Xiao Zhaozhou yam, (n.d.), son of Xiao Ziliang yam, (460–494), a prince of the short-lived Southern Qi dynasty (479–502). When Chang'an was plagued by an epidemic in the tenth year of the Kaihuang era (590), Emperor Wen of Sui (r. 581–604) is said to have invited the former monk Xu Xiaoke (527–599) to lecture on the Diamond Sutra. These humble beginnings of the Diamond Sutra might have culminated in efforts to make the sutra widely known by bringing it into the public domain, such as a stele carved with the Diamond Sutra found in modern Henan that was produced during the Eastern Wei dynasty (534–550), as well as the famous Diamond Sutra carved on a cliff on Mount Tai during the Northern Qi dynasty (550–577),71 both of which were significant undertakings. Doubtlessly, these projects must have led to a greater awareness of and interest in the Diamond Sutra.

It is thus possible that by the end of the Sui dynasty, the cult of the Diamond Sutra had gained a sizable following, which set the stage for its rise in the Tang. Our broad contextualization indicates that the increasing prominence of the sutra during the Tang dynasty may be sought in the conditions or circumstances engendered by the attention it received from certain members of the ruling house, cultured elite, and some monastic communities after it caught their imagination, and the influence they might have exerted on the larger sociohistorical milieu. While no one factor takes precedence over others, the impact of imperial recognition cannot be underestimated because it offered a prestige and authorization not available elsewhere and thus was more likely to trigger further interest in the Diamond Sutra throughout the empire. The effects of Emperor Gaozu's recognition in the early seventh century may be seen from reactions within or close to the capital; these include the abovementioned Diamond Sutra stele in Xingfu Monastery, and a carving of the Diamond Sutra on the cliff in Luoyang done perhaps at the end of the seventh century. These activities are especially notable because they could have potentially promoted the Diamond Sutra to a greater audience, as it was displayed in the public sphere. The distribution of the sutra copies sponsored by Empress Wu should have had similar effects, as it made the Diamond Sutra available at different places in the empire, undoubtedly noticed by many people. The subsequent sponsorship of the copying of the

Diamond Sutra suggests that Empress Wu might have known about the Diamond Sutra during her stay in the Ganye Nunnery, such as its claims about the merit to be gained from copying it. There is also no reason to assume that she did not know about the Diamond Sutra written by her nephew and carved on the stele in Xingfu Monastery before her sponsorship. We also cannot assume that such notable events went unnoticed by other members of the imperial family, government officials, people from elite circles, and many other people connected to them, who came to spread the word about the sutra.

There is no clear-cut answer why the Diamond Sutra was first singled out by Emperor Gaozu for lecturing along with the Xiaojing and the Daode jing, and later for comment by Emperor Xuanzong. This might be related to the fact that the Tang rulers claimed to be descendants of Laozi, the Daoist sage. In 620, the founding father of the Tang empire proclaimed Laozi as the "sage ancestor" of the ruling family, and in 625 and 637, Emperor Taizong proclaimed Daoism as the highest religion, over and above Confucianism and Buddhism. Even though the Tang monarchs gave preferential treatment to Daoism, they also singled out the Xiaojing and the Diamond Sutra—important texts in the Confucian and Buddhist traditions, respectively—for treatments along with the Daoist classic on occasions, just as Emperor Gaozu and Emperor Xuanzong did. Even though these might have been political acts of pacification directed at the Confucians and Buddhists, I would like to suggest that the Diamond Sutra was perhaps selected as a representative text of Buddhism because it embodies qualities that endear it to the Tang monarchs. Notwithstanding the active promotion of people around the emperors, the Diamond Sutra might have appealed to the Tang monarchs due to its similarity to the Daode jing, the Daoist classic purportedly authored by Laozi, their ancestor.

The Diamond Sutra is generally lacking in the plethora of Buddhist imageries that characterized Mahāyāna scriptures. In length, both the Dao de jing and the Diamond Sutra have about five thousand characters. More importantly, both are marked by abstraction and unique subjects of concern, such as cultivation, the ineffability of language, and the nature of reality. Given the literary quality of the Kumārajīva translation, the abstraction of the Diamond Sutra could have been conceived to emphasize the sutra's similarity to the Daode jing rather than provoke competition between the two traditions. We may note that the famous opening phrase of the Daode jing, "The way that can be trodden is not the unchanging way; the name that can be called is not the unchanging name," is similar to phrases in the Diamond Sutra, such as "[W]hat I speak of as 'all dharmas' are not 'all dharmas'. So, one calls them 'all dharmas'" or "to teach a dharma is to teach that there is no dharma that can be taught—that is proper teaching." While they are certainly not the same structurally, they are similar in their use of negatives to clarify the nature of reality. In other places,

they seem to be similar in an inexplicable way. Consider the passage from the Dao de jing below:

> Therefore, the sage manages affairs without doing anything, and conveys his instructions without the use of speech. All things spring up, and there is not one which declines to show itself; they grow, and there is no claim made for their ownership; they go through their processes, and there is no expectation (of a reward for the results). The work is accomplished, and there is no resting in it (as an achievement). The work is done, but how no one can see; It is this that makes the power not cease to be.

Now consider the following passage from the Diamond Sutra:

> The bodhisattvas, the mahāsattvas, should train their minds to think in this way. All living creatures, whether born from eggs or from the womb ... whether they have thought, are

> without thought, or are neither with nor without thought—all these I will cause to pass over into the extinction of the nirvana of no remainder. In this way I will cause an immeasurable, a countless, a boundless number of living creatures to enter extinction. And yet, in truth, no living creature will be enabled to enter extinction.

Both passages concern the ideal persons of their respective traditions and how they relate to the world or themselves, and the outcomes, which are underlain by deeper truths. Tenuous as the association might be, given the fuzziness of the mind to associate things, it is not impossible that the Diamond Sutra was appealing to the Tang monarchs because of its superficial similarities to the Daoist text. Although imperial recognition was of importance to the growing cult of the Diamond Sutra, it does not mean that other developments of Buddhism played a lesser role. Still, imperial interest might have been a crucial impetus for the explosive growth of the sutra cult as it triggered a chain of reactions in different quarters of the empire that reached deep into the different strata of society.

What Can Diamond Sutra Narratives Tell Us?

If the notable events related to the Diamond Sutra at the elite level are likened to stones thrown into the water, then we could well imagine their ripple effects to be the increased profile of the sutra among a wide spectrum of the populace and the multiplication of engagement with the sutra. Indeed, the popularity of the Diamond Sutra during the Tang period is evidenced by the thousands of manuscripts and related texts preserved in Dunhuang. As religious artifacts, these Dunhuang manuscripts attest to the fervor with which the laity piously engaged with the Diamond Sutra in medieval China. However, they do not tell us the story of the dramatic growth of the cult of the Diamond Sutra among the lay populace: how and why did it gain such widespread popularity? To answer these questions, we must turn to the substantial volume of narratives touting the Diamond Sutra, which have much to reveal about what the sutra meant to the people who told these accounts, and how it featured in their lives.

It is not difficult to imagine that exchanges, which come down to us as these narratives, first took place in social networks and communities in which people communicated the beneficial experiences of their newfound faith or religious engagement as accounts of the Diamond Sutra spread across the empire. While the cryptic doctrine of the Diamond Sutra might appeal to monastics and the cultured elite, it was the sutra's promise of merit—derived from devotion to and propagation of the scripture—that caught the imagination of laypeople. Indeed, a substantial part of the scripture is taken up with passages encouraging its own transmission through acts of keeping, copying, reciting, and explaining it to others, and, more importantly, the merit gained from such acts. As apparent from the narratives, this prominent feature of the sutra certainly played an integral role in the way it was received among the laity. By encouraging such acts as sources of merit, it provides a way for laypeople to engage with it and obtain merit largely defined by their reality.

Based on oral exchanges of the experiences of devotees, these narratives reflect a trend in which the sutra came to feature increasingly in the lives of a wide spectrum of medieval Chinese. Circulated in various communities, these accounts tell us how the sutra was conceived—what it meant to the people— and treated—how these people engaged with it as they touted its wonders. These narratives thus take on a different identity as minor historical accounts of medieval China that contain precious information about what Tang Chinese believed, how they practiced Buddhism and lived their daily lives according to its tenets. From this perspective, their categorical affiliation with zhiguai accounts may be called into question.

Despite the importance of such Sinitic narratives and the value they might have as alternative sources of social, cultural, or religious history, their historical significance beyond immediate religious import has remained largely unexamined until recently. This may be attributed to their received status as zhiguai writings, and how they might have been conceived by scholars of Buddhism vis-à-vis the canonical sutras and their commentaries. With the early emphasis on the canonical sources in Buddhist studies, Sinitic Buddhist narratives were not considered a mainstream subject of study. And if they are, the philological approach and textual perspective—the mainstays of Buddhist studies—take precedence, not unjustifiably so given the need to work through Buddhist manuscripts philologically before further studies can be meaningfully conducted.

Notwithstanding the scholarly excitement following the 1943 discovery of three Guanyin tale collections—all composed in the Six Dynasties period—in Kyoto's Shōren-in 青 院, no significant breakthrough was achieved about the study of early medieval Chinese Buddhist narratives until recent years. Long lost in China, these collections are rare extant copies of Guanyin compilations made around the Kamakura period (1185–1333). Early research was more philological. First introduced in a 1954 article by Tsukamoto Zenryū (1898–1980), the texts of all three collections were only made available by Tsukamoto much later in 1967, with notes by Makita Tairyō (1912–2011). It was only in 1970 that Makita managed to publish a study and annotation of these collections. They were not studied until more than a decade later when Robert Campany published a few articles that explore particular aspects of them, such as their historical backdrop, and the beliefs and practices they engendered. These collections—together with other Six Dynasties Buddhist tale compilations—were discussed and considered part of the zhiguai corpus in Company's Strange Writing: Anomaly Accounts in Early Medieval China. At the turn of this century, Chün-fang Yü calls attention to the role played by these narratives in the domestication of Avalokiteśvara in her comprehensive study of the bodhisattva in China.

The study of Six Dynasties Buddhist narratives is greatly advanced by a recent volume on the Mingxiang ji, a fifth-century tale collection, where Campany approaches the study of Sinitic Buddhist narratives with fresh perspectives. As products of social memory, Campany argues, tales in the Mingxiang ji provide important information on the religious history of the Six Dynasties period, especially Buddhism's contestation with indigenous traditions as it strove to sink its roots in China. This study echoes some of the views expressed in an important work on Six Dynasties Buddhist stories by Kominami Ichirō, who delves into the social relations of people who shared, transmitted, and compiled indigenous Buddhist tales, and the relationship between the Buddhist faith and the development of Buddhist narrative writings.

Despite the importance of Tang religion, only two substantial studies of Tang Buddhist narratives in English are available. In his study of the Mingbao ji (A record of the unseen [workings of] retribution), Donald Gjertson highlights Sinitic narratives as articles of history and illustrates that they serve both as media for conveying Buddhist beliefs and morality and as documents of Buddhist practice and historical events. The Mingbao ji is probably the earliest record of a project first carried out by the monk Jingwan (d. 639) to preserve Buddhist scriptures by carving them on stones during the Daye era (605–618) in Fangshan (modern Fangshan, Beijing). The related narrative tells of the piety of the high court and members of the imperial family and their sizable contributions to aid Jingwan in his project. Although the project continued until the Ming period, the site that stores the stone scriptures was only discovered in the twentieth century, confirming the historicity of the account in the Mingbao ji.

Following Gjertson, Glen Dudbridge underscores the importance of religious narratives as documentary and historical sources in his 1995 study of the eighth-century Guangyi ji (An extensive record of marvels), a heterogeneous collection of supernatural tales compiled by Dai Fu(fl. 760–780).87 By approaching the collection as "a literature of record, not of fantasy or creative fiction," Dudbridge is sensitive to their connection with lived socio-religious practices and cultural norms. His close reading of these valuable documents enables him to reconstruct certain unknown aspects of Tang history and religious landscape, revealing "the transition from the beliefs and institutions of early mediaeval China toward those we now recognize as modern."

Given the scholarly interest generated by the discovery of the Guanyin tale collections in Japan and the increasing recognition of the importance of indigenous Buddhist tales, it is surprising that no major research on the Diamond Sutra collections has been undertaken except for a few brief introductions. This is all the more baffling given that the earliest extant (and also the largest) collection of Diamond Sutra narratives—originally compiled in the early Tang—is also preserved in manuscripts found only in Japan, although its existence was known earlier by a facsimile edition made available in the early twentieth century. In any case, the existence of this collection, along with two other Tang compilations and other Diamond Sutra tales scattered in other Tang and Song works, tells us that a considerable volume of such tales were circulating and being compiled from the seventh century onward, when the Diamond Sutra was gaining widespread popularity in the Tang dynasty. The far-reaching influence of these tales may be easily discerned from the story introduced at the outset and its inclusion in Ming-Qing Diamond Sutra tale collections that hail from a thousand-year-old tradition of tale compilation. Therefore, they constitute an invaluable source for us to better understand medieval Chinese Buddhism in general and the cult of the Diamond Sutra in particular, as well as its subsequent developments after the Tang dynasty. Moreover, a study of the Diamond Sutra tales that were produced and circulated in the Tang period is instructive for understanding the nature of Buddhist narratives, since by that time the production of zhiguai writings had abated and thus would not affect our investigation.

The Diamond Sutra is an important Mahāyāna sutra, which remains to this day one of the most influential Buddhist sutras in East Asia, both in monastic and lay circles. Although imperial recognition, monastic and literati engagement, and increasing exposure contribute to the budding significance of the Diamond Sutra in the early Tang, they have little to tell us about what the sutra meant to the laity and why they thought it important and worthy of devotion. If anything, the considerable volume of Diamond Sutra narratives reflects the extent to which the sutra featured in the lives of a spectrum of medieval Chinese people, who observed certain beliefs and practices related to it. But the nature of the relationship between the sutra's prominence in lay circles and its wide currency, and the qualities embodied by these tales, which contributed to the success of the cult, remain to be explored. Thus, a study of this repository of narratives would not only have much to tell us about how they might have featured in the spread of Buddhism on the ground and the effects of the Diamond Sutra on lay religiosity but also post-Tang developments. A cursory perusal of these narratives confirms their apologetic nature and their insistent praise of the Diamond Sutra, but further work is needed to understand their implications for the cult of the Diamond Sutra, and thus the transformation they might have worked on the Tang religious landscape through increasing religious engagement.

Approaching "Buddhism on the Ground"

From its early tendency to emphasize the study of scriptures, doctrine, and history, Buddhist studies has matured into a multidisciplinary field that admits to increasing attention to various other aspects of Buddhism, such as devotional practices and material culture. Alongside the continued investigation of still-unexplored ancient texts, the field is enriched by increasing efforts put toward investigating Buddhism within its broader social context and exploring the activities of Buddhists other than the elite members of the monastic establishment.

While the early attention on translated Chinese texts might have been motivated less for their own sake than for the light they might cast on Indian Buddhism, significant interest has recently been directed at the ways in which translated Chinese scriptures were treated in their own right, bearing important clues to the process of domestication and sinicization, instead of merely being seen as adulterated stand-ins for the Indic originals. In recent decades, endeavors directed at alternative sources—art-historical materials, manuscripts, hagiographies of Buddhist monks, writings on sacred sites, travel literature, and indigenous Chinese scriptures and narrative literature compiled in response to Chinese concerns—are beginning to revise our understanding of various aspects of Chinese Buddhism. This work joins a growing field of such studies in indigenous Chinese Buddhist writings that illuminate hitherto unknown aspects of medieval Chinese Buddhism.

Given the complexities of religious literature, a single approach is certainly insufficient; thus, approaches and perspectives, such as textual transmission, structural analysis, comparative studies of genre and narrative, source criticism, and the various methods for research in Sinology, religion and social history, have provided much-needed inspiration for this inquiry. The work herein recognizes the complex religious culture in which the tales and their transmission took place, against a wide range of values and experiences, and beliefs and practices, which can be fruitfully explored through a combination of approaches.

This study is primarily interested in how religious knowledge about certain beliefs, objects, or practices was disseminated to laypeople through Diamond Sutra tales, and how the people exposed to them came to accept and believe them to be true through experiences, either personal or otherwise, that authenticated that knowledge, enabling them to construct meaning about their religious beliefs and practices in relation to their lives and further sustain their faith. This research thus focuses on how laypeople conceptualized and practiced Buddhism on the ground, placing emphasis on the ways in which they regarded the Diamond Sutra, with due attention paid to the social construction of meaning and the local episteme.

By paying special attention to the beliefs and practices of laypeople as revealed in narratives, this study is committed to uncovering aspects of the socio-religious lives of medieval Chinese people. Among other issues, it attempts to answer the following questions: Who compiled the tales? How did they gain currency? How widespread were these tales? How did they aid in the propagation of the Diamond Sutra? What light do they shed on religious practices connected with the sutra? Most importantly, what role did they play in the popularity and influence of the sutra across the worlds of the cultured elite and the commoner during the time when these tales were compiled? In short, what can they tell us about Buddhism on the ground?

As the thrust of my study is to cast light on "Buddhism on the ground" in medieval China (the seventh to the tenth centuries), an explanation of this term is in order. In 1978, Ninian Smart introduced the idea of "religion on the ground" while speaking at the Wingspread Conference on

the state of Religious Studies sponsored by the Council on the Study of Religion. "Religion on the ground" was one of Smart's theoretical concerns to expand the repertoire for scholarly engagement with religions to include the study of them as they are lived by ordinary people. This is again touched upon in a later work where Smart explores the concept through examples to develop a sociology of religious knowledge.

As an extension of this idea, "Buddhism on the ground" is Buddhism as it is construed, believed, and practiced by people who are preoccupied by practical and quotidian concerns, and whose experiences and activities—closely tied to these concerns—reflect their religious belief and practice. Although the edifying goal of liberation is kept in view and may feature or be incorporated to a certain degree in this scheme of things, there is no pretension that the interest and engagement of these people in Buddhism is guided by anything else but realistic, and perhaps immediate, concerns with practical affairs that directly impinge on their lives; thus, they are less preoccupied with the theoretical and intellectual aspects of Buddhism than those people who determine normative Buddhism. While the conceptualization of normative Buddhism might influence Buddhism on the ground, the latter is not as concerned with what might be considered orthodoxy and orthopraxy by the authorities—how certain gatekeepers of the Buddhist tradition enforce conformity to official versions of sanctioned teachings and practices. This, however, does not necessarily mean that orthodoxy and orthopraxy are not important to Buddhism on the ground at all. They might have approached these issues differently since they are not invested in guarding the sanctity of Buddhism like the monastic establishment.

Placing emphasis on the experiential and practical aspects of their lives, "Buddhism on the ground" recognizes that people often do not make daily decisions and engage in religious activities with reference to what Nāgārjuna or Zongmi might have said; instead, they make decisions or take certain actions based on their heritage, physical and social environment, the opinions of family, friends, and social relations, and how they perceive themselves within this world, with a blend of emotion and reason. It also recognizes possible inconsistencies and fuzziness between reason and actions played out within individuals or groups of people.

The line between the elite and non-elite is blurred in the operation of "Buddhism on the ground" because its players may be monastics, lay Buddhists, or even non-believers, and may include both elite and ordinary members of these groups, who express their views and concerns or take certain actions with respect to Buddhism in a variety of situations. "Buddhism on the ground" may refer to aspects of religious engagement by these people in private and public spheres since they constitute the dimensions where religious beliefs, motivations, and actions are played out by individuals and groups of people. These spheres are not static but variables in their world as people adapt to new circumstances in life and mutually influence each other.

Parasutraic Literature: Writings, Narratives, and Collections

Sutras in medieval China were propagated and promoted not only as standalone texts but also through additional writings that support their dissemination. The commentarial literature, exegetical writings on a sutra, is not solely responsible for the formation of—for lack of a better description—sutra cult, the system of religious veneration and devotion directed toward a scripture. A sutra cult is also supported by what I call "parasutraic literature," those records—both oral and written—that assist the formation of the cult and sustain it. In its literary form and content, parasutraic literature may include tales or stories, anecdotes or legends about a sutra, historical and biographical accounts related to it, prayers, hymns, exhortations about certain practices, prefaces, and colophons about

the sutra that interpret and promote the observance of that sutra for its audience. When committed to writing, they can also be referred to as parasutraic writings. A significant part of indigenous Chinese Buddhist writings is constituted by parasutraic writings and their collections. The accounts told about the beneficial experiences of scriptural devotion—whether oral or written—are therefore part of parasutraic literature. These accounts are here referred to as parasutraic narratives, tales, or stories, while the collections or compilations in which they are contained are referred to as parasutraic collections or compilations.

Our sources for investigating the cult of the Diamond Sutra principally include three extant collections of Diamond Sutra tales compiled at the beginning of the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries, respectively, as well as narratives scattered in different works of the Tang and Song periods. Especially important for our purpose is the Taiping guangji (The extensive record compiled during the Taiping era), the massive Song encyclopedia, which provides many tales not contained in the three collections. Altogether, they cover enough ground to illuminate developments in Tang China in time and space. Originating from different periods in the Tang, they afford this study a perspective free from any agenda of treating religious history as a stable narrative, as it envisages a constantly changing reality tied to diachronic cultural and social transformations over time. Supplemented by other sources, each collection offers clues to the synchronic interplay of historical, cultural, and social discourses and trends in a particular period, which gives rise to certain phenomena, allowing for a kind of "thick description" that describes and elucidates, in this case, religion in action within certain contexts.

No record, however factual, allows unrestricted access to reality or expresses the as it really is, and Diamond Sutra tales are no exception. This is especially so since they—having been transmitted, collected, edited, and compiled—were subjected to a certain extent of fashioning by their propagators and compilers, although they might have originated from oral narratives of the religious experiences of devotees. Therefore, as products of representation, they do not reflect unmediated reality since they are embedded within the context of parasutraic textual production. As constructs, these narratives and their contents are "conditioned dharmas" that arise from a web of religious, social, and cultural causes and conditions specific to an age. Nevertheless, as parasutraic representations, they broadly reflect an external reality or a trend concerning the cult of the Diamond Sutra. While the former points to the difficulty involved in studying these narratives, the latter suggests that we can understand these recorded tales not merely as literary works but as multifaceted socio-religious artifacts. Although they are unfortunately forever lost to us as oral accounts, their existence in other forms of cultural representations can be sought in material culture, especially when religious beliefs and practices encouraged in them are embedded within a web of material practices. If the tales extol the recitation and copying of the Diamond Sutra, then remnants of these acts in the form of artifacts should have been produced alongside these tales. Therefore, as this body of oral narratives unfolds in a "dialectic process of production and reception," it does so not merely in the transmission of knowledge, propagation, conversion, believing, or acts of piety, but in the accompanying material culture in which these intangible aspects find their expression and maintain their "presence" long after they are lost to history.

Extra-textual materials, therefore, are employed to verify and balance my account of the Diamond Sutra cult and the reality of medieval Chinese religion, in addition to the usual historical records, literary works, and canonical sources that provide for broad contextualization. In this respect, the importance of Dunhuang, with its huge store of Tang-period extra-canonical and extra-textual artifacts, cannot be overestimated. Just as the cache of Dunhuang manuscripts and the development

of the field of Dunhuang studies have fundamentally changed our understanding of Chinese Buddhism and medieval Chinese society, they are invaluable sources to our study, for they include a huge amount of materials related to the Diamond Sutra. They comprise not only thousands of copies of the sutra but also records of prayers of sponsors who commissioned the copying of sutras, lecture texts, commentaries, and a variety of newly conceived indigenous texts meant to answer specific Chinese concerns or needs. We will refer to them in our study of parasutraic narratives for clues to the expressive acts that gave birth to material practices to elucidate the complexities of religio-cultural life in medieval China.

Unveiling Medieval Chinese Religiosity

To uncover the realities of medieval Chinese religion from the perspective of the Diamond Sutra cult, this book is divided into two parts. The first part is a study of Diamond Sutra tales in five chapters, and the second consists of a translation of the three compilations of Diamond Sutra narratives. To provide a foundation for subsequent discussion on the cult and its narratives, chapter 1 ruminates on the relationship between "big" events related to the sutra and its increasing profile and argues that the proliferation of Diamond Sutra tales and their compilations arise from the increasing exposure the sutra received because of these events. It seeks to understand these parasutraic narratives as derived from the religious experiences of devotees and their communities through their textual history. By showing how the lay orientation of this body of parasutraic narratives differs from that of other narratives, it reveals how the vibrant state of lay Buddhism—discernible through the writings of their compilers—might have provided an environment that accounts for the unusual representations of lay participation and empowerment in the narratives. The parasutraic tale collections are products of compilers who situated themselves within a tradition of tale compilation and saw themselves as legitimate heirs to the Dharma, as they strove to enrich the repository of Buddhist writings through their collections, while demonstrating their understanding of Buddhism.

Besides underscoring how the social and collective nature of these parasutraic narratives might have shaped attitudes, beliefs, and Buddhist practices, chapter 2 explores how the nature and features of these narratives appeal to medieval Chinese to create a following of devotees. Reflecting on their nature, I argue against the use of "miracle," a term with distinct connotations in Western religious history, to describe Sinitic Buddhist narratives. These narratives are better understood with recourse to Chinese Buddhist cosmological presuppositions as they are underpinned by both the age-old Chinese concept of sympathetic resonance and the Buddhist doctrine of causality. The success of these narratives is due as much to the synthesis of these notions that explains wonders as responses called forth by religious devotion as to their embodiment of narratorial and rhetorical devices that characterize the wonders as constituting the proven efficacy of the sutra. Presented as actual occurrences and shared between people and within communities, parasutraic narratives are collective in nature, and therefore reflect the social memory of medieval Chinese, pertaining to prevalent beliefs, attitudes, and religious practices of those times.

Through the themes, motifs, and ideas of the narratives, chapter 3 considers the cult of the Diamond Sutra in their representation of the beliefs and practices of devotees, the benefits they obtained, and the powers of the sutra. In addition to widely accepted mainstream Buddhist ideas, doctrines, and related practices, parasutraic narratives underscore certain forms of religious engagement and practices, such as the reading, recitation and copying of the sutra, which flourished among other

practices and in cults related to other sutras in the Tang. In their themes, they represent a few stock concerns of medieval

Chinese discernible from the situations often encountered by devotees of the Diamond Sutra. I argue that this thematic paucity accounts for the effectiveness of parasutraic narratives in framing medieval Chinese conception of, and engagement with, the sutra by focusing attention on the most common concerns, thus bearing witness to the cult of the Diamond Sutra as it was practiced in the period. Comparisons with earlier and contemporaneous tale collections reveal not only the uniqueness of the Diamond Sutra cult but the diachronic shifts in the religious concerns of Chinese Buddhists in the way they are represented to answer concerns not taken up in narratives of other cultic foci or earlier periods.

Chapter 4 is a study of the influence of the Diamond Sutra and its tales on medieval Chinese religiosity in two areas. Through the most represented theme—death and the afterlife—found in parasutraic narratives, it examines how the cult responded to this fundamental human concern by disseminating, validating, and promoting a belief system and worldview, accompanied by ritual practices centering on the sutra, which are corroborated by a variety of textual and material sources. Uncovering the unknown identity of the Diamond Sutra as the afterlife sutra par excellence in medieval China, it discusses the transformations of medieval Chinese religiosity with respect to textual production and highlights how ritual and devotional culture contribute to the reimagining of sacred writings. The conspicuous absence of the monastic in related developments enables further speculation on the role played by an empowered laity in the creation of a liturgical edition of the Diamond Sutra, which caused the monastic establishment to respond to a textual issue related to the canonical edition of the Diamond Sutra, thus changing the course of its textual history.

Reflecting on the research questions, the last chapter summarizes the findings and their significance as it ponders over the contribution of parasutraic narratives to the popularity of the Diamond Sutra in medieval China and the influence of Tang religious innovations on later religious and secular developments. The tradition of compiling Diamond Sutra narratives continued in post Tang China until modern times, inspiring the compilation of Diamond Sutra tales in Korea, Japan, Tibet, Mongolia, and Central Asia that was fashioned closely after the Chinese model. The influence of the sutra and its tales are also represented by a few important post-Tang developments, one of the most notable being the creation of an edition of the sutra that incorporated its narratives and their illustrations, which later culminated in a multivalent edition that includes also images illustrating scenes in the sutra and commentarial passages. The chapter ends by reflecting on how the sutra might have affected the consciousness of the Chinese people and its relationship to literary creation. <>

Zen Classics: Formative Texts in the History of Zen Buddhism edited by Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright [Oxford University Press, 9780195175257]

This is a companion volume to The Koan and The Zen Canon, by the same editors. The first volume collected original essays on koan collections, recorded sayings of individual masters, histories of major schools, and compilations of monastic regulations. The second focuses on the early history of Zen in China, providing overview assessments of many of the most important canonical texts that

set the Zen tradition in motion throughout East Asia. Zen Classics will follow that historical movement, focusing primarily on texts from Korea and Japan that brought this Buddhist movement to fruition. Although enormously diverse in style and structure all of the texts and genres of texts considered here were fundamental to the unfolding of Zen in East Asia. The range of genres reveals the varieties of Zen practice, from rules of daily practice to sermons and meditation manuals. The all new essays in this volume will be contributed by an international team of distinguished scholars of Buddhism. It is aimed at broad audience including college students, Zen practitioners, and scholars of East Asian history, religion, and culture, as well as specialists in Buddhist history.

Zen Buddhism as the Ideology of the Japanese State: Eisai and the Kōzen gokokuron (essay)

This essay reassesses Eisai and his attempt to reform the Japanese Buddhist state along the lines suggested by the model of Sung Ch'an, by examining the message of the Kōzen Gokokuron and the Ninnō-kyō (Sutra of Benevolent Kings), both texts central to Eisai's theoretical vision. Eisai is a major figure in the Japanese Zen tradition, known for introducing Zen and winning major political support for it in the newly formed Kamakura bakufu. The discussion emphasizes not only the ideological sway that this text had over Eisai, but also how Eisai conceived of the practical implementation of the text's ideological vision in terms of Ch'an institutions and practices observed by Eisai in Sung China. The study examines the Kōzen gokokuron in terms of three leading ideas around which Sung Ch'an had been formed: lineage, institutional organization, and conceptions of Ch'an vis a vis the Buddhist tradition as a whole. This examination concludes with a comparison of how Yen-shou was understood in the Kōzen Gokokuron and the Jōtō Shōkaku Ron, a text associated with Nōnin and the Daruma faction, a leading early contender for the mantle of establishing a separate Zen "school" in Japan.

Toward a Reappraisal of Eisai and the Kōzen gokokuron

Eisai (1141–1215, also known as Yōsai)1 is a major figure in the Japanese Zen tradition, known for introducing Zen and winning major political support for it in the newly formed Kamakura bakufu. In spite of the major role Eisai played in changing the course of Japanese Buddhism and establishing Zen as an independent institution, his accomplishments have been obscured by modern developments affecting Zen ideology. In the modern period, Eisai's work has been generally ignored, and his image tends to languish in relative obscurity. The situation into which Eisai and his principal work, the Kōzen gokokuron, have fallen is well summarized by Yanagida Seizan, in his introductory essay to the modern Japanese edition and translation of the Kōzen gokokuron text:

> It seems that the work entitled Kōzen gokokuron has hardly ever been read in earnest. To a remarkably great extent, it has been treated as nothing more than nationalistic propaganda. Such bias is deeply rooted even at present. Frankly speaking, it is hard to find any appeal in this work when it is compared with Dōgen's Shōbōgenzō or Shinran's Kyōgyōshinshō. ... [And] this exceedingly low opinion that people have is not restricted to the Kōzen gokokuron but is directed at Eisai as well. Aside from the bias that the Kōzen gokokuron advocates a national Buddhist ideology (kokka bukkyō), the fact that Eisai sought [government sponsored] robes and titles of recognition for himself, degenerated in his later years to a clerical functionary for the Kamakura bakufu, and was nothing more than a construction entrepreneur who envisioned the rebuilding of Tōdaiji and Hōshōji, and so on, completely undermines his image as the founder of a school.

As Yanagida explains, the common perception of the Kōzen gokokuron in Japan is that it is a work of "nationalistic propaganda," unworthy of serious reading.

To the extent that Eisai is known to us at present, it may be more likely as "the father of tea cultivation in Japan" than for any achievements in transferring Zen teaching to Japan. As a Zen master, Eisai's reputation was seriously tarnished, according to modern interpretation, by his willingness "to compromise ... by assuming a reconciliatory attitude toward the Tendai and Shingon." According to this view, Eisai's compromising, syncretistic attitude is a corruption of the ideals inherent in the "pure" Zen tradition.

Serious problems arise when Eisai is judged from the perspective of "pure" Zen, not least of which is the extent Eisai's aims coincide with those of the later "pure" Zen tradition. "Pure" Zen is predicated on the notion that Zen is essentially beyond intellectual comprehension, so that any attempt to treat it historically must be preceded by an understanding of Zen "as it is in itself." In this view, Zen ideally is aloof from the messy world of politics and unsullied by historical circumstances. There is no question that Eisai fairs poorly when subjected to these kinds of criteria. "Pure" Zen cherishes, above all, the defiant masters of the T'ang Zen tradition, who eschewed (at least in legend) political and social contacts in favor of an enlightenment experience, the essential nature of which was deemed ineffable and beyond rational determination. This interpretation leads one to ask whether Eisai has been treated fairly as a historical figure, suggesting that the current perception of the Kōzen gokokuron has been determined by a later tradition that emphasized "pure" Zen as the only legitimate expression of Zen teaching and practice.

The current reputation of Eisai stands in marked contrast with the way the Japanese tradition has regarded him. Kokan Shiren awarded Eisai the most prominent place in the Genkō shakusho, the collection of Japanese Buddhist biographies completed in 1322, as the first to transmit the Zen teaching of the Rinzai faction to Japan.8 Eisai also enjoyed a great, if controversial, reputation among his contemporaries. Politically, he had important connections with the Heian court, and he won the respect and patronage of significant figures in the Kamakura bakufu government.9 Religiously, Eisai had been a respected advocate of Tendai esotericism before his conversion to Zen. His monastery in Kyoto, Kenninji, became an active training center for the new Zen move (p.67) ment. Eisai's reputation among his contemporaries was also reflected in his capacity as head of Jufukuji in Kamakura and the support received from the military rulers there, the Hōjō family. The significance of Eisai in religious circles is further reflected in the attraction of prominent students to his reform movement, including no less a person than Dōgen Zenji (1200–1253).

As founder of the Sōtō faction in Japan, Dōgen would later be sharply distinguished as Eisai's sectarian rival, but neither the facts of Dōgen's own life nor his reported statements concerning Eisai substantiate the antipathy between Dōgen and Eisai predicated on later sectarian divisions. Dōgen received early training in Zen at Kenninji, under the direction of Eisai's successor, Myōzen (1184–1225). The example Eisai provided for rigorous training at Kenninji left a lasting impression on Dōgen. In Dōgen's Shōbōgenzō zuimonki, Eisai's words are invoked to authorize Zen practices and his collection of sermons are remembered as "the most splendid of words." Elsewhere, Dōgen remarks that "Students today would do well to reflect on the excellence of Eisai's attitude" and that "the nobleness of purpose and profundity of Eisai must certainly be remembered." Dōgen's itinerary while on pilgrimage in China with Myōzen, moreover, consciously followed in Eisai's footsteps.

Nevertheless, Eisai's understanding of Zen was based on different assumptions. In order to distinguish these, I will examine features associated with Eisai's Zen reform movement within the context of assumptions common to late Heian and early Kamakura Buddhism. The focus is on the Kōzen gokokuron, Eisai's most important work. The aim is to reveal significant aspects of Eisai's thought in light of the context in which it was written and to examine these against precedents upon which the content of the text was based. The study demonstrates how Eisai and his contemporaries shared certain ideas expressed in the Kōzen gokokuron that are overlooked or poorly understood at present. This commonality suggests an alternative way to read the text and the possibility of a more balanced appraisal of Eisai and the Kōzen gokokuron.

To reassess Eisai and the message of the Kōzen gokokuron, this chapter addresses Eisai's motivations from a number of perspectives. It begins with an inquiry into the theoretical conception of the Buddhist state common to medieval Japanese Buddhism and adopted by Eisai by examining aspects of the Ninnō kyō (Sūtra of Benevolent Kings), a text central to Eisai's theoretical vision. The discussion emphasizes not only the ideological sway that this text had over Eisai, but also how Eisai conceived of the practical implementation of the text's ideological vision in terms of the Ch'an institutions and practices he observed in Sung China. To understand Eisai's attempt to reform the Japanese Buddhist state along the lines suggested by the model of Sung Ch'an, the study examines the Kōzen gokokuron in terms of three leading ideas around which Sung Ch'an had been formed: lineage, institutional organization, and conceptions of Ch'an vis-à-vis the Buddhist tradition as a whole. This discussion includes a comparison of the "combined practice" (kenshū) or the Zen-based syncretism of the Kōzen gokokuron with the influential Sung Ch'an syncretist Yung-ming Yen-shou, whose works exerted broad influence over both Sung Ch'an and Kamakura Zen, notably in the teachings of Dainichi Nōnin and the Daruma faction. This examination concludes with a comparison of how Yen-shou was understood in the Kōzen gokokuron and the Jōtō shōgakuron, a text associated with Nōnin and the Daruma faction, a leading early contender for the mantle of establishing a separate Zen "school" in Japan. Bringing Yen-shou's interpretation into the analysis at this juncture shows how different the Ch'an (or Zen) of Nōnin, Eisai, and their contemporaries was from that depicted by modern scholars.

The Utopian Vision in Medieval Japan: An Examination of the Ninnō kyō [Sūtra of Benevolent Kings]

Eisai's argument in the Kōzen gokokuron was predicated on widely held assumptions in medieval Japan regarding the role of Buddhism as an essential component of a civilized society. In Japan such notions date from the time of Shōtoku Taishi (574–622), who formally introduced Buddhism as a leading component in the affairs of the country. At this time the Buddhist religion, hitherto dominated by certain clans, was promoted as a unifying force for the Japanese state, newly conceived under Shōtoku's inspiration.

The importance of Buddhism for affairs of state in Japan was reaffirmed in the Nara (710–794) and Heian periods (794–1185), when three Buddhist scriptures provided the cornerstones of state Buddhist ideology in Japan: the Myōhō renge kyō (Sūtra of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma, better known simply as the Hokke kyō, the Lotus Sūtra), the Konkōmyō kyō (Sūtra of the Golden Light), and the Ninnō gokoku hannya kyō (the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra Explaining how Benevolent Kings Protect Their Countries, or simply, the Ninnō kyō). These three scriptures became collectively known in Japan as the "three sūtras for the protection of the country" (chingo kokka no

sambukyō). Eisai's treatise calling on the rulers of Japan to promote Zen for the protection of the country shared the widely accepted ideological background that these scriptures provided.

Among the three scriptures for the protection of the country just mentioned, the Ninnō kyō assumed the most importance for Eisai. This importance is based on Eisai's admission in the Preface to the Kōzen gokokuron that his reason for titling his work The Promotion of Zen for the Protection of the Country is that it is consistent with the ideas originally taught by the Dharma King (hō-ō), the Buddha, to the Benevolent Kings (ninnō). It is also confirmed by the frequency and prominence with which the Ninnō kyō is cited by Eisai in the Kōzen gokokuron. A review of the Ninnō kyō reveals the ideological assumptions of Eisai's Zen reform program in the Kōzen gokokuron, based in the prajñā (wisdom) tradition of Mahayāna Buddhism.

Most of the topics addressed in the Ninnō kyō are well known to anyone familiar with Mahayāna Buddhism, especially to the Prajñā-pāramitā (J. hannya; perfection of wisdom) literature. Among them are emptiness, the Tathāgata, the bodhisattva path, the two levels of truths, miraculous events, and so on. The appearance of the benevolent kings (ninnō) distinguishes the contents of the Ninnō kyō, particularly their concern for establishing secular authority based on Buddhist principles. The message contained in chapter 5, "Protecting One's Country" (gokoku), together with that of concluding chapters 7, "Receiving and Upholding [the Ninnō kyō]," and 8, "[The Buddha] Entrusts [the Ninnō kyō and the Three Treasures: the Buddha, Dharma, and sa;azngha] to the [Benevolent] Kings," where this concern is most explicitly revealed, draws the content of the Ninnō kyō closely to the Kōzen gokokuron.

In terms of the message that the Ninnō kyō wishes to convey, however, the first four chapters are more than a prelude. They affirm the primary importance that the Buddha Dharma, namely prajñā-teaching and those practitioners who are devoted to it, have for the welfare of the state. The first priority of the state, following this logic, is to seek not its own preservation but the preservation of Buddhism. Later the kings learn that the preservation of Buddhism is inextricably bound to the preservation of their own country. This was a powerful message for Buddhist monarchs looking to Mahayāna teaching as a basis and justification for their own rule: spiritual aims and secular interests coincide in support for Buddhism.

In chapter 5 the terms for protecting countries are specified in terms of support for the teachings contained in the Ninnō kyō (i.e., prajñā-teaching). The Buddha advises that whenever the destruction of a country is imminent, regardless of the cause, the king should sponsor a ritual recitation of the Ninnō kyō. In addition, the Buddha recommends that the kings commission daily recitations of the Ninnō kyō, as a matter of course, to invoke the assistance of native deities and spirits in protecting their countries. Ninnō kyō recitation is also said to be useful for obtaining a number of practical benefits, both material and spiritual, including protection against countless afflictions that plague one during the course of human existence. In short, Ninnō kyō recitation is characterized as having unquestionable salutary effects over numerous unseen forces that determine human destiny, particularly the destiny of a ruler and his kingdom. The chapter spells out in concrete terms the methods to be employed by kings to protect their countries, win material and spiritual benefits, and alleviate personal afflictions. It assures kings of the actual benefits to be obtained if they follow ritual procedures focusing on the recitation of the Ninnō kyō, and it provides a contrast between the altruistic virtue of the righteous Buddhist monarch and the petty greed of the power-hungry ruler.

The end of chapter 5 is taken up with two exemplary tales that illustrate the chapter's message. The first involves Śakra, who by recourse to the methods just described, was able to repel invading armies seeking his destruction and the destruction of his kingdom. The second relates how the crown prince of a country called Devala conspires to win succession to the throne by offering the heads of a thousand kings in sacrifice to the local god These means were suggested to the crown prince by a non-Buddhist priest, presumably one dedicated to the local god in question. The prince succeeds in capturing 999 kings and transports them to the shrine of the local god, where they are to be sacrificed. One king shy of his goal, the prince encounters his last prospective victim, a king called Universal Light.

Prior to transporting Universal Light before the local god to be sacrificed, the prince grants the king's last request, which is to supply food and drink to Buddhist monks and pay his final respects to the three Buddhist treasures, the Buddha, Dharma, and Sa;azngha. When the monks recite the Ninnō kyō on the king's behalf, Universal Light is able to extricate himself from harm. Upon his arrival in Devala, Universal Light instructs the other 999 kings how to save themselves through recitation of the verses from the Ninnō kyō, just as it was originally uttered by the monks he assembled. The recitation ultimately succeeds in converting the crown prince himself, who confesses his wrong and sends all of the assembled kings back to their homes, instructing them to have Buddhist priests in their kingdoms recite verses from the Ninnō kyō.

The point of the story is that without the benefit of Buddhist virtue, the non-Buddhist ruler is consumed by the drive for power. This drive is marked by extreme insensitivity and barbarity. Moreover, in this story, local religious authority sanctioned this barbarity. In opposition, Buddhism is presented as a universal religion of compassion, which, through the teaching of the Ninnō kyō, offers rulers a vision of peaceful co-existence predicated on a higher law. In short, the Ninnō kyō promotes the cause of Buddhist right over sheer force or might.

The concluding chapters of the Ninnō kyō describe further the responsibilities incumbent upon righteous monarchs for implementing the cause of Buddhist virtue in their kingdoms. Chapter 7, “Receiving and Upholding (the Ninnō kyō),” reinforces the message presented in chapter 5 and supplements the methods suggested to kings for protecting their countries. The Ninnō kyō is described here as “the spiritual source of the mind of buddhas, bodhisattvas, and all sentient beings” and “the father and mother of all kings.” It is also referred to as a divine charm, the mirror of heaven and earth, a treasure for driving away demons, for obtaining one's desires, and for protecting a country,22 descriptions that highlight the Ninnō kyō's utility for both religious and political matters.

A principal feature of the Ninnō kyō is the responsibility it places on kings for managing Buddhism and ensuring its continued existence. In return for the protection that the Ninnō kyō offers them and their kingdoms, the kings are responsible for perpetuating the Dharma here on earth. The Buddha tells King Prasenajit, the chief interlocutor among the benevolent kings, that after his (Buddha's) death, when the extinction of the Dharma is imminent, the king should uphold the Ninnō kyō and extensively perform Buddhist ceremonies based on it. The security of every king and the happiness of all the people are said to depend completely on this. For this reason, the Buddha continues, the Ninnō kyō has been entrusted to the kings of various countries and not to the Buddhist clergy or faithful. The preservation of the Buddha Dharma under such circumstances is thus the primary responsibility of the king, not the sa;azngha.

Chapter 7 also describes in detail the misfortunes that recitation of the Ninnō kyō serves to combat. Topping the list are calamities resulting from disruptions in the celestial and natural order. In East Asian countries influenced by the Confucian doctrine that terrestrial power depended on Heaven's mandate, disruptions in the normal patterns of the heavens were viewed as ominous warnings to the ruler. These signs were potentially threatening to the ruler's prestige and position, giving him ample cause to consider them with extreme gravity. To avoid calamities stemming from disruptions in the celestial and natural (including human) order, the Ninnō kyō stipulates ritual recitation of its contents according to a prescribed format.

The Ninnō kyō closes with chapter 8, "[The Buddha] Entrusts [the Ninnō kyō and the Three Treasures] to the [Benevolent] Kings," and a warning reinforcing the responsibility incumbent upon kings for maintaining Buddhism. In particular, it is stated that at such times when the Buddha, Dharma, and Sa;azngha, as well as the Buddhist faithful, are absent from the world, the Ninnō kyō and the three treasures will be entrusted to kings.27 It is the responsibility of the kings to initiate the path of wisdom (i.e., prajñā-teaching) by having members of the Buddhist assembly recite and explain the Ninnō kyō to sentient beings. In other words, the kings are responsible for reconstituting Buddhist teaching in the world; the Ninnō kyō, representative as it is of prajñā-teaching, is to serve as the basis for this reconstitution.

There are important implications for the model of Buddhist kingship provided in the Ninnō kyō. Essentially, the power of the king described here is unambiguous. Although the royal power may be misused in some cases when it is united with the Dharma, and the Ninnō kyō is used as a guide, it serves as an indisputable force for good. It is the hallmark, one might say, of the benevolent monarch implementing Buddhist righteousness in the world. The message of the Ninnō kyō is particularly appropriate when the decline of the Law (mappō) is anticipated, as was the case in late Heian Japan. The Ninnō kyō is the prescribed Buddhist antidote for such times.

The Ninnō kyō played an extensive role in medieval Chinese and Japanese Buddhism, influencing both state ideology and ritual practices. It constituted an accepted feature of the East Asian Buddhist tradition and commanded a particularly wide following in medieval Japan. The Kōzen gokokuron was written within this context. In the first place, the Kōzen gokokuron affirmed the Ninnō kyō's vision for the role of Buddhism within the Japanese Buddhist state. It questioned, however, the way that this role had hitherto been fulfilled, and it proposed that certain reforms were necessary in order for the traditional hegemony of Buddhist ideology and secular authority to be properly conceived and executed. The central feature of this reform was predicated on the assumption that Zen teaching represented the legacy of the Buddha's enlightenment and the true teaching of the Buddha. As a result, only Zen teaching could fulfill the ideological quotient of the true Buddhist state.

The model of Buddhist kingship provided in the Ninnō kyō thus reflected the long-held aspirations of the Japanese ruling elite and the Buddhist establishment, affirming the accepted model of how the relationship between the secular establishment and the Buddhist clergy was envisioned. This model, in turn, established the parameters for the reform proposals in the Kōzen gokokuron.

Ninnō kyō Ideology and Zen Teaching in the Kōzen gokokuron

Treatises with overtly political overtones are a unique feature of Japanese Buddhism. On this point, it is useful to contrast Japan with China. When Buddhism was first introduced, China already had an established civilization with well-defined moral and social principles. In the Chinese context,

discussions of Buddhist morality thus tended to conflict with nativist sentiments. A persistent tendency among the Chinese was to regard Buddhism as the ideology of an alien people, essentially distinct from the principles and beliefs governing

Chinese civilization. As a result, Buddhist treatises on the value of native Chinese traditions tended to be either positively self-assured in the superiority of Buddhism, or apologetically inclined, in search of harmony between native Chinese and Buddhist teachings. By adopting Chinese Buddhist and Confucian ideologies at the same time, Japan tended to fuse Buddhist and Confucian principles into a single harmonious ideology which formed the basis for Japan's definition of civilization.

Aside from the initial objections of the Mononobe warrior clan and the Nakatomi family of Shinto priests in the sixth century, Buddhism was immune from the wrath of antiforeign temper until the rise of Japanese nativism in the Tokugawa (Edo) period. The reason for this immunity is clear. Until Tokugawa rule, Buddhism was the acknowledged core of Japanese civilization. The common refrain among the Japanese ruling elite who determined the course of Japanese civilization was: "When the Buddhist law flourishes, so does the secular order."30 Because of this belief and until the rediscovery of Chinese Confucianism along with their "pure" Shinto heritage, Buddhism was not regarded (p.73) as a foreign ideology that had either to proclaim its superiority or to apologize for its presence, as was the case in China. As a result, ideological debates in Japan tended to be sectarian, that is, between different factions that shared a common vision, rather than cutting across fundamental ideological boundaries. Since Buddhism was not relegated to a private domain of exclusively spiritual matters but was viewed as the rationale for state policy and the existence of government institutions, many Buddhist sectarian debates were politically inspired. The decline of authority in the late Heian era exacerbated the need for sectarian debate focusing on political concerns.

The end of the Heian era brought political and ideological challenges to the Heian ruling elite. Ideologically, the Heian decline resulted in challenges to the position of the Tendai school as the spiritual and moral authority of the Japanese state. Politically inspired Buddhist treatises calling for reform were a natural development in this environment. Such works represent a period of new competition within Buddhism, with new factions vying for the honor of displacing Mount Hiei as the "Chief Seat of the Buddhist Religion for Ensuring the Security of the Country."

The most prominent attempt to redefine the Japanese Buddhist state during this period was the Kōzen gokokuron. The aim of the work was twofold: to reaffirm the central role of Buddhist ideology as the spiritual and moral core of Japanese civilization, and to challenge the validity of the way this goal was being carried out under the auspices of the Tendai school. The work was set squarely within the context of Tendai reform. Like Luther in sixteenth-century Christendom, Eisai saw Zen not as a revolutionary teaching that would undermine Tendai, but as a reform doctrine that would reestablish Buddhist and Tendai credibility.

The Kōzen gokokuron text is divided into a preface and ten sections, concluding with a brief summary. The aim of each section is indicated by its title:

> Ensuring the Lasting Presence of Buddhist Teaching
> Protecting the Country (with the Teachings of the Zen School)
> Resolving the Doubts of the People of the World
> Verification (Provided by) Virtuous Masters of the Past
> The Transmission Lineage of the Zen School

Scriptural Authorization for Enhancing Faith (in Zen)
Outlining Zen Doctrines for Encouraging Zen Practice
The Program of Rituals for Protecting the Country at Zen Monasteries
Explanations from Great Countries
Initiating the Vow to Transfer Merit

Rather than exclude Tendai, Eisai sought to reform it by redefining it in terms of its relation to Zen. In order to understand how Eisai sought to meld Tendai with the Zen tradition, one needs also to understand how Eisai conceived of Zen teaching and how he associated it with Ninnō kyō ideology. We can begin by placing Eisai's eventual identification with Zen in the context of his original quest.

When Eisai set out from Japan on his second pilgrimage, his intended destination was not China but India, the homeland of the Buddha and Buddhist teaching.33 His goal was to personally set foot on the "diamond ground" where the Buddha had attained enlightenment. This plan underscores Eisai's commitment to reform on the pretext that Heian-era decline was rooted in Japan's deviation from correct Buddhist teaching. Only after Eisai's request to continue on to India was denied by Chinese authorities did he focus his attention on the study of Chinese Ch'an.34 With the possibility of studying authentic Buddhist teaching in the Buddha's homeland thwarted, Eisai turned to a ready alternative: the purported "living" transmission of the Buddha's teaching in the Sung Ch'an masters around him. Sung Ch'an represented a viable alternative to Eisai for a number of reasons.35 On one level, it is easy to imagine how impressed Eisai must have been with the world of Sung Ch'an, with its grand monasteries, institutional structure, and state support. The stability and prosperity of the Sung world stood in marked contrast to the brutality and chaos into which Japanese civilization had fallen. The revitalization of Mount T'ien-t'ai and its transformation into a Ch'an center during the Sung would have also made a deep impression on Eisai, suggesting the model for reform and revitalization in Japan. The most important influence that Sung Ch'an had on Eisai, however, went beyond these circumstantial factors associated with the splendor of Sung civilization. It was the new synthesis that Zen teaching suggested, integrating crucial aspects of Buddhism for Eisai—Tendai and prajñā-teaching, meditation practice and concern for morality, and Ninnō kyō ideology—into a single, seamless whole.

Eisai saw Zen teaching in terms that pertained directly to Ninnō kyō ideology. In the preface of the Kōzen gokokuron, Eisai depicts Zen as the Mind teaching, the essence of enlightenment, and the "actual teaching of the former Buddhas" transmitted through Śākyamuni "from master to disciple via the robe of authentic transmission." The Ninnō kyō conceived itself in comparable terms as "the spiritual source of the mind of buddhas, bodhisattvas, and all sentient beings." This depiction accounts for Eisai's view of the Ninnō kyō as an integral part of the Zen school's Mind teaching.

In terms of Buddhist scriptures, the Mind teaching is revealed in two forms according to Eisai. "Externally, the Mind teaching conforms to the position taken in the Nirvāṇa-sūtra [J. Nehan kyō] that the Buddha-nature, through the aid of the precepts, is always present." In this regard, Eisai stands staunchly in the Tendai tradition established by the Chinese T'ien-t'ai master Chih-i, who emphasized upholding the Buddhist precepts as the basis from which wisdom arises.39 This external emphasis on the precepts is joined to an internal perspective, "the view of the Prajñā sūtra [J. Hannya kyō] that awak ening is attained through wisdom." Taken together, these two perspectives on the Mind teaching indicate the teaching of the Zen school reflecting the trans-sectarian perspective of the inherent harmony between Zen and Buddhist scriptures and doctrines.

The two forms of the Mind teaching referred to by Eisai indicate two meditation traditions that he attempted to harmonize and integrate. One is the Zen teaching of the Nirvāṇa-sūtra and the T'ien-t'ai school, with its emphasis on the precepts. The other is the Zen teaching of the Prajñā sūtra and the Ch'an school, with its emphasis on wisdom. I will later examine Sung precedents for the integration of these two Chinese "Zen" traditions.

The emphasis on morality and the precepts emerges in the first section of the Kōzen gokokuron, beginning one of the major bases for Eisai's argument: monastic reform. According to Ninnō kyō teaching, the survival of both Buddhist and secular institutions is predicated on the moral character of a country, typified by the monastic discipline of the Buddhist clergy. This discipline has important consequences regarding the status of Buddhism in society and the role that Buddhism performs in legitimizing state authority. In effect, the behavior of the Buddhist clergy serves as a moral barometer of the country, determining the credibility of Buddhism in the eyes of the state and the country as a whole. By extension, corruption undermines the status of Buddhism and its claim to authority. The Buddhist monastery, whether as the repository of virtue or the beacon of enlightenment, depends on the moral discipline of its members, in this view, for both spiritual and social justification. Practically speaking, the social support given to Buddhism, and ultimately its very existence as a temporal institution, is intricately connected to the moral discipline of its members. In this regard, the opening section of the Kōzen gokokuron begins with a quote from the Sūtra on the Six Perfections (J. Roku haramitsu kyō): "The Buddha said, `I preached the rules governing moral training [vinaya] so as to ensure the lasting presence of Buddhism [in the world],'" marking the temporal aim of Eisai's treatise to preserve the existence and integrity of the Buddhist order. This concern for moral reform is the theme of the first section, and continues to appear throughout the treatise. It is also evident from Eisai's conservative approach toward the Buddhist precepts. In complete defiance of the Japanese Tendai tradition established by Saichō, which established its identity in part by liberating its members from the stricter, more rule-oriented discipline of early Buddhism, Eisai demanded that Zen monks observe the stricter Hīnayāna precepts in addition to Mahayāna ones. Eisai's position on monastic reform, moreover, was not a personal, idiosyncratic conception. It specifically reflected the model of Buddhism that Eisai had witnessed in Sung China. In the Kōzen gokokuron, this connection is apparent in the following citation from the Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei (J. Zen'en shingi, "The Regulations for Pure Conduct at Zen Monasteries"), the official record of regulations observed at Ch'an institutions in Sung China:

> The ability to spread Buddhist teaching throughout the world of unenlightened people most assuredly rests on strict purity in one's moral training. As a result, observing the Buddhist rules governing moral behavior [kairitsu] takes precedence in the practice of Zen and the investigation of the Way. Without the insulation and protection from transgressions and errors [provided by the monastic rules], how will one ever become a Buddha or a patriarch? ... Through reading and reciting the monastic rules and understanding the benefit they provide, one is well versed in the differences between upholding the rules for moral behavior and violating them, and on what behavior is permissible and impermissible ... [Monks of the Zen School] rely completely on the sacred utterances issued from the mouth of the golden one, the Buddha; they do not indulge their fancies to follow ordinary fellows.

The political aim of Eisai's reform is expressed directly when he states, "In our country, the Divine Sovereign [the Japanese Emperor] shines in splendor, and the influence of his virtuous wisdom spreads far and wide." Recall that Eisai specifically stipulated the Kōzen gokokuron, the "Treatise on the Promotion of Zen for the Protection of the Country," as being consistent with the teaching of

the Buddha to the Benevolent Kings (i.e., the Ninnō kyō). For Eisai this meant that Zen, as the legitimate interpretation of Buddhist teaching and practice, represented the means through which Ninnō kyō ideology could be implemented.

The basis for Japan's future glory, Eisai asserted, rested in state sponsorship of Zen teaching.

Much of Eisai's confidence stemmed from his belief in Japan's destiny as one of the preeminent Buddhist kingdoms in the world. Eisai is quick to show how this belief is based on scriptural authority, on the Buddha's assertion recorded in the scriptures that in the future "the most profound teaching of Buddhist

wisdom" [prajñā] will flourish in the lands to the northeast. For Eisai, "the most profound teaching of Buddhist wisdom" is none other than Zen teaching. The lands to the northeast where this teaching is destined to flourish are China, Korea, and Japan. Since the transmission of Zen teaching to China and Korea has already been accomplished, only the transformation of Japan remained. The clear implication is that Japan's natural destiny as a preeminent Buddhist country can be fulfilled only by the adoption of Zen teaching. The Mind teaching of the Zen school, in conjunction with the vision of the ideal Buddhist state in the Ninnō kyō, thus constitutes the basis for Japan's future glory.

The ideology of the Ninnō kyō played an important role not only in determining the primary position of Buddhist moral teaching in the affairs of the country but also in determining where primary responsibility lay for carrying out such reforms. Recall in this regard the provision, advanced in the Ninnō kyō, that rulers of states—not the Buddhist clergy or faithful—were responsible for managing Buddhism and ensuring its continued existence. The preservation of Buddhism in this conception, it should be remembered, is intricately connected with the ruler's own self-interest in preserving his state. Thus, since the state is primarily a moral order based on Buddhist teaching, the moral integrity of the Buddhist clergy lies at the core of the state's identity.

The declining social and political situation at the end of the Heian era provided Eisai's message with a great sense of urgency. Here too the Ninnō kyō served as a primary source of inspiration. On the one hand, recall that the Ninnō kyō characterizes itself as "the father and mother of all kings" (i.e., rulers), and as a treasure for driving away demons and protecting a country. More specifically, recall the admonition in the Ninnō kyō that it be entrusted to rulers especially at such times when the credibility of Buddhist teaching and the Buddhist clergy have been exhausted. The clear implication is that the Ninnō kyō should serve as the ruler's model for reestablishing the authority of Buddhist institutions and the moral character of his country. As a result, there is a strong sense in the Kōzen gokokuron that the Ninnō kyō speaks directly to the political and moral decay of the time. Witness the following passage from the Ninnō kyō:

> Oh Great Monarch, when Buddhist teaching has degenerated to the point where its doctrines alone survive but it is no longer practiced [masse] ... , the king and his chief ministers of state will frequently engage in illicit activities [that contravene Buddhist Law]. They will support Buddhist teaching and the community of monks only for their own selfish interests, committing great injustices and all sorts of crimes. In opposition to Buddhist teaching and in opposition to the rules governing moral behavior, they will restrain Buddhist monks as if they were prisoners. When such a time arrives, it will not be long before Buddhist teaching disappears.

In accordance with Ninnō kyō teaching, the ruler of the country is best situated to reestablish the credibility of Buddhist teaching and the moral order of the state. Given the political turmoil and

competition among claimants to the imperial throne, on one hand, and the rising importance of the military in government affairs and the competition between different warrior families, on the other, the position occupied by any ruler was extremely tenuous. Eisai's response to this state of affairs seems to be reflected in a passage from the Scripture on the Perfection of Wisdom of the Victorious Ruler (Shō-tennō hannya kyō):

> Suppose that when a bodhisattva who had studied the Buddhist teaching on wisdom [i.e., the prajñā- teaching of the Zen school] became the ruler of the country, mean despicable sorts of people came to slander and insult him. This ruler would defend himself without making a display of his majesty and authority, saying, "I am the ruler of the country. I rule exclusively by the authority vested in me through the Buddhist teaching [on wisdom]."

This statement suggests that the Ninnō kyō was important to the message of the Kōzen gokokuron in two ways. In terms of its overall message, the Kōzen gokokuron was conceived within the framework of Ninnō kyō ideology. This is its fundamental significance. In terms of the social and political context, the historical situation within which the Kōzen gokokuron was created, the passages cited from the Ninnō kyō suggested concrete solutions to specific issues. In this latter instance, the Ninnō kyō is not unique but fits a general pattern guiding the references to scriptures in the Kōzen gokokuron. Because of the overall importance of Ninnō kyō ideology for the Kōzen gokokuron, however, the references to the Ninnō kyō merit special attention.

From the preceding we can see how Zen teaching suggested a program of reform for Eisai. In Eisai's interpretation, the Zen-based reform program was necessary to realize Japan's destiny as a great Buddhist country. Zen represented moral reform through increased vigilance in following the precepts (kai), the essential teaching on Buddhist wisdom (Skt. prajñā, J. hannya) transmitted through the masters of the Zen school, the meditation traditions (zen) of both the T'ien-t'ai/Tendai and Ch'an/Zen schools, and the method to achieve the ideal Buddhist state advocated in the Ninnō kyō. In Eisai's interpretation, Zen clearly had the potential to serve as the multidimensional ideology that Japan required, encompassing the political, moral, soteriological, philosophical, and utopian aims of the country. The Ninnō kyō, we have seen, played a significant role in establishing the political and utopian aims, as well as the parameters for carrying them out.

Zen Monastic Ritual and Ninnō kyō Ideology

The implications of Eisai's adaptation of Ninnō kyō ideology in terms of the practices engaged in at Zen monasteries are drawn in section 8 (The Code of Conduct at Zen Monasteries) of the Kōzen gokokuron.50 Eisai's alleged inspiration for this section is the monastic code used at Sung Ch'an monasteries, the Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei (J. Zen'en shingi), as well as works used to guide monastic practice (i.e., vinaya rules) in "great Buddhist countries." In effect, the section outlines a plan explaining how the program of activities at Zen monasteries serves the interests of the state. The plan is discussed in two parts. The first part discusses what the program of activities depends on, and the second details the annual rituals to be observed at Zen monasteries.

The most noteworthy feature in Eisai's discussion of activities at Zen monasteries is the emphasis on moral conduct. Strict observance of the monastic code constitutes the basis for the revival of the country conceived in terms of Ninnō kyō ideology. When monks are "armed externally with the rules for correct behavior [i.e., the precepts of the small vehicle], creating a field of blessings for human beings and gods, and sustained internally by the great compassion of bodhisattvas [i.e., the precepts of the great vehicle], acting as sympathetic fathers to sentient beings, His Majesty the

emperor, the highly esteemed treasures [of the country],53 and the skilled physicians of the country [i.e., Buddhist monks] rely exclusively on them." The revival of the country is thus tied to the strict moral conduct of Buddhist monks.

A second feature of note is the rigor of monastic discipline at Zen monasteries. This is presented in terms of the daily and nightly rituals that monks are required to follow. Four sessions (totaling roughly eight hours) are devoted to zazen meditation. In comparison, roughly four hours are devoted to sleep. This schedule too is rationalized in terms of Ninnō kyō ideology:

> Through their constant meditation [nen-nen], [the monks] repay the country's kindness [koku-on]. Through their constant activity [gyōgyō; a reference to Buddhist practices], [the monks] pray for the enhancement of the [country's] treasure [i.e., the emperor] [hōsan]. In truth, [the constant meditation and constant activity of the monks] is the result of the eternal glory of imperial rule [teigo] and the perpetual splendor of the dharma-transmission lamp [hōtō].

Again, the revival of imperial glory is connected to the strict moral discipline of the Zen school.

Other provisions are designed to ensure that the public conduct and dress of Zen monks are in keeping with the traditions established for members of the Buddhist clergy. These provisions confirm an image of the Zen monk as a devoted practitioner, observing strict conduct and moral discipline and commanding public respect in his dress and demeanor. An additional provision stipulates that members of Zen monasteries are not self-sufficient but are supplied through the alms of the community. "[Zen] monks do not engage in tilling the fields or rice cultivation, because they have no time to spare from zazen meditation." The point here is that Zen monastic institutions preserve the well-established, reciprocal relationship between the clergy and lay communities; Zen monks do not rely on independent means that might deprive the society at large of a primary source of blessings (i.e., giving alms). This condition also coincides with an image of moral authority that a well-disciplined Zen clergy commands. Eisai's image of the Zen monastery, it should be noted, contradicts the prevailing view championed in Rinzai orthodoxy that Pai-chang initiated the hallowed principle of self-sufficiency practiced at Zen monasteries.

The annual ritual observances at Zen monasteries, the second part of Eisai's discussion in section 8, further ensure that Zen fulfills its social obligations as the official religion of the state. These obligations, on the whole, are directed at a sociopolitical order maintained through moral virtue, which, following the rationale employed in this context, is cultivated through specific ritual observances. The rationale for several of these observances is connected to the preservation of the emperor and the country. It is no accident, moreover, that these observances head the list.

The first are rituals commemorating the emperor's birthday. Buddhist sūtras are recited for a thirty-day period prior to the emperor's birthday to pray that the emperor enjoy "boundless longevity" (seijū mukyō). Sūtras specified for recitation at these rituals include most prominently the "four scriptures for protecting the country," the Dai hannya kyō (Skt. Mahāprajñapāramitā sūtra), in addition to the Myōhō renge kyō, Konkōmyō kyō, and the Ninnō gokoku hannya kyō mentioned previously. This establishes, at the outset, the commitment of Zen institutional resources to the traditional Buddhist ideology of the Japanese state in terms that had prevailed in Japan through the Heian era.

The second set of rituals refers to formal ceremonies conducted on six days each month for invoking the buddhas' names and reciting scriptures. At the top of the list of aims that these

ceremonies are meant to accomplish is the spread of "the August virtue of His Majesty" (ōfū) and the enrichment of imperial rule (teidō).

There were also ceremonies held on the last day of each month specifically aimed at repaying the kindness of the emperor. These ceremonies featured lectures on the Prajñāpāramitā sūtras. Ceremonies held at mid-month in honor of the previous emperor featured lectures on the Mahā-parinirvāṇa sūtra. All of the rituals considered thus far indicate the persistent dedication of Zen monks, as representatives of Buddhist teaching, to dispatch their political obligations to the state (i.e., the emperor).

In addition are ceremonies, held two days each month, designed to enlist the support and protection of native (i.e., non-Buddhist) gods for the Buddhist cause. Since Buddhism was considered the ideology of the state, providing the moral pretext for social and political order, support for Buddhism by regional deities was perceived as having obvious implications for the welfare of the country as a whole.

Other rituals and ceremonies conducted at Zen monasteries were associated with the role that Buddhism played in society. Among these were vegetarian banquets held on memorial days to seek merit on behalf of the deceased. In theory, anyone could sponsor such a banquet, but in practice only elite members of the society commanded the resources necessary to sponsor one, and members of the imperial family were noteworthy sponsors. In addition, provision was made for additional vegetarian banquets at Zen monasteries, sponsored by government officials. The reasons for these are unspecified but are presumably related to the potential efficacy of merit accumulated on such occasions for affairs of state.

The annual rituals and ceremonies served other purposes as well. On the one hand, they address further the concern that Zen monks be morally rigorous in their discipline. In addition, they address the issue of whether the Zen approach is exclusive or syncretic. This issue is resolved in two ways. First, it is resolved through rituals that demonstrate that Zen teaching includes the entire corpus of Buddhist scriptures, and second, through an institutional affirmation of the practices associated with other Buddhist schools, namely Shingon and Tendai. In addition to the meditation hall, Eisai's Zen monastic compound included a Shingon Hall devoted to the performance of Mikkyō ceremonies (to pray for blessings and earn merit for the deceased) and a Cessation and Contemplation (shikan) Hall for cultivating Tendai-based meditation practices. According to the activities that he sanctioned, there is no doubt that Eisai came down heavily on the side of syncretism at the practical level as well as the theoretical one. Syncretism also figures prominently in Eisai's adoption of Sung Ch'an precedents.

The Nature of Zen Teaching and the Meaning of Zen Practice: Sung Ch'an Precedents for the Kōzen gokokuron

By the beginning of the Sung period, Chinese Buddhism was driven by three concerns. The incorporation of these concerns led to a new conception of Buddhism in China championed by dominant lineages or "houses" of Ch'an. The first concern was associated with the question of lineage itself, the importance it assumed in conferring status, and the distinct form that it took in the Ch'an school. The second concern related to Ch'an's self-definition during the Sung period, particularly the relationship between Ch'an teaching and the teaching of other schools of Buddhism. The third concern was the importance of Buddhist practice to Sung Ch'an's self-definition, particularly as it related to moral discipline and the observation of the vinaya rules. Each of these

concerns is crucial for understanding Eisai's conception of Zen in the Kōzen gokokuron. They distance Eisai substantially from the criteria he is usually subjected to by those evaluating his contributions to the development of Zen in Japan.

As the first Japanese master to transmit directly the teaching of the Rinzai (C. Lin-chi) faction to Japan, Eisai is often subjected to the criteria of a supposed "pure" Zen tradition that originated with T'ang dynasty Lin-chi masters. Subjecting Eisai to T'ang Ch'an rhetoric should be avoided for two reasons. First, such an evaluation mistakes the role of lineage in the Ch'an tradition, assuming that it carries an unassailable ideological agenda when in fact its main function is to confer status upon an individual as a legitimate master. Second, it assumes that Lin-chi faction orthodoxy in the Sung period had the same ideological assumptions as the Rinzai faction later on in Japanese history. This (p.82) later account of Lin-chi/Rinzai teaching does stem from the canonical literature of the T'ang Ch'an tradition, to be sure. Nevertheless, the compilation of the "recorded sayings" (C. yülu, J. goroku) upon which the contemporary understanding of Lin-chi/Rinzai ideology is based is almost exclusively a post-T'ang phenomena. At the time of Eisai's visits to China at the end of the twelfth century, it was the Lin-chi lineage that had come to dominate the Ch'an world, not the Lin-chi ideology.

The difference between Eisai's understanding of Zen and what would later become the accepted ideology of the Lin-chi school is suggested in the following example. According to a famous story related in the Platform Sūtra, when Emperor Wu asked Bodhidharma whether his lifetime of building temples, giving alms, and making offerings had gained merit for him or not, Bodhidharma rebuked his suggestion. The Sixth Patriarch explained Bodhidharma's rebuke by differentiating the search for blessings (fu) from the search for merit (kung-te). "Building temples, giving alms, and making offerings are merely the practice of seeking after blessings. ... Merit is in the Dharmakāya, not in the field of blessings."62 In other words, conventional Buddhist practices aimed at seeking blessings are at best peripheral to Ch'an teaching. The real essence of Ch'an practice lies in "seeing into your own nature" and cultivating a "straightforward mind." This concept is far removed from the Ninnō kyō model of the Buddhist ruler who actively promotes a flourishing Buddhist practice in his realm, centering on the very "practices aimed at seeking blessings" denigrated in the Platform Sūtra.

One might argue, however, that the actual effect of the Platform Sūtra distinction between merit and virtue was only to separate what is essential in Buddhist practice from what is secondary. In this formulation, meditation is essential because it provides merit, the enlightenment experience of "seeing into your own nature." Other, externally driven practices such as building temples, giving alms, and making offerings, "seeking after blessings," may be regarded as complementary but unessential. It follows that meditation and monastic discipline would constitute the integral components of Ch'an practice, the basis from which the enlightenment experience is realized. Yet, contrary to expectation, it is precisely here that we encounter the famous Ch'an denial of conventional forms of Buddhist meditation and monastic discipline that were the particular hallmarks of Lin-chi-faction rhetoric: "Even for those who keep the rules regarding food and conduct with the care of a man carrying oil so as not to spill a drop, if their Dharma-eye is not clear, they will have to pay up their debts." Lin-chi characterizes his monastery as a place where the monks "neither read sūtras nor learn meditation." This is a far cry from the stern emphasis on monastic discipline and conventional meditation as prerequisite for Buddhist practice advocated by Eisai.

The Liu-tsu t'an ching (J. Rokuzu dankyō; "Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch") and the Lin-chi lu (J. Rinzai roku; "Record of Lin-chi"), unassailable classics according to later tradition of Ch'an

teaching, are conspicuous by their absence in the Kōzen gokokuron. Nor can one find reference to any of the hallowed masters of the recorded sayings tradition. This absence suggests that Eisai looked elsewhere for his interpretation of Zen in spite of his lineal affiliation. But where should the model for Eisai's Zen be sought, if not in these "classic" works? Eisai's conception of Zen bears the strong imprint of concerns that drove Ch'an in the early Sung period. Although the interpretation of Sung Ch'an by Ta-hui Tsung-kao (1089–1163), a leading master of the Lin-chi faction who emphasized k'an-hua and kung-an, or kōan-introspection—the terms that came to characterize much of Ch'an teaching and practice—was in place by the time of Eisai's study in China; there is no evidence of its influence in the Kōzen gokokuron. In spite of his factional affiliation, Eisai's definition of Zen is indebted to masters who were neither associated with the Lin-chi lineage nor sympathetic to positions that defined Lin-chi ideology.

Prior to the ascendance of the Lin-chi faction in the early Sung, Ch'an was dominated by masters associated with the revival of Buddhism in the Wu-yüeh region. The majority of these masters were descendants of Fa-yen Wen-i. They dominated the temples of Ch'ien-t'ang, the political center of the region that later became the Southern Sung capital of Hang-chou, and were responsible for the revival of Mount T'ien-t'ai as a Buddhist center. The rulers of Wu-yüeh, rather than the clergy, played the leading role in planning the revival. Much of the enterprise of the Wu-yüeh rulers was naturally aimed at restoring Mount T'ien-t'ai, the spiritual center of the region, which had fallen into decay as a result of neglect and destruction in the late T'ang period. It also involved dispatching envoys to Japan and Korea to retrieve lost works of the T'ien-t'ai school. These events, aimed at reviving the past glory of T'ien-t'ai as a center for Buddhism, also influenced the type of Ch'an teaching that flourished in the Wu-yüeh region. This legacy was particularly attractive to Eisai, who saw in Ch'an the remedy for the reform of Japanese Tendai. Eisai's whole presumption of Zen as both the lost source and the fulfillment of Tendai teaching seems predicated on the Wu-yüeh revival of Mount T'ien-t'ai as a Ch'an center. The interpretation of Ch'an developed by Fa-yen lineage monks from this region, rather than Lin-chi orthodoxy, had the greatest influence over Eisai's understanding of Zen.

Concerns about Ch'an lineage, the relation between Ch'an and Buddhist teaching, and the observance of Buddhist discipline ran particularly high in the early Sung period. The resolutions suggested by leading Buddhist masters at this time played an important role in determining the shape of the Ch'an tradition from the Sung period on. In the following, I examine Eisai's positions in the Kōzen gokokuron regarding these three concerns against precedents established at the beginning of the Sung period. In particular, Eisai's positions are discussed in reference to resolutions for the concerns suggested in the works of three masters from the Wu-yüeh region: Tao-yüan (Dōgen; fl. c. 1000), (p.84) compiler of the Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu (J. Keitoku dentōroku; Ching-te era Record of the Transmission of the Lamp);67 Yung-ming Yen-shou (J. Eimei Enju; 904–975), compiler of the Tsung-ching lu (J. Sugyō roku; Records of the Source-Mirror) and Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi (J. Manzen dōki shu; Anthology on the Common End of Myriad Good Deeds); and Tsan-ning (J. Sannei; 919–1001), compiler of the Sung kao-seng chuan (J. Sō kōsoden; Sung Biographies of Eminent Monks) and the Seng shih-lüeh (J. So shiryaku; Outline History of the Sa;azngha). In each of their respective ways, these three masters set precedents that came to characterize Sung Ch'an. These were not the only precedents for Ch'an teaching and practice during the Sung period. Under the later influence of Lin-chi Ch'an masters, Ch'an's interpretation took a decidedly different direction, emphasizing the archetypal Ch'an persona recorded in kung-an and yü-lu collections. In spite of Eisai's affiliation with

the Lin-chi lineage, his understanding of Ch'an bears a marked resemblance to these earlier precedents.

The identification of Buddhist identity in terms of lineal associations was one of the conventions that characterized Sung Buddhism. Lineage association was already an established mark of Buddhist, including Ch'an sectarian, identity by the T'ang, but it did not go without challenge as a means of designating identity. Nonsectarian collections of Buddhist biographies, the Kao-seng chuan (Biographies of Eminent Monks) and Hsü kao-seng chuan (Biographies of Eminent Monks, Continued), provided the most valued format for interpreting the lives of noteworthy monks prior to the Sung. The early Sung period exhibited ambivalence between two different approaches for recording the biographies of exemplary Buddhist monks. This ambivalence is reflected in the nearly simultaneous appearance of two works: the Sung kao-seng chuan (988), which is committed to the established patterns for recording the biographies of monks in Chinese Buddhism, and the Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu (1004), which became the widely accepted precedent for recording the identities of Ch'an monks in the Sung period. The different approach of each work is reflected conceptually in the way the basic identity of a monk is defined and in the regard for sectarian lineage.

The difference between the Sung kao-seng chuan and Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu approach to biography centers on the essential identity of individual monks and the criteria determining that identity. In the Sung kao-seng chuan works, events associated with particular monks were recorded according to standardized categories of "expertise," regardless of sectarian affiliation. The category of "expertise" indicated the essential identity of the monk, the mark of a monk's "eminence." The Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu, on the other hand, was a sectarian work of the Ch'an school. Its purpose was to promote the lineage of the Fa-yen (J. Hōgen) faction over rival factions as the heir to Ch'an mind transmission. Rather than a broad-based nonsectarian approach that recognizes different categories of expertise, the ch'uan-teng lu (J. dentōroku) approach determined a monk's worth according to narrowly defined sectarian criteria decided by the Ch'an school. Both approaches influenced Eisai's characterization of Zen in the Kōzen gokokuron.

Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu's influence on the Kōzen gokokuron is most evident in section 5, "The Transmission Lineage of the Zen School," where Eisai aligns himself with the Huang-lung (J. ōryō) line of the Lin-chi (J. Rinzai) faction of Ch'an, substantiating his claim with a detailed record of the transmission lineage of the Ch'an school extending to Eisai himself. In the Kōzen gokokuron, the authorization is backed by a formal statement certifying the transmission of the Mind teaching to Eisai from his mentor, Hsü-an Huai-Ch'ang (J. Kian Eshō) of Wan-nien (J. Mannen) Temple on Mount T'ien-t'ai.

The lineage recorded by Eisai in the Kōzen gokokuron was a standard one in the Ch'an tradition, consisting of three parts. The first part associated the origins of the Ch'an lineage with the former Buddhas of the distant past, culminating with the "seven Buddhas of the past" which begins with Vipassin (J. Bibashi) and ends with Śākyamuni (J. Shakamon). The second part listed the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs adopted in the Ch'an lineage, from Mahākāśyapa (J. Makakasho) to Bodhidharma (J. Bodaidaruma). The list adopted by Eisai is identical to the one first adopted in the Pao-lin chuan (compiled 801). The Pao-lin chuan (J. Hōrinden; Transmission of the Treasure Grove) lineage of patriarchs was accepted without variation in the important Ch'an works of the Sung period, including Tao-yüan's Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu and Yen-shou's Tsung-ching lu.

The third part included the list of Chinese patriarchs, from Hui-k'o (J. Eka) through Hui-neng (J. Enō) and Lin-chi (J. Rinzai), founder of the Lin-chi (J. Rinzai) faction, and through the Sung Ch'an master Huang-lung Hui-nan (J. ōryō Enan), founder of the Huang-lung (J. ōryō) branch, and ending with Eisai's teacher Hsü-an Huai-chang, followed by Eisai.

There is no doubt that this certification of transmission represented a crucial component in Eisai's claim as legitimate heir and direct descendant of the Buddha's teaching. In the context of early Kamakura Japan, Eisai's claim countered a similar claim by a contemporary, Dainichi Nōnin (?–1196?), a self-proclaimed representative of the Daruma faction. To bolster his claim, Nōnin sent disciples to China to procure acknowledgment for his status as interpreter of Zen. The Sung Ch'an master Te-kuang (1121–1203), upon receiving a letter and gifts sent by Nōnin, is reported to have "gladly attested to Nōnin's awakening and sent him a Dharma robe, a name, and picture of Bodhidharma with a verse-in-praise inscribed." The direct and personal (i.e., authentic) transmission between master and disciple claimed by Eisai stood in marked contrast to Nōnin's indirect (i.e., inauthentic) transmission.

In this context, Eisai claimed that authentic transmission was a prerequisite for government support of Zen. Eisai contends that the reason the Lin-chi faction is the most prosperous of the five factions of Ch'an in China is that it receives official authorization from the Sung government. This claim suggests that Eisai's promotion of Zen, specifically the Huang-lung branch of the Lin-chi faction, is closely connected to his support for a similarly inspired government revival of Buddhism in Japan. The Sung Ch'an model suggested that authentic Buddhism was based on direct transmission from master to disciple, a claim that Eisai verifies in his own case.

In spite of Eisai's identification with lineage transmission in the Kōzen gokokuron, his sectarian identity was not exclusive. The narrower sectarian approach identifying one exclusively on the basis of lineage was a product of the later Kamakura period and was foreign to Eisai. Eisai, as was seen earlier, recognized the validity of the T'ien-t'ai ch'an tradition in addition to that of the Ch'an school. In this regard, Eisai's view of Ch'an is not exclusively tied to Ch'an sectarian identity, but is part of a broader movement within Buddhism encompassing the Ch'an and T'ien-t'ai meditation traditions. This view of Ch'an more closely resembles that of the early Sung vinaya master, Tsan-ning, and the Ch'an syncretist, Yen-shou.

Although Tsan-ning was not a member of the Ch'an school, he lived in an age and an area in which Ch'an influence was pervasive. Tsan-ning's view of the Ch'an school is interesting in light of his own position as a high-ranking member of the Sung bureaucracy and a monk trained in the vinaya, at a time when Ch'an was establishing itself as the most influential school of Buddhism in China. In addition to similarities in the way Tsan-ning and Eisai understood Ch'an lineage, discussed later, a link between Tsan-ning and the Kōzen gokokuron can be drawn in three ways. In the first place, direct citations from Tsan-ning's Sung kao-seng chuan appear in the Kōzen gokokuron. Furthermore, Tsan-ning and Eisai shared certain temporal goals regarding the restoration and preservation of Buddhism. In the conclusion to the Seng shih-lüeh, Tsan-ning provides his reason for writing in terms of "hope for the revival of Buddhism" and "to ensure the lasting presence of the True Law" (cheng-fa), phraseology repeated nearly verbatim in the title of section 1 of the Kōzen gokokuron, "Ensuring the Lasting Presence of Buddhist Teaching [or Law]." Third, Tsan-ning was a proponent of Buddhist ritual at the Sung court. He advocated that Buddhist institutions and rituals be viewed as legitimate expressions of the Chinese state. He specifically promoted use of Jen-wang ching (J. Ninnō kyō)

inspired rituals by the imperial court. Government support for Ch'an institutions during the Sung was heavily indebted to the case Tsan-ning made for Buddhism at the early Sung court. These links between Tsan-ning and the Kōzen gokokuron can also be extended more specifically to the question regarding Ch'an lineage.

Tsan-ning was an avid supporter of Ch'an but sought to incorporate it within the Buddhist tradition as a whole. Tsan-ning viewed Ch'an as the fulfillment of the Buddhist meditation tradition, not as an independent transmission of Buddhist teaching at odds with the traditions that preceded it. His major reservation was with those who promoted Ch'an as an independent movement that excluded other Buddhist teachings and schools. Tsan-ning's inclination to view Ch'an as the fulfillment of the Buddhist meditation tradition is evident from the way in which he accepts the traditional lineage of the Ch'an school in relation to that of the T'ien-t'ai school.

The fact that Tsan-ning accepts in principle the lineage of the Ch'an school is clear from his comments recorded in the Sung kao-seng chuan.84 There, he runs through the conventional list of Chinese Ch'an patriarchs from Bodhidharma, through Hui-k'o, Seng-ts'an, and Tao-hsin. After Tao-hsin, the lineage divides into two branches, that of Hung-jen and that of Niu-t'ou Fa-jung. Although Hung-jen also produced two branches, that of Shen-hsiu and that of Hui-neng, it was Hui-neng who passed on the robe of transmission and it was his school that flourished thereafter. In contrast to the Ch'an lineage, Tsan-ning also presents the lineage of the T'ien-t'ai school in an abbreviated form: the masters Hui-wen, Hui-ssu, and Chih-i. The T'ien-t'ai masters are credited with furthering Ch'an methods in China (specifically the "three contemplations" of emptiness, provisional existence, and the middle way between these two; and "cessation and contemplation" (chih-kuan)) through the Sui dynasty (581–618). The important point here is that T'ien-t'ai is presented in such a way that it represents ch'an prior to the Ch'an movement that traced its origins to Bodhidharma. The ch'an of the Ch'an school that flourished in the T'ang represents, in Tsan-ning's arrangement, the fulfillment of T'ien-t'ai ch'an. Tsan-ning thus affirmed the validity of Fa-yen Ch'an in Wu-yüeh, where Fa-yen Wen-i's disciple, T'ian-t'ai Te-shao, converted Mount T'ien-t'ai into a center for Ch'an training (albeit with a heavy dose of T'ien-t'ai teaching added). The appeal of this situation for Eisai is obvious.

The assumptions underlying Tsan-ning's view of Ch'an parallel those of Eisai in the Kōzen gokokuron. This is particularly evident in Eisai's characterization of Tendai in relation to Zen. In the first place, Eisai treats Tendai adaptations of ch'an in section 4 of the Kōzen gokokuron, just prior to his discussion of Zen school ch'an in section 5. This parallels the order with which Tsan-ning treats T'ien-t'ai and Ch'an in the hsi-ch'an commentary of the Sung kao-seng chuan mentioned previously. Following the Japanese Tendai tradition recorded in the Isshin-kai of Saichō, moreover, Eisai maintained that direct contact (i.e., legitimate transmission) occurred between Bodhidharma and Hui-ssu, which became the basis for a lineage of ch'an transmission within the T'ien-t'ai school.

Doing so allowed Eisai to reconstruct the history of ch'an transmission in China in a way that agreed with Tsan-ning yet also went a crucial step further. It asserted that T'ien-t'ai ch'an was more than merely ch'an prior to the Ch'an movement emanating from Bodhidharma. Since Tsan-ning contended that T'ien-t'ai ch'an and the ch'an of the Ch'an school could be traced from the same source, the Ch'an master Bodhidharma, this meant that the direct transmission from Bodhidharma was not the exclusive prerogative of the Ch'an school but also included T'ien-t'ai. This was a suitable pretext for one advocating Zen as the basis for Tendai reform.

(p.88) Two important points in section 4 of the Kōzen gokokuron confirm Eisai's interpretation of Zen. The first is the aforementioned proposition that Sung Ch'an represents the legitimate legacy of both Ch'an and T'ien-t'ai teaching and that the essence of this tradition is embodied in the Buddhist practice authorized in the Sung Ch'an monastic code, the Ch'an-yuan ch'ing-kuei.87 In conjunction with the actual lineage in section 5, it established Eisai as legitimate heir to this Sung Ch'an tradition. The second point is reflected directly in Eisai's concluding remarks to the section: "In terms of the main point raised here, the scriptures, monastic rules, and treatises preached by the Buddha throughout the five periods of his teaching career are all essential teachings of the Buddha's zen." The point here is that Eisai viewed Zen teaching within the context of the Buddhist tradition as a whole—zen is seen as the inspiration for the entire Buddhist tradition and not as an exclusive teaching fundamentally opposed to that tradition. The Buddhist tradition, one should add, is here framed in terms of the interpretation given to it in the T'ien-t'ai p'an-chiao (J. hankyō) doctrine.

While Eisai's position on Zen within Buddhism parallels that of Tsan-ning, it is more notably framed within principles of Ch'an syncretism associated with Yung-ming Yen-shou. Yen-shou played a leading role in defining Buddhism and the meaning of Buddhist practice in the post-T'ang period. His influence spread to Korea and Japan, as well as China. In this respect alone, Yen-shou cast a wide shadow over the development of the "world of Zen" as Ch'an movements spread throughout East Asia. Although most commonly associated with developments in Chinese Ch'an and Korean S;akon, Yen-shou's influence was strongly felt in early Japanese Zen as well. His model served as an inspiration for Dōgen,90 and his works were frequently cited in Japanese Buddhist circles. More significantly for the present context, Yen-shou's writings figured directly in the dispute between Eisai and Nōnin's Daruma-shū regarding the correct understanding of Zen (discussed here later). As a result, Yen-shou was a central figure in the struggle to define Zen in early Kamakura Japan.

Yen-shou's influence in the Kōzen gokokuron is exhibited in two interrelated ways: through specific reference to his writings, and through the general adoption of his ideas. The Tsung-ching lu is cited in various contexts in the Kōzen gokokuron. In section 3, for example, it is cited in response to concerns that Zen practitioners adhere to a false view of emptiness or an obscure realization, based on their prized independence from words and letters. It is also cited in connection with a question about Zen practitioners' alleged reluctance to follow the monastic rules and conventional Buddhist practices, or to engage in such common practices as the recitation of Buddha names or making offerings to relics. In section 7, "Outlining Zen Doctrines and Encouraging Zen Practice," it is cited as the basis for the first of the three methods considered, "[viewing Zen] from the perspective of conventional Buddhist teaching" (C. yüeh-chiao; J. yakukyō). In brief, Eisai relies on Yen-shou to verify that Zen is harmonious with rather than antagonistic toward established Buddhist doctrines and practices.

One work of Yen-shou in which his syncretic tendencies are made abundantly clear is the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi.95 In this work, a wide range of activities are advocated as constituting Buddhist practice: worshipping Buddhas and bodhisattvas; venerating stūpas; chanting sūtras; preaching the dharma; practicing repentance, the pāramitās, and the eightfold path; defending orthodoxy; contemplation; practicing the recitation of Buddha names (nien-fo); building temples; and even practicing self-immolation. This broad range of Buddhist activities may be linked to the context of an early Sung Buddhist revival that is pluralistic in nature. The problem for Yen-shou was how to justify the inclusion of such diverse practices in one system. The diversity of his "myriad good deeds" (wan-shan) did not fit well with the narrower concerns of established Buddhist schools. The focal point

around which the myriad good deeds are advocated in the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi is often connected with the Fa-hua ching (J. Hokkekyō) and T'ien-t'ai teaching. The Fa-hua ching is the principal scripture mentioned in connection with sūtra chanting and Dharma lectures. It is the basis for practicing repentance and figures prominently in Yen-shou's contemplation practice as well. It provides the principal inspiration for self-immolation. Yen-shou's much heralded nien-fo practice is also based on it.

To justify the pluralistic array of practices, Yen-shou looked to theoretical conceptions common to Buddhism, particularly the T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen traditions. Significantly, the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi begins with the claim that all good deeds (shan) are ultimately based on (kuei) the absolute, true form (shih-hsiang) (i.e., the true reality of all forms, true suchness, the ultimate) of fundamental principle (tsung). The point here is that extensive and active practice is necessary and that one should not cling foolishly to aimless sitting and thereby obstruct true cultivation. The reason for this precept is provided in the nature of interaction between the abstract and particular as conceived through li (noumena) and shih (phenomena), central conceptions in the Hua-yen tradition. In addition, Yen-shou draws from a number of theoretical constructions that parallel li and shih: the real and the expedient, absolute truth and worldly truth, nature and form, substance and function, and emptiness and existence. This parallel also extends to the title of the work. For Yen-shou, the meaning of wan-shan (the myriad good deeds) is closely connected to the meaning of shih (phenomena) and all of its associated meanings. The meaning of t'ung-kuei (the common end), the realm of the absolute, is closely associated with li (noumena) and all of its counterparts.

Yen-shou's syncretism and his promotion of Buddhist pluralism in the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi is dependent on the theoretical dichotomy of li and (p.90) shih. According to Yen-shou, the relationship between these two aspects of reality is one of identity, but because Buddhist practitioners insist on stressing the li side of the equation as the real source of enlightenment, the myriad good deeds or the shih side of the equation have fallen into disrepute and tend to be either rejected or neglected. Rather than being seen as disturbances to the realm of Truth, the activity of the myriad good deeds should be regarded as manifestations of one's realization and confirmation of enlightenment attained. In the correct relationship between the theoretical and practical, both are awarded equal emphasis and neither is neglected at the expense of the other. The basis for this relationship is implicit in the structure of reality itself. The equal emphasis accorded theory and practice represents a reflection of the same relationship that exists between the absolute and the myriad good deeds, li and shih, and so on.

It is clear that Eisai agreed with Yen-shou's approach. Stylistically, the Kōzen gokokuron has much in common with the Tsung-ching lu and the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi. Yen-shou's methodology, outlined in his preface (hsü) to the Tsung-ching lu, combines three elements: first, establishing the correct teaching (cheng-tsung); second, responding to questions to dispel doubts; and third, citing scriptural authority to support one's claim. This methodology is prominent in the Kōzen gokokuron as well, where Eisai's indebtedness to Yen-shou's method in the Tsung-ching lu is openly acknowledged. The application of Yen-shou's method in the Kōzen gokokuron can also be demonstrated as follows. The expressed aim of the Kōzen gokokuron is to establish Zen as the correct interpretation of Buddhist teaching (i.e., establishing the correct teaching). The longest section of the Kōzen gokokuron, section 3, “Resolving the Doubts of the People of the World,” is presented in a question-and-answer format reminiscent of that employed by Yen-shou (i.e., responding to questions to dispel doubts).

Even a cursory glance at the Kōzen gokokuron reveals the importance of scriptural passages for authorizing the positions taken (i.e., citing scriptural authority to support one's claims).

As we have seen, Eisai's syncretism is indebted in various ways to Sung precedents. What is surprising is not Eisai's indebtedness to Sung Ch'an, but the sources that he relied on most for his understanding. His opposition to an interpretation of Zen as an isolated and independent tradition places him both at odds with Rinzai orthodoxy and in agreement with Sung Ch'an syncretism as championed by monks from Wu-yüeh affiliated with the Fa-yen faction. In Yen-shou's case, the influence on Eisai extended beyond coincidental similarity. Yen-shou's syncretism figured prominently in the battle to define early Kamakura Zen.

The Role of Syncretism in Early Japanese Zen: Yen-shou's Influence on Eisai's Kōzen gokokuron and the Daruma-shū of Nōnin

In addition to the general influence of Yen-shou's writings on Sung and Kamakura Buddhism, his writings formed the background for a major dispute in early Kamakura Zen. Ishii Shūdō has called attention to the influence of the Tsung-ching lu on the content of Jōtō shōgakuron (Treatise on the Bodhisattva's Attainment of Enlightenment), an important work of the Japanese Daruma faction, Eisai's main rival for the Zen banner. Ishii has shown clearly the close relationship between large portions of the Jōtō shōgakuron and the Tsung-ching lu, demonstrating the Daruma faction's dependence on Yen-shou's text. Given the Japanese Daruma faction's reliance on the Tsung-ching lu, Eisai's rivalry with Nōnin and the impact Yen-shou had on the Kōzen gokokuron, it is important to establish more clearly the relationship between Yen-shou's syncretism and the position adopted by Eisai in the Kōzen gokokuron.

The discussion here begins with a review of Ishii's characterization of the issue. As Ishii notes, Yanagida Seizan maintains that in a brief document, the Mirai ki, written a year prior to the Kōzen gokokuron (in the eighth year of the Kenkyū era, 1197), Eisai rejected the claims of Kakua (b. 1142) and Nōnin (?–1196) as transmitters of the Zen school to Japan.104 Yanagida concludes that Eisai's aim in compiling the Kōzen gokokuron, moreover, was to distinguish his position regarding Zen from that of Nōnin and the Daruma faction. According to Yanagida, Eisai's insistence on aligning Sung Ch'an teaching and Sung Buddhist precept practice makes sense in terms of his need to distinguish his aims from those of the Daruma faction, whose own interpretation of Zen emphasized its antinomian character. In accomplishing this purpose, Eisai created another problem. His strict precept practice included following the rules of the Hīnayāna vinaya, something that Saichō, the founder of Japanese Tendai, rejected. For political reasons, to establish Tendai independence from the Nara Buddhist schools, Saichō insisted that Mt. Hiei monks follow only the less rigorous bodhisattva precepts. As a result, Eisai found himself maintaining a precarious balance, promoting a strict style of Zen to counter the Daruma faction that challenged the spirit of Saichō's reform and jeopardizing his own Zen as a Tendai reform movement.

How does Eisai's criticism of the Daruma faction square with the fact that both the Kōzen gokokuron and the Jōtō shōgakuron exhibit strong influence from the seminal figure of Sung Ch'an, Yung-ming Yen-shou? Ishii maintains that although Nōnin and Eisai were both heavily influenced by Yen-shou's syncretism, Nōnin tended toward a "naturalistic, heteretical Zen" (shizen gedōteki zen) based on the contention "Mind itself is Buddha" (sokushin zebutsu), whereas Eisai interpreted the Tsung-ching lu in terms of Yen-shou's moralism based on adherence to the Buddhist precepts (jiritsu shūgi).106 The former position refers to the Daruma faction's alleged rejection of the precepts and

conventional Buddhist practice on the assumption that "from the outset there are no passions; from the beginning we are enlightened."1 As a result, conventional practice is essentially useless. While stated in a highly condensed form, the main thrust of this position, I might add, is in agreement with later Rinzai Zen orthodoxy. Eisai, on the other hand, is deeply indebted to Yen-shou's conception of Zen as the "Mind school" and to Yen-shou's insistence that the Buddhist precepts and conventional Buddhist methods are necessary prerequisites for and accompaniments to true Zen practice. And, as Ishii points out, this view accounts for Eisai's insistence on the importance of the Zen'en shingi in the transmission of Zen teaching and practice to Japan.

Behind Ishii's characterization of Eisai's Zen is the acknowledgment that Eisai's experience in Sung China extended beyond the influence of Yen-shou and the early Sung period. Yen-shou's influence on Eisai was filtered through the Sung Lin-chi (J. Rinzai) lineage interpretation of Ch'an with which Eisai identified. This identity, as was previously mentioned, was formally asserted in section 5 of the Kōzen gokokuron, which placed Eisai as a fifty-third–generation heir of the Huang-lung (J. Ōryō) faction of the Lin-chi school, dating from the seven Buddhas of the past. Ishii is correct in asserting that this connection had a great impact on Eisai's understanding of Zen, including his perspective on the Zen-based Buddhist syncretism promoted by Yen-shou. The influence of the Lin-chi faction on Eisai's position in the Kōzen gokokuron, however, needs to be assessed carefully.

The normative position of Lin-chi Ch'an is often characterized in terms of four verses attributed to Bodhidharma: "A special transmission outside the teachings" (C. chiao-wai pieh-ch'üan; J. kyōge betsuden); "Do not establish words and letters" (C. pu-li wen-tzu; J. furyū monji); "Directly point to the human mind" (C. ch'ih-chih jen-hsin; J. jikishi ninshin); and "See nature and become a Buddha" (C. chien-hsing ch'eng-fo; J. kenshō jōbutsu). Although the individual use of each of these phrases predates the Sung dynasty, they were not established as a normative set of expressions until well into the Sung. The latter three verses appear in the Kōzen gokokuron, where they are attributed to Bodhidharma, and are referred to as the "gateway of Zen" (zenmon). The first verse, "A special transmission outside the teachings," is noticeably absent. This omission further aligns Eisai with Tsan-ning and Yen-shou, whose understanding of Ch'an also included the latter three verses but not the first. Together, they represented a Ch'an/Zen tradition that did not identify itself as "a special transmission outside the teachings" and was the prevailing interpretation of Ch'an at the outset of the Sung.

While broad agreement existed between Eisai's Zen syncretism and early Sung Ch'an, there were also differences regarding the actual form such syncretism might take. Section 7 of the Kōzen gokokuron, "An Outline of the Principal Methods for Practicing Zen," points to the specific form of Eisai's Zen syncretism. This section classifies Zen teaching into three types. The first is the type, described earlier, associated with Yen-shou and the Tsung-ching lu, "[viewing Zen] from the perspective of conventional Buddhist teaching (C. yüeh-chiao; J. yakukyō)."113 In this section, Eisai maintains that these methods are aimed at "dull-witted, ordinary people"; nevertheless, they are considered "skillful means for initiating the cultivation [of Zen]."

The second type, "[viewing Zen] from the perspective of Zen" (C. yüeh-Ch'an; J. yakuzen), is reminiscent of assumptions commonly encountered in the sectarian exclusiveness of the "pure" Zen tradition. Methods here aimed at "the most talented people" are "not confined to words and letters [i.e., the Buddhist textual tradition] and not concerned with mental thought [i.e., conventional

meditation practices].” They represent methods of practice that are “free from mental deliberation” and methods of study that “transcend the ways of either common people or sages.”

The third type refers to “[viewing Zen] from the aspect that conventional Buddhist teaching and Zen teaching hold in common” (C. yüeh tsung-hsiang; J. yaku sōsō). This type points to a higher level of synthesis for Eisai than that represented by Yen-shou. It is based on a common assumption pervading Mahayāna Buddhist thought that anything implicated in name and form has only a provisional existence and is ultimately unreal. This metaphysical reductionism is here applied to whatever one may practice or study, including conventional Buddhist teaching and Zen teaching. In the end all conceptions, even “enlightenment” or nirvāṇa, are nothing more than designations for provisionally existing things and are essentially unreal. This is the ultimate standpoint (i.e., that there is no standpoint) of Zen (and for that matter, Buddhist) teaching and practice. In the end, Eisai concludes:

> The [teaching of the] Zen school is independent of what is articulated in names and words, independent of mental deliberations and distinctions, incapable of comprehension, and ultimately unobtainable. The so-called “Law of the Buddha” is not a law that can be articulated and is only [provisionally] named the Law of the Buddha. What is currently referred to as Zen marks this as a conspicuous feature of its teaching. Since the above three methods are all [articulated in terms of] provisional names, anyone who claims that Buddhist Zen teaching depends on words and letters and is articulated verbally is actually slandering the Buddha and slandering the Law. Because of this, the patriarch-master [Bodhidharma] referred to the Zen approach [in terms of] “do not rely on words and letters, directly point to the human mind, and see one's nature and become a Buddha.” Anyone who [tries to understand Buddhism] by grasping names and words is ignorant of the Law, and anyone who understand Buddhism] by grasping at the appearances [of names and forms] is even more deluded. [The state that] is inherently immovable, where there is nothing to be obtained, is what is referred to as seeing the Law of the Buddha [in the true Zen approach].

Eisai's syncretism thus rejected the exclusivity of “pure” Zen as an independent teaching apart from scriptural tradition, while accepting the superiority of Zen's interpretation of Buddhism. In other words, Eisai's Zen does not stand in opposition to the Buddhist tradition but represents its fulfillment and crowning achievement. It represents the legitimate, “true,” and full understanding of Buddhist teaching, as opposed to the legitimate but partial and incomplete interpretations that preceded it.

Ultimately, the Kōzen gokokuron reflects Eisai's experience with Sung Ch'an. This experience, like the characterization of Zen in the Kōzen gokokuron, is informed and influenced by, but not confined to, the stamp that Yen-shou placed on post-T'ang Buddhism. In this respect, Eisai's Zen syncretism may be aligned with two of Yen-shou's concerns. The first is that Zen be understood within the broader context of Buddhist teaching; Zen and Buddhist teaching share a fundamental unity in outlook. The second is that Zen practice be firmly based in the Buddhist tradition of moral discipline and that it encompasses conventional Buddhist practices. These two concerns aligning Eisai and the Kōzen gokokuron with Yen-shou's syncretism, moreover, sharply distinguish Eisai's approach from that associated with Dainichi Nōnin and the Daruma faction.

In addition, Eisai's syncretism deviates from that of Yen-shou in significant ways. Rivalry between Eisai and Nōnin and the latter's dependence on Yen-shou made it advantageous for Eisai to provide

some distance between his position and Yen-shou's. This may be a contributing factor in Eisai's categorization of Zen teaching in section 7 of the Kōzen gokokuron discussed previously, which relegates Yen-shou's understanding of Zen to an inferior status.

Scriptural references reveal doctrinal differences between Eisai and Yen-shou. A review of the sources either cited or referred to by Yen-shou in the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi reveals that scriptures and treatises associated with the T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen schools were the most important influences on his thought. Prajñā-pāramitā scriptures constituted a third major influence. A similar tabulation of sources in the Kōzen gokokuron reveals that scriptures and treatises associated with the T'ien-t'ai (J. Tendai) school are most frequently cited, followed by Prajñā-pāramitā scriptures and scriptures from the Vinaya (J. ritsu). This fact suggests an important difference between Yen-shou's and Eisai's syncretism. Whereas Yen-shou's syncretism was constructed around T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen, reflecting the influence of T'ang Buddhist scholasticism, Eisai's syncretism was constructed around Tendai and prajñā thought, reflecting the influence of the Japanese Tendai school and the Zen (C. Ch'an) tradition, particularly of the Sung Lin-chi faction, which Eisai affiliated with Prajñā-pāramitā literature. The emphasis on T'ien-t'ai/Tendai is a common feature in both Yen-shou and Eisai's syncretism. The emphasis on Hua-yen doctrine in Yen-shou's syncretism is almost totally absent from the Kōzen gokokuron, which instead emphasizes prajñā sources.

The prajñā tradition was also important for Eisai as an ideology supporting the rulers of a Buddhist state. For Eisai, this ideology was particularly represented by the Prajñāparāmitā Sūtra, on Explaining How Benevolent Kings Protect Their Countries (Ninnō gokoku hannya kyō). The prajñā tradition thus provided an essential link for Eisai in connecting both the spiritual and political aims of Zen Buddhism in a single ideological framework.

Ultimately, what we have in the Kōzen gokokuron is a philosophy based on the Buddhist nominalism of the prajñā tradition, insisting that things exist in name only but not in actuality. This includes the Zen of Bodhidharma and the Chinese Lin-chi masters, whose descendants Eisai associated with in China. Combined with this philosophy is a practice based on the strict moral code of the Buddhist vinaya tradition, insisting that zen practice and the enlightenment experience are predicated on the observance of the precepts. This is the conservative Zen based on Buddhist principles of moral conduct. For Eisai, strict adherence to the Buddhist precepts is a necessary condition upon which the enlightenment experience (prajñā) is based. The following formulation from section 7 of the Kōzen gokokuron is inspired by the Tso-ch'an i (J. Zazengi) section of the Ch'an-yuan ch'ing-kuei (J. Zen'en shingi):

> Any practitioner who wants to cultivate the teaching of the Zen school amounts to a bodhisattva studying prajñā. They should ... be devoted to the cultivation of samādhi [and] maintain the wondrous purifying precepts of great bodhisattvas. ...
> The Sūtra on Perfect Enlightenment says, "All unobstructed pure wisdom arises from zen meditation [C. ch'an-ting; J. zenjō]." From this we know that to transcend common existence and enter the realm of the sacred, one must engage in [meditation] to quell the conditions [that cause vexations]. It is most urgent that one rely on the power of meditation [in all activities], whether walking, standing, sitting, or lying down. If one wants to realize [the power of] meditation, one must carry out the practice of the vinaya [precepts]. Those who carry out zen meditation practice in the absence of the stipulated provisions of the vinaya precepts have no basis for their practice ... Therefore, if one wants to realize the method for

> Zen meditation described here, one will uphold the vinaya purely so that one is free of any blemish.

Or, as Eisai states later in the section, "It means that when one enters the ranks of the Thus Come Ones, one practices in the style implicit in their enlightenment and sagely wisdom. This is the form that [the practice of] Zen takes." In this regard, Eisai's position in the Kōzen gokokuron stands in marked contrast to the following statements in the Jōtō shōgakuron:

> Further, the vinaya rules are to control the activities of the mind [C. sheng-hsin; J. seishin]. With the elimination of mental activity [C. wu-hsin; J. mushin], one transcends [the need for] the vinaya. ... Originally, there are no vinaya rules to practice, much less the cultivation of good deeds.

Rather than the experience of prajñā being predicated on vinaya practice (i.e., wisdom being based on morality), the Jōtō shōgakuron passages suggest that the experience of prajñā precludes the need for vinaya practice (i.e., wisdom being beyond moral considerations). In this regard, Eisai clearly deviates from the Daruma faction of Nōnin and approximates the position advocated by Yen-shou in affirming the salutary effects of conventional Buddhist practice and morality.

Yen-shou's description of Ch'an as the "Mind Teaching," the essence of all Buddhist teaching, regardless of scriptural, scholastic, or sectarian affiliation, was attractive to all, including Eisai, who viewed Ch'an in connection with conventional Buddhist teaching. The Japanese context out of which Eisai arrived added to this appeal but shaped it in unique ways. What distinguished Eisai's syncretism from Yen-shou's was the way in which the former defined Zen teaching in accordance with the exigencies of his age. Circumstances in Japan determined a definition of Zen compatible with T'ien-t'ai teaching strongly tinged with mikkyō (esoteric) rituals.126 But what distinguished Eisai's definition above all was his identification of Zen teaching with the prajñā ideology of the Ninnō kyō. It was not enough for Eisai to reform Buddhism by identifying Zen as the culmination of Buddhist teaching, or as a pretext for promoting myriad good deeds. For Eisai, the identification of Zen and the promotion of Buddhist practice were specifically drawn in terms of the Ninnō kyō.

In short, Yen-shou's approach acknowledged the legitimacy of Buddhist pluralism and sought to establish a basis for a multitude of Buddhist practices. It was aimed primarily at the private world of the individual practitioner. In Eisai's reform movement the private world of the practitioner was intricately bound to the fate of the country as a whole in a way that was unambiguous. The practitioner's activities were interpreted primarily in terms of their implications for the moral fiber of Japanese society and Japan's political destiny. The social and political dimension into which Zen practice was drawn in the Japanese context derived from the respect that Ninnō kyō ideology commanded.

Eisai's Zen Reform Program: Conventional Buddhism on the Sung Kamakura Continuum

The Kōzen gokokuron promoted Zen as a reform doctrine for Japan. There are two basic assumptions implicit in Eisai's message. The first is that the current state of Buddhism in Japan is corrupt and in need of reform. The second is that the fate of Japan as a country is threatened by the corrupt state into which Buddhism has fallen. Within the context of these assumptions, Eisai's message naturally held important implications for the leaders of the Japanese government and the Heian Buddhist establishment.

Eisai called on the Japanese elite to realize their destiny as the leaders of a great country and enlightened Buddhist civilization. The terms of this ideal were drawn in specific reference to scriptures in the Buddhist canon that served to "protect a country" (gokoku). Japanese rulers had long acknowledged the salutary effects of these scriptures. They served as a focal point for services and ceremonies conducted at the imperial court and at Buddhist temples throughout the land, conducted upon imperial request and with government support. Because of Eisai's identification of the Buddhist prajñā tradition with Zen teaching, he was particularly drawn to the Ninnō kyō, one of the most important scriptures for "protecting a country." Classed among the prajñā literature, the Ninnō kyō and the ideology that it represented set the parameters within which Eisai's reform program was cast.

A careful examination of the Kōzen gokokuron clarifies its reliance on the Ninnō kyō and the ideals permeating ancient and medieval Japanese civilization. This raises the question of why the association between the Kōzen gokokuron and the Ninnō kyō, so central to Eisai's understanding of the role of Zen in Japan, has been overlooked and excused whenever the subject of Eisai and the Kōzen gokokuron are raised. Aside from an association with Japanese nationalism, a subject long avoided in the postwar period, the marginalization of Eisai and the Kōzen gokokuron may be attributed to the ideology of "pure" Zen that has prevailed in modern Zen interpretation.

Eisai's understanding of Zen was based on different assumptions. In order to distinguish these, the present study suggests an alternative way to read the text and understand its content. It also indicates the direction from which a more balanced appraisal of Eisai and the Kōzen gokokuron might come, one more in keeping with the historical circumstances of his life and the actual content of his thought.

The search for the source of misinterpretation of Eisai and the Kōzen gokokuron leads one to suggest an association of Zen masters in the respective "golden ages" of Ch'an in China and Zen in Japan. The combination of these "golden ages" evokes what might be termed a "T'ang-Tokugawa alliance." This alliance, based on the common belief that a tradition of T'ang and Tokugawa (p.98) Zen masters epitomizes the essence of a "pure" Zen tradition, bears the stamp of modern Rinzai orthodoxy, which considers that the truest heirs of the great T'ang Zen tradition of Hui-neng, Ma-tsu Tao-i, Pai-chang Huai-hai, Huang-po Hsi-yün, Lin-chi I-hsüan, and so on were Tokugawa Rinzai masters such as Bankei (1622–1693) and Hakuin (1685–1768).128 In this interpretation, Zen irrationalism reigns supreme as the quintessential expression of satori (enlightenment).

A general reason precipitating this T'ang-Tokugawa alliance may also be suggested. The alliance was due to more than coincidence or simple recognition of spiritual kinship. It was precipitated in large part by the renewed identity of Zen masters in the Tokugawa period as political outsiders, when the Tokugawa shoguns officially replaced Zen (and for that matter, Buddhism) as the official ideology of the Japanese state with "Sung Learning" (Sōgaku), or Neo-Confucianism. According to this interpretation, as the Confucian "Ancient Learning" (kogaku) and Shinto "National Learning" (kokugaku) schools came to dominate political debate, Zen found its true voice as political outsider, echoing the "pure" Zen of its T'ang predecessors.

The point, finally, is this: the kind of Zen master Eisai has been portrayed as has been determined by notions about Zen that Eisai himself did not adhere to. It is clear that when judged in terms of the criteria stemming from the Tokugawa Rinzai tradition, Eisai and the Kōzen gokokuron have not faired well. This fact suggests important differences separating Eisai from both his legendary T'ang

predecessors and the Tokugawa masters who came after him. In short, Eisai held a different set of assumptions. In contrast to the T'ang–Tokugawa alliance of "pure" Zen, the Kōzen gokokuron reflects the assumptions of a syncretistic oriented Zen that can be placed on what might be termed a "Sung-Kamakura continuum."

This syncretic style of Zen formed the basis for the thought of Yen-shou, the major figure of Ch'an–Buddhist syncretism in the post-T'ang period. We have also seen how the syncretic style of Zen is important for the correct understanding of Eisai and the Kōzen gokokuron. Moreover, Yen-shou and Eisai were not isolated cases. The popularity of Zen syncretism is also reflected in the teaching of Enni Ben'en (1201–1280), who has been judged "the pivotal figure in the history of Zen in Japan during the thirteenth century." Zen syncretism was also the leading teaching in Korean and Vietnamese Zen.

In a search for a more balanced appraisal of Eisai and the Kōzen gokokuron, alternate criteria for interpreting Eisai's message of reform are needed. The emphases of Eisai's Buddhist reform program in the Kōzen gokokuron can be summarized in terms of wisdom (Skt. prajñā; J. hannya), the quintessential insight of Buddhist teaching, morality (Skt. śila-vinaya; J. kairitsu), the monastic discipline on which the Buddhist livelihood is based, and meditation (Skt. samādhi; J. zen). This formulation comes straight from the common tripartite division of the Buddha's eightfold path as śilā, samādhi, and prajñā. It is affirmed specifically by Eisai in the Kōzen gokokuron:

> The destruction of evil depends on the purification of wisdom. The purification of wisdom depends on the purification of meditation. The purification of meditation depends on the purification of the monastic precepts. The Buddha possesses four kinds of positive methods for winning enlightenment. The first is the monastic precepts [kai]. The second is meditation [zen]. The third is wisdom [hannya]. The fourth is a mind free of impurities [mujoku shin].

Among these four, Eisai notes, Zen meditation is the most important because it includes the other three. What this means is that far from being a radical, antiestablishment movement, Zen for Eisai was the banner for reform-minded Buddhist conservatism. This conservatism influenced Eisai's conception of Zen teaching and practice, his acceptance of the Buddhist scriptural tradition, and his promotion of moral discipline. It also presumed that Eisai would take a conciliatory approach in an attempt to win the support of government officials.

In the end, this approach suggests that what has passed under the name of Ch'an or Zen is historically conditioned. The question of which interpretation of Zen is "correct"—"pure" Zen or "syncretic" Zen—is not at issue here. What is at issue is coming to a more contextualized understanding of how Zen was perceived and characterized within the continuum of Sung and Kamakura Buddhist masters. Conceptions of Ch'an and Zen have been shaped differently in diverse historical contexts. Earlier conceptions do not always agree with the criteria imposed by later sectarian tradition. Important figures in the history of Ch'an, Zen, and East Asian Buddhism (like Eisai) tend to be marginalized by the later criteria. This marginalization, in turn, has obscured the real nature of their teachings as well as their true impact. Through an examination of select aspects of the Kōzen gokokuron, this essay has shown that only by our adopting the assumptions of the materials in question, rather than imposing our own, can the true ramifications of the tradition of Zen syncretism be properly addressed. Such investigations might well yield striking results for our understanding of Buddhism in the East Asian context and lead to significant reinterpretations of the way it has been traditionally presented. <>

RADIANT EMPTINESS: THREE SEMINAL WORKS by the Golden Pandita Shakya Chokden by Yaroslav Komarovski [Oxford University Press, 9780190933838]

In **RADIANT EMPTINESS**, Yaroslav Komarovski offers an annotated translation of three seminal works on the nature and relationship of the Yogacara and Madhyamaka schools of Buddhist thought, by Serdok Penchen Shakya Chokden (1428-1507). There has never been consensus on the meaning of Madhyamaka and Yogacara, and for more than fifteen centuries the question of correct identification and interpretation of these systems has remained unsolved. Chokden proposes to accept Yogacara and Madhyamaka on their own terms as compatible systems, despite their considerable divergences and reciprocal critiques. His major objective is to bring Yogacara back from obscurity, present it in a positive light, and correct its misrepresentation by earlier thinkers. He thus serves as a major resource for scholarly research on the historical and philosophical development of Yogacara and Madhyamaka. Until recently, Shakya Chokden's works have been largely unavailable. Only in 1975 were his collected writings published in twenty-four volumes in Bhutan. Since then, his ingenious works on Buddhist history, philosophy, and logic have attracted increasing scholarly attention. Komarovski's research on Shakya Chokden's innovative writings--most of which are still available only in the original Tibetan--revises early misinterpretations by addressing some of the most complicated aspects of his thought. While focusing on his unique interpretation of Yogacara and Madhyamaka, the book also shows that his thought provides an invaluable base to challenge and expand our understanding of such topics as epistemology, contemplative practice, the relationship between intellectual study and meditative experience, and other key questions that occupy contemporary scholarship on Buddhism and religion in general.

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Starting Points

This book is an annotated translation of three texts by an ingenious Tibetan thinker, Serdok Penchen Shakya Chokden (gser mdog pan chen shakya mchog ldan, 1428-1507). During a long writing and teaching career, this ecumenical scholar developed a novel approach to the key systems of Buddhist thought and practice. A recurrent theme given special attention in his numerous works—in particular the ones translated here—is the question of the relationship between conflicting conceptual models of ultimate reality and the means of realizing ultimate reality, on the one hand, and the practical outcomes of utilizing those models in contemplative practice, on the other. The position he articulates, based on critical comparison of several Buddhist systems of thought and practice, is that despite their different, often conflicting, conceptual approaches to reality, when those approaches are put into contemplative practice, they can bring their followers to the same direct realization of reality.

Shakya Chokden repeatedly deals with this issue in his commentaries, short letters, and independent works on Buddhist philosophy and meditation; however, he gives it the most systematic treatment in three texts presented here. They provide a nuanced comparison and in-depth analysis of conflicting approaches to the nature of reality, its realization, and related contemplative practices developed by leading Mahayana thinkers: Nagarjuna, Asanga, Vasubandhu, and Candrakirti, to mention just a few. Tibetan commentators commonly group the philosophical and contemplative systems developed by these scholars into the categories Madhyamaka and Yogãcara or, less commonly, into the systems of self-emptiness and other-emptiness. Although they share basic perspectives on such topics as the Buddhist path, these systems present conflicting, and often directly contradictory, interpretations of the nature of reality, its realization, and related topics.

Although in the non-tantric context, Tibetan thinkers nearly universally treat Yogacãra and Madhyamaka as the most important of all Buddhist traditions, by the fifteenth century, Madhyamaka clearly had been elevated to the top position. In the texts translated in this volume, Shakya Chokden also acknowledges and explores disagreements between the two systems, and provides a detailed analysis of their mutual polemical refutations. Yet, based on his position on conceptual models and their practical application, he persistently argues that despite those conflicting perspectives, both Madhyamaka and Yogacara equip their followers with effective means of realizing ultimate reality and developing that realization through contemplative practice, and, eventually, of attaining the final result of buddhahood.

Working this argument out, Shakya Chokden moves between a comparative analysis of the philosophical views on reality, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, an inquiry into how those views are supposed to be put into contemplative practice and how effective that contemplative practice is in terms of dispelling obscurations and achieving awakening. In doing that, he judges the validity of Yogãcãra and Madhyamaka, not in terms of how accurately each articulates ultimate reality and related topics (although he explores those questions too), but in terms of what one can call "practical effectiveness." In his opinion, as long as a system works as a self-sufficient means of achieving buddhahood, it should be treated as Madhyamaka.

Consequently, in the three texts, he does not limit the category of Madhyamaka to Nihsvabhavavada only (as Tibetan thinkers often do) but also includes Alikakaravada Yogacãra, which in Shakya Chokden's opinion, represents the final Yogãcãra position. In the textual sections that also address tantric views, a third category is added—that of tantric Madhyamaka. Tantric views and practices are discussed, in part, to present Alikakaravãda as a valid Madhyamaka system that, in Shakya Chokden's opinion, shares important commonalities with tantric Madhyamaka. Besides resorting to the Buddhist tantras with their commentaries to find support for his position that Alikakaravãda is an effective Madhyamaka system, he also refers to contemplative instructions and devotional writings.

The overall message of the three texts is that, despite their contradictory philosophical positions, different types of contemplative conditioning leading to the direct realization of ultimate reality, and conflicting descriptions of that realization, followers of Alikakaravada and Nihsvabhavavada can access the same direct meditative experience of ultimate reality. In particular, the texts argue that the different types of conceptual reasoning used by the followers of these systems can serve as efficient means of accessing the same direct realization of ultimate reality. Furthermore, although these systems give divergent descriptions of that realization, it does not undermine the fact that those descriptions refer to the same realization of ultimate reality.

Shakya Chokden's approach to Mahayana systems calls for rethinking many taken-for-granted claims made in commentarial literature about the Yogacara and Madhyamaka views on reality. It also calls for re-evaluating the interpretive tools used for comparing those views. It likewise invites us to explore the intimate relationship between Buddhist philosophy and contemplation and the crucial role that understanding the latter plays in understanding the former. Importantly, this approach exposes the limits of conceptual thinking and the subordinate role thinking plays in the contemplative techniques and practices leading to the direct, nonconceptual, realization of reality.

The three Shakya Chokden texts translated in this book are the Profound Thunder amidst the Clouds of the Ocean of Definitive Meaning Differentiation of the Two Systems of the Great Madhyamaka Deriving from the Two Great Chariot Ways (Shing rta'i srol chen gnyis las 'byung ba'i

dbu ma chen po'i lugs gnyis rnam par dbye ba / nges don rgya mtsho'i sprin gyi 'brug sgra zab mo); its auto-commentary, the Rain of Ambrosia: Extensive Auto-Commentary on the "Profound Thunder amidst the Clouds of the Ocean of Definitive Meaning" (Nges don rgya mtsho sprin gyi 'brug sgra zab mo'i rgyas 'grel bdud rtsi'i char 'bebs);2 and the Great Path of Ambrosia of Emptiness: Explanation of Profound Pacification Free from Proliferations (Zab zhi spros brad gyi bshad pa stong

nyid bdud rtsi'i lam po che).3 The Rain of Ambrosia was composed in 1489, and one would assume that its undated root text was composed the same year or shortly before. The exact date of composition of the Great Path of Ambrosia is unclear, but it could not have been composed earlier than 1477, when Shakya Chokden started openly articulating his unique position on the nature and relationship of Madhyamaka and Yogãcãra in the monumental Ocean of Scriptural Statements and Reasoning: Treasury of Ascertainment of Mahayana Madhyamaka (Theg pa chen po dbu ma rnam par nges pa'i bang mdzod lung dang rigs pa'i rgya mtsho). Although the Ocean presented new perspectives on Yogãcãra and Madhyamaka, it retained certain positions that Shakya Chokden "updated" and further systematized in subsequent works, in particular, the Great Path of Ambrosia.

The three texts differ in their main objectives and emphases: the Profound Thunder and Rain of Ambrosia focus on presenting Alikakaravada and Nihsvabhavavada as valid Madhyamaka systems; the Great Path of Ambrosia primarily presents the perspectives of the two systems on the nature of ultimate reality and its realization. Yet because of the intimate connection between the questions about what reality is and how Madhyamaka systems should be understood, all three texts work well together, clarifying and complementing one another.

Many interrelated issues explored in the current study have already been addressed in my Visions of Unity: The Golden Pandita Shakya Chokden's New Interpretation of Yogãcãra and Madhyamaka .4 Nevertheless, the Visions of Unity and this book approach those issues in different ways. The Visions makes an extensive use of the "macrocosm" of the twenty-four volumes of Shakya Chokden's collected works to provide a broad perspective on his interpretation of Madhyamaka and Yogacara. The Radiant Emptiness, in contrast, mainly stays within the boundaries of the "microcosm" of the three texts, clarifying their contents with the help of cross-references. As an annotated translation, it allows Shakya Chokden to speak for himself; my comments and interpretations are relegated to the lesser realm of annotations in the footnotes.

That being said, there is a clear continuity between the two works. Multiple issues addressed in the Radiant Emptiness are clarified and elaborated on in the Visions. Alternatively, topics discussed in the Visions are further elucidated with the help of the current annotated translation. Because the two works complement each other, the unfamiliar reader who wishes to form a nuanced understanding of Shakya Chokden's ideas is advised to use them in tandem. To facilitate such use, in the footnotes, I refer to the pages of the Visions where passages found in the current translation are cited.' I likewise make references to chapters and sections in the Visions—as well as to other works that address Shakya Chokden's thought—that help to further clarify the meaning of the three texts translated here. When I felt that certain points relevant to the current study were not sufficiently clarified in those previous works, I provided more extensive comments and references in the annotations that go beyond the "microcosm" of the three texts.

In translating Shakya Chokden's works, I tried to be as faithful to the Tibetan originals as possible, resisting as much as I could the urge to build my interpretations into the translations. That said, it is also clear that the intended audiences for Shakya Chokden's Tibetan texts and these English

translations are rather different. Among other differences, the former is primarily made up of a relatively small group of Tibetan intellectuals who would know numerous textual passages he cited by heart, not to mention the authorship and titles of works they derive from and the broader context they are embedded in. The latter, on the other hand, potentially includes not only scholars of Tibetan Buddhism but also general readers interested in Buddhist philosophical and contemplative systems, who may not be familiar with intricacies of the Tibetan intellectual milieu. To make the already highly technical and abstruse material more accessible, throughout the translations I inserted the titles and names of authors of the many texts that Shakya Chokden quoted without identifying. I also almost entirely avoided using square brackets around the words I added for clarity and readability. When I felt that certain passages required further clarification, I provided additional comments in the annotations. The annotations also contain the Tibetan glosses of some technical terms that needed immediate clarification. The Tibetan equivalents of all other technical terms can be found in the English—Tibetan glossary at the end of the book, where there is also a glossary of Tibetan names.

I have identified most of the passages and works cited or referred to by Shakya Chokden. For the works in the two main sections of the Tibetan Canon—Kangyur (bka' 'gyur) and Tengyur (bstan gyur)—I provided references to the Dergé (sde dge) version. My translations of citations are usually based on Shakya Chokden's Tibetan versions, and any significant differences with the Dergé version are addressed in the footnotes. On several occasions, based on the Dergé version, I provide in square brackets translations of passages that appear to have been skipped by Shakya Chokden in some citations of canonical sources. When Shakya Chokden's texts appear to be clearly corrupt, I follow the Kangyur and Tengyur versions. grateful to all the people who during that long period directly or indirectly contributed to my work: Khenchen Künga Wangchuk, Khenpo Tsewang Sönam, and many teachers with whom I studied the systems of self-emptiness and other-emptiness at Dzongsar and other Tibetan monastic institutions; my graduate adviser at the University of Virginia, Jeffrey Hopkins, whose approach to translating Tibetan texts has strongly impacted my own; Syrus Stearns, who helped me to clarify several passages from the works of the Sakya masters referred to by Shakya Chokden; one of anonymous readers of this manuscript, who, besides making suggestions that helped make the translations more reader-friendly, undertook the meticulous work of proofreading the entire manuscript; my friend and fellow explorer of Buddhist contemplative and philosophical systems Scott Leigh, who carefully edited the manuscript and provided numerous insightful suggestions on its improvement; and last but not least, my dear wife Trang Nguyen, whose constant support and kindness filled my work on the manuscript with sheer joy.

Although I started working closely on the annotated translation of the three texts few years ago, the idea to explore and translate them was born almost simultaneously with my initial exposure to Shakya Chokden's works twenty years ago. Since then, as I have done research and published on different strands of his thought, I have kept coming back to these texts, deriving inspiration, insights, and numerous citations from them. I am

Buddha Mind—Christ Mind: A Christian Commentary on The Bodhicaryāvatāra by Perry Schmidt-Leukel with A New Translation by Ernst Steinkellner, and Cynthia Peck-Kubaczek [Christian Commentaries on Non-Christian Sacred Texts, Peeters Publishers, 9789042938489]

The Bodhicaryavatara ("Entering the Course towards Awakening") is an Indian Mahayana Buddhist companion to the path of a Bodhisattva, someone motivated by the altruistic "spirit of awakening". Unlike many other Buddhist scriptures, much of this text is written in the very touching form of personal reflections. Despite its late composition (7th-8th cent. CE), the Bodhicaryavatara quickly gained widespread recognition and high appraisal in various parts of the Buddhist world and even beyond. Today it is one of the most widely translated Buddhist texts. The 14th Dalai Lama has emphasized the special impact of this scripture on his own spirituality, and a number of Western scholars have praised it as a true gem among the world's religious classics. After many commentaries by Buddhist scholars throughout the centuries, this is the first commentary from a Christian perspective, exploring the deep resonances between the "spirit of awakening" and the "spirit of Christ".

- Perry Schmidt-Leukel is Professor of Religious Studies and Intercultural Theology at the University of Münster, Germany. He has published broadly in the fields of interreligious theology and Buddhist-Christian encounter.
- Ernst Steinkellner is Emeritus Professor of Buddhist and Tibetan Studies at the University of Vienna and a member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. He is an internationally renowned expert in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism and a specialist in Buddhist epistemology and logic.
- Cynthia Peck-Kubaczek is a muscian, free-lance writer and translator, and is the English copy editor for the Institute for the Cultural and Intellectual History of Asia at the Austrian Academy of Sciences. She has cooperated with E. Steinkellner for many years.

The Bodhicaryāvatāra: Text and Author, excerpt:

Introducing the Bodhicaryāvatara (BCA) ("Introduction to" or "Entering the Course towards Awakening") by identifying its author and age has become considerably more difficult over the past two or three decades. Earlier, it was more or less undisputed' that the BCA is a masterpiece by Sāntideva, one of the last major representatives of the Madhyamaka school of Buddhist philosophy in India (and, according to the Tibetan tradition, a member of this school's Prāsangika branch). Moreover, Sāntideva was thought to have lived and taught in the first half of the eighth century at the great monastic university of Nālandā, and to have also composed the Siksãsamuccaya ("Collection of Rules") (SS), of which much is an anthology of excerpts from Buddhist texts relevant to the Bodhisattva path. In content and structure, though not in style or length, the SS is very similar to the BCA, sharing with the latter a number of identical verses and passages. Hence there was no reason to question whether both scriptures originated from the same author, since the SS seemed to provide scriptural and doctrinal authority to the largely poetical verses of the BCA. Above all, given that the SS is explicitly mentioned and its study recommended in BCA 5:105, it also seemed clear that the SS was composed before the BCA, with the BCA drawing the quintessence from the scriptural tradition as presented in the SS in a new and fascinating way. This was also the understanding in the Tibetan commentarial tradition and how it is explicitly described in the Tibetan version of what is now seen as presumably one of the oldest forms of the legend of Sāntideva's life. However, the discovery, among large numbers of scriptures found in Dun-huáng (1906-1908), of an at that time unidentified Tibetan version…

The Bodhicaryāvatara's Audience

Post-modern philosophical trends have created a heightened sensitivity for the contextual nature of allegedly all human thought. Whether this reflects a universally valid (and thus astonishingly a-contextual) insight, or is itself bound to a particular context, is an issue that we may leave aside — at least for the moment. From a hermeneutical perspective there is, I suggest, no doubt that the question of the envisaged audience or readership of a particular text may help in getting a better understanding of the text itself. But this is presumably even more important when exploring the kind of methodological issues that inevitably arise if a particular text will be interpreted, and commented on, within a quite different context by and for a different audience — as it is the case with a contemporary interpretation within an interreligious setting.

Recent students of the BCA are in agreement that it "assumes a male audience throughout." The main argument in support of this view is — as Amod Lele puts it — that in the BCA "the reader's sexual cravings are always discussed in terms of a man's craving for a woman." The assumption of an intended male audience or readership is further supported by grammatical evidence. What is less clear, however, is whether the audience was supposed to be exclusively male monastics. Crosby and Skilton have taken this for granted, assuming the credibility of the Nālandã motif of the legend and pointing out that a number of rules in BCA chapter 5 (vss. 5:85, 88-98) are taken from the monastic codex, the prātimoksa. Kaoru Onishi sees the BCA as a work with many "monastic aspects," that is, "a text written by a monk, not by a lay person, composed for monks, not for lay people, and produced in a monastic community rather than a lay community." He combines this assessment with the invective that this supposedly all-important nature of the text has been largely neglected and ignored in previous studies. The imputation of exclusively male monastics as the intended audience has, however, been contested by Lele with recourse to verses 8:17-25 and 141-151, which may presuppose lay people possessing their own private property. Lele thus criticizes läbha

("possessions," "gain," "acquisition," etc.) in these verses being translated with "alms" by Crosby and Skilton as unjustified and biased towards an exclusively monastic reading. However, there is evidence that the accumulation of wealth, generated from donations, was also a problem within the monastic community. Hence one might justly assume that the text addresses predominantly male monastics, even though it is less clear whether it was exclusively composed for them.

Uncontested is the assumption that the intended audience or readership of the BCA consists of Buddhists. Buddhist teachings are taken for granted (and as familiar to the audience); non-Buddhists are referred to in a way that clearly presupposes a Buddhist audience (e.g. vss. 6:13,). Taking into account chapter 9, one might even go further and assume that the intended audience is also, at least to some extent, familiar with the specific philosophical tenets of both the Madhyamaka school and its Buddhist as well as non-Buddhist rivals. This presupposes a significant degree of learnedness, as does the fact that the addressee is supposed to understand Sanskrit and be "well versed in the ideas of classical Sanskritic culture."

Further, one may legitimately assume that the BCA is intended for beginners or potential beginners on the Bodhisattva path, not for those who are already significantly advanced. In not providing any lengthy explanations of basic terms and features of the Bodhisattva path, the text 'apparently presupposes a Buddhist audience that is also already familiar with the Bodhisattva ideal. But what the text clearly intends to achieve is to encourage its audience to make the resolve of entering that path and remaining steadfast on it once any tribulations are encountered. The text seeks to win its listener or reader over for the life as a Bodhisattva. Perhaps the strongest means for doing this is its wide use of first person reflections. Much of its appeal may well be due to its "often touchingly personal mode of expression," as Ernst Steinkellner suggests. Writing in the first person inevitably challenges the reader or listener by implicitly evoking his identification with the text. Can the reader join the author's "I"? Does the personal perspective of the author resonate with the listener's own experience? Is the reader/listener prepared to follow and embark on the path?

This implicit call for the reader's consent leads us to the question of the extent the BCA is bound to its original context. Should it be taken, as Luis Gómez once put it, as an "Indian document or world classic?" Of course, no one would deny that the BCA is an Indian document; it clearly bears the marks of its time and context. Yet what Gómez has in mind is whether the BCA, despite having been composed for Indian, Sanskrit-speaking male Buddhists in a predominantly monastic setting of the seventh or eighth century, nevertheless has something important to tell a much larger audience, not only beyond its original time and place, but also beyond the confinements of males, monastics or even Buddhists. Can it be legitimately considered "a timeless expression of universal human longings," as it has been, according to Gómez, by many of its modern Western interpreters? If we see the BCA as a religious text, as a text of the Buddhist tradition, there is no doubt that in a Buddhist understanding, the text conveys a message that is certainly of universal relevance and rests on a truth that is indeed "timeless," even if the concrete expressions of the Dharma are as much subject to transition and corruption as everything else. Taking the text as a religious document and taking it seriously at this level implies grappling with its claim of being rooted in a universal truth. And this is also what one will have to expect from the attempt at a trans-religious commentary. <>

THE OTHER EMPTINESS: RETHINKING THE ZHENTONG BUDDHIST DISCOURSE IN TIBET edited by Michael R. Sheehy and Klaus-Dieter Mathes [SUNY Press, 9781438477572]

Presents a new vision of the Buddhist history and philosophy of emptiness in Tibet.

This book brings together perspectives of leading international Tibetan studies scholars on the subject of *zhentong* or "other-emptiness." Defined as the emptiness of everything other than the continuous luminous awareness that is one's own enlightened nature, this distinctive philosophical and contemplative presentation of emptiness is quite different from *rangtong*—emptiness that lacks independent existence, which has had a strong influence on the dissemination of Buddhist philosophy in the West. Important topics are addressed, including the history, literature, and philosophy of emptiness that have contributed to zhentong thinking in Tibet from the thirteenth century until today. The contributors examine a wide range of views on zhentong from each of the major orders of Tibetan Buddhism, highlighting the key Tibetan thinkers in the zhentong philosophical tradition. Also discussed are the early formulations of buddhanature, interpretations of cosmic time, polemical debates about emptiness in Tibet, the zhentong view of contemplation, and creative innovations of thought in Tibetan Buddhism. Highly accessible and informative, this book can be used as a scholarly resource as well as a textbook for teaching graduate and undergraduate courses on Buddhist philosophy.

"Highly accessible and informative, this book can be used as a scholarly resource as well as a textbook for teaching graduate and undergraduate courses on Buddhist philosophy." — *New Books Network*

"The book contains extremely interesting material and makes a valuable contribution to the study of Tibetan Buddhism. It will be appreciated by those interested in the development of one of the important and yet understudied of its traditions, the other emptiness tradition." — Georges B. J. Dreyfus, coeditor of *The Svātantrika-Prāsaṅgika Distinction: What Difference Does a Difference Make?*

The Philosophical Grounds and Literary History of Zhentong by Klaus-Dieter Mathes and Michael R. Sheehy

Though the subject of emptiness (sūnyatā, stong pa nyid) is relatively well established in English-language texts on Buddhism, it is usually presented only as the emptiness of lacking independent existence or, more literally, the emptiness of an own nature (svabhãva, rang bzhin). However, the general reader of English literature on Buddhism may not be aware that such an understanding of emptiness reflects a particular interpretation of it, advanced predominantly by the Sakya, Kadam, and Geluk orders, which has exercised a particularly strong influence on the dissemination of Buddhist studies and philosophy in the West. In Tibetan discourse, this position is referred to as rangtong (rang stong), which means that everything, including the omniscience of a Buddha, is taken to be empty of an own nature. It is this lack of independent, locally determined building blocks of the world that allows in Madhyamaka the Buddhist axiom of dependent origination. In other words, rangtong emptiness is the a priori condition for a universe full of open, dynamic systems. The union of dependent origination and emptiness—the inseparability of appearance and emptiness—sets the ground for philosophical models of interrelatedness that are increasingly used in attempts to

accommodate astonishing observations being made in the natural sciences, such as wave-particle duality or quantum entanglement.

Throughout the long intellectual history of Indian and Tibetan Buddhism, one of the major questions that remains unresolved is whether a systematic presentation of the Buddhas doctrine requires challenging rangtong as the exclusive mode of emptiness, which has led some to distinguish between two modes of emptiness: (1) Rangtong (rang stong), that is, being empty of an own nature on the one hand, and (2) Zhentong (gzhan stong), that is, being empty of everything other than luminous awareness or buddha-nature (tathãgatagarbha, de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po). In later Indian and Tibetan Buddhism, when such tensions emerged, the issue was not so much about a possible justification for this distinction on the basis of certain philosophical scriptures, but rather competing hermeneutical schemes that consistently interpret the entire corpus of what was accepted to be the words of the Buddha.

While proponents of zhentong (zhentongpas) underline the necessity of this "empty of other emptiness," the followers of rangtong (rangtongpas) oppose it. Rangtongpas insist that one must follow the seventh-century Indian Buddhist scholar Candrakirti's lead in taking the second turning cycle of teachings, which he defines as exclusively emphasizing rangtong emptiness, to be the underlying intention of any positive statement about the ultimate. Zhentongpas do not consider themselves in direct opposition to Candrakirti but follow a strategy of inclusivism. Within their system, rangtong is understood to be a necessary basis for a correct realization of zhentong. Even though they repeatedly describe ultimate truth or reality as possessing qualities that are not empty of their own nature, it is critical to realize that these are beyond mental fabrications or reifications that are empty of an own nature as in the rangtong system.

Zhentongpas thus argue that Candrakirti must have tacitly admitted something more than the mere nominal existence of everything (rangtong). In fact, MacDonald observes that for the Mãdhyamika as a yogin, the final goal and state is not nothingness but transcendent knowing or wisdom (jnāna).' Moreover, one can discern in the Lokãtītastava that Nãgãrjuna (fl. 200 CE) indirectly accepts something more real behind the seeming, when he says in verse 7ab: "If a name and its object were not different, one's mouth would be burned by [the word] fire."2 It should also be noted that the Samãdhirāja Sūtra, which lends support to Madhyamaka, recognizes the ordinary factors of existence (dharmas) as buddha-qualities (buddhadharmas) for those who are trained in the "true nature of dharmas" (dharmatã). In other words, all factors of existence, inasmuch as they are a mentally created misperception, need to be established as rangtong. This leads to a nonconceptual realization of their inconceivable and ineffable true reality that is zhentong in the sense of being empty of any reification that would be "other" to it.

By the late nineteenth century, a revivification of zhentong thought had emerged from the circles of Tsewang Norbu's influence. The prolific Nyingma scholar affiliated with the tradition of Tsewang Norbu's home, Katok Monastery, the First Katok Getse Tsewang Chokdrub (1761-1829) famously advocated the Zhentong Great Madhyamaka in the context of explaining Nyingma expositions of Mahāyana doctrine. Other inheritors of Tsewang Norbu's as well as Situ Pan chen's vision to revive zhentong were Jamgon Kongtrul Lodro Taye (1813-1899) and Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo (1820-1892). As Marc-Henri Deroche so rightly notes in his chapter about the Rimé discourses on emptiness, throughout the course of Tibetan intellectual history, zhentong constituted both a major sectarian marker as well as a crucial point for eclecticism. In the case of Kongtrul and Khyentse's Rimé project, zhentong was assimilated as a unifying concept to emphasize the shared identity of the

various religious traditions of Tibet. Considering how the history of zhentong thought had caused such fervent debate and sectarian discord among the orders of Tibetan Buddhism, and how it had been persecuted under the rule of the Ganden Potrang government, their interpretation of zhentong was meant to be exceptionally inclusive. Purposing zhentong as a unifying philosophical platform suggested both a counterstance to the normative Geluk-dominated discourse as well as an invitation to impartiality. In addition to Deroche's discussion, Klaus-Dieter Mathes elaborates on differences in Kongtrul's presentation of zhentong in comparison with exemplary Jonang and Kagyu exegetes.

However, discords in the rangtong / zhentong discourse continued through the turn of the twentieth century when the Nyingma luminary Mipam Namgyel Gyatso (1846-1912) sought to synthesize and reconcile these seemingly disparate visions of emptiness. Mipam's preferred stance was an anti-standpoint, an absence of elaborations with regard to the four extremes (mtha' bzhi spros bral)—a position that resonates with Nãgārjuna as well as Longchen Rabjam's (1308-1363) elucidations of the absolute. Douglas Duckworth clarifies in his chapter here that, appropriating claims of zhentong discourse, Mipam posits emptiness to appear as it exists—that is, to appear in accord with reality. Based on the fact that an appearance of emptiness undermines the Madhyamaka model of two truths that distinguishes a conventional appearance from ultimate emptiness, Mipam adopted a Yogācāra model. In so doing, he asserted that nondual unity is ultimate truth while dualistic appearances are relative truth. Within this restrained context, Mipam aligns with zhentong. Dorji Wangchuk suggests in his chapter that Mipam's philosophical approach of indivisible union (yuganaddha, zung 'jug) is a key to understanding his interpretation and reconciliation of Indian Mahāyãna doctrines in confluence with Dolpopa's zhentong view and Tsongkhapa's rangtong view. This unifying philosophy seems to be based on the fundamental assumption that a discord of philosophical views among various persons and factions would only give way to a concord of insight when they mutually envision ultimate reality. It is only then that ideological differences, and the conflicts that arise therein, come to be naturally resolved. It is at this point that awakened buddha-beings and siddha adepts meet and are of a single mind.

An inheritor of Mipam's thought and an author who was concerned with presenting the philosophical nuances of zhentong was the influential Nyingma master and scholar from Zhechen Monastery in Kham, Khenchen Gangshar Wangpo (1925-1959). Unlike Dolpopa or Shakya Chokden, Khenpo Gangshar does not present zhentong against the backdrop of the three nature theory but rather situates the rangtong / zhentong distinction within a Prãsaiigika-Mãdhyamika framework. In similar fashion to Longchen Rabjam, Khenpo Gangshar insists that everything from material form up to omniscience is rangtong. He presents the two truths as appearance and emptiness in terms of a valid cognition that analyzes for the ultimate abiding nature. In the context of a conventional valid cognition, however, which looks into the mode of an appearance, the two truths are defined in terms of the way things appear versus the way things truly are. When the abiding nature is perceived as it truly is, awareness continues, albeit in a mode that is beyond the duality of ordinary perception. That is, for Khenpo Gangshar, it is only phenomenologically that the rangtong of samsāra and zhentong of nirvana need to be distinguished.

At the same time that Jamgon Kongtrul and Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo were writing about zhentong and Mipam was composing his Ketaka Gem, Beacon of Certainty, and the Lion's Roar of Zhentong, Jonang scholarship on zhentong was reemerging in Amdo. In the chapter by Michael Sheehy, pivotal figures in the revival of Jonang scholarship on zhentong during this period are brought forth, including Dzago Geshe Lozang Chokdrub Gyatso, Ngawang Tsoknyi Gyatso (1880-1940), and

Khenpo Lodro Drakpa (1920-1975). Inspired by the Rimé movement, as Sheehy demonstrates in his chapter, these figures sought to reclaim the intellectual heritage of the Jonang. Lozang Chokdrub Gyatso's life gives us a window into the historical influences of Geluk scholasticism on the revival of zhentong, at least through the lens of one scholar. Assimilating his Geluk training at Drepung Monastery, he creatively presents a distinct doxography of Zhentong Madhyamaka based on what had become a standardized textbook framework for studying Buddhist and nonBuddhist tenet systems within a Geluk curriculum.

With Ngawang Tsoknyi Gyatso, a master from Dzamtang, his lenient, if not somewhat compromised rendering for the Jonang of the essence (ngo bo) of buddha-nature has an exegetical style that is influenced by Geluk presentations. For Khenpo Lodro Drakpa, in alignment with the mainstream Jonang proponents Dolpopa and Tãranãtha, the essence of buddha-nature is not dependent arising, while Ngawang Tsoknyi Gyatso compromises this position by asserting that even the essence of buddha-nature is dependent arising. In his Great Exposition on Zhentong, Khenpo Lodro Drakpa looks to realign zhentong philosophical thinking with mainstream Jonang presentations. He does so by systematically explaining the vital points for understanding the zhentong view as articulated by Dolpopa in his Mountain Dharma. Unlike Dolpopa's synthetic presentation, however, he deciphers salient differences between sutra zhentong and tantra zhentong. In so doing, Khenpo Lodro Drakpa and the contemporary Jonang scholastic tradition that follows him both reclaim Dolpopa's vision while creatively reimagining the myriad formulations of zhentong. <>

Mipham's Sword of Wisdom: The Nyingma Approach to Valid Cognition by Khenchen Palden Sherab, translated by Ann Helm with Khenpo Gawang [Wisdom Publications, 9781614294283]

Presents the Nyingma-lineage understanding of valid cognition in Buddhism. Its core subject is the Buddhist view of the two truths—the relative truth of conventional appearances and the absolute truth of emptiness and buddha nature—and how the two truths are inseparable. The main questions posed are: How can we know the two truths and how can we be certain that our knowledge is accurate?

"The great scholar and advanced spiritual master **Jamgon Mipham's Sword of Wisdom** is a classic work that explicates valid cognition. I am happy to see it now available in English with commentary and scholarly appendices that will be very helpful for serious students in understanding this profound and important text."—**His Holiness the Sakya Trichen**

Mipham's Sword of Wisdom explores the Nyingma-lineage understanding of valid cognition in Vajrayana Buddhism. This translation, a clear and concise primer on higher realization through valid cognition in Buddhist philosophy, presents these ideas in English for the very first time and includes the sutra presentation of the two truths and the tantra teachings of the two truths as the purity and equality of all phenomena.

When you've finished **Mipham's Sword of Wisdom**, you'll have

- rich insights into Nyingma teachings on valid cognition,
- a profound new understanding of the two truths and their inseparability,
- a solid foundation in valid cognition through direct perception and reasoning according to the traditional Indian treatises of Dharmakirti and Dignaga,
- and much more.

Review

"I am delighted with this translation of **MIPHAM RINPOCHE'S SWORD OF WISDOM.** Personally, this text has helped me so much in understanding the system of basic logic and reasoning that elucidates the profound meaning of the two truths. It is a true gem for beginners and learned alike. Time and time again, it can serve as an invaluable resource to refine and deepen one's knowledge of all schools of the Buddhadharma." -- Dzigar Kongtrul Rinpoche

"**MIPHAM'S SWORD OF WISDOM** is the essence of the Dharma itself! Khenchen Palden Sherab was a true lineage holder and scholar, a compassionate and humble man whose work can be trusted to be in perfect accord with the teachings of all the lineage masters, so we can rely on his teachings with absolute confidence. This text contains the power, blessing, and kindness of the incomparable Mipham Rinpoche, so it is like the very soul and heart of Manjushri himself! It is my heartfelt prayer that everyone read this text and take these teachings purely and honestly into their hearts." -- Ven. Gyatrul Rinpoche

"I am very pleased that this seminal text by the first Mipham has been translated and made available in English. This book presents direct perception and reasoning as the most valid way to know reality, starting with the truth of cause and effect and extending to the realization of nondual wisdom." -- Sakyong Mipham Rinpoche

“Although we think we have understood emptiness as the ultimate teaching of the sutras and tantras, we haven’t really delved into the depths of its meaning and still continue to see things with ordinary perception and are unable to rest freely in the ultimate true nature. Mipham provides the tools for us to actualize the supreme timeless awareness and become naturally liberated and boundlessly compassionate, which is the final result of our practice.” -- His Holiness Shenpen Dawa Norbu Rinpoche

“The great scholar and advanced spiritual master **JAMGON MIPHAM’S SWORD OF WISDO***m* is a classic work that explicates valid cognition. I am happy to see it now available in English with commentary and scholarly appendixes that will be very helpful for serious students in understanding this profound and important text.” -- His Holiness the Sakya Trichen

“I have found it to be extremely well written and with great blessings. I am reminded constantly of Khenchen Rinpoche's teachings and his kindness, and I found boundless joy in this sublime work.” -- Khenpo Tsewang Gyatso

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8. Valid Cognition
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13. Conventional and Ultimate Valid Cognition
14. The Four Reliances
15. The Definitive Meaning: The Eight Intentions

ON THE CONTENTS OF THIS BOOK

This book contains the root text of 104 verses by Jamgön Mipham Rinpoché titled The Sword of Wisdom That Ascertains Reality, followed by a commentary by Khenchen Palden Sherab Rinpoché titled The Radiant Light of the Sun and Moon. Also included in this volume is Mipham's autocommentary on The Sword of Wisdom. These annotations to the verses make Mipham's intended meaning clear and form the basis for Khenchen Palden's commentary.

Perhaps the greatest value of this very rich, classical text is in being a clear and concise primer on Buddhist philosophy and valid cognition. Its core subject matter is the Buddhist view of the two truths—the relative truth of conven¬tional appearances and the absolute truth of emptiness and buddha nature—and how the two truths are inseparable. The main questions this text poses are: How can we actually know the two truths? And how can we be certain that our knowledge is accurate? Mipham's answer is that to know the two truths we need pramāna or valid cognition, as demonstrated through reasoning, and to gain certainty we need the four reliances. This is summed up in verse 92:

> 92. The supreme, stainless cause
> is the possession of the four reliances,
> which come from contemplating how the Dharma of the two truths
> is established by the four types of reasoning.

This book excels in giving an easily understandable overview of valid cognition. What is valid cognition? It is accurate knowing, which we experience through direct perception and correct inference. Valid cognition is a topic of Buddhism rarely taught to Westerners, as it can seem either too simplistic or too complex, and it requires sustained study to get a good foundation in it. This text provides that foundation by explaining direct perception and inference according to the traditional Indian treatises of Dharmakirti and Dignāga, and then by laying out the four reasonings: the efficacy of causes, the dependency of effects, the relative and ultimate natures of things, and the construction of valid proofs.

Along with valid cognition, the commentary discusses several of the topics traditionally studied in the shedras, the monastic colleges of Tibetan Buddhism. For instance, there are topics from Abhidharma such as the six causes, five effects, and four conditions, a discussion of general and specific phenomena, and the ten fields of knowledge. The section on pramāna, or valid cognition, includes material used for formal debate, such as various types of correct and false reasons, and these are illustrated with sample syllogisms. The section on direct perception includes a discussion of yogic direct perception and self-aware direct perception, so it also touches on meditation. As well, there is some discussion of the schools of Madhyamaka philosophy when Khenchen Palden points out the distinctions between Prāsangika Madhyamaka and Svātantrika Madhyamaka in their approach to the absolute truth.

This root text and commentary exemplify the view of the Nyingma lineage of Tibetan Buddhism as set forth by Jamgön Mipham. It is one of the first books in English to present the Nyingma lineage understanding of valid cognition and its usage in Buddhist philosophy in general and in the Vajrayãna teachings in particular. The Vajrayãna section of the book follows the Guhyagarbha Tantra in discussing the two truths from the perspective ofpurity and equality: the relative truth is the purity of all phenomena and the absolute truth is the equality of all phenomena. Echoing the Guhyagarbha, Jamgön Mipham and Khenchen Palden introduce the Vajrayãna reasoning of the four realizations, the six parameters and four styles of interpretation, the Buddha's eight intentions, and the primacy of self-knowing awareness. Mipham's text makes it clear that higher realization depends on valid cognition, so we need to know what valid cognition consists of, how to train in it, and how to apply it in practice. As he says in the section on fruition, these methods are undoubtedly a genuine path because they result in genuine realization.

It might be useful to add that Khenchen Palden's commentary is written in the classical Tibetan scholarly style. Each section begins with a root verse, commentary that usually includes every word of the root verse, and then scriptural citations to support the statements made in the root verse. From one point of view this style of adding quotation after quotation can seem redundant, but from another point of view this is a chance to read in English portions of the greatest Indian philosophical works by Nãgãrjuna, Candrakīrti, Candragomin, Dharmakirti, Dignãga, and others. There are also quotations from the early Buddhist masters of Tibet, such as King Trisong Detsen, Kawa Paltsek, and Chokro Lui Gyaltsen. Most of us will never read their books on valid cognition, particularly since so few have been translated into Western languages. By including numerous quotations, we come to know what some of the most famous Buddhist masters said on the topics in this text.

Another feature of the classical Tibetan teaching style is its many categories or perspectives on a topic. For example, the two truths are discussed according to their essences, definitions, characteristics, functions, and purposes. As we go through these categories, looking at the two truths from all these different angles, it becomes more and more apparent what they entail. Understanding comes about from having several ways of approaching and contemplating the same topic.

For example, one way of looking at the two truths is to divide them into the pure and impure relative and the expressible and inexpressible absolute. This way of discussing the two truths is a special feature of Mipham Rinpoché's view, which follows Sāntaraksita's view in the Adornment of the Middle Way. This very insightful presentation is particularly upheld by the Nyingma lineage. Another aspect of the two truths discussed in this text is how the relative nature is comprised of functional things and designations, and the ultimate nature is comprised of the three doors of liberation.

This rich text provides a thorough grounding in the core teachings of Buddhist philosophy as well as the views of the Nyingma lineage and Jamgön Mipham. As Mipham says, if we follow the four reliances by relying on the definitive meaning of the Buddha's teachings and nondual wisdom in particular, we can gain certainty about the nature of reality. <>

JAMGÖN MIPAM: HIS LIFE AND TEACHINGS by Douglas Duckworth [Shambhala, 9781590306697]

Jamgön Mipam (1846-1912) is one of the most extraordinary figures in the history of Tibet. Monk, mystic, and brilliant philosopher, he shaped the trajectory of Tibetan Buddhism's Nyingma school. This introduction provides a most concise entrée to this great luminary's life and work. The first section gives a general context for understanding this remarkable individual who, though he spent the greater part of his life in solitary retreat, became one of the greatest scholars of his age. Part Two gives an overview of Mipam's interpretation of Buddhism, examining his major themes, and devoting particular attention to his articulation of the Buddhist conception of emptiness. Part Three presents a representative sampling of Mipam's writings.

Review

"At last, a comprehensive study of Mipam, the Nyingma Lion, whose magisterial works bridged the scholastic and yogic traditions of Tibet. Beautifully written, Duckworth's book lucidly surveys Mipam's Buddhist philosophy and provides translated excerpts from Mipam's voluminous body of work that illustrate his erudite views. This is an exciting, accessible book we have been waiting for!"—Judith Simmer-Brown, Professor of Religious Studies, Naropa University, author of *Dakini's Warm Breath*

"Like the sun shining in the sky, the writings of our kind protector, Lama Mipam, sparkle with the light of wisdom. I congratulate my student, Prof. Douglas Duckworth, for publishing this important book on the life and works of the great scholar-practitioner, and I believe the book will be of interest, not only to students of Tibetan Buddhism, but to anyone with a sincere interest in discovering the depths of Buddhist insight."—Chökyi Nyima Rinpoche, author of *Present Fresh Wakefulness: A Meditation Manual on Nonconceptual Wisdom*

"Douglas Duckworth gives historical background to important Buddhist discussions in India and Tibet that concerned Mipam, a survey of the philosophical themes that he addressed and a selection of translations from his impressive array of writings. Though the translations are excerpts from longer works, they are valuable reading for practitioners. As a condensed anthology on Mipam, this book strikes an important balance, explaining the thought of one of Tibet's great intellectuals while giving readers handpicked gems from Mipam's forest of wisdom."—*Buddhadharma*

CONTENTS

This book revolves around one of the most extraordinary figures in the history of Tibet, Jamgön Mipam (1846-1912). Mipam (commonly written as Mip ham but pronounced "Mipam") shaped the trajectory of the Nyingma school, a Buddhist tradition from Tibet that traces its history back to its early transmission from India in the eighth century. Mipam is a major figure in this tradition, and in terms of the breadth and depth of his writings, he is in a class of his own. His works live today as part of the curriculum of study at several contemporary monastic colleges in Tibet, India, and Nepal. Thus, Mipam is not simply a towering figure of historical importance; he continues to hold a central place in a flourishing Buddhist tradition. Although he lived quite late in the long history of Buddhist development in Tibet, his influence on the Nyingma school has been enormous.

This book is an introduction to Mipam's life and works. It is organized into three main sections: the first provides some general background; the second presents an overview of some of the main

themes in his work; and the last offers translated excerpts from his writings. Using this framework, I hope to give a sense of who Mipam was and present a survey of the rich heritage he has passed on.

Part One gives a context for understanding Mipam and his writings. Not a lot of biographical information about Mipam is available—which is surprising, considering the contribution he made to Buddhist thought and monastic education—but what we do know about his life and particularly from his works reveals that he was an extraordinary genius. He spent most of his life in meditation retreat, yet he was also actively involved in Buddhist scholarship. Mipam wrote extensively and not just on a few areas of Buddhist thought. He wrote on an incredibly wide range of scriptures and traditions, and his works address topics that extend well beyond the classic Buddhist scriptures. In addition to surveying these topics, Part One touches on some important features of Buddhist traditions in India and Tibet, providing a background for the tapestry of Mipam's texts and allowing us to better appreciate his contribution.

Part Two gives an overview of Mipam's interpretation of Buddhism. This section looks at major themes in his corpus to discover how he presents Buddhist theory and practice. In particular, this section looks more deeply into Mipam's interpretation of emptiness, a central issue in Buddhist philosophy, and contrasts his interpretation with those of other prominent Tibetan figures.

Part Three contains a sample of his writings. Each of the excerpts includes a short introduction to provide a context and help the reader appreciate significant elements of the passage. The selections draw from a wide range of Mipam's writings to illustrate the eloquent way in which he articulated the key issues explained in Parts One and Two. References to a number of these translations are provided in several chapters in Part Two, so the reader can immediately jump to the relevant selections to further explore the issues raised in the text.

Mipam was a sophisticated thinker who, in a grand synthesis, took on a number of difficult points in Buddhist thought. While this is an introductory book aimed at a general audience, it also deals with some tough issues in Buddhist philosophy, which is inevitable when dealing with someone like Mipam. For this reason, a person new to Buddhist philosophy may want to read slowly and even read some sections more than once. Taking time to assimilate ideas is crucial to the process of integrating the significance of philosophical texts, Buddhist or otherwise. Understanding Mipam's works is certainly not easy, but to glimpse even part of the beauty of such a master's compositions is well worth the effort. Given that he spent so much of his life in meditation retreat, his philosophical writings are deeply rooted in an experiential orientation and can be read as quintessential instructions for Buddhist practice. <>

LUMINOUS MELODIES: ESSENTIAL DOHAS OF INDIAN MAHAMUDRA translated and introduced by Karl Brunnhölzl, Foreword by Dzogchen Ponlop Rinpoche [Wisdom Publications, 9781614296225]

Essential poetic teachings from beloved Tibetan Buddhist masters in their first-ever English translation.

Presented here for the first time in English is a collection of *dohas*, or songs of realization, carefully and thoughtfully selected and translated from the large compendium the *Indian Texts of the*

Mahamudra of Definitive Meaning, which was compiled by the Seventh Karmapa and drawn primarily from the Tengyur.
Beautiful, profound, and often outrageous, these verses were frequently composed spontaneously and thus have a moving sense of freedom, openness, and bliss. They range from summaries of the entire path of Mahamudra to pithy four-liners that point directly to the buddha within us. The authors include famous masters such as Saraha and Naropa, dakinis, kings, and also courtesans and cobblers—showing that realization is accessible to all of us, right here in our lives.

Review

"In this small but profound and utterly delightful volume, Karl Brunnhölzl brings to light the mahamudra songs of a wide range of Indian Buddhist mahasiddhas, most of them never before translated into a Western language. Brunnhölzl's typically learned and lucid introduction ably situates the songs within their social, religious, and literary context, and compares them fruitfully with religious poetry from many corners of the world, while the translations themselves capture beautifully the wordplay, mystical wonder, and ecstatic sense of freedom expressed by their mysterious and charismatic authors. *Luminous Melodies* gives us a unique and inspiring view of the Indian sources of one of the world's great contemplative traditions and ought to be in the collection of anyone who appreciates Buddhist poetry, Buddhist practice, and the places where they meet." — Roger R. Jackson, author of Mind Seeing Mind

"We are indeed fortunate that Karl Brunnhölzl has extracted this collection of songs of realization from the six volumes of Indian Mahamudra texts compiled by the Seventh Karmapa, Chötra Gyatso. There is enough in these profound pith instructions to contemplate for a very long time. Brunnhölzl's translations are both daring and playful. There is much here that seems to make no 'sense,' and yet, these pith instructions have great power. Reading these songs, contemplating their meaning, and meditating within that understanding will open doors to experience—and perhaps even realization—just as they did for practitioners in the past." — Andy Karr, author of Contemplating Reality

"These beautiful songs of experience offer glimpses into the awakened minds of the Mahamudra masters of India. Karl Brunnhölzl's masterful translations are a joy to read for how they express what is so often inexpressible." --— His Eminence the Twelfth Zurmang Gharwang Rinpoche

"This delightful volume of Mahamudra songs by male and female mahasiddhas—some well known, most not—offers us a window into their world of realization. Many thanks to Karl Brunnhölzl for his excellent translations and introduction, which provide us with more sources and greater awareness of the rich Buddhist tradition of expressing the inexpressible through song." — Elizabeth Callahan, translator of Moonbeams of Mahamudra

A song by Tantipa, the weaver of the garb of awakening
Five Stanzas on the Love Between Means and Prajnã by Maitripa, the fusionist of Mahāmudrā and Madhyamaka
A song by the dākinī Queen of Splendor
A Pith Instruction on Mahāmudrā (Ganges Mahãmudrā) by Tilopa, the self-awakened one
A song by the dākinī Blazing One with
a Garland of Lightning
A song by Cãmãripa, the dharmakãya cobbler
Twelve Stanzas of Pith Instructions by Saraha, the great brahman archer
A song by the dākinī Deity with the Sun Horse
Five stanzas by Kānhapa (Krsna), the dark siddha
A song by the dākinī Sāntibhadrã
A vajra song by Naropa
A song by Dhobipa, the eternal laundryman
A song by the dākinī Bhadrā
A Song on Connateness by Sāntadeva
A song by the yogini Kankarā
A Pith Instruction on Untying the Knots in the Yogi's Own Mind by Mitrayogi, the lord of miraculous powers
A Dohã Treasure Song on the View of the Nature of True Reality by Lūhipa, the fish-gut eater
A song by Vyālipá, the lucky alchemist
A Dohã Treasure Song on True Reality by Thagana, the con man
A song by Syāmā
A Dohã Song on the True Reality of the Vãyus by Mahipa, the vain muscleman
A song by Ekavajrã
A song by Saraha
A song by Nairātmyā, selflessness embodied
A song by Savaripa, the jungle hunter
A vajra song by Virūkara, the stopper of the sun
A song by Vimalã
A song by Dombi Heruka, the pregnant-tigress rider
A song by the yogini Mahãsiddhi
A song by Mahãsukhata
A song by Taruparnā
A dharma song by Dīpamkarasrījnāna, the scholar-siddha
A song by Dignãga
A song by Kukkuripa, the one with a soft spot for dogs
The View of Being Unbound and Letting Go by Kambala, the yogi wrapped in a black blanket
A song by Lilabhadra
A song by Jālandhara, the guru of gurus
The View of Overcoming Mind's Thoughts by Laksmi, the "crazy" princess
A song by Durjayacandra
A song by Mekhalã, the elder severed-headed sister
The View of Being Unbound by Kānhapa
A song by Prakāsā
Another song by Dombi Heruka
The Completion Stage of the Vajradākinī by Vīnāpa, the musical meditator
A song by Javaripa, the petrifier

Every Tibetan Buddhist knows the life story and the songs of realization of the great Tibetan yogi Milarepa. The stories of the eighty-four most famous Indian mahāsiddhas, including a few of their songs, have also been published.' However, with a few exceptions (such as a number of songs by Saraha, Kānhapa, Tilopa, and Nāropa), the many other songs of awakening by these and numerous other female and male Indian siddhas, yoginis, and dākinīs are largely unknown, mostly because they either have not been translated into contemporary languages or were published in academic sources that have since gone out of print or are otherwise hard to access. Still, despite being relatively little known, the songs of realization of these realized beings are clearly as profound and inspiring as those of Milarepa.

The songs in this book are excerpted from the large compendium of texts called The Indian Texts of the Mahāmudrā of Definitive Meaning,' which was compiled by the Seventh Karmapa Chötra Gyatso. The bulk of its texts stems from the Tengyur, with the addition of a few other works. In its modern Tibetan book edition, this collection consists of six volumes with the modest number of 2,600 pages. Roughly categorized, these volumes contain seven kinds of texts:

1. the Anāvilatantra (as a tantric source of Mahāmudrā attributed to the Buddha himself) and its commentary
2. songs of realization (dohā, caryāgiti, and vajragiti)
3. commentaries on songs of realization and other texts
4. independent tantric treatises
5. nontantric treatises
6. edifying stories
7. doxographies (presenting hierarchies of different Buddhist and non-Buddhist philosophical systems)

Though the songs that are selected here belong only to the second cate¬gory, they offer a window into the richness of all the materials, styles, and themes of this vast ocean of Indian Mahāmudrā texts. Thus, this small book can very well stand on its own, but it is also a kind of teaser or preview that provides a taste of the entire collection.

The mahãsiddhas and others who sang these songs were a very mixed crowd. We find kings and queens, princes and princesses, top-notch Buddhist scholars, dropouts, philosophers, housewives, shoemakers, courtesans, monks, lovers, farmers, weavers, prostitutes, cowherds, fishermen, gamblers, musicians, thieves, hermits, hunters, alchemists, rich merchants, barmaids, outcastes, brahmans, gluttons, fools, pearl divers, and many more? Besides the officially recognized mahāsiddhas, there were other male and female yogic practitioners as well as dākinīs who uttered songs of realization. This shows that the teachings and the path of mahāmudrā are accessible to and can be practiced by anyone from any walk of life—whether a king, a servant in a brothel, or a housewife—often even without having to renounce their day jobs.

It is obvious that most of these songs were composed and sung spontaneously on the spot, and many betray quite unconventional if not outrageous thinking and conduct. They often use rich symbolism with profound metaphors, as well as examples from the daily life of ancient India. As far as their style goes, a lot of them sound more like modern poetry or song lyrics than traditional Buddhist texts. They do not always have a clear story line or theme and are generally more about creating a certain atmosphere or being evocative rather than being systematic or conventional teachings. Many of them use a rhetoric of paradox, attempting to beat the dualistic mind with its own weapons and point to something beyond our usual black-and-white thinking. Frequently, the songs are pith instructions for particular persons or group audiences set to melody, and as such their meaning might not be immediately clear to the rest of us.

In general, a scent of boundless freedom, openness, and bliss, paired with a deep caring for suffering beings, wafts through these songs that are expressions of supreme awakening.

Main Themes

The primary theme of these songs of realization is the view and practice of mahāmudrā–either directly looking at and working with the nature of the mind and what obscures it, or performing specific yogic techniques, especially the practices that are related to the subtle body's inner channels and energies.' Equivalents for mahāmudrā in these songs include "the connate, "the native state; "true reality; "dharmatã," "great bliss;' "unity,"' "nondual wisdom;' "self-aware wisdom:' "ordinary mind," and other expressions. All these terms refer to the innate or natural true reality of our mind, which is completely free, open, spacious, relaxed, naturally luminous, blissful without attachment or clinging, and full of boundless love and compassion for all those who have not yet recognized this nature. Thus, many songs are direct instructions for us to meet or discover our own Buddha nature, the mind's natural luminosity that exists, mostly unrecognized, within all sentient beings. This means that within the threefold classification of Mahāmudrā–sūtra Mahãmudrã, tantra Mahãmudrã, and essence Mahāmudrā–these songs belong primarily to the latter category, though some also contain strong tantric elements.

Several of these songs also contain quite trenchant cultural and spiri-tual critiques of traditional Buddhist and non-Buddhist establishments, views, and practices, including superficial and misunderstood versions of Vajrayāna. Thus, they certainly show an iconoclastic streak, breaking down conventional norms, including taboos related to the caste system, sexual behavior, and what is culturally or religiously regarded as pure and impure.

In that vein, the songs exhibit an affirmation of the body, the senses, and sexuality. This is not a license for hedonism, however. Rather, it is in the service of using even the strongest emotions and most difficult-to-master physical feelings and processes in order to transcend coarse physicality and

experience the unconditioned great bliss of mahãmudrã, which is beyond both the body and the dualistic mind.

Another major theme is the crucial significance of the guru and the role of devotion in recognizing mind's true nature. Praises of the guru as the sole reliable source of blessings, instructions, and verbal and nonverbal guid¬ance for recognizing our own buddha nature abound in the songs of the mahãsiddhas.

Dohã, Vajragiti, and Caryāgīti

Nowadays, both Indian and Tibetan Buddhist songs of realization are often popularly called dohãs or "vajra songs." However, not all songs of realization are dohãs. In fact, there are three genres of Indian songs of realization: (1) dohã ("couplet"), (2) caryāgiiti ("conduct song"), and (3) vajragiti ("vajra song"). The Tibetan word mgur (often loosely rendered as "dohã" or "vajra song") simply means "song' but over time it came to refer specifically to spiritual songs of realization.

The Sanskrit word dohã (Apabhramsa doha, lit. "two-say") has two meanings. Originally, it indicated a distinct meter in poetry with four feet in which the second and fourth feet rhyme, similar to couplets in Western poetry. Since many poems of realization were composed in that meter, dohã also came to be a general designation for a genre of rhapsodies, emotionally charged stanzas, and spiritual aphorisms. Such stanzas could also contain or be entirely composed in other meters but would still generically be referred to as dohãs. As with our songs here, such poems were often spontaneous expressions of spiritual experiences and realizations. However, it is not certain that all dohãs were actually sung, at least not from the outset; they could simply have been recited as poetry. As will be shown below, the transmission of these poems of realization was very fluid and involved constant adaptation, so sometimes melodies for certain stanzas may have been composed or changed by people other than the original composer.

In his commentary on Saraha's famous Dohakosagīti (popularly known as the People Dohã), the Tibetan Kadampa master Chomden Rigpé Raltri explains the meaning of dohākosa (Apabhramsa dohakosa, "dohã treasure"), which is the title (or a part of the title) of many of these songs:

> Since doha refers to "being loose" or "being uncontrived," it teaches mind's natural state, which is not contrived by any afflictions or thoughts. Hence, it is [called] "doha." Alternatively, since the linguistic element doha refers to "filling" or "milking;' it means filling our mind stream with wisdom or milking the wisdom of our own mind stream. Kosa means "treasure"—that is, the container in which this wisdom arises

The Kagyü master Karma Trinlépa's" commentary on the People Dohã provides a detailed explanation of the meaning of the common title Doha-kosagiti (Dohã Treasure Song) that presents a profound description of the mind's native state—the connate or mahãmudrã—and how it is revealed through the path He discusses the term dohã from two points of view.

First, in the southern vernaculars of India, he says, doha (or dvaha) as a designation for these songs means the lack of the two extremes, nonduality, union, and the overcoming of duality. Thus, it stands for overcoming dualistic thoughts by letting them dissolve within nonduality. At the time of the ground, samsāra and nirvana abide as the natural, native state of connate unity. Because this is not recognized, what appears to be the duality of perceiver and perceived is false imagination, which manifests as the entities of dualistic clinging. These entities of dualistic clinging are overcome by making them a living experience as the connate unity of the path—mahãmudrã. Then, the fruition—the unity of the two kãyas—consists of promoting the welfare of sentient beings.

A song by Tantipa, the weaver of the garb of awakening

Those weavers in the world
are weaving all kinds of yarns
I, through the guru's pith instructions,
weave the entirety of phenomena

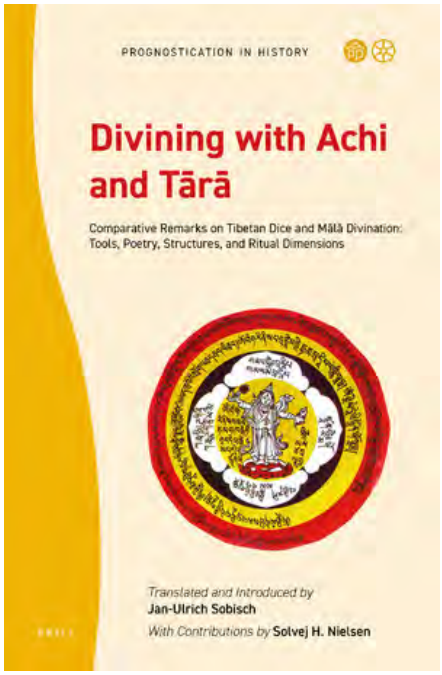
With the emptiness of the five wisdoms
as my yarn, the pith instructions as my comb,
and the loom of prajnã as well,
I weave the nonduality of expanse and awareness
into the dharmakãya

A song by Savaripa, the jungle hunter

In the dense jungle of ignorance
roams the deer of the duality of perceiver and perceived
Drawing the bow of both means and prajnā,
I shoot the single arrow of essential reality.

Its death is the dying of thoughts
Its flesh is consumed as nonduality
Its taste is experienced as great bliss—
the fruition of mahāmudrā is attained <>

DIVINING WITH ACHI AND TĀRĀ: COMPARATIVE REMARKS ON TIBETAN DICE AND MĀLĀ DIVINATION: TOOLS, POETRY, STRUCTURES, AND RITUAL DIMENSIONS by Jan-Ulrich Sobisch [Prognostication in History, Brill, 9789004402621]



Divining with Achi and Tārā is a book on Tibetan methods of prognostics with dice and prayer beads (mālā). Jan-Ulrich Sobisch offers a thorough discussion of Chinese, Indian, Turkic, and Tibetan traditions of divination, its techniques, rituals, tools, and poetic language. Interviews with Tibetan masters of divination introduce the main part with a translation of a dice divination manual of the deity Achi that is still part of a living tradition. Solvej Nielsen contributes further interviews, a mālā divination of Tārā and its oral tradition, and very useful glossaries of the terminology of Tibetan divination and fortune telling. Appendices provide lists of deities and spirits and of numerous identified ritual remedies and supports that are an essential element of a still vibrant Tibetan culture.

All interested in divination techniques in general, and in Tibetan prognostics (mo), poetry, and the ritual dimensions of divination and fortune.

The Technics of Diviners

With this introduction I would like to provide a brief comparative survey of some dice divination manuals of different cultures, languages, and times, to shed a little light on the striking similarities we find in them and, thereby, to place Tibetan dice divination in a broader context. A case in point is the astonishing uniformity of four-sided dice found in Taxila (near today's Islamabad) and Egypt that date to the ninth century (or earlier), although their exact historical connection is not yet established. Both are made of bone, rectangular, "unbalanced" (i.e., their opposing sides do not respectively add up to the same number), their "pips" (little holes representing the numbers) are each surrounded by two concentric circles, and their two ends are marked with two (Taxila) or three (Egypt) lines cut into them. Apart from such remarkable material similarities, we also find, for instance, a similarity in numbers deriving from the form (e.g., four-sided dice tend to produce sixty-four omens, on which see below), and, moreover, also a similarity of ideas. The questions posed to the diviners, for instance, recorded in many manuals, testify to the homogeneity of human needs and desires throughout the world. Investigating some of these similarities, the focus of this introduction will be on aspects of the dice, poetry, structures, prognostic categories, and ritual remedies found in divinatory texts.

We use the terms "divination" or "prognosis" (in Tibetan: mo) in the present publication for all prognostic techniques that either make use of standard signs or produce random signs. Standard signs are, for instance, used in butter lamp divination. Here, the diviner watches for certain standard signs like large or small flames and a long or short duration of the flame and then interprets the standard signs according to schemes that have already been laid down in the respective divination manuals. We can find standard signs also, for instance, in the practice of Tibetan bird divination, where we have manuals that describe the behavior of birds or the sounds that they make. The diviner watches particular birds such as crows for the occurrence of typical behavior or sounds and turns then to manuals that provide stock interpretations for each of these "signs." The production of random signs, on the other hand, is achieved mostly through technical devices like dice, sticks, or shells. The numbers obtained through dice, for instance, lead to stock prognoses, often in the form of verses, which provide basic interpretations of the random signs. Such stock prognoses are what we find in the texts investigated here. It should be noted, however, that there is some overlap between the categories roughly defined above, and— although I have used terms like "standard signs" and "stock prognoses" in my description—that there is always plenty of room for the diviner's individual interpretation. The stock prognoses may be very short and often cryptic

formulations, leaving much room for imagination, or they can be more concrete such as when a prognosis predicts that one will find a lost item within a week in the north-eastern direction.

There is another crucial difference to be discussed between types of methods. In the Mo divination that is under investigation here, what is to be divined is "received" either in a vision or in the instant when the randomizing technical device "falls" (e.g., when dice fall). In another type of method, fortune and misfortune are calculated (Tib. rtsis), as in the Sino-Tibetan calculation methods (Tib. nag rtsis and 'byung rtsis) that came to Tibet from China during the Yarlung dynasty (7th–9th c.). Instead of relying on visions or randomizing tools, it relies on the idea that the elements fire, earth, iron, water, and wood pervade— or, in fact, make up—all reality of space and time. In practice, one or several elements are related to components such as years, month, days, hours, cardinal directions, planets, and zodiac signs, or to more mysterious Chinese elements such as the nine numbers of the magical square (Tib. sme ba dgu) and eight trigrams (Tib. spar kha). For all these elements such as fire and earth, and so forth, which are either mutually conducive or antagonistic, a system has been developed to calculate the favorable or unfavorable influences of their combinations. Very similar to the process of divination, these calculations are used to determine a prognosis for material wealth, life, health and so forth. However, in addition to the coming together of influences in a given situation, this method also takes into consideration the constellations at the year of birth of a person, which are believed to be determining factors that accompany a person the whole life. Thus, if, for instance, a person's health is in the year of his birth related to the element of water and in another year to fire, that year will be problematic for his health as these elements are antagonistic and certain rituals will have to be carried out to protect him. Sino-Tibetan calculation has common features with Tibetan geomancy (sa dpyad), one form of which analyses the shape of mountains, rivers, and so forth, that are believed to have similar influences like fire, water, earth, and so forth, from among the elements of calculation. There exists, however, in Tibet also a form of geomancy that is more closely related to divination since it uses randomizing tools that produce signs on the ground or in the sand that are then divined. An important role is also played by astronomy and astrology (Tib. skar rtsis) in Tibet. It too is a system of calculation rather than divination to provide prognoses. Thus, the main difference between Sino-Tibetan calculation, landscape geomancy, and astrology on the one hand, and Mo divination on the other is that in the former the prognosis is based on a calculation of the influencing elements, whereas a Mo divines using vision or randomizing tools. In practice, however, diviners often combine methods belonging to both divination and calculation.

Apart from material aspects, structure, poetry, and so forth, dice divination manuals all over the world have also many other aspects in common. Divinatory techniques with dice or similar technical devices for randomization occur in all ancient, medieval, and modern cultures—i.e., they are a timeless phenomenon. Their literary manifestations almost always bear elements of both an elite, literary culture and of folk culture. Moreover, each sample we look at is usually modeled after one or several older ones, eventually going back in some of its elements to divination books in other cultures. It is, thereby, connected throughout the world to Babylonic, Egyptian, Hellenistic, Persian, Arabic, European,Central Asian, South-East Asian and other cultural spheres. When we find similar structural elements, however, that does not necessarily mean that two manuals have a traceable direct historical connection. In some cases, other factors may predetermine a structural element. As already mentioned, in the case of dice divination (Tib. sho mo), similarly structured dice can lead to the same number of prognoses in different manuals.

Dice for Divination—One of Many Tools of Randomization

As Strickmann (2005) has pointed out, there are one-step and two-step systems of divination. A single-step procedure is one where one directly draws a prognosis from pre-fabricated written answers; a two-step procedure has a randomizing technique previous to drawing the answers. These two procedures should again be differentiated from the less pre-structured direct visions arising in a trance or from the surface of a lake or a mirror. Lama Chime describes such less pre-structured signs arising on the surface of a lake or a mirror as being like a vision that originates in the diviner's (or the medium's) mind like a dream. Such a vision still needs complete and original individual interpretation. Asomewhat intermediate type of procedure is one where the diviner searches for a sign in the flame of a butter lamp, the ball of his thumb, the behavior of birds, or in the cracks of tortoiseshell or a bone thrown into a fire, and so forth. The signs appearing in such procedures are usually pre-structured in that previous "seers" have seen and transmitted them and someone has laid them down as standardized signs and provided more or less detailed stock interpretations in a divination manual. The diviner may see, for instance, a particular form of a crack in a bone, and he can refer to a manual that describes the sign and lays down some interpretation, often in the form of poetry. The diviner has to connect the stock interpretation with the situation of his particular client. He may have more or less liberty (or ability) to interpret the existing stock prognosis. A fully developed two-step procedure uses a technical device to select a prognosis at random. Such a device can be dice or even a cage bird that is trained to pick one or more of sixty-four sheets of paper with short prognoses, often inverse form.

Dice divination is a classic fully developed two-step approach. Like other methods of this category, it employs one of the many technical devices at the beginning. In the case of the famous Chinese I-ching, for instance, one method is to shake sticks in a tubular receptacle until one or several of them emerge from its opening, but many other methods are possible, including the use of coins. For a discussion of the usage of Buddhist rosaries (Skt. mālā) in Tibetan divination, see Solvej H. Nielsen's chapter on mālā divination below.

Another randomizing device is a geomantic process where signs are produced in various ways, for instance by throwing stones or shells on the ground or applying random numbers of dots to a sheet of paper. The idea is always the same, namely to arrive at a number that is then used to select a simple answer such as "good," "bad," or "medium," and so forth. It can also be used to select a text passage (for instance a verse) that contains a prognosis and can—if it is very brief or cryptic—still be further interpreted.

Previous scholars have pointed out that certain graphical patterns visible in divination manuals indicate that dice play a role in the selection of a particular prognosis.4 In some cases, groups of circles precede each section of a prognosis in the manual. The numbers of groups are always three, and the maximum number of circles per group is four, thus:

0-0-0 / 0-0-00 / 0-0-000 / 0-0-0000
0-00-0 / 0-0-00 / 0-00-000 / 0-00-0000
0-000-0 / 0-000-00 / 0-000-000 / 0-000-0000
0-0000-0 / 0-o0000-oo / 0-0000-000 / 0-0000-0000 (= 16 sections)
00-0-0 (and so forth = 16 sections)
000-0-0 (and so forth = 16 sections)
0000-0-0 (and so forth = 16 sections)—together 64 sections

This particular pattern indicates the use of dice with four sides, i.e., the oblong, rectangular dice with rounded ends that have been described above. The four long sides would bear one to four circles (carved "pips"): 0, 00, 000, 0000. A diviner either uses three of such dice together or rolls one of these three times. Archaeological findings well establish the existence of such dice. According to Stein, such dice were discovered in Niya and here the order of dots was 3 opposite to 1 and 4 opposite to 2. Lüders explains that according to the Pāśakakevalī, the dice (Skt. pāśaka) were made from ivory or śvetārka wood and inscribed with the numbers 1–4. As a general rule, such four-sided dice seem to produce always sixty-four results (because the succession of numbers matters), and thus there are 43 possible results.

In other cases we find only sixteen sections in the texts and sixteen numbers from three to eighteen, indicating the (simulataneous) use of three six-sided dice, as they are also visible in images of the Indo-Tibetan deity Śrī Devī (Tib. dPal ldan lha mo) hanging down from the saddle of her mount. For these types of dice, however, the three results are added up, thus:

1-1-1 = 3	1-2-6 = 9	2-6-6 = 14
1-1-2 = 4	1-3-6 = 10	3-6-6 = 15
1-1-3 = 5	1-4-6 = 11	4-6-6 = 16
1-1-4 = 6	1-5-6 = 12	5-6-6 = 17
1-1-5 = 7	1-6-6 = 13	6-6-6 = 18
1-1-6 = 8		

There is no consideration of combinations such as

1-2-3 (= 6) or
3-2-1 (= 6) or
2-2-2 (= 6), and so forth.

What counts is only the total sum of all three dice (or, perhaps, of three rolls of a single die). The number of possible prognoses is thereby massively reduced from sixty-four to sixteen. A particular case is a Turkic text investigated by Thomsen, which has sixty-five sections (due to using a combination twice by mistake). An exception is also the A pa ra tsa na text by the Tibetan scholar adept Mipham (1846–1912), which uses two dice with six sides, resulting in thirty-six different prognoses.

In the case of six-sided dice, it moreover appears to be the case that the numbers or dots representing numbers on their six sides were distributed in the same manner as they are on modern dice, where opposite sides always add up to seven (1+6, 2+5, 3+4). Stein confirms this, i.e., that the opposite sides are always adding up to 7. Both our interviewees, Ontrul Rinpoche and Khenchen Nyima, however, pointed out that the dice used for the Achi Mo were "not like modern dice." In Tibet, we furthermore find dice with symbols or letters on them. A widespread example is a die that bears on its six sides the six syllables of a Mantra of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī: A—ra—pa—tsa—na—dhī. Mañjuśrī figures prominently in Tibetan Buddhist divination systems, but other deities, like Palden Lhamo (Skt. Śrī Devī), occur as well.

Poetry in the Prophecy

Various texts that were investigated show—despite their different origin, language (Turkic, Sanskrit, Tibetan) and religion (Jaina?, Manichean?, Bönpo, Buddhist)—a further striking similarity in that they all employ brief or more detailed poetical expressions (not always metrical), mostly at the beginning of each prognosis. As Dotson noted, they "partake of a heightened register of language involving archaisms, metered song, and impressionistic images." Stein has pointed to the many myths and

legends contained in Tibetan-language Dunhuang manuscripts that helped to form Tibetan divination texts. They "illustrate the original Tibetan component of what was to become, in later Tibet and Mongolia, a highly Sino-Tibetan oracular idiom". The poetic element is a regular constituent in divination manuals of different languages, cultures, and religions.

Chinese Buddhist Divination Poetry

The Book of Consecration (Kuan-ting ching,T. 1331) contains the earliest Chinese Buddhist divination text. It was written and compiled in 457 by the Chinese monk Hui-chien and does not employ dice. Instead, the prognoses, written on slips of bamboo or strips of silk, are selected by the inquirer from a pouch. There are a hundred rhyming eight-line stanzas of five-syllable verses. Strickmann provides circa forty of these in full or partial translation (pp. 60–70). The verses often contain a hint concerning the reason for the inquirer's good or bad luck. An extremely positive verse is no. 22:

> How glorious this felicity!
> It will bring forth the phoenix!
> For you the unicorn will be aroused,
> And sagely kings come capering!
> How rare! No peer in all the world!
> The devas shower down flowers!
> Just recompense for merit that is yours;
> All undertakings will be happy and auspicious.

But there are also very negative prognoses, like no. 3:

> In your previous life there was no felicity or kindness,
> So you fell into sin.
> You had no faith in the Three Treasures
> And mocked and made light of the Hero of the World [the Buddha].
> In your present existence you have therefore obtained suffering,
> And so it will be until your life is done.
> You have amassed sins equal to a mountain,
> And the retribution for these acts will be truly endless.

Just imagine the inquirer's shock when he draws this lot! It is indeed surprising to find such a gloomy prognosis, particularly since it offers not a shred of hope: "And so it will be until your life is done!" It is, in fact, very rare to find such a forlorn verdict in Buddhist divination manuals. However, it does occur in other texts, too, such as in an Indian work ascribed to Śāntideva, where one prognosis prompts the inquirer to "give up all hope!" In most other Buddhist manuals that I have studied, however, one rarely finds such a negative outlook on the future, and if a statement is negative, there is at least a remedy offered to improve the situation (see also below, the section on ritual remedies,

Yet there is also a way out of this situation offered in the Book of Consecration since the inquirer is allowed to choose three slips (sometimes up to seven) from the pouch. How these interact to forma comprehensive answer to the inquiry does not seem to be mentioned in the text. It is not unusual that more than one divination is taken at a time (or that one divination involves repeated draws or rolls of dice, and so forth). As Goldberg and Dakpa explain in their introduction to Mipham's A ra pa tsa na (which employs two dice with six syllables): "To ascertain whether an answer is very firm or weak, it is advisable to throw the dice two more times. If the same two syllables are repeated, then this means that your answer is very firm. If the two syllables reverse themselves, then the answer is a weak one. If the two syllables of the subsequent toss are different, then your answer is good as it

stands." Similar instructions can be found in other texts, too (see for instance the chapter on mālā divination below). However, there are also manuals that strictly forbid multiple drawings, such as the Ling-ch'i ching. In the Achi Mo, too, the three dice are only thrown once, and it insists that "[i]t cannot be inaccurate!" (mi thig gang yang med).

As we have seen above, the verses in the Book of Consecration mostly do not concern themselves with many poetic expressions (but see verse 22: "It will bring forth the phoenix! For you, the unicorn will be aroused"). They mostly delve directly into quite specific prognoses as this selection of first lines shows:

> (5) It is likely this undertaking will not succeed;
> (21) If you intend to dwell in this house
> It will be greatly disastrous—you cannot stop here.
> (31) You are an ill-omened person
> And so have been made to dwell in this place.
> (63) The plagues afflicting your six sorts of domestic animals Cannot be treated by human agency.
> (38) You wish to trade in various goods: All that you undertake will prosper.

Although this book is clearly of Chinese origin, its author made an effort to draw on various Indian prototypes:

> (44) ... and he is freighted with sins as many as Ganges sands.
> (27) Spoken by the mouths of Śakra and Brahmā, This means all happiness, without deception.

The verses are ripe with morality and references to the law of karma:

> (3) In your previous life there has been no felicity or kindness. (33) Why have you casually spoken deceitful (...)?
> (46) One claiming to have faith in the Tao11 and its Virtue,
> To exert spiritual zeal and hold himself in quietude,
> While in his heart maintaining untoward longings
> Will in his next life fall amidst hungry ghosts.
> (50) If father and mother do what is not good,
> Many among their children and grandchildren will die.

Startling—for a Buddhist text—are the verses that pertain to military service. The inquirer is ensured that superior officers will look after him, he will always obtain victory in the battle, and will, due to Brahmā' s power, be rewarded. In the face of "only piles of human bones," one should "simply concentrate on the Tao and its Virtue" and one will be free of sorrow—in the midst of a battle! War and one's fate as a soldier, however, have always been a major concern of those who seek advice from divination. Even our text, the Achi Mo, advises under the rubric "enemies" (when six eyes show on the dice): "If you undertake an offensive attack and ransacking (dmagjag), it will be successful. Other than that, there is a slight danger of having an enemy, but since he cannot harm, all will be well," and one can improve one's chances by reciting the GLORIFICATION OF THE WARRIOR GOD and the SUPPRESSING DRASI.

Poetry in the Turkic Irk Bitig

The Irk Bitig ("fortune book," BL Or.8212/161) is a Turkic text that was discovered in 1907 by Sir Aurel Stein in the "Halls of the Thousand Buddhas" (cave 17) near Dunhuang. It is written in runic script, in a "Manichean Türkü" dialect (Clauson, 1961: 218), and most likely to be dated to the 9th

century. Thomsen published a translation in 1912. Clauson provides philological notes and suggestions for improvement. At the beginning of one section, we read in a divination providing a negative prognosis:

A bear and a wild boar had met in a mountain pass. The belly of the bear was torn open; the tusks of the wild boar were broken.

The text contains many similar poetic expressions involving animals, such as eagles (with good and bad prognoses),13 falcons (bad, good, both), raven (good), hawks (being caught by falcons: bad), a cuckoo (good), a swan (good), little birds (good), horses (good, bad, both), oxen (bad), camels (good, bad, both), a snake (bad), tigers (good), wolves (good), sheep (good), hare (bad), deer (good, bad), and so forth. It is evident that the appearance of a specific type of animal in the poetry of the divination is not per se indicative of a good or bad prognosis. Even though imagery of animals predominates, there are also other tropes: – A large house was burnt down. Not even a layer(?) of it remained, not even its enclosure(?) was left (a bad prognosis).

- A pious old woman stayed home. By licking the edges of a greasy spoon she lived and escaped death (no prognosis given, p. 198).
- A monk dropped his bell into a lake. In the morning it tinkles, in the evening it jingles (a bad prognosis, p. 200).
- The morning dawned. Then the earth brightened. Then the sun rose and the light shone over everything (a good prognosis).

It is, thus, the particular situation described through these images that is indicative of a good or bad prognosis. When an eagle attacks a falcon, it is bad; when the falcon catches a hare but loses the hare, which is hurt, it is bad; when an untrainable falcon settles upon a sightly rock, it is both good and bad; a god on a horse is good; a horse stolen by a thief is bad; and so on. One can observe

here how a divination text that otherwise shares structural elements with texts from other cultures is made specifically "Turkic" by using indigenous images in its poetical sections. A divination text provides, therefore, insights into the way the culture in which it is situated expresses poetry. We can witness a similar "indigenization" through poetry in most divination texts that have somehow derived from texts of other cultures.

Poetry in Turfan Fragments

At the beginning of the 20th century, Albert Grünwedel and Albert von Le Coq brought circa 40,000 manuscripts and fragments in sixteen different languages from Turfan—an Oasis at the Silk Road—to Berlin. Francke found among these manuscripts several fragments in the Tibetan language which he dated to the 8th century. He recognized these small fragments as divinatory texts based on the groups of circles between the paragraphs of the writing. These circles rep-resentthe eyes on the four-sided dice used for divination. In the text, the circles are followed by verses in typical oracular language. One of Francke's fragments reads:

> The camel went to drink water and the night had come ... The moon rose and the night fell(?). Then the sun rose ...

Another fragment contains a complete verse but is very difficult to understand. It is clear, however, that it contains poetic expressions involving animals. Unfortunately, the preserved portions are few and very fragmented. Some of these fragments contain the overall prognosis "this Mo is good," "this Mo is lower average," "this Mo is very good," and so forth. We should also note that the verses come from the mouth of deities that seem to belong to the Bön pantheon, or to put it differently,

they belong to the pre-Buddhist period of Central Asia. Despite the briefness of the fragments, Francke detected several close analogies between his texts and the Turkic text translated by Thomsen. We cannot confirm, however, his identification of the "spirit" of the text as being that of the Indian Pāśakakevalī.

Brief Poetical Elements in the Sanskrit Pāśakakevalī

In the Sanskrit text studied by Weber, the numbers of the four-sided dice appear immediately before the verses in the form of numbers, and again at the very beginning of the actual verse of divination as a numeral. This text has the already well-known format of sixty-four sections. A unique and fascinating feature of this kind of divination is the "sign or token serving as a proof" (Skt. abhÿñānam, Weber 1859: 297). It mentions as proof of the correctness of the prognosis the appearance of particular signs on the inquirer's body or in his dream, or of real events that have occurred or will soon occur. These can be a sore spot on the belly (v. 12), a dispute with one's mother (v. 22), or seeing a king in a dream (v. 28). The prognosis mentions on occasion a date or a time frame for the fulfillment of the prognosis ("within three months," v. 15). Weber (1868) speculates about a possible Jaina or Śaiva affiliation of the text before he decides that it probably is Buddhist, for which I see no evidence. The colophon seems to put it squarely into a Jaina context. The verse divinations contain at their beginning very brief poetical expressions like the following:

> Eins, Eins, und Drei zuletzt, dieses Gerassels hör' du jetzt die Furcht! ("One, one, and three at last, of this rattling, hear you now the fear!")
> Or (p. 289):
> Eins, Zwei, und Drei zuletzt ist jetzt dein Paukenwurf gefallen hier. ("One, two, and three, at last, has now your kettledrum-cast been thrown.")
> The expressions are rare and very brief, and, as we would expect, they offer a first glimpse of the prognosis, such as in these examples:
>
> - 1.1.2. "cutting like scissors"—bad
> - 1.2.2. "a lovely roll [of the dice]"—good
> - 1.2.3. "a shattering roll"—bad
> - 1.3.4. "a roll called 'victorious one'"—good

As each verse develops, the prognosis unfolds mentioning several details such as trade, health, harvest, and so forth. Such sub-categories of the divinations will be discussed in more detail below.

Poetry in a Tibetan Dunhuang Divination Manual

The Tibetan language Dunhuang text translated by Thomas (1957) provides much more space for poetic expression. Verses occur before the actual prognoses,which are in prose. At the beginning of one section, it says:

> Lake-land in turquoise country;
> Turquoise fine, like willow-leaf.
> Turquoise bird, criss-cross play and
> Speech pleasant, joined to all good:
> Today heard, happy tidings.

Following these lines, the text provides a detailed prognosis in prose and a final summary of it as "good in the highest degree." In the context of "outlook concerning the household" (khyim phya) and "outlook concerning the life force" (srog phya), it predicts that someone who once has been rich and now is poor due to the intervention of a drala (dgra bla) will soon have his lot improved.19 Although the prognosis mentions no particular misfortune, it recommends as a ritual remedy to

worship a hindrance removing god (bgyegs sol lha mchod cig). Undertakings (don gnyer), trade (tshong), and petitions (gsol shags) will lead to success. If one awaits a visitor ('dron po [= mgron po]), he will arrive. In contrast to this good prognosis, a dramatic scene is evaluated as a bad prognosis (Thomas 1957: 131):

> Ho! In meadow land, far up;
> Stag-male with herd attached;
> By hill dogs seven surrounded;
> Not fleeing, as if bound, bound;
> Remedies none availing.
> By hunters seven surrounded;
> Surrounded, which way to go? ("This mo, for whatever cast, is bad.")

Here, the detailed prognosis is that whatever one does in the context of "outlook concerning the household" and "outlook concerning the life force" will have no success because a great demon (gdon ched po) has come to the house. If he is not expelled (bskrad), there will be no success in the future, trade will be without gain, an enemy (dgra) will appear, a marriage will turn out unsuitable (gnyen byas na myi 'phrod), a traveller does not come, lost property (bor lag) will not be regained (myi rnyed), and a petition will not be granted. This divination manual (Tib. mo dpe) is rich in detail, and we can always sense aconnection between the mood of the poem and the general prognosis as "good" or "bad."

Dotson provides in his articles five samples from another Tibetan Dunhuang text (ITJ 740), most likely from a Bön milieu. One sample reads:

> Oh! Up on the northern plains
> Over there—they seek seven gazelle.
> The thieves shall never get them
> They are the possessions of the mu sman.

The text summarises this prognosis as "extremely good." In the context of "household" and "life force," the outlook concerning men and animals (phyugs) is that they are not diminishing (myl nyams) since the gods (lha) protect happiness and long life. Moreover, undertakings are accomplished, sick persons will recover, petitions for official posts (rje blas gsol) will be granted, subsistence (srld phya) will be good,23 a marriage (gnyen byas) will be a good match ('phrod), trade will be profitable (khye phyln), and a visitor ('dron po) will come.

Poetry in Mipham's A ra pa tsa na

This divination text of Mipham Rinpoche (1846–1912) employs two dice with six sides bearing the letters of the mantra of Mañjuśrī, A ra pa tsa na dhīḥ, resulting in thirty-six different prognoses. Each of thethirty-six entries of the manual has six parts, providing (1) the two letters appearing on the dice (A A, A ra, A tsa, and so forth), (2) a name for the section, (3) a brief summary of the prognosis, (4) a sign (Tib. brda), (5) the section's divinatory categories (such as "outlook concerning the household", "wealth fortune"),25 and (6) a summary at the very end of the section.

Parts 2, 3, 4, and 6 offer the possibility to employ various poetical expressions. As names for the sections, for instance, we find "stainless sky," "blazing rays of the sun," or "māra of death." The signs (brda) are of different complexity. One is "sound of emptiness endowed with the three [gates of] emancipation," another one is briefly "spotlessly brilliant," and yet another one is "enjoyment of sense pleasures in the assembly that is free from men." Several of these signs come from the mouth of deities such as Yamāntaka or Mañjuśrī, from beings like gandharvas and yakṣas, or demons like the

"messengers of māra." The summary at the end offers the result of the prognosis in a condensed form, such as "granting fearlessness" or "departing of darkness."

Part 3 provides the most space for poetical expressions, always picking up in some way on the respective name of the prognosis (= part 2). Thus, we have in prognosis no. 3: "Like the moon 'Brilliant Nectar' is shining in the sky, you will accomplish peaceful, increasing, and virtuous activities; all will be well." Prognosis no. 6 has: "Everywhere joy increases like [when] one receives good news [alluding to that particular prognosis' name Vajra-Melody]; all will be well."

Structure and Nucleus of the Achi Mo

Structure of the Achi Mo manual

1. sādhana
2. sixteen sections of divination, each with two parts:

A. (the possible nucleus of the divination text)
(a)general prognosis (good, bad, average, and so forth)
(b) outlook concerning religion or basic prognosis, often in the form of poetry
(c) further details of (b) and ritual remedies (optional)

B. detailed prognoses concerning:
(a) household
(b) building ground, pastures
(c) fortune
(d) wealth
(e) undertaking
(f) victory or defeat in court cases
(g) disease
(h) life force
(i) evil spirits
(j) doctor, medicine, medical treatment
(k) offspring
(l) enemies
(m) travellers
(n) trade
(o) travel
(p) lost items

The Achi Mo manual ascribed to Trinlé Zangpo (1656–1718) has two main parts (1. and 2.), with the first one consisting of an evocation ritual (Skt. sādhana) of the deity Achi. The second main part (2.) consists of the sixteen sections correlating to the eyes of the three dice (namely 3 to 18). Each of these sixteen parts again consists of parts A and B. In the following, I will discuss these two parts (A and B) in more detail. Part A, of which I will argue that it is the nucleus of the divination, provides three things. The first (a) is a brief immediate prognosis with seven levels: very good, good, higher medium, medium, lower medium, bad, and very bad. This is followed (b) by a quintessential prognosis about the "outlook concerning religion" (bstan pa'i chos phywa)26 and a "basic prognosis"

(gzhi mo), often in the form of poetical expressions. Finally (c), we find further details concerning the above and sometimes also ritual remedies as antidotes to misfortune and ritual supports for the improvement of fortune.

Let us now investigate part A(b) concerning its noteworthy features. To begin with, it is interesting that it mentions both a prognosis concerning religious activities and a general outlook. In four of the

sixteen prognoses, however, religious activities and general outlook are not differentiated. In the remaining cases, a differentiation is made into high-ranking and common people and/or into religious activities and common activities:

> - the prognosis for high lamas (bla chen) and officials in charge (dpon po) is differentiated from that of ordinary people (mi dkyus),
> - problems on the father's side of the family (pha spun) are differentiated from the occurrence of ups and downs ('phar 'bug) in religious activities, – the prognosis for ordained people (bande'i mo) is said to be especially good,
> - important matters in religion (bstan chos) have a good prognosis in the long run, but are uncertain in the short term, whereas for ordinary people things remain stable and without many ups and downs (P 72),
> - religious practitioners are particularly mentioned as being free from obstruction, and religious activities increase,
> - the prognosis for high lamas and ordained people (bande) is differentiated from that of (secular) headmen (mi dpon rigs), and this again from the prognosis for common people (phal pa),
> - good fortune for spiritual and mundane leaders like high lamas and kings is good, but such a good fortune is "a bit overwhelming" (khyogs dka' tsam) for low and ordinary people (phal pa shin tu dman pa).

Already here in section A(b) with its prognoses for religious activities and general outlook, the text sometimes mentions ritual remedies as antidotes to misfortune and ritual supports for the improvement of fortune, such as practices of appeasement, services to the community, and merit accumulation through offerings, and so forth. The prognosis for "four pips showing [on the dice]" which is bad, remarks in its general section:

> If one performs the service rites (rim gro) with much power, it will only be slightly negative.

This is to say that if either the requester or performer of the Mo performs a ritual service with great power, it will attenuate the negativity or improve the positive tendency of whatever has been prognosed. Although it is not explicitly mentioned here, "with great power" must mean that the practice is performed with a strong faith, much clarity of mind, and perhaps also many times. To give another example, the general prognosis for "five pips" states:

> Ordinary persons ... should supplicate the gods and guardians who show favor to their family lineage.

"Who show favor" ('go ba) refers to the gods (lha) and guardians (srung ma) who have had a connection to a person's family in this and previous lives. The idea is closely related to another concept, namely that of a family line or spiritual lineage serving and following (bsten pa) these deities for a long time. In exchange for that service, the gods and guardians show favor to members of that family or lineage by intervening in unfavorable situations. In particular, they become instrumental in the ritual remedies against misfortune.

This fact is also expressed in the sādhana of Achi at the beginning of our manual:

> ... the guardians of the lineage of the forefathers (pha mes), the guardians of the lineage of Ācāryas, the guardians of the [ritual] remedy [practices] in solitary places, the protectors who have accepted to guard the teachings of these Kagyupas.

The general prognosis for "six pips," which is bad, recommends the following remedies:

> Making offerings to the sacred objects, restoring a nd whitewashing a stūpa, paying respect to the ordained community, reading out loud the Kanjur of the Buddha and the scriptures, giving a feast to beggars and dogs, one thousand [mantras of] Bhairava and Vairocana ...

Again, the remedy includes well-known means of merit accumulation, like making offerings to Buddha, Dharma, and community, or giving food to beggars and street dogs. Moreover, here and in other instances, the text recommends as ritual remedies the mantra recitations and ritual practice of Mantra deities such as Bhairava and Vairocana. Such practices typically include torma offerings and, if the prognosis is very negative as when "twelve pips" occur on the dice, wrathful Mantra rituals such as repelling and burnt offerings of the four activities (which include wrathful activities). In one case, for instance, there is the danger of severe disturbances through the sadag and lunyen, since these gods appear to have developed much anger (khros). Remedies include practices that cause a release from the harm of sadag or lu, propitiation as well as torma and smoke offerings to lu, and ablutions (khrus) for the region, house, gods, and place.

The underlying ideas of remedies and supports are, therefore, that negative influences are averted, harm-doers repelled, and good fortune is supported and improved through the accumulation of merit and the activities of gods, guardians, and the Mantra deities. Since such remedies often already occur here in part A(b), which concerns the "outlook concerning religion" and the "basic prognosis," it appears that these first parts of the sixteen prognoses (part A), together with the poetical lines at their beginning, form the nucleus of the Mo. That is to say that this nucleus would already work as a complete divination text without all the sixteen sections of part B(a-p) of the text, which feature all the individual prognoses for household, life force, wealth, and so forth, and a large number of ritual remedies and supports.

Poetry in the Achi Mo

All sections (except for one) of the "outlook concerning religion" and "basic prognosis" of part A(b) have at their beginning at least one (more or less) poetical line. Most of these lines do not seem to be connected in a way that they would add up to a single whole poem. Some of them, however, are prognostic utterances without any poetic appeal, but for the sake of completeness, I include them in the following presentation (the numbers in round brackets indicate the pips of the dice, the evaluation in square brackets indicate the general prognosis of the respective divination):

(3) In the end, it is bad, and tears stream forth from the eyes of the sun and moon. [bad]
(4) Since the waning moon increases, it is like a veil. [bad]
(5) Upon the earth, one finds gold and turquoises. [good]
(6) There is the danger of harm from evil spirits. [bad]
(7) The victorious banner is planted on four temples,
the white conch is blown, and the gaṇḍi is beaten,
the seat of the Dharma is obtained,
one is made the lord of three monasteries,
and if one is a layman, one is made the king
and the ruler of the army and the people. [very good]
(8) Differentiating between good and bad is difficult. [above average]
(9) All of the three realms is under control.
The three thousand worlds are suppressed.
You will meet a self-confident traveler.
The lion has seized the snow mountain,
but the other beings do not need to be afraid.

Wherever the religious practitioner is going,
he will be free from obstruction, religious activities increase
and great fame and resources will arise. [good]

(10) —[medium]

(11) The white conch is blown, and pleasing speech is heard.
In the dense turquoise tree
rings out the pleasing voice of the blue cuckoo. [good]

(12) The monkey falls from the top of the tree, or
the old trunk breaks or topples over.
Bad signs are visible, or there is the danger of their arising.
You are going to exceed the time of your promise, or, the gods are
unhappy. [very bad]

(13) In the navel of Palden Lhamo
all the gods have made their castle.
They defeat the asuras in their battle.
When the gods win, this Mo "lands." [good]

(14) All of the lama, master, and uncle [and so forth] are [like] sun and moon captured
(zin) by suddenly [appearing] planets.
They do not recover from that, which is the cause of distress. [below average]

(15) The rain of everything necessary and desired falls From the wish-fulfilling jewel,
and one's hopes are accomplished. [good]

(16) Like a black moon rising. [very bad]

(17) The wish-fulfilling tree is growing from the center of the ground. Since its fruits
are ripening, your hopes will be fulfilled. [very good]

(18) Palden Lhamo! Bestow on us siddhis and remove obstacles!
May every wish be accomplished and the necessary and desired things arise. [above
average]

It is conspicuous that the lines for 13 and 18 contain references to Palden Lhamo (Skt. Śrī Devī). The search for the source of these lines led to two other divination texts that differ from the Achi Mo chiefly through the respective sādhanas at their beginning. The first is a Mo text of Palden Magzor Gyalmo (a form of Śrī Devī) by the sixth Chagrawa, Ngawang Trinlé Palzangpo (1730–1794). The second is the Mo text of the same deity by Yangchen Drubpé Dorjé (1809– 1887), a Gelugpa author from the Ngülchu tradition of Western Tibet, who composed his text in 1848 (sa sprel). He was a nephew of the famed Dharmabhadra. Both texts postdate Drikungpa Trinlé Zangpo's (1656–1718) Achi Mo. Except for some details—of which the most important ones are noted in the documentation of the Tibetan text below—the second main part (2.), which follows the sādhana, is nearly identical in all three divination manuals. I assume that all three works go back to an older Śrī Devī text that has not yet surfaced.

These largely identical Mo texts of the Tibetan tradition differ, as mentioned above, chiefly concerning the sādhana at their beginning. That is, they contain sādhanas of Achi or Magzor Gyalmo,and the authorship of these sādhanas may be the principal reason for ascribing these Mo texts respectively to Trinlé Zangpo, Chagrawa, or Yangchen Drubpé Dorjé. The fact that the Gelugpa tradition (and perhaps the Drikung tradition, too), appropriated the divination manual by merely adding a specific sādhana to it shows how incredibly mobile these manuals can be.

Apart from the different sādhanas, the text of the manual itself contains some variants. These fall chiefly into three categories: (1) additional or omitted ritual remedies, (2) orthographical variants, and (3) variation in wording, including word order, omission or addition of words, and, rarely,

complex but not always meaningful variants. I chiefly document here the most significant cases of the second and third category. If we compare the closeness of the Achi and Magzor Gyalmo divination manuals with the different Tārā inspired divination manuals ascribed to Atiśa discussed by Solvej H. Nielsen below (p. 186 ff.), we can see that such manuals also can have high plasticity. That is, of the four versions we located (T1–T4), T2 omits the threefold repetition of the divination that otherwise seems to be standard in the orally transmitted system of mālā divination, T3 adds a recitation of prayers, and T4 has an additional introduction part with prayers and what seems to be a brief explanation. Moreover, all four Tārā manuals show significantly more differences in the main text than the three manuals of the Achi and Magzor Gyalmo divination.

Concerning the Achi manual, it is noteworthy that Śrī Devī figures so prominently in the poetry of a Mo text that is otherwise connected in the Drikung tradition to the deity Achi. Moreover, at least one sādhana of Achi invites Śrī Devī as the deity of gnosis (Skt. jñānasattva) while Achi is the deity of the pledge (Skt. samayasattva). In the process of that sādhana, both become inseparably united when the ritual practitioner utters the syllables dzāḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ.49 In the literature on Achi, we also find several times her name augmented by "Śrī Devī" (e.g., dPal ldan lha mo dbyings phyug chos kyi sgron ma). This is probably why Khenchen Nyima stated in a follow-up interview that Palden Lhamo is simply one of Achi's names. Achi is usually explained to be an emanation of the Jñānaḍākinī of Cakrasaṃvara.

In the poetical lines translated above, one can find expressions like "eyes of the sun and moon" or that a waning moon is "like a veil." We also find the usual elements of Indian Buddhist poetry like the victorious banner, the white conch shell, and the gaṇḍi (drum), as well as the mentioning of monasteries, lamas, asuras, and siddhis. One may read only a single line as having a relation to Tibet: "The lion has seized the snow mountain;" all other lines indicate an Indian or Indo-Tibetan cultural sphere. Except for three lines (3, 4, and 6 of the above), all lines are metrical and of even length, i.e., with seven syllables, but all the lines taken together do not make the impression of forming a single whole poem. The poetical expressions of these lines mostly provide a clear sense of whether they lead to a positive or negative prognosis. Thus:

- "tears stream forth from the eyes of the sun and moon" is bad,
- "the waning moon increases and is like a veil" is bad,
- "upon the earth, one finds gold and turquoises" is good,
- "the victorious banner is planted on four temples ..." is very good,
- "all of the three realms is under control ..." is good,
- "the white conch is blown, and pleasing speech is heard ..." is good, – "the monkey falls from the top of the tree ..." is very bad,
- "in the navel of Palden Lhamo, all the gods have made their castle ..." is good, – "all of the lama, master, and uncle [and so forth] are [like] sun and moon captured by suddenly [appearing] planets" is below average,
- "the rain of everything necessary and desired falls ..." is good,
- "like a black moon rising" is very bad,
- "the wish-fulfilling tree is growing from the center of the ground ..." is very good, and
- "Palden Lhamo, bestow on us siddhis and remove obstacles" is above average.

The obviousness of the connection between the poetical image and the prognosis supports the conclusion in the previous chapter that part A of the Achi Mo, which concerns only the "outlook

concerning religion" and the "basic prognosis" with its poetical lines and remedies, is the nucleus of the Mo.

After this nucleus follows part B(a-p) of the manual, containing detailed prognoses for household, wealth, life force, and so forth. It is possible that these sections of the divination with further detailed prognoses have been added at a later time. The general tendencies visible in part B(a-p) reflect the moods of the poetical lines in A(b). The details of part B concerning household, and so forth, and the many ritual remedies of this part, however, have no obvious connection to the poetry.

On a different note, the poetry of divination texts often employs expressions that usually reflect the culture in which the text was produced or to which it wants to be related. Thomas says in his analysis of a Tibetan language divination text from Dunhuang:

> The introductory, metrical, portions (of varying length) of the Tibetan paragraphs are unmistakably original both in expression and in content. The verses, of six syllables, are highly oracular; and, apart from linguistic difficulties, the terseness of the style contributes to further obscurity. But everything is characteristically Tibetan, with the spontaneously poetic view of their familiar scenery of high mountains, plateaux and lakes and its wild land-animals and water-fowl, the naturalness of this showing that it was not an affectation due to the soothsayer's jargon. There arealso allusions to the actual region, especially the Skyi country of the Tang-hsiang people; and the language shares the peculiarities of the popular Tibetan of the north-east ...

This appears to be the case for pre-Buddhist texts of the wider Tibetan cultural sphere. In contrast to that, Tibetan and Chinese Buddhist divination texts often make an effort to employ Indian Buddhist poetical images. Here and there, however, the poetry betrays a Tibetan or Chinese origin or influence. Now, while the nature of the poetical expressions and the character of the basic prognosis is closely connected and provides sense within a given cultural sphere, the connection of the pips shown on the dice and the prognoses seem to be completely arbitrary in ancient Tibetan texts. Dotson remarks:

> [N]o two texts are identical with respect to the prognoses and their contents. Thus a given roll may result in a favorable prognosis in one text, but an unfavorable one in another.

He makes this remark in the context of the Dunhuang texts that he has investigated. We can only add the observation here that our manual mostly seems to prefer the odd numbers of the dice for good prognoses while the even numbers are tied to the negative ones.

More on the Divinations' General Prognoses

Atypical feature of divination texts is that they provide for each roll of a die (or whichever randomizing technique they use) an immediate general prognosis such as "good," "bad," "average," and so forth. An exception is the Chinese Buddhist Book of Consecration (Kuan-ting ching), where the diviner has to derive the general prognosis from the verses, which are mostly "either clearly positive or negative in tone and implications". In ancient Greek texts, prognoses evaluate the inquirer's fate or the plans the gods may have for him or her as being good, bad, or mixed. Other texts may not be operating with a predestined fate or similar conceptions. In the Buddhist cultural sphere, we would expect that the general prognosis reflects the "karmic destiny" of the inquirer. It is, however, already mentioned in very early Buddhist texts, that the knowledge of the ripening of karma is one of the ten powers possessed only by a Buddha. Interestingly, our Tibetan sources do not appear to mention karma as an important factor of divination. It is true that the historian ought to be very careful concerning arguments build on the absence of evidence, yet I think that the

predominant silence of our sources concerning karma is telling. It is noteworthy that recently, H.H., the fourteenth Dalai Lama, wrote in an introduction to Gyurme Dorje's monumental **TIBETAN ELEMENTAL DIVINATION PAINTINGS**: "With the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet in the seventh century these procedures [i.e., divinations] came to be used within a Buddhist framework, functioning in accordance with Buddhist principles such as interdependence and karma or cause and effect." However, and to repeat, this framework is largely invisible in Tibetan divination texts. The Dalai Lama's words are what one would expect of a Buddhist scholar, the simple truth "on the ground," however, seems to be that divination does not need a karmic framework at all. There seems to be a parallel, but hardly interconnected existence of karma and fortune in Tibetan Buddhist societies. The coexistence of these two great ruling principles steering a person's "fate" certainly needs attention, especially since these two principles seem to be much more interconnected in East-Asian Buddhism.

Concerning the overall balance of good and bad prognoses, it is interesting to note that in most texts (whether Buddhist or not)—except for several Chinese ones—the positive prognoses always outnumber the negative ones. The Turkic text investigated by Thomsen has:

33 good, 6 mixed, 17 bad, 1 very bad, 1 bad-turning-good, and 7 not mentioned (= 65)56
Weber mentions concerning the Sanskrit Pāśakakevalī that "[f]ortune and misfortune are not, as they are supposed to be according to law, equally distributed, but only one-third of the casts are allocated to misfortune."

The Tibetan Dunhuang fragment translated by Thomas has:

3 very good, 16 good, 1 mixed, 10 bad, 1 very bad (= 31)
Dotson's Tibetan Dunhuang text (JOL Tib J 740) has:
2 excellent or very good, 38 good, 6 average, 1 below average, 13 bad, 2 very bad (= 62)
Mipham's A ra pa tsa na has:

28 good, 8 bad (= 36)
The Achi Mo has:

2 very good, 5 good, 2 higher medium, 1 medium, 2 lower medium, 2 bad, 2 very bad = 16
Thus, all of these divination texts provide more good prognoses than bad ones. This fact is, in the context of Buddhist texts, initially surprising, since, due to Buddhism's general negative outlook on the nature of existence, we would expect a different distribution. However, on second thought, is there a tenable interrelation between Buddhist worldview and the negative or positive prognosis in Buddhist divination? Moreover, doctrinally, at least, the negative outlook of Buddhism also pervades the positive prognoses: After all, good trade, health, a long life, and so forth, are, according to Buddhist analysis, not lasting values. They even may only add to the inquirer's karmic entanglement with this world that is, ultimately, only suffering.

The Detailed Prognoses and Their Categories

Let us now have a look at the detailed prognoses already briefly referred to above. Some texts, but not all of them (such as the Turkic text studied by Thomsen), provide more—and more detailed—prognoses than just "good," "mixed," or "bad." They are usually split up into categories reflecting the different concerns of everyday life. Across regions, cultures, languages, and religions, these categories are of surprising similarity. They mostly pertain to two main concerns:

- The prospects or probabilities of something to happen (such as for household, life force, marriage, and so forth, or of recovering from sickness), and
- recommendations for deciding something that is considered problematic or risky, and inquiries into the appropriateness of an action (such as of staying on a particular pasture or of moving on to another place, or of continuing to take a particular medicine, and so forth).

None of the texts mention all categories, i.e., not every cast of a die provides answers to all questions found in such manuals. The Achi Mo, however, offers for all throws of the dice a great variety of categories.

On the term srid phywa, Dotson (2015: 12, n. 18) states:

> The meaning of srid phya is complicated, as it depends on the polyvalent term srid. As a starting point—and without going into thorny detail— it is perhaps easiest to comprehend by analogy with kingship: the srid is the realm of the king—all that he governs and possesses. The srid of an ordinary person is similar but on a smaller scale.

Dotson translates "subsistence fortune," and that seems to work with some texts, but in the Achi Mo srid phywa rather means "outlook concerning the offspring," i.e., outlook concerning the continuation of the family line, especially through sons—a category that we can also find in the Book of Consecration and the Pāśakakevalī. Another interesting term is grogs phywa, which is often translated as "outlook concerning friends." However, grogs phywa, when used in prognostics, refers in a more general sense to fortune and luck, similar to Thomas' shis phya ("auspice-luck") in a text from Dunhuang.

Itis of some interest to note which categories are lacking in the Achi Mo:

> Note that the Achi Mo shares all omissions with Mipham's A ra pa tsa na. But it would be a mistake to conclude that the omitted categories are of no concern for (Tibetan) Buddhists. If we summarise the above categories that are not considered in Mipham's text and the Achi Mo, we find that they are (with some overlapping) concerned with
>
> (1) personal status or advancement (fame, status, power, and influence),
> (2) personal affairs and happiness (marriage, "winning a damsel"),
> (3) issues with officials (petitions, trouble with local officials),
> (4) personal fate and dangers (accidents, imprisonment, fate in the battle, rebirth, reward), and
> (5) animals (animal luck, hunting).

Concepts like fate in a battle and fortune in hunting certainly cause unease in a Buddhist. On occasion, however, the Achi Mo, too, offers advice concerning disputes, fights, and lawsuits, weapons lost to the enemy, killing of enemies (in a poetical expression), and even successful offensive attack and ransacking. Moreover, the text provides regularly prognoses concerning profit and wealth and the loss and regaining of it. In general, we may assume that success in business is not necessarily adverse to Buddhist ethics. After all, a part of the profit that is gained will be "invested" in offerings to religious institutions to obtain spiritual merit. Moreover, of course, a Buddhist may need and seek advice concerning disputes and lawsuits. But successful offensive attack and ransacking? Still, we should not make the mistake to dismiss these bellicose elements as mere remnants of a pre-Buddhist era. They are, in fact, concerns of people living in a sometimes hostile or unstable environment. After all, bands of robbers and invading hostile armies were probably more common to Tibetans than natural disasters. Nevertheless, offensive attack and ransacking are certainly an extreme response to dangers. It should be noted, however, that such extreme advice is only given in two instances, namely once in P 61, where the prognosis for warfare is "only bad," and once in P 158,

where the general prognosis is "very bad." However, in both cases, the advice is somewhat extenuated. The advice in P 61 reads:

> If you undertake offensive attack and ransacking (dmag jag), it will be successful. If not, there is the slight danger of having an enemy, but since he cannot harm, all will be well.

The text seems to present two options: (1) The possibility that one could make an offensive armed attack against an enemy, and (2) the possibility that one does not attack (on the expense of the slight danger of having an enemy who might attack oneself). In the second of these cases, there is very little actual danger because the chance of an attack by an enemy seems to be very small, and even if he attacks, he will not cause harm. Thus, an offensive attack against others as in the first of the two possibilities, even though it would be successful, appears to be unnecessary. In the second instance the advice reads:

> Although there is the danger of having enemies, they will not attack. [The prognosis for] making an attack and ransacking them is good.

In fact, one can read this in the same manner, namely that the enemy will not attack, and even though an offensive attack would have a good prognosis of being successful, it is unnecessary. In any case, however, it is mentioned here as a possible reaction to a perceived threat, and military activities are indeed not unknown in Buddhist countries, including Tibet (see also my remark in ftn. 64). Advice to warriors (and highwaymen?) in Buddhist divination manuals surely deserve a more thorough investigation than is possible on the basis of the few instances I found.

Ritual Remedies and Supports

The idea of using skillful means as remedies against misfortune is far-spread and very old. It did not only appear in the texts mentioned here but traveled, for instance, also to Japanese temples, where a negative prognosis can be nullified by—literally—tying it to a sacred object, such as a statue. One can also trace the idea back to ancient Chinese practice. In Buddhist texts, especially in those of the Tibetan cultural sphere, we find divination texts that contain a vast number of remedies; in the Achi Mo, often several remedies are provided even on the level of each of the detailed prognoses.

If one considers the application of remedies to negative prognoses in the Buddhist doctrinal context of karma, one may ask how karma, whose ripening is supposed to be inevitable, can be averted. The problem is, in fact, complex, but the available space does not allow a detailed discussion here. In general, karmic results can occur delayed or be accelerated (cf. Majjhima Nikāya 136 iii 207). In particular, the accumulation of merit (Skt. puṇya) may help to prevent the immediate ripening of negative karma. Thus, such acts prescribed in our texts as whitewashing a stūpa or releasing life may provide good conditions already in this lifetime. Moreover, spiritual merit also seems to cause a "thinning out" of negative karma if the accumulation of virtue is vast. However, even though these processes work in a general sense, ordinary beings are far from being able to steer the course of their karma in any sense of a controllable process, unless they make a strong and skillful effort to gather vast amounts of merit. As a further indication of a parallel existence of the principles of karma and fortune that mostly seems to be without interconnections in Tibet, it is, especially in our text, chiefly the duty of the deities evocated in the context of the ritual remedies to establish favorable conditions and to force back evil influences. The evocated deities are, therefore, struggling with the beings' fortune/karma similarly to Greek gods, who are often portrayed as intervening with the beings' fate. An important factor in many Tibetan divination texts is, therefore, that one works to win the favor of a god or deity, who establishes favorable conditions and repels unfavorable ones for one's benefit.

Remedies in the Book of Consecration

In some cases, already the 5th century Chinese Buddhist Book of Consecration (Kuan-ting ching) recommends methods of reversing misfortune. After having first delivered a bad prognosis, verse 33 says:

> Restore those goods and valuables [entrusted to and neglected by you]; Then make scriptures as well as images.
> Similarly, verse 5 on the same page says:
> If you can only focus your concern on the Three Treasures You will have the chance to abandon these impurities.
> Other verses call for a conversion:
> (30) If you can only repent in your present life,
> Disasters and malefices will all be banished hence.
> (4) Expiate and repent, and burn various sorts of incense.

Other recommended acts of merit accumulation are to make and sponsor scriptures and images, bestow largess, exert spiritual efforts, maintain the precepts completely, carry out retreats, and participate in ritual assemblies. Interestingly, in verse 65, the prognosis pertains to one who is not only in military service but obviously in the middle of a battle since "weapons are all about your head ... you can see nothing but piles of human bones." Here, the advice concerning methods of improving the warrior's lot is this:

> Yet simply concentrate on the Tao and its Virtue,
> And what sorrows can then remain?
> You will return in safety to full security.

Such remedies to misfortune do not appear in all verses. However, references to Buddhist practices abound. One must have faith in Buddha, Dharma, and community, take refuge in them, do obeisance and homage to them, worship, revere and exalt them, incline toward them, repent transgressions to them, and so forth. We may assume that the general method of reversing misfortune is the Buddhist version of good conduct consisting in the avoidance of demerit and the accumulation of merit. Nevertheless, sometimes misfortune seems to be incurable in the Book of Consecration:

> (3) In your present existence you have therefore obtained suffering, And so it will be until your life is done (Strickmann 2005: 61).
> (31) You are an ill-omened person (...)
> And in the end [you] will fall into the deep abyss (p. 62).
> (62) Drugs and decoctions are unable to affect it;
> This disease cannot be treated (p. 63).
> (63) You will go directly into the prison of earth [i.e. hell]
> And stay there a million kalpas without emerging.

To draw such a lot must be quite shocking, but as mentioned above, the inquirer chooses three to seven slips from the pouch so that such a misfortune can be interpreted within a more dynamic context.

Remedies in Tibetan Dunhuang Texts

Dotson (2015: 7), referring to a paper of da Col (2012), points out:

> On an elementary level, we should also consider such divinationrituals— andparticularlytheir emphasis on the untamed, natural world, on female divinities, and on fortune (phya)—within the context of Tibetan economies of fortune, where dice divination represents a technology not simply for calling in good fortune, but for winning it.

In fact, most of the dice divination manuals investigated here prescribe remedies when a prognosis predicts problems. The scale to which they prescribe remedies, however, differs significantly from text to text. The Dunhuang text investigated by Thomas mentions remedies only on occasion. In most cases, these remedies are fairly unspecific (my own translations):

> 4-3-4: Make offerings to a hindrance-removing god: it will turn out well.
> 3-4-4: Since an evil spirit [from] above and the sadag are harming, offer a ransom! Perform the ritual well!
> 2-3-2: Since a powerful evil spirit has intruded your home, whatever you do, it will not be accomplished. If this spirit is not expelled, all undertakings fail.
> When all evil spirits, and so forth, are repelled, [he] will live(?).
> 2-2-4: There is an evil spirit in the prosperity mansion. Strike immediately.
> 2-1-4: If you worship a good god, there is no end to abundance.

Remedies in the Pāśakakevalī

The Pāśakakevalī studied by Weber also mentions remedies only occasionally:

> Wend' dich dem Gott der Götter zu! ("Turn to the god of gods!")
> Drum sei nur stets dem Lehrer hold und ehre die Hauptgottheiten. ("Thus, always lean towards your teacher and honor the main deities.")
> Mit reinem Glauben, frohen Muths ehre die Kuladevatā. ("With pure faith and in high spirits honor Kuladevatā.")
> Doch üb' nur die Geschlechtsbräuche stetig und ehr' die Hauptgötter! Durch Bedienung der Ehrwürdigen wird dir dann alles Glück zu Theil.
> ("Practise always the customs of the House and honor the main gods! By worshipping the Venerable Ones, happiness will be bestowed on you.")

But also:

> So lass denn dieses Vorhaben; denk dir etwas ganz andres aus. ("Thus, desist from this undertaking; think of something else.")

And:

> Geh' eilig nach 'nem andern Ort, damit dein Leben du erhälst. ("Go quickly to another place so that you may preserve your life.")

Remedies in Later Tibetan Mo Texts

The Turkic text analyzed byThomsen does not mention any remedies at all, but the Achi Mo does. It provides a large number of concrete remedies for many of the detailed prognoses, and in most cases, it provides a whole list of them:

> If you recite the WHITE PARASOL REPELLING and the ORNAMENT OF THE PEAK OF THE VICTORIOUS BANNER and practice the REPELLING WITH THE SIXTY TORMAS, the LITURGY [OF SUPPRESSING] ENEMIES, and the SUPPRESSING DRASI, even if there are enemies, they cannot harm you.

One can find a similar richness of remedies also in Mipham's divination book, the A ra pa tsa na. However, before we turn to the remedies of the A ra pa tsa na and the Achi Mo, let us first investigate the curious case of the Mo rtsis (Skt. Kevalī), which is in the Tengyur attributed to Śāntideva (henceforth abbreviated S). Nothing in this text indicates that this person is the same Śāntideva who is known as the author of the Bodhicaryāvatāra and the Śikṣāsamuccaya. The same, by the way, can be said about the Mālā divination discussed below and its attribution to Atiśa. To think, however, that such great scholars may have nothing to do with divination is certainly

unwarranted; every single Buddhist scholar I have met in the Tibetan tradition has either been a practitioner of divinations himself or has requested divinations from others, and we find divination texts in the collected works of most scholars of Tibetan Buddhism. Divination has been and still is taken for granted in Tibetan society, from the level of the government, which regularly employs oracles, to the level of individual persons, no matter whether that person is highly educated or not.

Returning to the question of authorship, if we take into account that its attribution in the Achi and Magzor Gyalmo manuals to Trinlé Zangpo, Chagrawa, or Yangchen Drubpé Dorje hinges chiefly on their supposed authorship of the attached sādhana, we may assume that its attribution in these manuals is, in general, a matter of attaching authority to it. But again, this caution does not rule out in the least that Śāntideva and Atiśa were practitioners of divination. I find it most likely that their names were attributed to divination texts because they have practiced and transmitted them.

The text of the Mo rtsis (S) starts with the production of (one or more?) dice during the second night session of the 29th day of the spring month from the root of a gourd tree (Tib. ka ped). The ritual practitioner utters a mantra for consecrating them at that point (Oṃ kṣīṃ kṣīṃ svā hā). The text describes the die as oblong and rectangular, circa two finger (breadths) in length. On its four long sides, the letters A, wa, ya, and da are drawn (or carved). Taking a die (or all three dice?) into his hands, the ritual practitioner visualizes an unspecified deity (yi dam lha dran pa) and in a concentrated manner brings whatever matter has occurred, should occur, oris present at the moment to mind. With the mantra, Oṃ bi shis pa lla te/ A na nā thi kha/ A bi nā bi ṣe kha/ mu kha manta na/, spoken 100 times, he consecrates the dice again. Then he casts the dice with the mantra Oṃ bi ṣi li la ti/A bi li la hi/A nanta bi dha/sva warṇa bi she ṣa/. He either uses three dice or throws one die three times. As in the other divination texts where three dice with four sides were used, 64 results are possible. The manual provides them under the headings A A A, A da da, A ya da, and so forth.

The text remains fairly general, or, in other words, specific categories for which the advice is effective are very rare (except for "enemies," for which see below). A few times a prognosis would mention wealth, travel, or the need to go to a particular place, the danger of abusive talk by others, and the receiving of news. Danger or harm by demons is never mentioned, but the text is often concerned with "enemies" (dgra).

In sixteen cases the result mentions no problem at all and one will be successful with whatever one wishes to do. In eight cases it will be completely impossible to accomplish the task, and the text mentions nothing that could improve the situation. In fact, the text advises in such cases that one should either try to accomplish something else, or, that it is not the right time, or, simply, that one will not be successful. In one case (no. 54), the text says: "Give up all hope. It is extremely bad." In the remaining forty cases, there are various degrees of difficulties, but there is a chance to be successful in the end if one follows the advice of the manual.

As already pointed out above, enemies play a prominent role in this manual. The text mentions them in nineteen cases, but only in four cases, they make success completely impossible (the other four cases of complete failure are caused by general obstacles). Thus, this is a divination text where there is in most cases at least some degree of hope for success, but one has to make all kinds of efforts and follow the advice, which often concerns one's attitude. Such advice in the individual cases include:

- not to go to a place where an enemy lives
- to consult one's friends; to comply to the counsel of close associates
- to act like an eight-footed lion (Skt. śarabha), i.e., very powerful and courageous
- to remain unafraid
- to think about this matter from a distance (i.e., to let time pass?)

- to imagine (rnam par shes par gyis) that the enemy is completely subdued – not to listen to what the enemy says (or in the end it will come out like that) – to improve one's mind; to purify the mind; to make the mind virtuous; to remain virtuous without any [own] agenda; to benefit mundane beings with a virtuous mind; to accumulate much merit

- to avoid confusion; to concentrate; to be completely focussed; to think [well] – not to put much hope in others' advice, to rely on oneself; not to trust others – to protect oneself in countries that are difficult (dangerous?) to traverse – not to become weary; not to become lazy, saying "this is tiring"
- not to be ashamed
- to be patient
- to cultivate a pure intention
- to form a resolve; to resolve to achieve the purpose
- to accept much hard work, great suffering, and long delays
- to rejoice for those who have been blessed by the deity
- to benefit others; to make someone else happy
- to go to disagreeable places, if necessary; to move to other places
- to make a great effort [even?] for a small deed
- to supplicate one's special deity; to manifest the deity; to remember the deity at all times
- to settle the mind in the natural state and to remain [like that]
- not to wear out one's body and mind meaninglessly
- not to rely on those who earlier were friends and [now] are enemies
- not to listen to others' pleasing words
- to remember that someone is talking much and abusive [i.e., not to rely on them]
- to get [people] on one's side from early on and to make them glad, so that they will not be enemies
- to ignore small bits of [disagreeable] information
- not to think of anything else and to do it according to religion
- to think of one's purpose as a good matter, and not to talk about it
- to remain steadfast when enemies are creating obstacles
- to act in a hidden way

As already mentioned, sometimes one even finds a counsel in almost entirely hopeless cases:

- to accept that this is not the right time
- to avoid any efforts and to rather turn to something else

However, also:

- not to make any effort even if someone says, "engage in another work!"
- to investigate it carefully, but refrain from efforts

Moreover, twice even:

- to give up all hope

The impressive list of advice from the manual ascribed to Śāntideva shows that the idea of being able to "win" one's fortune was already well developed in Indian Buddhist divination texts. However, while here the improving of the fortune and the remedies against misfortune are constricted chiefly to one's conduct, attitude, and imagination, later Tibetan divination texts like the A ra pa tsa na and the Achi Mo are more specific and also offer tantric rituals as remedies. Mipham's A ra pa tsa na provides in each section such special means either to further improve or secure an already fortunate prognosis or to counteract misfortune. In this respect, it is closer to the Achi Mo than any other text discussed here. It may be that this development of specific remedies in the form of ritual practices is a later Tibetan development, but more research is necessary to come to a definite conclusion in this regard.

There are several different forms of remedies mentioned in Mipham's text. The most simple ones are advice like making circumambulations (bskor ba), offering butter lamps, silken flags, and votive figures, or carving mantras on stone. Other forms of remedies may already require a specialist, like performing torma repelling rituals (gtor bzlog) or prosperity rituals (phywa g.yangs), or erecting sacred objects (rten bzhengs) such as statues or stūpas. Often, his advice merely points into a specific direction, like "rely on a deity of discriminating wisdom (prajñā)," "rely on deities of green color," or "practice peaceful deities that ride on animals like the five Tseringma sisters." Apart from that, one also finds the prescription of one or several of numerous ritual recitations like the long, medium, and short sūtra of discriminating wisdom (Prajñāpāramitā), the MARA REPELLING OF HEART SUTRA, and the DISPELLING THE DARKNESS OF THE TEN DIRECTIONS, as we find them also in the Achi Mo. When the prognosis is very negative, Mipham also advises to practice forceful or wrathful deities of all kinds. Other than the Achi Mo, the A ra pa tsa na prescribes very rarely a remedy for one of the specific prognoses, such as "life force" or "travellers," but it does so on occasion in the case of specific illnesses. Otherwise, the remedies are listed at the end of each of its 36 sections.

Ritual Proficiency

In contrast, the Achi Mo stands out with its large number and a great variety of remedies. As in Mipham's text, these fall into three categories. The first is general advice concerning virtuous conduct and merit accumulation. The second contains ritual remedies that require basic ritual skills like an elementary knowledge concerning the recitation of dhāraṇīs, mantras, and popular sādhanas, including the ability to prepare the necessary offerings. The third consists of ritual remedies that require specialized skills like the ability to perform advanced sādhanas and prepare complex offerings (including tormas, thread crosses, and so forth). The Achi sādhana at the beginning of the manual and many of the practices of part A and all of part B require a ritual specialist. Although the Achi sādhana itself is not overly complex, it mentions that "it is necessary to practice until the supreme signs emerge." Both of our informants pointed out that this would require practice with great skill, effort, and faith. Khenchen Nyima explained this in connection with a passage, where the deity Vajrayoginī is to be visualized in the open space and Achi in the space in front of the practitioner. The text says: "From the seed syllable Baṃ of [Vajrayoginī's] heart, light shines forth and falls upon Achi, invoking her mentalcontinuum and granting the effortless siddhi of unveiled, clear supernormal perception." Khenchen Nyima points out that this is something that has to be "really perceived" by the practitioner. Moreover, he said: "The more qualities such a person has accomplished, the better the divination will turn out when he performs it," and he explains that this chiefly refers to the accomplishment of the Mantra deity (Tib. yi dam). Most qualified, however, would be someone who

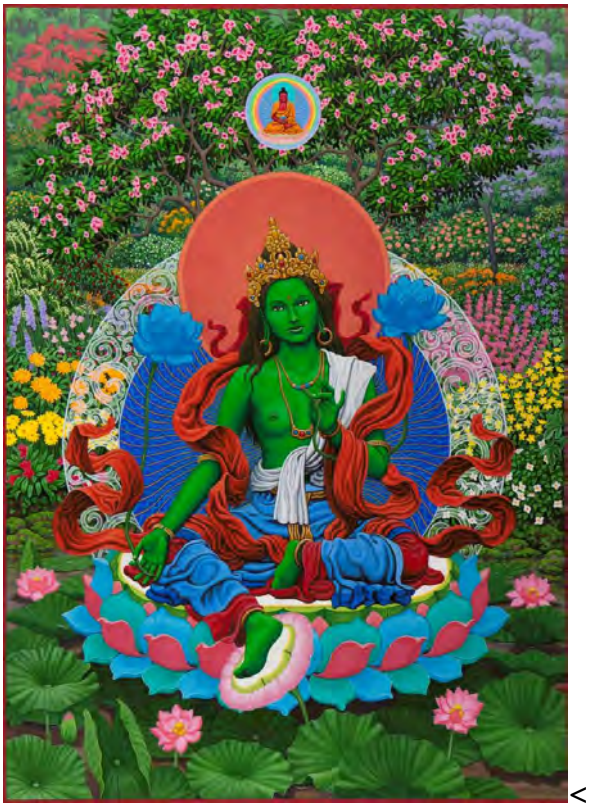
can "directly see Achi's face, [who] can directly converse with Achi—if it is such a lama, he can perform the divination most perfectly." On the other hand, he also explains that "[at] the minimum ... you have to accomplish the required number of mantras, ... you have to recite the mantra of the sādhana 100,000 times." In this respect, Ontul Rinpoche, who is himself well-known for performing the Achi Mo, says:

> [F]rom the side of the diviner, there have to be qualities. In the case of the Achi Mo, you must have a connection to her, you must be convinced of her, you have to have faith, and you have to practice.

Apart from that, he also states:

> There are many people who make divinations. With some people, their prognoses do not turn out to be accurate, or not exactly accurate. With some people, they are sometimes accurate, sometimes not. It will be evidentwhenthe prognosis comes true or not! One who is a hundred percent accurate is the best diviner.

For those who are familiar with Tibetan Buddhism, this is a well-known assertion: At best, there should be realization (Tib. rtogs pa) or perfect accomplishment, but at least there should be faith. While this leaves room for nonspecialists who nevertheless have great faith, the complexity of some of the prescribed ritual remedies indeed requires ritual specialists who can perform quite complex practices belonging to a variety of tantric cycles. This is, in particular, the case when the prognosis is merely average or below. In these cases, the manual prescribes—especially when problems occur due to evil spirits and in such contexts as diseases, life force, and enemies—ritual remedies that require not only liturgical expertise. The various requirements demand skills in making tormas (gtor ma) and thread crosses (mdos), and mastery in rituals of repelling (bzlog) of the highest yoga tantras, ransom rituals (glud), rituals of suppressing (mnan pa), as well as in the tantric ritual activities of pacification (zhi ba'i las), increase (rgyas pa), domination (dbang ba), and forceful subduing (drag po'i las). Thus, when such skills are required, the ritual performer has to have control and access to the necessary knowledge and skills and has to be sufficiently trained in them. One usually finds such persons among the highly trained Mantra practitioners of Tibetan Buddhism. Even when the prognosis is above average or good, many of the categories require ritual support to remove negative influences or stabilize or further improve the prognosed fortune. Such practices may include the making of tormas and thread crosses and rituals of repelling and empowerment. Quite often a prognosis requires the recitation of long sūtras such as the Prajñāpāramitā, Avataṃsaka, or Gaṇḍhavyūha. Curiously, however, not all categories of the divination lend themselves to the ritual manipulation of fortune. In the categories "lost items," "trade," "travelers," "doctors," and "fortune" no remedies are offered at all, and the categories of "building grounds" and "pastures" offer them only rarely. <>



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Annotated Bibliography

Home/Fronts: Contemporary War in British Literature, Drama, and Film by Janina Wierzoch [Culture & Theory, Transcript-Verlag, 9783837651874]

In recent years, the US-led invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq have had an impact on the UK rivalled only by Brexit and the global financial crisis. For people at home, the wars were ever-present in the media yet remained distant and difficult to apprehend. Janina Wierzoch offers an analytical survey of British contemporary war narratives in novels, drama, film, and television that seek to make sense of the experience. The study shows how the narratives, instead of reflecting on the UK's role as invader, portray war as invading the British home. Home loses its post-Cold War sense of »permanent peace« and is recast as a home/front where war once again becomes part of what it means to be »us«.

Janina Wierzoch has been working as a research assistant at Universität Hamburg and as a lecturer at Leuphana University, Lüneburg. She holds a degree in British literature and culture, media studies, and German literature. Her research and teaching interests include British prose fiction from the 19th century onwards as well as contemporary drama; a special focus lies on film and television, also extending to other visual and new media. <>

Hotel Chelsea: Living in the Last Bohemian Haven by Colin Miller and Ray Mock, Foreword by Gaby Hoffmann and Alex Auder [The Monacelli Press, 9781580935258]

An immersive photographic tour of the legendary Hotel Chelsea, whose residents share their spaces, their stories, and a delirious collective history of this landmark.
Jackson Pollock, Robert Mapplethorpe, Patti Smith, Dylan Thomas, Arthur Miller, Bob Dylan, Arthur C. Clarke, Andy Warhol, William S. Burroughs, Janis Joplin, Eugene O'Neill, Rufus Wainwright, Betsey Johnson, R. Crumb, Thomas Wolfe, Jasper Johns—these are just a few of the figures who at one time occupied one of the most alluring and storied residences ever: the Chelsea Hotel. Born during the Gilded Age and once the tallest building in New York, the twelve-story landmark has long been a magnet for artists, writers, musicians, and cultural provocateurs of all stripes.

In this book, photographer Colin Miller and writer Ray Mock intimately portray the enduring bohemian spirit of the Chelsea Hotel through interviews with nearly two dozen current residents and richly detailed photographs of their unique spaces. As documented in Miller's abundant photographs, these apartments project the quirky decorating sensibilities of urban aesthetes who largely work in film, theater, and the visual arts, resulting in deliriously ornamental spaces with a kitschy edge. Weathering the overall homogenization of New York and the rapid transformation of the hotel itself—amid recent ownership changeovers and tenant lawsuits—residents remain in about seventy apartments while the rest of the units are converted to rentals (and revert to a hotel-stay basis, which had ceased in 2011). <>

Salvation and Destiny in Islam: The Shi`i Ismaili Perspective of Hamid al-Din al-Kirmānī by Maria De Cillis [Shi'i Heritage Series, I.B. Tarus, 978178831493O]

Medieval Islamic philosophers were occupied with questions of cosmology, predestination and salvation and human responsibility for actions. For Ismailis, the related notions of religious leadership, namely the imamate, and the eschatological role of the prophets and imams were equally central. These were also a matter of doctrinal controversy within the so-called Iranian school of Ismaili philosophical theology. Hamid al-Din al-Kirmani (d. after 411/1020) was one of the most important theologians in the Fatimid period, who rose to prominence during the reign of the imam-caliph al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah (r. 386/996–411/1021). He is renowned for blending the Neoplatonic philosophical heritage with Ismaili religious tradition.

This book provides an analysis of al-Kirmani's thought and sheds new light on the many layers of allusion which characterise his writings. Through a translation and analytical commentary of the eighth chapter of al-Kirmani's Kitab al-Riyad (Book of Meadows), which is devoted to the subject of divine preordination and human redemption, Maria De Cillis shows readers first-hand his theologically distinctive interpretation of qada' and qadar (divine decree and destiny). Here, al-Kirmani attempts to harmonise the views of earlier renowned Ismaili missionaries, Abu Hatim Ahmad b. Hamdan al-Razi (d. 322/934), Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Nasafi (d. 331/942) and Abu Ya'qub Ishaq b. Ahmad al-Sijistani (d. c. 361/971). De Cillis skilfully guides the reader through al-Kirmani's metaphysical and esoteric correspondences, offering new insights into Shi'i/Ismaili philosophical thought which will be of great interest to those in the field of Shi'i studies and, more broadly, to scholars of medieval philosophy. <>

The Man of Light in Iranian Sufism by Henry Corbin, translated from the French by Nancy Pearson [Omega Publications, 9780930872489]

A penetrating analysis of the writings of the great Persian mystics on the quest for dawning light in the spiritual journey. Suhrawradi, Semnani, Najm al-Din Kubra and other Sufis. <>

Beacons of Dharma: Spiritual Exemplars for the Modern Age edited by Christopher Patrick Miller, Michael Reading, and Jeffery D. Long [Explorations in Indic Traditions: Theological, Ethical, and Philosophical, Lexington Books, 978-1498564847]

Today's globalized society faces some of humanity's most unprecedented social and environmental challenges. Presenting new and insightful approaches to a range of these challenges, the timely volume before you draws upon individual cases of exemplary leadership from the world's Dharma traditions—Hinduism, Sikhism, Jainism, and Buddhism. The volume's authors refer to such exemplary leaders as "beacons of Dharma," highlighting the ways in which each figure, via their inspirational life work, provide us with illuminating perspectives as we continue to confront cases of grave injustice and needless suffering in the world.

Taking on difficult contemporary issues such as climate change, racial and gender inequality, industrial agriculture and animal rights, fair access to healthcare and education, and other such pressing concerns, *Beacons of Dharma* offers a promising and much needed contribution to our global remedial discussions. Seeking to help solve and alleviate such social and environmental issues, each of the chapters in the volume invites contemplation, inspires action, and offers a freshly invigorating source of hope. <>

The Alchemy of Human Happiness (fi ma`rifat kīmiya' al-sa`āda) by Muhyiddīn Ibn 'Arabi, Introduction and Translation by Stephen Hirtenstein [Mystical Treatises of Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi, Anqa Publishing, 9781905937592]

The quest for happiness and fulfilment lies at the very heart of all human life, and in the teaching of one of the world's greatest mystical writers, Ibn 'Arabi, true happiness consists in the vision of One Reality underlying all manifestation. This is a goal within the potential of every person. In this first English translation of a core chapter from the famous Meccan Illuminations (al-Futuhat al-Makkiyya), Ibn 'Arabi comprehensively summarises all his major teachings on human perfectibility and true happiness. Using the imagery of alchemy and ascension, he gives the reader a unique insight into the spiritual journey by contrasting two ways of acquiring knowledge: the rational and the mystical. With an introduction to Islamic alchemy, the Hermetic tradition and the mysterious elixir, this book is an essential text for anyone interested in Sufism, Islamic spirituality or medieval alchemy. <>

Plant Trees, Carry Sheep: A Woman's Spiritual Journey Among the Sufis of Scotland, A memoir by S.A. Snyder [Luna River Publishing, LLC, 978173329251 1]

Sarah flees an unfulfilling life in Montana to volunteer at a spiritual retreat in Scotland. But Braemar House seems more religious cult than safe haven. Not only is she expected to plant thousands of trees, look after flocks of poultry, and chase truant sheep, there are toilets to clean, dishes to wash, and firewood to chop. Can Sarah navigate contrasting spiritual beliefs under sometimes maddening circumstances to find her heart's longing? God, help her!

A personal and slightly fictionalized account on a spiritual retreat on the Borders of Scotland at the Chisholm Institute of the Beshara Foundation. Insightful, humorous and naive. Worth a read. Perhaps someone will solicit memoir essays from others who have had association with Beshara courses.?

Your task is not to seek for love, but merely to seek and find all the barriers within yourself that you have built against it. —Jelal ad-Din Rumi

O my YOU would go to Scotland to plant trees and land yourself a nude modeling gig.

The thought occurred as I sat on a metal folding chair atop a paint-splattered table while five strangers interpreted my birthday suit in colored chalk on giant sheets of white paper. It was only the first of two times that I would remove my clothes for these artists. Even though my living expenses were nearly nil, having an extra twenty-five pounds sterling would be nice, although it wasn't a lot considering the effort to sit motionless for two frigid hours. How would I spend my cold-earned cash? A trip to the tropics would be nice! Thinking of warm climates didn't make me feel warmer. So instead, I began recalling what had brought me to these windy moors only a month earlier. <>

Noor-un-nisa Inayat Khan: Madeleine: George Cross MBE, Croix de Guerre with Gold Star by Jean Overton Fuller [Suluk Press, Omega Publications, 9781941810323]

Noor Inayat Khan (1914-1944) was SOE s first woman wireless transmitter in German Occupied Paris during World War II. Posthumously awarded the George Cross MBE and Croix de Guerre with Gold Star for her outstanding wartime service and heroism on behalf of the Allied cause, Noor s remarkable and inspiring life have been commemorated in numerous war memorials, WWII histories, and several films.

Born to an American mother, Ora Ray Baker, and an Indian Sufi father, Hazrat Inayat Khan, Noor was raised in France, studying music under Nadia Boulanger and child psychology at the Sorbonne. Her children s stories appeared in Le Figaro and were broadcast over Radiodiffusion Francaise, and her book "Twenty Jataka Tales" was published in London. Her writing career was interrupted by the German invasion of France in 1940. The Inayat Khan family fled to England, and Noor enlisted in the WAAF where she trained as a wireless transmitter. Her Parisian background and wireless skills led to her recruitment by the SOE (Special Operations Executive). In 1943 she was secretly flown back to France where she began her undercover work under the code name Madeleine. Constantly on the move between multiple locations and using false identities, Noor transmitted messages for the SOE s French and RF (République Française) sections, and for De Gaulle s Free French network. Betrayed by an acquaintance, she was captured by the Gestapo and held for interrogation in Paris. After repeated escape attempts, she was deemed a dangerous prisoner and transferred to Pforzheim prison in Germany, where she was held in maximum security and solitary confinement. As the war drew to an end in the fall of 1944, Noor was transported to Dachau, where she was executed. Her last word before being shot was Liberté!

This new edition of Noor-un-nisa: Madeleine includes previously unpublished material including a retrospective by Noor s brother Vilayat Inayat Khan, Noor friendship with the author, and further research on Noor s life and the SOE. <>

Muslim American Politics and the Future of US Democracy by Edward E. Curtis IV [New York University Press, 9781479875009]

Reveals the important role of Muslim Americans in American politics

Since the 1950s, and especially in the post-9/11 era, Muslim Americans have played outsized roles in US politics, sometimes as political dissidents and sometimes as political insiders. However, more than at any other moment in history, Muslim Americans now stand at the symbolic center of US politics and public life.

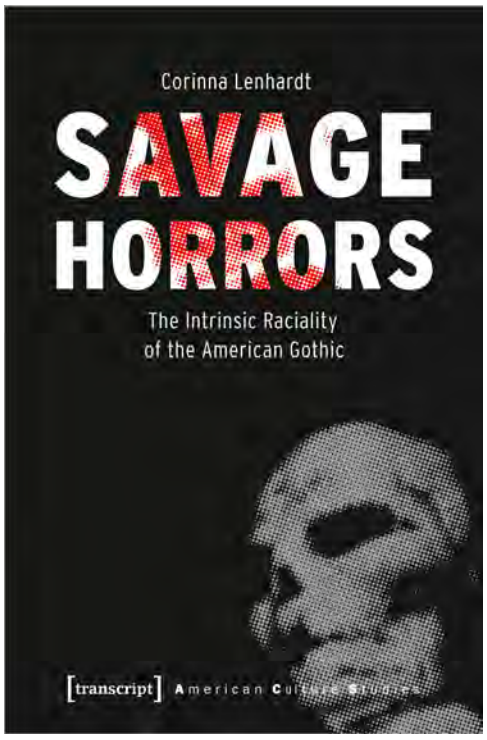
This volume argues that the future of American democracy depends on whether Muslim Americans are able to exercise their political rights as citizens and whether they can find acceptance as social

equals. Many believe that, over time, Muslim Americans will be accepted just as other religious minorities have been. Yet Curtis contends that this belief overlooks the real barrier to their full citizenship, which is political rather than cultural. The dominant form of American liberalism has prevented the political assimilation of American Muslims, even while leaders from Eisenhower to Obama have offered rhetorical support for their acceptance.

Drawing on examples ranging from the political rhetoric of the Nation of Islam in the 1950s and 1960s to the symbolic use of fallen Muslim American service members in the 2016 election cycle, Curtis shows that the efforts of Muslim Americans to be regarded as full Americans have been going on for decades, yet never with full success.

Curtis argues that policies, laws, and political rhetoric concerning Muslim Americans are quintessential American political questions. Debates about freedom of speech and religion, equal justice under law, and the war on terrorism have placed Muslim Americans at the center of public discourse. How Americans decide to view and make policy regarding Muslim Americans will play a large role in what kind of country the United States will become, and whether it will be a country that chooses freedom over fear and justice over prejudice. <>

Savage Horrors: The Intrinsic Raciality of the American Gothic by Corinna Lenhardt [American Culture Studies, Transcript-Verlag, 9783837651546]



The American Gothic novel has been deeply shaped by issues of race and raciality from its origins in British Romanticism to the American Gothic novel in the twenty-first century. Savage Horrors delineates an intrinsic raciality that is discursively sedimented in the Gothic's uniquely binary structure. Corinna Lenhardt uncovers the destructive and lasting impact of the Gothic's anti-Black racism on the cultural discourses in the United States. At the same time, Savage Horrors traces the unflinching Black resistance back to the Gothic's intrinsic raciality. The African American Gothic, however, does not originate there but in the Black Atlantic – roughly a decade before the first Gothic novel was ever written on American soil.

Corinna Lenhardt, born 1982, received her PhD in American studies from Universität Münster, Germany. Her research and teaching interests include African American and ethnic studies, race, gender, and popular culture. <>

Diamond Sutra Narratives: Textual Production and Lay Religiosity in Medieval China by Chiew Hui Ho [Sinica Leidensia, Brill 9789004406728]

Contextualizing the sutra within a milieu of intense religious and cultural experimentation, this volume unravels the sudden rise of Diamond Sutra devotion in the Tang dynasty against the backdrop of a range of social, political, and literary activities. Through the translation and exploration

of a substantial body of narratives extolling the efficacy of the sutra, it explores the complex social history of lay Buddhism by focusing on how the laity might have conceived of the sutra and devoted themselves to it. Corroborated by various sources, it reveals the cult's effect on medieval Chinese religiosity in the activities of an empowered laity, who modified and produced parasutraic texts, prompting the monastic establishment to accommodate to the changes they brought about. <>

Radiant Emptiness: Three Seminal Works by the Golden Pandita Shakya Chokden by Yaroslav Komarovski [Oxford University Press, 9780190933838]

In **Radiant Emptiness**, Yaroslav Komarovski offers an annotated translation of three seminal works on the nature and relationship of the Yogacara and Madhyamaka schools of Buddhist thought, by Serdok Penchen Shakya Chokden (1428-1507). There has never been consensus on the meaning of Madhyamaka and Yogacara, and for more than fifteen centuries the question of correct identification and interpretation of these systems has remained unsolved. Chokden proposes to accept Yogacara and Madhyamaka on their own terms as compatible systems, despite their considerable divergences and reciprocal critiques. His major objective is to bring Yogacara back from obscurity, present it in a positive light, and correct its misrepresentation by earlier thinkers. He thus serves as a major resource for scholarly research on the historical and philosophical development of Yogacara and Madhyamaka. Until recently, Shakya Chokden's works have been largely unavailable. Only in 1975 were his collected writings published in twenty-four volumes in Bhutan. Since then, his ingenious works on Buddhist history, philosophy, and logic have attracted increasing scholarly attention. Komarovski's research on Shakya Chokden's innovative writings--most of which are still available only in the original Tibetan--revises early misinterpretations by addressing some of the most complicated aspects of his thought. While focusing on his unique interpretation of Yogacara and Madhyamaka, the book also shows that his thought provides an invaluable base to challenge and expand our understanding of such topics as epistemology, contemplative practice, the relationship between intellectual study and meditative experience, and other key questions that occupy contemporary scholarship on Buddhism and religion in general. <>

Buddha Mind—Christ Mind: A Christian Commentary on The Bodhicaryāvatāra by Perry Schmidt-Leukel with A New Translation by Ernst Steinkellner, and Cynthia Peck-Kubaczek [Christian Commentaries on Non-Christian Sacred Texts, Peeters Publishers, 9789042938489]

The Bodhicaryavatara ("Entering the Course towards Awakening") is an Indian Mahayana Buddhist companion to the path of a Bodhisattva, someone motivated by the altruistic "spirit of awakening". Unlike many other Buddhist scriptures, much of this text is written in the very touching form of personal reflections. Despite its late composition (7th-8th cent. CE), the Bodhicaryavatara quickly gained widespread recognition and high appraisal in various parts of the Buddhist world and even beyond. Today it is one of the most widely translated Buddhist texts. The 14th Dalai Lama has emphasized the special impact of this scripture on his own spirituality, and a number of Western scholars have praised it as a true gem among the world's religious classics. After many commentaries by Buddhist scholars throughout the centuries, this is the first commentary from a Christian perspective, exploring the deep resonances between the "spirit of awakening" and the "spirit of Christ". <>

The Other Emptiness: Rethinking the Zhentong Buddhist Discourse in Tibet edited by Michael R. Sheehy and Klaus-Dieter Mathes [SUNY Press, 9781438477572]

Presents a new vision of the Buddhist history and philosophy of emptiness in Tibet.
This book brings together perspectives of leading international Tibetan studies scholars on the subject of *zhentong* or "other-emptiness." Defined as the emptiness of everything other than the continuous luminous awareness that is one's own enlightened nature, this distinctive philosophical and contemplative presentation of emptiness is quite different from *rangtong*—emptiness that lacks independent existence, which has had a strong influence on the dissemination of Buddhist philosophy in the West. Important topics are addressed, including the history, literature, and philosophy of emptiness that have contributed to zhentong thinking in Tibet from the thirteenth century until today. The contributors examine a wide range of views on zhentong from each of the major orders of Tibetan Buddhism, highlighting the key Tibetan thinkers in the zhentong philosophical tradition. Also discussed are the early formulations of buddhanature, interpretations of cosmic time, polemical debates about emptiness in Tibet, the zhentong view of contemplation, and creative innovations of thought in Tibetan Buddhism. Highly accessible and informative, this book can be used as a scholarly resource as well as a textbook for teaching graduate and undergraduate courses on Buddhist philosophy. <>

Mipham's Sword of Wisdom: The Nyingma Approach to Valid Cognition by Khenchen Palden Sherab, translated by Ann Helm with Khenpo Gawang [Wisdom Publications, 9781614294283]

Presents the Nyingma-lineage understanding of valid cognition in Buddhism. Its core subject is the Buddhist view of the two truths—the relative truth of conventional appearances and the absolute truth of emptiness and buddha nature—and how the two truths are inseparable. The main questions posed are: How can we know the two truths and how can we be certain that our knowledge is accurate?

"The great scholar and advanced spiritual master **Jamgon Mipham's Sword of Wisdom** is a classic work that explicates valid cognition. I am happy to see it now available in English with commentary and scholarly appendices that will be very helpful for serious students in understanding this profound and important text."—**His Holiness the Sakya Trichen**

Mipham's Sword of Wisdom explores the Nyingma-lineage understanding of valid cognition in Vajrayana Buddhism. This translation, a clear and concise primer on higher realization through valid cognition in Buddhist philosophy, presents these ideas in English for the very first time and includes the sutra presentation of the two truths and the tantra teachings of the two truths as the purity and equality of all phenomena. <>

JAMGÖN MIPAM: His Life and Teachings by Douglas Duckworth [Shambhala, 9781590306697]

Jamgön Mipam (1846-1912) is one of the most extraordinary figures in the history of Tibet. Monk, mystic, and brilliant philosopher, he shaped the trajectory of Tibetan Buddhism's Nyingma school. This introduction provides a most concise entrée to this great luminary's life and work. The first section gives a general context for understanding this remarkable individual who, though he spent the greater part of his life in solitary retreat, became one of the greatest scholars of his age. Part Two gives an overview of Mipam's interpretation of Buddhism, examining his major themes, and devoting particular attention to his articulation of the Buddhist conception of emptiness. Part Three presents a representative sampling of Mipam's writings. <>

Luminous Melodies: Essential Dohas of Indian Mahamudra translated and introduced by Karl Brunnhölzl, Foreword by Dzogchen Ponlop Rinpoche [Wisdom Publications, 9781614296225]

Essential poetic teachings from beloved Tibetan Buddhist masters in their first-ever English translation.

Presented here for the first time in English is a collection of *dohas*, or songs of realization, carefully and thoughtfully selected and translated from the large compendium the *Indian Texts of the Mahamudra of Definitive Meaning*, which was compiled by the Seventh Karmapa and drawn primarily from the Tengyur.
Beautiful, profound, and often outrageous, these verses were frequently composed spontaneously and thus have a moving sense of freedom, openness, and bliss. They range from summaries of the entire path of Mahamudra to pithy four-liners that point directly to the buddha within us. The authors include famous masters such as Saraha and Naropa, dakinis, kings, and also courtesans and cobblers—showing that realization is accessible to all of us, right here in our lives. <>

Divining with Achi and Tārā: Comparative Remarks on Tibetan Dice and Mālā Divination: Tools, Poetry, Structures, and Ritual Dimensions by Jan-Ulrich Sobisch [Prognostication in History, Brill, 9789004402621]

Divining with Achi and Tārā is a book on Tibetan methods of prognostics with dice and prayer beads (mālā). Jan-Ulrich Sobisch offers a thorough discussion of Chinese, Indian, Turkic, and Tibetan traditions of divination, its techniques, rituals, tools, and poetic language. Interviews with Tibetan masters of divination introduce the main part with a translation of a dice divination manual of the deity Achi that is still part of a living tradition. Solvej Nielsen contributes further interviews, a mālā divination of Tārā and its oral tradition, and very useful glossaries of the terminology of Tibetan divination and fortune telling. Appendices provide lists of deities and spirits and of numerous identified ritual remedies and supports that are an essential element of a still vibrant Tibetan culture.

All interested in divination techniques in general, and in Tibetan prognostics (mo), poetry, and the ritual dimensions of divination and fortune. <>